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“We All Lived in That House Together”: Persistence as Resistance on an Illinois
Farmstead, 1845 to the Present

By

Annelise Elizabeth Morris

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Laurie A. Wilkie, Chair
Professor Rosemary Joyce
Professor Kent G. Lightfoot
Associate Professor Stephen A. Small

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Abstract

“We All Lived in That House Together”: Persistence as Resistance on an Illinois

Farmstead, 1845 to the Present

by

Annelise Elizabeth Morris

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Laurie Wilkie, Chair

My dissertation examines the historical and archaeological traces of the rural Black farmsteads we call our Homeplace, from approximately 1840 to the 1920. In it, I argue that these archaeological, architectural, and textual material resonances make visible the actions of resistance in Black communities by signifying the labor of persistence. Displacement and disenfranchisement are unfortunately a consistent and threatening theme in the history of the African-American experience in the United States. As such, holding on to and securing private space is a difficult and often futile process. In a society that systematically displaces people of color, persistence through land ownership and rural self-sufficient farming allows for the occupation and cultivation of the Homeplace; a private, decolonized space which becomes a quintessential site of resistance for Black Americans in the nineteenth century.

To illustrate these points, I draw on theories of memory and materiality to examine the ways in which racialization is itself a dimension of materiality. I argue that this means racialization has a physical reality that is socially constituted, historically contingent, embodied and yet dispersed in its enforcement. At the same time, I examine my positionality as a Black descendant of these farmsteaders and as a member of the community undertaking a community-centered archaeological project. I explore the process of excavation as an act of historical resistance and empowerment, creating a moment for community members, stakeholders, and descendants to re-remember and memorialize pasts that are discursively recorded only in our memories and these materials. I assert that our best understanding of disenfranchised pasts must come from an engagement not only with African Diaspora scholarship, but also with the stakeholders and communities who are the stewards of these pasts.

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This dissertation is dedicated to our ancestors, who gave us their stories, and my family and community, who helped us hear them.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation presents an archaeological, historical and ethnographic analysis of two nineteenth-century farmsteads owned by successive generations of the Morris family, an African-American family living in Southeastern Illinois (Figure 1.1, 1.2). I will begin by pointing out my relationship to this place, as this is inseparable from the project. This is my Homeplace. In utilizing the term 'Homeplace', I draw specifically from bell hooks (1990), engaging with a Black feminist framework (after Battle-Baptiste 2004, 2011) to imagine the Homeplace as a political, social and mnemonic space, as well as a home and resource. Influenced by Audre Lorde's conceptualization of the intersectional self and self-care as inherently political (Lorde 1988), I see the caring for and memorializing of marginalized histories by the community as a similarly political act. I also call it our Homeplace simply because that is what is called; as an adult, I now understand there is an intentionality behind the name; but it is also the only name I remember it having. My ancestors came here near the turn of the nineteenth century, having left racial persecution and displacement in South Carolina and then Kentucky. In 1847, my great-great-grandparents Mason and Patience Morris purchased the 120 acres where their descendants would continue to live for the next 165 years. I grew up less than a mile from where my grandfather was born in the house that his father built beside the cemetery where his grandfather, Mason, is buried. I do not bring this up to claim that this standpoint gives me a privileged access to the site or to the experiences of its inhabitants but rather to make transparent the different subjectivities that I occupy as an archaeologist and as a member of the descendant community. My approach highlights that as both an archaeologist who is actively excavating, and as a descendant who is actively memorializing it is my own self/perspective that is inextricable from my ethnographic and archaeological work.

My project's goals are multi-faceted; they are not only to make a contribution to the often invisible histories of Black pioneers in the nineteenth century, but also to undertake a series of excavations completely open to the public, aided by community participation and centered on the community's questions about the area's past and the lives of our ancestors. This project also encourages us to think about and enact how we as historical archaeologists and minority scholars can work to decolonize existing historical narratives about our communities. We, who occupy the spaces that are elided by historical processes, can utilize archaeological knowledge as a powerful tool in the struggle to reclaim our social histories. I utilize my own particular indigeneity to this place to observe and critique productions of knowledge histories in the African Diaspora in the United States.

As a result, my work speaks to two different brands of anthropological contribution. First, the archaeological aspect examines the material dimension of African Diaspora communities living societies structured in racialized dominance and inequality. I draw on many scholars to conceptualize the African Diaspora; like Amiri Baraka and Paul Gilroy, I imagine it as a "changing same"; a fluidity of expression united in the constancy of racialization stemming from the trans-Atlantic slave trade, of routes of displacement, separation, and return (Baraka 1991, Gilroy 1991, 1993). I also see Diaspora as necessarily intersectional. Diaspora is articulated differently through time, class, history, and social circumstance create different conditions of possibility (after Edwards 2003, drawing on

Hall 1980, 1989). This dissertation utilizes archaeological analysis to observe several moments of articulation of Diaspora in one family over many generations.

Secondly, the ethnographic intervention observes this community-situated archaeological project and examines from my situated perspective as a descendant the moments where the act of excavation and memorialization make our pasts emerge into the present moment. In this dissertation I will discuss this ethnographic emergence, and also examine how the archaeological knowledge produced through a community engaged project led me to an exploration of how the processes of racialization in the African Diaspora can be understood to be situated in an embodied materiality. Further, I will situate my archaeological narrative in persistence rather than resistance, highlighting how narratives of persistence allow for and empower social agency in the past, not solely situated in or responsive to systems of oppression. In a society structured in dominance and inequality, resistance – the direct opposition to this system – is often how marginalized group’s actions are characterized. I define persistence as actions which are tangential, as opposed to directly responsive against, systems of oppression. Where resistance might be direct revolution or disruption, persistence are the many daily actions people undertake to make their own lives not necessarily defined solely by systems of oppression. I also explore ideas of Homeplace and memorialization, asserting that an archaeology that excavates Homeplace brings into being identities and pasts through the sensory experience of excavation and the materials it explores. Furthermore, I discuss how the artifacts we excavate constitute the material resonances of Homeplace. Exploring how these theories arose from the experiences of community archaeology, I assert that not only is a community-engaged archaeological ethically imperative, it is theoretically and socially transformative.

Why this? Why Me?

I did not start graduate school with the intention of doing this project. Although I felt my specific worldview would be very conducive to African Diaspora archaeology, I did not at first consider my own family’s past as an appropriate subject. I was afraid, I think, as a young graduate student, that somehow that was not “allowed”. So, I spent time studying, working on other projects, and thinking about what my dissertation should look like. Sometime in 2011, I was talking with family members back home in Lawrence County, Illinois, about what archaeology is and why it is particularly relevant to Black history. I was passionate, that with so much unwritten, or written in the wrong ways, archaeology could be a new way for us to engage with our history. “Sure, yes,” they agreed. “So when are you coming back here? We’ve got a lot of history here.” That was it for me. With those words, I could see no other place to begin this work. And so, a project was born, and I set out, along with our community, to tell some of our stories.

In a system such as the one we live in, a system that so often tells the story of Black families by talking about how someone else treated them, I wanted to write a study of Black people in the past that respected their humanity. Narratives of resistance always seemed to me to leave most people out of the story. My ancestors had never led a revolution and neither have I. They did what most Black folk did; they found their hustle and worked it to make the best lives that they could for themselves and their families. Stories of resistance

seemed to create a binary that I never really felt made sense for our rural country lives. Stories of revolution or death seemed to me to assume our life stories are structured either with or in opposition to someone else's. I never felt like my ancestors' lives were just about their oppression; they were about their land, their farms, their adventures, their work, their church, their families, their travels and their stories. This is not to say their lives were without difficulty, conflict, or racism and everything that comes with it. Obviously, this was pervasive. The story I want to tell shows the many creative strategies they used to do it all anyway; to move to the frontier, to clear farms, and to build a church and a community. The goal was not to paint them as an anomalous resistance story, but rather as human beings who lived their lives *not* in opposition to a system, but on their own terms, in their own place.

These ideas and the urging of the community eventually lead me to an excavation of my Homeplace. As I will discuss in this dissertation, years of documentary searching, talking with other descendants at home and scattered across the country, staring at old maps, and wandering around Lawrence County finally coalesced in the Historic Archaeology of Lawrence County (or HALC for short) project in 2011. That year my relatives, archaeology students from nearby University of Illinois, other interested folks from the area and I completed a walkover survey that confirmed the location of one of the local Black community's earliest farmsteads. The following summer we excavated at this site, now confirmed to be the farm of our ancestors, Mason and Patience Morris. Then, in July 2013, we came *home*. Since the Homeplace is still standing, I decided to get creative with excavation, targeting the root cellar beneath the house. It was almost record-breaking heat that summer, and so the dark, cool depths of the cellar were a welcome place to excavate, though it was quite a tight fit. The cellar was a bit of a gamble, archaeologically; it had been cleaned and flooded for so many years that I was not sure we would find much there. What we found beneath this house was generations of tiny pieces of life falling through the floorboards of the old home, off the porch and out of sight. We recovered pieces of old jewelry, errant marbles, cast-off buttons and the countless "small things forgotten" that constitute a family's everyday life. So, to introduce you to my dissertation, I would like to introduce you to my favorite artifact (Figure 1.3). Every archaeologist has one, if we are being honest, and mine is this fork. At first, this tiny fork might not look like much. But if you look closely you can see that it is not actually for meals at all. Rather, it is a hair-clip, probably dating to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, perhaps worn by one of the women in the family. See, history never tells us that Black folks are the kind of folks who have silver like this; it tells us we are the kind of folks who polish other people's silver. It shows us raising other people's children and working other people's land. In fact, we are usually the first folks looked at accusingly when the silver goes missing, which is why this tiny fork, this moment of one woman taking what does not belong in Black hands and putting it into Black hair struck me as the core of who we are. This artifact struck me as a beautiful, secret subversion of every stereotype that tries to tell us who we are by telling us other people's stories through other people's eyes.

So this is not a story of other people's silver. This is a story of *our* things, touched by *our* hands, on *our* land. *Our* history.

Chapter Discussion

In Chapter 2, I will lay out the theoretical framework for my dissertation, which focuses on how archaeologists can understand processes of racialization in the African Diaspora. After framing my conceptualization of Diaspora more fully, I argue that racialization in the past can be understood as an embodied materiality, and that this framework allows for an understanding of racialization's fluidity over time while acknowledging its articulation in specific moments. I will also situate my archaeological narrative in persistence rather than resistance, asserting that a narrative of resistance elides the everyday acts of survival by people in the past. I will then explore ideas of Homeplace and memorialization, discussing how an archaeology that excavates Homeplace brings into being memories, identities and pasts through the sensory media of artifacts and excavations. Finally, I will discuss how these artifacts constitute the material resonances of Homeplace.

Chapter 3 will examine the documentary history of the study sites and the families that occupied them. Beginning in 1793, when the Morris family makes their first appearance in the historical record, this chapter utilizes documentary and oral histories to trace their journey from South Carolina to the Illinois frontier, through the nineteenth century into recent memory. Drawing on Truillot (1995), I critically examine the archival history for what is present, who is absent, and what kind of histories these documents tell. Through this, I examine the role of social memory in historical and social narrative particularly focusing on the ways these narratives articulate moments of racialization in the lived experience of Black pioneers and farmsteaders.

The public archaeological project itself is discussed in Chapter 4. I lay out the methodologies I used to run a community-engaged public archaeological excavation. I make a case for the importance of collaborative archaeological practice, highlighting the ways that a public archaeological project created a richer understanding of the site and the people who lived there. I discuss specifically how this project worked, and how we encouraged and negotiated participation from a wide variety of stakeholders. I also discuss my standpoint as both a descendant and archaeologist and examine the way the archaeological project benefitted from this duality. Additionally, I point out the lessons I learned from these standpoints; lessons that I believe are applicable to any community-engaged archaeology project.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings of the excavations at Site #1, the earlier of the two sites and Mason and Patience's original farmstead. I discuss the trends in artifacts recovered on this site and focus particularly on the glass and ceramics from the assemblage, first at the site as a whole and then by provenience. The examination of the artifacts recovered from this farm site highlights how the Morris family, in particular the women's intersectional identities, can be understood through the material culture of this farmstead. I emphasize the negotiation of farm work and social spaces evident in the artifacts.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I discuss the findings of the 2013 excavations at the Homeplace. I identify four primary activity areas, the porch, the cellar, and the smokehouse and Blacksmith shop. Examining the artifacts primarily by activity area, I discuss how the

artifacts represent the continued work and social activities of the family through time. I also discuss the inseparability of 'activity' areas related to work and the activities of social and everyday lives.

I conclude by returning to Homeplace conceptually, theoretically, and archaeologically. I discuss the findings of this project, emphasizing how an archaeology of Homeplace situated in persistence allows a more complex understanding of negotiations of race, class, social networks and economic access and maneuvering in the past. I also discuss the politics of telling histories, with a focus on the benefits of publically engaged archaeology to creating inclusive, multi-vocal, rich understandings of the past.

Chapter 2: The Materialities of Homeplace

In this chapter, I will examine how I understand processes of racialization in the African Diaspora to be situated in an embodied materiality and discuss what that means for archaeological work. Further, I will situate my archaeological narrative in persistence rather than resistance, highlighting how narratives of persistence allow for and empower social agency in the past not solely situated in or responsive to systems of oppression. To conclude, I will explore ideas of Homeplace and memorialization, asserting that an archaeology that excavates Homeplace brings into being identities and pasts through the sensory experience of excavation and the materials it explores. Further, I will discuss how these artifacts we excavate constitute the material resonances of Homeplace.

As historical archaeologists we study the pasts of capitalist society. Since racialization is constitutive of modernity and capitalism, it then follows that we must critically engage with those racializing processes. Thus, we need a rigorous theoretical and philosophical toolset if we are going to be able to consider our pasts in ways that dynamically examine the “changing same” of the African Diaspora through time (Baraka 1991). It is important that we interrogate the ways in which the material culture we “see” when we investigate archaeological sites are really the material aspects of the social worlds created by racialized people faced with living in a society structured in dominance and inequality (Hall 1980).

If we are to have a dynamic understanding of what this might mean, it is imperative to have a rigorous theoretical framing of what we understand race and racialization to be. This can be difficult, as we know that race is fluid and changeable even in the present moment. Since this is the case, race can be difficult to isolate and understand in the past without creating dehumanizing over-generalizations and stereotypes of Blackness, Whiteness, and everything in between. Additionally, how “race” is instantiated in the African Diaspora is necessarily intersectional with other structuring factors such as class, gender, and historicity. As such it becomes relevant to consider the ways that the condition of Diaspora is articulated through these other factors, or, how the materiality of race is articulated in a particular moment (Edwards 2003). This is especially key for us as archaeologists, since what we end up “seeing” in the archaeological record are these material momentary social assemblages.

To this end, I suggest that racialization should be considered as itself a materiality. Here I envision a materiality that goes beyond the physical reality of an object – in fact, it is not “objectness” or “thingness” at all – rather, it is a state of being-in-the-world and recognition of that being. It is a physical and social reality that is assembled in an historical moment. In framing this materiality, I draw on the work of Suzanne Kuchler and others who have explored the interplay (and mutually constitutive nature) of materiality and body in creating social memory. In particular I draw on ways in which memory work plays a foundational role in the social mediation of kinship, rights, and power, positing actions of social time (Kuchler 1987, 1988; Kuchler and Melion 1991).

I also draw on Webb Keane's work, which formulates a semiotic analysis of material things that challenges the dualistic separation between ideas and things, of body and mind (Keane 2005). For Keane, "the goal is to open up social analysis to the historicity and social power of material things without reducing them to either being only vehicles of meaning, on one hand, or ultimate determinants on the other" (Keane 2003:411). Towards this goal, the idea of objects as mediators of social lives and social processes is particularly salient. Keane asserts that "by emphasizing the mediating role of semiotic ideology in the consolidation of objects as components of social life" one can access the "historicity implicit in semiotics"; emphasizing that signs give way to more signs, in historically and socially contingent chains of signification, meanings of objects are allowed to be situated in particular historical moments and to change through time without undermining past meanings and networks of "possible causal relations" (Keane 2003:419-420). At the same time recognizing the possibility (and futurity) inherent in things requires the recognition that causality is not unavoidably inherent in objects and their materiality.

These semiotic concepts prompt scholars of material culture to consider the situated creation of meaning through making; meanings which may or may not be realized in others' experiences of material things through time and which are not forced by the historical turn of events to be singularly causal of said historical events. This mode of thinking allows us to recognize the entropy inherent in social life. A materiality of race could be considered a semiotic analysis that views the interpretant as the momentary arbiter of social norms (Preucel and Bauer 2001).

This would suggest that a moment of racialization happens when someone "reads" the body (or any other racialized aspect of a person) in a particular way, mapping difference onto a subject in that moment. The key here is the unevenness of these moments, race can be seen as a categorization that gives the impression of being static but by nature is in a constant state of interpretation and assignation. Utilizing these theoretical tools, scholars can recognize multiple, socially contingent moments of meaning in the past (e.g. Joyce 2007) as well as our own ideas and biases as present interpretants. Importantly, an emphasis on the situated multiplicity of potential meanings does not necessarily have to be translated as ambiguity of meaning in a particular moment; rather, a semiotic analysis allows for meaning to be relational, meditative, and historically contingent (Bauer 2002; Preucel and Bauer 2001). When considering an object-biography of the changing processes of racialization, all reinterpretations of the objectified body are of interest for what they can tell us about the historically constituted social implications of these changes, since race is constantly negotiated and re-interpreted (Meskell 2004).

If objectification is the process by which subjects are created and re-created, then materiality is a key part of this process. At issue here is not the "body-as-thing" or the "other-as-thing" as Mbembe and others have suggested (Gilroy 1993; Mbembe 2001, 2003), but rather the socially meditative properties of the epidermal experience of Blackness. I do not deny the objectification of the Black body; rather I employ the concept of materiality to trace the movement of historically situated moments of negotiating that objectification. I suggest that a framework of materiality can explore the ways in which the physical realities

of Blackness (as African Diaspora is situated in the United States) act as an active social mediator of the processes of racialization stemming from global capitalist modernity.

Considering racialization as a material process subject to processes of objectification foregrounds the reality that it is situated in the body and provides an opportunity to explore the material trajectories of our embodied experience. Yet, it also highlights that, while the momentary expressions of racialization are fluid and negotiable, they are not infinitely so. As a social mediator, the epidermal reality of non-white skin insists that there will always be constraints on social movement and interpretation. I use the term “mediator” here in the Latourian sense, suggesting that a person’s perceived raciality (or, more accurately, their experienced series of racialized moments) is momentarily as real as Latour’s “surrealistic key” disciplining social action and reactions and creating the limits and conditions of the socially possible (Latour 1999, 2000, 2005). In the same sense that material things can be understood as “mediators” of social realities, so too, can the epidermal and embodied experience and projections of race be imagined.

To further illustrate the limits of the socially possible created by embodied realities, I draw on the work of feminist scholars such as Henrietta Moore and others, who point out the instability and variability of embodied categories while at the same time asserting that though they vary cross culturally and are differently socially constructed, we do at some point reach the immutable aspects of the female embodied experience. Indeed, how people locate, traverse, and negotiate this difference creates the conditions of possibility for these varied and historically contingent identities. Hazel Carby, for example, suggests that while one cannot take for granted the shared experience of Black womanhood, one has to acknowledge the effect of how, what she calls “triple oppression of gender, race, and class”, creates categories which can only be negotiated up to a certain point (Carby 1997:45). Spillers discusses the negotiation of these realities as “including human biology in its intersections with the projects of culture” (Spillers 1987:66). Moore also points out that while sociocultural treatment of that category varies, the reality is that after a certain point, it cannot account for the universal subordination of women (Moore 1994).

Further exploring the physio-social constraints in the African Diaspora, Edward Telles’s sociological study on the impacts of skin-color in Brazil highlights the limits of social interpretation and mobility. His work shows that while the trans-national diasporic socio-cultural and historical processes that create processes of racialization in Brazil are distinct from those in the United States, darker skinned people still have statistically lower incomes, less social mobility, experience other kinds of discrimination that result in harsher life-chances (Telles 2004). In the United States, this limit is also highlighted by historical cases of how “races” that did not share the epidermal experience of African Americans eventually attain “whiteness” (e.g. Brodtkin 1998).

It is a fact of the kind of Blackness that the rule of hypodescent produced in the United States that some epidermal experiences of racialization are more negotiable than others. In the case of the Black pioneers who comprised my ancestors - the current embodied reality of the community, the shifting documentary record, and photographs where we have them - would suggest that some of these settlers would likely have been considered

comparatively light-skinned. I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge that with the ability to negotiate the color line comes a privilege and a mobility not afforded to all people who identify (or are identified, as the case may be) as Black. This is an important aspect of analysis because it speaks to this family's ability, at certain times, to negotiate the color line in specific, malleable ways and yet highlights the limits of that negotiation; acknowledging the very unevenness and arbitrary nature of race. In some ways the examination of this family highlights the ambiguity and material nature of what we understand to be racialization.

For an historical example of ambiguity and movement along the color line, and in turn how we can understand these theoretical concepts I've outlined historically, I turn to the documentary records associated with this site. In the nineteenth-century historic literature (such as local county histories) one of the family's direct ancestors, Samuel Morris has been described as "Black as a tar keg" and yet at the same time was the owner of a large, slaveholding plantation in Kentucky (Finley 1878:51). Family oral histories recall that Emily Morris's family nearly disowned her for marrying my great-grandfather William (Mason's son) because he was so dark-skinned and she was quite light (for family relationships, see figure 2.1).

Census records in particular offer an insight into the fluid and emergent character of race through time. I was able to find census records for the majority of the Morris family members living at our site from 1840 to 1940 (figure 2.2). By examining census records as materialities of racialization, it is important to note that these entries are not self-reported. A census taker would travel through the neighborhood, stopping at each house to record what he saw. These documents represent a specific moment of racialization being written directly from bodies into history. In the 1840 census for this family, the entire household is recorded as "Free Colored People," but by 1850, this terminology has changed to "Black." Just before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860, these same families are now "Mulatto." Then, from 1870 to 1910 everyone became "Black" again until 1920, when the term "Mulatto" was resurrected. After that, in the 1930 and 1940 censuses, "Mulatto" becomes "Negro." Obviously these same people were not changing their bodies over time, but rather the understanding of what race and color is, along with their articulations with class and gender, is what is negotiated and changed over time. No bodies move, but the Color Line does and in this documentary moment its fluidity is mapped on the body of the other (United States Census Bureau, Illinois, 1840-1940).

Photographs of folks at the Homeplace also highlight epidermal variability, even within a small kinship group. What is relevant here is not an objective argument about what the phenotypic realities of these families were, but the idea that what "race" actually is in any given moment exists in a constantly negotiated liminality of social processes, memories, class, gender, and epidermal materiality. In some ways, the fluidity of skin color reflects how the memory and materiality of race become constitutive of one another. It is embodied and performed as it is remembered by previous generations, which may or may not reflect the current generation's actual experience and practice. In other ways, the memory of race can be just as powerful as race itself; in this case, the materiality of race is embodied memory. These brief historical examples, which I further explore throughout this

dissertation, serve to highlight that while the White/Non-white duality is a real fact of the African-American experience in the United States, in practice the actual phenomenological experience of non-white people leaves room for negotiation and ambiguity. If race is a materiality, then the historical and social memory of Blackness is embodiment personified.

The utility of this analysis is that it frames racialization as coalescing and emergent, changing and moving through space and time. Such a framing allows racialization to be materialized differently in a given context, in each situation historically constituted and disbursed, yet with a material and phenotypic embodied reality. It is a physical and social reality that is assembled in an historical moment. As such, its materiality is disbursed in the minds and bodies of those agents in momentary participation. The materiality of race can be understood as historically constituted, in that it is constrained by the historical and sociocultural environment of the space and time it inhabits. At the same time, it is necessarily physical; and in the case of race, it has an embodied epidermal reality. This does not suggest that race is not a social construction – it is. In fact, considering race as a materiality allows us to understand that it is a physical reality situated in the body, but constructed in the minds of others. That is to say, a person does not have a static “race” but instead, a person experiences a series of moments in which one’s embodied reality is racialized by other forces (be these other people, social systems, or social processes). So, an archaeology deploying this theoretical orientation considers racialization materialized both historically and bodily but also mediated by its physical reality. This framing allows us to deploy our understanding of racialization as something real to the human experience in the present as well as the past, allowing a dynamism that avoids simple objectification of race but, at the same time, admitting that there is an experiential, embodied aspect to its lived experience. Considering racialization as a materiality allows us the opportunity to think archaeologically about its momentary instantiations (Joyce 2012). If race does indeed exist as a series of socially and materially assembled moments, then it follows that with effective intellectual methodologies, historical archaeology allows us to “see” these moments in the archaeological record and material culture. This will enable us to create more nuanced interpretations of the African Diasporic past.

Race as Materiality and the Materialities of Race

As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3, African-American settlers who came to Lawrence County in the early nineteenth century were, at first, relatively successful in establishing large landholdings for themselves where they were somewhat well off economically. Documentary evidence would suggest that the Black population continued to grow throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and by the time the first plat map was drawn in 1875, Black farmers owned a significant amount of land in the small township. Evidence in the form of probate records indicates that when Mason Morris died in 1875 he, too, had substantial farm holdings. After his death, however, the substantial legal and economic exclusion faced by his descendants appears in the nineteenth-century paper trail; their land and property holdings decreased dramatically, shrinking to a mortgaged few acres by the 1920s. In such a rural place, it became difficult to find employment outside of farming and sharecropping. These legal and economic struggles this family experienced provide examples of the kinds of threats of disenfranchisement and displacement African-American people living in this community were facing; this was not

an isolated phenomenon, as many Black farmers in the area faced similar circumstances. However, while the land owned by Black farmers decreased during these years, the population itself did not, likely due to strategies of persistence that relied on self-sufficiency and community cooperation. While documentary and historical evidence can illustrate to some extent the exclusionary social climate of the nineteenth century, it is the discarded material of the past and the curated heirlooms of the present that speak to the everyday practices undertaken by the family members to support and sustain their community and their home.

I posit that these everyday practices of self-sufficient, rural farming labor are an aspect of the tactics of persistence employed by Black farmers living in a social system not of their own making, structured in dominance and inequality. Drawing on de Certeau's concept of "tactics" (de Certeau 1984), I highlight how aspects of rural life such as farming, hunting, and home industry comprise the everyday practices that enabled these communities long-term sustainability. I specifically use the term persistence to highlight that continued occupation of one's home and land in a system designed to destabilize and disburse Black populations should be acknowledged as a viable life tactic and valuable knowledge. As others have pointed out (Scott 1985; Sheptak 2011; Silliman 2001), narratives that focus on terminologies and direct strategies of resistance tend to elide the successful daily practices that made life possible and meaningful. Examinations of the past which rely solely on strategies of resistance create a narrativity of the Black experience that privileges violent, aggressive acts - narratives which often end with stories of loss, extinction, and the futility of resisting systems of oppression. Instead considering persistence allows scholars to avoid assimilationist narratives and allows for a greater range of social agency, possibilities, and actions by people in the past. A narrative of persistence also allows us as archaeologists to explore the materialities of processes of racialization in the past with more nuance than when seeking often binary and over-simplified clues to resistance struggles.

At our site, I would argue that these archaeological, architectural, and textual material resonances make visible the actions of resistance in African-American communities by signifying the labor of persistence. Displacement and disenfranchisement are unfortunately a consistent and threatening theme in the history of the African-American experience in the United States; whether it is from Africa, from family, or from neighborhoods due to gentrification, holding onto and securing private space is a difficult and often futile process. As bell hooks asserts in her work on the subject, "...when a people no longer have the space to construct Homeplace, we cannot build a meaningful community of resistance" (hooks 1990:47). In a society which systematically displaces communities of color, I see in persistence through land ownership and occupation and cultivation of a safe, private decolonized space, a quintessential site of resistance for free African-Americans in the nineteenth century.

During our 2013 field season (discussed in more detail in Chapter 6), six of the sixteen 1m X 1m units we excavated were directly adjacent to the front porch of the Homeplace. One artifact class that was prevalent in these samples is firearms paraphernalia, namely, shells, bullet casings, and birdshot. This artifact class I think speaks to the realities and

materialities coalescing at this site, especially relevant in the context of a porch, which works as both a private and a public place, a space especially important in the nineteenth and early twentieth century to social gathering. Importantly, I assert that the presence of these shells in the assemblage does not suggest actual violence, but rather, subsistence, social practices, and the implied ability (and willingness) to defend oneself should the need arise.

The exclusionary economic systems that increasingly affected African-Americans meant that subsistence practices such as hunting created an opportunity for men (and this practice was highly gendered) to provide for the family despite this disenfranchisement. Importantly, though, for most of the nineteenth century it was illegal for Black people to own guns in Illinois, so at the outset this represents some level of subversive practice. Normally, if you were looking for provisioning in the archaeological record you might expect to find remains of larger game, such as deer and wild turkeys in the faunal remains. But in Illinois, over-hunting had reduced these populations severely, leaving them nearly extinct by the late nineteenth century. The faunal assemblage instead suggests the dietary contributions of smaller game, such as squirrels and quail, most likely from hunting and trapping. This archaeological evidence represents what could be interesting material contradiction. Faunal remains such as squirrels for example, have been historically associated with African-American practices but can in reality be seen in many examples of the upland south diet. There is also material evidence for at least four different firearms, which were technically illegal for Black people to own, especially in any kind of number. Taken together, however, these lines of evidence represent a material moment in which these people were dealing with and at the same time subverting cultural and legal practices.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, hunting was also an important social practice for men in a rural area, serving as a way to cement social ties or to welcome others into a community. From the oral histories this project collected for this project, I know of at least one instance where a job was given to one of my ancestors that would not have normally been open to him as a Black man because of the social networks created through hunting with other members of the community (Russell Morris, personal communication). Target practice from one's porch can be seen as recreational; yet guns carry a complicated history, and so by conducting the leisure activity of target practice in a highly visible place, I would assert that people were not actually participating in a violent activity – in fact, they are participating in a social activity that neighbors might stop and take part in, talk about, and participate in. This public participation also suggests that both this Black family and their white neighbors at least in some cases, commonly ignored the laws surrounding guns and who could own them, speaking to yet another dimension of social practice implicated by this material intersectionality. At the same time, these items (and the skilled use of them, demonstrated in this “friendly” way) are indexing the means and skills of defense - all the while, the implied violence is inoculated by the social practices that surround gun culture in a rural area. I would argue that these artifacts represent a skillful negotiation of social practices that simultaneously underscores Black masculinity by opening previously restricted social networks, and showcases the ability to provide for a family, while at the same time subtly indicating the willingness to defend this same family.

Hunting is also one of the last cultural practices from the nineteenth century that we have maintained into the present day, and therefore, I think this underscores its importance as a social practice. Agriculture is no longer our livelihood, and although we no longer “need” to hunt for subsistence reasons, we continue to do so together as a family. In my ethnographic interviews, this has been described to me as one of the ways we continue the stewardship of our land (Russell Morris, personal communication). We still keep the guns handed down to us by great-grandfathers. By continuing this tradition in the present, we re-materialize our histories by using the skills we have been given by our pasts. As with excavation, the presence of these materials, old and new, is bundled with memories handed down with the land, moving us to act and reminding us who we are.

Here, the concept of Homeplace is key to understanding, in this case, the complex ways in which African-American communities created their own systems of lifeways. I draw here on Keith Basso’s concepts of place making and place worlds (Basso 1996) in thinking about the existential importance of the Homeplace in Black American life. Basso describes place-making as “a universal tool of the historical imagination” and asserts “place-making involves multiple acts of remembering and imagining which inform each other in complex ways” (Basso 1996: 5). It is this remembering and imagining that I am asserting is active and fundamental in an archaeology of the Homeplace; it is memory and its processes which designate the Homeplace as a sacred place with a deep past and but which also projects its historical trajectory onto the future. It is this utilization of pasts by people in the present and future that Basso suggests creates ‘place-worlds’, which he describes as a place where “portions of the past are brought into being” (Basso 1996:30).

The idea that the past is *brought into being* by excavation is important to an archaeological and historical understanding of people and the places they make. In the case of the African Diaspora, the pasts that we are dealing with are heavy, and multiple – they exist in the moments that we create them (or assemble them, in the Latourian sense). Connerton intersects here productively, pointing out how memorialization (on a monumental scale) shapes the ways in which people remember and forget key aspects of the past, creating specific historical narratives in the present (Connerton 1989, 2009). What Basso highlights, and what I would like to point to in this project, is that these moments of memorialization also happen on the scale of everyday life, especially as we excavate them. Like all spaces, the Homeplace is a created space, a made place. Our Homeplace allows us to imagine that we are a people with a history in a world that tries to tell us the home we were taken from is no longer there. Homeplace makes us. Homeplace, in some ways, exists outside of the systems of oppression that created our Blackness in the first place.

Examining the Homeplace as an archaeological site represents an opportunity to think about how, through creating and maintaining Homeplaces as “sites of support and resistance” (hooks 1990: 47), Black farmsteaders created meaningful lives for themselves in a society structured in racialized inequality. Here I draw on bell hook’s framing of Homeplace as more than just a place, but as a familial institution that represents a humanizing, decolonized space for Black families. In her words, hooks situates the Homeplace “not as property, but as places where all that truly mattered in life took place”

and as such, represents a rich archaeological and memorial assemblage for an understanding of the African-American past (hooks: 41). As an archaeologist, I would describe a Homeplace as an inalienable thing that is kept beyond economic circulation and handed down through generations, thus making it a powerful place (Weiner 1992). As a member of this community I would describe our Homeplace as a house that is more than timbers, and a farm that's more than just food; it is the place where our memories live and where we keep our past for our present (Basso 1996). In this way, an archaeological exploration of our Homeplace is not only an exercise in learning about our past but also a way of keeping and remembering our past in the present moment.

The physical presence of the house today speaks to generations of practices of persistence designed to "keep the Homeplace." Built in the 1880s to house the increasing number of family members living on the Homeplace, this house became, as bell hooks states, "a site where one could freely confront the issue of humanization, where one could resist" (hooks 1990: 47). As my Great-Aunt Margaret told me, after I had asked her for stories of her time growing up in the house, "Everyone lived in that house together"; referring to the fact that when she lived there by the early twentieth century, at least three generations of the Morris family called it home (Margaret Harris, Interview). Rooms were added one section at a time, the attic was converted to bedrooms, a smokehouse and blacksmith shop were built as the small farm became more and more self-sufficient. These architectural developments, which grew out of the necessity to support an increasingly embattled population, are part of what I would call the material resonances of Homeplace. I would argue that this standing house becomes a site of sustenance and support. It also acts as a memorial space, that takes on aspects of inalienability inseparable from humanizing social identity of self and family.

This physical space of the house and its extensions becomes many things over time. As a site of support, it becomes a humanizing haven in a racializing system of inequality. It becomes the method by which people survive and thrive in such a system by creating and sustaining networks of mutual support among family members and communities. By literally giving the people a roof over their head, and by deploying the productive labor of self-sufficient farming, the family managed to persist here. Over time, and partly due to this continued collective effort, the Homeplace also becomes a site of memorialization. It is a place where family histories and memories live as well as a physical mnemonic space. As such, it is also a site for the constitution of self and identity, creating a sense of selfhood by re-iterating connections to place and people through time. In a way, the Homeplace functions as a site where time is collapsed, where holidays are observed year after year, where homecomings are made, where stories are told and re-told, and where a deep sense of connection to the past is constantly made.

Artifacts recovered from archaeological investigations embody this duality. They index past struggles and labor for self-sufficiency while at the same time, they also provide a medium for creating and remembering a shared history, a sense of self, identity, and connections to the past for current stakeholders and members of the descendant community. Analysis of the artifacts recovered revealed consumption patterns that exhibit ways of coping with the economic exclusion experienced by African Americans in a society structured in racialized

inequality. Artifacts like fruit jars and canning lids, which were used for storing food over long winters when the stability provided by seasonal farm labor has slowed. Large storage vessels suggest the presence of home industries, such as dairy production. Patent medicine bottles are evidence of home health care where doctors are few or inaccessible altogether. In this sense, the home industries that one expects to find on semi self-sufficient rural farms of the period speak not only to the standard experiences of farmers at the time - these same self-sufficient practices ensure that communities that cannot depend on regular access to the capitalist economy, can continue to survive and thrive. Storage practices not only enable a family to stock their resources over time but also allows them to distribute resources throughout the community via church bazaars and fundraisers. The daily practices of rurality become an insurance against racializing processes that enable minority communities to persist in a society not necessarily socially and legally disposed toward their success.

Many of these community members volunteered to work on the site and help with the project from its inception. Indeed, my archaeological project was in many ways spurred on by many members of the descendant community and their desire to know more about our ancestors experiences as pioneers in the nineteenth century. They also recognized the need to preserve our deep history for future generations. Real interest and engagement with the material aspect of the investigations came with our first walkover survey. We were looking for surface evidence of the first homestead built on the site, occupied first by of Mason, his wife Nancy and their children, then later by their unmarried daughters Martha and Evaline (the current occupied Homeplace was not built until the 1880s) (figure 2.3). The first of three homestead sites to be investigated, this earliest house had left no standing architecture. As we began to find and map artifacts on the surface (much to the surprise of many of the community members assisting with the project), I think the tangible evidence of our ancestors and their labors to found and keep our community had a profound effect on those participating. Finds which particularly resonated with the community volunteers were those most reflective of everyday life, such as spoons, flow blue ceramics, transfer prints, and a curious thistle-embossed bottle closure, likely used in the kitchen. Metal farming implements became a sort of mystery that everyone could try their hand at; “guess the function of the ambiguous rusty object” became a daily exercise in critical hypothesizing. Suggestions of artifact identification and uses sometimes took the form of remembrances - people would ‘recall’ that the aunts had their own buggy and were very proud of their horses - so many metal objects became potential horse furniture.

Part of my analysis here is not just of the nineteenth-century material culture we uncovered, but the sensory experience of archaeological investigation of Homeplace itself. I am also interested not only in what this collection says about the past but how interaction with these materials creates the past for those living in the present. I would assert that these things have a power, like the physical space of the Homeplace, to create and sustain communities of memory. Experiencing the recovery of these material things continues the work of preservation and persistence, against disenfranchisement and displacement of histories and identities tied to places. As archaeologists, we know that past objects engender real feelings in those who excavate them, see them, and experience them. For my

community, I think I am not the only one who felt that our past asserted itself through these things, insisting on remembrance.

I suggest that our excavations created a moment of memorialization mediated through the experience of objects. The excavations were open to the public and operated in collaboration with the local community (I will discuss the methodological realities of this in more detail in the following chapter). Many of the project volunteers had grown up in the area, either at the Homeplace or nearby. As we excavated, the sensory experience of touching these historic materials often spoke to memories of the Homeplace's past; a past which is inextricably tied up with the complicated processes of racialization that shaped it. Touching old toys would remind folks of games played on the porch, of mischief and marbles lost. A spoon that held the inscription "Indianapolis Hotel, 1913" reminded someone that "Oh yes, hadn't great-Aunt Jessie's husband worked there for awhile, when folks started to move out of the county?" Such stories were excavated with our materials, sleeping until they were pulled to the surface with old marbles, dolls, and shards of colored glass. One volunteer told me he was amazed at the things he had forgotten and the things we were learning, saying that "Remembering our history is God's work, and we are doing it here" (Carl Curry, Interview). It is important to realize that memorialization is not merely monumental, but also that it takes place in the everyday lives of people; with materials mediating and assembling personhood along with pasts. The Homeplace has a materiality that is mediated by stories, things, gatherings, people, depositions, and memories. An African Diaspora archaeology that critically engages with the way the memory and materiality of the Homeplace is kept, enacted, and excavated, can provide insight into the ways that the social materialities of the past are assembled in the present.

This brief example illustrates how the artifacts that I examined as part of this project are the materialities of Homeplace. Throughout this dissertation I will examine differing aspects of the assemblage, discussing how these collections of things illustrate processes of racialization through time, but further, and perhaps more importantly how they show how my ancestors persisted through these processes. I assert that by making and keeping the Homeplace, these families made lives for themselves that cannot be reduced to mere 'resistance.'

Conclusions

In this sense, the Homeplace is a memorial and historical landscape, a site for action and a site of remembrance. Material resonances evoke the everyday practices of free African-Americans on the frontier, exploring different articulations of racism and its resistances. These materialities index the labor and consumption patterns that enabled these families to resist racializing processes of exclusion by creating, protecting, and sustaining a physical and metaphysical space of Homeplace. Also present within these resonances is the power of things to create communities of remembrance that have an investment in the memorialization histories (which is part of this resistance). Our memories live here, and these things bring them alive; and the power of these things inherent in the present-day experience of them continues to physically and emotionally create the space of Homeplace.

To intersect at the level of analysis, I assert that the artifacts that I examined as part of this project are the materialities of Homeplace. Other scholars (e.g. Battle-Baptiste 2011, Hendon 2000, Joyce 2004, Telle 2007) have examined the ways that homes and houses are so constitutive of identities and cultures in the past, and I show that this is also the case when considering the importance of the Homeplace in Black life. In the following chapters I will examine differing aspects of the assemblage, discussing how these collections of things illustrate processes of racialization through time, and how the artifacts and histories from this assemblage illustrate this community's persistence. I assert that it is by making and keeping the Homeplace that these families made lives for themselves in their everyday practices, lives whose stories live in the Homeplace, lives that we experience, memorialize, and bring into being through the process of excavation.

Chapter 3: Histories

Documentary and historical research is often an essential part of any project in historical archaeology. These documents may form the basis for our archaeological research, and often inform and guide our investigations. Many historical archaeologists highlight these methodologies by employing “interdisciplinary historical archaeology,” emphasizing the use of multiple lines of evidence, including documentary information, as data (Deetz 1996; Samford 2007; Yentsch 1994). Others have employed an historically informed narrative style to highlight the overlaps between historical and archaeological narratives, creating a way of knowing the past that is informed by both knowledges (e.g. Amman 2005; Wilkie 2003). However it is deployed, documentary research is an integral aspect of historical archaeology. In this chapter, I will discuss my documentary research methods and findings, highlighting the kinds of information about the past that can be illuminated by a critical reading of historical texts. The theoretical toolset I employ here questions and highlights ideas of history making, discussing the social motivations behind production of histories.

As with all data sets, the documentary record is a sample of knowledge; what we work with as historians is almost always a subset of narratives that have managed to survive over time. In the sense that we are always working with a sample of the original deposits, historical documents can be thought of as similar to an archaeological assemblage. Many of the records we would like to find have often been lost over time, either literally – someone in the courthouse lost them at some point – or the ravages of time had made them decay and disappear. Not surprisingly, records pertaining to the early Black settlers of Illinois were hard to find, and it may not be unreasonable to suspect that the passive non-curation of these materials, e.g. letting them decay instead of caring for them, is part of an effort to erase these histories through inaction.

One of the essential research questions I kept in mind while excavating historical documents is this: How do people make the past into the present? Written historical moments are one way of making the past into the present, or storing present knowledge for the future. As such, they are specific artifacts created for remembrance and memorialization, usually of a specific narrative or aspect of the past. As a tool for these purposes, written histories can be very powerful in the voices they remember and the violences they forget; for certain aspects of the past to be remembered, others must inevitably be forgotten (Connerton 1998, 2009). What becomes relevant, then, when critically reading histories, is a consideration of how those in the past framed what knowledge was relevant for those in the future. I will examine here, both by utilizing historical data and considering it critically, are the ways in which we can use these documents to learn what was remembered and examine why other aspects of the past may have been elided.

Here I draw on the work of Trouillot to think through the historical processes of memorialization, memory, and forgetting (Trouillot 1995). In an effort to examine the power dynamics within the historical archive, Trouillot asserts that we must think about the tensions between “what happened,” “what is said to have happened,” and “what is said about what happened” (1995:50). He argues that in this way, we can examine the

unevenness, in any given past or present moment, in historical power. Truillot characterizes history as “between truth and fiction” (6) – highlighting how history straddles the line between invention and positivist reality, being neither one nor the other. Often, though, history has a tendency to naturalize its narratives to elide the line between historical “that which happened” and the narrative of “that which is said to have happened” (Truillot 1995). As there is power in remembering and forgetting, there is power laden in recording (historicizing) and silencing. Like most data sets, there is ambiguity at the core of historical narrative - to make the story, someone has had to make a choice. When it comes to histories of race and racialization, this degree of ambiguity is especially telling, revealing the changing ways in which processes of racialization are always being negotiated on the basis of class, history, and social context. In my work here, I examine how the narratives that historians, archaeologists, census takers, and anyone recording a moment chooses to reflect the story they would like to tell.

In thinking about the construction of historical processes, Truillot asks: “Can historical narratives convey plots that are unthinkable in the world within which they take place?” (1995: 96). This question brings to mind how acts of creation and memorialization are not only constitutive of the past, but of the present moment. If one considers the historical archive both an object that has been created, and at the same time an act of memorialization then we can interrogate how it mediates between past memory and present identity. Through this interrogation, Truillot examines how erasure, banalization, and silencing are inherent in the structure of archival power; and as such, are often left unexamined by scholars. He asserts that, and I think this observation is particularly salient when considering, as he is, the construction of historical and memorial narratives within socially stratified societies; “Effective silencing does not require a conspiracy, not even a political consensus. Its roots are structural” (1995:106). He goes on to argue that in the archival histories of western society, linear chronology replaces the interrogation of historical process. Linear chronology comes to imply causality instead of contingent conditions of possibility, and in the case of the historical archive, this silences the unevenness inherent within “what happened,” and instead, renders “what is said to have happened.”

Historical processes in a non-archival sense can be situated in everyday memory and practice, as Pauketat points out when examining archaeological consideration of memory and tradition (Pauketat 2001). Here, he frames the ways in which everyday life and actions are essential to the production of history as “cultural constructions through practice” (2001: 8). This framework thinks of and tradition as created on an everyday scale of embodied practice, situated and created in the present through reified ideas about the past. This avoids a problematic separation which situates authenticity in a nostalgic past, instead of allowing it to be recursively created in the present (e.g. Hobsbawm 1983, Nora 1989, Connerton 1989, 2009). In thinking through Pauketat’s history situated in everyday practice, Truillot’s structurally silenced archives and Connerton’s ‘historical truth’ which is not dependent on social memory, I conclude with the idea that there are many histories, each with their own processes of creation and persistence.

While some scholars of history (e.g. Nora 1989) would assert a 'break' from the past, characterized by modernity, I would assert that an historical study that takes into account processes of racialization and historical structures of inequality is necessarily connected to the historical mechanisms of their creation. As such, we cannot create a picture of a Black community in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that does not track the processes of racialization that began hundreds of years prior. In this sense a consideration that modernity represents a break would then create a past that elides the centuries-long processes of racialization that created modern capitalism and still affect the life chances of African-Diaspora people in the present-day.

This chapter is two narratives – the documentary narrative, based on “what is said to have happened” and the story of how this came to shape how we, as the descendant community, came to understand our origins (Truillot 1995). I will call the latter narrative the “what we remember, forgot, remembered again, told someone, lost in a file folder, and shared with each other” story. Through comparisons and critiques of these narratives, my aim is to come to a better understanding of how documentary histories shape how we understand ourselves – or, how we make our pasts into our present, and thus, how we make ourselves through excavation of our pasts.

Beginning in South Carolina

When I began this research journey, my cousins and a few other members of our descendant community were kind enough to share their genealogical and historical research with me. I could not have had such a rich historical account of the Morris settlers without the knowledge and resources they provided. At that time our family history, as we understood it, was that our ancestors had come to Lawrence County from South Carolina, via Kentucky, sometime in the early 1800s. The earliest document we had located relating to our ancestors found the pioneers and farmers that would eventually settle in Lawrence County in Camden District, South Carolina, in 1793.

This document is a petition on behalf of “John and William Morris, and other Inhabitants of Camden district on behalf of themselves and others who come under the description of Free Negroes Mulattoes and Mustees” (Petition to the Government of Camden District, 1797). At the time, a “Negro” was a person who had two Black or African parents, a “mulatto” denoted a mixed person, usually with one white parent, and finally a “mustee” was a person of mixed Spanish/Native American/Black heritage. When the United States was young, the Rule of Hypodescent as it would come to be known, was not yet part of the national racial discourse. Instead, most states had complex hierarchical systems of race, depending on a person’s degree of Black heritage, not unlike the Spanish *casta* system in other parts of the country.

This petition asks the government of South Carolina for exemption from the Poll Tax that was levied on all people of color and their offspring. They ask:

That with submission your Petitioners beg leave to observe that they conceive their ancestors merited the Publick confidence and obtained the Title of a Free People by rendering some particular Services to their Country, which the Wisdom & goodness

of Government thought just and right to Notice and reward their Fidelity with Emancipation, & other singular privileges....That your petitioners are generally a Poor needy People; have frequently large Families to maintain; and find it acceding difficult and distressing to support the same, and answer the large demands of the Publick; which appears to them considerably more than Double what was formerly Exacted from them; In consequence of which they conceive their Situation in life but a small remove from Slavery; that they are likely to suffer continued inconveniences & disadvantages; and in the end to be reduced to poverty and want itself (Petition to the Government of Camden District, 1796)

This petition is signed by John and William Morris, as well as several other Free People of Color whose descendants would eventually end up settling in Lawrence County, Illinois. Additionally, the document is signed by a number of their White neighbors, who vouch for their character as “honest Industrious well-meaning people” (Petition to the Government of Camden District, 1796), as was customary at the time, as Free People of Color had limited (if any) legal rights (Bell 2000). Essentially, the people in this community were being taxed both on their lands and property; and on themselves and their children. This legal codification of the taxation of people of color (regardless, at this time, of free status) represents a moment in which the racialization of African Diaspora people actually leads them to be classified as their own property, paying taxes on themselves - a literal “price” of freedom.

