STATUS DIFFERENCES AND THE ARCHEOLOGICAL RECORD-- A COMPARISON OF PLANTER, OVERSEER, AND SLAVE SITES FROM CANNON'S POINT PLANTATION (1794-1861), ST. SIMONS ISLAND, GEORGIA

BY

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CITATIONS

GWP	Georgia Writers' Project, WPA
NCF	Name Card Files, Georgia State Archives
SA	Southern Agriculturist

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Old South plantations were domestic sites as well as agricultural production units, whose inhabitants included black slaves, elite white planters, and overseers, the latter often the sons of white middle class farmers. Thus, plantation inhabitants differed in both ethnic and social status. At Cannon's Point plantation, archeological data from antebellum sites known to have been occupied by planters, overseers, and slaves were compared to demonstrate how status differences were expressed in the archeological record of living conditions--housing, material possessions, and food sources. The status differences existing among the residents of Cannon's Point produced qualitative and quantitative differences in the archeological record, because of differential access to the cash and food crops produced on the plantation. As a corollary, it was determined which types of archeological data are the most sensitive indicators of status differences.

I. INTRODUCTION

Potential Contributions of Cannon's Point Excavations

Although historians admit there are serious gaps in our documentary knowledge of slave-based plantations in the Old South (Wall in Link and Patrick 1965), there have been few attempts to generate new information by archeological excavations of antebellum plantation sites. Although test excavations at Rayfield Plantation on Cumberland Island, Georgia, and Kingsley Plantation, Ft. George Island, Florida, revealed provocative new evidence about the daily lives of slaves (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1974), historical archeologists have generally neglected plantation sites. Nevertheless, antebellum plantations offer unique possibilities for historic sites archeology, since representatives of the three major social groups of the Old South--planters, slaves, and overseers, who were usually the sons of free-holding farmers--were often present on the same site.

Such a situation existed at Cannon's Point Plantation, owned by the Couper family from 1794-1866, where documents attest to the presence of planters, overseers, and slaves. Thus, there is an opportunity to gather information about the daily living conditions of slaves and overseers, since little is known from the available documents (Wall in Link and Patrick 1965: 192; Scarborough 1966: 25, 38). On the other hand, there are theoretical possibilities, for hypotheses can be generated to explain differences as well as similarities in the archeological record of the living conditions of planters, slaves, and overseers.

Yet, the traditional approach in historical archeology has been the correlation of archeological remains with documentary evidence to solve limited empirical problems (Schuyler 1970: 86). In the case of plantation sites, emphasis would be placed on identifying structures, determining the activities conducted there, and dating. After an attempted solution of these problems, the study would be considered complete. Although descriptions of dated artifacts and structural remains may be useful to other historic archeologists, this approach has little to offer historians and they usually ignore such site reports (see Schuyler 1970). In addition, structures and the activities they housed are difficult to identify (South 1972: 100-101), and long descriptive reports are costly and often of dubious value (South 1974: 154).

Though the plantation ruins will be stabilized by one of our sponsors, The Sea Island Company, the excavators felt that the traditional approach, with its emphasis on identifying and dating structures, would be of little value to historians who are concerned with American slavery. For example, a current controversy in American history concerns the quality of slave life on Southern plantations and farms. Econometric historians such as Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, the authors of Time on the Cross, published last year, argue that the data from census returns and probate records demonstrate that slaves enjoyed adequate housing and diet, stable family lives, and working conditions comparable to those of many white workers. Other historians, relying on travelers' accounts and ex-slave narratives, have generally emphasized the harshness of American slavery (i.e., Stampp 1956; Blassingame 1972). Yet, all written sources contain only limited information on the material conditions of slavery, and they usually emphasize the legal or social aspects of slave treatment.

A study of "slave treatment" could include access to freedom and citizenship, the social consequences of slavery, and the daily living conditions. Far more work has been done on the legal status of slaves in New World societies; several scholars have compared the differential access of New World slaves to freedom and citizenship (ie., Tannenbaum 1947; Davis 1966). Since slavery affected family security, independence of religious and recreational life, and the dignity of human beings, a number of studies have considered social conditions of slavery and the resulting psychic and social deprivations (ie., Elkins 1959; Blassingame 1972). Less work, however, has been devoted to the daily living conditions of slaves--the quality and quantity of food, housing, clothing, working conditions, and amount of leisure time (Genovese in Foner and Genovese 1969: 203). In turn, it is difficult to assess the material conditions of slaves without reference to the living conditions of lower and upper status free people (see Genovese 1969: 15).

Possibly, Cannon's Point could serve as an historical case study (see Wall in Link and Patrick 1965: 186), presenting archeological and documentary information about the comparative qualities of housing, diet, and material possessions of planters, overseers, and slaves. These aspects of Old South plantation life are poorly documented in written sources. Historians of the antebellum South have traditionally used such sources as agricultural periodicals, the day books and correspondence of planters, and travelers' accounts; these are "written from the viewpoint of the superordinate caste . . . [and] are generally lacking in specific information about the daily circumstances of the slaves" (Fairbanks 1974: 62).

Though some antebellum fugitive slaves left narratives describing their lives under slavery, most ex-slaves accounts were produced by young males, craftsmen, and border state slaves. Consequently, it is not known if the conditions described in these narratives can be applied to all areas of the South (Brown ed. by Boney 1972: x). Post-Civil War accounts also exist, notably the Slave Narrative Collection of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, but these contain distortions since ex-slaves were elderly and many interviewers were white and unskilled in oral history techniques (Yetman ed., 1970: 2-3, 353, 359).

