THESIS

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SMALL-SCALE SLAVERY IN ANTEBELLUM MISSOURI

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

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In this thesis, I examine small-scale slavery and resistance by the enslaved to their condition using the conceptual framework of resistant accommodation, as applied to the circumstances on my family's farm in Missouri. My family were slaveholders who came from Kentucky and settled in Hardin Township, Clinton County, Missouri, circa 1833. Family oral history included information on the location of the first house, but little else.

The term resistant accommodation, developed based on small-scale farming operations in colonial New England, implies that the enslaved outwardly conformed to the demands of their enslavers while covertly circumventing those demands to further their own interests. In this conceptual framework, resistance is not an end in itself. It further suggests that individual acts of resistance coalesced into a community of resistance through the networking, shared experiences, and mutual trust that developed among the enslaved when they were able to exploit gaps in the surveillance of their enslavers. Gaps in surveillance arose in part from enslavers' competing attempts to maintain surveillance while also using their work force efficiently and emphasizing separateness through the control of shared space. The nature of the landscape was also a factor.

I hypothesize that conditions in colonial New England were broad enough to apply to slaveholder surveillance and resistance by the enslaved on small-scale farms across the antebellum Upper South and in Border States such a Missouri. I then present a case study using data from my family farm, settled by my great-great-great grandfather James Elliott, to test

whether those data support an interpretation that conditions for the people my family enslaved were consistent with the expectations of resistance accommodation.

The Euroamerican settlers of the Upper South were largely small-scale yeoman farmers with smaller acreages and few or no slaves, interspersed physically with a smaller number of large-scale planters with large acreages and many slaves. Conditions and opportunities for the enslaved differed between small-scale and large-scale operations in terms of labor management, housing, and degree of surveillance. To understand the opportunities available to the people my family enslaved, it was important to determine the scale of their farming and slaveholding operation, and the nature of the surrounding landscape, for which I used both archaeological and historical methods.

The archaeological investigations included remote sensing and exploratory excavation at the site family oral history indicated was the location of the first house, followed by artifact analysis. The results suggest that a two-room hewn log house on a limestone foundation, typical of the antebellum period, existed on the site. The artifacts support an antebellum origin for the house, and the presence of male and female occupants, but provide no unique markers of African American occupancy. A comparison of the type, number, and quality of artifacts with those from a well-documented large-scale slaveholding operation suggest that the Elliott family had a small-scale operation.

Historical records confirmed that James Elliott was a small-scale farmer and slaveholder who raised a typical suite of crops and livestock that was sufficient to support his family and labor force while providing surplus production for the commercial market. Culturally, James and his family and slaves lived in an agrarian society. Only about 29 percent of Hardin Township's

heads of household were slaveholders, but the society was highly stratified based on land and slave ownership, with greater wealth accruing to six large-scale slaveholders.

In a small-scale farming operation, the Elliotts' enslaved (and those of other small-scale holders) could expect reduced surveillance while working, running approved errands, and attending church. These moments likely afforded the enslaved some time to further their own interests and socialize with their peers. The housing practices of small-scale holders were variable; James was among the 41 percent of them who did not provide separate slave quarters, making unauthorized nighttime excursions more difficult.

I used a viewshed analysis to examine the characteristics of physical landscape; this analysis revealed that extensive areas around the Elliott farm were out of sight of the Elliott log house and the houses of neighboring slaveholders, and that the riparian corridors of small creeks connected these areas in ways that would allow slaves to gather clandestinely while avoiding detection. There is, therefore, compelling circumstantial evidence that opportunities were available to the enslaved to reduce or avoid surveillance. In addition, a report by the Hardin Township Slave Patrol from December 1859 shows that African Americans were in fact availing themselves of these opportunities, meeting in groups of two to six without authorization. These group actions show that a community of resistance existed among the township's enslaved, a community built upon individual acts of resistance. It is likely that similar conditions prevailed throughout the Upper South.

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Chapter 1

A Review of African Slavery in North America: Dominance and Resistance?

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yes, we wept, when we remembered Zion.

We hanged our harps on the willows in the middle thereof.

For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

Psalm 137:1-4 (AKJ)

Introduction

When I was a boy, I was fortunate to know several of my great-grandparents who were born and raised in northwest Missouri. My particular favorite was Shelby Elliott. Granddad Shelby owned the farm in Clinton County, Missouri, where my mother's parents, J.W. and Josephine Elliott, lived. Grandad Shelby was a great storyteller. I know for certain, for example, that Jesse James once hid from a posse in the cellar of Granddad's old house. And that when a rattlesnake bit Granddad while he was working in the field, friends saved his life using a warm freshly killed chicken as a poultice. His stories of family and friends were always humorous and affectionate. What I began to appreciate later, after his death, was that Granddad Shelby was only one generation removed from the time when my family enslaved African Americans. By then it was too late to ask him questions about this little-discussed subject, but surviving family stories and mementos provided some hints. The original 1833 grant deed from the General Land Office to James Elliott, assigning a section of land where the farm was established, hung on the kitchen wall. I knew from my grandfather, J.W., that the house Granddad Shelby lived in was the

second house that the family built. When I was in high school, he showed me where the cellar of the first house, a non-descript depression in one of the pastures, was located, along with stands of once-domesticated hemp that still grew wild. The old Elliott family Bible that records the births, marriages, and deaths of three or four generations of Elliotts and Carpenters, my great-great-great grandmother Elizabeth's family, also had a note, written in pencil, recording the birth of "Sarah Emily, a Negro" in June 1860. These tantalizing bits of information helped personalize for me that slavery at its foundation was about people; but sentimental feelings for my family on one hand and the horrific images of southern slavery on the other formed my perspectives. In spite of that, I hoped one day to develop a deeper understanding of the lives of the Elliotts and the African Americans they enslaved, the nature of the relationship between them, and their interactions with the cultural and physical landscapes of antebellum Missouri.

It is often said, probably *ad nauseum*, that one of the benefits of historical archaeology is its ability to better represent the material lives of people who are under-represented in historical records, which are typically written by and about the dominant members of a society (Deetz 1996:41). But given the fact that I still had access to the family farm and some limited family records, the discipline of historical archaeology provided methods and an interpretive framework that I could apply to the task of trying to understand individual circumstances in a given time and place within a larger narrative. I was hopeful that the combined use of archaeological data, historic records, and an understanding of the landscape in which they lived would provide some context for better understanding the farm's occupants and their relationships, given how little physical data and how few personal written accounts I had to rely upon.

The "manifest destiny" narrative of the American frontier glorifies the contributions of Euroamerican settlers, especially males, while tending to ignore or downplay the contributions of

minorities, females, and immigrants (Singleton 1995:121). This mythological narrative is particularly egregious for its neglect of the role of enslaved Africans and African Americans in expanding America's settled boundaries in the time before the Civil War (Burke 2010:53). The number of archaeological studies of slave sites experienced a large upsurge after the 1970s, becoming one of the most popular archaeological research specialties of the post-Columbian period (Singleton 1995:120). However, the irony of Euroamerican citizens in "the Land of the Free" building the American Dream through the labor and sacrifices of enslaved African Americans remains under-appreciated by many Euroamericans even today (Davis 2003:31-32).

In this chapter, I will briefly review the history of slavery in the English colonies of North America, examining the transition from the use of indentured servants to enslaved Africans in the seventeenth century and the manifestation of slavery regionally and diachronically at larger and smaller scales of organization. This examination will provide a more nuanced understanding of the circumstances and conditions in which slaveholders and their enslaved bondsmen interacted. I will then discuss the concept of resistant accommodation as the conceptual framework that I will apply to analyzing the results of my subsequent investigations using my family farm as a case study. My goal is to evaluate the question of how enslaved people adapted to the conditions of slavery and related to the culture that endorsed their lives of bondage by looking specifically at interactions between the scale of agricultural production, space, the management of enslaved labor, and opportunities for the enslaved to reduce surveillance, which is a prerequisite for covert resistance.

The Expansion and Racialization of Slavery in North America

In his book *Weapons of the Weak*, James Scott (1985:34) stated "…the nature of resistance is greatly influenced by the existing forms of labor control and by beliefs about the

probability and severity of retaliation." In examining the specific case of resistant accommodation as revealed by historical and archaeological records from antebellum Missouri, some background will help provide context for understanding slavery in that time (1830-1860) and its effect on the lives of both the enslaved and their enslavers.

Neither the institution of African slavery nor the resistant behaviors of the enslaved sprang fully formed from the soil of the New World. The historic Mediterranean cultures to which Europeans traced their philosophical and cultural roots all practiced slavery in some form. Some people interpreted the Hebrew Bible, which provided the underpinnings for both Christianity and Islam, as endorsing slavery, which manifested in its various forms during the political and economic development of Western Europe. What was unique about slavery in the New World, and among English colonists in North America in particular, was how quickly the focus narrowed on Africans as the slaves of choice over a period of about 40 years. At the same time, the resistance to enslavement by Africans in the New World developed initially from the practices of West African societies with their own cultural experiences of slavery and resistance (Piersen 1993:53). The interplay of differing expectations between Euroamerican slaveholders and enslaved Africans with regard to the control of labor and resistant behavior formed the basis of enslaved/enslaver relationships for over 300 years.

Beginning as early as 1493, French, English, and Dutch colonists in the Caribbean and mainland North and South America implemented the Spanish model of using enslaved Africans in sugar cane production, with regional and cultural variations. Colonial economies ultimately became almost wholly dependent on slavery and the products of slavery, creating a trans-Atlantic cycle of producing sugar cane, converting the cane to raw sugar and rum for European markets,

and trading these for agricultural and manufactured goods, a pattern characterized as "Triangular Trade" (Bailey 1992:205).

Euroamericans quickly realized that the climate of North America was largely unconducive to sugar cane production, and they sought other alternatives. In the Chesapeake Bay region of Virginia and Maryland, known as the Tidewater, tobacco, to which Native Americans had introduced early European explorers, was a profitable alternative to sugar cane. The demand for tobacco in Europe developed almost immediately following its introduction (Bell 2005). The Lowcountry of the Carolinas and the Georgia coastal areas, lagging only slightly behind the Tidewater, shifted from production of small-scale exportable produce to plantation-scale production of economically important rice and indigo, both labor-intensive crops amenable to the use of enslaved Africans (Berlin 1980:66). Both large and small-scale farmers in the New England colonies focused on growing large quantities of grain and livestock for sale to the Caribbean sugar cane plantations (Fitts 1996).

In the early English colonies, the colonizers filled their labor needs from various sources. These included African, Native American, and European laborers employed as free people, indentured servants, or slaves (Berlin 1980:56; Bailey1992:209). Early in the Tidewater's settlement, for example, the first choice for labor on tobacco plantations was indentured European servants, who agreed to work for a set number of years in return for transportation, room, and board. When their period of indenture ended, they were free to pursue their own interests. A number of similarly indentured Africans were able to establish themselves as successful planters in their own right after completing their indentures (Berlin 1980:68). Some successful African men married European women. Of illegitimate births recorded among European women, mostly servants, in the Chesapeake area, a quarter to a third were mixed-race

children. This suggests that some European women initially considered African men as acceptable partners (Berlin 1980:69).

Although Africans arrived in Virginia as early as 1620, the first documented instance of African slavery in Virginia was in 1641 with the trial of John Punch, an indentured African servant, for breaking his indenture. Punch had run to Maryland, along with two indentured European servants. When the court convicted all three men of breaking their indentures, the Europeans had their servitude extended by four years each. However, the court sentenced Punch to slavery for life (Coates 2003:333).

Punch's experience served as a microcosm for the dramatic racialization of slavery in the English colonies, a process that saw indentured servitude practically disappear, to be replaced by wholesale African slavery following its legalization in the 1660s (Berlin 1980:69). The process of racialization relied on revisions to colonial legal codes that attempted to establish and codify "black" and "white" racial identities. The first known reference to a "white" race was in an anti-miscegenation law issued in Virginia in 1691 (Bell 2005:448). These legal changes complemented social changes as Euroamerican elites adopted the Georgian ideals of hierarchical social order, individual aggrandizement, and differentiated space. Elite planters successfully used race as a wedge between poor Euroamericans and poor Africans to keep them from uniting in common cause (Bell 2005:448). The consequence for Africans was legally-condoned and socially-justified dehumanization, while colonial economies became increasingly dependent on maintaining and justifying the institution of slavery, a trend that persisted after the United States gained its independence from Great Britain (Coates 2003:342).

Regional variations in the implementation and management of African slavery are apparent among the English colonies of North America. From the enslaver's perspective, the

keys to managing enslaved laborers were incentivizing production and holding them accountable for their work (Breeden 1980:3). Enslavers developed different methods for accomplishing these ends in different areas. In general, Lowcountry slaveholders used a system of slave management known as tasking, in which they assigned a slave a certain task or number of tasks to accomplish per day, after which he was able to devote time to his own interests, such as growing vegetables and raising chickens for food or trade. The alternative to tasking, more common in the Chesapeake and the Piedmont areas of Virginia and the Carolinas, was driving, or gang labor, under the direction of an overseer who decided when a sufficient amount of work had been achieved (Berlin 1980:66; Morgan 1982:564). The Chesapeake model of plantation and slave management largely accompanied the westward expansion of the colonies, and later the United States, across the Upper South (Vlach 2004:99). These variable regional practices constituted a continuum rather than a dichotomy, and were somewhat scale dependent, with tasking often the method of choice among small-scale slaveholders (Hurt 1992:215).

With the dramatic westward expansion of the United States following the American Revolution, slavery was poised to become a cornerstone of the commensurately expanding economy. Although tobacco production remained important in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, cotton became the commercial crop of choice in the South during the antebellum period. However, in the Upper South the commercial production of wheat, driven by food shortages in Europe, assumed greater importance, as did the production of hemp, used to produce cordage for cotton bales. Both were labor-intensive crops that, from the Euroamerican settler's perspective, provided a continued economic incentive to acquire and maintain slaves (Wright 2003:532).

The discussion of slavery in the Upper South, however, often neglects an important point. While the majority of the Euroamerican population were agriculturalists, most were small-scale farmers who had much different labor needs than the planters (usually described as having 20 or more slaves and 500 or more acres of land) who predominate in much of the literature on southern slavery. Among small-scale yeoman farmers, the majority owned less than 200-300 acres of land, and held few or no slaves (Owsley 1949:9). According to McCurry (1995:48), yeomen farmers described themselves as "self-working farmers" who worked the land with their own hands, irrespective of whether they held a small number of slaves. The motivation of yeoman farmers was first attaining self-sufficiency, and then producing modest agriculture surpluses for the commercial markets. Most did not have, or want, the level of capitalization needed to become planters (Owsley 1949:134; Lowe and Campbell 1987:3; McCurry 1995:48). Yeoman farmers and planters, with different levels of slaveholding and labor management methods, were often intermixed in the agricultural landscape (Owsley 1949:78). As I will further discuss, avoiding or reducing surveillance by enslavers allowed the enslaved opportunities to resist the conditions of their bondage (Fitts 1996). The scale of an agricultural operation and the landscape in which it was set were important determinants of the degree to which the enslaved could avoid or reduce surveillance (Garman 1998).

Relations between the Enslaved and Their Enslavers

Often lost in the realm of numbers and statistics is the question of how enslaved people coped with their owners and the institution of slavery in the course of their daily lives, and how their status as slaves shaped their expectations of the future. Given the unequal levels of power between enslavers and the people they enslaved, it is difficult to imagine circumstances within that relationship where enslaved people could have worked to further their own and their

families' interests. But unequal though the power relationship was, such opportunities might have existed, particularly within smaller-scale slave operations. Historian and folklorist William Piersen discussed such a concept, which he termed "resistant accommodation" in his book *Black Yankees* (1988:143). He based his analysis on the circumstances of African slavery in New England during the Colonial period of the late 1600s and early1700s, which he described qualitatively based on folk tales, written personal accounts, and other anecdotal material. However, Piersen examined several elements of African American life in New England he believed had application beyond the anecdotal. He viewed resistant accommodation as achieving the level of "cultural resistance" (Piersen 1988:143), rather than being simply individual acts of escapist behavior. Central to his idea is that Africans who survived the arduous journey from Africa to the New World might not find their status as slaves so intolerable in comparison to the journey itself. In addition, many West African cultures featured the institution of slavery, so the concept had a foundation in the familiar, possibly amenable to the traditions of those cultures. Those factors combined could have given enslaved Africans some hope for a positive outcome in their new circumstances (Piersen 1988:8-13).

In New England most Euroamerican owners and their enslaved bondsmen shared the same residence and daily tasks, as will be further discussed, fostering, in Piersen's view, a "relatively mild form of servitude" (1988:146) and an accompanying sense of paternalism in the Euroamerican enslavers. "Paternalism" refers to the idea that Euroamerican men (non-slaveholders and slaveholders alike) regarded themselves as the "stewards of a sacred trust, God-ordained to be the heads of their households and its occupants, and accountable for their welfare." (Breeden 1980:30).

Although free time for enslaved people was limited, when it did occur, their concentration near the coast of New England allowed regular contact with other slaves. This, in turn, facilitated the continuity of shared traditions, and provided a counterbalance against pressure to assimilate fully into Euroamerican culture (Piersen 1988:14).

Although enslavers generally denied education and economic opportunity to enslaved Africans, the owners' sense of paternalism provided opportunities for resistance within the bounds of slavery. Piersen offers several examples from different aspects of the owner-slave relationship. The adoption of the Christian religion is one example (1988:49). Euroamerican owners felt obligated to convert their enslaved servants to Christianity; however, their focus was on the behavioral aspects of New England Christianity, which meant encouraging enslaved Africans to refrain from socially undesirable behavior such as sex out of wedlock, drinking, and gambling. Resistance to conversion was high, with many enslaved Africans retaining the religious traditions of their homelands. However, Piersen suggests that those enslaved people who embraced Christianity were actually much more attuned than their enslavers were to its core message of salvation from suffering through the grace of God, and found it a source of solace. It also inspired the founding of "African societies" (Piersen 1988:149), social and religious organizations that attempted to alleviate urban poverty among African Americans. Although these institutions were initially assimilationist, they evolved over time into separatist churches reflective of the feelings of the larger African American population.

Enslaved Africans also used their traditional folk arts as a source of income; such arts included spinning yarn, making toys and small game traps, recaning chairs, making herbal medicines and charms, cooking, and playing musical instruments. Africans, especially the

elderly, usually undertook these activities, which provided an alternative source of livelihood, during free time and at regular Sunday markets (Piersen 1988:102).

Lastly, Piersen points to the cultural tradition of satirical mimicry and song that was a common feature of many West African cultures, and served as a source of resistance in the New World. Such mimicry could take a variety forms, ranging from subtle joking with or about an owner to rituals of misrule, funded and supported by Euroamerican Enslavers. The latter, secure in their paternalism, were often oblivious to the satire involved, interpreting it as unsophisticated imitation without recognizing the resilience and sense of community it fostered in the enslaved population. Piersen concluded that:

> In their religious beliefs.., in their work habits and crafts,…and in the grand celebrations of their holidays, the black New Englanders remained their own people—no longer Africans, but surely not second-class Europeans, either.
>
> Piersen (1988:160).

Piersen's concept of resistant accommodation has been referenced in contexts of both enslaved and free African Americans; however, the most comprehensive evaluations to date were those of Robert Fitts (1996) and James Garman (1998).

Fitts, a historical archaeologist, challenged Piersen's notion that having enslavers and their enslaved servants sharing the same house somehow made northern slavery milder than southern slavery. Rather, Fitts contended that shared domestic space resulted in conflict between slaveholders, who used such space for surveillance and control, and their bondsmen, who attempted to resist control. In developing his argument, Fitts (1996) examined the historical records related to mixed-crop and cattle-raising plantations that operated in the Narragansett area of Rhode Island during the eighteenth century to supply sugar plantations in the Caribbean. Surviving probate records indicate that 65 percent or more of owners boarded their enslaved servants in the main house.

Fitts argued that the control of space in and around the house was a strategy by which enslavers enhanced monitoring, with the intention of undercutting their enslaved servants' ability to resist domination. However, enslavers also attempted to enhance the ritual segregation of their enslaved servants to mark them as inferior outsiders. These conflicting motivations on the part of slaveholders gave enslaved Africans opportunities to escape monitoring. Focusing on the use of domestic space, church seating, and the arrangement of burials in church and family cemeteries, Fitts evaluated both the efforts by slaveholders to control and monitor their enslaved servants and the efforts of the latter to resist control and monitoring, aided by ritual segregation.

While anecdotal evidence suggests that some farmers allowed their enslaved servants to take their meals with the family, the majority believed that segregation of the enslaved from the slaveholders and their families at mealtime reinforced the inferior status of the former. However, segregation at mealtime allowed enslaved servants to share information and transmit African cultural traditions, which worked to counter the enslaver's message of African inferiority (Fitts 1996).

The segregation of the enslaved from their owners at church provided the enslaved with similar opportunities. In general, enslaved people sat by direction in the upper galleries of churches. Fitts contended that the slaveholders' intent with such seating was to reinforce the outsider status of the enslaved. As with segregation at meal times, however, such seating was typically out of sight of the owners, and gave the enslaved an opportunity to socialize quietly among themselves (Fitts 1996).

Upon death, slaveholders further segregated enslaved African Americans from them and their families. Although most often interred on their enslavers' plantations, they were typically buried outside the family graveyards, which were set off by walls, hedges, or fencing. In

addition, slaveholders marked the graves of the enslaved with plain fieldstone markers, as opposed to the expensive engraved stones provided for themselves. It is worth noting however, that planters often marked the graves of poor Euroamericans, and sometimes of members of their extended families, similarly to those of the enslaved (Fitts 1996). Although Fitts did not suggest what opportunities the segregation of African American graves might have provided to the survivors, King (2010) reported that the enslaved often decorated such graves following African traditions. The segregation of African burials from those of the enslavers would have facilitated those practices, encouraging a sense of community cohesion among the enslaved.

Fitts (1996) also discussed features of the Narragansett landscape and culture, based on oral tradition and local laws that would have provided enslaved people with opportunities to circumvent monitored space. His three specific examples include the presence of free African Americans and their homes; running errands for their owners; and the wooded areas that surrounded many plantations. All of these features gave enslaved people an opportunity to visit and exchange news outside the limits of the planters' surveillance. The woods also provided places where an enslaved servant could find solitude for a few hours. In addition, some attempted to avoid punishment by running away to the woods for up to several days.

Based on his analysis, Fitts (1996) concluded that the conditions of slavery in New England represent the same, or nearly the same, interplay of control and resistance to control as found in the southern United States. He made the point that, "Methods of spatial control are not static. A landscape's influence changes according to the subordinates' ability to circumvent it and the dominants' ability to extend their surveillance into new areas." (1996:68).

James Garman (1998) also took exception with Piersen on the question of white owner paternalism, which Piersen considered "…a kind of household kinship" (Piersen 1988:146).

Garman believed Piersen's interpretation of paternalism was too benign, insisting that paternalism is a highly demeaning power relationship in which enslavers treat adults as children. He also argued that the practice of housing Euroamerican owners and enslaved African Americans in the same dwellings was not a kinder slavery than seen elsewhere in North America; it simply intensified the surveillance and monitoring of the enslaved. A goal of the resistant behavior of the enslaved, then, was to find opportunities to escape surveillance, even if only briefly. However, Garman was more accepting of the term resistant accommodation than Fitts, believing it was supported by the extensive analysis of James Scott in his 1985 book *Weapons of the Weak*. Scott described the resistant behaviors of the oppressed as ranging from common small-scale, largely covert acts to much less common acts of open rebellion, with the latter typically doomed to failure (1985:29). This range of behaviors occurred throughout the history of slavery in North America, which he described as:

> …a history of foot dragging, false compliance, flight, feigned ignorance, sabotage, and, not least, cultural resistance…[that] achieved far more in their unannounced, limited, and truculent way than the few heroic and brief armed uprisings… The slaves themselves appear to have realized that in most circumstances their resistance could succeed only to the extent it hid behind the mask of public compliance.
>
> Scott (1985:34).

Garman contended that the phenomenon of resistant accommodation enabled enslaved Africans to maintain elements of their identity while taking on some cultural aspects demanded by their Euroamerican owners.

Garman (1998) applied the concept of resistant accommodation to his analysis of the records of small-scale slaveholders in Rhode Island's East Bay area during the 1600s and early 1700s. While Piersen's work was largely qualitative, Garman, as a historical archaeologist, attempted to quantify his analysis, with a focus on factors such as agricultural production that demanded the negotiation of work expectations, and housing types that facilitated segregation

and the opportunity to escape surveillance. Using probate records, Garman established that the majority of slave owners were small-scale yeoman farmers. He then correlated slave ownership with different types of agricultural production and found that apple cider making, large-scale stock raising, and fishing were all heavily dependent on slaveholding. Garman (1998) argued that the diversity of activities and amount of labor required by these products would have necessitated having enslaved African Americans working outside the surveillance of their owners simply as a matter of economic expediency. This in turn would have resulted in a negotiation between owners and the enslaved regarding their work tasks and expectations.

Garman (1998) also examined the type of houses preferred by slaveholders, most of whom housed slaves in their homes, relative to other Euroamerican homeowners. He found that slaveholders predominantly lived in two-story houses with fully developed two-story ells that contained the kitchen. Probate records also indicated that kitchen chambers were likely occupied by enslaved African Americans in 59 percent of cases based on the presence of "Negro's bedding" in probate inventories (1998:152). Garrets and unspecified second-story chambers made up the reminder of cases. Kitchens were usually the only part of the house with a door other than the main entrance, providing the enslaved with opportunities to escape surveillance, which Garman considered suggestive of "a certain resignation" by the enslavers (1998:153).

Based on his analysis Garman (1998) outlined several conditions and manifestations of resistant accommodation. These include agricultural products that require spatial dispersal and dialogue regarding work expectations; house types that allow separation of slaves and slaveholders in the same building; and opportunities for the enslaved to escape surveillance. In addition, he incorporated Fitts' (1996) implications regarding the segregation of the enslaved and enslavers in homes, churches, and cemeteries even though they shared the same spaces, as well

as the ability of the enslaved to take advantage of features of the landscape that freed them for a time from surveillance.

Absent in the foregoing work on resistant accommodation is much discussion of the options available to a slaveholding society and individual slaveholders. Scott considered options available to the dominant culture and its institutions in confronting resistance to consist of three basic choices. These included recasting policies based on expectations that are more realistic, retaining polices but reinforcing them with positive incentives to encourage compliance, and simply employing more coercion (1985:35). The mix of options employed by the national government, states, and individual owners in response to resistance helped frame state legal codes and local practices throughout the antebellum period, sometimes in surprising ways. Nat Turner's 1831 slave revolt in Virginia, for example, caused the state legislature consider a policy of emancipation briefly, before the advocates of slavery were able to re-exert their influence (Brophy 2009).

Also absent is a discussion of the *intent* of resistance on the part of the enslaved, which is important in understanding and applying the concept of resistant accommodation. Was the intent of resistance simply to obstruct the will of the owners? Garman argues that it was not, and that a focus simply on the opposition of domination and resistance fails to recognize enslaved African Americans as "real and authentic subjects in their own right." (1998:155). Scott contended that "…the objective of resisters is typically to meet such pressing needs as physical safety, food, land, or income, and to do so in relative safety…" (1985:35). There is a broad range of possibilities between the extremes of total resistance and total accommodation that could be applied at national, regional, local, and individual scales. Nor is the concept meant to imply a "meet-in-the-middle" outcome, since the balance of power weighted heavily in favor of

slaveholders. But the range of possibilities provided opportunities for enslaved people, through small, daily acts of resistance, to develop and hold aspirations for the betterment of themselves and their families, and further to develop a community of resistance through networking, shared experience, and mutual trust (Johnson 2003).

Although its proponents developed the concept of resistant accommodation based on the characteristics of African slavery in colonial New England, I believe that many of those characteristics have parallels in the characteristics of African American slavery in the antebellum Upper South. A broad comparison of slaveholding statistics between colonial New England and the antebellum Upper South (Table 1.1) supports this possibility, suggesting that a small number of large-scale slaveholders existed within a cultural and physical landscape of numerically dominant yeoman farmers. Within these landscapes, I believe conditions of housing, agricultural production, segregation from Euroamerican owners, and characteristics of the landscape itself helped reduce surveillance of the enslaved and allowed them connections with each other in which to share their trials and establish mutual trust. I will use data recovered from and about the Elliott Farm and its inhabitants to identify and evaluate whether they support my hypothesis.

Table 1.1. Regional and diachronic similarities. A comparison of the percent of slaveholders and the average number of slaves per holder in selected agricultural counties of colonial New England, the antebellum Upper South, and antebellum Missouri.

Location	Period	% Slaveholders	Ave. Slaves/holder	Source
Narragansett, RI	Colonial	31.1%	5.1	Fitts 1996
Wilson County, TN	Antebellum	33.3%	1.7	Owsley 1949
Lowndes County, MS	Antebellum	42.9%	2.6	Owsley 1949
Clay County, MO	Antebellum	37.1%	5.3	Hurt 1992

Conclusions

Davis (2003:27) reported a startling contrast between the dramatic successes of Euroamericans in the New World compared to enslaved Africans: by the year 1820, ten million Africans were imported into the New World, while European immigrants in the same period numbered two million. Yet *in* the year 1820, African slaves and their descendants numbered only six million; conversely Europeans and their descendants numbered 12 million. Positive European population growth contrasted with negative African population growth, suggests that political and economic control served Europeans well in terms of access to resources and wealth, to the severe disadvantage of enslaved African Americans. This simple comparison is stunning in its implications for the lives of millions of African Americans over hundreds of years.

But was this general pattern always replicated at regional or local scales? Post-bellum accounts by former slaveholders sometimes suggest that the small-scale slavery operations prevalent in the Upper South were more humane and family-oriented than plantation operations in the Deep South (Bell 1927; Burke 2010:1-4). However, archaeological work conducted to date shows mixed results: slaves in small-scale slave operations did not share appreciably in the added and differentiated space resulting from the construction of more substantial dwellings by their holders; however, ceramic and personal artifacts indicate that other aspects of their material lives were more comparable. Historical records show that literacy, economic opportunity, and the chance of freedom were limited. However, a careful evaluation of conditions might show that the enslavers' conflicting desires for social or economic gain versus the ability to surveil the people they enslaved created gaps in surveillance that the enslaved could exploited to further their own interests.

Piersen (1988) and others developed the concept of resistant accommodation based on the conditions of slavery in colonial New England. By comparing those conditions to conditions in antebellum Missouri, using my family farm and the surrounding township as a case study, I hope to determine whether data similar to those employed by Fitts (1996) and Garman (1998) support similar conclusions regarding gaps in surveillance and resistant accommodation among enslaved African Americans.

Summary of Chapters

The work of Fitts (1996) and Garman (1998) moved the concept of resistant accommodation beyond the anecdotal by quantifying the conditions of agricultural production, housing, segregation, and landscape that would have facilitated resistant behaviors by reducing surveillance of the enslaved in colonial New England. Drawing on those conditions, I will examine possible parallels as manifested in the lives of the James Elliott family and their enslaved African Americans in antebellum Clinton County, Missouri.

Chapter 2 provides background on the settlement of Missouri, its role in the events leading up to the Civil War, and aspects of agriculture, architecture, church life, education, politics, and slave codes that impacted Euroamerican owners and enslaved African Americans by establishing the expectations that governed the lives of enslaved and enslavers alike.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed discussion of the archaeological methods I used to establish the antebellum origin of the Elliott the farm and evaluate the critical question of whether the Elliott family were small-scale farmers and slaveholders. The techniques discussed include pedestrian and geophysical surveys, exploratory archaeological excavations and artifact analysis, analytical techniques used to evaluate the likely dates of construction and occupancy of the Elliott log house, and an assessment of the scale of the Elliotts' farming operation in comparison

to a known large-scale slaveholding operation, the Alexander Galbraith Site in Lafayette County, Missouri.

Chapter 4 focuses on the methods and results of historical document and general literature reviews used to confirm the archaeological conclusions regarding the scale of the Elliott farming operation and deepen the understanding of the Elliott farmstead and its occupants in relation to each other and to the larger cultural and physical landscape of Clinton County. I summarize my reviews of U.S. census records, marriage and military service records, Clinton County Court records, and other sources analyzed to describe to the extent possible the Elliott family's socioeconomic status, patterns of slaveholding, and the opportunities for enslaved African Americans to circumvent surveillance and forge community bonds. In addition, I present the results of viewshed analyses that combined historical U.S. census and plat records with a digital elevation model to assess the physical viewshed in which slaveholders and the enslaved existed, and implications for surveillance and resistance.

Chapter 5 summarizes the archaeological and historical findings within the context of antebellum Hardin Township to evaluate the interplay of socioeconomic factors, agricultural production, space, and features of the landscape as they relate to opportunities for the enslaved to reduce or avoid surveillance on the eve of the Civil War. The analyses will establish the place of the Elliott family, and their enslaved bondsmen, within the stratified socioeconomic structure of Hardin Township and examine the opportunities for and consequences of resistance among the township's enslaved population.

Chapter 6 continues the evaluation of historical records to examine the impact of the Civil War on the Elliotts, their enslaved African Americans, and their neighbors. Further, I examine the conditions facing the county's enslaved African Americans following emancipation.

Finally, I include a discussion of the summary conclusions of this thesis regarding resistant accommodation as a concept for understanding the relationships between slaveholders and the enslaved in antebellum Clinton County.

Chapter 2

The Promised Land

You visit the earth and water it: you enrich it with the river of God,

Which is full of water: you prepare them corn,

When you have so provided for it.

Psalm 65:9 (AKJ)

Introduction

In the late 1820s, Missouri was hailed as the "Canaan of America" (Hurt 1992:79), and like the Israelites of old (Exodus 21:1-7), many new farmers arrived with enslaved people bound in accordance with accepted legal and moral codes. Coming from the Upper South (primarily Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina), they were drawn to Missouri by the availability of land and the opportunity for economic advancement. Among them were five brothers from Franklin County, Kentucky, including my great-great-great grandfather, James Elliott, who settled in Clinton County, in northwest Missouri, where he married Elizabeth Carpenter. The lives and fortunes of James Elliott, his family, and the people they enslaved were inextricably linked to the national, regional, and local forces that shaped the time and place.

The territory of New France, which included the future State of Missouri, was first settled by Europeans in the eighteenth century, primarily by the French, who arrived in the area via the St. Lawrence and Ohio rivers and proceeded south on the Mississippi River to New Orleans. The boundaries between New France and Britain's North American colonies were a constant source of dispute, and warfare between the French and English in Europe spilled over into North America. The British were ultimately victorious, and the 1763 Treaty of Paris, which ended the

Seven Year's War (often referred to by Americans as the French and Indian War), restricted French territorial holdings in North America to west of the Mississippi River. In the same treaty, the French government ceded to Spain their remaining territory, known as the Louisiana Territory, as a reward for support during the war.

During the earlier years of their administrative control, the Spanish attempted to recruit settlers to the territory, with some success: the end of the American Revolution saw an influx of Americans who might have preferred to settle in the American Northwest Territories, but balked at the prohibition of slavery there. However, the Spanish government tired of the expense of maintaining a colonial presence in the Mississippi-Missouri Valley, and France reacquired the territory by the 1800 Treaty of San Ildefonso (Burke 2010:23). Importantly for the interests of the fledgling United States, that meant that the French regained control of the strategic city of New Orleans, which controlled commercial access to the Mississippi River. President Thomas Jefferson was concerned for the economic interests of the United States' western territories, for which the Mississippi River was the only practical commercial outlet for accessing New World and European markets. He entered into negotiations with the French government to purchase the city and surrounding lands. Although Jefferson was surprised when the French offered to sell the entire Louisiana Territory to the United States, he quickly accepted; the two countries signed a treaty formalizing the sale in April 1803, and the U.S Senate ratified it in October of the same year.

With ratification of the sale, the United States quickly established its hold over the Louisiana Territory. In 1804, Congress divided it into the Territory of Orleans (later the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma) and the District of Louisiana, or Upper Louisiana, administratively controlled by the Territory of Indiana. In early 1805, however, Congress made

Upper Louisiana a separate territory; Jefferson appointed General James Wilkerson as governor, and the territory organized a legislature. For purposes of local government, the legislature established four districts within the future State of Missouri. The area that would become Clinton County was located in the St. Charles District, which included settled territory between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers (CCHS 1881a:122). This land was also the territory of several Native American tribes, including the Sac and Fox and the Iowas, among others (Combs 2002). The size of Missouri's population underscored its importance to the United States: the four organized districts had a combined (free and slave) population of 8,670, or 86 percent of the entire population of Upper Louisiana at the time of its acquisition from France. Subsequent territorial governors included Captain Meriwether Lewis (who committed suicide in 1809) and Captain William Clark, who served from 1813 until Missouri achieved statehood. In 1812, Congress renamed the territory the Territory of Missouri to avoid confusion with the new state of Louisiana (Shoemaker 1916).

The addition of the new territory west of the Mississippi River exacerbated growing political turmoil over the institution of slavery, ever more polarized between northern and southern states. At the same time, the rapid influx of slaveholders from the Upper South into the new territory created tremendous pressure for Missouri statehood. The Missouri Compromise of 1820, engineered by Henry Clay of Kentucky, then Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, allowed Missouri to be admitted to the Union as a slave state, and Maine as a free state, which maintained the balance of free and slave states represented in the U.S. Senate. In addition, the legislation prohibited slavery in the new territory above 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, the southern boundary of Missouri, except in Missouri itself (Figure 2.1).

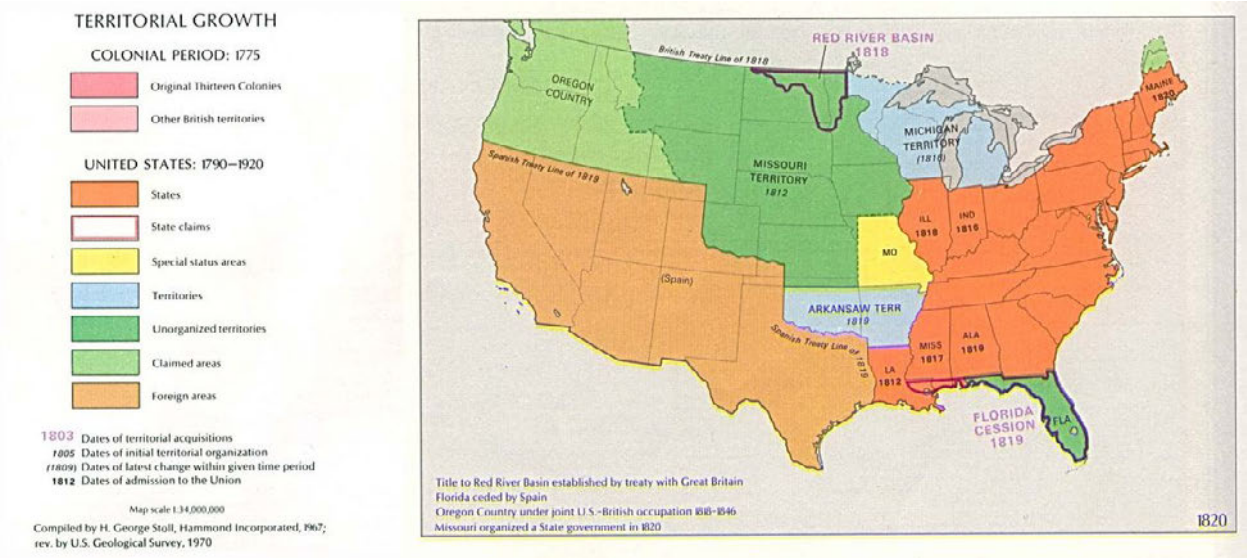


Figure 2.1. Map of the United States in 1820. The map shows the original boundaries of the future state of Missouri. Missouri joined the union in 1821. The Platte Purchase of 1837 established Missouri's current northwest boundary along the Missouri River. (Public domain image courtesy of NCpedia, www.ncpedia.org/media/map/us-territorial-growth-1.)

Missouri joined the Union in August 1821, with the Scots-Irish former Pennsylvanian Alexander McNair as its first elected governor (Shoemaker 1916).

Although African slavery was a fixture of French and Spanish occupation of the region, the acquisition of the fertile Missouri Territory and its subsequent statehood, along with a state constitution that guaranteed the right to own slaves, spurred the rapid migration of Euroamerican settlers (Figure 2.2). Most of the newcomers who relocated from the Upper South settled primarily in the river valleys. Modes of travel included river barges and horse or oxen-drawn wagons. Missouri newspaper publisher Ovid Bell evoked the following image:

> …the men riding at the head of the caravan, their flintlock guns over their shoulders or across their saddles, and the women and children riding in wagons, possibly drawn by oxen, and the negro slaves walking behind and looking after the household goods and livestock…We speak of that time as the good old time; but would it not be better to call it the brave old time?
>
> Bell (1927:164).

Figure 2.2. George Caleb Bingham (1851) "Daniel Boone Escorting Settlers through the Cumberland Gap." Bingham, an anti-slavery Whig, was a keen and sometimes skeptical observer of antebellum life in Missouri (Castel 1963). (Public domain image courtesy of WikiCommons.)

As Missouri historian Harrison Trexler dryly observed, "That the newcomers were of the kind to make Missouri a slave state we have no trouble in discovering." (1909:181). Over a quarter of a million free people migrated to Missouri between 1820 and 1860. Although there was an influx of Northerners along with German and Irish immigrants after 1830, the 1850 census showed that about two-thirds of residents had immigrated from the Upper South. Many of these were small-scale slaveholders. Larger-scale planters, also frustrated at the limited amount of land available in the Upper South, typically moved toward the Old Southwest, where the climate supported greater year round use of larger numbers of slaves and extensive cotton cultivation was possible (Burke 2010:26).

While enslaved people lived in every county of Missouri, farmers in the counties that straddled the Missouri River held the vast majority. Historians often refer to this area as "Little Dixie" (Crisler 1948:130; Hurt 1992:*xi*; Burke 2010:12). However, I will not use that term for several reasons. First, the term itself post-dates the antebellum period (Crisler 1948), so it has no real relevance to that period; second, various authors used different criteria for deciding which counties to include, depending on the purpose of their work. Hurt used the term "Little Dixie" to describe what he also termed "the Black Belt" (1992:*x*i), by which he meant the seven counties along the Missouri River in which African Americans comprised over 24 percent of the population in the 1850 census (Figure 2.3). From west to east, Clay, Lafayette, Saline, Cooper, Howard, Boone, and Callaway counties formed the Black Belt. This was the predominant area settled by slaveholders from the Upper South (Hurt 1992:*xiii*), and most relevant to the manifestation of slavery in Clinton County. Clinton County was partitioned from Clay County in 1833 (CCHS 1881a:98), and many of its residents remained philosophically and politically aligned with Clay County and the larger slaveholding culture. They were also economically dependent on commercial markets and industries that developed in Lexington (Lafayette County) and the neighboring river counties, as well as connections to the St. Louis and New Orleans markets via the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers (Hurt 1992:105-6). When referring to these counties collectively, I will use the term "River Counties."

Nationally, the election of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States in 1828 effectively split the Democratic-Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson between Jacksonian Democrats, who were openly pro-slavery, and the National Republicans (or Whigs) of Henry Clay. The latter never developed a consistent policy on slavery due to disagreement between southern Whigs and northern Whigs, many of the latter early abolitionists.

These factions dominated American politics until the collapse of the Whigs and rise of the Republican Party, with a strong anti-slavery stance, shortly before the Civil War (Kruman 1992; Parsons 2009:196). The lines drawn between these factions resulted in escalating conflict in the Missouri border region, eventually leading to organized violence between pro- and anti-slavery sympathizers over the question of Kansas statehood, presaging the onset of the Civil War itself. According to post-bellum accounts, these developments enmeshed Clinton County geographically, economically, and psychologically (CCHS 1881a:349).

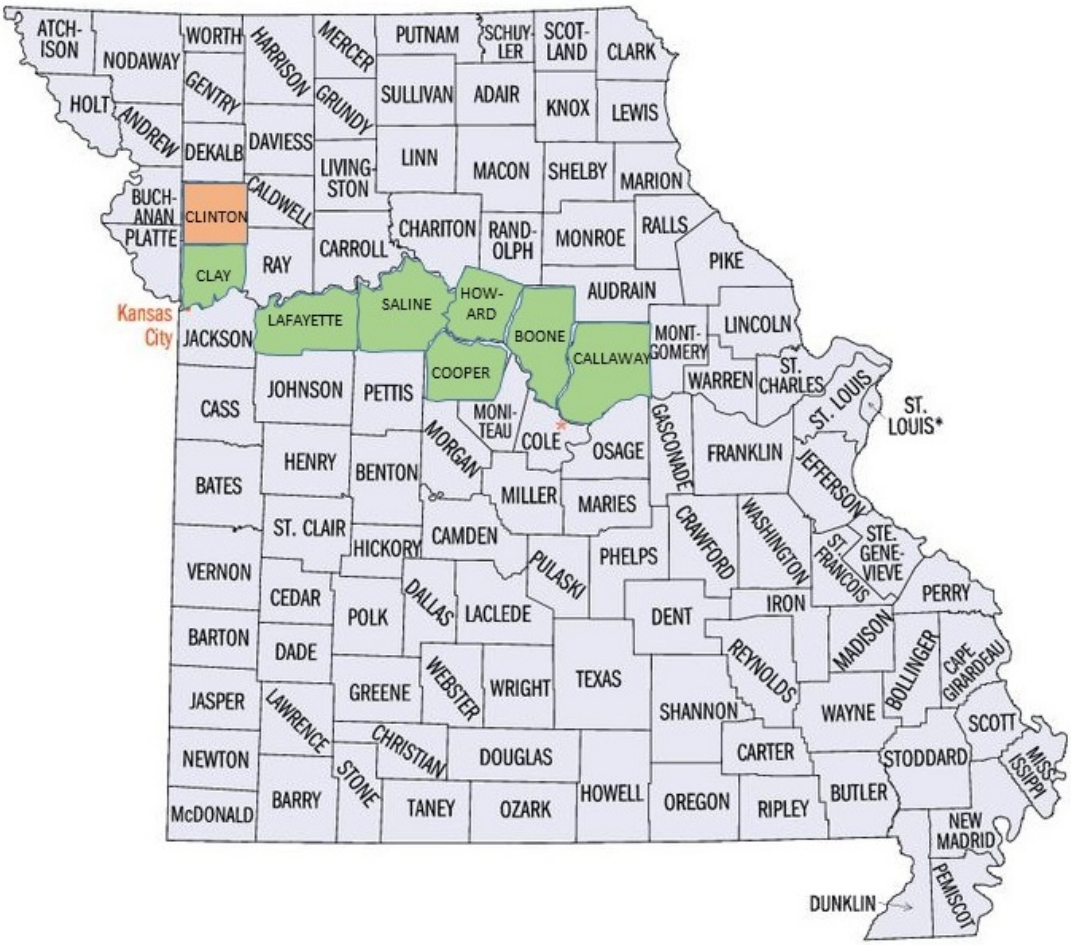


Figure 2.3. The River Counties. The Missouri legislature organized Clinton County (highlighted in orange) from the northern portion of Clay County 1833. The River Counties, with twenty-four percent African American population or higher (Hurt 1992:*xiii*) are highlighted in green. (Public domain base map image courtesy of Wikipedia at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Missouri_ statistical areas.)

Economic and Cultural Life in Antebellum Missouri

Missouri's location at the confluences of three major river systems, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri, was a defining influence in its history. These rivers and their smaller tributaries provided transport, access, power, and a path for the flow of prospective settlers. As Inman colorfully stated, "…the first settlers clung tenaciously to the streams." (1928:307). Missouri's geography, its temperate climate, and the fertility of its soil established its future role in America's westward expansion. These factors, mixed with the politics of the antebellum period, created a society fully attuned to the advantages and anxieties of slave ownership (Trexler 1909; Hurt 1992:245).

A socioeconomic system devised by and for the elite, which meant primarily large-scale slaveholders, relegated enslaved African Americans to the status of a labor input that required successful management for the slaveholders to meet their financial goals. In 1927, Ovid Bell wrote what is probably the definitive view of Euroamerican slaveholders with respect to the institution of slavery as experienced in Missouri. Writing of pioneer life in Callaway County for the *Missouri Historical Review*, he addressed the topic of slavery as follows:

> Slavery was an accepted and approved institution. Those who were able to own negroes owned them, and those too poor to own them looked forward to the time when they should be slaveholders. The slaves were well fed, well clothed, and well treated. Their health was protected, they were taught to work, and they were given religious instruction. Their owners had real affection for them. Whites and blacks played together as children. The boys fished and chased rabbits and hunted 'possums and 'coons. The older men of both races hunted buffalo, deer, panther and the small game that was abundant in the country. It was seldom that a slave was sold. The man who broke up a negro family by selling some of its members out of the neighborhood was as cordially detested by the whites of the better class as he could have been hated by the negroes themselves. When estates were wound up the slaves usually passed to the heirs and often did not leave the farm on which they had been reared. A common gift from parents to a young couple at the time of their marriage was a young negro woman and a young negro man. The girl generally had been the special playmate and handmaid of the bride; the man the special companion of the groom.
>
> Bell (1927:163).

It should go without saying that the enslaved African American's view of such bucolic times was likely quite different from that expressed by Bell (1927). But faced with the question of conformity to their owners' demands and expectations or engaging in a level of resistance at least sufficient to further their own objectives, what options existed within the legal and social structures of the time? Missouri's slave codes, which established the legal rights and responsibilities of both slaveholders and the enslaved, answer that question in part.

Missouri Slave Codes

The Missouri state slave codes in place at the beginning of the Civil War developed over time from the 1724 French *Code Noir* (Black Code) of colonial Louisiana, later modified by the Spanish in 1769. Following acquisition of the Louisiana Territory by the United States, the territorial government promulgated a slave code in 1804 that remained in place, with minor adjustments, until statehood. Successive codes trended toward a constriction of the movements and rights of slaves, a trend driven by slaveholders' perpetual fear of insurrection and loss of property. These fears, inspired by events such as Nat Turner's 1831 slave uprising in Virginia, prompted strict prohibitions on slaves' abilities to bear arms or hunt, with a penalty of up to thirty lashes administered to offenders. However, early Missouri was a frontier society where citizens were concerned about possible Indian attacks, so an enslaved person could bear arms if licensed by justice of the peace (Trexler 1909).

The Missouri General Assembly, meeting in 1820, adopted many of the territorial laws, later supplemented or modified by legislation needed (from the Euroamerican perspective) to control crimes, govern slavery, regulate the activities of free African Americans and abolitionists, and make provisions for the enslaved to pursue freedom.

Since Euroamericans designed slave codes to ensure submission, punishments for crimes could be particularly severe, often corporal and sometimes capital. The territorial law of 1804 provided up to 30 stripes for any African American, free or enslaved, who lifted a hand against whites, except in self-defense (always difficult to prove). The death penalty was assigned for rebellion, murder, and administering poison (Trexler 1909). The state constitution of 1820 provided jury trials for slaves accused of capital offenses, with "the same degree of punishment, and no other, that would be inflicted upon a free white person for such offense" (Hurt 1992:245). Additionally, the state constitution prohibited slaveholders from inflicting punishment that would "endanger life or limb" and provided that "any person who shall maliciously deprive of life or dismember any slave, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted for a like offense…on a free white person" (Hurt 1992:253). While such provisions sometimes succeeded in protecting the innocent and punishing the guilty, courts rarely forgave an African American acting against a Euroamerican, and lynching the suspect often precluded a court trial in the first place (Hurt 1992:248).

In the category of governance, the General Assembly defined a black person as one who had one-fourth African American blood, essentially one African American grandparent out of four. This categorization was more generous than in many southern states. In an 1825 revision of the codes, the law prohibited free African Americans, other than those with certificates of citizenship from another state, from settling in Missouri under penalty of deportation, and later fines, jail, and whipping. In addition, the law directed county courts to appoint patrols to make surprise visits to slave quarters and places where the enslaved might assemble unlawfully. In 1845, the state authorized these patrols to administer up to ten lashes to slaves found off their owner's property without a written pass, while a justice of the peace could order up to twenty

lashes. The state prohibited patrols from interfering with slaves attending Sunday worship services; however, it also prohibited meetings, religious or otherwise, with other African Americans, unless a law enforcement officer was present. Typically, citizens assigned to slave patrols worked at least twelve hours a month for twenty-five cents per hour; however, patrols were most active at times when Euroamericans were more afraid of slave rebellion.

Slaves were sometime able to earn their own income through the agency of their owners, but in 1830 a further tightening of slave codes resulted in increased fines of up to $100 per offense for slaveholders who allowed their slaves to go at large, hire their own time, or deal as free persons. In addition to fines levied against owners who allowed such violations to occur, owners were also liable for the financial consequences of any business conducted by their slaves. Selling or delivering alcohol to slaves could result in up to a $300 fine for owners who allowed such transactions.

In 1825, new statutes enacted regarding runaways allowed any citizen to capture a runaway and deliver them to a justice of the peace. The definition of a runaway was any enslaved person more than twenty miles from home or place of employment. After being committed to the local jail, the county could sell a runaway for expenses after 30 days if not claimed by the owner. The state enacted a reward system in 1840. Under that system, the capture of an enslaved African American over the age of twenty outside the state's borders resulted in a $100 reward. If the slave was under the age of twenty the reward dropped to $5o. Any runaway captured within the state was worth a $25 reward, and runaways apprehended within their home county were worth $5-10. In addition, sheriffs were required to hold captured runaways for up to 90 days before selling them at public auction. Besides repaying a county's boarding expenses, some of the proceeds helped fund the state's public university. Anyone, including a free African American,

who forged a pass to facilitate a runway's escape, was subject to a sentence of five to ten years in the state penitentiary.

State law also prohibited abolition doctrines and education of enslaved African Americans. In 1837, publishing or circulating abolitionist materials could result in a $1,000 fine and up to two years in prison for a first offense, with twenty years for a second offense, and the possibility of life imprisonment for a third offense. In 1847, a new state law prohibited keeping, or teaching in, any school to instruct African Americans in reading and writing. This latter restriction was a response to an increase in abolitionist literature distributed to slave states, the logic being that if the enslaved could not read, such literature could not influence them. As the antebellum period progressed, Missouri slaveholders increasingly distrusted northern preachers, peddlers, and teachers as secret abolitionists (Hurt 1992:259).

An interesting aspect of Missouri's slave codes (and those of a number of other slave states) was the ability of enslaved people to challenge the legal basis of their slavery in a court of law. This right transferred into the state's legal code in 1824 from a similar territorial provision enacted in 1807, and remained the law until the Civil War. The usual basis of these "freedom suits", as they were known (Foley 1984:1), was that an individual was born of a free mother or was transported for a time to a state that prohibited slavery. Though often presided over by slaveholding judges and heard by Euroamerican juries, they could be surprisingly successful (Hunt 2011:15), with up to 57 percent of cases being resolved in favor of the enslaved in appellate courts up until 1852. In that year, the Missouri Supreme Court decided against the freedom suit brought by Dred Scott, a decision upheld in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1857. The Dred Scott decision represented a hardening of slaveholders who believed the institution of

slavery was at increased risk, and suits brought after that time were fewer and less successful (Foley 1984).

The slave codes were important in establishing the conditions under which the enslaved and their holders interacted within the social and economic framework of the state. This interaction, and resistance to it, helped determine how the enslaved labored, slept, and ate, and the ability to escape surveillance; the opportunity to interact with free African Americans; encouragement or disincentives to escape; inclusion in church and educational life; opportunities to marry and establish families; and the possibility of manumission or successful freedom suits.

Agriculture and Labor

Agriculture was the economic engine of Missouri during the antebellum period. Available land in the Upper South had largely been taken up prior to Missouri's acquisition by the United States, and many early immigrants from the Upper South left their homes feeling physically and economically constrained. The availability of public lands in Missouri was a big incentive to migrate, and land sales boomed in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Although considered relatively expensive, the Land Act of 1820 made 80-acre tracts of public domain lands available for a minimum of $1.25 per acre. Demand was particularly high in the River Counties. The Land Offices in Franklin (Howard County) and Lexington (Lafayette County) transacted nearly fifty percent of public land sales in Missouri during this period. Competition was steep; by 1834, early settlers had taken much of the available public land, and resales of once-public land by private owners resulted in prices that could be nearly an order of magnitude higher. Average resale prices of $6 to $8 per acre were common in the River Counties throughout the antebellum period (Hurt 1992:56).

Although Americans are inclined to memorialize the hearty, independent pioneers who continually moved westward during the 1800s, leaving a trail of rustic log cabins behind them (CCHS 1881a:128), many of the immigrants to Missouri were people of means who came with the resources to invest in large tracts of land, build substantial houses, and capitalize their agricultural activities. For such large-scale farmers, establishing and maintaining a steady flow of desirable cash crops was essential for their economic survival. The cash crops with the greatest return on investment were hemp, tobacco, and wheat, all of which were labor intensive, requiring nearly year-round attention. Hemp was particularly valuable because of its high demand in the ever-expanding cotton business of the Deep South, for which it provided cordage for cotton bales. This connection linked Missouri hemp producers economically and politically to cotton planters in the Deep South (Hurt 1992:103). Limited and expensive free labor during the antebellum period provided a compelling incentive for farmers to invest in enslaved African Americans (Hurt 1992:215, Wright 2003). Many migrant farmers brought slaves with them from the Upper South, but local markets soon developed and slave brokers operated continually during the antebellum period. Although some slaveholders sold slaves to the southern cotton plantations for disciplinary or financial reasons, most sold slaves directly or through local brokers to family or neighbors (Hurt 1992:234).

The economic advantages of slave ownership seemed so apparent that many northerners who arrived in the area from states where slavery was being phased out, or was prohibited altogether, became slave owners in Missouri (Burke 2010:63-4). On smaller farms with a large number of family members, the economic imperative for slave ownership was less urgent, and different patterns of long-term slave ownership emerged (Hurt 1992:219). Burke (2010:4) and Hurt (1992:219) differentiated between small-scale owners, with ten or fewer slaves; large-scale

owners with 11-20 slaves; and planters with more than 20 slaves. McCurry (1995:48) determined that holding ten or more slaves was the threshold between self-working yeoman farmers and those who transitioned into managing their labor as opposed to working with their own hands, freeing themselves and their families for other pursuits. By 1860, about 90 percent Missouri's slaveholders owned ten or fewer enslaved African Americans. While the planter ideal was often an aspiration of Euroamerican farmers in antebellum Missouri, they rarely attained that status due to high land costs and the need for capital investment. Between 1840 and 1860, only about one to four percent achieved the planter ideal, and less than one percent owned 100 slaves or more (Hurt 1992:219). How hard to pursue the planter ideal was an individual choice; some records suggest that many of Missouri's small-scale slaveholders were simply content with a system that had proven to be workable in the Upper South (Burke 2010:51).

Given that antebellum Missouri was a predominantly agricultural society, most enslaved African Americans were engaged in agricultural and domestic work for small-scale farmers. In such operations, the commercial production of hemp, tobacco, and wheat would have been more limited, but a factor in labor needs nonetheless. Some farmers grew wheat for consumption by the family, but corn was the predominant subsistence grain. Agricultural work was largely unmechanized with the exception of simple devices like ox, horse, or mule drawn plows. An early settler boasted to his family in New England that one man with one horse in a five-acre field could harvest 250 bushels (crop not specified, but probably corn) in contrast to 150 bushels with comparable labor in New England (Bronaugh 1926:390). But obviously, the more acreage and the greater the variety of commodities produced, the greater the labor needs. In managing their enslaved labor, Missouri slaveholders used both the tasking and driving methods, with no

clear preference; likely the driving system predominated on large-scale commercial farms and tasking on small-scale farms (Hurt 1992:215).

The hemp cycle typically began in the fall when the fields were deep-ploughed; in the spring, workers ploughed the fields again, followed by harrowing. They made rows about four feet apart, seeded by hand, and covered, harrowed, and rolled them. Hemp needed little attention while growing, reaching heights of as much as ten feet by August. A slave with a cradle scythe could then harvest about one acre per day. The hemp was left to dry on the ground, then bundled, collected and stacked until fall. In late autumn when temperatures cooled, workers spread the hemp on the ground and left it for five or six weeks to rot. (Missouri farmers preferred dew rotting to water rotting because it required less labor, even though water rotting produced higher quality fiber.) Once the stalks rotted enough to separate the fibers, they collected the crop again for breaking (Figure 2.4). After breaking, workers collected the fiber and pressed it into bales of about 500 pounds for shipment (Hurt 1992:109-110). Yields were typically about 700 pounds per acre, with $100 per ton or more considered a good price. Hurt (1992:110) estimated that a grower with four hired slaves and 10 acres in hemp production (yielding a total of about 3.5 tons) could cover costs and make a small profit.

Farmers considered growing tobacco less physically demanding than growing hemp, but it required year round attention for successful production. Tobacco's sensitivity to mishandling caused the Missouri legislature to establish a law regulating tobacco packing and inspection as early as 1821, with the inspectors hired by the counties. The best producers ploughed, harrowed, and manured their beds in January and sowed tobacco in late February or early March; then they covered the beds with brush to prevent freezing. Workers transferred the new plants from the beds to the fields in May to June, cultivating them with a shovel plough. They had to hoe

frequently to protect the growing tobacco plants from weeds. Workers primed the plants when they reached about four feet tall, meaning they broke the lower leaves off the stem. Later they topped the plants by breaking off the top leaf or terminal bud, and constantly guarded against hornworms. Workers performed all of this work by hand. Harvesting started about mid-September. Workers collected the plants, allowed them to wilt, then hauled them to a shed or scaffold to hang until dry; later they moved the dry plants to a barn for protection from the rain. Some farmers also cured their tobacco over low fires of green hickory. Finally, workers stripped the leaves from the stems and packed them for shipment. By then, it was time to prepare the fields again. One enslaved African American could raise about four acres of tobacco (Hurt 1992:99-101).

Figure 2.4. A hemp brake in operation in Kentucky circa 1920. A single person could operate a brake. Breaking typically took place from January to March each year (Hurt 1992:110). (Courtesy of the Kentucky Historical Society.)

Corn was almost invariably the first crop planted by new Missouri farmers, particularly at the subsistence stage, because it could feed both people and livestock. To grow corn, farmers first had to break the prairie sod, or girdle and fell trees in forested areas. After clearing, they ploughed and usually harrowed the land using a homemade A-frame oak harrow with hickory teeth. Corn required cultivation to remove weeds during the growing season, but had the advantage of not needing immediate harvesting when mature. The ears would remain safely on the stalks into late autumn or winter if other chores were more pressing. Workers harvested corn by cutting the stalks at ground level with a long-bladed knife, and stacking the sheaves in the field with the ears off the ground until they were ready to remove the ears for husking and shelling. A farmer and one slave could typically manage about 20 acres of corn (Hurt 1992:215), which could produce about 40 bushels per acre (Hurt 1992:157).