Moving to Kentucky

The Government of South Carolina refuses their petition, and shortly after this many of these families leave Camden District and move their families to the town of Russellville in Logan County, Kentucky. It is here that some of them settle for a time, becoming somewhat prosperous and even owning enslaved people themselves. Interestingly, it is in Logan County where some of the oral histories I grew up hearing and the documentary record intersect. Our familial origin stories maintain that we have always been free - our understanding of who the Morris family was, centered heavily on the fact that we had never been slaves. Exactly how a number of Free People of Color got to Southern Illinois in the first place was another story. I remember being told that our family were once pirates - shipwrecked on the coast of South Carolina and shunned by white society. They eventually made their way to Illinois after a series of “misunderstandings” regarding some horses in Kentucky. As I delved deeper into the documentary research and oral histories, this story had more historical resonance than I honestly expected.

According to the History of Russellville and Logan County, Kentucky (Finley 1878), there were a few families of “negroes” who made their home for a brief time in the area. In his history of the area record in 1878, Alex Finley describes a local story about how these people of Color came to be in Russellville:

One Morris, a Portuguese, and Bird, Portee and Goins, Egyptians, were slavers; that is, they owned a vessel (ship) which they used to kidnap negroes from the coast of Africa, and transport them to America and sell them into slavery. On one occasion there was a fearful storm arose and drove their vessel a wreck on the coast of South

Carolina. These men and families were all saved, but when they attempted to form alliances with the white people, the whites objected to their sons and daughters marrying Portuguese and Egyptians, and so these people intermarried and became related to each other. After trying again and again to be admitted into white society...they finally concluded to emigrate...and so a portion of them came...to Logan County and settled on the head waters of the Muddy River, where the others met them. (Finley 1878: 53)

The idea that these families might be of Portuguese or North African origin also intersects with some of the oral histories as they have been related to me. In an interview with Margaret Harris nee Morris, she described her father Frank (the great-great-grandson of the aforementioned William) as follows:

My people were never slaves. My dad always said he was Portuguese, he was a ruddy red-brown. His people came through South Carolina and then through to Illinois (Margaret Harris, Interview)

Later in the history of Russellville, Finley goes on to discuss in more detail the Colored families of Logan County, in particular their role in the church and their status as slave owners. Finley describes William Morris (who came to Logan County from South Carolina) in detail, saying that:

He offered up fervent prayers, and was powerful in prayer; and so he became one of the organizers of Muddy River Church he had the confidence of his brethren, by his godly walk and pious conversation, and hence they trusted him with almost any honor they could bestow, although he was black. (Finley 1878:51)

One cannot necessarily know if this story of piracy is “true” in the objective sense. It would have been uncommon for slave ships to carry the families and children of their captain and crew at the time, although North African slavers were not at all uncommon. It is difficult to get a sense of whether the “poor and needy people,” who were essentially farmers asking the government to free them on the tax of their own bodies were these same shipwrecked former-pirates. Still, the issue here is not where and how the narratives match up to explain “what happened”; rather, what stories are “said to have happened”(Trouillot 1995). What I find most interesting about Alex Finley’s history of these families (and there is sufficient evidence to corroborate that the South Carolina and Kentucky families are, in fact, the same) is that in order to explain the existence of (what became) well-off farmers of color in the area, the author relies on what would have been, at the time, rather exotic tales of piracy and then a lengthy explanation of the piousness of this man. Situating this man in power not only lends the author’s historical narrative a certain flair but also situates the Free People of Color in their community not in the realities of enslavement, escape, and persecution that they likely faced but rather created them as otherworldly creatures; i.e. pious pirates whose success is fated. This also serves to elide the realities of the lived experiences of the other people of color in the county at the time – notably, the enslaved people do not get names and colorful stories, because they are given no narratives that make them into people. In Alex Finley’s history, people of color are either so exotic as to be

otherworldly, or they do not exist. In this narrative, Free Black people are a social problem that requires an explanation – an origin story.

Origin stories persist through the different historical media I researched. In the majority of my oral history interviews and discussions with the community, family members mentioned variously that our people had never been enslaved and spoke of one or more of these “origin stories” coming from Kentucky or South Carolina. A few of the descendants who are most interested in the family’s genealogy and history point out that there is an island off the coast of South Carolina called Morris Island, citing this as a possible origin point or node in the family history. My research has not yet turned up any documentary sources that would explain the source of Morris Island’s name – but again, the “truths” that are constructed by written history are not the issue here. Archaeology and history are in the business of creating and authenticating, whether intentionally or not, origin stories. Here, rather than prove definitively where these Free People of Color came from, I will explore instead where they went, and the ways in which they created and sustained a “there” to be from.

As Finley’s history with its adventurous origin story would suggest, once these families settled in Kentucky, they were relatively prosperous for a time. To learn a bit more about their lives there, I will turn to what little the documentary record has to offer. Probate inventories of William Morris’s estate give another account of his life – he was, indeed, a prosperous plantation owner and left much of his land and farming goods and equipment to his son Samuel. His other children and grandchildren were provided for as well, giving them each a sum of money and a horse; something they would later use to start their lives in Illinois. To further complicate the liminal position occupied by Free People of Color in the pasts, Finley’s history stated that William was a slave-owner, though direct proof is not currently accessible. This was uncommon for the time but not unheard of (see Wilson 1994). Black slave ownership especially highlights the socially and economically structured nature of race and racialization; however this will not be further explored here.

Not surprisingly, the slave state of Kentucky was not friendly to these families for long. It is possible that the contradictions of Free People of Color prospering economically and owning slaves was somewhat at odds with the increasingly racialized notions of what enslavement meant as the nineteenth century dawned. Just one generation after the famed William Morris built his farm and church in the area, his son Samuel, who is described as “black as a tar keg” in Finley’s histories (notably, pious William’s complexion is not discussed), is accused of the murder of another farmer after a series of accusations surrounding horseflesh movement and theft. In 1812, Samuel was found hanged in his cell before he could stand trial (Finley 1878).

Fort Allison and Settlement of Lawrence County

In the years leading up to this incident, the free Black families of Russellville had already begun to move to the far less populated area of the Illinois frontier, to what would become the rural township of Bond in Lawrence County. To put these families’ migration into some context, the early nineteenth-century saw a minor migration of free people of color from the southern United States into the frontier regions of the Old Northwest Territory (the

area comprising what would become parts of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin). As Juliet Walker, Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, and, most recently, Cheryl LaRoche have discussed in their examinations of free Black communities in Illinois and Indiana, the liminality of these border areas made it open to settlement for marginalized communities, at least for a time (Cha-Jua 2000; LaRoche 2014; Walker 1983). LaRoche in particular has highlighted the ways by which Black farmers had been migrating to this area through escape prior to the Revolutionary War, and how after 1808 this migration continued to increase throughout the nineteenth century. Many free people of color saw the Northwest Territory as a place where freedom and independence could be located, especially as a viable alternative to the Colonization schemes attempting to move Black people out of the U.S (Woodson 1918). Agricultural pursuits in particular served as a way that free Blacks could find this independence, and establish a home for themselves and their communities through the cultivation and ownership of land. The 1843 Black National Convention highly recommended the already in-place agrarian migration West, highlighting the importance of creating farming communities in the fertile soil of the Old Northwest Territory. By the time the First Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of Illinois took place in 1853, the success of Black agrarian communities was a top priority; again, as a source of independence and respectable uplift, cultivation of the soil and care of the land were highlighted (Foner; LaRoche 2014).

The nineteenth century marked the founding of over one hundred free Black towns and communities in the United States, and, according to Cha-Jua, the majority of these communities were located in the Northwest Territory (Cha-Jua 2000). Nearby Lyles Station, IL, and Carrier Mills, IN, and the more well known communities of New Philadelphia and Brooklyn, IL, are just a few examples (LaRoche 2014; Walker 1983). Unlike these perhaps better-known towns, the small farming community in Lawrence County was never an incorporated town and never strove towards becoming an urban center. Neither was this a planned, "Utopian" community, or a paternalistic "factory town" (Gradwohl and Osborn 1984; Hermann 1999). Instead, their group of farmsteads (sometimes referred to as "Purgatory," because of a nearby swamp, or "Little Africa," for more obvious reasons) was always a rural farming community whose main center was their African Methodist Episcopal church and school. As I will continue to discuss throughout this dissertation, in this case it was the rural, off-the-grid nature of this community, which in many ways, allowed it to persist into the present day unlike many of its contemporaries.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century the United States government offered incentives for pioneers to move to the Northwest Territory, in hopes that these settlers would create both supply lines for westward-moving troops and also act as a barrier between the Native Americans to the West and the more settled territories to the East. This enthusiasm on the part of the government also contributed to the migration of Black settlers to the area (Davis 1998). Veterans of this conflict (which would become the War of 1812) and of the Revolutionary War were given 40-acre land grants in unsettled areas, which provided a beginning for their family farms. And so, drawn by the veterans' benefits and as participants in the escalating conflicts leading to the War of 1812, several of the Russellville, KY, families moved to the frontier as part of this first wave of settlers; among

them were two of William Morris's sons and their respective families. John, Rebecca, and Sion Morris, along with the Anderson, Goins, Portee and Tann families, were the first of the Kentucky Black farming families to settle in the Bond Township area.

Along with some of the other first American settlers in Lawrence County, these families built and resided at Fort Allison during the escalating conflicts that would become the War of 1812. This was a common beginning for many of the early settlements on the borders of the Illinois and Indiana Territory, and these communities offered some semblance of safety for early pioneers, at least in terms of numbers.

The majority of the documentary sources that exist pertaining to the Black community in Bond Township date to this area and time period, which is unsurprising, since many of the county's origin stories also date to this time. Generally, these consist of tales of the early pioneering adventures that surrounded the war, the conflicts between the settlers and the native people who occupied the area at the time, and the family names of the early settlers. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, a fair number of histories concerning the state of Illinois and its counties were collected, and it is from these records that we get the most detailed accounts of Fort Allison's early history. One such story concerns Austin Tann, a contemporary of the Morris brothers:

As Austin Tann was returning, one day, from Small's Mill on the Embarrass [river] with a sack of meal, he was pursued by a band of Indians on ponies. He was riding a large horse and took refuge in the marsh, southwest of Russellville. His pursuers were unable to follow him with their ponies, and he escaped with the loss only of his grist. (History of Edwards, Lawrence, and Wabash Counties Illinois: 71)

These histories name the "colored" families that were part of the founding of Fort Allison (the Morris, Anderson, and Tann families), denoting that the men of these families served as scouts for the fort. One legend tells that the patriarch of the Anderson family was killed in a conflict with local natives, and his wife requested a cannon be placed on nearby Dubois Hill so that the incident would not be repeated (it is unclear if this cannon was ever put in place) (Lewis 1962). It was these Black families who helped to build the fort that stayed in the area, founding what would become their small farming community. Notably for the time (1883), the writers of the *History of Lawrence County* had a rather rose-tinted outlook on race relations in early nineteenth-century Illinois:

The colored inmates of Fort Allison began a settlement in the neighborhood of Pinkstaff station, and as they were law-abiding like their fair-complexioned fellow-citizens, so they shared equally with them the blessings of protection and civil liberty.
1883 History of Lawrence County

Others at least nodded to the possibility that all was not always so tranquil:

Though a feeling of equality, regardless of race or color, was a prevailing sentiment among the pioneers, yet it is not strange that something of prejudice should have

pervaded the minds of some individuals. (History of Edwards, Lawrence, and Wabash Counties Illinois: 72)

The histories even describe non-white settlers who were not inmates at the fort, although in perhaps a slightly more fanciful fashion (as was not uncommon for the time period):

On Dubois' hill, in troublous Indian days, lived an old negro, called "Billy o' the Bow", and his dusky conjugal companion, Seeley by name; they lived together in a house not made with hands—a hollow sycamore tree—till their independent life together was brought to a close by a bullet from the rifle of some lurking Indian. (History of Edwards, Lawrence, and Wabash Counties Illinois: 70)

Later, in 1910 a local history would say the following about the early settlers to Lawrence County:

Early Settlers; whence they came- The people who came into the county in its early history were principally from the Southern States. Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina contributing many early settlers, and they brought with them their habits and ideas, although few, if any of them, were in active sympathy with the institution of slavery. In fact, many left their Southern homes because of the difficulties already arising on account of the mighty issue, wishing to find new homes where the taint of slavery would not embitter their days. (Bateman et al 1910: 617)

What is of interest in these histories is not necessarily their ability to accurately depict 1812 Illinois, but rather what these histories tell us about how the people writing them *thought about* 1812 Illinois; however the family names are not inaccurate for the most part, and many of the stories they depict also make appearances in oral histories. However flowery or rose-tinted the languages, these histories do actually allow for and discuss the origin stories of early Black settlers to the area.

The politics of skin color are woven throughout the narrative that becomes documentary history. In Kentucky, William Morris was a pious man who built a church and owned slaves. His complexion is never described; he is only described as "upright" and "pious". A continued theme in the narrative of African-American pioneers; their strong piety overrides their racialized identities in the eyes of their white neighbors. This does not last long, however, only one generation passes and his son Samuel is described as "black as a tar keg" and likely lynched while in a jail cell. On the Illinois frontier, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and shortly after their arrival to the area, the Morris men enter into a court case in Indiana – something that would be unheard of and impossible by the next generation. Given their treatment in Kentucky, and the harsh laws that already existed in the Northwest Territory, they had no reason to believe their case would even be heard, much less their suit granted. Still, they gave it a shot.

But first, I will provide some background on the laws they would encounter when they came to the Illinois frontier in 1806. The so-called "Black Codes" enacted in Illinois and

other free states in the Old Northwest from the late 18th century until the Civil War were a series of laws intended to codify segregation and inequality for people of color. These laws make clear that disallowing slavery was, in many cases, a political rather than emancipatory choice. Residents could bring their enslaved laborers purchased elsewhere into the state, and by 1865, Illinois had the largest enslaved population of any so-called “free” state in the union (Figure 3.2 summarizes these laws). While these laws allowed hereditary indentured servitude, they also prohibited Black people from voting, joining the militia (effectively taking away their right to bear arms), and testifying in court against a white person. In addition, these laws also made it illegal for Free Persons of Color to enter the state without registering their presence, and making “bond or security” of 1000 dollars to prove that they would not become a burden on the government of that state. For most people at this time, this amount of money would have been prohibitively expensive. As far as I have found, none of the Black pioneer families who moved to Lawrence County paid this bond or registered themselves, making them effectively illegal immigrants in their own country. Coupled with the Fugitive Slave Laws, which allowed persons of color to be legally kidnapped and sold back into slavery further south, living in Illinois as a Free Person of color in the nineteenth century could be a dangerous position.

When state and federal law would not guarantee human rights and fair treatment, members of these communities instead turned to church law. In 1806, Maria Creek Baptist church was founded in Indiana Territory, becoming one of the earliest (if not the earliest) Baptist church in Indiana. Its charter lists the founding members of this congregation, among them “a negro brother, John Morris” (Maria Creek Baptist Church Charter), which also makes it the earliest integrated Baptist church in Indiana. With a few other pioneer families, John Morris, his brother Sian had come to the Northwest territory earlier in the year, as part of the military effort to build Fort Allison, a small settlement near the Wabash river. Many small forts like this one were built in Indiana Territory in this period, partly to draw new pioneers to settle the area and partly as a safety measure – many of these forts would be used as supply lines for General Harrison in what would become the War of 1812. So, when John and his family moved to Fort Allison, one of their first priorities to build a church. Maria Creek is unique not only in having a “negro brother” as one of their founding members, but also for its peculiar charter.

The founding members of Maria Creek Church wrote in their charter, along with the usual statements declaring Jesus Christ their Lord and Savior, a statement declaring that the members of the church would not tolerate hereditary slavery and would allow no members to join the church if they owned slaves or supported the ownership of slaves. In a state that would soon enact some of the harshest Black Codes in the Northwest Territory, this statement endeavored to use the moral laws and codes of the church to protect the interests of the Black settlers in the area and to encourage their White neighbors to do so as well. The laws of the Baptist church at the time were serious business for the community; its minutes are full of congregants being reprimanded and sometimes outright ostracized from the community for offenses like drinking, dancing, and general disreputable behavior. In at least one instance, membership was barred to two brothers attempting to join the church on the grounds that they owned slaves. In a place and time

where the church community was the strongest social institution, membership in a church was essential for acceptance into the community. At Maria Creek, early settlers attempted to set the standard if not for equality, then at least for a modicum of tolerance. After the war, members of the Black community would leave Maria creek to build their own AME church across the river in Illinois, an institution that remained a vibrant center of the community until it burned down in 1970 (Figure 3.3, 3.4).

This brings us to a court case in Indiana. In 1816, during their tenure at Fort Allison, the Morris family was involved in a legal altercation that made its way to the local judge. They had no real reason to trust that the law would be a reliable source of justice. The Black Laws of the Northwest Territory began to take effect in 1803, but the frontier was a liminal boundary at this time, and state and local borders moved often, sometimes within the same year. It is possible the local laws regarding the rights of Free People of Color were somewhat ambiguous, and they hoped to use this ambiguity to their advantage. Another possibility is that they hoped their status as scouts for the fort would allow their case to be heard.

In this court case, Sian Morris on behalf of his ward, Dicey Spradley, sues Patsey and Abner Scott (who were white) for “trespass, assault and battery” (spelling in original), saying that Patsey “beat, with hands, fists, and feet” Dicey “until she despaired for her life” (Indiana Circuit Court, June Term, 1815). In the case documents, Dicey is described as “being a part of this family, in the service and under the protection of him the said Scion.” The “service” aspect is not entirely clear; she could have been an indentured servant or just an underage ward of the family (which was not uncommon at the time). Oral histories have suggested that Dicey later married Scion’s son, which would support the idea that she may have been an underage ward of the family. In the court case, Sian is described as Dicey’s “next friend;” which is a legal term of French origin denoting that Dicey was a minor, and therefore unable to enter into litigation on her own behalf (Peningroth 2003). Both families were still residing at Fort Allison, although the Morris family would move to their farm in Bond Township less than a year later. Many residents of the fort were called in as witnesses according to the court summons, even though once Illinois officially became a state in 1818, the Black people involved would essentially have been legally barred from utilizing the court at all.

Possibly to avoid weighing in on the racial politics at play, the Judge pulled a Pilatesque move and dismissed the case, because, by then the counties across the river were part of Illinois territory and thus not under Indiana jurisdiction. What is interesting about the case, other than the fact that a Black man was allowed to sue a White man in the first place (something that would not be possible even five years later), is that no one in the case is referred to in the documents as “Black”. This is notable because in many other contemporary court cases, when Black people are testifying or involved in the case, their race is specifically referenced.

This case serves as example of how Black citizens capitalized on the legal ambiguity in both state and federal law, but also on the ambiguity of borders to attempt to exercise their rights as citizens in the courts. In one sense, it was moderately successful in that they did

not get expelled from the state as illegal immigrants or unjustly imprisoned, but I think we can all agree that avoiding unjust imprisonment is a pretty minimal standard for the law.

This case also highlights how these Black settlers used their social status as relatively well-off members of the military to try and access their citizenship rights otherwise denied them due to their race. This moment exemplifies the fluidity of articulations between race and class, particularly highlighting the ways that money and economic position can “move” a person in relation to the color line. Here I draw again on Stuart Hall’s discussion of race as “the modality through which class is lived” (Edwards 2003; Hall 1980). In this case, this family’s socio-economic position and their perceived race (or articulated moment of racialization) are inextricably linked to one another in a dialectic cycle of influence and re-articulation. To put it simply, it is possible that their military status and relatively light complexion allowed them access to legal institutions that would soon be closed to their community.

In the end though, this maneuvering did not work, and their case was dismissed. Over time, these families appear less and less in the legal and documentary record, possibly because as Black Codes and then Jim Crow laws took effect, it became less and less to their advantage to be on official records. As discussed in the previous chapter, records like the official census can be a reflection of racializing moments. Take, for example, the changes we see in the Morris family’s census records over time. As race was being situated in the United States, the European self-identification shifted from previous national origin (e.g. French, Dutch, English) and religious (e.g. “Christian”) to “English,” “White,” and “Free”. Constructed in opposition to those who were not given the opportunity to self-identify, the system of racialization in the United States moved from who was of what class, to who was free and unfree. As Bell has suggested (Bell 2000), since racialization is a top-down project, with the privileged majority at the top, racialized people often initially have little choice or agency in the categories to which they are assigned. As such, the census represents a useful microcosm of the projects of racial formation and racialization in the United States, since race in the United States Census was not self-reported until 1970 (Cohn 2010). As Figure 2.2 shows, the census data on the Morris family reflects changing attitudes to race and class over time; they were recorded as “Mulatto” in times of prosperity and “Black” when economic and social positioning changed. The Morris family’s epidermal trajectory can be seen as an articulation of race and social economy in the rural United States (US Census Bureau).

Like many people living on the margins, the community became insular, self-sufficient farmers depending on each other, their farms, and their church for support. Legal and extra-legal segregation of schools and resources meant isolation, which could be both an advantage and disadvantage. Though segregation and geography would isolate the community, this could also at times (but of course not always) insulate them from the harassment and displacement faced in more urban environments.

Living on the Farmstead

Mason Henry Morris and his wife Patience Morris nee Goens are the earliest Lawrence County settlers that can be directly traced to the living Morris descendants today. While

John Morris was long considered by many members of the community to be the “founding father” of our family, we cannot directly trace our ancestry to him. It is likely that he and his son Scion were among the first Black settlers of the area, and that their relatives would have come to join them after they had established themselves and their farms. We know that by 1827 Mason had joined John and Scion, because Mason and his wife Patience registered their marriage with the court of Lawrence County in that year (Figure 3.5).

As is often the case, the documentary record does not provide evidence for the familial relationship between John, Scion, and Mason H. Morris. Given the time frames of their settling in the area and their relative ages, it is likely that Mason was John’s nephew or great-nephew. The erasure of people of color from the historical record often leaves relationships like this one ambiguous – we are left to make assumptions and piece together identities and relationships from a few maps, wills, and documentary chance encounters. Mason’s wife, Patience Goens, was the daughter of another of the South Carolina families who were on the original 1796 petition. The Goens family came to Illinois, and by 1845 together they had purchased at least 80 acres of what was to be his 120 acre farmstead (Property Abstract).

There are not a wealth of documents pertaining to the later half of the nineteenth century, especially when it comes to the lives of African-Americans. Authors at the time were writing nostalgic histories of pioneer days, and so, ironically, most of the documentary evidence being written during this time period are the histories already discussed in this chapter. Instead, we have the few traces these farmsteaders left in court records. In 1854, many of the farmers in the area registered their crop marks with the county so that their livestock wouldn’t be mistaken for someone else’s. Mason registered his mark, as series of intricate ear-cropping, which was more common at the time than a brand. This confirms he was likely raising livestock at the time. In fact, his probate inventory would suggest that he raised sheep and hogs, in addition to farming corn and wheat. Mason’s farm was located just 1.5 miles from Pinkstaff Station, where local farmers sold grain and shipped livestock northwards. The ease of driving livestock to the station allowed many local farmers to prosper (History of Pinkstaff Station) By the time he passed away in 1879 his estate was relatively sizeable for a small farmer; his goods were appraised at \$753 (Probate Will and Letters Testamentary). His probate inventory lists numerous farming tools for reaping, planting and sowing, as well as “21 acres of wheat growing in the field” (Probate) a mowing scythe. Among the livestock he left behind were:

- 8 pigs
- 48 sheep
- 6 lambs
- 1 milk cow
- 1 old brown horse
- 1 black horse
- 1 Brown horse

(Mason Morris, Probate Inventory)

The remains of his farm were left to his widow and children; these resources and that would essentially sustain the family through the harsh economic times to come. Shortly before his death, he sold 40 acres each to his daughters Martha and Evaline and his son William for the price of \$500 per lot. This was a crafty move on their part; this legal action secured their land rights for their lifetime and protected them from any ambiguity about land ownership and property rights. It would seem that Mason and Patience and their children were illiterate - signing all court documents and deeds with "their mark" (an X) instead of their name. Since neighboring farmers with an eye for land-grabs would often use inheritance bureaucracy to impinge on Black farmers' property rights, making sure one has a deed-of-sale for the land is an obvious move to secure one's property rights against theft (Penningroth 2003). One could also see this as a pre-emptive act to secure citizenship rights through landownership (Holston 2008). The fact that that each child would pay \$500 for rights to the land, rather than wait and inherit it for free, highlights the importance of landownership and documenting these land rights was to the Morris family, and how real the fear of being cheated was for people of color.

A letter written by a neighboring white farmer, Francis M. Woolard, illustrates how often people at least attempted to cheat people of color in Lawrence County. Woolard, writing to an inquiring student in 1910, discusses the racial climate of Lawrence County around the time of the Civil War:

You are aware of the fact that Southern and Central Illinois were mainly settled by people of the middle class, from the South. Many-a majority of them in fact- came there because they did not wish to rear families where slavery existed. Others came because they were unable to own slaves like the more prosperous in the South. These latter, as a rule, were intensely "pro-slavery" and "agin the nigger". Almost all abominated an "Abolitionist". Ostracism was only one of the penalties attached to an abolitionist. The sentiment cost him dearly. Few people would have voted for slavery in Illinois, but regarding the institution as a fixed fact, sustained by the law, in the South, they would have risen in their might to prevent freeing the negro. Some, through, pity for the Black man, would have opposed their casting adrift, helpless upon the world. Free negroes were tolerated, but had a hard time. They were not allowed to testify against a white man; and were often outraged by white men who passed counterfeit or other worthless bills upon them, or refused to pay their just debts. Only by the testimony of white people could a negro recover his just dues and this was sometimes difficult. This was often impossible. I know a case where a white man forged a note on an industrious negro and sold it, at face value. The negro was sued on the note, but his white neighbors, regardless of party, voluntarily went before the court and testified that the "signature is not George Tan's and it is forged." Yet, good people, regardless or party, treated good negroes kindly. Frequently "runaway" negroes passed through the country, and while the mass of the people regarded them as "Legal property" there were others who secretly concealed and helped them on their way. I never knew but one man who openly avowed himself an "abolitionist", and he was held in great contempt by his neighbors...of course there were unquestionably abolitionists at heart, but they were seldom boisterous in the matter. It was really a cloud over a man's standing to

be suspicioned of entertaining such views...when the war came, the real abolitionists seemed stunned, and said but little. “

Francis M. Woolard, letter to E.L. Bost, 1909

This underscores the importance of constant vigilance against assaults to one’s citizenship rights. It is worth mentioning that George Tan was a neighbor, and likely a cousin, of the Morris Family, meaning this letter is not only discussing Lawrence County but also likely specifically discussing Bond Township and free people of color who lived there. This makes it unsurprising that Mason’s children would elect to buy their land instead of inheriting it; further insuring themselves against theft and injustice.

In the years after the Civil War, the Black population of Illinois quadrupled and now had the legal (if not social) right to move about the state; though this population boom was concentrated in urban areas (Dolinar 2013: 56). The Black community in Lawrence County continued to grow (although land ownership did not), and by the twentieth century, the area of Bond Township, where many Black farmers made their home was, according to oral histories, being referred to by the colloquial name of “Little Africa” (Larry Curry, personal interview) (Figure 3.6).

After the purchase of their farm in 1879, there is not much in the way of historical documentation of Martha and Evaline’s lives. Patience, their mother, continued to live with them on the farm until her death. As time passed, they sold away their land bit by bit, partially to pay their taxes and partially for income, as farming became a less lucrative enterprise (Jack Roberts, interview). They are mentioned once in the local paper, the *Rural Republican*. It was noted, “Reverend Brewer is painting Martha Morris’s house this week” (“News from Purgatory”, 1905). The “colored news” section of the newspaper, called “News From Purgatory” (so named after a nearby swamp), gives us a glimpse into the social lives of those living in the community. Like many social news selections, it details the visiting and church-going habits of the residents of “Little Africa,” specifically noting when folks went out-of-town to work or visit relatives (for an examination of the social networks of visiting, see Purser 1991). Lawrence County was one spot in a network of Black and integrated towns; family members would often move throughout the network for jobs or social connections. Nearby Black towns were Carrier Mills and Lyle’s Station, both in neighboring Indiana; comings and goings from these towns is a large part of the “News from Purgatory”. In her 2014 work *Geographies of Resistance: Free Black Communities and the Under Ground Railroad*, Cheryl LaRoche examines these networks, particularly in Illinois and Indiana. Movement across and through these networks helped former slaves move from southern territories northward. After the Civil War they continued to connect families and communities; in fact, scholars have noted that the fact that AME churches, free Black communities, and Underground Railroad sites having a tendency to be found in association with one another is not an accident (Laroche 2014, Thornbrough 1985). In one interview, Miss Marguerite Russell told me that when her father, as a young man, faced some difficulties in his home and was forced to leave, he came to Lawrenceville looking for work. He knew from friends that Lawrenceville had an AME Church and a Black community, so he knew he would be safe. LaRoche maps these towns and churches in

Illinois and Indiana, highlighting the centrality of the AME Church and the family to Black Midwesterners (LaRoche 2014). “Little Africa”, or Bond Township, is not on LaRoche’s map, potentially because as a farming community, the Black settlement here was never incorporated as a town or given an official name. Still, many of the towns folks visited are on the map; suggesting the farmers in Lawrence County would likely have been part of this network.

Oral histories recall that Martha and Evaline were active in their AME Church. Bethel AME Church, founded in Pinkstaff in 1884 (see Figures 2.3, 3.3, 3.4), served as the community center for the African American farmers living in the neighborhood of Pinkstaff Station (History of Pinkstaff Station). In addition to hosting church events, the AME church nationwide had become a central force in the African-American community (LaRoche 2013). In *The Negro in Illinois*, Dolinar notes, “By the late nineteenth century, instead of appealing principally to the emotions, they now offered cultural fare in an attempt to recruit to the fold.” (2013: 71). Margaret Harris remembered Martha and Evaline as having their own buggy with the fury on top that they would take to church every Sunday (Margaret Harris, Interview). Margaret is Martha and Evaline’s great-niece, and was raised on the Homeplace across the road from Martha and Evaline’s farm. According to the copies of Martha and Evaline’s wills filed in the property abstract, the sisters left each other their half of the farm upon death. Margaret does not recall much about Martha Morris, but does remember that once Martha got sick and died, Evaline sold the last 2.5 acres of her farm and came to live with them on the farm across the road. Margaret did remember that her aunts had kept a fine garden, so good, in fact, that it kept growing long after they had passed on, and that her mother would often send her and her sisters over there to pick various herbs and other useful plants (Margaret Harris, Interview). Of course, after their passing, the two women became something of legends; both remembered as mysterious and possibly supernaturally gifted. Margaret tells me that her sisters and she would often see lights and movement in the garden long after Martha and Evaline had left this world.

Around the same time that Martha and Evaline purchased 40 acres each of their father’s farm, their brother William (Figure 3.7) did the same, acquiring the 40 acres adjacent to theirs (Figure 1.2). William tragically drowned sometime before 1880, leaving behind his wife Emily and their eight children. Emily would never remarry, and lived until the ripe old age of 96. Sometime in the 1880s, Emma’s oldest son Frank and his brothers built the last Morris farmhouse on about three acres of Mason’s original farm, just south of where Martha and Evaline lived. This house is the second site excavated as part of this project. It still stands today and is considered by the Morris family to be our Homeplace. Frank took over the running of the household after his father’s death and stayed on to “keep the Homeplace” while the rest of his brothers left Lawrence County to look for jobs and work elsewhere.

By the early twentieth century, economic times were not as prosperous for local Black farmers as they had been in the nineteenth century. Slowly Black landownership decreased as high taxes, low yields, and nefarious bureaucracy eroded Black farms. Those who could no longer sustain their families through farm labor often left for bigger cities looking for work, yet still returning to Homeplaces on weekends and holidays. One example of this

would be Frank Morris's brothers, Fred and Mason (Figure 3.9). Like many enterprising young men, they pursued one of the only employment options open to them: barbers (Figure 3.10). According to Dolinar, "Even after the Civil War, colored persons for the most part were restricted to the field of domestic and personal service, as butler, coachman, maid, cook, housekeeper, valet, or janitor" (2013: 104). One lucrative form of service were barbershops, and the Morris brothers built there a relatively successful one in the nearby town of Sullivan, Indiana (Figure 3.10). Here, they would, of course only, cut the hair of white patrons. According to one descendant's remembrances, they would return to the Homeplace on weekends to visit.

Frank and his wife Emma, along with Frank's mother Emily, lived on the farm for the rest of their lives; raising twelve children. Frank was a farmer and Emma a homemaker. Margaret remembers her father Frank as a very hardworking man, industrious in the face of difficulty and prejudice. In one recollection, she describes his work and the prejudice he encountered:

There was a the road out front, it was mud and pa was always having to pull people out of it, help them out of the mud. Well, they'd come and grade the road, but dad didn't think they were doing it right. They'd leave their equipment and everything there, so after they left, he'd go back and re-do it. They told him they would have hired him if he weren't a black man. But, he wanted it done right, so he'd just go back and re-do it, for free. He worked really hard. He probably worked so hard, he worked himself to death. (Margaret Harris, Interview)

Frank farmed for Mr. Weger (a local farmer with large land-holdings) and when Frank passed away, his obituary described him as a "prominent colored Lawrence county farmer" (Lawrence County News). Pictured in Figure 3.11 is Frank and Emma and their family on the farm sometime around 1918. Notably, they had a car, which was uncommon for the time. Also pictured in these photos is Evaline Morris, who would have been living with the family at the time. After Martha died, Frank insisted that Evaline should not live alone, so she came to live with them in the Homeplace across the road.

Frank and Emma's children were educated in the local schools, which were integrated around 1900. Education had long been a priority for the Black community in this area; the Cole Family, descendants of John Morris, donated the land for the AME church and a school for the Black children of the community was built on the land as well (Figure 3.14). By 1900, a school was built in Pinkstaff for "all the children"; in 1939 the school was still being used and was "two thirds Negro" (History of Pinkstaff Station).

Although it is Frank who undertook most of the economic labor to "keep the Homeplace," Old Granny, Frank's mother Emily, is the one who stands out most in the oral histories. In Figure 3.15, she is pictured with her daughter, Louisa. Margaret remembers Emily as the head of the household and told me that: "Everyone lived in the house together, and Granny was the boss. We had family discussions at night, and she'd always be in charge" (Margaret Harris, Interview). Old Granny Emily was rumored to have smoked a pipe and worn such thick, heavy skirts that once, while smoking out on the porch, her skirts caught on fire with

embers from her pipe. When she passed away in 1939 at the age of 96, an obituary ran in the local paper that stated, “Aged Colored Lady Died Saturday” (Lawrence County News).

Almost all of Frank’s children eventually went out into the world to seek different opportunities, though the Homeplace remained a social and familial center during the twentieth century. Frank was an important member of the community, illustrated by the fact that both his and Old Granny’s obituaries ran in the main section of the local area newspaper, as opposed to the “News from Purgatory” section.

After Frank died in 1945, my grandparents, Frank’s oldest son Charles and his wife Eleanor, bought the Homeplace, eventually raising their family and hosting family events and reunions there. Charles passed away in 2007, and Eleanor continues to live there to the present day. In 1980, the Homeplace was declared a Centennial Farm (Figure 3.16). This is a title given by the state of Illinois that recognizes family-owned farms that have stayed in the same family for over 100 years.

Conclusions

As we have seen in this chapter, documentary evidence is, in a word, messy. As a data set, it is subject not only to the whims of bureaucracy, to silences and manipulations, but also to preservation. Both accidentally and intentionally records become lost, destroyed, and decayed. Documentary history is only one kind of story. How and why we memorialize and represent Black historical moments is deeply indicative of present racial ideologies (Eichstedt & Small 2002). The historical narrative told by the documentary record reflects the changing processes of racialization experienced by the Black farmers of Lawrence County. In Kentucky, William Morris was a pious man who built a church and owned slaves. His complexion is never discussed; he is only described as “upright” and “pious.” Only one generation passes before his son Samuel is described as “black as a tar keg” and likely lynched while in a jail cell. On the Illinois frontier, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and shortly after their arrival to the area, the Morris men enter into a court case in Indiana – something that would be unheard of and impossible by the next generation. In 1875, authors describing the history of the county were clearly nostalgic, describing the early integration of the area in relatively benign terms. This benign narrative elides the real political and social violence done to people of color in Illinois, a state where the Fugitive Slave Act represented real danger for free Black Americans. The narrative put together in 1875 erases this violence and endeavors to silence the fraught nature of the prejudice that was clearly rampant at the time. Approximately 100 years after these histories were written, the Lawrence County Historical Society published their own account of the founding of the county on the event of the United State bi-centennial. This is what they had to say about the African-American pioneers who helped found the county:

There were no slaves in the in the fort, the Negroes were used as scouts. A man named Morris and three Anderson brothers were sent out on a mission and all were killed. *150 Years in Lawrence County*

Clearly, this narrative leaves a different kind of silence, reflecting yet again the attitudes of the time. Why this particular narrative chose to kill off Lawrence County’s ancestors

instead of remembering them is not a subject I will pursue here - suffice it to say, memorialization of Black history does not necessarily always improve over time. Which parts of history are elided changes, but the oppression, displacement, and silencing of people of color is, like the African Diaspora itself, a changing constant. In the next chapter, I will discuss the community archaeology project and its excavations at Mason's farm and our Homeplace, and examine how we create and remember histories through archaeological research.

Chapter 4: Communities

The previous chapter has outlined how, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, many Free People of Color found their well-being increasingly threatened in the southern United States and, as a result, began to make their way to the northern frontier. They came to Indiana Territory (settling in areas which would later become Illinois) in significant numbers, founding small towns, clearing farms, and building schools and churches (James E. Davis 1998; Stephen A. Vincent 1999). Though often not highly visible in contemporary historical accounts, generations later many of these communities are still occupied by descendants of these settlers (LaRoche 2014). In July of 2012 and 2013, a team of experienced archaeologists, students, community volunteers, and I conducted excavations at a cluster of two farmsteads built in the early nineteenth century by our ancestors and occupied through to the present. In this chapter, I will examine the community engagement aspects of our work at these archaeological sites.

Lawrence County, Illinois, has been home to Free Black pioneers since 1805, when a few families came as settlers to Fort Allison, a fortification erected in the lead-up to the war of 1812. In 1816, when the war had concluded, John and Sian Morris filed their military land grants in the land office at Palestine, Illinois. Their farms were the first in what would become a sizeable community of free Black Farmers in this area. When the township's first plat was made in 1875, at least 1,280 acres of home and farm ground was owned by the Black farmers, often friends and family of the original families, who followed John and Sian's example and settled in Bond Township. As the population grew, the prospering farmers built for themselves an AME church, which would become the social center of the community, and a school for the Black children whose education was not provided for by the public school system. After the Civil War the social and economic processes of racialization and inequality that made life difficult for Black Americans had their corresponding effects in Lawrence County. The amount of land owned by these families decreases dramatically, while the population did not. This archaeological project focuses on the exploration of the material evidence of how these families coped with and persisted in spite of these processes. The project examines the ways in which they made meaningful lives for themselves - first on the frontier, then as prosperous farmers, and finally as a disenfranchised population resisting displacement and surviving to the present.

We chose two farmstead sites in this community explore historically and archaeologically, occupied from about 1845 to the present by successive generations of the same family (Figure 1.2). These sites were chosen for time-depth and preservation, presenting an opportunity to study the same community's material culture for five successive generations.

Key to this project and to my discussion here is the intersection of the knowledges stemming from my standpoint as both an archaeologist and a descendant of these Black pioneers. I am not arguing that this positionality privileges my access to the past or that my opinions somehow hold an "authenticity" that others do not, but rather that this puts me in a unique and valuable position to evaluate the project from the standpoint of an archaeologist and an academic as well as a member of the descendant community. This work also encourages us to think about and enact how we as historical archaeologists and

minority scholars can work to decolonize existing historical narratives about our communities.

Archaeological knowledge can be a powerful tool in the struggle to reclaim our social histories, and our projects serve to be benefitted deeply by a critical engagement with Ethnic Studies scholarship (Franklin 1997; Morrison 1992; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). This project's goals are multi-faceted; not only to make a contribution to the often invisible histories of Black pioneers in the nineteenth century, but to undertake a series of excavations completely open to the public, aided by community participation and centered on the community's questions about the area's past and the lives of the people "back then".

While my academic research questions for this project center around examining the material residues of changing processes of racialization in the nineteenth century, as a stakeholder and community member, my research goals are focused on bringing access to archaeological history to a rural community and creating and sustaining a public history. As a person who identifies deeply and personally with this past, my interest is in opening the process of scientific investigation to public participation and dialogue and in contributing to the community an opportunity to experience firsthand the excitement of historical search and discovery. At the center of this discussion is an examination of how my situated knowledge and experience as a community member, a stakeholder, and a descendant of the family who have run this farmstead in rural Illinois for over six generations, and my education and experience as an archaeologist, served this project. I will discuss the pursuit of these goals, and through this I urge archaeologists to critically examine how we can take these experiences and create multi-vocal, publicly engaged historical experiences in the areas where they are most needed and we are most effective; our own Homeplaces.

Decolonizing Histories and Situating "Authenticity"

First, in the pursuit of creating critical public histories, I would encourage us to think critically about what decolonization means for our discipline. In working towards an understanding of the theoretical and methodological applications for archaeological practice, I draw from scholars in indigenous studies who have pioneered these ideas. On the project of decolonization, Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes:

As Fanon and later writers such as Nandy have claimed, imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world. (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999)

Towards this goal, an archaeology of decolonization seeks a methodology that resists this intellectual and existential fragmentation; instead, blending the information and silences inherent in written history with an active ethnography contained in the stories and memories of the communities and experienced through the act of excavation. An archaeology that decolonizes re-situates the power inherent in archaeological knowledge production towards the community, allowing the practice and production of excavation itself to be a way in which fragmentation, loss, and displacement are resisted by the act of

memorialization. As Tuhiwai Smith writes, a methodology that decolonizes desires to "bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying" (1999:30). An archaeology that decolonizes, destabilizes (without ignoring the realities and implications of): hierarchical, written, fragmentary histories. In this, a decolonizing archaeology focuses on experiences, stories, opportunities to speak and be heard, to be preserved, to remember and enact what we understand to be the past. This kind of archaeology may have aspects which contradict, which intersect in dialogue with one another; a necessary aspect of public histories.

Enacting a decolonizing project is also necessarily situated in the acknowledgement that we embody and perform a certain kind of privilege as academics. When creating a strategy of decolonization within academia, we must interrogate our practices as anthropological scholars, and how these practices may or may not reify existing structural systems of inequality (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). A critical step in this process is an examination of the privileged processes of knowledge production that create historical and archaeological narratives (Fawcett, Matsunaga & Habu 2008; Joyce 2008; McGuire 2008; Perkin 2010; Prangnell, et al. 2010). In the work I discuss here, one of our project's main goals is to resist fragmentation by bringing the conversation about the African-American pasts out of the "ivory tower" and into the communities that directly relate to and identify with these pasts (McDavid 1997).

As minority scholars involved in our own communities, part of decolonizing academia and our projects lies in destabilizing and critiquing the concepts of "authenticity." When considering ideas of authenticity and the implicit power that is wielded by academic subjects towards what then become ethnographic and archaeological objects, John Jackson's critique of the subject comes to mind. Narratives that prioritize "authenticity" have a tendency to associate said quality with a static past that is often situated in a false binary of revolutionary resistance or dehumanizing assimilation (Baker 2010; Jackson 2005; Sheptak, Joyce & Blaisdell-Sloan 2011). Anthropologists have been historically guilty of failing to recognize Black American culture as "authentic" when not associated directly with historically African or revolutionary practices (Baker 2010). The pronouncement of authenticity from one to another should be interrogated as a power-laden, top-down process, which is at best frustrating and at worst disenfranchising to a decolonizing movement (Jackson 2005). Therefore we must question its deployment and realize that as academics, if we wish to be successful in creating public projects and public histories, then we cannot situate authenticity in ourselves alone (Gustafsson & Karlsson 2008). We must realize that pasts are diverse and often can be a matter of memory and moment - it is this unevenness that can be enlightening. Searching for objectivity can often lead to disappointing results - when we embark on public projects, it is important to keep in mind Western History's tendency towards silencing minority pasts, and through our work, allow those pasts to look however they may be presented (Trouillot 1995). We must learn to consistently include and value non-linear, contradictory knowledges as different ways of knowing which leads me to the exploration of relating to pasts through the shared sensory experiences of material culture.

I focus on the ways in which material culture as a data set is particularly productive for an agenda of academic decolonization within the sciences and humanities. The sensory and

physical nature of an artifact lends itself well as an invitation to participate in the process of knowledge sharing and creation – its tangibility gives us an opportunity for conversations that sometimes abstract conceptual discussions do not. These materials and the interactions they invite represent a moment of ethnographic engagement that is unique to the discipline of archaeology. By using the language of objects and their physical state of being-in-the-world as a point of ethnographic dialogue, we can not only share our own specialized knowledges about the past, but others in our communities different or multi-faceted connections to these objects can share their knowledges with us.

The HALC Project: Research and Community Archaeology

One of the first issues that archaeologists may encounter in the early stages of planning an accessible archaeological project comes when considering research questions. I found that, as an archaeologist, my research questions were very specific and academy shaped; things like, ‘How did processes of racialization change through time?’ ‘How does this affect economic access and intersect with expression and acknowledgment of class.’ etc. Besides these standard questions, I also wanted to know how people made their lives despite these processes, and about the creative economies and networks they created instead of merely reacting to the dominant system. As a descendant learning about her ancestors, however, my questions were much broader, and bigger. I just had a desire to *know*, and I wanted to know everything. Who were these people? Where did they come from? What were their lives like? Who were their parents, and their children? Where are they buried? When other members of the descendant community shared their ideas about what they were interested in learning about the past, most people expressed a similar deep and broad desire to *know*. More specifically, they would like to know more about every aspect of what our ancestors lives were like; what kind of pottery people used, how people ran their farms, what they ate, who they visited and where they went to church and through this what kind of people they were. It is important to highlight here that in the case of African-American families, this ‘desire to know’ is not idle curiosity. In fact, the desire to speak and know pasts which have systematically been silenced, and to create opportunities to engage with and memorialize that past has serious intellectual, existential, and political consequences for marginalized communities. I turn to Frederick Douglass to illustrate the power that knowledge, especially the power to record history of our own, holds:

Now, said he, “if you teach that nigger (speaking of myself) how to read, there would be no keeping him. It would forever unfit him to be a slave...These words sank deep into my existence an entirely new train of thought...from that moment, I understood the pathway from slavery to freedom. (1845: 20)

So, when I speak of this knowledge sought, I encourage the reader to understand that the historical contexts for African-Americans seeking knowledge is historically and politically fraught, and this seeking is, in and of itself, a political act.

I am increasingly learning that these different questions about the past are really two sides of the same archaeological coin (and ones that all archaeologists have): the general, deep curiosity and desire to know about the past, and the specific, stemming from our archaeological skills which give us the tools to satisfy that curiosity. Our archaeological

practices are how we try to know the past. The reality is that descendants, stakeholders, and community members voluntarily interested in an archaeological project have the same curiosity, the same desire to know the past, and different knowledges, tools, and skills sets which help us do so (Agbe-Davies 2010; Praetzellis 2002). The beauty of collaborative community archaeology is that when we allow them to, these knowledges can intersect in ways that can yield a rewarding and richer understanding of the pasts for everyone involved (Abu-Khafajah 2010; Ferguson & Colwell 2008; Malloy & Derry 2003; Greer 2010; Little 2007; Shackel 2011).

After this interest in access to knowledge about our pasts, the main expressed goal by those involved in the project is that the stories and histories that we learn be recorded. When learning about our ancestors, a large concern is that their lives and their struggles be known, and that we collect and record our history for future generations. At this point in history, I think that many members of the community see the world as quickly changing, and this project serves as an opportunity to record and remember our place history. With this in mind, one of the project's main objectives is to find the best ways to share what we are learning about the past and how we are learning it. Occupying the positionality of a descendant has, in this case, heavily emphasized to me the importance of constant cycle of reporting and recording the project's progress to the community. For me, this means not just giving talks and reporting to the community a few times a year, but updating interested folks weekly or daily on what we are finding and learning, and sharing and brainstorming about what these findings could mean (Joyce 2002). This dialogue can take a variety of methodological shapes; one example includes discussing artifact interpretation with the stakeholding community; and gathering multiple interpretations of the assemblage. For example, firearms paraphernalia comprises a significant sub-assemblage from this second site. Since hunting and gun culture has been important to this family for as long as anyone can remember, I had an intensive dialogue with other community members concerning the identification and interpretation of these artifacts. Through these conversations, the artifacts were identified and we learned that some bullet casings could even match with the family's curated firearms, passed down from the time of the site's nineteenth-century inhabitants. We also came to the interpretation that this artifact class comprised not necessarily evidence of violence, but rather the shared social practice of hunting - one of the ways that the family sustained themselves during the economic limitations of Jim Crow. This example illustrates the rich interpretations which can come from an intense community dialogue; constantly discussing the project's progress and findings from the standpoint of different knowledges can be a rigorous process but one which is ultimately necessary (Jameson 1997; Little 2002).