Since few overseers left detailed accounts of their lives because of literacy problems or lack of leisure time (Bonner in Link and Patrick 1965: 159), little is known about overseer housing and diet (see Scarborough 1966: 25, 36, 38). Again, most references to overseers appear in agricultural journals or planters' diaries and account books; because many were written by disgruntled planters, comments about overseers are often highly critical. Many historians, relying on these sources have perpetuated a biased, even slanderous, view of the men who supervised many Old South plantations (Scarborough 1966: xii). Because of class biases and snobbery, planters and travelers rarely concerned themselves with the daily lives of overseers and their families, who were usually representatives of the numerically dominant group of freeholding "yeoman" farmers (Scarborough 1966: 5; Stampp 1956: 29).

But on the South Carolina and Georgia coast where the minor cash crops (rice, sugar, and long-staple cotton) predominated (Gray 1958 [1933]), the white population was smaller and the crops required skilled supervisors. As a result, the coastal overseers enjoyed relatively

higher status, longer tenures, and better salaries (Scarborough 1964: 18). Although many career overseers were small slaveholders or slaveless farmers, the sons of large planters often served as overseers or as managers--supervising two or more plantations. Most sons of planters later entered the planting class (Scarborough 1966: 5); yet, a number continued as supervisors, notably William Audley Couper, the youngest son of John Couper, the owner of Cannon's Point from 1794-1850 (see p. 41 above).

Despite their favorable position in relation to other overseers, the status of coastal overseers was below that of planters and comparable to that of coastal farmers and shop-keepers (Johnson 1930: 107-108). Nevertheless, few documents survive which indicate the similarities or differences between the living conditions of planters and their overseers. Thus, archeological evidence could provide information about this neglected aspect of plantation history.

Archeological data differ from documents "in the matter of intent." It is assumed that no one expected an archeologist to recover the discarded material items and food remains found in a plantation site (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 3). Though problems of falsification and bias are not present in archeological evidence, archeological data have their own inherent limitations, for much of the material associated with antebellum plantation inhabitants may not survive to become a part of the archeological record. There are problems of preservation as well as postbellum occupation, salvage, and disturbance.

Also, the archeological information on living conditions obtained from a single sea island cotton plantation may not be applicable to all Southern plantations. The coastal long-staple planters adapted their

operations to a cash crop whose seasonal and daily routine differed from that of short-staple cotton, which was grown elsewhere in the South. There were even differences in the technologies used to process the long- and short-staple cottons for market. In contrast to the Whitney saw gin and the screw press which were used to process and package short-staple cotton for market, the sea island planters used roller gins to clean the seeds from long-staple cotton and their slaves hand-packed the cotton in bags. The delicate long-staple cotton required a longer, more elaborate preparation for market (see p. 60 above).

These differences in routine and processing technologies should have resulted in differences in plantation structures and their arrangement, the types of implements, the labor conditions, and even the amount of leisure time available to supervisors and workers (see p. 62 above). Profitability also would have varied regionally as well as through time, and the amount of capital available to the plantation owner should be reflected in the quality of planter, slave, and overseer living conditions.

Since historic archeological case studies are not available from other cash crop regions, the writer will hypothesize that the differences in cash crop requirements created differences in plantation activities. In turn, these differences should be reflected in the material remains, but the extent of the differences cannot yet be determined because comparative data are lacking. This study hopefully serves as a beginning for a series of possible historic archeological investigations of plantations located in the various cash crop regions of the Old South: long-staple cotton; rice, sugar; hemp; grain; and short-staple cotton (Gray 1958 [1933]).

Because plantations were adapted to specialized cash crops, the historical usefulness of the archeological evidence recovered from Cannon's Point plantation may be limited to antebellum long-staple cotton plantations, and its applicability to all Old South plantations remains to be demonstrated. But by dealing with a specific subsection such as a cash crop region, it is possible to define more accurately a set of parameters. In this case, the parameters will be similar cash crop (long-staple cotton); similar technological adaptations (roller gins and hand-packing); similar ecological setting (sea islands and coastal fringes); and similar period of operation (antebellum era, 1789-1861). As a result, analogies taken from plantations meeting these technological, geographic, and historic criteria (see Ascher 1961: 317-325) will have a higher confidence level than analogies drawn from other cash crop regions.

Status Differences and the Archeological and Documentary Records

Though the evidence from Cannon's Point may be of limited use to historians, the archeological and documentary information from Cannon's Point could be used to test explanatory hypotheses about cultural processes. Since representatives of three major social groups in the Old South lived on the same site, the archeological record should reflect the differences in social status. Archeologists routinely make inferences about the social structure of past stratified communities from the differences in settlement pattern, housing, and material items (see Trigger in Chang 1968; Sears in Chang 1968). The accuracy of inferences made from archeological evidence can be tested more fully on

historic sites; documentary evidence is often available to identify former occupants and establish their ethnic and social status in the stratified society in which they lived (see Fontana 1968: 129).

In stratified societies, status positions associated with social roles or activities are ranked in hierarchies. Upper status individuals enjoy greater prestige and have preferred access to the resources of the natural and social environments. People occupying lower status positions have less prestige and suffer impaired access to resources (see Fried in Laumann and others eds., 1970: 689; Lasswell 1965: 71-72). Some members of a stratified community are relatively affluent, though others live in relative poverty. Status and affluence vary with time and social contex (Valentine 1970: 13-14). On historic sites, the status and relative affluence of former site inhabitants can often be established from documents and not simply inferred from differences in settlement pattern, housing, and material items (see Fontana 1968: 180).

Such a possibility exists for Cannon's Point, where there is documentary evidence for the presence of planters, overseers, and slaves. The structures in which they lived can be identified from documents as well as by analogy with the settlement patterns of other coastal long-staple cotton plantations. Structures and associated features can be dated by documents and artifacts to ensure that the archeological evidence from the planter, overseer, and slave sites date to the same period; consequently, differences in archeological remains can be explained by differences in status rather than chronological change.

