HISTORIC ARTIFACTS

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Introduction

The 1986 excavations at the Fish Haul site have produced 25,163 historic period artifacts, the bulk of which date from the nineteenth century. More specifically, we believe that, with few exceptions, these remains are attributable to the freedmen living in Mitchelville from 1862 until the early 1880s or to the blacks who continued living in the kin-based community into the early twentieth century. Although the dating of these remains reveals evidence of the late nineteenth-early twentieth century kin-based Mitchelville community, most of the remains from this study are clearly associated with the freedmen occupation in the 1860s and 1870s.

The investigations at Mitchelville have revealed four structures and intensively excavated one. In addition, excavations in six other areas produced variable quantities of historic artifacts. We have chosen to discuss these remains in one section, in spite of their dispersed distribution, because of their technological and temporal uniformity. Following the descriptive statements, we have dealt with the topics of dating, patterns, and status and in each case we offer these observations by structure and other block unit, as appropriate.

The previous excavation section provides a thorough discussion of the various blocks and features, but this data is synthesized here for the convenience of those using this section:

39-40-47-48 Block (175 square feet [16.3 square meters])- This block exposed a probable pier (Feature 13) and a wall trench for a tabby wattle and daub Mitchelville structure which had been robbed or removed in the late nineteenth century.

91-92 Block (250 square feet [23.3 square meters]) - Situated on the marsh bluff, this block revealed a large secondary midden of black sand, shell, and abundant artifacts. This midden is unusual because it contained earlier artifacts, such as creamware and pearlware, and items of very high status intermingled with items more typical of Mitchelville. Intrusive into the midden were two large pits (Feature 10 and 11), which appeared to have been used for cooking.

110-123 Block (350 square feet [32.6 square meters]) - This block exposed a portion of a Mitchelville structure with a tabby wattle and daub chimney (Feature 3). This chimney,

which appeared to be repaired, was the only architectural feature found in the block. Feature 27 was a near sterile pit of undetermined function.

129-141 Block (600 square feet [55.8 square meters]). This is primarily a prehistoric block, although a few historic artifacts were found in the upper zone.

130-131 Block (325 square feet [30.2 square meters]) - This block produced few historic remains, excepting those associated with Features 7 and 8. Feature 7 is a trench, of unknown function, which is intrusive into Feature 8, a large pit used for trash disposal. This pit may represent military activities at the site, rather than the refuse disposal practices of the freedmen.

1982 Block (700 square feet [65.1 square meters]) - Like the 129-141 block, these units have produced primarily prehistoric remains. The historic material recovered has been found primarily in the uppermost zone.

160-161 Block (950 square feet [88.4 square meters])- Investigations in this block revealed the remains of two Mitchelville structures. The first, evidenced by a small, crudely built brick chimney base (Feature 25), was apparently constructed of tabby wattle and daub with a poured tabby floor. This first structure did not stand long before it was torn down and the debris buried in two pits (Features 5 and 6). A second structure, characterized by a larger, better constructed brick chimney (Feature 4), was built and occupied for a longer period of time. In the rear yard of this structure was a small midden area of animal bones and burnt oyster shell (Feature 26).

177 Block (100 square feet [9.3 square meters]) - This unit was situated at the edge of a recently filled slough and few historic artifacts were recovered.

218 Block (255 square feet (20.9 square meters]) - This block appears to be situated in the front yard of a structure or perhaps near a Mitchelville street. Historic artifacts are abundant, although no features were identified.

Descriptions and Interpretations

The 25,163 historic artifacts from the Fish Hall excavations will be discussed using South's (1977) artifacts groups (e.g., kitchen, architecture, etc.) since such an approach allows the quantification and discussion of artifacts in a broad functional framework. Several modifications of South's original classificatory scheme are worthy of mention. First, following the lead of Garrow (1982b:57-66), Colono and Catawba or River Burnished ceramics will be discussed with (and tabulated in) the Kitchen

Artifact Group. In addition, the stub stem pipes have been included in the Tobacco Artifact Group. Second, for reasons similar to those offered by Garrow for the placement of stub stemmed pipes in the Tobacco Artifact Group, we have placed snuff tins in the category as well (see also Trinkley 1986:55-56). Third, for the purposes of this site we have chosen to place military buttons not in the military objects class of the Activities Group but rather in the Clothing Group. We have done this largely based on the historical documents which fail to reveal any substantial military presence at Fish Haul, but which document the extensive use of military uniforms by the contrabands. Military insignia other than buttons have been left in the Activities Group because it seems unlikely that freedmen would have been given these items.

A large quantity of the historic artifacts from Fish Haul have required some form of conservation by Chicora prior to curation by The Environmental and Historical Museum of Hilton Head Island. Ceramic and glass artifacts did not require stabilization after the initial washing; reconstruction was conducted with a butyl acetate glue reversible with acetone or boiling water.

The bulk of the recovered objects requiring conservation were made of ferrous metal. All ferrous objects (except nails, which were so numerous as to require sampling) were treated in one of two ways. After the mechanical removal of gross encrustatious the artifact was tested for sound metal by the use of a magnet. Items lacking sound metal were subjected to multiple baths of tap and then distilled water to remove chlorides. The baths were continued until either a silver nitrate test (Plenderleith and Werner 1971:201) or a conductivity meter indicated a level of chlorides no greater than 1.0 ppm. This technique was also used for fragile metal artifacts, such as tin cans. These items were eventually given a micro-crystalline wax coat, not only to seal out moisture, but also to provide some additional strength. Items which contained sound metal were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a bath of sodium carbonate solution in currents no greater than 4.5 volts DC (Hamilton n.d.) for periods of 5 to 20 days. When all visible corrosion was removed, the artifacts were wire brushed and placed in a series of tap and distilled water soaks, identical to those described above, for the removal of chlorides. When the artifact tested free of chlorides, it was air dried and a series of phosphoric (10%) and tannic (20%) acid solutions were applied. The artifacts were oven dried at a temperature of 200^{o}F (93^{o}C) for 20 minutes, then dipped in a molten micro-crystaline wax solution, and then placed back in a heated oven for 5 minutes to allow the excess wax to drain off.

Normally, the types of non-ferrous objects (copper, brass, silver) recovered from Fish Hall would not require conversation unless they evidenced active corrosion (such as bronze disease in the case of cuprous artıfacts). However, Chicora undertook the treatment of virtually all non-ferrous remains to ensure their stability in the Museum's collections. Artifacts were subjected to electrolytic reduction in a sodium carbonate solution with up to 5 volts DC for periods of 1 to 24 hours. Hand cleaning with soft brass brushes or xxxx-grade steel wool followed the electrolysis. Afterwards the surface chlorides were removed with baths in distilled water. The cuprous artifacts were dried with a series of alcohol baths and were then coated with a 50% solution of Incralac thinned with toluene. Non-cuprous artifacts, such as sterling or coin silver, were dried, buffed, and stored. Following treatments all non-ferrous artifacts were handled with cotton gloves, so as to limit the artifact's exposure to moisture and salt.

The small amount of leather recovered from the marsh was first soaked in successive tap water baths to remove chlorides. The leather was also mechanically cleaned to remove mud and rootlets. Afterwards a small quantity of ammonium hydroxide was added to neutralize the acıd found in the marsh environment. The bulk of the water was removed by blotting and the specimens were placed in a series of alcohol baths to dry the leather. Once removed, the alcohol was allowed to evaporate and the specimens were bathed in a solution of warm British Museum Leather Dressing. Upon removal they were blotted and allowed to air dry (see van Soest et al. 1984).

Only one provenance, an auger test in the marsh, yielded wood and cork which required conservation. While still largely experimental, we utilized the sucrose technique recently discussed by Parrent (1985) with excellent results.

Kitchen Artifact Group

Unit excavations produced 8767 Kitchen Group artifacts, while the features contributed another 832 artifacts for a total of 9590. These included 2395 ceramics (27.3% of the group total), 1776 melted glass fragments of undeterminate function (20.2% of the group total), 1261 fragments of wine or ale bottles (14.4% of the group total), 604 fragments of alcoholic bottles (6.9% of the group total), 72 specimens of non-alcoholic bottle glass (0.8% of the group total), 242 fragments of panel bottles (2.8% of the group total), 29 food or condiment container fragments, seven pharmaceutical glass specimens, 1776 fragments of unıdentifıed bottle or container glass (20.2% of the group total), 454 glass fragments of indeterminate function (5.2% of the group total), and 25 sherds of Colono ware (6) or Catawba (19) (0.3% of the group total). Drinking contaıners included 134 tumbler fragments

(1.5% of the group total), 44 goblet fragments, 16 syllubub fragments, and four glass cups or mugs, and one metal cup. Seven milk glass vessel fragments and one glass pitcher fragment were also recovered. Metal food cans were represented by 680 specimens (7.7% of the group total). Eating and serving utensils were represented by 25 items (0.3% of the group total). Bottle closure items included one crown cap, three fragments of lead foil, one threaded metal cap, and one lightening closure. Other remains included 21 kettle fragments, 12 pot or pan fragments, one appliance (probable stove) foot, and one fireplace hook.

The ceramics included a variety of primarily nineteenth century types. Earlier ceramics included a single sherd of plain white delft (mean ceramic date of 1720, range of 1640-1800) (Noel Hume 1970:105-112; South 1977:211-212), two fragments of lead glazed slipware (mean ceramic date of 1733, range of 1670-1795) (South 1977:211), and 19 sherds of undecorated creamware (mean ceramic date of 1791, range of 1762-1820) (Noel Hume 1970:123-128: South 1977:212). The creamwares are recognized by an off-white (cream colored) paste and a distinctive yellowish lead glaze which exhibits a greenish color where thickly puddled (Brown 1982:15-16; Norman-Wilcox 1965:139).

Pearlware, characterized by a cream colored paste and a blue to white glaze, was perfected by Josiah Wedgwood in 1779 (Noel Hume 1970:128; Price 1979; South 1977:212). The most common type is undecorated (N=216), which probably represents fragments of an edge decorated ware. Decorated pearlwares include 32 blue hand-painted (Figure 57A-B) (mean ceramic date 1800, range of 1780-1820), 13 polychrome hand-painted (mean ceramic date of 1805, range of 1795-1815), 60 annular ware (Figure 57C-D) (mean ceramic date of 1805, range of 1790-1820), 23 blue transfer printed (Figure 57E-G) (including the willow pattern) (mean ceramic date of 1818, range of 1795-1840), and 76 edged wares (Figure 57H-I) (73 blue, three green) (mean ceramic date of 1805, range of 1780-1830) (Noel Hume 1970:128-132; South 1977:212).

The edge decorated wares included the shell-edge motif, as well as other molded designs typical of pearlwares, such as plumes (Price 1979:17). Most of the pearlware edge decorated wares are well painted (Figure 57I), which suggests a 1780-1795 date range (Brown 1982:18; Noel Hume 1970:131; Price 1979:18), although the better painted wares continued into the nineteenth century. The annular decorated fragments likewise suggest an earlier date range because of the earthen color palette (Noel Hume 1970:131; Price 1979:18). The blue transfer printed pearlwares are found in a dark cobalt blue, as are the handpainted specimens. The polychrome hand painted pearlware specimens exhibit earthen colors (Noel Hume 1970:128-129; Price 1979:20-21).

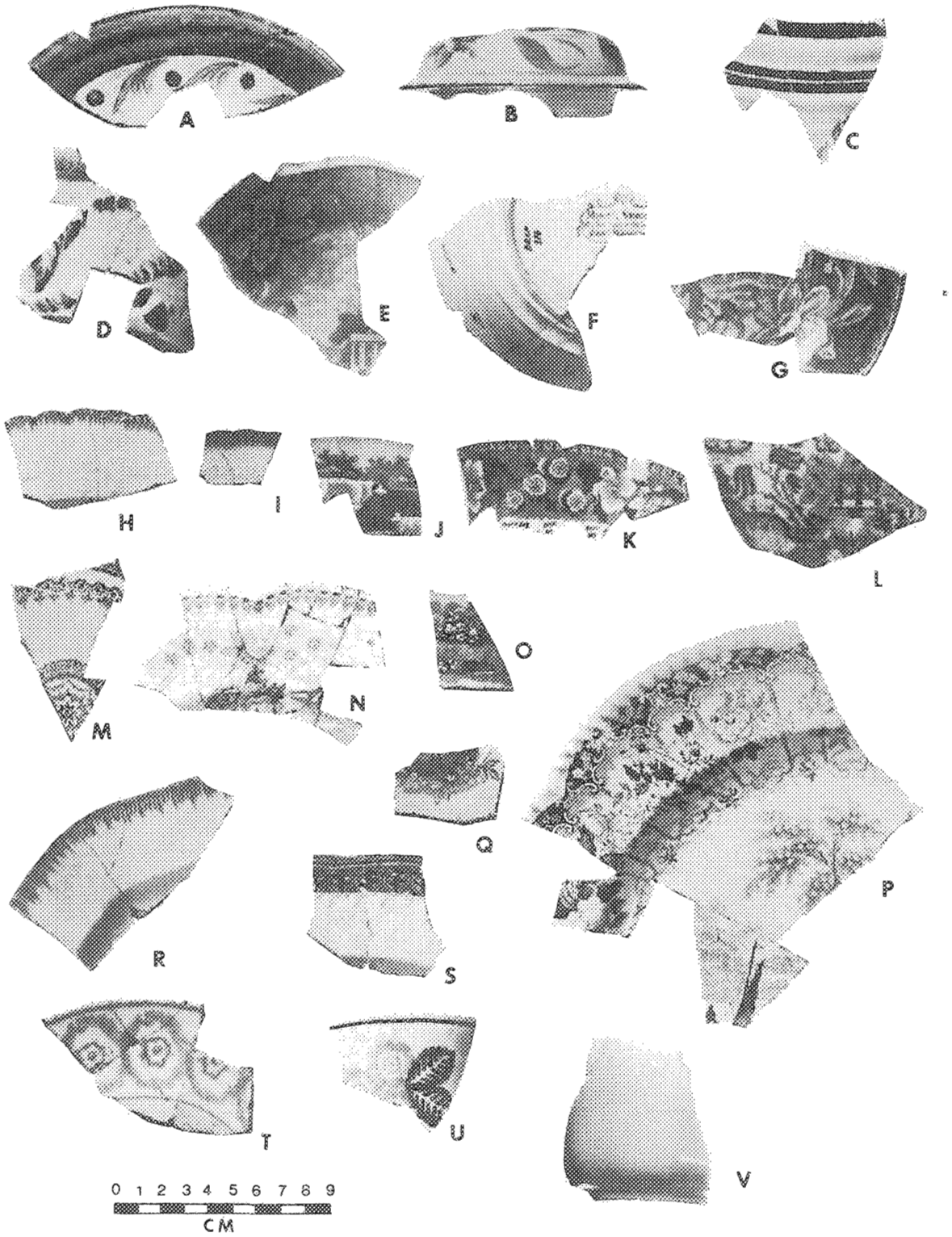

Figure 57. Kitchen Artifact Group. A-B, Blue handpainted pearlware; C-D, annual and common cable pearlware; F-G, blue transfer printed pearlware; H-I, edged pearlware; J-L, Blue transfer printed whiteware; Q, non-blue transfer printed whiteware with underglaze polychrome handpainting; R-S, edged whiteware; T-V, stamped whiteware, V, soft body white porcelain.

Five pearlware ceramics evidence maker's (or possibly size) marks. A number of blue transfer printed specimens are printed with "Mount Vernon - the seat of the late Genl Washington" on the reverse and one specimen is impressed with a capital "N" (Figure 57F). This impression could not be identified as a marker's mark so it probably represents either a size designation or the artisan. The reference to "the late Genl Washington" indicates a post 1799 date and Sanford suggests "American views," such as Mount Vernon, were popular in the 1820s and 1830s (Trisha Sanford, personal communication 1985).

Two plain pearlware specimens bear the crown and circle motif of James and Ralph Clews, who operated the Cobridge works in the Staffordshire District from 1818 to 1834 (Godden 1964b:151-152). Boger (1971:73) notes that the Clews produced a good quality ware, primarily for the American trade.

An unidentified flower or star motif has also been observed on an undecorated pearlware ceramic. A similar mark is observed with a printed mark for T. Fell and Co. (Bell 1971:141, mark m45). Although it is not clear if this mark represents a size designation or is exclusively associated with T. Fell, it appears to date between 1817 and 1890.

The final example of marked pearlware is an impressed "C" on a dark blue transfer printed pattern. While this may indicate a size or craftsman, it is more likely to indicate that the vessel was produced in Cobridge and is Staffordshire (Bell 1971:25). Unfortunately, this is not useful for dating the piece.

A single example of yellow-glazed earthenware with a red transfer print was recovered from Fish Hall. Miller describes this ware as "a type of creamware or pearlware distinguished by an overall yellow glaze" (Miller 1974:1). These wares were produced from about 1785 to 1835 (mean ceramic date of 1810) (Miller 1974:59) and are found in nearly all the common creamware and pearlware forms except complete dinner services. The most common form was the jug or pitcher, while next in popularity was the mug, which was frequently transfer printed (Miller 1974:44). This pottery is often called "canary yellow" by collectors because of its background color.

The largest category of ceramics from Fish Hall consists of whiteware (N=1244). The difficulty distinguishing between whiteware and ironstone has been previously discussed by South (1974:247-248), who uses an "ironstone-whiteware" category, and Price (1979:11), who uses a "whiteware" category which includes ironstone. Both researchers point out that differentiating between whiteware and ironstone using vessel hardness (or degree of vitrification) is an

uncertain or even invalid approach (cf. Worthy 1982). South remarks that,

> [t]he hardness, which is a major means of distinguishing these types, is so variable that often a vessel with a hardness of earthenware will have "Ironstone China," or some similar designation as part of its mark (South 1974:248).

Such a situation is present at Fish Hall. Consequently, the collection is discussed under the term whiteware, although there are a few examples (N=28) which evidence greater vitrification and which some researchers might prefer to categorize as ironstone.

Undecorated whiteware includes 791 specimens (including the 28 fragments or more vitrified ceramics). Price notes that while undecorated whitewares "were probably introduced somewhat earlier [than decorated varieties], undecorated whiteware vessels were most common in the period following the Civil War" (Price 1979:22). Rather than using the broad category of "whiteware" for dating all specimens, regardless of decoration, we have chosen to use the dates offered by Bartovics (1978) and Orser et al. (1983). Plain whiteware therefore has a mean ceramic date of 1872.5. Other decorative motifs include nine molded (mean ceramic date of 1885), 121 blue transfer printed (Figure 57J-L) (mean ceramic date of 1872.5), 114 non-blue transfer printed (Figure 57M-Q) (mean ceramic date of 1875), six green edged (mean ceramic date of 1828), 70 blue edged (Figure 57R-S) (mean ceramic date of 1853), 32 blue hand-painted (mean ceramic date of 1840.5), 43 polychrome handpainted (mean ceramic date of 1848), 28 annular ware (mean ceramic date of 1865.5), three sponge printed (mean ceramic date of 1853) and 26 stamped (Figure 57 T-U)(mean ceramic date of 1853). In addition a single sherd was recovered with an unidentifiable blue decoration. These motifs are discussed in detail by Price (1979), although a few motifs bear further comment.