The importance of recording our histories has also resulted in the project's working to build a website where we can share our findings in the field and lab with the larger descendant community that is geographically diverse (see morrisarchaeology.wordpress.com). Through doing this, we can continue this cycle of discoveries and conversation beyond field season and data collection to the lab analysis portion of the project. I see these objectives (and our accomplishment of them) as different ways in which we are trying to know, record, and remember our pasts.

Our archaeological excavations began in November 2011, when a team of archaeologists and community volunteers conducted a systematic pedestrian surface collection to better determine the approximate location of site 1. We collected and point-plotted over 800 nineteenth-century artifacts from the site, noting activity area clusters. Our surface collection yielded artifacts in good states of preservation - ceramic sherds, bottle finishes, doorknobs, and metal artifacts like cast-iron stove legs. After this first experience finding “actual things!” I think my somewhat doubtful volunteers and interested people in the community decided there might just be something to this archaeology thing! It was at this juncture that both as an archaeologist and a stakeholder I began to realize how powerful these material objects were for our community. The sensory experience of actually touching our ancestors’ possessions for many forged a connection with the past that we did not realize we had been missing. The materiality of objects made stories long buried spring to memory; about the great-aunts Martha Jane and Evaline and their horse and buggy, or about Great-Grandpa Frank and the tobacco he grew; thus creating anew old memories in a moment of archaeological and memorial excavation.

This vast array of material culture can help us to begin thinking about how material culture reflects the vast changes in rural African-American life over the past six generations, in response to the Civil War, Jim Crow, and eventually the Civil Rights Movement (Fennell 2011). Moreover, the community (and myself as part of it) sees these materials as one of the ways we can connect with our ancestors who did not leave us written records. In many ways, these items can help us fill in the invisibilities and silences of histories that have been taken from us (Little 2007). Material culture is one kind of evidence of the lives quieted by archival silence (Truillot 1995).

In the subsequent two field seasons, the summers of 2012 and 2013, we excavated 40 1m X 1m units across the two sites and uncovered thousands of artifacts dating from the early nineteenth to the mid twentieth century. Using evidence from our pedestrian survey, in 2012 we were able to excavate at what was Masson Morris’s original farmstead. Mason’s daughters, Martha Jane and Evaline, were a particular presence in the memories and imaginations of the community. The oral historical and archaeological assemblages associated with them speaks to the ways that they continued to make their farm work despite the hardships they faced as single women of color in a rural area. As community members excavated here, they would recall memories and stories of the way these ladies kept their house and garden and their devout commitments to the AME church and the ideologies associated with it. The dates of their ceramics skew early, pointing to the curation of high-quality domestic materials to maintain their social place as their economic status becomes more difficult to negotiate.

Their nephew Frank built our second site in the late nineteenth century. Here, we see generations of this same family forced onto smaller and smaller plots of land as the predatory economic practices of Jim Crow made maintaining the farm increasingly difficult. Through the deployment of their skills as rural self-sufficient farmers and farm laborers, they were able to hold onto and maintain the Homeplace, which still exists in the present. An important aspect of the archaeological excavations, particularly at the Homeplace, is

memorialization of the social and economic work that our ancestors did to maintain the Homeplace as a space of support and resistance (bell hooks 1990).

Enacting Public Histories: Community Participation

All excavations and surveys for this project were open to the public and done in collaboration with interested community members and stakeholders (see also: Ludlow Collective 2001; Leone 2005; Lightfoot 2008; Silliman 2008). During the first field season, we had about 40 unique visitors to the site, and during the second season, we had a comparable number. This may not sound like a lot of visitors, but in a small rural community of only a few hundred people, this shows considerable interest in our project. Our visitors varied from volunteers who came to help with the excavations every day, to school groups and local societies who were interested in tours and learning about what we were finding.

As many of us know from our experiences with public archaeology, there can be many different stakeholder positionalities pertaining to a site (Gadsby 2011; LaRoche & Blakey 1997; McGhie 2009; Wilkie 2001). Each can have different interests and needs, as well as may have different ways of accessing history. Just as one person can want to know the past in different ways, one person can occupy different stakeholder positionalities. As a result of our public processes, we had many different kinds of visitors, volunteers, and collaborators participating in our work that I will discuss. It is important to note that this is not an exhaustive or mutually exclusive list; it has been compiled to examine logistics behind the ways that we can make sites most accessible to the largest amount of people who consider themselves stakeholders of these histories. As such, this mostly concerns fieldwork itself. With this project, we had good success with having the archaeological sites open to the public every day, as opposed to having one structured “public day”. In this case, I think this drop-in atmosphere helped people feel more invited to participate. The informality here helps interested people feel like there are fewer parameters to their participation, and people do not feel pressured to show up at a specific time on a specific day. When more informality is involved, community members may feel like they are a welcome friend as opposed to someone from the outside looking in. Word of mouth, especially in smaller communities, ends up being one of the most effective ways of inviting people to come. I cannot stress enough the low-key, participatory nature of effective archaeological and historical decolonization (Kuwanwisiwma 2008). Creating a comfortable environment for people to come join an investigation makes a safe, energized space for people to speak together about their pasts.

Descendants comprised the largest percentage of volunteers and visitors to the site. Within this group, I found that the largest volume of people volunteered for the walkover surveys (we conducted two). Pedestrian survey worked well for people looking for an introduction to a site for a number of reasons: field walking is a little easier on the joints and so more people can actively participate, and also often in this area we will find artifacts right on the surface, so volunteers get to experience rather immediately the excitement of a find. After pedestrian surveys, sifting was the most popular activity among site volunteers, but this may have a bit to do with the prime shady location of our sifters in the record-breaking July heat (Figure 4.2).

Many senior community members came to the site bringing their grandchildren. I think they saw it as a way to connect with kids who may be visiting for the summer, to get them outside, and maybe to make them learn something about history and science in a place where access to educational opportunities are limited. This also offered community members to share with future generations the pasts that they see as fading. Archaeological excavation offers a unique engagement with marginalized pasts – these materials spoke often to the harsh realities faced by our ancestors, and community members used these materials to make real for their young descendants the ways in which our ancestors worked against difficult odds to make possible the lives that we live today.

Teachers from the local elementary and high schools made up another significant percentage of those who showed great interest in the project and volunteered to excavate (Jameson 2007; Moe 2002). This offered a great opportunity to work with them on developing lessons on archaeology for the classroom. In this case, I worked with local elementary school teachers to bring aspects of this excavation into their Illinois History lesson plans. Not only does this bring local history into the classroom, enabling the students to connect their local history with broader historical processes, but it also makes more widely visible the area's Black history, which before this, was not part of the curriculum or the mainstream local historical narrative.

Having the site open to the public all the time meant that we often had drop-in visitors, coming to learn about the history and archaeology, or just to see what it was all about. We did have a small number of local historians and avocational archaeologists interested in our work at the site. Archaeologists have sometimes had a contentious relationship with these groups, and it is important to access them if you can and begin a dialogue about how we both work with the past and think about history (Derry 2003). In this case, we had a local metal detecting enthusiast very interested in the project. We had a very productive dialogue about the different ways we look for materials from the past, and why for our purposes we have to be so meticulous about recording an artifact's three-dimensional locational information. After this dialogue, he was receptive to our methods and understanding of our research questions and needs and came out to the site a few times to lend his detector and skills to our site survey. We tested a percentage of the anomalies he identified for us, and one yielded a posthole, helping to confirm that we had located the site of the house (Figure 4.3). Thanks in part to the interest of avocational archaeologists in our site, our project was lucky enough to be able to publish an article in the March 2013 issue of *Illinois Antiquity*; an archaeology magazine put out by the state of Illinois for the public on what is happening around the state. This offers a great opportunity to tell the site's story we have learned so far to the broader public and gives the community something in addition to the artifacts and data to show for all their hard work.

This project's methodology in creating a public archaeology project here is one that will be familiar to most anthropologists - maintaining a constant and consistent presence in the community. It is important to realize that in creating any kind of anthropological or archaeological project, this is a slow process that requires respect and dialogue with any interested stakeholders about what they are interested in learning or doing. I feel that this

is an important part of the critical historical process - taking the time and expending the effort to bring the research agendas and processes outside of academia to the people most affected by them. This can take many forms, from spending time and meals with folks to attending church and volunteering for community projects. I cannot emphasize enough how important this aspect of community archaeology is; if you want people to value your presence, you have to show that you respect them by valuing them, especially when working within communities that have been systematically de-valued by historical narratives. This often means physically *being* in the community. The nature of projects like public histories is that we, as academics, will inevitably become responsible for this labor in addition to any other academic responsibilities we have. As Sonia Atalay tells us when she details her methodologies for Community-Centered practices, it is important to realize that often the most respectful and productive relationship with a community will be a long and involved one, and this responsibility should not be taken on lightly (Atalay 2012).

Conclusions

What is it about community archaeology and critical public histories that does the work of decolonization? My experiences with the HALC project have shown that it is not only the interpretations that we make and the archaeological knowledge that we produce which is relevant to this project, but more importantly it is the ethnographic and memorial moment that public archaeology creates.

To conclude, I would like to revisit the idea that the histories of marginalized groups are systematically “fragmented” by historical narratives and social processes (Smith 2008). In the case of the African American community, the institution of Homeplace is created in response to processes of dehumanization, disenfranchisement, and displacement (hooks 1990). The labors previous generations of this family undertook to keep the Homeplace, both emotionally and physically, are part of a history that is systematically silenced. If the knowledge of our history is a powerful political tool, then the access to how that history is produced and accessed is a political act.

In the case of public archaeologies, I see remembering and memorializing as a large and formative part of the archaeological experience, as a political practice of persistence (Sheptak et al 2011). The very act of coming to a place and excavating the past causes it to be brought into memory; and sometimes into public memory. It can create an opportunity and a venue for those who have a stake in that history to pause and reflect on it, to share their knowledge and memories, and, in doing so to continue the process of memorialization. In the case of communities whose history goes systematically unrecorded and misrepresented, this opportunity to memorialize is a non-trivial aspect of keeping the Homeplace in the present. I would argue that opening a site to the public for participation creates a unique ethnographic engagement that cannot be accessed any other way. Here, the act of digging creates a sensory experience where people can actually touch things from the past, and this unique opportunity can often trigger stories and memories that might not be accessed in other situations or environments. For example, the act of touching part of a stove used by your great-great aunts could trigger the re-remembering of a long-buried story about cooking or ancestral recipes. If you live in a place where your family had to hunt and trap to make it through the winter, excavating the shells from the guns they

handed down to you and the faunal evidence of their work becomes a unique ethnographic engagement that cannot be accessed any other way. As an archaeologist, my interest was primarily in the artifacts and the interpretations we could draw from them. As a stakeholder, it became clear for me that the experience of excavation itself was the most important and most rewarding aspect of the project for the community. This experience brings me to the conclusion that a decolonizing archaeology values this ethnographic engagement by foregrounding the experience of the community. The ethnographic engagement and material interaction creates an opportunity for these communities to interact with the things that are so integral to the sites, places, and people who are so integral to the constitution of self and identity. In closing, I put forward the idea that perhaps what is most important about this experience is not the data we gather from it, but the experience itself.

These brief examples serve to illustrate that local knowledge can and should re-orient the ways in which we seek and situate archaeological knowledge to create projects which are primarily relevant to our communities, and in doing so, begins the process of decolonizing historical narratives.

Chapter 5: HALC 2012 Excavations and Discussion

This chapter will discuss the archaeological investigations at the 1st of two Morris Farmstead sites (Figure 1.2), also known as Site #1, of the Historical Archaeology Project of Lawrence County (HALC Project). As previously discussed in Chapter 3, Mason Morris formally purchased this farm in 1845. He and his wife Patience cleared the land, built their home, raised their family and farmed and raised pigs and cattle here. Shortly before Mason's death in 1874, his daughters Martha and Evaline bought the farm from their parents; guaranteeing them documented rights to the farm. At the same time this farm gave them a livelihood and a home, freeing them from the strictures of marriage and children. They remained unmarried for the rest of their lives, living together on the farm, caring for their mother for the rest of her life. We know from local tax records that by the twentieth century, Martha and Evaline were selling off portions of their original 80 acres to continue to pay taxes on the land. By 1924 Evaline had passed away and Martha was living with her nephew Frank at the Homeplace across the road. Documentary research located a copy of the deed showed that Martha had sold the last 2.5 acres of the farm in 1923. It is not clear exactly why Martha and Evaline sold off most of their farm, but likely it was due to a variety of factors. Oral histories suggest they sold it off bit-by-bit, living off of the income and supplementing with their farm labor. The site was located using the legal description of those 2.5 acres from the deed. After the oral historical and documentary research previously described, we set out to excavate at this earlier home site. This chapter discusses those excavations, and our findings.

Methods

After identifying the 2.4-acre site where we hypothesized Mason built his homestead, the team set out to conduct a surface collection. In November of 2011, with a team of 13 volunteers, the team conducted a systematic pedestrian survey of the earliest of the three homestead areas (approximately 2.5 acres total area) to assess site preservation and location (Dunnell and Simek 1995; Orton 2000; Redman 1987; Steinberg 1996). This site was chosen as the first of the three to be surveyed because, of the two potential sites without current standing architecture, this site had the strongest documentary indication of the domicile's location. The volunteers were spaced five meters apart, and walked direct North-South transects of the area. Flagging poles were placed at each end to guide volunteers and keep them on their lines. When any cultural materials were spotted on the surface, the artifacts were flagged by volunteers. The artifacts were then mapped with a Trimble GeoXH GPS, using TerraSync Software. The material of the artifacts (e.g. glass, ceramic, brick) was recorded in the mapping software, an artifacts were then bagged, labeled with a unique locational marker, and taken back to the lab for further analysis and cataloguing.

This pedestrian survey was conducted with 100% coverage of the 2.5-acre area. After the surface data were collected, the data were then imported into ArcGIS. From the locational information of each artifact, I created an artifact density map (Figure 5.1) (Conolly and Lake 2006; Tripcevich 2004). During this survey, 786 artifacts were recovered and mapped. As you can see represented in Figure 5.1, the majority of these artifacts were architectural

(either brick or nails). This suggested to archaeologists that there was, in fact a structure on the site. A significant amount of well-preserved glass and ceramics were also recovered. After architectural materials, ceramics made up the next largest category of artifacts recovered.

In July of 2012, we utilized the data from the surface collection to identify the area that displayed the densest concentration of surface artifacts. The archaeological research team on the HALC project then conducted a shovel test pit survey of the same 2.5 acre site, focusing on the areas identified during the pedestrian survey as those with the most dense artifact concentration in order to narrow the areas targeted for excavation.

To do this, the team first created a 50m X 50 m site grid, which encompassed the high-density surface scatter. The team dug a total of 37 shovel test pits using an auger 15cm in diameter. The goal of this testing was to determine if the sub-surface preservation of artifacts aligned with the surface scatter. The first line of shovel test pits was an West – East line of shovel test pits bisecting the site area, at 25 meters north of the datum. The West – East line consisted of 25 shovel test pits using an auger 15cm in diameter. Of these STP's, 19 contained evidence of an historic occupation surface below the plow zone, which contained brick and charcoal. Of the 19 STP's, 12 contained a high concentration of historic artifacts. The team then conducted a second, North-South line of 13 STP's. This line was intended to bisect the surface concentration area, and ran N-S 45 meters West of the datum. All of the shovel test pits in this line contained evidence of the historic occupation layer, and 8 STP's had significant deposits of historic materials.

The team concluded that these STP's uncovered nineteenth-century artifacts and good stratigraphic integrity below the plow zone, and this data was used to narrow the target field further, and to determine the placement excavation units. Over the course of the 2012 field season, the team excavated 23 1m X 1m units (see figure 5.2). Overall, the number, diversity, preservation, and size of these artifacts indicated that site preservation in this context is good, and confirm, in agreement with the documentary data, a nineteenth-century occupation period. Two posthole features were uncovered which added to the confirmation this as the location of a nineteenth-century homestead, which included an architectural structure.

In the lab, artifacts were cleaned, identified, and labeled with provenience (e.g. excavation unit and locus). Artifacts in the lab were grouped by locus, and grouped together in analysis when mended. Artifacts were catalogued by context and material, using a filemaker relational database built for this project. Each artifact was given a *Terminus Post Quem*, or a date range of manufacture when possible. Dates, when present, should be understood as dates of production, not necessarily deposition. Each locus was analyzed separately. First sherd counts were taken, then Minimum Number of Vessels were calculated for glass and ceramic artifacts in each locus, respectively, when possible. MNV's were calculated visually using paste material, decoration, and color. Metal was catalogued primarily by count. Zooarchaeological materials were analyzed by Gloria Keng, and classified according to class, and when possible species. Number of Individual Specimens were calculated, along with

Minimum Number of Individuals, when possible. Small finds were catalogued primarily by material.

Recovery and Preservation

For most of the loci at this site, Locus 1 consists of plow zone materials, however like the other deposits at the site these consistently date to the late nineteenth century. This site was farmed continuously for at least 50 years, if not longer, and was still being used as a field at the time of excavation. As a result of the extended farming at the site, the artifacts recovered are generally highly fragmented. Still, research on systematic surface collection has shown that even with high levels of disturbances, artifacts found on the surface can be expected to be still relatively near their point of original deposition (Ammerman 1985, Odell 1987, Dunnell & Simek 1995, Redman 1987, Redman & Watson 1970, Yorston et. al 1990). I feel confident that although this is a mixed context, the artifacts found here corroborate the Morris farmstead occupation at the site. This was first illustrated by the pedestrian survey data. As you can see in Figure 5.1, the number of surface artifacts recovered drops dramatically as distance from the most densely populated (or focal point) of the site increases. Excavations in 2012 recovered a post hole in this dense area, adding evidence to the hypothesis that this was the likely location of a domestic structure.

The stratigraphy at this site is relatively straightforward, partially due to the years of farming. Each unit's stratigraphy is discussed in detail later in the chapter, but here I will lay out some general trends. As with most fields in the Midwest, this site area is quite flat. The field does slope very, very slightly (<5cm) NE, causing small artifact concentrations in the NE most units. The slope is so slight that it's not visible on a topographic map - but can be detected on site, in line-of-sight. It is because of this slight slope that artifact densities in Northeastern-most units are not interpreted as activity areas, but rather as slow erosion and wash of larger artifacts downhill over time.

In all cases, locus 1 was considered plow zone, and extended to a depth of about 15cm. This is consistent with expectations of a site long-plowed. The plow zone terminated when the soil became visibly less disturbed, and higher inclusions of brick and charcoal were present. The presence of these inclusions was interpreted as indicators of nineteenth-century occupation. Loci 3 and 5 tended to be successive layers of these occupations. In most cases, the few artifacts that give concrete, early nineteenth-century dates are found in the lower loci (locus 5). At times the lower loci were contiguous, and at times they were distinct from one another. I hypothesize this is likely due to differences in activity areas; i.e. areas nearer the house show more evidence of compaction (due to high foot traffic) whereas areas further from the hypothesized location of the house do not. EU 18, 13, and showed evidence of compaction in lower loci. A posthole was located in EU 18 as well. Altogether, Excavation Units 10, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 23 are hypothesized to be within or very near where the standing structure would have been. All other EU's appear to be yard-like contexts associated with the house and farm. A posthole was also uncovered in EU 8, but this unit and those excavated around it do not have the same evidence of compaction, artifact densities, or high levels of brick and charcoal inclusions. Instead, the artifacts most located in this area were metal (nails and UnID ferrous metal fragments). Due to this difference, it is more likely that a fence or hitching post could explain the posthole in EU 8. Community

members working on site suggested that in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the road to the lane to the house (from the main road) would have possibly been closer to EU 8, which would make a hitching or fence post a likely interpretation.

General Artifact Trends and Discussion

Dating the assemblage, as discussed above, is challenging. While the majority of artifacts can be reliably dated to the nineteenth century, the mixed context of many of the loci renders certain vagueness to the date of deposition. It's possible that a certain amount of date skewing is a factor of preservations; given that this site has been farmed consistently for around 50 years, many of the artifacts were highly fragmented from movement, plow scars, and erosion. There is also a discrepancy among artifact categories; while the majority of dateable glass artifacts date to the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, most ceramics could have realistically been made anytime after 1820. For example, a significant amount of manganese solarized glass dates much of the assemblage to the late nineteenth, early twentieth century, although there are artifacts in nearly every locus which could conceivably date to earlier. Stoneware is especially ambiguous because the range of production of much the artifacts covers the entire occupation of the site. Since stonewares are also most likely acquired locally and were not mass-produced, dating them becomes even more ambiguous. The ceramics in general have a wide production and distribution range (Miller 1991) so in this case glass becomes the most diagnostic artifact category. So, while this sun-colored glass (1880-1914) (Miller et al 2000) gives a specific date range, artifacts like #860, 970, and 917 (Figure 5.3) glass bottles with open pontils, show that artifacts from earlier periods do appear. Overall, relatively few artifacts date to the twentieth century, showing that while the family's economic status changed over time they continued to curate their higher-quality items from more prosperous times. For these reasons I have not used the mean ceramic dating formula, as my analysis has not shown it to give a representative date range for the site.

Additionally, many of the artifacts recovered from the site exhibit clear evidence of heavy use-wear. It should also be noted that from a preservation perspective, it is likely that even more artifacts might exhibit evidence of heavy use and re-use, but this may have been obscured by plow scarring as a result of the heavy farming of the site. Nonetheless, curation and re-use of artifacts is clear at the site. There is a clear economic advantage to use and re-use of artifacts; preserving higher quality goods purchased in times of economic security and prosperity can insure that in times of economic stress, household resources need not be expended on basic household materials. This strategy is easier to pursue in multi-generational households like the ones examined in this study.

Identity formation at any site must be understood in its local context, and in the case of the Morris family, cannot be fully understood without a consideration of the intersections of race, class, labor, consumption, production, and gender (Battle-Baptiste 2011). What we see at this earlier site is a combination of ethics of work and ideologies of religious participation and racial uplift played out in the recovered materials. I tend to see this site as highly influenced by the women of the family and their work, since 3 out of 4 of the heads of household were women. The Morris family were relatively prominent Black farmers, active

in the local AME church, and members of a large extended family spread over Lawrence County.

Their particular AME church was very much the center of the Black community in Lawrence County, and focused on ideas of community, work ethic, temperance, and uplift (LaRoche 2013). Increasingly in the nineteenth century, Black women turned to domestic displays of 'womanhood' and 'gentility' to assert their membership the middle class. (Wilkie 2003, Giddings 1984). The moral mission of racial uplift was tied to ideas of church, family, and within that 'proper' domestic performance (LaRoche 2013). Black feminists like Anna Julia Cooper, Maria Stewart set the future of the Black community at the feet of Black women and mothers, situating 'proper' Black domesticity as the center of racial uplift (Giddings 1984, Wilkie 2003). Women increasingly turned to household duties as part of their 'work'; though the Morris women would not necessarily have had the economic advantage to make household duties their only work. Likely Patience and her children worked the farm, as would Martha and Evaline necessarily have done. However, the assemblage shows that they worked in both spheres; privately, creating a household with the proper ceramics and teawares that etiquette required, while working the farm to ensure the survival of that household. I see these practices reflected in the domestic materials, with patterns following the larger national trends; constructing the home as a private, personal space (which also became the public space when entertaining visitors) while praising the work undertaken to make that space (Heneghan 2003). These artifacts reflect ideas of proper middle-class material performance (Mullins 1999) while still showing the farm labor needed to own the land and home that made those performances possible.

I am not arguing that the women in this household were necessarily battling stereotypes, imitating (aspirationally or otherwise) middle-class white culture. Rather, I see this assemblage as representing the intersectional identities of working women in the nineteenth century. We see stonewares for churning butter, making molasses, storage and other farm activities. We see farm equipment, in the metal assemblage, as well as remnants of the stove they would have had to warm their home and prepare their meals. The glass assemblage contains bottles for soda, bottles for the home and kitchen, jars for storing and keeping food. But the assemblage is not only full of utilitarian goods. There are teawares, transfer prints, and porcelain for entertaining guests. The glass assemblage contains pressed glass tableware, for decorative dishes, vases, tumblers and stemware. What I see in this assemblage are the materialities of working women and men who valued the hard work it took to farm their land and stock, and to set a genteel table. These artifacts reflect ideas of proper middle-class material performance (Mullins 1999) while still showing the farm labor needed to own the land and home that made those performances possible.

Ceramics

During excavation, it became clear the nineteenth-century occupation surfaces uncovered were likely contiguous across the site, and not isolated activity areas. Because of this, MNV's calculated for each locus are likely high, as it is possible sherds across the site may mend. To account for this, I have conducted the site-wide analysis and trends in terms of sherd counts as opposed to Minimum Number of Vessel counts, since I feel that this more

accurately represents the cross-site distribution of sherd types. Additionally, I have calculated the MNV for each locus and compared them to sherd counts (see table 5.24).

Tablewares

The ceramic assemblage for Site #1 totals 624 sherds, with a total cross-loci minimum vessel count of 375. For this analysis I utilize primarily sherd counts, because many vessels mended across locus, and so at times the MNV counts are somewhat misleading. Given the preservation and plowing at the site, it is possible that the minimum vessel count is somewhat high. The ceramics generally fall into two categories (with a few exceptions) tableware, and utilitarian. Tablewares, which consist of refined white earthenwares and semi-vitrified earthenwares, would have been for use in the home and, obviously, for table, either at meals or for tea, etc, and include items such as plates, bowls, cups, etc. The utilitarian category consisted of stonewares, and unrefined earthenwares. These wares generally are for storage or farm production (such as butter churns, storage jars for molasses, etc.). Other artifacts which may fall into the ceramics category are Prosser produced buttons, doll parts, and bottle closures. These are found sparingly at the site but do appear at times.

Refined White Earthenware

Of the overall ceramics assemblage discussed here, 253 sherds or 41% are whitewares. Of those, 211 (83%) are undecorated, whereas 42 (16%) are decorated. Of the decorated ceramics, 27 are transfer printed (10.7% of the total assemblage), 7 are hand painted (2.8% of the total assemblage), 7 are edge decorated (2.8% of the total assemblage) and 4 are hand-painted (1.6% of the overall assemblage). These overlap at times, since some edge decorated ceramics are also hand painted. As you can see, decorated ceramics make up a significant minority of the assemblage. This is unsurprising; undecorated whiteware would have been the most affordable option for household tablewares for a rural farming community (Miller 1980, 1991, Center for Social Research 2001). By 1840, whitewares could be found in many American households. Less affordable would have been the decorated wares, but they are present at the site. I will also note that although decorated wares are a minority among artifacts recovered, this may not be representative of what ratios of ceramics and tablewares the Morris families owned. Since more expensive ceramics are exactly that - precious - they may have been handed down to other family members and away from the site, and are thus absent in the assemblage. Since undecorated whiteware has a TPQ of 1825, and remained popular well into the twentieth century, in general the artifacts in this category could date to the site's entire occupation (Essary 1982). At times, the manner, color, and elements of the decoration can narrow the date range. Shell edge decoration, for example, was popular in many different iterations throughout the nineteenth century. The same goes for transfer print. Flow blue, a specific style of decorating whiteware, was at its height of popularity in the 1870's, though it was produced throughout the late nineteenth century (Miller 1987). Eight examples of flow blue ceramics were recovered from the site.

Semi-Vitrified Earthenware

White granite, or Ironstone, as it is also sometimes called, totals 71 sherds and makes up 11.4% of the assemblage. In this discussion, I use the term white granite interchangeably, although Ironstone can denote a specific ceramic category, Mason's Ironstone China. Within this, 17 artifacts are molded; a popular form of decoration for Ironstone. Predominant in the assemblage are gothic molded patterns, and harvest motifs. In the U.S, white granite has a TPQ of 1845, and can generally be understood to be rising in popularity towards the latter half of the nineteenth century (Miller 1980). Like whiteware, white granite became an affordable household tableware, and was in use all over the United States. While these artifacts date definitively to the nineteenth century, they do not definitively date to either specific occupation of the site. What can be noted from this category is that an investment was being made by those living at the site to own the same 'proper' tablewares that middle-class families across the country were adopting.

Porcelain

Just 12 sherds of porcelain were recovered from this site, making up 1.9% of the assemblage. The sherds that were recovered were so fragmented as to make a minimum vessel count unrepresentative/unproductive. Porcelain would have been, relative to the rest of the ceramic assemblage, a very high-priced good, and it is somewhat unique that it was recovered at all (Miller 1980). Insofar as they can be identified, it appears that the porcelain sub-assemblage is composed primarily of teawares. It is unsurprising that so few artifacts were recovered; more than any other ceramic category, porcelain would have been curated and handed down to other family members upon the household changing hands. It speaks to the care and investment that this household made in their teawares that porcelain is present in the assemblage.

Utilitarian wares

Stoneware

Stonewares comprise a large amount of utilitarian assemblage, with a total sherd count of 153 and an MNV of 141. Very few stoneware sherds matched, which resulted in the relatively high MNV; a trend seen throughout the site. In general, since stoneware tends to be thicker and larger than tablewares, the stoneware sherds recovered from the site make up a large volume, if not number, of the total assemblage. When recovered, the stoneware sherds tend to represent an overall larger number percentage of the vessel than the whiteware and tableware sherds. Also due to its size and durability, the stoneware assemblage is relatively well-preserved. The variety of vessel forms present in this assemblage suggests that the family at this site were using stoneware for a variety of purposes. Stoneware is generally referred to as 'utilitarian' by collectors and archaeologists alike, due to its sturdy form and the fact that it is most closely associated with work (e.g. storage, butter churns, etc.) as opposed to tableware, which generally refers to the plates and cups one might expect to find on the dinner table, as well as ceramic and pressed glass decorative artifacts (e.g. vases, candy dishes, etc.). Among the assemblage were fragments from at least two different butter churns, small and large storage vessels, jars and crocks. Additionally, quite a few sherds were obviously wheel thrown, with large rilling apparent.

The assemblage was almost entirely undecorated, which would be the norm for stonewares used for farm work. Stonewares are therefore classified by glaze; the most common in the Midwest (and in this assemblage) are salt glaze, Albany slip, and Bristol glaze. An unglazed sherd will occasionally appear, and is generally associated with the underside of the vessel. Salt glaze is present throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although it tends to drop in popularity in the Midwest after the Civil War (Zilmer 1987). Albany slip was especially popular in the Midwest, although its use tapers off towards the turn of the century when it is replaced by Bristol glaze (Zilmer 1987). Bristol glaze assumes its height of popularity in the 1890's, and continues to be produced to day (Greer 1981). These treatments are nearly equally distributed in the assemblage, with Albany the most popular, highlighting that this artifact category must have been important for the Morris family. Also, since utilitarian wares are used regular in farm labor and production, they are more likely to break and therefore end up in the archaeological record. Additionally, many of these sherds showed heavy use-wear, corroborating this.

There is evidence that suggests the majority of the stoneware at this site would have been locally produced. First, in the nineteenth-century the stoneware industry in Illinois (and the wider Midwestern area) was booming. In Southwestern Illinois alone, over 950 kilns have been documented (Gums 1996). The pottery industry in Southwestern Illinois has been less comprehensively documented, likely because it was more sparsely populated than other areas of the state. Additionally, in many areas stoneware and yellowware manufacture was a home industry; the small operations that served rural Southwestern Illinois communities would have escaped larger notice. The stoneware recovered from the HALC site varies widely in size, quality and form. Sherds from this assemblage exhibit a variety of glazes, with Albany Slip and Salt Glaze predominating, but with a sizeable number of Bristol glazed sherds as well.

Colorless lead or alkaline glaze is practically unheard of on sites in Illinois (Stelle 2001, George Calfas, Personal communication), but has been found on at least 3 sherds from this site, and potentially identified (pending further analysis) on at least 5 more sherds. This is relatively uncommon for the area, and if conventional wisdom is followed, would suggest an earlier TPQ, since lead-glazed stonewares are seldom seen outside of South Carolina in the nineteenth century. Lead and Alkaline glazes are generally thought to date to the 18th century, and are for the most part associated with stoneware production in the deep south, as opposed to the Midwest. Conversely the Midwest, salt and Bristol glazes and Albany slips predominated (Greer 1981). It has been suggested (George Calfas, personal communication) that it's possible lead and alkaline glazing techniques could have been learned in the Camden District of South Carolina and brought to the area by free people of color. If this is indeed the case, this could be an example of an African Diaspora (within the United States) pottery technique.

Unrefined Yellow Earthenware

This category of ceramic can be somewhat ambivalent, as it falls between the category of 'utilitarian' and 'tablewares'. Yellowwares had a variety of uses, but tended to be used for things like pitchers and gravy boats (on the table side) and chamber pots or storage

containers (on the utilitarian side). You might say it's a little bit of both. In this assemblage, we uncovered 17 yellowware sherds, for a total MNV of 14. This small category makes up 2.2% of the assemblage. This makes sense; one does not necessarily invest in a whole set of gravy boats or, for that matter, chamber pots. This ceramic relatively uncommon in to sites in Illinois, partly because there were few regional manufacturers (Stelle 2001). It's likely, therefore, that these wares would have been imported from outside the state, from somewhere in the greater Midwest, perhaps Ohio. This is a common pattern at this site - artifacts are frequently found which are imported or from outside the region. One notable exception to this is the stoneware assemblage; which makes sense; stoneware for farm work is large, heavy, and inexpensive and thus difficult (and not economically feasible) to transport across large distances.

Unrefined Earthenware

There were 19 sherds of redware (also known as unrefined earthenware) recovered from this site, Figure 5.4 shows an example of these sherds. The minimum vessel count for this sub-assemblage was not possible to calculate, due to the high level of fragmentation of these sherds. This is unsurprising, given that redware is quite uncommon on historic Midwestern sites and tends to date earlier than the occupation period of this site. It is possible that these small sherds represent just two or three vessels. Redware also tends to be soft-bodied, and so does not preserve well. The redwares recovered from this site were lead-glazed. Redwares were produced in larger numbers in the deeper south, further suggesting that members of this community came from upland south area (which the documentary and oral historical evidence would suggest). In Illinois, redwares were made primarily as a cottage industry in the far north of the state (Stelle 2001).

Ceramics Discussion

This assemblage is dominated by undecorated whiteware, and white granite wares. This not entirely surprising, given that these would have been more affordable (Miller 1990) in addition to becoming fashionable for tablewares towards the second half of the nineteenth century (Heneghan 2003). Transfer prints and decorated wares would have been more likely associated with teas and teawares; these ceramics also tended to be more expensive than the plain white or molded ironstone wares, which would have most likely been used at family mealtimes (Wall 1991, 1996). While whitewares and white granite wares dominate this assemblage significantly, it is important to note the presence of decorated wares. The Morris family in this sense is like many other nineteenth-century families; showing their most decorated and finest wares to guests, while setting their own table with undecorated white or molded wares. Visiting was an important social practice in the community, and this family was clearly participating in that practice. As prominent farmers and church members, it would have been important to the family to properly entertain their visiting guests, and the assemblage speaks to this effort to do so. Generally, the assemblage contains earlier, fine decorated wares and teawares, along with ambiguously dateable whitewares. Molded white ironstone wares slowly replace the whitewares, while the transfer prints and teawares seem to be curated over time. The assemblage clearly shows Martha and Evaline's efforts to keep a genteel household on their farm; perhaps it becomes even more important to evoke the materialities of domesticity when they must embody both the farm laboring and

domestic duties of the household. The gender dynamics of this household and its ceramics will be subject to further analysis at a later date.

In some ways, it is that predominates this assemblage. Why? It stands to reason that since this site was an operational farmstead for two generations, the vessels associated with that labor would predominate. Stoneware is interesting because it represents an intersection of labor, thrift, and aesthetic. As I will discuss in the next chapter, home industries were necessary to the survival of Black families on the frontier. Home production and storage of food and goods in the early nineteenth century served the same purpose that the Sears catalog would later serve - if you cannot always trust that butchers and storekeepers will allow you into their spaces, let alone serve you, then doing it yourself is an insurance against want. By producing goods such as eggs, dairy products, and molasses (to name a few), the early Morris family and later Martha and Evaline assured their economic survival on the frontier. Productive home industry also allowed the inhabitants of this farm to satisfy the protestant work ethic of their neighbors, leveraging their identity as productive, pious women, to protect them from the inevitable prejudices they would face. Notably, home industry Stoneware "crocks" collection and display continues to be a popular pastime in the rural Midwest, possibly because of the industry and self-sufficiency that such vessels represent for many farmers and their descendants.

Glass

During excavation, it became clear the nineteenth-century occupation surfaces uncovered were likely contiguous across the site, and not isolated activity areas. Because of this, as with the ceramics, MNV's calculated for each locus are likely high, as it is possible sherds across the site may mend. To account for this, I have conducted the site-wide analysis and trends in terms of sherd counts as opposed to Minimum Number of Vessel counts, since I feel that this more accurately represents the cross-site distribution of sherd types.

There were 1027 glass sherds recovered from survey and excavation at this site. This was divided broadly into container glass sherds (n=581 where n= # of glass sherds recovered) and tableware sherds (n=40), in addition to flat glass sherds (n=205), and other domestic glass, e.g. Kerosene lamps and chimneys, glass insulators, etc. (n=16). Within container glass, the majority were bottles (n=443). This bottle assemblage was composed of soda or beverage bottles, patent medicine or pharmaceutical bottles, fruit or storage jars. The tablewares consisted primarily of pressed glass tableware, drinking cups and dishes. The tableware category here encompasses both glass items used as part of the dinner service, teawares, and domestic glass table items such as vases and candy dishes. Toiletry or cosmetic bottles were also present on site, though in small numbers (n=5). Flat glass from the site (n=205) comprises 20% of the overall glass recovered from the site, and is generally not diagnostic beyond denoting the likely presence of windows.

There has been a significant amount of worked glass recovered from the site, 15 sherds in all. Worked glass is defined here as glass sherds that have been modified with intent, usually to create a scraper or other type of sharp tool. Given the preservation at the site, however, it is possible that there have been more worked sherds that have gone unremarked (e.g.

worked glass could have been mistaken for plow scarring in surface sherds). Encountering these types of artifacts at other African-American sites, Wilkie (1996) has suggested these may have been used as tools in similar style to stone tools, perhaps as scrapers. Artifact #975, For example, exhibits evidence of working, and dates specifically post 1880 and pre-WW1 (approximately 1880-1914). This date is derived from its light amethyst coloring, a symptom of manganese solarization. Manganese was used to de-color glass during this time period, but said glass turns amethyst when exposed to the sun. This tight date range indicates that the artifact dates specifically to Martha and Evaline's occupation of the site. The clear evidence of working means that it is likely that Martha and/or Evaline were working and reusing glass bottles and/or tablewares. It's not often that archaeologists can point to an artifact worked by a specific person or person(s), and even more infrequent that these persons are African-American women; though in her study of an African-American midwife's home, Wilkie (2003) showed that glass working was practiced by nineteenth-century women. Many of the artifacts at the site exhibit evidence of heavy use and re-use, perhaps indicating the importance of thrift and frugality.

Vessel Glass

In this assemblage, container (or, vessel) glass accounted for 581 sherds, 56.6% of the total glass assemblage. It is likely that most of these container sherds come from bottles; 443 (43.1% of the total glass assemblage) were identifiably bottle sherds. Though this assemblage was highly fragmented, at least 75 sherds were identified as belonging to pharmaceutical, or medicine bottles, comprising 7.3% of the total assemblage. It is likely that more sherds are from pharmaceutical bottles, but fragmentation has made them unidentifiable.

During the nineteenth-century American health consciousness was on the rise, and yet the medicinal industry was for the most part unregulated. This led to extensive use of patent medicines; mineral waters and healing tonics intended to cure everything from indigestion to cancer (Armstrong & Armstrong 1991, Wilkie 2003, Mullins 1999). Some may have been more effective than others, but the fact remains they were in high demand from the American public. For the African-American population in rural areas where doctors were prohibitively expensive, and not readily available, they may have had considerable appeal. They were affordable, generally, and easily acquired from the local store or later, the Sears catalog (Armstrong & Armstrong 1991). Their presence at this site is unsurprising, but unfortunately the assemblage is quite highly fragmented, and so the intended use or contents of vessels generally cannot be ascertained. However, features such as graduated tick marks on many of the sherds show that patent medicines were being consumed at the site, and with more frequency later in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This is unsurprising, given that Martha and Evaline would have been aging during this time, and perhaps experiencing more bodily maladies than before. Their investment in their health and health care could emphasize a desire to continue to live independent lives.

Also, with the advent of the Sears catalog in the 1890's, patent medicines would have been more widely available than ever, which could also account for their frequency on site. Other vessels present on the site are likely soda and mineral water bottles, which were produced

and sold widely in the Midwest (Farnsworth & Walthall 2011), as well as extracts both for health and kitchen use, tonics, and a variety of beverages.

Food preservation and storage would have been an important part of farm life; 26 fruit and canning jars were recovered, making up 2.5% of the overall assemblage. It is possible that this small representation is due to other items being used for storage, such as stoneware. Fragmentation of the assemblage may also account for the low identifiable sherd count. Additionally, it is also possible that this method of food preservation was not popular with the residents of this site; no glass lid-liners were recovered from this site, which would support this hypothesis.

Glass tableware accounts for 50 sherds at this site, 4.5% of the total assemblage. These are generally drinking glasses, dishes, tumblers, jelly tumblers, and vases. In general, these sherds are not often identifiable at this site, due to high levels of fragmentation. When possible, the decorative patterns have been identified (see following discussion sections). Individual pressed glass artifacts are discussed later in the chapter.

Zooarchaeology

Faunal remains recovered from the 2012 were a small portion of the assemblage. Faunal preservation in the Midwest, given the climate (which is wet, and by turns hot and cold) is not always very good. Especially in this mixed, plowed context, faunal remains recovered are highly fragmented. Additionally, in order to standardize the sample (vs. other projects in Illinois), the 2012 excavations used 1/4 inch screens. It is likely this led to extremely low faunal recovery rates. This was corrected in the 2013 field season; in this later season we wet-screened the artifacts through 2mm mesh. The analysis of the faunal remains is ongoing, and will be explored further at a later date. Table 1.1 shows a preliminary assessment of faunal remains at the site.

These results show that the 2012 faunal assemblage is dominated by medium to large mammal remains. Given that pigs and cows were being raised in large numbers at this site, this is unsurprising. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and when the Morris family still had large landholdings in this area, pigs were one of the main profitable enterprises for farmers. They would be raised and sold, shipped North to Chicago and the meat-packing industry. During the nineteenth century a growing national demand for meat meant that Midwestern farmers profited significantly from raising cattle and hogs (Reynolds et al 2014). It is this specific kind of farming and the profit gained from it that likely allowed the Morris family to amass the land which would sustain the family for the next few generations. The faunal remains appear to be a signature of this farming practice.

Artifact Discussion By Provenience

What follows is a detailed discussion of excavations and the artifacts recovered, organized by provenience. I begin with the pedestrian survey conducted in November of 2011, and continue by summarizing the excavation and results of each excavation unit.

Pedestrian Survey

Methodology of this survey was previously discussed earlier in this chapter. What follows is a discussion of the artifacts.

Artifact Discussion

Ceramics

Overall, 123 ceramic sherds were recovered from the pedestrian survey, with a minimum vessel count of 78 vessels. Stoneware sherds numbered 68 with a MNV of 42. Artifact #525 represents an example of the common decorative motif using both Albany and Bristol glazes; the exterior rim exhibits an Albany slip on the rim or shoulders, (resembling an annular band) while the rest of the vessel is covered with the Grayish Bristol Glaze (Stelle 2001). Artifact #527 is an example of a glaze choice we see somewhat commonly in this assemblage; the use of an Albany slip along with a Salt Glaze. Generally in stonewares one expects to see the use of one or the other; either Albany slip or a Salt Glaze. The chocolate brown characteristic of the Albany slip can serve as a glaze on its own. Still, both have been used as a glaze on many of these artifacts, suggesting that a local potter experimenting with different combinations of local clays and glazes perhaps employed this uncommon choice. It could also be that the salt glaze was being applied to the exterior of the vessel, and as such ended up on the interior of the vessel as a by-product of this process (Ramsay 1939, Stelle 2001).

Another stoneware artifact which speaks to the farm labor at the site is Artifact #529 is a butter churn. There is evidence of heavy use-wear on the interior ring, where the wooden closure for churning would have been placed. The profile of one sherd of the butter churn is relatively well preserved (Figure 5.5). This form is distinctive to butter production; narrow at the top and widening significantly below the collar to allow for more volume and movement of the interior contents.

Albany Slip is most common in the nineteenth century, with a TAQ of about 1940. In general, Bristol glazed stoneware becomes more popular in the late nineteenth century, and eventually replaces Albany Slip in the twentieth Century (Zilmer 1987, Mounce 1988). This assemblage contains a number of vessels, which have both types of glaze, suggesting that the majority of this assemblage dates to the transition period of the late nineteenth – early twentieth century. It should be said, though, that Albany slip and Salt glazes were popular throughout the nineteenth century, so many of the vessels could date to this period as well. Albany slip does dominate in the assemblage, so that does skew for a slightly earlier production date. The stoneware assemblage is almost entirely undecorated, again suggesting an earlier nineteenth-century production period and local manufacture for utilitarian use. It should also be noted that stoneware is relatively robust, and many of the artifacts show heavy use-wear; meaning that these vessels could have been used continuously for several decades. While Bristol glaze was common on beer bottles after 1835, it was not commonly used on crockery and storage vessels until 1890 (Stelle 2001). The colors of the Albany Slipware items recovered vary widely from a deep chocolate brown to nearly Black. This variation on execution also suggests experimental local manufacture of stonewares.

The assemblage from this site is highly fragmented due to over 50 years of farming, so it can be assumed that the sherds recovered represent only a small fraction of the original materials. Since the majority of artifacts were recovered from either the surface or the plow zone, plowing and other farming activities have also impacted them. While I do not believe this devalues the assemblage scientifically, it does render the creation of Minimum Vessel Counts difficult. It is always possible that the MNV I have estimated is slightly high, since the fragmentary nature of the artifacts makes them difficult to match and mend. Most of the stoneware vessels recovered from the site are what I refer to as “crocks” – primarily straight sided circular vessels of varying diameters used for various iterations of household and farm production storage (Figure 5.6). This would be contrasted with jars and jugs, which have more curved bodies and profiles, and an ovoid profile. “Churns” tend to be much larger vessels and are identified primarily by the collar and distinctive rim in the interior.

Yellow wares recovered from this surface collection include Mocha-decorated utilitarian ware (Artifact #571) and a chamber pot (Artifact #572). Both of these artifacts date to the broad occupation period of the site, at least 1830 through the first World War.

Glass

Glass sherds recovered from the pedestrian survey numbered 39, comprising a minimum vessel count of 33. The majority of this was vessel glass. Artifact #976, for example, presents us with another artifact that dates tightly to Martha and Evaline’s occupation of the site. This pharmaceutical bottle can be dated to between 1907 and 1916, due to its unique maker’s mark. The simple sans-serif “M” was used but the Maryland Glass Corp. during this time. While the Maryland Glass Corp.’s main export was cobalt blue Bromo-Seltzer bottles, they also occasionally filled other pharmaceutical bottle orders. The rectangular form of this bottle, as well as its production company indicate that it would likely have contained a patent medicine of some kind. Also produced by Maryland Glass Corp, artifact #982 is a slightly sun-colored rectangular bottle base. Though this artifact was also produced by the Maryland Glass Corp, the sherd has the later mark of the M inside a circle on the base. Toulouse states this mark was first used in 1916, and based on the slight solarization in the glass, this must date to this early period. Given the solarization and the mark, we can fairly tightly date this artifact to around 1916 (Toulouse 1971). This also would place this artifact squarely within Martha and Evaline’s occupation of the site. Artifact #979 is a sun-colored sherd, consisting of a small mouth external thread finish. The manganese solarization present gives this artifact a date of approximately 1880-1914, while the externally threaded small-mouth finish indicates it is likely a liquor flask or toiletry bottle.

Artifact #983 is another sun-colored (Manganese solarized) glass sherd, consisting of an entire base. The mold seams on this piece indicate a post-bottom mold manufacture, suggesting it dates to the nineteenth century. Additionally, a single sans-serif I appears as the maker’s mark. This was the mark of the Industrial Glass Company from 1892-1997 (sha.org). This date range, along with the addition of solarization, gives the artifact a tight date range of 1892-1914. In addition, it appears to have possibly been worked, adding to the artifacts that have been re-used in different capacities.