Archeologists often make inferences about the relative status of former site inhabitants from the archeological evidence of settlement pattern, housing, material possessions, and food resources. Yet, the

material conditions in which the inhabitants lived may not always reflect their true status in the ethnic, social, and political hierarchies. There may have been status differences that were important to the former inhabitants of sites that may not appear archeologically. Correlations should be established between the inhabitants' standings in the social and other hierarchies, and their position in the economic hierarchy (or their access to material resources). Archeology provides information about the ethnic, social, and political/legal status of the people who occupied the houses, used the material items, and ate the foods.

Both archeological and documentary evidence would be needed to determine the material and symbolic rewards that were associated with various status positions: property or access to goods and services; power or the legal right to coerce others; and psychic or symbolic rewards, including a sense of independence, security, and dignity. In addition, prestige or high social evaluation by other members of the comminity may be regarded as a form of reward (see Tumin 1967: 39-46).

These rewards can also be used to delineate the stratified groups in a society. In the traditional view of Southern society, five major social strata or classes have been discerned: "planters with twenty or more slaves, yeomen, poor whites, free Negroes, and slaves" (Wall in Link and Patrick 1965: 177; see also Bonner in Link and Patrick 1965: 158). This classification is an adaptation of the scheme presented in D. R. Hundley's Social Relations in Our Southern States (1860). Hundley criticized the simplistic view of Southern society presented by J. E. Cairnes, Hinton Rowan Helper, and others, who delineated only three major Southern groups--"the wealthy slave-holding planter class," the "poor whites," and slaves (Wright 1970: 63).

In Hundley's view of Southern society and in the subsequent modifications, there is an implied ethnic caste and social class system. The status of blacks was largely ascribed; most blacks were chattel property, though some were manumitted or achieved freedom through purchase or escape. They formed an ethnic caste, since blacks were often presumed to be slaves unless they could offer proof of free status. In some urban areas such as New Orleans, Mobile, and Charleston, free people of Euro-African descent seem to have formed a third caste; but elsewhere in the South, whites lumped all Afro-Americans into one category (Genovese 1974: 398-413, 430-431).

Some slaves were African-born, and they had to learn a new language in adulthood from fellow slaves and white supervisors. The plantation pidgins, spoken by newly-arrived African slaves, as well as the plantation creoles that developed from the pidgins (see Hall 1966) were often regarded with contempt by native English-speaking whites. Despite social interaction between white and black plantation and farm inhabitants, a series of black dialects developed independently (Genovese 1974: 431-441; Dillard in Whitten and Szwed 1970: 120).

Slaves had the lowest social and political/legal status in the Old South. They were the chattel property of others and their children became the property of their owners, who could legally coerce labor from their slaves. In many states, including Georgia, slaves were legally denied the right to own property. Blacks who had been manumitted were also subject to many legal restraints. In Georgia, free blacks paid a special head tax, and they were not always free to choose their occupation or place of residence (Flanders 1933: 203, 236).

Among the whites, most of whom were native English-speakers, there were achieved occupational status positions within ethnic caste. Occupation is the primary social status in complex societies; occupations, which share similar material and symbolic rewards and prestige can be grouped into a stratum. Strata, in turn, are organized into a social hierarchy (see Tumin 1967: 13, 39-46).

Usually, historians have distinguished three major strata (elite, middle class, and poor whites) by using property, power, symbolic rewards, and evaluation as criteria. In differentiating planters from free-holding farmers, the criteria usually include acreage and value of land as well as the numbers of slaves owned. Traditionally, agriculturists owning less than twenty slaves have been regarded as farmers (see Rothstein 1967: 375-376; Bonner in Link and Patrick 1965: 158; Wall in Link and Patrick 1965: 177). But in "a period when land was cheap and labor dear, surely slaveownership was a better index of economic status" than landownership or other criteria. Great social prestige and political power was associated with slaveownership, and the distribution of slaves was far more inequitable than the distribution of land in the South (Wright 1970: 68, 79).

Even slaveownership, however, is only a rough criterion of social status. In the traditional view of Southern society, an owner of twenty or more slaves is usually considered as a planter--an administrator of hired or slave supervisors and workers. Because of age differences and varying physical abilities of slaves, occasionally a farmer "owning fewer than ten slaves had more ablebodied laborers than a neighbor owning more than twenty" (Bonner 1944: 679). Also, some slaveowners inherited slaves, but did not possess lands; they hired out slaves to planters and farmers.

The farmers, craftsmen, overseers, and shop-keepers, who were termed "yeomen" or "middle class" by Hundley (1860), formed an intermediate stratum between the planters and the slave-holding merchants and professionals at the top and the "poor whites," who formed the lower stratum (Hundley 1860: 82, 100, 198). The yeomen made up over half the total Southern population by 1860 (Stampp 1956: 29). Though overseers rarely engaged in physical labor, other members of the yeomanry performed manual labor, often accompanied by their slaves. "No man can travel a day through any thickly settled portion of the South but he will come up with some sturdy yeoman and his sons working in the company of their Negroes, sometimes their own property, and at other times hirelings whom they have employed by the month or year" (Hundley 1860: 195-196).

Despite their small labor force, most farmers were involved in the production of cash and food crop surpluses for sale (Rothstein 1967: 375-376). By 1860, an estimated 18% of the total cotton crop grown in Georgia and South Carolina came from farms where there were no slaves or fewer than ten (see Foust and Swan 1970: 41, 45). Though involved in the market economy, farmers were highly self-sufficient; they and their slaves fashioned many of the implements needed on the farms. They built their own dwellings, sewed their own clothing, and engaged in supplementary hunting and fishing. These traditional ways persisted into the twentieth century (Rothstein 1967: 375-376; Glassie 1968: 188-189).