The non-blue transfer prints at Fish Hall include red, brown, purple, and black. A single example of a purple transfer print with yellow, green, and red under glaze handpainting was also recovered. The stamped motif, which is polychrome, usually with a fairly stylized floral design, is given the same mean date as the sponged motif because Price (1979:20) notes that the two are commonly found together.

The absence of several popular early twentieth century whiteware ceramics may be useful in providing an indication of the site's terminal date. No polychrome decal or decalcomania wares, with a beginning date of 1901, or tinted

glaze whitewares, with a beginning date of 1911, were found (Bartovics 1978). This suggests that the excavated site areas were not occupied into the twentieth century.

Seven whiteware ceramics evidence at least partially legible maker's marks. Two Clews impressions, previously described for the pearlwares, were identified on whitewares sherds. These Staffordshire specimens were produced prior to 1834 (Godden 1964b:151-152). Several examples of printed "Celtic" on a brown transfer print (called Venetian Pattern) were found, one with an impressed "L". Godden notes that "Celtic China" was produced by John Denton Baxter of Hanley in the Staffordshire District between 1823 and 1827 (Godden 1964b:61-62, 135). The impressed "L" cannot indicate the name of the town in which the ware was produced (Bell 1971:25), so it may designate size for carftsman.

A post-1837 British Royal Arms printed motif combined with "J.G. Meakin Ironstone China" was found on an undecorated whiteware. Godden (1964:427) indicates that Meakin began operations in 1851 at the Eagle Pottery and Eastwood Works, Hanley (Staffordshire). Although the identical design is not illustrated by Godden, a similar motif dates to about 1890. The absence of "England" added to the mark may indicate a date prior to the McKinley Tarriff Act of 1891.

Two ceramics with partial marks clearly indicate only their place of manufacture -- Burslem and Stoke on Trent. Burslem, one of the Staffordshire Potteries, was the home of Josiah Wedgwood from 1759-1769 until he moved to Etruria (Boger 1971:48, 366-367). Although a number of potters operated from Burslem during the nineteenth century, John Wedge Wood most closely matches the faint ımpression above Burslem. Wood operated from 1841-1844 (Godden 1964a:22). Stoke on Trent is a federated town in North Staffordshire which contained a number of potters.

The final mark, found on a purple transfer printed whiteware, is incomplete and has not been identified. The stamped mark includes only ". . . 00LISCRO . . . ."

A single burnt earthenware also evidences an impressed mark, which will be discussed here for convenience. The mark incorporates an anchor and "DAVENPORT." While Godden does not illustrate an identical mark, he does indicate that the uppercase mark post-dates 1805 and that the wares were produced until 1887 (Godden 1964b:189).

A distinction is made between the whitewares and the semi-porcelains or "Hotel Ware," which is stronger, more vitrified, but still opaque and hence not a true porcelain. These semi-porcelains post-date 1870 (George Miller, personal

communication 1985; Ramsey 1947:109). The two examples from Fish Haul both have a black transfer print.

Yellowware, distinct from the yellow-glazed earthenwares of the eighteenth century, is simple kitchen and tableware with a buff or yellow paste and a clear glaze (Ramsey 1947:7). Both plain specimens (N=60) and ones decorated with bands of white, blue, and black (N=21) are recovered (Ramsey 1947:150-151). Foshee (1984:100) suggests a date range of 1830 to 1880, while Bartovics (1978) suggests a range of 1826-1880, for a mean date of 1853. The samples from Fish Haul appear to be from American factories, but none are marked. Typical vessel forms include round rim oval bakers, square bakers, nappies (shallow, open serving dishes with flat bottoms), bowls (from 1/2 pint to 4 gallons), lipped bowls, chamber pots, pie plates, covered butter pots, bed pans, custard cups, and mugs (1903 Robinson Clay Product Company catalog reprinted in Blair 1965).

The Fish Haul collections contain 21 examples of redware, an early form of low fired earthenware made from red colored clays. Glazes may be found on one or both surfaces, or the vessel may be unglazed. Glazes found at Fish Haul include clear (N=7; lead), black (N=12; iron and manganese oxides), and green (N=1; copper oxides) (Brown 1982:20-21; Lasansky 1979:5; Ramsay 1947:128). Seven unglazed specimens are also present. These redwares were locally produced during the entire nineteenth century and are therefore difficult to date. In Pennsylvania redware production began in 1780 and continued to 1904 (Lasansky 1979:6).

Other earthenwares include burnt specimens (N=87) and unidentified sherds (N=4). The burnt specimens are all refined earthenwares, probably pearlwares or whitewares, but the paste and glaze have been damaged to the point that an identification is not possible. The unidentified items are small and/or atypical specimens.

Porcelains are fine-grained, highly vitrified, white bodied wares which are usually translucent. Three types are present at Fish Haul. The first, represented by only one specimen, is an example of the deteriorated Chinese traded termed Canton (Noel Hume 1970:261-262). South (1977:210) provides a mean ceramic date of 1815 and date range of 1800 to 1830. The second type includes 11 examples of a cream colored soft paste porcelain (Ramsay are later in date than the Chinese specimen. Nine of the specimens exhibit a worn over glaze handpainted decoration. The largest collection of porcelain (N=33) consists of soft paste specimens with a sharp white color (Figure 57V). These examples probably represent American late nineteen century porcelain.

Two major categories of stoneware are present at Fish Haul: alkaline glazed (N-359) and salt glazed (N=95). Seven additional specimens represent a relatively shiny brown Albany slip glaze. The alkaline glazed stonewares are discussed by Burrison (1975) and Greer (1977, 1981). This glaze, distinctively Southern, was developed about 1910 in Edgefield District, South Carolina and it spread into North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Texas. The glaze consists of an alkaline flux (such as wood ashes or slaked lime) combined with silica (such as clay, sand, or glass) and water. The colors range from cream to browns in oxidized pots and from pale yellow-greens to deep olive in the pots fired in a reducing atmosphere. The glaze, which is hard and durable, exhibits a variety of textures depending on firing conditions, temperature, and preparation techniques.

Greer notes that,

> [t]he alkaline glaze would probably never have become so widely used if the South had not been separated from industrialized northern areas of this country during the Civil War and so economically depressed after the war that it remained rural and remote for several decades (Greer 1981:203).

It should not be surprising to find an abundance of this ware at Mitchelville and Ramsey suggests that it was even available during the war years,

> [t]he war intensified this tendency to crude simplicity, as the tremendous scarcity of manufacture goods developed the domestic pottery industry. The potters were exempt from military service, so great was the demand for their ware (Ramsay 1947:89).

Salt glazing was introduced in England during the late 1600s, but all of the examples from Fish Haul appear to represent nineteenth century samples of probable industrial, wheel thrown pottery. The process and types of salt glazed pottery are described by Greer (1981:180-192). The texture of salt glazing may vary from a very fine salt texture with a thin glaze to a well-developed "orange peel" texture to an extremely heavy salt texture with runs and agglutinations. Colors (reflecting impurities in the clay) include pearl gray (several with cobalt decoration) and orange.

Several examples of salt glazed ale bottles with cream bodies and a tan wash on the necks are observed. Wilson notes that ale, a strong, fermented malt beverage, had a higher alcoholic content than beer and was able to be

transported more easily (Wilson 1981:7). By 1805 the Scottish firm of William Younger was packaging its ale in salt glazed stoneware bottles and shipping them to the United States. Wilson also notes that few bottles bear the impressed stamps of their manufacturer, but this does not allow association with particular breweries. One stamped impression from "GROSVENOR/4/GLASGOW." Wilson notes that,

> [t]his firm was first known as the Bridgeton Pottery and was built in 1869 by F. Grosvenor. The Pottery came to be called Eagle Pottery and the firm to be known as F. Grosvenor & Sons. It was still in operation in 1923 (Wilson 1981:130).

One salt glazed bottle has a gently sloping shoulder and is finished with a narrow, sloping collar without a ring, (Figure 58A). This nearly whole specimen has a greenish gray color, suggestive of a calcium rich clay (Greer 1981:192).

The last category, that of clay or slip glazes, includes only those pieces having no evidence of saltglazing, e.g., Albany and Bristol slips. Greer notes that these slips were becoming significant by the beginning of the nineteenth century and the Albany slip was discovered in 1825 (Greer 1981:194).

The major types of pottery from Mitchelville are summarized by Table 12. Refined earthenwares are most common, although stoneware tends to compose almost 10% of the collection.

Seven of the nine blocks have sufficient sherds to warrant application of South's Mean Ceramic Date Formula (South 1977:217-218). The dates range from 1836.3 for the 91-92 block to 1869.3 for the largest historic block, 160-161. Ignoring the 91-92 block for the moment, the earliest Mitchelville date is 1855.3 from the northernmost 39-40-47-48 block. Reference to Table 13 reveals that this date is earlier than the expected beginning date for Mitchelville because of the pearlware ceramic and the extremely small sample size. It is likely that this date simply reflects a time lag in use of ceramics. The remaining five Mitchelville dates cluster from 1866.4 to 1869.2, a 2.9 year span. This seems to be very tight dating, particularly since each date relates to different site area (or structure). If the historic date range of Mitchelville is accepted as 1862 to 1880, its mean historic date is 1870.5. This mean historic date is only 1.2 years later than the mean ceramic date for the 160-161 block and only 2.5 years later than the mean of the five clustered mean ceramic dates.

Whiteware	1244	
Pearlware	420	
Creamware	19	
Yellow-glazed	1	
Yellowware	81	
Redware	27	
Lead glazed slipware	2	
Delft	1	
Other	91	
Total Earthenwares	1886	78.7%
Salt glazed stoneware	95	
Alkaline glazed stoneware	359	
Slip glazed stoneware	7	
Total Stonewares	461	19.2%
Semi-porcelains	2	
Canton porcelain	1	
Soft porcelains	45	
Total Porcelains	48	2.0%

Table 12. Major types of pottery from Mitchelville (including both excavation units and features).

The mean date from the 91-92 block is anomalous. Feature 10, within the 91-92 block, produces a mean ceramic date of 1835.9, only 0.4 year different than the excavation units. This block contains 100% of the creamware, 98% of the pearlware, and the only delft found in the site excavations. The rather sizable collection of whiteware from the block (which if considered alone would yield a mean ceramic date of 1867.3) provides a TPQ of 1826 to 1830, based on the polychrome hand-painted whitewares. The ceramics support the previous assessment that this midden, formed from the disposal of garbage having a considerable temporal span, was deposited on the bluff sometime after about 1830. We believe that the mean ceramic date for the whitewares (1867.3) may provide a good indication of its period of disposition.

The next collection to be considered in the Kitchen Artifact group is the container glass. The 1261 fragments of wine or ale bottles include fragments of an olive green color which appear black in reflected light. Bottles with thicker walls, gentle lines, and kick ups are attributed to champagne, wine, or brandies. Those with thinner walls, pronounced shoulder, and a flat base were probably stout bottles (the presence of stoneware ale bottles has been

		Mean Date (xi)	39-40-47-48 Block # (fi)	fi xi	91-92 Block # (fi)	fi xi	110-123 Block # (fi)	fi·xi	129-141 Block # (fi)	fi xi	130-131 Block # (fi)	fi·xi	160-161 Block # (fi)	fi·xi	218 Block # (fi)	fi xi
Delft	undec	1720			1	1720										
Creamware	undec	1781			19	34029										
Pearlware	undec.	1805			156	281580	1	1805					4	7220		
	blue hp	1800			32	57600										
	poly hp	1805			13	23465										
	annular	1805			55	99275			1	1805						
	blue tp	1818	1	1818	16	29088										
	blue edge	1805			49	88445										
	green edge	1805			3	5415										
Yellow glazed ware		1810			1	1810										
Whiteware	undec.	1875 5	3	5617 5	140	262150	154	288365	5	9377 5	14	26215	389	728402 5	38	71155
	blue hp	1840 5			27	49693 5			1	1840 5			3	5521 5		
	poly hp	1848	1	1848	18	33264	3	5540					16	29568	2	3696
	annular	1885 5			5	9327 5	10	18655					5	9327 5	7	13058 5
	blue tp	1872 5			97	181632 5	2	3745	3	5617 5	2	3745	4	7490	1	1872 5
	non blue	1875			81	151875	1	7412	3	5625			30	56250		
	blue edge	1853	3	5559	46	85238	4	1875	3	5596 5	2	3706	6	11118	2	3706
	green edge	1828			3	5484					1	1828				
	stumped	1853					8	14824					18	33354		
	sponged	1853											1	1853	2	1853
	molded	1885											9	16965		
	UID								1						3	
Ironstone		1872 5					10	18725					17	31832 5		
Yellowware	undec	1853					6	11118					48	88944	3	5559
	banded	1853					8	14824					10	18530	1	1853
Redware	clear lead glaze				8		4						7			
	blk lead glaze															
	green lead glaze												1			
	unglazed				1								6			
Slipware	lead glazed														1	
Other earthenwares					47		5						9			
Stoneware	alkaline glazed				5								353			
	salt glazed				6								65		2	
	clay ship glazed												1		6	
	Ginger beer (SG)	1860											18	33480	1	1860
Porcelain	semi				2											
	canton blue on white	1815					1	1815								
	soft				11								26		3	
MCD				1855 3		1836 3		1868 7		1866 4		1868 1		1869 3		1867 8

Table 13. Mean ceramic dates for the larger Mitchelville blocks.

previously discussed). Although both are present, the stout bottles appear more common, possibly because of their lower cost. One probable stout bottle is marked "DYOTTSVILLE/GLASS/WORKS/PHILA" on its base. The colorful "Dr." Dyott is discussed by McKearin and McKearin (1948:468-470) and Thoulouse (1971:171) notes that the "Dyottsville" mark was used from 1833 until at least 1926 (see also Newman 1977:101).

The collection termed simply alcoholic bottles includes beer, whiskey (or other liquor), and bitters. Beer bottles tended to be recognized by transparent green or amber glass with strong shoulders and a slightly bulbous neck. Beer, because of its unstable nature, was not a transportable commodity until the significance of pasteurization was recognized by Adolphus Busch in 1873. Wilson notes that after that, "[n]ational distribution of his pasteurized product began immediately" (Wilson 1981:1). By 1881 the Charleston, S.C. firm of James Cosgrove was distributing three brands of ale, two brands of stout, and three lager beers (Annual Price List and Circular of James Cosgrove, S.C. Historical Society).

Whiskey was usually transported in barrels or kegs and repackaged by the local vender in glass containers (Wilson 1981:13-14). For this reason the 1881 Cosgrove price list contains one-half pint, pint, and quart amber flasks for sale (Annual Price List and Circular of James Cosgrove, S.C. Historical Society). Whiskey bottles might be colorless or amber glass, although the shoo-fly flask is characteristic (see Wilson 1981:16). One such reconstructable vessel was recovered from the Mitchelville excavations. Several bottle fragments in blue-green transparent glass evidence a molded brick pattern. Although no similar bottle has yet been encountered, Spillman (1833:88) notes that one whiskey bottle was molded in the shape of a house with a shingled gable roof and that this style was imitated by a variety of bottlers into the twentieth century. Square or tapering "case bottles" (or "French squares") were used for schnapps and gin (Wilson 1981:17-18), several of which have been recovered from these excavations. One case bottle reveals the name "DUNBAR % CO.," which apparently is a reference to the (S.O.) Dunbar and Company of Tauton, Massachusetts, which sold Wormwood Cordial (Lord 1969:133, 152). This square bottle, with beveled edges, is known as a "French Square" and was introduced to the market shortly after 1861 (Lorrain 1968:44).

Bitters, as a product, are only a step away from the "patent" and proprietary medicines of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Bitters were made from a variety of botanical substances, aromatic flavorings, alcohol (up to 40%), and occasionally sugar. A variety of cures were claimed and Wilson notes,

> bitters could be consumed without censure or guilt by women or others finding themselves in an environment influenced by the temperance movement. Doubtless there were guileless souls who took it regularly, sincerely believing in its medicinal value, as well as confirmed drinkers who cared not at all about its health benefits as long as its alcoholic content held up (Wilson 1981:24).

Several bottles have been definitely identified as Drake's Plantation Bitters. Drake's Plantation Bitters were packaged in the shape of a log cabin with a hop roof. Two sides have molded logs, while the two remaining sides were flat to allow placement of paper labels. One roof face contains the molded inscription, "S. T. DRAKE/1860/PLANTATION/X/BITTERS." These bottles date from 1862 to 1885 (see Spillman 1983:89, Switzer 1974: 36-40; Wilson 1981:24).

Midway between alcohol and medicine were also the various proprietary or "patent" medicines, frequently packaged in panel bottles (Figure 58B-E). While these concoctions frequently contained a high percentage of alcohol, Wilson notes that it would be a mistake to assume these preparations were primarily consumed for their alcohol. He notes that nineteenth century living conditions were such that there were a "plethora of fevers and aches" to which proprietary medicines were routinely applied (Wilson 1981:39). That these "medicines" were frequently used as intended is evidenced by Cramp (1911, 1921, 1936). A number of reconstructable panel bottles were recovered, including both panel and ball neck panels, and with sloping-collar, prescription-lip, and patent/extract lip finishes. Unfortunately, none of the labels had inscriptions, nor do any indicate the bottle maker. Glass color includes clear and light green. Although Lorrain (1968:40) states that lettered panel bottles appeared about 1867, Jack Wilson, Jr. (personal communication 1986) reports finding lettered panel bottles in sealed contexts dating to the mid-1860's.

The relatively small quantity of non-alcoholic bottle glass includes primarily soda (and possibly mineral) water bottles of transparent green to blue-green glass. Bottle bases recovered were both round and flat bases. The round bases suggest cork closures, while one specimen still evidence part of a "lightening" stopper wire (patented in the United States in 1882) (Figure 58F). A single crown cap stopper found in the collections was first used in 1892 (Lorrain 1968:42). These bottles date from the second half of the nineteenth century, with their popularity in Charleston, South Carolina, at its height from the 1840s

through the late 1980s. The James Cosgrove circular of 1881 remarks that,

> [w]ith the commencement of the warm weather our Soda Water, Sarsaparilla and Ginger Ale will be in demand. Last season many firms not directly in the liquor business handled these goods with great success (Annual Price List and Circular of James Cosgrove, 1881, p. 4, South Carolina Historical Society).