Since the assemblage is relatively fragmented, it is not often possible to identify what bottles were specifically used for, since that requires a label or a whole bottle to identify the form. With artifact #986 however, this was not the case. This bottle is in two pieces, but when combined, the embossed letters spell out "Extract, Terre Haute, Indiana". This is a distinct label from Hulman and Company's Superior Extract; and likely held vanilla extract. Hulman and Co. began as a grocery company located in nearby Terre Haute, IN 1850, manufacturing and selling grocery goods. In 1899, Hulman and Co would become well-known as the inventors of Clabber Girl Baking Powder; though this particular bottle likely dates to their early days as a wholesale grocer (Clabber Girl History).

Not all glass sherds recovered from the survey represent bottles; some, like artifact #985, are fragments of tablewares like drinking glasses, cups, bowls, and dishes. This artifact is sun-colored, dating to Martha and Evaline's occupation of the site (1880-1914). The form of the artifact is simple, with a plain rolled rim. This artifact also exhibits heavy use-wear. Artifact #980, for example, is a sun-colored drinking tumbler with arched panels – a common form of drinking glass found frequently throughout both sites. As with many artifacts collected from the surface, the solarization gives a date of 1880-1914, dating specifically to Martha and Evaline's occupation of the site.

Metal

Metal (other than nails and unidentified metal) was one of the largest sub-assemblages recovered from the survey. Artifact #122 was a nearly complete lamp burner. The majority of the metal assemblage is awaiting analysis, and will be explored at a later date.

Excavations

EU 1 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1039N 1020E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

The placement of this 1m X 1m unit was determined by artifact density revealed by the earlier shovel test pits, and the Nov. 2011 surface collection. The datum of this unit, the SW corner, was located on the site's relative grid at 1039N 1020E. Table 5.2 shows the unit's stratigraphic relationships, as well as the depths of each locus. EU1 consisted of 12 loci, which represent 7 different fill contexts separated by 5 interfaces. Two fill contexts, 7 and 8, follow continuously but are separated for clarity into arbitrary 10cm levels. The loci are distributed relatively evenly across the unit. The minimum number of ceramic vessels count for this unit was 13, with 24 individual sherds. The glass vessel count was higher at 21, with an individual sherd count of 46. Misc. artifacts present in this unit include, brick, slate, and charcoal. Ferrous metal was also present in this unit, primarily in the form of nails and unidentified metal.

Locus 1 represents the plow zone. Below locus 1, the target occupation level begins, with concentrations of brick and charcoal. The brick and charcoal increased with depth in the

unit, with the highest concentration present in locus 5. Where the unit was mottled with brick and charcoal inclusions, mottling with reddish clay sediment was also present in small amounts (<1%). Presence of mortar also peaked in locus 5. Presence of a higher percentage of brick and charcoal are interpreted as indicative of nineteenth-century occupation. The size of artifacts increased with depth as well, and the most complete artifacts were found in locus 5 and locus 7. Locus 8 had a small assemblage and is likely just a continuation of locus 7, with natural clay inclusions. Locus 12 represents a set of plow scars, which begin below context 6 and end just above sterile soil.

Artifact Discussion

Artifacts found in locus 1 were highly fragmented. The glass assemblage contained 1 sherd of press-molded tableware. This also contained a large sherd of stoneware with a colorless (potentially lead) glaze (Artifact # 392). Also in this locus was a large chunk of the glazed brick that has been found throughout the site. The minimum number of ceramic vessels for this locus was 4, with an individual sherd count of 7. The minimum number of glass vessels was 3, with an individual sherd count of 4.

Locus 3 contained a minimum of 3 ceramic and 8 glass vessels. Ceramic assemblage was small and stoneware predominated. The glass assemblage contained at least two examples of solarized pressed-glass tableware (Artifact #72) and a hand-crimped lamp chimney (Artifact #70) (Photo 19). The MNV for the ceramics from this locus was 3, with an individual sherd count of 5. For glass, the assemblage was comprised a minimum of 8 vessels, with an individual sherd count of 13.

Locus 5 contained a relatively small number of artifacts. The glass assemblage contained a medicine bottle and a cruet or castor fragment. A cruet (or castor) would have been used during meals, would have typically held salt, pepper, or perhaps mustard or another spice. Whiteware and stoneware dominated the ceramic assemblage, which had an MVN of 6.

Locus 7 had a minimum of 5 ceramic vessels with a total sherd count of 9. The ceramic assemblage from this locus was primarily utilitarian stoneware, and undecorated whiteware sherds. The glass assemblage was comprised of a minimum of 7 vessels with an overall sherd count of 21. The glass assemblage of this locus was dominated by bottle glass, with a high percentage (n=7, or 33.3%) of the sherds exhibiting manganese solarization. This dates the deposit from roughly 1880-1914, which would fall under the occupation of Martha and Evaline. However, since farming has disturbed the site, it's likely that what the artifacts represent is a continuous occupation (approx 1845-1925).

Locus 8 contained a clear example of Chamberlain's Patent Medicine bottle from Des Moines (Artifact #107) (Old Main Artifacts 2013). While this assemblage is highly fragmented due to plowing and farming, it is likely that many of the glass fragments recovered are derived from bottles such as this one. Use of patent medicines was widespread in the nineteenth century; as I discussed previously. This use as an example of widespread use of patent medicine bottles. This artifact is embossed with the letters "MOINES" – likely from Des Moines, IA. Chamberlain and Co.; who labeled their bottles in this fashion, was a popular patent medicine manufacturer in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth century. Given this production range, it is likely this artifact dates to Martha and Evaline's occupation of the site.

EU 2 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1028N 1032E

Datum: SE

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

The placement of Excavation Unit 2 was chosen based on artifact densities in the Nov. 2011 surface collection and STP data. This unit's datum, located in the SE corner was located at 1028 N 1032E on the relative site grid. Table 5.3 shows the unit's stratigraphic relationships, as well as the depths of each locus. The 1m X 1m unit contained a total of 7 different loci, representing 4 different fill contexts separated by 3 interfaces.

Locus 1 represents the relatively shallow plow zone, which contained few artifacts. Locus 3 represents the beginning of the occupation layer, and contained brick and charcoal inclusions, which became more numerous with depth. These inclusions were denser in the SW corner of the unit. Artifact density increased in Locus 5, but decreased as the unit neared sterile soil. Locus 5 was the last one to contain cultural material. The distribution of cultural material in locus 5 was slightly deeper near the N wall, where the artifacts were slightly larger. Locus 7 represents the termination in sterile soil, which in this region is characterized by a yellow and white coloring, and extremely dense clay sediment. See Figure 5.3 for the EU 2 Excavation Summary Table.

Artifact Discussion

This assemblage had a smaller number than artifacts than EU1. For locus 1, a shallow plow-zone layer, the glass MNV was 2 with a total sherd count of 2 and the ceramic MNV was 1, with a total sherd count of, unsurprisingly, 1. The artifacts in locus 3 were less fragmentary than in locus 1. The glass from locus 3 was comprised of primarily vessel glass, with an MNV of 11 and a total sherd count of 19. Notably, a dark blue glass sherd was present, perhaps representing a toiletry or cosmetics bottle. Locus 3 had a small ceramics assemblage, with an MNV of 4 and a total sherd count of 6. A porcelain tableware vessel was recovered from this locus, with a sherd count (for this particular vessel) of 2. The rest of the ceramic assemblage was made up primarily of utilitarian stoneware. Locus 5, the final and largest material assemblage of the unit, contained a glass MNV of 10 represented by 16 individual sherds, and a ceramic MNV of 5 with 6 individual sherds. The ceramic assemblage is dominated by tableware, with a notable hand painted vessel (artifact #135). The glass in locus 5 was dominated by bottle glass. The misc. artifacts in this unit were composed of brick, artifacts, charcoal and slag and were present in all non-plow zone matrices. Ferrous metal was present in loci 3 and 5.

EU 3 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1017N 1024E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

The location of Excavation Unit 3 was chosen based on data from the November 2011 surface survey, and the May 2012 STP data. This unit was 1m X 1m in size, with the datum in the SW corner, located at 1017N 1024E on the relative site grid. Table 5.4 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered. The occupation layer of this unit proved to be shallow and with a sparse artifact count, and excavators hypothesized that this may indicate the near-southern boundary of the occupation area. This unit contained a total of 5 different loci, represented by 3 fill contexts separated by 2 interfaces. All loci were relatively evenly spread throughout the unit.

Locus 1 represents the plow zone, while locus 3 represents the occupation layer, populated by small brick and charcoal fragments. The occupation layer in this unit was somewhat shallow, and mottled with sterile soil fairly quickly in excavation. This unit terminated in sterile soil at an average depth of .206 meters.

Artifact Discussion

This small assemblage in locus 1 had a ceramic MNV of 2, represented by 4 sherds in total. The ceramic artifact #397 is an interesting example of the gothic paneled white granite; the panels are rectangular giving the vessel a hexagonal look, but the bluing in the glaze indicates a late nineteenth-century production date. The glass in locus 1 comprised 4 vessels, with a sherd count of 7 in total. The glass in locus 1 was dominated by bottle glass. Locus 3 contained glass with a very small MNV (n=4, with individuals also=4) but a complete patent finish was present (Artifact #759). As the name suggests, this is likely from a patent medicine bottle. The ceramic assemblage also had an MNV of 4 with an individual sherd count of 6. Ceramic artifact# 388 is curious, it has a dark red paste with a shiny glaze that could be lead. This could be an example of the redware found throughout the site. Also in this locus are two other piece of utilitarian vessels (stoneware) and a burned whiteware sherd (artifact #391). Both loci contained misc. artifacts similar to those found throughout the site, brick and charcoal fragments.

EU 4 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1035N 1025E (NW Corner)

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

The placement of Excavation Unit 4 was determined based on data from the surface collection in November 2011. This 1m X 1m unit's datum was located in the SW corner. The NW corner was used for mapping purposes, and its coordinates on the relative grid are 1035N 1025E. Table 5.5 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well

as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered. This unit contained a total of 7 different loci, representing 4 fill contexts separated by 3 interfaces. All loci are distinct, and are spread relatively evenly across the unit.

Locus 1 represents the plow zone, which contained a variety of ceramics and the base of a medicine bottle. The occupation layer, locus 3, represents the beginning of charcoal and brick inclusions as well as a change to darker, sandier sediment. Locus 3 also contained mottling with brownish gold rock in the East side of the unit; excavators hypothesized that this may represent decomposing limestone, possibly from architectural remains. Also present in this context was a large concentration of brick, and slag inclusions. Locus 3 gave way to a larger concentration of artifacts in locus 5, as well as larger chunks of brick and charcoal. The brick chunks in this context were some of the largest recovered, with a larger percentage of them “glazed”. Exactly what this “glaze” is on these bricks is still under consideration. The artifacts in locus 5 are also more complete, and include a porcelain cup base and a small amount of small mammal bone. Locus 5 terminated in sterile soil, and excavators note that they continued “a little into the sterile soil”.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained few ceramic artifacts, and those recovered were fragmented, as would be expected. The ceramics in this locus had an MNV of 4, with a total sherd count of 8. Artifact #383 exhibits wear on the footring of the whiteware vessel. Artifact #384 is an example of the printed fern in brown transfer print. The glass in this locus had an MNV of 6 with a total sherd count of 14. Artifact #746 (Glass) is a very thick base of a toiletry bottle, with the letter “N” though the rest of the word is cut off. Dr. Laurie Wilkie hypothesizes it’s for “New York” – thus the designation of toiletry bottle. A bead on the base of this sherd indicates it was manufactured in a cup-bottom mold.

Locus 4-3 had a larger count than locus 4-1; with a ceramic MNV of 9 and a total sherd count of 16. This locus contains two of the largest pieces of redware in the assemblage (artifact #408). These exhibit clear lead glazing. The glass in this assemblage has an MNV of 9 with a total sherd count of 26. This assemblage also contains a medicine bottle with clear graduation marks and a capacity mark (CC) (Artifact #780). For bottles with graduation capacity marks, the date range is post 1900 through the mid twentieth century. This is yet another example of a specifically pharmaceutical bottle that most likely dates to Martha and Evaline’s occupation.

Locus 4-5 has the largest artifact count of this unit; the ceramic MNV is 12 with a total sherd count of 15, and the glass MNV is 12 with a total sherd count of 21. The glass assemblage was dominated by bottle glass. Artifact #439 was a small pharmaceutical vial, possibly a sample vial then re-used, or a small bottle for medicine dispensed in small amounts such as iodine. This ceramic assemblage also contained redware (artifact #149), and was otherwise dominated by tablewares. The misc. artifacts recovered from this unit are architectural in nature (i.e. brick) with the addition of charcoal and slag.

EU 5 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1022N 1017E (SW Corner)

Datum: SE

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

The location of EU 5 was chosen based on data from the November 2011 surface collection. This unit was 1m X 1m in size and the SW corner was located at 1022N 1017E on the relative grid. The datum was located in the SE corner, since this was the lowest quadrant due to the slope of the site. Table 5.6 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Locus 1 and 2 represent the plow zone, in this case was deeper than 10cm, so there is no interface between Loci 1 and 2. The plow zone in this case did not contain much cultural material. Locus 4 contained what sparse occupational material there was, and terminated quickly. This unit was notably shallow with few artifacts and a shallow occupation layer. Table 5.6 shows the excavation summary for EU 5.

Artifact Discussion

Loci 1 and 2 were the same context, separated by an arbitrary 10cm. Collectively, their ceramic MNV was 3 with a total sherd count of 4, and the glass MNV was 7, with a total sherd count of 9. The glass in this assemblage was dominated by bottle glass. The ceramics contained both tableware and utilitarian stonewares, with a redware sherd as well. Brick and charcoal comprised the misc. artifacts from these loci. Locus 5-4 also has low MNVs. The Ceramic MNV was 3, with the same total sherd count, and the glass MNV was 6 with a total sherd count of 12. Ceramic artifact #385 is the largest piece of redware in the collection (so far, 4cm X 5cm) and is the base of the vessel. The exterior appears unglazed, like many of the other stoneware vessels found on site. However, the paste is clearly red, unlike the other stoneware vessels. The glaze on the interior appears very worn. Also in this locus a piece of poorly made porcelain was recovered (Artifact #387).

EU 6 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1038.157N 1019.020E (SW Corner)

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

This unit was placed directly adjacent to EU1, in order to explore the artifact concentration in that area. The 1m X 1m unit's datum was in the SW corner, located at 1038.157N 1019.020E on the sites relative grid. Table 5.7 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered. The unit contained a total of 7 different loci, comprised of 4 different fill contexts separated by 3 interfaces.

Locus 1, the plow zone, contained a large concentration of artifacts, including a bottle finish. The sediment darkened and became siltier in locus 3, the beginning of the cultural occupation layers. Locus 3 contained larger charcoal and brick fragments in both size and frequency, as well as a higher artifact concentration than the previous layer. Locus 5 contained an inclusion and artifact concentration that was denser still than the previous loci. The sediments in locus 5 also became clay-like in texture. The artifact and brick and charcoal concentrations tapered off near the bottom of this level. The loci in this unit were distributed relatively evenly across the unit, with the exception of locus 5, which was deeper on the eastern edge of the unit. This level terminated in sterile soil (locus 7).

Artifact Discussion

There were few artifacts in locus 1; the ceramic assemblage had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 5, and the glass MNV was 4 with a total sherd count of 10. This locus contained one medicine bottle and one circular base (not of the same vessel). There was a large yellow ware fragment in this locus, with a brown and white slip decoration that dates it to the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century (JEFPAT).

Locus 3 included brick and charcoal indicating nineteenth-century occupation beneath the plow zone. The ceramic assemblage was slightly larger than locus 1 (as expected) with an MNV of 5 vessels, with a total sherd count of 10. Two transfer-printed tableware sherds were recovered from this locus (artifacts #340, 341), on exhibiting flow blue decoration. The color and design of the transfer print found on artifact #340 has a production range from 1818-1867. This is one of the few artifacts that likely dates to Patience and Mason's occupation of the site. The flow blue piece, on the other hand, dates from 1840-1900 so could belong to either (or both) occupations. The remainder of the ceramics in this locus are utilitarian stonewares and undiagnostic whiteware sherds. The glass in this locus had an MNV of 14 and a total sherd count of 7. The glass in this assemblage consisted mostly of flat and bottle glass, with the addition of a sherd from a kerosene lamp chimney. The TPQ of this particular artifact is 1860, dating it (again) to either (or both) occupations of the site. Sun-colored glass was also recovered from this locus, which, given the date of the lamp chimney, suggests this locus (like these loci across the site) spans both occupations of the site.

Locus 5 had a comparable assemblage to locus 3, with a ceramic MNV of 5 with a total sherd count of 14, and a glass MNV of 9 with a total sherd count of 19. The ceramic assemblage from this locus contained a small fragment of redware with a lead glaze (artifact #378). The depth of this locus would correspond with the potential age of the redware, given that it is likely one of the earlier artifacts found on this site. Other small redware fragments have been found at the site, also with a lead glaze, although the fragments are all quite small, so all of these sherds could conceivably constitute a small number of vessels (one or two). This locus had a glass MNV of 9 with a total sherd count of 19. Like locus 5, this assemblage contained a sherd from a kerosene lamp chimney (artifact #736) and sun colored glass, making the date for these loci somewhat confusing. It's possible locus 5 represents the earliest occupation layer, while locus 3 contains artifacts curated from the earliest occupation of the site, as well as later acquisitions. All loci contained ferrous metal (mostly nails) and misc. artifacts included in this unit were brick, mortar, and charcoal inclusions

EU 7 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1048.084N 1039.586E (SW Corner)

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

The location of Excavation Unit 7 was chosen based on data from an amateur metal detecting survey of the site. An interested community volunteer is an amateur metal detecting enthusiast, and volunteered to come and do a small survey over the space of two days. The purpose of this investigation was to test whether or not metal detecting information could yield data for our investigation, and if so, what kind. The reading that led us to place a unit in this location was “4-12’ multi”, meaning that there were multiple anomalies detected between .102-.305 meters. It is also worth noting that due to the slope of the site this unit is far downhill from the highest point on the site; which could account for the presence of large artifacts in the plow zone and less in the occupation layers. This would also account for the high ratio of ceramics to glass in this layer, since ceramics (on average) tend to be heavier than glass sherds. Table 5.8 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1, the plow zone, contained a dense artifact concentration, as mentioned before. The ceramics in this locus, composed primarily of stoneware, had an MNV of 23, with a total sherd count of 37. Glass MNV was significantly smaller with a MNV of 5 and a total sherd count of 6. The glass assemblage contained almost entirely bottle glass. There is, however, a large amount of uncategorized metal in this locus. This artifact concentration dropped off steeply in locus 3, which was very shallow and contained very few artifacts. MNV for both glass and ceramics was 3, with a total ceramic sherd count of 4 and a total glass sherd count of 6. Excavators removed approximately 10cm of sterile clay in locus 5 to test the accuracy of the metal detecting anomalies; not surprisingly, nothing was uncovered. It’s likely that the metal detector was triggered by the large amount of uncategorized metal in locus 1.

EU 8 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1013.944N 1033.298E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

The location of EU 8 was chosen based on the amateur metal detecting survey conducted at the site. The SW corner of this 1m X 1m unit was located at 1013.994N 1033.298E on the relative site grid. Table 5.9 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered. EU 8 consists of 8 loci, comprised of 5 fill contexts separated by 3 interfaces. Loci 1 and 2 are both part of the

same context (the plow zone), separated by an arbitrary 10cm stopping point. This unit is uphill and south of the hypothesized location of the nineteenth-century house location.

The artifact concentration in EU 8 was sparse, but a feature was uncovered (locus 5). Excavators believe the circular soil stain uncovered in this layer (at about a depth of 24cm) represents a posthole. The possible posthole contained no artifacts, but did have brick and charcoal inclusions at its center. This soil stain was approximately 17cm in diameter at its discovery (the top) and quickly became more circular with depth, staying at a constant 14.5cm. The outer ring of this stain was grayish brown (10YR 5/2) while the center was a darker brown (10 YR 5/4 “yellowish brown”). It should be noted that loci 7 and 5 begin at the termination of locus 4, cutting into loci 6 and 8.

Excavations in all four directions out from this posthole feature did not reveal further features, but excavators hypothesize, due to the distance of this feature from the house, that this could be a standalone post for hitching, or perhaps part of a fence or other auxiliary structure. See Table 5.9 for excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

The first locus of EU 8 (locus 1) does not contain many artifacts, and since they are likely from the plow zone they are highly fragmented. The ceramic MNV was 1 with the same sherd count and glass had an MNV of 3 with a total sherd count of 6. Of note there is one fragment of yellow ware (artifact #375). Additionally, recovered from this locus were sun-colored glass sherds (1880-1914) and a small glass fragment that could be auto glass (artifact # 729) suggesting that this is a mixed midden context. As previously noted, is likely that the first context of most loci from this site are mixed midden contexts, given that this land has been farmed for the past 50 years. The second locus in Excavation Unit #8 has even fewer artifacts than the previous layer, with a glass MNV of 0 and a ceramic MNV of 1. Locus 4 had a slightly larger number of artifacts, with the ceramic MNV at 3 with a total sherd count of 4, and the glass MNV at 5 with a total sherd count of 7. Glass artifacts in this locus were primarily associated with foodways, including a condiment bottle, while the few ceramics were primarily tableware. Though this unit contained stratigraphic contexts beneath after 8-4, the posthole feature did not include artifacts, though it did exhibit brick and charcoal inclusions. Misc. artifacts found throughout this locus were brick, slag, and charcoal as noted in the table below.

EU 9 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1016.555N 1033.703E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 9 was opened to investigate the possibility of further postholes related to the one found in EU8; this unit was placed so that it would catch any features 8-10 ft N of the previous posthole. No posthole features were located in this unit. On the relative grid, the SW corner of EU 8 was located at 1016.555N 1033.703E, and the datum was also in the

SW corner. Table 5.10 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Locus 1, the plow zone, contained more artifacts than expected and was closed when sediments began to show signs of mottling and charcoal and brick inclusions. Context 3, associated with the nineteenth-century occupation was shallow and contained few artifacts, and terminated in sterile soil without exhibiting any signs of a posthole feature. See Table 5.10 for EU 9 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained a small number of artifacts, but many of the artifacts were diagnostic. The glass assemblage had an MNV of 8 with a total sherd count of 11. Among these, artifact #823 is a very small bottle neck with a small bore diameter (>1mm) and given this size, it is likely this is a toiletry bottle of some kind (e.g. Florida water). Also in this assemblage is a piece of glass (Artifact #832), which has clearly been worked. Both of these glass artifacts are amethyst solarized, giving them a TPQ of 1880-1914. The ceramics in this locus had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 4 also. Among these was a pastoral printed ceramic sherd (Artifact #428) and a blue edged non-impressed sherd (Artifact #429). Artifact #825 was an optic molded tumbler, which are found throughout the site. On the whole, the artifacts from this assemblage were diagnostic of domestic activity.

Another possibly worked piece of glass was recovered from EU 9, this time in locus 3 (see discussion of worked glass at opening of this chapter). This artifact (#864) was a cobalt blue bottle sherd; the color suggests it may have been a toiletry or cosmetic bottle before it was re-worked as a glass tool. Artifact #869 was an embossed bottle with the letters "IND" – possibly for Indiana, indicating that this bottle was most likely locally obtained and manufactured. The glass in locus 3 had a total MNV of 7, with a total sherd count of 15. Notably, 7 of these glass sherds were flat glass, likely used as windows. Such a high presence of architecture-related glass suggests this locus may be near the location of the house. The ceramics in this assemblage contained gothic molded tableware and utilitarian stoneware. Notably, there was one small fragment of stoneware that was thin and molded (artifact # 453) – possibly a handle or some kind of attachment. Additionally a stoneware base with the diameter of 9cm (artifact #457) showed heavy use wear. This ceramic assemblage had a total minimum vessel count of 6 with a total sherd count of 6 also. The misc. artifacts recovered from this unit included brick, charcoal and slag. Though these loci were somewhat shallow, the artifacts contained herein suggest domestic activity.

EU 10 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1033.189N 1024.002E

Datum: NE

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 10 was opened adjacent (SW) of EU4, a unit with a dense artifact concentration and large, nearly whole bricks. The relative grid coordinates for this unit are

1033.198N 1024.002E in the SW corner. The NE corner was used for the datum in this case, as it had the lowest elevation. EU 10 was made up of 7 different loci, comprised of 4 distinct fill contexts separated by 3 interfaces. Table 5.11 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Locus 1, the plow zone, continued just past 10cm. Locus 3 contained brick and charcoal inclusions. Locus 5 was mottled with yellow clay, and contained a larger-than-expected density of artifacts, including pressed glass, nails, a large fence staple, and possible can metal. Also within locus 5 were several N/S linear depressions, likely plow scars, due to this site's use as a corn and soybean field for the past 6 decades. See Table 5.11 for EU 10 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

Tablewares and items related to food ways dominated this assemblage. In locus 1, glass artifacts were most numerous with a MNV of 8 and a total sherd count of 24. The embossed letters "TER" followed by "ND" on artifact #49 suggest that this was likely made in nearby Terre Haute, IN. Terre Haute was home of the Hulman Company, a producer of wholesale grocery goods from the 1850s into the early twentieth century, so glass items embossed with this place name aren't uncommon in the assemblage. Artifact #55 is glass tableware, decorated in a fluted pattern. Glass bottle (artifact #61) had an applied flare finish. These were commonly used on small ink bottles and liquor flasks, and was generally manufactured between 1800-1870's (SHA database). Also in this layer was a fruit jar with a lightning closure, likely used for storing food items. This item (artifact #65) is light amethyst in color, exhibiting manganese solarization that is somewhat unusual for a canning jar. This gives the artifact a date range of 1880-1914 and would have likely been used during Martha and Evaline's ownership of the home. Ceramics from locus 1 had an MNV of 5 with a total sherd count of 17. The ceramics assemblage was mostly utilitarian stoneware, with one small redware sherd (artifact #201). Additionally, a small tableware sherd was decorated with black transfer print, giving this artifact a tight date range of 1785-1864. This opens the possibility that this dates to mason and Patience's occupation of the site, though there is always the possibility it was procured secondhand, or curated over time (and as such dates to both site occupations). Nails were also recovered from this locus.

Locus 3 had a much smaller assemblage of artifacts, with a ceramic MNV of 3 with a total sherd count of 5, and a glass MNV of 6 with a total sherd count of 8. The ceramics were made up entirely of utilitarian stoneware and undecorated whiteware. The glass in locus 3 consisted almost entirely of vessel glass, with the exception of 2 sherds of flat glass. At least one artifact (#643) dates to 1880-1914 (manganese solarization), and exhibited ovoid form patterning. Locus 5 had a similarly small assemblage. Ceramics in locus 5 had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 6, and consisted of utilitarian stoneware and undecorated whiteware. The glass in this locus had an MNV of 6, with a total sherd count of 13; and was more varied than the ceramics from locus 5. This assemblage also recovered sherds from a kerosene lamp chimney (artifact #421) and a press-molded tableware dish (artifact #422). The remainder of the glass assemblage are likely vessel glass. The miscellaneous artifacts found throughout this unit were brick, slag, and charcoal and are noted in the table below.

EU 11 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1014.766N 1036.411E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

EU 11 was placed 8-10ft E of EU 8, to investigate the possibility of further posthole features, which were not located. EU8 was located at 1014.766N 1036.411E (SW corner) on the site's relative grid. Table 5.12 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered. This unit contained 5 different loci, represented by 3 fill contexts separated by 2 interfaces. Locus 4 was removed from the matrix upon further reflection, the layer it is representing is part of locus 3.

Locus 1, the plow zone, contained very few (n<4) artifacts. The historical occupation layer, locus 3, was similarly sparse. Locus 3 had inclusions of brick, charcoal, and mortar, with a large chunk of mortar recovered from the SW corner of the unit. Within locus 3 was a fairly linear N/S depression, likely a similar plow scar to those found in other units. Locus 3 terminated in sterile soil without location of a posthole feature. See Table 5.12 for detailed EU 11 excavation summary.

Artifact Discussion

EU 11 contained few artifacts. Locus 1 had no ceramics, and the glass assemblage had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 8. This glass assemblage had 3 sherds of flat glass, and the rest of the assemblage consisted entirely of bottle glass. Locus 3 had a ceramic MNV of 2 with a total sherd count of 2, while the glass assemblage had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 8. These consisted of an Ironstone cup or bowl (artifact #351) and a yellowware fragment (artifact #352), as well as a colorless glass piece of hollowware, likely a cup (artifact #695) and a soda bottle (artifact #694). Utilitarian household goods comprised this locus.

EU 12 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1029.241N 1020.00E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 12 was opened adjacent (approximately 3 units SW) of EU4, to explore this area as a possible concentration of domestic activity, such as a house location. The large artifact density, as well as a concentration of intact brick present in EU 4 give a strong indication of proximity to a domestic activity area such as a chimney. Table 5.13 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and

representative material recovered. This unit had 7 distinct loci, made up of 4 fill contexts separated by 3 interfaces.

Locus 1, the plow zone, contained a large density of artifacts and terminated in a soil change (grey mottling, brick and charcoal inclusions) indicating the beginning of the historic occupation layers. Locus 3 contained indications of plow scarring, and few artifacts, mostly nails. Locus 3 terminated in a darker, denser clay sediment mottled with gray. This sediment, locus 5, was a very dense clay much like sterile soil, but darker in color and containing artifacts. Excavators considered that this dark clay compaction may represent a dirt floor. A red stain of unknown origin was revealed in the NW corner; this was photographed; it most likely represents the remnants of decayed metal or natural iron in the sediments. The unit was bisected and the profiles photographed, to explore the possibility that this may be a floor feature. After bisecting, the entire locus was taken down to sterile soil. See Table 5.13 for EU 12 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 of EU 12 contained a large artifact density. The ceramics assemblage had an MNV of 11 with a total sherd count of 12. The majority of these sherds were tableware, and one sherd of pearlware (artifact #204) was recovered from this locus. The date range of production for pearlware is 1775-1825, which indicates that this artifact must have likely been curated from previous owners (handed-down or inherited), acquired second hand or curated. Two sherds with red transfer print were recovered (artifact #210-211). The remainder of this ceramic assemblage consisted of undecorated whiteware and utilitarian stoneware. The glassware in this assemblage had an MNV of 14 with a total sherd count of 23. This consisted primarily of bottle glass, including one old amber-colored sherd (artifact #123) with a pre-1890 date. Also in this assemblage was a pressed glass tableware sherd (likely a dish) (artifact #116), and a pharmaceutical bottle with a prescription finish (artifact #481), and a very small bottle (artifact #482). Four of the sherds recovered from this locus were solarized, with a date of 1880-1914. Nails were recovered from Locus 1.

In contrast to locus 1, locus 3 contained very few artifacts. The glass MNV was 4 with a total sherd count of 8. This glass assemblage was made up almost entirely of bottle glass, and contained one amethyst solarized medicine bottle finish (Artifact #909). The ceramic MNV for this locus was 1 with a total sherd count of, shockingly, 1. This sherd was undecorated whiteware, likely tableware (artifact #477). The last locus, locus 5, had a slightly higher ceramic MNV of 3 with a total sherd count of 7. Most notable in locus 5, was that this assemblage contained a Prosser molded button with a pie-crust decoration. This decoration was fairly common on buttons of the late nineteenth century. Artifact #414 measured 18 lines (11.45mm) that indicates it was likely a shirt or dress button (Sprague 2002). The remaining ceramics were utilitarian stoneware and undecorated whiteware and white granite. The glass MNV for locus 5 was 6 with a total sherd count of 14. This assemblage consisted almost entirely of bottle glass, with circular, paneled, and ovoid forms. At least one artifact was embossed with the letters "IN", possibly due to production in the neighboring state of Indiana. One artifact (#795) was solarized, giving a date range of 1880-1914. Additionally, two sherds of flat glass were recovered.

EU 13 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1034.927N 1026.269E

Datum: SE

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 13 was opened NE of EU4, just adjacent, exploring this area as a possible house location. The SW corner of EU13 was located at 1034.927N 1026.269E. The datum in this case was located in the SE corner, due to its depth. EU13 consisted of 7 different loci, made up of 4 fill contexts separated by 3 interfaces. The loci were spread relatively evenly across the unit. Table 5.14 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Artifact Discussion

EU 13 contained a dense artifact concentration in all loci containing cultural materials. Locus 1 had a glass MNV of 12 with a high overall sherd count of 44, but most of these were so fragmentary to be minimally identifiable. The ceramics in locus 1 had an MNV of 9 with a total number of sherds at 12. The ceramics were comprised primarily of tablewares. A spoon (artifact #54) was recovered from locus 1 as well. Locus 3's glass assemblage had an MNV of 7 with a total sherd count of 18. This assemblage contained a bottle base, a Prosser button, and a large chunk of glazed brick among other cultural materials, and terminated in another cultural layer, locus 5, with mottled sediments and larger inclusions of brick and charcoal, as well as a dense artifact concentration. Locus 5 terminated in sterile soil.

EU 14 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1013.914N 1030.934E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

EU 14 was the last unit opened in search of any other postholes associated with the one found in EU8. Volunteers excavated this unit, completely by shovel skimming. No features were uncovered in this unit, and the only stratigraphic context it contained was plow zone. The plow zone had small inclusions of brick and charcoal, but aside from that was empty and rather shallow, terminating in sterile soil with no sign of a posthole feature.

Artifact Discussion

The few artifacts recovered from this unit were mostly glass, with a glass MNV of 8 with a total sherd count of 10, and a ceramic MNV of 2 with a total sherd count of 2. The glass assemblage in this locus had a relatively high MNV, despite the low MNI. One artifact, a solarized medicinal bottle, contained the letters "BO" which could be Borax or Dr. Bo--- some sort of cure (artifact #788). Also in this locus was a 12.5% complete rim of a 10cm diameter stoneware storage vessel (artifact #409). Given the middling size of this storage

vessel, it could have been used in domestic storage, such as for sugar or flour. Recovered in this locus was also a small yellow ware sherd, (artifact 410) making the ceramics in this locus entirely utilitarian.

EU 15 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1034.858N 1032.069E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 15 was opened at 1034.858N 1032.069E on the relative grid (in the SW corner). The location of this unit was chosen on the basis of artifact concentrations found in the July 2012 surface survey; additionally, this unit was located 5m E of EU 4. EU 15 turned out to be very shallow, closing the same day it was opened; however there were a fairly large amount of intact artifacts in the plow zone. Excavators interpret that this was most likely due to the unit's downhill location on the site, as opposed to other units that may indicate nineteenth-century activity areas. Table 5.15 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

EU 15 consisted of 5 different loci, representing 3 fill contexts and 2 interfaces. The plow zone, as previously stated, contained a surprising number of intact artifacts most likely due to the downhill wash of surface artifacts from the site. Locus 3 was the nineteenth-century cultural occupation layer, which was shallow and had few artifacts, quickly terminating in sterile soil. This may represent the Eastern edge of the nineteenth-century domestic activity area. Brick, slag, and charcoal were recovered from all occupation loci. See Table 5.15 for EU 15 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

The ceramics in locus 1 (MNV=8, Total Sherd Count=10), like most of the site, represent both domestic and work related ceramics. Molded white granite in the shape of a tulip cup (artifact #461) and shell-edged ceramics (artifact #458) were found along with utilitarian stonewares. Also in this locus was a stoneware vessel lid (Artifact #464) with a brown salt glaze design on the interior. A 2-hole Prosser button was recovered whole (artifact #466). This button is somewhat unique in that it has a rainbow-like patina painted on it. The glass in this assemblage had a relatively high MNV (n=16) with a total sherd count of 33. Two patent bottle finishes were recovered, as well as a sherd of optic molded tableware with rounded ribs on the interior. A cobalt blue bottle sherd (#886) was recovered, suggesting the possibility that there are toiletry bottles in this assemblage.

One bottle sherd (artifact # 881) was recovered embossed with the letter "B" – but not in the standard "ball jar" style. Other possibilities are Borax, which would have been used as a cleaning agent and possibly for personal hygiene – women in the nineteenth century would use Borax to clean their hair.

Locus 3 had a comparable number of artifacts, with a ceramic MNV of 7 and a total sherd count of 9, and a glass MNV of 17 with a sherd count of 33). One ceramic sherd (artifact #447) exhibited a maker's mark that clearly shows "SLEM" referencing Burslem, the Staffordshire pottery district. Unfortunately the rest of the mark is too fragmentary to identify. Still, this lets us know that the people living at the site were, at least to a certain extent, using ceramics imported from England. Also in this locus were transfer printed chinoiserie sherds (n=3, artifact #448) and a sheet printed handle to a tableware dish of some kind. A storage vessel with a rim measuring 9cm was also recovered. Sherd #446 showed water damage. Overall, this assemblage was comprised mostly of fine tablewares. The glass from locus 3 had a comparatively high MNV (n=17) but it should be noted that many of these sherds were extremely fragmentary (>1cm); resulting in a large overall sherd count of 31. One glass bottle base contained an open pontil scar, indicating a likely pre-Civil War production date (artifact #860). This artifact was also highly patinated and possibly burned, indicating heavy re-use. The majority of the glass in this locus was bottle glass, though there was also an optic molded tableware tumbler (artifact #861), and a small sherd from a kerosene lamp chimney (artifact #851).

EU 16 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1011.000N 1033.601E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

EU 16 was opened enclosing the area 8-10 feet South of the posthole located in EU8. The SW corner of EU 16 was located at 1011.00N 1033T.601E on the site's relative grid. EU16 was excavated completely by shovel skimming, and the plow zone terminated in sterile soil, and thus only 3 different loci were determined. No signs of a posthole feature were recovered. Table 5.16 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Artifact Discussion

In this unit, the glass recovered had a MNV of 5 with a total vessel count of 9, and the ceramics had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 4. Artifact #803 was a complete patent medicine bottle finish in the ball neck style. This assemblage in general contains a large number of patent medicine bottle finish, and this is a standard example. Also contained in this locus were utilitarian wares (yellow ware), whitewares, manganese solarized glass (n=2) and a bottle base that exhibited evidence of re-use (artifact #799). Misc. artifacts found in this unit were slate, slag, charcoal and mortar.

EU 17 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1017.762N 1026.150E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 17 was opened South of EU4 and West of EU12, in the middle of what was hypothesized based on the surface collection and data from previous units to be the domestic activity area. On the relative site grid, EU 17 was located at 1017.726N 1026.150E (by the SW corner). EU 17 consisted of 7 different loci, 4 fill contexts divided by 3 interfaces. Table 5.17 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Locus 1, the plow zone, had a high concentration of artifacts despite being quite shallow. Locus 3, the hypothesized cultural occupation layer also contained a large concentration of artifacts. This layer was mottled with darker soil, and in addition to brick and charcoal also contained mortar inclusions (~2%). A grey, semi-circular stain (10 YR 5/2) emerged at the bottom of locus 3. Beneath the locus 3 was primarily sterile soil, but within the sterile soil there were several grayish brown stains of the same color (10YR 5/2) accompanied by slightly darker lines (10 YR 5/3). These stains and lines were photographed and then excavated until only sterile soil remained in the unit. After some consideration excavators hypothesize that the most likely interpretation is that they represent a series of rodent burrows; if this is the location of the nineteenth century house, rodent burrows just beneath the floorboards would seem likely. See Table 5.17 for EU 17 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained a ceramic assemblage with an MNV of 7 with a total sherd count of 13, while the glass assemblage was larger, with an MNV of 12 and a total sherd count of 31. The glass assemblage in this locus was also varied; artifact #815 is an optic molded tableware – likely a drinking vessel or container, as this method of manufacture was uncommon in bottles. While optic molding dates to at least the 18th century, it experienced a resurgence in popularity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; given the dates of this site this seems the most likely choice for the provenience of this artifact. This locus also contained flow blue ceramics as well as stonewares, and at least two amber glass vessels and one olive glass vessel. These could potentially contain beverages, although other liquids or tonics is always a possibility. This locus also contained a high instance of flat glass (n=9) that could indicate close proximity to a domestic structure.

Locus 3 contained an MNV of 10 ceramics with an overall sherd count of 14, many of which were small fragments. There was, however, a J&G Meakin Maker's Mark dating the late nineteenth century (TPQ 1890). This date was derived from the "England" mark, meaning England must have been the manufacturing source, and the post 1890 royal crest. Additionally, one of the stoneware sherds showed evidence of decoration on the exterior, which is uncommon in this assemblage (Artifact #471). The decoration was fragmentary but it appeared to be a fan-like design on the exterior. The vessel itself was fairly thin, so it's possible this was a molded decoration. This possibly furthers the hypothesis that these stoneware vessels are being made somewhat locally. The glass assemblage in this locus had an MNV of 16 with an overall sherd count of 26. The assemblage contained a "ball blue" jar,

speaking likely to canning and storage practices. An opaque white glass sherd was recovered (Artifact #904); which is likely a small tableware fragment. Embossed sherds were also recovered, but were too fragmentary to identify. Misc. artifacts/inclusions recovered from this unit were brick, slag, mortar and charcoal.

EU 18 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1036.307N 1022.070E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation unit 18 was opened SE of EU 1 and EU 6, and NW of EU 4. This location was chosen to gauge how widespread the domestic activity area is. EU 18 was located at 1036.307N 1022.070E on the relative grid (SW corner). Table 5.18 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered. The unit was made up of 7 different loci, 4 fill contexts and 3 interfaces. The loci are distributed relatively evenly throughout the unit.

Locus 1 represents the plow zone, which contained comparatively few artifacts. Locus 3 was mottled with grayish brown sediment (10 YR 5/3) much like EU 17, though these were concentrated in the west side and center of the unit. There were very few artifacts in locus 3, but the level did contain a dense concentration of charcoal (~10%), so dense that it took longer to excavate than most similarly placed layers. At the close of locus 3 (approximately 280m) was a concentration of charcoal that continued when the rest of the unit was sterile. As excavator continued, the charcoal concentration became round with an ashy grey ring around it. Excavators began to remove this feature (which was within locus 5), and the feature was revealed to be a posthole (locus 6). Within this posthole were a few artifacts, metal, bone, and charcoal inclusions. Locus 6 terminated at .504m. See Table 5.18 for EU 18 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1, the plow zone context, contained a ceramic minimum vessel count of 8 with a total sherd count of 12, while the glass had a minimum vessel count of 7 with a total sherd count of 8. Generally, the majority of the artifacts in this locus were tableware fragments. Opaque white glass fragments were recovered, likely fragments of tableware but at least one case (artifact #538) was a fragment of a cosmetic jar. Of the 12 sherd, 4 were solarized, giving a pre WW1 date range for these artifacts (1880-1914). The ceramics found in locus one were primarily whiteware and white ironstone tablewares, as well as utilitarian stonewares; similar to those found throughout the rest of the site.

Locus 3 had somewhat larger counts than locus 1, with a ceramic MNV of 7 with a total sherd count of 19, while the glass had an MNV of 11 with a total sherd count of 28. The ceramic assemblage was composed, like locus 1, of primarily tablewares and stonewares. There were some fine tablewares recovered; artifact #273 was a fragment of a porcelain

cup. While this is uncommon at this site, it is not unheard of. Artifacts such as this make clear that although this was a working farm, the families living at the site made an effort to maintain a standard of middle-class living, as is evidenced by their fine tablewares. Similarly, artifact #272 is a molded ironstone saucer. This style of tableware was rising in popularity during the late nineteenth century, and would have been common in middle-class homes across the nation. The glass assemblage from locus 3 was composed primarily of bottle and vessel glass, which follows the overall trends seen across the site. A sizeable concentration of flat glass (n=7) might suggest this unit was near the domestic structure. A number (n=6) of solarized glass fragments also suggest a pre-WW1 date for the assemblage (1880-1914). The only artifacts recovered from Locus 6 were undiagnostic ferrous metal, and a small bone fragment from a large mammal long bone. The majority of the misc. artifacts recovered from this unit were architectural, including brick and mortar. Ferrous metal was also recovered from this unit, with cut nails representing the majority of this assemblage.

EU 19 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1036.066N 1027.065E

Datum: SE

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 19 was placed NE (in a diagonal line) of EU 13, in order to determine the extent of the domestic activity area. On the relative grid, the unit was placed at 1036.066N 1027.065E (from the SW corner). The unit contained 5 distinct loci, 3 fill context separated by 2 interfaces. Table 5.19 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Locus 1 contained the plow zone. Concentrations of brick and charcoal indicated the beginning of locus 3, the cultural occupation layer. Locus 3 was relatively shallow but contained a significant number of intact artifacts, dominated by metal. In this layer the thimble embossed bottle stopper was recovered, which was a very popular find among site visitors. Locus 3 terminated in sterile soil. See Table 5.19 for EU 19 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

The assemblage for locus 1 had one of the highest MNV's of the entire site (n=18), with an overall sherd count of 38. This locus contained a medicine bottle with graduation marks, as well as a cobalt blue sherd likely comes from a toiletry bottle. Along with at least two different amber glass bottles, two "ball blue" vessel sherds were recovered, making this assemblage relatively representative of domestic activity. The ceramics in locus 1 had an MNV of 10 with a total sherd count of 13. Utilitarian stonewares comprised the majority of these ceramics in this locus.

Locus 3 had an even higher glass concentration than the previous; the MNV for this context was 28, with an overall sherd count of 64. Artifact #949 was a sherd from a milk glass

toiletary bottle, possibly the only one of its kind found on the site. There were at least two amber bottles, one embossed with the letters “ND”, which is clearly the end of the word, but the word itself is unclear. Like many other units at this site, sun-colored glass was common, as was natural blue and green bottle glass. At least one natural blue glass was embossed with the letter “C”, but like many sherds the artifact was too fragmentary to find the complete word. Given the overall patterns at the site, however, it is likely that most of these are locally produced soda and druggist bottles. Two different artifacts exhibited graduation markings (or “tick marks”), indicating that they were medicine bottles used to measure out a specific amount of liquid. One of these (Artifact# 936) was sun-colored, in addition to these marks, which allows us to tightly date this locus. Since medicinal graduated tick marks have a TAQ of 1900 (SHA) and sun colored glass has a date range of 1880-1914 (or approximately WW1) (SHA, Miller 2000), this artifact can be reliably dated to 1900-1914; putting its acquisition later than many of the artifacts at the site. Martha and Evaline must have acquired this bottle sometime during the twentieth century. It’s unsurprising that their consumption of medicinal bottles might rise as they enter the twentieth century, as they would have been advancing in age and perhaps required more medical intervention than earlier in their lives. Artifact #952, an amber medicine bottle, contains the embossed letters “UND” on a recessed panel. This is likely the last part of the word “compound”; a common name for a variety of patent medicines.

The ceramics assemblage from this locus also contained two sherds of redware (Artifact #487) unlike the other lead-glazed sherds found so far at the site. The locus also contained one lead-glazed sherd (Artifact #488). Utilitarian ceramics predominate this assemblage; likely pointed to the fact that stonewares and other utilitarian ceramics were more common in the earlier eras of the site’s occupation; likely because locally sourced stonewares and earthenwares would have been more readily available to these sparsely populated frontier regions in the early nineteenth century. Misc. artifacts recovered from this unit were primarily architectural in nature (e.g. brick and mortar), but also included one gizzard stone (artifact #247). Gizzard stones are generally small pieces of glass or ceramic, which are swallowed and passed by free-range chickens. Their distinct smooth, water-worn look makes them unique. The presence of these stones on the site indicate that at some point, chickens were being kept on the farm, and would have been roaming the yard areas. This would have been a common practice in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and continues into the present day on many farms in the area.

EU 20 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1030.037N 1025.981E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 20 was opened directly north of EU 17 to explore the series of soil stains, likely rodent burrows, beneath the occupation layer. The unit was located at 1030.037N 1025.981E on the relative grid (in the SW corner). Due to time, and the previous uniformity

of layers, this unit was excavated primarily by shovel skimming. The loci were distributed relatively evenly across the unit. Table 5.20 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Locus 1 represents the plow zone. Locus 3, the occupation layer, was characterized by mottling with charcoal and brick, and a large artifact concentration. Just beneath locus 3, some of the rodent burrow-like features from EU 17 continued, but far fewer (locus 5). These terminated quickly in sterile soil. See Table 5.20 for EU 20 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 had a relatively large MNV for the site, with 11 for both glass and ceramic. For glass, the overall sherd count was 28 while the ceramic sherd count was 21. Another ball-neck patent bottle finish was recovered in this locus, as well as a large sherd embossed with the letter "A". The ceramic assemblage contained a mixture of utilitarian and domestic ceramics, with pastoral scene transfer print, and another example of lead-glazed redware (Artifact #440). Interestingly, many of the ceramic artifacts exhibited evidenced of burning (n=4)

Locus 3 had a glass MNV of 8 with a total sherd count of 12, while the ceramic assemblage had an MNV of 13 with an overall sherd count of 33. This assemblage contained two sherds of the lead glazed redware seen throughout the site (Artifact #484). Also recovered from this locus was a sherd of cut-sponge decorated whiteware, likely dating to the latter half of the nineteenth century (artifact #485). The glass in this assemblage contained a number of solarized sherds, as well as a threaded jar finish. Additionally, Artifact #923 is a sherd of flat glass that appears as if it has been cut or worked. The shape is ovular, as if it has been modified to fit somewhere, perhaps to fix a broken container or window pane. Artifact #924 is embossed with the letters "BURGH" on the bottom, possibly indicating a Pittsburgh bottling works.