Although wheat eventually became a viable commercial crop, it lagged behind corn in importance due to technical and transportation issues. Families initially planted wheat for personal use, if they had access to a mill. Those farmers who raised wheat planted it in the fall on land used for corn the previous spring, usually broadcast seeding by hand. They could then harvest it the following summer using cradle scythes, which allowed one man to cut about 3 acres per day (Hurt 1992:163). After binding the cut stalks into sheathes, they later threshed the grain with flails or by trampling with horses or oxen, followed by hand raking and winnowing (Hurt 1992:159). Missouri farmers also produced lesser quantities of flax, clover, and oats (Burke 2010:93).

Beginning in the late 1830s, the Carey plough became the predominant tool of Missouri farmers. It featured a wooden moldboard with a wrought-iron ploughshare attached. Being lightweight, it allowed a single worker to turn about an acre per day. Later advances in

mechanization included steam and animal-driven threshers, seed drills, cultivators, and reapers. These devices had greater influence on agricultural activities in the 1850s, for farmers who could afford them, but remained out of reach economically for many smaller-scale operators (Hurt 1992:160).

In addition to crops, Missouri farmers also raised livestock for both the commercial markets and domestic use. Pigs, cattle, and sheep were most common, with sheep providing both wool and meat (Hurt 1992:65). As with the crops discussed above, such activities could be labor intensive: an early edition of *Scientific American*, for example, suggested that each sheep should be hand-washed in a stream to remove dirt and grease, and allowed to dry before shearing (Munn and Company 1859). (The degree of acceptance this recommendation received is unknown.)

Pigs provided the dietary meat staple of early farmers. Producers typically allowed their pigs to roam the farm and woods, foraging for their own food, and pig producers would mark their animals with a registered set of ear notches so they could tell them apart. In addition, producers often fed pigs corn, considering about six weeks of corn feeding before slaughter to produce the best outcome (Randolph 1838:1). Pigs were either butchered locally and packed in barrels of salt for preservation and shipment or driven in herds to commercial packing facilities, sometimes as far away as St. Louis (Jordan 1927; Hurt 1992:131). Pork processing always took place in the late fall when temperatures were low because this helped preserved the meat as it was cut and packed, either for the use of the family or for sale (Hurt 1992:129). As a commercial product, the quality of preserved pork from Missouri varied highly, and therefore had lower market value. An attempt by the Missouri legislature to standardize the quality of exported pork beginning in 1841 had the result of essentially removing commercial pork production from the farm to packing businesses in cities along the Missouri River (Hurt 1992:128). Women were

often responsible for over-seeing the packing or preservation of pork for the family, which typically included the use of a freestanding smokehouse (Randolph 1838:1; Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5. An example of an antebellum smokehouse. The building (later modified) is from The Cedars in Jefferson County, Missouri, photographed by Theodore LaVack in 1936. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey.)

Sheep were also important to Missouri's earlier famers, who kept most of the wool for home use. Since cotton did not grow well in Missouri, and pre-made clothing was expensive, farmers often relied on wool to make their own clothes. On a small farm, this would have been a gendered division of labor, with the tending and shearing of sheep performed by men, and the cleaning, carding, spinning, weaving, and clothing-making performed by women. Some localities offered wool-carding mills, with the associated need to transport wool to the mill and

back (Hurt 1992:138). Commercially, both producers and consumers considered Missouri's sheep inferior animals, although some producers made periodic attempts to improve the stock by introducing European breeds (Hurt 1992:137).

Cattle were an important commercial product, but less important from a subsistence perspective than were pigs. As a result, large-scale farmers who focused more on business gains raised greater numbers of cattle than did small-scale farmers simply producing food for the family. The same was largely true for horses and mules. Missouri became famous for mule production early in its history, with mules often being preferred over horses and oxen as draft animals. Although raising mules was a large-scale operation, smaller farmers could sometime rent pastures to mule breeders to bring in extra money (Hurt 1992:146). Raising stock, whether commercially or for subsistence, also necessitated haying, accomplished by cutting, drying, and ricking pasture grass several times a summer to provide fodder for animals through the winter. The time demands for haying were probably somewhat comparable to those for wheat, minus the effort of threshing and winnowing.

For small-scale slaveholders and the people they enslaved, some combination of the agricultural activities described above, carefully planned to make the best use of resources and available labor in each season, dominated the cycle of the year. For women, the need to collect, preserve, and prepare food, provide clothing, and manage the house were constant demands; in addition, women sometimes tended stock and worked in the fields during times of high labor demand (Burke 2010:128; Naglich et al. 2004:14).

Missouri slaveholders often provided their enslaved hands a small plot of land for their own use and time to cultivate it. Many of the enslaved were willing to work nights and Sundays to produce extra income from small plantings of tobacco, hemp, and grain, or by raising

chickens. Some owners also allowed their enslaved hands to work for neighbors in their off time, or paid them for work done on Sundays and holidays. Incomes of as much as $100 a season were reported (CCHS 1881:376).

Housing and Diet

The typical housing pattern in antebellum Missouri was for farmers initially to build one structure, usually of hewn logs. Such houses consisted of one (single-pen) or two (double-pen) rooms, with double-pen houses and their variants (Figure 2.6) predominating when resources permitted (Macintire 1998:8). Such houses provided space for cooking, eating, working, and sleeping for both the family and their enslaved African Americans (Figure 2.7). As the family grew and the farm (ideally) prospered, farmers often built a finer wood framed or brick house with more differentiated space for the family (Figure 2.8), leaving the slaves to occupy the first house (Naglich et al. 2004; Burke 2010:227). Some small-scale owners lacked the resources or inclination to provide separate quarters, and remained together with their slaves in the first house.

But even though they might house some slaves with the family to make their services more convenient (Strutt 2010), large-scale owners found it necessary to build additional slave quarters as their operations grew. While they typically had separate quarters for unmarried men and women, slaveholders sometimes provided separate quarters for couples and their families, or housed single-parent families together (Ellis 2010). Separate quarters potentially gave the enslaved a greater degree of control over their living spaces than experienced by those slaves who were housed with their enslavers in small-scale operations. Enslaved people held in large-scale operations likely had that control affected to a degree by crowding and surveillance by professional overseers.

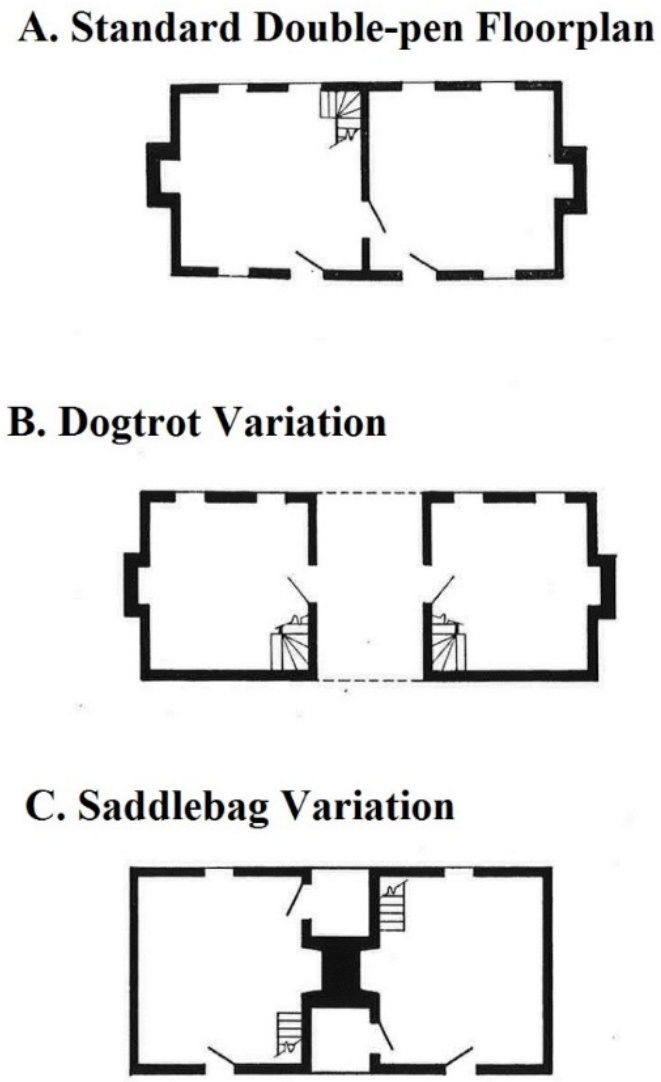


Figure 2.6. Common double-pen log house floorplans. A. The standard double-pen floorplan typically included chimneys at each end. B. The dogtrot variation featured a breezeway between the two rooms, sometimes enclosed. C. The saddlebag variation featured a central chimney with fireplaces opening into both rooms. All typically had enclosed staircases to reach the attic or upper story. (After Macintire 1998).

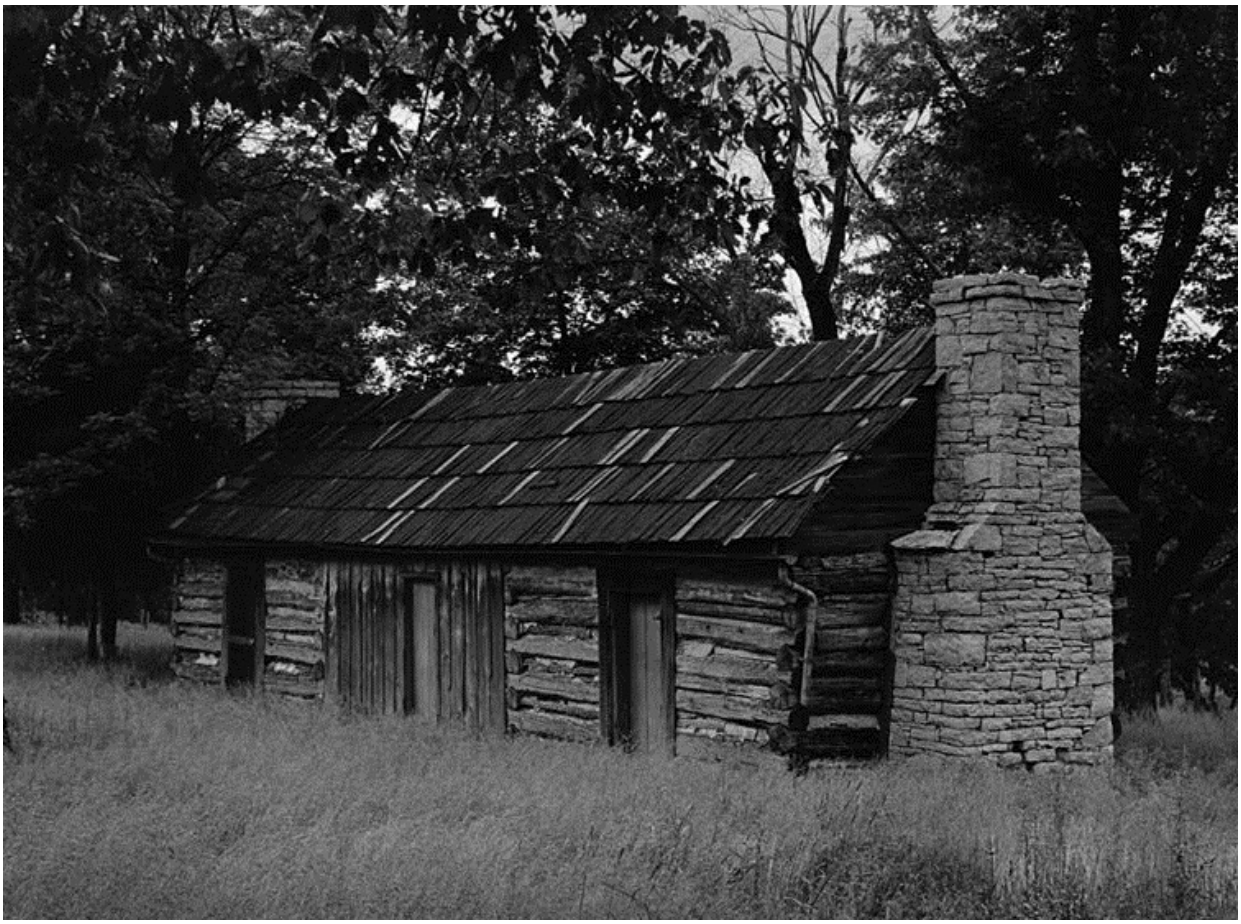


Figure 2.7. Antebellum log house. This building was the home, and later slave quarter, of the James O'Fallon family. Theodore LaVack photographed this house in Jefferson County, Missouri, in 1936. The central passageway of this dogtrot style house was enclosed. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey.)

The enslaved field hands and domestic servants of small-scale owners were more likely to eat what their owners ate. This would have included corn and pork, possibly beef and dairy products, augmented by garden beans, vegetables, and wheat bread; wild greens, nuts, and fruits would have been available seasonally. In addition, some enslavers allowed the enslaved to fish and hunt small game and deer, both for themselves and for the family. The diets of large-scale owners and their slaves diverged as the owners became more financially successful, particularly with regard to the consumption of beef and imported delicacies. The slave diet more likely featured the ubiquitous corn hominy, cornbread, hoecakes, etc., variably and sporadically mixed

with other fare, including pork as the meat of choice. Reported slave diets include bacon, cabbage, potatoes, turnips, beans, and sometimes molasses, coffee, and sugar (Stone 2006:37). As with the slaves of small-scale owners, however, the slaves of large-scale owners could have augmented their diets with subsistence hunting and foraging or by raising their own gardens (Burke 2010:151).

Figure 2.8. Improved Euroamerican home. The Cedars, Jefferson County, Missouri, as it appeared in 1936. This photograph by Theodore LaVack shows the antebellum home of the James O'Fallon family, a one-and-a half story hewn log house that the family remodeled and weather boarded in about 1835. (Courtesy Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey.)

Religion and Social Improvement

Religion, overwhelmingly Protestant in nature, was a dominant factor in Missouri's frontier culture, with circuit preachers serving the populations while permanent churches were established and buildings constructed. The Deists, free thinkers, and Universalists that they

found among the nominally Roman Catholic population of French St. Louis often shocked early Protestant immigrants (McDermott 1956). The Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist denominations sponsored the most active churches in the antebellum period (Hurt 1992:192), but others, such as the Congregational and Christian denominations, also achieved prominence. Despite the French/Spanish past of the Missouri region, Roman Catholic churches were rare in western Missouri. The Unitarian Church also had a small presence, beginning about 1834 (CCHS 1881a:77). Early settlers considered founding new churches an important civic responsibility. In rural areas, a significant number of social activities also revolved around churches and the liturgical schedule, and young people regarded church going as an important courtship opportunity (Jordan 1927).

With few exceptions, the predominant Christian denominations neither actively nor consistently condemned the institution of slavery, and a number of successful ministers held slaves. The question of slavery resulted in divisions and reorganizations within Protestant churches during the antebellum period, reaching even into the congregations of individual churches. However, historian Jeffery Stone wrote that Missouri's enslaved African Americans "…used the power and emotional security of religion as their primary means of protection in a society that believed in a rigid social order." (2006:49). By the antebellum period in Missouri, most slaves had converted to Christianity, laced with African elements that helped foster a sense of community among the enslaved. African American preachers often held services without the knowledge of slaveholders (Stone 2006:49), prompting some of the restrictions on slave movement and assembly that were previously discussed.

Of all of their paternalistic duties, however, slaveholders considered the most important to be bringing their enslaved bondsmen to God. Before churches were constructed, circuit

preachers conducted camp meetings attended by both Euroamericans and their slaves. Such gatherings were also social occasions, giving both owners and the enslaved the opportunity to meet their neighbors and peers in the area. With the building of formal churches, joint worship services continued. Although records are sketchy, they suggest that 20-40 percent of some congregations consisted of enslaved African Americans (Stone 2006:55). As in other aspects of life, however, Euroamerican congregants separated the enslaved by assigning them to separate galleries in larger churches, or back row seating in smaller churches. One of the purposes of this arrangement was to ensure that African Americans took communion after their enslavers (Fitts 1996; Stone 2006:56).

Religious meetings allowed the enslaved some latitude not experienced during the normal workdays. Since the Slave Codes prohibited slave patrols from interfering with slaves traveling to and from church on Sundays, their movements were less restricted. Some churches allowed slaves to hold separate worship services, sometimes in smaller outbuildings, or to gather separately after formal services ended. For the enslaved, these opportunities not only reinforced their own religious practices and beliefs, but enabled them to strengthen their bonds within the larger African American community, interact with potential spouses, seek information about family members from whom they might have been separated, conduct personal business among themselves, and gossip and share news of the day (Stone 2006:54).

African American preachers who presided at separate slave services, although they might be slaves themselves, were sometimes literate men formally licensed as preachers by the denomination they served. Slaveholders typically forbade sermons that included the subject of freedom, however. Euroamericans considered "…a good slave preacher one… who centered his sermons on obedience and submission." (Stone 2006:58). However, the enslaved found

inspiration in having a respected African American preacher within their community (Stone 2006:58).

Churches of the antebellum period also functioned as moral courts for their congregations. Typical concerns included drunkenness, gambling, domestic abuse, and marital infidelity. Euroamerican congregations sometimes invited slaves who joined their holder's church to participate in deliberations that involved the behavior of enslaved members of the congregation. Euroamericans often treated slaves who participated in hearings regarding the moral misconduct of church members as equals. The caveat of such acceptance was an expectation that enslaved African Americans in the church congregation would monitor other slaves for proper behavior. However, the degree of equality afforded slaves in the moral courts of their churches far exceeded their acceptance by the state judicial system. A particularly powerful aspect of Christian doctrine was the equality of all men in the eyes of God. Stone argues that:

> As they socialized at religious meetings, communicated with each other about Christianity, learned the moral codes, and watched over each other as Jesus directed…slaves did not totally concede to their master's power, and therefore gained some control over their own spiritual education.
>
> Stone (2006:61)

Social activities of various kinds fostered community continuity. The large cities of St. Louis, and later Lexington, provided vibrant urban activities such as balls, parties, and theaters for the well-to-do (McDermott 1956, Hughes 2012). For the less urbane, a number of activities that centered on religion provided entertainment while simultaneously advancing self-improvement. These included social and service clubs, debating societies, and secret or service societies such as the Freemasons and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (CCHS 1881a:170-174, Hurt 1992:204-205). Participants typically segregated these activities along both gender and

racial lines (CCHS 1881a:170-172). Social events in more rural areas included dances, suppers, cornhusking and quilting parties, shooting competitions, and other events that challenged the competence of the participants (CCHS 1881a:134-135; Owsley 1949:119; Burke 2010:61).

Among the enslaved, the homes of free African Americans encouraged social interaction. Between 1790 and 1860, free African Americans constituted an average of about 12 percent of the over-all African American population of the United States. This percentage was regionally and diachronically variable (Andrews and Wainer 2017). In Missouri, the percentage ranged from a high of 17.4 percent in 1810 to a low of 2.2 percent in 1830, never rising above 3.5 percent in 1820, 1840, 1850, or 1860 according to census records (Burke 2010:309). However, the homes of free African Americans were a magnet for enslaved bondsmen who had their owners' permission to be off the property, or who were able to evade surveillance for brief periods. Such homes provided opportunities for courting a spouse, meeting clandestinely with family members, holding religious meetings, conducting business with their peers, or simply relaxing for a time from the rigors of the day (Fitts 1996).

Family Life

Given the importance of religion and its expectations in antebellum life, Euroamericans considered marriage and family the norms, even in frontier societies (Burke 2010:60; Ellis 2010). Families were a source of solace, companionship, and labor; in addition, they provided a rationale for developing and maintaining the land (Groover 2003:25-6). Families tended to be large, and both sexes recognized their importance; widows and widowers often remarried quickly for the purpose of mutual support (Sudderth 1992).

Many owners saw unions between enslaved men and women as a stabilizing factor that benefitted their economic bottom line. Although Missouri law did not recognize slave marriages,

some former slaves testified anecdotally to the power of marriage, stating that being married or not was sometimes a consideration in whether they would attempt to run away (Stone 2006:72). Many Missouri owners allowed slaves to choose their own spouses, either someone on the same property, or on a near-by farm. (Stone 2006:73).

Despite these promising indicators, however, the practice was something different. Burke showed that 57 percent of Missouri's African American couples were involved in "abroad" marriages (2010:10) in which the husband lived on a separate farm from his wife and children. Only 25 percent of families lived within "resident" marriages (Burke 2010:311). While enslavers typically allowed an abroad husband to visit his family periodically, assuming the wife's farm was close enough, men in those circumstances still found it difficult to provide the emotional and economic support they might have wished. Abroad marriages were correlated more strongly with small-scale farming operations because the small number of slaves held, usually five on average, made it harder to find a suitable partner on the home farm (Burke 2010:10-11). Against these odds, 54 percent of slave marriages lasted 10 years or more, and 14 percent lasted 20 years or more (Burke 2010:311).

Some slave brokers considered young African American children an investment that would increase in value as the children grew, and many African Americans found that their informal marriages provided no real protection against the sale of their spouses or children, despite the platitudes of paternalist slaveholders (Hurt 1992:261). No matter how paternalistic an owner might feel toward enslaved families, economics took precedence, and slaveholders often sold unwanted or unneeded slaves without regard for family unity. In addition, the heirs of slaveholders often sold slaves to pay an estate's debts, irrespective of the will of the deceased.

Such forced separations, with the prospect of never seeing each other again, were an overarching concern of the enslaved (Hurt 1992:232; Stone 2006:75).

Education

Whether self-taught or acquired through formal education, Euroamerican settlers valued and encouraged literacy as a cornerstone of advancement and civilization. Subscription schools, following the southern model where students paid a fee to attend (CCHS 1881a:159; Owsley 1949:147), were common in most counties. Many of Missouri's most successful large-scale farmers had other professions as lawyers, doctors, or merchants that required a higher level of formal education, and such men often sponsored or supported subscription schools on their property (Hanks 1977a). Men with sufficient education sometimes supported themselves by teaching while they studied for other professions (McDermott 1956). In addition, the Missouri State Constitution of 1820 provided for the sixteenth section of every township to be a source of revenue for public schools, and provided that "one school or more, be established in each township as soon as practicable and necessary, where the poor shall be taught gratis." (CCHS 1881a:66). "As soon as practicable and necessary" was a variable standard; Clinton County, for example, established public school districts as early as 1838, but did not have sufficient funds for the first public school until 1856 (Hanks 1977a).

The development of secondary schools, colleges, and universities, both private and public, followed as the population increased. Although Catholics were small in number, the Bishop of Louisiana opened what became the first university west of the Mississippi River, St. Louis University, in 1818 (CCHS 1881a:77). Under the stewardship of the Society of Jesus, the university subsequently established the first medical and law schools west of the Mississippi in

1836 and 1843, respectively. However, Protestant denominations followed suit as opportunity and resources allowed (McDermott 1956).

During the antebellum period, Euroamericans generally intended for the advantages of education to accrue to Euroamerican students only (CCHS 1881a:67). As with other aspects of slavery in Missouri, the educational opportunities for enslaved African Americans became more constrained as slaveholders became more entrenched in protecting the institution of slavery. Most slaveholders were openly opposed to teaching slaves to read and write, a concern reflected in the State's legal codes. As discussed above, an 1847 law prohibited keeping schools for African Americans (Hurt 1992:247). That said, some owners believed they had a duty to teach their slaves to read and write; others simply chose not to intervene when their enslaved African Americans acquired literacy. Runaway slave notices that sometimes stated a slave's ability to read and write, the law notwithstanding, attest to slaveholders' variable attitudes (Stone 2006:38). In addition, some slaves acquired reading skills by studying clandestinely over their owners' shoulders (CCHS 1881a:425) or by other means (Douglass 2012:30). However, the slave schedules of the U.S. census reports did not record reading and writing ability, so firm numbers on the extent of literacy among the enslaved are difficult to determine.

Conclusions

The intermingling of small- and large-scale slaveholders in an agrarian culture, where the majority of farmers held no slaves, replicated conditions in the Upper South, as described by Frank Owsley in his 1949 book *Plain Folk of the Old South*. Given that antebellum Missouri's settlers came predominantly from the Upper South, this similarity is not surprising. Yeoman farmers spread the cultural and agricultural traditions of the Upper South across northern Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana to reach as far as Arkansas and eastern Texas because of

the opportunities available to them outside the highly capitalized world of cotton and planters (Lowe and Campbell 1987:3).

Yeoman farmers made the decision to meet their labor needs by enslaving people based on their assessment of benefit and cost. For many, cost was prohibitive. For others, the scale of their farming operation made slaveholding a financially viable option (Hurt 1992:215). Missouri's slave codes demonstrate that these cultures focused a good deal of time and legal activity on controlling the behavior of the enslaved, particularly their movement, even though only a minority of citizens enslaved African Americans.

On the continuum between total conformity and total resistance, what opportunities existed for the enslaved within the Missouri's slave codes and the lifeways discussed above? The circumstances described suggest at least a narrow path that the enslaved could have used. That path would have included any or all of the following elements: First, knowing your parentage to the extent possible, and having witnesses or documentation, to establish whether you met the legal definition of black or had grounds for a freedom suit. Second, trying to insure written permission to be off the owner's property by volunteering for errands. Third, being a regular churchgoer. Fourth, demonstrating reliability in your work when negotiating with the owner to perform paid work for other farmers or establish your own daily tasks. Fifth, when working for other farmers, making a favorable impression to gain their support in matters of potential marriage or future work. Sixth, knowing your landscape intimately. If going truant or visiting other slave houses clandestinely, staying within 20 miles of the home farm to avoid becoming a legally-defined runaway; if your absence was noticed, being contrite when returning. Seventh, if hunting, being sure to have a license to carry a firearm. Successfully traveling this path would

have made the possibility of meeting and courting a spouse and providing for a family more likely, while maintaining a stable relationship with the slaveholder.

The behavioral profile just described provides a model against which to evaluate the behavior of enslaved people hoping to seem outwardly compliant to the demands of their holders. It illustrates behaviorally what James Scott labeled "false-consciousness" (1985:39-40), by which he means the public "onstage" alignment of the oppressed with the narratives of the dominant elite. Scott maintains that the level of false-consciousness at work is best understood by comparison to the private "offstage" narrative of the oppressed, which is often difficult to ascertain (1985:40-41). Evidence that the enslaved exploited gaps in surveillance can help demonstrate the "offstage" behavior that contributed to building a community of resistance.

In the case of my family and the people they enslaved, possible lapses in surveillance based on details of scale, cultural practices, and landscape inform the evaluation of resistant accommodation at the scale of the family farm and the surrounding township. The interaction of scale, culture, and landscape determined whether the enslaved experienced lapses in surveillance to a greater or lesser degree.

Chapter 3

Archaeological Methods and Results

Like as a father pities his children,

so the Lord pities them that fear him.

For he knows our frame;

he remembers that we are dust.

Psalm 103:13-14(AKJ)

Introduction

The Elliott family's oral history indicates that James Elliott was a slaveholder. That history, however, provides almost no details concerning the numbers of slaves held during the antebellum years, their identities, or the circumstances under which they labored and lived. As I discussed in previous chapters, there were potentially important differences between large-scale and small-scale slaveholding operations that had implications for both the slaveholders and the enslaved in terms of labor management, agricultural products, living arrangements, family stability, and surveillance. The size of the Elliotts' slaveholding operation is therefore an important determinant in better understanding the opportunities that existed for the enslaved.

Archaeological methods provide a tool to aid in that understanding. In theory, they can lead to a more detailed understanding of material differences between classes of people, including space partitioning, food production and preparation, and other factors reflected in the material record. A problem with slave sites from antebellum Missouri, though, is that distinctions in the lifeways of non-slaveholding small-scale farmers, small-scale slaveholders, and the

enslaved can be very difficult to identify from material data alone without archaeologically and historically well-documented comparison sites.

While the general belief that archaeology can help inform our understanding of the lives of people under-represented in the historical record might be true, the converse can be true as well – the historical record can help provide context with which to understand archaeological data. This is certainly the case for the Elliott farmstead, and I attempt to integrate archaeological and historical data in three ways: first, I evaluate available historical records related to the specific site under investigation. I conducted this review concurrently with the archaeological work at the Elliott farmstead, and I will discuss the results in Chapter 4. Second, I compare archaeological data from the Elliott site, with poor historical documentation, to a site with better documentation. The goal is to suggest context for the former in terms of dates of occupation, the scale of the farming operation, and potential slaveholding patterns. As data from such sites accumulates, clearer pictures of the material and social conditions under which the inhabitants lived will emerge. Third, I examine burial patterns in existing antebellum family cemeteries with the goal of evaluating the use of differentiated space to separate the enslaved from the enslavers.

In this chapter, I will first provide brief reviews of the archaeological and architectural data from other antebellum sites. This work in essence provided a search image for the archaeological examination of the Elliott farmstead. I will then discuss the archaeological methods, results, and interpretations for the site in terms of the type of structure, dates of occupancy, the identity of the occupants, and the types of operations that took place there. Following that discussion, I will compare the results from the Elliott farmstead to another antebellum Missouri site with a better-documented historical record to help confirm the interpretations of the archaeological data. This comparison will provide context for

understanding the scale of the Elliott family's farming operation, and associated expectations of the Elliott farmstead's free and enslaved occupants relative to each other and to the physical and cultural landscape in antebellum Hardin Township. Finally, I will briefly review the results of my visual surveys in two existing slaveholding family cemeteries. I will also discuss surveys in local antebellum church cemeteries.

The Archaeology of Small-Scale Slavery in the Upper South

Most archaeological studies of African American slavery to date have focused on the Chesapeake Bay areas of Virginia and Maryland (Deetz 1996:55), the Virginia Piedmont, and primarily large plantations in the Deep South (Samford 1996:89). Because of the large size of plantations, about 50 percent of the nation's enslaved African Americans lived under such a system (Vlach 2004:101). Many fewer studies have examined small-scale holdings in the Upper South, and even fewer have examined the border areas of northwest Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri (Burke 2010:5).

Samford (1996:96) pointed out that the material lives of most Euroamerican settlers were more likely to resemble those of their slaves, rather than those of wealthy planters. Yoffee (2005) believes that the unique contributions of archaeology, which include evaluation of residence sizes, activity areas, distribution of artifacts, features, mortuary furnishings, and adoption of symbols of cultural commonality, can help elucidate those inequalities (2005:35-37). However, the literature has focused little attention on the ability of archaeology to distinguish the material conditions of slaves from those of small-scale slaveholders at common sites in the Upper South, particularly in cases where they might have shared the same dwelling.

A number of archaeological studies have identified the occurrence of African cultural markers at North American slave quarters. The degree to which some of these features and

artifact types represent ethnic markers or indicators of slave occupation can be questioned (Heath and Breen 2009:3), but a weight-of-evidence approach suggests that such indicators might have some limited utility for site interpretation (Table 3.1). Archaeological reports or investigations of small-scale slave sites in antebellum Missouri are very rare. For comparative purposes in this preliminary discussion, I will use a known slave site, Celia's Cabin in Callaway County, built in 1850 (Hamby 2004:8), and the John Ray House, a small-scale slave owner's home in Greene County, built in 1852 (Sudderth 1992:1). This comparison will help establish the types of artifacts typically recovered from known slave-occupied sites and predict the likelihood that artifacts alone can establish whether slaves were present.

One cultural behavior imported by West African slaves was that of sweeping the yard around the house clean of vegetation and debris. As a result, the typical debris scatters found concentrated near the doors and windows of Euroamerican settlers' homes (South 1978:226) are often not seen around slave homes; rather, accumulations of debris are found at the edge of the swept yard, sometimes in an arc-shaped pattern (Fesler 2010:34-35). The edges of some swept yards could be as far as 23 meters (75 feet) from the dwelling (Fesler 2010:37). While it could be a potentially informative application for remote sensing, no one to my knowledge has evaluated known slave sites in Missouri for swept yards.

Sub-floor pits were also associated with slave quarters, but their importance varied by time and place. The frequency of sub-floor pits in slave quarters is lower at sites in the Virginia Piedmont after the Revolutionary War compared to pre-Revolutionary War Tidewater Virginia, for example (Heath and Breen 2009:6-7). One of the few slave cabin excavations performed in Missouri revealed a depression believed to be a cellar (Hamby 2004:8). However, cellars were

common in antebellum farmhouses throughout the Midwest, and were not unique to slave dwellings; for example, the John Ray House also featured a cellar (Sudderth 1992:6).

Table 3.1. African American markers. A comparison of (a) architectural features and (b) artifacts associated with African American occupancy at antebellum sites in Virginia and Missouri.

a. Percentages of ethnic markers moving westward from the Tidewater region (data from Fesler 2010; Heath and Breen 2009) compared to architectural features reported at a slave site in Missouri (data from Hamby 2004.)

Architectural Feature	Tidewater (22 structures)	Virginia Piedmont (37 structures)	Celia's Cabin, Missouri (ca. 1850)
Sub-floor pits (after 1801)	64%	40%	Cellar
Swept yard	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported
Foundations	Variable	Variable	Brick or stone

b. Percentages of ethnic markers moving westward from the Tidewater region (data from Heath and Breen 2009) compared to artifacts recovered from a slave site in Missouri (data from Hamby 2004.)

Artifact Category	Tidewater (10 sites)	Virginia Piedmont (14 sites)	Celia's Cabin, Missouri (ca. 1850)
Colonoware	82%	28%	0%
Cowrie shells	40%	0%	0%
Blue glass beads	60%	43%	0%
Pierced coins	0%	17%	0%

Building foundations ranging from earthfast construction to more solid foundations of brick and stone occurred at slave quarters across the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont regions, with brick and stone tending to predominate after the late 1700s (Samford 1996:93-94). Hamby reported finding bricks at the location of Celia's cabin, although whether they were remains of the foundation or the walls is unclear (Hamby 2004:6). The John Ray House also had a stone foundation (Sudderth 1992:63). Because of the abundance of limestone in Missouri, stone foundations were common for all types of buildings (Hanks and Anderson 1977).

Ceramics are also commonly found at slave quarter sites (Table 3.1); however, Colonoware, which is ubiquitous at early eighteenth century sites in the eastern United States, largely disappears from the archaeological record by the beginning of the nineteenth century (Heath and Breen 2009:11). The excavations at Celia's cabin site provided the remains of an estimated 18 vessels, mostly stoneware, but with a few pieces of refined earthenware from a French tea set. Hamby suggested that the high proportion of stoneware might indicate enslaved or lower socioeconomic status of the occupant (2004:7-8). Ceramic artifacts recovered from the John Ray House, predominantly whiteware from unmatched sets, suggest at least frugality, if not limited resources (Sudderth 1998:63). The Rays, although considered successful farmers, had eleven children (Bannister 2008), which could have stretched their resources.

Personal artifacts recovered from slave quarters have included items such as diviner's bundles, often found buried beneath hearths, sills, and in the northeast corners of rooms. The bundles can contain items such as crystals, coins, pins or nails, beads, and broken ceramics (Leone and Fry 1999:377). Blue glass beads are another item commonly reported from African American slave quarters. Less frequent finds include cowrie shells and pierced coins. But, like the architectural features and ceramics discussed above, the occurrence of such artifacts declines with time and with increasing distance from the Tidewater region of Chesapeake Bay (Heath and Breen 2009:11). Whether this decline results from generational differences or distance from the East Coast, or both, is unclear. Hamby reported the discovery of several personal items at Celia's cabin site in Missouri. They included tobacco pipe fragments and clothing buttons, but nothing uniquely African American (2004:8). The range of personal artifacts recovered from the excavation of a midden at the John Ray House, though more numerous, mirrored those associated with Celia's cabin in type and quality (Sudderth 1992:63).

Thomas (1998) examined slave quarters at the Hermitage, Andrew Jackson's plantation in Tennessee (large-scale ownership of over 100 slaves); his research indicated that the Jackson family segregated slaves of different occupations into different quarters, separating house servants from field hands, for example. I compared selected artifacts from the Hermitage slave quarters, reported by Thomas (1998), Celia's Cabin (small-scale ownership) reported by Hamby (2004), and the John Ray House (small-scale owner's home) reported by Sudderth (1992). Table 3.2 summarizes the percentages of selected artifact types reported by these investigators.

Table 3.2. Hermitage artifacts and remains compared with Missouri sites. Percentages of ceramic types (based on ceramic minimum numbers per dwelling), firearms and tobacco-related artifacts (based on total artifacts per dwelling), and types of faunal remains (based on total faunal remains per dwelling) at three Hermitage Plantation slave cabins (Thomas 1998), Celia's Cabin (Hamby 2004), and the John Ray House (Sudderth 1983).

	Dwelling				
Type	Triplex	South Cabin	Cabin 3	Celia's Cabin	Ray House
Whiteware (all types)	61.9%	79.5%	86.1%	33.3%	60.9%
Porcelain	21.0%	9.9%	10.0%	n.r.	9.0%
Stoneware	4.9%	3.4%	3.1%	66.7%	25.6%
Firearms-related	Present	Present	Present	0.2%	n.r.
Tobacco-related	n.r.	n.r.	n.r.	0.4%	8.8%
Domestic Fauna	41.7%	34.8%	52.8%	Present	40.6%
Wild Fauna	58.3%	65.2%	47.2%	n.r.	59.4%

Distinct patterns that would allow separating the material conditions of plantation slaves, a small-scale owner's slave, and a small-scale owner are not obvious. For example, looking at ceramics alone suggests that the slaves in the Triplex, believed to house the slaves who worked in the Jackson mansion, fared better in a material sense than their field hand and small-scale counterparts, as well as the small-scale owner John Ray. This could in fact be the case if the Hermitage house servants were preferentially receiving hand-me-down porcelain from the Jackson family. The higher percentages of stoneware at Celia's Cabin and the Ray House might

indicate lower socioeconomic status (Hamby 2004). It could also indicate more food preparation and storage activities taking place in those houses than in the Hermitage slave quarters, which could be a consequence of centralized food preparation on the plantation. These comparisons point to the difficulty of using only archaeological data from a small number of sites to tease out the material effects of slavery versus the effects of socioeconomic status.

Vernacular Architecture in Antebellum Missouri

While much of the architectural literature focuses on the housing styles of the elite, the predominant housing of the many small-scale farmers and slaveholders of antebellum Missouri was unabashedly vernacular in style. Accounts suggest that the first dwellings of most small-scale farmers were not much different in construction and size from the dwellings of their slaves (Vlach 2004:102). Prior to the expansion of railroads into the interior of North America in the mid-1800s, log structures, an amalgam of Tidewater English and Pennsylvania German building techniques, were typical in most of the Upper South. Although easily constructed where trees were abundant, log homes had a distinct disadvantage: they were difficult to expand. With the coming of the railroads and the availability of milled lumber, many settlers transitioned to wood frame houses, which could be more easily added on to as the need arose, while the elites tended to favor brick or stone houses (Macintire 1998:8).

The vernacular architecture of this period can be revealing. For poorer settlers, who are often under-represented in the written records, vernacular houses were a necessary choice (Glassie 2000:37). Glassie also makes the point that settlers did not intend for log houses to be permanent – they were an expediency that provided shelter during a settler's early years, which they expected to replace or repurpose as their fortunes grew (2000:143). The comparison between Andrew Jackson's Hermitage Plantation in Tennessee and the John Ray House in

Greene County Missouri (Sudderth 1983; Thomas 1998) makes this point. Future President Andrew Jackson settled at the site of his Hermitage Planation in 1804; the first structure that he and his wife Rachel occupied was a two-story hewn log house. By 1821, Jackson had acquired the resources to complete a two-story, eight-room Federalist-style brick mansion. He had the original log house disassembled and re-assembled as two separate structures for use as slave quarters. He built additional brick cabins (using bricks manufactured on site) to house a steadily increasing number of slaves (Thomas 1998). In keeping with the architectural trends of the time, Jackson had the mansion updated by adding a Greek revival façade in 1831. However, when the mansion burned in 1834, he had it rebuilt with 13 rooms in Greek revival style from the foundation up (Andrew Jackson Foundation 2016).

John Ray, in contrast, was a small-scale slaveholder from Tennessee who settled in Greene County, Missouri, in 1848. A widower with a small daughter, he married Roxanna Steele, a widow with four children, and bought her late husband's estate. This included two slaves and a small wood frame house on 120 acres of land. With the purchase of more land in 1851, he disassembled the Steele House and used the material to build the first room of the still-existing John Ray House at its site on Wilson's Creek. The family lived in the reconstructed single room while appending a typical wood frame, two-room hall-and-parlor style structure, to create a three-room house with an L-shaped floor plan. Ray later added a fourth room to the back of the L. The enslaved, never exceeding five in number, lived in separate quarters behind the family house; however, those structures have not survived. Although a slaveholder, Ray remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War. He served as the postmaster for Wilson Township, and two of his stepsons served in the Union army. The family and others occupied the house continually until the 1930s (Sudderth 1992). Although the John Ray House is truly

vernacular in comparison to the Hermitage Plantation mansion, it is apparent that neither Ray nor Jackson were content to remain within the confines of their first houses, and probably harbored little nostalgia for them.

Even among vernacular styles, however, some forms implied higher status. Many old settlers extolled the virtues of the log cabins they experienced in their youth (CCHS 1881a:128). However, Glassie (2000:37) found a clear distinction in perception between lowly log cabins, easily made with round logs, and more prestigious log houses, made with hewn or square logs. The latter required more labor, visibly indicating that the builder was able to marshal more resources than the one building a simple cabin.

The complexity of constructing a log house, the wide range of tools required to complete construction, which could be as many as seventy-three, and the skill needed to use such tools effectively, all indicate that such houses were designed and built by professional builders, including carpenters and stone masons, rather than by individual settlers (Roberts 1986). The elements of a typical log house included stone foundations, puncheon floors, weatherboarding, plastered and whitewashed interiors, and glass windows. The houses sometimes had two stories to provide additional space, but if not, then the attic was often finished, and accessed by an enclosed interior stairway. Large wooden shingles covered the roofs (Marshall 1981:94). Figure 2.7 showed an example of a double-pen dogtrot-style settler's house from antebellum Missouri, first occupied by the O'Fallon family, and later by the enslaved (HABS 1937).

Although some early residents of the Clinton County relied on log cabins, hewn log structures were common as well. In 1833, Clinton County contracted with an early settler named Solomon Fry to build the first courthouse of hewn logs (CCHS 1881a:323). Although that contract was cancelled before construction, and replaced with one calling for a brick building

(Riley 1876), hewn walnut logs were often the material of choice (Marshall 1981:93), and can be seen in the surviving elements of one of Solomon Fry's houses (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Surviving elements of the Solomon Fry log house. The house, rebuilt by Ron and Beverly McCulloch, shown (with the author for scale) at its present location in Hardin Township. Its original dimensions and location on the former Solomon Fry property are unknown. The hewn logs are original; the McCulloughs reconstructed the roof, gable, and dormer with modern material, and they are not necessarily historically accurate (B. McCullough, pers. comm.).

Later owners of the Fry property removed the house from its original location early in the twentieth century and incorporated it into a new barn for use as a corncrib. When its owners

demolished the barn in the 1990s, the current owner of the Solomon Fry House acquired the original hewn logs; the reconstructed log house now serves as a bed and breakfast. The original configuration and size of the Solomon Fry House are unknown, as are the occupants, who could have been family, the enslaved, or both. Figure 3.2 shows a single-pen slave quarter from antebellum Boone County, Missouri, that is remarkably similar in configuration to the reconstructed Fry House.

Figure 3.2. Slave quarter in Boone County, Missouri. This single-pen log house was photgraphed in 1936. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Historical American Building Survey.)

As settlers' fortunes waxed, they often opted for a second house built using brick or wood frame construction. Following trends elsewhere in the Midwest, the half-timbering style of wood frame construction predominated in antebellum small-scale slaveholder homes (Marshall 1981:90). As wood frame homes became more common, builders often incorporated elements of

whatever architectural style was in vogue (McAlester and McAlester 1984:90). The transition to balloon-framed wooden houses is often linked to the advent of railroad service because if its reliance on commercially milled lumber and wire nails (McAlester and McAlester 1984:89). Since Clinton County had no railroad service until 1857 (Riley 1876), use of the balloon-framing technique during the antebellum period would have been limited.

Figure 3.3 shows a segment of hewn walnut log believed by the family to have come from the first log house on the Elliott property, later incorporated into a hog shed near the second house. My grandfather J.W. Elliott scavenged it when he demolished the hog shed in the early 1970s. It provides an indication that the family's first home was in fact made of hewn logs. This in turn suggests features and artifacts associated with hewn log houses that might survive in the archaeological record, such as foundation stones and lime mortar, cut nails, window glass, and food-related ceramics. This understanding helped guide the investigations I describe in the following sections.

Pedestrian and Metal Detector Surveys

Site Orientation

Figure 3.4 shows the location of the Elliott farm in Clinton County; Figure 3.5 shows the boundaries of the James's original grant deeds in Hardin Township, along with those of his brothers, William and Joseph, and the locations of the two disused family cemeteries that I surveyed, those of the Elliott and Fry families. Figure 3.6 shows the general layout of the Elliott Farm's core area as it exists now.

Surveys

With the assistance of Virginia Ogg, a recent University of Northern Colorado anthropology graduate, I delineated the original survey areas for this investigation based on

family oral history and remnant surface features at two locations. These were the cellar depression at the presumed Elliott log house (previously recorded with the Missouri SHPO as 23CI1096) and the house and outbuildings of the old Elliott farmhouse, the construction dates of which I could not determine from family oral history. At the presumed site of the log house (Figure 3.7), the boundaries extended east-southeast from the uphill slope behind the depression to the creek bank.

Figure 3.3. Surviving length of hewn walnut log. My grandfather, J.W. Elliott, said this segment was salvaged from the original log house for reuse in a hog shed near a new barn (built ca. 1880-1886). When he demolished the barn and hog shed in the 1970s, he kept the log as a memento.

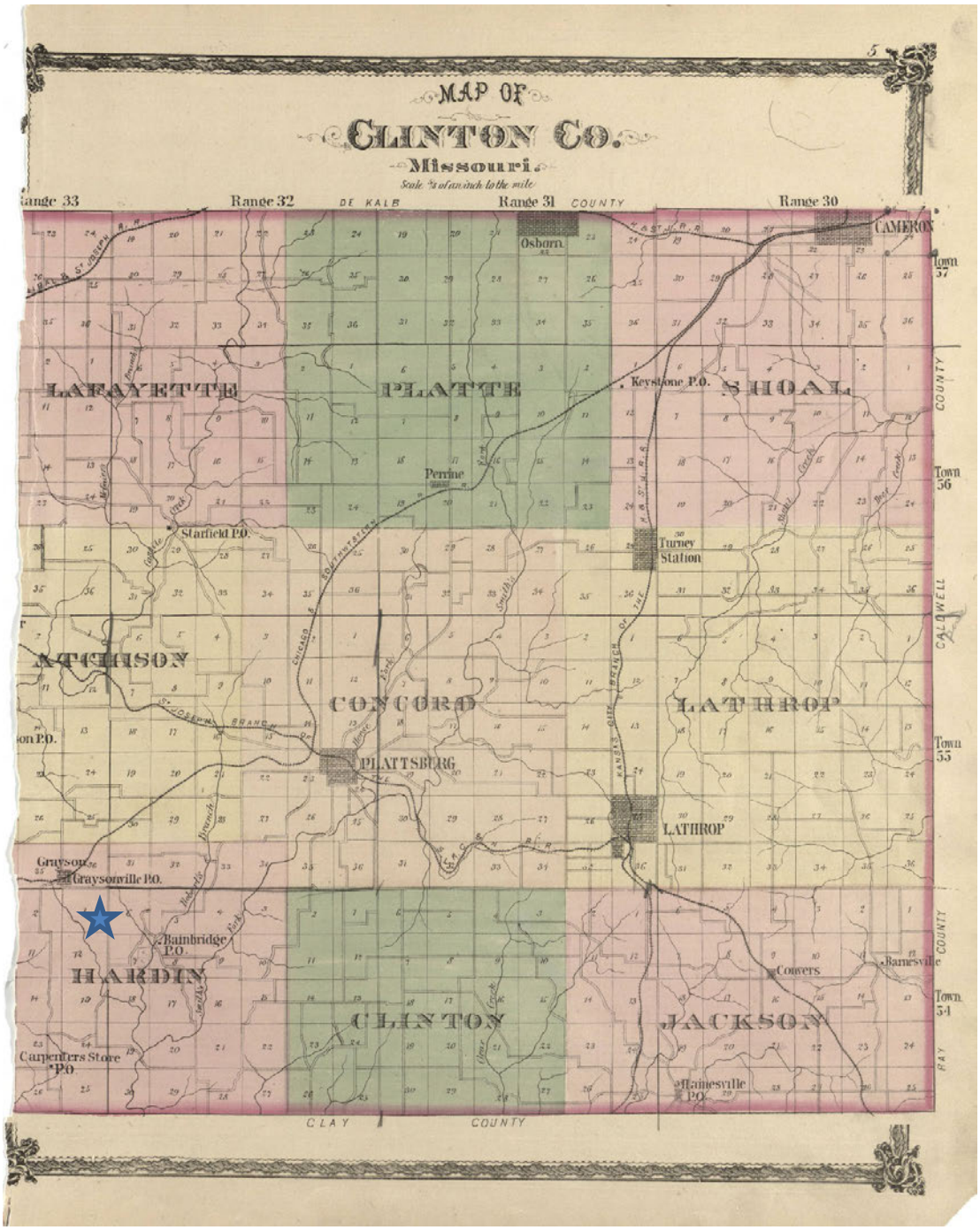


Figure 3.4. 1876 Edwards Brothers map of Clinton County, Missouri. The James Elliott Farmstead (marked by a blue star) is located in the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section one in Hardin Township (Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri).

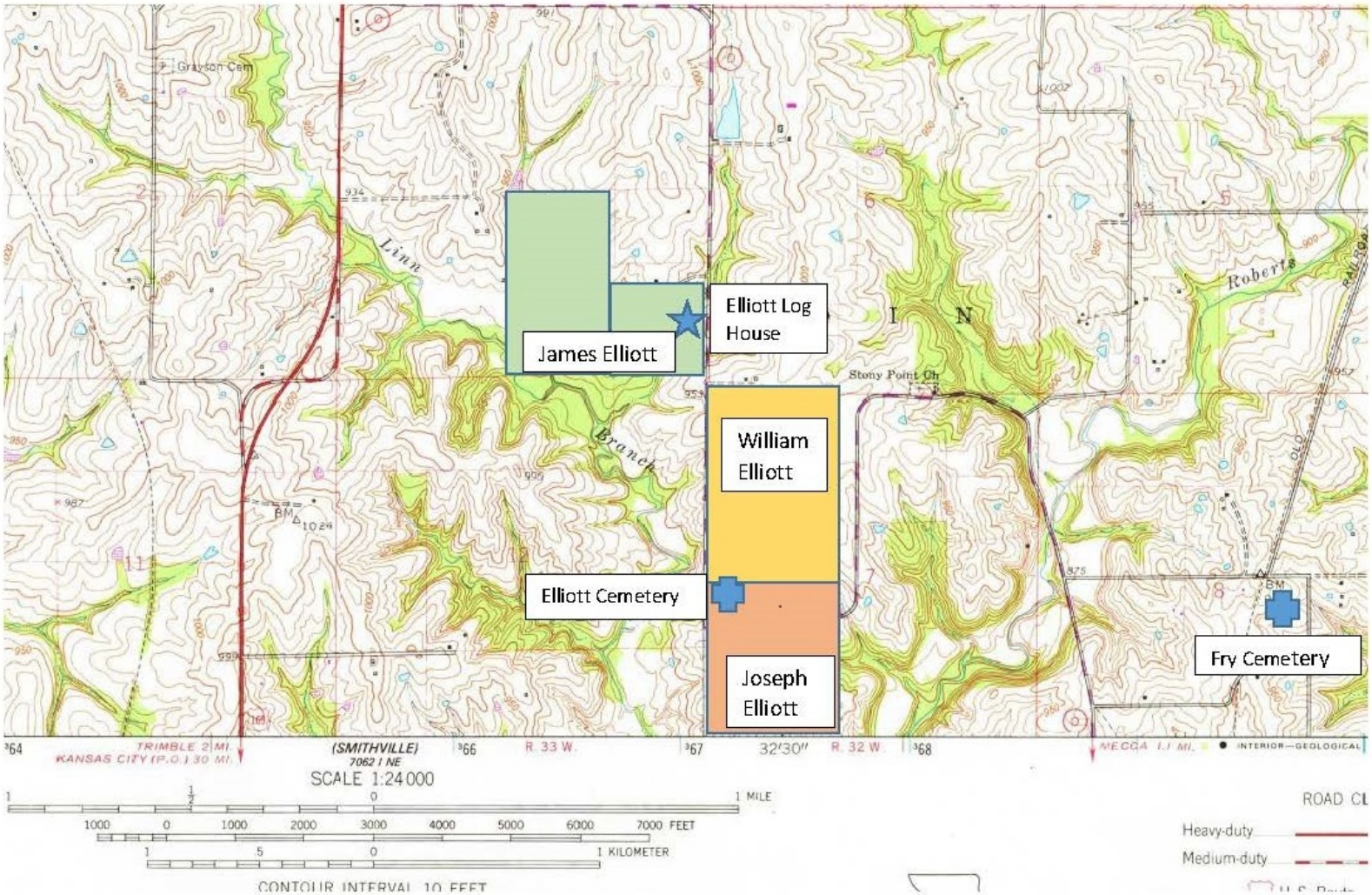


Figure 3.5. Elliott brothers' landholdings. Portion of USGS map (Gower Quadrangle) of northern Hardin Township showing the locations of James Elliott's farm, the log house (blue star), his brothers' landholdings, and the Elliott and Fry family cemeteries (blue crosses).

Figure 3.6. Layout of the core area of the Elliott Farm, Clinton County, Missouri. The picture shows the locations of the first log house (23CI1096), the remains of the second farmhouse (House 2), and the most recent midden site used by the family (Landfill; not a subject of this research). A third house, built ca. 1949 is just visible under the trees to the northeast of the second house, at the end of a gravel drive. The green and red boxes indicate the approximate boundaries of geophysical surveys conducted in 2015.

Figure 3.7. Log house site pre-excavation. Shown is the surface depression (red outline) that Elliott family oral history reports is the cellar of the log house built by James Elliott ca. 1833, looking to the north-northeast from the datum stake. Over a range of 10 m, the elevation drops by 0.74 m from the north side to the center of the depression, then rises by 0.39 m to the south side.

At the location of the old Elliott farmhouse, the survey boundaries encompassed the immediate yard of the house, and former enclosed livestock, equipment storage, and workshop areas to the west and north. However, historical records I evaluated in parallel with the fieldwork indicated that construction of the old farmhouse started between 1860 and 1870, and it therefore offered little to the study of small-scale slavery. Although we completed pedestrian surveys and remote sensing (July 2015) at this location prior to obtaining information on the construction dates, and limited exploratory excavations (August 2016), the results are not further reported.

Virginia and I performed systematic pedestrian surveys at one-meter intervals (White and King 2007) at the log house site in July 2015, prior to remote sensing surveys. Along with the pedestrian surveys, we completed metal detector surveys, which included some examination of detected subsurface targets. Part of the intent was to remove highly magnetic modern metal artifacts prior to magnetometer surveys, discussed below. Coordinates of artifacts recovered during surveys, particularly ceramic sherds, were recorded and plotted on site maps; in addition, the locations of any signals from the metal detector that were too deep to easily recover were plotted on site maps. We also recorded depressions such as the presumptive cellar at the log house location.

Remote Sensing

Advances in geophysical technology have dramatically expanded the amount of data gained over traditional prospecting methods alone (De Vore and Nickel 2007), and the technology has been applied at both prehistoric and historical sites (Bevan 2006; Conyers 2010). We used both magnetometer and ground penetrating radar (GPR) equipment to help inform the selection of units for exploratory excavation at site of the log house. Bevan (2006) and Kvamme (2007) discussed the importance of using multiple geophysical techniques at a given site. Kvamme (2007) stressed the point that cultural landscapes often have geometrically shaped features that are well suited to evaluation by geophysical survey methods. A detailed comparison of GPR to magnetometry is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, Bevan (2006) provided an extensive review of geophysical surveys at historical sites where investigators confirmed geophysical results by later excavation. His comparison of GPR and magnetometer success rates in locating historic features at a total of 41 sites, mostly in the eastern United States, suggested that GPR will be more successful at detecting floors and foundations, whereas magnetometers

will be more successful at detecting cellars, debris fields, and fireplaces. However, when he evaluated the subset of 11 sites where investigators used both methods together, GPR and magnetometers seemed equally good at detecting foundations and debris fields; magnetometers were still better at detecting cellars and fireplaces; neither device was particularly good at detecting floors. These results suggest that site-specific conditions remain important factors in conducting and interpreting geophysical surveys regardless of the devices employed.

Use of Remote Sensing on the Elliott Farm

Based on the identified strengths and weakness of each geophysical system, Virginia and I conducted surveys sequentially, with magnetometry preceding ground penetrating radar surveys, between July 19 and July 25, 2015. Both the magnetometer and the ground penetrating radar, along with accessory equipment, were on loan from Dr. Andy Creekmore, Anthropology Department, University of Northern Colorado.

For the magnetic surveys, we employed a Bartington fluxgate gradiometer with dual sensors (Figure 3.8). We conducted all magnetometry surveys in a zigzag pattern with a sample interval of 8/m and a traverse interval of 0.5 m; the first traverse was always in the north direction. At the log house location, we surveyed a 0.2-ha area encompassing the large surface depression to detect possible buried features such as the foundations and fireplace, as well as nearby debris fields, in five 20 x 20 m grids.

We conducted ground penetrating radar surveys at the log house site, as described above, on a subset of grids that we selected based on a combination of features of interest and accessibility. (We avoided tree lines to the south and east that precluded effective use of GPR.) We used a MALÅ GPR with a 500 MHz antenna, which, due to the irregular ground surfaces, we towed with a 100 MHz encoder wheel, calibrated prior to use (Figure 3.8). We conducted all GPR

surveys in a zigzag pattern with a sample interval of 8/m and a traverse interval of 0.5 m. We surveyed a 30 x 40 m grid that encompassed the depression reported to be the cellar of the log house. Dr. Creekmore analyzed the data using software provided by the manufacturer.

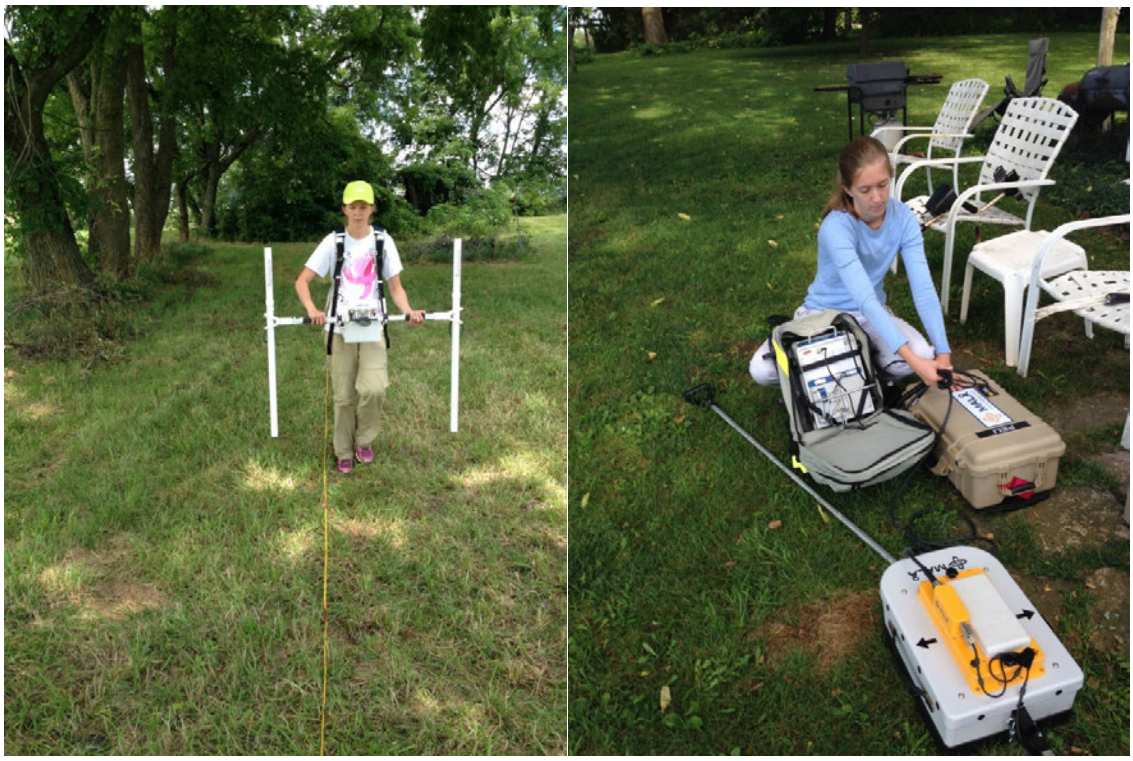


Figure 3.8. Remote sensing equipment. (Left) Virginia Ogg using a Bartington fluxgate magnetometer with dual sensors on the Elliott Farm, Clinton County, Missouri. (Right) Virginia readying the MALÅ GPR with 500 MHz antenna for use in the towed configuration.

Remote Sensing Results

Magnetometry results (Figure 3.9) for the site of the prospective log house show strong magnetic anomalies distributed within 5 m to the north, southeast, and west of the presumed cellar depression. In addition, a second area of concentrated magnetic anomalies occurs approximately 10 m west of the depression. The nature of the magnetic material associated with these signatures was not determined prior to excavation, but I assumed they represented debris scatters. Numerous small anomalies occurred somewhat randomly in the survey area; these were likely small, shallow items associated with postbellum agricultural machinery.

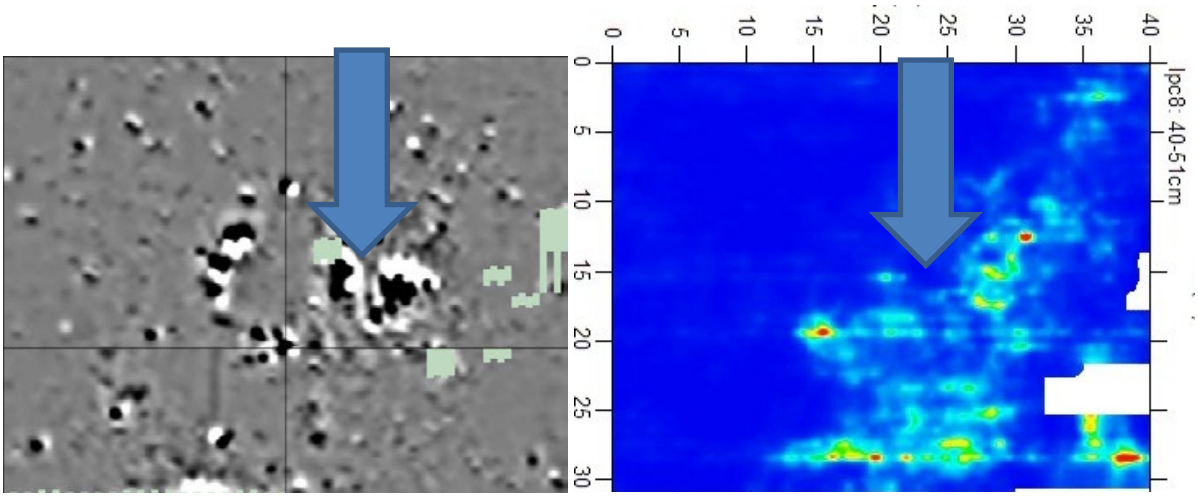


Figure 3.9. Remote sensing results. (Left) Magnetometer survey display showing black and white dipoles located around the depression reported to be the site of the Elliott cabin; strongly magnetic signals also showed up to the west-southwest of the depression. (Right) GPR survey display on the same scale (axes in meters) for 40-51 cm depth showing reflectance associated with the areas east and south of the depression, and to a lesser extent to the west-southwest. Blank spaces in both figures represent areas where we maneuvered to avoid trees along the survey transects. The arrows point to the approximate location of the surface depression in both displays.