Though yeomen were most numerous, the planters enjoyed the highest social prestige (Genovese 1965). If a family managed to accumulate enough slaves (usually between ten and thirty) to exempt themselves from field work, they devoted their time to managerial or household duties

(Stampp 1956: 29-30, 36-37). Planters produced most of the cash crops grown in the South (Foust and Swan 1970); they "not only held more land, but also more valuable land than their small-farm neighbors" (Wright 1970: 84). They wielded disproportionate political and social influence (Genovese 1965).

Planters also dominated the Southern home market, for they required cheap slave clothing and shoes, provisions, rope and cotton bagging, implements, and medicines (Parker 1970: 116-117; Genovese 1962b: 430-431). Although some plantations were highly self-sufficient (Gallman 1970), many planters found it more convenient to purchase plantation necessities and household furnishings and luxuries (Genovese 1962b). From factors or local merchants, planters could obtain the most fashionable clothing, household furnishings, and literature (Haskins 1950: 118-119). Modern expenditure studies reveal that "the proportion of income allocated to basic necessities . . . declines as income rises, and thus more funds are available, both relatively and absolutely, for expressions of individual taste" (Laumann and others eds., 1970: 170).

Though planters and many yeomen were involved in cash crop production and sales, other whites remained on the fringes of the market economy (Rothstein 1967: 375). These were the herders, subsistence gardeners, and food collectors of the coastal region who rarely acquired legal title to property. They grazed their livestock in the pine barrens or unsettled public lands (Hazzard 1825). They traded hides and other raw materials for some textiles, molasses, and household utensils (Hundley 1860: 264).

The herders of the barrens, the "factory hands, teamsters, and boatmen and a group of improvident, inefficient and unstable white

laborers," were lumped in the pejorative category of "poor whites." They usually lacked realty, slaves, and substantial personal property; also, they were "conspicuously lacking in the common social virtues . . ." (Den Hollander in Couch 1935: 414, 417).

Yet, the poorer whites were nominal members of the more prestigious ethnic caste. Also, in states without property qualifications, all white males could vote and wield some political influence (Sydnor 1948: 283-293). But this ethnic and political status was rarely accompanied by material and psychic rewards or prestige. They lacked property as well as security and dignity; planters, yeomen, and even slaves regarded the poorer whites with contempt (Hundley 1860: 257; Various). Also, the daily living conditions of many poorer whites may have been inferior to those of slaves, who were provided with standardized housing and food and textile rations.

Part of the surplus that slaves produced on the plantations and farms was redistributed to them in the form of food, clothing, standardized housing, and occasional gifts (Wolf 1959: 137-138). In addition, planters and farmers allowed slaves to garden, keep livestock, and trade to ensure their cooperation (Wolf 1959: 137; Genovese 1974: 535-540). Though they had the lowest ethnic, social, legal, and political status in the Old South, slaves may have had better access to material resources than some of the whites.

Differential access to material and social resources was not perfectly associated with ethnic, social, and legal status. The true material rewards associated with a particular status can only be partly determined from the documents, which emphasize psychic rewards, relative power, and evaluation by others. In turn, archeology can provide

information on those material rewards that are most neglected in documents. These rewards would include housing, material possessions used in performing household activities as well as items used to indicate status, and food sources.

Since the planters appropriated the cash and food crops and livestock produced by their slave laborers, they largely determined the portion that was redistributed to slaves and hired white overseers. The quality and quantity of slave and overseer food, possessions, and housing should reflect the planters' attitudes to these people.

Overseers received a modest yearly salary, the loan of a house, and a few other amenities. In addition, the overseer relied on the loan of one or more servants from the planter to perform domestic duties (see Wolf 1959: 136; Scarborough 1966: 25). Overseers were usually held in low esteem by their employers, and they enjoyed little job security or dignity. Their power to coerce the slaves was limited by the planters' concern for their slave property and the physical resistance of slaves. Although overseers belonged to the dominant ethnic group, their power and prestige was limited. Planters frequently sided with their slaves when they disputed the overseers' authority; most planters never fully trusted their hired white supervisors (Genovese 1974: 12-21). The insecure social status of the hired supervisors may be reflected in the quality of housing, materials, and foods used by the overseers. On the other hand, the planter, recognizing the need for ethnic solidarity in the face of scores of plantation blacks, may have provided overseers with material rewards that were commensurate with higher ethnic status. Thus, the living conditions of overseers may be similar to those of slaves or they may reflect the superior living conditons of the planters.

This study will emphasize the correlations between status and those material rewards that are revealed archeologically. With documentary and chronological controls, differences in housing, material items, and diet can be explained by differential access to the plantation surplus. It is not known, however, whether differences in ethnic status or differences in social status will be primarily responsible for the differences in living conditions that may appear. If similarities occur in the living conditions of slaves and overseers, similarities in social status can be assumed to be the cause. The role of white overseers could be filled by black slaves; in fact, most planters dispensed with white overseers and relied on slave overseers and drivers (see p. 47 above). The short tenure of white overseers, their relatively low prestige, and their dispensability may be reflected in living conditions that resemble those of slaves. Conversely, if similarities appear in the living conditions of planters and overseers, the similarities can be explained by the planters' beliefs that higher ethnic status should be rewarded by living conditions similar to those of planters.

If the archeological record does reflect status differences, it may be possible to determine, as a corollary, which types of archeological evidence are the most sensitive indicators of ethnic or social status. This will be an attempt to better define the limitations of archeological inferences concerning status differences at similar sites when only archeological data are available.