EU 21 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1033.211N 1033.155E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Unit

Excavation Unit 21 was opened 10 ft south of EU 18, to explore the possibility of further posthole features. Due to time constraints, this entire unit was excavated using shovel skimming. The unit was located at 1033.211N 1033.155E on the relative site grid. EU 21 consisted of 7 different contexts, 4 fill contexts separated by 3 interfaces. With the exception of locus 5, all levels were spread relatively evenly across the unit. Table 5.21 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Locus 1 contained the plow zone. Charcoal and brick mottling indicated the beginning of locus 3, the historical occupation layer. Locus 3 contained a medium size artifact concentration; and less than 1% mortar inclusions. Locus 3 terminated in sterile soil that contained more rodent burrow-like features, similar to the ones found in EU 17. Locus 5, the dark irregular stains were photographed extensively, due to their irregular arrangement. They most likely represent rodent burrows, but time constraints did not allow for much reflection in the field before closing the site, and so further examinations of the photographs are needed. Locus 5 terminated in sterile soil. See Table 5.21 for EU 21 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

The glass in locus 1's assemblage had an MNV of 9 with a total sherd count of 11. This locus contained at least one example of pressed glass tableware with the pattern "Beaded Swirl and Oval" - dating to the 1870's (artifact #702). This locus also contains a mason jar finish (with thread) and a patent medicine bottle embossed with "U.S.P." which I interpret to be an abbreviation for United States Patent. Since many products during the late nineteenth century carried their patent numbers (e.g. Mason's Patent Jar 1858), this would have been a common way to advertise the product. The ceramic assemblage in locus 1 has an MNV of 5 and a total sherd count of 11. This small assemblage contained one gothic molded white granite sherd (artifact # 354); additionally one whiteware sherd was recovered, and the remainder of the assemblage was comprised of utilitarian stonewares.

Locus 3 also was a modest assemblage with a glass MNV of 14 and a total sherd count of 23, and a ceramic MNV of 9 with a total sherd count of 10. Artifact #244 was a whiteware with red transfer print, with decoration elements such as arches and clouds. The color and decoration elements present give this artifact a production range of 1818-1880, covering most of the site's occupation. This is typical of many of the artifacts at the site; while they are nineteenth or early twentieth century in production range, generally they could date to either occupation. This does indicate that the families were keeping at least some fine tablewares in their home. An ironstone plate (artifact #245) was recovered, as well as a blue transfer printed whiteware sherd (artifact #252). Utilitarian stonewares were also recovered from this locus, as well as a small yellowware sherd (artifact #253). Misc. artifacts recovered from this unit were primarily architectural (e.g. brick and mortar) with charcoal inclusions in most occupation loci. Non-ferrous metal was also recovered from this locus (artifact #98, 99). These were copper, and likely were clothing fasters, and a shoe grommet.

EU 22 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1028.788N 1025.033E

Datum: SW

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 22 was opened directly west of EU17 to investigate the stains that were found beneath the occupation layer in that unit. The unit was located at 1028.788N 1025.033E (by the SW corner) on the relative site grid. No rodent burrow-like features were found in the unit, but artifacts were present in a medium density. The unit was made up of 5 unique layers, 3 fill contexts separated by 2 interfaces. The layers were relatively evenly distributed throughout the unit. Table 5.22 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

Locus 1, the plow zone contained a bottle finish and metal artifacts, and terminated in charcoal and brick mottling that indicates the occupation layer. Locus 3, the occupation layer, had a medium concentration of artifacts including nails and stoneware. Locus 3 was mottled with brick and charcoal and terminated in sterile soil. See Table 5.22 for EU 22 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

Artifacts in locus 1 were particularly fragmented; the glass MNV of 15 with a large overall sherd count of 42. The ceramic assemblage was somewhat less fragmented, with an MNV of 10 and an overall sherd count of 22. Glass in this locus contained a large number of bottles identified as pharmaceutical (n=8). Two bottles, artifact #712 and #713, were very small, indicating a medicine vial such as iodine. Artifact #709 was a press-molded drinking glass; yet another example of the tablewares present at this site. Artifact #716 is somewhat unique for the site, it is a canning jar but instead of the more common threaded finish, this jar has a wax-seal finish instead. Its clear from the variety and number of canning and fruit jars at the site that food preservation was a priority for this rural family. Two more artifacts (#721 and 720) were identified by their finishes this well, this time as pharmaceutical bottles. The ceramics at this site were mostly comprised of utilitarian stonewares. Artifact #364 is a stoneware vessel that appears to have a Bristol glaze on the interior but is unglazed on the exterior. This vessel is unique, in that the edge of the artifacts appears to have incised marks, similar to the feather edging on shell-edged whiteware. This could represent an attempt to domesticate or beautify farm vessels (primarily used for storage and production) or, experimental production on the premises or locally. Artifact #369 is a small fragment of lead-glazed redware – which could also point to local production of earthenwares. This is generally earlier than the rest of the assemblage but has been found in small fragments throughout the site. The redwares found at the site are consistently lead glazed, which is unusual for stonewares. Its also possible this clear glaze is Alkaline as opposed to lead, but analysis undergone so far cannot determine conclusively whether or not this is the case.

Locus 3 contained a ceramic MNV of 9 with an overall sherd count of 15, and a glass MNV of 11 with an overall sherd count of 17. Glass sherds recovered from this context were mostly vessel or bottle glass, with 2 showing signs of solarization, giving them a pre WW1 date (1880-1914). Another small (<2 cm) base fragment was recovered, like the other examples likely from a small iodine or other small-dosage pharmaceutical bottle. The ceramic assemblage had a few examples of decorated tablewares, notably a mulberry transfer print (production range 1814-1867, artifact #320) which also showed evidence of having been burned. Artifact #321, a whiteware sherd, had been cut-sponge decorated in a Nautilus

pattern, giving this artifact a date range of 1845-1930. A sherd with black transfer print was recovered, showing elements of foliage and fronds (artifact #326), with a date range of production from 1785-1864 (Miller 2000). The remainder of the assemblage was composed of whiteware, white granite, and stoneware. A white metal button (artifact #113) was also recovered from this assemblage. The misc. artifacts recovered from this locus were primarily architectural in nature (e.g. brick and mortar) with charcoal inclusions in most occupation loci.

EU 23 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1036.152N 1024.768E

Datum: SE

Area: A

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 23 was opened targeting the area 8-10 feet from the posthole in EU18, to investigate the possibility of further posthole features. Additionally, the location was in close proximity to EU 19, which contained a large artifact concentration. The unit was located at 1036.152N on the relative grid, and 1024.768E (in the SW corner). This was excavated by shovel skimming due to time constraints. Table 5.23 shows the stratigraphic relationships of the loci in the unit, as well as the depths of each locus and representative material recovered.

This unit contained 5 unique loci, 3 fill contexts divided by 2 interfaces. These layers were distributed relatively evenly throughout the unit. Locus 1 represents the plow zone. Locus 3 represents the historical occupation layer, which was characterized by the presence of large brick inclusions, as well as a fair amount of charcoal inclusions. Locus 3 terminated in sterile soil. See Table 5.23 for EU 23 excavation summary details.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained a ceramic MNV of 8 with a total sherd count of 15, and a class MNV count of 18 with a total sherd count of 28. Recovered from this locus was a pressed glass tableware sherd with a pattern of "Beaded Swirl and Oval" – dating to the 1870's, similar to that found in EU 21 (artifact #686). A waffle pattern sherd of press molded tableware was also recovered from this context (artifact #673). This, like much of the dateable tableware items that would have been displayed in this household dates to the 1870's-1880's – the time when this farm would have likely been prosperous. Artifact #692 is a fragment of glass with the embossed letters "EPOR", which could represent "Bridgeport". Although there were many different bottling companies in towns across the United States called "Bridgeport", there is a small town called Bridgeport, Illinois only ten miles away. Since many small towns in Illinois boasted Bottling companies at one point or another (nearby Lawrenceville had at least two), I find it most likely that this bottle would have been produced locally. The shape suggests it's a patent medicine bottle, so it could have even been produced for a local pharmacy.

The artifacts in locus 3 were slightly more numerous, with a ceramic MNV count of 13 with a total artifact sherd count of 20, while the glass assemblage had an MNV of 17 with an overall sherd count of 36. The glass from this locus was mostly comprised as vessel and bottle glass, with one example of tableware (artifact #17). The ceramics were comprised of predominantly tableware.

Chapter 6: HALC 2013 Excavations and Discussion

The following chapter discusses the excavations undertaken during the 2013 excavations at the standing house we consider to be the Homeplace (site #2). This area, located across the road from Site #1, has been occupied continuously since approximately 1880 (as discussed in chapter 3) and continues to be occupied in the present. This house, according to oral histories, was built by Frank Morris and his brothers (see Figures 3.9, 3.11). Frank and his wife Emma raised their twelve children here. After Frank and Emma passed away, their son Charlie and his wife Eleanor (my paternal grandparents) lived in the home, and Eleanor still lives there today. In this chapter, I will discuss the excavations we did at this site, and what the artifacts we found can tell us about their lives. Since this site was divided more concretely into specific activity areas, this chapter has been divided to reflect those categories. The activity areas we examined were: The porch/yard activity area, a nineteenth century smokehouse area, a cellar area, and an area associated with a nineteenth century blacksmith shop. Figure 6.1 shows a map of the 1m X 1m units opened during the season, and highlights the extent of the activity areas in relation to the standing architecture on site.

Methods

Unlike the previous site, Site #2 presents opportunity for excavating the specific activity areas discussed above. The units at this site were placed using a combination of: evidence from standing architecture and landmarks, oral histories, descendant memories, and archaeological testing. Historic photos in particular helped identify the location of the nineteenth-century Smokehouse and Blacksmith Shop areas. The porch areas were selected based on the layout of the standing architecture. Some of the units we excavated were in Mrs. Eleanor Morris's garden, and so she was compensated for the loss of any plants we couldn't re-plant elsewhere. After excavation, all units were backfilled completely. Like at Site #1, MNVs and sherd counts were calculated by locus (see figure 6.15 for a summary of these findings).

Overall Trends

Changing socioeconomic processes significantly impacted life for rural African-American families at the turn of the century. We see the results of this most clearly in the cellar assemblage. As times got tougher, it is the practices associated with self-sufficient farming that enabled the people living at these sites to persist in spite of structures of inequality which would have them not succeed. In this assemblage, we see the work of producing and storing food, use-and re-use of clothing items over time, hunting and fishing. Overall, these artifacts speak to the work of 'keeping the Homeplace, and the movement and return of family, friends, and community in relation to the site over time.

Many more shell casings and firearms paraphernalia in general were recovered from the 2013 site than the previous site. Table 6.1 gives an overview of these findings. As I've previously discussed, I do not think that the presence of these artifacts constitutes an interpretation of violence and conflict; rather that these data support a multi-dimensional analysis of these artifacts instead. Hunting and gun ownership, as I've discussed in Chapter 2, was and remains an important social practice in this area. Within this assemblage, the

.22 shells could have been used for hunting, as could the BB recovered. The birdshot size variation suggests that a wide variety of game would have been targeted. The 6 size shot would have been used to target rabbits and other small mammals, the 8's would have been used for bird hunting (most likely quail hunting, a generally, though not always, social sport) and the 2's would have been used on larger fowl, such as geese or ducks.

The social practice of hunting allowed Black farmers to share a social activity with their white neighbors and community members; at times, allowing them access to social circles and opportunities they may not have had otherwise. This masculine networking enables Black farmers and hunters to mobilize their identities as skilled sportsmen to their advantage; for a moment, their masculine identities intersect in a way that subverts their historic racialized oppression. At the same time, not all of these shells were used for hunting. At least some of the .32 shells would have come from handguns; what Rusty calls a "Saturday Night Special" (Russell Morris, personal communication) (Figure 6.2). The fact that these artifacts were found in the vicinity of the porch activity area likely points to leisure activity; target practice from the front porch as a form of social bonding. The soundscape created by this act is a communication, or rather, several communications. It signals membership in the pervasive and important gun culture of the area, having the social effects I've previously discussed. But it also asserts that this home, should the need arise, is protected.

The faunal remains from each activity area are discussed in their sub-sections in detail. In general, the faunal remains collected from this site show a shift in foodways, including consumption of meat. Specifically, we see fewer domestic cows and pigs, and more wild fish, birds and game. Multiple lines of evidences suggest that chickens were being kept on site, and both oral histories and the shot sizes recovered suggest quail hunting, too would have been taking place. The same goes for rabbit and small game hunting; social memories, oral histories, faunal remains and firearms paraphernalia all point towards this activity. The shift from domestic to wild animal remains coincides with socio-economic downturns, both in the area generally and for the site occupants specifically. An advantage to a rural existence is that when times are tough, the land can provide sustenance; and the artifacts clearly show these site inhabitants were maximizing these resources.

In addition to hunting and fishing as a survival strategy, site inhabitants are also canning and storing food items for future use. Home canning and food storage is prevalent on nineteenth and early twentieth-century sites (Stelle 2002), so the presence of canning jars, lid liners, storage vessels etc (Figure 6.3) is unsurprising. However, like the firearms paraphernalia recovered, I assert that the interpretations of these data are multi-dimensional. What is, on one hand, relatively standard practice for anyone growing vegetables and other food crops and living in a rural area becomes doubly important for people with unequal access to the consumer economy. Like hunting, home canning provided yet another self-sufficient resource for families.

Much of the "work", as it were, of 'keeping the Homeplace' is encompassed in the cellar. Julia Hendon has suggested that storage spaces be understood as places for asserting and constructing social memory and mutual knowledge; but also places that mediate gender

roles, economic status, and moral authority (2000: 42-44). Drawing on this, I see the cellar as a complex and important place for this site. Serving as a storage area, it displays the ability of the women of the family to work hard, produce and save to provide for their families during the winter or in times of need. This work ethic was not without a moral component; active in the church, members of this community would have valued this skill and thrift. This also allowed resources to be distributed throughout the community as well, through these same church and visiting networks, should other neighbors or community members experience serious want. In this way, the work of storage can be seen as a version of the work of persistence; mobilization of a skill and an aspect of rural identity that allowed the women of this community to support the family in a way that commanded protestant respectability, and allowed them to network with neighbors and friends.

Finally, toys, tablewares, pressed glass, and jewelry and other adornment items were also recovered from almost every context even those associated with “work”. Labor, as an archaeological deposit, is inseparable from other everyday practices. The archaeological record itself is an intersection of identities and activities; and these are ultimately inseparable from one another. The ‘work’ of smoking meat, for example, can be done with friends while having a cold drink or a snack as well. Canning can be done from the shade of the porch, while chatting, sharing a meal and watching over playing children. These contexts were mixed because life is mixed.

The tablewares we recovered were consistent with trends and styles of the time. This site, though rural, was not isolated from the world. The people who lived here bought and broke gothic patterned plates and teawares as well as gilded cups and saucers, relatively consistent with the trends of the time period(s). They entertained visitors, traveled and brought back souvenirs like the Chinese *wen* recovered from the cellar, drank soda and other beverages, and lost a lot of buttons along the way. This site’s assemblage is not necessarily unique or anomalous from other rural sites; but I find this refreshing and humanizing. The small finds from this site reinforce the humanity of people living in a society structured in inequality, and allow for an interpretation of their lives to be more than a one-dimensional discussion of resistance. The rural Black farmers of Lawrence county used their place in the world to their advantage; they lived off the land in different ways to support themselves, but at the end they also shared meals on the same white molded tablewares as the majority of other nineteenth and early twentieth-century Americans. This is not to say their lives were the same, or to suggest ‘assimilation’ with larger culture; rather it is to say they shared some of the same material culture with the larger society while having relatively different lives. It also suggests that humanity, citizenship and belonging can be articulated unevenly through these same objects.

Porch and Yard Activity Area

The units discussed in this section are all in adjacent the “front”, or street-facing, side of the house where the front porch was located. The porch is now enclosed, but the original structure remains intact. The location of these units was chosen due to their proximity to the front porch and yard area. Porches continue to be a major social gathering place in this area, and this was also the case in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, when visiting one’s neighbors were an important social practice, and a way to cement one’s social

networks. During the 2013 field season the team excavated 4 one-meter square units adjacent to the standing house's front porch (Figure 6.1, 6.4). This area could also be assessed as begin part of the front yard area. By choosing this area for excavation, archaeologists hypothesized that we would find materials associated with the social activities taking place on the porch and the front yard area – gathering, visiting, and other social leisure activities.

The four units in this area (Excavation Units 25, 29, 30, and 37) yielded nineteenth and early twentieth-century glass and ceramics, as well as metal fragments likely associated with the previous porch structure. The glass and ceramics contained a high frequency of tablewares, indicating eating and drinking taking place in the area. Southern Illinois experiences very warm springs and hot summers, so it is likely that during these warmer seasons much of the socializing and meal-sharing could have taken place outdoors, in this porch and yard area. Items recovered include plates, cups, and bowls as well as drinking glasses, beverage bottles, and condiment bottles. Also recovered from the glass assemblage were a number of jars; which suggests canning activity could have been taking place in this area. This would make sense, again, given the Midwestern climate; this could be a cool, comfortable place for such a job. Pencil lead was also recovered from this area; likely due to children doing homework or family members writing letters from the porch.

Also recovered in the glass assemblage were cosmetic bottles, and gizzard stones. Gizzard stones are small glass sherds, likely deposited in the yard area through trash deposition or breakage, and then consumed and passed by chickens roaming the yard. The presence of these artifacts suggests that there were, in fact, chickens roaming the yard area. In some porch units, especially EU 29, a high ratio of flat glass was recovered. It is possible this large amount of flat glass is due to the units' proximity to the house's windows. How these windows were broken remains an item of speculation. twentieth-century plastics were recovered from this site, though the majority were so fragmentary they were unidentifiable. Those that were identified, however, were mostly associated with leisure activity. Small toy parts, including spent cap-guns, were recovered. A small fragment of a record was found, as well as many small pen and pencil parts. Some plastic were inevitably modern garden or yard-work deposits, but the earlier artifacts again speak to this as a social gathering space.

Firearms paraphernalia, including shell casings and bird shot, were also recovered from these units. This sub-assemblage occurs throughout the site, but the highest concentrations are in this area. The prevalence of these artifacts coincides with the oral histories, which discuss a long history of gun ownership and hunting at the site. This also articulates with the faunal data, which includes a large amount of wild game that would have been hunted or trapped.

A number of small finds were recovered from these units, consistent with the small finds included children's toys such as small cups and toy guns, as well as marbles. Other small finds related to adornment included jewelry, such as rings, bracelets, small plastic jewels, and buttons. This assemblage likely reflects the small artifacts that would have been swept off the porch, or lost through the cracks.

Overall the artifact density in this area, especially from EU 29-5, was particularly diverse and dense. This is likely due to the fact that the porch area would have been a highly trafficked activity area for the duration of the site's occupation. This place would have been an important place for leisure, visiting, trading news, target practice, playing, cooling off in the evening, meals on hot summer days, just to name a few activities. In general, this shows the social practices of the sites' inhabitants and visitors were typical of any

The largest concentration of firearms paraphernalia was recovered from this area.

What follows is a summary of each excavation unit that was opened as part of this activity area. This includes discussion of the stratigraphy, soils, excavation techniques and artifacts recovered.

EU 25 Unit Summary

Area: A

Relative Grid Location: 1019.86N 1000.355E

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 25 was opened West of the standing house, adjacent to the location of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century open porch. Our goal with this location was to catch artifacts being swept off of and lost from the porch. Upon opening, the soil was damp, and so the excavation went slowly. Locus 1 contained modern garden fill as well as some early twentieth-century artifacts. Locus 1 was closed when the soil became mottled and lighter, and a dark stain was detected near the East side of the unit. After further excavation, it became clear a modern pipe trench, likely dug when the pipe was being repaired, left this dark stain. Locus 3 contained two dark stains that were designated Locus 6. At the bottom of Locus 3, we uncovered the top of a brick which was designated a locus change; since the brick turned out to be on top of a septic line, it's likely that Loci 3 and 5 are the same. Locus 6 represents the linear stains; which were interpreted as remnants of the historic porch steps. Locus 8 was beneath Locus 6, adjacent to Locus 5 and contained few historic materials and mortar. Locus 8 terminated in sterile soil. See Table 6.2 for a more detailed EU 25 excavation summary.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1, being a mixed context, contained historic materials in addition to modern garden and yard materials, mostly plastics. The glass in locus 1 had an MNV of 2 with a total sherd count of 5. The ceramics in locus 1 had an MNV of 1 with a total sherd count the same. The most notable artifact (Metal ID #30) found in this locus was a piece of jewelry, likely from a bracelet, with a white plastic jewel still in the center.

The ceramic artifacts recovered from locus 3 had an MNV of 5, with 3 late nineteenth-century tableware vessels and 2 Albany slipped stoneware vessels. The glass assemblage from this locus had an MNV of 4, with a total sherd count of 7. Artifact #236 was a small

mouthed, threaded jar, possibly a cosmetic jar. A storage jar, lightning style, was also recovered from this locus (artifact #238). Also recovered from this context was an optic molded tableware, likely a dish. Misc. Artifacts recovered from this locus were brick and mortar. A ring (artifact Metal #31), seemingly a copper alloy with filigree and floral designs, was recovered from locus 3. A .22 short-round shell casing was recovered from this locus (Metal #33). At least by the mid-twentieth century, these bullets were on the cheaper end, so easier to acquire (Russell Morris, Personal Communication).

Loci 5 and 6 contained brick, mortar, and charcoal only. Locus 8 contained 1 ceramic artifact, a sherd of whiteware, and 1 sherd of flat glass (likely architectural). A screw-top Bakelite bottle cap (incomplete, artifact #69) with a rather small radius was also recovered from this locus. This artifact has a TPQ of 1907 (Miller et al 2000).

EU 29 Unit Summary

Area: B

Relative Grid Coordinates: 1020.112N 1012.690E

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Unit 29 was opened just east of where the front porch of the standing house used to be; just adjacent to where oral histories indicate the swing would have been.

Excavation Discussion

Locus 1 was topsoil fill, with modern artifacts and roofing nails. Locus 3 was similar to the nineteenth-century occupation layers of the 2012 season, which also appeared throughout the site in 2013. This locus had brick and charcoal inclusions, though the artifact concentrations were small. Locus 3 terminated when the soil became mottled with yellow clay (likely subsoil). Locus 5 contained no significant stratigraphic features, with nineteenth-century artifacts associated with porch and yard activities, and more nails than the previous layers. Excavators commented that this layer had the most artifacts (relative to the other loci). This locus terminated in sterile subsoil. A telephone line intersected this unit, cutting into these loci, 37 cm from the east wall (@ the south wall) and 21cm from the E wall (@ the North wall), at a depth of 21cm. See Table 6.3 for detailed EU 29 excavation summary.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained a glass MNV of 1 with a sherd count of the same, and no ceramic artifacts. This context contained mixed modern artifacts, mostly garden and yard items. Locus 3 was similar, with no ceramics and only flat glass, as well as brick and mortar inclusions. Most historic artifacts from this unit were recovered from locus 5.

Locus 5 contained a dense concentration of historic artifacts. The glass assemblage had an MNV of 16, with a total artifact count of 67. Flat glass accounted for 39 of those 67 sherds. Due to this unit's close proximity to the house, it is possible a broken window could account for the high flat glass count. Artifact #396 is a solarized sherd of pressed glass tableware, dating from about 1880 to WW1 (1880-1914). At least 5 tableware vessels were

recovered from this locus. Within this, Artifact #410, a pink porcelain sherd, appears to be from a knick-knack or some kind. The remainder of the glass is vessel glass, likely from beverage bottles and jars. One canning jar lid liner was recovered. Artifact #412 was a 7-up green sherd, likely from a bottle of the same name; these almost always date to the twentieth century.

The ceramics in locus 5 had an MNV of 12 with a total sherd count of 21, with 5 additional ceramic gizzard stones. The ceramic assemblage was split in half between stonewares and earthenwares, with 6 vessels each. Stonewares appear primarily storage focused. Earthenwares contained an Ironstone plate and bowl, as well as whitewares. A metal clothing fastener was also recovered from this locus (Metal #45). A brass house fixture, likely used to hang plants, was recovered whole from this locus (artifact #44). Additionally another jewelry part, this time broken, square with square facets, was also recovered from this locus (Metal #47). A Bakelite clothespin was recovered from this locus, as well two plastic (pyralin) comb teeth. Two beads, one black, whole, and faceted (Artifact #128) and one very small and light blue (Artifact #129) were recovered from this locus, both plastic. Pencil lead was also present in locus 5. A terra cotta flower pot sherd (Artifact #133) as well as brick and mortar were also found in this locus.

Excavation Unit 30

Area: B

Relative Grid Coordinates: 1027.308N 1006.000E

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 30 was placed on the North side of the standing house just north of the location of the front porch. Locus 1 was a shallow topsoil deposit, which terminated when the soil became mottled with brick and charcoal, with historic artifacts. Locus 3 contained artifacts spanning the entire occupation period of the house, which is unsurprising given that this would have been an important activity area in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Several cartridge shells were found in this locus, as well as mortar fragments. Locus 3 terminated in sterile clay subsoil. See Table 6.4 for detailed EU 30 excavation summary.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained no historic artifacts. The glass in locus 3 had an MNV of 7 with a total sherd count of 25. Like EU 29, however, 14 of those sherds were flat glass, likely due to the proximity these units to the windows of the house. There were 2 tableware vessels in this locus (artifact #138 and #139), a tumbler and a jelly tumbler. A lamp chimney with a crimped edge was recovered, (artifact #128), which showed evidence of burning (unsurprising). One gizzard stone was recovered, likely due to the proximity of chickens wandering about doing their chicken thing. The remainder of the glass assemblage is categorized as bottle glass. Ceramics in Locus 3 had an MNV of 8 with a total sherd count of 14. Stoneware sherds recovered numbered 4, and were likely vessels used for storage. Whitewares and Ironstones were recovered, as well as a porcelain teacup (artifact #7).

Leisure, Adornment, and Toys

Also recovered from this context was the porcelain foot of a toy doll. In fact, toys were a prominent feature of this assemblage, also recovered was a toy tin cup, and two plastic cap guns (spent), and a yellow and blue marble (artifact #13). Like in EU 29, a plastic comb tooth was recovered (artifact #6). Also similar to EU 29, small plastic beads were recovered. A plastic bingo token (artifact #7) was found, in addition to a fragment from a record (artifact #24) speaking to the this as a leisure activity area. Another possible gaming piece (artifact #16), this one wooden, flat, and black was recovered, although its ultimate identity is unclear. Adornment objects were also found in this unit, including a plastic “jewel” shaped object (artifact #14). Finally, there were a number of unidentifiable plastic fragments in this unit as well. Clearly, this area had a large concentration of leisure activity items.

Fire arms Paraphernalia

The largest number of firearms paraphernalia was recovered from this unit (n=15). One BB was recovered, from an air rifle. Two (2) .32 caliber rim-fire shells were recovered. These would have been used in handgun; what Russell Morris refers to as a “Saturday Night Special”; a small handgun, not particularly accurate, that were cheap and easily acquired. These would not have been used for hunting. Five (5) .22 shells were recovered, some from pistols and at least one from a long-rifle. This is a versatile caliber, so could have been used for a variety of purposes. One (1) 12-gauge shotgun shell was recovered. Birdshot was also recovered from this area, in two different sizes. The 6’s (n=4) would have been used for hunting rabbits, whereas the 8’s (n=2) would have been used for hunting birds, likely quail.

Excavation Unit 37

Area: B

Relative Grid Coordinates: 1020.813N 1000.402E

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Unit 37 was placed North of EU 25 (with a 5cm baulk) and 10cm E of the same unit; the placement was decided upon to avoid the sewer line encountered in EU 25. This location is within the activity area associated with the front porch.

Excavation Summary

Locus 1 consisted of sod and topsoil, and was very shallow (<1cm), likely due to the area’s modern use as a garden. This locus terminated when the historic occupation layer was encountered. Locus 3 contained historic artifact inclusions, and the soil was looser here than in the corresponding locus in EU 25. Locus 5 contained similar artifact inclusions, but the sediment was darker in color. Locus 5 terminated in sterile clay subsoil. See Table 6.5 for detailed EU 27 excavation summary.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained no artifacts. There were few artifacts recovered from locus 3. The ceramic assemblage in Locus 3 had an MNV of 6 with a total sherd count of 12. The majority of vessels found in this locus were tablewares, all undecorated with the exception of one small blue transfer print sherd. One stoneware vessel was recovered with a sherd count of 2 (artifact #582). The glass in locus 3 had an MNV of 5, with a total sherd count of 14. The presence additional flat glass (n=5) and gizzard stones (n=3) were not included in the vessel count. A sherd of safety glass, better known as auto-glass, was found in this locus (artifact #992). Auto glass exhibits a distinct breakage pattern, generally breaking into cube shapes to be less dangerous. This type of glass has a TPQ of 1915, though use was not widespread in automobiles until after WW1. A ribbed sauce bottle was recovered, form indicates an early twentieth-century date (artifact #995). The metals in this assemblage contained a clothing fastener (artifact #123) and one birdshot pellet (artifact #124). Plastic artifacts were recovered from this locus (n=6), though most were unidentifiable. Overall this locus was consistent with the general pattern visible in the porch activity area; high numbers of tablewares, this locus particularly contained artifacts associated primarily with foodways. Misc. Artifacts recovered from this locus were slag and charcoal.

Locus 5 had fewer artifacts than locus 3. Ceramics in locus 5 had an MNV of 2 with a total sherd count of the same. Within the ceramics, one sherd was whiteware, and the other sherd appears to belong to a stoneware jar. The glass in locus 5 had an MNV of 3 with a total sherd count of 7. One sherd, artifact #999, appears to come from a delicate drinking glass. Also recovered was the finish from a milk-glass cosmetics or toiletry bottle (artifact #1000). Additionally flat glass (n=2) and a gizzard stone (n=1) were recovered from this locus.

The Smokehouse.

During archival and oral historical research leading up to the 2013 field season, the team of community volunteers and I identified this as a potential site of interest. Historic photos of the site, as well as site inhabitant's memories indicated that the smokehouse would have been located southwest of the standing house's rear entrance. This area was chosen because archaeologists hypothesized that materials recovered from this area would reflect nineteenth and early twentieth-century foodways, including animal husbandry, butchering, and meat storage and consumption. Three one-meter square units were excavated from this activity area (Figure 6.5). These are EU's 24, 28, and 31.

From this area, archaeologists recovered faunal materials as well as glass and ceramics dating to the period when this area would have been used as a smokehouse (approximately 1890-1960), before the area was converted into a garden. Archaeologists also uncovered several small posthole features, confirming the existence of what would have been a small shed or lean-to for smoking and curing meat. Faunal materials included domestic specimens (mainly cow and pig) as well as some wild game (primarily fish and deer).

This area was highly disturbed, both by rodent burrows in the past and present (a rather unpleasant mole was encountered), but by human activity as well. This is the location of both a modern and historic well, so activities in this area have been disturbing the contexts for the majority of the site's occupation. Still, I do feel we recovered some artifacts that can

be confidently associated with the historic smokehouse; also due to the fact that small post-holes from the structure were located in this area. Additionally, the smokehouse was used well into the twentieth century, for at least the first half. It's also possible that in this assemblage we are also getting artifacts that are associated with general yard activity. This location is part of the "back" yard of the house, just adjacent to the back porch. These units were not far from the porch area, and given that this was (and continues to be) a high-traffic area, items from multiple activities could have been deposited here. The ceramic assemblage from this area is diverse, and included porcelain tablewares, agreeing with the idea that artifacts are being recovered from porch and everyday activities as well. Toys were also recovered from this assemblage. In the lower loci, charcoal inclusions were dense and brick chunks were recovered which exhibited evidence of burning. Given the use of the area as a smokehouse this follows. Burned brick was recovered in particular density from the small structural posthole deposits.

A glass bottle dating from 1920-1933 was recovered from locus 9 of EU 24; the deepest context in that unit to yield historic materials. This would suggest that this activity area is twentieth century, or that the same occupation surface was used continuously through the twentieth century. Sun-colored glass was also recovered from this context, which would support an early twentieth-century date. At least two sherds of worked glass were recovered from this area, specifically from EU 24-7. One (artifact #143) is likely a window pane, worked to fit in place as a replacement. One adornment object, a large opaque white glass (wound) bead was recovered from EU 24-7. This bead is likely Venetian or Chinese in origin, though more analysis (XRF) would be needed to narrow the manufacture area. This artifact would likely date to the earliest years of the site's occupation; though adornment objects tend to be curated over time, so this does not definitively date the deposit. Its presence in this area does suggest that this activity area has had many uses over time, and that perhaps the smokehouse activity cannot necessarily be isolated from the activities of everyday life. In fact, most of the artifacts recovered from this area speak to this. This deposit highlights the intersectionality of everyday activities; eating, drinking, and socializing tend to go hand-in-hand with working. In fact, what is seen as "work" as opposed to a social activity is clearly a construct, one that cannot always be parsed out in the archaeological record. This deposit highlights how the construct of labor, especially when labor takes place in the home, is inseparable from other social practices.

Faunal Assemblage

Table 6.6 represents the faunal remains recovered from this activity area. As you can see, many of the faunal remains recovered were too fragmentary to identify. This is likely due to the high activity in this area; large amounts of rodent activity combined with the continued use and re-use of this area likely resulted in poor faunal preservation. Additionally, the climate in Southern Illinois is not particularly conducive to the preservation of organic remains, due to the fluctuating temperature and moisture content of the soil. Still, the fauna recovered from this are primarily Mammalian (n=4). This is the primary taxon that would have been being smoked and preserved in the smokehouse. It is most likely that unidentifiable bone fragments are also mammalian in nature, given the use of this area. The presence of Rodentia and Talpidae in particular is unsurprising, given the high number of rodent burrows in the area. It is also not uncommon for opossum to be eaten in this area as

well. It was rather surprising that Testudine (Turtle) was recovered from EU 24-9; however eating snapping turtles is a local practice that I personally have experienced, so that could explain the presence of turtle bones in this area. Finally, the presence of Osteichthyes is unsurprising. There is a freshwater pond on site, and multiple creeks and ponds nearby. Fishing is an important practice in the area, both as a pastime and for subsistence. In fact, fishing is an excellent example of many of the practices we see at this site; an activity that is useful for sustenance, which requires skill and is also considered an enjoyable social practice. Many times, these qualities cannot be separated from one another.

EU 24 Unit Summary

Relative Grid Location: 1006.545N 1000.411E

Datum: SW

Area: B

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 24 was laid in the area that we hypothesized to be the location of the nineteenth-century smokehouse. In the present day (2013) it is a garden area, and so Loci 1,2 and 3 comprise modern fill. Locus 1 contained late twentieth-century artifacts, while loci 2 and 3 encompass a clay knob feature that is most likely a modern rodent burrow. Locus 5 notes the beginning of the nineteenth-century occupation layer, within which a metal artifact was situated in the NE corner of the unit – likely remnants of a nineteenth - early twentieth-century well. Locus 7 contained a higher concentration of nineteenth-century artifacts, and was ended due to the appearance of several small post-hole like stains, which are likely associated with the nineteenth-century smokehouse. These stains were mapped and photographed. The stains appeared more clearly at the bottom of Locus 9. Locus 9 was excavated until sterile soil was encountered, and the stains were pedestaled and mapped. Locus 10, an interface, represents the interface between the stains and the nineteenth-century fill. This locus was mapped as well, with the clear limits of the stains highlighted. Locus 11 represents the stains themselves, which have also been mapped. This locus terminated in sterile soil. The interpretation is that these stains most likely represent the metal architecture associated with the smokehouse, and the presence of a twentieth-century well. Table 6.7 presents the EU 24 excavation summary in more detail.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained twentieth-century fill, as well as topsoil. This is likely a mixed context filled in after the well and smokehouse were removed. The glass in locus 1 had an MNV of 9 with a total sherd count of 27. The majority of the glass recovered from this locus was bottle glass, with at least one example of a ball jar recovered (artifact #172). One example of press-molded tableware was recovered (artifact #177). The ceramics recovered from this locus were few, with an MNV of 3 and a total sherd count of 10. The majority of these sherds were from terra cotta flower pots, all were likely from the late twentieth century. Plastic artifacts (n=5) recovered were also modern and mostly unidentifiable, with the exception of a whole olive-colored button (artifact #34). One metal artifact was recovered, a small gardening stake. Perhaps the most interesting artifact recovered from this locus

was a chunk of quartz (artifact #28); not commonly found in the area but easily acquired. Likely it could have been brought for decoration.

Loci 3 turned out to be a very small rodent burrow, with only one artifact; a sherd of flat glass.

Locus 5 contained a much higher concentration of artifacts and is interpreted as the earlier (pre-garden) occupation area, though the context continued to be mixed; in addition to historic artifacts, plastic gardening items were still recovered. This area was highly disturbed, both by rodent burrows and by human activity, so it is not entirely surprising that the contexts should be mixed. Ceramics in this context were few, with an MNV of 2 and a total sherd count of 3. At least one of these vessels was a terra cotta flowerpot, which could belong to any time period of the site's occupation. The remaining vessel is a small sherd of scallop-edged molded white granite, likely dating to the late nineteenth century. Glass was more numerous in this locus with an MNV of 13 and a total sherd count of 34. Much of this glass is highly fragmented. One Pepsi bottle was recovered (artifact #184); this artifact has a TPQ of 1938. This is unsurprising, given that the smokehouse was used well into the second half of the twentieth century; it seems logical to enjoy a nice cold Pepsi after a long day of smoking meats. At least two drinking tumblers were also recovered from this locus as well. A crown cap bottle was also found. In addition to bottle glass, at least two ball jars were recovered, as was a crimped kerosene lamp chimney. Gizzard stones (n=2) were also recovered, as was charcoal. This locus in particular had a large number of charcoal inclusions. Metal recovered from this locus includes historic nails. Also recovered from this locus were a safety pin and an unidentifiable copper-alloy item.

Locus 7 had a slightly higher artifact concentration than previous loci. The ceramics assemblage in this locus was similar to previous, with an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 12. The assemblage contains terra cotta, White granite, and one stoneware sherd. Glass artifact #143 is clearly worked on one edge, perhaps as a replacement window pane. The edge would have been worked to make it slightly smaller, so it would fit into the window frame. Artifact #145 also showed signs of working. The glass MNV for this locus was 14 with a total sherd count of 59. Flat glass accounts for a large number of sherds (n=21) and unidentifiable colorless curved glass was also a large feature of this subassemblage. Within this there was at least one ball jar, and also an opaque white glass canning jar lid-liner. At least one drinking tumbler was recovered, highly fragmented into many sherds. Two gizzard stones were also recovered. One condiment bottle sherd was recovered (artifact#147). It is likely the undiagnostic glass are beverage bottles. A whole glass bead was recovered from this context. Artifact #1002 is a large, round, white opaque wound glass bead, likely of Chinese or Venetian manufacture. This likely gives this article a earlier date; however since adornment objects are something that people would have held onto or curated, it does not definitively date this loci. Also recovered from this context were a flint striker, and a small piece of celluloid plastic. Charcoal was also recovered from this locus.

Locus 9 contained no ceramic artifacts. The majority of the artifacts recovered from this locus were glass, with an MNV of 6 and a total sherd count of 18. At least one pharmaceutical bottle was recovered from this context; artifact #239 is embossed with

graduation marks and the numbers “100, 120, 140”. Artifact #212 is a canning-jar lid-liner with the letters “INE”; likely from “Genuine Porcelain” as these liners were marketed. This would have belonged to a zinc lid for a canning jar. Also recovered from this locus was a bottle base with a plain “F” maker’s mark. This indicates it was made by the Fairmount Glass Works, located relatively nearby in Fairmount, Indiana. The maker’s mark on the base dates from approximately 1920-1933; meaning this entire activity area could be early twentieth century. This is unsurprising, since the smokehouse still existed in the memory of living descendants who grew up at the site during the 1960’s and 70’s. In this same locus, a sun-colored sherd was recovered (artifact #210). A yellow and blue marble was also recovered from this context (artifact #1003). A shoe grommet was also recovered from this context, as were chunks of brick. This context terminated in a combination of sterile soil, and the small post-hole stains from the construction of the smokehouse.

Locus 11 is exclusively artifacts coming from the small posthole stains associated with the smokehouse structure. Charcoal inclusions were dense in this context, as were chunks of brick, some which exhibited evidence of burning (unsurprising, given the smokehouse context). Only one ceramic artifact was recovered, a small whiteware sherd. Slag was also recovered from this context. The glass in this context had an MNV of 8 and a total sherd count of 17. Another pharmaceutical bottle was recovered from this context, identified by the presence of graduation marks and the number 5 (artifact #239). One glass sherd in this context was worked (artifact #228). The remainders of the vessel glass assemblage are likely jars and various bottles. One gizzard stone was also recovered. These stains terminated in sterile soil.

EU 28 Unit Summary

Area: B

Relative Grid Coordinates: 1006.974N 999.591E

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 28 was opened directly West of Excavation Unit 24 with no baulk in between, following the rectangular feature uncovered in Locus 11 (of EU 24). Excavators hypothesized that if this feature was evidence of the smokehouse, then the features should continue in to this unit. This unit was also opened to determine whether the features from EU 24 were indeed from the smokehouse, or rather associated with the twentieth-century well. Table 6.8 presents the EU 28 excavation summary in more detail.

Locus 1 consisted of the twentieth-century garden materials – fill and modern artifacts. Locus 1 was relatively shallow, terminating after only 4.9cm. Locus 3 emerged when the soil became darker, more compact (more like a nineteenth-century floor) with charcoal inclusions and nineteenth-century artifacts. Locus 3 contained a higher concentration of glass inclusions near the north wall on the west side. Also, a higher % of the charcoal inclusions were concentrated in the NE corner and in the dark stains. Locus 3 terminated when the soil changed from loamy clay fill to sterile yellow clay containing small stains.

Locus 4 represents the interface between these two loci. Locus 5 contained 8 small, rectangular stains (approx. 5 cm X 5cm). The clay soil was sterile, while the stains contained charcoal and a few metal artifacts. These small rectangular stains are consistent with the architecture of a small, nineteenth-century smokehouse that wouldn't require large posts, but is more likely many smaller posts held in place by the natural clay subsoil. Upon further examination, I concluded that Loci 5 and 7 were the same, and thus Locus 6 (the interface between the two) is not actually there. These loci consist of a series of dark stains within sterile clay that the artifactual evidence would suggest are associated with a nineteenth-century smokehouse feature. Locus 7 terminated in sterile soil.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1, as previously discussed, contained twentieth-century fill and garden materials. The glass in this locus had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 11. Glass in this locus was highly fragmented vessel glass, and one gizzard stone was recovered. Ceramics in recovered from this locus had an MNV of 3 and a total sherd count of 4. One ceramic sherd was clearly from a terra cotta flowerpot, whereas the remainder of the assemblage was comprised of fragmented white granite.

Locus 3 contained historic artifacts in higher concentration than the modern context 1; however one relatively modern garden stake was recovered, suggesting some mixing between contexts 1 and 3. The glass in this assemblage had an MNV of 14 with a total sherd count of 40. High sherd count was due to high fragmentation of glass sherds in this context. The majority of glass sherds were too fragmented to be identifiable, however at least one Ball Jar was identified, due to its distinctive color. One opaque white canning jar lid liner was also recovered. Also in this glass assemblage were 2 sherds of thin glass from a kerosene lamp chimney. Ceramics recovered from this assemblage had an MNV of 6 with a total sherd count of 12. Two ceramic gizzard stones were recovered. One stoneware sherd was recovered, and the remainder of the assemblage was highly fragmented tablewares, with at least one sherd of porcelain. Charcoal and brick were also recovered from this assemblage.

Locus 5 consists of artifacts recovered from the dark stains in the unit, features that were later hypothesized to be architectural features from the smokehouse structure. There were few artifacts recovered from this locus. The glass assemblage had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 6. One sherd of amber bottle glass was recovered, as well as one highly fragmented sherd of pressed glass tableware decorated in a waffle pattern. Ceramics recovered from this assemblage had an MNV of 2 with a total sherd count of the same. Both ceramic sherds were whiteware, one decorated with scalloped edging (artifact #105). Charcoal and mortar were also recovered from this context.

Locus 7 was the final context in this Excavation Unit to contain historic artifacts. After excavating, it was determined that contexts 5 and 7 are likely the same, and not distinctly separated. The glass in locus 7 was also highly fragmented, with an MNV of 7 with a total sherd count of 14. Vessel glass as well as press-molded tableware was recovered from this assemblage. Artifact #387 is from a pharmaceutical bottle, and is embossed with graduated tick marks and the number 3. At least one sherd represents a Ball Jar, due to its distinct

blue color. One sherd of lamp chimney glass was recovered. Additionally, two (2) glass gizzard stones were recovered. Only two (2) ceramic sherds were recovered from this context, with an MNV of the same. Ceramics recovered are molded white granite. A small white metal wheel was recovered from this context (artifact #40), and is most likely from a small toy. Charcoal, brick, and mortar were also recovered from this locus, which terminated in sterile soil.

Excavation Unit 31

Area: B

Relative Grid Coordinates: 1006.151N 999.051E

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Unit 31 was opened directly south of EU 28, in order to follow the circular stains south, to determine more precisely the extent of the historic smokehouse. At this point, EU 28 was paused while we took EU 31 down to the depth of the stains, to view and map their extent.

Excavation Discussion

Locus 1 consisted of loose topsoil from the modern garden, loose due to the removal of plants. Locus 3 contained historic artifacts, most notably large, thick glass artifacts. Additionally, this locus has mortar and charcoal inclusions, fitting with the interpretation of a smokehouse structure of some nature. Locus 3 also contained a high concentration of roots from the nearby willow tree. Locus 5 contained historic artifacts with 1% mortar and charcoal inclusions. Locus 5 revealed several dark circular stains similar to those found in EU 28, indicating ephemeral architectural features, though there were fewer in EU 31. Locus 7 contains these stains as well, after further examination excavators determined it is the same matrix as Locus 5. Locus 7 terminated in sterile subsoil. Table 6.9 represents a more detailed excavation summary for EU 31.

Artifact Discussion

This unit overall contained very few artifacts, and most context are likely mixed with modern fill.

Locus 1 contained few artifacts, and is likely modern garden fill. The glass in this assemblage had an MNV of 2, with a total sherd count of 7. Both vessels recovered were jars, one (artifact #1005) in the distinct Ball Blue color (TPQ 1909). Ceramics in this locus were also few, with an MNV of 2 and a total sherd count of 3. One vessel recovered from this locus was clearly a terra cotta flowerpot, and the remaining vessel (artifact #585) was a small whiteware sherd that exhibited signs of burning. Slag and mortar were recovered from this context, as well as one modern gardening plastic piece (artifact #259).

Locus 3 also contained few artifacts. A "Mister Lincoln", a lovely red hybrid tea rose, tag was recovered from this locus (artifact #125). Clearly this artifact contains modern garden fill as well. A metal gardening hook was also recovered from this locus (artifact #126). The ceramic MNV in this context was 2 with a total sherd count of 5. One vessel was clearly a

terra cotta flowerpot (n=4 sherds) and one whiteware sherd, which exhibited signs of burning. The glass MNV for locus 3 is 4 with a total sherd count of 12. At least one jar was recovered (artifact #1006) in the distinctive Ball Blue color (TPQ 1909). The remainder of the glass assemblage is comprised of container glass.

Locus 5 continued to contain both historic artifacts and modern items. Glass in this assemblage had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of the same. Two sherds (#1013 and #1012) appear to be from Ball jars. The remaining sherds are unidentifiable. The ceramics in this assemblage had an MNV of 1 with a total sherd count of 3. Two (2) sherds are terra cotta and appear to be from a tile. The remaining sherd is a small fragment of Bristol-glazed stoneware. An unidentifiable plastic piece was recovered from this context, as was charcoal.

Locus 7 contained minimal material. Brick (n=1), charcoal (n=2) and slag (n=1) were recovered. Additionally, a small (<1mm), highly crazed glass bead was recovered from this context whole. This context is likely actually a continuation of context 5. This context terminated in sterile soil.

Root Cellar

This area was both the most archaeologically challenging and diverse area the team explored. The historic root cellar is actually located beneath the standing structure, and was cut into the subsoil when the original house was built in the late nineteenth century. The root cellar was used as a storage area for perishable foods and canned good until recent memory. Additionally, it is located beneath both the kitchen and what would have been the nineteenth-century back porch. Until the 1970's, the floor of the house was made of wooden planks, so archaeologists expected that in addition to the remains of food production and storage, we would find small items that may have slipped through the cracks of the kitchen and the back porch during the course of everyday life.