Ground penetrating radar results (Figure 3.9) had to be evaluated with caution due to the Lamoni loam soil, which has a high clay content and drains slowly (Minor and Keith 1983), and the fact that it had rained about 24 hours prior to the surveys. We estimated an effective depth of 0.5 m for the radar data. Slice displays from 11-23 cm, 17-29 cm, 23-34 cm, and 40-51 cm depths suggested weakly reflective material at 11-23 cm, underlying the higher elevation landform surrounding the depression, with some more strongly reflective material in discrete locations below 23 cm. Although the nature of the material was not determined prior to exploratory excavation, I considered that at least some of it represented the remains of a limestone foundation, commonly used for log and frame houses in antebellum Clinton County (Hanks and Anderson 1977).

The remote sensing results strongly supported the Elliott family oral tradition that a structure was located in the area now identified only by a depression in the ground. Combined

with the history of house construction in the area and the surviving section of log still in the possession of the Elliott family (Figure 3.3), it was most likely a dwelling constructed of hewn walnut logs on a limestone foundation. In spite of the poor propagation conditions imposed by the high moisture and clay content of the overlying soil, the pattern of radar reflectance surrounding the depression suggested the possibility that elements of a limestone foundation remain under the ground surface. The widespread magnetic signatures from the site indicated several possibilities, none of which were mutually exclusive. These included the presence of a hearth or hearths, debris disposal during occupation, and debris disposal post-occupation. These data helped delimit locations for exploratory excavation.

Exploratory Excavation and Artifact Collection

Excavation Objectives

The records of log house construction in Kentucky described by Macintire (1998) indicate that contrary to the common perception of self-reliant pioneers, settlers often hired professional builders to design and supervise the construction of a log house, using the family members, neighbors, and slaves as labor. Typical building materials could include hand-wrought or cut nails, glass windows, hardware, and bricks (Macintire 1998:14-18). Cumulative oral and physical evidence suggested the house was likely of hewn log construction on a limestone foundation with puncheon floors (Macintire 1998:18). However, I did not know the size and configuration of the Elliott log house or whether it was located over or adjacent to the cellar, which was an important consideration for assessing surveillance, since slaveholders sometimes quartered slaves in cellars (Naglich et al. 2004).

With the assistance of Tod and Wendi Bevitt, Chris Hord, Steven Keehner, and Melanie Naden, I conducted exploratory excavation 16-30 April 2016 to answer three questions related to

the house. The first was whether the vicinity of the remaining depression was actually the site of the house, and, specifically, whether there had been a building on the site. The second question was whether the Elliotts built the house over or near the cellar, since either configuration was possible (Macintire 1998:14). The third question was whether surviving features would indicate the building's dimensions.

Excavation and Artifact Collection Methods

Surface relief and remote sensing results indicated that the log house was probably located, at a minimum, over a 12 x 10 m area containing the depression left by the cellar. The house was located on a six percent slope trending from the northwest to the southeast, toward an unnamed ephemeral creek. For the excavation, we re-marked the 20 X 20 meter grids used for the remote sensing the previous year using wooden stakes, based on a UTM datum (NAD 83; Zone 15N) of northing 4375354, easting 0367058. We extended a 10 x 16 m area that included the depression westward to incorporate a line of magnetic anomalies detected by magnetometer in 2015, and measured it into 1 x 1 m^2 units. This resulted in a pattern of 160 1-m^2 units, marked using 8-in nails in each corner and nylon line. We identified each unit in relation to the datum point based on an alfa-numeric designation using numbers on the east-west axis and letters on the north-south axis. The UTM datum location in the southwest corner of Unit 1A was marked using a metal fence post. We added units outside the marked boundaries as required (Figure 3.10). We measured relative depths as centimeters below datum using a rebar stake placed in the extreme southeast corner of Unit 5K, a high elevation point, with a string and level affixed. Given the time constraints due to availability of the field crew, we selected units for excavation based on a combination of remote sensing results and limestone features extending into adjacent units to confirm the presence of a foundation. We stored sod on a tarp for later replacement.

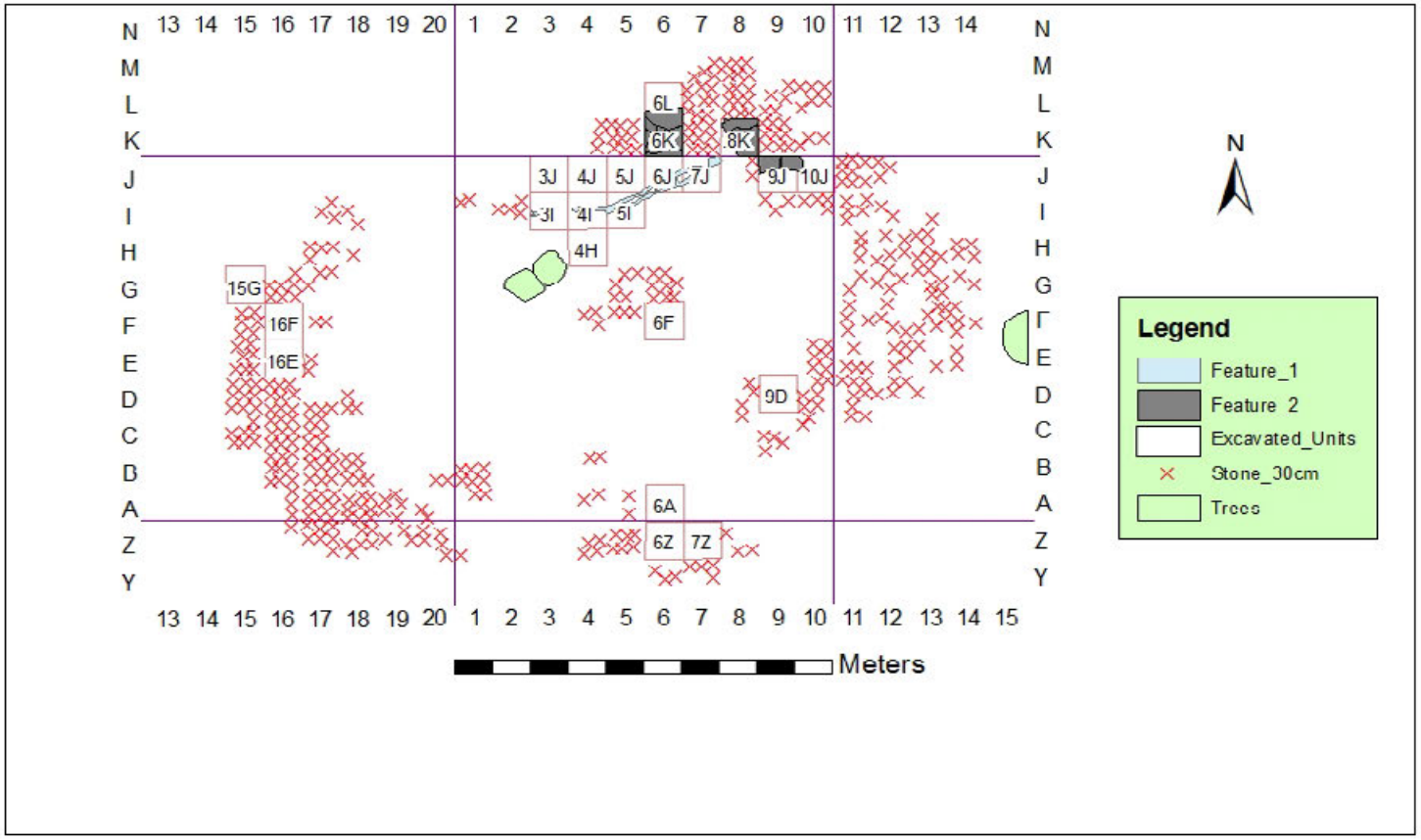


Figure 3.10. Site map of excavations at the Elliott log house site. The map shows excavated 1x1 m units and associated limestone features, as well as sub-surface limestone detected by probing.

The natural soil profile to a depth of 50 cm was uniform in terms of texture, grain size, and clay content. We therefore excavated soil from each unit initially by shovel-skimming, then by trowel, in 10 cm increments. In the absence of distinct stratigraphy, I felt it was better to maintain the ability to assess the distribution of artifacts by depth without having to piece plot each one (Heizer and Graham 1968:53). Even though the depth intervals were somewhat arbitrary, they were consistent between units.

We sifted excavated material through a ¼-in screen and collected it on a tarp for later backfilling. However, due to the high clay content of the soil and the amount of rain during fieldwork, we sometimes trowel-sorted material on the screen. When we found larger artifacts, we attempted to sieve subsamples of the screened material through graduated sieves to detect whether smaller items were present, but the high clay content of the soil quickly frustrated this effort. As the excavation progressed, we collected all artifacts in paper or plastic bags identified by level and unit. We collected artifacts as we encountered them, unless they extended into another level or unit. Data forms were adapted from those used by the Kansas Anthropological Association. We completed one data form for each level of each unit. We used a second form to document features that extended across units.

Significant rain early during the second week of fieldwork flooded five open units and precluded further excavations in those units. However, the rain softened the overlying soil, so we used extensive probing with a dandelion remover to locate probable limestone rocks. Probing reached to depths of up to 20 cm. We estimated the dimensions of specific rocks, and those we estimated to be greater than or equal to 30 cm we marked by pin flags and plotted on the site map (Figure 3.10).

We backfilled the excavated units upon completion of fieldwork (Heizer and Graham 1968:62). We placed a geotexile fabric (weed barrier) in the bottom of each open unit before filling; soil was replaced using a front-end loader or by hand. We then replaced sod on top of each unit. I left the fence post marking the datum in place for future use.

Due to constraints on time and resources, I prioritized the efforts described above to focus on the areas of greatest interest. The first units excavated were those I believed would be associated with a building placed over the likely cellar, and possibly contained remnants of the foundation of the house. Some magnetic and GPR anomalies targeted by the plan formed a discrete line west of the depression; others suggested the presence of a debris scatter on the southeast side of the depression. We excavated only enough units to confirm whether field data supported my assumptions regarding the location and age of the log house, recover artifacts, identify the footprint of the house, and try to locate the occupational surface of the cellar.

Excavation Results

The results of the excavations help answer several questions. The general layout of the site indicates the presence of a building with a limestone foundation, and that the footprint of the building overlaid the presumptive cellar (see site map, Figure 3.10; Figure 3.11). The presence of a foundation means that the building had a floor (Macintire 1998:14), and was therefore more substantial than a basic log cabin. The footprint suggests a rectangular double-pen or dogtrot building approximately 33 by 48 feet, which would be consistent with multiples of a rod, a standard unit of measurement equal to about 16 feet. In their report on excavations at the Alexander Galbraith site, which included the remains of an early log house, Naglich et al. maintained that 48 feet would be the typical length of a dogtrot-style log house (2004:114) such

as that shown in Figure 2.7. The distribution of limestone does not support the presence of a central chimney as would be expected in a saddlebag variant (Figure 2.6).

Figure 3.11. Exploratory excavation in progress. Photograph of units at the northeast end of the presumptive log house. Steven Keehner is in the foreground, where a lens of mortar shows in the wall of Unit 7J; Melanie Naden is in the back working on Unit 6L

The footprint of the Elliott's log house shows that the long axis was oriented northeast to southwest, following the contour of the slope. However, with the data recovered, I cannot determine whether the Elliotts constructed the building in its entirety, or expanded it over time; nor can I determine whether it was a one- or two-story building. If one-story, which would be the case if the Elliotts had more constrained resources, it probably had a finished attic accessed by a staircase; other features likely included outer clapboarding painted white, plaster on the interior walls, and windows with glass (Marshall 1981:93). The artifacts recovered from the site, including numerous nails, fragments of plaster, and broken window glass support the presence of these features, with the exception of the white paint. (One fragment of plaster was painted white,

but would have been interior.) The northeastern end of the site, which included the presumptive cellar, yielded the greatest number and variety of artifacts. Likely the kitchen/dining area was located in that portion of the house.

Expanding log houses was technically difficult (McAlester and McAlester 1984:84), but if the family constructed the house sequentially, they would likely have built the kitchen/dining area first. In addition, an expansion of the house to the southwest, if coming later, could have used frame rather than log construction.

I cannot make any conclusion regarding the interior division of space based on current data, except that two rooms would have been the minimum number, as opposed to a single large room. Lightweight interior divisions could have been present in either large room (Marshall 1981:41). The placement of limestone slabs from the foundation northward (discussed below) and the presence of an old roadbed between the log house and the second house suggest that the façade was on the northwest-facing side of the long axis with the main entrance on the northeast end, facing up gradient. A fireplace chimney made of limestone was probably on the short northeast side, and possible on the short southwest side.

We identified two large limestone features during excavation that were too large to recover. Feature 1 (Figure 3.12) is a 15 foot linear subsurface feature running northeast to southwest under the façade of the house, passing through units 7J, 6J, 6I, 5J, 5I, 4I, 3I, and 2I. It consists of parallel rows of small vertical limestone slabs about eight inches apart, with transverse pieces of vertical limestone set between the rows about every three feet. This feature seems to have been under the building's foundation. Its function is not entirely clear, but possibilities include stabilizing the up-gradient slope to better support the weight of the house or improving drainage to help keep water out of the cellar.

Figure 3.12. Feature 1. Feature 1 was a linear structure of vertical limestone slabs in two parallel rows with perpendicular spacers at 3-foot intervals. It ran northeast to southwest across eight units. Its function is unclear, but could have been to improve drainage, stabilize the slope under the house, or provide additional weight-bearing capacity to support the foundation.

Feature 2 (Figure 3.13), consisting of large flat stones fit together horizontally, seems to be limestone flagging. It extends from the west end of Unit 9J and the west end of Unit 6K into the unexcavated area between them. The results of probing rain-saturated soil indicate that this feature, possibly a patio, extends further toward the old roadbed to the northwest, which supports the conclusion that the main entrance to the house was located on the northeast end of the façade.

Figure 3.13. Feature 2. Feature 2 was an area of flat, interlocking limestone slabs that ran northeast to southwest in three open units. The feature seemed to extend beyond the open units, based on probing the wet soil after a rain. The orange flags in the photograph mark the estimated boundary of the feature, which likely indicates the main entryway to the house.

Feature 3 (not pictured) contained several mammalian vertebrate and severely degraded bone fragments that seemed to represent a burial. Family oral history indicates that my grandfather J.W. buried Granddad Shelby's dog somewhere near the site in the early 1960s.The bones were located at the base of a tree that could not have grown until after demolition of the

house, so I considered Feature 3 most likely to be the remains of that burial. However, I collected the bones for further evaluation.

We excavated 21 units to at least one level (Table 3.3). (Unit 16F had the sod removed, but was not subsequently excavated due to flooding from rain and is therefore not included in the count.) Of those units, we excavated ten to a second level and three to the third and fourth levels. We excavated one unit, 6F in the center of the presumptive cellar, to a fifth level in an effort to find the occupational surface, but flooding due to heavy rain precluded completion of that attempt. Appendix A provides detailed descriptions of each unit by level.

Artifact Analysis

Following excavation, I analyzed the artifacts recovered to answer three specific questions related to the house and the James Elliott family. First, do the types and ages of the artifacts support an antebellum presence at the site? Second, do the types, frequencies, and quality of artifacts allow conclusions about the socioeconomic status of the house's occupants? Third, how do the types, frequencies, and quality of artifacts compare to another antebellum slaveholding operation, the Alexander Galbraith House in Lafayette County (23LF138) excavated in 2002? The Galbraith site is known large-scale slaveholding operation (Naglich et al. 2004). I discuss the objectives of this comparison in the next section.

We recovered artifacts from all excavated units, for a total raw count of 1,731. In addition, we recovered 32 floral and faunal remains. After labelling and packaging them as described above to maintain provenience, I transported them back to the Colorado State University Archaeology Laboratory for cleaning, cataloging, and more detailed analysis.

Table 3.3. Unit elevations. Relative elevations (starting from the bottom of the first level) of each excavation unit and the number of levels excavated. The order of units is from west to east (numbers) and from north to south (letters). Unit 6F was located in the depression believed to be the cellar of the log house (also see site map, Figure 3.10).

Below	Unit																			
Datum (m)	15G	16E	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9/10J	9D
100.00																				
99.90																				
99.80	L1																			
99.70		L1																		
99.60			L1	L1	L1					L1	L1									
99.50			L2					L1		L2	L2	L1								
99.40						L1		L2	L1			L2				L1		L1	L1	
99.30							L1		L2			L3				L2		L2		
99.20									L3			L4		L 1/2	L 1/2		L1			
99.10									L4											L1
99.00																				L2
98.90													L1							
98.80													L2							
98.70													L3							
98.60													L4							
98.50													L5							

I retained all original data forms after transferring the data to an electronic database (Sullivan and Childs 2003). Table 3.4 reports the types, numbers, and percentages of artifacts recovered. I classified artifacts following the Revised IMACS Users Guide (2001) for bottles and glassware, window glass, ceramics, buttons, cartridges, and nails. Other artifacts included personal items such as jewelry; other construction material such as mortar, molded bricks, and limestone; and tools and hardware. The number of artifacts per unit was not correlated with the number of levels excavated (Pearson's r=0.154, p>0.50). Table 3.4 also shows the spatial distribution of artifacts by unit. Only Units 8K and 9D had over 200 artifacts. Both had examples of most artifacts types, but the artifacts in 8K consisted mostly of nails, while 9D, with the second highest count of nails also had higher numbers of ceramics, window glass, and construction debris. Units 6A, 6F, 16E, 6K, 7Z, and 6L (in descending order) had 107-159 artifacts. Of the foregoing units, most are along the northeastern and southeastern periphery of the foundation of the house, which suggests these might have been disposal areas. The exceptions are 16E, on the southwestern side, where the high number of window glass shards, and little else drive the count, and 6F, the cellar (Figure 3.10). As is typical for historic sites, nails and window glass predominate (Hamby 2004; Heath and Breen 2009). They comprised 70.4 percent of the total artifacts recovered.

I discuss each artifact class separately below, and later compare some with those recovered from the Alexander Galbraith House in near-by Lafayette County (Naglich et al. 2004). Appendix B provides detailed descriptions of the recovered artifacts. Once I complete cataloguing and labeling the artifacts, I will archive them with the Museum of Anthropology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

Table 3.4. Artifact count and percentages. Summary of the total numbers of artifacts recovered from the Elliott Log House Site by type (horizontal) and excavation unit (vertical), with all levels of each unit combined. The order of units is from west to east and north to south (see Figure 3.10). Data are raw numbers. Biological remains are not included in the total. The text discusses minimum numbers. Classifications follow the revised IMACS User Guide (IMACS 2001).

	Raw Number of Artifacts Recovered by Major Category													
Unit	Earthen-ware	Stone-ware	Bottles	Lamp Glass	Window Glass	Buttons	Per-sonal	Fire-arms	Knives	Nails	Con-struction	Tools	Total	Flora/ Fauna
15G	1									2	5		8	
16F													0	
16E		1	1		129					4	3	1	139	
3J	1				1					22	1		25	1
3I	1	1	1		1					16	1	1	22	1
4J	4		2		1	1	1			19		1	29	
4I	3		1		4					14	1	3	26	2
4H	6		2		4					30	3	2	47	18
5J	4	1	2		7					13	4		31	
5I	1	1			2					20	3		27	1
6L	12		8		13			2	3	61	6	2	107	
6K	9	2	15	1	22			1		63	4		117	
6J	15	3	4	2	8		1			32	5	1	71	2
6F	2	5	38		10	1				74	16	1	147	2
6A	23	5	21	2	22	1				66	17	2	159	1
6Z	7	5	6	1	10					34	4		67	
7J	4		1	1	12	1				21	10		50	
7Z	15	4	16	1	26		2			39	9	2	114	
8K	3	2	6	5	53	4	2	1		152	12	6	246	4
9J-10J	6		7		27				1	44	7	2	94	
9D	18	5	16	4	62	1	1			77	18	2	204	
Surface	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1			1	
Total	135	35	147	17	414	9	7	4	4	804	129	26	1731	32
Percent	7.8	2.0	8.5	1.0	23.9	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.2	46.4	7.5	1.5	100.0	n.a

Ceramics

Twenty units yielded 170 ceramic sherds. The white earthenware assemblage of 134 sherds includes 89 (66.4 percent) pearlware and transfer-printed whiteware sherds, favored prior to 1850, compared to 39 sherds (29.1 percent) of plain and embossed ironstone favored afterward, and only 6 sherds (4.5 percent) of vitreous china (Table 3.5; Figure 3.14). The majority of sherds came from the units to the northeast; only one sherd came from the southwest half of the site. The highest counts come from Units 6A (23 sherds), 9D (18 sherds), and 7Z (15 sherds), all along the southeast side of the foundation periphery. Pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone predominated.

Pearlware imported from England was common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century United States. It typically had cobalt blue decoration in either hand-painted or transfer printed designs (Naglich et al. 2004). Transfer-printed whiteware in a variety of design colors, including green, red, purple, and black, became more common in the 1820s and 1830s; manufacturers also produced whiteware with hand-painted polychrome designs. Ironstone whitewares, many with embossed decorations, were available after the 1850s (Naglich et al. 2004). We recovered only one refined redware sherd (from Unit 6L level 1) and no porcelain sherds.

Since the number of levels excavated varied by unit, total numbers of artifacts in each level were not directly comparable. I therefore calculated the average number of sherds per level as the sum of sherds for each level divided by the number of units excavated to a given level, as previously shown in Table 3.3. More pearlware and ironstone sherds per unit came from the first level than from the second, but whiteware and vitreous china showed the reverse trend, which suggests a level of disturbance and/or post-occupation disposal.

Table 3.5. Whiteware. Number and distribution of whiteware sherds recovered from excavations at Site 1 of the Elliott Farmstead, categorized as (a) pearlware; (b) transfer printed or hand-painted polychrome whiteware; (c) transfer printed or embossed ironstone; and (d) vitreous china. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Yellow shading indicates the presence of at least one spalled or charred sherd that could indicate modification by heat, suggesting burning at the site. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.14 for frequency distributions and photographs.

a. Pearlware

	Unit																				
Level	15G	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1				2	1	1	1		1				11	2	1	6	1	6	6	39	1.8
2							1		2	4	1				1				1	10	1.0
3											1									1	0.3
4																				0	0.0
5																				0	0.0
Total				2	1	1	2		3	4	2		11	2	2	6	1	6	7	50	

b. Whiteware

	Unit																				
Level	15G	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1					1	2	1		1				4	2		4			2	17	0.9
2									4	4	9				1		1		1	20	2.0
3																				0	0.0
4																				0	0.0
5												2								2	2.0
Total					1	2	1		5	4	9	2	4	2	1	4	1		3	39	

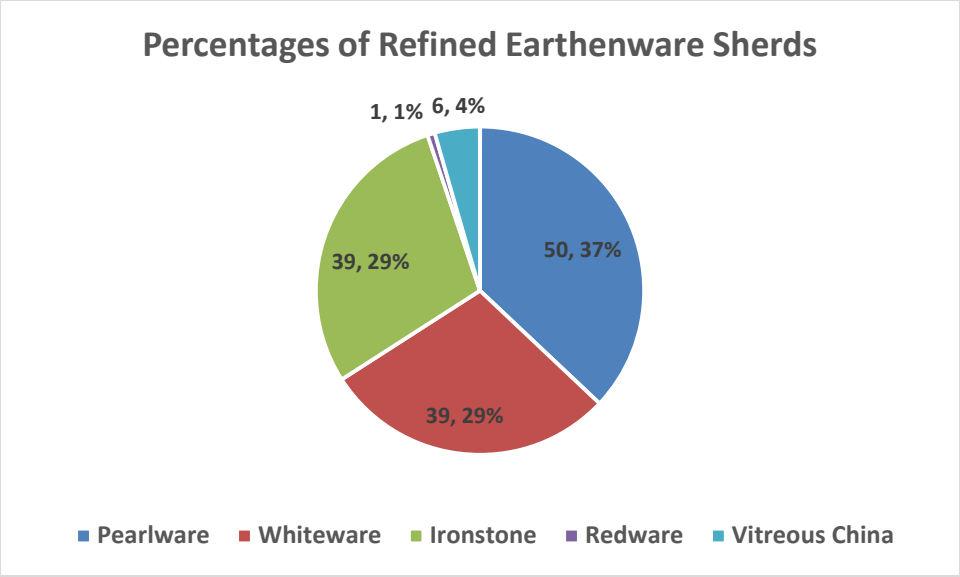
Table 3.5. Continued

c. Ironstone

	Unit																				
Level	15G	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1	1			2	1	3			1		2		8	3		4	1		8	34	1.6
2									2		1				1					4	0.4
3											1									1	0.3
4																				0	0.0
5																				0	0.0
Total	1			2	1	3			3		4		8	3	1	4	1		8	39	

d. Vitreous China

	Unit																				
Level	15G	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1		1					1									1				3	0.1
2			1							1										2	0.2
3																				0	0.0
4								1												1	0.3
5																				0	0.0
Total		1	1				1	1		1						1				6	



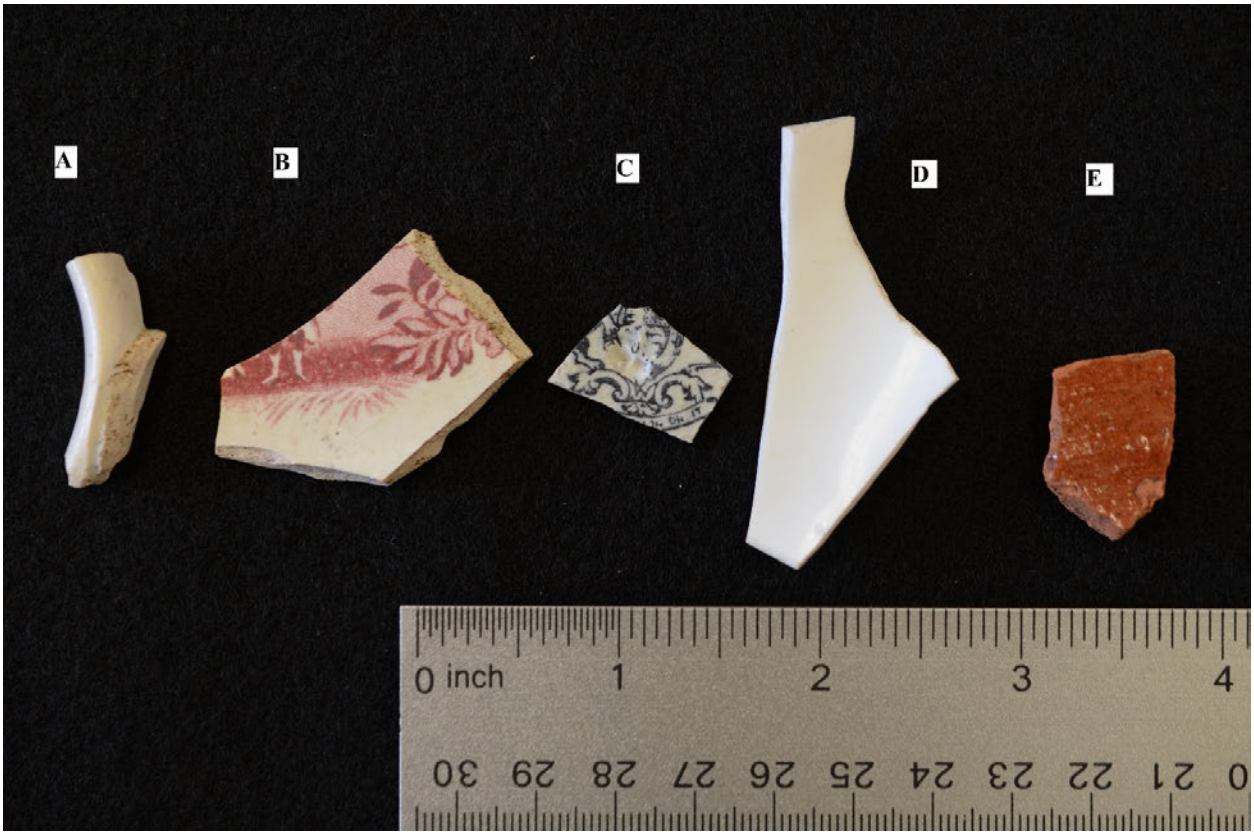


Figure 3.14. Refined earthenware. (Upper) Numbers and percentages of refined earthenware and (Lower) examples of (A) pearlware, (B) whiteware, (C) ironstone, (D) vitreous china, and (E) redware ceramics from the site of the Elliott log house (lower). The material was fragmented and spalled, making identification and calculating a minimum number of vessels difficult.

As can be seen in Figure 3.14, the sherds recovered at the site are broken into quite small pieces, probably due to shallow burial and the pressures of mechanical equipment and livestock. The location of the log house was used from at least the early twentieth century to raise pigs and pasture cattle and sheep. More recently, it has been mowed and hayed several times a year. We recovered no whole dishes and very few conjoining sherds. We did recover 20 base sherds and 19 rim sherds, but the rim sherds generally represent only 2-5 percent of the rim circumference, making identification of the vessel form imprecise. In addition, 35 percent of the sherds were spalled or badly spalled, suggesting repeated freeze-thaw cycles or heating above their rated temperatures. The majority of sherds are undecorated body sherds, but I cannot say that they all therefore come from undecorated whiteware, or represent individual vessels, because they are so small. Partial maker's marks are present on two sherds, but are not complete enough to allow identification. However, they bear portions of lions or unicorns that suggest the items were of English origin (Naglich et al. 2004).

The fragmentary condition of the material makes it difficult to estimate a minimum number of whiteware ceramic vessels except for uniquely decorated sherds. I therefore assumed that each unique decoration represents a single vessel, and calculated MNVs as 3 pearlware, 15 whiteware, 9 ironstone, 2 vitreous china, and 1 redware.

The 35 stoneware sherds found at the site came from 12 of 21 units (Table 3.6), and include examples prepared with Albany slip, an antebellum innovation, and several salt-glazed sherds (Figure 3.15). We recovered slightly higher averages per unit from level 1 than from level 2 (Table 3.6). Only one sherd came from the southwest side of the building (Unit 16E); the others were more evenly distributed among units on the northeast side. Units 6A, 6F (the cellar), 6Z, and 9D all had five sherds each.

Table 3.6. Stoneware. Number and distribution of stoneware sherds recovered from the site of the Elliott log house. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Yellow shading indicates the presence of at least one spalled sherd. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.15 for frequency distributions and representative photographs.

	Unit													
Level	16E	3I	5J	5I	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7Z	8K	9D	Sum	Mean
1	1	1	1					5	5	4	1	5	23	1.1
2				1	2	3	2				1		9	0.9
3							2						2	0.7
4													0	0.0
5							1						1	1.0
Total	1	1	1	1	2	3	5	5	5	4	2	5	35	

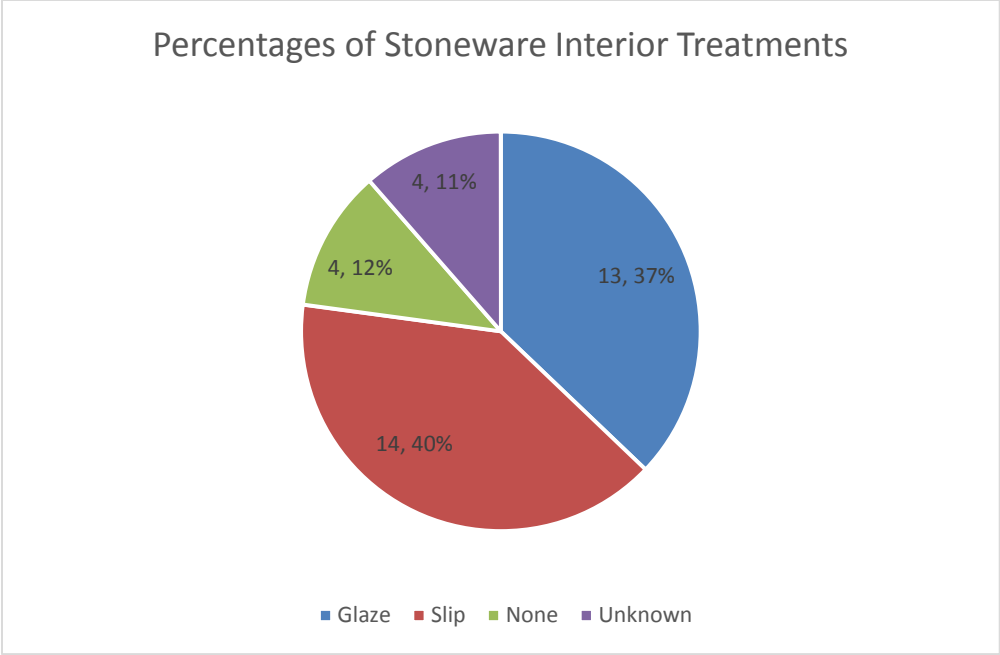


Figure 3.15. Stoneware. a. (Upper) Numbers and percentages of stoneware sherds based on treatments of interior surface with (Lower) views of outer surfaces of representative stoneware sherds recovered from the site of the Elliott log house, including (A) Gray paste with yellow glaze; (B) buff paste and glaze; (C) buff paste with buff glaze; and (D) redware with lead glaze.

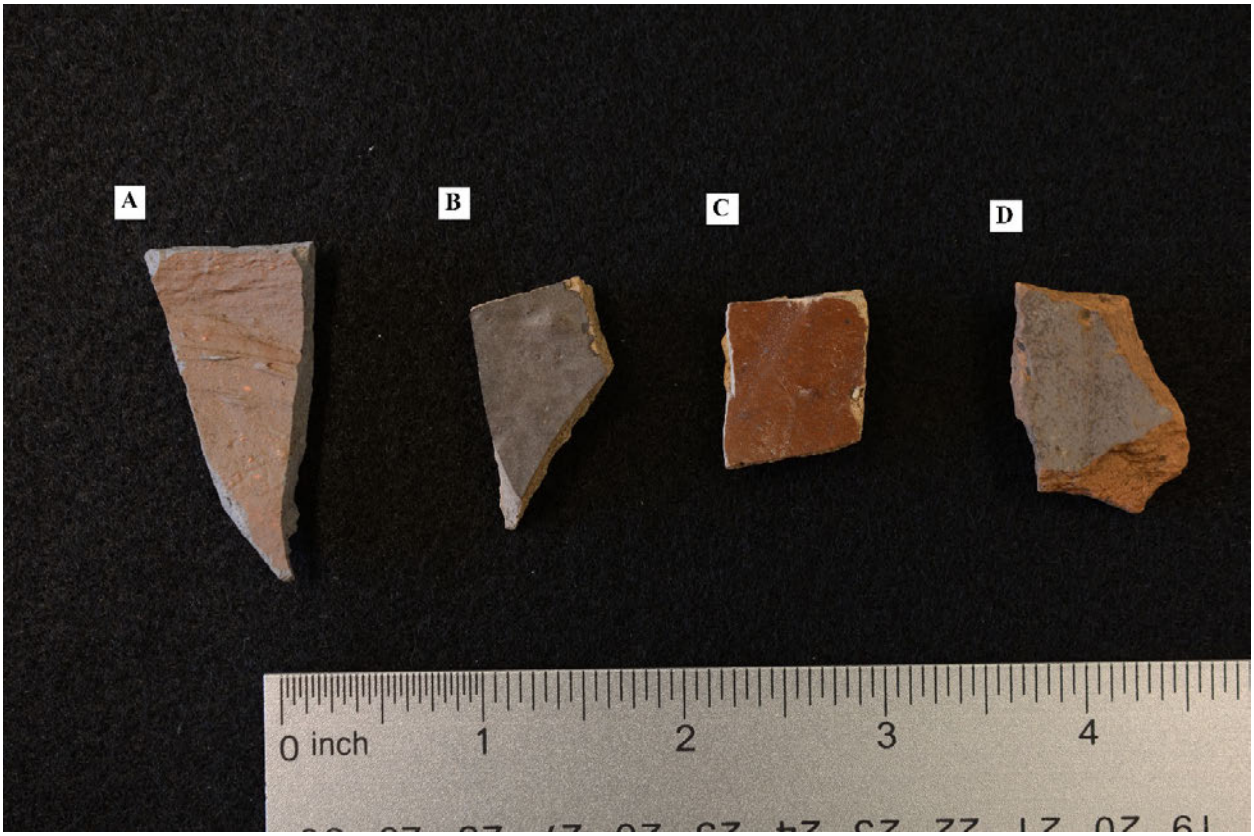


Figure 3.15. Stoneware. b. Obverse view of stoneware sherds in Figure 3.15.a. showing variety of inner surface treatments. (A) Brown slip, (B) Albany slip, (C) brown glaze, and (D) Gray-brown slip.

Unlike the whiteware, estimating a MNV for the stoneware was relatively straightforward. Of the 35 sherds recovered, nearly all were unique in terms of the combination of paste, glaze, and slip employed, resulting in a MNV of 32.

To calculate a mean ceramic date for the entire earthenware assemblage (N=170), pearlware (29.4 percent), with a mean manufacturing date of 1802, was broken out from whiteware (22.9 percent), with a mean date of 1910 and ironstone (22.9 percent) with a mean manufacturing date of 1920. I distinguished between whiteware and ironstone based on the combination of style of decoration and paste quality, with ironstone being less chalky and absorbent. Vitreous china (3.5 percent) had a mean manufacturing date of 1910. Stoneware (20.6 percent) had a mean manufacturing date of 1835. The single redware sherd had a mean

manufacturing date of 1845. I derived mean manufacturing dates from DAACS (2006), using the values for general ceramic types, since I could not identify specific manufacturers. I calculated The mean ceramic date (MCD) for the site, following South (1978:225), as 1865, which falls near the third quartile of the estimated 45 years of site occupancy indicated by historical records (discussed in the next chapter).

I also calculated MCDs separately for the first two levels of the applicable units to see if they provided greater resolution on site development and occupation (Miller et al. 2000). The MCD for Level 1 material was 1862. Contrary to expectations, the date for Level 2 material was 1872. This suggests the deposition of older material over newer material, which could be a result of post-demolition disposal of older ceramics that the family moved to the second house, and disposed of later. Historical records indicate that James and Elizabeth's son Carp Elliott likely built the second house between 1860 and 1870, probably close to 1865, the year of his marriage. If Carp and his wife Semantha occupied the second house, they might have begun housekeeping using older china from James and Elizabeth that they later disposed of as it was broken or became too outdated. Alternatively, the sample size from Level 2 (N=36) might have been too small for an accurate result.

Glass

We recovered 147 bottle/glass shards from 18 of 21 units (Table 3.7; Figure 3.16). As with the ceramics, the all but one shard came from the northeast half of the building footprint. Predominant units were 6F (38 shards), 6A (21 shards), 7Z (16 shards), 9D (16 shards), and 6K (15 shards). The minimum numbers of bottles and glassware were 12 and 4, respectively, based on unique decorations. I could not reliably distinguish the remainder except very generally as bottles, glassware, or unidentified.

Table 3.7. Bottles and glassware. Number and distribution of (a) bottle, (b) glassware, and (c) unidentified glass shards at the site of the Elliott log house. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Thirty-three shards in Unit 6F Level 3 are from a Heinz Ketchup bottle ca. 1903-1920. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.16 for frequency distributions and representative photographs.

a. Bottles

	Unit																		
Level	16E	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1	1		1			2	1		1		3	1	1	6		6	6	29	1.4
2							2		2						1			5	0.5
3									1	36								37	12.3
4																		0	0.0
5										1								1	1.0
Total	1	0	1	0	0	2	3	0	4	37	3	1	1	6	1	6	6	72	

b. Glassware

	Unit																		
Level	16E	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1		1			2			2			15	3		2	1		1	27	1.3
2								2										2	0.2
3																		0	0.0
4																		0	0.0
5																		0	0.0
Total	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	0	15	3	0	2	1	0	1	29	

Table 3.7. Continued.

c. Unidentified

	Unit																		
Level	16E	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1			1	1			3	1			3	2		8	4	1	7	31	1.5
2							2	10									2	14	1.4
3																		0	0.0
4										1								1	0.3
5																		0	0.0
Total	0	0	1	1	0	0	5	11	0	1	3	2	0	8	4	1	9	46	

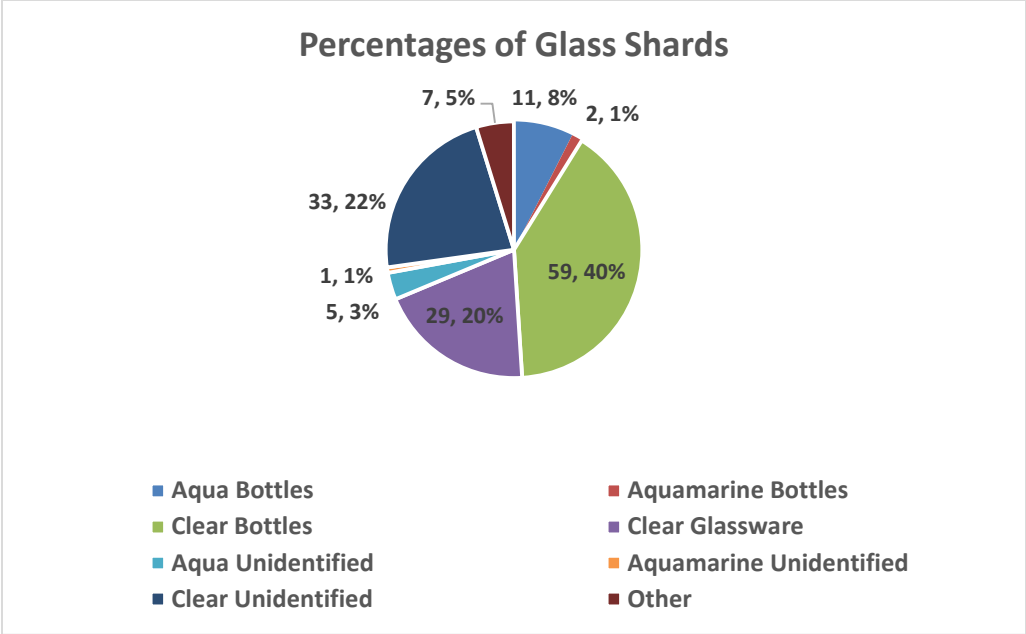


Figure 3.16. Bottle glass. (Upper) Numbers and percentages of types and colors of glass shards with (Lower) examples of bottle glass showing (A) side of an aqua machine blown bottle; (B) side of an aquamarine medicine bottle with partial lettering; and (C) finish of a clear medicine bottle.

The most complete find of any ceramic or glass artifact was a broken machine-made Heinz ketchup bottle from the early 1900s. The absence of a threaded finish suggests it predated 1920. However, its presence in Level 3 of Unit 6F, the presumptive cellar, indicates either that the family used the site for trash disposal after demolishing the house or that demolition occurred after the turn of the twentieth century.

We recovered 17 lamp glass shards (Figure 3.17) from eight units, primarily from the first levels (0.6 shards per unit, compared to 0.3 per unit from second levels). One shard from Unit 6Z had a partial embossed maker's mark. Most of the shards came from units 8K (5) and 9D (4), which were on opposite sides of the foundation periphery. We recovered no lamp glass shards below Level 3 of Unit 6J (Table 3.8). The Elliott Farm was not electrified until 1940, so candles, various kinds of animal or vegetable oil lamps, and kerosene lamps were likely the primary source of lighting throughout the log house's occupancy. Significant commercial production of kerosene lamps did not begin until 1857(Collector's Weekly 2018), which might explain the low number and shallow distribution of lamp glass shards at the site, as well as the predominance of clear shards in the sample. In addition, broken lamps could have been included in any debris carried down from the second house for disposal.

We recovered window glass from every unit except 15G on the extreme southwest side of the building footprint. However, the greatest number of window glass shards from a single unit (129) came from Level 1 of the neighboring unit, 16E. (Table 3.9). Units 9D and 8K had the next highest counts, 62 and 53 shards, respectively. The mean number of shards per unit was 16.9 from Level 1 and 4.7 from Level 2, and decreased through Level 4. However, Level 5 of Unit 6F yielded five shards. The number and complexity of the sample precluded calculation of a minimum number.

Table 3.8. Lamp glass. Number and distribution of lamp glass shards at the site of the Elliott log house. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.17 for frequency distributions.

	Unit									
Level	6Z	6A	6J	6K	7Z	7J	8K	9D	Sum	Mean
1	1	2			1	1	4	4	13	0.6
2			1	1			1		3	0.3
3			1						1	0.3
4										0.0
5									0	0.0
Total	1	2	2	1	1	1	5	4	17	

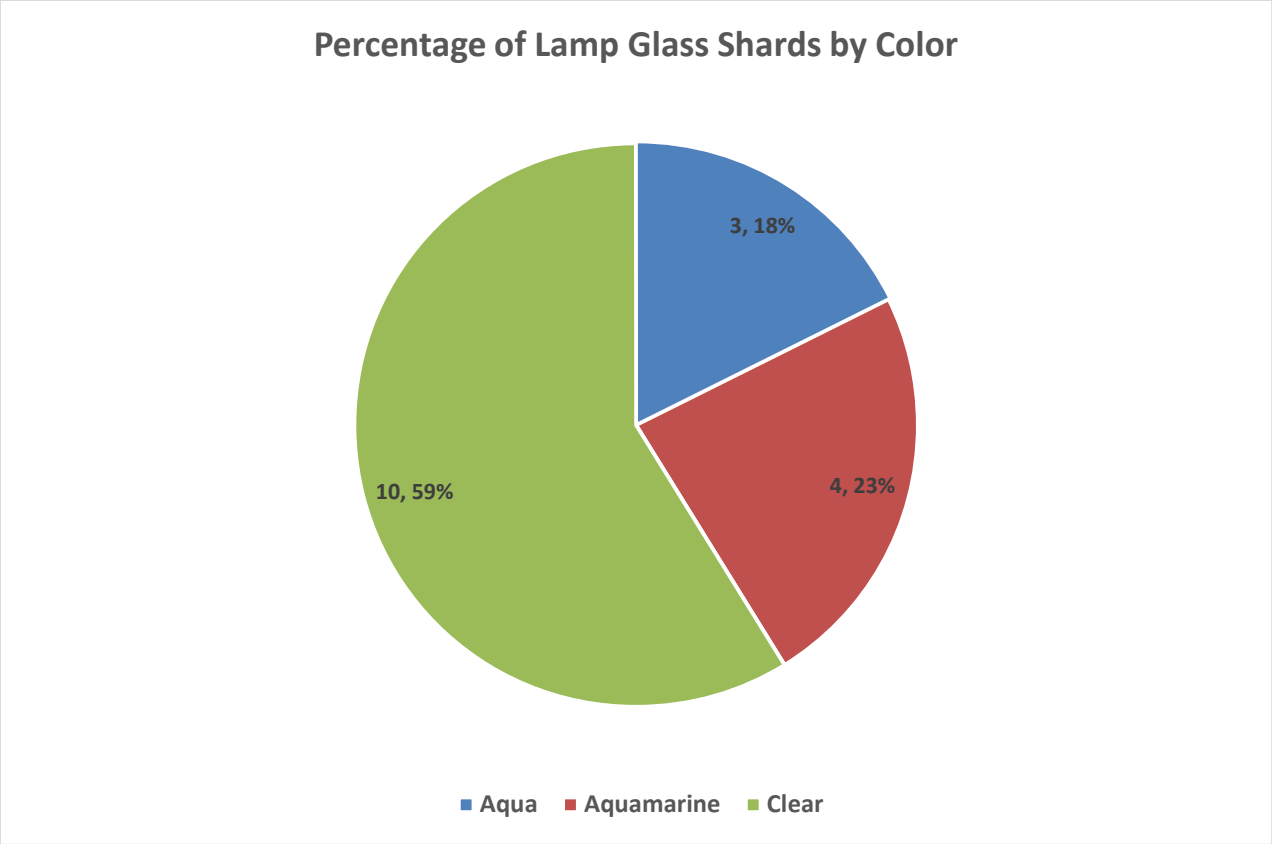


Figure 3.17. Lamp glass. Numbers and percentages of aqua, aquamarine, and clear lamp glass.

Table 3.9. Window glass. Number and distribution of (A) aqua, (B) aquamarine, and (C) clear window glass shards at the site of the Elliott log house. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. In terms of relative age, aqua glass is older, aquamarine is intermediate, and clear glass is more recent. See Figure 3.18 for frequency distributions and photographs.

A. Aqua

	Unit																				
Level	16E	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5 J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1	29								5						1	19	23	9	4	90	4.3
2		2					1		1	3									1	8	0.8
3																				0	0.0
4																				0	0.0
5												3								3	3.0
Total	29	2					1		6	3		3			1	19	23	9	5	101	

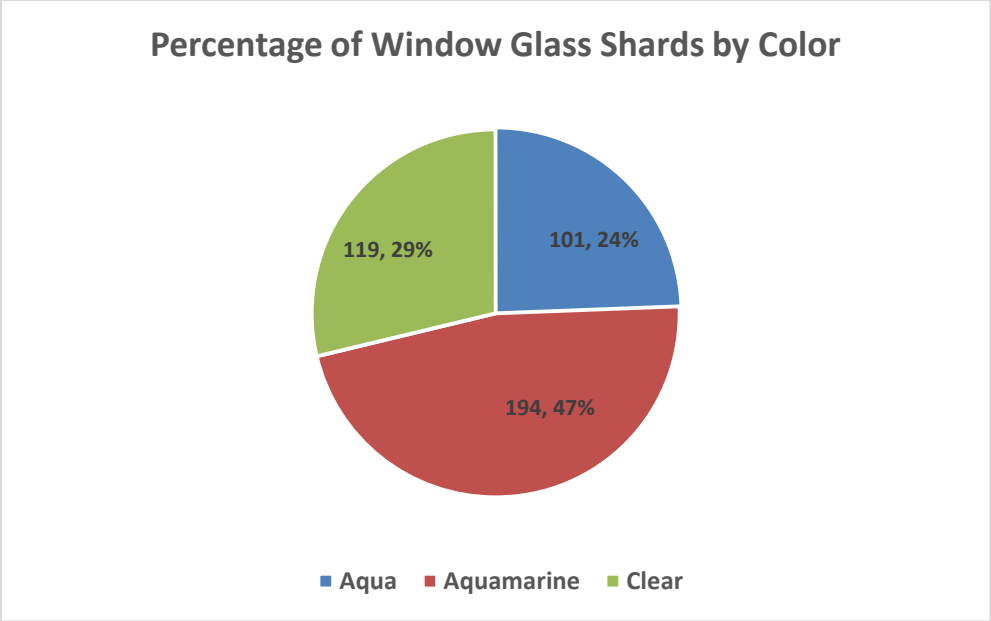
B. Aquamarine

	Unit																				
Level	16E	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5 J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1	53			1	3		3			1			17	10	6	4	15	15	33	161	7.7
2							2		2	13	3				1		1		4	26	2.6
3											2	2								4	1.3
4												1								1	0.3
5												2								2	2.0
Total	53			1	3		5		2	14	5	5	17	10	7	4	16	15	37	194	

Table 3.9. Continued.

C. Clear

Level	Unit																			Sum	Mean
	16E	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5 J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D		
1	47		1		1	2		1	3				5		3	3	14	3	18	101	4.8
2		1					1		3	5	3				1				2	16	1.6
3												1								1	0.3
4												1								1	0.3
5																				0	0.0
Total	47	1	1		1	2	1	1	6	5	3	2	5		4	3	14	3	20	119	



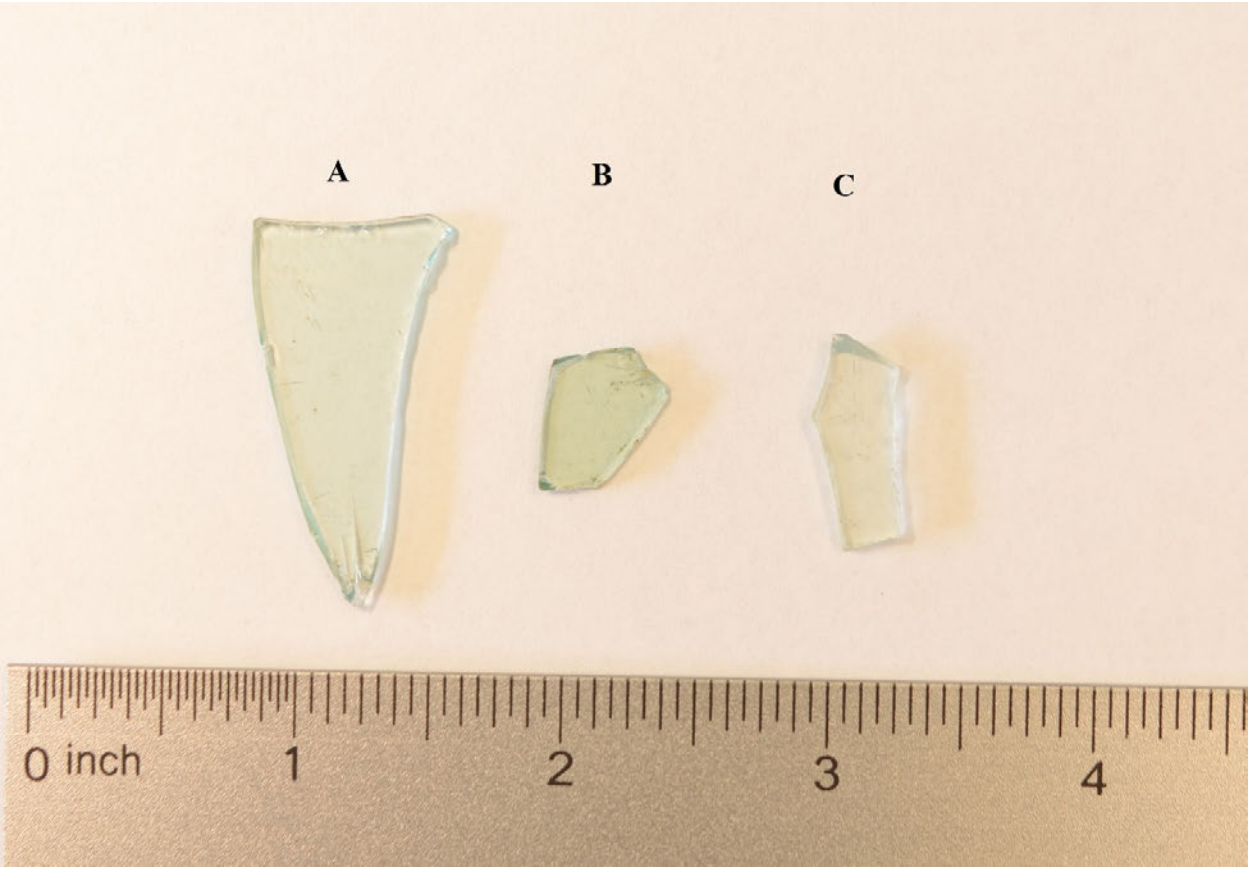


Figure 3.18. Window glass. (Upper) Numbers and percentages of window glass shards by color with (Lower) examples of (A) aqua, (B) aquamarine, and (C) clear window glass. In terms of relative age, aqua is oldest, aquamarine is intermediate, and clear is newest, although there is overlap (Ball 1982).

I categorized the 414 window glass shards by color as aqua (23.7 percent), aquamarine (46.9 percent), and clear (29.4 percent). The general pattern of color and number (Aqua<Clear< Aquamarine) is typical of antebellum sites (Ball 1982). Figure 3.18 shows representative samples of each color. Although glass windows were featured in log houses built in the early 1800s (Marshall 1981:93, Roberts 1986), clear glass for general applications was not commercially available until ca. 1875 (IMACS 2001), after which it became the predominant window glass color (Ball 1982). This indicates that up to 70 percent of the window glass from the site might have predated 1875 and that some disposal of window glass occurred post-demolition. All colors of glass are most concentrated in the upper two levels of most units. Although we found one shard of clear window glass as deep as Level 4 of Unit 6F, the presumptive cellar, only aqua and aquamarine glass were recovered from Level 5.

Researchers have proposed using either a range of dates or a regression equation based on the increasing thickness of window glass over time to estimate the date of construction of a historic building (Weiland 2009). I chose the method proposed by Ball (1982), which he developed using data from antebellum sites in Kentucky and the Midwest, and successfully tested on data from the Hermitage. Ball's analysis proposed the use of the following equation based on the positive relationship of window glass thickness to the date of manufacture:

$$\text{Date} = [(M - 1.00\ \text{mm})/0.0286] + 1800$$

Where:

Date = the estimated date of construction;
M = the mean thickness (in millimeters) of the window glass sample (Ball 1982:13);
0.0286 = constant rate of annual increase in window glass thickness 1800-1870.

The result of that analysis with a mean window glass thickness of 2.1691 mm suggests a construction date of 1841 for the Elliott log house. As with the ceramic MCDs, I also calculated

separate dates of construction using window glass mean thicknesses from Level 1 and Level 2 (2.192 mm and 1.969 mm, respectively) as the inputs. These analyses returned estimated construction dates of 1842 based on window glass from Level 1 and 1834 based on window glass from Level 2. While this result is opposite of the results using the MCDs, it is likely a consequence of the windows not being scavenged for other buildings, but left in place and repaired as necessary over time to the point that the building was no longer occupied.

Buttons and Clothing Fasteners

Nine buttons and clothing fasteners representing eight individual items came from six units, predominantly Unit 8K (Table 3.10; Figure 3.19). The oldest button was an Imperial Standard cuff button, a style manufactured in England in the 1820s, recovered from Level 4 of Unit 6F, the presumptive cellar. Also recovered were part of a glass button (Unit 9D) and one pearl shell button with a decorated edge (Unit 6A), commonly available after 1892 (Marcel 1994). Three pressed metal buttons, one with two sew-through holes and two with four holes, all from Unit 8K, could range in date from 1800-1870 (Marcel 1994). Other clothing fasteners include a copper stud with an incised diamond pattern and remnants of gold plating on the front and a spring fastener on the back (date unknown) from Unit 7J, and a copper rivet from Unit 4J.

Jewelry and Personal Effects

We recovered seven examples of jewelry and other personal effects (Figure 3.20) from five units (Table 3.11). They suggest both male and female occupants. A copper pendant, once gold-plated, came from Unit 4J. A copper brooch or pin came from Unit 8K. One piece of beveled purple glass jewelry came from Unit 7Z, along with a partial glass sphere of unknown function, but possibly a marble. A small brass hinge came from Unit 9D, possibly from a folding ruler.

Table 3.10. Buttons. Number and distribution of buttons and clothing fasteners at the site of the Elliott log house. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.19 for photographs.

	Unit							
Level	4J	6F	6A	7J	8K	9D	Sum	Mean
1	1		1	1	4	1	8	0.4
2							0	0.0
3							0	0.0
4		1					1	0.3
5							0	0.0
Total	1	1	1	1	4	1	9	

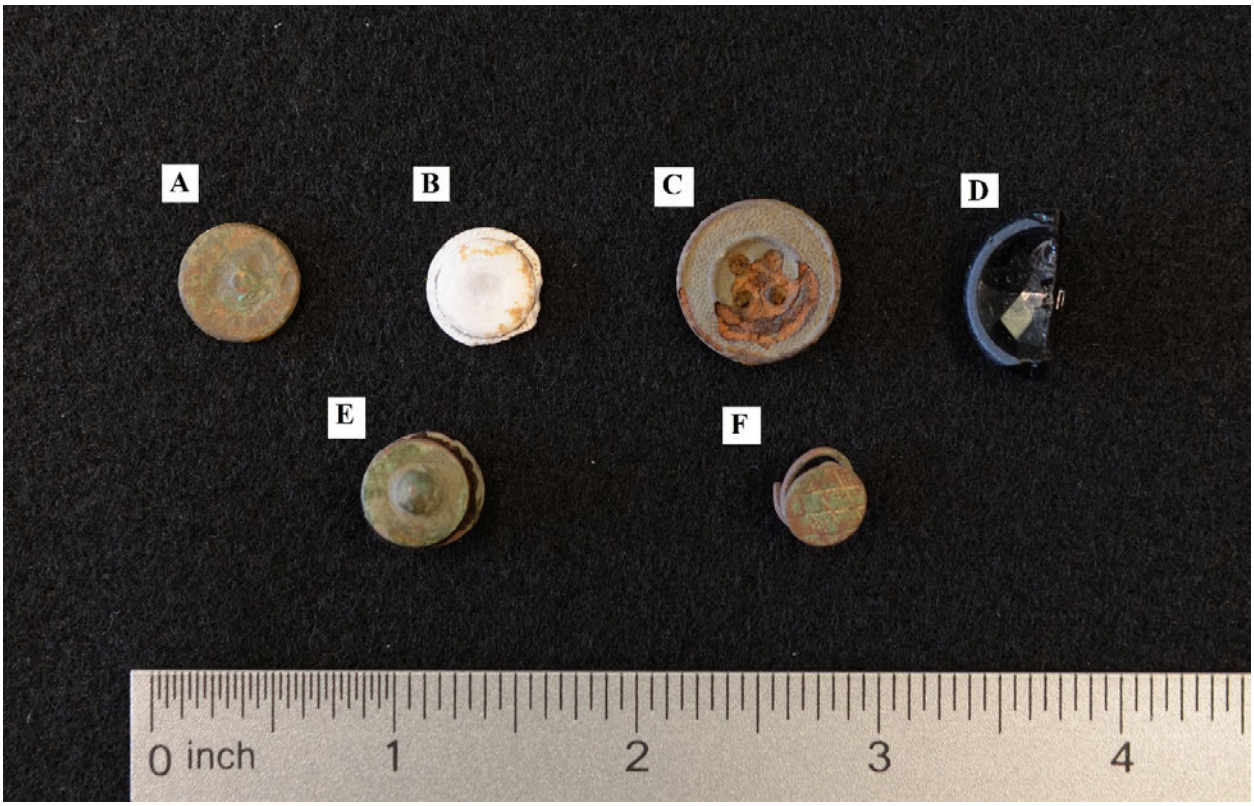


Figure 3.19. Buttons and clothing fasteners. Items recovered included (A) an Imperial Standard cuff button; (B) a mussel shell button; (C) a molded ferrous button with a non-ferrous coating; (D) a glass button; (E) a brass rivet; and (F) a copper stud.