Cosgrove offered soda water at the wholesale price of about 2 cents a bottle, but specified that "the prices do not include bottles or cases, they are to be returned, and are considered our own property, and purchasers are required to make good all loss of bottles" (Annual Price List and Circular of James Cosgrove, 1881, p. 8, South Carolina Historical Society). Cosgrove dispensed this soda water in bottles imprinted with his firm's name and location (Robinson and Holcombe 1970:6-8) to the retailers and local venders. This distribution system is of significance as it appears that only well established firms would be inclined to order imprinted bottles and go into this business. One soda water bottle from Mitchelville evidences the molded lettering "JOHN KNECHTLE/HILTON HEAD." Information on this firm has not yet been obtained, although Lord (1969) does not list Knechtle as a sulter which suggests a post-1865 date. It is interesting that Hilton Head, which was relatively isolated from major commercial centers, developed this type of merchant.

The identified food or condiment glass included several bottles similar to the "gothic" pickle jars illustrated by Wilson (1981:89) and Switzer (1974:50-57) (Figure 58-G). Also recovered was a fragment identifiable to Lea and Perrins, which Wilson (1981:134) dates from 1858 to 1890 and which Lord (1969:134) dates to as early as 1837. In addition, six canning jar fragments, post-dating 1858 (Lorrain 1968-40), were identified. The failure to identify a larger number of canning jars (cf. Lorrain 1968:40) may relate to the economic and social condition of the freedmen. Although the knowledge of canning spread rapidly among some groups, cookbooks did not include directions for canning until the 1880s (Toulouse 1977:99) and one of the WPA goals of the early twentieth century was to encourage canning and home hygiene among rural blacks (Bloxom 1982).

The very small quantity of pharmaceutical glass (Figure 58H-K), especially when compared to the quantity of proprietary medicine bottles, suggest that "real" medicines were much less common than "off-the-shelf" cures. The identified items include a small, brown vial of clear glass with a flangled lip and an intact homeopathic vial of light green glass with a thickened, plain-lip finish. Recovered

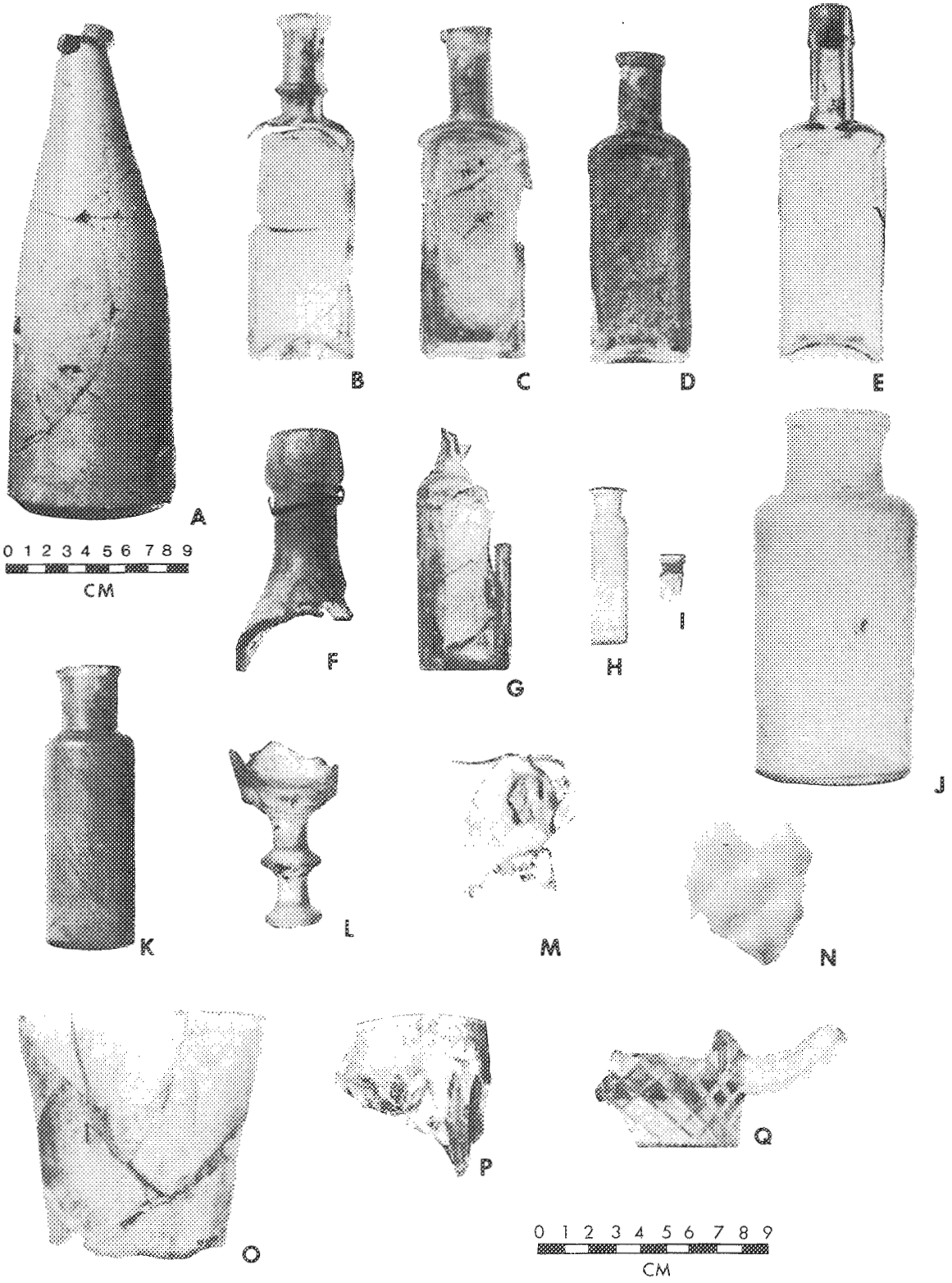

Figure 58. Kitchen Artifact Group. A, salt-glazed ale bottle; B-E, panel bottles; F, soda bottle neck with "lightening" wire stopper; G, gothic type food container; H-J, pharmaceutical glass; L-M, stemware; N, "Sawtooth" pressed milk glass; O-P, tumblers; Q, mug.

from the surface (and not included in the previous tabulations) is a larger medicine or chemical bottle with a slightly thickened, plain lip finish (Figure 58J).

The sherds of Colono or Catawba pottery bear special, if only brief, attention. The most cogent published discussion of these wares is provided by Wheaten et al. (1983:225-250, who suggest that the low-fired earthenwares were produced by both black slaves for their own use and by Indians for sale or trade. The two may be distinguished topologically, with the formerly called Colono and the latter Catawba (cf. Ferguson 1985). While there are a number of attributes separating the two wares, thickness and paste are of primary utility given the small specimens from Mitchelville. The Colono sherds tend to be thicker and have a coarser paste than the Catawba sherds, which are very similar to the paste of modern or dated Catawba vessels.

If Wheaton et al. (1983) are correct in their assessments, as we believe they are, then it may not be unexpected to see the use of Catawba vessels. Terry notes that,

> [s]ince the eighteenth century the Catawba had relief upon the production of their unique style of pottery as trading implements. As the fur trade declined, pottery production increased in economic importance. By 1900 the pottery trade was the principal means of income for many Catawbas living on the reservation (Terry n.d.:3).

Clearly, the vessels were available during the entire nineteenth century. Presumably more evidence of them is not found because the freedmen, released from the forced use of this style of pottery, chose to use other more commonly accessible, vessels.

Wheaton et al. (1983:225, 239) note that Colono pottery appears late in the seventeenth century, peaks in popularity (or at least abundance) during the eighteenth century, and appears to die out by about 1830. In spite of this, Colono pottery is found in very small quantities at Mitchelville. The pottery may indicate heirloom pieces that were disposed of, just as the pearlware indicates continued use of a dated ceramic ware. An alternate explanation, with some historical support, is that Colono ware continued to be produced up to the Civil War, at which time freedmen simply abandoned its manufacture and use in favor of more accessible, and inexpensive, glazed ceramics. Colono ware pottery has been tentatively identified from the ditch fill at Somerset Place Plantation in North Carolina. Since cleaning this ditch system was a major task on the antebellum plantation, these

finds suggest that the pottery may be found in the post-bellum period in North Carolina (Terry Harper, personal communication 1986).

It is certain that Africans, probably familiar with traditional crafts, continued to be illegally imported into the Beaufort area up to the Civil War. This is evidenced by a letter written on February 17, 1865 by John S. Bogert, a Union officer stationed on Hilton Head. He wrote, "I have two original africans in my Regt. They came over in the Bark [illegible]" (South Carolina Historical Society Manuscripts Collection). In addition, blacks apparently continued to make pottery past 1850 and probably up to the 1860s. This is evidenced by a single statement following the "verbation conversation" with Uncle Albert Carolina. The statement, part of the WPA slave narrative program, was collected by Genevieve Chandler at Murrells Inlet in 1937. Uncle Albert Carolina was reported to be 87 at that time, which means he was born sometime around 1850. At the end of his narrative Chandler adds the parenthetical statement that, "[a] description followed of how his grand-parents built a kiln of clay pots and baked them" (Rawick 1972:2:198). It is regrettable that the description was not recorded by Chandler or that it was not retained in the edited copy. An examination of the WPA narratives at the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress failed to identify Chandler's original, unedited version or any further information. The brief mention does, however, indicate that blacks wee still manufacturing pottery into the mid-nineteenth century. It also supports the contention by Wheaton et al. (1983:238) that the pottery was fired above ground.

The drinking containers from Mitchelville represent a mixed lot, including tumblers, mugs, goblet or wine glasses, and syllubub glasses. The goblets and syllubub glasses suggest high status stemware, although most of the goblets are actually inexpensive pressed glass. Only one fragment, representing a partial centrally knopped stem and bucket bowl, is blown from lead metal (based on a hydrofluoric acid and ammonium sulphide spot test) (Figure 58L). McNally illustrates a very similar piece, noting that,

> [w]hile this shape was typical for british stemware in the first quarter of the 19th century ..., this glass was deposited in the 1830s or the 1840s (McNally 1982:126).

He further notes that this "antique" style "fascinated and sold well for the increasingly tradition-conscious British glass industry" into the mid-nineteenth century. As this piece comes from the 91-92 block it probably represents an older, high status item removed from a plantation house. The two partially reconstructable feet (both from the 161-162

block) are very low, almost disc shaped, and mold made from purple or amethyst glass which dates from 1880 to 1925 (Newman 1970:74) (Figure 58M).

The tumblers include both lime and lead metal (again based on a hydrofluoric acid and ammonium sulphide spot test), but most are pressed glass. One specimen from the 161-162 block is a tumbler base of lead metal which was of off hand manufacture (Figure 580). This example is a fluted style typical of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (McNally 1982:124). This high status item almost clearly was removed from a plantation house.

A second tumbler example from the 161-162 block is of lime metal, made by press moulding (which post-dates 1827 (Figure 58P). The tumbler exhibits a "fine rib" pattern similar to an example illustrated by McNally (1982:138). He comments that the "fine rib" pattern was a press-molded imitation of cut motif known as "finger cutting" found on British cut glass of the late eighteenth century (McNally 1982:138).

An example of a mug from the 161-162 block is also worthy of comment. The item is colorless lead metal and is press-moulded with a simple cross-hatch pattern (Figure 58Q). Lorrain (1968:39) notes that pre-1850 pressed glass was of the "Lacy" pattern and McKearin and McKearin (1948:395) suggest that very little pressed glass was made of lead metal after the 1860s. It seems likely, therefore, that this item was manufactured between 1850 and about 1865 and that it represents a high status item removed from a plantation structure.

A fragment of milk glass from the 39-40-47-48 block appears to be an example of the Sawtooth pattern of pressed tablewares and the piece may have been a spoonholder (Figure 58N). McKearin and McKearin (1948:394-395), 401, Plate 210-7) suggest that pressed glass tablewares were introduced in the 1840s and that by the 1860s the simple patterns, such as Sawtooth, were giving way to more elaborate styles. These late nineteenth century elaborate styles are not represented in the Mitchelville collections, so these wares may have been taken from plantation houses, or, more likely, may have been purchased from store keepers who were passing off outdated merchandise.

Tin cans are abundant from Mitchelville, being found in four of the block excavations and five of the historic features. As discussed by Rock (1984) cans may be extremely useful emparl indicators for the mid to late nineteenth century. The hole-in-cap can provides a TPQ of 1820, stamped or flanged can ends provide a TPQ of 1847, machine soldered side seams provide a TPQ of 1883, and a double side seam provides a TPQ of 1888. Unfortunately, in the Mitchelville

collection it is difficult to distinguish between hand and machine soldering. The 161-162 and 110-123 blocks both evidence double side seam can fragments which provide good evidence that at least some trash was being disposed in these areas into the 1890s. Features 8 and 13 both contain evidence of lapped side seams and hence probably were deposited before 1888.

Intact, or nearly intact, cans are rare from Mitchelville, but examples of 3 1/4 (h) by 3 (d) inch (8.3 by 7.6 centimeter), and 7 (h) by 4 1/2 (d) inch (17.8 by 11.4 centimeter) cans were found. Other fragments suggest a round can between 4 and 5 inches (10.1 and 12.7 centimeters) in diameter and a 3 by 4 1/2 inch (7.6 by 11.4 centimeters) rectangular can of unknown depth. The 3 1/4 by 3 inch can is the correct size for an evaporated milk can and cans between 4 and 5 inches often contained fruit. The rectangular can does not fit the dimensions of sardine cans and it is therefore likely that it was a tapered tin, post-dating 1875, which contained something like corned beef (Lord 1975:65-66; Rock 1984).

The presence of these can fragments clearly reveals the use of "processed" and preserved food items by the Mitchelville inhabitants. Rock (1984:102) notes that by 1863 items such as sweet corn, chicken, turkey, duck, geese, fish, and beef were routinely canned, along with condensed milk. To that list Lord (1975:65) adds oysters, peaches, and pigeons. Prices were inflated by Hilton Head's remote location (American Missionary Association Archives, H6266), and it is likely that canned foods were considered luxury items.

The 25 utensils from Mitchelville include 11 handle fragments, three serving utensil handle fragments, two forks, six fragmentary spoons, and three fragmentary knives. The bulk of this collection consists of iron metal (N=14, 56%), although two brass (8%), two silver plate (8%) and two silver (8%) are also present. The remainder of the collection is made up of five bone handle fragments, probably from iron forks or knives.

The iron utensils are all representative of typical nineteenth century specimens. The spoon bowls are primarily oval, although a pointed oval specimen is present. The single fork is a two tine example which was originally fitted with a bone, wood, or ivory handle. Handles, probably of spoons, tend to be spatulate. The brass tablespoon has slightly upturned tipped fiddle handle and short front midrib. The shoulders are chamfered and flared. The bowl is oval and the overall length is 8 1/2 inches (21.6 centimeters). The fork is very similar, having a slightly upturned tipped fiddle handle with short front midrib and

chamfered flared shoulders. The four tine fork measures 7 1/2 inches (19.1 centimeters).

The two silver plated items include a handle fragment, possibly from a tablespoon, which exhibits a slightly downturned fiddle handle and very slightly flared shoulders. The other plated item is a fragment of an oval teaspoon bowl. The silver items include a spoon and a handle fragment. The spoon has a squared (possibly reworked spatulate) handle and an oval bowl with an oval drop. Marked on the handle back in Roman letters is "B.W." in a rectangle. This may be a mark for Bancroft Woodcock of Wilmington, Delaware, who was working from 1732 to 1817 (Belden 1980:454). The fragment is of a downturned spatulate handle. On the handle back is an illegible (worn) mark in a rectangle. A third, similar, coin silver handle fragment was looted from the site subsequent to our excavations. Inscribed in the handle front, in script, is EMS. On the back of the handle is marked in Roman letters SPEAR & JONES in a rectangle. This firm is not listed by Belden (1980), Burton (1942), or Thorn (1949), so the mark probably represents the distributor or merchant rather than the silversmith. Elizabeth Evans (personal communication 1986) of the Georgia Historical Society reports that the firm of Spear and Jones, a jewelry and watch store, was located in Savannah on the south side of Monument Square. They were advertising in 1841 and 1842 newspapers.

While the iron utensils are clearly of common nature and, because of mass production, inexpensively available, the silver plate and silver items, being handcrafted, are high status and of greater expense. It seems likely that these items were removed from plantation houses and found their way to Mitchelville. Two of the silver pieces came from the 91-92 block, the depository for a number of antebellum items, many of high status. The other two excavated pieces, however, came from the 161-162 block, clearly the house of a Mitchelville citizen. The final example was looted from the vicinity of the 110-123 block, also the location of a Mitchelville house site.

It will be noted from these discussions that nearly a quarter of the recovered utensils are handle fragments, which seems a rather high percentage. While we suppose that accidental breakage, or even willful destruction, is possible, it seems more likely that these artifacts represent an intentional modification of a metal utensil (probably spoons and forks). These utensil handles may be tools used to produce the rush and palmetto baskets characteristic of low country blacks today. Dale Rosengarten notes that,

> [f]or splitting the palmetto into strips and for making a space in the coil through which to pull the palm binder, basketmakers use a sewing awl they call a

> "bone" or a "nail-bone." Earlier sewers made this tool from an actual animal bone . . . . Nowadays, most Mt. Pleasant basket makers make their bones from metal teaspoons. They break off the bowl, hammer the neck flat and file it to a rounded point, then smooth and polish the surface by thrusting it repeatedly into the dirt (Rosengarten 1986:8; several "bones" are illustrated by Rosengarten on page 9).

Rosengarten notes that this basketmaking tradition developed from native African crafts during the antebellum period and was fostered as a means of self-support during the postbellum period (Rosengarten 1986:14-25; see also Vlach 1978). It is therefore reasonable to believe that the Mitchelville occupants were making baskets and these artifacts may provide archaeological evidence of that activity, for which no more concrete evidence remains.

Of the kettle, pot, and pan fragments, most are body fragments, although examples of feet, handles and lugs are all present. While some of the items are heavy, thick kettle fragments, the majority appear to represent thinner (and presumably cheaper) wares than are seen in many antebellum collections. Reference to the 1865 Russell and Erwin catalog (Russell and Erwin 1980) reveals only cast iron items, although by 1902 the Sears catalog lists a variety of stamped pans (Sears Roebuck 1969). Woodhead (1981:5) also notes that while eighteenth and early nineteenth century sites have quantities of cast iron pots, late nineteenth century sites more commonly contain sheet metal pots, and these differences appear to be correlated with cooking processes. Although cast iron pots are well suited for use on open fires, the sheet metal vessels are not, and the "advent of these containers on archaeological sites suggests the use of stoves or ranges rather than open fires" (Woodhead 1981:6).