Data Requirements

To demonstrate how status differences are reflected in the archeological record, the following data will be required from domestic sites known to have been occupied by planters, overseers, and slaves:

A. Housing-Differences should appear in:

(1) construction materials and techniques

(2) expected durability

(3) available living space

(4) building hardware

(5) features available to occupants-fireplaces, porches, cooking facilities, storage area, wells, privies, and refuse disposal areas

(6) household furnishings

B. Material Possessions-Differences should appear in:

(1) material items used in occupations

(2) material items used in household activities

(a) equipment for producing or procuring food (hoes, firearms, fishing weights and hooks, traps, etc.)

(b) food processing equipment (tools used in butchering, items to process grains, skewers, pots, skillets, ovens, dairy implements, etc.)

(c) ceramics-tablewares, teawares, storage containers and chamber wares

(d) glass containers for beverages, medicines, and foods

(e) cutlery

(f) metal containers for food

(3) bodily protection

(a) clothing and footwear

(b) fastenings

(4) recreation and status consumption

(a) evidence of tobacco use

(b) ornaments

(c) games and toys

(d) personal possessions

(e) horse equipment and vehicles

C. Diet-Differences should appear in:

(1) domestic plant and animal food sources

(2) non-domestic animal foods used to supplement or vary diets

(3) food preparation facilities and techniques

(4) habitats used to collect wild foods

Identification of the Plantation Sites

At Cannon's Point, the domestic sites were identified from the distinctive settlement pattern which characterizes New World cash crop plantations. The settlement pattern of plantations was functional as well as an expression of cultural attitudes (Corbett 1941: 14). The arrangement of dwellings and specialized structures reflected the social divisions among the inhabitants, who included "owners, managers, overseers, permanent laborers, and seasonal workers." At the core of the plantations were the dwellings of the owner or manager, the equipment for processing cash crops for market, and the storehouses for cash crops and foods. Around the plantation nuclei were the settlements of the permanent workers (Wolf 1959: 137).

In colonial tidewater Virginia and Maryland, this distinctive pattern occurs on the plantations which were devoted to cash crops, primarily tobacco. Often the planters' homes or "halls" would be surrounded by numerous outbuildings; these might include mills, breweries, loom houses, and work shops (Mullin 1972: 10-12). The administrative and support nuclei also included the skilled slaves, who provided goods and services for the

planter family and other inhabitants. The field slaves and overseers lived in "quarters"--economically specialized units removed from the administrative center. Usually each quarter contained an overseer and about 30 slaves, who raised tobacco, corn, and small grains. They were housed in make-shift huts, abandoned farm houses, or in the lofts of barns. The quarters included the tobacco barns and other structures where cash and food crops were processed and stored (Mullin 1972: 47-51).

The tidewater plantation settlement pattern was replicated throughout much of the South (Stampp 1956: 292). Many coastal plantations, which specialized in the production of long-staple cotton but also grew other cash and food crops, have remarkably similar layouts. There was usually an administrative and support nucleus where the owner resided and where house servants and skilled slaves worked. Dwellings for slave laborers were located near the various fields. The slave dwellings were arranged in single or double rows facing along a street. The houses of hired or slave supervisors could be associated with the slave quarters or centrally located if there were two or more slave quarters on the plantation. The technical nucleus, where cash crops were processed and stored until final shipment, could be located separately, associated with the quarters, or incorporated into the administrative cluster.

Frederick Olmsted in A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States describes such a settlement pattern in a coastal long-staple cotton district:

> Usually at as great a distance as a quarter of a mile from the road, and from a half mile to a mile apart, were the residences of the planters-large white houses, with groves of evergreen trees about them; and between these and the road were little villages of slave cabins . . . .

Entering a plantation, Olmsted came upon the slave quarters:

> It consisted of some thirty neatly-whitewashed cottages, with a broad avenue-planted with Pride-of-China trees between them . . . .
> The cottages were framed buildings, boarded on the outside,

> with shingle roofs and brick chimneys; they stood fifty feet apart, with gardens and pig-yards enclosed by palings, between them . . . .

At another plantation he found:

> . . . the "settlement" arranged in same way, the cabins only being of a slighlty different form. In the middle of one row was a well-house, with stones, at which the negroes grind their corn . . . .
>
> At the head of the settlement, in a garden looking down the street, was an overseer's house, and here the road divided, running each way at right angles; on one side to barns and a landing on the river, on the other toward the mansion of the proprietor. (Olmsted 1968 [1856]: 416-417)

A slave from a coastal Carolina plantation, which grew long-staple cotton and other crops, described a similar pattern. The administrative and support cluster included the planter's two-storey brick house, a detached kitchen, a pigeon house, kitchen quarters for house servants, and a wash house. About a quarter of a mile from the planter's house, stood 38 slave cabins, arranged in rows. A short distance from the slave cabins was the overseer's house with corn crib and provision house in one corner of the garden. Nearby was the cotton gin house and storage for the cash crop (Ball 1859: 110-113).

At Retreat Plantation on southern St. Simons Island, the administrative and technical structures were combined in one unit, which included the plantation house, detached kitchen, and the slave hospital, barns, and cotton gin house. About 200 yards from the main dwelling was the overseer's house, and 100 yards further east was a row of frame slave cabins. An additional slave quarter was located further north at Newfield (Steel 1964: 5-6; Cooney comp., 1933: 36-39).