With two possible exceptions, we recovered no artifacts that I considered definitive markers of African American occupancy. Of particular interest was a large brass button of late eighteenth or early nineteenth century design from Unit 6J. Someone had cut it in half, cut the shank off the back, and drilled a small hole through the side, as though intended for wearing as a keepsake, possibly with the other half worn by a partner or intimate friend. According to Singleton (1994:34), oral histories from former enslaved African Americans revealed that they tied pierced coins on strings and wore them around the ankle or neck for good luck and preventing rheumatism. It is possible that one of the family's enslaved African Americans substituted a brass button for a coin. It is equally plausible, however, that a member of the Elliott family wore the button, possibly as a memento of wartime service.

Table 3.11. Jewelry and personal items. Number and distribution of personal items, mostly jewelry, recovered from the site of the Elliott log house. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.20 for photographs.

	Unit						
Level	4J	6J	7Z	8K	9D	Sum	Mean
1	1		2	2	1	6	0.3
2		1				1	0.1
3						0	0.0
4						0	0.0
5						0	0.0
Total	1	1	2	2	1	7	

Figure 3.20. Personal items. Personal items recovered from the Elliott Log House Site are: (A) a brass button modified for wear as jewelry; (B) a copper pendant with remains of gold gilt; (C) a copper pin; (D) beveled purple glass; (E) a brass hinge from a folding device; (F) a glass sphere; and (G) a stoneware tobacco pipe sherd.

Unit 8K yielded a single sherd from a stoneware tobacco pipe. The design of such pipes allowed the insertion of a reed into the bowl to serve as the stem. They were less expensive than clay pipes, often coming free with a pouch of tobacco, making them a more likely choice than white clay pipes for enslaved African Americans (Wilkie 2000:216).

Ammunition Components

Although we recovered only four ammunition components (Figure 3.21) from three units (Table 3.12), they represent a range of innovations. The recovered components include a .32 caliber lead ball for a flintlock or percussion cap weapon from Unit 8K, a complete .22 BB Cap rimfire cartridge (commercially available in 1845) from Unit 6L, and two .32 long rimfire

cartridge cases (commercially available in 1861) (Barnes 2006:490,492), one each from units 6K and 6L. A firing pin mark on the .22 BB Cap round indicates that its user probably discarded it after it failed to fire; the .32 caliber cartridges also had firing pin marks. The relatively small calibers suggest use for hunting small game and deer, and possibly for personal defense. The .22 BB Cap cartridge was a low velocity round used in firearms sometimes referred to as "parlor guns" (Barnes 2006:490) because they could be safely used indoors for entertainment or controlling rodents.

Knives and Utensils

A single ferrous table knife in three pieces (Figure 3.22) was recovered from the first level of Unit 6L (Table 3.13). We also recovered what is possibly a brass knife hilt from Unit 9J/10J.

Nails

We recovered 804 square (or hand-wrought), cut, and wire nails and nail fragments from the site, with cut nails predominating at 90.9 percent of the total, while older square nails represented only 2.4 percent and more recent wire nails only 1.5 percent; (Table 3.14; Figure 3.23). Cut nails were the most commonly used nail type of the antebellum period. Their presence in large numbers supports an antebellum origin for the site. I could not identify forty-two extremely rusted nail fragments (5.2 percent) to type, and I excluded them from further analyses. I estimated a minimum number of nails by totaling whole nails plus the number of heads in each type (Naglich et al. 2004), resulting in estimates of 11 square nails, 473 cut nails, and 11 wire nails. The large number of cut nails suggests that the house likely featured exterior clapboarding. I analyzed whole nails by length and condition, assessing whether they were straight or bent.

Table 3.12. Ammunition components. Number and distribution of ammunition components recovered from the site of the Elliott log house. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.21 for photographs.

	Unit				
Level	6L	6K	8K	Sum	Mean
1	1		1	2	0.1
2	1	1		2	0.2
3				0	0.0
4				0	0.0
5				0	0.0
Total	2	1	1	4	

Figure 3.21. Ammunition. Ammunition components recovered were (A) a .32 caliber lead ball, (B) an intact .22 BB CAP cartridge, and (C) a .32 long cartridge case.

Table 3.13. Knives. Number and distribution of knives recovered from the site of the Elliott log house. The three items from Unit 6L seem to be parts of a single table knife. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.22 for photographs.

	Unit			
Level	6L	9J/10J	Sum	Mean
1	3	1	4	0.2
2			0	0.0
3			0	0.0
4			0	0.0
5			0	0.0
Total	3	1	4	

Figure 3.22. Knives. One ferrous table knife in three pieces was recovered from the site; not pictured is a possible brass knife hilt.

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Table 3.14. Nails. Number and distribution of nails at the site of the Elliott log house, including (A) square or hand-wrought nails, (B) cut nails, and (C) wire nails. Forty-two nail fragments were too rusted for identification by type and are not included. The wire nail count includes one head from the general surface collection. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.23 for frequency distributions.

A. Square Nails

	Unit																					
Level	15G	16E	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1		1		1	3	1	1	1						3	1	1	1		2		16	0.8
2			1					1													2	0.2
3																					0	0.0
4									1												1	0.3
5																					0	0.0
Total		1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1					3	1	1	1		2	19	19	

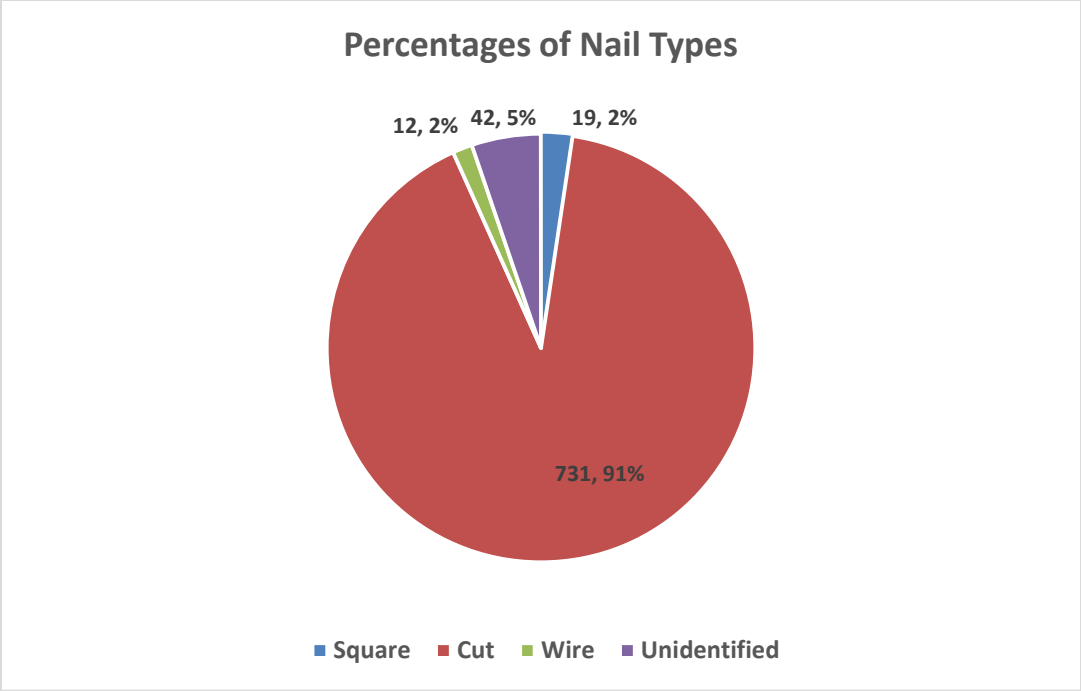
B. Cut Nails

	Unit																					
Level	15G	16E	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1	2	3	7	14	13	12	29	5	1	32	6	5		63	33	15	38	129	41	68	516	24.6
2			14					5	8	27	57	21	2			5		23		8	170	17.0
3									10			6	14								30	10.0
4													15								15	5.0
5																					0	0.0
Total	2	3	21	14	13	12	29	10	19	59	63	32	31	63	33	20	38	152	41	76	731	

Table 3.14. Continued.

C. Wire Nails

	Unit																				
Level	15G	16E	3J	3I	4J	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1				1	3	1		1		2									1	1	10	0.5
2																					0	0.0
3																					0	0.0
4													1								1	0.3
5																					0	0.0
General																					1	
Total				1	3	1		1		2			1						1	1	12	



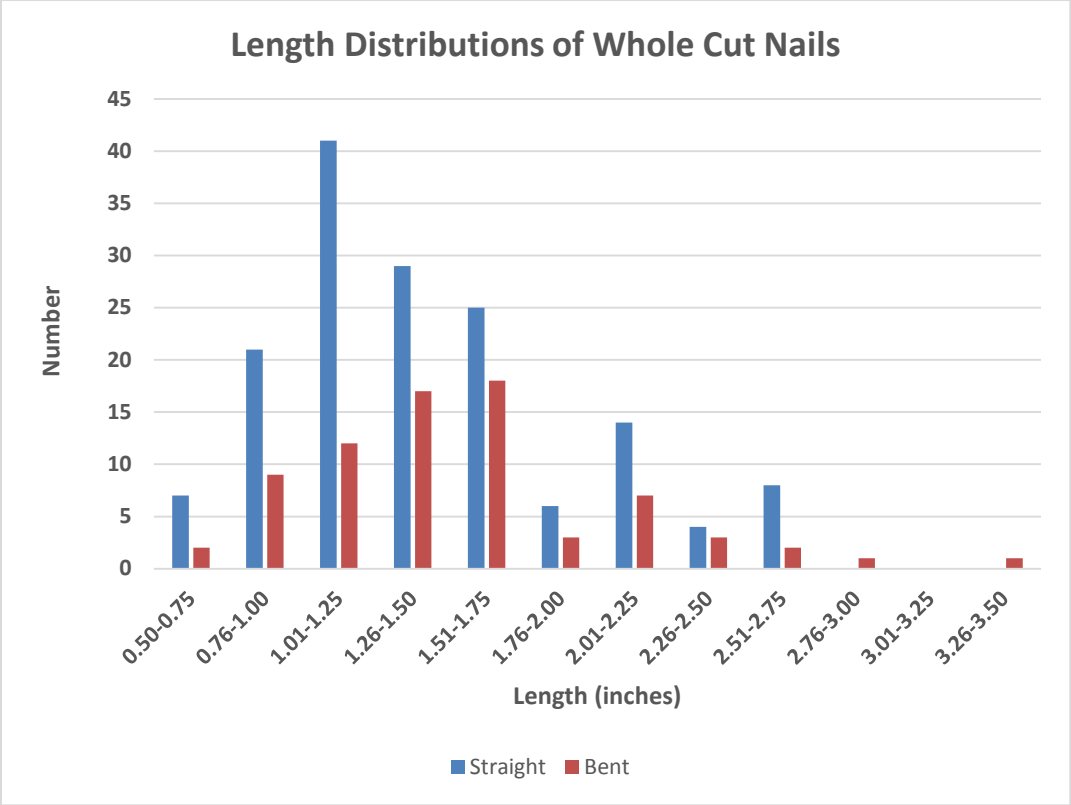


Figure 3.23. Nails. (Upper) Numbers and percentages of nails by type and (Lower) frequencies of whole cut nails by length and condition. Bent nails occurred in lower numbers, but were larger on average than straight nails, suggesting removal of some larger structural elements before demolition of the log house.

I assumed someone pulled bent nails from the building and discarded them. Figure 3.23 shows the frequency distributions of straight and bent nails. The greater average length of the bent nails suggests the removal of some structural elements from the building, probably before razing

Construction Materials

I classified fragments of mortar, brick, plaster, wire, slate, sheet metal, and wood or charcoal as construction materials. The greatest numbers came from units 9D (18), 6A (17), 6F (16), and 8K (12). Of the 129 construction artifacts we recovered, 28.9 percent were lime mortar and molded brick (Table 3.15; Figure 3.24). These were standard construction materials of the antebellum period. Beginning in 1876 Portland cement gradually replaced lime mortar, with replacement almost complete by 1899 (Blezard 2004). Bricks were often used in the construction of chimneys, but I cannot assess whether the brick fragments were used structurally at the site or are simply debris. A brick kiln was in operation in Plattsburg as early as 1836 (Hanks and Anderson 1977), so the bricks might have been locally produced. Harder pressed bricks were patented in the United States in 1852 (U.S. Patent Office 1912) but were not widely distributed commercially. Dateable wire fragments were post-bellum; these included a small strand of barbed wire, first patented in 1867, and a section of woven wire fencing, patented in 1883 (Wilson 2008:311).

Several of the lime mortar fragments show a pinkish tinge associated with heating, or have one surface covered with melted glass, which suggests exposure to burning. The diffuse evidence of burning across the site argues against a point source, such as a fireplace, producing the heat altered mortar. This supports a conclusion that the family burned the remains of the log house after removing salvageable material.

Table 3.15. Construction material. Number and distribution of construction material at the site of the Elliott log house, including (A) lime mortar, (B) molded bricks, and (C) other materials, primarily rusted sheet metal and wire. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Yellow shading indicates the presence of at least one fragment of mortar with melted glass on one surface. Orange shading indicates the presence of at least one fragment of fire-pinkened mortar. Red shading indicates the presence of charcoal. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.24 for frequency distributions and representative photographs.

A. Lime Mortar

	Unit																				
Level	15G	16E	3J	3I	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1	1	1		1		1		1					9				1	3		18	0.9
2							3	1		2					5				1	12	1.2
3																				0	0.0
4																				0	0.0
5																				0	0.0
Total	1	1	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	2	0	0	9	0	5	0	1	3	1	30	

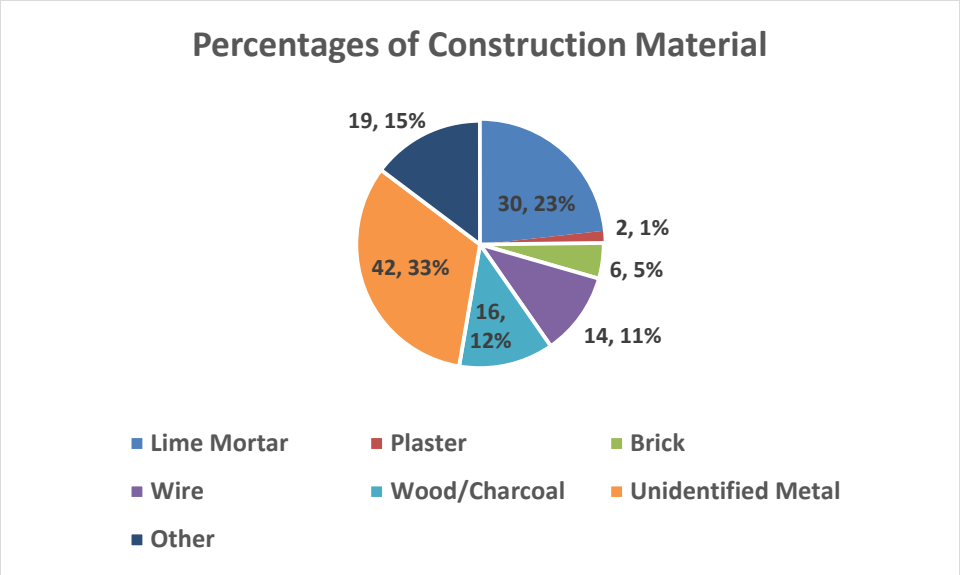
B. Molded Brick

	Unit																				
Level	15G	16E	3J	3I	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1						1											1			2	0.1
2																				0	0.0
3											1	2								3	1.0
4												1								1	0.3
5																				0	0.0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	

Table 3.15. Continued.

C. Other

	Unit																				
Level	15G	16E	3J	3I	4I	4H	5J	5I	6L	6K	6J	6F	6A	6Z	7J	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1	4	2			1	1	1	1	4				8	4	4	9	6	4	17	66	3.1
2			1						2	2	2				1		4			12	1.2
3											2									2	0.7
4												13								13	4.3
5																				0	0.0
Total	4	2	1	0	1	1	1	1	6	2	4	13	8	4	5	9	10	4	17	93	



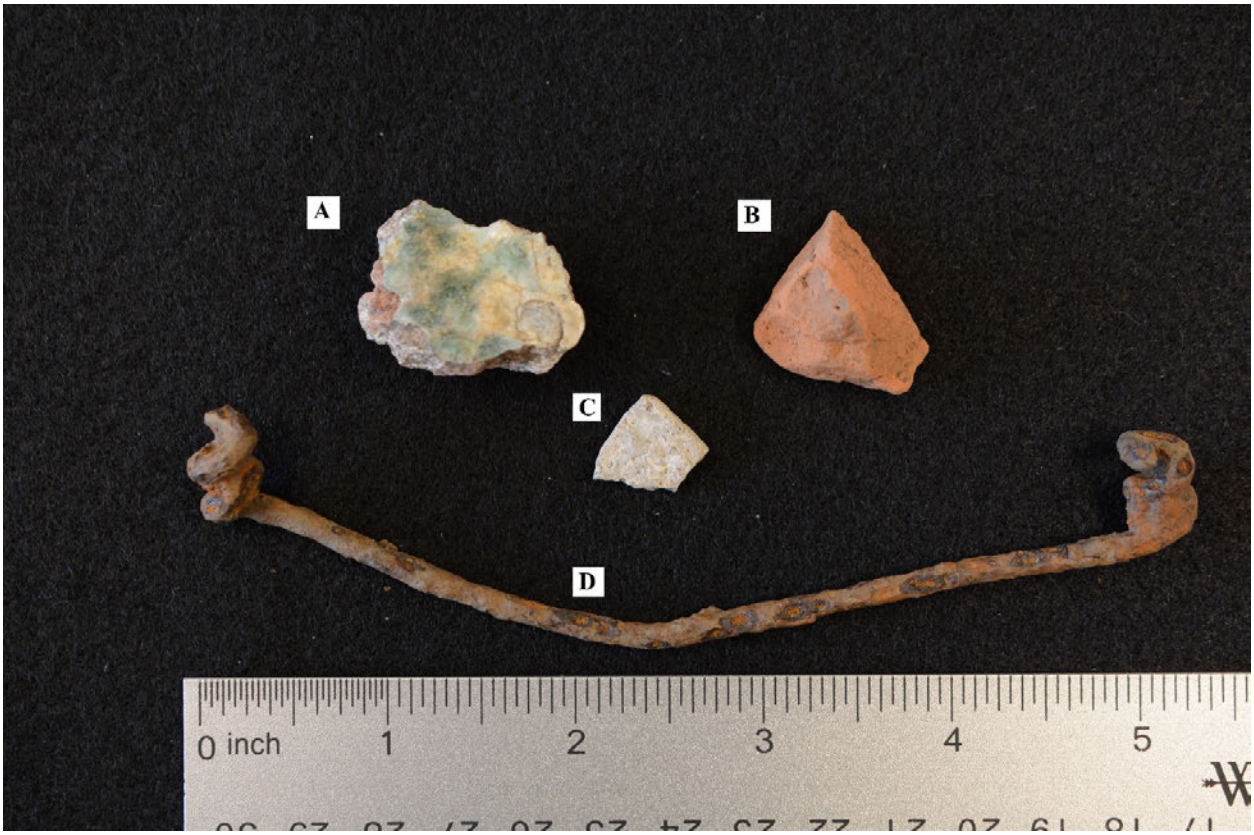


Figure 3.24. Construction material. (Upper) Numbers and percentages of construction-related material and (Lower) examples of (A) lime mortar with vitrification on one surface, (B) molded brick, (C) plaster; and (D) a segment of woven wire fencing (lower).

Tools and Hardware

The 26 artifacts I classified as tools and hardware (Table 3.16) were difficult to assess, in part because most were fragmentary. The assemblage included stickpins, bolts, nuts, washers, chain, metal bars and rods, and hooks (Figure 3.25). The only complete tool recovered was a forged metal wood-splitting wedge from Level 2 of Unit 9D. Used generally to split wood for fuel and construction, Warren (1986) identified wedges of this type as being among the 73 tools typically used to build a log house.

Faunal and Floral Remains

Thirty-two floral and faunal remains came from the site (Table 3.17; Figure 3.26). Of the 14 floral remains, 12 were broken black walnut shells; since walnut trees grew and continue to grow at the site, I can make no conclusion regarding whether any were deliberately processed. Also recovered was half of a soybean. Although grown commercially in North America as early as 1765 (Boerma 2014), local farmers did not plant soybeans until the early 1900s, when they were used to enrich soil depleted by corn production (Hanks 1977b). We recovered a mass of decayed grass from the fourth level of Unit 6F, which suggests an effort to fill the depression. In addition to the artifacts recovered, wild hemp still grows at the site, as it does in other areas of the region, having escaped domestication.

Dr. Michal Ponte of the CSU Anthropology Department identified faunal remains to the lowest possible taxonomic level. The remains include those of two, or possibly three, species (Figure 3.26). We recovered two pig incisors, one adult and one juvenile, from different units, along with six fragments of mammal long bones and ribs, probably pig, with cut marks. The adult pig incisor came from the deepest level of Unit 6F, the presumptive cellar.

Table 3.16. Tools and hardware. Number and distribution of tools and hardware recovered from the site of the Elliott log house. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.25 for frequency distributions and representative photographs.

	Unit														
Level	16E	3I	4J	4I	4H	6L	6J	6F	6A	7Z	8K	9J/10J	9D	Sum	Mean
1	1	1	1	3	2				2	2	4	2	1	19	0.9
2						2	1				2		1	6	0.6
3														0	0.0
4								1						1	0.3
5														0	0.0
Total	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	6	2	2	26	

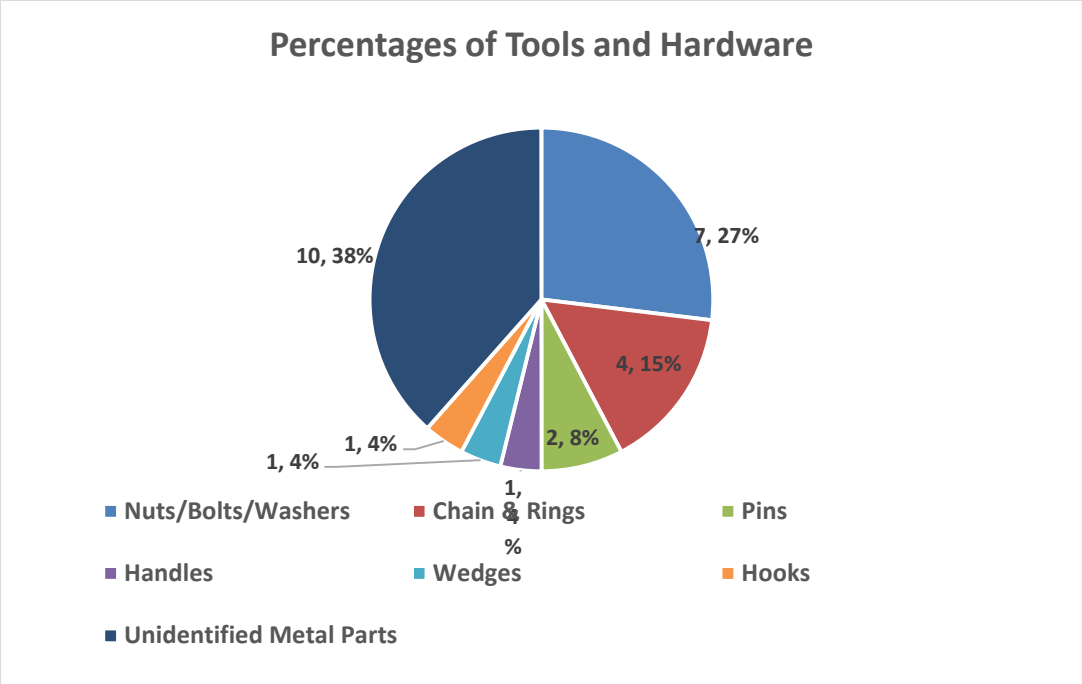


Figure 3.25. Tools and hardware. (Upper) Numbers and percentages of tools and hardware with (Lower) examples of (A) a forged iron wedge; (B) a ferrous handle; and (C) a ferrous hook (lower).

Table 3.17. Biological remains. Number and distribution of (A) faunal and (B) floral remains recovered from the site of the Elliott log house. The deepest faunal remains were a likely pig limb bone from the lowest level of Unit 5I and an adult pig incisor from the lowest level of Unit 6F. Shown are only those units positive for at least one type. Gray shading indicates the number of levels excavated in each unit. Means are the sum of artifacts recovered from each level divided by the total number of units excavated to the given level. See Figure 3.26 for frequency distributions and representative photographs.

A. Fauna

	Unit										
Level	3J	3I	4I	4H	5I	6J	6F	6A	8K	Sum	Mean
1			1	8				1	2	12	0.6
2	1					2			1	4	0.4
3										0	0.0
4					1					1	0.3
5							1			1	1.0
Total	1		1	8	1	2	1	1	3	18	

B. Flora

	Unit										
Level	3J	3I	4I	4H	5I	6J	6F	6A	8K	Sum	Mean
1		1	1	10					1	13	0.6
2										0	0.0
3										0	0.0
4							1			1	0.3
5										0	0.0
Total		1	1	10			1		1	14	

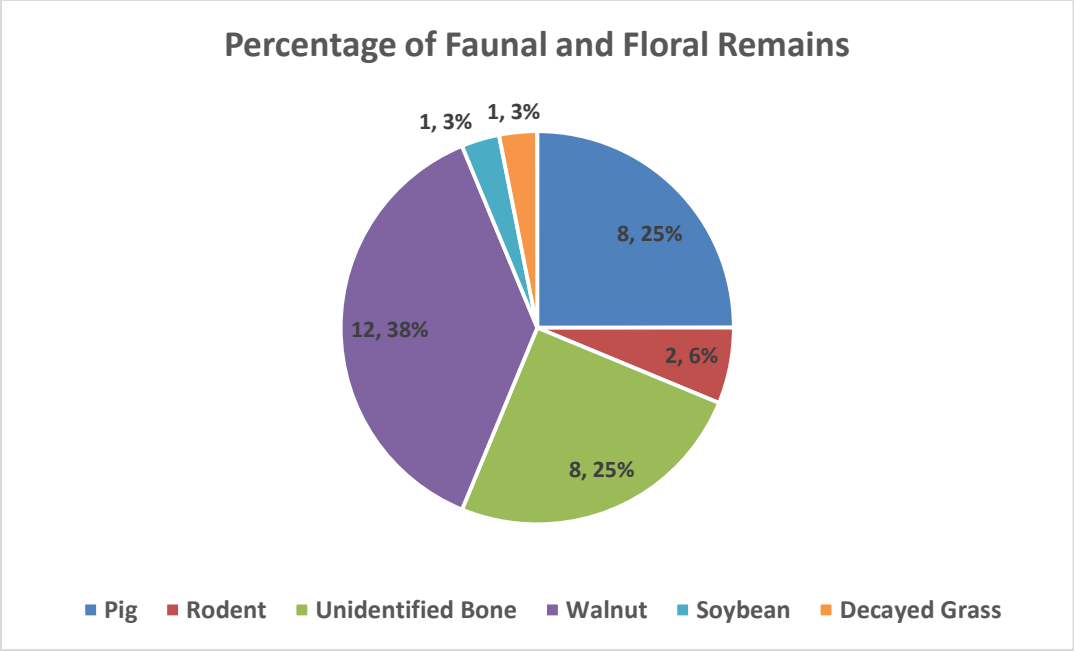


Figure 3.26. Biological remains. (Upper) Numbers and percentages of faunal and floral remains and (Lower) examples of faunal remains including (A) the upper right incisor of an adult pig; (B) a pig radius with cut marks; (C) a pig limb bone with a semi-circular notch; and (D) unidentified rodent bones.

The other faunal remains include two rodent bones from Level 2 of Unit 6F. We were unable to identify two fragments of cervical vertebrae and six of badly degraded bone from Unit 4H (Feature 3) to family. However, given that they appear to be intrusive and were isolated from most of the pig remains, they most likely represent the dog burial from the early 1960s.

Other Material

In addition to the types of artifacts discussed above, two samples of limonite were recovered, one from Unit 8K and one from the site surface. Although Native Americans used limonite, a yellowish iron oxide, as a source of pigment, there is no indication that the limonite from the site is anything other than naturally occurring.

Summary of Archaeological Interpretations

I conducted excavation, guided by remote sensing, to answer three questions related to the house. The first was whether the vicinity of the remaining depression actually was the site of a house; specifically, whether there had been a building on the site. The answer to this question is yes. Remote sensing, in combination with the excavated features, indicate that a building stood at the site that indicated by Elliott family oral history. The second question was whether the family built the house over or near the cellar. The distribution of limestone and materials such as nails and glass show a building footprint that would have covered the depression believed to be the remains of the cellar, again based on Elliott family oral history. The third question was whether I could ascertain the dimensions of the building from surviving features. The remote sensing results in combination with exploratory excavation suggest building dimensions of 33 by 48 feet, roughly units of 2 by 3 rods. I cannot ascertain the house's interior floor plan or the number of stories. Nor can I tell whether the family built the house at once or sequentially. However, based on the distribution of limestone, I believe it was most likely a standard double-

pen or dogtrot style house rather than a saddlebag variant (Figure 2.6). A double-pen floor plan implies limited spatial differentiation, so family members and any enslaved occupants of the house would have experienced a substantial lack of privacy.

I also intended artifact analysis to answer three specific questions related to the house and the James Elliott family. The first was whether the types and ages of the artifacts support an antebellum presence at the site. Ceramics, nails and construction materials, window glass, and other artifacts, absent historical documentation, do support an antebellum presence, continuing into the post-bellum period. In addition, the archaeological data allow some conclusions regarding site formation. The nature and condition of the artifacts suggest construction of the house during the antebellum period, and occupation into the post-bellum period. During the post-bellum period, the family removed some structural elements, and probably burned the remainder of the building to reduce hazards to livestock and impediments to the passage of agricultural equipment. Either before or after burning, they used the site for trash disposal, with additional disturbance caused by livestock and farm machinery; eventually they at least partially filled the cellar, possibly as late as the early twentieth century.

The second question was whether the types, frequencies, and quality of artifacts allow conclusions about the socioeconomic status of the house's occupants, since distinguishing small-scale from large-scale ownership has implications for the degree of surveillance experienced by the enslaved. This answer is more qualified. The artifacts suggest both men and women lived at the site. However, they not useful in and of themselves in determining the number of people and whether they were Euroamerican, African American, or both. In addition, the whiteware and stoneware ceramics and faunal remains suggest both food consumption and food processing took place on site, which in turn suggests ongoing agricultural activities. However, I expected the

material data to provide more context for the scale of the Elliott farming and slaveholding operation when considered in relation to the third question. That question was how the types, frequencies, and quality of artifacts compare to a known antebellum site, the Alexander Galbraith House in Lafayette County (23LF138), which was the home of a large-scale slaveholding family excavated in 2002 (Naglich et al. 2004).

Comparisons to the Alexander Galbraith Site (23LF138)

I expected the comparison of artifacts from the Elliott log house site with those recovered from the Galbraith site, using the same analytical methods, to help confirm the antebellum construction and occupation of the Elliott log house. I also intended this analysis to help assess the scale of the Elliott farming operation in comparison to a better-documented large-scale farming and slaveholding operation by evaluating types, quantities, and quality of artifacts and their distribution in relation to buildings with different dates of construction and histories of occupation. Understanding the scale of the Elliott operation would allow a deeper understanding of the expectations of both slaveholders and the enslaved in terms of the degree and type of surveillance they experienced. In addition, I expected the comparison with a larger-scale slaveholding operation to help assess the likelihood of finding unique markers of African American occupancy among the Elliott artifact assemblage.

The Galbraith family and others occupied the Alexander Galbraith Site in Lafayette County for approximately the same length of time as the Elliotts occupied their farmstead, living on or leasing the site until the early twenty-first century, when the Missouri Department of Transportation demolished the house to build a freeway interchange. Alexander Galbraith started as a small-scale slaveholder, originally from Kentucky. He moved his family to the site in 1829, along with five enslaved African Americans, three men and two women, all in their twenties.

Galbraith purchased the property from Robert and Martha White, who had owned it for only four years. Naglich et al. (2004) found evidence that the Whites built a double-pen dogtrot-style hewn log house on the site, which the Galbraiths occupied while constructing a wood frame stack house (two rooms, one on top of the other). An architectural evaluation estimated construction of the stack house occurred ca. 1830-1850. After completion of the stack house, the slaves likely occupied the log house.

Alexander Galbraith died in 1833, and the property passed to his wife, Nancy, who managed it jointly with their son Henry. During the period of Nancy's ownership, Henry bought out the interests of his siblings, and he acquired the entire property when Nancy died in 1849. Henry and his wife Elizabeth Thomas (who married in 1848 and had no children) constructed a wood frame addition to the stack house during the 1850s, as well as a wood frame saddlebag house (Figure 2.6) to serve as a slave quarter. An expansion in the 1870s added a porch to the stack house and second story to the stack house addition (Naglich et al. 2004).

In addition to census records, information for the site included the probate inventories of Alexander and Nancy's estates, which recorded the names and values of the people they enslaved. The Galbraith's slave population expanded from five slaves to seven by 1840, which included the original five and two children. By 1849, when Nancy died, the number had increased to 12, which included four children not identified as belonging to any of the original five slaves. The 1850 U.S. census report enumerated 13 slaves, while the 1860 census identified 14 slaves. It was a small change in total number, but of the 14, only eight had ages that could be linked to slaves enumerated in 1850, which suggests that several slaves had died or been sold. The census reports recorded no manumissions (Naglich et al. 2002). In the 1860 census, Henry

Galbraith estimated his real and personal property values as $8,250 and $11,000, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau 1860a).

For comparison I summarized the archaeological data from the Galbraith site in the same categories as for the Elliott Farm, using only the buildings at the Galbraith Site that were evaluated by Naglich et al. (2004) as having an antebellum origin. These included the original log house (demolition date unknown; probably late nineteenth century), the stack house, the addition to the stack house (collectively called "the residence", demolished in 2002), and the wood frame slave quarter (demolished in the 1930s). I tallied the artifacts associated with each building separately (Miller et al. 2000). Table 3.18 summarizes the results for ceramics, nails, and firearms components in comparison to the Elliott site. These artifacts support the antebellum origin the Galbraith Site and show a progression from older to newer artifacts as the Galbraith family moved successively from their log house to the stack house, and later to the stack house addition. The Elliott assemblage shows a similar progression from older to newer. Unfortunately, the report on the Galbraith Site did not include the colors and thicknesses of window glass, so I could not analyze those data for comparison.

As discussed above, ceramics recovered from the Elliott Site yielded an MCD of 1865. Using the same method, the combined data from the Galbraith buildings yielded an MCD of 1878; however, the building-specific MCDs are informative. The Galbraith log house had an MCD of 1884; this seems surprising at first, but suggests that, like the Elliott log house, the Galbraith family might have used the location of their log house for disposal post-demolition. The Galbraith stack house and slave quarter MCDs, 1868 and 1845 respectively, were the opposite of expectations. Investigators believed, based on Galbraith family records, that the construction of the stack house preceded that of the slave quarter (Naglich et al. 2004).

Table 3.18. Artifact comparisons. A comparison of the minimum numbers of (A) ceramics, (B) nails, and (C) arms and ammunition from the Elliott and Galbraith sites. MCDs were calculated using the raw ceramic counts included in Naglich et al. (2004) and the average dates of manufacture reported in DAACS (2006). Ratios, however, were calculated using the minimum numbers. For the ceramics ratios, total whiteware equals the sum of pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, and porcelain. The text discusses the interpretations of ceramic and nail ratios.

A. Ceramics

	Minimum Number of Vessels								White:Stoneware
	Pearlware	Whiteware	Ironstone	Porcelain	Stoneware	Redware	Yellow ware	MCD	Ratio
Elliott Log House	3	15	9	0	32	1	0	1865	0.9
Galbraith Log House	19	59	12	0	5	1	3	1884	18.0
Galbraith Stack House	3	7	2	2	2	1	1	1868	7.0
Galbraith Addition	1	25	46	2	3	4	1	1908	24.7
Galbraith Slave Quarter	0	2	0	0	12	0	0	1845	0.2

B. Nails

	Minimum Number of Nails				Cut:Wire
	Square	Cut	Wire	Total	Ratio
Elliott Log House	11	473	11	495	43
Galbraith Log House	n.r.	117	5	122	23.4
Galbraith Stack House	n.r.	137	36	173	3.8
Galbraith Addition	n.r.	482	58	540	8.3
Galbraith Slave Quarter	n.r.	30	41	71	0.7

Table 3.18. Continued

C. Arms & Ammunition

	Minimum Number of Firearm and Ammunition Components						
	Lead Balls	Flintlock Hammer	Flints	.22 BB Cap	.32 Long Cases	Drop Shot	.22 Cartridges
Elliott Log House	1	0	0	1	2	0	0
Galbraith Log House	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
Galbraith Stack House	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Galbraith Addition	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Galbraith Slave Quarter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

However, the presence of stoneware in higher numbers than any kind of whiteware, which was almost absent, drives the slave quarter MCD, and suggests that the Galbraiths provided the enslaved occupants with very utilitarian tableware. The stack house, on the other hand, housed the Galbraith family from the mid-1830s until the 1850s when the addition to the stack house was completed. The family's occupation explains the greater abundance of whiteware. In terms of comparability, the Galbraith slaves probably lived in the log house during most of the period that the family was in the stack house.

The predominance of cut nails relative to wire nails at the Elliott log house and three of the four Galbraith buildings is consistent with an antebellum construction period. Surprisingly, the Galbraith slave quarter was the exception – it yielded a higher proportion of wire nails, which Naglich et al. (2004) suggest was due to modern use of the location. The slave quarter yielded a very low number of artifacts relative to the other building sites, possibly because its completion only shortly before the Civil War resulted in a briefer antebellum occupancy period. The large number of nails found at the Elliott log house compared to the number from the stack house addition, known to be two stories tall in its final iteration, suggests the possibility that the Elliott log house also consisted of two stories.

As with the Elliott log house, the firearms and ammunition components show a range of innovations from the antebellum period forward. Investigators recovered a lead ball, a flintlock hammer, and two gunflints from the Galbraith log house, and a drop shot and modern .22 short cartridges from the stack house addition. This mirrors the progression from barrel-loaded flintlock or percussion weapons to the use of more advanced breech-loaded cartridges seen at the Elliott log house.

The diversity and numbers of ceramics from the Galbraith site in total were more extensive compared to those from the Elliott log house as they included porcelain and yellow ware. In addition, the ratio of whiteware (all types combined) to stoneware (Table 3.18) is telling. In her analysis of Celia's cabin Hamby (2004) suggested that the low ratio of whiteware to stoneware might indicate an individual of lower socioeconomic status, if not a slave per se. There are several reasons for her interpretation. Whiteware was more costly, and intended primarily for food consumption, while stoneware served as utilitarian tableware and for food preparation and storage. A higher ratio of whiteware to stoneware therefore suggests the occupants of a site were more engaged in consumption than in processing and preparation of food, which would imply more elite status. In addition, a characteristic of elite Euroamericans during the antebellum period was differentiated living space – having separate spaces for eating, cooking, sleeping, and entertaining – that could result in different patterns of deposition at different outbuildings within a site, depending on who the primary users of the location were. The Elliott log house shows a much lower ratio of whiteware to stoneware than the Galbraith buildings, with the exception of the artifact-poor slave quarter. This comparison suggests that the Elliott family was of a lower socioeconomic status than the Galbraith family. However, several potentially confounding factors influence this interpretation. One could be the use of the sites of older buildings for post-occupation deposition of broken and outdated ceramics, as seems to have happened with the site of the Galbraith log house. Another would be elite members of the household handing down older whiteware to servants and slaves. This would have a potentially greater confounding effect in instances where slaveholders and the enslaved lived in separate buildings, as was the case with the Galbraith household for most of the family's antebellum history.

The Galbraith site, particularly the log house believed to have quartered enslaved African Americans after the stack house was completed, yielded several types of artifacts that Naglich et al. (2004) considered possible markers of African American occupancy (Table 3.19). These included glass beads, jaw harps, and stoneware tobacco pipes. Although the beads from the log house were purple and white rather than blue, their discovery in a depression within the footprint of the log house suggested possible hoarding to Naglich et al. (2004). (It is also possible the beads fell through the floor.) Stoneware tobacco pipes have often been associated with antebellum slave sites, presumably because of their lower cost (Wilkie 2000:216), and music was an important pastime for the enslaved (Naglich et al. 2004). The presence of the jaw harps and tobacco pipes suggests that some leisure time was available to the users. Although not uniquely African American artifacts, they might be indicative in context.

Table 3.19. Possible markers of African American occupancy. Both the Elliott and Galbraith sites revealed some artifacts suggestive of the presence of African Americans, but not conclusive.

	African American Markers				
	Pierced Coins	Glass Beads	Jaw Harps	Stoneware Pipes	Total
Elliott Log House	1	0	0	1	2
Galbraith Log House	0	4	2	4	10
Galbraith Stack House	0	1	0	0	1
Galbraith Addition	0	2	2	2	6
Galbraith Slave Quarter	0	0	0	0	0

Cemetery Surveys

One indicator of the degree to which Euroamericans assimilated enslaved African Americans into their homes and customs is the burial of African Americans in family cemeteries and plots. Fitts (1996) considered burial at the margins of family cemeteries a mark of segregation intended to emphasize the Euroamerican family's elite status; however, the practice also gave the enslaved an opportunity for reduced surveillance (King 2010).

In December 2016, I surveyed six cemeteries looking for evidence of antebellum African American burials intermixed with Euroamerican burials. The cemeteries include two poorly maintained family cemeteries, the Elliott Cemetery (Figure 3.27), located on private property once owned by Joseph Elliott, and the Fry Cemetery (Figure 3.28), on private property once owned by Solomon Fry. I accessed both cemeteries with the permission of the current owners.

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Figure 3.27. Elliott family cemetery. A view of the Elliott Cemetery looking east, taken in December 2016. The standing headstone marks the graves of Archibald Elliott's son, William B. Elliott and his wife Manerva. The fallen stone in the foreground marks the grave of James Elliott's oldest son Robert Elliott (d. 1869).

Figure 3.28. The Fry family cemetery. A view looking east, showing the pedestal for Solomon Fry's headstone next to the tree stump. Solomon was a contemporary of James and Elizabeth Elliott. His headstone lies just to the left of the pedestal.

I also surveyed Hardin Township cemeteries associated with the Stony Point Presbyterian Church (still in operation) and the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church (now closed). Although the existing church buildings are post-bellum, both churches trace their founding to before the Civil War (Hanks and Corn 1977). In addition, I surveyed two traditionally African American cemeteries, both managed by the Second Baptist Church in Plattsburg, not founded until 1865. One cemetery, Mt. Washington, is located in Plattsburg; the other, Shady Grove Cemetery, is located in Hardin Township a few miles south of Stony Point Presbyterian Church, near State Highway O. Both are open to the public.

In the two family cemeteries, I recorded the information on all legible headstones for comparison to census records. In the four church cemeteries, I searched systematically for

headstones that recorded antebellum birth or death dates. All surveys were visual only. I did not use geophysical methods.

The two family cemeteries contained marked graves of only family members and friends or neighbors. There are no marked African American burials associated with either cemetery. The oldest recorded death in the Elliott cemetery was that of 33-year old Mary Ann Miller (wife of a local physician, Dr. William Miller) in 1855, followed by 12-year old William Stonum (Robert Elliott's brother-in-law) in 1859. Of the Elliotts themselves, I accounted for Archibald (d. 1863) and his wife Elizabeth Gist (d. 1875); Robert (d. 1869) and his children William (d. 1863), James (d. 1864), Susan (d. 1865), and one undated grave noted to be the infant son of Robert and Polly Ann; and Archibald's son William B. Elliott (d.1903) and his wife Manerva (d. 1875). Also buried in the family cemetery are Obadiah Douthitt (d. 1907), his wife Rebecca (d. 1911), and their 33-year old daughter Georgie (d. 1900). Shely and Hawkins (1964) reported that Rebecca Douthitt was one of Archibald's Kentucky-born daughters. Based on the range of dates discovered, the cemetery appears to have been in use for about 56 years. I was unable to locate the graves of Joseph (d. 1859) and William Elliott (d. 1853). I suspect they rest in the Elliott family cemetery, but their markers were not visible, possibly because of its neglected state. However, the inability to locate the brothers' graves suggests there could also be African Americans burials in the vicinity. If cleaned of brush, the cemetery would be a good site for additional GPR surveys.

James Elliott (d. 1878) and Elizabeth Carpenter (d. 1870) rest in the Pleasant Hill Baptist Cemetery (Figure 3.29). Also buried at Pleasant Hill are Jonathan Carpenter Elliott (d. 1910), his wife Semantha Virginia Knight (d. 1914), their infant son Forrest (d. 1873), and Carp's sister Lucretia Jane (d. 1899) and her husband James Froman (d. 1873).

Figure 3.29. Pleasant Hill Cemetery. Family portrait with my great-great-great grandparents, James Elliott (on my right) and Elizabeth Carpenter, December 2016, in the Pleasant Hill Cemetery. Although the Baptist church with which the cemetery is affiliated was founded in 1846 with James and Elizabeth as charter members, the building in the background dates to 1928 (Hanks and Corn 1977) and is no longer in used.

The Fry family cemetery included only members of the Fry family, with the possible exception of two graves with illegible inscriptions on the headstones. Burials dated between 1810 and 1917; included were James Elliott's contemporaries Solomon Fry (d. 1878), his brother Benjamin (d. 1862), and Benjamin's wife Catherine (d. 1878).

As with the family cemeteries, the post-bellum Pleasant Hill and Stony Point cemeteries have no identifiable African American burials. The founding of these cemeteries seems to coincide with the period in which African American were founding their own churches (Tinnen 2015). A number of African Americans interred at Mt. Washington and Shady Grove were born

during the antebellum period (Figure 3.30), and were likely among the anonymous slaves enumerated in the 1860 census. Both cemeteries contain only African American burials and are spatially isolated from Euroamerican cemeteries. The Mt. Washington Cemetery includes the burials of Charles (d. 1914) and Jane (d. 1898) Biggerstaff; Louise Keys (d. 1898); John Hicks, Co. E., 65th U.S. Colored Infantry; Mima Lysle (d. 1905); Benjamin Baker, Co. B, 83rd U.S. Colored Infantry (Figure 3.30); William Green (d.1946); and Josephine Shade (d. 1923). The Shady Grove cemetery includes the burials of Calvin (d. 1913) and Fannie (d. 1907) Evans; Moses (d. 1931) and Lavinia (d. 1944) Bailey; George Allen, Sr. (d. 1900) and Lou Ann (d. 1910) Harris; Manday Evans (d. 1887); and Solomon (d. 1907) and Susan (d. 1892) Brooks. Also buried were two of George Washington Estes's children, Harry (Henry) Estes (d. 1910) and his sister Annie Estes Hawkins (d. 1929).

While interesting and personally satisfying, the somewhat non-random nature of these surveys makes any robust interpretation difficult at best. The post-bellum cemeteries provide little insight into antebellum practices, since they seem to conform to post-bellum segregationist practices. The results from the two family cemeteries suggest a lack of inclusion regarding enslaved African Americans among family burials, which would be consistent with the practices documented by Fitts (1996) in Rhode Island. However, addressing the question more quantitatively would require a more detailed examination of these and other antebellum family cemeteries. Absent additional data, these results cannot conclusively confirm Fitts' (1996) argument that enslavers used segregation at burial as one way to emphasize slaveholders' elite status relative to the enslaved who lived in the family homes.

Figure 3.30. African American cemeteries. (Upper) Headstones of Benjamin Baker, Co. B, 83rd U.S. Colored Infantry, Mt. Washington Cemetery, Plattsburg, Missouri, and (Lower) Solomon and Susan Brooks, Shady Grove Cemetery, Hardin Township, Missouri. The Brooks' original headstones are behind the more recent memorial.

Conclusions

The archaeological results from this project suggest that the Elliotts were small-scale farmers and slaveholders, placing them among the many yeoman farmers of the Upper South and Midwest. They also confirm the Elliott family's oral history and the few existing family documents regarding the site of the first log house and provide some contours for understanding the activities and lifeways of the family during the antebellum period.

The original GLO grant deed to James Elliott for the land on which the log house is situated dates to December 1835, making it likely that James built the log house within a few years before or after that date. The presence of elements of a limestone foundation suggest that the house had floors, and was more substantial than a simple log cabin, probably requiring the help of professional builders. This in turn suggests that the Elliott family had the financial resources to marshal such assistance. The distribution of limestone rock about the site indicates that the building was double-penned (having two basic rooms side-by-side), but I cannot determine whether it was a standard double-pen style or a dogtrot style. I also cannot determine whether completion of the two rooms was concurrent or sequential. However, given the difficulty of expanding log houses, the former is more likely. I also cannot determine the differentiation of space within the house to any detail, although it seems likely that the northeast end contained the kitchen/dining area, given the greater numbers of ceramic and glass artifacts recovered from units in that portion of the building's footprint compared to the southwestern end.

Artifacts recovered from the site suggest that house featured glass windows, exterior clapboarding, and plastered walls. The presence of large quantities of cut nails supports an

antebellum construction date, as do the colors and thicknesses of window glass, which suggest a construction date of approximately 1841.

The Elliott family's oral history is mute on the topic of when the family demolished the log house. The presence of debris scatters at the very margins of the log house footprint suggests a decline in maintenance over time (Groover 2003:137-138); however, a similar pattern could have resulted from demolition. The mean ceramic date suggests peak occupancy in 1865, which supports the likelihood of an antebellum origin with post-bellum use. An estimated demolition date cannot be determined from the archaeological data. As discussed in the next chapter, an Edwards Brothers plat map shows that the log house was still standing as late as 1876. The typical practice in the post-bellum period would have been to remove any material needed for construction of new houses or outbuildings, burn the unwanted remains, then scatter whatever still stood to clear the site for agricultural activities. However, such sites could also serve for addition disposal and burning of unwanted material. The presence of larger bent nails among the site artifacts suggests some disassembly of the building occurred. There is also evidence of burning across the site; however, it is difficult to say whether burning was the primary method for removing the remainder of the house or simply occurred there post-demolition.

Ceramic artifacts that include both stoneware and decorated whiteware show that food preparation, storage, and consumption occurred on the site. The types of whiteware recovered also suggest a transition from early antebellum into post-bellum use. The presence of decorated whiteware shows the family had at least moderate means. Pig remains, the only identifiable food type recovered aside from walnuts, show the importance of pork as a component of the diet. Beyond that, the data provide little indication of the scope of the Elliotts' agricultural activities.

Ammunition types, which reflect a range of chronological innovations, suggest that small game augmented the diet.

Unfortunately, the artifacts recovered to date do not provide unequivocal evidence of African American occupation. Nor do they speak directly to the size of the family's slaveholding operation and the question of whether slaves lived with the family or in separate quarters. We detected no other potential building locations in the immediate vicinity of the log house, but a systematic search for other dwellings or outbuildings was beyond the scope of this investigation. The lack of such data frustrates a robust interpretation of the opportunities for the family's enslaved bondsmen to avoid or reduce surveillance, since the size of a slaveholding operation was an important determinant in the management of slave labor and the availability of such opportunities for the enslaved. For that reason, and to help confirm my conclusions regarding the period in which the James Elliott family built and occupied their log house, I provided additional context for the Elliott family assemblage by comparing it to that of the Alexander Galbraith Site in nearby Lafayette County.

The Galbraith family grew from a small-scale to a large-scale slaveholding operation between 1829 and the beginning of the Civil War, occupying at least two different houses as their fortunes grew, and remaining on their farm into the early twentieth century. In terms of the types and relative abundances of artifacts, the comparison of archaeological data from the Elliott log house to the Galbraith Site supports the interpretation of antebellum to post-bellum occupancy of the former. The larger quantity of uniquely decorated whiteware and greater amount of whiteware relative to stoneware at the Galbraith site suggest that the large-scale slaveholding Galbraith family was of a higher socioeconomic status than the Elliotts, who were thus more likely to have been small-scale farmers and slaveholders. I will evaluate the

implications of this conclusion for the Elliott's enslaved African Americans in subsequent chapters. However, like the data from the Elliott farm, the Galbraith site does not provide conclusive material evidence of an African American occupancy despite historical records that attest to the presence of up to 15 enslaved African Americans by the time of the Civil War.

The cemeteries of the Elliott and Fry families seem to have the burials of only Euroamerican family members and friends, but the survey methodology lacked sufficient rigor to accept that conclusion without qualification. This result weakly supports Fitts' (1996) contention that slaveholders used segregation in cemeteries as a means of emphasizing their more elite status relative to their enslaved bondsmen, which is one of the conditions that reduces surveillance of the enslaved and facilitates resistant accommodation. The other important condition, whether the enslaved lived in the family home, could not ascertained from the archaeological data. I will discuss that question in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4

Historical Records: The Elliotts and their Enslaved African Americans in Time and Place

As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field so he flourishes.

For the wind passes over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more.

Psalm 103:15-16 (AKJ)

Introduction

The size of a farm and the slaveholding practices of its owners helped establish the types of opportunities available to the enslaved for avoiding or limiting surveillance (Garman 1998). The overview of antebellum Missouri presented in Chapter 2 provided some general expectations for the lives and circumstances of the Elliott family's enslaved African Americans in an agrarian society structured to perpetuate and protect the institution of slavery. The archaeological evaluation of the James Elliott farmstead discussed in Chapter 3 suggests an antebellum farm family of moderate means engaged in food production and preservation, but provides little information in terms of the number of occupants and changes in numbers over time. In addition, the archaeological evaluation yields no direct evidence of slaveholding or African American occupancy.

In this chapter, I will provide local context for the antebellum period in Hardin Township based on secondary sources such as the brief county history written by James Riley to accompany the Edwards Brother plat maps (1876) and the 1881 county history commissioned by the Clinton County Historical Society, augmented by recent sources. A particularly useful source was the *Missouri Historical Review*, which has been in continuous publication since the early 1900s.

I will then establish the small-scale nature of the Elliott family farms and begin outlining the conditions under which their enslaved African Americans lived. I will focus on the scale of the individual farm as revealed by primary antebellum documents such General Land Office (GLO) grant deeds, marriage records, U.S. census reports, Clinton County Court records, and limited records still held by the family. These documents will provide additional details of the families' backgrounds in Kentucky, the dates they formally acquired government land in Missouri, family relationships and interactions, financial status, patterns of slave ownership and housing, and their agricultural activities. Knowing the types of crops and livestock raised will help to evaluate the associated labor needs and infer opportunities for the enslaved to avoid surveillance. I will also discuss the results of a viewshed analysis as it relates to opportunities for the enslaved at the farm level. I will discuss the larger socioeconomic setting and the networking opportunities that the landscape provided for the enslaved at a more expansive scale in Chapter 5.

As a prelude to this and following chapters, Figure 4.1 provides a brief family genealogy, with a focus on the line of descent to the current owners of the Elliott Farm. The Elliott family frequently reused Christian names from one generation to the next. In addition, many antebellum citizens carried the names of American presidents, prominent political leaders, and Old Testament prophets and their wives. This situation makes it difficult to track people with similar or identical names through the historical records. Since I discuss a number of my ancestors and their contemporaries in future chapters, Figure 4.1 serves as a quick reference guide.

Antebellum Clinton County

The Missouri state legislature established Clinton County, the chosen home of the Elliott brothers, in January 1833, partitioning it from the northern half of Clay County.

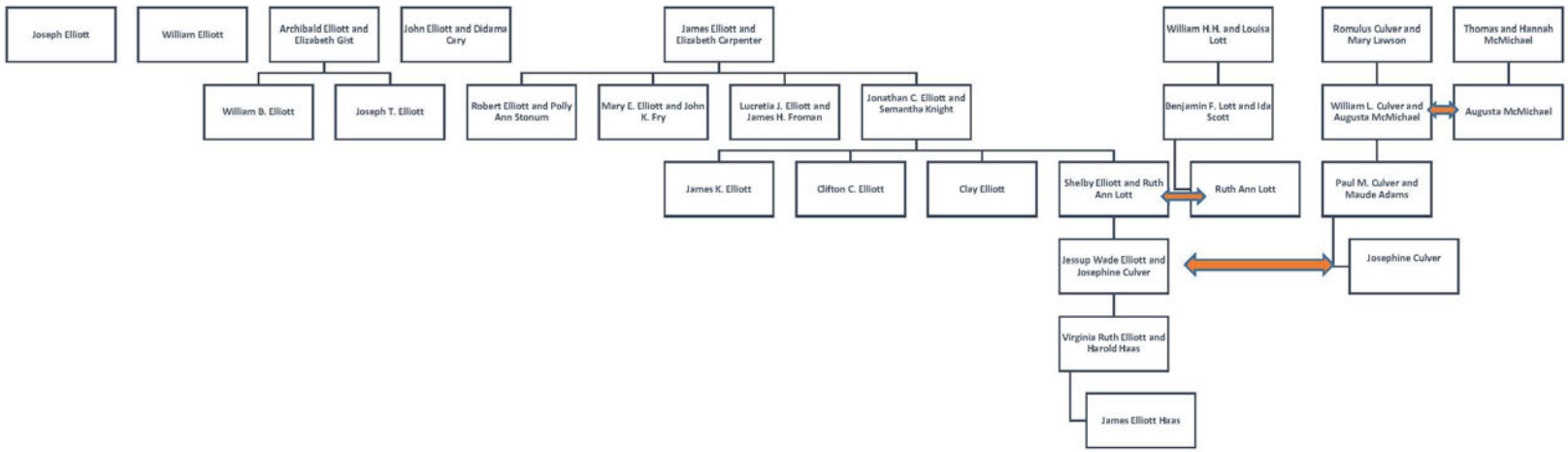


Figure 4.1. Elliott family tree. Also shown are associated Clinton County families that joined the Elliott line in ownership of the family farm. The top line shows the largely slaveholding settler generation, the Elliott brothers and their peers; the second line shows the first generation born in Missouri. For associated families, it shows only children who contributed to or married into the Elliott family. The third line shows only Jonathan Carpenter Elliott's direct descendants. Finally, the fourth line shows only Shelby Elliott's direct descendants. For simplicity, I have not added my sisters to the bottom row.

Clay County was organized in 1822 in the western portion of the former St. Charles District. Somewhat ironically, given its later political inclinations, the legislature named Clinton County for DeWitt Clinton, the popular governor of New York (CCHS 1881a:85). Clinton County was a child of its times, manifesting national, state, and regional trends in culture, politics, and labor at a smaller scale.

At the time of its creation, Clinton County was on the extreme western border of Missouri. The Platte Country between the state line and the Missouri River had not yet been acquired by treaty from the Sac and Fox and Iowas, later accomplished by the Platte Purchase of 1837 (Combs 2002). The tenure of Missouri's Sac and Fox people in the Platte River Valley had begun only in 1824, when they had ceded territory in northeastern Missouri to the United States and relocated to the Platte River area (De Vore and Nickel 2007). By then, however, Euroamericans had already established permanent settlements in and around the Platte Country. Given the region's fertility and its access to the commercially important Missouri River, its acquisition by the United States was already inevitable. As early as 1832 Missouri Governor John Miller was advocating for annexation of the region, and upon the conclusion of the Platte Purchase, President Martin Van Buren proclaimed that the territory belonged to Missouri. Although the Platte Purchase technically violated the Missouri Compromise by opening additional territory to slavery above 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, the balance of power in the U.S. Senate was unaffected, so there was little political opposition (Combs 2002).

While some settlement in the Clinton County area had occurred as early as 1826, its official organization in 1833 marked the beginning of permanent Euroamerican settlement. Those early days established its political character. David Rice Atchison was among the first county commissioners appointed by the Act to Organize the County of Clinton. Atchison was a

fiery pro-slavery lawyer and Democratic politician who played a leading role in the South's attempt to enforce its right to carry slavery anywhere in the Union. During the course of a long career, he served as a state court judge, a U.S. Senator from Missouri, and a general in the Missouri State Militia, among other offices. In the latter role, he led a unit of the militia into neighboring Kansas during the election of 1855 in a successful attempt to force the vote for the Kansas state constitution in favor of slavery. During the Civil War, he was a staunch secessionist, serving briefly as a general in the pro-Confederate Missouri State Guard under General Sterling Price. After the war, Atchison largely retired from public life, but, throughout his life and career, Clinton County revered him as a favorite son (Parrish 1956). His statue graces the front of the county courthouse to this day.

The Clinton County area had no trading posts, shops, blacksmiths, or mills until after 1832; getting grain milled required a multi-day journey to Clay County until enterprising citizens built the first horse-powered gristmill near Plattsburg, the county seat, in 1836. Early settlers recalled frontier life as being egalitarian and virtuous. However, the authors of the 1881 county history, who were able to interview some of the surviving pioneers, provided this caution:

> …as a rule the memory of the old settler is not trustworthy; his ideas of the general outline of events are…comparatively correct, but no one…will trust it to the arbitrament of questions of particulars and details.
>
> (CCHS 1881a:83).

These authors described the earliest settlers, probably somewhat fancifully (Dunaway 1996:123), as largely poor, but optimistic about their prospects for betterment. Owsley (1949) described settlement of the Upper South as having occurred in two waves, and the earliest Clinton County settlers probably reflected the first wave, which consisted primarily of graziers who pastured their livestock on public lands without necessarily having the right of ownership (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2. George Caleb Bingham (1850) "The Squatters." The earliest Euroamerican settlers in Missouri led lifeways that combined fur trapping, livestock grazing, and subsistence agriculture, often residing on government land without benefit of ownership (Owsley 1949:32). (Public domain image courtesy of WikiCommons.)

Owlsey contended that such people might have appeared poor to others because the source of their wealth, livestock, was scattered out of sight over the countryside (1949:36). Because they were mostly of the same socioeconomic status and faced the same hardships, activities such as communal cabin-building events were common, and they controlled lawlessness by the power of community action. In addition to grazing and subsistence agricultural activities, they hunted and trapped for fur, and exploited bee trees for beeswax and honey for both food and income. Socially, shooting matches and quilting parties provided

entertainment and courting opportunities, with dancing at such events often continuing through the night (CCHS 1881a:135).

The second wave of settlers typically included those who were interested in buying and farming land on a more permanent basis (Owsley 1949:50). This second phase began in Clinton County with the establishment of the county and the appointment of county judges and other county officers, marking the beginning of a more hierarchical social order. By then settlers had established themselves in the county who had the resources to pay cash for government land. Hurt (1992:63) estimated that the cost of immigrating to Missouri and establishing a farm averaged about $2,000 (including a log house costing $25-$100), equivalent to about $48,000 today. In addition, some settlers either transported slaves from their home states or bought them locally. This marked the beginning of farming operations that exceeded the limits of simple subsistence (Dunaway 1996:124).

By the time of the 1840 census, prominent slaveholding farmers such as James Winn and John Reed were already residing in Hardin Township (U.S. Census Bureau 1840). By 1850, settlers covered much of the region, and some of the most successful slaveholders were well-established (U.S. Census Bureau 1850; Hurt 1992:79). James H. Birch was representative of them. Birch, a strong pro-slavery advocate, attorney, and farmer in Concord Township, served as a Missouri State Supreme Court Justice from 1849 to 1851 during the adjudication of Dred Scott's freedom suit. Although he lost his place on the court in the election of 1851, before it rendered a final decision in the case, Birch had already written his contribution to the decision that remanded Dred Scott to slavery. Birch's effort on behalf of his fellow-slaveholders helped set the stage for the U.S. Supreme Court case in 1857, which upheld the right to own slaves in U.S territories, denied the legality of African American citizenship, and declared that the

Missouri Compromise of 1820, banning slavery in the western territories, was unconstitutional (Ehrlich 1979:59-60).

