

# North Carolina Archaeology



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Volume 66

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# **North Carolina Archaeology**

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R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., Editor

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# **ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE VALLEY TOWNS BAPTIST MISSION (31CE661)**

**by**

**Brett H. Riggs**

## **Abstract**

The Valley Towns Baptist Mission (1821–1836), located in Cherokee County, North Carolina, was site of residential school, church, and model farm developed by the Baptist Foreign Mission Board to instruct and convert Cherokee families in the southwestern mountains. Archaeological investigations at the Valley Towns Baptist Mission site in 2000 defined the locations of the earlier (1820–1830) and later (1830–1837) mission establishments, identified intact subsurface architectural remains, and recovered material assemblages that clearly differentiate the mission as a religiously-based educational institution from contemporaneous domestic occupations in the surrounding area.

In 2000, archaeologists from the University of Tennessee and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians Tribal Historic Preservation Office undertook small-scale excavations at the site of the former Valley Towns Baptist Mission (1821–1836), located near the hamlet of Peachtree in Cherokee County, North Carolina (Riggs and Greene 2006) (Figure 1). These investigations strove to confirm the identity of the site as that of the mission establishment, obtain representative material samples, and to evaluate the condition and contextual integrity of site deposits. The investigations at Valley Towns were part of a larger effort to document archaeological sites and localities and the greater cultural landscape associated with the forced Cherokee removal of 1838. This ongoing documentation initiative supports expansion and interpretive development of the NPS Trail of Tears National Historic Trail in southwestern North Carolina. The Valley Towns Baptist Mission investigations are important to this effort because the mission was: (1) representative of the organized Indian “civilization” initiatives of the U.S. federal government and Protestant churches; and (2) proactive in the Cherokee national struggle against dispossession and removal, and the missionaries were key players in the story of Cherokee removal. From an archaeological perspective, the mission is important: (1) as a leading model that informed the adaptive westernization of Cherokee material lifeways in the Aquohee and Tahquohee districts, home to the most culturally conservative segment of Cherokee society; and (2) as

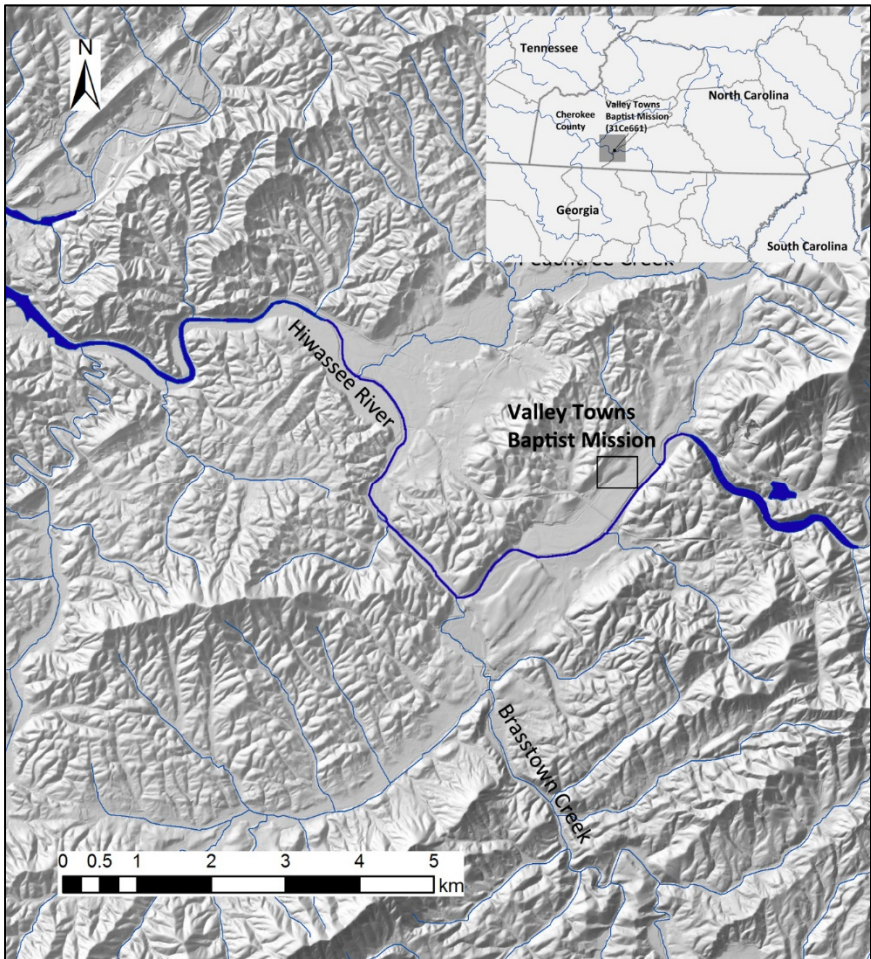


Figure 1. Location of the Valley Towns Baptist Mission (31Ce661), Cherokee County, North Carolina.

representative of the unique material record of early Indian boarding schools and the strictures that bore on the members of those communities.

**Background**

The Valley Towns Baptist Mission to the Cherokee Indians, an establishment of the Baptist Foreign Mission Board, operated a church, model farm, and residential boarding school for Cherokee students near present-day Peachtree, NC from 1821 to 1836 (McLoughlin 1990; Owen 2012). The mission operated under, and manifested the highest ideals of,

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the federal “Civilization Policy” that guided U.S.-Indian affairs from the Washington administration to Jackson’s inauguration. This policy, first articulated by Secretary of War Henry Knox in 1789, aimed to pacify potentially hostile native nations on the U.S. frontiers through federally subsidized programs of directed acculturation and assimilation. As part of this plan, Knox recommended that:

Missionaries of excellent moral character should be appointed to reside in their nation, who should be well supplied with all the implements of husbandry and the necessary stock for a farm.

These men should be made the instruments to work on the Indians—presents should commonly pass through their hands or by their recommendations—They should in no degree be concerned in trade, or the purchase of lands to rouse the Jealousy of the indians—They should be their friends and fathers.

Such a plan although it might not fully affect the civilization of the Indians would most probably be attended with the salutary effect of attaching them to the Interest of the United States.

It is particularly important that something of this nature should be attempted with the southern nations of Indians, whose confined situation might render them proper subjects for the experiment. [Knox 1789]

Knox’s “civilization” initiative was first implemented through War Department agencies to native nations; agents provided “useful implements of husbandry” to native applicants in order to lead them “to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters” as provided in the 1791 Treaty of Holston (Kappler 1904:31). However, federal “civilization” efforts were hampered by scanty and sporadic funding until passage of the Civilization Fund Act in 1819, which specified:

That for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized, in every case where he shall judge improvement in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable, and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct, in the discharge of their duties...

And be it further enacted, That the annual sum of ten thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act; and an account of the expenditure of the money, and proceedings in execution of the foregoing provisions, shall be laid annually before Congress. [U.S. Statutes at Large (3) 516–517]

Humphrey Posey, a Baptist preacher from Asheville, North Carolina who itinerated among the mountain Cherokees in 1817 and attempted to open schools for the Middle Towns Cherokee communities in 1818, seized upon the Civilization Fund Act as the opportunity to establish a permanent mission in southwestern North Carolina (Gardner 1989; McLoughlin 1990). In 1819, Posey sought approval from the Cherokee National Council to open a boarding school and model farm inside the nation, and reported that:

Without one dissenting voice they gave me privilege to establish a missionary seminary in the Valley Towns, under the patronage of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States, and promised all the aid in the power of the nation to promote the interest of the school ; allowing me the privilege of taking in a blacksmith, millers, and a sufficient number of persons to conduct the school and farm of the establishment, provided it meets the approbation of the President of the United States. As to the number of youths to educate, I am certain if we can have sufficient funds there will be more than one hundred children.... [Posey 1821a]

The Baptist Board approved and funded Posey's plan in 1820 and then sought monies from the U.S. War Department to pay two-thirds of the costs. Posey selected a tract at Aquohee for the mission and model farm, and purchased the rights to the property from William Henson, a Cherokee countryman (intermarried white) and reservee who sold (or leased) the property in order to:

...encourage education among the Indians and to have an opportunity of education his own children, the eldest of whom were then large enough to assure going to school. [Henson 1844]

Posey began construction of the mission in June 1820, and the Valley Towns Baptist Mission commenced operation by March 1821 (Gardner 1989). Thomas Dawson served as the first school teacher at Valley Towns and by September, the school had 40 Cherokee students. In late fall 1821, the Thomas Roberts, Evan Jones, and Isaac Cleaver families joined the Poseys and Dawsons as mission staff. Once the staff was established, Posey left the mission in Roberts' care; by 1825, Evan Jones was the lead missionary at Valley Towns and remained in charge of the mission until it closed in 1836 (McLoughlin 1990) (Figure 2).

The mission school boarded as many as 50 Cherokee students, who worked at lessons in English and Cherokee, mathematics, and religion. Male students also received practical training on the mission farm or with the mission's blacksmith or miller. Female students learned "domestic arts" of spinning, weaving, sewing, and housekeeping. Their living conditions were spartan; Roberts (1822a) observed that the:

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Figure 2. Evan B. Jones (1788–1873), Baptist missionary at Valleytowns, 1821–1836. Oklahoma Historical Society.

...little Indians are half naked, and when they lie down at night, we have not blankets enough to cover them. The cold disturbs their midnight sleep and drives them from their straw beds to seek the warmth of the fire side.

Evan Jones noted the scant rations of the mission students:

The children's breakfast is cornbread and milk in summer.... At other times, sassafras, spice wood or some herb tea is used as a substitute. If they have been at hard work, a small portion of meat is added, Dinner – meat with vegetables if possible. Supper – cornbread or mush and milk, thin hominy, called by the Indians 'conohany,' or soup, according to season. Our own fare is much the same as the children.... We eat with the children. [Jones 1826]

The hardships and constraints of life at the mission, coupled with the difficulties of learning English, drove many students to abandon the school. Thomas Roberts observed:

Some of the boys who have been here for a long time trying to learn English without understanding what they read, became discouraged and went away and we see them no more. Others seem to hang on between hope and despair [Roberts 1822b]

Jones further noted that:

...as respects the full Indians, the time and expense required to teach them the English Language, and through that medium, to instruct them in useful knowledge, is out of all proportion to the good produced. Five years is as

short a period as a full Indian ten years old, would take to acquire an English education that would of any benefit... But the misfortune is, not one in fifty of those who commence, have resolution to go through...many who come to school stay but a short time and go away before they can receive any considerable advantage. [Jones 1827]

To counter this problem, the Valley Towns mission shifted to Cherokee as the primary language for school instruction, and hundreds of Cherokee students passed through the Baptist mission to become fully literate using Sequoyah's syllabary. Despite the inherent logic of Cherokee schools for Cherokee speakers, other Protestant missions focused on English-only education, with the result that Valley Towns became the most popular and successful mission school in the Cherokee Nation.

Another factor in the popularity and success of the Valley Towns mission was lead missionary Evan Jones' unvarnished advocacy for Cherokee causes, especially in combatting the looming specters of land cession, dispossession, and forced removal. Although Jones professed in 1827 "to avoid all interference with politics and Government except where morality and religion were concerned" (Jones, February 16, 1827), he gradually became involved in the Aquohee council and eventually the national council as a de facto interpreter, clerk, and advisor. It appears likely that Jones either penned or translated the notable anti-removal memorials from the Aquohee District that appeared in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. He alluded to his advisory role in mission journal entries:

Several Indians here tonight on their way to Hiwassee Town House to attend a meeting of the District for the purpose of expressing their disapprobation of the Emigrating Scheme. [Jones Journal, March 31, 1829]

...a committee appointed by the citizens of the District came to request my assistance to arrange their papers and affix them to the Memorial to be forwarded to Congress. [Jones Journal, January 14, 1830]

Jones' politics were galvanized by congressional passage of Jackson's Indian Removal Act, the extension of Georgia laws over Cherokee territory (with attendant abuses) and the Baptist Triennial Convention's embrace of the removal policy (McLoughlin 1990:125–127). For Jones and like-minded missionaries, the removal issue concerned "morality and religion" that warranted "interference with politics and Government." He regularly communicated significant developments in the Valley Towns region to Principal Chief John Ross, and kept the National Party officials informed about various state and federal encroachments on Cherokee sovereignty.

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Although Jones worked largely behind the scenes for the National Party, his activities drew the attentions of Jackson administration operatives and the pro-removal partisans. The notorious federal Superintendent of Emigration, B. F. Currey, asserted that Jones was an antiremoval ringleader and accused him of inciting violence against proponents of the removal scheme:

Your prospect for obtaining the consent of a very large portion of those residing within the limits of this state was flattering until the unwarrantable interference of a man by the name of Jones (by profession a Baptist missionary of infamous character) who has I am credibly informed excited the Indians to commit acts of violence upon the persons of ourselves as well as those who have dared to enroll their names for Arkansas. [Currey 1834]

Noland intimated that Jones stymied Schemerhorn and Currey's attempt to convene a treaty conference at Aquohee. Noland observed:

...we met at the Mission School House.... Visited the Mission under the direction of Mr. Jones. Many reports have gone abroad prejudiced to this gentleman but I do not believe over half of them.... The Indians in this region very wild and much opposed to emigration. The Missionaries exercise much influence over them.... [Noland 1990:19]

Currey claimed to have discovered proof of Jones' "interference" during a trip to Aquohee after the New Echota Treaty:

I attended a Council of Cherokees on Hiwassee River in North Carolina.... They endeavored to keep everything communicated to them from me. My interpreter, however, got to hear a part of what had been translated into the Cherokee language...by the Rev. Evan Jones which was full of abuse against the treaty.... On entering his room, found him engaged in writing a communication on Cherokee characters with a host of Indian men about him whom he immediately dispersed and ceased at the same time to write anymore. [Currey 1836]

Currey's associate, Rev. John Schemerhorn, conveniently ignored the unanimous anti-removal sentiment in the Valley Towns region, and attributed his failures to obtain treaty signatures to Jones:

After the treaty at New Echota had been signed, I visited the North Carolina Indians in order to explain the treaty to them and obtain some of their signatures; but through the influence of the Baptist Missionary, who was under the influence of Ross, I did not succeed in getting any of them to sign. [McLoughlin 1990:136]

Currey, ever vengeful and paranoid, likely influenced General Ellis Wool to arrest Jones and eventually to expel him from the Cherokee Nation. Wool attempted to co-opt Jones in securing the North Carolina Cherokees' enrollment for emigration. Jones' refused to participate in the military effort, and Wool ordered him out of the Cherokee Nation,



effectively closing the Valley Towns Baptist Mission. Jones wrote John Howard Payne:

...no individual, however obscure, can escape suspicion if he manifest the least degree of friendship for the poor Indians. And although the station I occupy is so humble and retired in the mountains, the eye of despotic jealousy has descryed our retreat, and our labors have been interrupted by the interference of Military power which has come to enforce the stipulations of the late fraudulent Treaty. [Jones 1836]

Jones relocated his school and mission station to Columbus, Tennessee at the Cherokee boundary; from there he could enter and exit the Cherokee Nation at will. He stepped up his advocacy of the National Party cause, participating in national councils and secret meetings. George Featherstonaugh, a British geologist, encountered Evan Jones at the Red Clay council in 1837:

After breakfast I made myself acquainted with Mr. Jones, the Missionary, whom I found to be a man of sense and experience, and who must have received a tolerable education, for he was not even ignorant of Hebrew. He was exceedingly devoted to this nation, having resided a long time amongst them in the mountainous region of North Carolina. The Georgians, and I found most of the other white settlers had a decided antipathy to him on account of the advice he gave to the Cherokees, which had frequently enabled them to baffle the machinations of the persons who were plotting to get their lands. Conscious that he was watched by his enemies, he had become so suspicious of all white men, that from habit he had got a peculiar sinister look. We had a great deal of conversation together, and when he found I was an Englishman, and deeply interested for the welfare of the Indians, and extremely anxious to acquire the Cherokee language, he became less reserved, and I obtained a great deal of information from him. [Featherstonhaugh 1847:234–235]

Featherstonaugh's published description of Jones may have cleared a guilty conscience; the geologist was actually gathering secret intelligence for the U.S. War Department and wrote a damning report on the missionary. Jones' indefatigable efforts for the Cherokees drew the overt ire of other Jackson administration appointees, including treaty commissioner John Kennedy:

Preacher Jones is a violent and notorious enemy of the treaty and has gone to all lengths to defeat it. He uses the sacred desk to denounce the treaty and the government, and being proficient in the Cherokee language, he has...exerted an immense and dangerous influence. General Wool...with a laudable zeal, hurried the mock-pious pest out of the nation. [Kennedy 1838]

In the face of official scrutiny and sanction, Jones cast his lot with the Cherokee Nation. He ministered to the Cherokee internees at Fort Cass, and traveled back and forth to the North Carolina mountains to

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encourage fugitives from the military roundup to join the main body of the Cherokee Nation in the forced emigration. Jones assisted the arduous passage of the Situwakee detachment from Tennessee to Oklahoma, then re-established the Baptist mission at Breadtown. Jones continued his long ministry of service to the Cherokee Nation and Cherokee people until retirement in 1870 at age 82.

### **Documentary Evidence for the Physical Facilities at Valley Towns**

The Valley Towns Baptist Mission was under construction, repair, or reconstruction throughout its 15-year tenure, and developed as the most highly improved property in the Aquohee District of the Cherokee Nation. Thomas Roberts reported that, in 1821, the newly built mission consisted of “1 Log school-house, 40 feet by 22,” a frame school house, a double cabin, nine single cabins, a smokehouse, a stable, two corn cribs, a blacksmith’s shop, a springhouse, a sawmill and a gristmill (Roberts 1821). The main mission building was a modest downscaling of the 110 ft by 36 ft complex that Posey originally envisioned (Figure 3). Posey added that “We have bricks burnt and one chimney started...” (Posey 1821b). Other mission property included “School and kitchen furniture, medicines, books, beds, papers,” “Carpenter’s tools and bench,” two wagons, a “French wagon,” seven plows and other farming utensils, blacksmith’s tools, four horses, “17 Cows, 12 two years old, 3 yoke of oxen, 12 yearlings, and 3 large steers,” 100 hogs, six beehives, and 11,000 pounds of pork (Roberts 1823). More buildings were added in 1826, and the mission underwent a major reconstruction in 1830. An 1836 Federal appraisal of the mission property includes the earlier mission constructions as well as buildings added in an 1830 rebuilding episode:

The Mission Establishment of the Baptist board in the occupancy of Jones on the N.E. side of the Highwassee River...

one large hew'd log House part framed 18–60 ft. 2 stories the floors all of plank one Room ceiled 2 shelves for library all the doors and shutters hung with hinges & butts & screws & several windows in the same 2 large stone chimneys with 2 fireplaces in each part; the Roof of shingles the ballance boards nailed on	\$750.00
one hew'd log kitchen 17–17 plank floor stone chimney plank shutters board Roof nailed on	\$100.00
one hew'd log smoak house board roof nailed on	\$25.00
one small cabbin 12–12 plank floor stick and clay chimney stone back & jams	\$15.00

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one hew'd log crib 8–16 floor and roof and sheded	\$20.00
one small springhouse	\$6.00
2 stables well covered	\$25.00
82 acres bottomland with improvements	\$820.00
for garden and all lots the lower or new establishment	\$55.00
50 apple trees at lower place a \$2	\$100.00
one shop house board roof	\$9.00
1500 rails in the woods a ½¢	\$7.50
the timber and boards of a large barn or shelter and lumber for other houses	\$50.00
The old or first buildings made at the mission	
one hew'd log house 22–40 ft. 2 stories high all the rooms of plank two brick chimneys much decayed shingled roof all in same condition	\$350.00
one double house 16–40 ft. one & 1/2 stories stick and clay chimneys stone back and jams one apartment plank floor joist & sleepers old board roof	\$150.00
[Welch and Jarrett 1837:47]	

In addition to the apple orchard, Evan Jones reported that the mission property included more than 200 rods of ditching, a large vineyard of English grapes “above the garden at the old Establishment,” and a sweet cherry orchard (Jones 1845). Jones also mentions the mission cemetery “on the banks of the river.” David Cunningham, the mission blacksmith, noted that the mission gristmill and sawmill were powered by:

...a substantial mill dam across Hiwassee River built of stone and timber well joined by a forebay to a race which conveyed the water to the mill...The race was from six to eight feet deep and six or eight feet wide, cut for some distance through the solid rock. It was between three and four hundred yards long... The pit of the saw-mill was 12 or 14 feet deep and square or nearly so.... [Cunningham 1845]

These accounts indicate at least four spatially distinct loci developed as part of the mission: the “lower or new establishment,” the “old or first buildings,” the spring and springhouse complex, the mill complex, and the cemetery.

### **Archaeological Investigations at the Valley Towns Baptist Mission Site**

Archaeological attempts to locate and identify the Valley Towns Baptist Mission site were guided by the 1838 U.S. Army Corps map (Figure 4), which depicts the “Mission<sup>y</sup> Est.” as buildings situated

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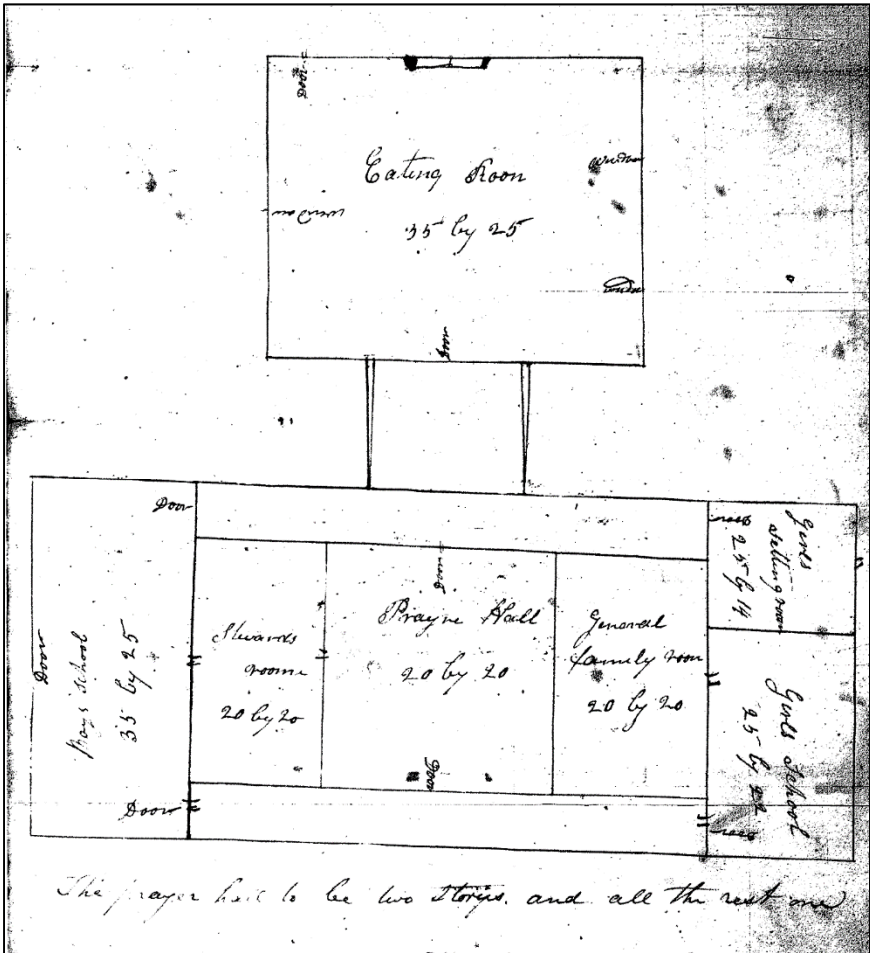


Figure 3. Rev. Humphrey Posey's 1819 proposed plan for the Valley Towns Baptist Mission (from Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801–1835, RG 75, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington).

approximately 1,000 ft from the north side of the Hiwassee River, immediately west of Sudderth Branch, near the present-day crossroads of Mission, NC. The federal appraisal of the mission property specifies “the lower or new establishment” as one portion of the mission improvement, implying that the “old or first buildings made at the mission” were situated at a higher elevation. Entries from Jones’ mission journal indicate, however, that some of the mission buildings of the “lower or new establishment” were subject to flooding, and that the mission cemetery was situated near the bank of the Hiwassee River.



Figure 4. Detail of “Map of Part of the Cherokee Territory Situated Among the Mountains of N. Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee,” indicating the Valley Towns “Mission’y Est.” (U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, Record Group 49, Civil Works File, US 125 Roll, Cartographic Division, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD).

In early 2000, investigators conducted incremental reconnaissance of the elevated third terrace formation along the north side of the Hiwassee River between Mission Branch and Sudderth Branch, under the assumption that the 15-year-long mission occupation should be manifest by relatively large, dense, and readily visible concentrations of kitchen and architectural debris from the first third of the nineteenth century. This purposive survey was abruptly terminated when a local landowner indicated that he had observed “old blue china” in his garden plot on the third terrace, and produced fragments of blue hand-painted pearlware, a diagnostic indicator of pre-Removal occupations in the area. Subsequent reconnaissance of the garden plot revealed a relatively dense, concentrated cluster (about 600 m<sup>2</sup>) of pearlware and early whiteware sherds, handmade brick fragments, slate pencil fragments, and fragments of lined writing slates—all materials consistent with a boarding school operation dating to the 1820s–1830s. Incidental occurrences of

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pearlware sherds and brick fragments extend another 60 m to the eastern and northeastern brow edges of the terrace. Another discrete cluster of whiteware sherds and fragments of writing slates occurs at the base of the third terrace, approximately 85 m southeast of the first cluster; this is interpreted as evidence of “the lower or new establishment,” while materials atop the third terrace are construed to represent the “old or first buildings made at the mission.”

The recently plowed garden plot also exhibited a four-square-meter patch of particularly dark, distinctly organic soil that contained numerous handmade bricks and brick fragments, along with pearlware sherds, writing slate fragments, and a brass thimble. Sampling this anomaly with a split spoon auger revealed a 15–20 cm plowzone underlain by a 10–12 cm ash-laden deposit above a continuous layer of bricks. Because this shallow deposit appeared imminently threatened by continued plowing, investigators determined to excavate this context as a demonstration of site content. Excavation of plowzone within an 11 m<sup>2</sup> unit exposed deposits contained within the base of a square, brick-lined cellar (Figure 5). All of these plowzone soils were dry-screen processed through ¼” hardware cloth for recovery of artifacts. Excavators then removed the ashy cellar deposits, subdividing the interior of the cellar into quadrants. Excavation of the northwestern quadrant revealed that the deposit was homogeneous, with no internal stratigraphic divisions; the remaining quadrants were each removed as discrete proveniences. All the cellar deposit soils were packaged and removed from the site for later processing; these sediments were either washed through window mesh or flotation processed for recovery of botanical materials.

The exposed cellar (designated Feature 1) measured roughly 1.9 m (northwest–southeast) x 1.85 (northeast–southwest), with a 1.7 m x 1.65 m compartment inside the dry-laid brick liner (Figures 6 and 7). Approximately two-thirds of the cellar floor pavement was intact, with flat-laid brick in a staggered pattern of two parallel bricks capped by a perpendicular header. Brick wall remnants of one or two courses cap the edge of the surviving pavement. The southern third of the brick liner was apparently robbed upon abandonment of the facility, and refuse-filled deposits directly contacted the subsoil wall and floor of the cellar pit in this area. The base of this pit was no more than 32 cm below current ground surface, rather shallow for a cellar facility intended for long-term food storage, but consistent with a dairy, or cooler for milk. It appears likely that the brick-lined pit was situated beneath a structure with an elevated floor, and probably had a stacked brick or wooden skirt





Figure 5. Aerial view of the Valley Towns Baptist Mission site (31Ce661), with annotations indicating concentrations of mission-era materials and the location of Feature 1 (cellar excavation).





Figure 6. View of the surface of Feature 1 prior to excavation.



Figure 7. View of Feature 1, with brick floor fully exposed.



or sleeve that connected the cellar to the base of the structure floor. Most of the bricks incorporated into the cellar are defective, either warped from overfiring or substantially underfired. These may derive from Posey's 1821 brick firing that produced brick for the two two-story chimneys of the original establishment.

The cellar deposits consisted largely of hearth cleanings and associated refuse, with a very ashy matrix filled with charcoal flecks, brick crumbs, calcined bone fragments, melted glass fragments and a variety of artifacts. This deposit clearly postdates the removal of a portion of the cellar lining, but may have accumulated while the superstructure building remained standing. Because the associated artifact assemblage indicates a wide array of personal and group domestic functions as well as educational functions, it appears likely that the cellar deposit (and presumably the cellar itself) is associated with the first main mission hall, the "hew'd log house 22–40 ft. 2 stories high all the rooms of plank two brick chimneys" that served as schoolroom, dining hall, dormitories, assembly hall, and general workspace.

Materials recovered from the cellar (Table 1) include food service and food preparation wares, food remains, clothing hardware and sewing equipment, personal ornamentation items, educational equipment, and architectural hardware. Table service is represented by fragments of pearlware (n=3) and whiteware (n=15) plates, bowls, saucers, and teacups, including blue handpainted, blue transfer-printed, and polychrome handpainted types (Figure 8). A single lead-glazed earthenware vessel fragment probably represents a jar or crock for food storage or preparation. Thirty-one glass vial fragments probably represent commercial medicine containers. Food remains include pig bones and chicken eggshell. Clothing is reflected by a single brass eyelet; sewing functions are represented by seven brass straight pins with solder-wrapped heads. Eleven glass beads, including tube drawn "seed" beads and faceted necklace beads, are attributable to personal ornamentation functions. A single brass tack may derive from a piece of furniture. Architectural functions are indicated by 46 cut nails and 20 fragments of glass window panes. All of these material classes are typical for a southern domestic context of the 1820s–1830s; the cellar deposits area particularly distinguished by the incidence of writing slate (n=3) and slate pencil fragments (n=2) that bespeak the primary educational functions of the mission (Figure 9).

Also noteworthy is the conspicuous absence of several artifact classes characteristic of regional domestic contexts. Cellar deposits

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Table 1. Artifacts Recovered from Valleytowns Baptist Mission Site (31Ce661).

Artifact Group/Class	Feature 1	Plowzone Over	Surface	Total
		Feature 1		
Kitchen Group				
blue handpainted whiteware ceramic sherd	7	29	12	48
green handpainted whiteware ceramic sherd	-	2	2	4
polychrome handpainted whiteware ceramic sherd	2	2	-	4
transfer printed whiteware ceramic sherd	3	3	2	8
blue shell-edge decorated whiteware ceramic sherd	-	6	8	14
green shell-edge decorated whiteware ceramic sherd	-	1	-	1
mocha decorated whiteware ceramic sherd	-	2	1	3
blue sponge decorated whiteware sherd	-	-	1	1
polychrome sponge decorated whiteware sherd	-	-	1	1
blue feather-edge decorated whiteware ceramic sherd	-	1	1	2
undecorated whiteware ceramic sherd	3	50	25	78
blue handpainted pearlware ceramic sherd	1	10	2	13
polychrome handpainted pearlware ceramic sherd	-	-	1	1
blue shell-edge decorated pearlware ceramic sherd	-	-	2	2
blue transfer-printed pearlware ceramic sherd	1	3	2	6
undecorated pearlware ceramic sherd	1	16	3	20
undecorated yellowware ceramic sherd	-	-	1	1
lead glazed earthenware ceramic sherd	1	2	-	3
alkaline-glazed stoneware ceramic sherd	-	1	3	4
Catawba plain/burnished ceramic sherd	-	6	1	7
Qualla stamped (indeterminate) ceramic sherd	-	1	-	1
container glass fragment (aqua)	-	36	1	37
container glass fragment (olive green)	-	4	-	4
container glass fragment (light green)	-	3	1	4
container glass fragment (colorless)	3	8	1	12
container glass fragment (blue)	-	-	2	2
container glass fragment (amethyst)	-	-	1	1
tumbler fragment (colorless)	-	1	2	3
vial fragment (aqua)	5	6	-	11
vial fragment (colorless)	23	15	-	38

Table 1 Continued.