At Butler's Point, on northern St. Simons Island, the overseer's house was strategically located between the slave quarters at Hampton fields, the administrative and technical center along the Hampton River,

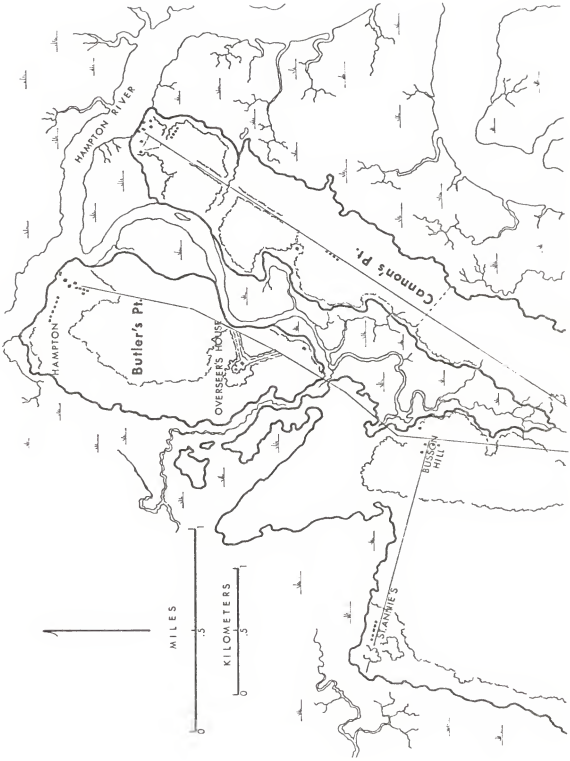
the slave quarters at Busson Hill, and the St. Annie's quarters to the south (see Figure 1; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 198).

The placement of the slave quarters on plantations was functional, for it allowed the field slaves and supervisors closer proximity to the cultivated fields. The dwellings of overseers and foremen were often associated with the slave quarters, because the supervisors managed and policed the slaves. Slave dwellings were usually arranged in rows to permit easy inspection and cleaning; also, rows of dwellings were easier to police than scattered dwellings (see Flanders 1933: 152; Johnson 1930: 88-91). On colonial plantations, there was generally one overseer per quarter; but in some antebellum plantations, white overseers supervised several quarters. Apparently, much of the management and policing of slaves devolved to the slave foreman living in the quarters. Most slaves did not even live on plantations with white overseers (Mullin 1972: 48; Scarborough 1966: 9; Fogel and Engerman 1974: 201).

The settlement pattern of plantations was also an expression of cultural attitudes (Corbett 1941: 14). Though some overseers lived in the planter's house (Scarborough 1966: 36-38), a separate house was usually provided near the slave quarters. Frequently, overseer dwellings were small cabins, and a visitor to St. Helena Island in 1862 commented on the "undesirable character" of many of the overseers' houses (Olmsted 1968 [1856]: 386; Johnson 1930: 108-109). Overseers' dwellings rarely had as many as three rooms (Genovese 1974: 533). Planters and overseers usually differed in social standing, and hired supervisors were often shunned by their employers (Scarborough 1964: 15).

Although slaves on farms generally had cabins near the owners' houses, slaves on larger plantations were segregated in small villages removed from the planters' dwellings (Stampp 1956: 292). Often, even

Figure 1. The settlement patterns of Butler's Point and Cannon's Point Plantations. (Adapted from US Coast Survey 1869; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 198).


HAMPTON RIVER
HAMPTON
Butler's Pt.
OVERSEER'S HOUSE
Cannons Pt.
BIRSON HILL
ST. MARY'S
MILES
KILOMETERS

the kitchen and servants' cabins near the planters' houses would be shielded from the view of visitors by trees and shrubs (Bonner 1964: 176).

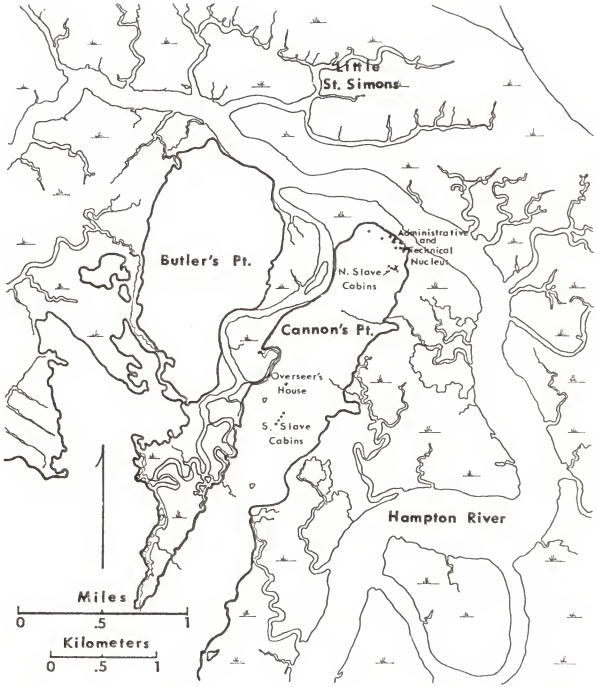
Despite the heterogeneity of the Old South, there were broad similarities in the plantation settlement patterns, especially within the specialized cash crop regions. Therefore, analogies from the settlement patterns of other long-staple cotton plantations can be used to aid in identifying structures on Cannon's Point.

For Cannon's Point, the only surviving map which indicates plantation structures is the "Map of Altamaha Sound and Vicinity, Georgia" prepared under the direction of Benjamin Pierce, Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey in 1869. Since the map includes Butler's Point as well as Cannon's Point, the settlement patterns of the two plantations can be compared (Figures 1-2).

At Cannon's Point, the cluster of structures along the Hampton River were identified from documents and excavations. These included the planter's dwelling, warehouse, a detached small house, detached kitchen, and a possible ice house. Three structures east of the planter's dwelling may be gin and cotton houses. One structure, which was partially excavated, was identified from archeological evidence as a gin house and workshop (Simon 1973). Two structures west of the planter's house were not excavated (see Figures 1-2); possibly, one of the buildings may have been a hospital since these were commonly located near the planters' dwellings where convalescent slaves could work in the vegetable gardens (William Postell, written communication; Figure 2).