Not surprisingly, the testimonies of Euroamerican settlers of this period are almost entirely silent on the contributions of enslaved African Americans to the county's settlement and development. Clinton County's slave population was relatively small compared to the River Counties, such as neighboring Clay County, which bordered the commercially important Missouri River. In 1860 the slave population of Clinton County was estimated at 1,250 or less, or 10-14 percent of the total population (Hurt 1992:*xii*, Burke 2010:96-7). Approximately half of Clinton County's African American population lived in Concord and Hardin townships. The former was home to the county seat and the latter, on fertile soil on the northwest border of Clay County, was where the Elliott brothers settled. Therefore, African Americans contributed disproportionately to the economic development of these townships compared to other parts of the county.

A slave would have represented a significant investment – equivalent of up to $40,000 in today's dollars. In addition, since year-round agriculture was less feasible than in the Deep South, housing and feeding a large number of slaves through the winter would have been economically risky for most of the county's farmers (Wright 2003). However, with free labor in short supply, owners and their sons often worked side-by-side with their slaves raising hogs, hemp, corn, wheat, and tobacco. Many therefore considered the financial risk worth the potential gain. In addition, it was common for small-scale farmers to rent or borrow slaves when they needed concentrated labor, which could defray a slaveholder's acquisition and maintenance costs and provide an additional source of income (Hurt 1992:238-239).

Under the state's slave codes, some slaveholders could have allowed the enslaved to sell their own labor, to use firearms for hunting, and to travel locally on business for their owners, or to visit family. As previously discussed, many former slaveholders viewed such times bucolically after the Civil War, claiming a more humane form of slavery existed in Missouri (Bell 1927). And in truth, even in the most restrictive settings there were always limits to the amount of control a slave owner could exert, both practically (Burke 2010:168; Fesler 2010; Vlach 2004) and legally (Trexler 1909). However, violence against offending slaves was often brutal, sexual abuse of female slaves was common, and the law was seldom sympathetic to their plight (Burke 2010:185; Hamby 2004; King 2007). Such events are unlikely to be the stuff of "the memory of the old settler" (CCHS 1881a:83).

Historical Records of the Elliotts and Their Neighbors

Historical records specific to antebellum Clinton County are sparse. The county suffered a loss of many of its official records when the courthouse burned in 1863 (Hanks 1977c), although some antebellum records remain available through the Missouri State Archives. In 1881, the Clinton County Historical Society published *The History of Clinton County, Missouri: A History of the County, its Cities, Towns, etc.*, based, in part, on the testimony of antebellum settlers. However, the information in that volume focused on Euroamerican men and their interests, and there is almost no mention of the institution of slavery or African Americans except in benign generalizations. Unfortunately, the Elliotts, like many frontier families, seem to have been indifferent record keepers, presumably because they "took no care to preserve history – they were too engaged in making it." (CCHS 1881a:125). Surviving documents from James's time include the Elliott family's American King James Bible, published in 1844 by J. Harding, Printer, of Philadelphia, and the original grant deed to the Elliott Farm. In addition, there is an

Abstract of Title prepared for Shelby Elliott in 1934. The family also retained several newspaper articles from the early to mid-1900s, and handed down family stories orally. All of these sources, with small exceptions, are largely mute on the topic of the Elliott's enslaved African Americans. Also available are a few letters by or to members of the Culver family, who were also small-scale slaveholders in Clinton County, and the family of my maternal grandmother, Josephine Elliott.

Augmenting the existing family records are those available through online digital databases. The Ancestory.com database provided the U.S. census records from 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850 (free and slave schedules), 1860 (free and slave schedules), 1870, and 1880; marriage records from antebellum Kentucky and Missouri; and federal draft registration records from 1863.

The U.S. Bureau of Land Management (BLM) General Land Office digital database (BLM 2007) provided copies of 1830 grant deeds to Joseph and William Elliott, 1833 and 1835 grant deeds to James Elliott, an 1835 grant deed to Archibald Elliott, and an 1837 grant deed to John Elliott. In addition, copies of 1854 and 1859 military warrants issued in Archibald's name were available.

Some records specific to antebellum Clinton County were available on microfilm in the Missouri State Archives. These included documents from the county court on the assignment and reports of slave patrols between 1859 and 1861; October 1860 summons to manumitted African Americans to appear before the court; and loyalty oaths signed by public officials during and after the Civil War. The State Archive's digital database was the source of a copy of *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Clinton County, Missouri* (Edwards Brothers 1876), which

provided a plat map of Hardin Township and a brief history of the county written by Plattsburg attorney James Riley.

Finally, the State Historical Society of Missouri provided microfilm copies of the agricultural schedules from the 1850 and 1860 U.S. censuses through an interlibrary loan. The society's research service also provided a copy of the will of Joseph Elliott (as recorded in Clinton County Court records). The Clinton County Court archives provided a copy of the will of John Elliott, as recorded. However, probate inventories were not available for either brother.

I used this collection of records, for this and future chapters, to create an overview of the Elliott family during the antebellum years and the working and housing conditions of the people they enslaved, as well as the opportunities for the enslaved to limit surveillance. I evaluated the scale of the Elliott's farming operation in relation to their peers, which is important for assessing the larger cultural landscape and networking opportunities for the enslaved. I then developed profiles of slaveholding by the Elliotts and their neighbors to evaluate family structure and turnover rates between census periods (discussed in the next chapter). With the 1876 plat map, I pinpointed the locations of slaveholder and free African American homes on the landscape to evaluate networking opportunities. Finally, I used the data to help understand post-bellum changes faced by slaveholders and the enslaved (discussed in Chapter 6).

In addition to the challenges discussed above regarding the loss of official records, time has increasingly separated the descendants of the African American slaves from their family histories. Oral traditions and written records are rare. The U.S. censuses of 1850 and 1860, for example, had separate schedules for enumerating slaves and recording their gender, age, and owners – but not their names. This lack of data makes it very difficult to trace slave descendants or for African Americans to explore their ancestry. However, the Kansas City Public Library

provided a digital copy of the 2002 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) microfilm report of the African American recruitment records, 1863-1865, to U.S. Colored Infantry units. These records gave both the names of the recruits and the names of their former holders. In addition, the website of the Kansas State Historical Society provided digital copies of the enlistment and discharge records of the 2nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry, later the 83rd U.S. Colored Infantry. These sources helped counterbalance the Euroamerican focus of the other data sources.

The Elliott Family in Clinton County

Shortly after the state legislature passed "An Act to Organize the County of Clinton" in 1833, Governor Daniel Dunklin appointed three county court judges. Archibald Elliott, a middle-aged farmer from Franklin County Kentucky, was among them (CCHS 1881a:99-100). Archibald and four of his brothers, Joseph, William, John, and James moved to Missouri at dates ranging between 1828 and 1837, settling in what became Hardin Township, established by the Clinton County Court in June 1834 (CCHS 1881a:106). Four sisters, Rebecca, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Jane remained in Kentucky. Two other brothers, Christopher and Robert, also remained to run the family milling and distillery business. Their father William started the business in the late 1700s. William had moved from Virginia to Kentucky with his wife Rebecca between 1788 and 1795 (Shely and Hawkins 1964). Table 4.1 outlines the Elliott brothers' family relationships and slaveholding practices as obtained from U.S. census records (U.S. Census Bureau 1820a, 1830a, 1830b, 1840, 1850, 1860b). All five brothers acquired government land in Missouri under the Land Act of 1820 (BLM 2007), meaning they paid in cash at a rate of at least $1.25 per acre.

Table 4.1. Elliott family relationships and slaveholding patterns. This overview of data from U.S. census records shows the Elliott brothers in decreasing order of age. Only children born in Missouri are included. Archibald arrived with two daughters who were born in Kentucky and gone by the time of the 1850 census. John arrived with two sons and three daughters born in Kentucky, along with Didama's two daughters from her first marriage. (n.r.=not reported; n.a.=not applicable)

		Children Born in Missouri		Slave Ownership Based on U.S. Census Records				
Elliott Brothers	Wives	Sons	Daughters	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Joseph (d. 1859)	None	n.a.	n.a.	n.r.	n.r.	5	5	5
William (d. 1853)	None	n.a.	n.a.	n.r.	0	0	1	n.a.
Archibald (d. 1863)	Elizabeth Gist	William B.	0	0	0	0	1	0
John (d. 1845)	Didama Cary	Joseph T. Martin V. Newton	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
James (d. 1878)	Elizabeth Carpenter	George Robert Jonathan C.	Lucretia Jane Mary Elizabeth	n.r.	n.r.	1	2	2

Hurt (1992:215) emphasized that the decision to hold slaves was largely an economic one based on the need for labor. Children on the frontier were a source of both labor and continuity (Groover 2003:28). In a small-scale agricultural operation, healthy children could mitigate the need to purchase slaves (Burke 2010:77). The number of children might explain in part why slave ownership practices among the Elliott brothers were so variable. A correlation analysis (Williams 1985:72-78) of slaves owned versus the number of members within the Elliott brothers' families shows a strong negative correlation between the number of family members and the number of slaves held (Pearson's $r = -0.759$; $p<0.005$). However, Joseph with no children and five slaves at one end, and John, with up to ten children and no slaves at the other, strongly drive the relationship. The other brothers made more variable slaveholding choices. The brothers' decisions regarding where to buy land, how much to develop, and what agricultural commodities to produce also inform an understanding of the conditions under which their enslaved African Americans lived and labored, as will be further discussed below.

Joseph (born in Virginia in 1779), William (born in Virginia in 1786), Archibald (born in Virginia in 1788), and James (born in Kentucky in 1798) settled within a mile of each other (refer to Figure 3.2). John (born in Kentucky in 1795) was the last brother to arrive in Clinton County, and settled about four miles northwest of his brothers, possibly due to unavailability of land closer to them. The exact dates of their arrivals are unknown, but the older three could have arrived as early as 1828 (CCHS 1881a:214). The 1830 U.S. Census placed Archibald and William in Clay County (U.S. Census Bureau 1830a), so they were already inhabitants of the area when Clinton County was organized. Brief sketches of the Elliott brothers' lives, based on the scanty historical record, follow in order of age.

Joseph, the oldest of the five, received the grant deed to his 129-acre farm in November 1830 from the Lexington Land Office (BLM 2007). His real property was valued at $800 in 1850. Joseph husbanded horses, milk cows, oxen, cattle, sheep, and pigs. He produced corn, oats, wool, Irish and sweet potatoes, had an orchard, made butter, and harvested hay (Table 4.2). This suite of agricultural activities and products was common to his brothers in varying degrees. Joseph was unmarried and reported having no children. Five enslaved African Americans held between 1840 and 1859 (U.S. Census Bureau 1840, 1850, and 1860b) provided the labor on his farm. The county court transcribed Joseph's 1845 will into the court record upon his death in October 1859. In it, he left his land, household furnishings, and farm implements to his nephew, John Elliott's son Joseph. He also included the following provision:

> I will that at my death all my negroes, to wit, Lucy, John King, Mary Ann, Cely Ann, and Ellie be set free. I want it particularly understood that after my death the aforesaid slaves are to be forever emancipated from bondage, and no person or persons are to have any interest in or control over them, but in all things they are to have the privilege of free negroes agreeable to the laws of the State of Missouri.
>
> Joseph Elliott, Last Will and Testament, 1845

Knowing the names of Joseph's enslaved African Americans enabled me to determine that, despite some idiosyncrasies on the part of census takers, Joseph held the same slaves over the twenty-year period between 1840 and his death. The ages of each in the U.S. census records suggest that Lucy was the mother of the other four. U.S. census records consistently described the youngest girl, Celia, age five in 1840, as a mulatto, raising the possibility that Joseph himself was her father. These circumstances suggest that Joseph might have considered his slaves as his family, but if so, he did not leave them a means of support. By the time of the 1860 census, all five, manumitted per Joseph's will, lived together on a Euroamerican farm in neighboring Buchanan County (U.S. Census Bureau 1860c).

It was fortunate that Lucy and her children relocated when they did. Court records show that Joseph had not appointed an executor, and unspecified potential heirs contested his will. The court declared him to have died intestate and appointed Archibald as executor for the estate. An 1860 county court summons charged King and Celia to appear before the court to "give reason why their license as a free negro should not be revoked." (Clinton County Court 1860). County Sheriff William Ferguson's notes on the summons indicate that King was not served because he could not be located, and Celia was served "by reading" courtesy of the Buchanan County sheriff. However, there is no record of the outcome in either case.

William Elliott also received the grant deed to his 125-acre farm from the Lexington Land Office in November 1830 (BLM 2007). His property and Joseph's were aligned along the section line between range 32 and range 33, with William in the northwest quarter and Joseph in the southwest quarter of section 7. William sold 10 acres at the northern end of his farm to Lorenzo Froman in August 1833 (CCHS 1881a:315-6). He lived with Archibald and his family; William, like Joseph, was unmarried and had no children in Missouri. Unlike his brothers, and their wives and children, William was unable to read or write. He divested more of his property over time, possibly to Archibald. In 1850, he reported his real property as 70 undeveloped acres, valued at $400. In addition, he reported no agricultural production of any kind in the 1850 agricultural schedule (U.S. Census Bureau 1850).

William seems to have been a casual slaveholder. Although he participated in the 1830, 1840, and 1850 censuses, he reported holding a slave only once, a 50-year-old African American man in 1850. His motivation for having a slave is an open question, since he seemed to have little need for labor, but a slave could have contributed to Archibald's combined labor force.

Table 4.2. Elliott family annual agricultural production. Data are from the Agricultural Schedules of the 1850 and 1860 U.S. census reports. Also shown are corn self-sufficiency indices (see text). Not shown are categories included in the census, but for which the family reported no production in either year, such as hemp, rye, tobacco, barley, buckwheat, market garden vegetables, clover seed, and flax seed. In 1860, beeswax and honey were broken out as separate categories; this table combines them for consistency between years. William and Joseph Elliott died between census years, and James's sons Robert and Carp became farmers in their own right.

		Owner, Agent, or Manager				Owner, Agent, or Manager			
		Elliott Family - 1850				Elliott Family - 1860			
Category	Number or value	Joseph	William	Archibald	James	Robert	Carp	Archibald	James
Acres	Improved	60		50	70	25	40	100	100
	Unimproved	65	70	80	50	75	40	100	20
Value	Farm	$800	$400	$1,000	$1,000	$1,000	$1,000	$2,500	$2,000
	Farm Equipment	$30		$100	$100	$40		$100	$100
Livestock	Horses	6		4	5	2	2	4	3
	Asses & Mules						1		
	Milch Cows	4		5	6	3	2	2	4
	Working Oxen	2			4			2	6
	Other Cattle	8		4	18	7		3	9
	Sheep	15		20	30	12		5	25
	Swine	40		30	70	20		20	40
Value	Livestock	$500		$360	$490	$250	$300	$400	$600
Produce	Wheat, bsh			20	50	40			12
	Indian Corn, bsh	600		500	1250	750	500	500	1000
	Oats, bsh	100		30	100	0		20	100
	Wool, lbs	30		30	65	40			120
	Peas & Beans, bsh								5
	Irish Potatoes, bsh	20		15	20	20		50	20
	Sweet Potatoes, bsh	10		6	15				
Value	Orchard Products	$10		$20	$50			$20	$100
	Butter, lbs	100		100	200	100		150	400

Table 4.2. Continued.

		Owner, Agent, or Manager				Owner, Agent, or Manager			
		Elliott Family 1850				Elliott Family 1860			
Category	Number or value	Joseph	William	Archibald	James	Robert	Carp	Archibald	James
	Hay, tons	1		3	3	1		2	3
	Grass seeds, bsh			1					4
	Flax, lbs			20					
	Molasses, gal							40	50
	Beeswax & Honey, lbs			20	200			130	320
Value	Home-made Manufactures	$20		$25	$120	$25			$50
Value	Animals Slaughtered	$50		$40	$90	$50		$75	$100
Corn Self-sufficiency Index		2.12	0	1.97	2.97	6.20	22.22	3.24	4.04

It is also possible that William suffered from a physical handicap or chronic disease and needed the consistent care a slave could provide. William died in 1853, probably the most enigmatic of the five brothers in terms of available information.

Both Joseph and William might have served in the Kentucky Militia during the War of 1812, given that five of six eligible Kentuckians enlisted during the war (Quisenberry 2011:173).Militia records compiled by Kentucky Adjutant General Sam Hill in 1891 show a Corporal Joseph Elliott mustered with Capt. Sugg's Company, 6th Regiment. At least three different William Elliotts mustered with the militia; two of them were sergeants, so given that William was illiterate, the likeliest candidate is Private William Elliott in Capt. Morrison's Company, 2nd Regiment. Archibald's service in the militia, however, was affirmatively documented, showing that he served as a private in Capt. Dudley's Company, 10th Regiment, Kentucky Militia (BLM 2007; Hill 1891). In October 1813 all three regiments served in the decisive Battle of the Thames against the British and their Native American allies led by the Shawnee war chief Tecumseh (Quisenberry 2011:92). Kentucky Militia General John King commanded forces in the field during the battle. Joseph's use of King's name for one of the people he enslaved is likely not coincidental.

Archibald married Elizabeth Gist in Kentucky in 1818 (Ancestory.com 2016), and arrived in Missouri with her and two daughters. Living with the unmarried William, he responded as head of household for census purposes in 1840 and 1850. The two daughters were absent from the household by the time of the 1850 census, so their names are unrecorded; however, one might have been Rebecca Ann, the wife of neighbor Obadiah Douthitt (Shely and Hawkins 1964). Archibald and Elizabeth had two sons born in Missouri, William B. and Joseph T. Elliott, in about 1839 and 1841, respectively. Archibald was an active citizen of Clinton

County. In addition to his two-year appointment as a county judge, he voted, with his brother James, among the 33 men who participated in the county's first election in 1833 (CCHS 1881a:403). He and Elizabeth helped found the Stony Point Presbyterian Church around 1837 (Hanks and Corn 1977); he also served as a Hardin Township Justice of the Peace for an unspecified period starting in 1848 (Hanks 1977d).

With the exception of the 1820 census in Kentucky, Archibald consistently listed his occupation as a farmer in the census records. The fact that his peers considered him eligible for appointment as a county judge suggests that he might have had some legal training, or at least some formal schooling. In the 1850 agricultural schedule Archibald report owning or managing 130 acres; yet he acquired no government land in Clinton County, which suggests that he had the resources to buy relatively expensive private land. With 50 acres in cultivation, Archibald raised products similar to Joseph's, with the addition of wheat, grass seeds, flax, and beeswax and honey (Table 4.2). By the time of the 1860 census Archibald had acquired an additional 70 acres of land, probably inherited when William died in 1853. He had dropped the production of flax and was producing additional beeswax and honey; he was also producing sorghum molasses. The introduction of bee hives with removable wooden frames in 1852 (Oertel 1980) and sweet sorghum as a temperate alternative to sugar cane in 1854 (Socolofsky 1993) facilitated these changes.

Like William, Archibald was a casual slaveholder, using primarily himself and his sons as labor. Surprisingly for that time, Archibald and his family appeared in every U.S. census between 1820 and 1860. Over that 40-year period, Archibald reported holding only one slave, a twelve-year boy, in 1850. That same year Archibald's household also included a free African American woman named Mariah, who was 45 years old. Whether there was a relationship

between Mariah and the slaves held by William and Archibald is unknown, but possible. I discussed above the possibility that William needed special care; but it could also be that Archibald simply needed additional labor during that period until his sons were older.

Archibald might also have supplemented his farm income with land speculation. He acquired 42 acres of land in Lafayette County in November 1835 (BLM 2007), but there is no indication he ever lived there. In 1850, Congress enacted "An Act granting Bounty Land to certain Officers and Soldiers who have been engaged in the Military Service of the United States" (BLM 2007). Archibald used his veteran's status to secure the acquisition of 80 acres of government land by Martin Bogar in 1854 and another 80 acres by Luther Martin in 1859. However, the GLO documents do not record whether Archibald profited from these transactions. Shortly after the county court replaced him as executor for Joseph's estate in February 1863, court records show that he purchased Joseph's land from the new executor. However, he had little time to enjoy the benefits, dying himself in August 1863.

John Elliott did not arrive in Missouri until about 1837. He received a grant deed through the Lexington Land Office for 149 acres of government land in Clinton County, near the Buchanan County line, in 1838 (GLO 1838). He also purchased an unspecified amount of privately owned land in neighboring Buchanan County (CCHS 1881b:188).

John seems to have been a successful farmer in Kentucky before his move to Missouri, as indicated by his ability to leverage the purchase of so much acreage. In 1812, at age 18, he married Eupha Smith (Yates Publishing 2004). Enrollment records list three John Elliotts as privates in the Kentucky Militia; he was likely one of them. By 1820 John and Archibald were neighbors in Lawrenceburg, Kentucky, both working "in commerce" (U.S. Census Bureau 1820a), probably the family mill and distillery. He and Eupha had two sons and three daughters.

By the time of the 1830 census they had four sons and five daughters; however, Eupha died shortly afterward, and in 1832 John married Didama Cary (Ancestry.com 1997a), a young widow with two daughters, Winona and Mary. John and Didama arrived in Missouri with two of John's older sons, three of his older daughters, and the two Cary girls. After their arrival, they had three sons of their own, Martin V., Newton, and George Elliott. Perhaps because of the large number of children to provide labor, John reported owning no slaves in 1820, 1830, or 1840, when he had five, nine, and ten children, respectively, in his household.

Although well respected by his peers (CCHS 1881b:187) and poised for financial success, John Elliott did not reach his potential. He died in February 1845. His will, as transcribed in the county court record, survives in the Clinton County Court archives. John charged Didama to hold his property intact until his youngest son, George (then about one year old), reached the age of 21. However, he gave Didama right of dower, which allowed her to sell a portion of the property (typically up to a third) to support herself and the children if needed. At John's death, it transpired that his designated executor, an older son named William, had pre-deceased him. Archibald was instrumental in having the county court appoint John's neighbor, Joel Burnham, as executor. Didama, "an estimable lady" (CCHS 1881b:188) proved quite capable. Prior to the 1850 census, she married a Clinton County widower named James Feget (also a non-slaveholding farmer), blending her own children by two marriages with Feget's four older daughters, and bearing him two more children. Estimable indeed.

The date of Archibald's appointment as a county court judge, January 15, 1833, coincided with 34 year-old James Elliott's marriage to 21 year-old Elizabeth Carpenter (Ancestry.com 1997b). James might have arrived in Missouri as late as 1832 (CCHS 1881b:170), but certainly had some time to court Elizabeth before the marriage. Elizabeth was one of nine

children of Jonathan and Nancy Carpenter, who moved from Kentucky to Clay County around 1828 (U.S. Census Bureau 1820b; BLM 2007). It is possible the families were acquainted in Kentucky.

James purchased his government land in two separate transactions with the Lexington Land Office. He received a grant deed for 80 acres in the western half of the southeast quarter of section 1 in December 1833 (GLO 1833). Then in December 1835, he received a grant deed for an additional 40 acres in the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 1 (BLM 2007). The site of the log house was in the second tract, and James might have acquired that tract out of caution. Settlers considered government surveys somewhat unreliable within sections, often acquiring additional land near their houses to make sure they actually owned the ground where they had built their homes. However, they had greater confidence in the section lines (Bek 1922). James's second tract was on the section line between range 32 and range 33, but available records do not indicated whether construction of the log house preceded or followed purchase of the second parcel.

What were the lives of James and Elizabeth like? How did they interact as a couple? How did they manage and relate to their slaves? There are no existing portraits of or writings from either. Family stories suggest that Elizabeth was rather feisty. James likely possessed those skills necessary on the frontier. Most men on the frontier carried a pistol at a minimum (Parsons 2009:64), and hunting ability was highly valued. James's neighbor, Solomon Fry, in addition to his carpentry and agricultural abilities, was said to be capable of standing on the back of his horse for visibility over the tall prairie grass, rifle in hand, and shooting a running deer (CCHS 1881:211). They likely participated in the types of social activities common in the early days of the county; in addition, they involved themselves in civic and community affairs. James and

Elizabeth were founding members of the Primitive Baptist (Pleasant Hill) Church in 1846 (Hanks and Corn 1977).

As the farm developed, the family grew. As recorded in the family Bible, Elizabeth Carpenter gave birth to four children before 1840 – Robert on May 6, 1834, Jonathan Carpenter (who went by the nickname Carp) on December 18, 1835, Lucretia Jane on May 2, 1837, and Mary Elizabeth on March 15, 1839. By 1850, James had more land in production than did Joseph and Archibald, and produced over twice as much wheat, corn, wool, butter, beeswax and honey, and meat. By 1860, he was scaling back in some areas as Robert and Carp were becoming farmers in their own right, but increased his production of orchard products and beeswax and honey, and like others of his peers, added sorghum to his suite of crops (Table 4.2).

The results of the archaeological explorations discussed in Chapter 3 suggest that the family and their enslaved bondsmen lived in a hewn log house with at least two rooms; however, the artifacts recovered provide no insight into the types of furnishings present in the house. In evaluating the Alexander Galbraith site in Lafayette County, described in Chapter 3, Naglich et al. (2004) had access to probate inventories from the time of Alexander Galbraith's death in 1833 and his wife Nancy's death in 1849, as well as the agricultural schedule from the 1850 U.S. census report. The Galbraith home probably consisted of two rooms in 1833 and housed six family members and five slaves. Furnishings included 4 beds, 2 bedsteads, 1 table, 1 cupboard, and 12 chairs, as well as 1 candlestick, and 1 clock. The James Elliott family might have held an inventory similar in type if not in quantity. In 1833, the Galbraiths managed horses, sheep, hogs, and geese (numbers unspecified). Crop yields included 200 bushels each of wheat and corn, as well as 30 bushels of oats. Naglich et al. (2004) considered these quantities to represent subsistence-level production, although the Galbraiths also raised an unspecified amount of

commercially valuable hemp. By 1850, in comparison to James Elliott (Table 4.2) Henry Galbraith had 100 improved acres out of 417, owned 4 oxen, 65 sheep, and 50 pigs, and produced 1,800 bushels of corn and five tons of hemp. Naglich et al. (2004) speculated that Galbraith sold the excess grain on the commercial market. The quantities exceeded those that James produced in most cases. In addition, Galbraith, whose slaveholdings had increased from five to thirteen slaves between 1833 and 1850, was producing hemp in quantities comparable to the larger producers in Hardin Township. These records indicate that from comparable beginnings, the Galbraith family exceeded the production of James Elliott, which supports the archaeological analysis in the previous chapter.

The census records indicate that James Elliott seldom held more than one or two slaves at a time, typically one man (1840, 1850, and 1860) and one young girl (1850) or adult woman (1860) (U.S. Census Bureau 1840, 1850, 1860b). The 1860 census also recorded, for the first time, how many slave houses each slaveholder owned. This information helped resolve the question of whether the Elliotts built their second house, later occupied by Carp and his family, during the antebellum period, leaving the log house to the slaves. In the 1860 census, James, like his brothers, reported having no slave house, meaning that the enslaved African Americans were probably living in the log house with the family. By 1870, James and Carp reported being in neighboring houses (U.S. Census Bureau 1870a), and the 1876 Edwards Brothers' plat map shows two residences, one at the location of the log house and another at the location of the frame house shown in Figure 3.6. This indicates that the second house, even if started immediately after the 1860 census, has little relevance to antebellum conditions on the farm.

In the log house, the family likely segregated the slaves from the family by assigning less desirable sleeping areas and timing meals so that the enslaved ate after the family. The absence

of a separate slave quarter implies that it would have been more difficult for the Elliott's enslaved African Americans to avoid surveillance at night or during leisure hours relative to slaves provided with separate quarters. However, if the Elliotts quartered the enslaved in the attic or dining area of the log house, they might have been able to leave undetected after James and Elizabeth retired to their own sleeping quarters. This would have been particularly true once the Elliott children married and moved to other homes.

Family oral history indicates that James Elliott buried a deceased slave near the site of the first log house, not in the family cemetery. If true, the given ages in the census records suggest it would have been a man, aged 25 in 1850, who died between 1850 and 1860, and whom James replaced with a man about five years older. A 48-year old African American farm laborer named Frank Elliott lived in the township in 1870 (U.S. Census Bureau 1870a). Given that Joseph Elliott's will identified his slaves by name, Frank was most likely the man held by James in 1860. The girl (age 9 years) and woman (age 19) reported in 1850 and 1860, respectively, were probably the same individual. In addition, the Elliott family Bible records the birth of a slave girl named Sarah Emily in 1860, presumably the child of this unnamed woman. Coincidentally, Sarah Emily was born on June 18, the same day that William Gibson, the census taker who filled out the 1860 slave schedule, visited the Elliott farm. One can imagine the discussion between James and Gibson about whether to count the awaited child or not. The decision was no.

James's purchase of an African American girl ca. 1850 could have been in anticipation that Elizabeth would need more help when the Elliott daughters left the home. Girl children were the least expensive in the market (Trexler 1914, Berry 2017:33). In addition, they were capable of performing household work at an earlier age than that at which boys transitioned into heavy field labor. In the course of events, the older daughter, Lucretia, married a neighbor, James H.

Froman, in May 1855. Her younger sister Mary soon followed suit, marrying John K. Fry from Concord Township in March 1856. This left Elizabeth and the unnamed African American girl as the sole providers of domestic labor. Robert married another neighbor, Polly Ann Stonum, in December 1857. In the meantime, Robert and Carp had entered into land ownership together, buying 40 acres adjoining James's northern property line in 1856. They bought their land from Isaac and Elizabeth Baker for $400. In addition, each seems to have acquired other privately owned land, with Robert reporting a total of 100 acres, and Carp 80 acres in the 1860 agricultural schedule.

Robert continued his parents' example of civic responsibility. Court records show that the county court appointed him to the Hardin Township Slave Patrol; he completed nine patrols between October and December 1859. In 1860, the court appointed him as the legal guardian of Polly Ann's 15-year old sister, Martha Stonum, for reasons not specified.

Owsley (1949:53) showed that settlers relocating from the Upper South to the areas further west tended to move along lines of latitude to areas with climate and topography similar to the places they left. This allowed them to continue farming with crops and livestock that they had already learned to raised successfully. As result, sons tended to raise what their fathers had raised, and that appears to be the case with Robert and Carp. In 1860, both were on a track to replicate the patterns of their father and uncles, patterns that might have included slaveholding had the Civil War not intervened. In this, they would have been largely in step with a minority of other Clinton County farmers, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Elliotts eschewed the most time and labor-intensive cash crops in favor of livestock and crops such as wheat, corn, and orchard products; however, that does not mean they produced

at a subsistence level. Table 4.2 reports the Elliott families' corn self-sufficiency indices (CSSI), calculated using the following formula from Lowe and Campbell (1987:172):

CSSI = Corn Yield (bsh)/[(13*No. People) + (4*No. Hogs) + (7.5*No. Horses & Mules)]

A CSSI of 1.19 indicates a subsistence level of production, allowing for feeding people and stock and retaining enough seed for replanting. Values greater than 1.19 indicate some surplus production for the commercial market. As Table 4.2 shows, the Elliotts were all self-sufficient and had surplus corn for sale. Carp Elliott was a standout in 1860, with a CSSI of over 22. However, he was still single and living at home with his parents. The chain of title for the farm shows that he acquired his land using a $1,000 interest-free loan from his parents, so he was likely raising surplus corn to pay it back as quickly as possible.

Based on the quantities of grain that James produced in 1850 and the amount of developed acreage, assuming average yields, he would have had about three acres in wheat and 25-42 acres in corn (Walton and Rockoff 2018:131), with an additional three to four acres in oats (McShane and Tarr 2007:136). James astutely choose grains that complemented each other in terms of seasonal activity: wheat was planted in fall and harvested the following summer; corn was planted in spring and harvested in fall; oats were fast growing, so could be planted later than corn and harvested earlier. In 1860, his oat production remained constant, but the wheat he produced would have required only about an acre, and corn only 20-33 acres. Hurt (1992:215) estimated that a farmer with one slave could easily raise 20 acres of corn; presumably, then, a farmer with one slave and two sons, as James had in 1850, could manage 40 acres. The reduced production in 1860 probably reflects that Robert and Carp were beginning their own farming operations, and James was more reliant on only Frank for additional labor. These numbers suggest that James made effective use of his land, kept his labor force busy, and scaled his

production to available labor. James's wheat and oat production seems to have been for food and fodder, rather than commercial sale. He likely sold excess corn on the market, along with wool, orchard products, beeswax and honey, sorghum molasses, and meat.

The addition of sorghum molasses to the suite of products in the mid-1850s would have required planting and tending the sorghum, harvesting the stalks, extracting and collecting the juice with a small horse-powered mill, and cooking the juice down to a syrupy consistency for future sale (Socolofsky 1993). Because sorghum is a warm-season crop, farmers planted it in late spring and harvested before the first frost, and so it would have been on a production schedule similar to oats and not interfered with the important corn production. An acre of sorghum could produce about 60 gallons of sorghum molasses (Bitzer 1997), so James could devote a smaller amount of acreage to molasses production compared to that needed for corn and other grains.

I converted the types and numbers of domestic animals that James managed to animal units to evaluate his grazing capacity. In this calculation, one animal unit equals one 1,000-pound animal that requires 4.5 percent of bodyweight in forage per day, making cows and horses roughly equivalent at about 1,000 pounds and five sheep equal to one cow or horse (Scarnecchia 1985). Pigs do not count because they are omnivorous foragers rather than grazers. For grazing purposes, James had about 39 animal units in 1850, needing an estimated 39-78 acres of pasture, depending on the quality of grass (Scarnecchia and Kothmann 1982). By 1860, James had reduced his livestock to 27 animal units. Surprisingly however, his production of wool increased even as the number of sheep decreased. This could reflect the introduction of better breeds of sheep (Hurt 1992:137). Like the domestic chores of the women, livestock require year-round attention; however, only certain times of the year demanded more focused labor. These would have included lambing and shearing, foaling, calving, castrating and ear notching, and rounding

up for slaughter or herding to market. Given the close proximity of the brothers' land holdings, they quite likely helped each other by pooling their labor during the harvest season or when slaughtering or driving livestock to market (Owsley 1949:108).

The Elliotts' agricultural practices have implications for understanding the conditions under which their enslaved African Americans lived and worked. Since James, Joseph, and Archibald produced similar commodities and none of them had separate slave houses, there were likely commonalities in the expectations of the labor that enslavers and the enslaved would perform. Men would have plowed fields, planted corn and oats in the spring, and harvested them in the fall. They would have sown wheat in the fall and harvested it the next summer. They would have shelled or threshed the harvested grain. Livestock would have needed feeding and tending: shearing sheep in the spring, driving cattle or hogs to market, and butchering hogs in the fall. In addition, they would have harvested beeswax and honey, tended the orchard, made sorghum molasses, and cleared new acres for production.

The tasks of women, both free and enslaved, would have had, with some exceptions, less seasonal variability than the agricultural work of the men, although they sometimes worked in the fields when extra labor was needed (McCurry 1995:81). Women would have been busy year round processing wool and making it into clothing for family and slaves, cooking and serving meals, and processing and preserving foodstuffs, which could have extended to smoking and salting pork. They were likely responsible for milking cows and churning butter to be stored in crocks in the cellar, and raising the vegetable garden. While these activities would have been more restricted to the area of the house and adjacent outbuildings, the need for efficient use of time would have required some division of labor. Such moments would have provided opportunities for an enslaved woman to escape surveillance for brief periods, but in general,

enslaved women probably had fewer opportunities than men did to reduce surveillance. If the enslaved were also able to keep a small garden for their own use or raise hemp for their own profit, then tending the garden or hemp, probably outside of normal working hours, would also have provided some relief from surveillance.

Tasks that necessitated leaving the farm (with written permission) would have included visits to stores, mills, county offices, social events, and weekly church attendance, which, given James and Elizabeth's commitment to the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church, would probably have been required for their enslaved African Americans as well. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, these predictably recurring tasks provided opportunities for the enslaved that slaveholders probably did not fully understand.

Viewshed Analysis

A critical concept in Garman's 1998 description of resistant accommodation is that of surveillance, and the opportunities for enslaved bondsmen to escape from or minimize oversight from their owners. Garman considers the nature of agriculture one such opportunity, because some agricultural products require consistent attention, but minimal labor. An example would be tending flocks of grazing sheep, where the expense in time of having both an enslaved African American to tend the sheep, and a family member present to supervise the slave makes poor sense for small-scale slaveholders in terms of financial returns and the allocation of resources. The selection of agricultural crops and stock, and the way they managed those products, was often a tacit negotiation between slaveholder and slave that resulted in some amount of unsupervised time for the enslaved if they consistently achieved results that accorded with their holder's expectations.

Fitts (1996) underscored the importance of the homes of free African Americans, the assignment of the enslaved to perform legitimate errands off-property, and access to wooded areas in providing opportunities to avoid surveillance. Space outside the home, then, and a slave's use of that space afforded some opportunity to find private places, or locations where slaves from neighboring farms could meet discretely, especially when facilitated by state laws that specified the conditions under which slaves could legally be off their holder's property.

Viewshed analysis provided a tool with which to evaluate the physical landscape occupied by the Elliotts' enslaved African Americans. The basic questions were the extent to which a slave working the Elliott property would have been visible from the main house, and whether networks could have existed between the James Elliott Farm and neighboring properties that would not have been visible from any of the holders' houses.

Methods

I conducted the viewshed analysis with the assistance of Sayat Temirbekov, from the Anthropology Department, Colorado State University, using the ArcGIS (version 10.4) Spatial Analyst Extension. The input surface raster used the USGS digital elevation model (DEM) with one-meter resolution (https://viewer.nationalmap.gov, accessed 9 March 2017). Point features in the analysis consisted of the locations of slave owner houses and of later African American houses as determined from data in the 1860 and 1870 U.S. census reports for Hardin Township, and plat maps of Clinton County published in 1876 (Edwards Brothers 1876). Because of the gap in time between the census reports and the publication of the plat maps, I could identify the locations of only 26 of 43 slave owner houses, and only 8 of 13 post-bellum African American houses. We entered house locations shown on the 1876 map as point feature classes for viewshed analysis by comparison to several data sources. Aerial imagery was available as online data

within ArcGIS; township and section boundaries (inputted as polyline feature classes) were obtained from BURNSSL_MODOTNW, available at (https://services2.arcgis.com, accessed 9 March 2017); and current USGS 7.5 minute topo maps, specifically the Gower and Smithville quadrangles, were available from https://viewer.nationalmap.gov (accessed 9 March 2017). To estimate the location of a house from the 1876 map, we used township and section lines, surface features such ridgelines, watercourses and confluences, and in a few cases, aerial images showing old foundations or abandoned roadbeds, to provide weight of evidence for placing specific house locations on the landscape with as much accuracy as possible.

After running the viewshed analysis, the output raster showed the areas around the Elliott Farm that were visible, or not, from the site of the log house and the network of areas that would have been visible from none, one, two, three, four, five, or six slave owner houses. We evaluated the outputs at two different spatial scales, one showing the area within 1.5-3 miles of the James Elliott farmstead, and one showing a more expansive view of the township.

Results

Figure 4.3 shows the viewshed within 1.5-3 miles of the James Elliott farm; we selected this area because it conforms to the Linn Branch sub-watershed and incorporates the homes of three large scale owners (Baker, Reed, and Winn), several small-scale owners (including James's brothers Archibald and Joseph), and the small community of Bainbridge. Bainbridge offered grain and lumber mills, a post office, and other amenities, and could have been a destination for slaves who were on approved errands for their owners. The town of Grayson, northwest of the Elliott Farm, was not founded until 1871 (Riley 1876).

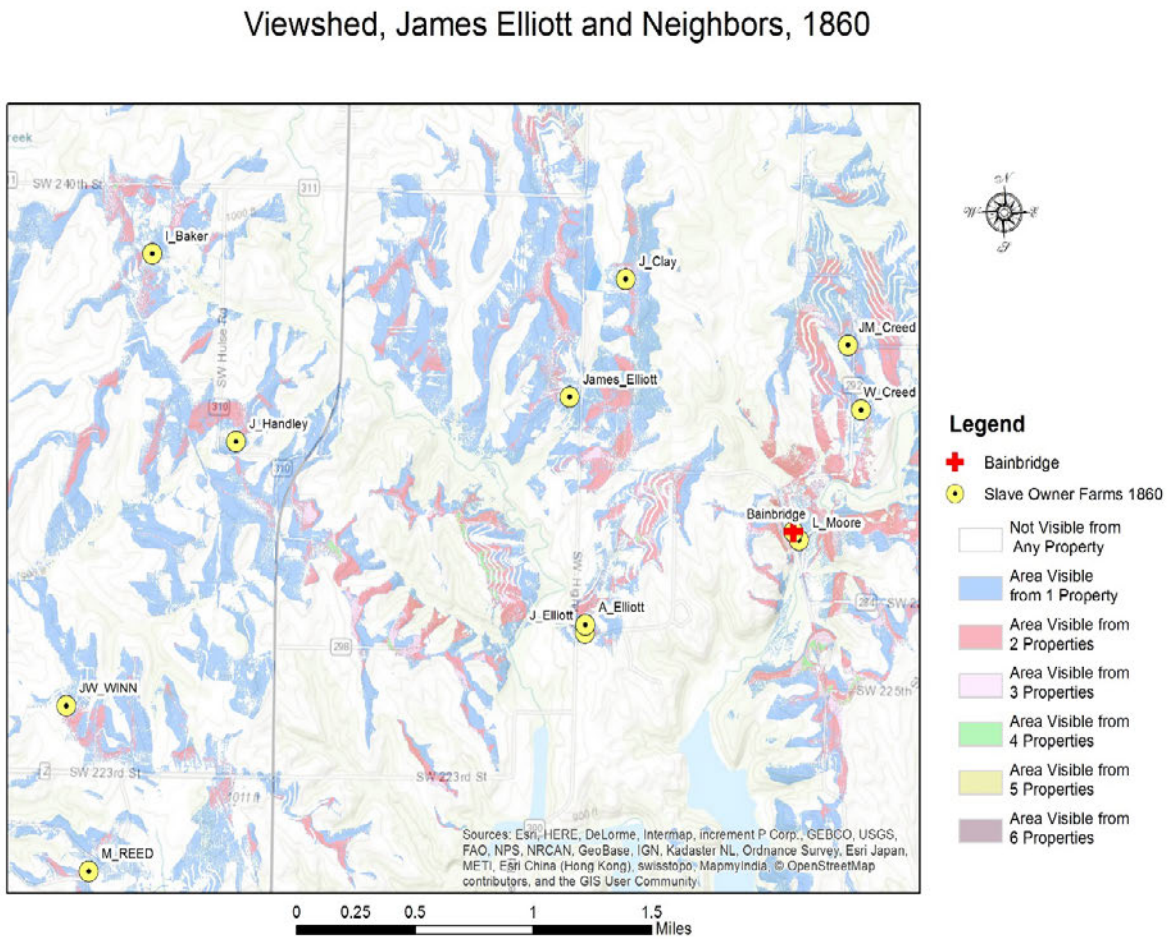


Figure 4.3. Viewshed, James Elliott and Neighbors, 1860. Slaveholder homes were identified by cross-referencing 1860 federal census data with the 1876 Edwards Brother Insurance Map. Areas in white, which would not have been visible from any slaveholder house, align well with creek drainages.

The analysis shows that about half of the fields and pastures of the Elliott farm would have been outside the view of any slaveholder from the vicinity of their house. Two spring-fed creeks traversed the Elliott property from north to south, joining briefly in the southwest corner of the farm before entering Linn Branch. The low ridges between creeks provided cover from surveillance on their western slopes. However, those fields and pastures closer to the site of the Elliott log house were easily visible from both there and the higher-elevation Jim Clay house approximately three-quarters of a mile to the north-northeast.

The animal husbandry and crop cultivation practices of the antebellum period could have afforded Frank Elliott the opportunity to work some portion of the day, at least seasonally, outside the view of the house. James preferred oxen as draft animals (Table 4.2), which typically required two people for operations such as plowing, so whether Frank worked unaccompanied by James or one of his sons would have been situation-dependent. In addition, it would have been possible for James or one of his sons to position himself so that he was working independently, but could still have Frank in sight. Working more closely to the house, the unidentified enslaved woman likely had fewer opportunities to escape surveillance. The opportunities could have included foraging seasonally for wild fruits, nuts, and greens, fetching water, and milking cows unattended.

A network of pathways existed that would have allowed enslaved persons to move unseen between the Elliott farm and neighboring properties, including those of James's brothers, and the Baker and Handley farms. The main corridor, so to speak, was the Linn Branch waterway. Riparian vegetation would have provided additional cover, and game trails would have made passage easier. There was probably considerable traffic between the Elliott brothers' farms, as their slaves would have known one another intimately.

The road to Bainbridge, from the Archibald Elliott home to the town, was easily visible to one or two slave owners along the way. However, an enslaved person traveling the road on a legitimate errand for his or her owner would have been less concerned about surveillance. A more direct overland route was also available. It passed between the Elliott brothers' farms to the northeast, traversing the property of the non-slave owner Lorenzo Froman, and turning southeast toward Bainbridge, possibly affording an alternative route to an enslaved person who wanted extra time to combine an errand to town with personal business.

There are several uncertainties in the analysis. First, I could not identify all slaveholder houses. I included only those holders listed in the 1860 census whose houses I could identify with some certainty on the 1876 plat map. Second, I did not show non-slaveholder houses. Many non-slaveholders would have been unsympathetic to slaves using their property clandestinely; some small-scale farmers were aspiring slaveholders who believed they had a stake in preserving the institution of slavery and participated in the county's slave patrols.

Figure 4.4 shows an expanded view of the township, from the Buchanan County line to the west, to Clinton Township to the east. The area expands the focus to the western drainage of the Little Platte River (Smith Fork on older maps), including Linn Branch and Roberts Branch, on which the town of Bainbridge was located. The divide between the Little Platte and the Castile Creek drainage to the north would have limited the northern extent of the viewshed.

Smithville Lake, a flood control reservoir completed by the Army Corp of Engineers in the 1977, affects the output of this view. Even so, networks of areas appear between slaveholder properties that would have facilitated clandestine movement between those properties. Most other areas would have been visible from one or two houses only.

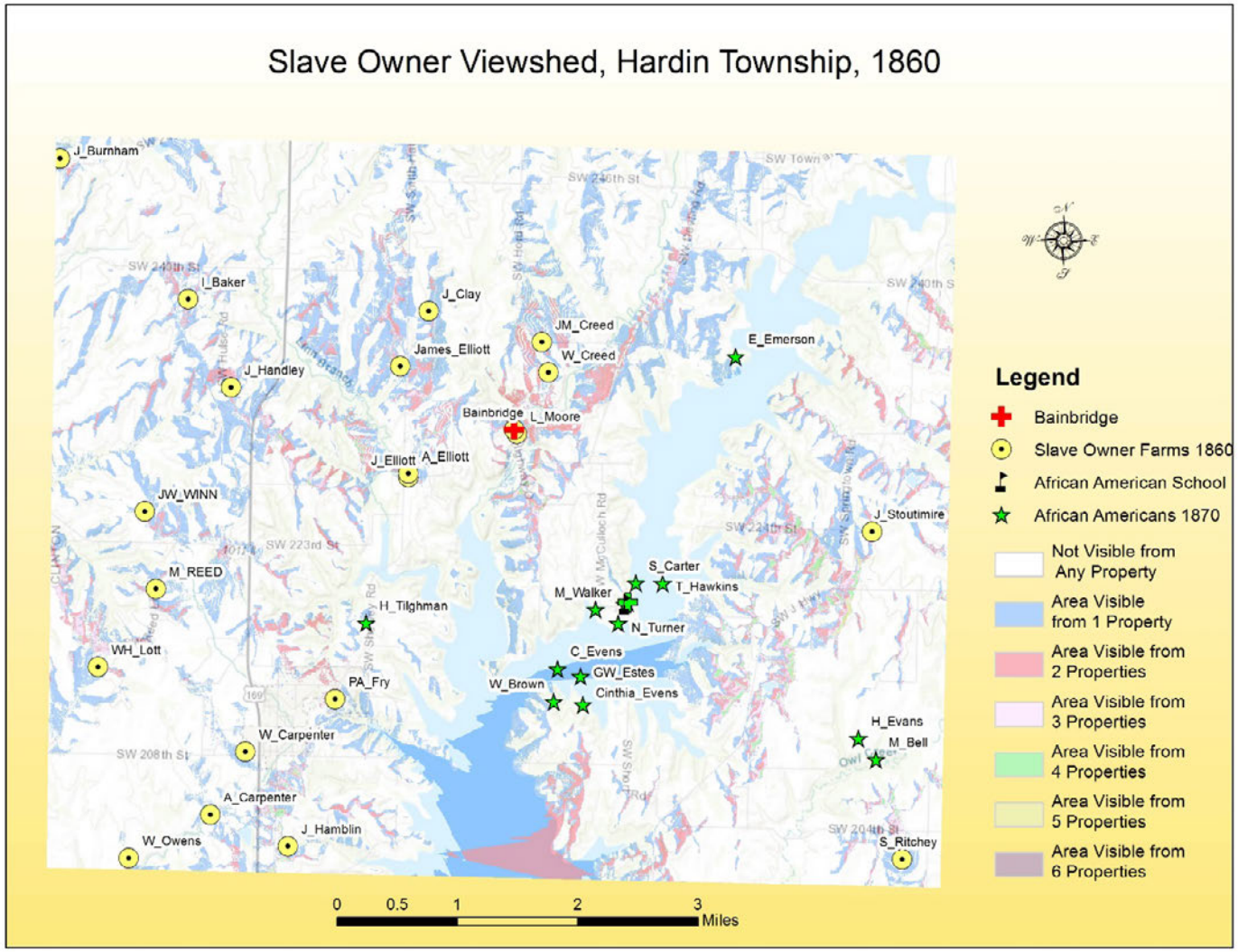


Figure 4.4. Slave Owner Viewshed, Hardin Township, 1860. Slaveholder homes were identified by cross-referencing 1860 federal census data with the 1876 Edwards Brother Insurance Map. The map also shows homes of African American farmers identified in the 1870 census. There is an obvious lack of overlap between the former slaveholder and African American homes.

The homes of African American farmers present in the 1870 census are located in areas of the township that would have not been visible from owner homes in 1860, and there is almost no overlap in the distribution of owner and African American houses. This is not a random pattern, and in the next chapter, I will discuss the implications for the opportunities enslaved African Americans had to avoid surveillance and connect with their peers.

Conclusions

The information obtained from historical records about the Elliott brothers, their families, and their slaveholding practices provides important details about their lives and expectations in an agrarian culture and landscape. This in turn provides additional context for the archaeological data discussed in the previous chapter and allows a deeper understanding of the trials and opportunities of their enslaved African Americans. The U.S. census records reveal that James Elliott and his family essentially conformed to the norms of the society in which they lived, operating a farm that combined subsistence and commercial products that allowed the family modest success while meeting civic and social obligations. The limited comparisons with the records of the Galbraith family in Lafayette County suggest that James easily met his subsistence needs, and had marketable surplus production, but showed little interest in expanding his land holdings. However, that James located his home near those of his brothers indicates an opportunity to leverage resources through combined action that might not have existed if the brothers had chosen to live in greater isolation from each other.

Being a yeoman farmer provides a degree of independence, but also makes one dependent on the vagaries of weather, crop and livestock disease, and market forces that affect the price of agricultural commodities. In the pre-industrial antebellum period, these combined to create an unceasing need for labor, leaving the farmer with the choice of some mix of family

members, hired free labor, and enslaved African Americans. Given the background and experiences of the family in Kentucky, where typically only about one-third of farmers were slaveholders, the Elliott brothers made somewhat different choices when faced with this decision, but choices that were probably driven by the simple economic analysis of costs and benefits rather than moral concerns about the institution of slavery.

The historical data also revealed the importance of crops other than Missouri's major cash crops, tobacco and hemp, in the economic lives of James and his brothers. Both crops were labor intensive, and the markets for both could be volatile, risking a low return on investment (Hurt 1992:98). Rather, they relied on a combination of wheat, corn, and livestock, as well as orchards and the production of beeswax and honey. The demands of these products in terms of planning, time allocation, and labor shaped the contours of the families' and their slaves' lives.

Joseph and William, both bachelors, were less involved in the social and civic activities of the township, having no record of voting or church membership. However, they chose different living arrangements, with Joseph living independently on his own land with his family of slaves, and William living with Archibald and his family. Joseph's act of freeing his slaves upon his death is the only case of manumission recorded in either the 1850 or 1860 census records for the Hardin Township; however, those records reflect only activities within the previous year.

None of the Elliott brothers provided separate houses for the people they enslaved, which suggests limited opportunity for the enslaved to avoid surveillance at night or during leisure time, unless they engaged in gardening, growing hemp, foraging, or hunting and fishing. The viewshed analysis places the Elliott farm within a landscape that presented opportunities for Frank and his companions on Joseph's farm to move through the landscape innocently or

innocuously depending on their purpose. At a larger scale, the viewshed analysis shows that when freed African Americans chose their homes, they located in places where there was little overlap with the farms and homes of former slaveholders.

The Elliotts and the people they enslaved lived within a social and physical matrix that defined and limited their expectation of each other, and the larger community, be it Euroamerican or enslaved African American. In the next chapter, I discuss how the Elliotts' circumstances related to those of their contemporaries, and examine whether the cultural and physical landscape reduced surveillance of the enslaved and allowed them to develop a community of resistance beyond the limits of their home farms.

Chapter 5

Hardin Township in 1860: A Community of Resistance

For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me:

and I say to this man, Go, and he goes; and to another, Come, and he comes;

and to my servant, Do this, and he does it.

Matthew 8:9 (AKJ)

Introduction

Piersen, who coined the term "resistant accommodation" (1988:143), suggested that an element of paternalism explained, in part, the relationship between enslavers and the enslaved. However, Fitts (1996) and Garman (1998), in their analyses, believed that the extent to which the enslaved could practice resistant accommodation relied primarily on the conflicting goals of Euroamerican slaveholders. One such goal was to emphasize their status by maintaining segregation between their families and the enslaved, even when sharing the same space. This manifested in the designation of separate times for meal and separate spaces for the enslaved within common houses, churches, and cemeteries. At the same time, Euroamericans had the financial imperative to make the most efficient use of labor to maximize agricultural production and the profitability of their farms, which could result in enslaved bondsmen working beyond their line of sight.

Competing against these goals was the need for slaveholders to maintain surveillance of their enslaved bondsmen. Euroamerican compromises between segregation and maximized production on the one hand and surveillance on the other were the ground in which resistant accommodation flourished. That ground provided fewer or more opportunities for the enslaved

depending on the size of the slaveholding operation and the social and physical landscape in which that slaveholding operation was located.

A key objective of the enslaved in being able to pursue their own interests would have been to minimize or avoid surveillance. The tactics of resistance available to the enslaved in achieving that goal were the range of those practiced by the oppressed cross-culturally: performing enough work to keep out of trouble; covert malingering, feigning ignorance, and pilfering; hiding or running away for brief periods (truancy); running away completely; violence against slaveholders or their families; and overt rebellion (Scott 1985:29). Individual acts of resistance could coalesce into a community of resistance through the shared experiences, trust, and support that developed among the enslaved as they exploited gaps in surveillance at the landscape level to connect with each other (Johnson 2003). The cultural practices in agriculture or other labor, housing styles, religion and marriage, covert support from other slaves or former slaves, the features of the physical landscape, and the networking opportunities that the landscape provided all helped reduce surveillance to some degree. This in turn helped determine the types of resistant behaviors the enslaved exhibited and the formation of a community of resistance among them.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the details of the Elliott brothers and their families in relation to each other, their slaveholding patterns, and agricultural production as revealed by data from the U.S. census reports. I also described a geospatial analysis of the physical landscape in which enslaved African Americans found themselves. These data provided qualitative and quantitative information on the extent to which opportunities existed for the Elliotts' enslaved African Americans to avoid or minimize surveillance, the degree to which they might have exploited such opportunities, and potential patterns of resistance. They also suggest that the

opportunity existed for Hardin Township's enslaved African Americans to develop a covert community of resistance beyond the scale of individual farms.

In the previous chapter, I established the Elliotts' status as small-scale yeoman farmers of the type described by Owlsey (1949:9). In this chapter, I will describe the socioeconomic framework in which the Elliott brothers, their Euroamerican contemporaries, and enslaved African Americans existed, focusing on the Elliotts' positions in relation to other heads of household in terms of slave- and landholding, and the value of real property. Following this overview, I will focus on the scale of the individual farm to examine the opportunities for the enslaved to avoid surveillance. I will also examine whether paternalistic behavior by enslavers might have facilitated reduced surveillance by examining demographic differences among selected Euroamerican families and the people they enslaved to assess whether paternalism or economics motivated them more strongly. Next, I will discuss the opportunities for resistant accommodation that could have existed for enslaved African Americans within the Euroamerican-dominated landscape by evaluating possible off-property tasks, opportunities for church attendance, and the availability of the homes of free African Americans at the expanded scale of the township. Finally, I will examine possible slaveholder reactions to resistant behavior, such as activities of the township's slave patrols, and discuss evidence for covert group activities that suggest a community of resistance existed among enslaved African Americans.

The Economics of Slave Ownership

Hardin Township remained predominantly agricultural in 1860 (U.S. Census Bureau 1860b). Of the 878 free inhabitants, all but a handful identified themselves as farmers and their wives and children or farm laborers. Free labor continued to be limited. Of 163 heads of household, only five (3.1 percent) identified themselves as farm laborers. The census found

approximately 40 more farm laborers within other households, along with a few female domestic servants. Other identified occupations included four blacksmiths and two apprentice blacksmiths, three carpenters, one constable, two merchants, a miller and three mill hands, a steam mill engineer, one minister (small-scale slaveholder Augustus Payne, also an innovator in sheep-breeding [Hurt 1992:137]), a plough maker, three wagon makers, a wheelwright, and three schoolteachers.

In comparison to the amount of available free labor, the slave schedule reported 251 slaves (28.5 percent of the total population of the township) and 45 slave owners (27.6 percent of heads of household). Of the identified slave owners, 39 owned ten or fewer slaves. The six large-scale slave owners were James Winn (14 slaves), Willis Wilson (15 slaves), Isaac Baker (17 slaves), and William Carpenter (18 slaves), while Benjamin F. Willis (28 slaves) and John Reed (29 slaves) could be categorized as planters.

Where did James sit socioeconomically in relation to his contemporaries? The answer to this question will help further refine the expectations of the Elliotts within the Euroamerican social hierarchy and of their slaves in terms of living conditions, labor, and surveillance in relation to other enslaved African Americans. I compared the slaveholding practices and economic status of heads of household who participated in the 1860 U.S. census (Table 5.1).

From the Table 5.1, it is immediately apparent that the township's residents were highly stratified economically based on slave and land ownership. Even at the lower economic tiers, obvious differences existed between non-slaveholders and small-scale enslavers. Among the latter, those who had no separate slave quarters also had lower real property values and fewer developed acres than those who had separate slave houses, suggesting that providing separate houses was resource-dependent.

Table 5.1. Economic and slaveholding status of Hardin Township heads of household. Data from the 1860 U.S. census, comparing non-slaveholders, small-scale enslavers with ten or fewer slaves, grouped by whether or not they provided separate slave houses, large-scale enslavers with 11-20 slaves, and planters with more than 20 slaves. The Elliott brothers were among the 16 small-scale enslavers who had no slave houses. Also included are data two free African American farmers.

Socioeconomic Group	Heads of House (N=163)		Enslaved (N=251)		Ave. No. Slaves/Holder	No. Slave Houses	Median No. Slaves/House[1]	Median Value Real Property	Median No. Improved Acres
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent					
Non-slaveholders	116	71.2%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a	n.a.	$1,800	40
Small-scale Enslavers	16	9.8%	46	18.3%	2.9	0	2	$2,000	80
Small-scale Enslavers	23	14.1%	84	33.5%	3.7	27	3	$5,000	130
Large-scale Enslavers	4	2.5%	64	25.5%	16	10	6.5	$19,000	600
Planters	2	1.2%	57	22.7%	28.5	10	6	$19,000	710
Free African Americans	2	1.2%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a	n.a.	$650	20

1. Assumes slaves of small-scale holders with no slave houses were quartered in the family house

The differences in real property values and the number of developed acres were even more distinct between small-scale and large-scale slaveholders. These data show very clearly that, along with the Elliotts, the majority of the township's farmers, including both non-slaveholders and small scale-enslavers, were small-scale yeomen as seen throughout the Upper South (Owsley 1949:9). No doubt, some of those yeoman farmers aspired to large-scale ownership or planter status, and others were content to maintain what they had.

I next used a correlation analysis (Williams 1985:72-78) to examine the relationship between slaveholding and socioeconomic status in more detail. For simplicity, I used the value of real property as a proxy for number of acres owned. The amount of total labor available to each property owner (both free and enslaved) was highly correlated with the value of real property (Pearson's r=0.701, $p<0.001$). However, the number of slaves held drives the correlation. Considering enslaved labor only, the Pearson r-value in the correlation is 0.695 ($p<0.001$), while the correlation with family and free labor is only 0.232 ($p<0.005$), which indicates a statistically significant but small additive effect of free labor. The trend lines for free and slave labor in relation to real property value (Figure 5.1) show that as real property values began to exceed $8,000 the number of slaves held began to increase to six or more. Below a real property value of $8,000, there seemed to be fewer resources or less need to invest in the additional labor afforded by owning more slaves.

The 1860 census data show that the surviving Elliott brothers were economically in the lower tier of slaveholders. Archibald and James had real property valued at $2,500 and $2,000, respectively, values consistent with other small-scale enslavers who did not provide separate slave houses (Table 5.1). Of James and Elizabeth's children, all were non-slaveholders. Robert and Polly Ann reported a real property value of $1,000; Lucretia and James Froman reported a

value of $800; and Carp, still single, reported a value of $1,000. Mary and John Fry (living in Concord Township) reported $7,000 in real property value, suggesting they might have had entrepreneurial aspirations, but had not reached the land value threshold associated with slaveholding.