Artifact Group/Class	Feature 1	Plowzone Over Feature 1	Surface	Total
<b>Architectural Group</b>				
handmade brick/brick fragments	1	52	-	53
cut nail/nail fragments	46	152	2	200
rose head nails	-	2	-	2
window pane fragments (aqua)	13	11	11	35
window pane fragments (colorless)	7	3	-	10
<b>Clothing/Sewing Group</b>				
brass clothing hook	1	-	-	1
brass pin/fragments	7	-	-	7
brass button	1	1	-	2
brass thimble	-	-	1	1
<b>Personal Group</b>				
glass bead (green faceted)	2	-	-	2
glass bead (blue faceted)	-	1	-	1
glass bead (colorless faceted)	-	1	-	1
glass bead (black tube drawn)	1	-	-	1
glass bead (blue tube drawn)	1	-	-	1
glass bead (melted)	7	-	-	7
<b>Furniture Group</b>				
brass tack	1	-	-	1
mirror glass fragment	-	1	-	1
<b>Educational Group</b>				
slate writing tablet fragment	3	11	8	22
slate pencil fragment	2	3	2	7
<b>Group/Function Indeterminate</b>				
unidentified iron fragments	-	9	-	9
unidentified brass fragment	-	2	-	2
lead sprue	2	1	-	3
lead sheet	-	1	-	1
colorless glass fragment	8	3	-	11
aqua glass fragment	2	3	-	5
<b>Faunal Remains</b>				
bone fragments	48	86	-	134
pig tooth/tusk fragments	-	15	-	15

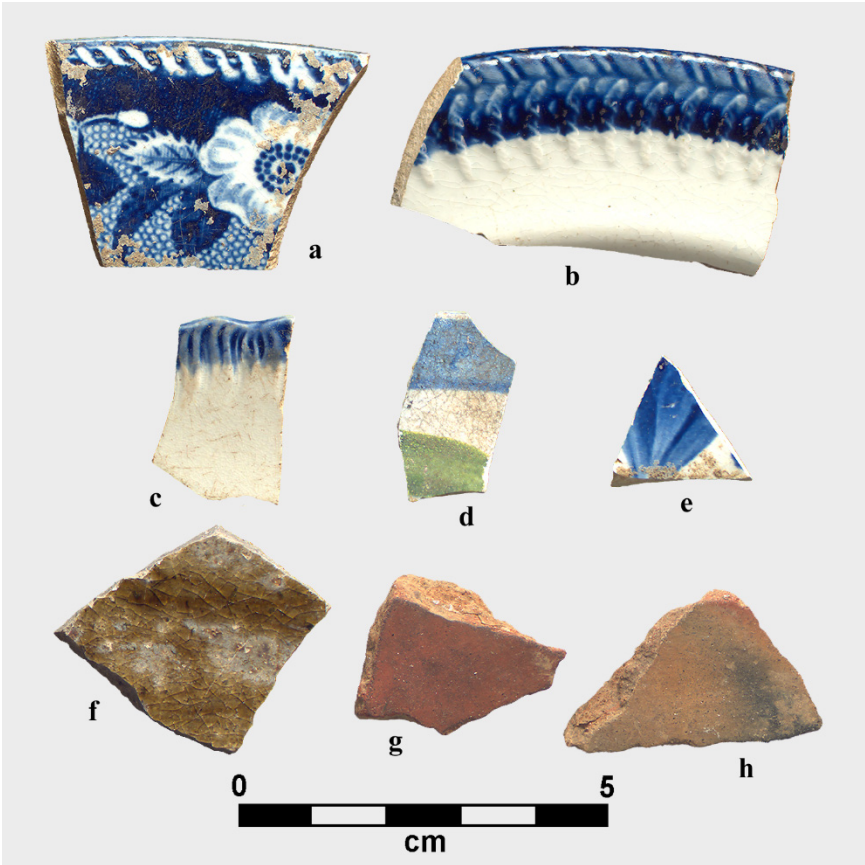


Figure 8. Ceramic artifacts from the Valley Towns Baptist Mission site: a, transfer-printed whiteware sherd; b–c, edge decorated whiteware sherds; d, polychrome handpainted whiteware sherd; e, blue handpainted whiteware sherd; f, alkaline-glazed stoneware sherd; and g–h, Catawba coarse earthenware sherds.

yielded no tobacco pipes or smoking paraphernalia, no alcohol containers, and no ammunition or gun components. Smoking, spirituous liquors, and guns were banned from the Baptist establishment, as were horses, dogs, blowguns, and dirk knives for students. Students were forbidden to hunt to supplement the mission rations; the absence of wild fauna in the cellar assemblage suggests adherence to the rule, despite often scanty fare. The dominance of pig bones in the cellar and overlying deposits is consistent with the large herds of hogs (100 head) and stores of pork (11,000 lbs) at the mission as reported by Roberts (1821). Pork is the only meat mentioned in mission journals; its



Figure 9. Artifacts recovered from the Valley Towns Baptist Mission site: a, fragment of lined writing slate; b, slate pencil fragment; c, brass thimble; and d, cut nail.

prevalence is consistent with the widespread nineteenth-century belief in its nutritional superiority over other meats.

Plowzone deposits overlying the cellar yielded an extensive collection that probably represents plow-disturbed cellar deposits mixed with later materials (Table 1). Period materials include: 52 handmade bricks and brick fragments from the cellar wall, 14 pieces of window pane, 152 cut nails and a single wrought nail, three slate pencil fragments and 11 slate tablet fragments, a silvered mirror fragment, 21 glass vial fragments, a glass tumbler fragment, 51 other glass container fragments, 6 sherds of Catawba River Burnished pottery, one Cherokee Qualla series sherd, 28 pieces of pearlware, 99 pieces of whiteware, two lead-glazed redware sherds, two glass beads, one brass button, and 100 bones and bone fragments. The plowzone also yielded 368 lithic artifacts that represent Late Archaic period and Middle Woodland period site occupations, as well as 83 pieces of coal and a glass marble that reflect twentieth-century use of the site.

Of particular interest are the native ceramic sherds. Six plain, burnished sherds are identified as Catawba ware (ref. River Burnished [Ferguson 1990]) on the basis of compact, nearly temperless paste coupled with burnishing of interior and exterior surfaces (Riggs, et al.,

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2006). The incidence of Catawba ware (typically found in the Piedmont region of South Carolina) at the Baptist mission is unexpected, but not completely incongruous. Evan Jones indicates that a number of Catawba families resided near the mission and some Catawba children were among the mission's first converts. A single grit-tempered stamped sherd is attributable to the Qualla ceramic series, a widespread Cherokee ware that was locally produced during the mission occupation (see Riggs and Rodning 2002). These vessels may represent cookwares or food processing wares preferred by native cooks who worked at the mission. Jones (1826) noted that *conohany* (i.e., *ga no he na*), a traditional Cherokee staple, was regular fare at the mission. This dish of thin hominy soup was typically prepared in locally made earthenwares.

Although somewhat limited in scale, material assemblages recovered from the Valley Towns Baptist Mission site (Table 1) are informative with regard to: (1) relative dating of the site component represented by the brick lined cellar; and (2) broad characterization of the site institutional occupation as materially distinct from contemporaneous Cherokee and Anglo-American domestic occupations in the region, and representative of an educational complex. The relative dating of the component is inferred from the collection of commercial ceramic vessel sherds, which generally resembles sherd assemblages from well-dated Removal-era Cherokee domestic contexts in the immediate region, especially in terms of predominance of transitional whitewares (ca. 1820 inception), representation of pearlwares, and incidence of alkaline-glazed and lead-glazed coarsewares (Riggs 1999). In contrast to early post-Removal assemblages from the area (e.g., Greene 2009; Riggs and Shumate 2003; Shumate et al. 2000), the mission collection does not include mulberry-colored transfer printed wares, flow blue decorated wares, or multi-colored "Pratt"-type wares. And unlike late Removal-era (i.e., ca. 1830–1838) assemblages documented in Cherokee domestic contexts, the mission collection lacks polychrome handpainted whitewares. Based upon these characteristics, the ceramic assemblage recovered from excavated contexts at the mission site appears to date ca. 1820–1830, and conforms to the occupation of the "old Establishment."

Although the mission assemblage contains many elements in common with contemporary domestic assemblages documented in the Southern Appalachian region, the institutional assemblage appears markedly different in composition. Architectural components (i.e., bricks, nails, window glass) constitute almost 44% of the

contemporaneous mission assemblage, a reflection of the number, size, and formal construction of the mission buildings. By contrast, most Cherokee and Anglo-American domestic complexes in the region were far simpler, with fewer, smaller, and less formally constructed vernacular buildings. Food and beverage-related artifacts account for approximately 46% of mission-era artifacts recovered in the Valley Towns Baptist Mission site investigations. Despite the relative prominence of this category, it appears substantially less diverse than other kitchen-related assemblages from local domestic contexts. Most of the food and beverage-related artifacts are refined earthenware sherds (transitional whiteware and pearlware), and most of these represent hollowware vessels (largely teacups). Also noteworthy is the conspicuous absence of dining utensils and the marked paucity of wine bottle glass and flask fragments, all common elements of local domestic assemblages. These assemblage characteristics may reflect Baptist strictures, discipline, and economy practiced by the “mission family.” Clearly, the mission ban on “spirituous liquors” limited the numbers of bottles and flasks entering mission contexts. Dining with the 50–70 person mission family was likely a regimented, mess hall type affair, with largely liquid, mush, or stew-like foods (e.g., “conohany,” cornbread with milk) served into tinware jacks or deep tinware plates and consumed with tablespoons.

Likewise, the extremely narrow range of animal species represented in subsistence remains from the mission contrasts with very high species diversity evident in local domestic contexts. The low-diversity mission assemblage reflects the institutional emphasis on pork and dairy (and, presumably, chicken egg) production to the near exclusion of other domestic species, and the total exclusion of wild fauna. As previously noted, the mission assemblage is also distinguished from local domestic assemblages by the absence of tobacco smoking paraphernalia and the lack of firearm components and ammunition—all explicitly banned by mission rules. Finally, the mission assemblage is particularly distinguished from domestic assemblages by the relative abundance of educational equipment—writing slates and slate pencil fragments—as contrasted with the sparse incidence of such materials in local domestic contexts.

The distinctive assemblage patterns evident in the small material samples recovered from the Valley Towns Baptist Mission site largely reflect aspects of the institutional character of the mission establishment. The particular configurations of these institutional assemblages are shaped by: (1) the regimentation and strictures imposed as expressions of

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Baptist doctrine; and (2) the relatively impoverished character of the mission, which was strapped for finances throughout its operation.

### Summary and Discussion

The 2000 archaeological investigations at the Valley Towns Baptist Mission positively identified evidence of the early (upper) and late (lower) stages of the mission, estimated the site extent, and approximated the site boundaries. Limited testing at the mission identified intact, subsurface architectural remains and deposits that yielded appreciable material content. Material assemblages recovered from Valley Towns illustrate discrete compositional patterns that differentiate the mission as a religiously-based educational institution from domestic occupations in the surrounding area. Further investigations at Valley Towns would likely yield expanded collections that would facilitate reconstruction of patterns of daily life at the boarding school. In addition, comparison of Baptist mission assemblages with those of Cherokee households from the region would illuminate the material forms and effects of directed acculturation efforts by the missionaries. Comparison of material assemblages and contexts at Valley Towns with those of other Protestant missions, such as the Moravian mission at Springplace, Georgia, should reveal the unique approaches of different Protestant sects to the federal “civilization” directive.

Data compiled in the 2000 investigations of the Valley Towns Baptist Mission and subsequent analyses informed the 2009 Omnibus Public Lands Management Act that expanded the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail into the Cherokee homelands in southwestern North Carolina. The Valley Towns mission, which remains privately owned, is regarded as a significant contributing element of the National Historic Trail, largely due to its dual role in Cherokee education and as a center for the organization of Cherokee political efforts in opposition to Andrew Jackson’s Indian Removal Policy.

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# **CERAMIC VESSEL MANUFACTURE IN THE LATE PRE-CONTACT PERIOD OF THE APPALACHIAN SUMMIT**

**by**

**Thomas R. Whyte**

## **Abstract**

Late Woodland ceramic vessels in northwestern North Carolina are highly variable in tempering materials and surface treatments but are nearly limited to jar forms of a limited size range. Coil breaks are found almost exclusively on shoulder, neck, and rim sherds. Vessel bodies sometimes exhibit evidence of net impression underlying carved paddle stamping. These attributes coupled with experimental observations indicate that vessel bases and bodies were often formed in molds. This mode of ceramic vessel manufacture may have been common throughout the Southeast in the late pre-contact period and has important implications for studies involving typology, social interaction, cultural identity, and native craft revitalization.

Ceramic vessel construction techniques ethnographically observed and archaeologically inferred in North America include coiling, slab building, pinching, molding, and combinations thereof. All of the pre-contact and contact period ceramic wares of western North Carolina in which the original type descriptions make mention of vessel construction methods are described as coil constructed. For example, Keel (1976:260) describes Early Woodland Swannanoa series pottery construction as “Coiled on conoidal or disc-shaped base” and Middle Woodland Connestee and Pigeon series pottery construction as “Annular or segmented coils built on a conical, disc, or tabular base” (Keel 247–256). Keel (1976:63) also mentions that protohistoric and historic Qualla series pottery, “like other series made throughout this area, were produced by the coiling technique.” Similarly, Roy Dickens (1976:172) described the Mississippian Pisgah series pottery construction method as follows: “Thin annular strips were coiled around a basal plate.”

The propensity of archaeologists to describe pottery in western North Carolina as “coil constructed” is undoubtedly because coil breaks were observed on several sherds in studied assemblages. Arguably, the original type descriptions influence researchers describing new assemblages to assume that their vessels also were entirely coil constructed. However, it is possible that some or all of the ceramic

vessels typologically assigned to a series and described as coil constructed may have been at least partially molded.

Probably the geographically most relevant ethnographic account of traditional southern Appalachian region pottery making is that of M.R. Harrington who visited the Cherokee settlements in western North Carolina in 1908 and was able to observe traditional Qualla pottery making by Iwi Katalsta (Harrington 2002). She began by finger-pinching a small bowl shape in her lap. After malleating the base on the outside with a carved wooden paddle, she placed it on cotton cloth resting in a China saucer. When asked what was used before saucers were available she replied that “she had heard that for large vessels the base was set in a hole in the sand lined with some sort of cloth, the sand being often enclosed in a basket for convenience” (Harrington 2002:60). The remainder of the vessel was built by coiling. This one memory, fortunately brought to light by Harrington’s curiosity, implies that the lower portions of large vessels were sometimes formed in a sort of cloth-lined pit. Fewkes (1944:78–79) observed that Catawba potters, when constructing large vessels, invariably began with a hand-molded disc, and construction proceeded by coiling with the base resting on a board coated with “old, dry paste so that moistening to prevent adhesion of the disc is not always necessary.” Holmes (1903:71–73) describes the use of fabrics as mold liners and separators, and depicts (page 70, Figure 33) a small vessel that he suggests had been formed in a fabric-lined mold. However, the vessel depicted, which he claims was “recovered from a mound in Lenoir County, North Carolina (Holmes 1903:73), is maize cob impressed rather than fabric impressed (see Moore 2002:117) and was actually recovered from the R. T. Lenoir Burial Pit in Caldwell County, North Carolina (Moore 2002:119).

This study explores the possibility of combined molding and coiling of ceramic vessels in the Late Woodland period of the Appalachian Summit. Through experimentation, observation of surface impressions on archaeological vessel fragments, and analysis of frequency distributions of coil breaks across vessel portions it is shown that some vessels were molded from the base to the upper body, possibly in a net-lined pit or mold, and then finished by coiling neck and rim portions. On the surface this may seem like a trivial pursuit; does it matter to know whether an artisan, a community or artisans, or an archaeological phase of artisans made their vessels by coiling, molding, otherwise, or by a combination of techniques? The ceramic ethnoarchaeological record, however, informs us of the possibility that modes of manufacture can be

informative of cultural identity and interaction, and vessel function and longevity (Arnold 2000; Hegmon 2000; Rice 2015). Moreover, this knowledge questions the efficacy of existing typologies that are used to identify archaeological cultures, time periods, and regional interactions.

### **Late Pre-contact Pottery of Northwestern North Carolina**

Pottery vessel bodies are formed by various means, alone or in combination, including coiling, pinching, drawing, molding, slab building, paddle and anvil, and by means of rotating devices (Rice 2015). The mode of vessel construction can sometimes be determined by identifying coil breaks, mold seams, and wheel marks (Rice 2015), by means of radiographic scanning/computed tomography (Berg 2008; Sanger 2017; Sanger et al. 2013), or by inference from associated technologies (e.g., McGill 2014). As mentioned above, observation of coil breaks on some sherds of a ceramic type has led to generalizations about the construction of all parts of all vessels of that type. However, a potter in the building of a single vessel may have used more than one construction technique. For example, Sanger (2017), through radiographic scanning and computed tomography, discovered that some Late Archaic fiber-tempered vessels of coastal Georgia were at least partially coil constructed rather than slab constructed as previously described for the type (Sassaman 1993).

What first revealed the possibility of partial vessel molding in the Late Woodland period of the Appalachian Summit was the observation of net impressions underlying rectilinear stamping on vessel body sherds from the Katie Griffith site (31WT33) (Figure 1), a house site in Watauga County, North Carolina dating to AD 1350 (Whyte 2003; 2015; 2017). This pottery consists of jar forms with subconical bases, constricted necks, and thickened or collared punctated rims. One partial jar reconstructed from sherds found in the base of a bell-shaped pit (Feature 6) exhibits net impressions from the base up to the point of maximum girth, rectilinear stamping overlapping the net impressions just below and at the point of maximum girth, and exclusively rectilinear stamping between the maximum girth and the vessel neck (Figure 2). Part of the vessel base had then been scraped.

Net impressions overlain by rectilinear stamping can be explained by three possibilities: (1) the vessel was formed by coiling or otherwise while resting on a piece of netting, either on a hard surface or in the lap of the potter; (2) the vessel was formed by coiling or otherwise in a net-lined mold such as the base of a broken pot or in a pit (as described by

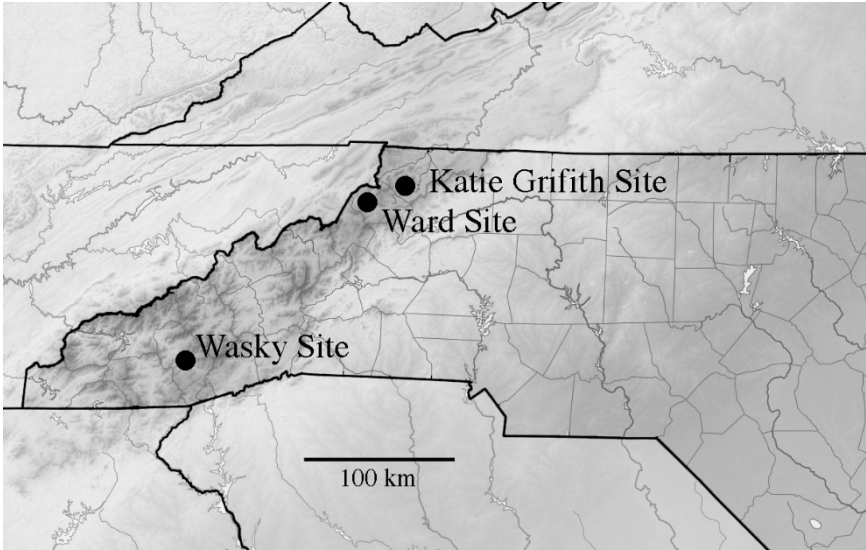


Figure 1. Locations of archaeological sites mentioned in this study.

Iwi Katalsta); or (3) clay was rolled out on a piece of net on the ground or other surface and then lifted into a mold or pit for further building.

Informal attempts to replicate these processes were somewhat enlightening. In each experiment, net impressions remained clearly visible on the exterior surface (Figure 3). It also was observed that a net used to line a mold or pit facilitates removal of the vessel base or the completed vessel from the mold or pit. Soil was found adhering to the vessel base removed from a net-lined pit, but only in spaces between the cords of the net (Figure 3c). A net used to roll out a slab of clay for the forming of the vessel base also may have functioned as a mold liner. Rolling the clay slab for the vessel base, however, resulted in a very uniform wall thickness—something seldom observed on basal sherds from archaeological assemblages in the study area. These experiments give support to the probability that the vessel base in question was formed in a net-lined mold or pit.

Next, relative frequencies of coil breaks across vessel portions on the Late Woodland ceramics from the Katie Griffith site were examined. Sherd breaks were determined as coil breaks only when poorly welded coil edges could be observed in the sherd body. The results are that coil breaks are found on 10% of body/shoulder sherds, 67% of neck sherds, and 39% of rim sherds. Only one whole basal disk was found among the hundreds of Late Woodland pottery sherds at this site. Instead, basal



Figure 2. Partial vessel from Feature 6 of the Katie Griffith site showing net impressions on the lower vessel and rectilinear stamping on the shoulder.

portions tend to be fractured through, rather than concentric to the base. This may indicate that the upper portions of vessels were commonly coiled while the lower portions often were not. A similar distribution of coil breaks was observed among typologically similar Late Woodland sherds from the nearby but slightly earlier Ward site (31WT22), where 19% of rim sherds exhibit coil breaks but only 8% of non-rims do. Middle Woodland period pottery from Garden Creek Mound No. 2 (31HW2) in Haywood County, North Carolina exhibits a similar pattern of breakage, where 19% of rim sherds exhibit coil breaks, whereas only 1.7% of other sherds do. However, until experiments in the breaking of



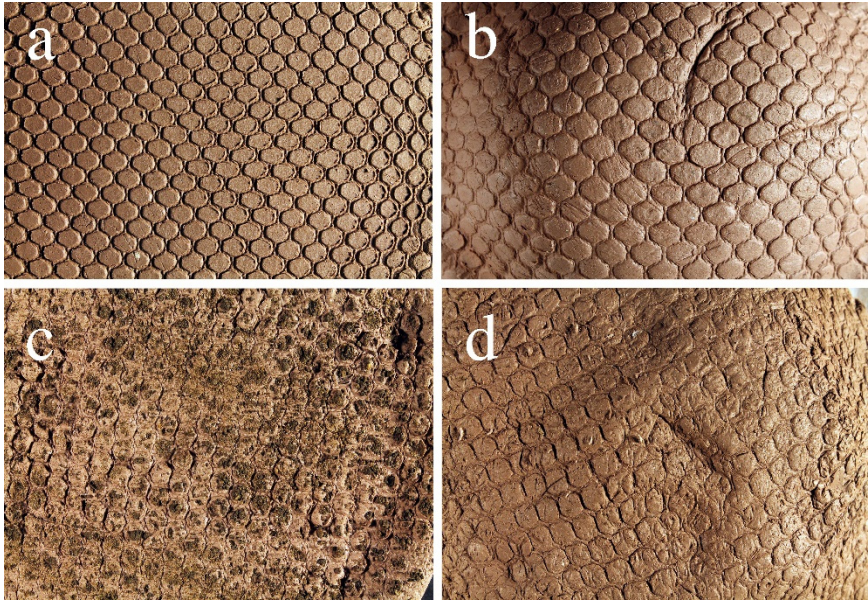


Figure 3. Experimentally produced net impressions: (a) clay rolled on a net-lined surface; (b) clay molded in a net-lined mold; (c) clay molded in a net-lined pit; (d) clay shaped on a net in the lap.

coil-constructed vessels are undertaken, it cannot be certain that this pattern is indicative of lower vessel molding.

Considering that the only relevant ethnographic reference to vessel construction—Harrington’s 1908 study of Iwi Katalsta—involved Qualla pottery (Harrington 2002), I examined a readily available Qualla pottery assemblage recovered from the Wasky site (31JK311) on the Tuckasegee River in Jackson County, North Carolina (Ayers 1983) to see if there were any coil breaks or patterning in their distributions across vessel portions. The pottery from this site meets Rodning’s (2008) criteria for a Late Qualla assignment (AD 1700–1838), and thus would have been separated from Iwi Katalsta perhaps by only a couple of generations and 50 km. Among the 300+ sherds, recovered from one 3 x 6 ft trench and the surface, there are no clear coil breaks, but there is one lower vessel portion exhibiting a concentric basal disk break, chaotic net or cloth impressions on the base, and curvilinear complicated stamping on the vessel body (Figure 4). It appears that the net impressions came after the complicated stamping, suggesting that the base was stamped and then placed on a net-lined surface while the upper part of the vessel was finished. The net impressions are nearly restricted to the basal disk,

## CERAMIC VESSEL MANUFACTURE

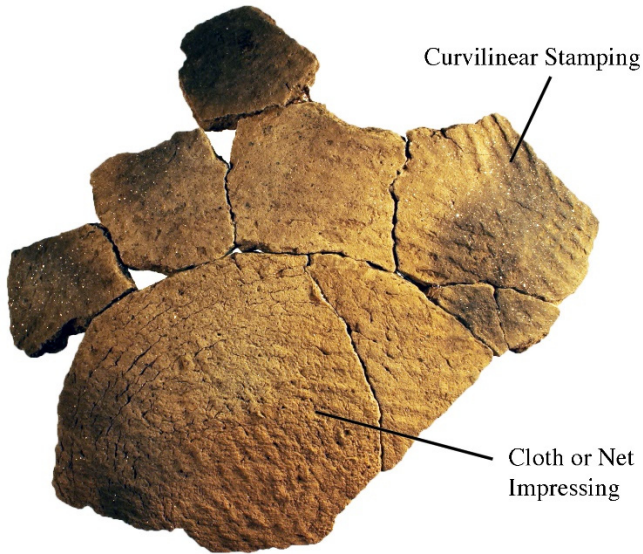


Figure 4. Qualla vessel base from the Wasky site showing cloth or net impressions on the basal disk and curvilinear paddle stamping of the vessel body.

indicating that the vessel had been supported by a shallow or flat container or surface. This artifact is a perfect representation of Iwi Katalsta's method of resting the vessel base in a cloth-lined saucer or pit while forming the upper portions of the vessel. Moreover, this vessel, having an estimated volume of  $6048 \text{ cm}^3$ , had a perfectly hemispherical base that would have allowed it to rest in a shallow saucer or even on a flat surface while building the rest of the vessel (Figure 4). In contrast, the partial vessel from the Katie Griffith site has a subconical base, is tall relative to its width, and exhibits net impressions from the base almost to the shoulder; this vessel, because of its size (approximately  $4290 \text{ cm}^3$ ) and shape, is top-heavy and would have been supported best while being constructed in a net-lined pit.

If a vessel base had been formed in a net-lined pit in the ground it would seem that some soil from the pit wall would remain adhering to the outer vessel wall even when the net was removed (Figure 3c). Clay deposits fired onto the basal portions of vessels were observed among sherds at Katie Griffith and contemporaneous sites nearby (Figure 5). But in every case the deposits overlay any impressed or stamped surfaces, indicating that the stamping preceded adherence. Figure 5a depicts a rectilinear-stamped body sherd from a different vessel at the

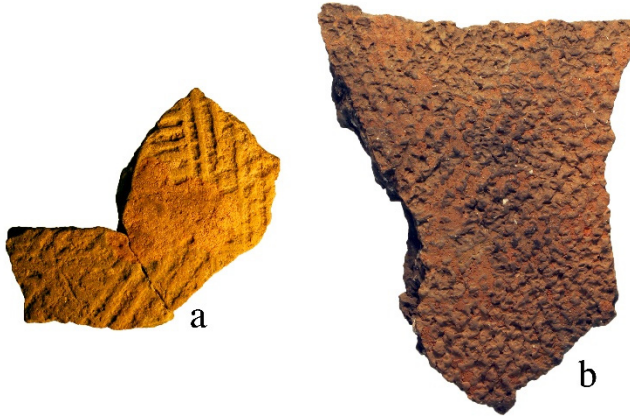


Figure 5. Clay deposits adhering to vessel bodies from the Katie Griffith site (a) and Church Rockshelter No. 1 (b).

Katie Griffith site. Adhering fired clay is clearly embedded in the valleys of the stamp design. Figure 6b depicts a net-impressed body sherd from the nearby Church Rockshelter No. 1 (Whyte 2013) in which one can see red clay embedded in the net impressions. In both cases, functional cooking vessels may have been propped up in shallow pits in which moist clay adhered to the vessel base and then was baked onto the surface by a subsequent cooking event. However, Harrington (2002) noted that Iwi Katalsta would malleate the base of her vessel before resting it in the cloth-lined saucer for the remainder of the vessel's construction. It is possible that the vessels represented by these sherds were paddled and then inserted into a small pit or shallow vessel that was lined with a powdered clay parting agent, some of which adhered to the vessel base prior to, during, and after firing. This may explain evidence of exterior scraping on the bases of some vessels, including the one from the Katie Griffith site (Figure 6); adhering residues from the molding pit or vessel sometimes may have been scraped off prior to firing.

### Conclusion

Much of the late pre-contact and contact period pottery of the southern Appalachians was constructed by shaping the vessel base, either by coiling or molding, in a net-lined pit or other mold, and then coiling the remainder of the vessel from the shoulder to the rim. In some cases, the impressions of the net lining, perhaps because they were less visible below the vessel shoulder, were deliberately left intact while the upper vessel body was paddle stamped. Consequently, archaeologists studying



Figure 6. Exterior scraping on the partial vessel from Feature 6, Katie Griffith site.

sherd assemblages resulting from these vessels may erroneously list net impressing as an occasional alternative to stamping as an exterior surface treatment, when in fact it probably wasn't intended to be a visible surface treatment at all. Net impressions were imparted to the entire exterior surfaces of some vessels in the region, and especially those of certain defined wares such as Dan River (Coe and Lewis 1952) and Radford (Evans 1955). Descriptions of two ceramic types, however, mention net impressing as a surface treatment only occasionally observed on sherds. These are Pisgah (Dickens 1976) and Qualla (Rodning 2008). It is likely that makers of Pisgah and Qualla ceramic vessels often, if not regularly, formed their vessel bases in net or fabric-lined molds or on net or fabric-covered surfaces or laps. Therefore, net impressing, which implies a deliberate technique with a desired result, should not be listed as an exterior surface treatment for these types. The same may be said of some exterior surface scraping. Some exterior scrape marks, especially if they are restricted to the lower portions of vessels, may have resulted from the removal of mold or pit parting agents rather than from attempts to create uniform wall thickness or to impart meaning or aesthetic qualities to vessels.

The details of pottery construction, arguably more idiosyncratic than shared cultural symbols such as stamping and decoration, may provide inroads to identifying individual artisans and understanding variation in culturally acceptable means to ends. Moreover, construction methods



used by individual potters may have varied according to the size, shape, and function of a vessel. The late pre-contact and contact period pottery types of the Appalachian Summit, invariably described in general as coil constructed, may represent a variety of construction techniques. For example, large storage and cooking jars may have been partially molded and partially coiled, whereas carinated bowls, because of their smaller size, may have been exclusively coiled. Nevertheless, one shouldn't assume that all vessels of a type series were exclusively coil constructed on the basis that some coil breaks are evident among the sherds.

### **Notes**

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*Collections.* All pottery depicted in this study is maintained in the curation facility of the Appalachian State University Department of Anthropology, Boone, North Carolina.

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# THE RITUALIZED LANDSCAPE AT BILTMORE MOUND

by

Larry R. Kimball and John Wolf

## Abstract

The cultural context of the Biltmore Mound (31BN174) is an example of the multiple levels of Hopewellian ritual landscape in the Southern Appalachians. The assemblage reveals inter-group participation in rituals and other kinds of social interaction (feasting, exchange, etc.) from far afield. The nature of mound-building, public structure construction, and alignments of the same with natural (mountains and rivers), cultural (native trails), and astronomical domains in this rugged mountain setting all point to the existence of a ritualized landscape for the Connestee peoples. The ritual structure atop the mound is reconstructed in three dimensions and its principal axes are related to solstice sunrise/sunsets as viewed from the mound at AD 590. Computer animations of select solar astronomical events are used as a heuristic tool to illustrate long-distance foci of astronomical alignments in the Asheville Basin.

The ceremonies of Hopewellian Connestee peoples (Benyshek et al. 2010; Keel 1976; Kimball et al. 2010, 2013; Wright 2013, 2014) of the Appalachian Summit were undoubtedly varied and undertaken at a variety of locations over the landscape, similar to that established in the better known Hopewell heartland (Brown 1997, 2006, 2012, 2013; Buikstra and Charles 1999; Buikstra et al. 1998; Carr and Case 2005; Case and Carr 2008). Furthermore, the ritual landscape of the Asheville Basin in the heart of the Appalachian Summit was not simply space or topography—it was a cultural construct that gave meaning to the landscape and reflected the beliefs of the Hopewellian Connestee peoples who lived here. Rodman (1992:634) reminds us of the theoretical interest to anthropology of how meaning and geography are linked: “...places produce meaning and meaning can be grounded in place....” In two major essays on the intersection of religion, ritual, and landscape, Brown (1997:470; 2013) refers to the material embodiment of landscape as translation of the sacred—the “cosmovision”—the union of cosmogony and cosmology. Herein, we attempt a conjectural reconstruction of a large ceremonial structure erected on a low but large earthwork whose orientation is argued to have been aligned with the winter solstice sunrise of AD 590. We employ archaeoastronomy as one method to show how the orientation of Hopewellian “Great Houses”



(Greber 1983; Lynott 2015:21–22) or ritual communal earthlodges maps onto the Connestee cosmivision.

### **Biltmore Mound Background**

The Biltmore Mound (31BN174) is situated in the center of the Asheville Basin near the confluence of the Swannanoa River with the French Broad, and on the Biltmore Estate in south Asheville (Kimball et al. 2010:Figures 1–2). Excavations of ~212 m<sup>2</sup> in the southwest quadrant of this low mound (Figure 1) revealed a wide, multistage earthen platform at the northern edge of a habitation area of ~10 hectares. From excavations between 2000 and 2008, a total of 18 pit features and 62 medium-to-large postholes have been documented. The habitation area was sampled with a 100 m<sup>2</sup> excavation area 28 meters southeast from the southeastern corner of the mound excavation block. A stratified storage pit, two large rock ovens, five other pit features, and ~50 postholes were documented. While the analysis of all recovered remains is ongoing, certain patterns can be presented.<sup>1</sup>

The archaeological assemblages are almost exclusively associated with a late unnamed subphase of the Connestee phase defined by Keel (1976:219–226). Wright's (2014:Table 1) dating of Garden Creek Mound No. 2 places early Connestee between cal AD 184 and cal AD 360. Geophysical survey followed by ground-truthing allowed Wright (2014:289–290) to identify an earlier ditch-based Earthwork No. 1 dating from cal AD 29 to cal AD 106 and attributable to an early Middle Woodland Pigeon phase.