Architectural Artifact Group

Excavations at Mitchelville produced 13,916 Architectural Group artifacts, 13,050 from unit excavations and 866 items from features. These remains include primarily window glass (3269; 23.5% of the group total) and machine cut nails (8092; 58.1% of the group total). Other remains include two wrought nails, 18 wire nails, 1191 unidentifiable nails (8.5% of the group total and 12.8% of the nails), 118 spikes (0.8% of the group total), 95 gimlet screws (0.7% of the group total), 116 ceramic doorknob fragments (0.8% of the group total), five samples, one sash screw pulley, six rim knob lock parts, two keyhole surrounds, two drive pintels, 24

butt hinges, one strap hinge, one hook hinge, one T-hine, one hasp fragment, and one glazing point.

These remains are very useful in providing an impression of the Mitchelville structures and the archaeologically recovered remains tend to parallel those observed in the photographs of Mitchelville (Figures 18-21). The doorknobs include both agateware (known as "mineral") and porcelain (Russell and Erwin 1980:64-66) specimens. The keyhole surrounds (metal escutcheons) and doorlocks are similar to those of the mid to late nineteenth century (Russell and Erwin 1980:1-21, 68). The iron sash screw pulley was used for moving windows (Russell and Erwin 1980:63) and the single zinc glazing point recovered would have been used to hold the glass light in the frame (Russell and Erwin 1980:225). Hinges include a variety of styles, although the most common were cast iron broad and narrow butts, with both fast and loose joints (Russell and Erwin 1980:116); these items primarily would have been used to mount doors. The hand-wrought hook hinge would have been used with a pintle, probably for a shutter while the T-hinge could have served the same function (Russell and Erwin 1980:112-114). Strap hinges are more often used for utility purposes, but could be used either with a door or window shutter.

All of the screws are flat head gimlet types, ranging in length from 3/4 inch (1.9 centimeters) to 2 inch (5.1 centimeters). Although Walker (1971:87) notes that gimlet point screws were not introduced until 1834 and were not standardized until 1841, they apparently became popular by the 1860s. The Russell and Erwin (1980:126-127) catalog of 1865 devotes four pages to screws. While these screws largely may have been used to install the door butt hinges, one hinge was found with a machine cut nail used as a fastener.

The 118 spikes included specimens from 3 inches (7.6 centimeters) to 7 1/4 inches (18.4 centimeters) in length. The smaller specimens were distinguished from machine cut nails on the basis of shank thickness, which is about twice that of machine cut nails. The most common lengths were 4 1/2 to 4 inches (11.4 to 12.7 centimeters). These may have been used in construction, or may represent items salvaged from the nearby military post.

The three types of nails recovered from Mitchelville include wrought, machine cut, and wire. Of the 9303 nails, only two were hand wrought and these were not sufficiently well preserved to determine their size. The hand wrought nails date from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries and Nelson notes that, "it is not uncommon to find a few hand-wrought nails used well into the nineteenth century" (Nelson 1968:3). The shanks are rectangular in cross-section and the heads are the round "rose head" form.

"Modern" machine cut nails account for 86.9% of the collection, although only 1614 (19.9%) are sufficiently intact to allow penny weight measures. These nails were first manufactured in the late 1830s and have uniform heads and shanks with burrs on the edges (Nelson 1968:7).

Eighteen wire nails were recovered by this study, 17 coming from the 161-162 block. The wire nails were first widely available in the 1850s, but were apparently not common until the 1870s (Nelson 1968:9-10). They received only brief mention in the 1865 Russell and Erwin (1980:253) catalog and were not illustrated. Wire nails have round ends and round, pointed shanks. Seventeen of the specimens are common wire nails and one, which may be a recent intrusion, is a finishing nail.

Because different size nails served different functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail types to indicate building construction details. Nails were early designated by their penny weight, which compared the weight of a nail to that of a silver penny. Gradually the term came to designate length rather than weight, but the equivalence varied over time and it was not until the 1890s that penny weights were thoroughly standardized (Orser et al. 1982:675). To avoid confusion, Table 14 lists both the penny weight size, Standard Average European (SAE) size, and metric range for the nails which were sufficiently complete for analysis. Only specimens from the 39-40-47-48, 110-123, 91-92, and 161-162 blocks will be considered. All but the 91-92 block represent structural remains, while the 91-92 block appears to be a secondary midden deposit. Also included in Table 14 are Feature 5 (rubble filled pit) and Feature 8 (trash pit). The table as organized, however, provides few clues to the construction of the various structures with a consistent peak at only the 8d size (excepting 91-92 block). One of the few commonly accepted rules in the nail length is, "to have the nails full three times as long as the sheeting Board is thick" (Bettesworth and Hitch 1981:2:n.p.). Within certain broad limits the size of nails used to perform a certain task was flexible, depending on the carpenter and the availability of nails. This variation is reflected in Orser et al. (1982:677). As a rough guide, however 2d to 4d nails were commonly used to fasten small timbers and shingles; 6d to 8d nails were used for sheathing or siding; 9d to 12d nails were used for framing; and 16-40d nails were used for heavy framing. Table 15 illustrates the number and percentage of machine cuts within the study blocks by probable function.

Because the 1961-162 block represent the largest excavation of a Mitchelville structure, the distribution of nails by function for this block is of particular interest. Within that block about 14% of the nails were used for small

Pennyweight	SAE	Metric Range (in mm)	30-40-47-48 Block		110-123 Block		161-162 Block		91-92 Block		Feature 5		Feature 8	
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
2d	1"	23-28	4	2 8	3	1 4	11	1 1						
3d	1 1/4"	29-34	8	5 6	4	1 8	16	1 6					5	8 1
4d	1 1/2"	35-41	32	22 5	17	7 9	62	6 3	1	2 2	7	12 7	6	9 7
5d	1 3/4"	42-47	10	7 0	18	8 3	49	5 0	3	6 7	8	14 5	6	9 7
6d	2"	48-53	17	12 0	25	11 6	113	11 5	5	11 1	9	18 4	13	20 9
7d	2 1/4"	54-59	7	5 0	27	12 5	87	8 8	8	17 8			2	3 2
8d	2 1/2"	60-65	30	21 1	55	25 5	289	29 4	7	15 6	10	18 2	15	24 2
9d	2 3/4"	66-72	8	5 6	17	7 9	85	8 6	2	4 4	1	1 8	7	11 3
10d	3"	73-79	12	8 5	31	14 3	158	16 1	10	12 8	5	9 1	5	8 1
12d	3 1/4"	80-85	9	6 3	11	5 1	14	7 5	9	20 0	8	14 5	2	3 2
16d	3 1/2"	86-95	5	3 5	5	2 3	29	3 0			5	9 1	1	1 6
20d	4"	96-108			1	0 5	8	0 8			2	3 6		
30d	4 1/2"	109-120			2	0 9	2	0 2						
40d	5"	121-132					1	0 1						

Table 14. Whole machine cut nails by size and block.

Function	39-40-47-48 Block		110-123 Block		161-162 Block		91-92 Block		Feature 5		Feature 8	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Small timber shingles (2d-5d)	54	38 0	42	19 4	138	14 0	4	8 9	15	27 3	17	27 4
Sheathing siding (6d-8d)	54	38 0	107	49 5	489	49 7	20	44 4	19	34 5	30	48 4
Framing (9d-12d)	29	20 4	59	27 3	317	32 3	21	46 7	14	25 5	14	22 6
Heavy framing (16d-40d)	5	3 5	8	3 7	40	4 1			7	12 7	1	1 6

Table 15. Whole machine cut nails by size and block, by function.

timbers or probably shingles, 50% were used for siding, 32% were used for framing, and 4% were used for heavy framing, perhaps setting the sill plates or constructing the roof framing. These figures closely resemble those found for the 110-123 block. The sample of nails from the 39-40-47-48 block may be too small for comparisons, but the structure appears to have emphasized the use of small nails. This tends to support the previous assessments that it may have been a relatively flimsy wattle and tabby daub structure which may have utilized a wall trench.

Because the 91-92 block provides no archaeological evidence for a structure, it is not suprising that the nail function distribution does not resemble other, structural patterns. The emphasis on 6d to 12d nails suggests that scrap wood (such as sheathing and light framing) may have been dumped, or burned, in the block area. Similarly, Feature 8 (a trash pit) contains primarily nails under 2 1/2 inches in length which might be found in small pieces of scrap wood. Feature 5, which represents a tabby rubble filled pit, exhibits a range of nail sizes more similar to the structural deposits than the trash deposits, probably because it received debris directly from the demolition of a structure. The emphasis on relatively smaller nails is similar to that observed for the 39-40-47-48 block, perhaps because both structures were built using a wattle and tabby daub technique.

The category of window glass includes 3269 fragments of primarily light green rolled glass. These specimens were classified as window lights based on thickness, degree of clarity, color, and lack of curvature.

Recently, the use of flat window glass as a dating tool has been advanced by Roenke (1978), Adams (1980), and Orser et al. (1982). Basically, window glass tends to increase in thickness throughout the nineteenth century. It has been further demonstrated that this thickness change is variable in different parts of the United States either because of differences between glass makers or because of recycling the glass panes. Orser et al. (1982:652) offer a regression formula for calculating the date of window lights based on thickness:

$$Y = 41.46x + 1762.76$$

where 41.46 is the slope of the line, 1762.76 is the y-intercept, x is the modal glass thickness, and Y is the mean date. They also suggest a correction factor of + 53.75 years, based on the Millwood data. The formula yields the results in Table 16 (Orser et al. 1982:661). It should be noted, however, that the formula for flat glass is probably curvilinear rather than linear, as there are practical limits of both thinness and thickness (Orser et al. 1982:665).

Table 16 also shows the range of window glass thickness from several excavation blocks at Michelville, indicating a modal value of window glass in the range of 1.7 to 1.8 millimeters (excluding the 39-40-47-48 block). Using the transformed dates (advanced by Orser et al. 1982), this suggests structures with mean dates of 1886.99 to 1891.14, obviously too late by at least 25 years.

Given the large sample sizes from the 161-162 and 110-123 blocks, we feel that the uni-modal peak in both samples at 1.7-1.8mm clearly indicates the original construction in late 1862 or early 1863. Consequently, we suggest that for the purpose of Mitchelville, the regression formula should be corrected by a factor of + 27.68 years, which would place the modal glass thickness between the years of 1860.92 and 1865.07 (see Table 16). Such a revision would suggest that repairs to the structures stopped between 1892 and 1897. The 39-40-47-48 block represents a somewhat different situation. The glass thickness mode of this block is at 1830.29 to 1838.58, with a second light peak at 1859.31 to 1863.46. Only one piece of glass post-dates 1880. While this anomalous situation may be the result of the small sample size from this block (N=47), the difference may also be attributable to the nature of the structure and the possible use of salvaged materials.

Furniture Artifact Group

The Furniture Group consists of only 148 artifacts, 146 (98.6%) from excavation units and two from features. Identified items include five brass tacks, three brass escutchions (Figure 59A-B), seven lamp parts, two brass drawer pulls (Figure 59C), one iron drawer handle, three cut tacks, one brass trunk bumper guard (Figure 59D), three pieces of worked marble, and 123 fragments of lamp chimney glass.

The chimney glass is uniformly clear, usually very thin, often with plain rims. Several examples of crimped or fluted rims, however, were identified (Figure 59G). These crimped or fluted motifs are copies of the highly popular "pearl-top" design first employed by the George A. MacBeth Co. in 1883. After MacBeth's merger with the Thomas Evans Co. in 1899, the MacBeth-Evans Glass Company became the nation's largest producer of lamp chimneys (Lewis and Haskell 1981:119-120). The few crimped examples at Mitchelville, then, post-date 1883.

A number of lamps, using a variety of burning fluids, included chimneys to improve the combustion process. The first such lamp was the Argand, initially marketed in the 1780s, which burned camphine oil (a mixture of turpentine and alcohol). A shade, to minimize shadows, was added by the

Glass Thickness (mm)	Transformed Dates	39-40-47-48 Block #	39-40-47-48 Block %	110-123 Block #	110-123 Block %	161-162 Block #	161-162 Block %	218 Block #	218 Block %	Revised Dates
1.0	1857.97	5	10.6	1	0.8	20	0.7			1830.29
1.1-1.2	1857.97-1866.26	13	27.7	2	1.6	59	2.0			1830.29-1838.58
1.3-1.4	1870.41-1874.55	8	17.0	11	8.6	167	5.5			1842.73-1846.87
1 5-1.6	1878.70-1882.85	8	17.0	24	18.7	383	12.7	2	8.7	1851.02-1855.17
1.7-1.8	1886.99-1891.14	9	19.1	50	39.0	841	27.8	8	34.8	1859.31-1863.46
1.9-2.0	1895 28-1899.43			22	17.3	748	24.8	5	21.7	1867.60-1871.75
2.1-2.2	1903.58-1907.72	3	6.4	14	10.9	459	15.2	3	13.0	1875.90-1880.04
2.3-2.4	1911.87-1916.01	1	2.1	2	1.6	239	7.9	3	13 0	1884.19-1883.33
2 5-2.6	1920.16-1924.31			1	0.8	70	2.3	2	8.7	1892.48-1896.63
2.7-2.8	1928.45-1932.60			1	0.8	24	0.8			1900.77-1904.92
2.9-3.0	1936.74-1940.89					10	0.3			1909.06-1913.21
3 1	1945.04									1918.36

Table 16. Regression dates for flat glass with transformations (after Orser et al. 1982: Table 132) and flat glass thickness at Mitchelville blocks.

1830s, although the Argand lamp, often without a shade, continued to be popular throughout the nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century a variety of burning fluids were available, including kerosine (which appeared in the early 1860s) (Bishop and Coblentz 1979:107-109).

Evidence of both camphine (or other fluid) and kerosine lamps has been obtained from Mitchelville. The presence of fluid burning lamps is documented by the discovery of a small metal cap with attached chain from the 110-123 block, which was placed over the wick of a camphine burning lamp to keep the highly volatile fuel from evaporating (Figure 59E). Kerosine lamps, based on the occurrence of broken parts, were more common. A complete brass burner was recovered from the 218 block (Figure 59F). The wick turner was stamped "HOLMES, BOOTH & HAYDEN/WATERBURY, CONN." While on the base of the burner were stamped three patent dates: February 18, 1862, August 19, 1862, and February 19, 1867. Lord (1969:137) lists this as a firm supplying brass lamps to Civil War sutlers, and notes that it was organized about 1855.

Arms Artifact Group

This artifact group includes 76 items from block excavations and an additional seven specimens form the feature excavations. Recovered were 23 percussion caps, 17 lead shot, seven minnie balls (Figure 59J-K), one Williams cleaner bullet (Figure 59L), 10 .22 caliber shells, four .38 caliber shells (Figure 59M0, two .12 gauge shortgun shells, seven fragments of melted lead four pieces of lead scrap, four gunflints, two trigger fragments, and one trigger guard.

Three types of percussion caps were identified: 16 were the "top hat" variety commonly used on military arms, six Eley's percussion caps used for revolvers, and a single cap in a large game or punt gun size (Moore 1963:77). Percussion caps were developed between 1808 and 1816 and were adopted for military use by 1845. The copper cap, continuing a minute amount of priming compound, was placed on a nipple pierced with a hold leading to the powder charge. The cap was struck by the hammer, mounted above and behind it (Johnson and Haven 1943:33-35). Of these remains, 13 had been fired and 10 apparently had been lost; all were probably deposited during the period just before or during Mitchelville's occupation.

The lead shot recovered by this study ranges from a size 9 (0.08 inch ([2.03 millimeters]) to a .64 caliber (0.65 inch [1.67 centimeter]). Most of the lead shot (N+14) ranges from the size 9 to 00 buckshot (0.34 inch [8,64 milimeters]) and was probably used in shotgun shells or in buckshot cartridges. Two balls were probably used in a .69 caliber musket. Johnson and Haven note that the "load and the weapon it was used in - the "Brown Bess" musket - were typical of

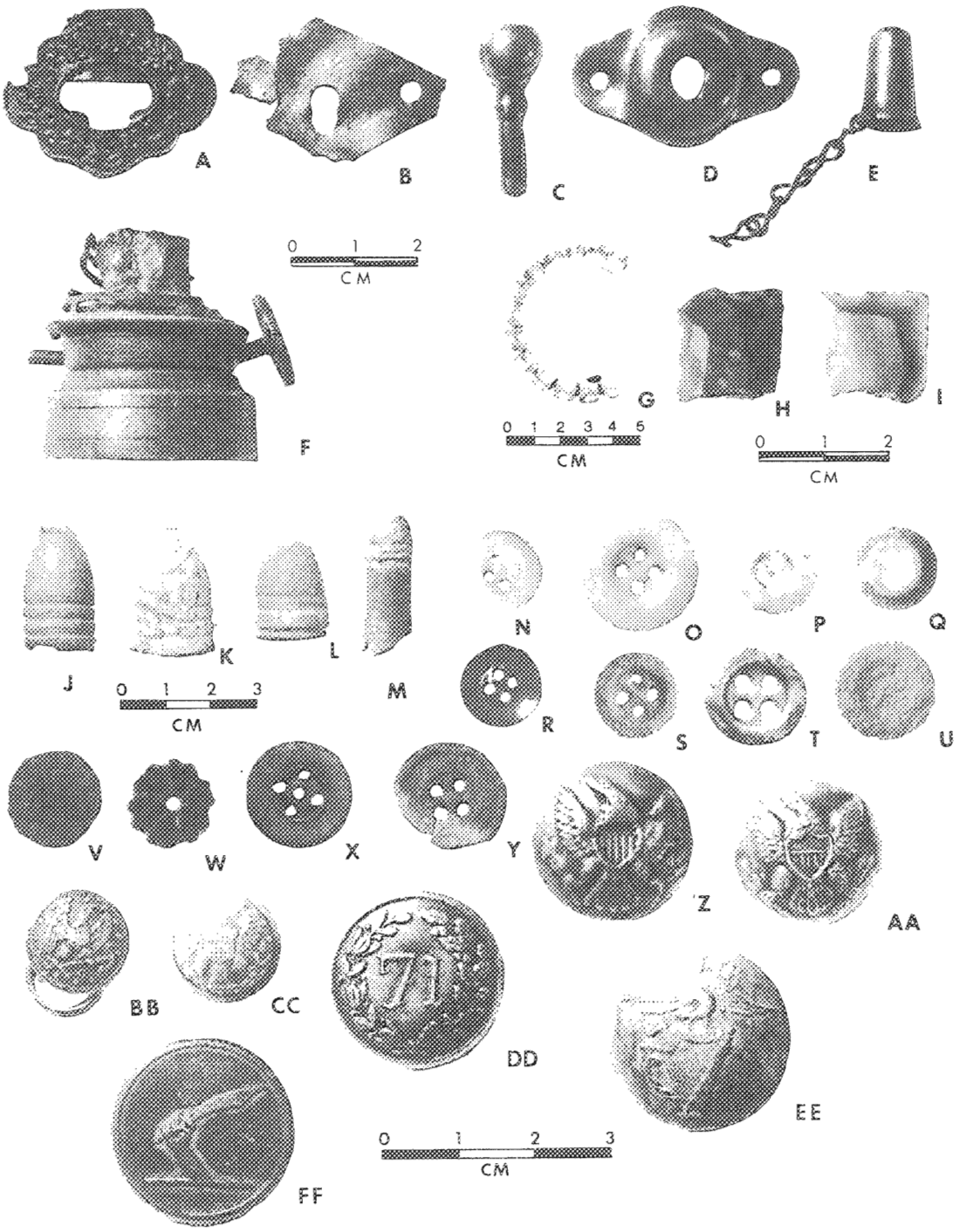

Figure 59. Furniture, Arms, and Clothing Artifact Groups. A-B, brass furniture escutchions; C, brass drawer pull; D, trunk hardware; E, brass wick cap; F, brass and iron burner; G, crimped lamp chimney glass; H-I, gunflints; J-K, .58 caliber minie balls; L, .58 caliber Williams Cleaner bullet; M, .38 caliber cartridge; N-R, Type 23 porcelain buttons; S-U, Type 21 metal buttons; V-W, black glass buttons; X, Type 19 bone button; Y, Type 22 shell button; Z-FF, military buttons.

the military small arms and cartridges of the period up to the general adoption of rifled percussion-cap arms about the middle of the nineteenth century" (Johnson and Haven 1943:24). Coggins (1962:31) notes that many smoothbore muskets were used by both sides during the early part of the Civil War and that there were "nine models of smoothbore U.S. flint locks made at government armories or by contract after 1800, most in .69 caliber" (Coggins 1962:31). Both compressed (produced by large manufacturers) and molded (produced in the field or by small firms) minnie balls were identified (Collins 1966:22). The Williams cleaner bullet was .58 caliber and a hole in its base was fitted with a lead disc holding a zinc plug. Coggins notes that when fired, "the washer was jammed up against the base of the bullet and expanded, scraping the bore clean" (Coggins 1962:30).