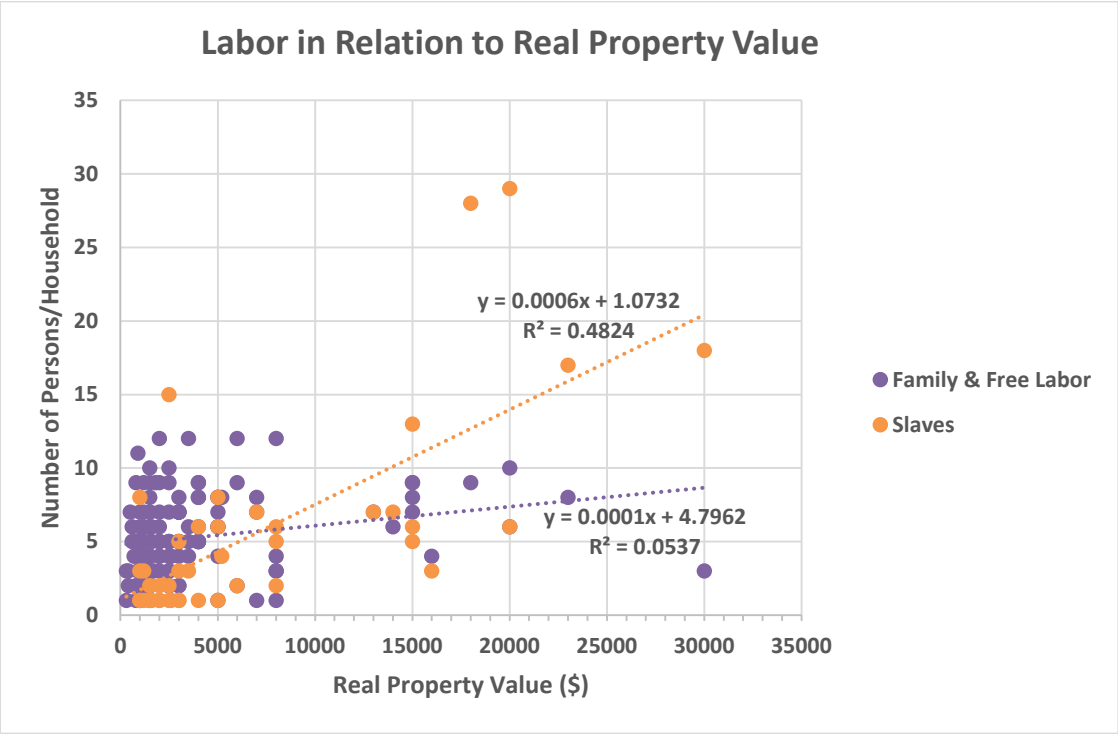


Figure 5.1. Correlation of free and slave labor to real property values. The data reported by Hardin Township farmers in the 1860 U.S. census were used in the analysis. Real property values were strongly correlated to the number of slaves owned (Pearson's r= 0.695), but only weakly correlated to number of family and free laborers (r=0.232).

Two free African American families who owned small farms were included in Hardin Township's 1860 census for the first time. Samuel Lingenfelter, aged 53, and his 49-year-old wife Cynthia reported real property valued at $800. George Washington (Wash) Estes, aged 33, and his 39-year-old wife Elvina had real property valued at $500. The real property value for each was well below the median of their Euroamerican peers.

The socioeconomic setting described above provides indications that enslaved African Americans might have had opportunities to reduce or avoid surveillance, even if briefly, in ways that allowed covert resistance to the circumstances of their bondage. I will first discuss those opportunities within individual farms, and then within the larger, interconnected landscape revealed by viewshed analyses.

Surveillance on the Farm

Housing and Surveillance.

The type of housing available for the enslaved depended largely on whether they lived in a large-scale or small-scale operation. Of the Township's 45 slaveholders in 1860, all six of the large-scale slaveholders had separate slave quarters on their farms. Based just upon the numbers, the 121 slaves of large-scale slaveholders (48.2 percent) would have been housed in groups of 5-8 per house (median density = 6.5), assuming none were quartered in the slaveholders' houses. Among the township's 39 small-scale slaveholders, 23 had separate slave houses, with 84 slaves (33.5 percent) quartered anywhere from 1-8 per house (median density = 3), again assuming none were quartered in the family house. The remaining 16 small-scale slaveholders, including James Elliott and his brothers, had no separate slave houses, implying that 46 slaves (18.3 percent) were quartered in the family houses (median density = 2). It is also possible that some slaves had separate living quarters in other outbuildings such as barns or workshops, if such arrangements would have facilitated their work assignments, but the census data do not afford that level of resolution.

Separate quarters could have been a mixed blessing for the enslaved. Some slaveholders made accommodations for families, and separate quarters would have given the enslaved more opportunity for controlling their own space and having reduced surveillance. However, African

Americans in large-scale operations would have experienced greater crowding, the possibility of in fighting for control of space within houses, spot checks by overseers or drivers, and less privacy. African Americans in small-scale operations where the slaveholders provided separate houses probably experienced the greatest benefit in terms of privacy and reduced surveillance due to being less crowded. Those slaves quartered in the slaveholder's home would have experienced less crowding from other slaves but they would have had to contend with the family members, which afforded less opportunity for privacy. Using in-house quarters typically resulted in slaveholders opportunistically squeezing the enslaved into less desirable spaces such as kitchens, attics, or cellars (Fitts 1996), from which undetected egress would have been difficult.

The data on slave houses suggest that for the slaveholders, providing separate houses was an economic decision. Large-scale commercial farmers accepted separate houses for their enslaved labor as one of the costs of maintaining a large labor force. Small-scale owners found the cost worth the benefit when their agricultural operations expanded and they needed additional labor. They might have consciously considered the loss of surveillance capability as one of the costs associated with additional slave houses; additionally, separate quarters certainly reinforced the separation of slaveholder and enslaved.

Agricultural Production and Surveillance

Although hemp and tobacco were major cash crops in Missouri (Hurt 1992:80, 103), the agricultural schedules show that most Hardin Township farmers focused their resources on livestock, corn, and wheat between 1850 and 1860. In 1850 only about a quarter of the 498 farmers in the enumeration district were producing hemp. This fraction included 91 non-slaveholders and 35 slaveholders. Slaveholders disproportionately represented 38.5 percent of hemp producers, versus only 27.6 percent in the general farmer population. It seems that

slaveholding was not a prerequisite for limited hemp production, but only slaveholders produced five tons of hemp or more per year. One planter, John Reed, produced 25 tons. The number of tobacco producers was much more limited. Only six farmers (about one percent, and only one of them a slaveholder) reported any tobacco production in 1850.

Tobacco production showed a slight uptick in 1860. Of Hardin Township's 143 farmers, seven (five percent) were producing tobacco. This number included one slaveholder and the two free African American farmers. Hemp, however, was in decline. There were only eight hemp producers (about five percent of farmers), five of whom were slaveholders. John Reed produced no hemp in 1860, and only two farmers produced as much as five tons. This local decline in hemp production reflected general over-production by farmers in the early to mid-1850s, as well as national and global economic factors that led to collapsing hemp prices in the late 1850s (Hurt 1992:121). Concurrently, local production of livestock, wheat, corn, oats, wool, orchard products, butter, and beeswax and honey all increased from 1850 to 1860, as did the number of acres in production, and farmers added sorghum molasses to their suite of commodities.

Of the Euroamerican families enumerated in the 1860 census records, I traced several back as far as the 1840 census of Clinton County (U.S. Census Bureau 1840), making them contemporaries of the Elliotts over that 20-year interval. I therefore used their records for more detailed comparisons of farming and slaveholding practices with the Elliotts. Large-scale slaveholders in that category included John Reed and James Winn. Small-scale slaveholders, in addition to the Elliott brothers, included Benjamin Fry and Robert Poage (and later his widow Elizabeth). The non-slaveholders included John Faddis and A.M. Poage. A.M. Poage was the most financially successful non-slaveholder in the township.

Table 5.2 summarizes the agricultural production reported by these contemporary families in the 1860 agricultural schedules. There are clear differences in production between large-scale and small-scale slaveholders, emphasizing the importance of labor, and specifically slave labor, to achieve surplus production of commercially valuable commodities. Large-scale slaveholders had more land in production; maintained more horses, oxen, sheep, and pigs; produced larger quantities of grain, wool, potatoes, and butter; and reported higher values for animals slaughtered. In comparison to non-slaveholders and other small-scale slaveholders presented in Table 5.2, the Elliotts (refer to Table 4.2) produced comparable quantities of the standard grains and livestock. To evaluate the ability of farmers operating at different scales to meet their subsistence needs and generate some surplus for the market, I compared their corn self-sufficiency indices, derived as described in Chapter 4. Figure 5.2 shows the CSSIs for James Elliott and the families presented in Table 5.2. They indicate that each family, regardless of the size of their farm, produced enough corn to support their family members, labor force, and livestock. All of the families still had surplus corn to sell on the market. These data suggest that even the small-scale farmers among these families had commercial aspirations beyond basic subsistence and supported a labor force that matched their aspirations. Samuel Lingenfelter and Wash Estes, the two free African American farmers, produced surplus corn as well, along with significant quantities of tobacco, despite having smaller land holdings than their Euroamerican contemporaries.

Labor conditions for the enslaved, and thus opportunities to avoid surveillance, varied significantly between large-scale and small-scale farming operations.

Table 5.2. Agricultural production of selected Euroamerican farmers. Compares data reported in the 1860 agricultural schedules of the U.S. Census. Numbers highlighted in bold type indicate increases from the 1850 agricultural schedules, and numbers highlighted in italics represent decreases from 1850 production levels. (Not applicable to free African Americans, who were not present in 1850.) Sorghum molasses was introduced after 1850. Records are incomplete for John Faddis, Ben Fry, Samuel Lingenfelter, and Wash Estes because the census taker did not fill in the last page of the Hardin Township agricultural schedule.

		Owner, Agent, or Manager							
		Non-Slaveholders		Small-scale Slaveholders		Large-scale Slaveholders		Free African Americans	
Category	Number or value	J. Faddis	A. Poage	E. Poage	B. Fry	J. Reed	J. Winn	S. Lingenfelter	G.W. Estes
Acres	Improved	**20**	**110**	*60*	50	**1000**	**700**	25	15
	Unimproved	*60*	*800*	*52*	*300*	**1500**	*600*	35	5
Value	Farm	**$1,200**	**$15,000**	*$2,500*	**$4,000**	**$20,000**	*$15,000*	$800	$500
	Farm Equipment	*$40*	*$50*	*$50*	$150	$400	*$300*	$75	$40
Livestock	Horses	**2**	*11*	*6*	*2*	*12*	**18**	2	3
	Asses & Mules		*1*			**8**	*2*		
	Milch Cows	2	**14**	*4*	*2*	**15**	**20**	2	3
	Working Oxen	*2*	**4**	**4**	**2**	**26**	**14**		
	Other Cattle		*15*	**18**	**14**	**50**	*40*	2	
	Sheep	*0*	*59*	**30**	*25*	**75**	*120*	8	6
	Swine	30	*30*	**40**	*32*	100	150	33	25
Value	Livestock	**$250**	*$800*	*$400*	**$550**	**$2,500**	**$2,500**	$300	$250
Produce	Wheat, bsh		*64*	*15*	*0*	**1300**	*500*		
	Indian Corn, bsh	500	**2500**	*750*	*500*	**5000**	*2800*	400	500
	Oats, bsh		**300**		*0*	200	**600**		
	Tobacco, lbs							100	100
	Wool, lbs	*0*	**140**	60	*0*	**200**	**160**	17	*16*

Table 5.2. Continued

		Non-Slaveholders		Small-scale Slaveholders		Large-scale Slaveholders		Free African Americans	
Category	Number or value	J. Faddis	A. Poage	E. Poage	B. Fry	J. Reed	J. Winn	S. Lingenfelter	G.W. Estes
	Irish Potatoes, bsh		20	**15**		200	**150**		
	Sweet Potatoes, bsh			*5*		50			
Value	Orchard Products		$50			**$150**	**$200**		
	Butter, lbs		**400**	*150*		**600**	*500*		
	Cheese, lbs						100		
	Hay, tons		*7*	*2*		*10*	*20*		
	Grass seeds, bsh					15	6		
	Dew Rotted Hemp, tons					*0*	*3*		
	Molasses, gal					**70**			
	Honey, lbs		**350**	*50*			**200**		
Value	Home-made Manufactures		*$100*	*$50*		*$150*	$200		
Value	Animals Slaughtered		**$200**	**$100**		**$500**	**$1,000**		

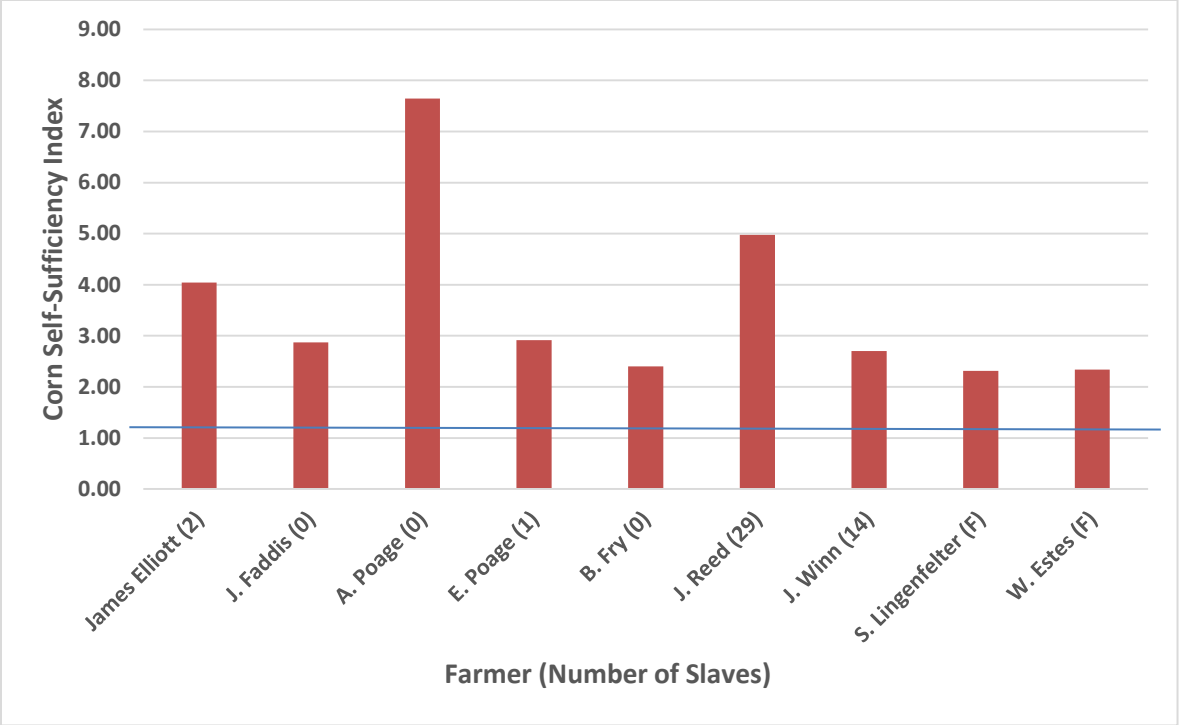


Figure 5.2. Corn self-sufficiency indices for James Elliott and contemporaries in 1860. Numbers of enslaved held are shown in parentheses. Lingenfelter and Estes were free African American farmers. The blue line marks an index value of 1.19, considered the self-sufficiency threshold. Index values great than 1.19 indicate surplus commercial production. Chapter 4 provides the derivation of the corn self-sufficiency index.

Large-scale commercial operations that produced large quantities of grain and other agricultural surpluses for the commercial market predominantly chose driving, also called gang labor (Hurt 1992:215), as their method of labor management. Small-scale operations with more modest agricultural surpluses managed labor primarily by tasking. Driving a small work force would have been an inefficient use of available labor except for occasions such as harvesting grain and slaughtering livestock. However, Missouri farmers sometimes used both methods, depending on circumstances, so the choice between driving and tasking represents a continuum rather than a strict dichotomy (Hurt 1992:215).

Garman (1998) argued that the outcome of negotiations between slaveholder and enslaved over work assignments in small-scale operations arose from the types of the crops and

commodities being produced. The successful production of some commodities required more trust on the part of the slaveholder and allowed the enslaved more autonomy. In eighteenth century Rhode Island, such possibilities centered on apple cider production and livestock that required watching to prevent straying and loss to predation, but not necessarily regular, active management. Fish, important in Rhode Island, were absent from Missouri's commercial product line. However, possible analogs were honey and molasses production, which were seasonal and amenable to management with a small labor force.

In 1860, about 58.7 percent of Hardin Township farmers raised sheep and produced wool. In addition, at least 27.2 percent raised orchard products, 29.4 percent produced honey and beeswax; and 24.0 percent produced sorghum molasses. Chapter 4 showed that James Elliott produced all four of these commodities (Table 4.2). It is quite likely that the 52 percent of the enslaved held by small-scale enslavers, including the Elliott slaves, worked primarily by tasking when engaged in the production of those commodities.

James and other small-scale farmers showed little investment in farm equipment between 1850 and 1860; this suggests that for grain production they relied on draft animals for plowing, sewing seed by hand, harvesting by scythe or corn knife, and threshing with the aid of animals. Ninety-five percent of the township's farmers owned horses, which provided both transportation and labor. Sixty-four percent owned oxen, which seemed to be the draft animals of choice over the famous Missouri mules. The choice between horses and oxen affected the amount of labor and surveillance employed. A single individual walking behind the plow could control a horse, but plowing fields with oxen was usually a two-person operation, with one person to lead the oxen and another to guide the plow. In small-scale operations, owners and slaves were more

likely to work together during planting and harvesting, and divide efforts in other chores, reducing surveillance on smaller, more focused tasks.

Considering the Elliotts specifically, the demands of agricultural production in a small-scale operation suggest that Frank, working on the Elliott Farm, would have had times and activities that placed him out of sight of the main house, assuming that tasking was James's management technique of choice. This would have required periodic discussions of one task versus another in the context of the overall effort, the amount of time tasks were likely to take, and potential impediments that could cause delays. This would have provided the opportunity for Frank to over-estimate slightly the amount of time a series of tasks would take to gain some private time out of James's eyesight. The enslaved woman would have been less fortunate, probably working most often under Elizabeth's direct supervision, particularly after the marriages of Lucretia and Mary. Other small-scale farmers and their enslaved bondsmen would have replicated these trends.

On the large-scale farms, slaveholders probably extracted more labor in the form of driving. Large-scale hemp production would have demanded it; commercial production of corn and wheat also had labor demands beyond those of subsistence production that farmers could best meet by using a gang approach. However, large-scale farmers, for whom 48 percent of the enslaved labored, also had subsistence needs, and produced the same products as small-scale farmers to meet those needs. Quite likely, the majority of these tasks fell to older, more trusted slaves, while younger men worked under stricter supervision in the fields. The slaves assigned to the smaller tasks probably had the same opportunity as their small-scale contemporaries to negotiate expectations and maximize time when they were not under surveillance.

The viewshed analyses presented in Chapter 4 show areas that were not visible from the main house, or neighboring houses, on most farms, large and small alike. The enslaved in small-scale operations were more likely able to exploit these areas due to reduced surveillance. However, in large-scale operations, a driver or overseer was more likely to be supervising gangs that worked out of sight of the main house. At the level of individual farms, the advantages of reduced surveillance based on both housing and labor management favored those enslaved in small-scale holdings.

The agricultural schedules are silent on production activities by enslaved African Americans on their own behalf. It was a local practice for slaveholders to pay the enslaved a dollar for every additional 100 pounds of hemp broken per day (CCHS 1881a:376), which would have allowed slaves in the hemp-producing operations to earn money for themselves and their families. In addition, enslavers sometimes allowed enslaved African Americans a small piece of land on which to raise and break hemp for their own profit. This could have extended to operations even where the Euroamerican farmer was not raising hemp as part of his own suite of commodities. According to the 1881 history, "This patriarchal character of servitude was the rule rather than the exception in Clinton County." (CCHS 1881a:376). Wild hemp still grows at the site of the Elliott log house, and at least suggests the possibility that the Elliott slaves had some ability to make and save money for their own use.

Paternalism and Surveillance

As suggested by the quote in the preceding paragraph, most slaveholders relied outwardly on paternalistic claims to justify their use of enslaved labor. Ovid Bell (1927) claimed that when a Missouri slaveholder died, the heirs seldom sold their enslaved African Americans, often keeping them on the farm where they were born. The enslavers treated them kindly, fed them

well, and tended to their needs. In Piersen's view, this close association should have provided the enslaved a degree of stability and familiarity that fostered bonds of trust and affection between enslavers and the enslaved. This, in turn, lessen the need for slaveholders to maintain rigorous surveillance, to the advantage of the enslaved. Did such stability actually exist? A simple test for this hypothesis is to examine the mortality rates of Euroamericans and African Americans. However, the lack of regular record keeping during the colonial and antebellum periods makes such comparisons difficult. Recent work by Hacker (2010) and Berry (2017) showed that at a national or regional scale, the African American mortality rate among those in the prime working ages of 21-40 years was over two times higher than among Euroamerican males in the same age range (Figure 5.3). This argues against paternalistic instincts on the part of Euroamericans. However, neither investigator assessed whether there were differences between small-scale and large-scale slaveholding operations.

If paternalism of the type described by Bell (1927) resulted in stability among the enslaved at the scale of individual farm, then slaveholders and their enslaved bondsmen should have similar trends in loss and replacement between family members and the enslaved, reflecting the benevolence of their holders. In a typical Euroamerican family numbers increased as young couples had children, plateaued as childbearing ceased and children matured, and declined as parents died and children left home (Groover 2003:23-24). Slaves treated as *de facto* family by paternalistic enslavers should show a similar pattern. I used the U.S. census records to test this hypothesis by making a more detailed examination of the contemporaneous Elliott, Faddis, Poage, Fry, Winn, and Reed families and their enslaved African Americans between 1840 and 1860.

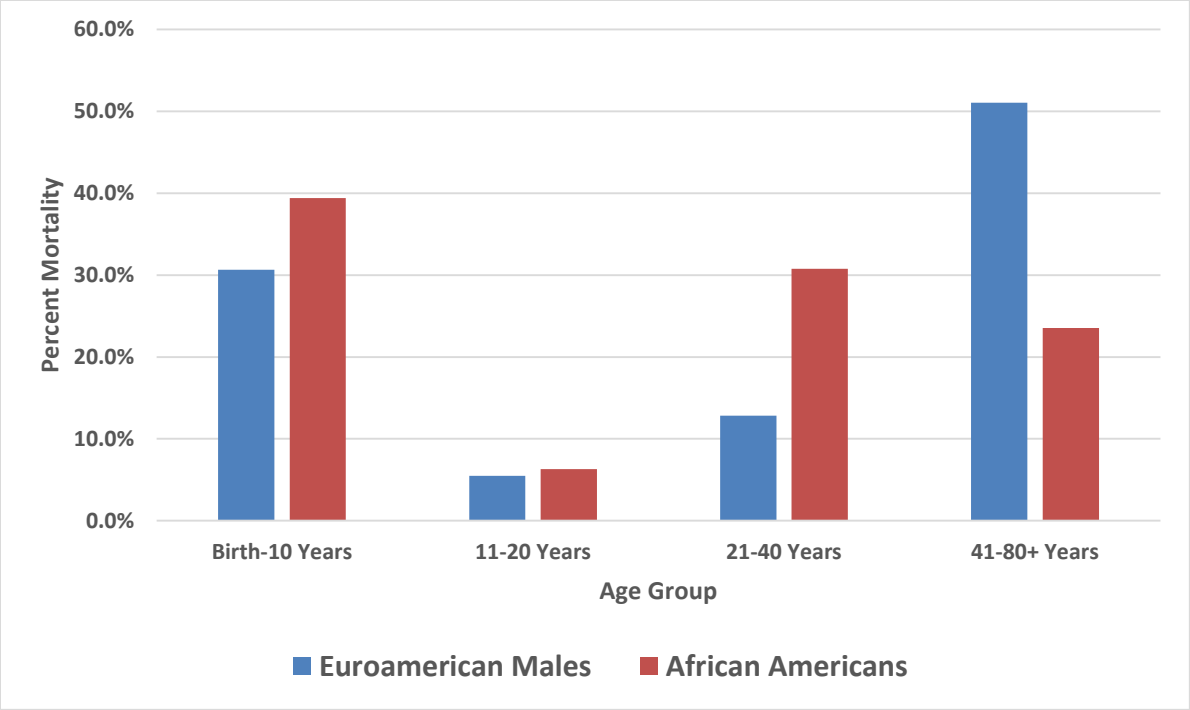


Figure 5.3. A comparison of antebellum mortality estimates. Shown are Euroamerican males and African Americans in similar age groups. African American mortality was particularly high relative to Euroamericans during the adult working years 21-40, suggesting that harsh labor conditions were a significant mortality factor. Euroamerican data is from Hacker (2010) and African American data is from Berry (2017).

I determined the total number of individuals lost and gained (without attributing a cause) in each demographic group for the ten-year intervals between 1840-1850 and 1850-1860, making separate compilations for the Euroamerican families and for the enslaved African Americans in small-scale and large-scale operations. The 1840 census recorded the names of only heads of households, followed by genders and age ranges for family members and other free persons. I could match remaining individuals to names beginning with the 1850 census. I recorded losses if individuals disappeared between census years and gains if they appeared between census years. I included free laborers and domestics with family members if present. I did this for consistency between census years, since the 1840 census did not name, or distinguish between, family members and free white laborers and I did not want to lose the data from that year.

In the case of enslaved bondsmen, no names were available except in rare instances. The 1840 census recorded only gender and age ranges. The 1850 and 1860 slave schedules, however, recorded gender, specific age, and a physical description as either black or mulatto. I recorded slaves as lost between censuses if they could not be matched with one ten years later who had the same gender, description, and expected age (being ten years older, plus or minus one year). I recorded gains if I could not match slaves to ones present in a previous census.

Although I have attempted to be conservative, I cannot account for two circumstances from the census data alone. First, individual ages of enslaved African Americans (and Euroamericans, for that matter) were sometimes off by more than a year, and descriptions as black or mulatto depended on the interpretation of the census taker. For example, African American farmer Wash Estes was listed as age 33 in 1860, but as 47 in 1870, which is off his expected age by four years. In 1860, the census taker described him and two of his children as mulattos, but in 1870, a different census taker described them all as black. Without the associated names, these kinds of circumstances would have resulted in an interpretation of losses and gains in a ten-year period that were in effect the result of the census takers' idiosyncrasies.

Second, very high child mortality rates occurred among both Euroamericans and African Americans (Figure 5.3). In both cases, mortality was highest in the first year. Using only decadal data, I cannot account for births and deaths that occurred between census years. Robert Elliott and his family are a case in point: in the 1860 census, Robert and Polly Ann reported having no children; but by 1870, Robert had died and Polly Ann remained, along with two daughters. Following the process I described above, this circumstance would show a loss of one individual and a gain of two between 1860 and 1870. However, these data do not reflect the birth and death of four children between 1860 and 1865. I found this information by visiting the Elliott family

cemetery and reviewing the family Bible. Since I did not have such sources for other families, I relied solely on the census data for consistency between them.

As a first check on the demographics of the selected Euroamerican families and their African American bondsmen, I separated the slave data between small-scale and large-scale operations slaveholding operations (Table 5.3). I then used the total starting and ending population numbers for each group from 1840 to 1850 and from 1850 to 1860 (summarized graphically in Figure 5.4) to solve for the finite rate of increase, represented by the Greek letter lambda (λ) (Donovan and Welden 2002:100). Lambda is calculated using the following formula:

$$N_t = \lambda^t N_0$$

Where:

N_0 = Starting population number
N_t = Ending population number
t = Time interval (years)
λ =Finite rate of increase

The finite rate of increase is the annual rate of increase in a population that is density-independent and increases geometrically (Donovan and Welden 2002:99). The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 5.4; $\lambda > 1.0$ indicates an increasing population, $\lambda = 1.0$ indicates a stable population, and $\lambda < 1.0$ indicates a declining population. The results show that Euroamerican families remained generally stable in the ten years from 1840 to 1850, while the numbers of enslaved African Americans expanded, particularly the number in large-scale holdings. In the ten years from 1850 to 1860, Euroamerican family members decreased in number, as did the number of African Americans held by small-scale slaveholders. The number of African Americans held by large-scale owners continued to increase.

Table 5.3. Demographic trends. Shown are data for (A) Euroamerican families and (B, C) enslaved African Americans based on the 1840, 1850, and 1860 Federal census reports. Data for enslaved African Americans is reported for small-scale (10 or fewer) and large-scale (11 or more) slaveholders.

A.	Losses and Gains of Euroamerican Families							
	1840>1850				1850>1860			
Family	No. 1840	Loss	Gain	No. 1850	No. 1850	Loss	Gain	No. 1860
A.M. Poage	11	4	4	11	11	2	0	9
R. Poage	5	0	0	5	5	3	1	3
J. Faddis	9	3	3	9	9	6	0	3
B. Fry	8	3	3	8	8	4	1	5
J. Reed	6	2	5	9	9	4	1	6
J. Winn	19	7	5	17	17	12	4	8
Jos. Elliott	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
A. Elliott	7	2	1	6	6	3	0	3
Jas. Elliott	6	0	0	6	6	3	0	3
Total	72	21	21	72	72	38	7	40
Per capita rates	Loss:	0.292	Gain:	0.292	Loss:	0.528	Gain:	0.097

B.	Losses and Gains of African Americans in Small-scale Operations							
	1840>1850				1850>1860			
Slaveholder	No. 1840	Loss	Gain	No. 1850	No. 1850	Loss	Gain	No. 1860
R./E. Poage	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
B. Fry	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jos. Elliott	5	0	0	5	5	5	0	0
A. Elliott	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	0
Jas. Elliott	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	2
Total	9	2	3	10	10	9	2	3
Per capita rates	Loss:	0.222	Gain:	0.333	Loss:	0.900	Gain:	0.200

C.	Losses and Gains of African Americans in Large-scale Operations							
	1840>1850				1850>1860			
Slaveholder	No. 1840	Loss	Gain	No. 1850	No. 1850	Loss	Gain	No. 1860
J. Reed	12	2	6	16	16	8	21	29
J. Winn	6	0	9	15	15	10	9	14
Total	18	2	15	31	31	18	30	43
Per capita rates	Loss:	0.111	Gain:	0.833	Loss:	0.581	Gain:	0.968

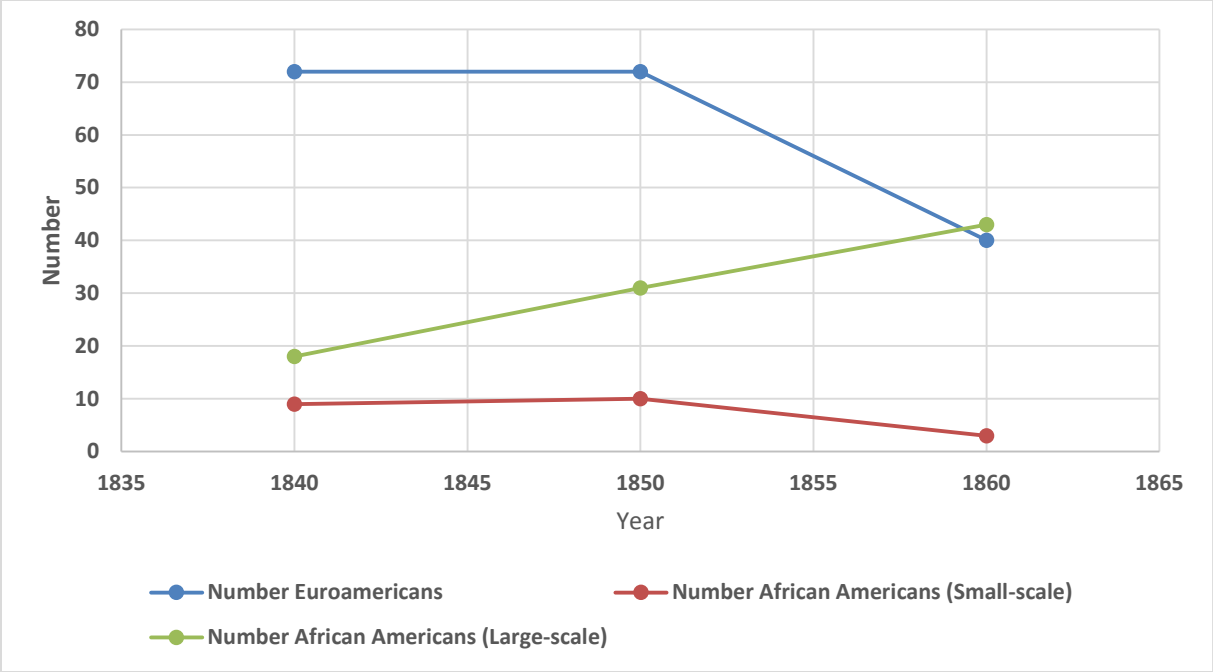


Figure 5.4. Population trends in selected Hardin Township farm families, 1840-1860. Data show trends for Euroamerican families that were contemporaries of the Elliotts, enslaved African Americans held in small-scale operations, and those held in large-scale operations. The latter show dramatic gains across two decades, suggesting the strong need for labor in large commercial operations overrode other concerns.

Table 5.4. Finite rates of increase. Shown for selected Euroamerican families and enslaved African Americans based on data from 1840, 1850, and 1860 U.S. census reports. A finite rate of increase >1.0 indicates an expanding population; a rate of increase = 1.0 indicates a stable population; a rate <1.0 indicates a shrinking population. The text describes the derivation of the finite rate of increase.

	Finite Rate of Increase	
Demographic Group	1840>1850	1850>1860
Euroamerican Families	1.0000	0.9429
African Americans (Small-Scale)	1.0106	0.8865
African Americans (Large-Scale)	1.0559	1.0333

While the basic results are obvious from the numbers presented in Table 5.3, estimating λ provides a more nuanced understanding of the differences. For example, in the first ten-year interval, African Americans held by small-scale slave holders had values of λ intermediate between Euroamerican farmers and African Americans held in large-scale operations, which

suggests differences between African American populations in terms of the rates of gains and losses. However, in the second ten-year interval, the value of λ for African Americans held in small-scale operations dropped even more dramatically than that of the Euroamerican families, as I will further discuss.

The value of λ depends on the relationship between per capita rates of gain and loss (Donovan and Welden 2002:99). While the numbers and rates vary somewhat, Euroamerican families show similar patterns of loss and gain over time (Table 5.3.A). Between 1840 and 1850, gains offset loses, showing a stable number at a time when children were maturing. However, between 1850 and 1860 losses exceeded gains, resulting in a net loss that likely reflected elderly parents or spouses dying and children leaving home to seek their own fortunes. This pattern is consistent with the "family life cycles" concept evaluated by Groover in his diachronic study of the Gibbs Farmstead in Tennessee (2003:23-24). Euroamerican rates of loss and gain, as expressed through the finite rate of increase, represent the expected natural family pattern against which to evaluate the African American groups.

The pattern of African Americans held by small-scale enslavers somewhat replicated the family life cycle pattern of Euroamericans (Table 5.3.B). This population showed a small net increase in numbers between 1840 and 1850, and a net decrease between 1850 and 1860, roughly comparable to Euroamerican families. However, their rates of loss and gain were different in both time intervals, indicating a more rapid turnover rate with less individual stability. This suggests that aging small-scale slaveholders were downsizing their operations; in addition, Joseph Elliott manumitted his five slaves in his will shortly before the 1860 census.

Unlike Euroamerican families and African Americans held by small-scale slaveholders, African Americans held in large-scale farming operations showed net increases in total

population in both 10-year time intervals (Table 5.3C). With the exception of the rate of loss between 1840 and 1850 (suggesting more slaves were retained), the rates of loss and gain in each ten year interval were substantially higher than those of Euroamericans, implying more dramatic turnover and less stability. This strongly suggests that, despite the rosy apologia from Ovid Bell (1927), slaveholders did not in general treat the enslaved as family members, however paternalistic the slaveholders might have believed themselves to be. Rather, their enslavers considered them as expendable and replaceable labor, subject to sale and purchase by their holders, and probably experiencing shorter life spans (Hacker 2010; Berry 2017).

As is typically the case, the summary statistics hide some interesting patterns. The planter John Reed went from owning 12 slaves in 1840 to 16 in 1850, and to 29 in 1860. From 1850 to 1860, he lost 50% of his slaves and gained 131%. In addition, the value of his real property nearly doubled. During this expansion, the number of slave men to women became increasingly disproportionate, approaching two to one in 1860, which suggests a concentrated focus on labor to support commercial farm production, and little emphasis on slave stability. Of the 29 enslaved African Americans that he held in 1860, he retained only three men and two women from 1840.

Large-scale enslaver James Winn, on the other hand, started with six slaves in 1840, had 15 in 1850, and 14 in 1860; his real property value halved from 1850 to 1860, suggesting that his farming operation was shrinking. However, Winn lost 67% of his slaves between 1850 and 1860 and replaced 60%. He retained only two men from 1840, which again suggests a lack of stability among Winn's slaves. Winn could have been more interested in setting his older sons up in business between 1850 and 1860. Alternatively, he might simply have reached a level of financial security that satisfied his needs.

I discussed the slaveholding practices of James Elliott and his brothers in the previous chapter. Among the other small-scale slaveholders, the Elliott's neighbor, Benjamin Fry, divested himself of slaves early in his farming career. According to the 1840 census report, he held two slaves, a man and a woman, both in the age range of 10-23 years old. In 1850 and 1860, he reported owning no slaves, and his real property value declined from $5,500 in 1850 to $4,000 in 1860. Fry died in 1862, so his health could have been a factor in his decision-making; however, he also established a gristmill and distillery business in the early 1840s, which might have reduced his need for land and labor (CCHS 1881a:147).

The other small-scale slaveholders that I examined, Robert and Elizabeth Poage, consistently owned one enslaved man between 1840 and 1860, but not the same individual. Between 1850 and 1860, during which time Robert died, an African American man about 50 years old (in 1850) disappeared, and the Poages replaced him with a man who was 80 years old in 1860. It is difficult to imagine that the Poages expected much in the way of labor from a man that old, who also had quarters separate from those of the family, so the reason for his acquisition is unclear. However, slaveholders often tasked elderly slaves with maintaining equipment and machinery (Hurt 1992:267).

Demographically, the enslaved experienced higher turnover rates than their Euroamerican contemporaries. Birth and death were universal causes of gain and loss in both groups, but were not equivalent; in general, Euroamericans had longer life spans (Hacker 2010). Other causes beyond birth and death were more circumstance-specific. Additional sources of gain for Euroamericans included marriage, live-in free laborers and domestics, and bringing younger siblings and/or elderly parents into the home. Among the enslaved, purchase was the predominant additional source of gain. Additional sources of loss for Euroamericans included

marriage outside the household and emigration for new opportunities. For the enslaved additional losses resulted from sale, manumission, or running away.

The effects of purchase on slave numbers in Hardin Township are clear from the practices of planters such as John Reed, discussed above, and other large-scale slaveholders. However, I cannot parse out from the census data whether losses resulted more from sale or death. Manumission was rare in antebellum Missouri. The 1850 census report indicated that no slaveholders in the enumeration area had manumitted slaves during the year prior, but the presence of two free African American families in Hardin Township in 1860 suggests that it did sometimes happen. The 1860 census report reflects that Joseph Elliott manumitted Lucy, John King, Mary, Celia Ann, and Alexander in his will, as discussed in Chapter 4; however, they were only five slaves out of 251 (two percent). Running away seems to have been rare as well. The 1850 census report indicated no runaways within the year prior. The 1860 census report showed that one young man ran away from the large-scale slaveholder William Carpenter. This man represented only 0.4 percent of the township's enslaved population, but the statewide proportion of runaways at the time was only 0.09 percent, and the national proportion was even lower, at 0.02 percent (Hurt 1992:258). The proximity of Clinton County to both Kansas and Iowa could have made running away a more appealing option to the township's enslaved. Based on these data, I cannot say whether African Americans in small-scale holdings would have had more or less chance than their large-scale counterparts to exploit such opportunities.

The Interaction of Housing, Agriculture, and Demographics.

The data evaluated above show at least circumstantial evidence that reduced surveillance, and therefore greater opportunity for covert resistance, was more likely associated with small-scale farming and slaveholding operations. In those cases, a farmer had fewer options for

housing and managing his slaves due to demands on his own resources and labor, combined with the economic imperative to sustain the farm and family while producing modest agricultural surpluses for the market. Slightly over half of the township's enslaved population lived in such circumstances. Although small-scale slaves quartered in the family homes might have experienced more surveillance than those quartered in separate slave houses, their working condition were likely better than were those of slaves held in large-scale operations.

The demographic trends among the enslaved in small-scale slaveholding operations resemble those of Euroamerican families somewhat, but the resemblance is probably superficial, given the generally higher mortality rates of African Americans. In my limited sample, the losses of African Americans in small-scale slaveholding operations between 1850 and 1860 seemed to result from a combination of death and manumission, followed by decisions on the part of the slaveholders, with the exceptions of Elizabeth Poage and James Elliott, not to replace their losses. This decision was probably for economic reasons, since all were self-sufficient and had surplus production. Large-scale holders overcame losses by purchasing additional slaves as needed, with little concern for stability among them.

Neither Joseph nor James Elliott provided separate houses for the people they enslaved, and Piersen (1988:26) argued that having the enslaved living in the owner's home might have allowed closer bonds to develop between them. There is some evidence among the Elliotts that this might have been the case, and because they were my family, I would like to believe it. However, the data are open to alternative interpretations. Joseph Elliott's decision to free his five slaves after his death suggests that a level of affection developed over the twenty plus years they were together; however, his will left his enslaved people no means of economic support beyond what they might have accumulated through their own efforts. Joseph might simply have used the

promise of manumission as a way to encourage compliance with his demands. That one of the Elliotts, probably Elizabeth, recorded the birth of Sarah Emily in the family Bible in 1860, might also support an argument for closer bonds, but it could also have been a bookkeeping exercise. She did not record the names of Sarah Emily's parents. Was she simply making a property record for which the identities of the parents were irrelevant? Absent additional family records such as diaries or ledgers, I will never know.

Off-property Movement and Surveillance

The built and natural features of the Hardin Township landscape provided opportunities for the enslaved to reduce surveillance beyond the limits of the individual farms on which they lived and labored. Their enslavers sanctioned some of these opportunities, and they involved little risk for the enslaved. In other cases, the enslaved covertly seized opportunities without sanction, where the risk of discovery and punishment was greater. I discuss both types of opportunities and the conditions that facilitated them in this section.

The Built Landscape and Surveillance

The built environment of Hardin Township included the towns, churches, and stores that supported Euroamericans and their farms, as well as the roads that linked them all. Errands performed for the slaveholders provided the enslaved with legitimate reasons to be off property and out of sight of owners. Slaveholders typically provided written passes that specified the destination, route, and the period they allowed the enslaved to be off property. Deviating from the conditions specified in a pass entailed some risk. Many slaveholders considered it a duty to challenge unaccompanied African Americans and verify compliance with their owner's instructions (Camp 2004:26). Even so, judicious planning on the part of the enslaved could work to reduce surveillance.

Using the established roads when authorized to be out on a slaveholder's business would have been slower than using creek channels and game trails, allowing a more extended time away from home. The nearest mills for pickup and delivery of grain, flour, and milled lumber were located in the small town of Bainbridge, which was about four miles round trip by road from the James Elliott farm. The road passed by Joseph's property, which for Frank would have facilitated brief visits with Joseph's slaves.

William Carpenter's general store was about a 10-mile round trip from the Elliott farm, which was slightly shorter than the 12-mile round trip to Plattsburg. A trip to either destination would have allowed nearly an entire day or more off property; however, it is more likely that James or one of his sons would have gone on the longer trips to conduct business in regularly held markets, stores, or county offices and meet with friends. Owsley reports that in the Upper South, farmers used such excursions as an occasion for all-night celebrations with their peers (1949:115). Clinton County's farmers experienced such opportunities (CCHS 1881a:131), and any of the enslaved who accompanied them could have enjoyed each other's company as well, possibly making plans for later covert activities.

Numerous sources suggest that most enslaved people in the antebellum period were Christians, and slaveholders encouraged them to attend church (Stone 2004:56), so regular church attendance by both groups was probably a feature of the social life of Hardin Township. Limited surviving records show that individual church congregations consisted of a mix of non-slaveholders, small-scale slaveholders, and large-scale slaveholders (Hanks and Corn 1977). Euroamericans would have segregated the enslaved from the Euroamerican attendees to the extent physically possible, giving the enslaved opportunities to interact among themselves. Unfortunately, the loss of Hardin Township's antebellum church buildings due to fire or

replacement makes such segregation hard to establish. However, the churches were on public roads that could have been traveled by the enslaved with relative ease on Sundays. Slaveholders and the people they enslaved most likely traveled to and from church together. However, the fact that state law theoretically enjoined slave patrols from preventing church attendance by slaves makes it reasonable to assume that slaveholders sometimes allowed slaves to attend church on their own, since patrols would not typically consider slaves accompanied by their holders as suspicious. It is more likely that the reduced surveillance resulting from church attendance accrued the 52 percent of enslaved in small-scale operations. Large-scale holders are unlikely to have allowed all of the enslaved to leave the property *en masse*. However, they might have incentivized church attendance by rewarding a small number of slaves with permission to attend each Sunday.

The Viewshed and Surveillance

Many slaves augmented the diets of the home farm with fish and wild game, and state law allowed a slave to carry a firearm if licensed by a justice of the peace, with the slaveholder's approval. Hunting and fishing activities provided the enslaved with reduced surveillance for a period, even if accompanied by their holders. Hunting also provided the opportunity to explore the creek channels and game trails that connected local farms, and locate possible covert meeting places, where riparian vegetation and limestone bluffs would have provided additional cover, which they could later communicate to other slaves.

The enslaved also had their own reasons for being off property, the desires of their enslavers and activities of slave patrols notwithstanding. Such reasons could have ranged in intent. Individual slaves sometimes needed privacy to rest, relax, or avoid contact with their enslavers. Groups of families and friends sometimes met to visit and exchange news. Groups

also met to plan sabotage or escape. Whatever the case, the landscape analysis showed a number of routes that could have been used by the enslaved for reasons their owners might not have approved of. Every excursion would have required knowledge of available routes, an assessment of the likelihood of detection or interception, and an analysis of the benefits of the trip versus the risk.

The presence of free African American families in locations that were less subject to casual slaveholder surveillance, as discussed in Chapter 4, would have provided some opportunity for clandestine meetings. Based on the viewshed analysis I presented in Chapter 4, Wash Estes's home was in the center of a large area that could have been nearly surveillance-free (Figure 4.4), an area that African American farmers favored post-bellum. As one of two free African American farmers who lived in the township in 1860, it is highly likely that his home attracted enslaved African Americans who, with or without permission to be off property, saw the Estes home as a place of temporary sanctuary. However, slave patrols probably targeted the areas with free African Americans homes, so caution would still have been required on the part of enslaved truants.

Exploiting opportunities of the type described required the ability of the enslaved to escape the surveillance of the farm. As with other aspects of surveillance, this was probably easier for those in small-scale holdings, with the exception that slaves living in the family house probably had more difficulty leaving without the family noticing.

Slave Patrols and the Community of Resistance

So far, in my analysis of opportunities for the enslaved to reduce surveillance I have relied mainly on circumstantial evidence. The conditions of housing, agriculture, demographics, and landscape all suggest that reduced surveillance could have occurred, and the enslaved could

therefore have exploited those opportunities for their own reasons. Absent evidence for low-level, every day acts of resistance among Hardin Township's enslaved African Americans, the U.S. census records that I relied on show limited evidence of the more rare acts of overt resistance, such as running away. However, the records of Hardin Township's slave patrols provide direct evidence that the enslaved in fact exploited the opportunities provided by reduced surveillance.

As discussed in Chapter 2, state law authorized county courts to appoint slave patrols, charged to apprehend and punish enslaved African Americans who were off their holders' properties without permission. Although the timing of these patrols could have reflected Euroamerican anxieties as much as they did behavior of the enslaved, there might have been some reason for concern: by 1860 slave escape rates in Missouri, although less than a tenth of a percent, were about four times higher than the national average (Hurt 1992:259). Never the less, meeting civic responsibilities seemed to be a common expectation of Euroamericans across the socioeconomic spectrum, and the society expected Euroamerican men to participate in policing the conduct of the enslaved.

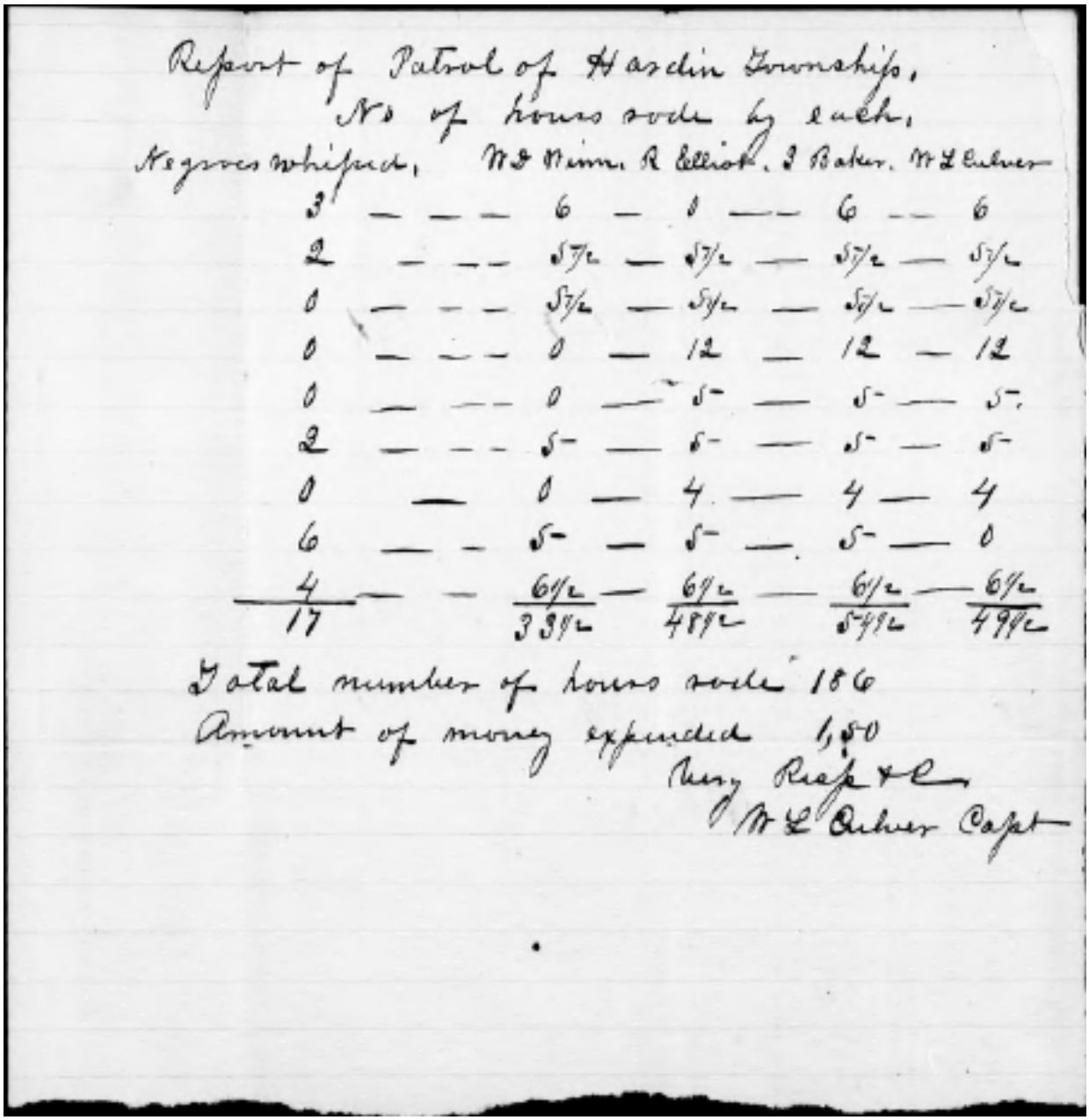
Clinton County Court records show that the court appointed slave patrols in Hardin Township in 1859 and 1860, Concord and Lafayette Township in 1860, and Jackson Township in 1861. Whether these records are complete is unknown, but the timing seems to reflect a concern for the movements and clandestine meetings of the enslaved in response to rising tensions before the outbreak of the Civil War. On October 4, 1859, the Kansas Territorial Legislature passed a free-state constitution and submitted it to the U.S. Congress for approval (Kansas State Historical Society 2011), and the Clinton County Court appointed a Hardin Township slave patrol later that same month. The December 1860 slave patrol appointments

followed the election of Abraham Lincoln as President and the secession of a number of southern states. The April 1861 patrols in Jackson Township followed the formation of the Confederacy, and, probably more important locally, the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free state. These developments heightened slaveholder concerns about an increased number of runaways, and possibly slave rebellion (Trexler 1909).

The county court assigned non-slaveholders Robert Elliott and William Winn, large-scale slaveholder Isaac Baker, and my great-great grandfather, William L. Culver, a small-scale slaveholder, to the October 1859 Hardin Township slave patrol. The court further appointed Culver as the captain of the patrol, and I found his report to the court on the patrol's activities in the Missouri State Archives (Figure 5.5). Whether other appointed captains were less zealous than Culver, or their reports were simply lost over time, I cannot say, but Culver's is the only report from the five slave patrols that provides any level of detail beyond the names of the appointed members. In his report, filed December 6, 1859, Culver stated that the patrol had ridden a total of 186 hours in nine days of patrols and had whipped seventeen Negroes. He did not report the areas patrolled, the offenses of the African Americans, nor number of lashes given to each, but they were presumably, at a minimum, truant from their holders' properties. In addition, the report shows that the patrol apprehended them in five groups of two to six people, which indicates that unauthorized meetings were in fact taking place.

The details of Culver's report show that a community of resistance existed among the enslaved population of Hardin Township. Although 17 slaves seems like a small number, in actuality it represented about 21 percent of the township's African American men over 14 years of age, which is a substantial number, and of course only represents those who were caught. The number who avoided detection is unknown. The simple act of meeting with their companions

shows a sense of trust, shared experience, and common purpose. These factors underpinning a community of resistance were strong enough for them to risk corporal punishment. As Johnson (2003) reminds us, these known occurrences of the less common acts of resistance indicate that the covert individual acts of resistance were ongoing.



Report of Patrol of Hardin Township,
No of hours rode by each,

Negroes whipped,	W J Nunn	R Elliot	J Baker	W L Culver
3	6	0	6	6
2	5 7/2	5 7/2	5 7/2	5 7/2
0	5 7/2	5 7/2	5 7/2	5 7/2
0	0	12	12	12
0	0	5-	5-	5-
2	5-	5-	5-	5-
0	0	4	4	4
6	5-	5-	5-	0
4	6 1/2	6 1/2	6 1/2	6 1/2
17	33 1/2	48 1/2	54 1/2	49 1/2

Total number of hours rode 186
Amount of money expended 1,50
Very Resp &c
W L Culver Capt

Figure 5.5. William L. Culver's report to the Clinton County Court. Culver summarized the activities of his slave patrol from October to December 1859. (Courtesy Missouri State Archives).

It would be fair to assume that Hardin Township's enslaved African Americans deployed the same range of resistant behaviors as their Rhode Island predecessors. Based on Scott's analysis (1985:34), this implies widespread use of feigned ignorance, malingering, pilfering, sabotage, and loafing when not under surveillance, but with care to perform enough satisfactory work to stay out of trouble, avoiding punishment and other unwanted attention. However, as enlistment records in the Civil War later attested, it would be a mistake to confuse the use of such covert tactics for a lack of courage, and they suggest that in their daily affairs, the enslaved chose a carefully trodden path between overt resistance and assimilation, probably hidden behind a façade of false-consciousness. The township's Euroamerican population, on the other hand, probably exhibited the typical responses to resistance: modifying policies to make them less onerous in some cases, providing incentives for compliance in others, and using more coercion, which one can clearly see in the activities of the slave patrols.

Conclusions

The Elliott brothers, as small-scale yeoman farmers, were among the majority of their contemporaries in antebellum Hardin Township. In this they were representative of rural communities across the Upper South and Midwest; they were, however, among the minority of yeomen who enslaved African Americans. Like the south, Hardin Township was highly stratified economically by land and slave ownership. Large-scale slaveholders and planters were the minority of the Euroamerican population but controlled much greater wealth. As small-scale yeoman farmers and slaveholders, the Elliotts' farming and slave management practices significantly affected the opportunities for the people they enslaved to reduce surveillance, a necessary condition in practicing resistant accommodation.

Differences in slave housing and labor management practices between small-scale and large-scale slaveholders provided variable opportunities for the enslaved to reduce surveillance on the farms where they lived and worked. The advantage in both housing and labor probably accrued to those slaves held in small-scale operations where the slaveholders provided separate houses. Slaves in small-scale operations without separate slave houses, which included the Elliott slaves, still had the advantage of working conditions that reduced surveillance in comparison to slaves held in large-scale operations with heavy labor demands.

Some authors have advanced paternalistic feelings on the part of slaveholders as a potential condition that reduced surveillance; however, my demographic comparison of selected Euroamerican families and their enslaved African Americans provides little support for this contention. While the demographic trends of the enslaved held in small-scale operations superficially resembled those of Euroamerican families, this was more likely due to aging owners making an economic decision to scale back their farm production and reducing their labor force accordingly. The enslaved of large-scale owners, on the other hand, showed demographic trends that clearly reflected the economic intents of their holders.

Beyond the geographic scale of individual farms, opportunities to reduce surveillance existed for enslaved African Americans both within and outside the norms established by the Euroamerican-dominated social and physical landscape. The ability to engage in off-property errands for their holders, attend church, and hunt and fish allowed the enslaved to become familiar with their surroundings and make connections with each other. They exploited these connections to engage in activities not endorsed by their holders.

The conditions described above suggest that the enslaved had opportunities for resistant accommodation, but do not show that the enslaved took advantage of those opportunities.

However, the records of the Hardin Township slave patrol demonstrate that a significant number of the enslaved were willing to exploit lapses in surveillance to gather clandestinely in groups of two to six people during a six week period in 1859 when the patrol was active. The existence of such a community of resistance suggests that smaller, individual acts of covert resistance were also occurring regularly among the enslaved.

Chapter 6

The Civil War and its Aftermath

Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man: preserve me from the violent man;

Which imagine mischiefs in their heart; continually are they gathered together for war.

Psalm 140:1-2 (AKJ)

Introduction

The hopes of Hardin Township's Euroamerican population heading into the Civil War were dominated by a desire to maintain the status quo, optimistically held by Euroamericans in general, and slaveholders in particular, despite the overarching political tensions. However, an underlying anxiety about the future tempered this optimism. The enslaved, on the other hand, confronted a social and physical landscape that was restrictive, but one that with care could be manipulated to their limited advantage. Such a condition could have persisted indefinitely, but the national and regional tensions, of which the hostilities on the border with Bleeding Kansas were symptomatic, decreed otherwise and the Civil War exploded, bringing with it a terrifying level of viciousness that changed the lives of all concerned.

Although the seeds of war had been well sown over the previous 30 years (Parsons 2009:197), the proximal factor in the crisis was the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in November 1860. That election revealed that the majority of Missouri voters were against secession, but in favor of continuing the institution of slavery. In that fractious election, the Democratic Party split between northern and southern Democrats. Neither the Republican Lincoln nor the northern Democratic Party Candidate, U.S. Senator Stephen Douglas, received majority support in Missouri. However, Missouri voters also rejected the southern Democratic

Party candidate, former Vice-President John Breckenridge, because they viewed his stance on secession as too extreme. There was strong support for former U.S. Senator John Bell of Tennessee, the nominee of the short-lived Constitutional Union Party. Bell advocated against secession, arguing that it was unnecessary because the U.S. Constitution protected slavery. In the Missouri River Counties Bell received the majority of his backing from pro-slavery Whigs, and carried most of those counties by a large margin, receiving 8,506 votes compared to 5,207 for Douglas, 2,694 for Breckenridge, and only 72 for Lincoln. In Clay County, Lincoln did not receive a single vote. The River Counties' citizens obviously believed that the continuation of slavery under the constitution would best serve their economic interests. However, Douglas ultimately carried the state with 35.5 percent of the vote, edging out John Bell by only 492 votes (Hurt 1992:299).

Lincoln's victory nationally prompted the secession of South Carolina, and the attack on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor in April 1861 proved to be the point beyond which reconciliation was no longer achievable, "…and", as Lincoln expressed it in his second inaugural address (Lincoln 2006), "the war came." His rhetoric suggests the sad inexorability of it. Once the fighting started, many Missouri slaveholders who had supported Bell and hoped for peace threw their fortunes in with the Confederacy, as did John Bell himself; others remained loyal to the Union but tried to stay out of the fighting (Burke 2010:273); still others joined the Union forces (Erwin 2014:20). In addition, formerly enslaved African American men were able to enlist and fight for their own emancipation and that of their families (Greene et al. 1993:77).

Civil War on the Homefront

The onset of the Civil War was a time of tremendous anxiety and uncertainty for the residents of Clinton County. As described by admittedly biased Union Major John Bassett,

Provost Marshal-General for the Northwest District of Missouri:

> At the commencement of the Rebellion a treasonable influence, emanating from the Governor of Missouri, penetrated every village, city, and neighborhood in the entire state. Like the poison of an epidemic, it spread as though on the breath of a gale. Murders of loyal men at midnight, around their own hearth-stones, and at the doors of their own dwellings; hanging them publicly by mobs, and loud threats of an indiscriminate massacre, produced a reign of terror which caused many of our most loyal citizens to flee the state.
>
> Bassett (1864:5-6)

The years 1861-1862 were particularly trying, and many acts of what would be considered terrorism by today's standards were directed by both sides at the civilian populace (Erwin 2014:58). But in truth, political pressure against secession was strong in the state, even to an extent in the River Counties. Governor Claiborne Jackson's secessionist-dominated state government petitioned for admission to the Confederacy. The Confederate government accepted the petition; however, a state constitutional convention convened in 1861 to decide the question refused to support secession by a margin of 98 to 1, and formed a provisional government under Hamilton Gamble (the only state Supreme Court justice to vote in favor of Dred Scott in 1852) (Phillips 2012). Former State Supreme Court Justice James H. Birch, one of Clinton County's slaveholders, represented Clinton County at the convention, voting with the majority (CCHS 1881a:350). Although the provisional state government never seceded, the twelfth star on the Confederate national flag represents the state of Missouri (Seabrook 2015:64). Governor Jackson formed a government-in-exile headquartered in Texas, but died in 1862 and was succeeded by his lieutenant governor (Phillips 2012).