Eight radiocarbon assays from the Biltmore (31BN174) site (Kimball et al. 2010:Table 2) place pre-mound habitations between cal AD 135 and cal AD 560 (three features), and the mound-building episodes range from cal AD 530 to cal AD 650 (five features or postholes from Mound Stage G, the lowest in-filled zone of the ditch, central support Post-57, and a smudge pit feature directly below Mound Stage K). Thus, the Biltmore Mound postdates both Garden Creek Mound No. 2 and Enclosure No. 1. At the same time, the sampled Biltmore habitation-area features overlap somewhat with Garden Creek Mound No. 2.

The material culture sampled from the Biltmore Mound are mostly Connestee phase ceramics whose relative abundance in a sample of 10,000 sherds analyzed by Scott Shumate (Kimball et al. 2010:Table 3) is: 54.1% plain, 22.1% cord marked, 9.4% simple stamped, 6.6%

## BILTMORE MOUND

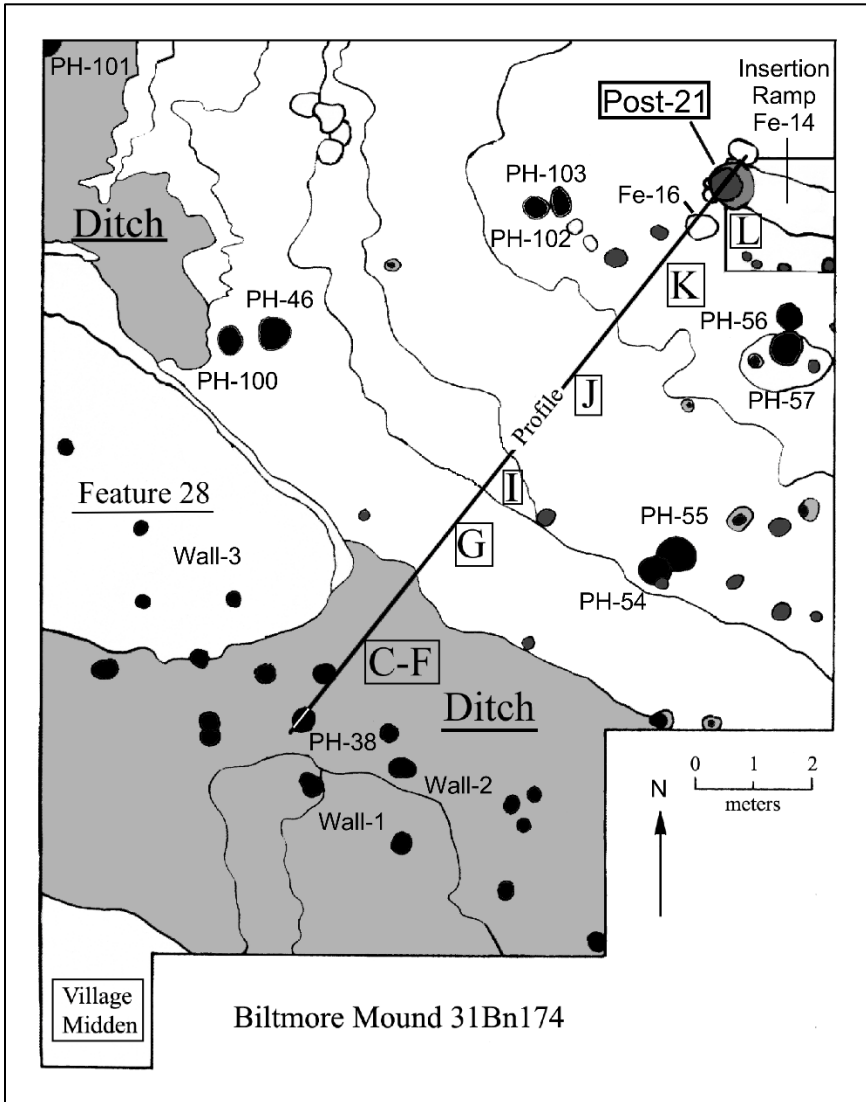


Figure 1. Mound stages and postholes at Biltmore Mound (pulled and backfilled posts are black).

brushed, 2.6% check stamped, 2.0% diamond check stamped (see Kimball et al. 2010:Figure 6), and 1.1% fabric marked. Less than 0.1% of the sample is Candy Creek (n=33) from eastern Tennessee, Swift Creek complicated stamped (n=7) from Georgia, and Chillicothe rocker stamped (n=4) from Ohio. This pattern is more similar to the ceramic

assemblages at Garden Creek Mound No. 2 and Icehouse Bottom, but more divergent from Connestee phase habitation sites (see Kimball et al. 2010:50). Ceramic pipes and fired clay figurine fragments also were recovered.

The non-ceramic assemblage includes a variety of expected Middle Woodland projectile point morphologies (Pigeon Side Notched, Garden Creek Triangular, Connestee Triangular, and Copena Triangular [following Keel 1976:127–132]) manufactured of local quartz, crystal quartz, quartzite, and metasiltstone, as well as an abundance of Knox Flint from eastern Tennessee. Nonlocal materials from the Midwest (Flint Ridge Chalcedony and Harrison County Flint from the Midwest) are documented. Hopewell blades are well represented and shown to have been used in a variety of tasks, including (in rank order): meat cutting (44%), mica cutting (17%), hide cutting (17%), wood-working (9%), bone working (5%), butchery (3%), other (shell, etc. - 1%), and either unused or indeterminate (4%) (Kimball 2016). Other lithic artifacts include: preforms, retouched tools, debitage, crystal quartz bipolar flakes, two-holed gorgets, worked pigments, and abundant cut mica. Objects made from antler, bone, marine shell, and copper also are present.

### **Great House at Biltmore Mound?**

Given an abundance and diversity of architectural elements for an earthfast structure at Biltmore Mound, what kind of structure was it? We adduce, based upon different lines of evidence which are described below or argued in print already (as so referenced), that a large ritual structure or “Great House” was erected on the multi-stage earthen mound at Biltmore. The mound has a complex history (Kimball et al. 2010, 2013) that includes construction of at least three prepared floors atop a midden with multiple deposits dated to cal AD 390 ± 60 (Kimball et al. 2010, 2013). The third prepared floor (Stage K) is undated but must be earlier than AD 590. A very large “ritual” post (Post-21) was erected at the apparent mound center and intruded this prepared floor (Figure 2). The large size of this post (75 cm diameter) required an insertion ramp (Fe-14) that was stepped. Post-21 is argued to represent an “Axis Mundi” (Kimball et al. 2010:48–49; 2013:124). The Axis Mundi is recognized worldwide in shamanic traditions (Eliade 1964:259–274, 487–494) and can be described as “a vertical structure by which a shaman can take magical flights to nonordinary worlds above and below this one” (Carr and Case 2005:194).

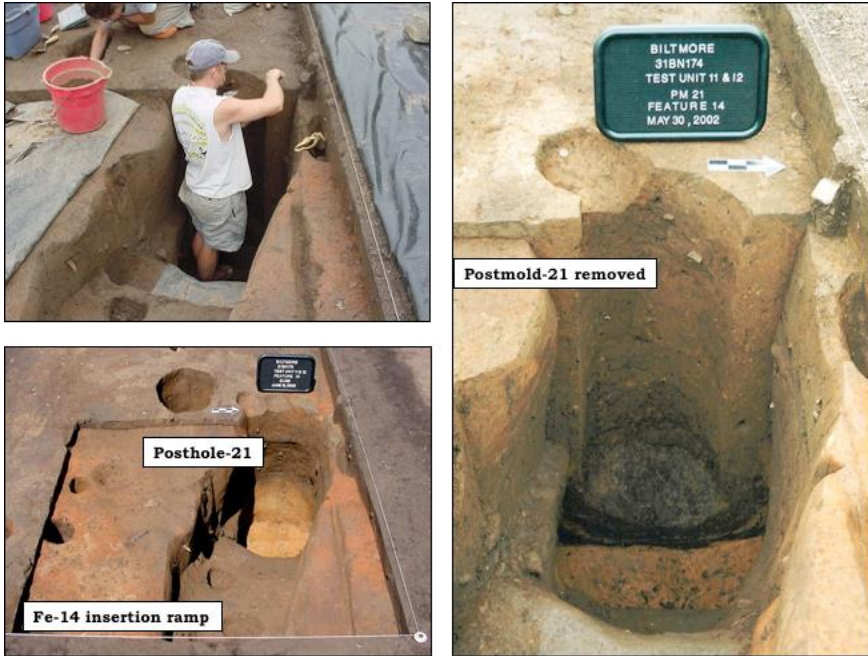


Figure 2. Central Post-21 and Feature 14 Insertion Ramp at Biltmore Mound.

The Stage K prepared floor was presumably covered with an earlier structure, whose postholes are largely hidden by three stages of mound-building episodes (Stages G, I, and J; see Kimball et al. 2013:Figure 8.2) that covered it. These mound stages were composed of different colored and textured soils from allogenetic sources (following Van Nest 2006) and argued to have ritual significance (Kimball et al. 2010:45–47, 2013:124–126, 131).

At a distance of ~13 meters from Central Post-21, a seven-meter-wide ditch (Figure 3) was excavated around the periphery of the mound in the probable shape of a “squirle” (following Wright 2014:290) centering on central Post-21. This shape is inferred as the Ditch appears to turn northward in the plan map (Figure 1) and at least one sand backfilled putative wall post (PH-101) is located at the northwestern corner of the excavation block. The ditch was lined with sterile light brown silty loam (Stage F). At the center of the ditch was placed a small mound of tan clayey silt (Fe-27), and adjacent to this was placed a burning log (Fe-29). A cap of coarse orange sand (Fe-26) was placed along the lip of the ditch. The ditch was then backfilled with three layers of different allogenetic midden-like soils (Figure 4): dark brown (Ditch-

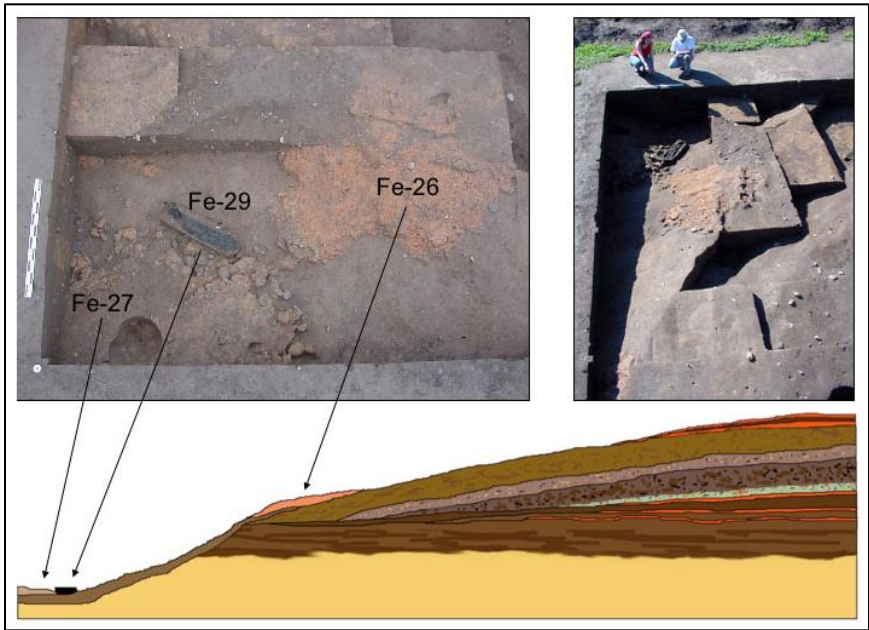


Figure 3. Ditch and features at Biltmore Mound.

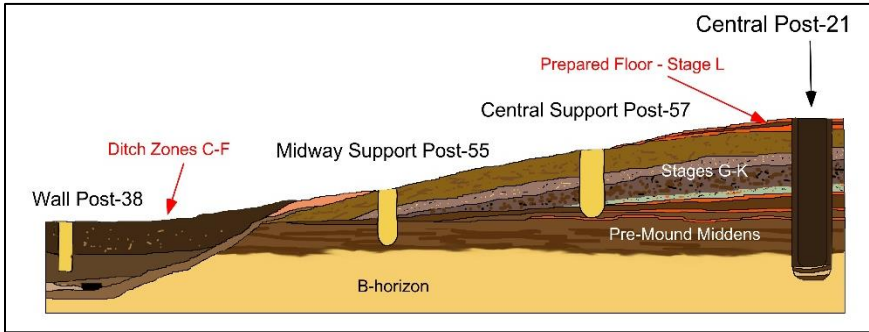


Figure 4. Profile of mound stages, ditch, and postholes at Biltmore Mound.

Zone E), dark yellowish brown (Ditch-Zone F), and dark brown (Ditch-Zone C) loamy sediments (Kimball et al. 2010:46–47, 2013:126–128). Zones C–E contained numerous broken (apparently “killed”) artifacts, well-preserved animal bones, carbonized plant remains, and “shamanic paraphernalia” (Kimball et al. 2010:54–55). These items included: “power parts” of specific animals (shaped bear, red wolf, gray wolf, dog, bobcat, fox, and raccoon as well as a scraped bear baculum, all of which had been broken); other ritual objects, including mica cutouts, copper

objects, fractured crystals, gorgets, pigments, bone and antler awls, gar scales, and turkey spurs; and Hopewell blades and nonlocal ceramics (Kimball et al. 2010:54, 2013:127).

Upon the completion of this backfilling of the ditch, a large oval pit (Fe-28) was excavated into what appears to be the southwestern corner of the ditch (Figure 1). Only a very small portion of this feature has been excavated, but it is unusual as it was lined with white sand. A dozen burned pinecone fragments and portions of a shaped bear maxilla, which conjoins other portions of the same maxilla from the ditch, were recovered. This suggests a very limited timeframe between the ditch backfilling and the insertion of Feature 28.

After the backfilling of Fe-28 and the ditch, a row of regularly-spaced posts of similar size was placed down the center of the ditch (Wall-1 in Figure 1). It is assumed that these represent the original wall of the mound structure, and were later reinforced with two probable inner rows (Wall-2 and Wall-3). The widths and depths of these wall posts were larger than those observed from posts in village or pre-mound contexts (Figure 5).

Large posts stood at a distance of ~3 meters from central Post-21 to the south (Posts-57 and 56) and to the west (Posts 102–103). These are inferred to be two of four central support posts of the structure. All four are larger and much deeper (Figure 5) than all posts at Biltmore Mound except central Post-21. We consider Posts 57 and 102 to have been the original central support posts, with Posts 56 and 103 to be later reinforcement posts (among a few other adjacent smaller posts).

At a distance of ~6.7 meters and 8.5 meters from Post-21 and midway to the wall, another set of large posts stood—Posts 54–55 to the south and Posts 46 and 100 to the southwest of Post-1. These “midway” support posts are as wide as the central support posts, but less deep. Other smaller posts stood within this distance from Central Post-21 and probably functioned to support the rafters of the roof, albeit less so.

It is meaningful that all of these architectural elements (Walls 1–3, Central Support Posts, and Midway Support Posts) had been pulled at the end of the ceremonial life (of unknown duration) of the assumed mound summit structure, and then in-filled with a similar coarse sterile yellow sand. Central Post-21 is the exception, as it obviously was left to decay naturally in place—for there is a distinct 50 cm diameter postmold within the 75 cm diameter posthole (Figure 2). Altogether, this pattern strongly indicates that these posts were all contemporary and functioned together

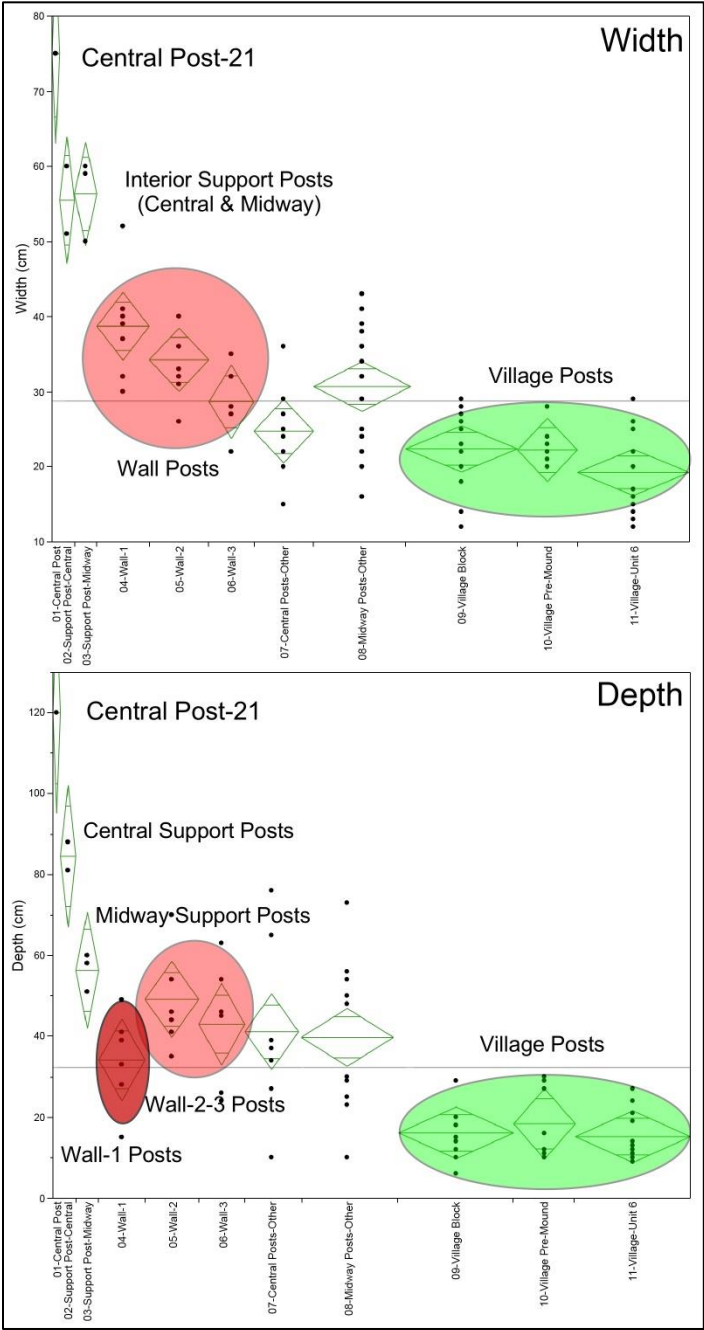


Figure 5. Widths and depths (means and standard errors) of postholes from Biltmore Mound and village structures.

as significant structural elements. This process of pulling and backfilling a ritual structure is also observed by Keel (1976:Figure 9) for Structure 1 directly beneath Garden Creek Mound No. 1 and by Wright (2014:Figure 4) for the backfilling of a row of posts with rounded quartz river cobbles down the center of the ditch of Earthwork No. 1—a large ~18 meter earthwork. This behavior is also documented for structures within the Seip Earthworks (Greber 2009:177).

The size of this structure would have been quite large (~25 meters in diameter), seated atop a multi-stage mound of 1–2 meters in height and ~30 meters in diameter, and comprised of as many as 48 wall posts, 24 midway support posts, and four central support posts. Without considering the reinforcement support posts and wall rebuilding posts, this model argues for load-bearing function. It is further inferred that the overall shape of the structure was a square with rounded corners “squirrel” common to Connestee structures in the Southern Appalachians (Benysheck et al. 2010; Keel 1976; Wright 2013, 2014) as well as in the Hopewell heartland of the Midwest (Carr and Case 2005).

### *The Contribution of Zooarchaeological Remains*

Elsewhere, we have argued for presence of feasting activities at Biltmore Mound (Kimball et al. 2010:55; 2013:132). The evidence is based on sheer abundance of well-preserved faunal remains, assemblage diversity (n=65 species), and that 37% of the faunal assemblage is burned, among other details. At the same time, the excellent preservation of the faunal assemblage on the mound, not unlike that of the earthlodges at Garden Creek Mound No. 1 (as recently analyzed by Whyte 2017), simultaneously demands explanation, while providing important information about the nature of the putative structure atop Biltmore Mound. In comparison, Wilson and Weitzner 1934:356) observed that requisite feasting of animal and plant foods was associated with earthlodge construction among the Hidatsa.

A large sample (n=34,532) of the Biltmore Mound zooarchaeological assemblage from a majority of contexts (mound features and postholes) has been analyzed, with 7,940 elements identified specifically (Kimball et al. 2010:Table 4). In rank order, the identified taxa are: 77.0% mammals, 7.7% reptiles, 3.7% birds, 2.1% fishes, 1.4% mollusks, 0.4% amphibians, and <0.1% crustaceans. This represents a very diverse and well-preserved faunal assemblage including fish scales, eggshell, ossified tendons of birds, mammalian costal cartilage, and terrestrial snail shells. White-tailed deer, turkey, box turtle, suckers, squirrel, and raccoon are most abundant. Of this total, 7,463 could be



further identified to species (excluding the small snails which are largely assumed to be non-dietary intrusions). These data are discussed below in a consideration of micro-contexts and recovery sizes.

Recent analysis of the zooarchaeological remains from the fifteenth-century Pisgah phase Garden Creek Mound No. 1 (Whyte 2017) demonstrates a similar pattern. First, the number of identified non-commensal vertebrate species is similar:  $n=41$  for Garden Creek Mound No. 1 and  $n=46$  for Biltmore Mound. Second, deer, turtle, and fish are well represented at both mounds, but Biltmore has less deer and more turtle and fish. It is relevant to our reconstruction of the Connestee structure atop Biltmore Mound that its better-than-expected faunal preservation is similar to the faunal assemblage of the paired earthlodges at Garden Creek Mound No. 1 (Dickens 1976:80–87; Ward and Davis 1999:172–174). Whyte observes the usually high frequency of toad and passenger pigeon elements (along with those of deer, black bear, box turtle, and squirrel) from the roof-fall, bench, earthlodge floor, and embankment contexts.

One way to address the possibility that the structure atop Biltmore Mound was earth-covered is to compare the zooarchaeological sample across comparable recovery approaches (i.e., quarter-inch screen versus fine-screen sizes) for micro-contexts (i.e., specific feature, posthole, and ditch contexts). If a comparable degree of preservation for both Biltmore and the Garden Creek mounds is due to having earthlodges built upon them, then: (1) the plowzone assemblage (caused by it having been the earthen roof of the earthlodge) should be similar to pre-mound micro-assemblages; and (2) different structural contexts should vary depending on the specific activities conducted there (central ritual post, infilled ditch, fills from central support posts and pit features, etc.). It seems reasonable to assume (esp. for Hopewellian earthworks) that there should be faunal signatures for feasting, intentional discard of “killed” ritual objects (e.g., pipes, bone/antler awls, pots, gorgets, shaman gear [modified jaws and bacula of power animals], mica, copper, marine shell, etc.).

For the purpose of this discussion, fauna are subdivided into categories: amphibians, turtles, snakes, turkeys, other birds, fishes, and land mammals—bear, deer, medium-sized mammal (raccoon, groundhog, opossum, skunk, rabbit), and carnivores (wolf, bobcat, fox, and dog). The micro-contexts considered for analysis from quarter-inch contexts are: Plowzone, Insertion Ramp Fe-14, Ditch-Zone C, Ditch-Zone D, Central Pit Feature-16, and Mound Stage G (Table 1,  $n=6,010$ ).

All other contexts from quarter-inch screening contained less than 200 identified specimens and were excluded from the analysis. The micro-contexts considered for analysis from fine-screen (combined quarter-inch and 1/16-inch) contexts are: Plowzone, Ritual Post-21, Ditch-Zone C, Ditch-Zone D, Ditch-Zone E, Central Pit Feature-16, and Central Support Posts (Table 2, n=4,563). All other contexts from fine-screening contained less than 100 identified specimens and were excluded from the analysis.

The quarter-inch screened faunal sub-assemblage (Figure 6), when presented as bar charts (% representation per micro-context), shows that the six contexts are very similar with white-tailed deer and box turtle dominating (black bars). However, some variation is evident with higher representation of turkey (gray bars) for Ditch-Zones C and D, as well as Central Pit Feature-16, which is adjacent to Post-21 (see Figure 1), and most likely represents the disposal of feasting remains from faunal (341 of 1,223 faunal elements identified to species) and plant foods (hickory nuts, acorns, lambs-quarters, erect knotweed, maygrass, and little barley). As might be expected, the Plowzone micro-context is very similar to the backfilled Insertion Ramp Fe-14. So, if one were only to consider quarter-inch faunal sub-assemblages, then the plowzone is not arguably different from the Insertion Ramp Fe-14, Post-21, Central Pit Feature-14, Mound Stage G fill, or the Ditch Zones C–D. This overall similarity suggests that the fill over the mound structure was not very different from those of the mound contexts—so it may not be re-deposited midden from off-mound contexts. We shall know little more in this regard until plowzone contexts from Biltmore Mound are fine-screened. At the same time, this is a cautionary tale for the comparison of faunal assemblages based solely upon quarter-inch samples.

The combined (quarter-inch and fine screen) faunal sub-assemblage (Figure 7), when presented as bar charts (% representation per micro-context), shows relatively more variability across the six contexts. The first axis of variation involves deer, turkey, box turtle, and medium-size mammals (black bars)—the most important economic terrestrial land species. A second axis of variation includes fish, amphibians, and snakes (dark gray bars)—species of the “underworld.” A final group of birds, squirrel, and bear—which figure in the Cherokee myth of the ballgame of these animals (Mooney 1900:286–287) and occur in all micro-contexts—exhibit relatively minor percentages.

The pattern of variation across these three macro-groups for the six contexts under consideration suggest that three groupings are possible.

Table 1. Percent Breakdown of Taxa by Micro-Context for Quarter-Inch Screened Fauna (n=6,010).

Micro-Context	Amphibian	Bear	Birds	Deer	Fish	Medium				Turtle	Wolf-Dog-	
						Mammals	Snakes	Squirrel	Turkey		Bobcat	Fox
Insertion Ramp (Feature-14)	0.24	1.21	0	41.50	3.64	1.46	1.70	0	15.53	34.71	0	412
Mound Stage-G	0.24	0.95	0.24	35.99	4.51	2.38	0.95	0.59	15.08	38.72	0.36	842
Ditch-Zone D	0	0.83	0.83	29.01	3.87	1.38	3.59	1.10	22.93	35.08	1.38	362
Ditch-Zone C	0.45	0.38	0.30	29.00	3.58	3.01	1.85	0.87	22.79	37.48	0.30	2655
Central Pit (Feature-16)	0	0.49	0	36.45	2.96	0.49	1.97	1.48	21.67	33.99	0.49	203
Plowzone	0.07	0.33	0.07	40.56	0.91	1.56	1.37	0.20	14.58	40.30	0.07	1536

Table 2. Percent Breakdown of Taxa by Micro-Context for Combined (Quarter-Inch & Fine) Screened Fauna (n=4,563).

Micro-Context	Amphibian	Bear	Birds	Deer	Fish	Medium				Turtle	Wolf-Dog-	
						Mammals	Snakes	Squirrel	Turkey		Bobcat	Fox
Ritual Post-21	9.52	0	2.12	21.16	21.69	2.12	7.94	1.59	6.88	26.46	0.53	189
Ditch-E	6.13	0	1.33	13.87	43.20	1.60	6.67	1.33	8.80	17.07	0	375
Ditch-D	2.98	0.53	1.75	18.74	20.32	1.40	7.71	1.93	18.91	24.87	0.88	571
Ditch-C	1.20	0.35	0.53	27.57	5.21	2.83	2.69	1.06	21.62	36.64	0.28	2822
Central Support Posts	4.53	0	0	23.77	21.51	1.51	9.81	5.66	12.45	20.75	0	265
Central Pit (Feature-16)	6.45	0.29	0.29	26.39	14.96	1.76	8.50	2.64	13.49	24.93	0.29	341

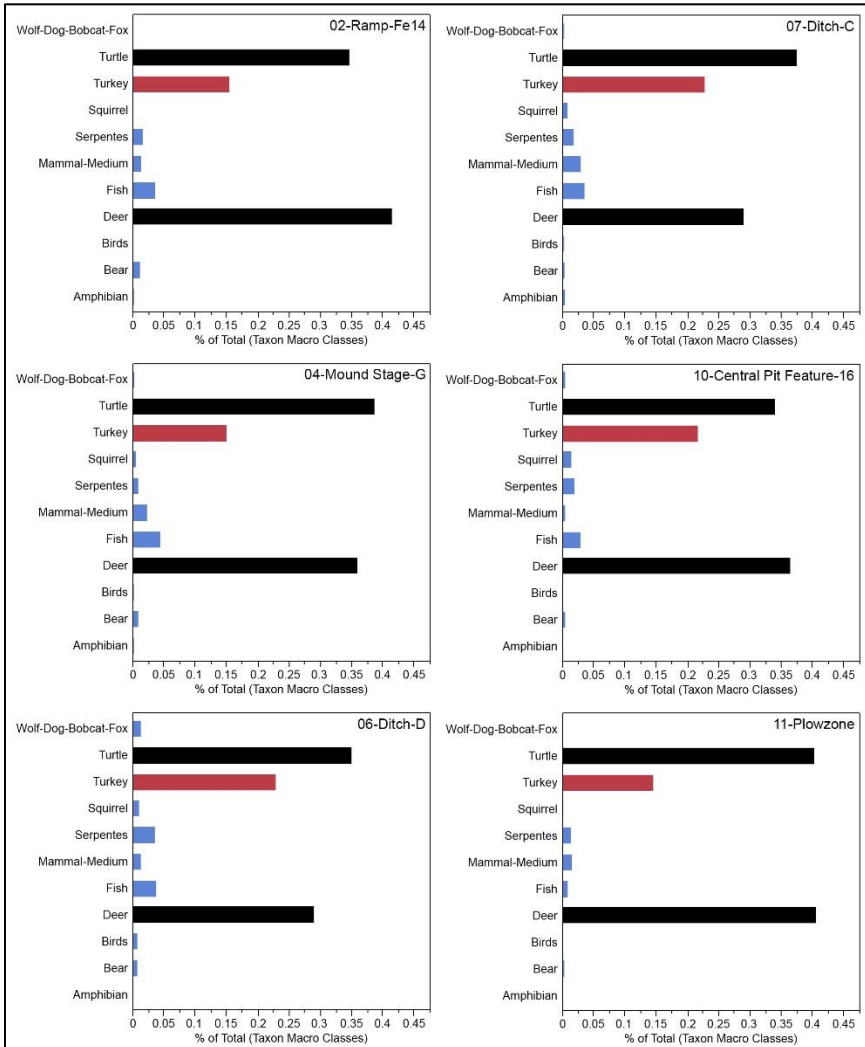


Figure 6. Bar charts (%) of animal taxa by micro-context (quarter-inch screen).

First, Central Ritual Post-21 and the lowest in-filled layer of the Ditch-Zone E exhibit large representation of the fish-amphibian-snake group and relatively lower representation of the terrestrial game animals (deer, turkey, and turtle). This combination of underworld symbolism may represent an archaeological signature for ritual-based feasting. Second, Ditch-Zone D, Central Support posts, and Central Pit Fe-16 exhibit abundant deer-turtle-turkey bones and moderate fish and snake bones with some amphibians. This may be the archaeological signature for

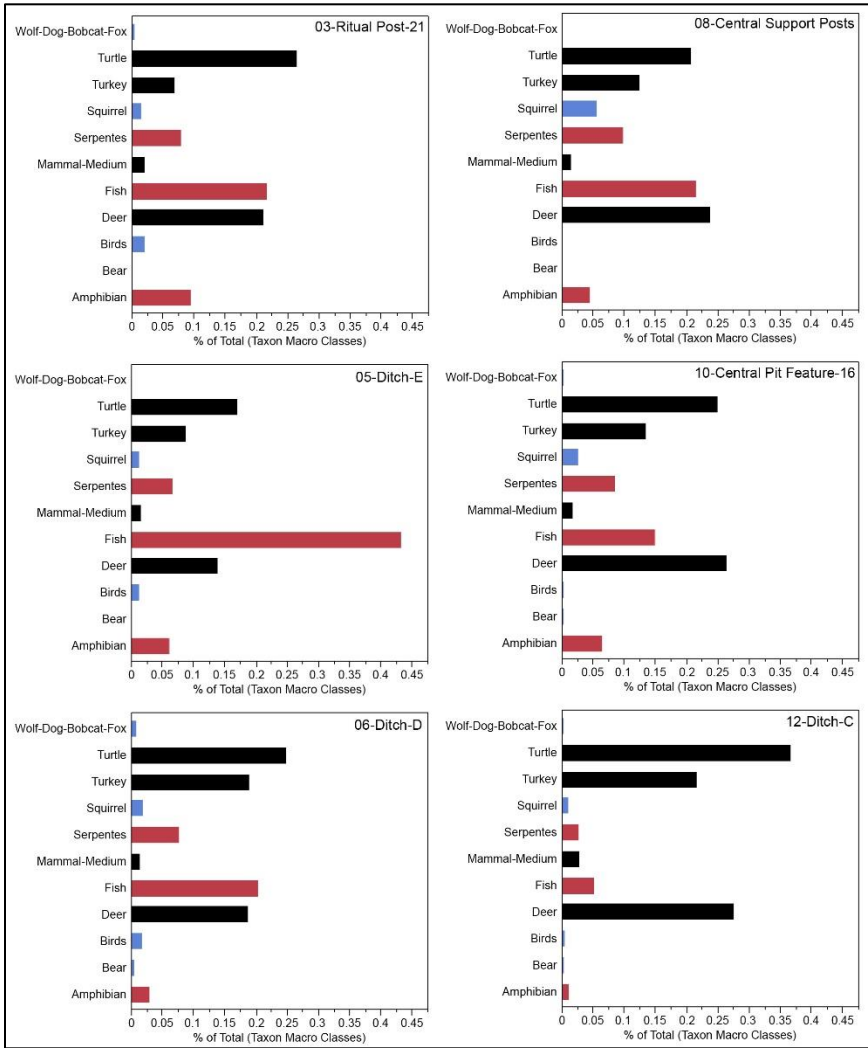


Figure 7. Bar charts (%) of animal taxa by micro-context (combined quarter-inch and fine screen).

generalized feasting at Biltmore Mound. Third, the final in-filling of the Ditch (Zone C) possesses an abundance of the deer-turtle-turkey group which is most similar to the quarter-inch plowzone assemblage in Figure 6. This could relate to use of an earthen embankment along the wall (coincident with the ditch) and an earthen roof covering—both of which became incorporated in the upper zone of the Ditch after site abandonment.