The .22 and .38 caliber cartridges are all rim fire types, which were developed in the later 1850s and were common from the 1870s to the 1890s (.22 caliber rim fires are still found) (Johnson and Haven 1943:39, 42). While the previous arms are likely to have been contributed by the Union presence on Hilton Head, these remains almost certainly date to the Mitchelville occupation. The two 12 gauge shotgun shells post-date 1870 and may date from the early twentieth century.

Melted lead and lead scrap were included in the arms category because of their possible use for bullet production (Jerre Weckhorst reported that a collector removed a bullet mold from the site) or as flint wraps (Hume 1970:220-221). Four gunflints were recovered from the site, providing further evidence of the use of muskets at the site. While these remains may have been contributed by the military, it seems equally likely that they were owned by freedmen who either purchased the obsolete weapons cheaply, removed them from plantation houses, or scavenged them from the supplies left by the retreating Confederates.

The four gunflints (or blade flints) are all well made and prismatic. Two are a gray to dark gray or black (one with banding Figure 59H), while the other two are transluscent honey to yellow-brown color (Figure 59I). The former may represent English flint, while the latter appear to be French (Emery 1980:149). Hamilton notes that while the English did not start making blade flints until the 1790s, they rapidly took the market away from the French in the early nineteenth century because of their superior technique (Hamilton 1980:138-141). The presence of the two probable French flints suggests that these remains may have been heirloom pieces. Kent (1983:Table 2), however, notes the continued presence of French gun flints at North American sites up to at least 1850, although they comprise only a small percent of the market by that time.

Clothing Artifact Group

Recovered from the excavations at Fish Haul (Mitchelville) are 272 clothing items (255 from block excavations and 17 items from feature excavations). Included in this are 215 buttons (including military buttons removed from the Activities Group because of their probable use by the freedmen, 22 beads, 10 buckles, nine shoe grommets, four scissors, three thimbles, three button link loops (found on military buttons), one strap catch(probably for suspenders), one straight pin, one brass hook, one brass cuff link, and one zipper.

Buttons from Mitchelville include 145 specimens which may be placed in South's button taxonomy (South 1964), 20 military buttons (which we are not placing in South's topology because of their specialized nature), 37 buttons which cannot be assigned to any of South's classifications, and 13 buttons which are unidentifiable.

The non-military buttons are detailed in Table 17 and it may be seen that two types, 21 and 23, comprise 53.3% of the collection. It is likely that these two button types served different functions with the porcelain styles used on shirts and undergarments, while the metal type was used on primarily pants. The different sizes reflect the different functions both between groups and within a group.

The porcelain style, known as "small china" by collectors, is common throughout the nineteenth century and Luscomb (1967:183) notes that most were between 3/8 and 3/4 inch in size. She notes that while white is most common (Figure 59N-0), all colors may be found. We have identified brown, khaki, and black in these collections, in addition to three "calico buttons." The calico style mimics calico fabrics and the button designs become popular by the 1840s. Luscomb notes that almost 600 patterns are known; those from Mitchelville include two geometric dot-and-line patterns (Figure 59P) and a triple line woven pattern. The largest American manufacturer, Charles Cartledge and Company (New York), operated from 1848 to 1856, producing about 100 patterns (Luscomb 1967:31).

A number of the glass buttons from Mitchelville (all of which appear to be from women's clothing) are black (Figure 59V-W). While Luscomb (1967:111) questions whether glass was ever used to limited jet, a popular nineteenth century mineral button, it seems likely that the black glass styles may have ridden on the success, popularity, and high fashion of jet.

SOUTH'S TYPE NO.	DESCRIPTION	NO.	OTHER
7	spun brass, eye cast in place	1	3/4"
9	brass with stamped design, well-soldered eye	3	9/16", 1"
12	one piece cast iron	3	9/16", 5/8", 11/16"
15	bone disc, one hole	1	3/4"
18	stamped brass, words on back	4	1/2" 3/4" 13/16" IMPERIAL STANDARD TREBLE RICH/LONDON, LEWIS & TOMES/EXTRA RICH
19	bone, 5-hole	5	9/16", 5/8", 11/16"
20	bone, 4-hole	1	11/16"
21	two piece iron with sunken panel, 4-hole	34	12-9/16" 9-5/8", 9-11/16", 3-3/4/", 1-15/16"
21	two piece iron with sunken panel, 2-hole varient	2	9/16", 11/16"
22	shell, 4-hole	6	3/8", 7/16", 5/8"
22	shell, 2-hole varient	2	7/16", 5/8"
23	porcelain, convex F&B, sunken panel, 4-hole	75	1-1/8", 4-3/8" 59-7/16", 1-9/16", 6-5/8", 2-11/16", 1-3/4", 1-7/8", (65 white, 3 transfer printed calico, 1 brown, 3 black, 2 khaki, 1 painted green)
24	porcelain, convex F&B, sunken panel, 4-hole rays around rim varient	3	3/8", 7/16", 9/16"
24	two piece hollow iron with loose eye	3	1/2", 3/4" 1"
25	machine stamped brass front iron back and eye	2	7/8"
34	cast brass, shell disk, glass set	1	7/16"
35	glass with brass set holder	2	9/16"
	porcelain not type 23, 4-hole	7	7/16" (white, black)
	porcelain not type 23, 2-hole	2	7/16", 1/2" (white black)
	porecelain, brass eye (pin head shank)	1	1/2"
	black rubber	3	1/2", 9/16", 3/4", NR CO/GOODYEARS PAT, GOODYEARS PAt
	glass with brass eye molded in place	7	7/16", 9/16", 5/8" (4 black, 1 blue, 1 patinated)
	glass, self shank	2	9/16" (black)
	glass, 1-hole	1	7/16" (black)
	two piece stamped brass, 4-hole	4	9/16", 11/16", (3 with front rim design or words)
	two piece stamped brass, 2-hole	2	5/8", 1"
	two piece stamped brass, 1-hole	2	9/16", 11/16"
	two piece stamped brass, slit eye	1	9/16"
	stamped brass front, iron back, 2-hole	1	11/16"
	UID fragments	13	

Table 17. Non-military buttons recovered from Mitchelville.

Another unusual category includes the hard black rubber buttons, which were produced beginning in 1851 when Nelson Goodyear secured his patent for an improvement in the manufacture of hard rubber. One specimen from Mitchelville was also imprinted with "NR CO.," a reference to Novelty Rubber Company of New Brunswick, New Jersey which operated from 1855 to 1870 (Luscomb 1967).

While most of the buttons clearly date to the Mitchelville occupation, a few may represent earlier specimens. Type 7 buttons are more common in eighteenth century contexts than in nineteenth, while Type 9 and 12 buttons are reported by South in only pre-1800 contexts. Type 15 bone buttons seems to span the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Not unexpectedly, based on the temporal placement of other artifacts, many of the buttons recovered from the 91-92 block are early specimens. Of the 10 identifiable buttons, one is the single Type 7 pewter specimen, one is a Type 9, one is a Type 15 single hole bone button, four are Type 18 buttons, two are Type 19 5-hole bone specimens (Figure 59X), and one is Type 22 shell button (Figure 59Y). The four Type 18 buttons are particularly revealing. All are gilt buttons, made prior to 1850 and two, manufactured by Lewis and Tomes, date from the 1820s to 1830s (Luscomb 1967:78-79, 118).

The military buttons represent examples of primarily Union forces and the 20 specimens represent 11 types, eight of which are represented by a single button type. Both Albert (1969) and Wyckoff (1984) were used to identify the buttons, although Albert's type numbers will be used.

Not unexpectedly, the most common (N=8) button was the General Service with a spread eagle and lined shield (Type GI94) (Figure 59Z-AA). This style was adopted in 1854 for enlisted troops and continued to 1902. The only make identified from the collection is "WATERBURY BUTTON CO." of Waterbury, Connecticut. This name began to be stamped on buttons in 1849. Two other specimens were simply marked "EXTRA QUALITY." Two sizes are represented: 9/16 inch (1.33 - 1.47 centimeters) and 3/4 inch (1.80 - 1.96 centimeters). The next most common type are Navy buttons, post dating 1852. All but one show an eagle resting on a horizontal anchor, three cannon balls below, with 13 stars encircling a lined field. Three, typed as NA113, have the eagle facing left and the anchor fluke in front of the wing. One, typed as NA112, shows the anchor fluke behind the left wing (Figure 59BB). Type NA116 lacks the cannon balls, but is otherwise similar to NA113.

Two examples of the Infantry Officer's button, both post-dating 1851, were recovered. One (Type GI85B) contains a small Roman "I" and the shield, while the other (Type GI89) has the letter "I" with curved serifs on a recessed shield.

A single officer's button for the Dragoons was also recovered. The button (Type DR4) shows a letter "D" on a recessed shield. The single General Staff button recovered from Mitchelville, could not be typed (Figure 59CC). The button is similar to those shown by Albert (1969) and is convex with a spread eagle which is holding three arrows in its right talon and an olive branch in its left. The background is lined with 16 stars and there are no stars in the shield (which is a blend of all three types -- the spade, union, and eared). The diameter is 9/16 inch (1.45 centimeters). On the reverse is stamped "HORSTMANN'S/NY 7 PHI." While Luscomb (1967:100) identifies Horstmann as military outfitters operating from the 1860s to the present in New York and Philadelphia, she does not identify this mark as being used.

A button of the New York 71st Regiment was recovered (Figure 59DD). The specimen has the number 71 within a wreath of laurel and oak leaves, on a lined field (Type NY61). Another button has been attributed to the First Georgia Volunteers, possibly Company A, known as the Irish Jasper Green (Albert 1974:135; Type GA18). The specimen has an eagle, perched above a harp with the inscription "IJG" above the device (Figure 59EE). On the reverse of the button is stamped "BENEDICT & BURNHAM," button makers from 1834 to 1843. A final button, lacking positive identification, is a single piece cast gold gilt brass button (South's Type 8) with a hand and knife motif (Figure 59FF). On the reverse is "WARRANTED/BEST QUALITY." A similar, although more elaborate, motif is shown on Massachusetts Volunteer Mitilia buttons by Albert (1969:166-169; Types MS33 to MS40).

A second significant artifact category within the Clothing Group is that of beads, included here rather than in the Personal Group following South (1977). Otto notes that beads in general, but especially faceted hexagonal beads, "may prove to be reliable indicators of slave status on Old South plantation and farm sites" (Otto 1984:74) and the previously discussed historical background provides several accounts of freedom continuing to wear beads.

The beads recovered from Mitchelville, listed in Table 18, include eight faceted specimens, although 10 are large wire wound round specimens exhibiting a considerable range in size (0.6-1.0 by 0.8-1.3 centimeters) and a heavy patina. Similar specimens are reported by Otto (1984:Table 3.19) and Lewis (1978:Figure 45, top row, third from the left).

Five artifacts in the Clothing Group are related to sewing: four scissor fragments (Figure 60A-C), three thimbles (Figure 60D-E), and a single straight pin. The thimbles are all utilitarian brass examples typical of the mid-nineteenth century on (Johnson 1982:5). The four scissor fragments are all slightly ornamented ladies' scissors similar to those

Description	Number
Wire wound, round, large to very large, opaque dark glass, heavy patina, Type W1b--	10
Wire wound, donut shape, 127 by 50 mm, clear, light green glass, Type W1d--	1
Drawn tube, medium size, clear, bright navy, Type 1a19	2
Drawn tube, large size, clear, emerald, faceted, Type 1f3	6
Drawn tube, large size, clear, emerald with opaque soft blue core, faceted, no type	1
Drawn tube, large size, dark opaque body, 9 stripes-- alternating 2 white, 1 yellow/gold, Type 1b--	1

Table 18. Beads recovered from Mitchelville (Kidd and Kidd 1970 type designations).

illustrated by Johnson (1982:9) and Russell and Erwin (1980:369). These remains are representative of light household sewing, and the scissor styles, while feminine, are relatively plain (cf. Whiting 1923).

The brass zipper, manufactured by Talon, was recovered in the upper level of the 130-131 block. This specimen post-dates 1913 (Robertson (1974:209) and may represent a late contamination of the site. It is included, however, because the historical data reveals continued occupation of portions of Mitchelville into the early twentieth century.

Personal Artifact Group

The Personal Artifact Group includes 55 specimens, 51 from block excavations and four from features. Recovered are five umbrella ribs, two specimens of purse hardware, one earring, one brass bar pin, one glass jewelry piece, one finger ring, one religious medallion, two bone comb fragments, one decorative bone toothpick fragment, one bisque animal figurine, one stamped picture surround, one key fragment, five coins, two ruler hinges, two knife fragments, one ink well fragment, one pen nib, one brass paper brad, eight slate pencils, and 16 fragments of slate tablets.

The rib fragments are rather heavy and have therefore been termed umbrella, although Johnson (1980:16) notes that in the second half of the nineteenth century fashions changed and women began to carry longer, more elaborate parasols. While these specimens clearly date to the occupation of Mitchelville, it is not certain whether they represent ribs for a waterproof umbrella or a fashionable parasol.

The purse fragments provide unusual temporal sensitivity. Prior to the 1880s women's fashions dictated the use of full skirts with concealed pockets for carrying essential items. After that time (with skirts becoming slimmer) the use of "reticules" became more common and leather purses were introduced in the 1880s (Johnson 1980:21). The two items recovered from Mitchelville include a purse handle fitting and a purse frame. The earring fragment probably post-dates 1830, while bar pins or brooches were popular at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth (Johnson 1980:13).

The religious medallion, of stamped brass, is from a Catholic rosary (Figure 60F). On the front is the Virgin Mary and the Sacred Heart of Jesus, pierced with seven lances, signifying the seven sorrows of Mary. Around the sides is the phrase "MATER DOLOROSA", latin for "Sorrowing Mother." On the reverse is Jesus, carrying his cross. While such an item may have been acquired solely as a curiosity without any knowledge of its meaning, O'Connell (1879:159) notes that the Rev. Thomas Quigley had a mission in 1853 on

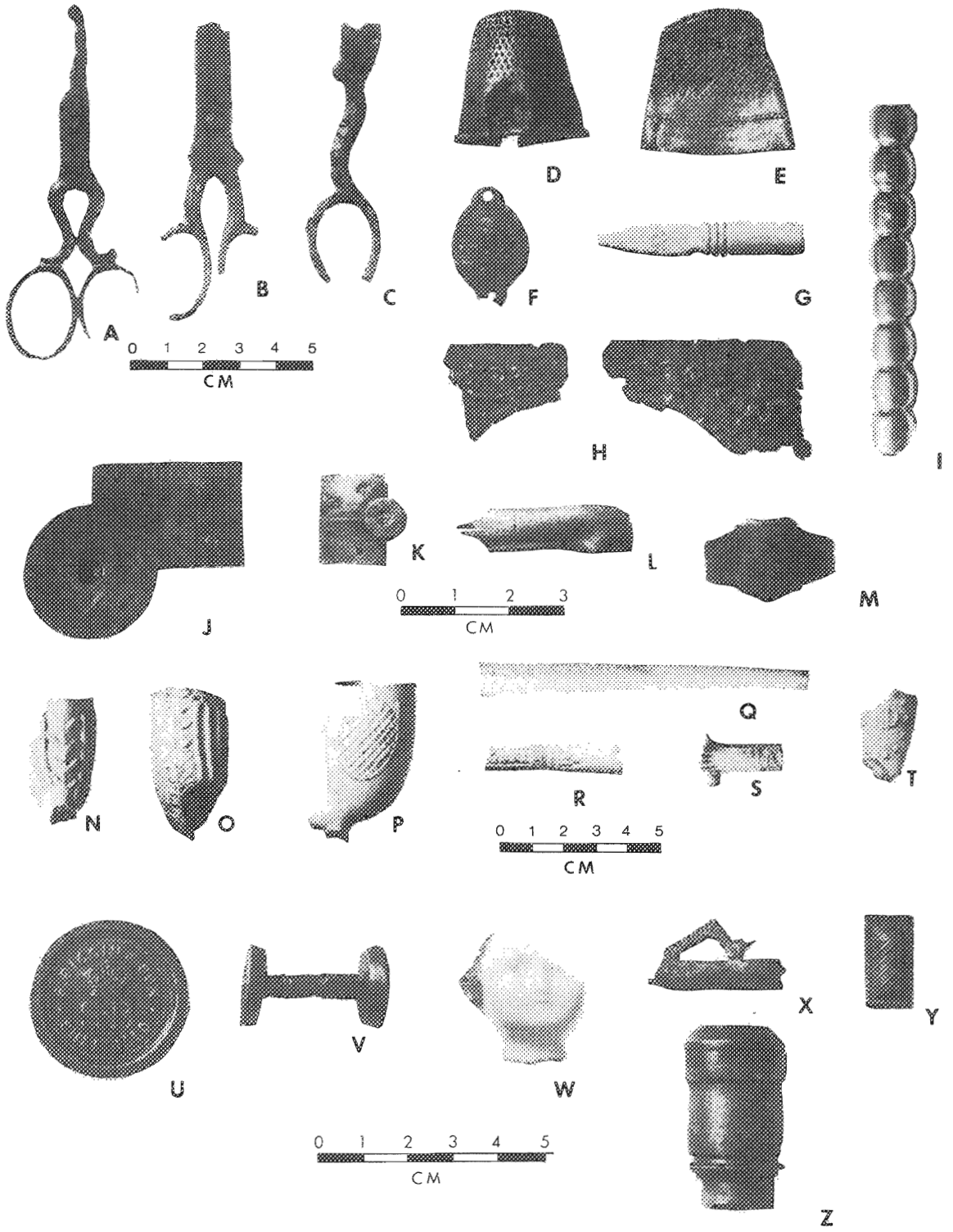

Figure 60. Clothing, Personal, Tobacco, and Activities Artifact Groups. A-L, scissors; D-E, brass thimbles; F, rosary piece; G, bone toothpick; H, brass picture surrounds; I, brass bar pin; J-K, ruler hinges; L, pen nib; M, finger ring; N-P, kaolin tobacco pipe bowls; Q-S, kaolin pipe stems; T, red clay "T.D. pipe; U-V, brass saw screws; W, glazed, painted porcelain doll's head; X-Y, military isignia; Z, unidentified brass.