Although military historians often consider Missouri a backwater of the war, there was in fact significant military activity there, with over one thousand military engagements fought over four years. Both sides recognized the strategic military importance of Missouri's rivers and railroads during the war, and their potential commercial importance to the victor afterwards

(Erwin 2014:19). In February 1862, my great-great grandfather William Lawson Culver, introduced in the previous chapter, wrote to his uncle, John Lawson, in Kentucky. After opening with a page of family business, Culver moved on to news of the war in northwest Missouri, including his own arrest for suspected secessionist activities. I quote his letter in full:

> Clinton County, Mo.
> Feb. 14th 1862
>
> Jno. T. Lawson, Esq.
> Dear Uncle,
> Your kind letter of Feb. 4th received a few days since – finding us all well. As Mother's agent I again reply. She deems letter writing quite a task – so I act as her secretary – in most cases.
> I had written to Uncle Thomas that Mother would probably appoint an Agent in Ky, to attend to her interests, but in further reflection she has concluded not to do so. Being perfectly satisfied to let the heirs in Ky manage the estate as to them may seem best – having full confidence in their ability and integrity to do so. For the same reason, and from the fact that she is not entirely acquainted with all the circumstances governing in such cases, she cannot ask in any way in regard to breaking the will – leaving the matter entirely with the other heirs.
> Mother requests you to leave the articles selected for her with Aunt Betsey; as they are already there. Mother talks very strong of visiting Ky during the coming spring – her only fears being in regard to traveling on the cars, while the country is in such a turmoil. The railroads of Missouri are liable to be torn up at any moment; as they are of such importance to the Union cause, and without which they could not hold the State. I fear I shall make a poor one keeping Bachelor Hall, but shall do the best I can & try to get a wife in the meantime. I see some of the notes of Grandmother's estate are of long standing 1841 & 1819. I would ask you if there is not a law of limitation which would prevent their collection – provided the payers were not disposed to forgive. I merely ask; that I may learn; always having understood that there was a law of limitation in each state.
> There is still a great deal of unlawful, atrocious, and cowardly acts being committed in this state. And I suppose will so continue until the war is over. I learn from good authority that Jennison has burnt some 200 houses in Jackson County, driven off the stock, and also the negroes to Kansas. Jennison is Jim Lane's right hand man. I heard of one instance when they went to a house where there was a sick woman and child. They carried the woman and child out in the snow on a bed – then set the house on fire – waited until they saw the fire could not be extinguished then left. A gentleman came by here who said he saw 12 houses in Jackson Co burning at one time – most of them fine houses, too, worth from 3 to $10,000. I sent Uncle Thomas a copy of Jim Lane's speech at Leavenworth City – which I hope you will get of him and read, if you have not seen it. Old man Beatty was taken from his home while sick – put in jail, from the effects of which he died. So we go in this boasted land of liberty. I believe there is a just God who will yet pour out his vengeance upon the heads of the authors of all our woe.

The measles have been through this section of country. Our negro woman had them. Also Harry Middleton while at my home on a visit. The Federal soldiers for a while at St. Joe averaged 5 deaths per day from their effects. It is a sad fact but nevertheless true that more soldiers die from the disease than are killed in battle, showing a want of proper attention.

I think you will find yourself mistaken in regards to any material change in Uncle Thomas. I consider him politically a hardened sinner. But the vilest sinner may return. So keep up hope that he may be converted from darkness unto light, but like you if we receive him it will have to be on probation. Uncle Moses is a gone chicken; no use to preach to him. He has been soft lo these many years.

Feb. 15th

I have been out on two expeditions during the present war. The last time taken prisoner, and sworn as later stated. Both times I had as much fun as any poor mortal ever enjoyed. Often laughing until my sides would ache. Now I have to be a peaceable, quiet fellow; as I do not intend to violate my oath.

There was 8 of us prisoners at Platte City. We were guarded in the grand jury room of the court house. Out of the 800 federal soldiers who were there, I do not believe there was one failed to come see us. We seemed to be as much of a curiosity as Barnum's Museum. We would say to them, "Walk in gentlemen. Here is the Live Secesh. Only ten cents a sight. Two rows of teeth – double breasted, and ten toes on each foot." Some of them would get very mad at us, and say we ought to be hung – others would laugh and enjoy our spirit. From Platte City we walked to Weston on a Turnpike – making our feet quite sore – from Weston to St. Joe in the cars, arriving there about dark. We were all of us put in jail, and a dirty, filthy one at that. I remained in jail but 2 days and nights – being released on Parole. And at the end of about a month being released entirely by taking the oath. I could not get a trial, Military authorities being the supreme law here. I am minus a horse, saddle, bridle, shotgun and holster pistol, and if I lose nothing more I shall consider myself very fortunate. I have written sufficient I suppose on this subject, as much at least as you will care to read. So I will bring my letter to a close hoping that my cousins have recovered from the measles and that you will write soon.

Your Affectionate Nephew,
Wm. L Culver

Culver's letter represents the general feelings of those Euroamerican slaveholders who were sympathetic to secession; it also speaks to the strategic importance of the railroads and local events as they were unfolding before his eyes. Culver mentions the depredations of Charles Jennison. A medical doctor-turned-soldier, Jennison led the notorious pro-union Kansas militia known as the Jayhawkers. He also invokes Kansas State Senator James Lane, who commanded the pro-union militia known as the Red Legs (Erwin 2014:88). In paternalistic slaveholder fashion, he reports Negroes "driven off" to Kansas rather than thinking African Americans made

their own decisions in the matter. Unfortunately, he failed to specify the activities that resulted in his arrest.

The presidential election of 1860 revealed that the majority of Missouri voters were against secession, but in favor of continuing the institution of slavery, and that seems to have been the case in Clinton County, where John Bell received nearly as many votes as the other candidates combined (including ten for Lincoln). Statewide, Union Army enlistees outnumbered Confederate Army enlistees nearly four to one (Greene et al. 1993:76). In Clinton County, which aligned itself more with the River Counties politically and economically, non-slaveholders outnumbered slaveholders nearly four to one. Yet the County History suggests the number of Clinton County men who joined the Confederate forces outnumbered those who joined the Union forces (CCHS 1881a:366-367). However, I suspect the count of Union soldiers is an underestimate. The 1881 history also enumerates at least six companies of pro-union soldiers from Clinton County (CCHS 1881a:351-352). At about 100 men per company that would make the ratio of Union to Confederate enlistees about four to one, more in line with the state averages. Even so, there was not a clear dichotomy based on slaveholding. A number of Clinton County men who held no slaves invested themselves emotionally, economically, and politically in the Confederate cause. Conversely, a number of slaveholders joined the Union forces.

Culver's letter also alludes to the divisions within families on the questions of secession and slavery. Missouri was truly a house divided, and the times were fraught with anxiety, even for civilians. Men and women in positions of public trust, including schoolteachers, county and municipal officials, lawyers (as officers of the court), candidates for public office, and bank officers were required to sign oaths of loyalty to the Union and the State of Missouri. A number of the signed oaths still exist in the Missouri State Archives, and along with the 1881 county

history, reveal some of the ironies of conflicted loyalties. Dewitt McMichael became a captain in the Union army while his sister Augusta prepared to marry the paroled secessionist William Culver. Their father Thomas, my great-great-great grandfather, a small-scale slave owner, actively supported the Union cause. James H. Birch, whose contribution to the State Supreme Court's 1852 Dred Scott decision helped exacerbate north-south tensions, remained loyal (Clinton County Court 1862), as did his son James H. Birch, Jr., also a lawyer and slaveholder. As a captain in the 6th Missouri State Militia Cavalry, the junior Birch conducted himself gallantly against Confederate forces in the August 1863 Battle of Pineville, and was later appointed as military aide to Governor Gamble with the rank of colonel (CCHS 1881a:352). Benjamin F. Willis, the second largest slaveholder in Hardin Township, then a county court judge, also signed the loyalty oath (Clinton County Court 1861).

The military forces operating under the authority of the state included the pro-Confederate Missouri State Guard (MSG), supporting the government–in-exile of Governor Jackson, and the Missouri State Militia (MSM), supporting the pro-union government of provisional Governor Gamble. A home guard organized as the Enrolled Missouri Militia (EMM), a not-entirely reliable or even loyal assemblage, provided local support to the Union military authorities (Porter 2012, Erwin 2014:56). Technically, the provisional government required all men of military age to join the EMM, or register as disloyal, but they liberally granted exemptions from such service (Frizzell 2012). Union field commanders probably considered themselves lucky if they knew what day it was.

In addition to the conventional military units, brutal pro-southern guerrillas and pro-union out-of-state militias operated extensively in Missouri. The most notorious and effective of the pro-southern guerrillas included William Quantrill and William "Bloody Bill" Anderson

(Fellman 1989:135). Although most guerrilla activity took place south of the Missouri River, where the border between Missouri and Kansas was easily crossed, they did not spare Clinton County. On May 21, 1863, self-styled Captain Joseph Hart, an associate of William Quantrill, led a guerrilla raid on the county courthouse in Plattsburg (Fellman 1989:136; Nichols 2012:115-116). Former County Judge George Culver (an uncle of William L. Culver) negotiated the surrender of the twenty militiamen of the 48th EMM guarding the courthouse with no loss of life. Hart's force then robbed the county treasury of approximately $3,000 and burned court records (Riley 1876). On the way back to Clay County, Hart and four of his men stopped in Hardin Township long enough to rob William Carpenter's general store, killing Carpenter, one of the township's largest slaveholders and a pro-union Whig, in the process (Bassett 1864:16, Nichols 2012:116).

Union troops, subject to guerrilla ambushes, assassinations, and other overt acts of hostility, were aggressive in finding and trying to stamp out secessionist elements (Porter 2012). Troops of the 25th EMM in Hardin Township were responsible for the extra-judicial killings of the slaveholders John Reed and Rev. Augustus Payne (CCHS 1881a:353; Nichols 2012:180). They suspected Payne, in spite of his having signed a loyalty oath (Clinton County Court 1862), of aiding and abetting Joe Hart's raid. Interestingly, his daughter, Lucilla Payne, in a letter condemning her father's murder, referred to Carpenter's death at the hands of Hart as that of "…one citizen, who was accidently shot." (CCHS 1881a:354). So perspective certainly mattered.

On August 25, 1863, following Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, Kansas, Union military authorities issued the highly controversial Order Number 11, which stated that "All persons living in Jackson, Cass, and Bates Counties [on the Kansas border]…are hereby ordered to move from their present places of residence within 15 days of the date hereof" (Harris 2012). The

controversy heightened when Union General Thomas Ewing selected Jim Lane's Red Legs (Figure 6.1) to enforce the order (Castel 1963). Such activities encouraged local men to enlist in the Confederate forces who would otherwise have remained neutral (Porter 2012). Among them might have been Archibald Elliott's son William B. Elliott (CCHS 1881a:367). County court records show that William signed a loyalty oath in 1862 while serving as the Hardin Township Constable (Clinton County Court 1862), and Federal records listed him as available for the draft in July 1863, along with his cousins Carp and Robert (Ancestry.com 2010), so it is likely his enlistment took place after the execution of Order Number 11.

Figure 6.1. George Caleb Bingham (1867) "Order No. 11." Bingham, an anti-slavery Whig and State Treasurer in the provisional pro-Union government, could not forgive Union General Thomas Ewing's order to depopulate counties on the border with Kansas (Castel 1963). (Public domain image courtesy of WikiCommons.)

What position James Elliott took in his heart on the question of secession I cannot guess, but he apparently remained outwardly loyal to the Union. A family story suggests Elizabeth's feelings on the question. She reportedly closed the main gate to the farm and blocked it with her body to keep Federal troops from confiscating the family horses. Might she have done the same had the raiders been Confederate guerrillas?

African American men did not sit idly by during these events. The Second Confiscation Act of 1862 allowed enslaved men to enlist in the Union Army in exchange for their freedom. In Missouri, over 8,300 African American men, about 40 percent of the eligible population, signed up for service. This was a higher enlistment rate than for eligible Euroamericans (Erwin 2014:54-55), of whom about twenty-eight percent joined the Union Army and eight percent enlisted in the Confederate Army. At least two regiments, the 62nd and 65th United States Colored Infantry, were composed primarily of Missouri men, and served in Arkansas and Texas (Kremer 2014). The 83rd United States Colored Infantry was organized in Kansas from the 2nd Kansas Colored Infantry, which consisted mostly of runaways from Missouri (Erwin 2014:55). Not reported in the county history of 1881 is that from 1863 to 1865, at least 68 African American men from Clinton County volunteered for service with the U.S. Colored Troops (NARA 2002; Table 6.1). The ages of the recruits ranged between fifteen and fifty-five, with an average age of twenty-six. The data collected at the time of recruitment matched the name of the recruit with the name of their former slaveholder to provide a record for compensating the holders for the loss of their property.

Two Clinton County veterans rest in the Mt. Washington Cemetery in Plattsburg. One is John Hicks, Co. E, 65th U.S.C.I., originally from Greenup County, Kentucky. Hicks enlisted in Plattsburg.

Table 6.1. African Americans recruited for the U.S. Colored Troops 1863-1865. Data are for Clinton County. Recruits and slaveholders from Hardin and Concord Townships are denoted.

Recruit	Age	Birth State	Former Holder
Adias Baker	28	KY	George Davis
William Biggerstaff	24	KY	Joseph Biggerstaff[1]
Frank Biggs	19	MO	Elijah Robertson
Manuel Birch	15	MS	James Birch[1]
George Bragg	45	KY	George Davis
Henry Brown	44	KY	Francis Brown
Jacob Brown	40	NC	Jessie Brown
Simon Brown	55	SC	Jessie Brown/ Mr. Hughes
William Churchill Bucker	33	KY	George Davis
Moses Butler	23	MO	Dolly Braig
Wilson Cockrill	16	MO	Jerry Cockrill (estate)
Edward Dickson	20	KY	Willis Dickson[1]
William Dickson	23	KY	Willis Dickson[1]
John Franklin	16	MO	George Funkhouser[1]
James Fry	21	KY	Josiah Reed
John Funkhouser	18	MO	Abraham Funkhouser[1]
Anderson Gentry	35	VA	Pleasant Gentry[1]
William Henry Ginn[3]	45	KY	Mason Hord[2]
Gilbert Green	18	KY	Cyrus Green
Kress Happy	16	MO	George Davis
Anderson Harris	20	KY	Elisabeth Harris
Elzy Hays	40	KY	George Davis
Scott Henderson	40	KY	John K. Lincoln[1]
John Hicks[4]	38	KY	William Biggs (KY)
Daniel Hughes	15	MO	William Wilkerson[1]
Edward Hughes	20	MO	William Wilkerson[1]
George Hughes	33	KY	Mary Hughes[1]
Thomas Hughes	18	MO	Mary Hughes[1]
Henry Hunter[4]	44	KY	Lloyd Leech
Richard Jackson	16	MO	A. Tillery
Samuel Jackson	43	KY	A. Tillery
Thomas Johnson	44	KY	Robert Johnson[2]
Benjamin Jones	41	VA	Julia Jones[1]
Logan Jones	32	VA	Columbus Jones
Joseph King Kade	27	KY	King Kade

Table 6.1. Continued

Monroe Leech	31	KY	Lloyd Leech
Aaron Lincoln	26	KY	John K. Lincoln[1]
James Madison	18	MO	Rev. Samuel Trice[1]
Samuel Madison	33	KY	Lloyd Leech
Simon Madison	33	KY	Lloyd Leech
Lewis Mason	21	KY	Edward Brookin
Henry McCorkle	16	MO	Andrew J. McCorkle
John McCorkle	18	MO	Andrew J. McCorkle
John McGinnis	21	MO	A. McGinnis
Page McGinnis	18	MO	A. McGinnis
Anderson Morrow	25	NC	Joseph Morrow
Daniel Morrow	21	MO	Vincent Morrow
Thomas Morrow	17	NC	Vincent Morrow
Anderson Murphy	22	MO	Thomas Murphy
Andrew Murphy	22	MO	Thomas Murphy
Charles Phelps	21	KY	James Phelps
Edward Phelps	18	KY	Thomas Phelps
Peter Phelps	17	KY	James Phelps
William Phelps	27	KY	Thomas Phelps
Lafayette Reed	35	TN	John Reed (deceased)[2]
John Scott	25	KY	Mary Hughes[1]
Levy Scott	19	MD	John Scott
George Slemons	18	VA	Montgomery Slemons
Matthew Spears	30	KY	John Reed (deceased)[2]
Hiram Spriggs	26	KY	David Atchison
Anderson Tillery	18	MO	Eppy Tillery
Hardin Tillery	24	MO	Eppy Tillery
Joseph Tillery	29	MO	Eppy Tillery
Miles Trice	32	KY	Rev. Samuel Trice[1]
Lee Turner	16	MO	Col. Winslow Turner[1]
Samuel Vance	39	KY	Nathan Vance[1]
George Washington	18	MO	George Funkhouser
Charles Williams	19	VA	Mrs. M.E. Smith[1]

1. Slaveholders residing in Concord Township in 1860
2. Slaveholders residing in Hardin Township in 1860
3. Veterans residing in Hardin Township in 1870
4. Veterans residing in Concord Township in 1870

The other veteran, Benjamin Baker, Co. B, 83rd U.S.C.I., does not show up in Table 6.1, which I derived from data specific to Missouri. The records of the 83rd show that Baker enlisted for a term of three years in the 2nd Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry on September 5, 1863, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, giving his age as 18 and his home of record as Missouri. Baker remained with the regiment when it was re-designated the 83rd U. S. Colored Infantry in December 1864, and mustered out of service at Camden, Arkansas, on October 9, 1865 (Kansas Adjutant General's Office 1865) .

While Benjamin Baker could have been a runaway from Isaac Baker, the evidence for that being the case is only circumstantial. However, as African American men were enlisting in large numbers in the Union Army, the number of runaways also increased. Of an estimated slave population of more than 100,000 in 1860, only an estimated 22,000 remained in bondage in 1864 (Greene et al 1993:85). King Elliott, possibly with his freedom at stake, seems to have taken advantage of Buchanan County's proximity to Kansas to relocate. When is uncertain, but he was farming in Tonganoxie (Leavenworth County) in 1870 (U.S. Census Bureau 1870b). In the meantime, the value of slaves dropped precipitously (Hurt 1992:237), in part due to the collapse of the hemp market (Hughes 2012).

The state constitutional convention voted to formally free Missouri's enslaved African Americans on January 11, 1865. This action, essentially recognizing a *fait accompli*, preceded ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution by 10 months (Kremer 2012). The end of the war in the spring and summer of 1865 ended overt combat and brought the former Confederate states back into the national fold, but Abraham Lincoln's vision of healing the union "…with malice toward none, with charity for all…" (Lincoln 2006) remains unrealized.

Aftermath

While freedom was a long time coming, former slaves experienced mixed results. Historian John Starrett Hughes, in reference to nearby Lafayette County following the war, said, "…freedom brought only confusion for many of the county's blacks. It cut them off from their past and clouded their future. Emancipation signaled change, but it provided no blueprint for growth." (2012:273). Most former slaveholders, many having suffered the loss of their property without compensation, felt that freedom and the constitutional guarantees of civil liberties were sufficient for African Americans to forge their own paths (Foster 2014). With the exception of some support, mainly from Northern abolitionist and religious institutions, newly freed African Americans were left largely to their own devices, often forced to endure the hostility of former owners and others who continued to believe in African American inferiority (Andrews 2004).

The 1865 Missouri State Constitution exacerbated the hostility of former secessionists by depriving ex-Confederate soldiers and those who actively supported secession of the right to vote. In the election of 1866, the list of prohibited voters in Hardin Township included Archibald's sons William B. and Joseph T. Elliott, Robert Elliott, and Lucretia's husband James Froman (CCHS 1881a:372). As a Confederate army veteran, William was an obvious choice under the constitutional guidelines, but what the others had done to deserve disenfranchisement is unclear. One possibility is that, faced with the choice of joining the EMM, they opted instead to register as disloyal. The polling authorities apparently allowed James and Carp to vote (CCHS 1881a:372). James was too old for military service during the war, but Carp was certainly of military age. His biographical sketch in the county history indicates that he spent several years in the West before marrying in 1865 (CCHS 1881b:171), so he seems to have successfully dodged the question by leaving the state, a common tactic of Missouri men during the war (Burke

2010:279). Election officials also allowed the former reprobate William Culver to vote, so after an unpromising beginning, he apparently honored the conditions of his 1862 parole.

The cause of the disenfranchised voters was taken up by men known as "Conservative Unionists" (Andrews 2004:11) – former slaveholders or sympathizers who had nonetheless remained loyal to the Union and were largely members of the Democratic Party (Andrews 2004). Democratic-controlled newspapers often engaged in bating and denigrating African Americans, disparaging their efforts at improvement, and downplaying violence against them (Andrews 2004). Clinton County followed the general trend in resisting the efforts of the Republicans who had drafted and imposed the 1865 state constitution. In June 1866, former Union Brigadier General James Shields, an opponent of slavery, then a Democratic member of the Missouri State House of Representatives, spoke at a political rally in Plattsburg on the topic of peace and union. Former state senator and state militia lieutenant colonel John Doniphan, a St. Joseph lawyer working to overturn the voting prohibition in the state constitution, followed Shields on the speaking platform. A local newspaper, the *Clinton County Register*, summarized Doniphan's speech somewhat inarticulately as follows:

> …Colonel John Doniphan addressed the assembly in a speech which embodied the principal points of the legislative history of [Republican] Radicalism. As the colonel had been a senator among them, no speaker in the state could be more competent to expose as well the machinery, as the ultimate purposes of that party, and he demonstrated it to be, to bring about and carry out a disenfranchisement amongst their political adversaries of the white race, and such an enfranchisement of the negro race, as to perpetuate power in their own hands.
>
> *Clinton County Register*, June 1866 (CCHS 1881a:368)

Despite the post-bellum control of the Missouri state government by radical Republicans, arguments such as Doniphan's were effective at slowing, if not preempting African American suffrage. African American men did not receive the right to vote until ratification of the 15th

amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1870 (Greene et al. 1993:97). (And of course, women of all ethnicities had to wait another 50 years.)

Most of the emancipated African Americans had worked as farm laborers or domestics while enslaved and were intimately familiar with agricultural practices. Emancipation therefore gave African Americans the opportunity to buy or rent land and attempt to support themselves and their families independently. A previous relationship between the enslaved and their holders based on assimilation under the paternalistic care of the slaveholders should have inspired an atmosphere of support and cooperation as they enfolded African Americans into the larger society. However, as suggested by the newspaper editorial quoted above, full enfranchisement and acceptance of African Americans in Clinton County was, as elsewhere in the River Counties, resisted by the Euroamerican majority. How successful were Hardin Township's newly freed African Americans in navigating this unwelcoming terrain? Some answers to that question come from the 1870 U.S. census report (U.S. Census Bureau 1870a).

At least some African Americans had the resources to acquire land. The 1870 census showed that Hardin Township had a total African American population of 141, a 44 percent reduction from the 1860 population. Only four occupations were listed: farmer, farm laborer, keeping house (the typical designation of a wife or adult daughter), and housekeeper. Of 24 African American heads of household, 14 (58 percent) owned their own land. Real property values ranged from $100-$1,600, with a median value of $700. The U.S.C.I. veteran William Ginn was the largest African American property owner. The other ten heads of household were presumably renting, sharecropping, or working for pay.

By comparison, the Euroamerican population numbered 1,400 (not including a large number of mostly Irish railroad workers), and remained predominantly farmers, with a much

smaller number of doctors, blacksmiths, teachers, dry goods clerks, carpenters, stone and brick masons, etc. Of 231 heads of household, 162 (70 percent) reported owning real property. Real property values ranged from $150-$56,000, with a median value of $3,000. Of the former large-scale slaveholders, the John Reed and James Winn land holdings had been broken up amongst their heirs, Isaac Baker was maintaining $30,000 worth of real estate (up from $23,000 in 1860), and Benjamin Willis seems to have abandoned farming to focus on his law practice in Plattsburg. The largest property owner was the former small-scale slaveholder Robert Scearce, Sr. Of the surviving Elliotts, James and Carp reported real property valued at $2,500 and $2,000, respectively. Robert's widow Polly Ann had $2,000 worth of property. All were under the median value reported by Euroamerican farmers. William B. Elliott, however, reported real property valued at $6,000, presumably the combined lands of William, Joseph, and Archibald. These data show that even the most successful of the African American farmers ranked in the lower socioeconomic tier in comparison with their Euroamerican counterparts.

The railroads that serviced Hardin and Concord townships were not built until after the Civil War (Riley 1876), and construction seemed to be in full swing at the time of the 1870 census. In Hardin Township, the census reported 368 railroad workers and their families. The workers came primarily from Ireland, and the first Roman Catholic parish in Plattsburg dates from this period (Hanks and Corn 1977). For those workers who had children, their progression across the country could be assessed by the states in which their children were born, with the oldest often born in New York, Ohio, or Indiana, and youngest born in Iowa and Missouri. It was telling to see that with railroad workers in such demand, not a single African American reported himself as being among them, which suggests the railroads shut them out.

I also examined the 1870 census records for Concord Township (U.S. Census Bureau 1870c), where the County seat of Plattsburg is located, for several reasons. One was to assess whether the population loss in Hardin Township reflected local relocation by African Americans to take advantage of the more diverse opportunities in Plattsburg, another was to look at the types of professions available to African Americans, and a third was to compare property ownership rates and property values.

The African American population of Concord Township shrank to 200 from its 1860 population of 311 (U.S. Census Bureau 1860d), a loss of about 36 percent, which shows that Plattsburg was not a strong draw relative to the larger urban areas. Of 54 African American heads of household, 34 (64 percent) reported real property values, with a range of $250-$2,000 and median value of $600. One of the largest African American property owners was U.S.C.I. veteran John Hicks, with real property valued at $2,000; his fellow veteran Henry Hunter had real property valued at $1,000.

Interestingly, while only three of the 23 U.S.C.I. recruits from Hardin and Concord townships appeared in the 1870 census report (Table 6.1), those three seemed to have excelled among their peers. Where Benjamin Baker was in 1870 is unknown; he first shows up in U.S. census records in 1900 as a barber in Plattsburg (U.S. Census Bureau 1900). The record reports that he did not marry until 1885, when he would have been about 40 years old, so he could have been exploring opportunities elsewhere before deciding to settle down.

In terms of professional opportunities, most African American residents of Concord Township reported their professions as farmers, farm laborers, keeping house, and housekeepers, similar to the result for Hardin Township. However, the census report included two preachers, two teamsters, a blacksmith, a plasterer, and a stonemason, suggesting that being in town

afforded more opportunities, limited though they might have been. Again, the census report included no African Americans among the 351 railroad workers and their families.

The census results for both townships reflect a general pattern of movement by African Americans both nationally and regionally. Nationally, African Americans moved in large numbers from southern to northern states (Andrews and Wainer 2017). Regionally, in places like Missouri, African Americans moved from rural to urban areas such as St. Louis, Lexington, and Kansas City (Burke 2010:312; Hughes 2012). The total number of African Americans in Missouri also dropped, with many relocating to northern or western states (Greene et al. 1993:92).

Within Hardin Township, the 1876 Edwards Brothers plat map shows African American farmers aggregated in the eastern portion of the township, in areas that the viewshed analysis suggests had been outside of the view of their former owners (Figure 4.4). A combination of factors could account for this. One could be that land was less expensive in that area because of the rougher, more forested terrain and a propensity to flood. (Hence the 1977 ACOE dam and reservoir.) Additionally, since the first free African American farmers in the township established themselves in that area, newly emancipated African Americans might have sought safety in numbers and clustered together in the face of Euroamerican hostility. The concentration of African American farmers in close proximity to each other would have facilitated defense against the violence of former southern guerrillas and organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan that targeted emancipated African Americans in the post-bellum Reconstruction era, which was nearly as painful in Missouri as in the Deep South (Greene et al. 1993:91; Andrews 2004). These factors all suggest that former slaveholders did not in general embrace emancipated African Americans as family. However, the closer proximity of African Americans to each other would

have helped foster a sense of community and encouraged the development of African American churches and schools.

The 1870 census also revealed that the antebellum slave codes that prohibited teaching African Americans to read and write had been reasonably, but not entirely, successful. African Americans in Hardin Township had an overall literacy rate of 29 percent, while 96 percent of their Euroamerican counterparts were literate. However, the breakdown of literacy by age group (Table 6.2) shows a 76 percent literacy rate among African American children aged 10-15, who would have been 5-10 years old at the time of emancipation and of prime school age.

Table 6.2. Literacy rates among Hardin Township residents ten years of age and older. Data are from the 1870 U.S. census. African American children in the 10-15 year old age group would have been 5-10 years old at the date of emancipation.

	Age Group				
	Head of House	Spouse	Age 10-15	Age 16-19	Age 20+
Euroamerican (N=941)	89.6%	88.3%	97.7%	95.9%	96.7%
African American (N=98)	16.2%	11.8%	76.0%	33.3%	0.0%

African Americans obviously understood the importance of education to their social and economic futures. In 1865, shortly before mustering out of service, soldiers of the 62nd and 65th U.S.C.I. regiments collected approximately $6000 and commissioned one of their Euroamerican officers, First Lieutenant Richard Foster, to act as their agent in establishing an African American school in Missouri. Foster, a Dartmouth-educated abolitionist, subsequently founded the Lincoln Institute (now Lincoln University) in Jefferson City to train African American teachers and provide education in the agricultural sciences (Kremer 2014:18).

Some private sponsors established African American elementary schools in Clinton County early after emancipation. The Second Baptist Church in Plattsburg, for example, provided schooling for African American children. However, the state did not mandate public

schools for African Americans until the state constitution was amended in 1875 (CCHS 1881a:67), and African American children lagged behind their Euroamerican contemporaries in literacy. The 1876 Edwards Brothers plat map shows an African American school centered in the cluster of African American farms along Smith's Fork (Figure 4.4) in eastern Hardin Township. It was most likely privately sponsored since the school district did not found a public school for African American's at the site until 1880 (Hanks 1977a).

Post-bellum life for the Elliotts continued much as before the war. Carp Elliott married Semantha Knight in January 1865 (CCHS 1881b:171). Elizabeth died in 1870, predeceasing the older James by eight years. Of their four children, Robert died in 1869, leaving behind a wife and two children. It is likely that the death of his oldest son and his wife in such a short interval of time affected James profoundly, and Carp probably became the *de facto* operator of the farm, which he inherited when James died in 1878. James and Elizabeth were buried in the cemetery of the Baptist church they helped found in 1846 (Figure 3.29).

Carp expanded the acreage of the farm to 173 acres (CCHS 1881b:171), and built a new barn in the 1880s (Urbis 1927), outbuildings of which might have used repurposed timbers from the old log house. He and Semantha had four children who survived to adulthood, all sons. Of the two older sons, James moved to Oklahoma before Carp's death in 1909 and Clifton worked as a postmaster. After Carp's death, his younger sons, Shelby and Clay, bought out the interests of their older brothers and split the land between them. Clay had one son, Max, who inherited Clay's land. But Max and his wife Calvina Slayton had no children, and Calvina sold his portion of the farm out of the family after his death. Shelby married Ruth Ann Lott, and their only child, Jessup Wade (J.W. or Jake) Elliott (born in 1903), inherited the remaining 76 acres, which included the original log house site, when Shelby died in 1964. J.W. and his wife Josephine

Culver also had a single child, Virginia Ruth Bonnell, my mother and the current owner of the farm.

The historical record offers some evidence of the fates of the Elliotts' enslaved African Americans following emancipation. Although I could find no further record of Lucy, Mary, Celia, or Alexander Elliott after the 1860 census that located them in Buchanan County, King Elliott was farming in Tonganoxie, Kansas, in 1870 (U.S Census Bureau 1870c). He was married to a woman named Cassy, with four daughters and one son, aged five months through seven years, all born in Kansas, meaning that King had relocated prior to emancipation. His real estate was valued at $800. King was illiterate, but his wife Cassy was able to read. In 1880, all five children were still at home, with the two older daughters working as servants. They also had another son, aged nine years. All the children were literate and had attended school within the year (U.S. Census Bureau 1880a).

Frank Elliott remained in Hardin Township. In 1870, he reported that he was a farm laborer and owned no real property. In his household he had a 20 year-old woman named Fannie, relationship unspecified, who was keeping house, a five year old girl, Parthena, and two boys, Rice and Eli, aged three and four, respectively. Frank and Fannie were both unable to read or write. In 1880, Frank gave his occupation as farmer, meaning that he might have acquired property (U.S. Census Bureau 1880b). Unfortunately, the 1880 census did not record the value of real estate. Fannie was gone, but Rice and Eli, identified as Frank's sons, were still at home, along with a 17-year-old girl identified as Frank's stepdaughter, with the initials "H.P." This was probably Parthena. Frank was still illiterate, but all the children could read and write.

While some African American families remained in Clinton County (U.S. Census Bureau 1870a, 1870b), many freed slaves from the River Counties tended to relocate to the larger urban

areas (Burke 2010:312), as discussed to above. The 1910 U.S. Census included an African American widow named Sarah Elliott, aged 50, at 1318 Highland Avenue, Kansas City (U. S. Census Bureau 1910). She reported her occupation as a domestic who was renting her home. She was unable to read or write. In her household, she had three sons, all literate and attending school: Roy, age 20, working as a porter in a barbershop; Sylvester, age 13; and a 10-year-old named Frank. Given the circumstances of names and age, it is entirely possible to believe that this woman was the same Sarah Emily born on the Elliott farm in 1860, and that she remembered the older Frank Elliott affectionately from the pre-emancipation years when she was a little girl.

Conclusions

At the time I began the investigation into the relationship between my ancestors and the people they enslaved I had many years of experience working at different levels in hierarchical organizations where power was unequally distributed. While this experience was far from being akin to slavery, I felt drawn to the concept of resistant accommodation as described by James Garman (1998) partly because I have seen it played out, and believed it might have explanatory value. If I needed further convincing, then James Scott's 1985 book *Weapons of the Weak* met that need.

The possible responses of the enslaved to their condition include a continuum of behaviors that range from complete acceptance to complete rebellion (Scott 1985:34; Garman 1998). The range between those two extremes includes covert acts such as simple malingering, and more overt acts such running away and committing violence against individual slaveholders. As with other slaveholding societies, the behavior of the enslaved in North America encompassed the entire continuum. The ground between extremes includes the behaviors that Piersen (1988:143) described as "resistant accommodation." Garman (1998) further described

resistant accommodation as enabling enslaved Africans to maintain elements of their own identity while taking on some cultural aspects demanded by their Euroamerican owners.

Based on his analyses Garman (1998) outlined several conditions and manifestations of resistant accommodation that rise from the conflicting desires of yeoman slaveholders to enforce separation between themselves and the enslaved while maintaining surveillance and making the most profitable use of their land. These conditions included agricultural products that required spatial dispersal and dialogue regarding work expectations, house types that allowed separation of slaves and owners in the same building, and opportunities under those conditions for slaves to escape surveillance. In addition, he incorporated Fitts' (1996) conclusions regarding the segregation of slaves and holders in homes, churches, and cemeteries even though they shared the same spaces, as well as the ability of the enslaved to take advantage of features of the landscape that freed them for a time from surveillance. Fitts' point was that Euroamericans' attempts to mark Africans as inferior through segregation in actuality gave them relief from surveillance (1996). The outcome for the enslaved was an opportunity to comply outwardly with slaveholder's demands while working for their own and their families' interests, essentially demonstrating Scott's distinction between onstage and offstage behavior (1985:40-41). Both Garman and Fitts rejected the contention that slaveholder paternalism was a factor in reducing surveillance.

Key determinants of the opportunities available to the enslaved to reduce or avoid surveillance included the scale of their holders farming operation and the number of enslaved held. Conditions were more variable among small-scale yeoman farmers, the majority of whom did not hold slaves. Those who did tended to hold smaller numbers of slaves, commensurate with their labor needs. Establishing the scale of the Elliott farming operation was therefore a critical

step for contextualizing the experiences of my family and the people they enslaved in antebellum Missouri in terms of resistant accommodation. Starting with limited oral and written family records, I used archaeological and historical data to understand the opportunities for limited self-advancement available to the enslaved, and the cultural and physical linkages that enabled them forge a community of resistance.

Considering the archaeological data first, the combination of remote sensing and exploratory excavations confirmed the presence of a dwelling at the location reported by Elliott family oral history to be the site of the family's first log house when they arrived from Kentucky. The dimensions suggest a double-pen or dogtrot-style house. Artifacts recovered from the site support the antebellum origin of the site, suggest both male and female occupants, and give some clues as to the agricultural activities, such as raising pigs and processing and storing food, that took place there.

The comparison of artifacts with those recovered from the Alexander Galbraith Site in Lafayette County suggests that the two sites were contemporaneous. In addition, the quantity and quality of artifacts suggest that James Elliott had a smaller-scale farming operation in comparison to the Galbraith family, who transitioned from small-scale to large-scale slaveholding between 1828 and 1840. For neither site, however, do archaeological data alone confirm whether enslaved African Americans were also present.

Visual surveys of two surviving antebellum family cemeteries in the neighborhood of the Elliott farmstead suggest but (do not confirm) a separate-and-unequal approach by slaveholders toward the enslaved, since those cemeteries seem to contain only Euroamerican graves. This in turn indicates that Euroamericans might have followed the practice of segregating family members from the enslaved at burial, however close their spatial association in life. This might

have allowed the enslaved an opportunity to practice their own burial rituals. However, further work is needed on this question.

The primary historical records that are available to evaluate the relationships between slaveholder and the enslaved are limited, but informative. U.S. Census records confirm what the archaeological data suggested: that James Elliott was a small-scale slaveholder, economically at or below the median level of success relative to his peers. In addition, James was among the small percentage of slaveholders who did not provide separate quarters for the people he enslaved, meaning he likely quartered them in the kitchen, attic, or cellar of his log house. This understanding helps set expectations for the relationship between the Elliotts and their enslaved bondsmen, and their ability to maintain or avoid surveillance, respectively.

The type of slave management predominantly employed in small-scale operations was the tasking system, in which slaveholders gave the enslaved a series of tasks to accomplish each day where they might be working beyond of the sight of the owner. In negotiating work assignments, the conflicted slaveholder had to choose between the desire to maintain surveillance of the enslaved and the economic imperative to produce labor-intensive commercial crops while also providing subsistence for the family. The negotiated outcome allowed the bondsman to exploit the slaveholder's internal conflict in setting work expectations. Geospatial analysis of the Elliott farmstead shows that half the farm would have been beyond the line-of-sight of the log house. A slave who persuasively over-estimated the amount of time it would take to carry out a series of tasks would thus have had extra time to relax, explore, or meet with other slaves from neighboring properties, as long as he completed the assigned tasks to the slaveholder's satisfaction. However, differences in the tasks assigned to enslaved women make it

likely that a female slave would have worked more closely under the direct management of James's wife, Elizabeth, to help cloth and feed the household.

Many of slavery's apologists contend that the God-ordained tenets of paternalism required slaveholders to Christianize their slaves and teach them to work within the bosom of the family, which in turn lightened the burden of the enslaved and gave them opportunities to avoid surveillance. The truth of this philosophy is highly dubious (Fitts 1996), and the demographic data from Hardin Township show that enslaved people declined and gained in number at different rates than Euroamerican family members, suggesting higher turnover rates due to higher mortality, purchase, and sale. While the Hardin Township records also reveal at least one case of manumission, the freed slaves in that case were illiterate, left with no means of financial support, and at risk of having their freedom revoked by court action. If slavery was in fact God's will, He was probably disappointed with the outcome.

The Elliott farmstead existed within a slaveholding culture and landscape. Near neighbors included James's sometimes slaveholding brothers, other small-scale farmers, both non-slaveholders and slaveholders, and some of the largest slaveholders in Hardin Township. Elite Euroamericans would have vigorously enforced their status among the enslaved and likely among their Euroamerican contemporaries. However, the cultural and physical landscapes, although restrictive by design, would also have allowed the enslaved opportunities to resist the conditions of slavery. Under the state's slave codes, the enslaved could expect that they would sometimes be able to leave their home farms to run errands or attend church, or perform labor for other Euroamerican farmers. With their holder's approval, they could hold permits to carry firearms for hunting. Geospatial analysis of Hardin Township shows that numerous locations, particularly along stream channels, would have been outside the line-of-sight of multiple

slaveholders' homes, giving the enslaved opportunities to gather clandestinely or visit the homes of free African American farmers. Historical records of the Clinton County Court show that Hardin Township slave patrols apprehended and whipped African Americans for apparently doing that very thing.

Johnson (2003:118) emphasizes the connection between individual and collective acts of resistance, arguing, "Collective resistance is…a process of everyday organization …that…depends upon connections and trust established through everyday actions…" The records of the Hardin Township slave patrols provide clear evidence of collective resistance among the township's enslaved African Americans. By implication, that collective resistance had to be built upon covert individual acts of resistance, whether those acts are documented or not.

The question of intent, however, remains open. Scott's idea of false-consciousness is helpful as framework in this context. Scott was talking of oral on-stage and off-stage pronouncements, and comparing them to assess false-consciousness (1986:40-41). Behaviors are more difficult to assess in that context, but the framework allows the assumption that African Americans conformed behaviorally to the expectations of slaveholders when in their presence, but demonstrated resistant behaviors when not. However, it does not speak to the motivations of the enslaved. Did enslaved African Americans resist the conditions of slavery simply to oppose their holders, or were they hoping to better their condition and that of their families? The former interpretation presents a very one-dimensional portrait of people who were as complex as any other humans were. We must say the same for Euroamerican slaveholders: they were not motivated simply by the objective of establishing dominance over African Americans; dominance allowed them to meet their financial objectives and further their own interests. For

better or worse, the institution of slavery was a part of the larger socioeconomic machinery that drove the acquisition of wealth in the antebellum United States.

The slaveholding culture's defense of the institution testifies to its importance. During the antebellum years, Hardin Township's enslavers deployed the full range of state responses to resistance, as discussed by Scott (1986:36). Changing policies by easing labor management practices and housing conditions probably occurred at the level of the individual farm, as did ignoring, in some cases, the prohibition against teaching slaves to read and write. Providing additional incentives for compliance, such as allowing marriages and the raising of hemp or produce for profit, could also occur at the level of the individual farm. At a collective level, however, the slave patrols demonstrate a clear intent to apply more coercion. These actions by Euroamericans also testify to the persistence and determination of the enslaved; none of them would have been necessary had the enslaved docilely accepted their condition.

During the years of the Civil War, the home front in Missouri was essentially a battlefield where the terrors of war visited the guilty and innocent alike, pitting family member against family member, and slaveholder against slaveholder. Hardin Township was no exception. The enlistment of a large number of Clinton County's African Americans in the Union Army represents a form of rebellion against their holders, if not against the larger society. In this environment, African American men found dignity and freedom though service in the Union Army; after the war, few returned to the places of their enslavement.

Historical records show that in the post-bellum period, newly emancipated African Americans left Hardin Township in substantial numbers. Geospatial analyses strongly suggest that those who remained and began farming for themselves established their operations in areas beyond the sight of their former holders. That over 50 percent of African American heads of

household were able to buy land suggests they had been able to make and save money while enslaved. In addition, though largely restricted from literacy themselves, they embraced schooling for their children and established neighborhood African American schools and churches. Economically, however, they had below-median levels of success relative to their Euroamerican counterparts. This supports the contention that, far from experiencing acceptance as extended family, their former holders either largely left them to make what lives they could for themselves or actively worked to impede their social and economic progress, often to the point of violence. The repercussions for African Americans continue to this day (Coates 2014).

Epilogue

My great-great-great grandparents, James Elliott and Elizabeth Carpenter, died where they had lived, remaining on the land they settled in 1833. While I struggle with the idea of my ancestors holding human beings as slaves, I know I would not be here today without the choices that they made. I can imagine them exchanging glances, each knowing what the other was thinking. I hope that they found joy in each other, and comfort in tragedy, and that slaveholding did not entirely harden them to the human cost of their decisions. I thought of them recently when I was listening to National Public Radio. Don Larson, a third generation Norwegian fisherman, was telling the story of his grandfather establishing himself among the 400–year old families of his adopted New England home. Larson recounted the day of his father's funeral when he thought, "We're planting our blood and our flesh in this ground, and we belong here." As moving as that story was, I have to ask whether, for Euroamericans, belonging here requires the grace of forgiveness. As novelist Shusaku Endo wrote, "Sin is for one man to walk brutally over the life of another and to be quite oblivious to the wounds he has left behind." (1969:86). Certainly, redefining the victims of your efforts as something other than fully human can

conveniently lighten the burden of sin; but, it can only be forgiven through confession and restitution.

Toward the close of the Civil War, Lincoln called on us "…to bind up the nation's wounds…to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves…" (2006). The best time to make restitution to former slaves was arguably at the Civil War's end. But the country, still in pain and with its wounds unhealed, had no collective will toward that end; 153 years later injustices to our African American citizens continue to accrue, and even the question of affirmative action, let alone restitution, is nearly as controversial as ever (Coates 2014). One can find people even now who defend slavery as "a benign Christian institution" (Brophy 2008:1097).

That said, in the past 30 years a number of state governments, universities, and businesses have started the slow march to forgiveness by at least acknowledging their participation in slavery and apologizing to the victims (Brophy 2008). Some have begun the task of restorative justice. With persistence and hope, with "faith in the right as God gives us to see the right" (Lincoln 2006) we might eventually move past what historian David Brion Davis characterized as "the dark underbelly of the American Dream" (2003:32).

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APPENDIX A

Exploratory Excavation Report
Site 23CI1096

Introduction

Site 23CI1096 (the Elliott Cabin Site) is located in Hardin Township, Clinton County, Missouri in Section 1, Township 54 North, Range 33 West, UTM (Zone 15 N) N 4375354, E 0367058, (NAD 83). The site is located on a 6.7 percent slope, trending from a higher elevation ridge to the northwest toward an unnamed tributary to Linn Branch to southeast. The approximate site elevation is 28.6 meters (940 feet). The soil type is Lamoni Silty Clay Loam, described as "deep, somewhat poorly drained, slowly permeable soils on uplands" that formed in glacial till (Minor and Davis 1983:64). It is characterized by high clay content (27-50 percent), weak acidity (pH 5.1-7.3), and 3-4 percent organic matter (Minor and Davis 1983:109).

The Missouri State Historical Preservation Officer (SHPO) listed Site 23CI1096 following submission of a listing package prepared in July 2014. Assisted by field crews, I conducted remote sensing of the site by magnetometer and ground penetrating radar in August 2015, and used the results to target areas for exploratory excavations in April 2016.

We excavated 22 1 m x 1 m units (Figure A.1) in 1-5 (depending on location) 10-cm levels, except as noted, to determine the presence and extent of features and artifacts indicative of an antebellum house site. We designated units using an alphanumeric code, with east-west location denoted by a number and north-south location denoted by a letter, as shown in Figure A.1. Using a rebar stake, we established a datum point with an arbitrary height of 100 m for measuring relative depths in the southeast corner of unit 5K. We measured the relative depths of individual levels as centimeters below datum (cmbd) using a line, level, and measuring tape. The

height of the string to the ground surface at datum was 32 cm. We calculated percent and direction of slope for the first unit based on the relative depths highest and lowest surface corners pre-excavation, and reported them for the first level only.

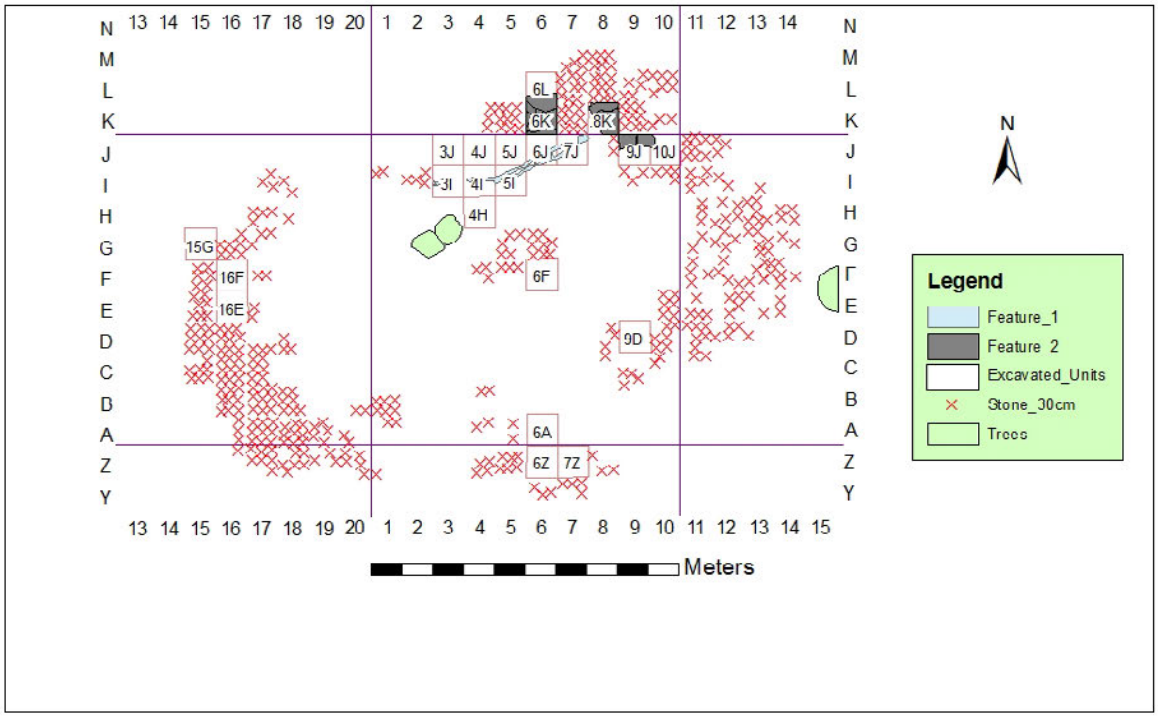

Figure A.1. Site map of 23CI1096. Shown are locations of excavated units relative to foundation stones and associated features.

We excavated each unit by first removing the sod and storing it on plastic sheeting during the excavation process. We sifted excavated dirt through quarter in mesh screens onto plastic sheeting and saved to refill the units upon completion of work. We complete individual data forms for each level, all of which we retained. We collected any artifacts encountered in plastic or paper bags, identified by unit and level, and stored them for cleaning an evaluation in the

Archaeology Laboratory at Colorado State University. We recorded and mapped features too large to collect using a standard data form and photographed them in-place.

The following sections describe each unit and its associated levels. The information is organized by location on the site (Figure A.1), assuming the footprint of a building, as follows: (1) the northwest façade, including Features 1, 2, and 3; (2) the northeast elevation; (3) the southeast elevation; (4) the southwest elevation; and (5) the cellar. I provide drawings from the original field data forms when photographs are not available. For each location, I present the unit information from west to east and from north to south. Appendix B provides a table describing the artifacts recovered from each unit, by level. Melanie Naden completed soil profiles for Units 3J-7J, 6K, 6L, and 6F, for which I provide the profile drawings and photographs. In general, the profiles were consistent with the typical pedon for Lamoni silty clay loam, the range of which includes loam and clay loam (Minor and Davis 1983:64).

Northwest Façade

The majority of units excavated (14 of 22) were associated with the presumed location of the building façade, which seems to have been oriented northeast to southwest along the slope of the hill, facing up gradient, for a length of approximately 48 feet. The eastern room over the cellar was most likely the kitchen and dining area. Two stone features were associated with this location (Figure A.1).

Feature 1

Feature 1 (Figure A.2) consists of two parallel rows of vertical limestone slabs approximately 6 cm thick that cross (from west to east) units 3I, 4I, 5I and the southeast corner of 5J, 6J, and 7J. Perpendicular spacers of vertical stones were set about every 3-4 feet. The depth of Feature 1 below datum ranged from 99.55 to 99.14 cmbd. While obviously man-made,

its purpose is not entirely clear. Possibilities could include providing additional support for the foundation, helping to stabilize the slope, or drainage control for the cellar directly down gradient. Whether the feature continues beneath Feature 2 is undetermined, but it seems to taper out beyond unit 2I, which we probed but did not excavate.

Figure A.2. Feature 1. Photo: M. Naden

Feature 2

Feature 2 (Figure A.3) consists of flat, interlocked limestone to the north of Feature 1. This location suggests it was exterior to the building, and probably represents a walkway or patio associated with the main entrance to the log house. Portions of Feature 2 were revealed in units

(from west to east) 6K and 6L, 8K, and 9J. Probing of rain-saturated soils suggests the feature is larger than was revealed by exploratory excavation.

Figure A.3. Feature 2. Photo: M. Naden

Feature 3

Feature 3 (Figure A.4) consisted of fragments of deteriorated bone concentrated in units 3I, 4I, and 4H. Two mammalian cervical vertebrate were recovered from Unit 4H, but were too deteriorated to be identified to order. I evaluated Feature 3 as intrusional based on the texture and color of the accompanying soil and oral history indicating a family dog was buried near the log house site in the early 1960s.

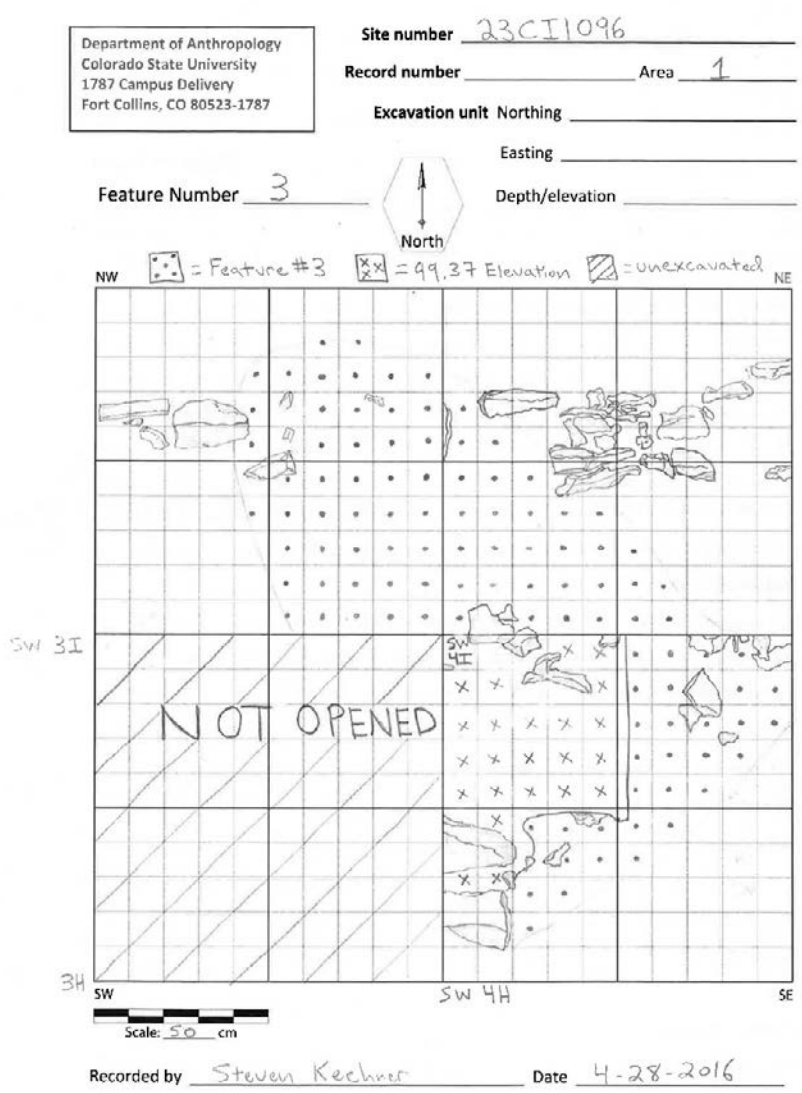

Figure A.4. Feature 3. Map by S. Keehner.

Unit 3J, Level 1

Figure A.5. Unit 3J, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.86-99.70 cmbd

Slope: 9.2 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, clay loam; very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Upper few cm loose humus.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar fragments

Notes: Began afternoon of 4/18/16. Suspended due to rain, completed morning of 4/19/16. Loose limestone rubble mostly in NE ¼ along with larger flat limestone.

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 3J, Level 2

Figure A.6. Unit 3J, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.70-99.60 cmbd

Slope: not applicable.

Screening method/size: ¼” dry

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, loam; very dark brown to very dark grayish brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2

Soil changes during excavation: Transitions from 10 YR 2/2 to 10 YR 3/2 at 99.65 cmbd.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar fragments

Notes: Three small clusters of stone in addition to NE corner cluster; artifacts collected from upper 5 cm; lower portion of level sterile and lighter. Possible transition to B horizon. North wall profiled by M. Naden (Figure A.7).

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 3J Soil Profile

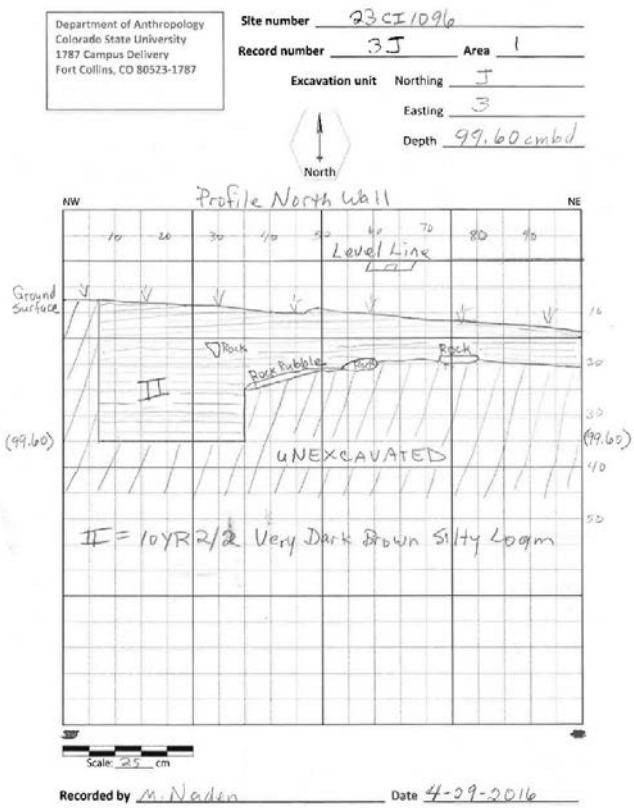

Figure A.7. Unit 3J soil profile. Photo and drawing by M. Naden

Unit 3I, Level 1

Figure A.8. Unit 3I, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas

Depth: 99.79-99.60 cmbd

Slope: 22.0 percent downward to the S

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 1 and 3

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, clay loam; dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/3

Soil changes during excavation: Soil in Feature 3 is softer and darker.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar, limonite.

Notes: Most artifacts recovered from northern portion. Features 1 and 3 are described separately above.

Excavated by S. Keehner. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 4J, Level 1

Figure A.9. Unit 4J, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.79-99.60 cmbd

Slope: 16.9 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, loam; very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Possibly lighter in NW corner under limestone rubble.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows; very large roots north half of unit.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar fragments.

Notes: Rubble cluster NE and NW corners, scattered southward but absent in SE corner. Most artifacts from among rubble; rubble 5-10 cm thick. North wall profiled by M. Naden (Figure A.10).

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 4J Soil Profile

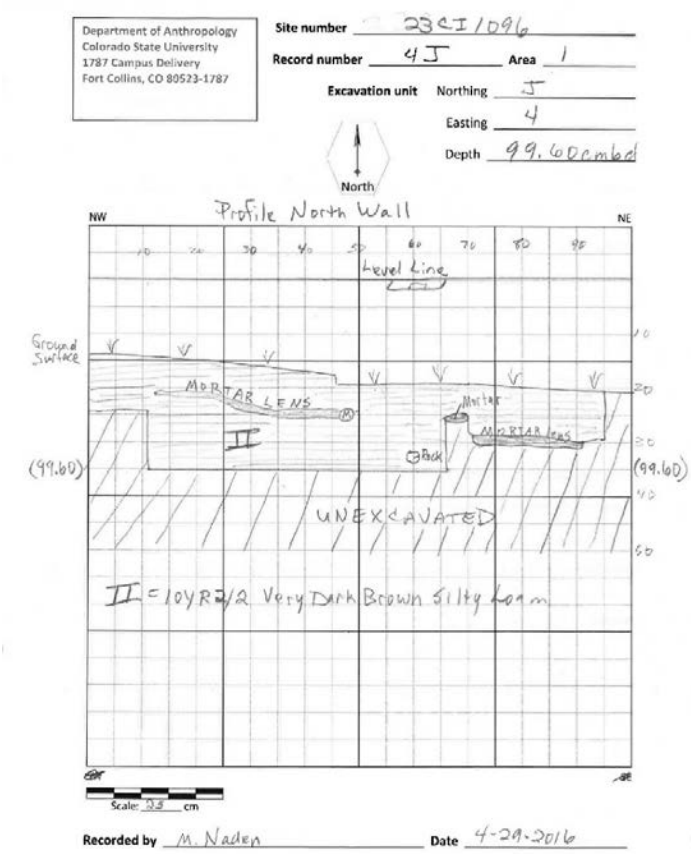

Figure A.10. Unit 4J soil profile. Photo and drawing by M. Naden.

Unit 4I, Level 1

Figure A.11. Unit 4I, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.58-99.40 cmbd

Slope: 10.6 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 1 and 3

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, clay, loam; very dark grayish brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2

Soil changes during excavation: None.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows; very large roots north half of unit.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar fragments, limonite.

Notes: Limestone pattern (Feature 1) continues to west through north and center of unit, from adjacent unit 5I to the east. Features 1 and 3 are described separately above. Excavated by S. Keehner. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 4H, Level 1

Figure A.12. Unit 4H, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.46-99.30 cmbd

Slope: 14.8 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 3

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, clay, loam; dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/3

Soil changes during excavation: Soil was uniform except for possible feature (3) in NW-NE quadrants

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, very large roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar fragments.

Notes: Soil soft in NW corner, spreading into SW slightly and NE. This feature (3) was avoided and left at 99.37 cmbd. Rest of unit was taken to 99.30 cmbd. Feature 3 is described separately above.

Excavated by S. Keehner. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 5J, Level 1

Figure A.13. Unit 5J, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.74-99.50 cmbd

Slope: 17.7 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 1

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Upper few cm loose humus, root zone; southern 1/3 very clay soil.

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone and gravel rubble, mortar.

Notes: Began 4/18/16 afternoon; rained out. Completed 4/19/16 morning. All artifacts recovered were found in northern one-third among loose limestone rubble. Mortar occurred most among rubble, and most notably in the NE wall.

Excavated by W. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 5J, Level 2

Figure A.14. Unit 5J, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas

Depth: 99.50-99.40 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 1

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay, loam, very dark grayish brown to brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2 -3/3; pockets of 10 YR 4/3.

Soil changes during excavation: Silty clay loam except southern 1/4 very clay soil.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rubble.

Notes: Began 4/19/16 afternoon; completed 4/20/16 morning. All artifacts recovered were found among loose limestone rubble. Nothing found in SW quarter. North wall soil profiled by M. Naden (Figure A.15).