Approximately 0.1 miles south of the planter's house, a row of four structures is indicated on the map. Excavation of one of the structures and associated refuse area revealed a tabby and clay brick hearth. The

Figure 2. Cannon's Point. (Adapted from USGS ed., 1954).


Little
St. Simons
Butler's Pt.
Administrative
and
Technical
Nucleus
N. Slave
Cabins
Cannon's Pt.
Overseer's
House
S. Slave
Cabins
Hampton River
Miles
0
.5
1
Kilometers
0
.5
1

structure was identified as a slave cabin by analogy with a cabin excavated at another long-staple cotton plantation. At Rayfield plantation, Cumberland Island, Georgia, the "slave quarters were arranged in two parallel rows of nine cabins each." Each cabin had a tabby brick chimney with clay brick firebox (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 6, 9).

About 0.9 miles south of the first set of cabins was another group of four apparent slave dwellings. There were four duplex cabins, each with a single chimney stack and double hearths. The excavations of these cabins have been reported elsewhere (McFarlane 1975).

An isolated dwelling and its associated structures and refuse area was located about 0.8 miles south of the first set of slave cabins. The dwelling and a possible detached kitchen or slave cabin and a possible provision house occupied a position that was comparable to the overseer's dwelling on Butler Point (see Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 199; Figures 1-2). It is believed that the dwelling on Cannon's Point was also an overseer's house.

To verify the interpretation, scaled maps and descriptions of the excavated structures were sent to the following specialists in Southern history: James C. Bonner, author of "Plantation Architecture of the Lower South on the Eve of the Civil War" (1945); William D. Postell, who authored The Health of Slaves on Southern Plantations (1951); William K. Scarborough, author of The Overseer (1966); E. Merton Coulter, biographer of Thomas Spalding (1940), a noted planter on Sapelo Island; and Bobby Frank Jones, author of "A Cultural Middle Passage," (1965) a study of slave family life.

James C. Bonner's response has been excerpted:

> It was not uncommon to have single room cabins in one area and quadrangle or double room cabins in another. Generally two slave families occupied the double room cabin; these

> often were father and son, or two generations of the same family. Also the overseer's house was almost always located out of range of the slave quarter as well as the planter's house. The one and a half storey structure indicated on your sketch map appears ideally located for an overseer's house. I would not be in the least critical of your assumptions. (James C. Bonner, written communication)

William Postell, Historian, School of Medicine, Tulane University, corroborated Dr. Bonner:

> I would think that the 1 1/2 storey dwelling is the overseer's home. Everything points to it. Frequently if there were two slave "quarters" the overseer's dwelling was located between them. I would surmise this is the case here. (William D. Postell, written communication).

William Scarborough, History Professor at the University of Southern Mississippi stated:

> . . . it appears to me that you have correctly identified the structures depicted in your sketch. It would certainly be consistent with what I know of the arrangement of antebellum plantations to situate the overseer's house at a central point between the two sets of four slave cabins. And the 1 1/2 story dwelling with detached kitchen, storeroom, and well would seem to be the overseer's house.

Moreover, Dr. Scarborough recognized the similarity between settlement patterns at Butler's and Cannon's Point:

> I assume you have checked Fanny Kemble's JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE ON A GEORGIAN PLANTATION. The 1961 edition (Alfred Knopf) edited by John A. Scott has a map of St. Simons Island on page 158 on which John Couper's house and the 4 northern-most slave huts are located as in your diagram. The position of the overseer house on the Butler estate, described on that map as "in process of construction," is consistent with the location of what you believe to be the overseer's house on "Cannon's Point." (William K. Scarborough, written communication)

Dr. E. Merton Coulter, Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Georgia, and Dr. Bobby Frank Jones, History Professor at Tennessee Technological University, corroborated the interpretations of the others. All the respondents believed that the comparative evidence from Southern plantation settlement patterns indicates that the rows of dwellings were slave quarters and the isolated dwelling was indeed an overseer's house.

II. THE DOCUMENTARY AND ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCES OF CANNON'S POINT PLANTATION

In the spring of 1972, the Sea Island Company of Georgia asked Dr. Charles Fairbanks of the University of Florida about the archeological potential of sites located on a tract of land they had recently acquired on St. Simons Island. As the company had purchased the Cannon's Point tract on Northern St. Simons Island for a planned subdivision, they were concerned about the fate of the archeological sites, including an Archaic shell ring, several late prehistoric Indian sites, and the surface remains of an antebellum plantation owned by the Couper family from 1794 to 1866.

Dr. Fairbanks and Dr. J. T. Milanich received grants from the National Science Foundation as well as aid from the Sea Island Foundation to excavate the Cannon's Point sites. Though the excavators were primarily concerned with the aboriginal sites, several of the plantation structures and associated areas were sampled. The plantation sites yielded reliable antebellum samples of artifacts and faunal remains, but the documentary evidence concerning the plantation was far less satisfactory.

Documentary History of Cannon's Point and Its Inhabitants

John Couper, who owned the plantation from 1794 to 1850, played host to such notables as Aaron Burr, Fanny Kemble, and Captain Basil Hall (Van Doren ed., 1929; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961; Basil Hall 1829;

Margaret Hall ed. by Hennessey 1931); yet, their accounts contain little information about plantation affairs. Though the sources describe John Couper's hospitality and agricultural prowess, only Captain Hall included a short description of the agricultural techniques and the slave inhabitants. Hall, however, did not list the structures on the plantation or describe their uses (Hall 1829). After Couper's death, his son, James Hamilton Couper, used the plantation as a summer home until the Civil War. Though Frederika Bremer, Charles Lyell, and Amelia Murray visited J. H. Couper, their descriptions of the Couper plantations are sparse (Bremer 1968 [1853]; Lyell 1849; Murray 1857). Other visitors described the planter's dwelling on Cannon's Point, but they neglected the outbuildings and the slave and overseer dwellings (Barnes eds., 1963; Leigh 1883).