Hutchinson's Island in Beaufort District with a congregation of 400 black slaves and in the spring of 1860 a Catholic church was dedicated in the town of Beaufort. This clearly suggests a Catholic presence among the Sea Island blacks, although Madden, quoting a postbellum period account, notes,

> "the colored people of the city [Charleston] and adjoining islands have entered different religious sects since their emancipation. I have remarked great indifference about our holy Religion owing to the prejudices they have imbibed from sectarian preachers . . . ."Hilton Head had "completely gone" down since Father O'Connell's departure. Of the small congregation of blacks once there, there is not one remaining." There are a few white Catholics still remaining on the island and they are visited twice a month (Madden (1985:112-113).

This last statement also suggests the presence of white Catholics on Hilton Head prior to the Civil War, so the rosary may have been removed from a plantation house after the island whites left in 1861.

The bone combs are common double-tooth hair combs typical of the eighteenth century, although as Noel Hume notes, they, "continued to be used by the poor until the very late nineteenth century, generally in bone" (Noel Hume 1970:174-175). By the 1860s other materials, such as vulcanite (hard rubber, similar to that used in Goodyear's Patent buttons), were used and the combs became known as "lice combs." The bone toothpick fragment is highly carved, but is very similar to an example illustrated by Johnson (1980:28).

The picture surrounds (Figure 60H) are made of very thin stamped brass and were used in both daguerreotype and ambrotype picture frames either as a preserver frame or mat (Williams 1972:34-43). The daguerreotype was popular from about 1840 to 1860 and cost about $2.00 (including the frame, mat, and hinged case). The ambrotype, also popular during the mid-nineteenth century, was even less expensive because it was basically a glass negative and no print was ever made. Five coins were collected from the Mitchelville excavations-- all U.S. Indian head pennies. From Feature 5, which date the demolition of the first 161-162 structure and the construction of second, larger house, an 1862 cent was recovered. A second penny, also 1862, was found in the 161-162 block. The 218 block produced an 1864 coin and the 110-123 block produced two, which may bracket the structure occupation, one from 1863 and another from 1891.

The ruler hinges (Figure 60J-J) are from small carpenter's rules, similar to those advertised in the 1865 Russell and Erwin (1980:168) catalog. These rules folded both horizontally and vertically to reduce a 1 foot scale down to a compact 3 inches, or a 2 foot scale down to 6 inches. These were high status vest pocket items, not likely to be lost by a military carpenter. We believe they represent items obtained either from local merchants, or from plantation houses.

The freedmen's desire for and practice of literacy may be evidenced by the pen nib (manufactured by Esterbrook and Co. and described as a "Lawyer's Pen," number 339), (Figure 60L), ink well, slate pencils, and slate tablet fragments. The 1865 Russell and Erwin catalog lists a variety of "school slates" in both square (rectangular) and oval frames, as well as slate pencils, sold in boxes of 100. Lead "writing pencils" were also advertised. In 1869 slate pencils cost 17 1/2 cents a gross (.1 cent each), while lead pencils cost 20 cents a dozen (2 cents each) (American Missionary Association Archives, H7625). Lord (1969:151) notes that Richard Easterbrook supplied steel pens beginning in 1858. The paper brad is identical to "McGill's Patent T Fasteners" produced by Holmes, Booth and Hayden is the nineteenth century (Asher and Adams 1976:73).

Tobacco Artifact Group

The tobacco category includes 221 items, 206 of which were recovered from the block excavations. These remains include 150 kaolin (white ball clay) pipestems (67.8% of the group total), 62 kaolin pipebowl fragments (28.6% of the group total), four red clay pipe bowl fragments, one red lead glazed stub stemmed pipe bowl fragment, one unidentified ceramic pipe bowl fragment, and three metal snuff can fragments.

Of the 62 kaolin pipe bowls, 27 (43.5%) are decorated, while only one of the four red clay bowls is decorated. All of the bowls are of the Irish style made in standard molds from about 1850 through 1910 (Aylo 1979). The white kaolin decorated bowls include a plain "TD" pipe, six fluted examples with a leaf design used to camouflage the molds seams (Figure 60N-O), nine additional fluted examples which do not include the mold seam, one with flutes and decorative swirls, one with horizontal fluting, one with a floral motif at the mold seam line, one geometric design incorporating the mold seam, one vertical gothic geometric pattern, one fragment with raised dots, one with a cross-hatched shield motif on each side of the bowl (Figure 60P), and four unidentifiable molded design fragments.

The "TD" pipes have been discussed by Hopkins (1937), Humphrey (1969), and Walker (1966). Whatever the origin of this mark might be, by the mid-nıneteenth century several makers were using it as a style and the D. McDougall and Co. of Glasgow were advertising them as "Plain T.D." 1.10 per gross in ca. 1875 (Sudbury 1980:45-46). Fluted examples were very common among the styles recovered from a 1852 sundries dealer in Old Sacramento (Humphrey 1969:20-23) and 16 of the Mıtchelville specimens have a vertical fluted design, while one is horizontally fluted. Wilson (1971) illustrated several pipebowls wıth raised dots and records one bowl with a similar motif accompanied by scroll-work (Wilson 1971: Figure 30I) from a nineteenth century western site.

The pipestems recovered from Mitchelville range from slightly less than 4/64 inch (1.6 millimeters) to 6/64 inch (2.3 millimeters) in bore diameter. Of the 150 stems, 121 (80.7%) are plain; the remaining 29 are impressed wıth a marker's name, decorated, or otherwise altered.

Fourteen of the specimens were manufactured by the D. McDougall Company of Glasgow. McDougall pipes are the most common at Mitchelville, bearing witness to the fact that the company was the "largest export manufacturer" of pipes in the mid-nineteenth century. The firm opened in 1846 and continued in business until 1967 (Humphrey 1969:17-18).

Single specimens of pipes produced by Peter Dorni (Figure 60R), W. White (Figure 60Q), Gambier, and Murray-Davidson were also recovered. Peter Dorni was a French pipemaker in the mid-nineteenth century whose wares were widely imitated for export to the United States (Omwake 1969). W. White and Sons were the largest manufacturer of pipes during the middle to late nineteenth century (700 varieties were being produced in 1867), but they were not exported in large quantities (Humphrey 1969:18). The W. White pipestem at Mitchelville has "78" impressed preceding the manufacturer's name; Humphrey (1969:18) suggests thıs may have been a style number. Gambier produced pipes in Paris during the nineteenth century and was best known for fıgurine bowls. The mark "GAMBIER/PARIS" is impressed around the stem perpendıcular to the long axis (Humphrey 1969:17). A pipestem impressed "DA . . ." probably belongs to Davidson, who bought out his employer, Murray, ın 1862 (Humphrey 1969:15).

Two pipestems evidence ribbing which would have led to the bowl. One is marked in a pattern similar to the Peter Dorni style, but because of the extensive copying of Dornı pipes it is not certain who might have produced this specimen. Six pipestems evidence a clear lead glaze over the stems which has produced a light yellow color. One specimen has red sealing wax at the tıp, presumably to soften the

bite. Finally, one specimen is impressed "A" on one side and "T" on the other (Figure 60S).

The stub stemmed pipe bowl fragment is small, but is made of a red clay with clear lead glaze. It is a fluted pattern and a portion of the rim reed piece is present. Three of the four red clay (terra cotta) pipebowls are plain, but the fourth is a "TD" motif with encircling stars (Figure 60T). Humphrey (1969:25-30) discusses these as "13-Star Patriotic Pipes" and Walker (1966:89) briefly mentions them in his "TD" study.

Activities Artifact Group

While not the largest, the Activities Group, which contains 881 artifacts, is the most diverse category at Mitchelville. Examples of construction tools, farm tools, toys, fishing gear, storage items, stable and barn items, miscellaneous hardware, machinery items, and military objects are present in variable quantities. These items are detailed in Table 19. Most are self explanatory and few are temporally sensitive, so little discussion will be offered.

The brass saw screws, with two exceptions, are flat head types illustrated by the 1865 Russell and Erwin (1980:103) catalog. One of the two exceptions is shown in the Russell and Erwin catalog as a "Fancy, Eagle". The other style is crown motif over "S.B." and encircled by "S. BIGGEN & SON/SHEFFIELD" (Figure 60LL). This firm is not listed by McKinstry (1984). Although not included in these tabulations because they are surface finds, Mitchelville has also produced four saw blade fragments (originally one piece), two axe heads (one New Jersey pattern and one Ohio pattern), and one claw hatchet (these items are illustrated in Russell and Erwin 1980:203).

The two marbles recovered from Mitchelville are both made of a white stone and measure 13/16 and 15/16 inch (2.04 and 2.32 centimeters). The larger specimen is painted with four closely spaced red lines (one wide, three narrow) and there closely spaced black lines (one wide, two narrow) which intersect at right angles to divide the marble into four sections. Walker (1971:184) notes similarly painted marbles from several sites which overlap in dates from 1859-1863. He suggests that "stone marbles painted with parallel lines were likely in use during that time" (Walker 1971:184).

Examination of the miscellaneous hardware category reveals a large number of brass items, especially when compared to the number of miscellaneous iron pieces. While items such as copper and brass nails, brass sheets, copper wire, and brass rivets could be obtained from Russell and Erwin (1980), it seems more likely that these items may have been scavenged from the military post, perhaps at Seabrook

Construction Tools	
files	2
brass saw screws	4
Farm Tools	
Shovel barrel	1
brass bucket lug	1
iron pail/lugs	20
plow blade	1
Toys	
lead disc	1
magnet	1
marbles	2
porcelain tea cup	1
porcelain doll's head	1
jew's harp	1
Fishing Gear	
lead sinker	3
fish hook	1
Storage Items	
strap metal	31
Stable and Barn Items	
wheel rim fragments	2
hand wrought ring	1
harness ring	1
Miscellaneous Hardware	
brass scrap	15
brass nails	20
brass rivets/roves	7
brass washers	2
brass road	1
wrought rod stock	1
iron nuts/bolts	6
iron washers	3
iron corner brace	2
iron bar stock	6
iron rod stock	6
iron pipe	1
iron rivets	3
iron wire fragments	8
UID iron	669
UID lead based metal	1
copper wire	3
copper strip	1
copper pipe	1
stove pipe fitting	2
chain links	4
eye bolt	1
hook assembly	1
padlocks	2
Other	
stamped brass	2
flower pots	3
picture hanger hook	1
railroad spikes	3
Military Objects	
fuse fragments	6
brass gromets, tent	17
military emblems	2
brass scabbard tip	1
tent peg	1
Machinary Items	
UID parts	6

Table 19. Activity Group artifacts from Mitchelville.

Landing where there was a major dry dock operation for ship repair. Alan Albright (personal communication 1986) notes that copper and brass nails and rivets were commonly used in ship building during the nineteenth century. Likewise, the presence of three railroad spikes suggests the dismantling of the railroad tracks at the Hilton Head post and on the wharf.

The military items recovered from Mitchelville are rather sparse, given the site's proximity to the Hilton Head post and its possible use as an encampment site prior to the creation of a freedmen's village. The fuse fragments are probably remnants from the November 1861 bombardment by Federal forces. The grommets and tent peg may have been deposited by Union troops, or may represent use of tents as temporary shelters by freedmen. One photograph of Mitchelville shows the adaptation of a tent into a relatively permanent structure by an enterprising freedman (National Archives Still Picture Branch, 165-C-141).

One of the brass emblems is a rank designation, similar to those illustrated by the 1864 Schuyler, Hartley and Graham (1985:54, 65) catalog and described as gilt metal (Figure 60).

Dating Synthesis

The previous discussions have indicated that a number of artifacts may provide temporally sensitive information with which to date the various Mitchelville structures and that this approach is limited by only the sample size of each block excavation. Prior to discussion of the various blocks it may be useful to briefly review the historical dates for the property. Construction of Mitchelville had begun by late 1862 by blacks using supplies provided by the government and work probably continued intermittently through 1867. The five year period from late 1862 through 1867 should be considered the flourishing of the village, while the period form 1868 to 1880 represents a gradual shift to an agrarian economy. Beginning in the 1880s the village began to decline in prosperity, and by the twentieth century, it may have resembled a nucleated, kin-based community. The remnants of Mitchelville continued to about 1920.

The mean date for the village, then, is about 1871, using a beginning date of 1862 and a terminal date of 1880. It must, however, be recognized that some structures continued to be occupied through about 1920, providing a mean date of 1891 if the nucleated kin-based community is included.

This synthesis will briefly examine the dating of structures in the 39-40-47-48, 110-123, 160-161, and test pit

blocks. In addition, we will briefly discuss the 91-92 and 218 blocks.

39-40-47-48 Structure

The mean ceramic date for this structure is 1855.3, although the presence of amethyst glass in the collection provides a TPQ of 1880. The window glass from this unit suggests two date modes: 1830-1838 and 1859-1863. As previously discussed, we believe this structure was constructed sometime about 1862 and was removed shortly after 1880, probably to open up more land for the kin-based farming activities which characterized Mitchelville in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the presence of an early mean ceramic date and window glass may indicate an early nineteenth century structure was refurbished or re-occupied, we believe it is more likely that materials were salvaged from earlier structures to construct this building. It is clear, however, that a larger sample should be obtained from this anomalous structure.

110-123 Structure

The mean ceramic date for this structure is 1868.7, 2.3 years earlier than the mean historic date for the village. Coins from this structure date 1863 and 1891, suggesting its occupation into the later phases of Mitchelville's existence. This late date is supported by the presence of tin can fragments with a TPQ of 1888 and window glass which suggests repairs possibly going into the 1880s.

160-161 Structure

The structure yields a mean ceramic date of 1869.3, only 1.7 years older than the mean historic date for the village. Glass artifacts, such as amethyst colored glass and a lightening closure, provide TPQs of 1880 and 1882 respectively. Tin cans with double side seams provide a TPQ of 1888 and crimped lamp chimney glass indicates a TPQ of at least 1883. The window glass, while suggesting a modal date of 1858-1863, also suggests repairs dating to 1896 and the presence of wire nails suggests building activity (such as repairs) post-dating the 1870s.

This structure, like the preceding 110-123 example, yields a mean ceramic date which appears as much as 7 to 10 years earlier than the probable mean occupation date. This almost certainly is the result of the combination of several factors. Researchers have previously discussed the "time lag" between a ceramic's mean date and when it actually entered the archaeological record. At Mitchelville, because of the wage labor system between 1862 and 1867, we speculate that the freedmen engaged in almost unbridled consumerism for

several years. It was not until the military post was closed, and the source of wage labor disappeared, that the freedmen's purchasing power declined. Consequently, although the structures were occupied from 1862 to perhaps 1890, most durable goods, such as ceramics, were purchased between 1862 and 1867.

Test Pit Structure

Although the structure revealed by the test pits has received little attention, it is appropriate to mention it in these discussions. The structure's mean ceramic date is 1867.6, although this does not include three fragments of semi-porcelain, the largest amount of this ware recovered from any structure. Ramsay (1947:109) notes that this ware has a TPQ of 1885, although Hughes (n.d.:175) suggests that the British firm of G. Grainger & Co. introduced a true semi-porecelain at the 1851 Great Exhibition.

91-92 Block

While not representative of a structure, the remains found in this block are interesting because of their apparently early date. The mean ceramic date for the block is 1836.3, although if the whitewares are considered without regard to the earlier delft, creamwares, and pearlwares, the mean date is 1867.3. Other artifacts found in this block tend to date to the first third of the ninteenth century. One exception is a bottle fragment with an applied lip, which provides a TPQ of 1850.

While obviously representing a collection of remains of considerable duration, it appears that this midden deposit is not as old as might be supposed. Previous work in this block area recovered only whitewares and embossed panel bottle with a mid-1860s TPQ (Trinkley and Zierden 1983:30-31).

218 Block

This block also does not represent structural remains, although we feel it is in close proximity to a structure. The mean ceramic date of the remains is 1867.8 and an 1864 penny was recovered. In addition, a TPQ of 1867 is provided by the patent date on a brass lamp burner.

Pattern Analysis

Up to this point we have used South's artifact groups and classes as simply a convenient, logical means of ordering data. In this section we will use these functional categories for an "artifact pattern analysis" developed by South (1977), who believes that the patterns identified in the archaeological record will reflect cultural processes and

will assist in delimiting distinct site types. South has succintly stated that, "we can have no science without pattern recognition, and pattern cannot be refined without quantification" (South 1977:25). The creation (or rather identification) of patterns in historical archaeology is not an end in and of itself, but rather it should be one of a series of techniques useful for comparing different sites with the ultimate goal of distinguishing cultural processes at work in the archaeological record.

There can be no denying that the technique has problems, some of which are serious, but no more effective technique than South's has been proposed. Garrow (1982b:57-66) offers some extensive revisions of South's original patterns, which will be incorporated in this study. Even at the level of a fairly simple heuristic devise, pattern analysis has revealed five, and possibly seven, "archaeological signatures" -- the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; South 1977), the Revised Frontier Pattern (Garrow 1982b; South 1977) the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b; Wheaton et al. 1983), the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern (Singleton 1980; Zierden and Calhoun 1983), and the Public Interaction Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982b); as well as the less well developed or tested Tenant/Yeoman Farmer Artifact Pattern (Drucker et al. 1984) and the Washington Civic Center Pattern (Garrow 1982b), which Cheek et al. (1983:90) suggest might be better termed a "Nineteenth Century White Urban Pattern." Several of these are summarized in Table 20. A careful inspection of these patterns reveals suprisingly no overlap in the major categories of Kitchen and Architecture which suggests that these two categories are particularly sensitive indicators of either site function (including intra-site functional differences) or "cultural differences" (see Cheek et al. 1983:90; Garrow 1982a:4; South 1977:146-154).