Excavated by W. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 5J Soil Profile

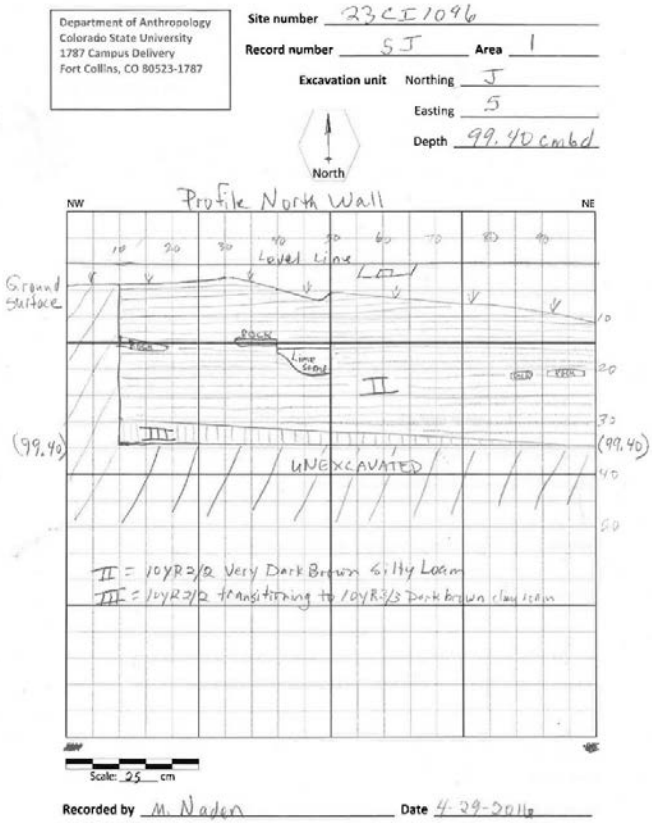

Figure A.15. Unit 5J soil profile. Photo and drawing by M. Naden.

Unit 5I, Level 1

Figure A.16. Unit 5I, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.55-99.40 cmbd

Slope: 19.8 percent downward to the SSE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 1

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Upper few cm loose humus.

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rubble and quartzite gravel.

Notes: NW corner heavy clay; only artifacts were from the NE corner among limestone rubble and gravel area.

Excavated by W. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 5I, Level 2

Figure A.17. Unit 5I, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas

Depth: 99.40-99.30 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 1

Samples: None

Soil: clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Heavy clay in NW corner (north of rocks; loose humus at top of southern half. Ash film, Munsell value 5 Y 5/2 in NE corner.

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rubble and mortar.

Notes: Limited artifacts recovered, all within limestone rubble area. Ash film noted in NE corner.

Excavated by W. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 5I, Level 3

Figure A.18. Unit 5I, Level 3. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.30-99.20 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 1

Samples: Charcoal (noted on map)

Soil: clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Heavy clay (10 YR 3/2) north of Feature 1. Clay loam in middle of unit; loose humus at top southern end.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rubble and mortar.

Notes: Excavated small loose rubble from previous level first. Artifacts occurred primarily within rubble in eastern half. Small patch of ash noted. Most large rocks from previous level end at this level; more large rocks in southern 1/3 of unit continue to next level.

Excavated by W. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 5I, Level 4

Figure A.19. Unit 5I, Level 4. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.20-99.10 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: 1

Samples: None

Soil: clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Heavy clay in “trench”; clay loam throughout.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rubble and mortar.

Notes: Noted mortar layer in SW quarter at 99.18 cmbd. Limestone in southern ¼ continues into lower level. Artifacts only in limestone rubble of SE quarter.

Excavated by W. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6L, Level 1

Figure A.20. Unit 6L, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.75-99.60 cmbd

Slope: 8.5 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 2

Samples: None

Soil: loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Consistent loam and color

Disturbance: Roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Mortar ≤ 3; scorched mortar ≤ 2 cm (N=1).

Notes: Yellow patina on limestone slabs in S quarter of unit; widely spread mortar pieces in N three-quarters of unit. Artifacts scattered throughout N three-quarters of unit.

Excavated by M. Naden. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6L, Level 2

Figure A.21. Unit 6L, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.60-99.50 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 2

Samples: Mortar taken at 99.51 cmbd in SW quad.

Soil: clay, loam, very dark gray mottled with very dark grayish brown and brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/1 mottles with 10 YR 3/2 and 10 YR 4/3

Soil changes during excavation: Gradually more clayey; soil becomes mottles; old krotovinas show more 10 YR 4/3.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Mortar; scorched mortar ≤ 4 cm (N=7); scorched limestone ≤ 3 cm (N=3)

Notes: Artifact density drops to zero at about 99.55 cmbd. All mortar found above 99.55 cmbd. Line of limestone rocks terminates at 25 cm north of south boundary of unit. Limestone on W side is vertical. West wall soil profiled by M. Naden (Figure A.22).

Excavated by M. Naden. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6L Soil Profile

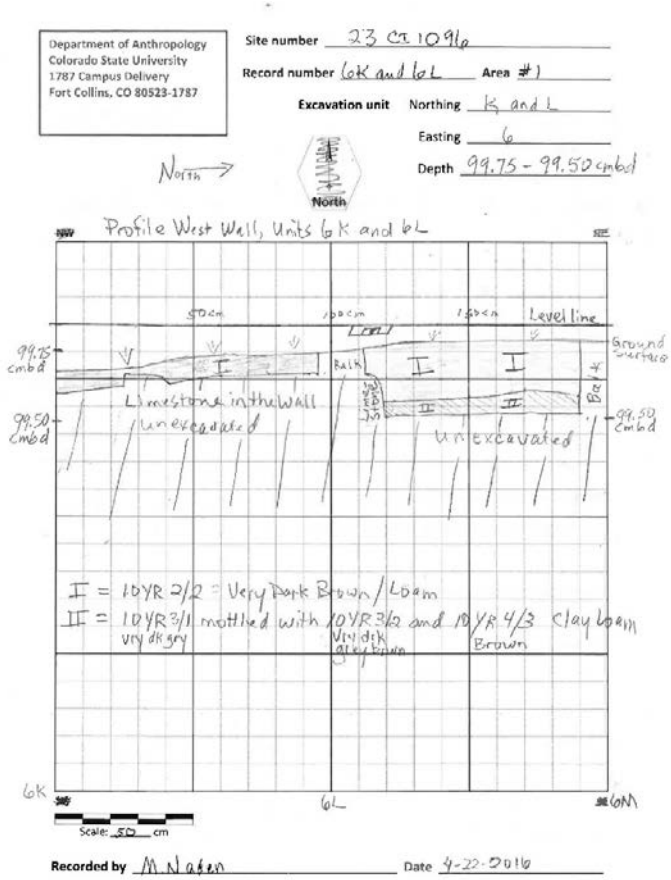

Figure A.22. Unit 6L soil profile. Photo and drawing by M. Naden.

Unit 6K, Level 1

Figure A.23. Unit 6K, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.74-99.60 cmbd

Slope: 11.3 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 2 (see notes).

Samples: None

Soil: silt, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: None.

Disturbance: Roots from nearby tree, grass.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Flat limestone, mortar.

Notes: Artifact scatter restricted to NW quad. Unit initially shovel-skimmed to remove sod. SE quad is below level. Significant limestone (Feature 2) is emerging in NW quad.

Excavated by M. Naden. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6K, Level 2

Figure A.24. Unit 6K, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.60-99.50 cmbd

Slope: Not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 2, more developed.

Samples: Mortar taken at 99.51 cmbd in SW quad.

Soil: sand, loam, very dark gray brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2

Soil changes during excavation: Soil gets sandier, inclusion of small gravels, maybe one percent of matrix.

Disturbance: Roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Mortar; one piece ≤ 2 cm burned mortar.

Notes: Mortar occurs in S half of unit, mostly in SW quad. Limestone in N half of unit has a yellow patina; limestone in S half has a white patina. West wall soil profiled by M. Naden. (See soil profile drawing for Unit 6L.)

Excavated by M. Naden. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6J, Level 1

Figure A.25. Unit 6J, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.65-99.50 cmbd

Slope: 14.1 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 2 (see notes).

Samples: None

Soil: silt, loam; black.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/1.

Soil changes during excavation: None.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows; roots. Mostly insect-scale bioturbation.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rocks, one Sioux quartzite rock, pieces of mortar.

Notes: Feature 2 – large limestone rocks oriented east-west across N quarter of unit with many small pieces of mortar. All artifacts for this level were recovered from the vicinity of these rocks. Due to slope, S third of this level was below 99.50 cmbd and was not excavated. Excavated by C. Hord. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6J, Level 2

Figure A.26. Unit 6J, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.50-99.40 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 1 and 2 (see notes).

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay, loam; very dark grayish brown to brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2 to 3/3.

Soil changes during excavation: Soil becoming slightly lighter toward bottom 5 cm of this level and more mottled toward north end.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows; roots. Mostly insect-scale bioturbation.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rocks, pieces of mortar, several pieces of burned quartzite.

Notes: Soil color and texture begin to change in bottom 3 cm of this level north of Feature 1 line of rocks running WSW-ENE, and artifacts and mortar disappear there. Artifacts and mortar found south of Feature 1 through bottom of level.

Excavated by C. Hord. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6J, Level 3

Figure A.27. Unit 6J, Level 3. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99-.40-99.30 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 1 and 2 (see notes).

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay north of Feature 1; silt, clay, loam south of Feature 1.

Munsell: in NW half, 10 YR 3/2 and 4/3. SE half, 10 YR 2/2 and 3/2

Soil changes during excavation: Soil more mottled and higher clay content with depth. More clay content NW half

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows; roots. Small rodent and/or mole-scale filled tunnels and insect burrows.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rocks, mortar, burned rock, charcoal.

Notes: Soil north of Feature 1 screened separately from rest of level. No artifacts and no mortar originated from soil north of Feature 1. Mortar, small bits of charcoal, and other artifacts originated from soil between rocks of Feature 1 and from darker soil to the south of Feature 1. Soil north of Feature 1 appears to be intact and transitioning into higher clay content subsoil. Soil between Feature 1 rocks and to south is much darker colored and much less clayey.

Excavated by C. Hord. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6J, Level 4

Figure A.28. Unit 6J, Level 4. Photo by J. Haas

Depth: 99.30-99.20 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry; trowel sorted north of Feature 1

Features: 1 and 2.

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay mottled and dense north of Feature 1; silt, loam south of Feature 1.

Munsell: in NW half, 7.5 YR 3/2 (dark brown), 4/4 (brown), and 4/6 (strong brown). With rock line and SE half, 10 YR 2/2 (very dark brown) and mottles of 10 YR 4/3 (brown).

Soil changes during excavation: Soil more clay-rich and more subsoil in nature NW of Feature 1. South of Feature 1 remained the same as previous level, but with slight mottling.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows; roots. Obvious rodent burrow running east-west.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rocks, mortar, burned rock, charcoal.

Notes: Soil NW of Feature 1 was screened separately and no artifacts were recovered; very heavy clay – appears to be intact subsoil into which a trench has been dug, and into which the vertical course of stones (Feature 1) was placed. At some point, topsoil from upslope washed down and filled the void between the Feature 1 stones and the area south of Feature 1. All artifacts, charcoal, and mortar were recovered from between the between the rocks of Feature 1 rocks and to the SE of Feature 1. North wall soil profiled by M. Naden (Figure A.29). Excavated by C. Hord. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6J Soil Profile

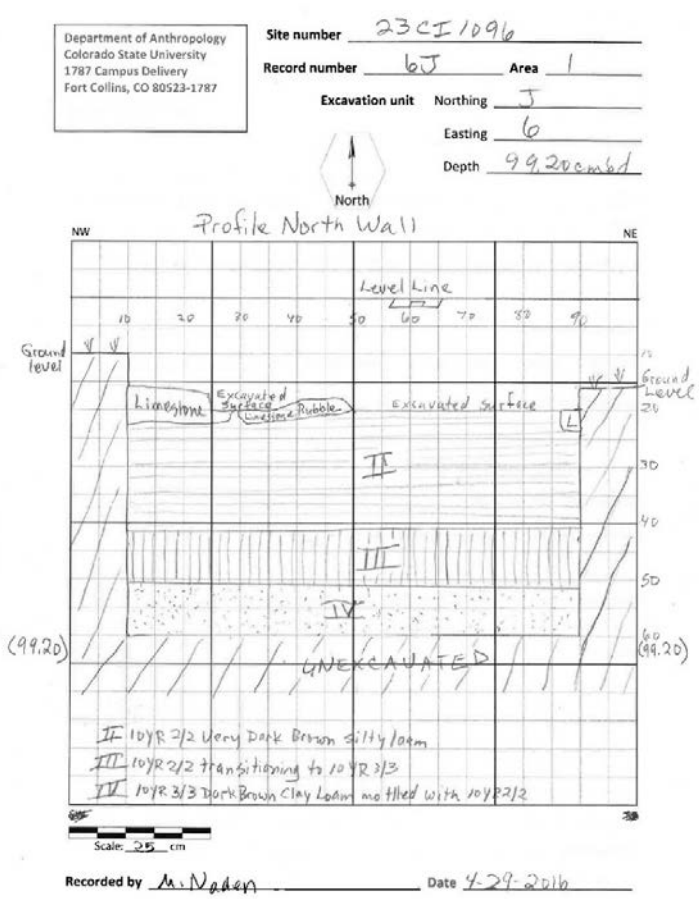

Figure A.29. Unit 6J soil profile. Photo and drawing by M. Naden.

Unit 7J, Level 1

Figure A.30. Unit 7J, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.59-99.40 cmbd

Slope: 11.3 percent downward to the SSE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 1

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay, loam; very dark brown. Mottled with light gray.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2; north half mottled with 5 Y 7/1.

Soil changes during excavation: Zone of mottled 5 Y 7/1 in arc of limestone

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar

Notes: Lots of limestone and mortar in north half of unit. Lots of roots throughout.

Excavated by S. Keehner. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 7J, Level 2

Figure A.31. Unit 7J, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.40-99.30 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 1

Samples: None.

Soil: clay, loam; dark grayish brown and brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2 and 10 YR 4/3.

Soil changes during excavation: Soil gradually becoming more clay loam, some mottling present

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar

Notes: Stone of Feature 1 continues into next level; lots of root and insect disturbance. Cluster of fire-cracked rock in NE quad.

Excavated by S. Keehner. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 7J, Level 3

Figure A.32. Unit 7J, Level 3. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.30-99.20 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 1

Samples: None

Soil: clay, loam; dark yellowish brown and dark brown with orange red mottles N half.

Munsell: 10 YR 4/4 and 10 YR 3/3.

Soil changes during excavation: Soil in N half changed to orange red clay; south half brown clay.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots. Numerous roots, ant burrows.

Artifacts: None.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone.

Notes: A new rock appears under one of the vertical slabs in mid-section of unit, western half. North wall soil profiled by M. Naden (Figure A.33).

Excavated by S. Keehner. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 7J Soil Profile

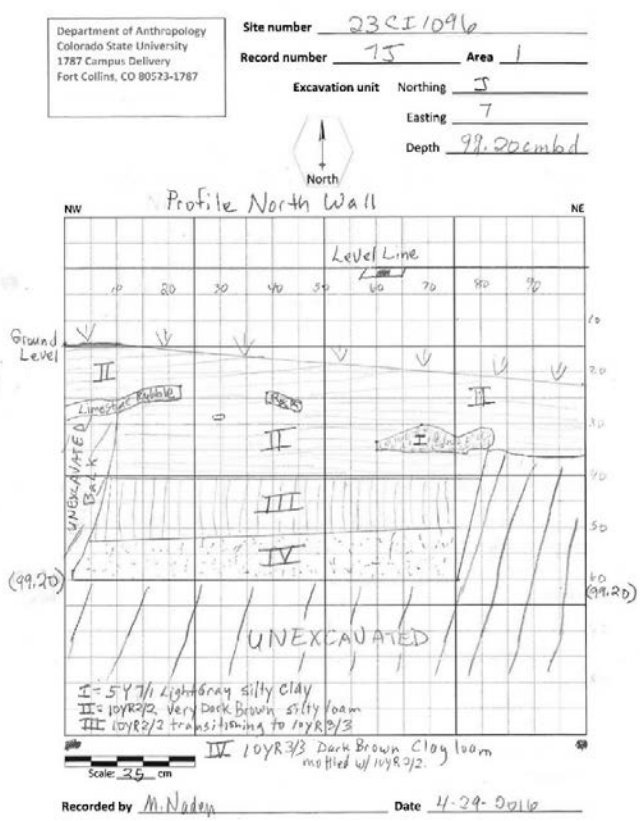

Figure A.33. Unit 7J soil profile. Photo and drawing by M. Naden.

Unit 8K, Level 1

Figure A.34. Unit 8K, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.59-99.40 cmbd

Slope: 7.8 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 2

Samples: Limonite, brick.

Soil: sand, loam; very dark brown; riddled with gravelly sand, limestone, and mortar.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Lens of 5 YR 7/1 light gray silty clayey in very SW corner at 99.44-99.43 cmbd.

Disturbance: Roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Mortar, limestone, burned mortar (N=2) limonite, burned limestone ≤ 3 cm (N=1), brick frags ≤ 3 cm (N= about 10), charcoal specks (N=5).

Notes: Lens of small mortar pieces, sizes ≤ 2 cm, starts in W quarter, spreads east. At 70 cm east of west, mortar shows at 99.44 cmbd. At 99.42 cmbd mortar spread everywhere. Mortar lens also has gravel size river stones. Lens of silty clay material 5 YR 7/1 at 99.44 in very SW corner and into wall.

Excavated by M. Naden. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 8K, Level 2

Figure A.35. Unit 8K, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.40-99.30 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: 2

Samples: None.

Soil: clay, loam, very dark grayish brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2.

Soil changes during excavation: In SW corner soil becomes much more clayey – 10 YR 3/2 mottled with 10 YR 3/3 dark brown.

Disturbance: Roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Mortar, limestone, burned limestone, small brick fragment.

Notes: Layer of large flat limestone "paved" across unit; emerged at approximately 99.37 cmbd and extends into floor. A soil deposition of 6-15 cm thick is between the "paved" stones and the stones that were uncovered at 99.59-99.40 (level 1).

Excavated by M. Naden. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 9J & 10J, Level 1&2

Figure A.36. Unit 9J/10J, levels 1 and 2. Photo by M. Naden.

Depth: 99.51-99.28 cmbd

Slope: 7.0 percent downward to the S

Screening method/size: ¼" dry; trowel sorted

Features: 2

Samples: None.

Soil: loam; very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: None.

Disturbance: Roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Mortar, brick frag ≤ 3 cm.

Notes: 1 m X 2 m due to time constraints. Mortar lens ≤ 4 cm on top of limestone slabs; emerges at 99.41 cmbd.

Excavated by C. Huffman/M. Sullivan/M. Nioce. Photo: M. Naden.

Northeast Elevation

One unit was located between the cellar and the remains of the foundation of the northeast elevation, which was the short axis of the rectangular footprint of the log house (Figure A1.).

Unit 9D, Level 1

Figure A.37. Unit 9D, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.25-99.10 cmbd

Slope: 7.0 percent downward to the W

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: None

Samples: None.

Soil: sand, silt, loam; very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Fairly homogeneous across unit thought depth of this level.

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrow, roots. Insect-scale bioturbation, including a cicada.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Mortar, small pieces of brick and charcoal, limestone, and burned rock.

Notes: Thin layer of turf removed, shovel skimmed first 5 cm, then troweled. Small bits of mortar, brick, glass, ceramics, and nails first encountered in top 3 cm across entire unit. Excavated by C. Hord/J. Haas. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 9D, Level 2

Excavation was incomplete. The unit was flooded by rain, and was not mapped or photographed.

Southeast Elevation

Three units were located along the presumed footprint of the southeast elevation of the log house (Figure A.1). These units had a large amount of shallow debris scatter, which might indicate post-demolition disposal and burning.

Unit 6A, Level 1 & 2

(See photo for Unit 6Z; both units were photographed together. Unit 6A is above the yellow line.)

Depth: 99.42-99.20 cmbd

Slope: 7.0 percent downward to the ENE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry; trowel sorted.

Soil: loam; very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Soil riddled w/mortar, sand, gravel, cultural debris.

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B5.

Material observed but not collected: Mortar, plaster, charcoal.

Notes: Started at 99.42 cmbd; due to time and weather constraints excavated to 99.20 cmbd without stopping at 99.30. Plaster pieces less than 3 cm present with mix of nails, sherds, mortar, charcoal, and sand. Small lens of clayey 10 YR 4/3 in SW quad.

Excavated by C. Hord/additional comments by M. Naden.

Unit 6Z, Level 1 & 2

Figure A.38. Unit 6Z, Levels 1 and 2. Unit 6A is above the yellow line. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 99.39-99.20 cmbd

Slope: 4.2 percent downward to the SE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry; trowel sorted.

Features: None

Samples: None

Soil: loam; very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Soil riddled w/tiny cultural debris, sand, gravel, charcoal.

Disturbance: Roots; tree stump in NW quad

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar, charcoal.

Notes: Started at 99.39 cmbd; due to time and weather constraints excavated to 99.20 cmbd without stopping at 99.30. At 99.37 cmbd, lens of sand, mortar, gravel, and charcoal flecks encountered on N side of rocks. Limestone slabs in N half of unit show signs of possible scorching. Unit 6A is shown to the north, above the yellow line.

Excavated by S. Keehner/M. Naden. Photo: J. Haas

Unit 7Z, Level 1

Figure A.39. Unit 7Z, Level 1. Photo by M. Naden.

Depth: 99.35- 98.20 cmbd

Slope: 1.0-4.0 percent downward to the E

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: None

Samples: none

Soil: silt, clay, loam; very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: Uniform through level

Disturbance: Rodent/insect burrows, roots.

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar; charcoal flecks, bone flecks

Notes: Some limestone slabs show signs of heat; charcoal flecks abundant. Two spots of minor bone fragments in SE quad.

Excavated by S. Keehner. Photo: M. Naden.

Southwest Elevation

Three units were associated with the location of the southwest elevation of the log house (Figure A.1). The room or rooms on the southwest side were probably used as sleeping quarters. Rain severely hampered excavation of these units.

Unit 15G, Level 1

Figure A.40. Unit 15G, Level 1. Photo by M. Naden.

Depth: 100.06-99.80 cmbd

Slope: 6.4 percent downward to the SSE

Screen method/size: ¼" dry screened; trowel sorted

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: Loam; very dark grayish brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2

Soil changes during excavation: None

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: See Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Trace amounts of charcoal; limestone.

Excavated by M. Nioce/M. Sullivan. Photo: M. Naden.

Unit 16F, Level 1

Figure A.41. Unit 16F, Level 1. Photo by M. Naden.

Depth: 99.85 cmbd

Slope: 4.2 percent downward to the SSE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, clay loam; very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2

Soil changes during excavation: None

Disturbance: Roots.

Artifacts: None.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone.

Notes: Rain flooded the unit on 4/26/16 and it was not completed; excavation removed topsoil and exposed the tops of limestone fragment at 99.85 cmbd.

Excavated by S. Keehner. Photo: M. Naden.

Unit 16E, Level 1

Figure A.42. Unit 16E, Level 1. Photo by M. Naden.

Depth: 99.75 cmbd

Slope: 4.2 percent downward to the SSE

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: Silt, clay loam; very dark grayish brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 3/2

Soil changes during excavation: None

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone.

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Mapped by S. Keehner. Photo: M. Naden.

Cellar

One unit was located in the center of the depression that Elliott family oral history indicated was the cellar of the log house (Figure A.1). We attempted to find the occupational surface of the cellar, and excavated to five levels. However, heavy rain flooded the unit before we could identify the occupational surface.

Unit 6F, Level 1

Figure A.43. Unit 6F, Level 1. Photo by J. Haas

Depth: 99.03-98.90 cmbd

Slope: 1.0-3.0 percent (toward center)

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: None

Samples: None

Soil: silt, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Upper portion very humus-rich w/spoil in lower portion of level.

Disturbance: Rodent burrows, roots

Artifacts: None.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone.

Notes: Secondary datum established near NW corner; large limestone rock encounter almost immediately NW and NE quarters; smaller rock elsewhere.

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6F, Level 2

Figure A.44. Unit 6F, Level 2. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 98.90-98.80 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Consistent.

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone.

Notes: Large limestone from previous level rest at 98.82 cmbd. Numerous other smaller pieces resting near base of level or possible extending slightly below. Artifacts all from base of level.

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6F, Level 3

Figure A.45. Unit 6F, Level 3. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 98.80-98.70 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Consistent.

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone rubble, small mortar fragments.

Notes: Crushed condiment bottle under limestone slab from NW quad in previous level. More rock in level, mostly <6 in diameter. Some burned rock in NE quad (not burned in place). West half mostly free of stone, Artifacts scattered throughout. Metal among rocks, stoneware near base of level; exposed stone pulled to continue to next level.

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6F, Level 4

Figure A.46. Unit 6F, Level 4. Photo by J. Haas.

Depth: 98.70-98.60 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Feature numbers: None

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Continues as previous – dark and moist. Some lighter 10 YR 5/2 (grayish brown) mottles central floor.

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone.

Notes: Continued encountering limestone rubble – scatter on west side, denser on east side; scattered artifacts; button from SW quad near floor; small mortar scattered esp. in SW quad and east. Iron strip along east wall 98.65-98.60 cmbd.

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6F, Level 5

Figure A.47. Unit 6F, Level 5. Photo by J. Haas

Depth: 98.60-98.50 cmbd

Slope: not applicable

Screening method/size: ¼" dry

Features: None

Samples: None

Soil: silt, clay, loam, very dark brown.

Munsell: 10 YR 2/2.

Soil changes during excavation: Very moist.

Disturbance: Roots

Artifacts: Appendix B.

Material observed but not collected: Limestone, mortar.

Notes: More rock W half mostly; mortar more common, esp. SW quad – a couple of larger lumps w/out any distinguishing features. Rubble fill of cellar – coring indicates stone at debris to at least 40 cm deeper. North wall profiled by M. Naden (Figure A.48). Further excavations in Unit 6F precluded by flooding from severe rainstorm.

Excavated by T. Bevitt. Photo: J. Haas.

Unit 6F Soil Profile

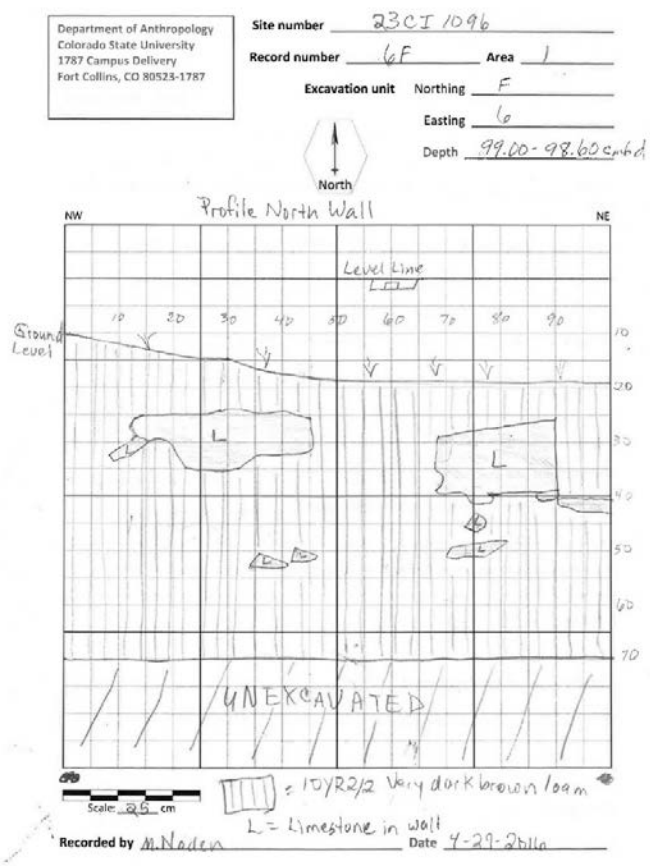

Figure A.48. Unit 6F soil profile. Photo and drawing my M. Naden.

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Minor, Paul E. and Keith O. Davis
1983 *Soil Survey of Clinton County, Missouri.* United States Department of Agriculture. 1983-O-389-168QL3. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX B

Site 23CI1096 Inventory of Artifacts and Remains

Table B.1. Site 23CI1096 inventory of artifacts and biological remains. Items were recovered during exploratory excavations 16-30 April 2016.

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
15G	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Embossed on glazed side; spalled	1	0.004	too spalled	
15G	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	0 whole nails/0 heads	2	0.092		
15G	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar		1	0.007		
15G	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand	1	0.056		
15G	1	Metal		Sheet metal		3	0.074		
16E	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown outer glaze; spalled	1	0.070	too spalled	
16E	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, slightly curved, variable thickness	1	0.004	0.07	
16E	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		129	9.144		
16E	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/0 heads	1	0.116		
16E	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	0 whole nails/0 heads	3	0.127		
16E	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar		1	0.236		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
16E	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Single-strand	2	0.060		
16E	1	Metal		Bar	J-shaped metal bar, 2.503 in long by 0.3125 in diameter	1	0.892		
3I	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	Vitreous China Tableware	Plain, opaque porcelain rim, 10 cm/7%	1	0.092	0.103	Cup?
3I	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, salt glazed exterior	1	0.011	too spalled	
3I	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, flat rim, 6 cm/15%	1	0.092	0.1910	Jar Seal or Goblet base
3I	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		1	0.032		
3I	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, hand-forged	0 whole nails/0 heads	1	0.187		
3I	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	4 whole nails/6 heads	14	1.665		
3I	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	0 whole nails/1 heads	1	0.095		
3I	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar	Glazed surface	1	0.028		Melted glass
3I	1	Metal		Bolt	Bolt, broken, headless, rusted, 0.341 in diameter	1	0.352		
3I	1	Seed		Walnut shell	Fragment, black walnut	1	<0.000		
3J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	0 whole nails/5 heads	7	0.645		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
3J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	Vitreous China Tableware	Plain, opaque porcelain rim, 10 cm/13%	1	0.092	0.112	Cup?
3J	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		1	0.028		
3J	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/0 heads	1	0.170		
3J	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	4 whole nails/6 heads	14	0.740		
3J	2	Metal		Fence Wire	T-shaped piece of wire-fence mesh, 1.223 in long/0.8275 in across	1	3.300		
3J	2	Bone		Bone	Fragment, mammal rib or limb bone; 0.86 X 0.42 X 0.11 in; cut marks	1	0.042		
4H	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware, Blue leaf and flower pattern on white; spalled	1	0.025	too spalled	
4H	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain, white; spalled	2	0.063	too spalled	Similar but do not conjoin
4H	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, white; base	1	0.007	0.1835	
4H	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, white	1	0.113	0.2245	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
4H	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, gray glaze; spalled	1	0.046	0.1965	
4H	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, rim, 7 cm/7%	1	0.018	0.1100	
4H	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear base, small diamond-embossed exterior	1	0.028	0.1295	Dish
4H	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		4	0.131		
4H	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/0 heads	1	0.08		
4H	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	14 whole nails/8 heads	29	1.120		
4H	1	Clay		Brick	Molded	1	0.056		
4H	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar	Glazed surface	1	0.018		
4H	1	Slate		Slate		1	0.011		
4H	1	Metal		Metal Disk	Slightly off-center hole, outside diameter 0.425 in/hole diameter 0.155 in	1	0.025		Electrical contact?
4H	1	Metal		Hook	Eye, exterior diameter 0.75 in/interior diameter 0.54 in on one end, blunt hook opposite; 3.57 in long	1	2.474		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
4H	1	Seed		Walnut shell	Fragments, black walnut	10	0.160		
4H	1	Bone		Bone	Fragments (associated with Feature 3)	6	0.000		
4H	1	Bone		Bone	Partial vertebrae (associated with Feature 3)	1	0.000		
4H	1	Bone		Bone	Partial vertebrae (associated with Feature 3)	1	0.000		
4I	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, white; rim, 17 cm/2.5%	1	0.035	0.2200	Saucer?
4I	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain, white	1	0.025	0.2715	
4I	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, gray glaze	1	0.110	too spalled	Charred appearance
4I	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear; chipped or facetted; possible base	1	0.055	0.1430	
4I	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		4	0.085		
4I	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/1 head	1	0.225		
4I	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	3 whole nails/4 heads	12	0.660		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
4I	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	0 whole nails/1 head	1	0.090		
4I	1	Metal		Sheet metal		1	0.015		
4I	1	Metal		Metal disk	Brass washer, outer diameter 0.4125 in	2	0.035	0.032	
4I	1	Metal		Metal Disk	Aluminum washer, outer diameter 0.394 in	1	0.005	0.023	
4I	1	Seed		Walnut shell	Partial (25%)	1	0.060		
4I	1	Tooth		Pig Tooth	Juvenile incisor; 21.87 mm, 0.6 g; 0.861 in	1	0.021		
4J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, white; spalled	1	0.010	too spalled	
4J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Blue pattern on white, spalled	1	0.010	too spalled	Possible match w/4H-1
4J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Embossed exterior, white; rim, 20 cm/2%	1	0.030	0.2300	
4J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Embossed exterior, white (overlapping leaves with parallel veins)	1	0.280	0.1515	
4J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, irregular surface from fracturing	1	0.035	0.1430	Possible match 4I-1

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
4J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, irregular surface	1	0.065	0.1880	
4J	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		1	<0.005		
4J	1	Metal		Brass Rivet	Brass rivet, two disks: one flat 0.4665 in diameter, one w/ conical protrusion 0.4445 in diameter, joined by shank; felt or fabric in between	1	0.095		Patented 1872
4J	1	Metal		Pendant	Copper pendant, oblong w/scalloped edges, some gold gilt; 1.149 in by 0.275 in by 0.051 in	1	0.030		
4J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/3 heads	3	0.350		
4J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	4 whole nails/7 heads	13	0.650		
4J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	0 whole nails/3 heads	3	0.22		
4J	1	Metal		Brass Bar	Broken end of unknown Item, flat on one side, slightly rounded on the other. Unbroken end rounded. 1.0395 in by 0.4445 in by 0.096 in	1	0.135		
5I	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		1	0.010		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
5I	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	0 whole nails/1 head	1	0.055		
5I	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar		1	0.025		
5I	1	Wood		Charcoal		1	n.w.		In canister
5I	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware	Buff paste, brown glaze both sides	1	0.015	0.2415	
5I	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	4 whole nails/3 heads	8	0.7		
5I	2	Mortar		Lime Mortar		1	0.010		
5I	3	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		1	0.025		
5I	3	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	6 whole nails/4 heads	10	0.515		
5I	4	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	Vitreous China Tableware	Embossed, opaque porcelain; rim (13-17 cm) and base	1	0.190	0.1035	Saucer?
5I	4	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/1 head	1	0.095		
5I	4	Bone		Bone	Mammal limb bone; rodent-gnawed, small cut marks; flat on one side; probable pig radius; 2.39 in X 0.77 in X 0.496 in	1	0.290		60.88 mm L x 19.55 w (max) x 12.59 mm (flat); 0.6 g
5J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, gray on one side; spalled (charred?)	1	0.045	too spalled	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
5J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Embossed exterior; possible base edge, curved	1	0.040	0.1125	
5J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	Vitreous China Tableware	Plain, opaque porcelain	1	0.020	0.1155	
5J	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Gray paste with brown slip on both sides	1	0.29	0.304	
5J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Medical/Chemical Bottle	Clear, curved, embossed parallel grooves (2) on convex side	1	0.010	0.1215	
5J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, edge with 90 degree bend	1	0.020	0.1285	
5J	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		3	0.02		
5J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	1 whole nail/0 heads	1	0.345		
5J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	3 whole nails/1 head	5	1.108		
5J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	1 whole nails/0 head	1	0.125		
5J	1	Metal		Harness buckle	Broken, 1.203 in outside length	1	0.125		
5J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; spalled	1	0.020	0.268	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
5J	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		4	0.035		
5J	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/0 heads	1	0.045		
5J	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	2 whole nails/2 heads	5	0.375		
5J	2	Mortar		Lime Mortar		3	0.095		
6Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, spalled	1	0.015	too spalled	
6Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; spalled	1	0.070	too spalled	
6Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain, spalled	1	0.010	0.1120	
6Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Annularware, Gray glaze with two parallel black bands; rim 8 cm/4%	1	0.035	0.0610-0.1155	Cup
6Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain; base of plate or serving dish	1	0.420	0.197	
6Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, base of plate or saucer	1	0.180	0.184	
6Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Base with partial maker's mark; spalled	1	0.050	0.1245	Partial British maker's mark

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff to rusty paste, base with brown glaze interior, buff glaze exterior; straight side; 22cm/4%	1	2.095	0.2790	
6Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff to rusty paste, brown glaze interior, buff glaze exterior	1	0.025	0.2565	Matches above but doesn't conjoin
6Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Gray paste, yellowish brown slip interior, yellowish glaze exterior	1	0.060	0.2390	
6Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff to gray paste, brown slip interior, buff glaze exterior	1	0.515	0.2925	
6Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Gray paste, brown slip interior, buff glaze exterior	1	0.170	0.2735	
6Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, molded scalloped rim, 17 cm/5%	1	0.150	0.1840	
6Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, slightly curved	1	0.015	0.0715	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, base	1	0.170	0.0970	
6Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Medical/Chemical Bottle	Clear, embossed with parallel groves on one side	1	0.135	0.1950	
6Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear	1	0.055	0.2015	
6Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Opaque	1	0.030	0.1900	
6Z	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Clear, embossed letter U	1	0.020		
6Z	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		10	1.105		
6Z	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/0 heads	1	0.100		
6Z	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	11 whole nails/12 heads	33	2.700		
6Z	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand	1	0.075		
6Z	1	Metal		Fence Staples	Misshapen, broken	2	0.325		
6Z	1	Metal		Sheet metal	Teardrop-shaped	1	0.010		
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; spalled; 1 base	5	0.325	too spalled	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, spalled	1	0.010	0.101	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; base, 3 conjoined sherds	3	0.445	0.1905	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; spalled; rim, 14-16 cm/2%	1	0.015	0.1010	Saucer?
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; spalled; rim, 10 cm/4%	1	0.015	0.0925	Cup?
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain; spalled	1	0.250	0.3215	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain; spalled	1	0.015	too spalled	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain; partial handle; spalled	1	0.025	too spalled	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Blue glazed with white sprig interior/ white exterior	1	0.025	0.2375	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, spalled	4	0.120	0.212	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain	1	0.020	0.1285	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain	1	0.015	0.1075	
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain; rim, 16 cm/5%	1	0.110	0.1785	Saucer?

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6A	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain; rim, 16 cm/2.5%	1	0.055	0.1600	Saucer?
6A	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste; corded interior with brown slip; brown glaze exterior	2	0.755	0.2135-0.3010	Match, do not conjoin
6A	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste; brown slip interior; buff exterior with incised groove	1	0.425	0.314	
6A	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Gray paste; reddish interior; yellowish glaze exterior	1	0.450	0.4035	
6A	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Gray paste, untreated interior with cord pattern; yellowish glaze exterior	1	0.250	0.257	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, plain; 1 rim, 6 cm/5%	7	0.185	0.0660-0.0700	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, plain; 1 rim, 7 cm/7%, 2 base	6	0.400	0.130-0.140	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Light amethyst, plain	1	0.010	0.0840	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Light amethyst, plain	1	0.105	0.2200	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, embossed diamond	1	0.160	0.1670	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, embossed diamond	1	0.015	0.0880	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, plain; slightly translucent	1	0.045	0.0995	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, plain; base or edge	1	0.035	0.0970	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, plain; base or edge	1	0.015	0.0733	
6A	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Medical/Chemical Bottle	Clear, embossed, with translucent application on surface	1	0.020	0.1120	
6A	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Clear	1	0.005		
6A	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Aquamarine	1	0.005		
6A	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		22	0.960		
6A	1	Shell	Button	Shell Button	Mussel shell with decorative edge, shank missing	1	0.020	0.499	Post-bellum
6A	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/1 head	3	0.645		
6A	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	26 whole nails/15 heads	63	4.925		
6A	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar	Heat-pinkened	1	0.225		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6A	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar		8	1.530		
6A	1	Metal		Sheet metal	Rusted, unidentified	4	0.065		
6A	1	Metal		Metal rod	Rusted, one end flattened; 4.998 in long, 0.186 in diameter; function unknown	1	0.630		
6A	1	Metal		Metal Washer	Copper washer, 0.4885 in diameter	1	0.030		
6A	1	Bone		Bone	Mammal limb bone; 0.8385 in by 0.377 in by 0.137 in	1	0.030		
6A	1	Wood		Charcoal		4	0.010		
6F	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Paste buff interior grading to gray; brown slip interior surface; salt glazed exterior	1	0.430	0.2525-0.2905	
6F	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Gray paste; brown glaze interior and exterior; rim, > 25 cm	1	1.965	Rim - 0.229; bottom - 0.593	Pan or cover? Rim and collar?
6F	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	1 whole/0 heads	2	0.12		
6F	3	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown glazed interior; clear salt glazed exterior	2	1.145	0.2845-0.2975	Match; do not conjoin

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6F	3	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Household Bottle	Clear catsup, nearly complete but broken; round base 2.361 in diameter, heptagonal body; round shoulder and neck; narrow collar (0.1685 in); bore 0.7905 in diameter; unthreaded finish; Heinz maker's mark on base; circa 1904-1922.	33	10.155		Embossed on base: perpendicular rings, no. 20 on left, no. 8 on right; below rings, "H-257", letter "D" (maybe); one shard from unknown position with "10A" embossed
6F	3	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Light amethyst, base or edge	1	0.085	0.1255-0.2035	
6F	3	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, base or edge	1	0.040	0.299	
6F	3	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, base with slight pushup	1	0.250	0.111-0.181	
6F	3	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		3	0.12		
6F	3	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	3 whole nails/2 heads	14	0.95		
6F	3	Metal	Nails	Nails, unidentified	0 whole nails/0 heads	19	0.795		
6F	3	Clay		Brick	Molded (reddish, fine-grained)	2	8.750		
6F	3	Wood		Charcoal		1	<0.005		
6F	4	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear	1	0.045	0.101	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6F	4	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		2	0.035		
6F	4	Metal	Button	Brass cuff button	Imperial Standard back mark; 0.5005 in diameter; shank missing	1	0.045		
6F	4	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	0 whole nails/5 heads	15	1.64		
6F	4	Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	0 whole nails/1 head	1	0.045		
6F	4	Metal	Nails	Nails, unidentified	0 whole nails/0 heads	4	0.200		
6F	4	Clay		Brick	Molded (reddish, fine-grained)	1	4.74		
6F	4	Metal		Sheet metal	Unidentified pieces, badly rusted	12	0.730		
6F	4	Metal		Metal bar	11.39 in by 1.87 in by 0.19 in; badly rusted	1	8.705		
6F	4	Plant		Grass	Black, decayed grass	1	1.515		Acidic soil
6F	5	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain, white; badly spalled	2	0.025	too spalled	
6F	5	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American Gray paste, unglazed banded interior; yellowish glaze exterior	1	1.020	0.282	
6F	5	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, edge with air bubbles	1	2.240	0.1685	possible match 6J-3

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6F	5	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		5	0.110		
6F	5	Metal		Nails, unidentified	0 whole nails/5 heads	19	1.300		
6F	5	Tooth		Pig tooth	Adult, upper right incisor	1	0.090		
6J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, 2 conjoined sherds of a rim, 17 cm/7%	2	0.070	0.1125	Saucer?
6J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, small shard from base of bottle or glass	1	0.005	0.0775	
6J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	1 whole nail/2 heads	5	0.26		
6J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; spalled	1	0.090	0.2465	
6J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Transferwear with rose colored floral pattern, possible base or rim; spalled; sherds do not conjoin	7	0.315	0.1895	Small blue dots on white surface
6J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain; spalled	2	0.005	too spalled	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Embossed; spalled	1	<0.000	too spalled	
6J	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Red paste, gray glaze exterior, none interior	1	0.025	0.146	
6J	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown glaze both sides; base	1	0.260	0.2905	
6J	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown glaze; badly spalled.	1	0.015	too spalled	Might match above
6J	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, edge; shards do not conjoin	2	0.025	0.1015	
6J	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Clear	1	0.005		
6J	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		6	0.13		
6J	2	Metal	Button	Brass Button	Flat; one-half, appears deliberately cut; missing shank; hole drilled in outer edge	1	0.12	0.8475	Possibly keepsake jewelry
6J	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	12 whole nails/3 heads	21	0.8		
6J	2	Plaster		Plaster	White lined pattern exterior	1	0.030	0.140	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6J	2	Metal		Fence Wire	Barbed wire w/ 1 barb; 0.8735 in long	1	0.055		Patented 1867
6J	2	Metal		Metal ring	Sprung; 0.2565 in diameter	1	0.425		
6J	2	Bone		Bone	Fragments, rodent; 0.724 in	2	0.015		
6J	3	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, base	1	0.305	0.227	
6J	3	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, spalled rim, 15-17 cm/2%	1	0.025	0.145	Saucer?
6J	3	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua	1	0.230	0.1370	Possible match 6F-5
6J	3	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Yellow (patina?)	1	<0.000		
6J	3	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		2	0.065		
6J	3	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	0 whole nails/4 heads	6	0.485		
6J	3	Clay		Brick	Molded (reddish, fine-grained)	1	0.035	0.079	
6J	3	Metal		Sheet metal	Unidentified pieces	2	0.200		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6K	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, rim shards; 7-10 cm/2% and 9 cm/3%	2	0.030	0.0640	
6K	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.005	0.0630	
6K	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		1	0.005		
6K	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	1 whole nail/2 heads	6	0.190		
6K	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, badly spalled; don't conjoin	3	0.020	0.1370	
6K	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Blue glaze with white pattern	1	<0.000	0.1465	Match with 6A?
6K	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain; base	1	0.640	0.2405	Bowl?
6K	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain, possible match but don't conjoin	2	0.185	0.1940	
6K	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Embossed exterior	1	0.050	0.1480	
6K	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	Vitreous China Tableware	Plain, opaque porcelain rim, 5 cm/7%	1	0.015	0.1330	Jar seal?

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6K	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown glaze both sides	1	0.085	0.151	
6K	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown glaze exterior; spalled rim, 9-11 cm/2%	1	<0.000	0.1255	
6K	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aquamarine, body	1	0.070	0.1050	
6K	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, body	1	0.005	0.0820	
6K	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, rim, 8 cm/3%	1	0.010	0.0665	
6K	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, rim, 5 cm/1%	1	0.015	0.0655	
6K	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	<0.005	0.0625	
6K	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	5	0.040	0.0795	0.0710, 0.0740, 0.0765, 0.0770
6K	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	2	0.075	0.0505-0.122	0.0935-0.1125
6K	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Clear	1	<0.005		
6K	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		21	0.540		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6K	2	Metal	Cartridge	Ammunition	Brass cartridge case, .32 long rimfire with firing pin mark; open end flattened; 0.7740 in long, 0.3273 in diameter	1	0.060		Introduced by S&W in 1861
6K	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	17 whole nails/19 heads	57	2.92		
6K	2	Mortar		Lime Mortar	One piece glazed with melted aquamarine glass	2	0.960		Diameter: 0.0895
6K	2	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand, looped	1	0.050		
6K	2	Metal		Fence Staple		1	0.095		
6L	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, portion of handle, interior diameter 6 cm/12.5%	1	0.090	0.2900	Conjoins 7J-1
6L	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Transferware, rose-colored floral pattern; partial base	1	0.035	0.1570	Match 6L-2, 7J-2
6L	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Transferware, black floral pattern; badly spalled	1	0.010	too spalled	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6L	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	Red Ware	Plain	1	0.095	0.2325	
6L	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Medical/Chemical Bottle	Aquamarine, partial side of molded polygonal bottle; partial maker's mark with embossed letters "SS"	1	0.120	0.1435	
6L	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.045	0.130	
6L	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.030	0.150	
6L	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.005	0.070	
6L	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		8	0.265		
6L	1	Metal	Cartridge	Ammunition	Brass cartridge case, .32 long rimfire with firing pin mark; open end crimped; 0.7670 in long, 0.3190 diameter	1	0.040		Introduced by S&W in 1861
6L	1	Metal		Table Knife	Knife fragments: Partial handle and blade; 3.913 in long by 0.6950 in wide; Blade, 2.3995 in long by 0.5420 in wide; Blade, 1.279 in long by 0.425 in wide; ferrous, badly rusted	3	1.145		Pieces don't conjoin; sizes suggest all might be from the same knife

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6L	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	8 whole nails/13 heads	32	2.28		
6L	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	1 whole nails/0 heads	2	0.02		
6L	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand, short fragments, 0.107 in diameter	4	0.090		
6L	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain	1	0.030	0.2615	
6L	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, spalled base	1	0.005	too spalled	
6L	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Transferware, light purple leaf pattern; small base sherd	1	0.005	0.1595	
6L	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Plain, spalled	1	0.040	0.1800	
6L	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Transferware, rose colored pattern; small rim sherd, 17 cm/2%	1	0.010	0.1615	Match 6L-1, 7J-2. Saucer?

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6L	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Transferware, rose floral pattern, human legs in knee breeches; base sherd; matches rim above, does not conjoin	1	0.175	0.1385	Match 6L-1, 7J-2
6L	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, side of cup or bowl with insertion point of handle	1	0.185	0.1490	
6L	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Decorative Vessel	Ironstone; Hand painted (?) light rose; base sherd of ornament dish	1	0.075	0.213	
6L	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.015	0.087	
6L	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.150	0.3675	
6L	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aquamarine, base shard	1	0.025	0.176	
6L	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Light amethyst, reticulated, body shard	1	0.025	0.123	
6L	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		5	0.125		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
6L	2	Metal	Cartridge	Ammunition	Cartridge, rimfire, .22 BB Cap; brass cartridge, lead projectile; firing pin mark; 0.4045 in long, 0.228 in diameter	1	0.045		Commercially available 1845
6L	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	8 whole nails/8 heads	27	1.66		
6L	2	Wood		Wood chip	Small wood fragment with light blue paint on one side	1	<0.000		
6L	2	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand, 1.449 in long x 0.095 in diameter	1	0.03		
6L	2	Metal		Metal rod	Short rod flattened on one end; 1.2 in long.	1	0.075		Tuning key for stringed instrument? Shelf support?
6L	2	Metal		Thumbtack	Brass thumbtack	1	0.015		
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain rim 14 cm/4%; badly spalled	1	0.010	too spalled	Bowl?
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; spalled	1	0.025	0.1435	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain base	1	0.105	0.1785	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain base	1	0.070	0.162	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, spalled	1	0.065	0.3020	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, spalled	1	0.010	too spalled	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Dark gray floral pattern on light gray background	1	0.015	0.1695	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Blue flower, green leaves on white (Sprig); 2 badly spalled	3	0.085	0.114-0.1305	Do not conjoin
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain base	1	0.030	0.094	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain base	1	0.310	0.1985	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain base	1	0.375	0.203	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain Rim	1	0.330	0.1975	Too small to measure circumference

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
7Z	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	Vitreous China Tableware	Embossed opaque porcelain	1	0.050	0.125	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown glaze interior, buff exterior	1	0.155	0.2585	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown slip interior, buff exterior	1	0.150	0.303	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Gray paste, brown slip on rough surface interior, yellowish glaze exterior	1	0.235	0.2635	
7Z	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Red paste, brown glaze interior, gray slip exterior	1	0.175	0.3465	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Medical/Chemical Bottle	Clear neck and finish (ring and groove)	1	0.590	0.0955	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear body edge with small part of shoulder	1	0.120	0.0935	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear rim, 10 cm/4%	1	0.025	0.0835	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body basket weave pattern	1	0.040	0.0875	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body edge	1	0.115	0.158	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, shoulder	1	0.370	0.2195	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.245	0.173	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear rim, 15 cm/2.5%	1	0.345	0.1215-0.217	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.065	0.1085	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, base	1	0.030	0.136	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.030	0.124	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.030	0.0935	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.055	0.105	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.010	0.0715	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.015	0.0665	
7Z	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Pale amethyst, body	1	0.025	0.074	
7Z	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Pale aquamarine	1	<0.000		
7Z	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		26	0.815		
7Z	1	Glass		Jewelry	Flat purple glass with beveled edges, incomplete; 0.730 X 0.652 X 0.076 in	1	0.030		
7Z	1	Glass		Ornamental Knob	Clear glass; incomplete	1	0.170		Unknown function
7Z	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	1 whole nail/0 heads	1	0.35		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
7Z	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	13 whole nails/12 heads	38	1.495		
7Z	1	Plaster		Plaster		1	0.040		
7Z	1	Metal		Metal strap	Metal strapping with wire nails; 0.1485 in diameter	4	0.625		
7Z	1	Metal		Metal strap	Folded ; ferrous, badly rusted	1	0.135		
7Z	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand, 2.751 in long by 0.150 in diameter	1	0.15		
7Z	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand, 2.278 in long by 0.1215 in diameter	1	0.12		
7Z	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand, 1.6405 in long by 0.110 in diameter	1	0.055		
7Z	1	Metal		Pin	Large "Stick Pin"; 1.361 in long; 0.470 in top diameter; 0.571 in bottom diameter	1	0.265		
7Z	1	Metal		Metal bar	Metal bar with wedge cross-section profile; 2.326 in long by 0.5285 in wide	1	0.87		
7J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, sherd of cup handle; spalled	1	0.085		Conjoins 6L-1

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
7J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, badly chipped body	1	0.005	too broken	
7J	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Clear	1	0.015		
7J	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		10	0.420		
7J	1	Metal	Button	Button/Stud	Copper button, 0.3585 in diameter, with diamond and dot pattern on front, traces of gold gilt. Coiled wire on back.	1	0.015		
7J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/1 head	1	0.165		
7J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	6 whole nails/7 heads	15	0.895		
7J	1	Slate		Slate	Slate, small fragment, flat on one side, 0.697 X 0.624 X 0.087 in	1	0.035		
7J	1	Metal		Metal, flat	Unidentified ferrous fragment, rusted, 0.0565 in thick	3	0.095		
7J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain	1	<0.000	0.1155	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
7J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Transferware, rose floral pattern on white; badly spalled	1	0.005	too spalled	Pattern match w/6L-1, 6L-2
7J	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain; base; badly spalled	1	<0.000	too spalled	
7J	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		2	0.150		
7J	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	2 whole nails/2 heads	5	0.86		
7J	2	Mortar		Lime Mortar	Lime, pink tinge	5	1.045		
7J	2	Metal		Fence Wire	Mesh segment, coiled on both ends, 5.256 in long	1	0.445		Patented 1883
8K	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, badly spalled	1	0.020	too spalled	
8K	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain	1	0.030	0.1945	
8K	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, red slip interior, gray outer	1	0.060	0.2010	
8K	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear, Rim 8 cm/6%; pale amethyst tinge	1	0.035	0.1425	
8K	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.035	0.0845	
8K	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, body	1	0.115	0.112	
8K	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, body	1	0.015	0.1165	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
8K	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Aqua, body	1	0.010	0.0605	
8K	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Clear	2	0.020		
8K	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Aqua	2	0.005		
8K	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		52	2.075		
8K	1	Metal	Button	Metal Button	Metal rusted with non-ferrous coating, stippled design; 0.680 in diameter; 4 holes	1	0.030		Cast or pressed
8K	1	Metal	Button	Metal Button	Metal rusted;0.687 in diameter; 4 holes; 90% complete	2	0.030		Cast or pressed
8K	1	Metal	Button	Brass Button	Back of two-piece button; 0.5525 in diameter; 2 holes	1			Pressed; missing 28 Jul 18
8K	1	Metal		Jewelry	Copper, 6-sided polygon, flower design in center w/leaves radiating to nearest corners; shank broken off back; 0.8135 in by 0.589 in by 0.0185 in	1	0.025		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
8K	1	Ceramic		Tobacco pipe	Red paste, curved rim, 2 cm/20%; portion of stem and bowl	1	0.040	0.1855	
8K	1	Metal		Ammunition/Ball	Ball, lead; pressed; 0.326 in diameter	1	0.110		Comparable to size 0 buckshot
8K	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	37 whole nails/43 heads	129	8.46		
8K	1	Clay		Brick	Molded (reddish, fine-grained)	1	0.050		
8K	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar	Small mortar fragment with glass melted on, mottled green	1	<0.005		
8K	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, Single-strand, bent; 1.52 in long x 0.0905 in diameter	1	0.025		
8K	1	Metal		Metal, flat	Flat metal bars, unidentified; roughly conjoin; 3.900 in combined length; ferrous, rusted	2	0.365		Possible handle
8K	1	Metal		Metal, flat	Unidentified ferrous fragments	2	0.060		
8K	1	Metal		Metal, flat	Unidentified ferrous fragment, cross section L-shaped	1	0.125		
8K	1	Metal		Chain	Chain link w/ 2 loops	1	0.030		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
8K	1	Metal		Nut	Square nut, 0.536 in square, 0.2415 in thick	1	0.175		
8K	1	Metal		Chain	Chain; matches loops above; rusted, approx. 6 in long	1	0.320		
8K	1	Metal		Metal bar	Metal bar, flattened at one end. 2.7295 in long, 0.197 in diameter	1	0.200		
8K	1	Seed		Seed	Soybean (half)	1	0.010		1900s
8K	1	Bone		Bone	Pig tibia; 2.2565 in long, 0.9455 in at widest point, 0.5635 in at narrowest; 0.251 diameter semi-circular notch at narrow end; cut marks	1	0.175		
8K	1	Bone		Bone	Fragment; 0.7085 in x 0.230 in	1	<0.005		
8K	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Black on white; ears, left eye, and mane of horse or unicorn	1	0.080	0.1990	Partial maker's mark. Probably British
8K	2	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Dark gray-brown paste, no interior treatment; exterior glaze	1	0.060	0.310	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
8K	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Very pale blue, body, air bubble in glass	1	0.020	0.077	
8K	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Clear	1	0.005		
8K	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		1	0.010		
8K	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	8 whole nails/6 heads	23	1.33		
8K	2	Metal		Metal	Unidentified chunk	1	0.035		
8K	2	Metal		Chain	Similar to chain from 8K-1; single link	1	0.005		
8K	2	Metal		Metal clip	V-shaped clip of flat metal	1	0.680		
8K	2	Bone		Bone	Mammal rib; 0.997 in X 0.6215 in; scrape marks	1	0.050		
8K	2	Wood		Charcoal		3	<0.005		
9D	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, mottled with stain, slight blue cast; spalled	3	0.100	0.2210	Do not conjoin
9D	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, mottled with stain, slight yellow cast; spalled	3	0.080	0.1505-0.1785	Do not conjoin

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
9D	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Transferware, green pattern; base sherds, both spalled	2	0.015	0.1085	Do not conjoin
9D	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, mottled with stain, slight blue cast; spalled	4	0.900	0.1475	Do not conjoin
9D	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain, mottled with stain, slight yellow cast; spalled	2	0.045	0.0900	Do not conjoin
9D	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Ironstone; Plain; base	2	0.285	0.2485	Do not conjoin
9D	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown glaze interior, mottled gray-yellow exterior	2	0.980	0.199-0.397	Do not conjoin
9D	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown slip both sides	1	0.055	0.2605	
9D	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown glaze both sides	1	0.065	0.2175	
9D	1	Ceramic	Stoneware	Utility Stoneware Crockery	Euro:American; Buff paste, brown slip interior, undecorated exterior; rim, 19 cm/2%	1	1.000	0.362-0.623	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
9D	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Medical/Chemical Bottle	Pale blue side shard with letters "TAN" visible	1	0.055	0.0915	
9D	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Medical/Chemical Bottle	Pale blue side shard, molded design - runnels each side of raised center	1	0.030	0.0655	
9D	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Pale blue body shards; slightly translucent	2	0.065	0.0940-0.1015	
9D	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear body	6	0.105	0.0655	
9D	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear body	1	0.080	0.070	
9D	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, neck	1	0.050	0.060	
9D	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Glassware	Clear , rim	1	0.030	0.090	
9D	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, flat	1	0.110	0.1345	
9D	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Clear	1	0.005		
9D	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Aquamarine	2	<0.000		
9D	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Lamp Glass	Aqua	1	0.020		
9D	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window Glass		55	1.805		

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
9D	1	Glass	Button	Glass Button	Black glass, diamond pattern on concave upper surface; 0.7155 in diameter, 50 % complete; U-shank broken off	1	0.050		
9D	1	Metal		Hinge	Brass hinge ; 0.220 in diameter	1	0.220		For folding device, possibly a ruler
9D	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	13 whole nails/24 heads	68	4.445		
9D	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	1 whole nail/0 heads	1	0.025		
9D	1	Slate		Slate	Slate fragment	2	0.025	0.0415	
9D	1	Metal		Sheet metal	Unidentified sheet metal pieces	6	0.250		
9D	1	Metal		Fence Wire	Plain, single-strand, looped, rusted	1	0.040		
9D	1	Metal		Metal handle	Flatten "U" with screw holes broken off; rusted	1	3.000		
9D	1	Wood		Wood	Charred fragments	8	0.030		
9D	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, badly spalled	1	<0.000	too spalled	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
9D	2	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Whiteware; Transferware, green floral	1	0.015	0.099	No match with 9D-1
9D	2	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	2	0.060	0.058	
9D	2	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		7	0.115		
9D	2	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	1 whole nails/2 heads	8	0.025		
9D	2	Mortar		Lime Mortar	With melted glass on one side	1	0.010		
9D	2	Metal		Metal wedge	Wood-splitting; rusted; 2.423 in long by 0.766 in wide by 0.379 thick (below the head)	1	1.325		
9J/10J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, rim, 16 cm/2%	1	0.035	0.2115	Saucer?
9J/10J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain	1	0.185	0.2045	
9J/10J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain	1	0.075	0.2065	
9J/10J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, rim, 10cm/5%; spalled	1	0.030	0.1610	Cup?
9J/10J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain, rim, 15 cm/3%; spalled	1	0.015	0.1305	Bowl?

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
9J/10J	1	Ceramic	Earthenware (refined)	White Earthenware Tableware	Pearlware; Plain; spalled	1	0.035	0.1585	
9J/10J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, angled sides; match but don't conjoin	2	0.670	0.1800-0.2255	
9J/10J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, angled sides; match but don't conjoin	2	0.170	0.1805-0.1825	
9J/10J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, angled sides; match but don't conjoin	2	0.140	0.123-0.1445	
9J/10J	1	Glass	Bottles/Glass	Bottle	Clear, body	1	0.030	0.0585	
9J/10J	1	Glass	Other Glass/Non-container	Window glass		27	1.280		
9J/10J	1	Metal		Knife Hilt (?)	Flat brass bar with perpendicular nub	1			Missing 28 Jul 18
9J/10J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Hand-forged	0 whole nails/2 heads	2	0.335		
9J/10J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Cut	12 whole nails/19 heads	41	2.890		
9J/10J	1	Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	1 whole nail/0 heads	1	0.025		
9J/10J	1	Mortar		Lime Mortar		3	0.270		Possibly plaster
9J/10J	1	Metal		Staple	For fence wire	1	0.095		
9J/10J	1	Slate		Slate	Flat	2	0.195	0.1065	

Unit	Level	Material	IMACS Type	Item	Description	Count	Weight (oz.)	Thickness (in.)	Comments
9J/10J	1	Metal		Metal part	Curvilinear metal part; 3.3815 in long by 1.725 in wide by 0.1775 in thick; rusted; notched on one side; function unknown	1	2.330		Possible stove part
9J/10J	1	Metal		Metal bar	Straight, 1.123 in long perpendicular nub	1	0.095	Length	
9J/10J	1	Wood		Wood	Charred	1	0.010		
Surface		Metal	Nails	Nails, Wire	0 whole nails/1 head	1	0.080		
Total						1763			