The units (EUs 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 40) were opened across the root cellar, in a North-South line in order to open units beneath both the kitchen and the back porch (Figure 6.6). These units contained only clay subsoil, but far more artifacts, especially small finds, than any other unit this field season. The wet clay soil created an excellent preservation environment. Archaeologists uncovered a variety of small finds such as beads, jewelry, marbles, flatware, tableware, and buttons.

The sediments in the cellar units were almost entirely comprised of wet, dense clay. As such, there are not distinct depositional layers in these units. When the cellar itself was dug out, the loamy soil typical of this area was excavated down to the clay subsoil. This makes the cellar cool and perfect for preservation, both for food storage and artifacts. Artifacts recovered from the cellar likely became stuck in the damp clay while being stored, or fell through the floor boards of from the yard into the clay. The context in these units is one single locus, essentially deposited over most of the site's occupation, from about the 1880's to the 1970's. The floor of the house was re-tiled and remodeled in the 1970's, and the cellar became effectively sealed off from the rest of the house, with the exception of a small door leading down to the storage area.

The assemblage recovered from the cellar was diverse. The finds from this area were mostly comprised of small finds. Glass and ceramics, possibly because, with the advent of plastic, they are less common in the twentieth century. Ceramics recovered tended to be larger and more complete than any other activity area, though much fewer in number. Glass was almost always in the form of canning and storage jars, and small finds. More than any other area, these finds skewed later in time. I attribute this to the fact that deposition continued in this area long after the other activity areas. The cellar still exists as a place, so theoretically artifacts could continue to be deposited here; although the area is much lower traffic now so that does not happen as much in practice. Still, it was heavily in use well into the twentieth century; whereas areas like the smokehouse were replaced with technological advancements (like electric smokers) and gathering places moved from the porch area to the back yard itself. Also, in the 2013 field season all the units were wet screened, which meant that small finds were increased in the collection. Very small beads (~2mm) may have been present at the 2012 site (Area A), but since 1/4 in. Mesh was being used for screening, these would not necessarily have been recovered.

From the surface (on top of one of the shelves), a whole pharmaceutical bottle was recovered (artifact #1084). This was the only complete bottle recovered from the site. The base is intact, and is embossed with an Owens-Illinois code. The plant code (#20) is from Backinridge, Pennsylvania, and the date code is 5. Since the Backinridge plant was only operation from 1932-1940, this means this bottle must have been made in 1935 (Lockhart 2004).

Decorative tablewares and figurines were recovered from these loci; likely due to the fact that this is the only activity area that is located on the interior of the house. EU 34 yielded two figurines (artifact #1035 & 1036); one clearly rendered a barefooted woman in a dress. EU 40 also contained a similar sherd, perhaps from the same figurine.

This area contained by far the most personal assemblage of artifacts recovered at this site. Adornment objects were recovered from nearly every unit, spanning the entire occupation period of the site. Beads and jewelry parts a significant part of this assemblage. Beads at this site were generally far more numerous at this site. This is partially due to the fact that far more people lived at this site, making it a higher traffic area and made for more opportunities for adornment objects to be 1) employed to spice up hand-me-downs and 2) lost in the course of life. Frank and Emma had ten daughters; who would have been typically handing down their clothes and changing buttons and beads to 'freshen up' and change clothing. One can imagine that people would have mended or decorated their clothing with new buttons from the kitchen or the porch. Buttons are also found in relatively high numbers in this area. Many small finds were very well preserved; for example, a copper link, likely for a necklace or bracelet, was recovered with string still attached. It looks as if perhaps someone tried to fix a broken jewelry piece by tying it back together with string. When that broke, the link was deposited in the archaeological record. My favorite artifact, a small fork-shaped hair clip, was also recovered from this area.

Interestingly, a Chinese *wen* was recovered from this area. These types of artifacts have been noted at a variety of African Diaspora sites (Davidson 2004, Condon et al 1998, Perry & Woodruff 2006), and archaeologists have commented on the folk mythology around pierced coins at these sites (e.g. Davidson 2004, Singleton 1995, Wilkie 1997). The Chinese *wen* is a coin pierced in a square shape in the center, generally intended for good luck (Akin 1992). At African-American sites, pierced coins have been interpreted as being lucky, warding off bad wishes or bad luck, and protecting one's health (Davidson 2004). It should be noted that while most pierced coins found at African-American sites elsewhere are coins that have been pierced after manufacture, whereas *wen* are manufactured with the void in the middle from the beginning. Since this is the case, I do not necessarily want to interpret this artifact in the same way that other pierced coins at African-American sites have been; especially since descendants I've spoken to do not recall or suggest that the use of pierced coins is an important practice - though it is possible that it was in the past, and has been lost to memory. Still, I think the most likely interpretation is that someone, a family member or friend, brought home as a gift or trinket from travels to larger cities with Chinese Diaspora populations. Each generation had at least one, if not more members of the family that joined the military, this could be evidence of world-travel in the service of the country, and perhaps returning with goodluck trinkets from abroad. Movement is a theme we see clearly in this assemblage. As economic opportunities in the area decreased, people had to move elsewhere to seek their fortune, returning to the community for visiting or sometimes to stay when those same opportunities dried up. For example, recovered from EU 24 was a silver-plated spoon with the engraving "Hotel Lincoln" on the back. The Hotel Lincoln is located in Indianapolis, Indiana (approximately 138 miles away from the site). The hotel was built in 1918 but not finished until 1921 due to WW1. It was bought in 1955, when the name changed to the Sheraton-Lincoln (Hostetler 2011). This spoon then dates to 1918-1955. During excavations, it was mentioned by Eleanor Morris and Judy Gallion, members of the descendant community, Aunt Jesse's husband 'had worked there for awhile'. It is likely he picked acquired it at the hotel and brought it home on a visit at some point. At some point, the spoon fell through the kitchen floor boards to be deposited in the cellar.

Canning jars and artifacts related to food storage were recovered from every unit opened in this activity area. This follows, since this is where they would have been stored. Canning and food storage would have been an important aspect of farm life in this area. Toys were also recovered in higher numbers here than anywhere else throughout the site. Partially this is due to preservation; wood and other perishable items preserved here. Russell Morris, a descendant who grew up at the site (and also my father) told me he remembers playing games down in the cellar as a child; chances are some children lost some toys to the clay while playing in the dusky cellar.

Overall, the artifacts found in this area highlight the ways in which the site's occupants worked to persist on their land over time, despite changing and sometimes harshening socio-economic circumstances. Movement of people to and from the site would have been a large aspect of this. Family members would have had to leave Lawrence County to find employment and opportunities; while others would be forced to return and live on the Homeplace when these same opportunities disappeared. Some artifacts, like the *wen* must

have traveled great distances to end up here. Others, like the chickens raised at the site or the textiles made and buttons sewn onto cloths probably did not come from very far away. What all these artifacts do have in common is they represent a pointed effort to keep and sustain the farm and the family,

Faunal Assemblage

Table 6.10 represents the faunal NISP distribution in this activity area. The table of the entire faunal distribution is appended. More faunal remains were recovered from the cellar than from any other activity area on site. A large part of this is due to preservation; the cellar is a cool place with little climate fluctuations. The same conditions that preserved wood and textiles in this context also preserved a large amount of bone. The majority of these, as you can see, were rodent remains. This is likely due to the fact that the cellar itself is a natural habitat for rats and other rodents, so what we are seeing here is likely rodents living under the house, sustained partially by food items dropped and discarded by the site's inhabitant. Other faunal remains showed evidence of rodent gnawing, as would be expected with a large number of rodents living beneath the house. The second largest taxon represented is that of birds, who were clearly not living under the cellar with the rats. This, then, likely represents food discard from the site's inhabitants. Fish were also well-represented at the site. Mammalian remains that could not be further identified tended to be small to medium sized mammals, suggesting this may represent wild game (as opposed to pig or cows).

Overall, there are far more fish and bird bones, as well as UnId and mammalian (likely wild game) remains than were found at the previous site. While they may partially be due to preservation, it also speaks to the family's changing socio-economic status. By the late twentieth century, the site's inhabitants are no longer the large-scale livestock farmers they were in the early twentieth century. More and more people were living at the site, while employment opportunities for African-Americans in the area decreased. What we see in this faunal assemblage is a change from domestic livestock meat cuts to wild game. The faunal remains can be seen as evidence of hunting and fishing, supplementing meats that would have been purchased or raised with those that could be hunted or trapped. Rurality, in this case, is working in favor of the site's inhabitants; when socio-economic times are difficult, smaller game could be hunted and fished to sustain the family. We do not see large instances of wild game such as deer in this or the smokehouse assemblage. Many of the same circumstances that forced Black families on to smaller and smaller plots of land also caused decrease habitat for wild turkey and deer. These populations were hunted almost to extinction by the early twentieth century, so I would not expect to see them in the faunal assemblage.

What follows is a summary of each excavation unit that was opened as part of this activity area. This includes discussion of the stratigraphy, soils, excavation techniques and artifacts recovered

Excavation Unit 32

Area: B

Relative Grid Coord: Unavailable; for location of cellar units, see cellar map

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Screening Method: Wet screened through 2mm mesh

PEB Sample: 5L sample taken from every matrix locus

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 32 was the first of the units opened in the dug earth root cellar of the standing house. Archaeologists hypothesized that by opening units here, excavators would uncover artifacts that had fallen through the floorboards of the house and the back porch, since the root cellar is located directly beneath both. Since this is a cellar cut into the clay subsoil, the stratigraphy here is drastically different from the rest of the site. The entirety of the deposits are wet clay subsoil, with artifacts spanning the site's entire occupation period up to the 1970's essentially preserved in the top 10cm of the cellar floor. Excavators found that preservation in this area was exceptionally good. All units in the cellar were wet-screened through 2mm mesh, since the conditions of preservation were quite wet and muddy. This resulted in greatly increased artifact recovery, and as such excavators began screening all artifacts on site through this new, smaller mesh than was previously being utilized.

Locus 1 contained artifacts on the surface, and soil was extremely damp and fine. The largest density of artifacts was contained between a depth of 5 and 7cm. The artifact density decreased dramatically after 8cm, and Loci 2 and 3 were encountered. Locus 3 contained almost no artifacts and closed in sterile soil. Essentially, this unit is considered one surface deposit spanning the entirety of the house's occupation (clay floor with artifacts being deposited over time).

Artifact Discussion

A diverse assemblage was recovered from this locus. The ceramics count was low in relation to the amount of other artifacts recovered, with an MNV of 3, and a total sherd count of 11. All the ceramics recovered were tablewares. Artifact #591 was a cup, with the handle and base; decorated with gold gilding on the handle. A maker's mark is present on the base, but not complete enough to identify. Artifact #592 is a rim sherd from a crazed sherd of white granite. Artifact #593 was a plate, which mended. This artifact was a poor-quality porcelain with a decal decoration (which was highly faded).

Toys were recovered from this context (artifact #594); two pieces from the head of a porcelain doll were recovered. A homemade marble was also recovered, which is rather unique (artifact #595).

The deposits from this context tend to skew later (date-wise) than the 2012 site and some other activity areas on this site. Few stonewares were recovered from the cellar context, likely because storage materials, at this point in time, are primarily glass as opposed to stonewares. Recovered from this context (artifact #1017) was an entire canning-jar lid liner still contained within its zinc lid. The inscription "Genuine Zinc Cap for Ball Mason Jars" can be read on the liner. The remaining glass in the assemblage has an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 17. Flat glass accounted for 6 sherds in this assemblage. At least two more jars were recovered from this context (Artifact #1019, #1020). The glass in this

assemblage was also diverse. A sherd of pressed-glass tableware, likely a dish, was also present in this assemblage (artifact #1021). The lenses from a pair of sunglasses were recovered (artifact #1022). A gizzard stone was also recovered from this assemblage. An amber-colored bottle was present in this assemblage, likely a beverage bottle (artifact #1024).

Artifacts categorized as “miscellaneous” recovered from this assemblage were diverse also. For example, we recovered an early cupcake/pie wrapper made of foil (artifact # 267). A 2-eye shell button was recovered from this assemblage (artifact #266). Artifact #268 appears to be an electrical wire that has been burned, suggesting an electrical fire in the past. Tile and textiles were recovered from the 1970’s remodel of the house. Lids from cosmetic containers were recovered (n=3). One of these (artifact #275) was a blue lid that clearly reads “Ponds”

A small, blue plastic comb (artifact #274) In addition to the evidence for cosmetics, adornment objects were also recovered from this context. Artifact #279 was a small plastic jewel fashioned to look like a diamond; clearly fallen out its facet and through the floorboards to the cellar below. Two very small (<.25mm) beads were recovered (artifact #280, #281), white and blue. These are quite small and could have been sewn into clothing, or as part of a larger jewelry item. A small jewelry hook (artifact #128) was also present in this assemblage. Metal recovered from this assemblage included a copper wire (Artifact #129) and a clothing facet (artifact #127). Large chunks of mortar were also recovered from this locus, in addition to brick and charcoal.

Locus 3 terminated almost immediately, and the only artifact recovered from this locus (which was likely actually part of Locus 1) was a single blue glass marble.

Excavation Unit 33

Area: B

Relative Grid Coord: Unavailable; for location of cellar units, see cellar map. EU 33 is directly N of EU 32

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Screening Method: Wet screened through 2mm mesh

PEB Sample: 5L sample taken Locus 1

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 33 was extended directly north of EU 32, and is essentially the same matrix. Archaeologists hypothesized that by opening units here, excavators would uncover artifacts that had fallen through the floorboards of the house and the back porch, since the root cellar is located directly beneath both. Since this is a cellar cut into the clay subsoil, the stratigraphy here is drastically different from the rest of the site. The entirety of the deposits are wet clay subsoil, with artifacts spanning the site’s entire occupation period up to the 1970’s essentially preserved in the top 10cm of the cellar floor. Excavators found that preservation in this area was exceptionally good. All units in the cellar were wet-

screened through 2mm mesh, since the conditions of preservation were quite wet and muddy. This resulted in greatly increased artifact recovery, and as such excavators began screening all artifacts on site through this new, smaller mesh than was previously being utilized. A wide variety of domestic artifacts were uncovered, such as well-preserved zooarchaeological remains such as rodent bone, spoons, buttons, other clothing related artifacts, containers, etc.

Since all deposits in this unit are essentially the same matrix, Locus 1 is the only matrix locus. This locus contained artifacts on the surface, and soil was extremely damp and fine. The largest density of artifacts was contained between a depth of 5 and 7cm. The artifact density decreased dramatically after 8cm, and the unit closed at a depth of 11cm.

Artifact Discussion

There seems to be a field-laboratory disconnect with this unit. My notes indicate This locus had far fewer artifacts than EU 33, and the fewest artifacts of any of the cellar EUs. Only two glass sherds were recovered, one (artifact #1025) was clearly a sherd from a ball blue caning jar, whereas the other, a natural green sherd (artifact #1026), is unidentifiable beyond the category of "container". A small metal container was recovered (approx. 1.5 cm), (artifact #286). The plastic, screw-top lid has the letters "LPCo" on the top, though it is at present unclear what exactly those letters stand for. The black, plastic lid is hexagonal. It is possible that it is a small paint container of some kind, as the lid appears to have something attached to it from the inside (perhaps a brush or stopper) (**photo 92**). A pencil, including the lead and the metal from the eraser attachment was recovered from this assemblage (artifact #287). Two (2) more sherds of artifact #593, a porcelain plate, were present in this locus. Like the other cellar units, adornment objects were recovered from this locus. A 2-hole, square shape, rubber button (artifact #288) was recovered from this locus as well. A white, opaque glass button of small size (~3mm) was also found in this locus. Unidentifiable white metal (#130) and mortar (artifact #131) were also recovered from this locus.

Excavation Unit 34

Area: B

Relative Grid Coord: Unavailable; for location of cellar units, see cellar map. EU 34 is directly S of EU 32

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Screening Method: Wet screened through 2mm mesh

PEB Sample: 5L sample taken Locus 1

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 34 was extended directly south of EU 32, and is essentially the same matrix. Archaeologists hypothesized that by opening units here, excavators would uncover artifacts that had fallen through the floorboards of the house and the back porch, since the root cellar is located directly beneath both. Since this is a cellar cut into the clay subsoil, the stratigraphy here is drastically different from the rest of the site. The entirety of the

deposits are wet clay subsoil, with artifacts spanning the site's entire occupation period up to the 1970's essentially preserved in the top 10cm of the cellar floor. Excavators found that preservation in this area was exceptionally good. All units in the cellar were wet-screened through 2mm mesh, since the conditions of preservation were quite wet and muddy. This resulted in greatly increased artifact recovery, and as such excavators began screening all artifacts on site through this new, smaller mesh than was previously being utilized. A wide variety of domestic artifacts were uncovered, such as well-preserved zooarchaeological remains such as rodent bone, a spoon with the engraving "Hotel Lincoln", buttons, other clothing related artifacts, containers, etc.

Since all deposits in this unit are essentially the same matrix, Locus 1 is the only matrix locus. This locus contained artifacts on the surface, and soil was extremely damp and fine. The largest density of artifacts was contained between a depth of 5 and 7cm. The artifact density decreased dramatically after 8cm, and the unit closed at a depth of 11cm.

Artifact Discussion

Ceramics in this locus were minimal, with an MNV of 2 and a total sherd count of 4. One sherd of stoneware was recovered (artifact #599), as well as one white granite plate (artifact #597). The plate showed signs of being burned in places, and highly crazed. Glass in this locus was more diverse, with an MNV of 4 and a total sherd count of 18. The MNV was low in this case because many of the glass artifacts found in this locus were not vessels, but adornment, decorative tableware, or toys. One ball jar was recovered from this context (artifact #1028). A drinking glass (artifact #1030) was found in this assemblage. Also recovered from this assemblage was a round glass watch face; unique in that it is not broken at all (artifact #1032). Glass tableware was recovered from this assemblage, including decorative items. Artifact #1034, for example, is a glass component of a twentieth-century glass lamp. A decorative figurine was recovered (artifact #1036), in the shape of a lady (or girl-child). Her feet, bare, and dress are distinct, though the rest of the figurine is lost. Sherds from an additional figurine (artifact #1035) were also recovered, but the form and shape of this one is indistinguishable. Like the other cellar units, marbles and beads were recovered. Artifact #1037 is a whole marble, agate with orange and white.

Beads and adornment objects were again a significant part of this assemblage. These beads were glass (as opposed to plastic) suggesting they may have been from some of the earlier years of the site's occupation. A blue bead (artifact #1038) was present in this assemblage, approximate 1 cm in size. A red glass bead was also recovered (artifact #1039), it was faceted. An opaque white bead, though incomplete, was also recovered from this locus (artifact #1041). A triangular shaped bead was recovered (artifact #1040), which was white with brown stripes. In addition to beads, two (2) glass, 2-hole, pie-crust style buttons of approximately 7mm in diameter were recovered from this locus (artifact #1043, #1042). A very small copper alloy pin (artifact #131) appears to be part of a watch or bracelet. A plastic bead was also recovered, cylindrical in shape and black (artifact #298).

Two shell casings were recovered from this locus, a .22 rim-fire and .32 center-fire.

Perhaps one of the most unique artifacts recovered from this unit was artifact #290; a plastic piece of corn. Just that. A yellow, decorative, plastic corn that looks like an ear of corn, about 8 cm long. My best hypothesis is that this is a toy, or decorative. Or both. A comb, almost whole, was recovered (artifact #300). This comb is made of plastic in the aesthetic style of tortoiseshell. A black comb tooth was recovered as well (artifact #296). In the area of adornment, a shirt-tie was recovered; made of plastic (artifact #297) so this is clearly a mixed context. Plastic buttons were recovered (n=4), which were black and brown and likely all twentieth century. Two green bread ties were recovered (artifact #295). Pencils ends, with eraser attachments (2) as well as pieces of graphite were present in this locus (artifact #288). Some glass (artifact #1031, n=2) was burned beyond identification. A bone handle (artifact #426) was recovered; this artifact (a rib) has clearly been modified. It appears to be part of a bone handle that has been separated from the remainder. A small amount of charcoal was also recovered from this locus.

Excavation Unit 35

Area: B

Relative Grid Coord: Unavailable; for location of cellar units, see cellar map. EU 35 is directly S of EU 34, but located on the shelves of the cellar as opposed to the floor

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Screening Method: Wet screened through 2mm mesh

PEB Sample: 5L sample taken Locus 1

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 35 was extended directly south of EU 32, though is located on the earthen shelves of the cellar as opposed to the floor; though archaeologists noted that this is essentially the same matrix. Archaeologists hypothesized that by opening units here, excavators would uncover artifacts that had fallen through the floorboards of the house and the back porch, since the root cellar is located directly beneath both; and also artifacts that may have been stored on the cellar's earthen shelves. Since this is a cellar cut into the clay subsoil, the stratigraphy here is drastically different from the rest of the site. The entirety of the deposits are wet clay subsoil, with artifacts spanning the site's entire occupation period up to the 1970's essentially preserved in the top 10cm of the cellar floor. Excavators found that preservation in this area was exceptionally good. All units in the cellar were wet-screened through 2mm mesh, since the conditions of preservation were quite wet and muddy. This resulted in greatly increased artifact recovery, and as such excavators began screening all artifacts on site through this new, smaller mesh than was previously being utilized. A wide variety of domestic artifacts were uncovered, such as well-preserved zooarchaeological remains such as rodent bone, buttons, other clothing related artifacts, containers, etc.

Since all deposits in this unit are essentially the same matrix, Locus 1 is the only matrix locus. This locus contained artifacts on the surface, and soil was extremely damp and fine. The largest density of artifacts was contained between a depth of 5 and 7cm. The artifact density decreased dramatically after 8cm, and the unit closed at a depth of 11cm.

Notably, this unit is closer to being located beneath the back porch than the kitchen, and the fork shaped hair pin was uncovered from this unit.

Artifact Discussion

Like the other cellar units, the artifacts in this unit were diverse, and mostly comprised of small finds. Glass and ceramics, possibly because, with the advent of plastic, they are less common in the twentieth century. Glass recovered had an MNV of 3, with a total sherd count (of vessel glass) of 6. This does not include small finds glass objects. A pepper sauce bottle was recovered (artifact #1045) with a tooled finished, suggesting a date range of 1850-1910. This does point out that the context is highly mixed; with nineteenth and twentieth-century materials. Additionally, a glass tile was recovered from this context (artifact #1044). Finally, a ball jar was recovered the complete finish, and some of the lettering intact (artifact #1046); this artifact is machine-made, indicating twentieth-century canning and storage activities. Additionally, a rubber gasket, which would have been used in the closures for canning jars, was recovered (artifact #304). Figure 6.7 shows all the small finds recovered from this unit.

Quite a few beads were recovered from this locus (n=10). Some were the very small (<1mm) which have been found in other cellar loci. A larger blue and green bead was recovered as well, in addition to agate beads that had been coated with white and iridescent paint. A glass bead had been coated with iridescent coloring as well.

A celluloid charm, in the form of a Snow White figure, was recovered from the cellar unit (artifact #301). This proved to be of great interest at the excavation site; most people, upon seeing it assumed she had religious connotations. Upon further research, she appears to be a Japanese-made celluloid charms, typical of the style that was popular in the 1930's and 40's. Additionally, plastic links (artifact #302) were also recovered from this locus, which could be part of the plastic charm bracelet the charms were attached too. A comb (artifact #306) was recovered; the size and shape of the artifact is consistent with a hat-comb; the kind found inside hats or headbands to hold the headpiece onto a person's head. Rubber tread from a shoe (artifact #307) was found. Finally, a small hair clip (about 6.5 cm in length) was found in this locus. The hair clip is in the shape of a fork, and is made of copper alloy. The small fork is designed to look like a table fork; complete with floral decoration on the end (see figure

Many buttons were recovered from this locus (n=21). Shell buttons (n=5) were present; all the shell buttons were smaller than 20 lines in size, meaning they would have likely been used as shirt buttons. A small collar button made of shell (artifact #313) was the smallest shell button recovered, measuring 11 lines. Artifact #315 was also a shell button, this one measuring 22 lines, which likely indicates it would be a vest, coat, or jacket button. A square shaped shell button (artifact #315) was also present. One shell button (artifact #318) had a missing metal back stamp, and was also larger (27 lines), so likely a coat button. One bone button (artifact # 317) was in this assemblage, (4-hole, sew-through), and was 24 lines in size, again likely a vest, coat, or jacket button. Bakelite buttons were also numerous, with 5 recovered. All were larger buttons than shirt-button size. Two Prosser buttons were recovered, one white (artifact #324) and one painted black (artifact

#325). Finally, there was a large (30 lines) white button (artifact #326) recovered, with the outline of a person smoking a pipe wearing lederhosen on it. This character has been unidentified at this point, so I will leave his purpose to the imagination. Metal buttons were recovered, but were preservation was too poor to permit identification.

Artifact #303 was somewhat mysterious. One whole and one partial black disc, painted green on one side, perfectly round. On the unpainted side, one shows signs of adhesive, so it is possible they were decorative. They are flat discs, so it is also possible they are gaming pieces. They can be seen in the photo of all the small finds from this unit. Artifact #305 was also unidentifiable and mysterious; pictured in Figure 6.7; the artifact appears to have a ceramic interior based, and is coated with molded green patinated glass. Additionally, it is intersected with a wire. My best hypothesis is that it is a pendant or jewelry piece of some kind.

Metal in this assemblage was largely unidentifiable but unsurprisingly included a large number of nails and can parts. Mortar was also recovered from this locus. A dime was recovered from this assemblage, but corrosion was too far-gone to read the date; it was identified by size and shape primarily.

Excavation Unit 38

Area: B

Relative Grid Coordinates: n/a (cellar)

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Screening Method: Wet screened through 2mm mesh

PEB Sample: 5L sample taken Locus 1

Excavation Discussion

Excavation Unit 38 was placed in the root cellar. Similar to EU 34 this unit was not on the floor of the cellar, but on the earthen “shelves” that lined the sides. EU 38 was located directly south of EU 34. Also like EU 34, the placement of this unit was intended to catch historic materials that may have fallen through the floorboards from both the kitchen and the back porch.

As with the other units in the cellar, this contained one continuous deposit of historic materials within the clay. This deposit (Locus 1) was 10 cm deep, consistent with the other root cellar units. EU 38 contained several possible fish and chicken bones, as well as glass, ceramics, several buttons, hair pins, staple, and a Chinese pierced coin (a wen). This deposit terminated after 10cm.

Artifact Discussion

The ceramics assemblage recovered from this locus was small but diverse. This assemblage had an MNV of 6 with a total sherd count of 8, however I am not sure how useful MNVs are in the cellar assemblage, since the entire cellar seems to be one inseparable deposition. The ceramics in this assemblage were mostly tableware, two gilded vessels and one whiteware

molded vessel that showed signs of burning. One stoneware sherd was recovered, as well as one porcelain sherd too fragmented to identify, and one porcelain sherd from a figurine. Figure 6.8 shows the small finds from this unit.

Included in the glass assemblage were very large panes of natural green window glass, with caulk still visible on some edges; suggesting this could be more modern than most other artifacts in this assemblage (artifact #1061). MNV from this assemblage was 9 with a total sherd count of 22. The majority of these were tablewares, with at least three drinking glasses. Two canning jars were recovered, as well as one whole canning jar lid liner. Unlike most liners, this particular artifact (#1073) had no writing embossed upon it. One crimped lamp chimney was recovered (artifact #1074) and it was sun-colored, giving this a date range of 1880-1914. At least one artifact was melted beyond recognition (artifact #1064) and the remainder were vessel glass too fragmentary to be identified, as well as two sherds of flat glass.

A total of 27 buttons were recovered from this locus. The majority of buttons recovered from this locus were shell (Mother of Pearl) in color. Six of these buttons were consistently decorated; with the 2-holes in an oval inset. They were also similarly sized, suggesting they may have been part of the same coat or vest, or used on different parts of the same set of clothes. Three shell buttons (artifact #334, 335, 336) had circular insets. Three partial shell buttons were also recovered. One shell button (artifact #341) had a sun-shaped inset. One bone button was recovered (artifact #342), with scratch marks on the back; possibly from repeated use. Vegetable ivory and Bakelite buttons were also recovered, one of which (artifact #346) appears to have been burnt. Another button with a character that appears to be wearing lederhosen and smoking a pipe was recovered, matching the one recovered in EU 35 (artifact #347). Metal buttons were also recovered from this area (n=4). Three of these were clearly originally covered in fabric, and had textile materials still attached. Buttons were too poorly preserved to discern manufacture materials. One trouser button was recovered (artifact #146) and one small, fabric covered collar button was recovered (artifact #149). The largest button recovered (artifact #355) was a plastic Bakelite button that measured 31mm (48 lines) and was likely a coat button.

A zinc button was recovered with the stamp "EQUIPEMENT MILITAIRES" (artifact #145). This stamp and style of button has been used on French military uniforms, likely as a trouser facet, but also on bags throughout the twentieth century. Many members of the family and extended family served in the military (and specifically in WWII), so it is possible they could have come by French military gear through an encounter in the field. These buttons are still produced, though, so is also possible it came to the site by way of military surplus. Until recently there was a large Army Surplus store near the site, offering a wide variety of foreign army and US surplus supplies, at a reasonable discount. Army supplies are durable and cheap, so it follows that someone living at or visiting the site may have been using surplus military bags or jackets.

Metal recovered from this assemblage was perhaps the most diverse found on the site. In addition to the buttons already discussed, fasteners were also present in the assemblage (n=4). At least two appear to be a matched pair. One snap-and fastener (artifact #154) was

recovered snapped together. There are also the remains of textiles still attached to this snap. One copper alloy link, appearing to belong to a bracelet or some other kind of jewelry, approximately 1cm in size was recovered with string wrapped around it still. It appears like the jewelry item broke, and was tied back together; which subsequently broke and was then deposited in the archaeological record.

One .32 caliber shell was recovered from this area. This caliber has been the most numerous recovered from the site.

A wheat penny (artifact #162) was recovered from this locus; this penny has a production range of 1908-1958; corresponding with the general time period many of the artifact found in this area date to. A small copper pin was also recovered from this area, as well as a safety pin (artifact #161), as well as a mysterious copper alloy circle (approximately 4 cm in diameter) with white textile still attached (artifact #159). Finally, a Wen, or Chinese pierced coin, was also recovered from this locus (artifact #163).

Artifact #1054 is a curious one. A small, green, igloo shaped glass object with a diameter of 2.5cm. The bottom of the this glass item has embossed lettering which reads "MADE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA GES. -GESCH". This tells us a few things. First, the artifact has a TPQ of 1918, since that is the date that Czechoslovakia became a country. It is also likely that its deposition predates WW2, when most of the ethnic Germans who ran glass houses left the country (Wilkie 2014). There is beading on the interior, and the exterior is decorated in small squares, not unlike an igloo. The size (2.5cm) is quite small. It is possible this is a lid or closure for a snuff box, or pill box, or other small container.

Three glass beads were recovered from this context, one ovoid and green, with floral decoration (artifact #1057), and one very small and white (artifact #1058), much like the other glass beads recovered from the cellar unit. One glass bead (artifact #1059) was recovered highly crazed, suggesting it had been burned. It appears to be a white glass bead that was then painted mother of pearl. A glass "jewel" (artifact #1060) was also recovered whole. Plastic beads were also recovered, (artifact #359-361) in white, brown, and blue (which was melted).

Two plastic yellow hair clips were recovered (artifact #350-351); as was a small plastic nose piece from a pair of glasses (artifact #362). A comb tooth and graphite were also found in this locus. Similar to the snow white charm found elsewhere in the cellar, a celluloid charm was also recovered from this unit, this time in the shape of a monkey. The word "JAPAN" was found on the bottom; this could have even belonged to the same charm bracelet.

Artifact #364 was a bone pipe mouthpiece. This is a removable mouthpiece, which would have screwed into the body of the pipe itself.

Toys recovered from this assemblage were not quite as numerous as others, but quite interesting. A wooden toy clown head was found, remarkably preserved, likely due to being encased in damp clay. The wooden clown head has been hand-painted. This artifact

appears to be made of a light, spongy wood (artifact #365). Three marbles were recovered, two glass and one ceramic. The ceramic marble could have been repurposed from its original use into a toy (artifact #601). Additionally, a hollow wooden stick was recovered from this assemblage that appeared to be a toy part (artifact #369). This hollow stick could match the toy clown head recovered from this same assemblage.

A paper candy label was found for Collins' Butter Scotch, 7 for 1 cent. Leather and textile was also recovered.

Excavation Unit 40

Area: B

Relative Grid Coordinates: n/a

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Screening Method: Wet screened through 2mm mesh

PEB Sample: 5L sample taken Locus 1

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 40 was the final unit placed in the root cellar. Similar to EU 34 & 38 this unit was not on the floor of the cellar, but on the earthen "shelves" that lined the sides. EU 40 was located directly north of EU 34. Also like EU 34, the placement of this unit was intended to catch historic materials that may have fallen through the floorboards from both the kitchen and the back porch.

As with the other units in the cellar, this contained one continuous deposit of historic materials within the clay. This deposit (Locus 1) was 10 cm deep, consistent with the other root cellar units. EU 40 contained numerous nails and bottle caps, nut shells and seeds, buttons, small bones (fish, rodent, etc.) a possible nasal syringe (for children). This unit, like the other units placed in the cellar, terminated after 10 cm.

Artifact Discussion

Of all the units opened in the root cellar, this had the fewest artifacts; likely due to being located on a shelf (as opposed to the floor). The accumulated sediments on the shelves were shallower, in general.

Five beads were recovered from this assemblage, all distinct, all made of glass. A hollow bead was recovered, green in color and patinated (artifact #1027). A triangular bead, similar to the one recovered from EU 34 was also recovered. Two small (<1mm) red glass beads were recovered, one circular and one hexagonal. A white conical bead was recovered as well.

Misc. Items recovered include a rubber gasket for sealing a canning jar, ind. Plastic, and graphite from a pencil. A hard rubber closure for a small (13mm) spice container such as pepper was recovered. Finally, an infant syringe was recovered from this assemblage. Made of plastic, it is clearly twentieth century with a hard rubber tip. Unlike ear and nose

syringes, it does not have a large bulb at the end, rather is shaped like a more traditional syringe with the handle and plunger. The most likely use for this shape of syringe would have been medicinal dispensation, as opposed to extraction.

Only two metal artifacts were recovered from this assemblage, both buttons. One, (artifact #163) was whole, while the other was merely the back stamp of a 2-piece button with a loop shank (artifact #164). A Prosser button was also recovered from this assemblage, larger than the other Prosser buttons found at the site (19mm diameter).

Ceramics recovered from this assemblage were minimal. A chamber pot was recovered; identified by the large marly and thick profile (artifact #611). Also included in this assemblage was a small porcelain vessel, with a rim diameter of 2.5cm (artifact #612). Additionally an unidentified ceramic was recovered; it appears to be a very small (10mm diameter) knob of some kind with a ferrous screw protruding from the center.

Glass in this assemblage was minimal, with an MNV of 1, and a total sherd count of 5. The assemblage contained flat glass and 3 sherds of indeterminate colorless vessel glass.

Blacksmith Shop

Frank Morris, who built the house currently standing on the site, was also a blacksmith. It should be noted that “shop” here is a colloquial term for a structure that would have housed a production area, and not necessarily a store. So, in this sense, the “shop” is where tools were used and made. Oral histories indicate that Frank did at least the smith work for his own family’s farm, and likely for neighboring farms as well. These skills would have been invaluable to the running of his farm, and likely the large Black farming community. He passed along his skills to his son, Charles Morris, who continued the smith work for the farm, although he did not pursue this as a formal profession. A later twentieth-century version of Charles’s shop stands on the south end of the site property. Here, the goal was to examine the materialities of metal and farm equipment production for nineteenth-century black farmsteads.

Using oral histories and historic photos, the team located what we hypothesized to be the entrance to the nineteenth-century shop. We opened two excavation units in this area (EU 26 and 27), and uncovered post-holes associated with the nineteenth-century structure, as well as glass, metal and ceramic artifacts. It is likely this post hole served as a hitching post. Faunal analysis from the remains recovered from EU 27 indicated that these areas were used as a hog pen before its use as a smith shop. The depth of this unit also suggested the possibility that this farm was lived-on and worked earlier in the nineteenth century than perhaps the property abstract indicates. EU 27 also had much deeper stratigraphy than any other unit in this area.

Archaeologists expanded into two more units (EU 36 and 39) nearby, in what was likely the interior of the shop. These yielded more metal, with specific artifacts related to smithing and metalwork, but fewer glass and ceramics.. The majority of artifacts recovered from this area were highly fragmented and burned. This is unsurprising given the area’s use and the

presence of a forge. Some horse furniture was recovered, as well as a large amount of metal that is still undergoing cleaning, analysis, and preservation.

The excavations and artifacts recovered from each unit are discussed in more detail below.

EU 26 Unit Summary:

Area: B

Relative Grid Location: 993.174N 1017.332E

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Summary

This unit is located at the projected entrance to the nineteenth-century blacksmith shop. The unit was placed just West of the shop door. Locus 1 had an earthy, almost night soil-like smell. This locus contained a large mammal bone and few nineteenth and early twentieth-century artifacts. The smell continued into Locus 3, and this context contained larger metal artifacts, as would be expected, and fewer glass and ceramic. Locus 5 is cut through with an electric line on the East side. This was pedestaled for safety. It's likely this is a twentieth-century cut into the nineteenth-century deposit. Removing Locus 5 exposed Loci 7, 8, 9 and 10. Locus 6 is the interface between Locus 5 and these features. These loci likely represent a hitching post. Likely locus 10 is the post hole itself, with Locus 9 as a step adjacent to the post. Locus 7 comprises the fill between these features. Locus 8 is a c-shaped feature, containing only a small piece of bone. Excavators interpret that this layer is possibly the bottom of Locus 5, and contemporary with the posthole cut. Locus 9 represents a dark stain (feature) just South of the posthole feature – likely remnants of architecture or a stone associated with the posthole. This locus contained no artifacts. Locus 10 was a shallow post hole, likely from a the hitching post. This locus contained no artifacts, though charcoal inclusions were present. Loci 7-10 terminated in sterile soil. Table 6.11 shows a detailed excavation summary.

Artifact Discussion

This was and continues to be a high-traffic area at the site; which resulted in an artifact assemblage that was highly fragmented.

Artifacts in locus 1 were minimal, and mixed with twentieth-century fill. The ceramics in this locus had an MNV of 3 with a total sherd count of the same. The ceramic artifacts were highly fragmented, and contained a whiteware handle, and two small stoneware sherds. The glass found in this locus was also highly fragmented, with an MNV of 3 with a total sherd count of 5. One gizzard stone was recovered, and the rest was fragmented container glass. Modern gardening related plastics and charcoal were also recovered from this locus.

Locus 3 contained a larger concentration of historic artifacts. Ceramics in this locus had an MNV of 7 with a total sherd count of 10. This locus was an even mix of stonewares and tablewares, still in small fragmented sherds. The glass in this locus had an MNV of 9 with a total sherd count of 37. A high sherd count is due to high levels of fragmentation. Gizzard stones were recovered (n=7). Two sun-colored vessels were recovered with a date range of

1880-1914. At least one jar was present in the assemblage, as well as lid-liner sherds. The remainder of the glass assemblage consists of fragmentary vessel glass. Shell was recovered from this site, of a larger size than found elsewhere. A pencil, and rubber from what appears to be a toy ball were also recovered from this assemblage. Shoe tread was also present in this locus, as was a clothing facet. A .22 caliber long-rifle shell casing was also recovered from this locus.

Shell was also recovered from locus 5 (n=3). One ceramic stoneware storage vessel was present in locus 5, in three sherds. Glass in this locus was sparser than in the previous assemblage, with an MNV of 2 and a total sherd count of 3. Two sherds of small light green plastic were also present in locus 5. Brick and charcoal were recovered from this locus. This was the final locus in this unit to contain historic materials, though a posthole featured was uncovered at the termination of this layer.

EU 27 Unit Summary

Area: B

Relative Grid Location: 991.282N 1021.209E

Datum: NW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 27 was placed in the interior of the nineteenth-century blacksmith shop. Before excavation, a large number of vines and other detritus were cleared from the area, leaving the soil very wet and muddy, with prevalent roots throughout the unit. This unit had the same earthy smell as locus 26, but stronger in this location. My interpretation is that this odor is from a succession of dirt floors. Locus 1 contained a large amount of ceramics, some glass and a large amount of metal. A 7cm x 7cm stain was uncovered in the center of the unit, likely from a root. Locus 1 terminated when the soil became darker and the artifact concentration more dense. Locus 3 contained a larger number of metal artifacts than the previous layer, and the soil was slightly greyer, but containing several root stains. Locus 3 contained a larger concentration of nineteenth-century artifacts, and closed when the soil became looser and grittier. Upon closing, excavators concluded that locus 5 is also part of locus 3. The soil in locus 7 was mottled, and increasingly silty and ashy. Artifacts in locus 7 were mostly metal, and a dark stain in the center of the unit was revealed. Locus 7 was closed at an arbitrary 10 cm, and Locus 8 revealed a brick at the base of the dark stain – these features were mapped.

Locus 8 contained fewer artifacts than previous loci. Locus 8 contained a series of dark stains that were mapped. I interpret that locus 8 represents the base of the blacksmith-related layers, and all loci beneath date to the previous use of the area as a farm out-building, likely (based on zooarchaeological evidence) housing pigs.

The features uncovered were interpreted to be evidence of ephemeral archaeological features. Locus 10 was the largest, moving slightly with the depth, which would indicate the post had fallen and rotted over time. This locus was located in the middle of the unit and terminated in a large chunk of sand stone. The other stains, Loci 11-14, were small and

terminated quickly, likely remnants of smaller, more ephemeral wall features. Locus 15 is the interface at the bottom between these previous loci, and Locus 16. Locus 15 likely represents the end of the blacksmith shop related deposit. At the bottom of locus 16 more stain features appeared, and locus 16 also contained a large bottle fragment and a pig tooth. Archaeologists interpret that these represent a previous building to the blacksmith shop, likely used as animal (potentially pig) storage. Locus 18 contained two dark stains likely left by decomposed wood planks from the early farm outbuilding, and contained few artifacts. Within locus 18 was a circular metal feature, exposed at 50cm. Locus 18 terminated when the soil became lighter grey and the features terminated. Locus 19 contained few artifacts (n=3), likely represents the area's tenure as a pig containment and terminated in sterile soil. Table 6.12 shows a detailed excavation summary.

Artifact Discussion

The ceramics in locus 1, like in EU 26, were highly fragmented, though there were far more present than in the previous EU. The assemblage contained whiteware, including flow blue, and stoneware fragments. One stoneware fragment was glazed green on the interior. The glass in locus 1 had an MNV of 12 with a total sherd count of 44. A large number of the glass recovered from this locus were gizzard stones (n=20). The remainder of the glass is too fragmented to be identified beyond vessel glass. At least one sherd was manganese solarized (1880-1914). One small canning jar lid liner was also recovered. Modern garden-related plastic, as well as brick, charcoal and slag was also recovered from this locus.

Locus 3 contained more historic material than locus 1, and is interpreted as the top of the historic occupation layer. Ceramics in this locus continued to be highly fragmented, with an MNV of 10 with a total sherd count of 17. Five of these sherds were gizzard stones; which, overall, are numerous in this unit and the other units in this activity area. The majority of the identifiable ceramics were whiteware, with two additional sherds of stoneware. The glass recovered from this locus, like the ceramics, was highly fragmented. The assemblage had an MNV of 8 with a total sherd count of 26. Many of these sherds (n=7) were too burned and melted to identify. Since this area was the blacksmith shop area, it is unsurprising that many artifacts turned up burnt. Additionally, glass gizzard stones were also present (n=4). One small canning jar lid-liner was recovered, and the remainder of the assemblage appears to be fragmented bottle glass. A trouser facet (artifact #38). Small plastic sherds were also recovered from this locus (n=4), but these could be actually from the bottom of locus one. Slag inclusions were heavy in this locus, and brick fragments were also recovered.

Ceramics frequency decreased in locus 5. The ceramics MNV for this context was 5 with a total sherd count of 7. All ceramics from this context were at least slightly burned. Two sherds recovered from this context were stoneware, and the remainder of the assemblage contained whiteware. The sherds recovered continue to be highly fragmented. Glass frequency was higher in this assemblage, though the MNV was similar. The glass assemblage had an MNV of just 6 but with a total sherd count of 34. Like the ceramics, a large portion of these were burned, and 14 were melted beyond identification. Gizzard stones (n=3) were also recovered. The majority of the glass recovered also had iron or rust burned onto the glass; unsurprising, since these were found in the proximity of the

blacksmith shop. The glass continued to be highly fragmented, and is not identifiable beyond vessel glass. One sherd recovered was sun-colored, dating from 1880-1914. One ball blue sherd was recovered. One plastic gardening stake fragment was recovered from this assemblage as well, suggesting that this context may have been mixed at one point through gardening. In the present, this area is used as garden so it is not surprising the odd root or planting deposition could bring plastic or other modern inclusions into the nineteenth-century contexts. Slag was recovered in high portions in this locus as well.

Locus 7 contained fewer artifacts than the previous locus. Ceramics in this assemblage were even more fragmented than the previous layer, and highly worn. The ceramics in this context had an MNV of 5 with a total sherd count of 12. Gizzard stones were present (n=5). The vessel assemblage was comprised of highly fragmented whiteware sherds, and one stoneware sherd. The glass in this assemblage was also highly fragmented and worn. The glass in this context had an MNV of 6 with a total sherd count of 14. These glass sherds were, for the most part, worn and burned, and unidentifiable beyond vessel glass. Leather was recovered from this context, with brass alloy tacks still attached. Given the presence of brass tacks, it seems likely that this is horse or livestock furniture. Horse and livestock furniture of similar form was found on site in the present, in the building still standing on site that served as the blacksmith shop in the twentieth century. A clothing facet was also recovered with some textile still intact. Charcoal and slag were also present in this context.

Locus 8 contained very few artifacts. One ceramic gizzard stone was recovered, and one small sherd of glass. Another small part of the leather with brass tacks was also recovered from this locus, as was a much larger brass tack that was burned. A large pig tooth was recovered, clearly from an aged adult, which was complete - it appears to have fallen out on its own. This, along with the stratigraphy discussed above, suggests that this area was used to contain pigs at some point in time.

Locus 10 only contained two artifacts, a small sherd of whiteware and a very worn glass fragment. Locus 11 also had almost no artifacts, only one piece of slag was recovered from this context.

Artifact concentration increased again in locus 14; which was interpreted as an earlier occupation layer. I interpret that this layer likely dates to the earliest years of the site's occupation. A shaft bone fragment from a mammal was recovered from this locus with signs of burning. Ceramic artifacts recovered from this locus had an MNV of 3 with a sherd count of the same. All sherds recovered were whiteware, and two showed signs of burning. The glass sherds recovered from this locus were more numerous, with an MNV of 7 with a total sherd count of 25. The majority of these (n=17) were flat glass, possibly from a broken window. The remainder was highly fragmented and unidentifiable beyond vessel glass. One sherd of ball blue glass was recovered, so at least on vessel in this context was a jar. A canning jar lid liner sherd was also recovered from this context. Two gizzard stones were also recovered from this context.

Locus 16 contained few historic materials. Another adult aged pig tooth (whole) was recovered from this locus. Like the other pig tooth found in this unit, it appears to have

fallen out on its own due to age. Glass was the only other artifact class recovered from this assemblage. One small sherd of vessel glass was recovered. Finally, a large (8 cm) sherd of mold blown glass was recovered, likely from a jar.

Locus 18 contained a circular artifacts, likely metal lids, and was the last locus to contain historic materials.

Metal was recovered in large numbers from this unit, and analysis on this assemblage is ongoing.

Excavation Unit 36

Area: B

Relative Grid Coord: 989.076N 1023.770E

Datum: SW

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Summary

Excavation Unit 36 was opened directly East of EU 27, in what archaeologist think, based on historic photos, was the easternmost section of the blacksmith shop. This archaeologists hypothesize that this would have been a breezeway, or what Russell Morris (descendant and volunteer) calls “the moat”, where wagons, and later cars, would have been parked or stored.

Locus 1, like the other units on this site, consisted of topsoil with large amounts of sod. Locus 3 terminated once the sod was removed, and contained charcoal and brick inclusions as well as historic artifacts. Excavators noted that this locus did not have as many historic artifacts as the similar locus (stratigraphically) in EU 27. This locus appeared of an indeterminate depth, so archaeologists terminated it at the arbitrary 10cm. As such, locus 5 contained the same fill context as locus 3.

At this time in the field season, a female opossum died under the shed adjacent to this unit. This made excavation in this area...slightly unpleasant. The weather at this time was also very wet due to a large number of summer storms, so this slowed excavation in this unit somewhat.

Locus 5 began to show some ambiguous rectangular stains, similar to those found in EU 27. Archaeologists interpret that these are likely ephemeral stains from the floor of the blacksmith shop. This hypothesis was based on evidence from the standing blacksmith shop, and the appearance of its dirt floor.