Table 21 presents the artifact patterns for the structures in the 39-40-47-48, 110-123, 160-161, and test pit blocks. Of these four areas, the data from the blocks are most reliable because of both the large number of artifacts which comprise the sample and the area extent of excavations (the artifact density in this block is the highest of four being considered).

Although it would be nice if the data presented in Table 21 clearly fit into one of the various patterns summarized in Table 20, there are several anomalies. There is considerable variation among the four structures -- 13.4% to 41.0% (27.6% variation) in the Kitchen Group, and 52.9% to 81.4% (28.2% variation) in the Architecture Group -- although there were areas of fairly consistent agreement. For example, at each of the structures the Architecture Group is the largest artifact category, followed by the Kitchen Group. The Furniture Group ranges from 0 to 1.1%, although the two best

Artifact Group	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[a]	Revised Frontier Artifact Pattern[b]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[c]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[d]	Piedmont Tenant/ Yeoman Artifact Pattern[e]
Kitchen	51.8-65 0%	35 5-43 8%	70.9-84.2%	20 0-25.8%	45 6 (40 0-61 2)
Architectural	25 2-31 4%	41.6-43 0%	11.8-24.8%	67.9-73 2%	50 0 (35 8-56 3)
Furniture	0 2-0 6%	0 1-1.3%	0.1%	0 0-0.1%	0 4
Arms	0.1-0 3%	1 4-8.9%	0 1-0.3%	0.0-0 2%	-
Clothing	0 6-5 4%	0 3-1 6%	0.3-0.8%	0 3-1.7%	1.8
Personal	0 2-0 5%	0 1%	0.1%	0 1-0 2%	0 4
Tobacco	1 9-13 9%	1.3-14.0%	2.4-5.4%	0.3-9.7%	-
Activities	0.9-1 7%	0 5-5 4%	0.2-0.9%	0 2-0.4%	1 8

Sources:

[a]Garrow 1982

[b]Garrow 1982

[c]Garrow 1982

[d]Singleton 1980:216

[e]Drucker, et al 1984:5-47 (no range was provided, but has been partially reconstructed for the Kitchen and Architectural Groups)

Table 20. Various archaeological pattern comparisons.

	39-40-47-48		110-123		161-162		Test Pits			
Kitchen Group										
Ceramics	8		220		1047		7			
Colono/River Burnished	0		9		0		0			
Bottle Glass	70		622		3262		19			
Melted Glass	0		20		1770		0			
Tumbler	0		12		105		0			
Glassware	1		0		62		0			
Tableware	1		3		5		0			
Kitchenware	41		127		174		82			
	121	13.4%	1013	25.4%	6425	41.0%	108	36 9%	7667	36.8%
Architecture Group										
Window Glass	48		128		3030		32			
Nails	683		2309		5190		120			
Spikes	0		40		62		2			
Construction Hardware	2		23		96		1			
Door Lock Parts	1		7		113		0			
	734	81.1%	2507	62.9%	8491	54.2%	155	52.9%	11,887	57 0%
Furniture Group										
Furniture Hardware	0		46		96		1			
	0	0%	46	1.1%	96	0.6%	1	0.3%	143	0 7%
Arms Group										
Musket Balls, Shot	0		9		17		0			
Gun Parts	0		1		0		0			
Cartridges	0		1		14		0			
Percussion Caps	0		0		20		0			
	0	0%	11	0.3%	52	0.3%	0	0%	63	0 3%
Clothing Group										
Buckles	1		1		5		1			
Thimbles	0		0		2		0			
Buttons	8		72		125		3			
Scissors	2		0		0		0			
Straight Pin	0		0		1		0			
Hook & Eye Fasteners	0		0		1		0			
Glass Beads	0		9		8		0			
Shoe Gromets	0		3		6		0			
Other	0		1		0		0			
	11	1.2%	86	2.2%	148	1.0%	4	1.3%	249	1.2%
Personal Group										
Coins	0		1		1		0			
Key	0		0		1		0			
Personal Items	4		20		19		0			
	4	0.4%	21	0.5%	21	0.1%	0	0%	46	0.2%
Tobacco Group										
Tobacco Pipes	11		36		90		2			
Stub Stem Pipes	0				1		0			
Snuff Cans	0		3				0			
	11	1.2%	39	1.0%	91	0.6%	2	0.7%	143	0 7%
Activities Group										
Construction Tools	0		0		6		0			
Farm Tools	0		0		2		0			
Toys	0		3		2		0			
Fishing Gear	0		1		2		0			
Storage Items	5		5		9		1			
Stable and Barn	0		1		3		0			
Misc. Hardware	19		244		292		22			
Other	0		4		8		0			
Military Objects	0		5		17		0			
	24	2.7%	263	6 6%	341	2.2%	23	7 8%	651	3.1%
TOTALS	905		3986		15,665		293		20,849	

Table 21. Artifact patterns at Mitchelville.

samples suggest that this Group might be expected to account for about 1%. The Arms Group is low, about 0.3%, while the Clothing Group is relatively high -- above 1.0% at each site. The Personal Group ranges from 0 to 0.5% and the two best samples suggest a range of 0.1 to 0.5%. Tobacco Group remains, for an ex-slave population, seem somewhat low, ranging from 0.7 to 1.2% although Singleton (1978:113) notes a similar situation at Colonels Island, Georgia and suggests that tobacco may have been difficult to obtain in the postbellum period. Finally, the Activities Group ranges from 2.2 to 7.8% and the two largest samples still reflect a range of 2.2 to 6.6%.

We believe it may be possible, at least tentatively, to suggest some explanations for these data and bring some order to the complexity of Mitchelville's patterning. A chi-square statistic for the four areas (examining only the Kitchen, Architecture, Clothing, Tobacco, and Activities artifacts because of sample size) revealed significant differences ($x2 = 761.8$, significant at the 0.001 level). Even the 161-162 block and test pits evidence a significant difference (again excluding the Furniture and Personal classes; $x2 = 42.494$, significant at the 0.001 level). However, 39.6 of the x2 of 42.494 results from the Activities Group, suggesting that the Activities Artifact Group is responsible for the differences between the two areas. If the Activities artifacts are removed from consideration, $x^2 = 1.187$ and $p = 0.78$, demonstrating that there are no significant differences between the artifact patterns of the 161-162 and test pit areas, exclusive of the Activities artifacts. The empirical ranges for the Kitchen and Artifact Groups were plotted on a chart similar to that used by South (1977:147) along with the observed data from the four blocks (Figure 61). Several observations became immediately apparent. Although we were not able to plot the predictive pattern ranges, it was apparent that there would be little overlap (if any) between the Carolina Slave, Revised Carolina, Revised Frontier, and Georgia Slave Patterns. All four represent fairly tightly clustered empirical ranges, with the Carolina Slave Pattern exhibiting the greatest variability. The Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Farmer pattern, in comparison, exhibits considerable variability and, in fact, even the empirical range overlaps that of the Revised Frontier Pattern. While we take no position on the appropriateness or viability of the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Farmer Pattern, its present range seems to reduce its heuristic value.

Two of the Mitchelville blocks (161-162 and the Test Pits block) tend to cluster just within or at the edge of the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Farmer Pattern and probably close to the 95% predictive range for the Revised Frontier Pattern. Another of the Mitchelville blocks (110-123) is found close to the Georgia Slave Pattern and probably within its 95%

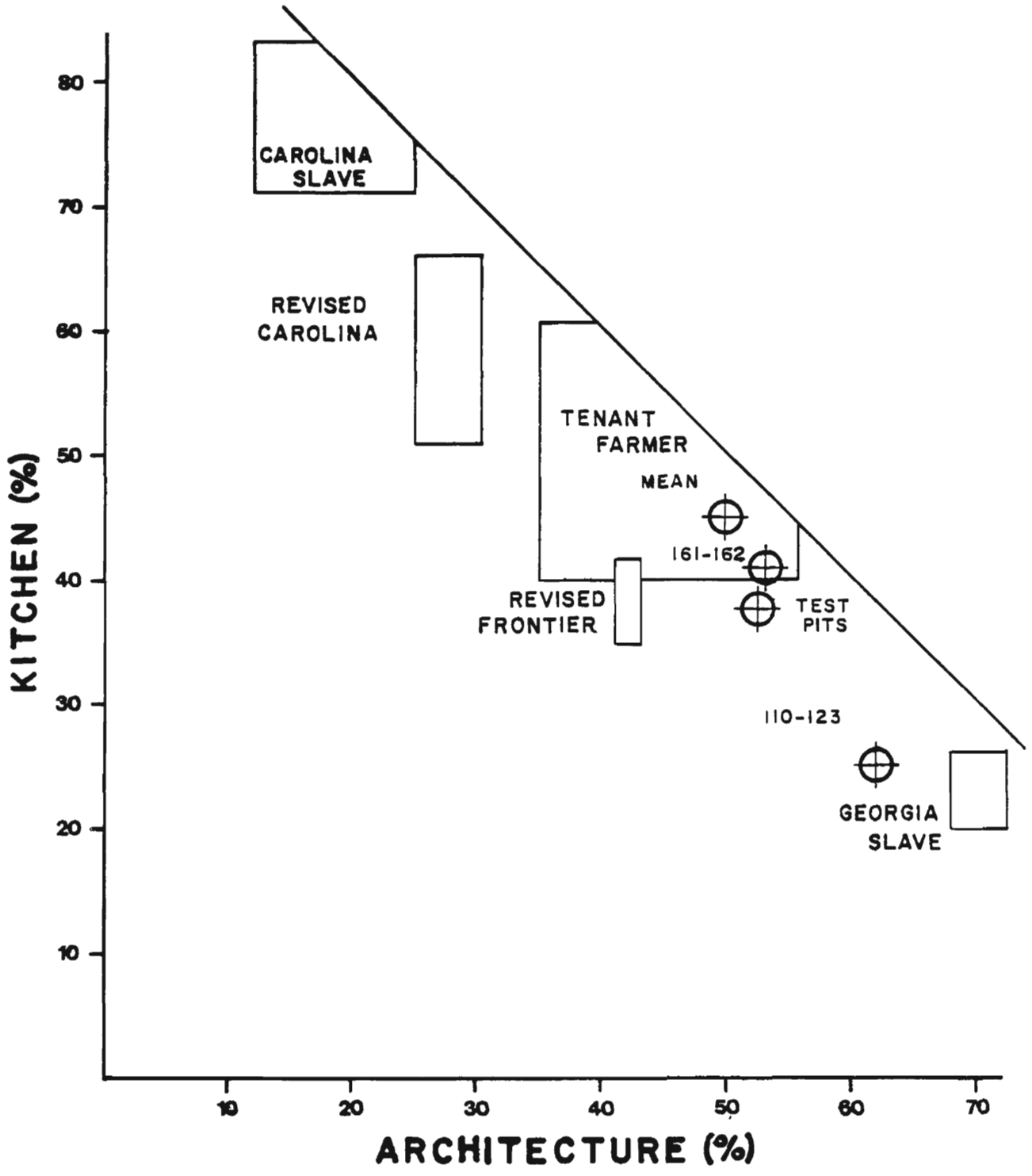

Figure 61. Pattern ranges for Kitchen and Architecture Artifact Groups.

predictive range. The final block (39-49-47-48) is isolated and clearly anomalous.

It is easiest to discuss and dispense with the 39-40-47-48 block first. Although it has a low Kitchen Group when compared to the Architecture Group, the areas of Clothing, Personal, Tobacco, and Activities are not low. Although there are any number of explanations for this pattern (sample size bias, excavation area bias, structure function, etc.) we believe the explanation may be found in the structure's relatively short period of occupation. As South notes,

> "[a] short occupation span would . . . produce a higher Architecture to Kitchen Group ratio, with a virtual absence of Kitchen Group artifacts anticipated" (South 1977:158).

We suggest that additional excavation in the vicinity of this structure, while perhaps slightly increasing the Kitchen to Architecture Group ratio, would reveal a simple structure occupied for a very brief period in Mitchelville's history.

The 110-123 block appears to be closer to the Georgia Slave Pattern in its Kitchen-Architecture ratio than to anything else. Closer examination, focusing on the other artifact groups, reveals that the 110-123 block fails to fall into the range of any of the Georgia Slave Artifact Patterns except for Tobacco. In every other category Mitchelville exhibits higher percentages -- in some cases (Furniture and Activities) substantially higher. While the 110-123 structure seems "top heavy" in architectural remains, the remaining artifacts do not suggest an extremely impoverished lifestyle. We feel several factors may explain the observed pattern, including substantial repairs to the structure over time (inflating the architectural category) and a middling economic status.

The final two collections, from 161-162 and the test pits, exhibit very similar Kitchen-Architecture ratios and probably represent nearly identical homesteads, supported by the chi-square statistic. If there was any degree of homogeneity in Mitchelville, which we doubt, the 161-162 block may represent the typical structure. The artifact patterns from these two structures exhibit some similarity to both the Revised Frontier Pattern and the Piedmont Tenant/Yeoman Farmer Pattern.

The similarity of the 160-161 block to a generalized "tenant" pattern is understandable as the two are closely linked, both culturally and economically. It seems likely that a number of Mitchelville tenants moved on to become either tenants or small yeoman farmers (see McGuire 1985).

The similarity between the Mitchelville data and the Revised Frontier Pattern is perhaps, at first, less simple to understand. A careful reading of Lewis's (1976:13-16) explanation of the frontier model, however, makes its applicability to Mitchelville easier to understand. Lewis notes that, "the frontier model deals primarily with cultural change among intrusive cultures faced with adaptation to a frontier situation" and that it has largely developed from the study of colonization (Lewis 1976:13).

Amy Friedlander (personal communication 1986) suggests that the question of black jewelry use may be a significant research topic. She correctly notes that by placing beads in the Clothing Group and other jewelry in the Personal Group (South 1977:95), archaeologists are ignoring that these objects (both beads and other jewelry) are clearly ornamental. It would be more reasonable, in the future, to place beads in the Personal Group. Such an approach at Mitchelville would increase the Personal artifacts to 0.2% in the 161-162 block and to 0.7% in the 110-123 block, while reducing the Clothing Artifact Group to 0.9% in the 161-162 block and to 1.9% in the 110-123 block. Viewed in this manner the Mitchelville blocks reveal levels of Personal artifacts which are within or exceed that of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern, which suggests that the freedmen actively acquired personables, such as jewelry.

Viewed as a total complex then, jewelry may provide insight on a significant Afro-American trait (see Otto 1984:174-175). Friedlander also suggests that the freedmen's use of jewelry may be analyzed at several levels of meaning (Amy Friedlander, personal communication 1986). At one level the blacks may have been mimicking the master class, adopting and exaggerating traits they observed among the plantation whites. The adoption of these traits may have assisted the freedmen to distance themselves from the plantation experience of slavery. At another level, however, the use of jewelry (and perhaps even the specific items) may be a retention of an earlier tradition similar to the survivals of Colono ware (Ferguson 1980) and black naming practices (Gutman 1976).

It obviously would be useful to not only obtain larger samples from these Mitchelville structures, but also to obtain samples from the postbellum structures not in Mitchelville (such as the nearby Drayton slave row, which continued to be occupied by freedmen) and from late nineteenth century tenant farmer structures in the Mitchelville vicinity. This tentative development and study of patterns exhibited by the Mitchelville data provides a starting point for our study of the changes brought about by the Port Royal Experiment and the gradual development of a Yeoman farmer class among the freedmen.

Status and Lifestyle Observations

We have previously mentioned the not too occasional high status items which found their way into the archaeological record at Mitchelville. Many of these items, such as furniture, tableware, stemware, and an occasional personal item, may have been removed from plantation houses (either by the blacks directly, or by soldiers who then bartered the items with the freedmen for goods and services). Such items, while perhaps providing some information on lifestyle and comfort, provide little evidence of status. As previously mentioned in the historical discussions, status differences were not immediately observable in any of the Mitchelville photographs, although several photographs did reveal the presence of plantation furniture in Mitchelville. Miller (1980) has recently suggested a technique for the analysis of ceramic collections to yield information on the economic value of the assemblage, which as Garrow notes, "theoretically provide a means of roughly determining the economic position of the household that used and discarded the ceramics" (Garrow 1982b:66). While this technique could revolutionize our perceptions of economic status of historic peoples, it has not been embraced by all historical archaeologists. It is limited to the cream colored wares (and a few other ceramics) of the nineteenth century, its methodology has not been perfected, and index values do not exist for all of the decoration/ware types for all of the time periods. In spite of these problems it, like South's pattern analysis, provides another significant analytical technique.

Miller's (1980) ceramic index values have been used for several of the Mitchelville structures, but it is appropriate to mention some of the biases or problems which may be reflected in the outcome of the study. First, sample size was not as large as used by Miller (1980) from his test sites or as large as used by Garrow (1982b) at the Washington, D.C. Civic Center. In the case of the 161-162 block, however, the sample probably approaches 100% simply through the extent of the excavations (although rear yard excavations were not extensive). At the present time we have no controls for sample sizes. Second, Miller's index is based on pricing data from English (primarily Staffordshire) potters. We do not know how closely American potters paralleled these price indices or what affect the increasing American industry may have had on this economic system by the end of the nineteenth century. We are unable to control for this potential bias, except to note that all of the marked ceramics from Mitchelville were English. Third, related to this problem are the large quantities of "white ironstone" which began to be produced in the 1850s and sold for prices equal to transfer prints. Miller suggests that, "[f]rom the mid-19th century, there appears to be a weaker relationship between

final cost of the vessels and their decoration" (Miller 1980:4). Fourth, as has been noted by other researchers, it is often necessary either to use different years' indices for a single collection or to make other assumptions about the pricing of unlisted decorative techniques (cf. Cheek 1986).

Prior to examining the application of Miller's indices to the 161-162 block there are several other useful observations which may be offered concerning the ceramics based on the minimum vessel study. It is clear that the Mitchelville inhabitants were not purchasing sets of china, although the idea of sets may have originated in the mid to late nineteenth century (Garrow 1982b:107). By 1880 a 112 piece transfer printed set of ironstone china cost only $10.00 and a 142 piece setting cost only $18.00. Semi-porcelain wares were more expensive and the Haviland enameled china with gold bands cost $77.00 for a 142 piece set (Morey, Churchill and Morey 1880). The failure to identify sets may be related to the economic status of the Mitchelville citizens, or it may be more complex and related to a cultural or ethnic pattern of food preparation and consumption habits. Review of the historic documents indicates that large quantities of tin plates, cups, and other items were being imported into Mitchelville, although references to any sort of china are absent. The archaeological record reveals little ironstone, presumably of higher price than whiteware, but does indicate the presence of tinware items as suggested by the historical data. Miller (1980:10) notes that tinware was lower in price than even plain CC ware. For whatever reasons (economics, culture, or ethnicity) the freedmen do not seem to have been spending much money on tableware.