When considered by size, the faunal sub-assemblages (quarter-inch versus combined fine-screen and quarter-inch) reveal different patterns that are best explained by different activities undertaken at the site: feasting in the center of the structure (central support posts and pit feature Fe-16); intentional inclusion of “underground” species (snakes, fishes, and amphibians) in Ritual Post-21 and the first in-filling of the ditch (Zone E); and an embankment/earthen roof signature that connects the last stage of ditch in-filling (Zone C) and the plowzone assemblage that caps the entire mound structure. Riggs (personal communication, 2017) informs us that the standing post (Post-21) is symbolically equivalent to the townhouse central hearth, which has a sub-fire, posthole-like pit. In Cherokee townhouse contexts (e.g., Chota, Chattooga), these pits contain the bones of snakes, crawfish, frogs, etc.

### *Earthlodges*

Earthlodges (following Linton 1924; Wilson and Weitzner 1934), or the use of embankments along the walls and earthen/sod covering of the roofs, are notoriously difficult to recognize archaeologically. This is because earthen embankments (Dickens 1976:80–87; Ward and Davis 1999:172–174) are not commonly preserved unless they are within mounds (Dickens 1976; Fairbanks 1964; Sears 1954) or from contexts where plowing was minimal (Williams and Evans 1993).

Yet, Riggs (2008:19–20, 27–28, Figures 14–15) argues persuasively from ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and archaeological evidence, that both Cherokee townhouses and winter houses probably used both earthen embankments and earth-covered roofs. The very large Cherokee townhouses were most probably covered by a mantle of earth sandwiched between bark, covering the rafters. The very best archaeological evidence comes from the Chattooga townhouse (Riggs 2008:Figure 9; Schroedl 1994), the burned Tuckasegee winter house (Keel 1976:31–33; Riggs 2008:Figure 12–13), and a burned winter house at Chota (Gleeson 1971:93; Riggs 2008:27; Schroedl 1986:238–240) where layers of burned earth were observed above the prepared structural floors. Normally, these structural remains are plowed away unless the deposits are very thick and agricultural activities less intense than usual. This seems to be the case at Biltmore Mound where the site area was taken out of agriculture after the 1916 flood.

Also of interest is Bartram's (1791:368–369) account of the townhouse at Cowee where “in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building” with three rows of internal supports. We think that this is the best analogy (or expectation) for the

Biltmore House ceremonial structure. And finally, the wood charcoal from the archaeobotanical remains from Ritual Post-21, central support posts, midway posts, and pit features from the structure center, as well as all Ditch zones, overwhelmingly contain pine (Kimball et al. 2010:Table 7). This is also observed for the Chota townhouse (Riggs 2008:18; Schroedl 1986:229–231).

### **Reconstructed Mound Structure**

Next, we wish to consider certain significant aspects of place which appear to have been interwoven into the beliefs of Hopewellian peoples of the Southern Appalachians. These include: location within the natural world; trails controlling/facilitating movements of people and game; relationships with its natural features (mountains, watercourses, valleys, and gaps); and astronomical events. We attempt to illustrate how the physical landscape itself related to, if not symbolically represented, ceremonial space writ large.

Because our investigations revealed only approximately 20 percent of the mound in the southwestern quadrant, we must extrapolate to create reconstructions of either. First, we assume that, like other structures and information currently available from the Southern mountains (Benyshek et al. 2010; Keel 1976:Figure 15; Wright 2013, 2014), the Biltmore structure was squarish (“squirecles” following Anderson 2013:252–253; Horsley et al. 2014; Wright 2013, 2014:281) with rounded corners. This is thought to be arguable given that the exterior Wall-1 forms a linear pattern down the center of the ditch (Figure 1) and that the mound stages G–H and the ditch approximate the same pattern of a rounded corner, as expected for such a structure. Consistent with posts of the southwestern wall is one post (PH-101), which also was pulled and backfilled with yellow sediment in the northwestern corner of the excavation block.

Secondly, if the line of pulled and backfilled posts in the ditch represent the southern wall, then the very large central/ritual Post-21 (Figure 1) with an associated insertion ramp (Fe-14) was at the center of the mound summit structure (Figure 2). Given that this “ritual post” (Kimball et al. 2013) was very large (0.50 m in diameter in a 0.75 m posthole), then the center ritual post was very tall. Coe (1995) estimated a height of 9–12 meters for similarly-sized ritual posts at Town Creek. This height suggests that this overly large post (for a central support post) was probably open to the sky. Recent ground-penetrating radar exploration of Garden Creek Enclosure No. 1 (Wright and Loveland 2015:Figure 3) reveals one or more such large and deep postholes near the center of this enclosure, which could be analogous.

Another inference is that the two clusters of large posts southeast and southwest of the central Post-21 (Figures 1, 4, and 8) were two of four expected central support posts (Posts 56–57, 102–103) like those documented for Hopewellian ritual structures, or by analogy to later earthlodge structures (e.g., Dickens 1976; Fairbanks 1964; Sears 1954).

A wall of interior posts is found midway between the outer walls and the center post—Midway Support Posts 54, 55, 46, and 100 (Figures 1 and 8). These posts, intermediate in size between the smaller wall posts (down the center of the ditch) and the very large Post-21, could have supported rafters for partially or fully covered rafters. Both possibilities have been argued for such large Hopewell public structures (Brown 2012:116–119; Carr and Case 2005; Greber 1983, 2004, 2009; among others).

Upon accepting these assumptions, we simply duplicated the southern wall-post pattern and rotated it to create the western, northern, and eastern sections, and then added corner posts to complete a hypothetical original structural plan (Figure 8). If our reconstruction is correct, then there would have been four Central Support Posts and as many as 24 Midway Support Posts. The resultant floor plan is quite large (~25 meters in diameter), but not impossible as it may seem; comparably-sized public structures are known from Cherokee townhouses at Chota, Tomotley, Chattooga (Riggs 2008:Figures 7,9–11; Schroedl 1986, 2001), and Kituwha (Riggs and Shumate 2003:Figures 87–90) as revealed by gradiometry.

A comparison (Figure 5) of the widths (maximum) and depths of postholes from the mound summit, as well as from habitation contexts (both off-mound and pre-mound), shows that posts for habitation structures at the Biltmore Mound site are both smaller and shallower than all mound structure posts (except for the widths of the additional, reinforcing posts from the structure interior). At the same time, the maximum widths of the interior support posts (central and midway ones) are much larger than those of the original wall (Wall-1 posts) and subsequent reinforcing ones (Wall-2 and Wall-3). The depths of the Wall-2 and Wall-3 rebuilding posts are deeper than the original Wall-1 posts. This perhaps suggests that while the reinforcing posts are narrower, they are placed in deeper holes to support greater weights or stresses on the roof. This pattern seems to follow for the reinforcing posts in the structure interior for central and midway posts. The widths and depths of the primary central and midway support posts strongly suggest that greater roof loads were supported here.



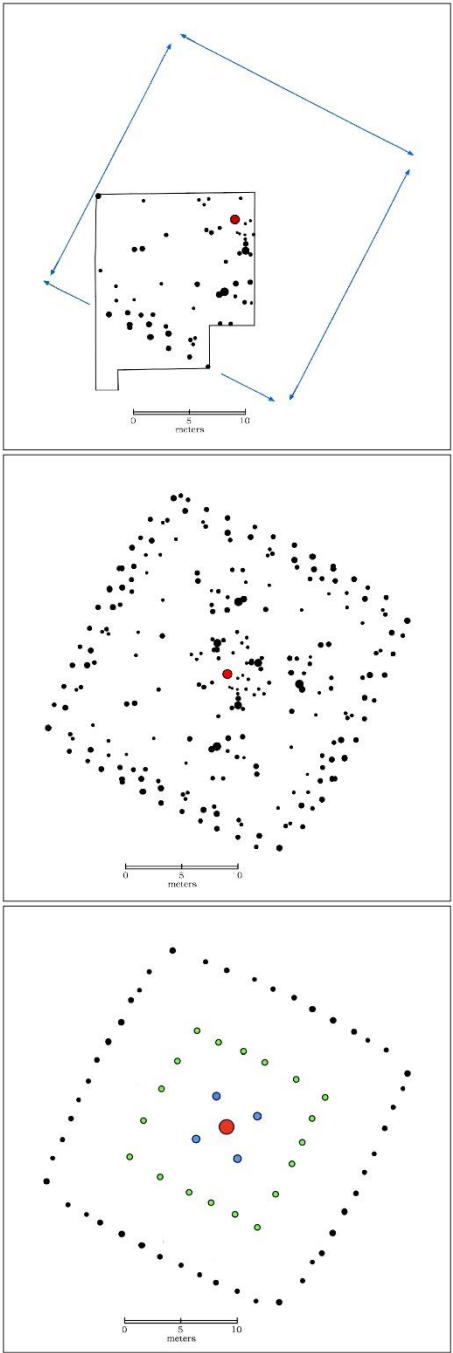


Figure 8. Original excavation plan and expanded structural plans.

These inferences, when combined with our conjecture that the structure was some kind of earthlodge (i.e., earthen wall embankments and a composite roof of bark-earth-bark above the rafters), permit a three-dimensional reconstruction of the (admittedly hypothetical) structural plan (Figures 9–13). We do not take secondary, rebuilding posts in consideration in this process.

The cleaned/simplified structural plan (Figure 8, bottom) was used with *Autodesk 3D Studio Max*<sup>TM</sup> software to create a three-dimensional reconstruction of a fully-covered structure (Figures 9–13). This assumes an opening for the 12-meter ritual post with a diameter of ~25 meters, a composite roof, and a 35° roof pitch following Riggs (2008:Figure 15). (However, Butler [2009:46] has argued in reconstructive modeling of Mississippian structures for a roof pitch of 45° or greater.) An entrance is represented along the southeastern wall based upon the solstice alignment adduced below.

The first reconstruction (Figure 9) portrays central Post-21, with surrounding Central Support Posts, cribbed center tiers, Midway Support Posts, and a wall comprised of wattle which in turn supports an earthen embankment. Next, two series of rafters (Figure 10) create the base support for the roof (note two Connestans by the entrance for scale). As argued above, the apex of the structure was open with Central Post-21 extending above it. This is based upon the projected size of the Central Post-21, as well as the absence of evidence of a central prepared clay hearth, but given the presence of prepared clay floors, small pit hearths and surface fires found adjacent to Post-21, and the central support posts. An elevation profile of this step of the reconstruction is presented in Figure 11.

The final reconstruction (Figure 12) presents a cutaway view of the roof composed of bark, then earth, with a final bark covering. Although we only portray purlin and weight poles over the first bark layer, the final one would be so secured as well. As Riggs (2008:10–11) argues, the ethnohistoric descriptions of Cherokee townhouses sometimes mention a final earth covering, while at others a final bark covering. We agree with Riggs (2008:Figure 15) that such a composite roof system makes sense given the climate of the Southern Appalachians, a necessity to provide support before loading the roof with earth/sod, its year-round insulating value, and as an explanation for how the faunal assemblage of Biltmore Mound is so well preserved.

While this reconstruction (Figure 13) is admittedly speculative, it is both pragmatic and testable. After six seasons of excavation by Scott



Figure 9. Model of supports and embankment.

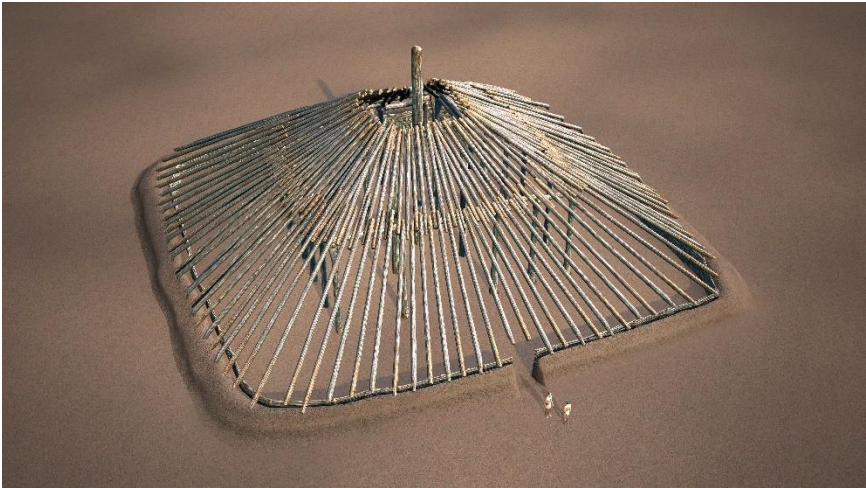


Figure 10. Model of rafters (with human scale).

Shumate (2000–2008), we had reached a point where the vast sample of archaeological remains and structural evidence needed to be both analyzed and interpreted in order to guide future excavations. At the same time, such precious cultural patrimony should probably not be excavated completely, which is often the practice before attempting structural reconstructions. At least a significant portion of the mound should either be untouched or left for future archaeologists with more advanced recovery techniques. Finally, this hypothesized reconstruction

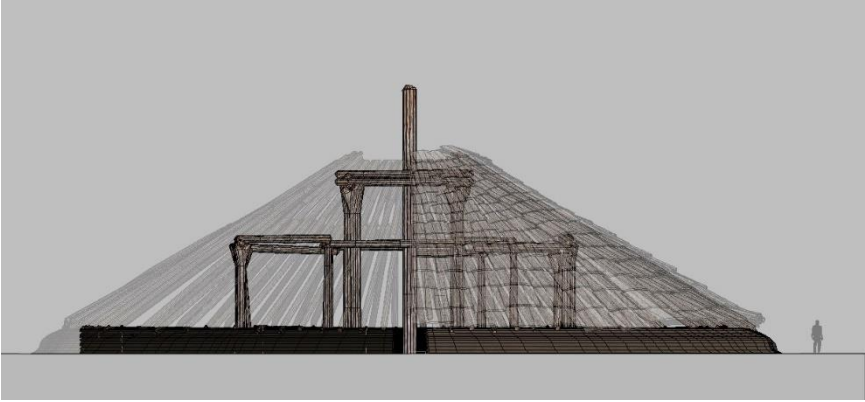


Figure 11. Profile of model reconstruction.



Figure 12. Cutaway of model showing bark, earth, and bark coverings.

can be evaluated with geophysics (following Horsley et al. 2016; among others) and then ground-truthed.

### **Alignments of the Mound Structure**

For some time, we thought that it was significant that Biltmore Mound is at the dead center of the Asheville Basin and halfway on a line connecting Mount Mitchell, the highest mountain peak east of the Rockies, with Mount Pisgah, the second highest peak. In our preliminary investigation of position of Biltmore Mound relative to astronomical events (Kimball et al. 2013:12–130), we found that on summer solstice (cal AD 590) the sun would have been observed to rise over the southern



Figure 13. Final model with bark roof covering.

slope of Mt. Mitchell. The next step was to determine the exact winter solstice sunrise/sunset positions, and then to ascertain if there are any alignments of the mound structure and its associated ritual center post.

After consulting with astronomer Richard Gray (Appalachian State University), we found the appropriate software and landscape datasets to determine the sunrise and sunset azimuths for summer and winter solstices at the Biltmore Mound. One complicating factor in the Appalachian Summit is that the actual topography of high mountains and deep valleys must be taken into account.

This was a two-step process. Step 1 encompassed the creation of a digital model of the Biltmore landscape and the final rendering of the scene. GIS landscape data for the mound and its surrounding area were acquired from the *USGS Seamless Data Warehouse* ([seamless.usgs.gov](http://seamless.usgs.gov)). These data were loaded into *MicroDEM*, where the raw data was then converted to GEOTIFF format, which is a grayscale tiff image of the site elevation. The height map represents a grayscale range where the highest elevation is white, and the lowest elevation is black. This map was loaded into the *Vue Infinite X-Stream™* software, where a 3D terrain model was created for use in final rendering.

Step 2 involved the analysis of solar data from the longitude/latitude coordinates of the mound. Longitude, latitude, and elevation data were used as a datum point for calculating the sunrise and sunset in *Starry Night Professional™* software. Once the location was set, the date was



entered into the software (cal AD 590, which is the average of five calibrated radiocarbon assays from the stage of mound-building addressed in this study – see Kimball et al. 2010:Table 2), and it automatically calculated the solar path. The angles of the sun position were measured, and those angles were utilized within the *Vue Infinite X-Stream*™ software to calculate the lighting for final rendering.

In Figure 14 we show how these solstice azimuths relate to the Biltmore Mound structure. Still images from these animations depict the solstice sunrise/sunsets as viewed from Biltmore Mound. When the solstice azimuths are laid over the reconstructed structure pattern, it appears that the structure is best aligned toward the winter solstice sunrise (western wall through the ritual post toward the southeast) and the summer solstice sunset (eastern wall through the ritual post toward the northwest). Doors (or openings) midway along the eastern and western walls would have permitted the first rays of the winter solstice sunrise and the last rays of the summer solstice sunset to strike the base of the center post. Based on the comparative astronomical work of Romain (2005), Carr and Case (2005:86) identify two patterns of solstice alignments for Ohio Hopewell earthworks. The Biltmore Mound conforms to their “Pattern 1,” as at Baum and Structure 12 at Mound City (Brown 2012), and which may be similar to the orientation of the townhouses at Coweeta Creek (Rodning 2009) and Chattooga (Schroedl 1994).

In order to attribute some meaning to this patterning at Biltmore Mound, we now consult the ethnographic record for the original inhabitants of the area as documented by Mooney (1900). Given the seemingly principal orientation of the ritual structure, winter solstice sunrise (Figure 15) is of major interest as the mound structure is also aligned to it. The winter solstice sun rises through Hickory Nut Gorge at a distance of 18.3 miles. It is one of the most dramatic east-facing gorges in the Blue Ridge, and well known from the film “Last of the Mohicans.” Hickory Nut Gorge is specifically associated with the Cherokee story “how they brought back the tobacco” (Mooney 1900:438–439). According to an 1848 version by Chief Sawnook (*Sawanu’gi*), the story is specifically connected with Hickory Nut Gap:

There was a time when the Cherokees were without tobacco which they had previously been made acquainted by a wandering stranger from the far east. Having smoked it, they became impatient to obtain it in abundance. They ascertained that the country where it grew was situated on the big waters, and that the gateway to that country at Hickory Nut Gap was perpetually guarded by an immense number of little people. A council of the

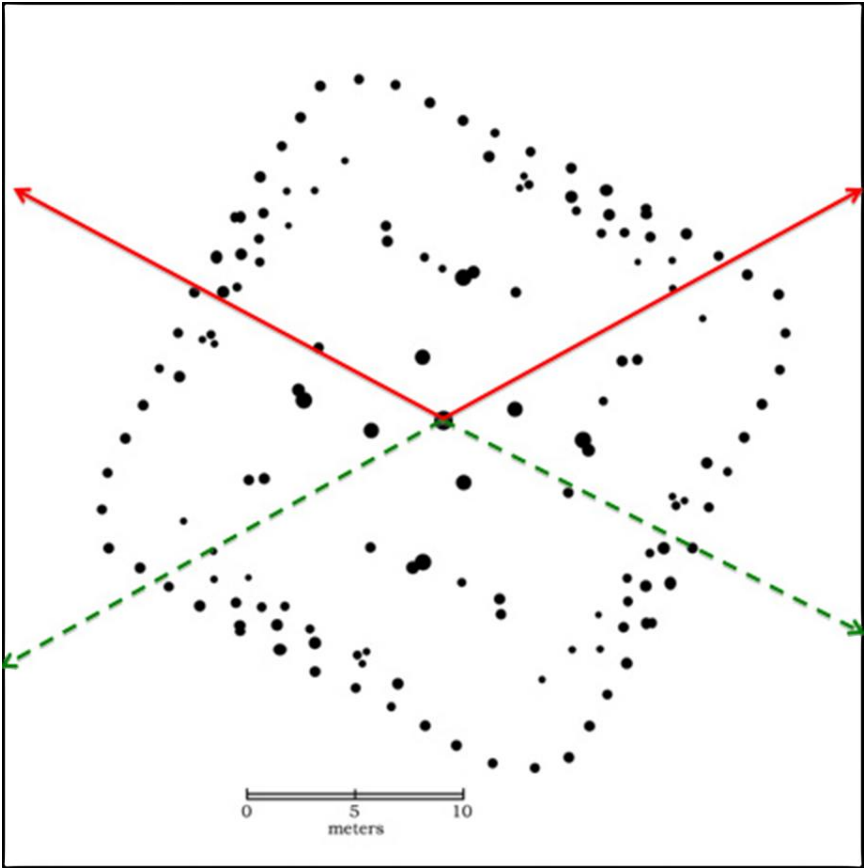


Figure 14. Expanded structural plan with summer solstice (solid line, 60°/300°) and winter solstice (dashed line, 119°/241°) azimuths.

bravest men was called, and a young man stepped boldly forward and said he would undertake the task. The young warrior departed on his mission and never returned. The Cherokee nation was now in great tribulation, and at another council a celebrated wizard (or shaman) told them that he would visit the tobacco country. He turned himself into a mole, and as such made his appearance eastward; but having been pursued by the guardian spirits, he was compelled to return without any tobacco. Upon returning, he found a number of his friends at the point of death; whereupon he placed some of the remaining supply in a pipe, and having blown the smoke into the nostrils of the sick, they all revived.

Then, the shaman turned himself into a whirlwind<sup>2</sup> and, in passing through Hickory Nut Gorge, stripped the mountains of their vegetation, and scattered huge rocks in every part of the narrow valley; whereupon the little people were all frightened away, and he was the only being in the country eastward of the mountains. In the streambed he found the bones of the young



Figure 15. Winter solstice sunrise over Hickory Nut Gorge.

warrior, and having brought them to life, and turned himself into a man again, the two returned to their country laden with tobacco; and ever since that time it has been very abundant throughout the entire land.

In this context, it is tempting to consider the inclusion of a broken (ritually killed?) ceramic pipe from Central Post-21 that Carmody et al. (2016) determined to test positive for nicotine by gas chromatography/mass spectrometry analysis. As such, it is the earliest evidence of tobacco use in the Southern Appalachians. In addition, the orientation of the insertion ramp (Fe-14) for Central Post-21 is also aligned toward the winter solstice sunrise. While these two pieces of evidence connect with winter solstice sunrise, Hickory Nut Gap through which the wizard passed to obtain tobacco for the Cherokee, and the alignment of the proposed Biltmore Great House—it could be coincidental. Of the four Biltmore Mound pipes analyzed, only one tested positive for tobacco.

Summer solstice sunset (Figure 16) appears to be associated with another major gorge (though unnamed), where at a distance of 34.5 miles, the Pigeon River enters the Ridge and Valley of East Tennessee and at the northern tip of the Great Smoky Mountains (the mountains to the left or south). Thus, this may possibly be a paired gorge-mountain association. Such river gorges are called the “*dakwa’i* places” (i.e., places inhabited by Lower World beings), and hence close to the Lower World or its portals. To the east, there are Upper World associations, to the west, Lower World (Brett Riggs personal communication, 2017) in





Figure 16. Summer solstice sunset over Pigeon River Gorge.

Cherokee (Mooney 1900:307,320–321,469), and associated with the *dakwa'i*—a mythic great fish that is dangerous to man.

The summer solstice sun rises over Mt. Mitchell, a distance of 18.3 miles away. Such solstice events would not only have looked impressive, but would have been important as marking the highest and lowest points of the sun's path from winter to summer. The Black Mountains, where Mt. Mitchell is situated, are so-called because of the spruce-fir forests, which are linked to articulation with the Upper World. They point upward as poles, standing silhouetted on the ridgetops, to remind us of *duyukta*, the Right/White Path (Brett Riggs, personal communication, 2017). According to Mooney (1900:432), for the Cherokee a mountain is a means for connecting with the sky world. Importantly, in the myth of the “origin of game,” the preserve of *Kana'ti* is situated in a cave on the north slope of Mt. Mitchell. Following Bassie-Sweet (1996), mountains to the north are “sustenance mountains” in many Native American cosmologies. The summer solstice sunrise-winter solstice sunset corresponds to “Pattern-2” of Midwestern Hopewell earthwork orientations according to Carr and Case (2005:86), which may be similar to the orientation of the townhouses at Kituhwa (Riggs and Shumate 2003:65–67) and possibly Garden Creek Earthworks Nos. 1–2 (Wright 2014:Figure 3; Wright and Loveland 2015:Figure 3).

The winter solstice sun sets over Mt. Pisgah at a distance of 24.8 miles. We find no interpretation of two Cherokee names for the mountain (*Elseetoss* and *Warwasseeeta*), but there surely must have been

one. (Brett Riggs [personal communication, 2017] interprets both as Lower Cherokee dialect.) The only association that this direction has through Mt. Pisgah is to the Franklin-Sylva mica district, and mica is associated with “seeing” between worlds by shamans (Carr and Case 2005:201, 224, 670). It may be significant that winter solstice sunrise is also strongly associated with the shamanic role as healer.

### **A Consideration of Cosmovision**

Biltmore Mound was situated in the center of the Asheville Basin (Figure 17) in a huge climax chestnut forest with rich biodiversity that is vertically differentiated and great relief. The site is also at the intersection of two major trails (based on Myer’s 1971 reconstruction)—Rutherford’s War Trace or the Suwali (Swannanoa) Path (bold) and Charleston Trail (dashed). Rutherford’s War Trace connects the Siouan peoples of southeast Virginia and central North Carolina with native peoples at Biltmore Mound and Garden Creek. The trail then continues into the homeland of the Cherokee Middle Towns, and from there into East Tennessee and the Icehouse Bottom site. In East Tennessee, the Suwali Path connects with the Great Indian Warpath traversing East Tennessee, which then continues to the Northeast. The Charleston Trail begins at Charleston, South Carolina, and crosses Rutherford’s War Trace at Biltmore. From this center of the Asheville Basin, it continues in a northwesterly direction along the French Broad River and then on through Cumberland Gap in southeastern Kentucky. The Charleston Trail ends at the mouth of the Scioto River in southern Ohio—the heartland of the Scioto Hopewell. This has already been recognized by Chapman and Keel (1979), as well as Wright (2014; Wright and Loveland 2015).

Animals and people used these trails to navigate the basin, and it seems possible that during ceremonies these trails were natural “ritual or pilgrimage roads” in the sense of those posited for the Scioto earthworks by Lepper (2006). The east–west oriented Rutherford’s War Trace crosses gaps at the southern tip of the Mount Mitchell and at the northern tip of Mount Pisgah. These locations are thus close to the positions of the summer solstice sunrise and winter solstice sunset (respectively) as viewed from the Biltmore Mound. These gaps (encircled) are at almost equal distances from Biltmore. The Swannanoa Gap to the east is a very dramatic one in the Blue Ridge. Almost due west from Biltmore, through a gap just east of Canton, lies Garden Creek Mound.

Finally, we may consider the “persistence” of place, and these place-centered mythologies, which are in turn tied to solstice events

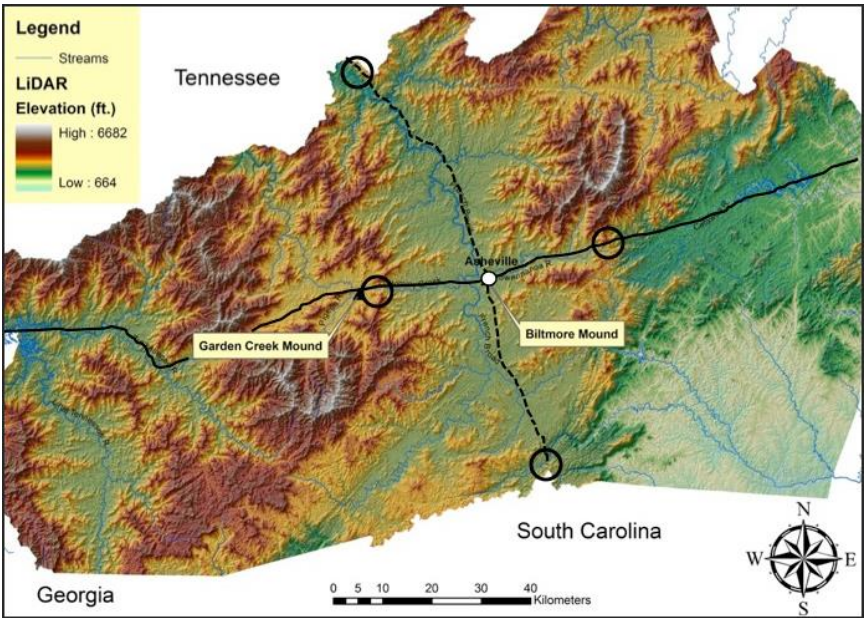


Figure 17. Rutherford War Trace (solid line) and Charleston Trail (dashed line).

(Figure 18). Winter and summer solstices connect the highest mountains and the most significant gorges, but in an inverted order: winter is Hickory Nut Gorge (black circle to the southeast) then Mt. Pisgah; and summer is Mt. Mitchell then Pigeon Gorge (black circle to the northwest).

We think it quite important that Mt. Mitchell and Hickory Nut Gorge figure prominently in Cherokee beliefs concerning the origin of game and the acquisition of tobacco. Perhaps it is not too much to link these beliefs to sustenance (through the first man – *Kanat'I*<sup>3</sup>) and medicine (through a powerful shaman), respectively. Other relations may be divination (through mica) and danger (through the passage out of Cherokee country past the *Dakwa*).

Besides this pattern, it may be important that so many other places in the Asheville Basin were named by the Cherokee, although it is clear that this portion of the Blue Ridge was largely abandoned well before the fifteenth century (although there is evidence that the Garden Creek locality was reoccupied about AD 1425). It is as if some of these principle beliefs (or “myths”) are very old and from a time when this area may have been more central to the Cherokee. If so, then we might

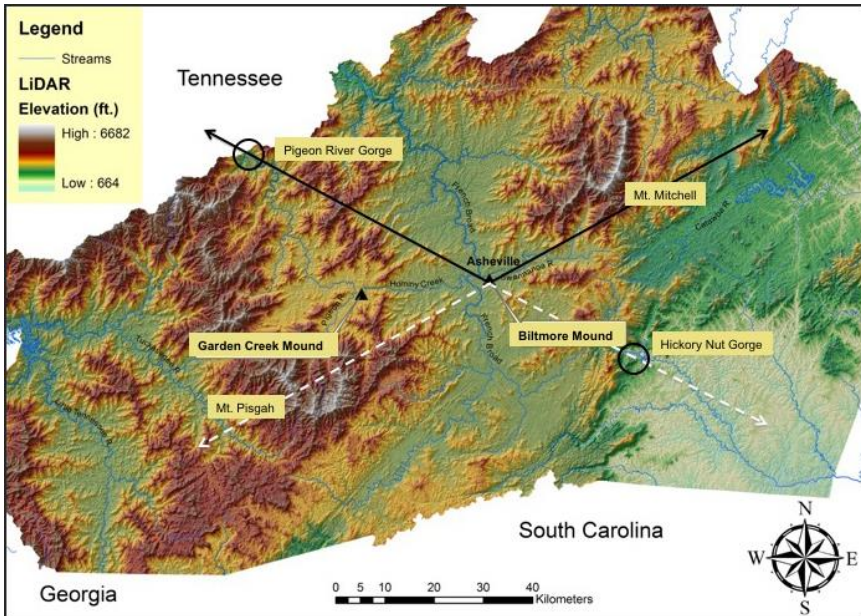


Figure 18. Winter solstice (dashed line) at Hickory Nut Gorge–Mt. Pisgah and summer solstice (solid line) at Mt. Mitchell–Pigeon River Gorge.

entertain the idea that the Connestee peoples were Cherokee (also see Whyte 2007).

## Discussion

Recent considerations of ritual landscapes, especially as they are expressed through monumentality (Schlanger 1992; Thompson 2010), employ the concepts of “persistent place” and “emplacement” to explain the nature of the relationship.

Persistent places are “locations on the landscape that are occupied or reoccupied over extended timeframes” (Thompson and Pluckhahn 2012:49). Rodning (2009:629) defines emplacement as “the set of practices by which a community attaches itself to a particular place.” A key differentiation is timeframe.