Locus 5 terminated when the soil became lighter in most of the unit, with the exception of a dark, square stain in the middle, which archaeologists mapped. The lighter soil was deemed locus 7, and was removed. The stain was pedestaled. Locus 7 had few artifacts and terminated in sterile soil; and represents the fill beneath the historic building. Locus 8 represents the interface between loci 7 and 9. Locus 9 was a posthole cut into locus 7 –

likely a support for the historic building. Loci 7 and 9 both terminated in sterile soil. Table 6.13 shows a detailed excavation summary.

Artifact Discussion

In general, this unit contained far fewer artifacts than EU 27. Locus 1 contained no historic artifacts, since it was a sod layer.

Locus 3 was the first context to contain historic artifacts. There was a high concentration of glass in this locus, though it was highly fragmented. The MNV for the glass in this locus was 11, with a total sherd count of 57. Of these sherds, 4 were so burned as to be unidentifiable, 10 were gizzard stones and flat glass accounted for 12 sherds. At least 4 vessels were jars, and 1 canning jar lid-liner was recovered. One vessel was sun colored (1880-1914). The remainder of the glass assemblage was too fragmented to be identified beyond vessel glass. The ceramics in this locus were also highly fragmented, with an MNV of 8 and a total sherd count of 24. The majority of vessels were stoneware, and one was burnt. The whiteware recovered (n=9 sherds) was also burned. Gizzard stones were also recovered (n=4). Modern plastic items were recovered from this context (n=2), as well as brick. A metal button was recovered (artifact #169), as was a brass clothing facet (artifact #170). A piece, which appears to have come from the shop door, was recovered (artifact #167), as well as a large piece of lead (artifact #171).

Fewer artifacts were recovered from locus 5. The glass MNV was 4 with a total sherd count of 24. The majority of these were gizzard stones (n=11). The remainder of the glass was fragmented vessel glass, with at least one ball jar in ball blue (artifact #1105). The ceramics in locus 5 had an MNV of 2 with a total sherd count of 16. The majority of these (n=11) were gizzard stones. One white granite plate with molded and scalloped edge decoration was recovered, as well as one small (burned) stoneware sherd). The white granite plate was burned as well. A metal clothing fastener was recovered from this context, as well as unidentified plastic pieces, likely related to gardening. A small metal ball resembling birdshot was also recovered.

Few artifacts were recovered from locus 7. One sherd of vessel glass was recovered, along with round metal objects that resemble birdshot (n=3).

Locus 9, the final context in this unit to contain historic artifacts, contained a very small number of artifacts. Unidentifiable metal was recovered (n=1) as well as glass. The glass in this context had an MNV of 2. One sherd (artifact #1109) was a sun-colored patent bottle finish. A large (8.8cm) glass bottle base made with a 2-piece mold was also recovered from this context.

Excavation Unit 39

Area: B

Relative Grid Coordinates: 984.970N 1021.250E

Datum: SE

Unit Size: 1m X 1m

Excavation Unit 30 was the final unit in the yard area for the 2013 field season. EU 39 was located approximately 5m south of EU 27. Using historic photographs, archaeologists hypothesized that this would be near the south wall of the east part of the blacksmith shop. The unit was placed directly “behind” EU 27, to target the same “section” of the shop.

Locus 1 immediately yielded historic artifacts; there was no sod layer here. Locus 1 terminated when the soil color became lighter and harder packed, leading archaeologists to interpret that this may have been an historic floor to the shop. Locus 3 contained historic artifacts and charcoal inclusion (<1%). Locus 3 terminated when the soil became sandier, which is likely a natural feature of the stratigraphy in this geographic location. Locus 5 contained few artifacts, and terminated in sterile soil. Table 6.14 includes a detailed excavation summary discussion.

Artifact Discussion

Locus 1 contained both historic materials and modern fill. There was a high concentration of glass in this locus. The glass had an MNV of 9, but with a much higher total sherd count of 71. The majority of these sherds were flat glass (n=35). Gizzard stones were also recovered from this context (n=4). Glass tablewares were also present in this context (n=2), including one sun-colored press molded sherd. Some sherds (n=8) were so burned as to be unidentifiable. One ball blue jar was recovered (artifact #1122). The remainder of the glass assemblage was comprised of vessel glass fragments. The ceramics in locus 1 had an MNV of 6 with a total sherd count of 22. This assemblage also contained burned artifacts (n=5) and gizzard stones (n=4). The majority of vessels in this locus were stoneware (n=4), with one whiteware vessel and one white granite vessel. A ceramic insulator was also recovered (artifact #630). Metal gardening labels were present in this locus, as well as misc. Plastic pieces. Quartz chunk, charcoal, slag and brick were also present.

The artifacts recovered from locus 3 were highly fragmented. The glass assemblage had an MNV of 4 with a total sherd count of 35. The majority of this glass was flat glass (n=25). One sun-colored sherd was recovered. Two sherds were too burned to be identifiable, and gizzard stones were also present (n=3). The remainder of the assemblage was vessel glass. The ceramics in this assemblage had an MNV of 5 with a total sherd count of 17. A number of these sherds (n=6) were too burned to be identified. Two stoneware vessel sherds were recovered, and the remainder of the ceramics assemblage were tablewares, including a cup handle (artifact #638). A .32 shell was recovered from this locus. Brick and quartz chunk were also present.

Locus 5 contained few artifacts and terminated in sterile soil. The glass assemblage had an MNV of 1 with a total sherd count of 5. The majority of the sherds (n=4) were flat glass, and the remaining sherd is a slightly burned drinking glass rim. The ceramics in this locus had an MNV of 1 with a total sherd count of 2; this was a burned whiteware vessel.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Reflections

Lawrence County, Illinois, where this study takes place, is approximately 153 miles from Ferguson, Mo (about 3 hours by car). There are no Black police officers on the Lawrence County Police Department, although the county's population is about 10% Black. Thirteen percent of Lawrence County residents live in poverty, making it the 13th poorest county in the state. There are two 'former' sundown (define) towns within a 20-mile radius of the small rural area where my sites lie. My point in reciting these statistics is to emphasize that racial inequality in the Midwest (and the United States as a whole) is not a relic of the nineteenth century, but a current and sometimes deadly reality for our community. Inequality did not disappear with emancipation or the civil rights movement, it is an enduring structural reality. Although my case study begins in the early nineteenth century, people of color are negotiating similar situations today; where the law and its enforcement are at times tangential, or even in opposition with, our best life chances.

I began this dissertation by suggesting that the *Homeplace* and its archaeologies can be understood as dimensions of the materialities of racialization. In this dissertation I have used the concept of *Homeplace* primarily based on my own lived experiences of how family, persistence, and space intersect. *Homeplace*, as I will discuss, has also in recent archaeological and Diaspora writings taken on a particular theoretical baggage, which have made useful but distinct intellectual contributions to this project." I would like to conclude this study by returning to the discussion of *Homeplace*, as theorized, lived, maintained, memorialized and excavated. In my introduction, I argued that an understanding of racialization as a materiality sees this process as historically contingent, embodied, and yet disbursed in its enforcement. Like any space, the *Homeplace* has changed drastically over time. Through my exploration of the site, I've begun to see these changes as reflective of the larger social processes experienced by African Americans. In short, I think we can understand the land, the site, and it's contingencies as an articulation of the Black experience in American society. A study of *Homeplace* allows us to see very specifically the physical realities of living in a society structured in racialized inequality.

Homeplace as Theorized

The concept of the Homeplace as employed in this dissertation is a product of my lived experiences theoretical discussions of others who have helped to further shape my understanding of this phenomenon. As I have noted earlier in this work, bell hooks is the scholar who introduced the concept of Homeplace to feminist theory. To theoretically situate Homeplace, I've drawn on bell hooks and archaeologists who've utilized her feminist theories to situate the Homeplace as a site of resistance and decolonization (see Chapter 2). Influenced by Audre Lorde's conceptualization of the intersectional self and self-care as inherently political (Lorde 1988); I see the caring for and memorializing of marginalized histories by the community as a similarly political act. The way that we speak about a past has power, there is power in creating your own communities that do not use the dominant system as a frame of reference. There is power in the way we are spoken about historically, and I see Homeplace archaeology as a way to situate how we speak about ourselves.

I think it is important to say that the first time I encountered this term ‘Homeplace’ was not in the academic literature, with all the citational baggage that comes with it, but in the place itself. I call it my Homeplace because that is the name I’ve always understood it to have; to my family and our community, that is what it is called. I say this to point out that while the academic literature is productive in many ways, so are vernacular names, acts, and knowledges. To me, Homeplace is the source of many different kinds of knowledge, in this dissertation I have explored how the work of knowing the past and its people involves knowledge equally.

Homeplace As Lived

Thinking about how Homeplace is lived on the land, I am drawn to questions of citizenship. Who is a citizen? Who has rights to land? When the Morris family came to Lawrence County, they were relatively prosperous, due in no small part to the fact that they were relatively light-skinned, hard working farmers. At times, this gave them some access to land ownership and some of the legal trappings of citizenship. As I discuss in Chapter 3, the earliest pioneers were able, at least to some extent, to have access to the legal system. They purchased large amounts of land in the early nineteenth century in the pioneer fashion – first by clearing it, then by farming it, and finally by filing their deeds. This marks the beginning of their frontier lifeways; accessing citizenship through land-ownership and self-sufficiency. Over time, though, landownership among the Black community decrease substantially due to a combination of factors. Predatory tax loans and collections, and likely racialized economic exclusion meant that more people were living on less and less land. With racialized pressures decreasing their access to legal systems, the inhabitants of this site changed their tactics in order to survive. Holding on to some of the land, but with less and less access to legal institutions, the Black farming families in Illinois had to find new ways to continue to enact their citizenship and support their community. These creative economic, social, and political response to this is what I’ve highlighted in this study as the *work of persistence*.

As I discuss in Chapter 2, I think that utilizing persistence allows us to understand that living in a world not of your own making is more complicated than just deciding whether or not to revolt. Resistance is so often futile, and if that is the only way we recognized Black culture and Black communities, then we will find ourselves erasing the lives of many real people. Resistance assumes all people’s perceptions of themselves are in alignment or direct opposition a sometimes-arbitrary ‘norm’. The questionable reality of normalcy aside, an archaeology of Homeplace seeks to examine people in terms of themselves and their lives, not solely opposition or response to another gaze. Part of my work in this dissertation has been to avoid over-simplification of Black lives in the past. The families in this case study were not merely responding to the pressures of exclusion; theirs was not a singular response to inequality. Instead, the many different ways they mobilized their self-sufficiency, social networks such as church and community, and their trade skills show us a complicated picture of people who worked in many ways on many different levels to create their lives. Which brings me to the classical archaeological question: How did these families continue to do more with less? What was the work of persistence at the Homeplace?

The first and earliest site built by Mason and Patience Morris in the mid-nineteenth century was a significant farm holding not unlike many of their neighbors who brought a pioneer ethos to the frontier region. Martha and Evaline, their daughters legally purchased 140 acres from their father shortly before his death in 1874, presumably to avoid any dispute over their inherited land rights (something that would have been a large concern for Black women in the nineteenth century). As a result of their economic independence, Martha and Evaline saw no need to marry, and ran their farm together until old age prevented them. They sold the last of their land shortly before they passed away in the early 1920's. In their time running their farm, these women chose many different tactics to persist on their land.

Martha and Evaline loom large in local memory. They are remembered as pious women, especially active in the local AME church. This religious participation not only ensured that they had an extended family and community (both here and in the next life), but also that they would not be socially marginalized and targeted for their spinsterhood - something that was not uncommon for Black women in the nineteenth century. As active members of their church, they subverted the liminality that often accompanies persons occupying 'non-normative' space. Fastidious ladies, Martha sewed all of their matching clothing. The artifacts recovered from the site of their farmstead suggest that their home was well appointed in the style of mid to late nineteenth-century "Victorian" domesticity. Quality transfer prints and tableware suggest that even as their economic circumstances required them to sell off parts of their farm, they maintained the style of middle-class domesticity in their home. The assemblage contains large numbers of stoneware storage vessels and farm equipment. While they may have been attending church and entertaining visitors on Sundays (a role typical of nineteenth-century housewives), during the week they assumed every role on their farm, working the land, and ensuring food on their well-appointed table.

Their nieces and nephews, raised across the road on another part of the family farm, remember their garden as prosperous every year, with flowers and vegetables, and herbal cures to just about everything. My great-aunt Margaret once told me that their garden continued to grow on it own after their deaths. I've been regaled a number of times with stories of mysterious lights and shadows walking their garden at night, as if still on guard. Memories of them become mythologized like this; their bravery as women alone on a farm is peppered with an air of mystery. At a time when some leaders in the Black community like Martin Delany were urging people to take up the agrarian lifestyle, to buy land and produce their livelihoods, religious missions urged women towards piety, temperance, and cultivating Victorian domesticity. Martha and Evaline's lives present an intersection of these dominant ideas while managing to subvert the expectation that gentile women's personhood was inextricably linked to their reproductive potential. These ladies subverted the heteronormative rules for their lives, which I would argue was their 'work' of persistence. They succeeded in buying their own land, running their own farm, and pursuing identities and personhood outside of marriage and motherhood, "queering" their performance of identities. Their role in their religious community, their domestic labors, and their strict adherence to other norms (like the Midwestern protestant work ethic) served to make this subversion not only acceptable in their community and economically successful, but praised and later mythologized in the community's memory. They created their own kind of citizenship in the community, outside of heteronormative definitions for

women and despite being legally disenfranchised. For their lives, they are remembered; their history persists.

Across the road, Martha and Evaline's nephew Frank Morris built the Homeplace sometime in the 1880's, on what would become the last three acres of the Morris family's once substantial land holdings. The same peopling of the countryside that had in many cases robbed Black farmers of their land also stressed the local wildlife populations. By the early twentieth century the wild turkey and deer populations had been hunted nearly to extinction; the land, like the Homeplace, was holding more people than ever before. The different types and sizes of shell casings and shot recovered from the archaeological record at the site speak to one way that the family negotiated provisioning, social networks, and gender. Much of the shot recovered from the site was for smaller animals, such as birds and small mammals; things that would have been hunted to supplement the family's diet. The faunal remains recovered and analyzed from the site, also mostly birds and small mammals, corroborate this dietary practice. The large number of gizzard stones recovered also indicate that the family raised chickens; likely both for consumption and trade.

As I've discussed in this study, the social implications of gun culture helped the family make lasting social connections in and throughout the community, which would go on to last until the present day. This is one of the articulations and contradictions of this histories of Diaspora; people of the African Diaspora are often read as outsiders because to be a citizen often means, to many people, to have a certain phenotypic expression. We can see, at this site, the ways that Black farmers in the past worked against this exclusion, asserting their citizenship (and by extension, their humanity) through land ownership, farming, and self-sufficiency. The material culture of guns at this site shows an example of these negotiations. I've suggested here that participation in gun culture allowed the men at this site to achieve "insider" social status not always accessible to people of color, but also to feed their families, make economic investments (guns, when collected, generally continue to accrue value), ensure their families are protected, and assert their rights to bear arms as American citizens. Instead of speaking to violence, gun paraphernalia at this site shows how complicated the social negotiations of people of color in a rural are. Gun ownership and hunting can be seen as another way to keep and protect the Homeplace.

The social economy of guns was just one part of the archaeology of persistence at the Homeplace site. As I discussed in Chapter 5, canning jars and storage materials were abundant in the archaeological objects recovered. Storage would have been an important economy, another way to sustain a growing population over time. Like Martha and Evaline's teawares, also a way to participate in gendered social networks. Pickling and canning goods were not only useful for the family, but could be traded and gifted throughout the community. Jams then are not just a treat, but also a skill that could be circulated socially and economically. In this same way, the ample archaeological evidence of smithing at the site is another example of the work of persistence. Frank Morris had a blacksmith shop on-site. This not only helped him sustain his own farming business interests, caring for his own horses and equipment, but also meant he had an additional economically viable skill he could use to access both cash and in-kind economies.

This place was home to many members of the Morris family; Frank and his wife Emma had 12 children; Frank's mother Emily (also known as Old Granny) lived there, and they also cared for Evaline towards the end of her life. As Frank and Emma's children grew up and made families of their own, many stayed nearby or came back to stay during times of economic or social stress. This meant that at any given time there were likely to be at least three, and sometimes four generations of Morris family members living here, returning here, and making their home here in different ways. The archaeological evidence reinforces this point. At this site we recovered are many children's toys, from cap-gun caps, to tea sets, to marbles and dolls. These artifacts were found throughout the excavation area, and date throughout the site's occupation, speaking to the many generations of children who were raised here, played here, visited here and returned as adults with children of their own.

Homeplace as Memory

One of the family members who once played here as a child returned home to secure the foreseeable future of the Homeplace. One of Frank's granddaughters secured the mortgage for the land in the early 1990's as after an economic windfall. This action highlights the importance of the place; when economic prosperity emerged the family banded together to keep our home. The meaning of this place is not an intervention I've made but a community I am part of. Some other families in the area have done the same; purchasing back ancestral lands after a time of economic prosperity and ascension to the middle class. Many families in Lawrence County have not been so lucky; the fight to keep the Homeplace is not usually a winning battle. Others have to leave, looking for opportunities that just aren't there for young people in a rural farming community. Young people return to visit, but many do not make their homes here. These few remaining Homeplaces in the area become a different kind of house than they once were. Now, the emphasis is on the extended family and community who return; return for holidays, for reunions, weddings, and funerals; the big family events that mark the passage of time. A few times a year, the growing numbers of us who cannot make lives in Lawrence County come back to commemorate and celebrate the lives this place gave us. It is not just direct descendants who return to the Homeplaces, but the whole of the community; in many ways the few Homeplaces that are left come to stand-in for the land and homes we have lost.

One of the enduring aspects of Diaspora is this movement and return. As the nineteenth century turns into the twentieth, and the twentieth into the 21st, this is a theme we continue to see at the Homeplace. The very economic exclusions that force people to leave the Homeplace make it constitutive of our identities, and compel a return. Our excavations were one of these returns, a way for us to re-remember and discuss pasts we had forgotten, and to record and share them with future generations. Our public archaeological practice was key to the success of this project. Many community members see how the world is changing and wish to preserve the deep history of this area for future generations. With descendants and community members excavating at the site, encountering the artifacts of their pasts and guiding our search and research, the work was made richer and more fulfilling. Thus our engagement with the past linked our histories to the present. For example, jewelry and personal adornment items were very well preserved in the cellar and porch contexts. As volunteers looked through the screen, one found a charm in the shape of a woman. Our volunteers that day were two of my aunts, who had grown up at the site. I

asked them who they thought she was, or what the charm was for. “She looks like Mary”, was the reply. They were in agreement (something I should say is rather unusual). Nobody is necessarily catholic but in a home kept by Black women and excavated by their descendants and sisters, it made a kind of sense to me that the figurine we had unearthed from the clay would be Mary, come to watch over us. Possibly triggering this interpretation of her was the purple cloak she wore. She does not “look” like traditional depictions of Christ’s mother, but in a household of women who were ‘othered’ for their outward appearances, who is to judge what Mary “should” look like? As an archaeologist, I was excited by this unique find. As a descendant, I was pleased that my elders saw meaning behind the things we were taking from the earth.

Through excavating these places together, we are able to speak of the memories and histories that these places keep. It is time we understood that when we ask our brothers and sisters “what are these things?” we are not asking for artifact identification. As archaeologists, we should know by now that what things are and what things mean to people are not necessarily the same thing. We are asking them to share with us who they feel that these people were, and what these things mean to them. We are asking for their histories and we should care for them in that way. We should care for our community’s memories the same way we care for the delicate objects we excavate. And that is what I suggest a collaborative ethnographic archaeology does. By listening, participating, recording and incorporating these histories we are making the stories we create about the past about more than the things we find and how we found them.

History is intimate; archaeology is even more so. In an age that increasingly debates the rights and values to privacy, we often invade the privacy of the past without much second thought. We find their lost jewelry, their clothing, their secret flask stashes. We track their poverty and their success, using their life stories as evidence for some kind of larger point we are making about society. Rigorous ethnographic practice and collaborative community archaeology offers an anthropological opportunity to examine how we, as both archaeologists and community members, know and reproduce our histories. More than that, my examples in this study show how archaeological practice itself is a way of creating and remembering narratives about the past. Because artifacts can be touched, and held, and talked about by the community, they offer a unique point of access to the practice of memorialization. Engagement with this moment offers a unique opportunity to value the knowledge and memories of our communities as much as we do the things they leave behind.

Reflections

This project was not without difficulty, or its own small moments of racialized experiences. For example, as part of the research for this project, I unsurprisingly spent a lot of time in the local courthouse looking through the documentary records that eventually formed Chapter 3. Access, even in one’s own hometown, is not always freely given. At one point I asked an older gentlemen in the County Clerk’s office about some records pertaining to the Black families who had lived in the area in the nineteenth century. I was met with disdain, and the assertion that I had no business there, and that what I sought did not exist anyway. Instead of leaving, I cleared my throat and introduced myself as “Anni Morris, Gene Hays’

grand-daughter". It is relevant to point out here that my paternal grandfather is a local politician who, like many members of my community, was instrumental in helping make this research happen. He is also white. As I suspected, these facts together changed the gentleman's attitude considerably, and he gruffly apologized as he went to unlock the doors to the archival rooms where he let me peruse at my leisure. I was not white enough for access on sight, but here, as always, race is clearly in more than just the eye of the beholder. Race is created and recreated within particular moments of engagement. My experience is no different, in that sense, from the experiences of other generations of The Morris family in Lawrence County. Even though Black farmers were some of the first settlers to Lawrence County, in the eyes of some people I still do not 'belong'; my complexion labels me an outsider regardless of the actual fact of my indigeneity to this place. Some things, actions, identities, and words can change this; but not always. Some things change, others do not. People who appear non-normative continue to be read as outsiders, or as non-citizens, until we deploy some other aspect of our identity to 'belong', or assert our citizenship, or gain momentary access we might need. This is what I argue the labor of persistence did, and continues to do, at this site. Our return to the Homeplace and our excavations of it allow us to remember the past as a complicated and dynamic place, where racialization was an aspect of our ancestor's lives, but not their sum-total experience.

Conclusions

Together, these chapters form an archaeological picture of six generations of families living and farming in rural Southern Illinois. The artifacts tell us about their everyday lives, and the lengths and labors they went to in order to keep their land and their home, and to sustain their families. The artifacts tell a minute, personal story about the lives of the Morris family, giving nuance to our imagination of their pasts. Our excavation of these artifacts represents an ethnographic moment where we engage with and re-remember the pasts. Since this study concluded, more oral historical and historical data continue to emerge, which will be the subject of a book project. Specifically, many interviews were conducted that were not included in this volume due to temporal parameters, and historic data on the twentieth-century site occupants continues to emerge. The metal assemblage from both sites continues to be analyzed and interpreted. The preservation and analysis of this assemblage will also be the subject of future work. This dissertation is not meant to be exhaustive; rather, I see this work as the beginning of an intellectual journey in the archaeology of the African Diaspora.

An archaeology of the Homeplace that is framed in persistence allows us to see the complex social negotiations and labors that were (and are) constantly required by Black families. Faced with unequal access to land, citizenship, and economies, these families mobilized their identities as hard-working, self-sufficient pioneers and farmers to gain access to some aspects of citizenship, and to hold on to their land and homes. As we see the many social, legal, and economic pressures that attempted to take their land, it becomes clear how hard the work of persistence really is. As we make their work visible, the story of their lives shows the dynamic world they made, a world we enact through return, a history we remember through excavation, and a power we affirm when we speak it.

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Figures

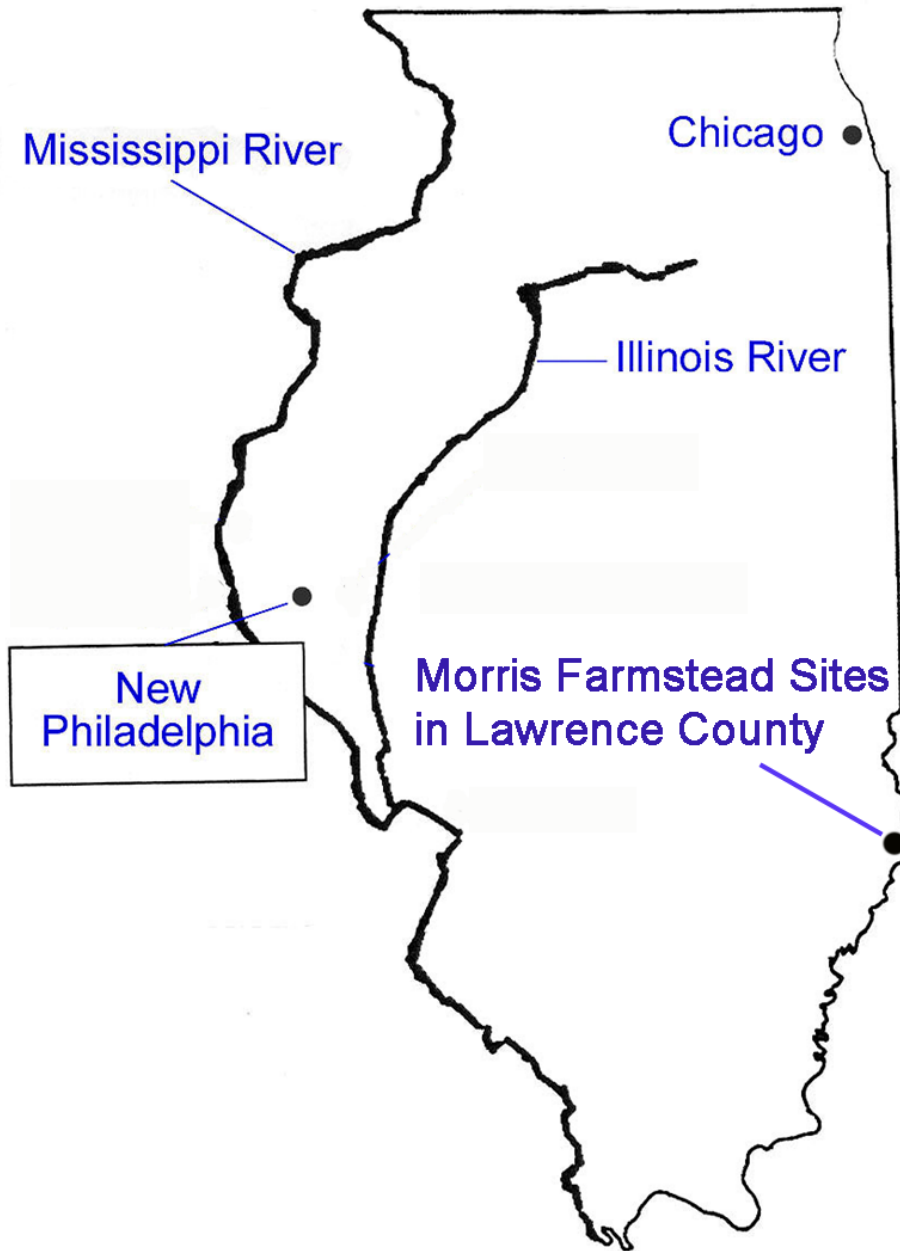


Figure 1.1. Site location in Illinois, in relation to other landmarks and African Diaspora sites.

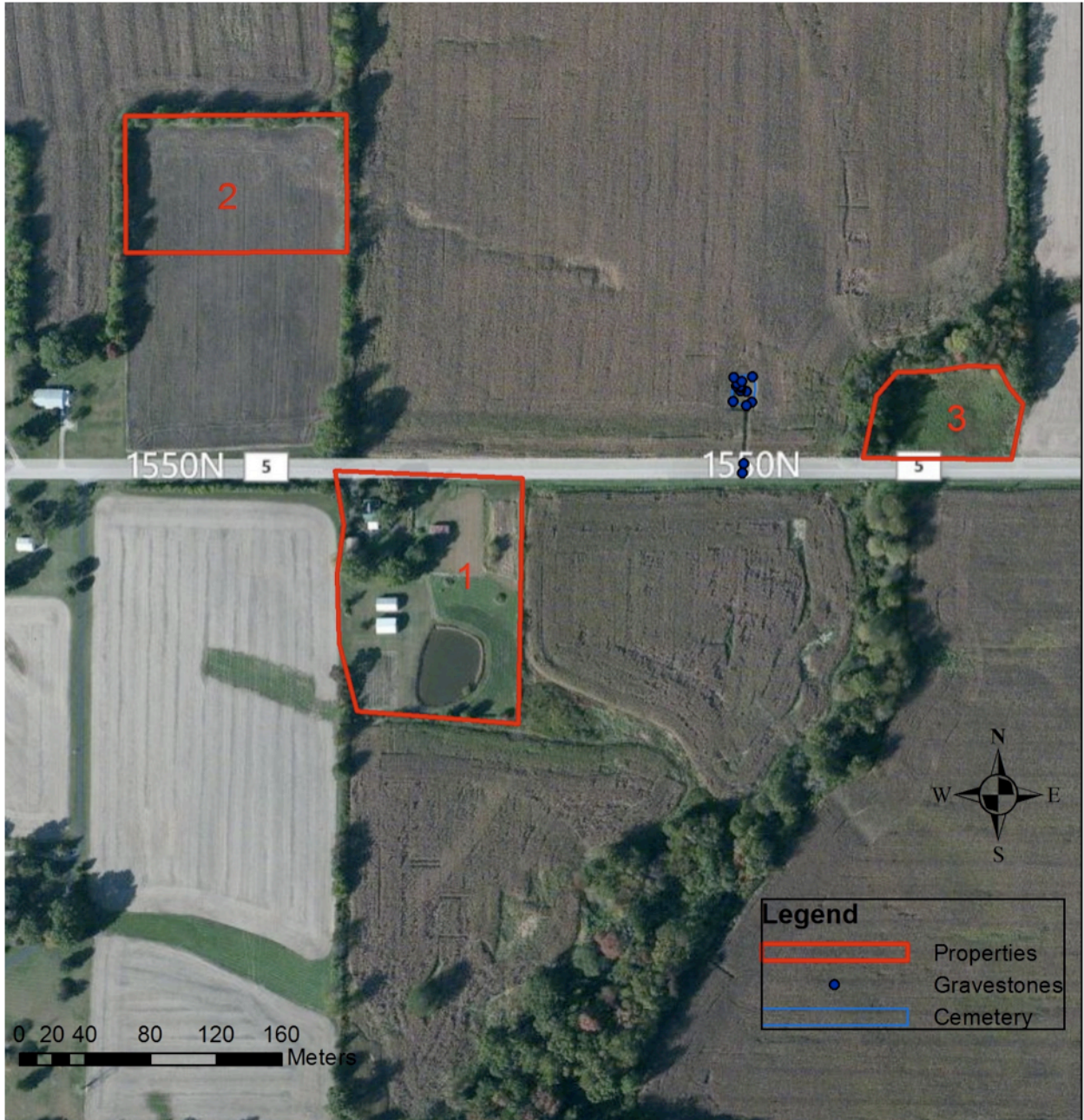


Figure 1.2 HALC Project Sites

1: Frank and Emma Morris's farmstead, occupied from approximately 1885-present day. Excavated in July 2013. Noted in the report as Site #2.

2: Mason and Patience Morris's earliest farmstead, dating from approximately 1840-1920. Excavated in July 2012. Noted in the report as Site #1.

Site 3: Hypothesized location of William Morris's farmstead, occupied from approximately 1860-1885. Unexcavated



Figure 1.3. Fork shaped hairclip

Morris Family Tree

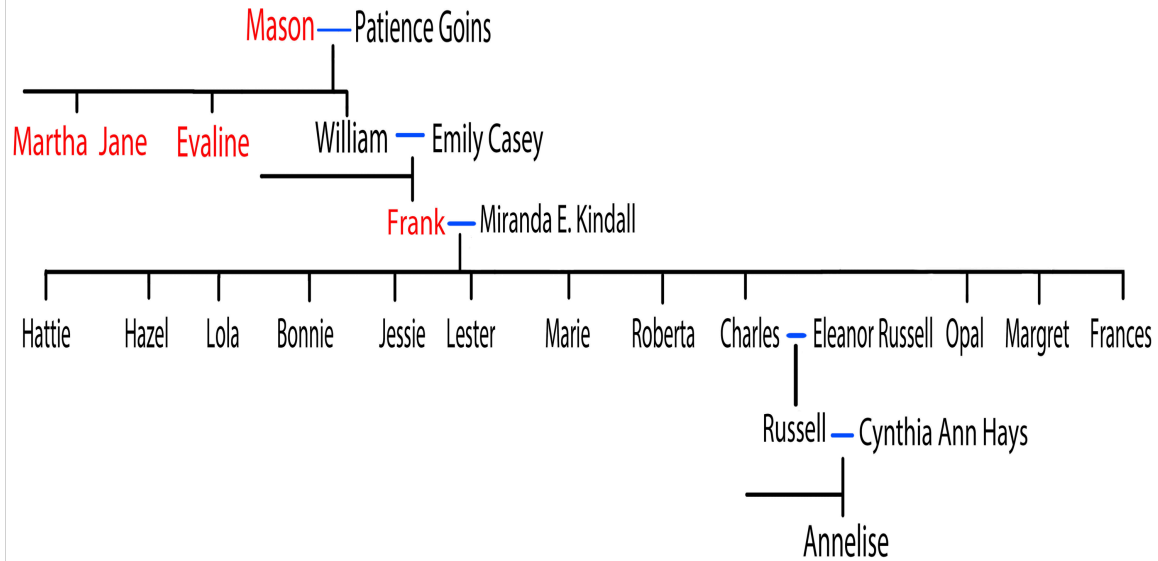


Figure 2.1. Family tree of the HALC site. The nineteenth-century landowners are highlighted in red.



Figure 2.2 Census Data imposed on family photos.



Figure 2.3 Martha and Evaline Morris

Martha and Evaline owned and farmed the earliest site from 1874-1920's. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.



Figure 3.1 Austin Tann. Tann came to Lawrence County and lived at Fort Allison at the same time as the Morris families. Many living Morris family members are also descendants of Austin Tann. I am descended from him on my paternal Grandmother's side. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.

Timeline of Illinois Black Codes

1719 – France introduces slavery to the Northwest Territory

1787 – Article 6, also known as the 1787 Ordinance, prohibits slavery

1803 – Indentured servitude allows slave owners to bring slaves into the state as “servants” – which **included the children of indentured servants**

- prohibited from bearing witness in court against a white person
- defines a mulatto as having one-quarter “negro” blood

1814 “An act concerning Negroes and Mulattoes.” Approved December 22, 1814

- approves indentured servitude
- approves corporal punishment for “servants”
- frees any white servants “owned” by Black people
- approves hiring out of slaves –particularly targeted the Southern Illinois salt mines
- prohibits free people of color from immigrating into the state without bond of \$1000 and certificate
- prohibits assisting or harboring of runaway slaves

1818 – Article 6 of the Illinois constitution prohibits the *introduction* of slaves into the state

Article 5 prohibits people of color from belonging to the militia – effectively barring their right to bear arms

1819 – Illinois adopts the first comprehensive ‘slave code’ or Black Laws. These laws:

- -required all emigrating free Black people to produce a certificate of freedom and to register with the county. Unregistered Black people could not be employed, could be forcibly removed from the states, and could also be sold as runaway slaves.
- -a master could only legally free a slave if he or she paid \$1000 bond for each person released.
- -prohibited taverns from selling alcohol to any “bond servant or slave”

1845 Revised constitution specifically includes these statutes

The “Revised Statutes” are repealed – Feb. 7, 1865

Laws protecting African-American civil and legal rights weakened considerably towards the end of the nineteenth century, ensuring that Illinois remained largely segregated and unequal state.

Figure 3.2 Timeline of Illinois ‘Black Codes’



Figure 3.3. Bethel AME Church Congregation in 1884. The congregation is pictured beside the church building. The Bethel AME Church burned in 1970. The Methodist churches in Pinkstaff later integrated to form the Pinkstaff United Methodist Church. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris



Figure 3.4. Reverend and Mrs. J.W. Wiley. Rev. Wiley was the first pastor of the Bethel AME Church. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.

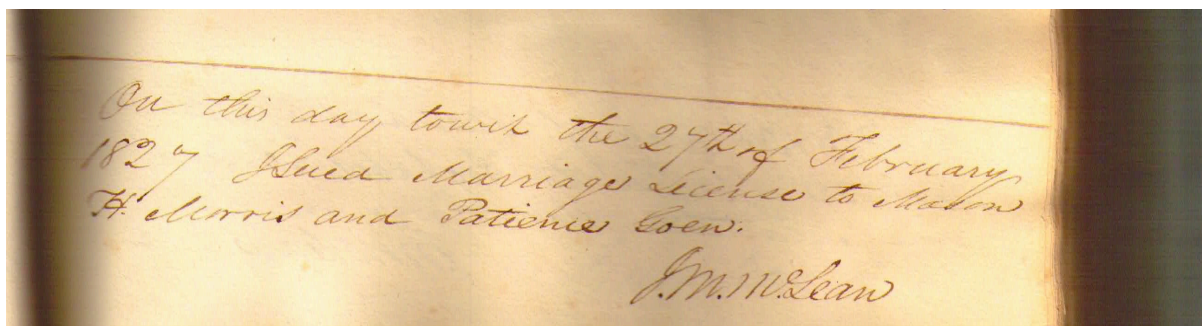
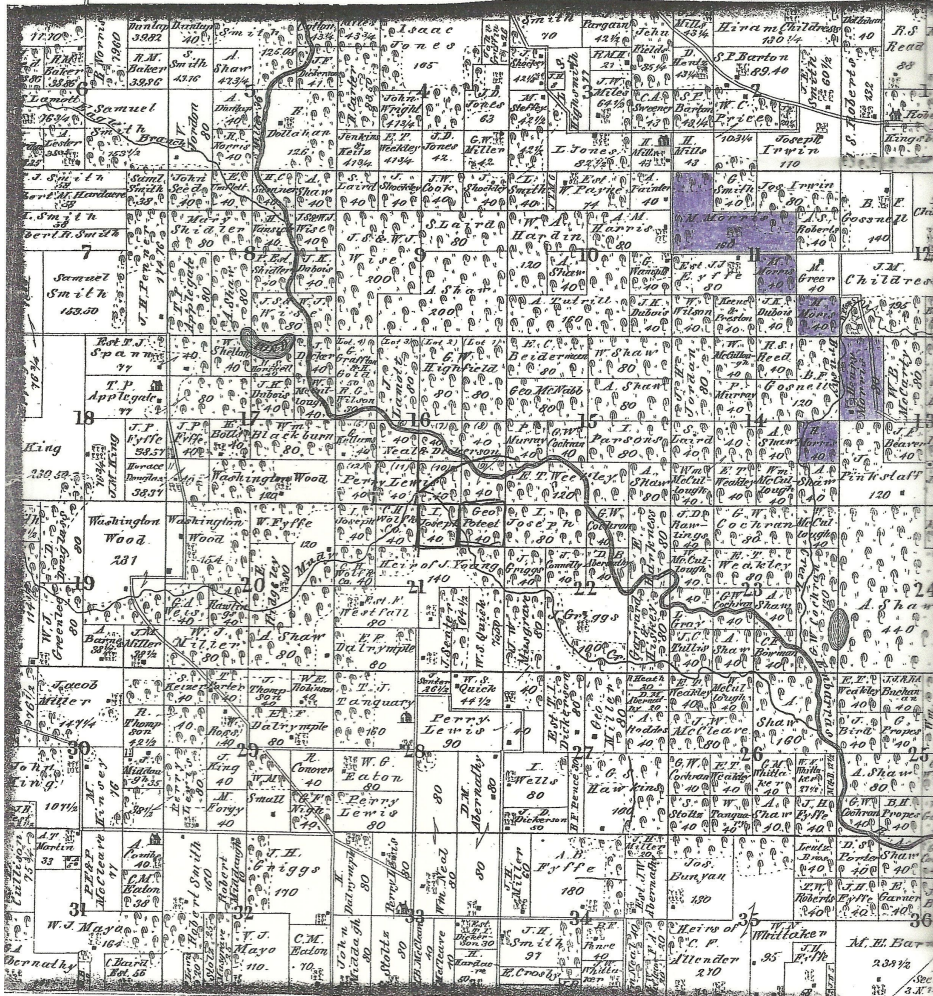


Figure 3.5. Mason Morris and Patience Goens declaration of marriage, 1827.



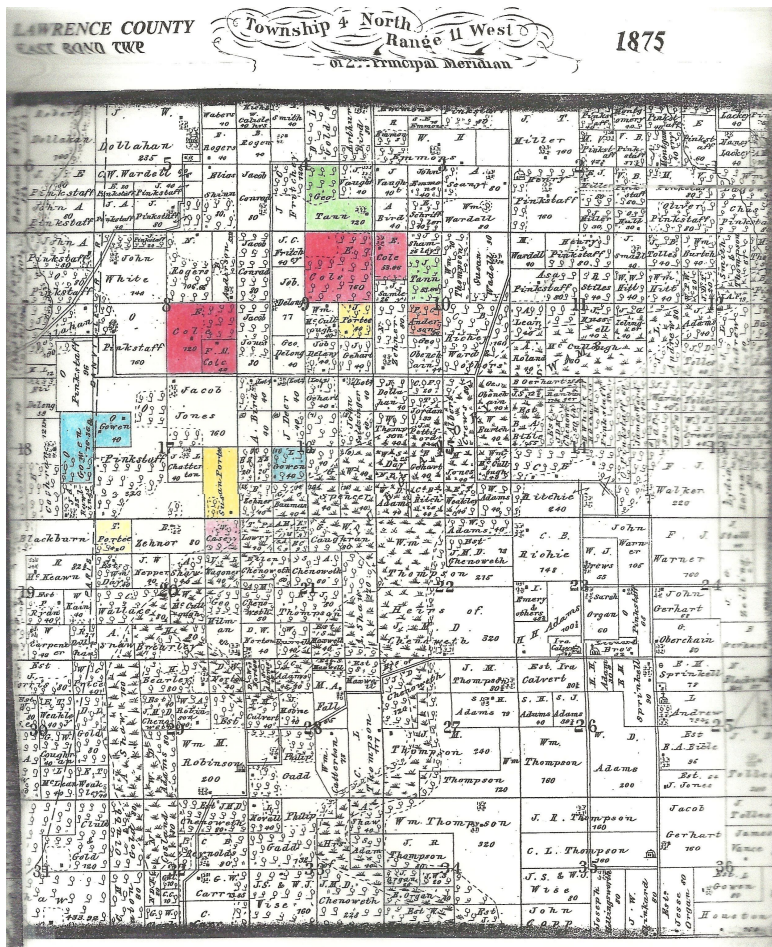


Figure 3.6. 1875 Plat Maps of Bond Township (both image above). Black-owned farms have been highlighted, each color belonging to a specific family name. Red are the Cole family, descended from John Morris's daughters. In purple are the Morris family lands. Mason Morris's farm are in Lot 11, and the adjacent farms belonged to his relative (likely brother) Henry. Maps courtesy of Larry Curry.



Figure 3.7. William Morris. William likely built his farmstead adjacent to Martha and Evaline's. His son Frank built the Homeplace. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.

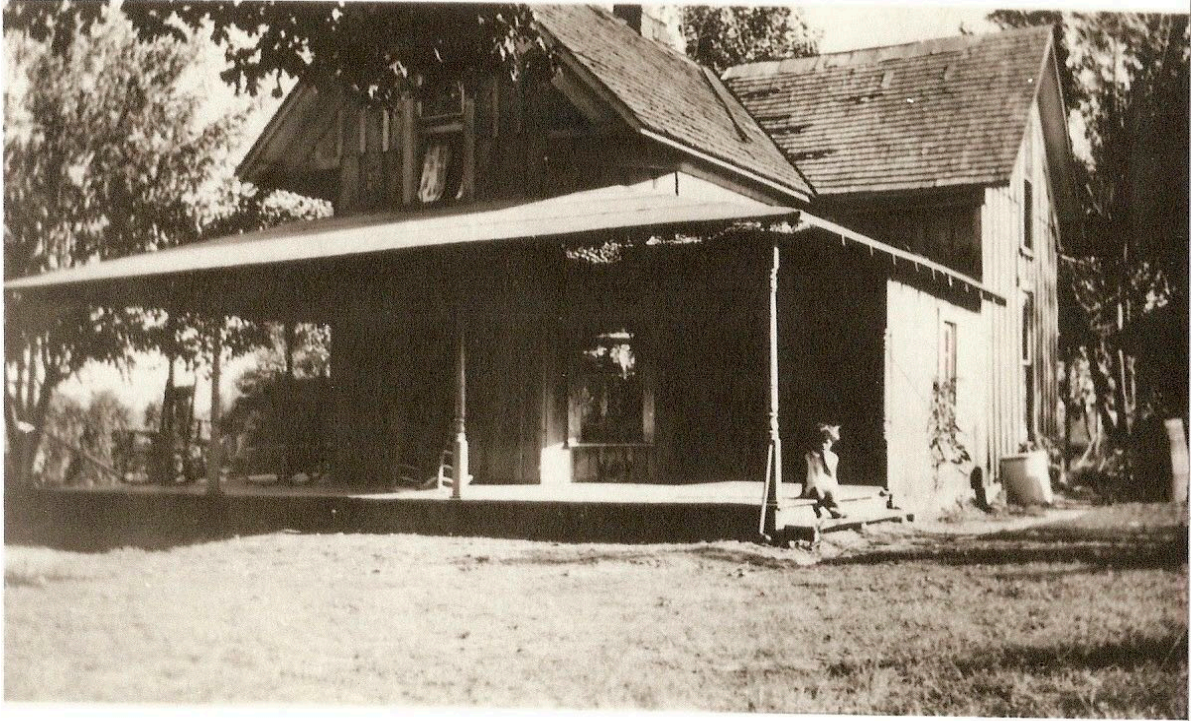


Figure 3.8. The Homeplace, ca. 1918. Pictured: Frances Russell nee Morris. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris



Figure 3.9. Frank Morris's Brothers, Mason, George and Fred Morris. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.



Figure 3.10. The Morris Brothers' Barber Shop. Their shop was located in Sullivan, Indiana. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.



Figure 3.11. Frank and Emma on their Farm. The child Emma is holding is Charles Morris, my grandfather. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.



Figure 3.12. Morris Family on the Farm. Pictured: Frank (top R) and Emma (R) and Evaline (Front, Center). Other relatives unknown, but are likely Fred, Mason, and George and their wives. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.



Figure 3.13. Frank and Emma's Younger Children. Evaline is pictured (Bottom R). Charles (the baby) is center. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.



Figure 3.14. Cole School. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.



Figure 3.15. Emma Morris and Her Daughter Louisa. Photo courtesy of Eleanor Morris.



Figure 3.16. Charlie and Eleanor Morris in front of their Centennial Farm Sign. Photo courtesy of Judy Gallion



Figure 4.1 The Homeplace, Present Day. Image courtesy of Cynthia Hays-Morris.



Images Courtesy of Erin Riggs and Johanna Pacyga

Figure 4.2. Visitors to the Site

Pictured (Clockwise from Top Right): Russell Morris and Gloria Keng, Annelise Morris shows visitors around the site in 2013, Margaret Harris came to visit in 2012, Gene Hays washes artifacts in 2013



Figure 4.3. Posthole. Uncovered during the 2012 excavations with the assistance of a local metal detectorist.

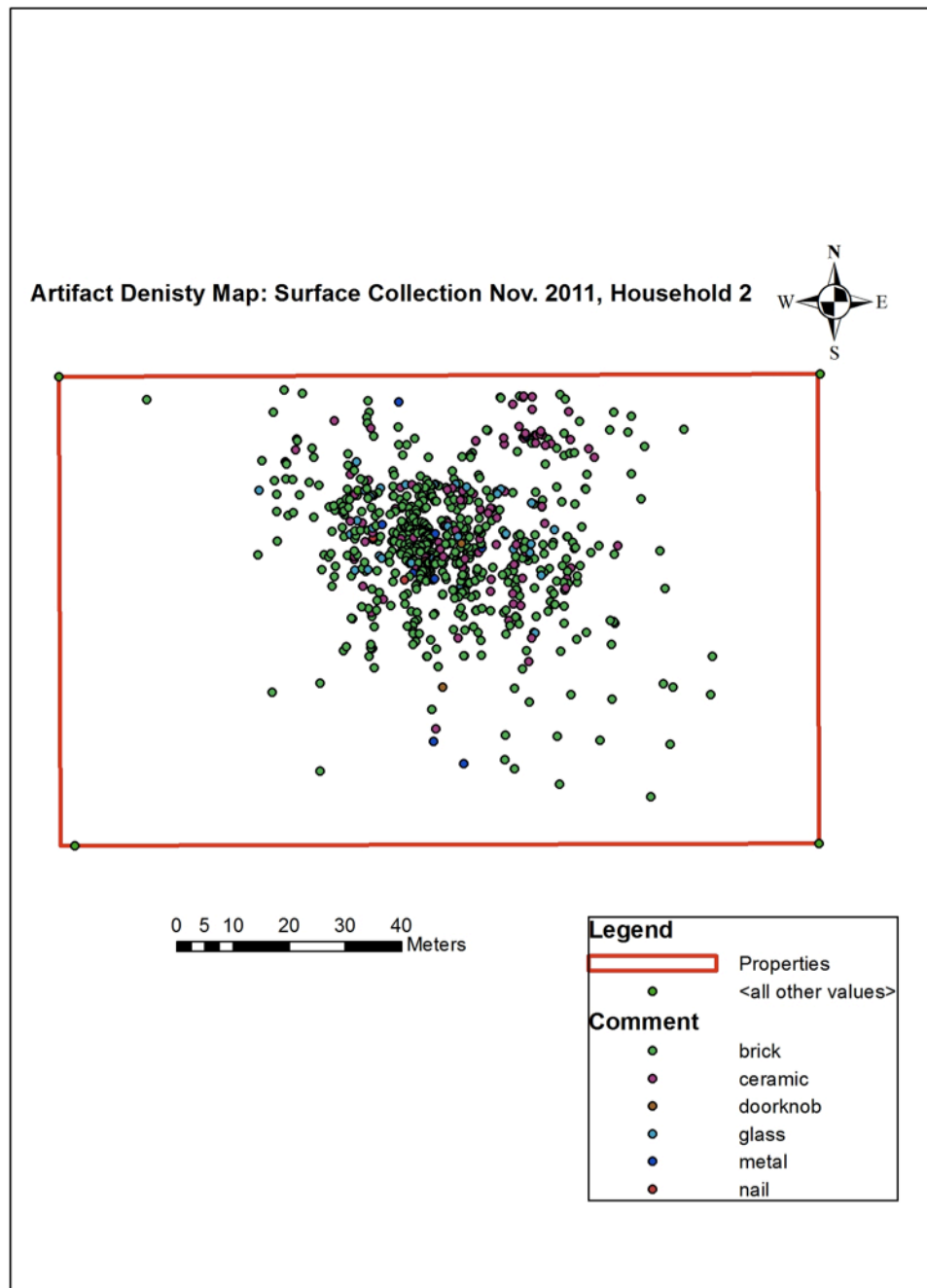


Figure 5.1. Pedestrian Survey Artifact Density Map. Map is of the Mason and Patience Morris homestead site. The red square represents the survey area, and the dots the artifacts recorded on the surface.