Application of Miller's technique to the 161-162 block ceramics is shown in Table 22. The index values for this collection range from 1.00 to 1.29, although three of the four categories cluster between 1.00 and 1.12. Only the tea cups and saucers reveal noticeably higher status ceramics, based primarily on the high incidence of transfer printed pieces. Miller (1980:32), however, notes that while these printed wares were expensive, their popularity declined from the 1850s to the 1880s. It is possible that the abundance of those items may be due to a merchant "unloading" unpopular merchandise to the freedmen. If the index of these items was reduced to the same level as the Ironstone (2.50), then the average value of the collection would be reduced to 1.72, which at least on the surface appears more reasonable. Alternatively, these decorated wares may have been removed from a plantation house and may not reflect common wealth at all.

Table 23 examines the percentages of flatware, hollow ware, serving pieces, and utilitarian items from the 161-162 collection, while recognizing that tea cups and saucers can be split apart and used for two functions.

PLATES	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
ww, undec.	1.00 (1874)	12	12.00
ww, molded	1.00 (1874)	2	2.00
ww, blue edge	1.00 (1862)	1	1.00
pw, undec.	1.00 (1862)	1	1.00
yellowware	1.00	1	1.00
ironstone, undec.	2.25 (1874)	1	2.25
		18	19.25

Average value = 1.10

TEA CUPS/SAUCERS	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
ww, undec.	1.00 (1871)	6	6.00
ww, poly stamp	1.17 (1871-sponged)	1	1.17
ww, blk tp	4.50 (1856-1881 average)	1	4.50
ww, blue tp	4.50 "	1	4.50
ww, red tp	4.50 "	2	9.00
ww, purple tp	4.50 "	1	4.50
ww, poly hp	1.17 (1875)	1	1.17
ironstone, undec.	2.50 (1871)	2	5.00
		15	35.84

Average value = 2.39

BOWLS	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
ww, undec.	1.00 (1858)	4	4.00
ww, blue stamp	1.10 (1855)	1	1.10
ww, annular	1.30 (1855)	1	3.90
ww, hp	1.30 (1855)	1	1.30
yellowware	1.00	2	2.00
		11	12.30

Average value = 1.12

PITCHERS	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED	NUMBER	PRODUCT
ww, moulded	1.00	3	3.00
		3	3.00

Average value = 1.00

Table 22. Miller index values for the 161-162 block collection.

PLATES	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
ww, undec.	1.00 (1874)	4	4.00
		4	4.00

Average value = 1.00

TEA CUPS/SAUCERS	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
ww, poly hp	1.17 (1875)	2	2.34
ww, poly stamp	1.17 (1871-sponged)	1	1.17
ww, undec.	1.00(1871)	1	1.00
ironstone, undec	2.5 (1871)	1	2.50
yellowware	1.00	1	1.00
		6	8.01

Average value = 1.34

BOWLS	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
ww, undec.	1.00(1858)	5	5.00
ww, annular	1.30 (1855)	4	5.20
yellowware	1.00	1	1.00
blk. lead glazed	1.00	1	1.00
		11	12.20

Average value = 1.11

SERVING PLATE	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
ww, blue edge	1.00	1	1.00
		1	1.00

Average value = 1.00

Table 24. Miller index values used for the 110-123 block collection.

Tableware	31	67.4%
Plates (18-58.1%)		
Bowls (10-32.3%)		
Other (3-9.7%)		
Tea & Coffeeware	10	21.7%
Utilitarian/Storage	5	10.9%
	46	

Table 23. Shape and function of ceramics from the 161-162 block.

The profile that emerges is very similar to the slave pattern observed by Otto (1984:68-69), with 67% of the items being tablewares. The slight tendency favoring plates is somewhat more typical of the overseer pattern and may indicate that food preparation and serving habits were beginning to change among the freedmen.

As a comparison, the next largest historic block, 110-123, was examined. While there were again occasional matches of cups and saucers, there was no evidence for the purchase of sets. An examination of the ceramics using Miller's indices reveals ceramics ranging from 1.00 to 1.34 in economic scale (Table 24). While the values are uniformly lower for this block, teawares again reveal higher values than the other forms, suggesting that Mitchelville occupants had a consistent source for more decorated teawares.

Table 25 reveals an emphasis on tablewares, similar to the 161-162 and Otto's (1984:68) slave sites, as well as a dependence on bowls, another feature frequently found at slave sites.

Tableware	15	71.4%
Plates (3-20.0%)		
Bowls (11-73.3%)		
Other (1-6.7%)		
Tea & Coffeeware	5	23.8%
Utilitarian/Storage	1	4.8%
	21	

Table 25. Shape and function of ceramics from the 110-123 block.

A different situation is apparent in the 91-92 block, which has demonstrated its origin as a secondary midden

PLATES	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
cw, undec.	1.00	2	2.00
pw, blue edge	1.29 (1824)	5	6.45
pw, blue tp	2.86 (1824)	1	2.86
pw, poly hp	2.36 (1838)	1	2.36
pw, undec.	1.29 (1824-edged value)	6	7.74
ww, green edge	1.25 (1855)	2	2.50
ww, blue edge	1.25 (1855)	8	10.00
ww, brown tp	1.50 (1855)	3	4.50
ww, red tp	1.50 (1855)	1	1.50
ww, blue tp	1.50 (1855)	3	4.50
ww, undec.	1.00 (1855)	3	3.00
		35	47.41
		Average value = 1.35	

BOWLS	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
pw, blue hp	1.67 (1824)	1	1.67
pw, annular	1.20 (1824)	5	6.00
ww, blue hp	1.30 (1855)	1	1.30
ww, annular	1.10 (1858)	4	4.40
		11	13.37
		Average value = 1.22	

CUPS/SAUCERS	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
pw, undec.	2.00 (1814)	1	2.00
pw, blue hp	1.97 (1814-1846 average)	1	1.97
pw, blue tp	3.34 (1814-1846 average)	1	3.34
pw, poly hp	1.97 (1814-1846 average)	2	3.94
ww, undec.	1.00	4	4.00
ww, blue hp	1.17 (1875)	1	1.17
ww, poly hp	1.17 (1875)	3	3.51
ww, blue tp	4.00 (1857)	7	28.00
pw, yellowglazed tp mug	4.00 (1857)	1	4.00
pw, annular mug	1.97 (painted 1814-1846 average)	2	3.94
porcelain, blk tp	4.00 (1875)	1	4.00
		24	59.87
		Average value = 2.49	

SERVING BOWLS	INDEX VALUE ASSIGNED (date)	NUMBER	PRODUCT
pw, blue hp lid	-	1	-
ww, blue edge lids	-	2	-

Table 26. Miller index values used for the 91-92 block collection.

deposit. Table 26 illustrates the results of applying Miller's (1980) economic scaling to the collection. The results of the study must be reviewed with caution, however, since we have had to expand the indices beyond the limits of CC ware to include the quantities of pearlware identified from the block. In addition, we have used indices from several time periods. The average values range from 1.22 to 2.49, only slightly higher than the Mitchelville structures, although the teawares again exhibit higher status items than either the plates or bowls.

We thought the whitewares, which were probably added to the midden later in time than the pearlwares, might have a tempering effort on the average index values. Averaging the pearlware plates alone yields a value of 1.49, only slightly higher than the combined creamwares - pearlware - whiteware total of 1.35. The values for this collection, however, are still suprisingly low. In spite of the quantity of decorated wares this assemblage dos not appear to represent high status plantation main house refuse.

If the function of the various ceramics is examined, as illustrated in Table 27, the collection reveals that while it is similar to Otto's (1984:68) slave pattern, it is approaching the distribution observed at an overseer's house. If the tablewares are examined by function they are found to very closely parallel the pattern Otto (1984:69) found at the overseer's house. Finally, if the ceramics are examined only by surface decoration (ignoring the type of ware), all decorative types are represented in nearly similar quantities - banded is represented by 15%, edged by 23%, hand painted by 15%, transfer printed by 25%, and undecorated wares by 22%. While this is not similar to what Otto (1984:64) suggests will be found at a planter's kitchen, it falls in the range of what might be found at either a slave or overseer's site.

Tablewares		49	62.0%
	Plates (35-32.4%)		
	Bowls (11-22.4%)		
	Other (3-6.1%)		
Tea & Coffeeware		24	30.4%
Utilitarian/Storage		6	7.6%

Table 27. Shape and function of ceramics from the 91-92 block.

The analysis of ceramics from the 91-91 block provides subtle clues concerning the origin of the midden. While all of the remains have had a "feeling" of higher status, the study of the ceramics suggests the status as only slightly higher than that observed at several of the Mitchelville structures. No intact or reconstructable remains were found,

which suggests that not all of the debris were moved to the 91-92 block from their original location. The high kitchen to low architecture ratio, which is suggestive of the Carolina Slave Pattern, is also suggestive of what might be expected from privy debris (Lewis and Haskell 1981:31-33), or any similar deliberate deposit of waste material. It is tempting to suggest that the 91-92 block, at the periphery of the Mitchelville village, may have served as the village dump from 1862 to 1867. Reference to the historical data indicates that the Mitchelville Council of Administration had the power to,

> clean the streets . . . , [and to] establish wholesale sanitary regulations (Reid 1866:91).

Its short duration, early in the village's history, might explain the presence of a number of high status goods, removed from plantation houses in 1861, but quickly broken or otherwise discarded. In spite of these high status goods, the act that all village garbage was included would tend to temper the economic scale and to give the assemblage a mixed appearance.

The historical evidence has previously suggested that while the Hilton Head post was active, traders were not allowed to sell alcohol to the freedmen, although by the 1870s it appeared that alcohol was readily available. The minimum glass vessel count was examined for the 161-162 block to determine the significance of alcohol bottles in the collection. The results are presented in Table 28. The container form analysis suggests a substantial quantity of the bottle glass came from alcohol bottles (including wine, ale, stout, and liquor). Yet, given the extent of archaeological studies in this block and the length of site occupation, the 51 recovered bottles would not seem to represent an extraordinary alcohol consumption. Alcohol does, however, seem to have been the preferred purchased beverage.

	MNI Count	%	% Bottles
Food Bottles	7	5.2	6.2
Medicine Bottles	23	17.2	20.4
Bitters Bottles	3	2.2	2.6
Soda Bottles	22	16.4	19.5
Alcohol Bottles	51	38.1	45.1
UID Bottles	7	5.2	6.2
Glasses/Tumblers	19	14.2	
Other Tableware	2	1.5	
	134		

Table 28. Major glass forms from the 161-162 block.

Otto (1984:78-79) found that the slave site he studied tended to be similar to the overseer's in the quantity of alcoholic beverage glass (52-58%), while the owner's kitchen refuse exhibited a higher quantity (72%), which suggests a reasonable relationship between wealth and the status of drinking. On the other hand, the owner, presumably because of better health care, less strenuous work, and better sanitation, deposited fewer medicine bottles (17%) than did either the slaves (31%) or the overseer (43%). These date suggest that alcohol consumption may have gone down among the freemen, as did the use of proprietary medicines. Whether this decline (if real) is the result of changing cultural or work patterns, or simply the reflection of having to purchase items that previously were supplied as part of a ration, is at present unknown.

If our assessment that the 91-92 block functioned as Mitchelville's dump from 1862 through 1867 is correct, then we would not expect to see large quantities of alcohol bottles. In fact, the block contained only four alcohol bottles (all wine), one soda bottle, two unidentified bottles, and four glasses/tumblers. Although the alcohol bottles comprise 57% of the sample, only four bottles are represented and the variety is very limited (perhaps representing what could be removed from plantation houses by either blacks or the troops).

When the artifacts from Mitchelville are viewed as an entire assemblage, it becomes apparent that the freedmen were actively participating in a cash economy and were beginning to purchase (or otherwise acquire) higher status goods than they previously owned. Although the assemblage reflects a prevailing poverty which continued to typify black farmers and tenants into the twentieth century, we do not see evidence in the archaeological record for a slave artifact pattern simply being transported into freedom. Nor is there any evidence that the citizens of Mitchelville were worse-off than before freedom. The wholesale cost of items shipped by New York suppliers to Mitchelville store owners (prior to addition of the retail profit) was from 108% to 557% higher in price than identical goods, also brought on the New York market and shipped by The American Missionary Association. The wholesale Mitchelville prices are also 105% to 308% higher than the retail prices charged Louisiana Freedmen at plantation stores, under the careful scrutinity of the Freedmen's Bureau (Seagrave 1975:118-119). It is probable that the Mitchelville blacks would have been better off than they were had it not been for profiteering by the merchants.

Summary

We have previously discussed the historical documentation in terms of its relevance to the archaeological data and offered a series of archaeological expectations based on the historical sources. It is appropriate in this summary to examine those expectations.

It was anticipated that a number of high status goods and arms would be found in the archaeological record, the result of blacks scavanging, looting, or bartering. We have, in fact, identified a small number of high status items, such as fancy jewelry, furniture hardware, lead crystal, silver utensils, fancy buttons, an expensive folding rule, and transfer printed ceramics. There are a sufficient number of these goods to clearly indicate that the freedmen had greater access to them than they did as slaves, but there is no evidence of opulence. The arms found at Mitchelville reveal the use of muskets, as well as more modern weapons, so there may be evidence of scavanging, looting, or bartering, but the quantity of arms is not unusually high when compared to antebellum slave sites. This study provides little evidence of the freedmen procuring military equipage (particularly abandoned Confederate arms), which is unexpected.

We believe there is evidence in the archaeological record of the freedmen's introduction to a consumer economy. There are luxury goods (or remains of these goods), such as tin cans, calico buttons, brass lamps, tumblers, and abundant ceramics. The artifact patterns from Mitchelville demonstrate that the freedmen possessed more furniture than typical for slaves or yeoman farmers, clothing items at the uppermost range of the slaves and yeoman farmers, more personal items than antebellum slaves (and possibly as many as are found at antebellum higher status sites), and many more activities items than typical of the antebellum slaves (perhaps because the freedmen were self-reliant and/or yeoman farmers). Miller's economic scale, however, does not reveal any evidence of particular wealth based on the ceramics, which are relatively plain and simple. While the freedmen had more possessions than they had as slaves, the possessions were relatively inexpensive.

Otto (1984:171-175), based on excavations at a number of antebellum slave and free black house sites, has suggested a tentative pattern of "Afro-American archaeological visibility." This pattern includes ceramics which are primarily banded, edge, or undecorated wares, and which are primarily serving bowls. This pattern has been found in Otto's own study at Cannon's Point Plantation, at Black Lucy's Garden (Baker 1978), and at Parting Ways (Baker 1978). The abundance of the banded motif is explained by relative

costs and the emphasis on bowl forms is explained by a reliance on one-pot, slow-simmer meals. The pattern also includes abundant evidence of medicine bottles which contained calomel or mercurous chloride, and blue, faceted beads.

These "artifactual characteristics" are not uniformly present at Mitchelville. Although plain pearlwares and whitewares dominate the collection, banded ceramics are not common (accounting for only 5% of the Mitchelville collection), and transfer printed ceramics account for nearly 16% of the total. There is clearly a shift away from banded or annular wares -- perhaps part of the freedmen's effort to distance themselves from the plantation experience (and similar to their rejection of "negro cloth" and hesitancy to plant cotton). Alternatively, this may represent an attempt to emulate plantation whites by adopting the ceramics that they were not permitted to use as slaves. Likewise, bowl forms, which account for 41% TO 53% of the tableware forms at Parting Ways, Black Lucy's Garden, and Cannon's Point, account for only 34% of the tablewares at Mitchelville. If "form follows function," then this may suggest that the dietary pattern of the Mitchelville freedmen was different from that typical of slaves and antebellum free blacks. Medicine bottles, which account for 31% of the glass at Cannon's POint, account for only 17% of the Mitchelville glass, and very few vial forms are present. While freedom may have promoted better living and working conditions and hence less need for medicine, it seems as likely that other purchases were given a higher priority. Only the presence of blue, faceted beads clearly continues into the postbellum and may evidence elaboration to include a variety of ornamental features. Personal decoration, like ceramics, may be an effort among the freedmen to imitate the master class, or it may represent a significant African tradition.

There is archaeological evidence that another type of good, previously supplied by the owner, was not as abundant in postbellum times. Tobacco pipes are observed to range as high as 9.7% of the artifact pattern on Georgia slave sites, yet they account for only about 0.7% of the Mitchelville artifacts. This appears to represent a "luxury" of slavery that was less significant in freedom.

The suspected absence of military influence on Mitchelville is largely supported by the scarcity of military hardware (excluding buttons). Most of the military objects found at Mitchelville were shell and fuse fragments, probably from the November 1861 bombardment of the island. Only one trash pit appears possibly related to military trash disposal practices. Military buttons, as expected, are quite numerous and are probably the result of distributing surplus military clothing as part of the relief effort.

We speculated, based on the historic records, that there might be a change in the refuse disposal practices of the freedmen because of the military influence. We have identified the 91-92 block as the probable location of a community dump. Refuse disposal practices have not been clearly identified, however, since little work was conducted in either the front or rear yards associated with structures. Rear yard trash disposal has been identified from one house site, although it is not particularly dense and it almost appears to represent a "trash pile" rather than a uniformly scattered midden deposit.

The Mitchelville structures, in most respects, closely resemble our expectations based on the historic record. They do, in fact, exhibit considerable individuality and variability in construction style and detail. They have left clear archaeological signatures, with about 54-63% of the recovered artifacts typically being architectural, although in no case were archaeological features present to allow the reconstruction of house size or structural details. Brick and tabby chimneys are more common than was suggested by the historical documentation.

The individual abilities, tastes, and resources of the freedmen are perhaps best exemplified by contrasting the structures observed in the 110-123 and 161-162 blocks. Although both exhibit about the same proportion of architectural remains, the 161-162 structure probably contained more windows and had a brick fireplace. The 110-123 structure had fewer windows and was built with a tabby wattle and daub chimney. This tabby wattle and daub construction technique dates to the eighteenth century and was not used by mid-nineteenth century antebellum planters. Yet it is clear that the technique had been kept alive by the blacks.

The archaeological evidence also supports our expectation that there would be evidence of salvaged building materials and refurbishing of structures. The structure in the 38-40-47-48 block appears to have been torn down in the 1880s, leaving robbed builder's trenches. The 161-162 structure reveals two building episodes, with the second structure apparently more substantial and most likely an improvement over the first. The bricks used in both structures were salvaged from previous buildings. Window glass from most structural remains suggests some repair into the 1880s and the 39-40-47-48 structure may have been built using glass salvaged from an antebellum source.

Although occupation into the twentieth century was anticipated at Mitchelville, this work found almost no evidence of occupation past about 1890. This indicates that none of the structures thus far investigated was occupied into the period of the kin-based community. While it would

be helpful to have access to data from this later time period, the information collected in this study may be relied on as indicative of the period from 1862 until the 1880s.