In the Southern Appalachians, Wright (2013, 2014) argues that Connestee phase Garden Creek Mound No. 2 is best understood as a persistent place. This earlier Connestee mound center is different from Biltmore Mound in important ways that support Wright’s thesis. Biltmore Mound and habitation site appear to strictly be late Connestee—there are no significant early Middle Woodland Pigeon

phase, Early Woodland, Mississippian Pisgah phase, or Qualla phase occupations. In addition, Wright (2014) has documented the presence of one or more ditch monuments adjacent to and apart from the Connestee multi-stage platform mound. The Garden Creek Mound complex appears to have certainly persisted for a longer period of time and across several cultural phases. Biltmore Mound appears to have been a relatively short, albeit intense, phase of mound construction that may have only lasted a few generations. Thus, one might argue its meaning is more situated in an emplacement process. This might help explain its unusual setting in the center of the Asheville Basin with dramatic high mountains alternating (directionally or at times, coincidentally) with gaps.

This aspect of the on-going investigation was propelled by the desire to imagine what the inhabitants, religious practitioners, and visitors thought about this place, and if possible to consider the meaning that the place, Biltmore Mound, and the ceremonies held there. Was there a foundation system of meaning that traveled far and was understood by all, as is often posited for the later Mississippian world? In this regard, we must agree with Riggs (2012) that the meaning(s) of Cherokee ritual landscape(s) are not silent, for there are those who yet possess the knowledge to interpret these significant places on the land.

### **Notes**

*Acknowledgments.* The Biltmore Mound investigations have been supported by the Biltmore Estate (2000–2002 seasons), the National Geographic Society (grants 7321-02 and 7543-03 for 2002 field work, and 2003–2004 analyses), and the 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008 Appalachian State University archaeological field schools. We greatly appreciate the hard work of all the field school students and diverse volunteers. The field work was supervised by Scott Shumate and John Preston with Larry R. Kimball as Principal Investigator. We thank Dr. Richard Gray (Appalachian State University) for assistance in the initial step in reconstructing astronomical events of cal AD 590. Dr. Christopher R. Moore (Savannah River Archaeological Research Program) created the LIDAR images used in Figures 17–18. Our gratitude extends to many individuals at the Biltmore Estate who have supported these investigations in a number of ways: Bill Cecil, Jr., Ginger Cecil, Chuck Pickering, Dini Pickering, Bill Alexander, Ted Katsigianis, Hal Keiner, Rick King, and Ellen Rickman. We greatly appreciate the helpful comments on this manuscript of Drs. Jim Brown, Steve Davis, Brett Riggs, Tom Whyte, and Martin Byers. We sincerely thank Dr. David Moore (1984) for discovering the Biltmore Mound. Finally, we appreciate the invitation of A. Martin Byers and Scot Keith to participate in the symposium “Ceremonial Spheres of the Eastern Woodlands” at 77<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Memphis, 2012, where an earlier version of this paper was first presented.

<sup>1</sup> Given that this is the third article describing archaeological investigations at the Biltmore Mound site (31BN174), the reader is encouraged to read Kimball et al. (2010, 2013) first to more easily appreciate the context and assemblages documented at this complex site.

<sup>2</sup> According to Brett Riggs (personal communication, 2017) the “little people” are Immortals, another morph of the *Nu ne ho I*, associated with Thunder, of which the whirlwind is a morph.

<sup>3</sup> According to Brett Riggs (personal communication, 2017) *Kanat'I* just means “hunter”, is also father of the twins—wild boy/thrown away and the good one—who become the Little Thunders—their father is the great Red Man of Thunder—hence the bosses of the Upper World.

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# **URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE “CRADLE OF THE COLONY”: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF HISTORIC EDENTON, A COLONIAL COUNTRY-POLITAN PORT COMMUNITY**

**by**

**Thomas E. Beaman, Jr.**

## **Abstract**

Established in 1712, the port town of Edenton became the primary center of commerce, politics, and interactions for the largely rural agricultural population of the Albemarle Region of North Carolina. This study summarizes the archaeological investigations conducted over the past 44 years in the historic core of Edenton, which is defined for this study by the 1769 map of the town by Claude Joseph Sauthier. Excavations are separated into the archaeology of the State Historic Site properties, non-mandated investigations, and those conducted as part of cultural resource management investigations. A brief statement also is provided about Edenton's identity as a historic town, and the support and involvement of the community in its archaeology.

“It’s where rural and urban sensibilities meet. I mean, it’s when you see trucker hats being sold in Beverly Hills boutiques or notice folks eating pork in Mebane, where I live, while drinking a glass of merlot. Or best yet, when you see a motor sport invented by backwoods moonshine runners and bootleggers broadcast on Sunday afternoon into potentially every living room in America, there ain’t no doubt it’s a country-politan world...” – Rick Miller (2009), Lead Singer of the Southern Culture on the Skids, defines “Country-politan” Culture

Given its historically modest size and meager population, one could hardly consider the colonial maritime port town of Edenton urban by period standards when compared to the eighteenth-century Atlantic commercial centers of Philadelphia or Charleston. In fact, if one has recently visited it, they might even be hard pressed to consider Edenton urban by contemporary standards when likened to Asheville, Fayetteville, Greenville, or Wilmington, and certainly not when contrasted to modern inland cities such as Raleigh, Greensboro, and Charlotte.

Yet largely due to unique coastal geography, the culturally rural character, and comparatively late development of North Carolina during

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the colonial era, it was smaller towns such as Edenton, as well as Bath, Beaufort, Cross Creek, Halifax, New Bern, Salem, Wilmington, and others, that fulfilled regional needs as developed centers, where material goods could be obtained and services rendered. A definition of urban proposed for small communities, “an accumulation of people in a locus which serves political, social, and/or economic functions” (Samford 1996:68), is best applied to describe these towns. Smaller towns also formed the center of a “web of association” between members of all social statuses within rural areas (Rutman and Rutman 1984). It is in these interpretations of urban where Edenton finds its proper historical context, as it served as an important commercial, social, cultural, and political regional center for the largely rural populous in the Albemarle region during the colonial period. As such, Edenton, as well as the other colonial towns in North Carolina, should not be considered cosmopolitan, but rather “country-politan,” where the newest European goods and revolutionary ideals could be found in small regional ports and rural areas.

Towns founded during the colonial era generally shared common characteristics of design and development. Located on the Chowan River as a regional center for deep-water maritime commerce, Edenton can best be characterized in what historian John Allcott (1963:15) defined as a port plan (Figure 1), with a main street and carefully laid out waterfront occupied largely by docks and storage warehouses. However, beginning in the early nineteenth century, its essential function as a port diminished. Commercial goods experienced more efficient transit by rail and road to larger inland centers such as Raleigh, which rapidly grew to prominence in the political and social realms. Edenton and many other small colonial port towns appeared to have reached maturity and largely ceased expansion by the early nineteenth century.

Today, the self-defined identity of Edenton is as an historic town, with a specific focus towards its colonial era, maintained largely to draw in visitors through heritage tourism. This historic identity has led to a sense of pride and preservation within this community, and has resulted in the restoration of many historic buildings. While many of these buildings have been featured in various publications, whether academic or designed for coffee table display, archaeology has played a vital role in the restoration of several historic properties. Urban loci and historical features have also been documented as a result of cultural resource management investigations driven by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (and its subsequent revisions and additions). To the citizens

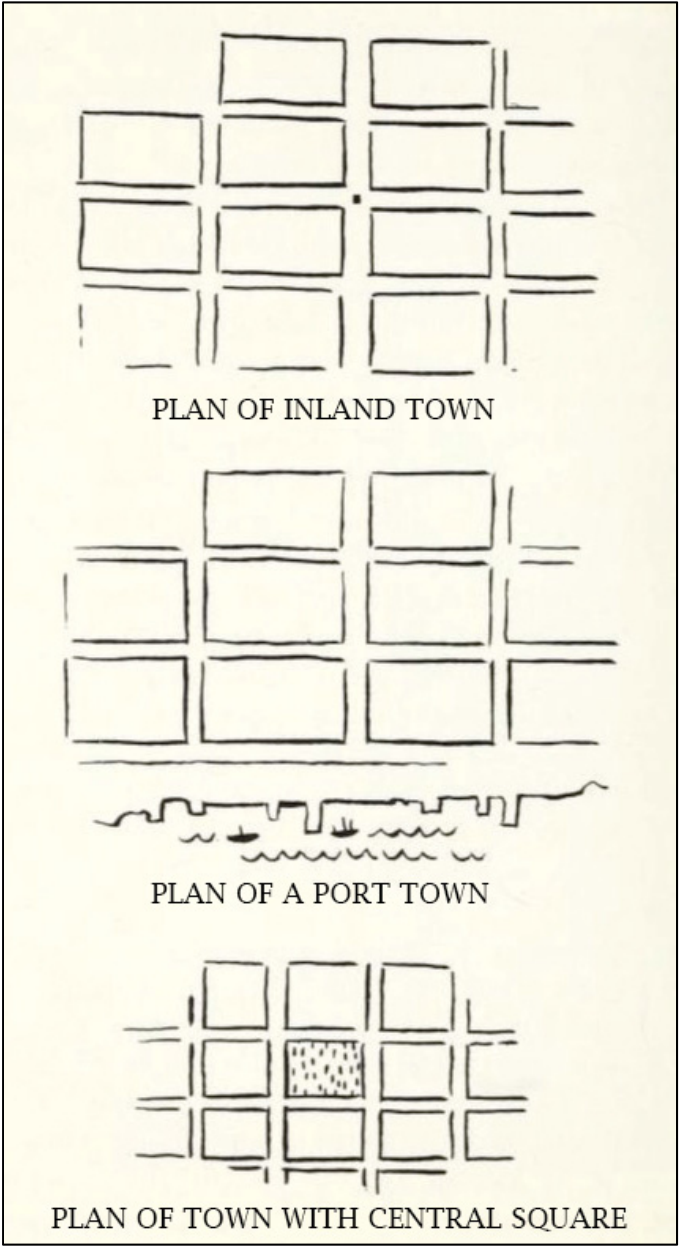


Figure 1. Of the three basic designs by which North Carolina's colonial towns were arranged, Edenton was established according to what historian John Allcott referred to as a port plan, with a main street and a carefully laid out waterfront occupied largely by docks and storage warehouses.

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from the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries represent part of an evolved urban landscape that exists as a testament to their past and help to define a unique sense of place within the town.

This study summarizes and illuminates the over half-century of intermittent archaeological investigations within Edenton. Based on more than 40 years of original excavation notes and historical records, as well as interpretations presented in secondary archaeology reports and historical files at the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology, Office of State Archaeology Research Center, North Carolina Division of Historic Sites and Properties, and the Department of Anthropology and Phelps Archaeology Laboratory at East Carolina University, projects are collectively organized by specific structures or lots and the *raison d'être* for the investigations. Such reasons have been divided into the basic categories of public historic sites (which include investigations conducted during the site's development, for interpretation, or as part of ongoing maintenance activities and needs), public or privately funded non-mandated investigations, and excavations that resulted from compliance with environmental legislation. In the search for thematic patterns of archaeological exploration and reported results, the role of the people who live within this historic community will also be considered. Their passionate fervor for the history of their town has generally made them stalwart stewards of archaeological resources, and in many cases, they work hand-in-hand with archaeologists to insure their town's legacy is documented and preserved.

### A Brief History of Edenton

The earliest European settlers into the Albemarle region originated from an expanding Virginia population. Perhaps the first settler was a Virginian by the name of Nathaniel Batts, who in 1654 built a house between the Roanoke River and Salmon Creek. By 1663, a number of families lived along the mouth of the Chowan River. That same year, King Charles II of England granted eight proprietors authority over the region south of Virginia, marking the official birth of the Carolina colony. The Albemarle region became immediately attractive for more settlement, as good land was plentiful and inexpensive. Many farms and small plantations were established in the region by the late seventeenth century, and merchants operated in the Albemarle as early as the 1690s (Parramore 1967:10–11). The settlements in this region predated the settlement of the Cape Fear region by over 70 years.

The society of the Albemarle during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries did not include many wealthy landowners, but rather

farmers who possessed a moderate amount of land, generally owning roughly 200 acres or less (Ekirch 1981). Wilson (1977a) documented a number of such early sites in his archaeological survey along the Chowan River. Several regional sites from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have been the subjects of more advanced investigations, including the Joseph Scott Plantation (Allen 1995), the Newbold White House (Bandy 2000), Eden House (Lautzenheiser et al. 1998; Robinson 1994), and the Reid Site (Gray 1989, 1997).

Due to the lack of adequate regional port facilities, supplies were delivered to the region on small coastal sloops from northern colonies. Farmers in the Albemarle paid for imported goods and received less for exports than anywhere else on the eastern seaboard. By 1712, there were towns at Bath, New Bern, Beaufort, but none serviced the settlers along the Albemarle Sound. The General Assembly voted to create a settled regional community for the sessions of court, the collection of customs duties, and the other details of an expanding administration, which was called “ye town on Queen Anne’s Creek.” By 1718 the town had a framed court house and public landing, but little more. After the death of Governor Charles Eden in 1722, this settlement was renamed and formally incorporated as Edenton (Parramore 1967:13–15).

Following a brief period of regional political rebellion and war with the native populations, Edenton grew into one of North Carolina’s most prosperous and important towns. It served as the first capital of North Carolina from 1722 until 1743 and was the major commercial center for the Albemarle Region throughout the colonial era and into the early nineteenth century. Its economic backbone was as the main port of entry to the Albemarle, though seine fishing for herring and the production of naval stores were also profitable enterprises. In 1730, it was reported to have about 60 dwellings, mostly town homes for regional farmers; by 1790, it had 150 houses and an estimated population of 1600, 1000 of which were enslaved African-Americans (Parramore 1967:17, 44).

In the wave of growing revolutionary sentiment, in October 1774, the people of Edenton made their dissatisfaction with Parliament known and showed their solidarity with Boston by hosting their own Tea Party—a true testament to being “country-politan” (Kickler 2013). Edenton continued to function as a port during the American War for Independence, and in the postwar provided leaders such as Hugh Williamson and James Iredell, Sr. to serve in the establishment of the United States. It is these and other events in the settlement and colonial

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period that dominates most of the historical research and literature on Edenton.

However, as the end of the eighteenth century approached, Edenton's era of prosperity came to end. Hurricanes in the 1790s and early 1800s shifted the sands of the Outer Banks and closed major inlets to the port. The Great Dismal Swamp Canal was also completed, which diverted regional trade to Elizabeth City. Agriculture continued during the Antebellum period, focused primarily on the production of tobacco, cotton, grain, and timber. Though maritime trade also continued, it diminished over time, especially with the appearance and regional growth of the railroad by the 1830s. Though no battles were fought in the area during the Civil War, the town was occupied by Federal troops, and African-American freedmen provided the main labor force as fishermen, artisan craftsmen, and in the maritime economy (Parramore 1967).

While the Antebellum era had been somewhat stagnant for Edenton, the Postbellum era saw a slow process of change and growth. The fishing industry expanded with pound netting, which made seine nets obsolete. The most advantageous development came with the arrival of the railroad to Edenton in 1881, which spurred the growth of the timber industry. In 1898, the Edenton Cotton Mill was built by the Branning Manufacturing Company, and along with it the construction of a mill town between 1899 and 1923. Almost half the town was employed by an array of cotton gins, grist mills, shingle mills, planing mills, and saw mills. The Edenton Peanut Company was founded in 1909, and a peanut factory was built just north of the cotton mill district. Peanuts became the principal cash crop, and the majority of workers who shelled and stored the peanuts were African-American, unlike the mills whose labor force was primarily white. In 1927, the construction of the Chowan River Bridge provided easier access to Edenton for automobiles (Parramore 1967:87–92).

Today, Edenton has been named as one of “America’s Prettiest Towns” (Giuffo 2011), a “Dream Town” (Slaton 2015), and the “South’s Prettiest Small Town,” a self-professed title (Graff 2011). The strong connection to its colonial past fosters a sense of pride in the community. This sense of historic pride has led to preservation in Edenton, with a number of structures and properties that have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Of these, only the Chowan County Courthouse, the Cupola House, the James Iredell House, and Wessington House have had archaeological features considered as part of their



National Register nominations. Historic tourism dominates the modern local economy.

*The Historic Sauthier Maps: A Quantitative Perspective*

In conjunction with the plan of town lots, the defined area for this study is also bounded by the urban core and immediate periphery areas depicted on the 1769 map of Edenton by Swiss cartographer Claude Joseph Sauthier. The Sauthier maps have long served as a uniform baseline to compare North Carolina's colonial towns at a specific, common point in history. A native of Strasbourg, Alsace, Sauthier was brought to the North Carolina colony in 1767 by Royal Governor William Tryon as a draftsman and surveyor (Cumming 1998:31–32). Between October 1768 and August 1770, Sauthier measured and mapped 10 towns for which the Colonial Assembly paid him a total of £50 (Saunders 1890, VIII:369). Interestingly, New Bern and Edenton are the only towns for which two different period maps exist, with only minor differences in garden designs and locations to distinguish them. Even in the beginnings of historic period investigations in North Carolina, these detailed maps by Sauthier were relied upon as invaluable aids to historians and archaeologists in the definition, exploration, and interpretation of historic towns (e.g., Beaman 2000; Beaman et al. 1998:5–9; Lee 1958; South 2010), and they remain equally important in the modern era.

In the location and scaled measurements of period buildings, the Sauthier town maps have been found to be nearly as reliable as aerial photographs and the later Sanborn insurance maps (Carnes-McNaughton 1992a, 1994; Ewen et al. 2002). Features depicted on these maps can also offer comparative insight into the scale of development and character of each town. Based on a recent study by the author (Beaman 2013), the structural and landscape elements depicted on the Sauthier maps of North Carolina towns are summarized in Table 1. As shown in Figure 2, this quantitative assessment of the Sauthier maps reveals 130 primary residences within the core area of Edenton, second only to New Bern (n=146) and slightly more than Wilmington (n=125). This study also shows that Edenton contained an above-average number of ancillary structures (i.e., dependency buildings), ornamental gardens, and orchards. Research by the late Edenton historian Elizabeth Vann Moore linked the appearance of ornamental gardens, garden beds, and orchards to the occupants of specific associated households based on their appearance on the Sauthier map of Edenton. Interestingly, Vann Moore's research, recently updated by Charles and Marylin Racine, also

Table 1. Total Numbers of Households, Ancillary Structures, and Landscape Features shown on Claude Joseph Sauthier’s North Carolina Town Maps.

	Date on Map	Structures Shown					Gardens & Landscape Features Shown			
		Number Colored Red	Number Interpreted as Primary Residences	Outbuildings & Ancillaries (Not Colored Red)	Public Buildings & Features Listed	Industries Listed	Total Number of Gardens Shown	Number of Garden Beds	Ornamental Circles in Garden Design	Orchards/ Urban Groves
Bath	May 1769	21	19	48	4	0	9	96	0	1
Beaufort	August 1770	27	24	27	3	1	8	66	0	0
Brunswick	April 1769	51	49	72	3	0	25	145	2	0
Cross Creek	March 1770	46	44	72	1	5	15	135	0	1
Edenton	June 1769	133	130	250	4	3	70	450	16	2
Halifax	June 1769	59	57	100	3	2	37	240	4	0
Hillsboro	October 1768	76	71	44	5*	1	19	80	2	0
New Bern	May 1769	149	146	200	4*	3	70	440	3	7
Salisbury	March 1770	46	44	51	2	1	10	64	0	1
Wilmington	December 1769	128	125	148	3	2	20	135	1	0

\* Race grounds shown on map but not listed (not included in count)



Figure 2. Excerpt of the historic core of Edenton in 1769 by Claude Joseph Sauthier. This version of the Edenton map is from the King's Library in the British Museum.

reveals that St. Paul's Church, the 1767 Chowan County Courthouse, and only six original primary residences of the 130 shown on Sauthier's map remain extant, though none of the original garden features have survived (Vann Moore et al. 2012:4).

### Archaeology "in the City" of Edenton

Like the archaeological explorations that have been and continue to be conducted in historic towns, the driving forces of investigations in Edenton largely mirror those of other urban settings. As with New Bern, Bath, and Halifax, Historic Edenton is one of the 27 state-owned and managed public historic sites within an extant town for which archaeology has and continues to play a role in the interpretation, restoration, and maintenance of the associated historic structures and landscapes. There have also been occasions for non-mandated investigations around private residences and associated yard spaces by academic archaeologists, graduate students, and other professional archaeologists. Finally, largely as a result of urban renewal and new construction, cultural resource management projects have been conducted within the historic towns as well. No matter why the

## ARCHAEOLOGY OF HISTORIC EDENTON

archaeological project was conducted, all these investigations have contributed to the historical knowledge of this early and important colonial port.

Fifteen town lots and one public space with numerous historic features have been identified, explored, and documented in the historic core of Edenton by archaeologists. Town lots in Edenton are designated as either “Old Plan” or “New Plan.” While the town’s location had most likely been occupied since the late seventeenth century, Edenton was formally laid out into half-acre lots in 1712 (now referred to as the “Old Plan” lots), and was expanded westward in 1722 (presently referred to as the “New Plan” lots). The archaeological projects from old and new plan lots are summarized in Table 2, visually represented in the 1893 lot plan in Figure 3, and individually described below.

### *The State Historic Site Properties*

While it presently embraces and encourages tours of a locally designated historic district, which was also declared a National Register Historic District the same year as New Bern (1973), the Historic Edenton State Historic Site is actually comprised of three discontinuous historic properties: the 1767 Courthouse, the 1773 James Iredell House, and the 1892 Louis F. Ziegler House.

*Council Chamber and Courthouse.* The most prominent of these buildings is the 1767 Chowan County Courthouse, also a National Historic Landmark. Systematic archaeological excavations conducted during its interior restoration in 2001 by State Historic Sites archaeologists Carnes-McNaughton and Beaman identified the post-hole and artifact remains of the 1722 Council Chamber, the oldest governmental structure in North Carolina, as well as a stratified ca. 1720s–1750s trash pit under the East Wing. The preservation underneath the main courtroom and magistrate’s platform was so exceptional that wooden shavings planed from the mid-eighteenth-century floor joists during their installation survived in abundance (Carnes-McNaughton and Beaman 2003).

This restoration project also involved the excavation of trenches from the existing structure through the rear yard, which contained an extant nineteenth century standing jail and jailor’s residence. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century domestic artifacts, possibly from the earlier eighteenth century jail shown on the 1769 Sauthier map, were also recovered from these trenches. Footings for a detached mid-nineteenth-century building, referred to on the Sanborn maps as the

**Table 2. Defined Archaeological Resources in the Core Area of Colonial-era Edenton.**

<b>Town Lot(s)<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Site Number</b>	<b>Principal Extant Structure or Archaeological Feature</b>	<b>Purpose of Investigation(s)<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Year(s)</b>	<b>Primary Citation(s)</b>
3, 4 (Old Plan)	31CO79	The Homestead, also known as the Drane Property and Tea Party Lot	Non-Mandated	1973, 1978 - 1981	Funk et al. 1979; Funk 1980b, 1981a, 1981b; Steen & Carnes-McNaughton 2016
None <sup>3</sup>	31CO186	Courthouse Green	Compliance	2014	Patch and Souther 2014
17, 18 (Old Plan)	31CO78	1722 Council Chamber, 1767 Courthouse, 1825 Jail, Jailer's House & Kitchen	Historic Site	2001	Carnes-McNaughton & Beaman 2003; Willoughby 2007
54 (Old Plan)	None Assigned	Lane House	Non-Mandated	2015	Idol 2015
58-61 (Old Plan)	31CO17	William Jackson tannery & snuff and tobacco factory	Compliance	1977	Garrow et al. 1978; Foss et al. 1979
80, 81 (Old Plan)	31CO74	James Iredell House	Historic Site	1974, 1980	Nesmith 1974; Funk 1980a; Beaman 2008a
169, 170 (Old Plan)	31CO76	Louis F. Ziegler House	Historic Site	1991	Carnes-McNaughton 1992b, 1992c
1 (New Plan)	31CO190	Cupola House	Historic Site	1973, 1996	Schwartz 1973; Zawacki 1996
24 (New Plan)	31CO75	Pre-1769 Brick Foundation	Non-Mandated	1980	Steen 1990
None <sup>4</sup>	None Assigned	Surface scatter of eighteenth-century artifacts	Compliance	1977	Wilson 1977b

<sup>1</sup> As noted in historic land transactions, the numbered lots east of Broad Street are "Old Plan" lots, as laid out in half acre tracts in 1712. Lots west of Broad Street are "New Plan" lots from the expansion of the town in 1722. Lots noted here are those features noted on those plans investigated by archaeologists, and may not represent the historically defined entire property of a structure or its landscape.

<sup>2</sup> The purpose of the primary investigation is either associated with Historic Sites (restoration, interpretation, or maintenance), a non-mandated investigation, or for compliance with local, state, or federal regulations. Not all Historic Sites maintenance projects referenced in the text are included as primary citations.

<sup>3</sup> The establishment of the courthouse green dates to the founding of the town, and not considered to be or numbered as a town lot.

<sup>4</sup> This site is located slightly east of the historic core of Edenton as illustrated on the Sauthier map, and is considered part of the historic periphery of the historic and modern town. It was not assigned a town lot number under the present system.

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“jailor’s kitchen,” were also unearthed (Carnes-McNaughton and Beaman 2003).

Additional investigations around the 1767 Courthouse have included the discovery of the original ground surface and number of steps to the street along the front of the structure (Clauser 1996), and an underground storm drain reservoir for a former twentieth-century structure behind the West Wing (Clauser and Joy 1993). Most recently, Willoughby (2007) demonstrated that recovered artifacts related to the 1767 courthouse from these disturbed contexts generally conformed to Wise’s (1978) public structure pattern.

*James Iredell House.* Situated on “Old Plan” town lots 80 and 81 is the historic James Iredell House. This extant 1773 residence at 105 East Church Street initially served as home to local political leader and Revolutionary patriot James Iredell, who was later appointed by President George Washington as one of the original Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court. It is presently interpreted for public visitation as part of the Historic Edenton State Historic Site. The rear yard of the residence is a complex of reconstructed dependency buildings, including an historic schoolhouse (Cross 1985), dairy, and kitchen. These were moved to the site from Bandon Plantation in northern Chowan County in 1963, 1989, and 2008, respectively.

Since its acquisition by the State of North Carolina in 1955 (Cross 1975), a myriad of small-scale and limited archaeological investigations have been conducted on the Iredell House property, all of which have been directed towards the restoration and/or utility installation of the main residence (Beaman 2008a; Carnes-McNaughton and Beaman 2001a, 2001b; Nesmith 1974; Schwartz 1972), or in the rear yard for the reconstruction and/or relocation of dependency buildings (Funk 1980a; Mintz 2006, 2008; Wilson 1984a).

The most comprehensive of these investigations in the rear yard was a systematic shovel test survey of the rear yard by former State Historic Sites archaeologist Thomas Funk (1980a), who determined the area to be “rich in archaeological resources.” Funk identified articulated brick piers from what he interpreted to be two different historic structures. A third articulated pier was located in John Mintz’s 2008 evaluation of an area of the rear yard where an historic kitchen was to be reconstructed. To date, none of these piers have been disturbed or further examined by additional archaeological investigations, or in the subsequent construction or movement of reconstructed buildings. Most recently, Beaman (2008a) directed investigations along the eastern edge of the

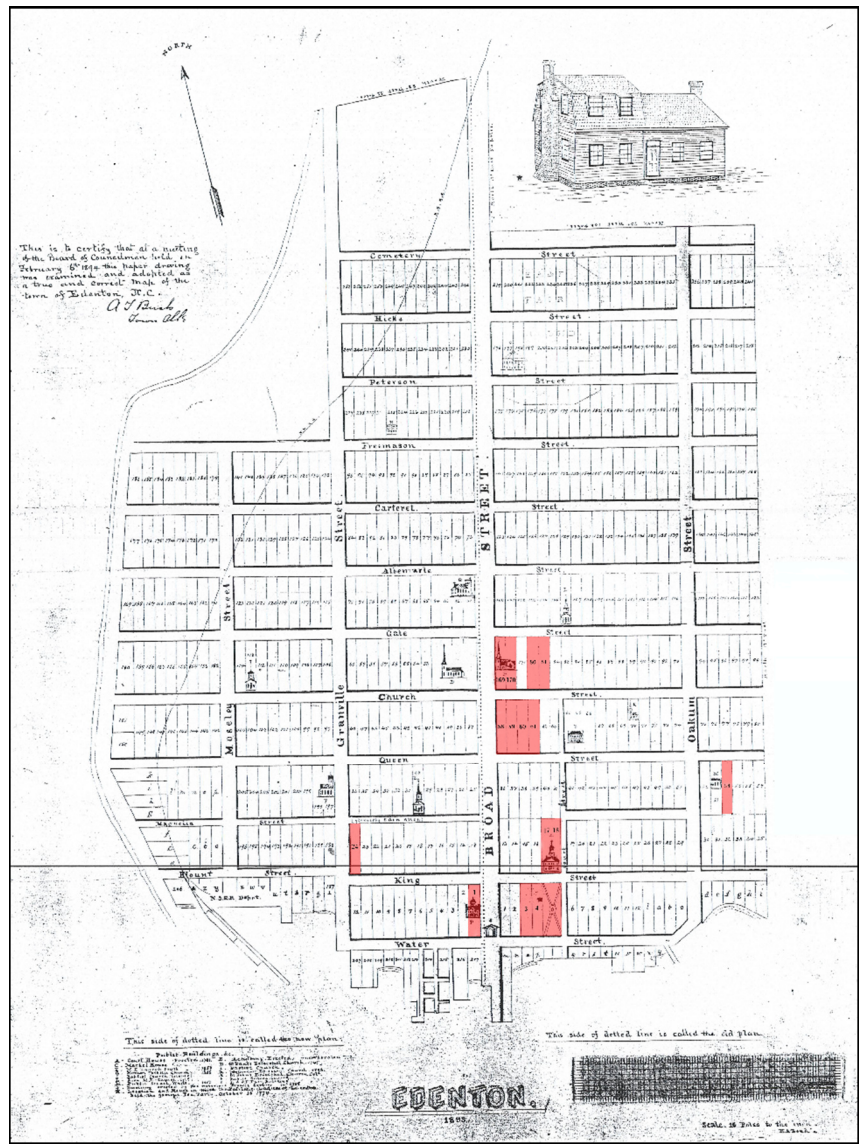


Figure 3. The 1893 lot plan of Edenton. Lots east of Broad Street are considered “Old Plan” lots, as laid out in half acre tracts in 1712, while lots west of Broad Street are “New Plan” lots from the expansion of the town in 1722. Both “Old Plan” and “New Plan” lots follow the same numerical system of lot identification, each plan with different properties designated as lot 1, lot 2, lot 3, etc.

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Iredell House for the waterproofing of the foundation (Figure 4). As part of the drainage system installed in this project, Beaman (2008a) documented a heavy amount of earthen fill with domestic refuse from the early twentieth century on the western side of Lot 80, the location of a small creek shown on the Sauthier map.

*Louis Ziegler House.* The Louis F. Ziegler House, a high Victorian residence at 108 North Broad Street, designed by noted Knoxville, Tennessee architect George F. Barber (Butchko 1992:87–88), has been restored and is presently in use as the Historic Edenton Visitor Center. The limited investigations of this structure include the documentation of two late nineteenth-century cisterns, which are similar to the contemporary cisterns at the nearby Wessington House (Carnes-McNaughton 1992b, 1992c). Historic Sites archaeologists have also documented a number of architectural improvements to this structure, including the installation of new gutters and drain lines (Harper 1994), the removal of a later addition (Harper 1988), the destruction of a 1940s breezeway, and the removal of a concrete wall around the former residence (Wilson 1984b). Most recently a waterline was installed from this residence to and around the reconstructed garden in the rear of the Iredell House (Carnes-McNaughton 2001, 2002).

### *Non-Mandated Investigations*

Four different locales within the core of Historic Edenton were the subject of archaeological investigation beyond the State Historic Site and explored not as a result of mandatory compliance.

*Cupola House.* The first of these is Lot 1 of the “New Plan,” located at 408 South Broad Street, which contains the Cupola House, a National Historic Landmark. A blend of diverse architectural styles from England and New England (Bisher 1990:16–19; Butchko 1992:114–118), the Cupola House served as a private residence from the time of its construction to its establishment as a house museum in 1966 (Coffey and Moss 1995). This date of original construction, indeterminate by style or historical research, was eventually ascertained to be 1758 by a dendrochronology study of the yellow pine structural timbers (Heikkinen 1992). Initial exploration of the front and rear yards by archaeologist Stuart Schwartz in 1973 yielded evidence of a nineteenth century privy, two separate brick chimney bases, an outbuilding interpreted as a dairy, the grave of a two-month old infant female, and 1,586 artifacts of various time periods. Investigation of a gas line trench in 1995 revealed heavily mixed and disturbed stratigraphy (Heath 1995), which led to test





Figure 4. Excavations in July 2008 were conducted between the James Iredell House and the early nineteenth-century Edenton Academy, which was moved to its present location 6.5 ft east of the Iredell House in 1895.

excavations the following year to identify the original ground surface around the residence (Zawacki 1996).