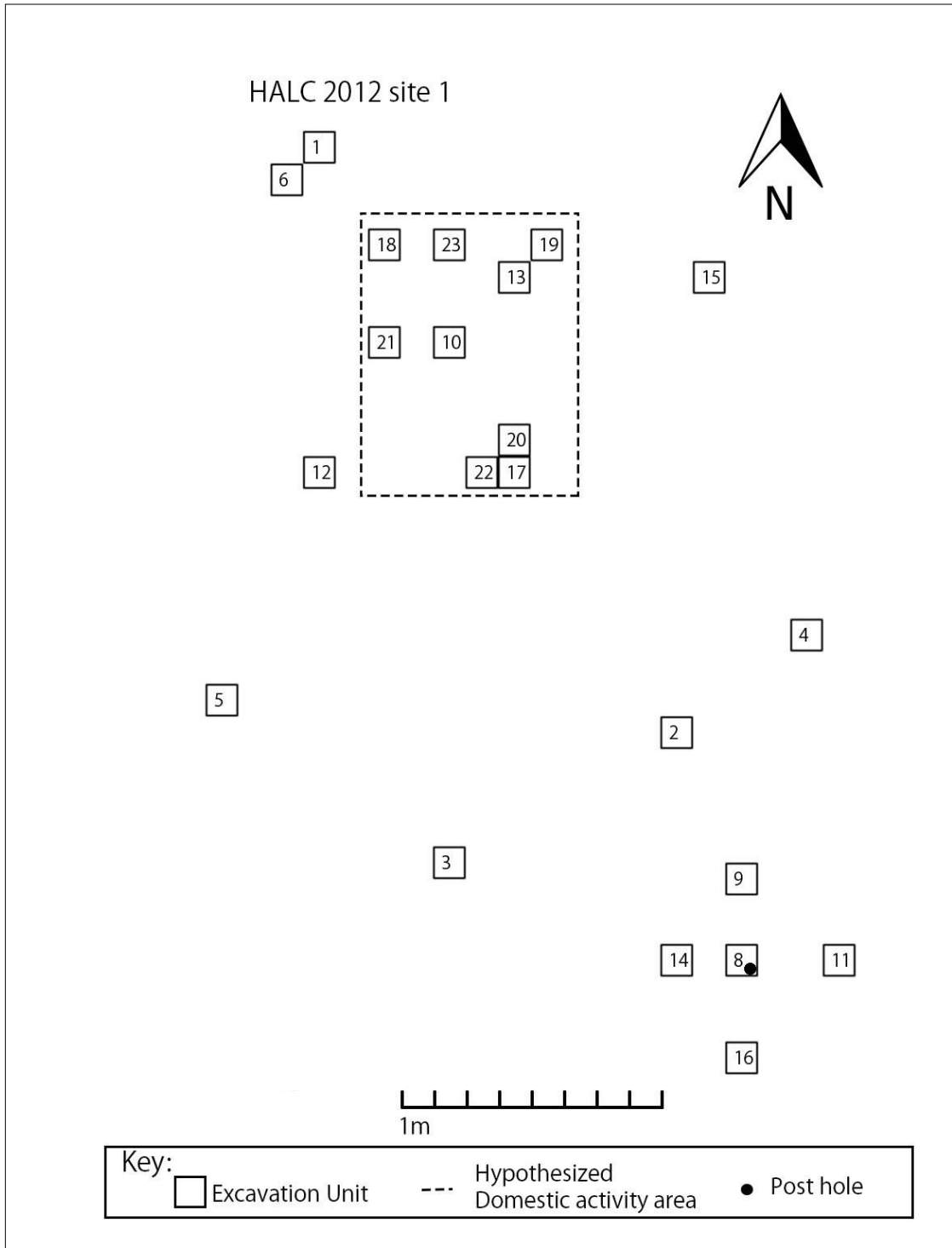


Figure 5.2. HALC 2012 Excavation Site



Figure 5.3. Artifact #970. Example of an open pontil bottle base recovered from the site.



Figure 5.4. Redware Sherds recovered from the 2012 Excavations



Figure 5.5. Butter Churn Sherds recovered from the 2011 pedestrian survey.



Figure 5.6. Crock Sherds recovered from the 2011 pedestrian survey

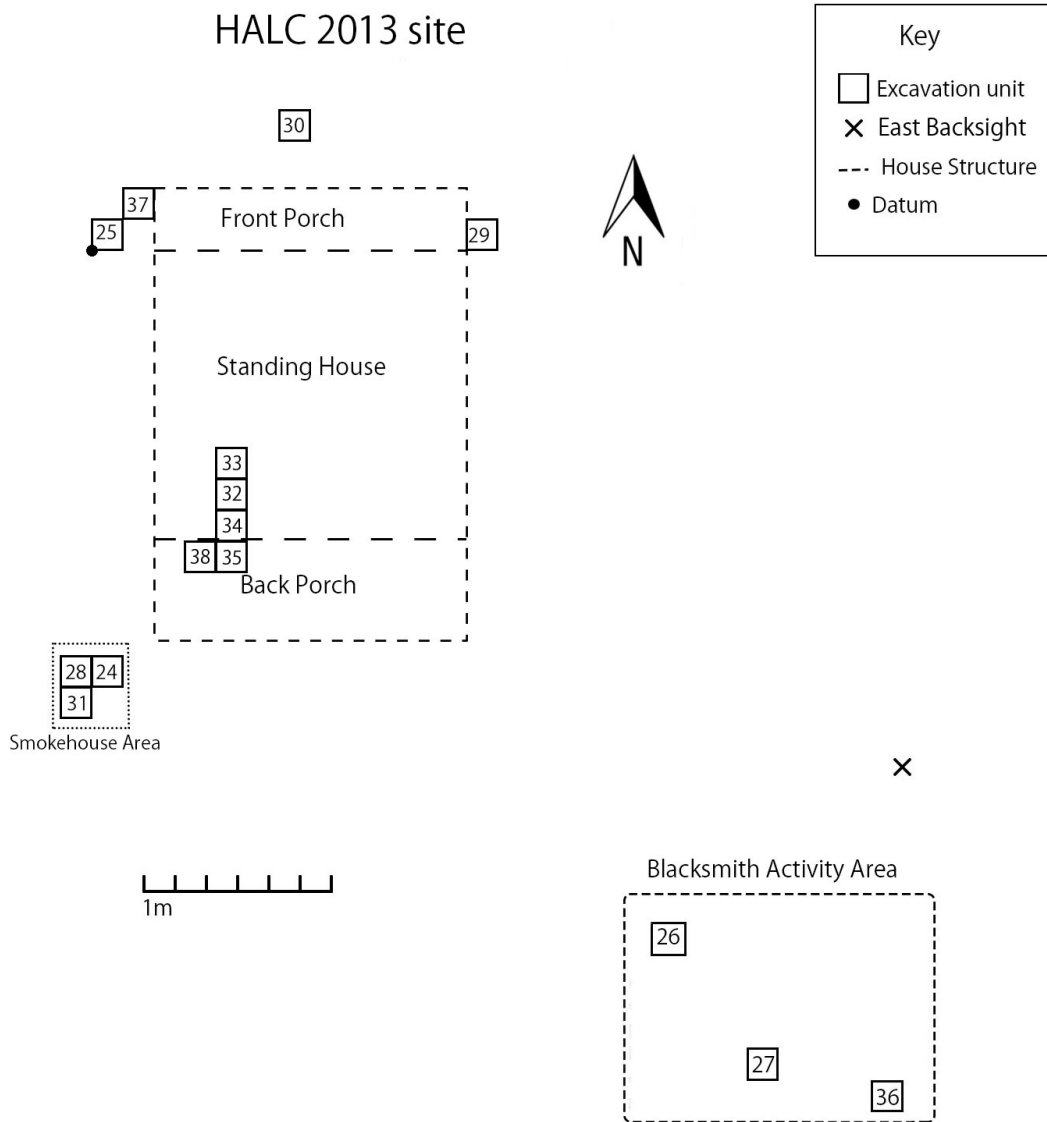


Figure 6.1. Map of HALC 2013 Excavations.



.32 Caliber "Owl's Head
Bureau Drawer Special"

Manufacture 1887-1920

Handed down through the family and currently owned by Russell Morris, this would have likely been present at the site in the early 20th century.

.32 Caliber center-fire bullet found at the site, adjacent to the front porch.

Likely would have been shot from a gun like the one above.



Figure 6.2. "Owl's Head" Special.

Storage Vessels



Figure 6.3. Storage Vessels. Recovered from 2013 excavations.

Porch
Excavations



Figure 6.4. Excavations in the Porch Area.

Smokehouse



Figure 6.5. Excavations and Artifacts from the Smokehouse Area

Root Cellar
Excavations

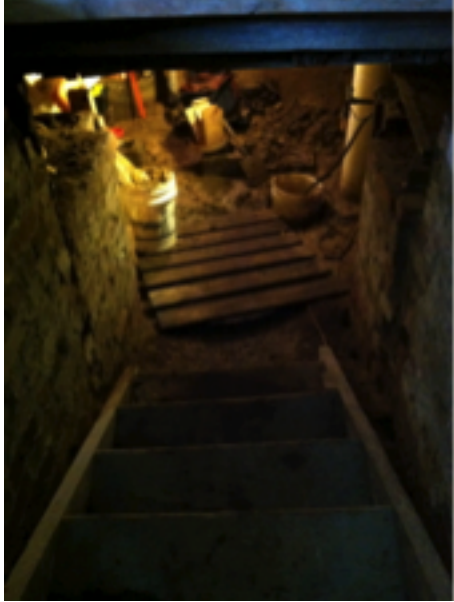


Figure 6.6. Excavations in the Root Cellar.



Figure 6.7. EU 35 Small Finds



Figure 6.8. EU 36 Small Finds.

Tables

HALC 2012 faunal					
Class	Family or Genus	Common name	NISP	MNI	
Mammal	Sus sp.	pig		12	1
	Rodentia	mouse, rat, shrew		1	1
	Large mammal	cow sized		2	1
	Medium mammal	pig sized		10	1
	Medium/Large mammal	pig to cow sized		15	1
	Small mammal	mouse sized		3	1
	Small /Medium mammal	mouse to pig sized		6	1
Bird	Medium bird	chicken sized		2	1
Non-Identified	Non-Identified			37	1
HALC 2013 faunal					
Class	Family or Genus	Common Name	NISP	MNI	
Mammalian	Sus sp.	pig		3	1
	Rodentia	mouse, shrew		28	4
	Talpidae	mole		1	1
	Large Mammal	cow sized		1	1
	Medium mammal	pig sized		11	1
	Medium/Large Mammal	pig to cow sized		7	1
	Small mammal	mouse sized		8	1
	Small/Medium mammal	mouse to pig size		3	1
Bird	Medium bird	chicken sized		2	1
	Small/Medium bird	finch to chicken sized		1	1
	Small bird	finch sized		2	1
Fish	Osteichthyes	bony fish		15	1
Reptilia	Testudine	turtle		1	1
Non-Identified	Non-Identified			33	1

Table 1.1. Fauna Remains Recovered from 2012 Excavations

Context	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	2	3	.052	.075	Loamy sand	7.5 YR 4/2	Ceramics, white metal, glazed brick	Plow zone layer
2 Interface	-		-	.075	Loamy Sand	7.5 YR 4/2	-	Interface below plow zone
3 Matrix	4	8	.075	.152	Loam	10 YR 5/3	Whiteware, stoneware, clear glass, nails, "glazed" brick	Occupation level beneath plow zone, characterized by mottled grey and red clay in the loamy soil. Some (<1% inclusions of brick and charcoal)
4 Interface	-		-	.152	Loam	10 YR 5/3	-	Interface between occupation matrix 3 and 5
5 Matrix	6	2	.152	.174	Clay Loam	10 YR 5/4	Whiteware, stoneware, clear glass, nails, brick. Fewer than previous layer	Matrix contained more brick and charcoal than previous layer (5%) and <1% white mortar inclusions. Emergence of plow scars.
6 Interface	-		-	.174	Clay loam	10 YR 5/4		Interface marks emergence of plow furrows in soil with sandier and darker sediment
7 Matrix	5	7	.174	.275	Silty Clay	10 YR 4/3	Whiteware, bottleneck, nails, bone	Matrix contained larger chunks of charcoal and mortar than the previous. Closed at an arbitrary 10cm.
8 Matrix	1	3	.275	.288	Clay	10 YR 5/4	Glass w/ embossed letters, bone, large unID metal	Bottom of occupation layer, fewer artifacts, brick and charcoal inclusions
9 Interface	-		.288	-	Silty clay	10 YR 5/4	-	Interface between occupation level and sterile soil
10 Matrix	-		.288	.337	Silty Clay	10 YR 5/4	None	Locus terminated in sterile soil.
11 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow scars and sterile soil
12 Matrix	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Plow scar cut, beginning below 6 and

Table 5.2. EU 1 Excavation Summary

Context	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation Comments
1 Matrix	1	2	.026	.057	Clay loam	10 YR 4/4	Few; ceramics, glass fragments and metal	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	.057	-	-		Interface between plow zone and occupational context 3
3 Matrix	4	11	.057	.139	Silty clay	10 YR 6/4	ceramic and numerous glass, nails, mortar	Locus contained brick and charcoal inclusions, which increased with depth, and were concentrated in the SW corner.
4 Interface	-	-	-	.139	-	-	-	Interface between locus 3 and 5
5 Matrix	5	10	.139	.202	Silty clay	10 YR 5/4	Increase in artifacts, glass in larger fragments, bone	Artifact density increases in this layer, brick and charcoal inclusions increase and then fall off towards the bottom
6 Interface	-	-	-	.202	-	-	-	Interface at the bottom of the occupation layer and the top of sterile soil
7 Matrix	-	-	.202	-	-	-	-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.3. EU 2 Excavation Summary

Context	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	2	4	.051	.134	Silty clay loam	10 YR 6/6	Small ceramic and glass fragments	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	.134	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation
3 Matrix	4	4	.134	.206	Silty clay	10 YR 5/4	Sparse artifact concentration	Brick and charcoal inclusions are small, and sediments are mottled with yellow and white clay.
4 Interface	-	-	-	.206	-	-	-	Interface between occupation layer and sterile soil
5 Matrix	-	-	.206	-	Clay		-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.4 EU 3 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation Comments
1 Matrix	4	6	.031	.106	Clay loam	10YR 4/4	Stoneware, whiteware, black transfer ware, glass bottle base, nails, large bolts, brick	Plow zone with a dense artifact concentration
2 Interface	-	-	-	.106	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation layer
3 Matrix	9	9	.106	.168	Sandy clay loam	7.5 YR 4/3	Lead glazed ceramics, brown glass, nails, small mammal bone	Top occupation layer contains slag and brick, as well as artifacts.
4 Interface	-	-	-	.168	-	-	-	Interface between locus 3 and 4
5 Matrix	12	12	.168	.300	Silty clay loam	7.5 YR 4/3	Lead glazed ceramics, window glass, nails, glazed brick, shoe grommet, bone	Occupational layer with dense artifact concentration, possibly near the center of the domestic activity area
6 Interface	-	-	-	.300	-	-	-	Interface between occupation layers and sterile soil
7 Matrix	-	-	.300	-	-	2.5 YR 5/6	-	Sterile

Table 5.5 EU 4 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glasses	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	2	5	.017	.104	Clay loam	10 YR 4/4	Ceramics (n=4) and glass (n=6)	Plow Zone
2 Matrix	1	2	.104	.152	Clay loam	10 YR 4/3	Few artifacts, similar to locus 1	Same context as locus 1, separated by arbitrary 10cm
3 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupational context
4 Matrix	3	6	.152	.244	Silty clay loam	10 YR 6/6	Few artifacts, predominantly glass, small bone	Occupational context with very few artifacts, very shallow
5 Interface	-	-	-	.244	-	-	-	Interface between occupation context and sterile soil
6 Matrix	-	-	.244	-	-	-	-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.6 EU 5 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glasses	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	4	4	.009	.100	Clay loam	10YR 4/3	Annular yellowware, whiteware, bottle finish, metal ring, nails, brick, charcoal	Plow zone with a large artifact density
2 Interface	-	-	-	.100	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation layer
3 Matrix	5	7	.100	.168	Silty clay loam	10 YR 4/4	Whiteware, bottle finish, nails, wire, charcoal and brick	Inclusions of charcoal and brick, as well as a darker soil color present.
4 Interface	-	-	-	.168	-	-	-	Interface between cultural contexts 4 and 5
5 Matrix	5	9	.168	.340	Silty clay	10 YR 6/4	White and stone wares, flat and vessel glass, charcoal, brick, bone	Locus showed larger density of brick and charcoal than previous layer, density of inclusions and artifacts lessened near the bottom
6 Interface	-	-	-	.340	-	-	-	Interface between cultural fill locus 5 and sterile soil
7 Matrix	-	-	.340	-	-	-	-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.7 EU 6 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glasses	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	23	5	.052	.145	Clay loam	10 YR 4/3	Transfer print ceramics, glass, nails, pig tooth, slate	Plow zone contained a large artifact concentration
2 Interface	-	-	-	.145	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation layer
3 Matrix	3	4	.145	.198	Clay loam	10 YR 4/3 mottled with 10 YR 6/6	Whiteware, clear glass, nail, bone/tooth	Far fewer artifacts in the occupation layer than in the plow zone
4 Interface	-	-	-	.198	-	-	-	Interface between occupation and sterile soil
5 Matrix	-	-	.198	.284	Sandy Clay	7.5 YR 5/6	None	Sterile clay

Table 5.8. EU 7 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	1	3	.025	.106	Clay loam	10 YR 5/3	Yellowware, nail	Plow Zone, low artifact density, ended at arbitrary 10cm
2 Matrix	1	0	.106	.142	Clay loam	10 YR 5/3	Stoneware, nail	Plow zone
3 Interface	-	-	-	.142	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation
4 Matrix	3	5	.142	.226	Silty clay loam	10 YR 5/4	Whiteware, yellowware, glass, nail	Brick and charcoal inclusions decreasing with depth, very sparse artifacts
7 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Cut for posthole
5 Matrix	-	-	.226	.530	Silty clay	Ext: 10YR 5/2 Int: 10 YR 5/4	Brick and charcoal in posthole center	Circular soil stain, hypothesized posthole. Due to light artifact concentration, potentially a fence post or hitching post
6 Interface	-	-	.226	-	-	-	-	Interface between occupation layer and sterile soil
8 Matrix	-	-	.226	-	-	10 YR 6/6	-	Sterile soil; posthole cuts into sterile

Table 5.9. EU 8 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	4	8	.044	.140	Clay loam	7.5 YR 4/4	Transfer ware, whiteware, nails	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	.140	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and cultural layer
3 Matrix	6	7	.140	.300	Clay loam	7.5 YR 4/4	Minimal ceramics	Small amounts of brick and charcoal inclusions, shallow layer with few artifacts and no evidence of posthole features. Small white flecks in this context

Table 5.10. EU 9 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	5	8	.012	.134	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/3	Whiteware, stoneware, flat and vessel glass, nails, charcoal and brick	Plow zone terminated in historical living surface
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and historic living surface
3 Matrix	3	6	.134	.169	Clay loam	10 YR 4/4	Ceramics, brown and vessel glass, nails	Contained large charcoal and brick inclusions
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between 3 & 5, mottling of sediments with yellow clay
5 Matrix	4	6	.169	.222	Silty clay	10 YR 5/6	White and stone wares, solarized and pressed glass, nails, staple	Mottled with yellow clay, locus also had several dark N/S linear depressions we hypothesize are plow scars. Locus contained a large intact artifact concentration
6 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between cultural occupation and sterile soil
7 Matrix	-	-	.222	-	-	-	-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.11. EU 10 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts
1 Matrix	0	4	.028	.131	Silty clay loam	10 YR 4/4	Stoneware, clear and solarized glass, nail, total artifacts n=4
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Matrix	2	4	.131	.238	Clay loam	10 YR 3/4	Large chunks of mortar, slag, charcoal and brick
5 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Matrix	-	-	.238	-	-	10 YR 6/6	-

Table 5.12. EU 11 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	11	14	.009	.115	Loam	10 YR 3/4	Transfer print, yellowware, glass, nail	Plow zone, dense artifact concentration
2 Interface	-	-	-	.115	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and historical occupation layer
3 Matrix	1	4	.115	.179	Sandy clay	2.5 Y 4/4	Glass, ceramics, nails concentrated in NW quadrant	Sediments are mottled with gray clay, becoming denser but not sterile with depth
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between locus 3 and 5
5 Matrix	3	6	.179	.265	Silty clay	10 YR 6/6	Ceramics, button, nails	Dark, compacted clay was bisected and profiles photographed. Soil stains (red) appeared in NW corner
6 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between historic occupation layers and sterile soil
7 Matrix	-	-	-	.265	-	-	-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.13. EU 12 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	9	12	.010	.121	Clay loam	10 YR 4/3	White and stonewares, vessel and flat glass, nails	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation layer
3 Matrix	5	7	.121	.199	Clay loam	10 YR 4/3	White and stonewares, bottle base, button, nails, large glazed brick, charcoal	Dense artifact concentration, terminated in soil change
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between loci 3 and 5
5 Matrix	2	5	.199	.232	Silty clay	10 YR 4/6	White and stoneware, vessel glass, nails	Mottled soil and brick and charcoal inclusions
6 Interface	-	-	-	.232	-	-	-	Interface between historical occupation layer and sterile soil
7 Matrix	-	-	.232	-	-	-	-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.14. EU 13 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	8	16	.037	.144	Clay loam	10 YR 4/3	Crock lid, transfer print, blue glass, bottle finish	Plow zone, artifact concentration due to downhill wash from the site
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and cultural occupation layer
3 Matrix	7	17	.144	.204	Silty clay	10 YR 5/4	Ceramics, seal, glass, metal	Shallow occupation layer, few artifacts
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between occupation layer and sterile soil
5 Matrix	-	-	.204	-	-	10 YR 6/6	-	Sterile soil

Table 5.15. EU 15 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	4	5	.044	.24	Clay loam	10 YR 5/4	Minimal ceramics and glass, bone handle	Plow zone, few artifacts, no features
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and sterile soil
3 Matrix	-	-	.24	-	-	10 YR 6/6	-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.16. EU 16 Unit Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	7	12	.025	.11	Clay loam	10 YR 5/3	Ceramics, green glass, copper decoration, wagon parts	Plow Zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	.11	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and cultural occupation layer
3 Matrix	10	16	.11	.224	Silty clay	10 YR 4/4	Glass, ceramics, door hinge	Locus contained mortar inclusions, large artifact concentration
4 Interface	-	-	-	.224	-	-	-	Interface between occupation, and sterile soil
5 Matrix	N/A	N/A	.224	.278	-	10 YR 5/2	Ceramics, other	Rodent burrows unevenly distributed throughout sterile soil
6 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Cut dividing rodent burrows and sterile soil
7 Matrix	-	-	.224	-	-	-	-	Sterile soil

Table 5.17. EU 17 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	8	7	.022	.112	Sandy clay loam	7.5 YR 4/3	Ceramics, glass, metal, glazed brick	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	.112	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and cultural occupation layer
3 Matrix	7	11	.112	.260	Clay loam	10 YR 4/4 mottled with 10 YR 5/3	Ceramics, glass, metal, glazed brick, very few artifacts	Dense concentration of charcoal, though few artifacts. Posthole feature discovered at the bottom of locus 3
4 Interface	-	-	-	.260	-	-	-	Interface between locus 3 and sterile soil
5 Matrix	-	-	.260	-	-	10 YR 5/4	-	Sterile Soil
6 Matrix	-	-	.280	.504	Silty clay	10 YR 4/2	Charcoal and brick inclusions, bone, metal	Posthole feature, ashy grey ring around a darker square center
7 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Posthole cut; interface between loci 5 and 6

Table 5.18. EU 18 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	10	18	.025	.114	Sandy clay	10 YR 4/3	Transfer print, brown glass, hinge	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and cultural occupation layer
3 Matrix	9	28	.114	.261	Silty clay	10 YR 5/6	Charcoal and brick inclusions, ceramics, thistle artifact, large metal concentration	Occupation layer was shallow but contained a large artifact concentration
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between occupation and sterile soil
5 Matrix	-	-	.261	-	-	-	-	Sterile soil

Table 5.19. EU 19 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	11	11	.019	.137	Sandy clay	10 YR 4/3	Ceramics, glass, metal	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation layer
3 Matrix	8	13	.137	.210	Clay	10 YR 4/4	Glass, ceramics, nails	Occupation layer,
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between locus 3 and 4
5 Matrix	-	-	.210	.237	Sandy clay	10 YR 4/4	Glass, nails	Rodent burrow features continued over from EU 17, but fewer
6 Interface	-	-	-	.237	-	-	-	Interface between locus 5 and sterile soil

Table 5.20. EU 20 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	5	9	.042	.142	Loamy clay	10 YR 3/2	Ceramics, glass, nails, pig teeth	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation layer
3 Matrix	9	14	.142	.270	Sandy clay loam	10 YR 4/3	Stoneware, bottle finish, button, nails, unID metal	Occupation layer, terminated in 'rodent burrows', contained med. Size artifact concentration
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface at bottom of occupation layer, overlying sterile soil and ambiguous stains
5 Matrix	-	-	.270	.379	Clay	10 YR 4/3, ringed with 10 YR 8/1	None	Possible rodent burrows beneath occupation layer, within sterile soil.
6 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Cut between rodent burrows and sterile soil
7 Matrix	-	-	.270	-	Clay	10 YR 6/8	-	Sterile soil

Table 5.21. EU 21 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	10	15	.007	.092	Clay loam	10 YR 4/3	Ceramics, bottle finish, metal rod	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation layer
3 Matrix	13	17	.092	.216	Clay	10 YR 4/4	Stoneware, glass, nails, mottled with brick and charcoal	Occupation layer
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between occupation layer and sterile
5 Matrix	-	-	.216	-	-	-	-	Sterile soil

Table 5.22. EU 22 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Ceramic	MNV Glass	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/Comments
1 Matrix	8	18	.012	.129	Clay	10 YR 4/3	Glass, ceramics, metal	Plow zone
2 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface between plow zone and occupation layer
3 Matrix	13	20	.129	.273	Clay	10 YR 4/4	Ceramics, glass, metal	Larger than usual brick chunks, charcoal inclusions
4 Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Interface dividing occupation layer and sterile soil
5 Matrix	-	-	.273	-	-	10 YR 6/6	-	Sterile Soil

Table 5.23. EU 23 Excavation Summary

Unit - Locus	MNV Glass	Sherd Count Glass	MNV Ceramic	Sherd Count Ceramic
1-1	3	3	4	7
1-3	8	13	3	6
1-5	2	2	0	0
1-7	7	22	5	9
1-8	3	5	1	1
2-1	2	2	1	1
2-3	11	19	4	6
2-5	10	16	5	6
3-1	4	9	2	4
3-3	4	4	4	6
4-1	6	14	4	8
4-3	9	40	9	16
4-5	12	21	12	15
5-1	5	6	2	2
5-2	2	4	1	2
5-4	6	12	3	3
6-1	4	10	4	5
6-3	7	14	5	10
6-5	9	19	5	14
7-1	5	6	23	37
7-3	3	6	3	4
8-1	3	6	6	4
8-2	0	0	1	1
8-4	5	7	3	4
9-1	8	11	4	4
9-3	7	15	6	6
10-1	8	25	5	17
10-3	6	9	3	5
10-5	6	13	4	6
11-1	4	8	0	0
11-3	4	8	2	2
12-1	14	23	11	12
12-3	4	8	1	1
12-5	6	13	3	7
13-1	12	45	9	12
13-3	7	18	5	11
13-5	5	6	2	4
14-1	8	12	2	2
15-1	16	33	8	20
15-3	17	32	7	9
16-1	5	9	4	4
17-1	12	31	7	13
17-3	16	26	10	14
18-1	7	18	8	12
18-3	11	28	7	19
19-1	18	39	10	13
19-3	28	64	9	18
20-1	11	28	11	21
20-3	13	33	8	12
21-1	9	11	5	7
21-3	14	23	9	10
22-1	15	42	10	22
22-3	11	17	9	15
23-1	18	28	8	15
23-3	17	37	13	19

Table 5.24. MNV vs. Sherd Count by Locus – Site #1 2012 Excavations

Locus ID	Activity Area	Metal ID	Object Name	Maker	Count
27-1	Blacksmith Shop	36	Shell, Rim-fire	Super X	1
26-3	Blacksmith Shop	179	Shell, .22 long rifle		1
39-3	Blacksmith Shop	178	Shell, .32		1
34-1	Cellar	166	Shell, .22		1
34-1	Cellar	165	Shell, .32		1
38-1	Cellar	158	Shell, .32		1
25-3	Porch and Yard	33	Shell, .22 short round		1
29-5	Porch and Yard	182	Shell, .32 center fire	UMC	1
30-1	Porch and Yard	15	Shell, .22	United, High Speed	1
30-3	Porch and Yard	3	BB, .177		1
30-3	Porch and Yard	180	Birdshot, 6's		4
30-3	Porch and Yard	181	Birdshot, 8's		2
30-3	Porch and Yard	14	Shell, .22	United, High Speed	1
30-3	Porch and Yard	16	Shell, .22 rim-fire	Federal	1
30-3	Porch and Yard	17	Shell, .22 rim-fire		1
30-3	Porch and Yard	18	Shell, .22, rim-fire	United	1
30-3	Porch and Yard	13	Shell, .32 center fire	UMC	1
30-3	Porch and Yard	12	Shell, .32 rim-fire	UMC	1
30-3	Porch and Yard	20	Shell, 12 gauge	United Metallurgical Co. New Club	1
37-3	Porch and Yard	124	Birdshot, 2		1

Table 6.1. Firearms Paraphernalia. Recovered from 2013 excavations.

Locus	MNV Glass	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	2	1	2 cm	6.9 cm	Loam	n/a	Nails, Modern fill	Modern occupation layer
2: Interface	-	-	6.9 cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between modern layer and locus 3
3: Matrix	4	5	6.9 cm	16.1 cm	Clay	10 YR 5/6 Yellow	Glass, Metal	Lighter soil beneath Locus 1, likely fill from Pipe repair
4: Interface	-	-	16.1 cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Dark stains and Loci 3 & 5
5: Matrix	0	0	16.1 cm	45.8cm	Clay	10 YR 5/6 Yellow	Metal	Historic fill
6: Matrix	0	0	16.1 cm	28.75 cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 5/6 Yellow	Nails, Mortar	Parallel stains in unit, likely from previous porch steps
7: Interface	-	-	28.75	-	-	-	-	Interface on top of locus 8
8: Matrix	-	1	25.5 cm	45.5	Clay	10 YR 5/6 Yellow	Few ceramics, glass, metal	Fill beneath dark stains

Table 6.2. EU 25 Unit Summary

Locus	MNV Glass	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	1	0	3.8cm	6.3	Silty Loam	10 YR 4/4	Milk Glass, nails, shell, modern artifacts	20th century fill
2: Interface	-	-	6.3cm	-	-	-	-	-
3: Matrix	1	0	6.3cm	11.3	Silty Loam	10 YR 4/4	Yellow and solarized glass, nails, button, bone	19th Century Yard activity area
4: Interface	-	-	11.3cm	-	-	-	-	-
5: Matrix	16	12	11.3cm	36.4	Silty Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2	More artifacts than any other layer	Abundance and nature of artifacts indicative of 19th century porch and yard activities

Table 6.3. EU 29 Unit Summary

Locus	MNV Glass	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	-	-	4.1cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2 grayish brown	None	Shallow topsoil
2: Interface	-	-	5.4cm	-	-	-	-
3: Matrix	7	8	5.4cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2	Ceramics, Glass, Metal, bone	19th century porch activity area

Table 6.4 EU 30 Unit Summary

Locus	MNV Glass	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	-	-	2.7cm	3.1cm	Loamy Sand	10 YR 4/3 Brown	None	Topsoil/Garden fill
2: Interface	-	-	-	3.1cm	-	-	-	Interface between modern garden fill and historic occupation layer
3: Matrix	4	6	3.1cm	20.8cm	Silty Clay Loam	10 YR 4/6 Dark Yellowish Brown	Ceramics, Glass, Metal	Historic occupation layer, likely associated with porch activities
4: Interface	-	-	20.8cm	-	-	-	-	-
5: Matrix	-	2	20.8cm	33.9	Silty Clay Loam	10 YR 4/4 Dark Yellowish Brown	Ceramics, Glass, Metal	Earlier historic occupation layer, associated with porch activity area. Terminated in sterile soil

Table 6.5. EU 37 Excavation Summary

Locus ID	Taxon	Element	Side	Age	Modifications
28-3	Rodentia	Maxilla, fragment	-		
28-3	Mammalian	Mandible, fragment	-	adult	
28-3	Mammalian	UnID	-		
28-3	UnID	UnID	-		
28-5	UnID	UnID	-		
25-5	UnID	UnID	-		
28-5	UnID	UnID	-		
28-7	Osteichthyes	Vertebrae Precaudal	-		
28-7	Mammalian	UnID	-		burning
28-7	Mammalian	shaft bone frag	-		Mold, --
28-7	UnID	shaft bone frag	-		Mold
24-9	Testudine	femur	R	Juvenile	possible cut mark
24-5	Talpidae	Humerus	-		

Table 6.6. Faunal Assemblage from the Smokehouse Activity Area

Locus	MNV Glasses	MNV Ceramics	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation/comments
1 Matrix	9	2	1.2 cm	10.5	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2 Very Dark Grayish Brown	Minimal Ceramics, 1 button	Topsoil and late 20th century fill
2 Interface	-	-	4cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 1 and Locus 3. Loci 2-3 are within Locus 1
3 Matrix	-	-	4cm	12cm	Silty Clay Loam	2.5 Y 5/4 Light Olive Brown	Glass (n=1)	Rodent Burrow (within Loci 1 and 5)
4 Interface	-	-	12 cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 3 (Rodent Burrow) and Locus 5
5 Matrix	13	2	10.5	14.5	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2 Very Dark Greyish Brown	Ceramics, Glass, Metal	19th century occupation layer, high concentration of glass with ceramics and metal
6 Interface	-	-	14.5	-	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 5 and Locus 7
7 Matrix	14	4	14.5	20.4	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/3 Brown	Ceramics, Large amt. Glass, Metal, Bead, Gun flint	Higher concentration of artifacts
8 Interface	-	-	20.4	-	-	-	-	Interface between Loci 7 & 9
9 Matrix	6	-	20.4	33.4	Clay	10 YR 3/2	Beads, Bone, Shoe Grommet	Historic fill, few artifacts, taken down to sterile except for stains that emerged.
10 Interface			33.4	-	-	-	-	-
11 Matrix			33.4	36.7	Clay	10 YR 3/2	Ceramics, Glass, Metal	Stains themselves, likely from the historic use of the smokehouse. Charcoal inclusions in stains. Terminated in Sterile soil

Table 6.7. EU 24 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Glass	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	4	3	4.3cm	9.2cm	Loam	Modern materials	20th century garden
2: Interface	-	-	9.2cm	-	-	-	Interface between 20th century -garden layer (locus 1) and latest 19th century occupation layer (Locus 3)
3: Matrix	14	6	9.2cm	18.3cm	Clay Loam	Ceramics, Glass, Metal, and some bone	Artifacts indicate this occupation layer is 19th century
4: Interface	-	-	18.3	-	-	-	Interface between 19th century fill and layer containing arch. stains (Locus 5)
5: Matrix	4	2	18.3	20.5	Clay (Stains Clay Loam)	Glass, ceramics, bone and a bead (all found in stains)	Layer of dark stains, likely associated with the ephemeral architecture of the smokehouse
6: Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	Upon further examination (in lab) I believe Loci 5 and 7 are the same, and as such there is no interface in between them.
7: Matrix	7	2	20.5	31.5	Clay (Stains Clay Loam)	Ceramics, Glass, Bone	This loci is the same as Locus 5. The artifacts suggest that this locus is associated with the 19th century smokehouse, and terminates in sterile soil.

Table 6.8. EU 28 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Glas s	MNV Cerami c	Opening Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	2	2	3.3cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/3	Class, ceramics, mortar	Garden fill contained both 19th and 20th century artifacts
2: Interface	-	-	12.2cm	-	-	-	-
3: Matrix	4	2	12.2cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown	ceramics, glass, metal, mortar, still some garden related artifacts	Fill, 19th and 20th century artifacts
4: Interface	-	-	22.8cm	-	-	-	-
5: Matrix	4	1	22.8cm	Silty Clay Loam	10 YR 4/4	Ceramics, Glass, Metal, Mortar	Same stains as appeared in locus 5 of EU 28. Ephemeral architectural features, with 19th century artifacts
6: Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	Removed, not present
7: Matrix	-	-	22.8cm	Silty Clay Loam	10 YR 4/4	Ceramics, Glass, Metal, Mortar	Same matrix as Locus 5. Circular stains indicate ephemeral architectural features

Table 6.9. EU 31 Excavation Summary

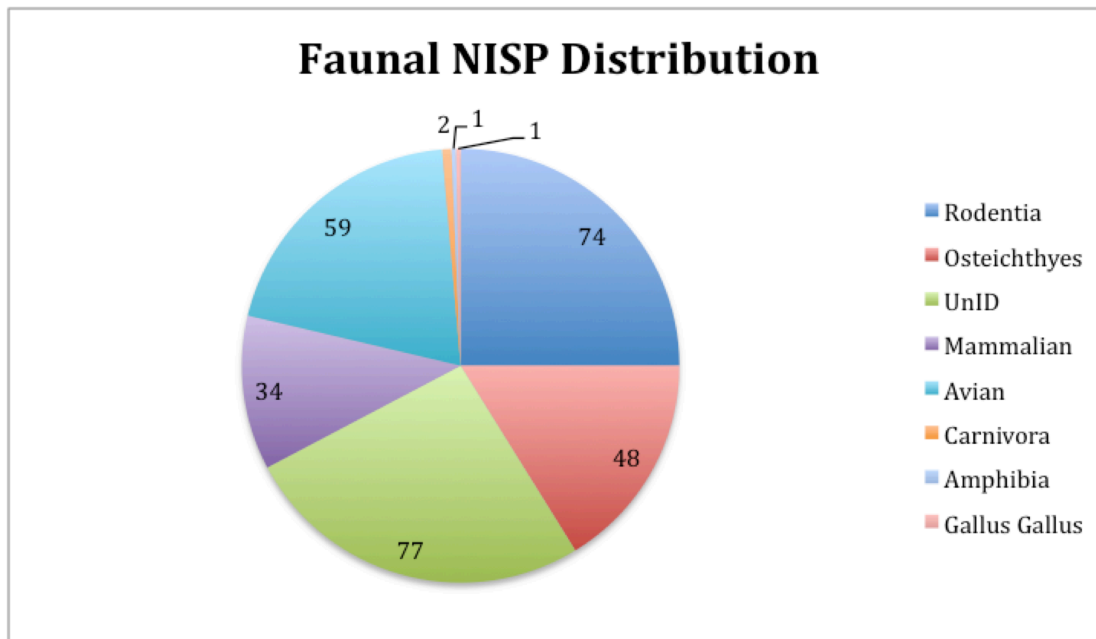


Table 6.10. Faunal NISP Distribution from the Cellar

Locus	MNV Glass	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	3	3	2.34 cm	8 cm	Sandy Loam	n/a	Small ceramics, Glass, nails, large mammal bone	Topsoil, some 19th and 20th century fill
2: Interface	-	-	8 cm	8 cm	-	-	-	-
3: Matrix	9	7	8 cm	15.8 cm	Sandy Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	Large amounts of metal, few ceramics, few glass	Likely later 19th century occupation layer, the strange smell remains and there are many large chunks of metal, as would be expected from a blacksmith shop
4: Interface	-	-	15.8 cm	-	-	-	Interface between Loci 3 and 5. Soil lightened.	-
5: Matrix	2	1	15.8 cm	25.4 cm	Loam	10 YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	Large metal artifacts, fewer glass, ceramics still present	Lighter soil, within this an electric line cut into this locus which was pedestaled for safety
6: Interface	-	-	25.4 cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 5 and the features beneath (Loci 7-10)
7: Matrix	-	-	25.4 cm	41.8 cm	Sandy Loam	10 YR 4/2 dark grayish brown	Charcoal inclusions, no artifacts	Fill between features (Loci 8,9, and 10). Contained no artifacts - likely 8, 9 and 10 are cut into 7.
8: Matrix	-	-	25.4 cm	33.4	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/3 brown	1% charcoal inclusions	c-shaped feature likely the same as locus 5
9: Matrix	-	-	25.4	35	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/3 brown	None	Associated with hitching post, terminated in sterile soil.
10: Matrix	-	-	25.4	38.2	Loam	10 YR 4/2 dark grayish brown	None, <1% charcoal inclusions	Hitching post feature

Table 6.11. EU 26 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Glass	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	12	13	2.5cm	13.7cm	Sandy Clay Loam	10 YR 4/4 very dark yellowish brown	Large amount of artifacts, ceramics, glass, and metal	Topsoil with 19th century artifacts
2: Interface	-	-	13.7cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 1 and 3
3: Matrix	8	10	13.7cm	18.4cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	Glass and ceramics are present, but metal are the majority of artifacts in this locus	19th century blacksmith shop occupation layer
4: Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	deleted
5: Matrix	10	5	18.4cm	21.8	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	Large amounts of metal	Same context as Locus 3
6: Interface	-	-	21.8cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between loci 5 and 7
7: Matrix	6	5	21.8cm	31.5cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2 very dark greyish brown	Almost entirely metal artifacts	Soil is increasingly mottled and ashy, and artifact concentration greatly decreased.
8: Matrix	1	0	31.5cm	49cm	Silty Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2 very dark greyish brown	Far fewer artifacts than in previous loci. A large brick was excavated from the bottom of the locus	Soil is increasingly silty, and artifacts decreased.
9: Interface	-	-	31.5cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 8 and the features exposed and pedestaled
10: Matrix	1	1	27cm	47cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2 dark greyish brown	few artifacts (n=5)	Largest of 5 features, approx. 20 cm deep and terminating in sandstone, likely a 19th century architectural feature
11: Matrix	0	0	31cm	48cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2 dark grayish brown	few artifacts (n=1)	Feature terminated after 2cm, and pedestal was removed
12: Matrix			31cm	47cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	Only metal artifacts	Feature terminated within first 5cm, pedestal was then removed. Ephemeral architectural feature.
13: Matrix			34cm	48cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	No artifacts	Circular feature terminated by 41cm. Ephemeral architectural feature
14: Matrix	7	3	42cm	52cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2 very dark	Few glass and metal artifacts	Square stain terminated at 52 cm, likely ephemeral architectural feature.

						greyish brown		
15: Interface	-	-	52cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Loci 10-14 (features) and locus 16
16: Matrix	2	0	48.2cm	53.8cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2 dark grayish brown	Large bottle fragment, nails, pig tooth	Shallow layer exposed two architectural features (in the form of stains).
17: Interface	-	-	53.8cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 16 and 17
18: Matrix			53.8cm	55.6	Clay Loam	10 YR 4/3 brown mottled with 10 YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	Circular metal artifact	Shallow layer containing two dark stains, likely from decomposed planks from early farm outbuilding. Also contained a circular metal piece at 50cm.
19: Matrix			55.6cm	65cm	Clay	10 YR 3/6 very dark greyish brown	No artifacts	Likely dates to the area's earliest use as a pig barn.

Table 6.12. EU 27 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Glasses	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	-	-	4.5cm	7.6cm	Sod	-	-	Sod layer removed
2: Interface	-	-	-	7.6cm	-	-	-	Interface between sod and historic occupation layer
3: Matrix	11	8	7.6cm	15cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/1 very dark grey	Small ceramics, Glass, nails button. Slightly fewer artifacts than the corresponding locus in EU 27	Historic occupation layer
4: Interface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Deleted - since the change between 3 & 5 was arbitrary, there's no interface
5: Matrix	4	2	15cm	23.4cm	Clay Loam	10YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	Ceramics, glass, and metal	Floor of the historic blacksmith shop
6: Interface	-	-	-	23.4cm	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 5 and Locus 7
7: Matrix	1	-	23.4cm	39cm	Silty Clay Loam	10 YR 4/2 dark greyish brown	Few glass and ceramics, fewer than any other locus so far	Fill beneath what would have been the historic building.
8: Interface	-	-	23.4cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between Locus 7 and the posthole stain which is locus 8
9: Matrix	-	-	23.4cm	39.2cm	Clay Loam	10 YR 3/2	Large piece of glass contained in posthole	Historic posthole, likely supporting the outer (Easternmost) edge of the breezeway. Terminated in sterile soil.

Table 6.13. EU 36 Excavation Summary

Locus	MNV Glass	MNV Ceramic	Opening Depth	Closing Depth	Soil Texture	Munsell	Artifacts	Interpretation
1: Matrix	9	6	.6cm	10.2 cm	Silty loam	10 YR 3/2	ceramics, glass, metal, and a chunk of quartz	20th century occupation fill
2: Interface	-	-	10.2cm	-	-	-	-	Soil became lighter and harder packed, interface likely represents the top of the 19th century floor
3: Matrix	3	5	10.2cm	17.8cm	Silty Loam	10 YR 4/2	ceramics, glass, metal, and another chunk of quartz	Harder packed layer, likely the 19th century floor of the shop area
4: Interface	-	-	17.8cm	-	-	-	-	Interface between shop floor and sandier layer
5: Matrix	1	1	17.8cm	21cm	Sandy Loam	10 YR 5/3	Flat glass, nails	Shallow sandy layer beneath shop floor, sand likely a natural feature of the stratigraphy. Terminated in sterile soil

Table 6.14. EU 39 Excavation Summary

Unit - Locus	MNV Glass	Sherd Count Glass	MNV Ceramic	Sherd Count Ceramic
24-1	9	27	5	10
24-5	13	35	2	3
24-7	14	67	4	12
24-9	6	20	-	-
24-11	8	17	1	1
25-1	2	5	1	1
25-3	4	7	5	7
25-8	1	1	1	1
26-1	3	5	3	3
26-3	9	37	7	10
26-5	2	4	1	4
27-1	12	44	13	20
27-3	8	26	10	17
27-5	10	34	5	7
27-7	6	14	5	12
27-8	1	4	0	0
27-10	1	1	1	1
27-14	7	26	3	3
27-16	2	2	0	0
28-1	4	9	3	4
28-3	14	35	6	12
28-5	4	6	2	2
28-7	7	14	2	2
29-1	1	2	0	0
29-3	1	1	0	0
29-5	16	67	13	26
30-3	7	29	8	14
31-1	2	7	2	3
31-3	4	12	2	5
31-5	4	4	1	3
32-1	4	17	3	15
33-1	2	3	0	0
34-1	4	26	2	4
35-1	3	17	0	0
36-3	11	57	8	24
36-5	4	24	2	5
36-7	1	1	0	0
37-3	5	14	6	12
37-5	5	7	2	2
38-1	9	37	6	9
39-1	9	75	6	11
39-3	3	35	5	17
39-5	1	5	1	2
40-1	2	10	2	5

Table 6.15. MNV vs. Sherd by locus. 2013 Excavations.