*The Homestead.* The second lot has been referred to in archaeological literature by three different designations: the Drane Property, named for former resident Rebecca Drane; the Tea Party Lot, so called because of the nearby ornamental tea pot monument that commemorates the Edenton Tea Party of 1774; and the Homestead, its historic name since 1842 (Butchko 1992:251). Drane privately funded five separate investigations in the yard around her late nineteenth-century home at 101 East Water Street. The first was in August 1973 by Alain Outlaw, who excavated two cross test trenches in an unsuccessful attempt to locate the site of a well that was remembered by Drane. Historic Sites archaeologist Thomas Funk conducted further exploration of the rear yard between 1978 and 1981. In these investigations, Funk (1980b, 1981a, 1981b; Funk et al. 1979) identified brick foundations of pre-1770 waterfront commercial buildings, a late eighteenth century midden, two privies (one late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, the second mid-nineteenth century), and a remnant of a mid-nineteenth



Figure 5. The brick drain from “Privy 2” uncovered in 1978 from the rear of the Homestead lot. Archaeologist David Hazzard is pictured by this brick feature.

century smokehouse. The brick drain from “Privy 2” is shown in Figure 5.

Upon Rebecca Drane’s death, Ross and Francis Ingles continued to act as protective stewards of the property and recovered artifacts. Staunch advocates of archaeology, the Ingles still proudly display many of the mended ceramic and glass artifacts from these investigations in their parlor curio cabinet. The Ingles residence may continue to be a source of rich potential archaeological research, as their property was the colonial town home of Francis Ingles’ ancestor, Josiah Collins of Somerset Plantation (Butchko 1992:251–253).

Since the excavations conducted in between 1978 and 1981, the reports, notes, and artifacts from the Homestead property were first attempted to be summarized by Joy (1991), with limited success. Most recently, Steen and Carnes-McNaughton (2016) created a detailed descriptive and photographic catalog of the artifact collections from these projects and relocated the previously excavated areas. Detailed analyses using Stanley South’s (1977) Carolina Artifact Pattern format were conducted on the remains from the first and second privies and the smokehouse, and mean ceramic dates were derived for each (1792, 1824, and 1802, respectively). Interestingly, while a number of privies have

been archaeologically documented in North Carolina, Privy One from the Homestead and the privy from the First Jail at Halifax are the only two excavated privies that date to the eighteenth century (Carnes-McNaughton and Harper 2000:98–99).

*Pre-1769 Wessington House Lot Foundation.* Another non-mandated archaeological site in Edenton is also perhaps one of the most serendipitous discoveries there. In 1980, the installation of a new telephone line along Granville Street revealed a buried foundation in the southwestern yard of the mid-nineteenth century Wessington House, “unrivaled as the grandest house in Edenton” (Butchko 1992:213). What was deemed the Wessington House Lot assemblage, an unearthed English bond foundation contained a deposit of domestic refuse dating between the 1720s and 1760s, with a mean ceramic date of 1753 (Steen 1990:40). This structure was apparently demolished in the 1760s, as it does not appear on the 1769 Sauthier map. While only a small portion of the cellar was disturbed, archaeologists from the Historic Sites Section and local volunteers quickly documented the disturbance and collected what artifacts they could from this deposit prior to its reburial (Figure 6). Of the recovered artifacts, a cache of thousands of Philadelphia-made, lead-glazed redware sherds was identified as part of a single shipping container broken in transit (Steen 1999:63). This discovery led Steen (1990, 1999) to identify patterns of intercoastal trade of domestically produced ceramics, and have since helped archaeologists identify Philadelphia-made earthenwares on other colonial town sites in North Carolina.

*Lane House.* In 2010, Steve and Linda Lane purchased a small house at 304 East Queen Street with a plan to renovate and resell the structure. In what appeared to be an early twentieth century mill house, renovations revealed hand-hewn beams joined with wooden pegs and handmade nails, and most had remnants of oyster shell whitewash. Dendrochronology through the Oxford Tree-Ring Laboratory successfully dated timber samples in the core of the structure from the winter of 1718–1719 (Worthington and Seiter 2012). The front wall and rear addition appeared to have been built in the nineteenth century. The core of the original residence—determined to be a hall and parlor side-gable structure with two chimneys—was given a probable construction date of 1719–1724, which made it the oldest standing wooden structure in North Carolina.

Its absence on the 1769 Sauthier map of Edenton led to the question of when the structure was moved to its current location. In the summer





Figure 6. When a mid-eighteenth-century foundation was discovered in the southwestern corner of the Wessington House lot during the installation of a telephone line, archaeologists and volunteers quickly documented the small portion of the cellar disturbed and collected what artifacts they could prior to its reburial.

of 2014, students from the East Carolina University Summer Ventures in Math and Science's Archaeology Class conducted limited investigations on the 304 East Queen Street lot. Nine shovel tests were performed in the rear yard and, since floor boards had been removed as part of the renovations, three test units were excavated under the house. During the analysis, a mean ceramic date of 1838 of property use was derived (Idol 2015:50). With the complete archaeological analysis and non-specific historic records, it was determined in the absence of conclusive documentation that the structure was moved to its present lot after 1849, most likely between 1894 and 1910 when the front wall and rear addition was added (Idol 2015:59).

### *Compliance Investigations*

To date, the core area of Edenton has only seen three investigations that have been the result of cultural resource management investigations.

*Snuff and Tobacco Factory, and Tannery.* The first stands as one of the earliest and most complete examples of urban archaeology in Edenton. In the late 1970s, the proposed construction of a new courthouse complex with detention facility on a city block bounded by Broad, Church, Court, and Queen streets prompted test investigations on what was believed to be the site of the William Jackson tannery, as well as a contemporaneous snuff and tobacco factory. Two areas within this historic city block were archaeologically evaluated. Area A, the center of the block, yielded evidence of a brick-lined drain that dates to the late nineteenth century. Area B, along Church Street, revealed a late eighteenth/early nineteenth century brick cellar that may have been associated with the snuff and tobacco factory (Figure 7), and later mid-nineteenth century features, including a fence line, well, and a privy (Foss et al 1979:32–33, 118–119).

Though not as well preserved as the remnants of Halsen tannery in New Bern (cf. Garrow and Joseph 1985:75), here the locations of the William Jackson tannery vats and a lime kiln were identified. Additionally, the former tannery pond and creek were found to have been used as an area for disposal of domestic refuse by nearby residents since the late eighteenth century (Foss et al. 1979:1; Garrow et al. 1978, I:29). Despite this project being over 40 years old, of the archaeology in any of the colonial towns, this study provides the most completely documented look at the diachronic changes that an entire city block has undergone during the past three centuries.

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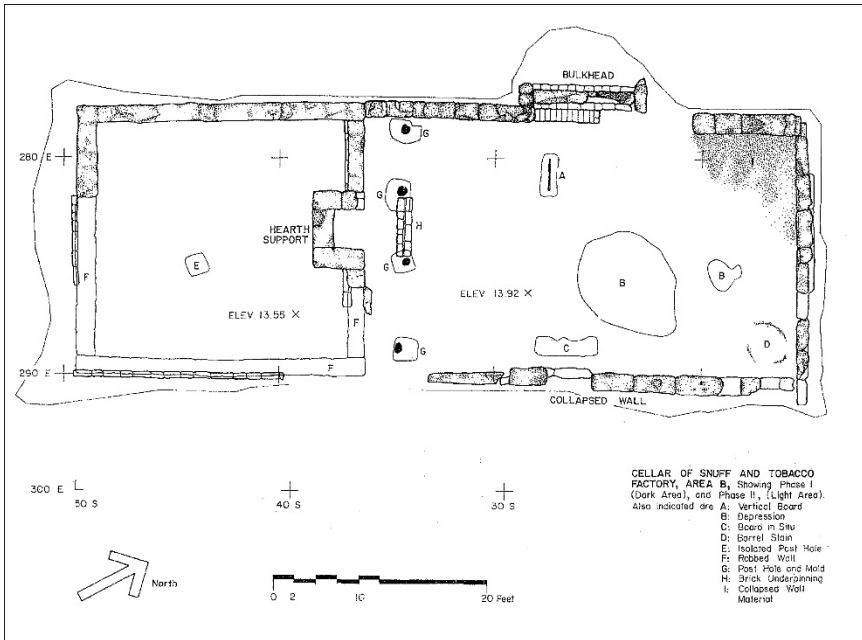


Figure 7. Plan of a late eighteenth to early nineteenth-century brick cellar associated with the snuff and tobacco factory.

*The Courthouse Green.* The 1767 courthouse, and its predecessor, the 1722 Council Chamber, were both centrally located in Edenton at the intersection of two main thoroughfares and fronted onto a town common that descended gradually towards the waterfront. This town common, referred to as the Courthouse Green, was part of the original design of Edenton. Historic maps and documents tended to support the idea that no structure of any kind had been constructed on this green that would obscure the view of the Courthouse from the bay.

In 2014, the planned construction of a gas line across the Courthouse Green necessitated archaeological clearance. A combination of ground penetrating radar (GPR) and test units was used. The entire green was separated into three grids totaling 1462 square meters for the GPR investigation. Nine test units, each measuring 0.5 m x 1 m, or 1 m x 1 m, were excavated along the specific path of the planned gas line. No specific architectural features were discovered in the GPR survey, and a total of 288 artifacts of various time periods were recovered in the test units (Patch and Souther 2014). This survey affirmed that there apparently never been any structures built on the Courthouse Green.

*Highway NC 32 Artifacts.* The third and final cultural resource management project was a brief evaluation of a property slated for the relocation of a nineteenth century cottage on the eastern edge of town. The proposed relocation site was on Highway NC 32, approximately one-half mile east of its intersection with Oakum Street. Eighteenth century artifacts were located on the lot's surface, then used as a cornfield, but no structural remains were identified. The artifacts were attributed to a neighboring extant eighteenth-century residence still in use, and the cottage was moved to its present location (Wilson 1977b).

*Patterns of Investigations*

Several themes are readily apparent in the investigation of archaeological resources in Edenton during the past 50 plus years. First, despite the reason why the project was conducted, almost all the investigations are either lot or feature specific. While most archaeologists do consider and chart the evolution of a specific lot or feature from its first use to the modern era, they often do not consider Edenton a "community," and fail to place the different eras of use in a larger context of other excavated resources in the town. This practice results in many site locations and features being interpreted as "in the city" and not "of the city." This is sadly true not only in Edenton, but in other colonial towns with extensive archaeological resources as well.

At present, the only two colonial towns where the larger urban context has been considered are New Bern and Bath. In New Bern, Zawacki (1997) summarized the previous archaeology and defined themes for future research, and stratigraphy from specific projects were evaluated to define the extent of the storm surge and flooding within the town from the 1769 hurricane (Beaman and McKee 2011). In Bath, Baicy (2003) similarly summarized past investigations and defined themes for future research, and comprehensive shovel testing was conducted on all lots in search of previously undefined colonial contexts (Flood 2012). While these attempts use archaeology to consider the larger urban contexts of New Bern and Bath, such efforts have not been attempted at a similar scale in Edenton or any other colonial town. It is hoped that in future projects, attention will be given to the previous archaeological investigations, and more consideration offered to understand the larger urban context and relevant themes that help define these towns. In the absence of such attentions and considerations, archaeology in these towns reaches only feature or lot specific interpretations, and does not address the relevance of archaeological resources to the town itself.

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While archaeology certainly has the ability to offer architectural details of historic structures that historical records may omit, these investigations have also generally lacked the essential anthropological inquiry of human cultural behaviors, and often fall far short of what can be learned from the material past. Overall, these investigations could be classified as what Deagan (1982) defined as historical supplementation, which functionally reduces archaeological data to simply a “handmaiden to history” (cf. Noël Hume 1964). While the use of investigations to enhance culture history has historically and is still used as the primary reason for archaeological research in Edenton, the artifact interpretation is often limited to a mere “finds list” or reported on catalog forms. As such, artifact data from these projects remain largely obscured in file reports without artifact catalogs, which largely limit their utility to offer ample, if any, comparative data for neighboring sites. This is somewhat symptomatic of the generally limited scope, time, and funding available, and in some cases the era of exploration and mindset of preservation—dig now and address the artifacts later. Fortunately, the reanalysis of the Homestead assemblage by Steen and Carnes-McNaughton (2016) provides a sound beginning for comparative analyses to other collections.

Another aspect of archaeological research severely lacking in Edenton is the investigation of culture processes. Through the use of many small projects, as well as large projects, both quantitative and qualitative cultural patterns can be derived. Such processual studies build stronger understandings of the human element in a town beyond the excavation of their structures and lot features. No archaeological studies have attempted to discuss gender and the roles of women from different statuses. Similarly, the African-American community has not been considered in any study, which is particularly surprising given the rich textual history of antebellum Edenton provided by enslaved African-American Harriot Jacobs. Part of the reason for these omissions is the varied state of many of the artifact collections. While the field archaeology may be designed to better understand historic resources, the care put in the processing, interpretation, and storage of artifacts often has not been as thorough as is required by state regulations for cultural resource management projects. The reopening, reanalysis, and access to such collections can provide a readily available body of comparative data for stronger community interpretations that incorporate all the past residents of Edenton.



### **Public Archaeology: Historic Identity and Community Involvement**

One of the most overlooked aspects of urban archaeology within Edenton, as well as all the historic towns in North Carolina, is the role their historical identity has on its present-day citizens. The cultivation of local interest in archaeology within these towns has been critical in the identification and preservation of urban remains. Those citizens are passionate advocates of archaeology, and feel that when archaeologists explore these towns, they are in fact investigating their own past.

Archaeologists have repeatedly attempted to educate those who visit their excavations and encourage them to preserve the history of their towns. A couple of different strategies have been employed to engage the local population without too much disruption of a project's field work. One commonly employed strategy is to provide a handout or pamphlet to site visitors. Informational literature was distributed to school children by East Carolina University students during excavations at the New Bern Academy site. This has also become a practice of many cultural resource management studies within the towns. At the United Carolina Bank site investigation in New Bern, public informational literature was developed by a student member of the Tarheel Junior Historians, an organization for budding historians (Lautzenheiser 1995:7). A second strategy that has proved effective is the use of a single person assigned to address visitors' questions and interests, referred to by Carnes-McNaughton (personal communication, 2006) as a "Site Cicero," allowing the remainder of the crew to continue investigations uninterrupted. Students in the William Peace University's field schools are expected to take turns and be interpreters for visitors. Such educational opportunities that urban archaeology projects provide is invaluable and should be strongly encouraged in all such investigations.

Some residents become so interested that they volunteer their time to actively participate in archaeological projects. The name Madison Phillips should be familiar to any archaeologist who has worked in Edenton, as he has been a part of every archaeological exploration in the town since the investigations at the Cupola House in 1973. In fact, to help with the investigations at the Chowan County Courthouse in 2001, Madison took weeks of vacation time from his job driving medical samples between various regional medical facilities in the Albemarle area to work with the archaeologists under the building. Figure 8 shows Madison working with State Archaeologist John Mintz and volunteer Rachel Forehand while documenting a brick pier in the yard of the



Figure 8. North Carolina State University student Rachel Forehand and stalwart Edenton archaeology advocate Madison Phillips help State Archaeologist John Mintz document an historic brick pier associated with a former dependency building in the rear yard of the Iredell House.

Iredell House in 2008. Phillips is but one example, for if you look at the acknowledgments in many reports and in field notes in these historic towns, many of the same names often repeat frequently. Most enjoy screening the removed soil more than the tedious work of excavation, as it is not as physically taxing and they get to discover the “treasures” in the screens. While Carnes-McNaughton and Beaman excavated under the 1767 Courthouse, Historic Edenton site manager Linda Eure organized daily volunteers to conduct the screening, which allowed the investigations to continue and prolong their time spent under this historic building.

A few individuals, such as Rebecca Drane and Francis Ingles of Edenton, are so interested and enthusiastic about the past that they privately pay archaeologists to investigate the history of their home lot. Historically and in the present, notable figures have attempted to attract archaeologists to conduct more investigations within their towns to bolster its historic status (e.g., Edmund H. Harding, Chairman of the Historic Bath Commission [Harrington 1960]).

Another level of involvement is seen by the number of residents in each town who remain vigilant of all ground disturbance and construction. They are aware of the potential damage these activities may have on archaeological resources, as well as the opportunity it may provide for further investigation of their town. For example, Madison Phillips identified the intact colonial brick foundation at the Wessington House lot during installation of a phone line. He alerted archaeologists and then worked with them to recover as much data as possible. Certainly not all local residents are as selfless or will go to such lengths of involvement as Phillips. Some would simply alert Linda Eure, and she would contact the State Historic Sites archaeologists for advice.

All of these types of support for local archaeology stand as a testament to the devotion of local residents who value and take pride in the history of their towns. The same active level of community involvement is usually not as common in larger cities, if it is present at all.

Not all local involvement is concerned with the excavation side of archaeology, but rather express their vigilance simply as stewards of the material past through the collection of artifacts. Some of these artifacts are often used for display in a shop or restaurant, as done by Carolyn Zuttel for the Harvey Mansion Restaurant in New Bern (Beaman 1997). Restaurant owners and employees collecting historic bottles and other artifacts for display from disturbed areas and construction sites has been and remains a common practice in many urban areas, especially when archaeological investigations are not conducted (Hagel 2006). The other extreme of interest in artifacts extends to the active looting of sites on nights and weekends. During the investigation of the Samuel Cornell House in 2001, Lautzenheiser (personal communication, 2006) even reported several people who attempted to reach artifacts on a backdirt pile through a protective barrier fence while archaeologists feverishly worked to recover them. The awareness and interest in archaeological resources in historic towns is truly a two-edged sword; some residents may view such actions as an attempt to preserve fragments of history that would otherwise be lost or removed from the town by archaeologists, while others simply want to own a piece of the past out of interest or to further their status as a local “avocational archaeologist.”

### **Conclusion**

In cities such as Edenton with strong historic preservation communities that focus more on above-ground resources than archaeology, archaeological investigations are most often limited and

## ARCHAEOLOGY OF HISTORIC EDENTON

conducted around extant historic structures. While archaeology may not be as valued a resource compared to a historic house in such towns, it would be an interesting exercise to measure how comparable the data are between the limited investigations around a structure or lot to an entire historic foundation being excavated.

As previously discussed, part of the issue of larger interpretations of the town is that most projects are very limited in scope and purpose. This is especially true in towns with public historic sites, where much of the archaeology conducted is driven for the investigation, development, and/or public interpretation of a specific historic resource. This is certainly the case with Edenton. Unfortunately, many of these brief investigations have not offered the opportunity to test larger methods offered by other urban archaeological projects, such as Garrow's (1984) lot specific context types for urban sites. Yet despite the limited nature of the archaeological investigations, such projects can be of larger utility, as they offer historians and archaeologists snapshots of diachronic changes in lots. When these windows of the past are viewed as a collective, they can potentially provide a greater understanding of the evolution of each town as a whole.

While most archaeologists working in North Carolina's colonial towns rely on Sauthier and the Sanborn Insurance Maps for more recent resources, they are primarily used for interpretation. Though not a new idea, the use of historic town maps, along with maps of utilities and other ground disturbing activities, could and should be scaled and overlaid to determine areas within these towns that likely have undisturbed eighteenth-century contexts. Through the use of modern GIS and other computer technologies, this could be easily accomplished and would not require the extensive labor and cost of a town-wide shovel testing survey. This would be a tremendous boon to towns like Edenton, and especially helpful in cities like Beaufort, Cross Creek/Campbelltown, and Wilmington where virtually no subsurface eighteenth-century resources have been located. This strategy has been successfully used in many urban contexts for decades, such as the "Big Dig" project in Boston and in Historic Alexandria, and could be equally successful in Edenton and the other historic colonial towns of North Carolina.

This study has endeavored to identify and address themes of previous archaeological investigations within the historic urban core of Edenton. While largely a result of the development and restoration of sites for heritage tourism and periodic urban redevelopment, the towns' identities as historic urban centers has had a positive effect on the

quantity of archaeological investigation, as well as the support and participation of local citizens. While Edenton may not have been archaeologically investigated as intensively as Brunswick, Halifax, or New Bern, common patterns between these and other colonial towns can be defined as to the need to “dig deeper” and expand interpretations to consider more “of the city” than just lots “in the city.” Archaeologists are still in the fledgling stages for urban excavations in North Carolina, and have literally just begun to explore what can be learned about the evolution of these colonial towns and the full spectrum of their historic occupants.

### **Notes**

*Acknowledgments.* This study is not the sole effort of an individual but a collaborative endeavor, for which the author thanks for their valuable encouragement, advice, and assistance, and hopes this final product reflects well on their efforts. My most valuable acknowledgments and thanks for making this overall study possible are to Dr. Linda F. Carnes-McNaughton, former Head of the Historic Sites Section Archaeology Branch, and to Dr. Billy Oliver, former Director of the Office of State Archaeology Research Facility. It is with their permissions and blessings that I spent many reams of paper to copy reports and associated documentation from the Historic Sites Archaeology Files. Conversations with Linda Jordan Eure, former site manager of Historic Edenton State Historic Site, and Madison Phillips provided invaluable memories of the majority of projects discussed here. Editorial advice on different stages of this study was generously provided by Linda F. Carnes-McNaughton (Fort Bragg Cultural Resources), John J. Mintz (North Carolina Office of State Archaeology), and Pam Beaman. Additional thanks go to R.P. Stephen Davis, Jr., for providing the technical support to see this manuscript into print.

Earlier versions of this study on the archaeology of Historic Edenton was partially presented in a comparative presentation on urban archaeology in North Carolina’s colonial towns at the 2007 Society for Historical Archaeology in Williamsburg, Virginia and the 2007 Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference, in Virginia Beach, Virginia. The discussion of the specific archaeology of Historic Edenton first appeared in the North Carolina Archaeological Society Newsletter (Beaman 2008b). The comparative concept of the North Carolina colonial towns as “country-politan” was first crafted for presentation at the 2016 Southeastern Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology in Knoxville, Tennessee, and further defined for a presentation at the 2018 Society for Historical Archaeology conference in New Orleans. While the basic content has not changed, these earlier versions have been expanded and sections greatly elaborated for its presentation in print.

This study is dedicated to the enthusiastic participation and prolific vigilance of Madison Phillips, who has no need of it to talk about archaeology in Edenton.

*Figures.* Figure 1 is after Allcott’s (1963) original figures 6, 7, and 8. Figure 2 is an excerpt from the 1769 Map of Historic Edenton by Claude Joseph Sauthier from the North Carolina State Archives, and is the map of Edenton from the Sauthier collection in the King’s Library, British Museum. Figure 3 is from the Register of Deeds Office in Edenton. Figures 4 and 8 are provided courtesy of Linda Jordan Eure, former Site

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Manager of Historic Edenton. Figures 5 and 6 are from the Historic Edenton image collections, Historic Sites Archaeology Files, North Carolina Office of State Archaeology Research Center, Raleigh. Figure 7 is after Figure 15 in Foss et al. (1979). Labels and shading were added to Figures 1 and 3 by Matt Nisbet, who continues to have my thanks. All images are reproduced here with permission.

*Disclaimer.* Even with the support and assistance of the individuals acknowledged above, the author assumes full responsibility for any factual errors and the interpretations presented in this article.

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# **ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE HOMESTEAD, EDENTON, NORTH CAROLINA**

**by**

**Carl Steen and Linda F. Carnes-McNaughton**

## **Abstract**

The Homestead is located on Lots 2, 3, and 4 of the "Old Plan" of Edenton, North Carolina. These lots were occupied by the 1710s, and the property has been in the same family since the 1780s. Archaeologists were asked to conduct excavations there between 1978 and 1981. They lightly sampled the whole property and also fully excavated two privies used during the first half of the nineteenth century. Both privies were backfilled with trash from a house-clearing episode. These deposits include numerous reconstructed ceramic vessels, thousands of un-mended sherds, glass vessels, animal bone, ethnobotanical material, and other artifacts. The primary goal of this project was to organize and catalog this legacy collection for further research. In this paper we introduce the site and its artifact assemblage with the hope that future researchers will take over and help place this valuable collection in a regional perspective.

There was a burst of interest in archaeology in Edenton, North Carolina in the 1970s. Pat Garrow led excavations at the old Snuff Manufactory, and State Historic Sites conducted excavations at the Iredell House and other historic structures (see Beaman 2007). A local resident, Rebecca Wood Drane, and her daughter Frances took an interest in the pottery and glass that they were finding in their gardens and flower beds on Old Plan Lots 2, 3, and 4, a place generations of the family have referred to as "The Homestead." They began collecting sherds from the surface and from various plantings, utility trenches, and construction projects, storing them in shoeboxes and bags (Figure 1).

Mrs. Drane took some of the sherds to Colonial Williamsburg to show their archaeologist, Ivor Noel Hume. He identified a few interesting ceramics, including a Rouen Faience platter, that was identical to one illustrated in his book, *Artifacts of Colonial America* (Noel Hume 1969:141) (Figure 2). Enthused, she returned and excavated a test unit in the garden in the north (back) yard. This was in an area that produced eighteenth-century midden material. She remembered the existence of a well, and invited archaeologist Alain Outlaw, who was working at the Newbold-White House in Perquimans County at the time,

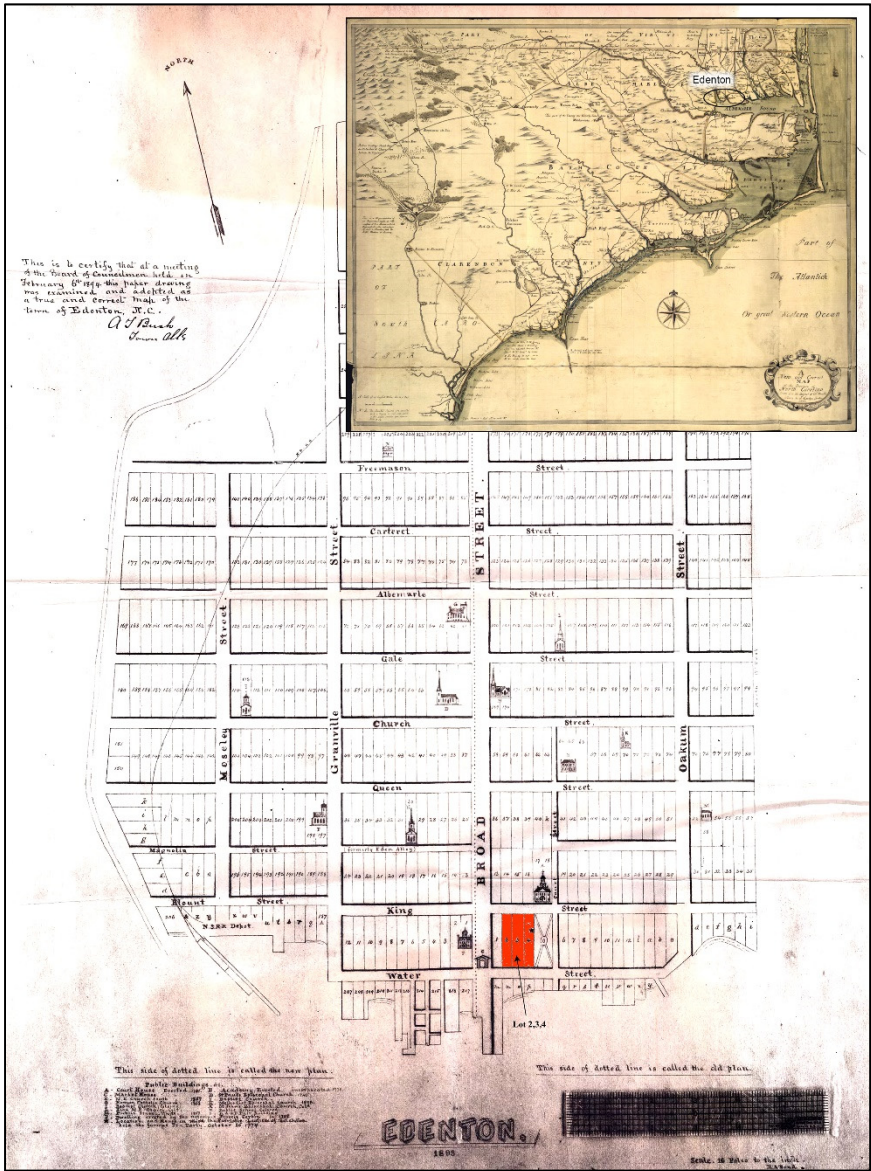


Figure 1. Location of The Homestead on the 1897 Edenton Town Plan. Edward Moseley's 1737 map showing Edenton is at top-right.

to come find it. He excavated two trenches in the area where the well was believed to have been, but was unsuccessful in relocating it.

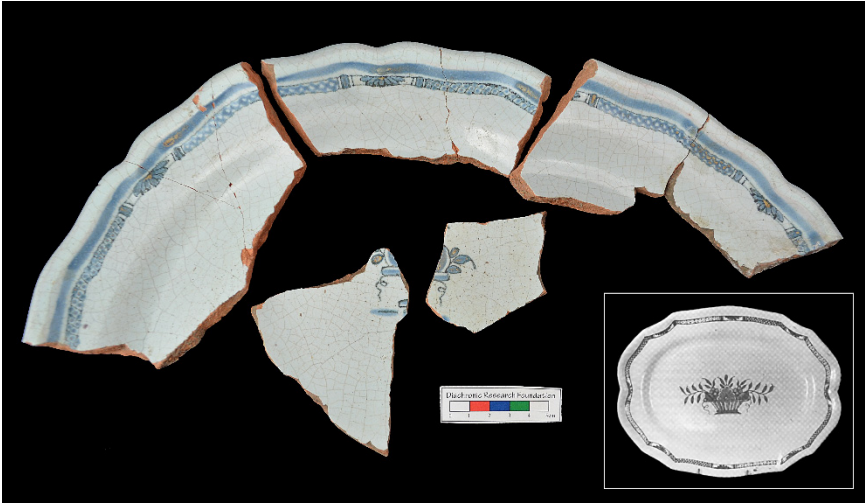


Figure 2. Faience platter, with Noel Hume example at lower right.

This inspired her to hire an archaeologist then employed by North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources State Historic Sites, Tom Funk, to conduct additional work. He visited the site in 1978 and conducted a probe survey in an attempt to identify house foundations and other subsurface features (Figure 3). He discovered potential foundations and two features he tentatively identified as wells. Over the next few years Funk returned and excavated the two wells, which turned out to be privies, and test trenches all across the lots. He found that the two privies had been filled with artifacts that included hundreds of ceramic vessels, glass bottles, nails and scrap metal, bone, ethnobotanical material, and a variety of other artifacts.

The bulk of the collection from these various field projects was taken to Funk's lab in Raleigh, and was subsequently loaned to State Historic Sites when he left state employment. The Historic Sites staff worked with the collection for a few years, but no report was produced. The collection was inventoried and assessed in 1991 by a contractor, Deborah Joy, with the help of Historic Sites staff involved in the fieldwork, and then sent off to long-term storage at their remote curation facility (Joy 1991). Subsequently, all of the staff involved in the project moved on, and the archaeology section of Historic Sites was merged into the Office of State Archaeology in 2001. All of their artifacts and records were transferred to the state curation facility on Lane Street in Raleigh. During this transfer, apparently all of the artifact catalog forms



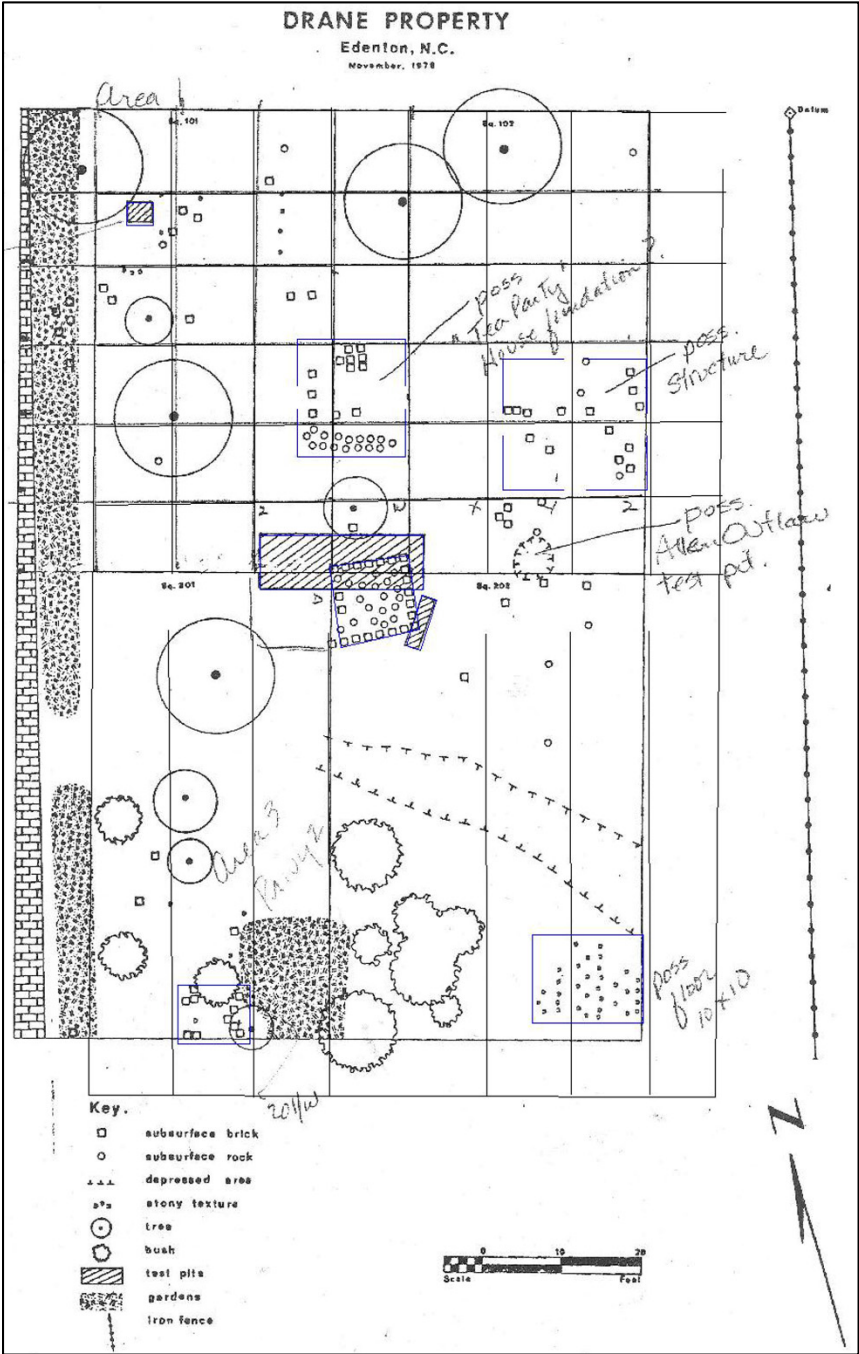


Figure 3. Map of the probe survey by Tom Funk.

## ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE HOMESTEAD

and an unknown amount of other documentation such as maps and photographs was lost. Despite these apparent losses, the collection fit the definition of a “legacy collection” in that the archaeologists who excavated the materials were long gone. It had been removed from its place of origin and stored for decades in other repositories, basically untouched, though eventually it was retrieved and returned to its place of origin and ownership (Thompson 2016:17).

In 2014 Frances Drane Inglis, Rebecca’s daughter, decided to retrieve the collection in hopes of inspiring research and creating educational displays. She consulted with co-author Linda Carnes-McNaughton, who had worked in Edenton while employed as a State Historic Sites archaeologist, about beginning the process, and provided funding. One of author Steen’s early projects was the analysis of another Edenton collection made by Tom Funk (Steen 1989), so he was invited to serve as co-principal investigator. Thomas Beaman, also a former Historic Sites archaeologist, joined the team as well. Linda and Tom volunteered their time, but Steen and Diachronic Research Foundation received a grant to conduct labwork and additional mapping, and produce a summary report of the findings and inventory (Steen and Carnes-McNaughton 2016).

The first thing we discovered was that the artifact catalog had disappeared. So instead of doing research, the initial phase of the work consisted of collection management and cataloging. In addition, we determined that the fieldwork was done well, but poorly documented. There was no master site grid, and although maps and excavation plans were drawn, they were not tied to a datum or reliable landmarks. Funk treated each trip to the site as a new project, so field specimen numbers were duplicated, as were referents like “Area 1.” Deborah Joy, working with Historic Sites personnel, organized the collection as well as they could, but there are still many ambiguities, as will be discussed below. The second job was to try and make sense of the excavations to allow further research to be conducted. After much head scratching, untangling, and hard work these tasks were accomplished, and a preliminary report was produced (Steen and Carnes-McNaughton 2016). Considered a “legacy” collection, the Homestead artifact assemblage required special care and attention worthy of 300 years of continuous occupation in a small colonial town which witnessed lifestyle changes from settlement to slavery to suffragettes to sonic booms.

In this paper we summarize the site history and introduce the artifact collection. While we have reached no solid conclusions, this paper is

intended to introduce the site and the legacy collection to the readership and hopefully inspire young researchers to take on some aspect of this rich and varied assemblage of material culture.

### **Culture History**

Edenton is located on Albemarle Sound in eastern North Carolina. The sound is formed by the Outer Banks, thus the ocean is about 50 miles to the east. It was the home of Native Americans for millennia before English planters began moving south in the 1650s (Parramore 1967). A small settlement was established at the confluence of Queen Anne's and Pembroke Creek by 1712, and it became the seat of the colonial government in 1716. It was named Edenton in 1722, and a town plan was surveyed and laid out. This is referred to as the Old Plan. The site in question is located on Lots 2, 3, and 4 of the Old Plan. As previously mentioned, the family calls the property The Homestead. Edenton also served a political role and was the home of the Colonial Governor from 1716–1743.

As a colony North Carolina was hampered by a lack of deep-water ports. The towns along the west side of the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds were far from the ocean and could only be reached with difficulty through treacherous inlets and along channels that regularly shifted course. Their harbors were shallow, so none developed into primary ports that necessarily traded directly with Great Britain. The early town served as a center for port and land trade. Small trading vessels carried timber, grain, and tobacco from the interior to ports in the Caribbean and the other British colonies. They returned with sugar, rum, and finery imported from England and the Northern colonies (Powell 1989). Because it was not a deep-water port, less than 10% of the ships leaving the port during the third quarter of the eighteenth century were bound for Europe (Steen 1989:109). The smaller vessels that could dock here transported goods to larger ports for aggregation on larger ships. By 1737 Edenton was said to be the largest town in the colony, "consisting of about 60 houses" (Brickell 1737 in Cheeseman 1980:45). The early town was focused on commerce, and was said to be something of a boisterous sea port, with sailors and ships arriving and departing daily.

Despite its harbor limitations, Edenton was the only town in the area and served as the supply point for settlers, most of whom established plantations along the Albemarle Sound. Inland settlement grew slowly during the eighteenth century and even today Chowan County is not densely populated. Stores, tailor shops, taverns, and other merchants served the material culture needs of the settlers. The courthouse was the

only seat of law, drawing people wishing to conduct land transactions, file complaints, and participate in court activities. Though it housed a relatively small population, it was an important town in the first half of the eighteenth century.

The town saw its peak, perhaps, during the American Revolution. The British blockaded the major American ports, but smaller vessels were able to travel to and from the Caribbean and other ports. The main road into Edenton led to Virginia, and supplies for the Continental Army were routed through the port. Following the war, the town reverted to its role as a regional trade center, but its isolated location constricted its growth.

Shipping was forced to contend with the ever-changing Outer Banks and its migrating inlets. The closest access through the barrier islands, Roanoke Inlet, was closed in 1795. The possibility of dredging the channel was discussed, but a decision was made in 1819 not to re-open it (Butchko 1992:18). The next closest, Caffey's Inlet, opened between 1790 and 1798, but it was short-lived, closing between 1811 and 1829 (Pilkey 1998:139; Mallinson et al. 2008). The building of the Dismal Swamp Canal in the early nineteenth century allowed the port to be bypassed, and the growth of the railroads in the mid-nineteenth century caused Edenton to be further isolated.

The surrounding plantations, farms, and forests provided cotton, tobacco, grain, hemp, flax, and timber for trade during the Antebellum period. Although direct trade by sea continued, its role diminished with time. The town was occupied by Northern troops during the Civil War, but no major battles were fought in the immediate area. In 1875 it was reported that the only shipping being conducted was going to Baltimore and Norfolk, with river traffic going upstream to the rail crossing at Franklin, Virginia (Abert 1875 in Cheeseman 1980a:5). At that time, they were shipping corn, cotton, pears, grapes, tobacco, and lumber. Hemp rope was also a significant product. The herring and shad fisheries provided the most valuable export.

After its role as a port diminished, the town thrived for a time on the timber industry, still a major pursuit. After some resistance the Norfolk and Southern Railroad was built in 1881, allowing easier access to national markets (NRHP 1973). This attracted industry, and the Branning Manufacturing Company opened a mill in 1888 that "employed nearly half of the population of Edenton and included an array of cotton gins, grist mills, shingle mills, planing mills and sawmills" (NRHP 1973).

The Edenton Cotton Mill, founded by members of the Wood family and other investors, was built in 1898 along with the mill village and support facilities it needed to operate. Frank Wood, owner of The Homestead at the time, was the mill's first president (Abbott 2007). In addition to cotton, peanut growing increased on local farms, and a peanut processing plant was built in 1909. A sizable tourist trade grew up in the late twentieth century, and today Edenton is a small, but thriving town, drawing retirees and tourists.

### **Site History**

The earliest land records tell us that Lots 2 and 3 were owned by a joiner and a felt maker in the 1710s. The town was mapped by Claude J. Sauthier in 1769 (Figure 4). This shows a store or market on Lot 4. These lots are on the waterfront, and wharves were located just across Water Street. Following the hurricane that hit that year, the building on Lot 3 was apparently moved inland and raised onto a new foundation. It passed through the hands of several merchants and lawyers before Lot 2 and 3 were acquired by Josiah Collins in 1786. Lot 4 was owned by the Little/King family, but the three lots were finally consolidated under the Collins Family ownership in 1841 after the death of Josiah Collins II. It has been in the hands of Collins family descendants ever since.

The Sauthier map depicts 15 structures on Lots 2, 3 and 4 in 1769. Structures tinted pink (shown as gray in Figure 4) are thought to be occupied dwellings, while those marked with an X are thought to be one story dependencies or open-sided structures (Carnes-McNaughton 2006). Three of the dwellings are on the north end of the lots, facing King Street across from the 1769 Chowan County Courthouse. Land records from the eighteenth century mention tenements and other buildings, so these may have been rental units for taverns, law offices, and dwellings. In the nineteenth century the north end of the lot was the site of doctors' and lawyers' offices, a bank, and (in the 1890s) The Casino Opera House. The structures in this area serve similar purposes today, save the opera house, which burned in 1893.

Josiah Collins I was born in Somersetshire, England and came to Edenton in 1777 via Boston and Halifax, North Carolina. He established the mercantile firm Collins, Stuart and Moore to focus on sea-going trade. They sent staves, tobacco, and lye to the Caribbean and mainland colonies, and returned with rum, sugar, and molasses (<http://northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/josiah-collins-sr-1735-1819/>). After the American Revolution the firm was dissolved and



Figure 4. Section of Claude Sauthier's 1769 map of Edenton showing Lots 1, 2, 3, and 4 with lot lines superimposed.

Collins continued as a sole proprietor. He and son Josiah Collins II traded with Britain, Europe, and China during this period.

Though Collins began as a merchant, he also owned farm land, and by 1790 he had purchased 34 slaves; he owned 113 more slaves in partnership with Nathaniel Allen and Samuel Dickerson. He and his partners established the Lake Company at Somerset Place Plantation on Lake Phelps in 1784, across the sound in what was then Washington County, and the 113 slaves were probably at work there during this time. They imported 86 people directly from Africa in 1786 and immediately put them to work on a 30-foot-wide canal in an attempt to drain Lake Phelps (Steen 2003). The Lake Company was dissolved in 1816 and Somerset Place went to Collins as a sole owner. In the 1830 census, 205

slaves owned by him were enumerated in Chowan County, and another 247 were enumerated in Washington County. In addition to Somerset Place, the Collins owned plantations called The Point, Monticello, Holley Grove, and Beech Island in Chowan County when Josiah Collins II's estate was inventoried in 1839.

Josiah Collins is thought to have accumulated some 125,000 acres in Washington and Tyrell Counties. His mercantile business sent out a variety of products, but the Collins family also operated a tannery and a Rope Walk (or Rope Work). Their Rope Walk was notable in that it was one of the first in North America (Stevenson 2006). It was established on a 131-acre tract west of town. A large open space is needed for this industry because the cords are formed as the roper walks backwards, winding the fibers into cordage. The Collins Rope Walk became a major supplier of hemp rope, hawsers, cables, and cordage for the naval industry, and served as a major supplier of rope for the US Navy in the War of 1812. After the war it continued to supply the commercial shipping industry and expanded production to supply the growing seine net fishery. The Rope Walk was abandoned after Josiah Collins II's death in 1839.

Josiah Collins II worked for his father and took over the business after he died in 1819. Josiah and his family continued to live in the house, but in 1828 his son Josiah Collins III moved to Somerset Place full time. When Josiah Collins II died intestate, The Homestead was left to his daughters Ann Daves, Henrietta, and Louisa. Herbert Page, Henrietta's son, bought Louisa's share, and then sold it and his share to William Shepard. William mortgaged it to his aunt, Gertrude Shepard, who made many changes and improvements, including adding golden oak flooring and enlarging the windows. Gertrude was the daughter of Herbert and Louisa Page. She cleared the title and then sold the property to Frank Wood and his wife Rebecca Anderson Collins, daughter of George Pomelli Collins. They renovated the house, adding a large two-story Victorian wing in the east, and enveloping all under a single slate roof. Working with the architect Everett Forber their daughter, Rebecca Benehan Wood and her husband Frederick Blount Drane renovated the house again in 1956–1957, removing the addition and adding a living room and downstairs bedrooms to the east, and a kitchen and garage to the west. The property passed from them to daughter Rebecca Wood Drane, and from her to Frances Drane Inglis.

The family has used the property extensively, but other than the houses along King Street and the Victorian addition, there has been no

## ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE HOMESTEAD

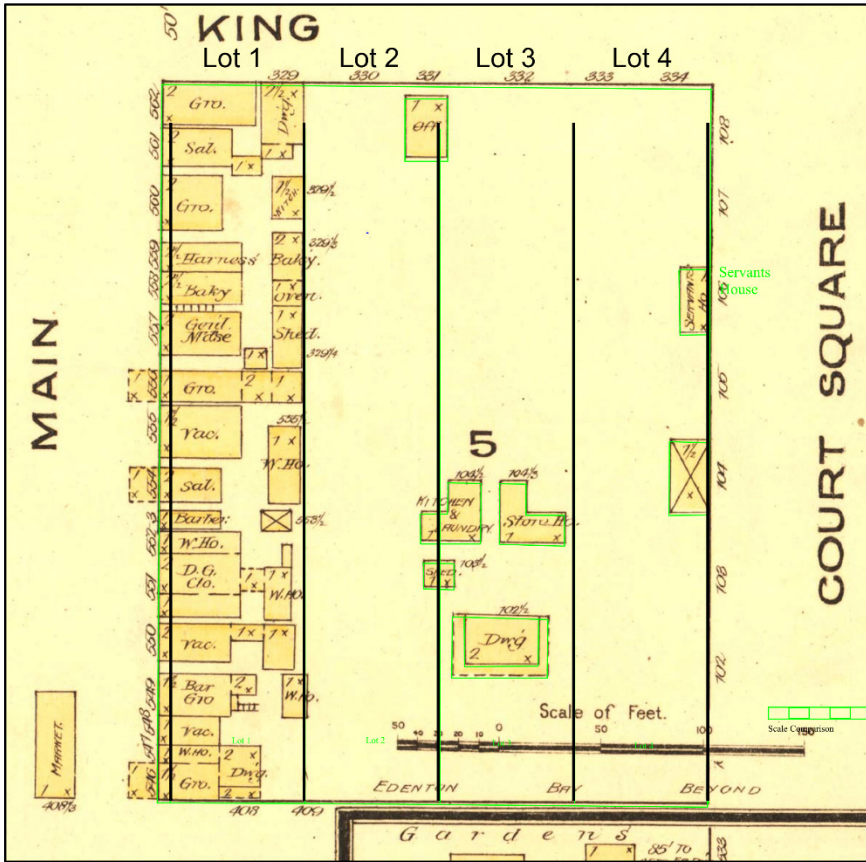


Figure 5. Section of the 1885 Sanborn map of Edenton showing Lots 1, 2, 3, and 4 with lot lines superimposed.

major construction since the eighteenth century. To be sure there have been numerous service buildings on the property, and housing for a complement of slaves and later free black workers that were employed by the family. The 1885 Sanborn map shows a servant's house in the back of the lot (Figure 5). In 1880 the census tells us that the Washington Davis family lived next door to William Shepard, so presumably they lived in the servant's house. Washington's occupation was listed as "works on farm" while his wife Louisa was a domestic servant. They had a seven-year-old adopted daughter, and Washington's 80-year-old grandmother Gillie Gregory lived with them. With the exception of the daughter, Mary, all of these people were born into slavery.



**Table 1. List of Josiah Collins II's Probable Town Properties in His 1839 Estate Inventory.**

Property	Associated Items (if any)
Dwelling House	-
Overseer House	-
Wash Kitchen	-
Poultry Yard	-
Violet's Kitchen	1 pr andirons
Lavinia and Betty's Kitchen	large iron pot
John's Kitchen	1 empty barrel
Tailor's shop	-
Medicine room	-
Rope Work (or Walk)	-
Blacksmith's shop	-
Shed	-
Black Yarn House	-
Shoemaker's shop	-
Shop for provisions	-
Jean and Tamack's (?) House	3 large iron pots, 1 gridiron, 1 old iron spit, 1 cook table
Engine House	-
Carpenter shop	-
Ware House Loft	-
Ware House 2nd loft	-
Ware House Basement	-
Shed	-
Gin House	-
Stable	-
Old Yards	-

Archaeological evidence exists for a smoke house and two privies, and foundations for at least two other structures have been identified. A number of structures also are mentioned in the 1839 inventory of Josiah Collins II's estate (Table 1).

It is not clear where all of the structures were located. The Rope Walk, as the family calls it, was a few blocks away and clearly was not on Lots 2, 3, and 4, but it was not listed under a separate heading like the Lake Phelps property (also known as Somerset Place), The Point, Monticello, and Beech Island plantations, so it is likely that all town properties and buildings were grouped regardless of where they were located in town. Assuming the order of the inventory is not random, and that everything preceding the Rope Walk is on the Homestead lot, nine structures were identified in the estate inventory. This includes the main dwelling, an overseer's house, and three houses occupied by slaves. It is

## ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE HOMESTEAD

Table 2. List of Josiah Collins II's Plantation Properties in His 1839 Estate Inventory.

Plantation	Property
Monticello	Several items enumerated, but no structure mentioned Tool Shop
The Point	Overseer's House Wood house Poultry house Smoke House Cooks kitchen Loom house Shed Barn Old Crib Little shed Shop Stock (lists cows, etc. - structure?)
Beech Island	Overseer's house Machine house Stock (cows, etc.) New Barn Old Barn Tool shop Smoke House Black Smith Shop
Lake Phelps (Somerset Place)	Mill House Machine House New Barn By Work Shop in Mill House Saw Mill Blacksmith's Shop Old Blacksmith and Carpenter Shops Nail Shop Carpenters Shop Tool House Medicine Room Manufactory Negros Kitchens Shoemakers Shop Lumber Yards

interesting that the only things inventoried in the slave houses were kitchen hardware. The privy excavated in 1978 was not listed. Table 2 lists structures found at the outlying properties.

A comprehensive study of buildings and features shown on the Sanborn Insurance Company maps of Lots 2, 3, and 4 provided valuable information on location and use. Sanborn maps were made in 1885, 1893, 1898, 1904, and 1920. In 1885 the dwelling, smoke house, kitchen/laundry, a stable, and servants house are shown (Figure 5). A single office building is shown on King Street. In 1893 a shed was added to the stable, and a new office building had been installed on King Street. Most notable, however, is the addition of The Casino Opera House in the northwest corner of the property on King Street. Five years later the casino had been replaced by a law office, and the office at 331 King had been converted to a bank. The dwelling itself had received a Victorian-style renovation, with a wrap-around porch and turret added. The 1-1/2 story stable/barn on the east boundary of the site had been moved to the north center section of the lot. The lot was thoroughly redesigned by 1904 (Figure 6). A new dentist office was built on King Street. The barn was moved again, this time to an enclosure that was bounded by the kitchen/laundry, three unidentified sheds, and a poultry house. The servant's quarters and storage house north of the dwelling had been removed. The lot was the same in 1910 and 1920, except that a garage for Frank Wood's first car had been installed by 1920. The poultry house and other unidentified buildings have been removed, but today the structures on the lot are arranged as they were in 1920. In the 1950s, the Dranes removed the Victorian renovations from the main house to restore it to its original colonial period appearance. The 1920 detached garage was removed, and a garage attached to the dwelling was added by the Inglis family (Figure 7).

So, between 1885 and 1904 several changes to the lot arrangement took place, but it is notable that changes did indeed occur, and that their impact to the archaeological record should be discernible. The barn today is on brick piers, and presumably was on piers then as well. The two privies excavated in 1978 point to a similar re-arrangement. Josiah Collins II died in 1839 and left the property to his daughters, who consolidated the three lots. Lot 4 had been owned by the Little/King family since the 1780s.

Privy 1 was built on Lot 4, right on the property line convenient to a structure shown on the Sauthier map. Tom Funk's probing revealed a scatter of ballast stones he thought were from a foundation in that area. Ballast stones were retrieved from portside where ships off-loaded their weight in order to add fresh cargo to the hold. These stones were often repurposed as building materials and pavers here and in other colonial

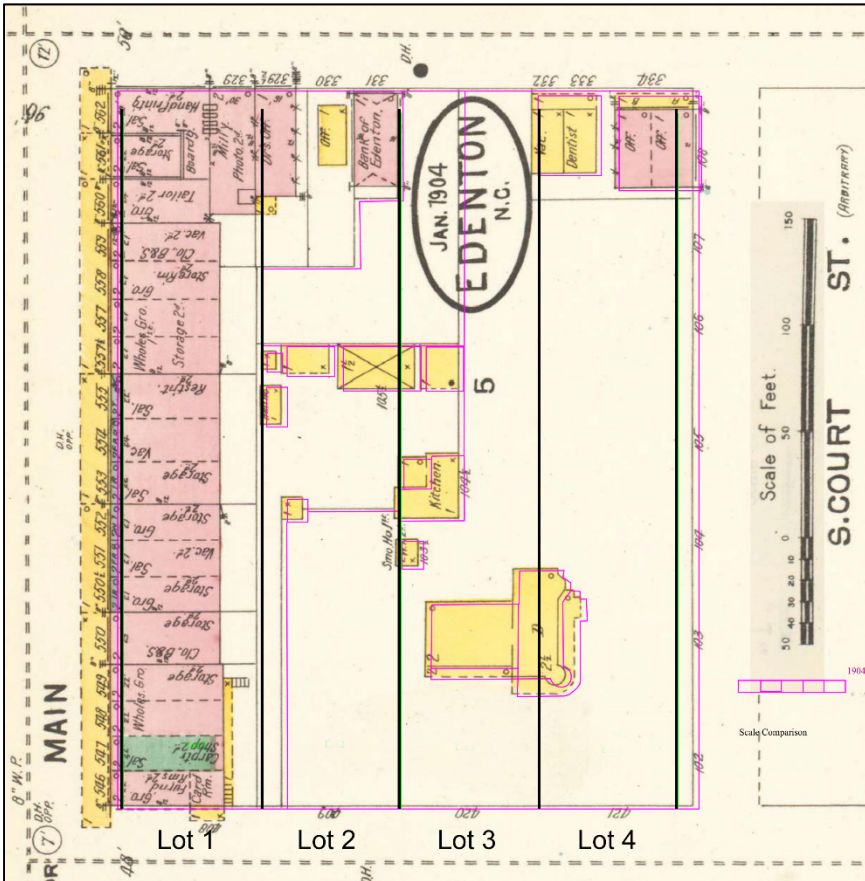


Figure 6. Section of the 1904 Sanborn map of Edenton showing Lots 1, 2, 3, and 4 with lot lines superimposed.

town, like Bath, Brunswick Town, and New Bern. Additionally, excavations and surface collections in this area of the lot have produced large numbers of eighteenth and nineteenth-century artifacts.

Privy 2 is close by on Lot 3. This would have been slightly north of the storage building shown in 1885, and discretely out of sight of the main house. Both privies appear to have been filled between 1840 and 1850, and the upper soils contain what appears to be the remains of a house and yard cleaning episode. Dozens of reconstructable ceramic vessels suggest the cabinets were cleared of old, chipped, or simply out-of-fashion pottery. The fill also contains numerous drinking glass vessels—both tumblers and stemware—as well as bottles and lamp glass. This is consistent with the idea of new owners taking control, cleaning,



Figure 7. 1920 Sanborn map lines and lines for Lots 2, 3, and 4 superimposed on 2015 aerial photograph.

repairing and renovating the house, and improving the yard and gardens. In a similar episode the construction of the two privies coincides with Josiah Collins purchase of Lot 2 and 3, and the transfer of ownership of Lot 4 from Andrew Little to his daughter in 1789, who married Thomas King. So, we set about trying to determine whose trash was excavated from the privy holes.

### Archaeology

By its nature, archaeology is the act of discovering cultural materials through excavations, extracting the items from their context (or

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ground), analyzing them, and then placing the artifacts into labeled bags or boxes for storage. If properly done, documents are generated in the way of reports to include observations and analysis, then the project is considered complete. For an archaeological collection, however, this can be just the beginning of its journey. According to the language of the National Park Service's enabling legislation, 36CFR79 [as a Federal mandate], the curation of artifacts from archaeological excavations is interpreted to mean the management and preservation of these collections using professional and archival practices. Since the Drane Collection was excavated before the 1979 legislation was put in place and since no funding was ever designated for long-term curation, this private collection suffered some loss of record and integrity. Guidelines and standards were put in place in 1990 to address the status and long-term care of legacy collections such as this one. But these guidelines applied primarily to government-owned or generated collections, primarily through the new Cultural Resources Management [CRM] industry, but not private holdings. The bottom line, then and now, is that curation costs money, and current CRM contract work includes curation costs or it is not complete. Still, when faced with the preservation, access, and future use of a legacy collection, one must figure out a way forward, a compromise to insure its longevity. It is, after all, not just a collection of material from the past but also a valuable source of information about the people of the past who once created, used, and discarded it.

As stated earlier, archaeology was conducted by the landowners and professional archaeologists that they hired in the 1970s and 1980s. The landowner collections are primarily from the surface of their flower and vegetable gardens, but they have also been careful to monitor tree plantings (and tree falls), utility cable trenches, and other ground-disturbing activities. Although the collections have been made opportunistically from across the yard, most have come from the north-central area of the lots.

Excavations were conducted by professional archaeologists in the same area, though the lack of comprehensive mapping means the individual units cannot be located precisely. Figure 8 shows the approximate location of the various excavations. The unit excavated near what was thought to be the site of the Edenton Tea Party house, "Test 600," and a 3-ft x 8-ft trench are all located in the north-central part of the lot, and they produced artifacts that could be tied to the King family and other occupants. The family monitored the burial of a

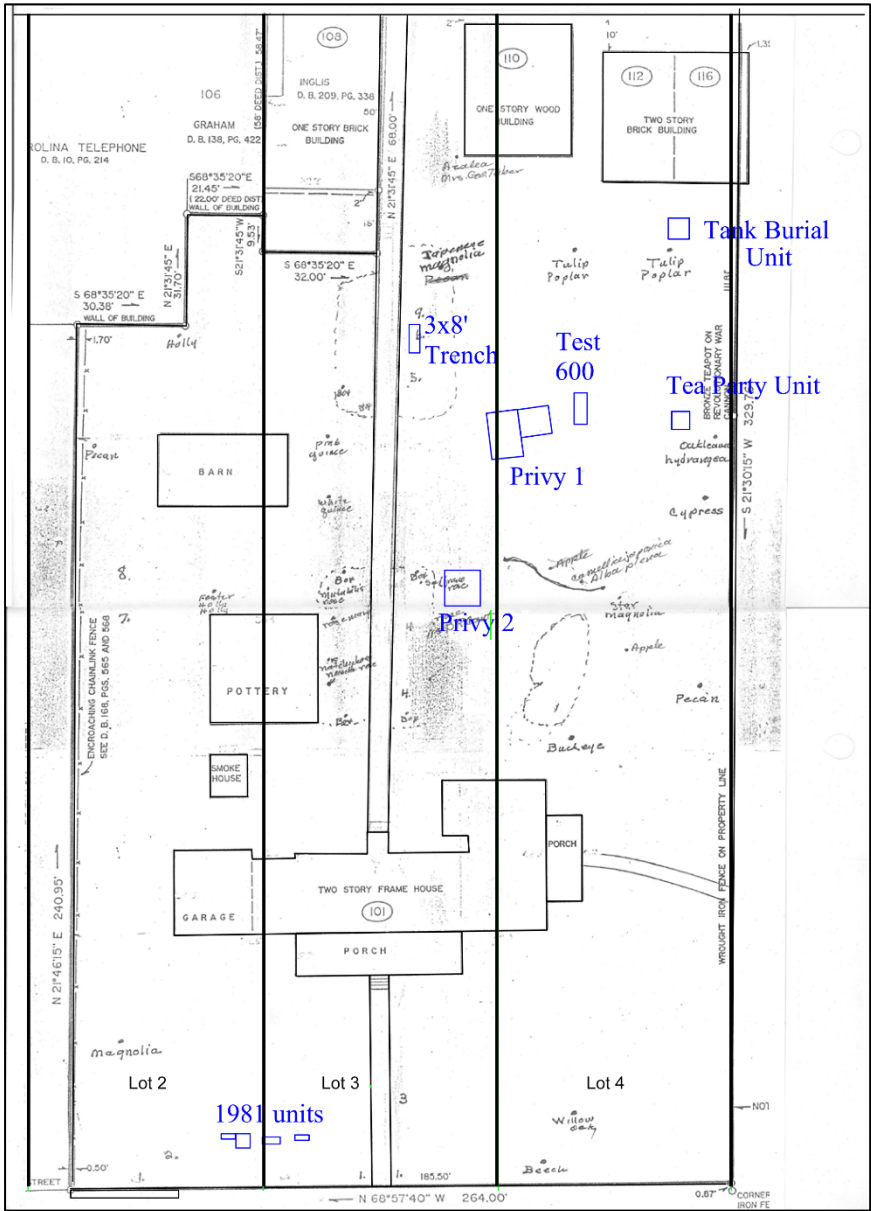


Figure 8. Approximate locations of major excavations on Lots 2, 3, and 4.

propane tank in the north part of the lot in the area of the late nineteenth-century servant's quarters. They collected bone and other artifacts and loaned them to State Historic Sites for analysis. Tom Funk also



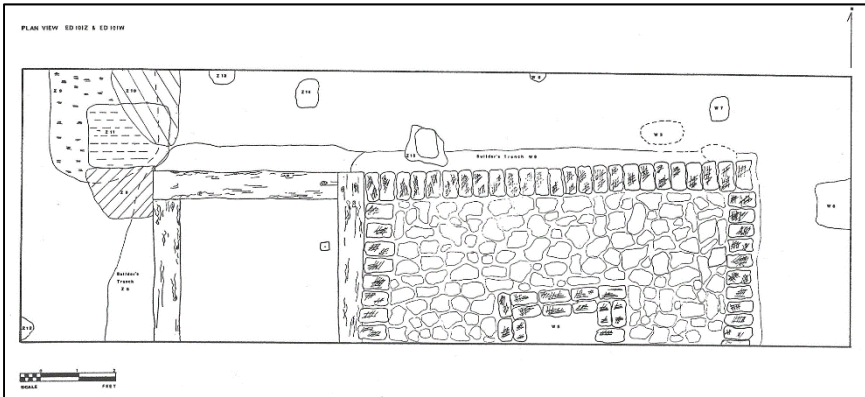


Figure 9. Plan view drawing of Privy 1.

excavated a series of slot trenches in the southwest corner of the lot in the area of the structure shown on the Sauthier map. Here he encountered evidence of brick foundations.

The two privies were carefully drawn in plan and profile, but as with the other excavations, the drawings were not tied into a site grid, datum, or locatable landmark. Fortunately, Frances Inglis was present during the excavations, and was able to point out the locations for us.

Privy 1 was on Lot 4 (Figure 9). The foundation of a smokehouse intruded upon its west wall slightly. This structure was partially exposed. It had a one-brick-wide foundation, which was filled with ballast stones for a floor. It had a central hearth. The building marked Kitchen/Laundry in 1885 was partially enclosed by 1898 to store smoked fish (Susan Inglis, personal communication 2016).

Privy 1 measured 8 ft x 12 ft and 7.7 ft deep. The stratigraphy was complex, as would be the case with any large feature that saw a combination of long-term use followed by rapid filling (Figure 10). For construction, a hole was excavated into the subsoil to a depth of about eight feet. Then cypress timbers were used to line the interior, and the outer builder's trench was backfilled. This type of timber-lined construction was seen at Somerset Place as well (Steen 2003). Because of the unclear and poorly documented excavations, it is difficult to assess stratigraphy, but some bags were marked "Builders Trench" and a profile drawing shows a builder's trench, so presumably the artifacts in these bags were deposited immediately after the privy was built. The bags contained plain and brown-banded creamware, which suggests



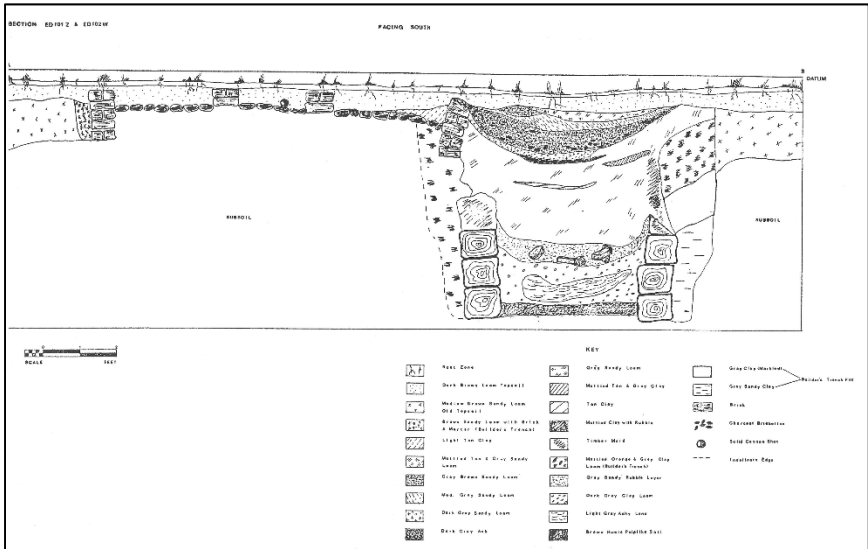


Figure 10. South profile drawing of Privy 1.

construction around the turn of the nineteenth century. Earlier material is present in the fill as well.

Again, the documentation of the excavations is unclear. At times the feature was excavated in what were called “levels,” but whether these were natural soil zones or arbitrary levels, or something else entirely, is unclear. Within the privy, there are zones that filled in while the privy was in use and zones that were deposited after it was abandoned. When the structure was first identified it was thought to be a well (Funk et al. 1978). A trench was excavated to the base, and some of these bags are marked “Bottom of Well” and “Bottom Layer of Privy.” Datable artifacts in these bags include cut nails, mold-blown dark green glass, polychrome hand-painted whiteware that features the late palette colors, and a Prosser button. Thus, the feature was in use until the 1840s at the least (Sprague 2002). Funk initially believed it was filled in the 1820s (Funk 1980).

Bags marked “Well Interior” are believed to be soil zones that built up while the privy was in use. This is a dark, organically rich soil with chunks of lime and ash, which were used to control odor. The fill includes a significant and varied faunal assemblage. Bones of a rat, a cat, pigs, cows, deer, birds, fish, and turtles were identified by Historic Sites archaeologist Chris Hughes. Glass bottles and tablewares and a few ceramics were present as well.

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They returned in 1979 and excavated the remainder of the privy. Level and soil zone designations were changed significantly. There are bags marked “Brown Topsoil Over Privy Fill” and “Old Topsoil.” Thus, it appears that overburden was removed and the feature was exposed. A plan view shows a trench about 7 ft x20 ft. It is not clear that this is a final plan. It appears that arbitrary levels were used in excavating the interior of the feature, as bags are marked “Level 3: Level 1 of Privy,” “Level 12: Level 6 of Privy,” and “Peat Floor at Base.” Unfortunately, Level 8, 10, 11, and 16 are marked “Posthole” and “Mold Fill.” Level 8 “Mold Fill” contained a charcoal briquette and dates to the twentieth century. The plan view shows several features that appear to be posts that may be Level 8, etc. Nonetheless it appears that the bags marked “Level 8: Level 6 of Privy. Timber Fill” are probably from the base of the privy.

We have discussed this at length to emphasize that anyone hoping to use this collection should be aware that it is commingled and confusing. Not to besmirch anyone’s reputation here, we would point out that we probably all do it, and we should step back occasionally to remind ourselves that things which we understand perfectly well today may be impossible for someone else to understand in the future, and that field methods and terms should be clearly explained and defined, and that detailed maps should be created using fixed datum points and landscape references. For instance, the profile drawings show the ends of the timbers. How is that possible: did they remove the timbers, extrapolate their size and appearance, or was it simply conjecture on their part? The plan view does not show the full extent of the privy. Was the unexposed segment left in-situ? There are 17 levels, yet Level 6 appears to be the base of the privy. Or is it? If the excavator does not record field data that can be understood, and the report writer does not write a report that plainly defines what was done, how it was done, and what their interpretation of the results is, then the hard work that was expended is all but wasted. Let this case stand as an example. But this is not to say that the collection is hopelessly muddled. The ambiguous contexts can be segregated, and the collections from the privies contain the basis for numerous research projects.

Privy 2, located on Lot 3, is about the same in terms of ambiguities, but it is an interesting feature nonetheless. It was square, about 9.6 ft on a side, and eight feet deep (Figure 11). It was even more densely packed with artifacts than Privy 1. The excavators removed the topsoil and excavated the privy separately. They identified four main soil zones

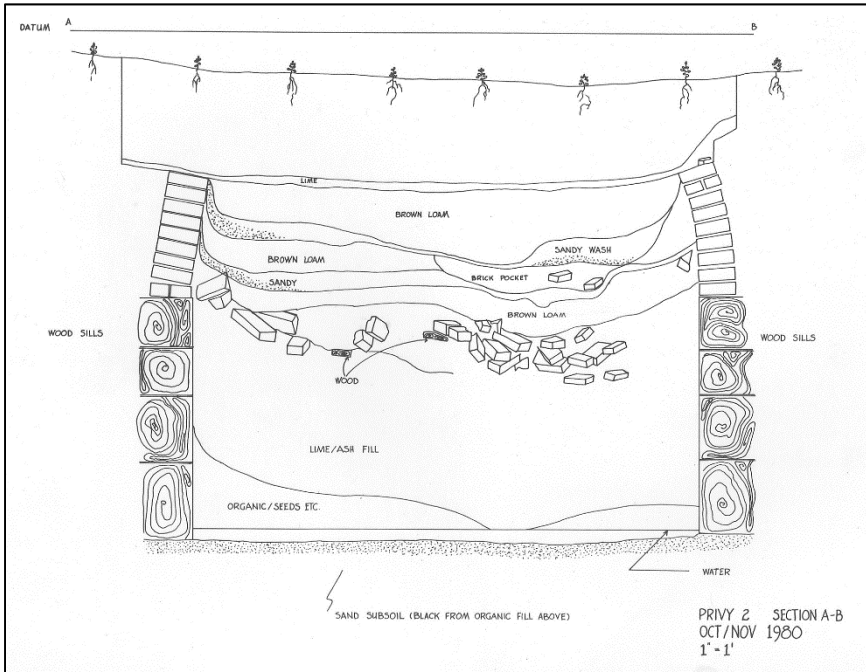


Figure 11. Profile drawing of Privy 2.

(Funk 1981:5, Table 3). Level A was called “a brown sand loam with an intermittent lime lens and broken brick.” This was “approximately 2.5 feet in depth.” Level B was a deposit of brick and wooden debris about 0.5 ft in depth scattered fairly consistently across the privy fill at a depth of approximately 4.4 ft. (Note the depth discrepancy.) Level C was “a layer of human waste, brown sandy loam, gray ash, and again, intermittent pockets of lime.” This was 2.5 ft thick and may be what was labeled “ash lens” on the artifact bags. Level D was a “greenish brown organic clay-like material with seeds, bone, egg shell, fish scales, et cetera.” This is what was labeled “organic fill below ash lens” on the artifact bags.

Unfortunately, the artifact bags were not labeled Level A, B, C, or D, but rather “above brick rubble,” “Ash Fill,” “Ash Layer,” “Ash Lens,” “Organic Fill below Ash,” “Organic Fill,” and “Organic Layer Bottom of Feature,” and this is only the beginning. It appears that they excavated a quick trench to establish basic strata and then excavated natural zones, as some bags are marked “Level 10, gray loam mottled with white sand in corner of E-W trench” and “Level 11, area 3, compact cinders with a lot



Figure 12. Profile photograph of Privy 2.

of nails.” Other levels have similar labeling. It may be possible to match zones with the profile drawing.

The deepest level contained intact newspaper dating to 1810, as well as plain creamware and edge-decorated pearlware manufactured between 1810 and 1835 (Hunter and Miller 1994), so it appears to have been built about the same time as Privy 1. Earlier material is present as well, but not in large quantities, suggesting it was incidental. This level also contained creamware, whiteware, and a large number of Canton and gilt-edge porcelain. In his 1839 estate inventory Josiah Collins II had a line item for “1 Dinner set White and Gold 157 pieces,” and “1 Tea Set White and Gold 24 Pieces” among a large number of other ceramics. This basal soil zone also contained a large number of faunal and ethnobotanical specimens. As stated above, this feature was even more densely packed with artifacts than Privy 1. It may have been better maintained than Privy 1 because the artifacts in the lower organic zones are nearly as dense as the upper zones (Figure 12). Artifacts in the ash layer(s) include post-1840 Prosser buttons and an ironstone saucer with the mark used by Staffordshire potter James Edwards between 1842 and 1851 (Godden 1968). Thus, the filling of this feature took place in the 1840s.



Figure 13. Photograph of the brick drain associated with Privy 2.

Two interesting features were associated with Privy 2. An arched brick drain leads from the top of the south wall to an arched vault about seven feet wide, twelve feet long, and five feet deep (Figure 13). This had an iron pipe extending from the top, and the drain butted against the privy wall, apparently interrupting it, so it was initially believed to be a cistern. Further examination of project photos shows that this is not the case. The drain would have channeled water into the vault, which is now thought to be a cess pit. Similar drains lead away from the privy at Drayton Hall, near Charleston, South Carolina (Zierden and Anthony 2007). These led to drain fields and it was thought that they were used when cleaning the privy. In this case one can envision overflows caused by heavy rain and rising groundwater levels draining into a containment vault that could be pumped dry. The vault and drain were clear and produced no artifacts.

### Conclusion

The Drane legacy collection has the potential to yield viable insight through future research of more than just archaeology, including studies in history, African-American occupations, gender identity studies, consumer behaviors, urban settlement patterns and land use, advances in technology and social movements related to industries (smoked fish, rope walks), changes in sanitation and hygiene (indoor plumbing),



Figure 14. Whiteware cup with late-palette, hand-painted decoration.

landscaping of gardens, and the introduction of modern utilities and their impact on subsurface features. As archaeologists we understand our ethical obligation to the collections we help to create, and the importance of good, well maintained records. Advocating for the long-term care and accessibility of this legacy collection will ensure its future for a larger public. This paper focused on the history of the work done on these urban lots and assessed the condition of the collection and records. But, it was a necessary first step to create a plan of action. We have barely begun to address the potential of this site and of the existing artifact collection. The ceramics from the privies alone are a significant resource, documenting the consumer behavior of a wealthy and locally important family (Figures 14 and 15); however, we must also recall that these are but two features in a house lot that has been occupied for some 300 years by owners, workers, and visitors. Unlike many urban house lots, this one has not been built up and demolished repeatedly and, from the few excavation documents that have been produced, it does not appear to have been severely disturbed, meaning its subsurface integrity is reasonable intact.

The surface collections, probing, and test excavations point to several areas of interest that could be targeted for further exploration. Tom Funk's probe map showed four potential structures. Two of these, in the north part of the site, may be shown on the Sauthier map. Two more, in the southwest corner of the lot, are also shown on the Sauthier map. Funk conducted preliminary trenching in the area that revealed





Figure 15. Porcelain ceramic with overglaze, polychrome hand-painted decoration.

intact architectural elements of a structure that pre-dates the 1769 map. Artifacts excavated in this area include delft, lead-glazed slipware, white salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, and Chinese porcelain consistent with an eighteenth-century occupation. This feature clearly deserves further exploration to document the town's earliest construction.

The servant's house shown on the 1885 Sanborn Map can be explored to give insight into the lives of urban African Americans. Josiah Collins II's estate inventory suggests the presence of three slave dwellings and an overseer's house that, presumably, would be some distance away from the main house, like the servant's house. In addition, a tailor's shop and a laundry/kitchen were mentioned. Service buildings such as these usually are clustered in the back of the lot, often abutting the lot boundaries and alleyways, out of sight of passersby and the master and family (Zierden and Reitz 2016).

Little is known of the King/Little family occupation of the site, although three excavation units were placed on Lot 4, two of which were in the area of a probed foundation. This occupation was terminated around 1840 and should be represented by an intact, isolated deposit. The 1769 Sauthier map showed a structure on the southeast corner of the

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lot that may have served as a combination store and dwelling. A structure is also shown on the east boundary of Lot 4 about halfway between King and Water streets. A second structure is shown in Courthouse Square itself. Across the square, two structures are shown facing the square in the center of Lot 6, so it would not be a surprise to find similar development on Lot 4. Indeed, the structures on the Sauthier and Sanborn maps are situated in this way. Early land records mention the presence of tenements. These may have been the structures shown on Lots 2 and 3 on the Sauthier map.

### Further Research

What we have gained from our reconnaissance and reorganization of the Homestead legacy collection and early archaeological field maps has been to realize its scientific potential for future research. Given the foundation we have provided with a new functioning artifact database and concise maps showing the locations of numerous previous buildings, these data could tell us much more about the past on this urban landscape. Adding the history of ownership and its relationship to other local properties (via the Collins, Warren, Blount, and Pettigrew families) among white and black descendant groups could enrich the region's history, offering greater depth and diversity. The legacy collection could be used to develop partnerships with local and state-wide organizations interested in public outreach and education. Educational venues to display the collection may be museums, visitor centers, tourist outlets, schools and universities, and civic buildings, all accessible to a greater public. In today's digital world, on-line resources, webpages, and links can create virtual access and tours of this legacy collection and its site history. And while access to the collection can be made available to other researchers and the public, stewardship of the site remains private.

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# **PARTNERS IN PRESERVATION: ARCHAEOLOGY AND OUTREACH AT THE AILEY YOUNG HOUSE IN WAKE FOREST**

**by**

**Rosemarie Blewitt-Golsch and Sherry Boyette**

## **Abstract**

The North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office and the Office of State Archaeology partnered with the town of Wake Forest and New South Associates, Inc., to conduct a multidisciplinary investigation of the Ailey Young House (31WA1958\*\*) with the aid of a Certified Local Government grant. The Ailey Young House is the oldest African-American historic resource in Wake Forest and was the birthplace of prominent educator Allen Young. We provide an overview of the history, material culture, and geophysical research on the property and discuss how each of the stakeholders in this project contributed to the understanding, preservation, and outreach efforts undertaken.

The Ailey Young House (31WA1958\*\*) was built in 1875 by Professor William G. Simmons of Wake Forest as part of a group of tenant farm houses known as “Simmons Row” (Figure 1). In 1895 his widow, Mary Elizabeth Simmons (née Foote), sold the house to Ailey Young, a married African-American woman. Ailey and her husband, Henry, raised their 13 children in the house, including son Allen Young, founder of the first private school for African-American children in Wake Forest. Today, the house is the oldest-known African-American historic property in Wake Forest. The North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO) and the Office of State Archaeology (OSA) partnered with the Town of Wake Forest and New South Associates, Inc. to rediscover and protect this important part of North Carolina’s heritage with the aid of a Certified Local Government grant.

On April 29, 2017, staff from the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, the Office of State Archaeology, the Town of Wake Forest, and New South Associates, Inc. conducted a multidisciplinary workshop at the Ailey Young House. Presentations by Sherry Boyette of the OSA, Michelle Michael of the Town of Wake Forest, and Sarah Lowry of New South Associates, Inc. provided an overview of the history, material culture, and geophysical research on the property for nearly 100 members of the local community who participated in the

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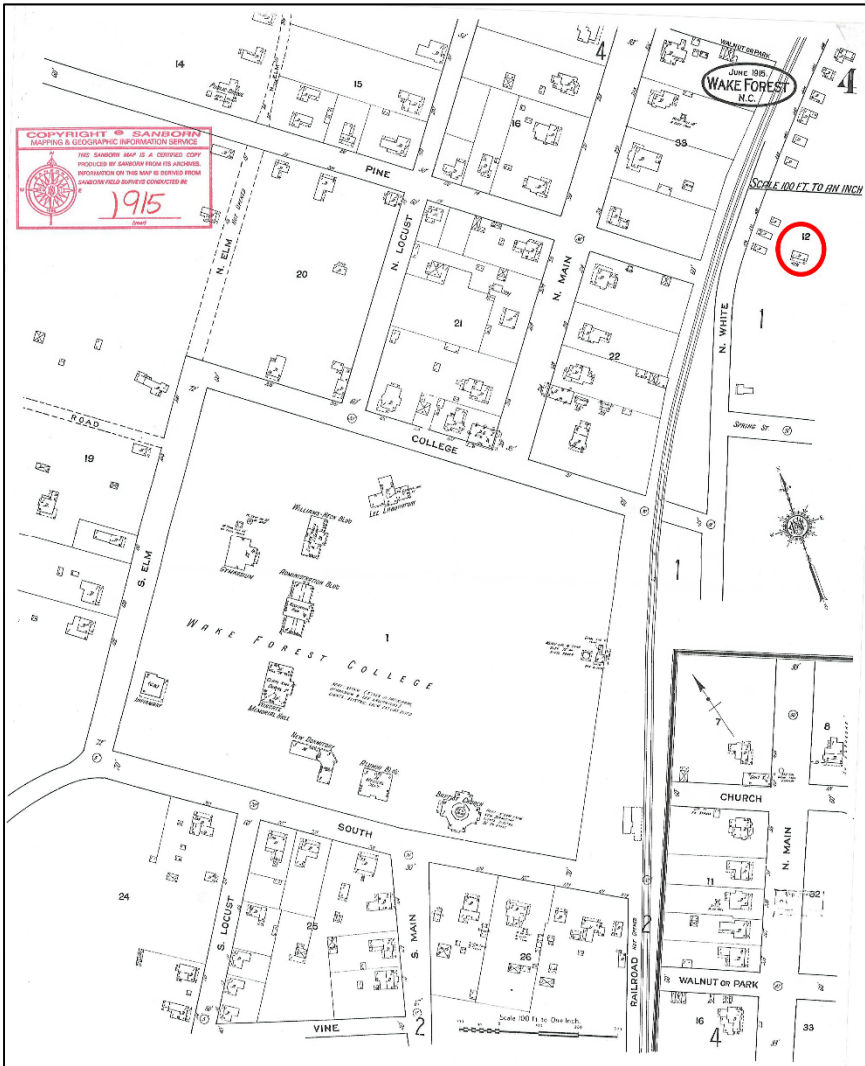


Figure 1. 1915 Sanborn Insurance Map with Ailey Young House circled at top right.

workshop. At the house site, community members were invited to try ground-penetrating radar themselves in a demonstration led by Shawn Patch of New South Associates, Inc. They were also able to see the restoration efforts accomplished by Wake Forest officials as part of the process of listing the Ailey Young House in the National Register of Historic Places. Among the attendees were several descendants of Ailey Young who shared their personal knowledge of their family's history.



Figure 2. Current photograph of the Ailey Young House.

We discuss how this partnership between public, private, and government stakeholders worked to study, preserve, and share this important part of Wake Forest's history.

### **History of the House and its Occupants**

Discovered by Ruth Little of Longleaf Historic Resources when she was hired by the Wake Forest Historic Preservation Commission to conduct a historic buildings survey in 2008, the Ailey Young House is a rare surviving example of a form of Reconstruction-era housing called the "saddlebag house" (Figure 2). The saddlebag house form is a type of vernacular architecture that has a central chimney and two front entries, each leading into a separate room (Mattson 1988). It is a subtype of the "double-pen" (duplex) buildings that housed enslaved peoples, usually providing shelter for at least two families (Vlach 1995). The 1896 Sanborn Map of Raleigh shows numerous houses of this type, many of which had rear shed extensions used for sleeping rooms and kitchens. The National Trust for Historic Preservation recognized the importance of these types of visually unimpressive but historically significant resources:

African American heritage is often found in small, unadorned structures. For the most part these are not as grand or visually impressive as traditionally recognized places such as the homes of political leaders or wealthy industrialists. Many are in poor condition or have been extensively altered.

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In spite of this, they can offer a tangible and rich reminder of African American heritage. [Legg et al. 2012]

The Ailey Young House was built around 1875 by Professor William G. Simmons as rental property for African-American tenant farmers and workers (Little 2009; Town of Wake Forest 2014). It was probably rented by Ailey and her husband, Henry, as soon as it was built. (Young family tradition suggests that their oldest son Allen was born in the house in 1875.) In 1889 Professor Simmons died, and in 1895 his widow, Mary Elizabeth, sold the house and the property to Ailey Young. While the nature of their relationship is not fully understood, Ailey and Mary Elizabeth appear to have had a unique connection—Ailey named her youngest daughter Eva Belle (born 1894) after the Simmons's youngest child (born 1869). Ailey and Henry raised their family of 13 children in the house. Based on census data, Ailey died sometime before 1910, but her husband and children remained in the house. In 1933 the town of Wake Forest seized the property for back taxes, but in 1954 the heirs of Ailey Young purchased the property back from the town. In 1988 the town bought the land back from the Young family to expand the adjacent cemetery, but the property was never developed.

Allen Young, the oldest of Ailey and Henry's children, started the first private school for African-American children in Wake Forest and was one of Wake Forest's most significant citizens. In 1905 he began the Presbyterian Mission School for Colored Boys and Girls (later renamed the Wake Forest Normal and Industrial School). The school had several hundred students at its peak, but as public education for African-Americans improved, enrollment declined. The school closed in 1957. Several of Allen's children taught at his school, including his daughter Ailey Mae Young, who later became the first African-American commissioner for the town of Wake Forest. The Ailey Young House thus has significance both as an example of a rare but important architectural type, and for its connection with a prominent local family.

### Contributions from Partners

The research and preservation of the Ailey Young House was a team effort by many stakeholders. The different contributions of each of the partners are discussed below.

#### *Town of Wake Forest*

The Ailey Young House is owned and maintained by the town of Wake Forest. It was originally purchased with a parcel of land intended for cemetery expansion, but the house was rediscovered in 2008 during a

historic resources survey of the town. Following its rediscovery, the area around the house was cleaned up and secured, and the structure was designated a local landmark in 2012. In 2015, the town received the \$10,000 Stedman Incentive grant from Preservation North Carolina to begin the stabilization of the structure, although more funding and work is still needed. The structure has been approved for the North Carolina Study List, the first step toward listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

The site was metal detected in 2011 by an amateur detectorist. He gave all the artifacts he recovered to town of Wake Forest officials; however, he did not provide information on their provenience within the site area. In 2016, the Town of Wake Forest Historic Preservation Commission received a matching Certified Local Government Grant from the Department of the Interior administered by the NC Historic Preservation Office to conduct a ground penetrating radar workshop for the public. They partnered with the Office of State Archaeology and contracted with New South Associates, Inc. to complete this workshop and the associated research, arranging for OSA and New South staff to study the recovered artifacts and conduct a thorough metal detector and ground penetrating radar survey.

#### *Certified Local Government (CLG) Program*

The Certified Local Government (CLG) Program was created in 1980 when Congress amended the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 to require each state to establish a procedure by which local governments may be certified to participate in the national framework of historic preservation programs. North Carolina currently has 50 CLGs, including the town of Wake Forest. CLGs can apply for grants funded by Outer Continental Shelf oil lease revenues and administered by the National Park Service (NPS). Within a CLG, eligible applicants for funding include local governments, local historic preservation commissions, and nonprofit organizations and educational institutions applying through the local CLG.

Projects eligible for CLG funding include architectural and archaeological surveys, nominations of eligible districts and properties to the National Register of Historic Places, survey publication manuscripts, educational programs and training workshops, restoration of National Register-listed properties, studies for NR-listed properties, and local preservation design guidelines and preservation plans. Local matching funds should cover 40% or more of the total project cost, ensuring a strong state and local commitment to projects, with awards ranging from

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\$500 to \$20,000. It was through this process that town of Wake Forest officials secured funding for the archaeological survey and education programs they hoped to do at the Ailey Young House.

*New South Associates, Inc.*

Money from the CLG grant was used to hire New South Associates, Inc. to conduct a geophysical survey of the house. Their goal was to identify any subsurface features associated with the house (such as garden features, outbuildings, privies, or wells) and identify any artifacts associated with the nineteenth-century Young occupation (Bean and Lowry 2017). They used ground penetrating radar (GPR) and a metal detector to accomplish those goals.

GPR is a geophysical technique used to map variation in subsurface composition. When people live in the same place for an extended period, they often change the physical characteristics of the subsurface through a variety of activities such as constructing houses and outbuildings, working and playing outdoors in the same areas, landscaping, burning waste, and burying deceased community members. Changes in subsurface composition reflect electromagnetic energy which is recorded by the GPR computer and used to make 3D maps.

A metal detector is a geophysical instrument that sends a magnetic field into the ground. It produces a current in any metal objects in the ground, which is measured by the metal detector. When metal is found, the detector sounds a series of tones. Detectorists can use metal detectors to make maps of artifact distributions. All artifacts are mapped carefully before being removed for curation. For this survey, the metal detectors were set to sound only for non-iron objects (Bean and Lowry 2017: 10). This allowed New South Associates, Inc. staff to filter out nails, which are ubiquitous on historic sites, and target artifacts that might tell a more personal story about the Young family.

The GPR results identified remnants of a front porch, a porch pier, buried objects, and a possible root cellar, but no detached privy or well (Bean and Lowry 2017: 22). The absence of these anticipated features could be because they did not have sufficient contrast to reflect energy or because they were in areas where GPR survey could not be conducted. Metal detecting recovered 16 artifacts with dates ranging from 1805 to 1991 (Bean and Lowry 2017: 11-13). Kitchen debris represented 64.3% of total recovery, with activities (an unidentified machine part), architecture (an unidentified nail), and personal items (two buttons and a fragment of a perfume bottle) making up the remainder.



*OSA Artifact Analysis*

Sherry Boyette analyzed 129 artifacts collected at the Ailey Young House by an amateur metal detectorist (Table 1). Kitchen artifacts accounted for 58.9% of the assemblage, and artifact dates spanned most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many of the ceramic sherds, bottles, and Mason jars had maker's marks that could be researched to determine date range and manufacturer. Online databases of maker's marks and ceramic styles were used to make many identifications. The Historic Archaeology Guide from the Florida Museum of Natural History (FLMNH 2017) was used to give a general date range for ceramic sherds without marker marks, and Glass Bottle Marks (Whitten 2004) was used for glass pieces. Since the artifacts from this collection date between the mid-nineteenth century and mid-twentieth century, many had identifying traits that made them easy to find online.

Metal artifacts were conserved as necessary. Iron was conserved by electrolysis, the process of removing rust and stabilizing the artifact by using a combination of chemical compounds and electricity. For copper artifacts, vinegar was used to restore the artifact to its original condition. All artifacts will eventually be returned to the town of Wake Forest for curation.

*Activities (N=8).* Eight toy artifacts were part of this collection. A wagon wheel axle, wagon frame, and two iron fasteners date to the mid-twentieth century, but were too corroded to determine the manufacturer. An additional small iron wheel could not be dated. A plastic baby doll leg and plastic toy gun holster were also present. Plastic was not used for toy production until the 1950s. One metal pressed, red water pistol made by Wyandotte Toys was dated to the 1930s–1940s.

*Architecture (N=6).* Four nails were found. Two, a finishing nail and a common siding nail, date between 1830 and 1880. The third is a wire nail dating from 1880 to present. The fourth is a hand-wrought rose-head nail, produced before 1810. One knob-and-tube wiring piece with a markers mark was made by Illinois Electric Porcelain Company between 1920 and 1953. An iron padlock could not be dated.

*Arms (N=1).* One 30 caliber, iron copper-jacket bullet was found. It is unfired and military grade.

*Clothing (N=7).* Seven clothing artifacts were analyzed, including one copper belt buckle and one copper rivet. Four buttons made from either copper, iron, or pewter were dated between the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century. A man's leather wing-tip style

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Table 1. Summary of artifacts recovered from 2011 metal detection.

Group	Artifact Description	Count
Activities	Wheel axle	1
	Wagon parts	3
	Baby Doll Leg	1
	Toy wheel	1
	Water pistol holster	1
	Water pistol	1
Architecture	Nails	4
	Electrical knob	1
	Padlock	1
Arms	Bullet	1
Clothing	Buttons	4
	Buckle	1
	Rivet	1
	Shoe	1
Furniture	Drawer pull/handle	3
	Oil lamp parts	3
	Coat Hanger	1
	Makers mark	1
Kitchen	Mason jars	15
	Milk jars	19
	Soda bottles	3
	Bottle	6
	Lid	3
	Cap	2
	Spoons	5
	Cooking Pot	4
	Pan	1
	Container	2
	Ceramics	16
	Hardware	1
	Unidentified	2
Personal	Clip	1
	Cosmetic Compact	1
	Stroller Wheel	1
	Key	1
	Razor	1
	Lighter	1
	Harmonica Reed	3
	Pocket Knives	2
	Pendent	2
	Pocket watch parts	2
	Tuning Peg	1
	Music Stand	1
	Coins	3



Figure 3. Maker's mark inlay for furniture.

dress shoe (size 10.5) was also found; it likely dates to the twentieth century.

*Furniture (N=8).* Eight furniture pieces were analyzed. There were three copper drawer pulls, two without decoration and one decorated with a vase and fauna. None had a maker's mark. An iron coat hanger could not be dated. Three kerosene oil lamp parts are believed to belong to the same lamp. The date "April 11<sup>th</sup> 1893" was found on one of the pieces. A circular brass makers mark inlay was found with the words "Bassett Furniture Industries, Inc. Pioneers in Furniture for the Nation," and a picture of a horse and wagon traveling out west (Figure 3). Based in Virginia, this company was established in 1902.

*Kitchen (N=76).* One amber pharmaceutical bottle with "Vinol" embossed on one side was produced by the Chester Kent Company between 1898 and 1948. A cobalt blue, triangular pharmaceutical bottle made by McCormick & Co. likely contained laudanum. It was patented in 1902, but there is no information on when this bottle stopped being produced. One small amber bottle with a bead-type lip was made from 1860 to present. Three soda bottles were made between 1938 and 1965. One is a light green Royal Crown "RC Cola" bottle, another is a NuGrape Soda bottle made by the Raleigh Beverage Company, and the last was made by Pepsi. Three amber Clorox bottles date from the early 1950s to the early 1960s. There were 15 Mason-type jars of various sizes and shapes from different companies, most of which were manufactured sometime between 1930 and 1960. Twenty other glass jars, including 19 Lamb milk jars, date between 1941 and 1964.

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Sixteen ceramic sherds were analyzed. Three pieces were part of a porcelain Toltec Walker China bowl that was beige with reddish-brown stripes. The maker's mark dates these pieces to 1947. Another sherd belonged to a plate that was either porcelain or ironstone. This piece was made by the Salem China Company in Salem, Ohio, between 1898 and 1960. One whiteware transfer print with a willow pattern was made by W. Ridgway & Co. in England in 1832. Two whiteware decal sherds date between 1875 and present. One white granite china sherd and one ironstone sherd date between 1840 and 1930. Three over-glazed whiteware and three yellowware sherds date between 1830 and present.

Two metal food containers date to the mid-twentieth century. Both were corroded but had visible labels. One was labeled "Sweet Sue Canned Chicken," the other container "Hubs Salted Peanuts." Two copper caps were found, one of which is either a baby powder or talcum powder cap. Four cooking pots and one heavily eroded pan were analyzed; all date to the twentieth century. Five spoons were found. Two were too corroded to determine date, but the other three were in good condition. One spoon is an EPNS (electro plated nickel silver) plated spoon in an art deco style dating to the 1920s. Another is a Fairfield silver-plated spoon made in the 1910s. The third is an Imperial silver-plated spoon in the "Pinehurst" style and was made in 1931.

*Miscellaneous (N=3).* One miscellaneous hardware piece was analyzed. It is made of steel and is almost triangular. It has four holes at base and screw at the top. It is currently unidentified. Two copper pieces were also unidentified. One is circular with a floral pattern and may be a decorative piece for clothing or furniture. The other is rectangular and may be part of clothing or furniture.

*Personal (N=20).* Twenty personal pieces were analyzed, including three coins (two pennies and one quarter) that were too corroded to determine date, a copper key, and a copper clip. One Art Nouveau-style Gibson Girl pendant was found. It is copper with a brass finish and a side view of a young woman embossed on the front, and dates between the 1890 and 1919. Two pocket watch parts made by E. Ingraham Company in 1939 were recovered, as well as a copper-plated Star safety razor dating to 1912 and a chrome-plated brass lighter dating to the 1950s. Two bone-handle pocket knives were found. One has "Scout Knife" engraved on a metal plate on the handle. These knives were made specifically for the Boy Scouts of America from 1947 through the 1970s. A gold-plated, copper cosmetic compact with a floral design was made in the twentieth century. Six musical artifacts were discovered,



Figure 4. Gold military pendant of the 120<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the North Carolina National Guard.

including three harmonica reed plates made of copper, a copper tuning peg with three pegs attached to the “machine head” for a string instrument (possibly a mandolin or banjo), and an iron music stand designed to hold a small instrument. Lastly, there was a gold military pendant belonging to the 120<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the North Carolina National Guard (NCNG) (Figure 4). The pendant is in the shape of a shield with a picture of a prickly pear cactus and a tunnel underneath (Walker et al. 2002). First issued in 1928, the pendant is still produced today.

*Discussion.* The artifacts recovered from the Ailey Young property cover the range of time during which the house was occupied by the Young Family, and the presence of toys attests to the multiple generations who lived in the house. Though the house was built around 1875, there were artifacts such as the whiteware ceramic made by W. Ridgway that predate the house. Such items could have been used for multiple generations, and could even have been a gift from the Simmons family.

### Conclusion

The Ailey Young House is an important historic resource that has been preserved, rehabilitated, and studied thanks to a collaboration between many different agencies and groups. The Town of Wake Forest will continue raising funds to restore the house so that it can eventually be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Through the survey

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work done by New South Associates, Inc. and funded by the CLG grant, areas for future archaeological excavation were identified. The artifact analysis done by New South and the OSA has provided directions for better understanding the history of the house and its occupants through their material culture. Finally, public engagement, particularly with the descendants of Ailey Young, has emphasized the importance of this place as a cultural heritage resource.

### Notes

*Acknowledgments.* We would like to thank Michelle Michael, Senior Planner (Historic Preservation) of the Town of Wake Forest, Shawn Patch and Sarah Lowry at New South Associates, Inc., Amber Kidd and Michele Patterson-McCabe at the NC HPO, Devon Borgardt at the OSA, the Young family, and the community members who attended our workshop for their contributions to this project. We would also like to thank Michelle Michael, Sarah Lowry, Mary Beth Fitts, Susan Myers, and John Mintz for their comments on drafts of this article.

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