The plantation daybooks and accounts would have contained information on daily plantation life but these have been lost. Possibly, they were abandoned in 1862 when J. H. Couper evacuated the plantation inhabitants for the comparative safety of the mainland. A Union naval officer who visited the plantation in 1863 noted "large amounts of books and manuscripts strewn around the rooms of the main mansion . . ." (Barnes eds., 1963: 57). Nevertheless, J. H. Couper did record some of the Cannon's Point accounts in the books he kept for the owners of the Hopeton Plantation, where he served as manager from 1816 to 1852 (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 391). But the Cannon's Point accounts do not begin until 1840, and they end abruptly in 1853. Though the accounts contain information on cash crop sales and purchases of plantation provisions, the most important features are the names of the Cannon's Point overseers from 1844 to 1853. Also included is an inventory of Cannon's Point

made shortly after John Couper's death in 1850. Though real and personal property is described in detail, there is no list of plantation structures (Couper 1839-1854; Couper 1826-1852).

There are also gaps in the Glynn county records in the Brunswick courthouse. The annual county property tax reports, which would have contained information on the property at Cannon's Point, were lost through neglect in the early twentieth century. The Wills and Appraisement books in the Office of the Ordinary, Wills, and Appraisements do not contain a will or inventory of John Couper's estate, though books D, E, F, and G include the decades before and after his death. Possibly, the will was recorded in the McIntosh County courthouse which burned after the Civil War (Coulter 1940: 307-308). Several of the deed books in the Glynn County Office of the Clerk of Court were lost in fires, and there are breaks in the passage of title because of these losses. Also, entries in the extant deed books do not include descriptions of the structures. Finally, no antebellum plats, which indicated plantation buildings, could be located in the Clerk of the Court records.

Though much of the Couper family correspondence has been saved and is available in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, the University of Georgia, and the Georgia State Archives, the letters deal with family and social life and contain few references to plantation affairs. Additional correspondence and other primary documents, including the Glynn County Census Manuscripts 1820-1860, are present at the Margaret Davis Cate Collection, Brunswick Junior College. Also, the collection contains a map compiled by the United States Coast Survey in 1869. Plantation structures are indicated on the map, but they are not identified by name or function.

Though documentary evidence about Cannon's Point plantation structures was sparse, information was available in the deed books of the Clerk of the Court concerning the acquisition of Cannon's Point tract and its transfer through the years. The area known as Cannon's Point was originally granted by the Trustees of Georgia to Daniel Cannon, a carpenter and an early settler of Frederica. He constructed a "modest storey-and-a half house" on the tract and ranged his cattle and hogs in the oak hammocks; his dwelling house is indicated on a photostatic copy of a 1787 map of Glynn County on file at the Georgia Historical Society. Cannon and his two sons, Joseph and Daniel, built many of the houses at Frederica; but in 1741, they left Cannon's Point and moved to Charleston (Wightman and Cate 1955: 43, 55; Cate "Cannon, Daniel" nd).

Parts of the Cannon's Point tract were re-distributed as Royal Provincial Grants. Nicholas Nielson obtained 350 acres in 1768, which included the northern portion of the Cannon's Point peninsula. James McKay received 280 acres in 1771 and William Harris obtained 100 acres to the south of McKay's tract in 1770. Some land lying between McKay and Nielson's grants may have been vacant (Deed Book ABEF: 117-120; Martin nd; Bryant to Martin December 31, 1971; Deed Book CD: 79-81).

Nielson later transferred title of his Cannon's Point lands to David and Jane Mitchell of Chatham County. On December 11, 1793, they sold Cannon's Point to John Couper and James Hamilton for £ 379 (Deed Book ABEF: 117-120; Cate 1930: 75).

John Couper, a 34 year old merchant from Liberty County, had emigrated to Georgia from Scotland. Serving as a clerk with Lundy and Co., Savannah merchants, he fled to St. Augustine with his loyalist employers in 1775. By 1783 he returned to Georgia and opened a store

Figure 3. The central Georgia sea islands (Adapted from Reimold 1974: Figure 1).

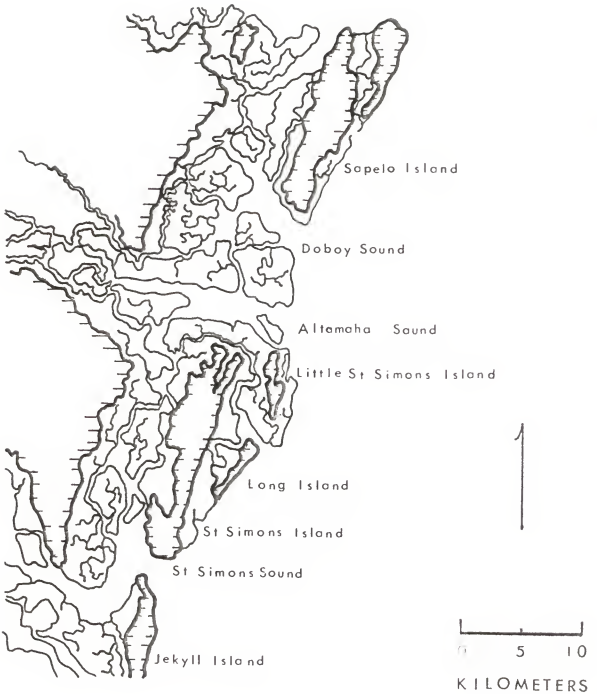
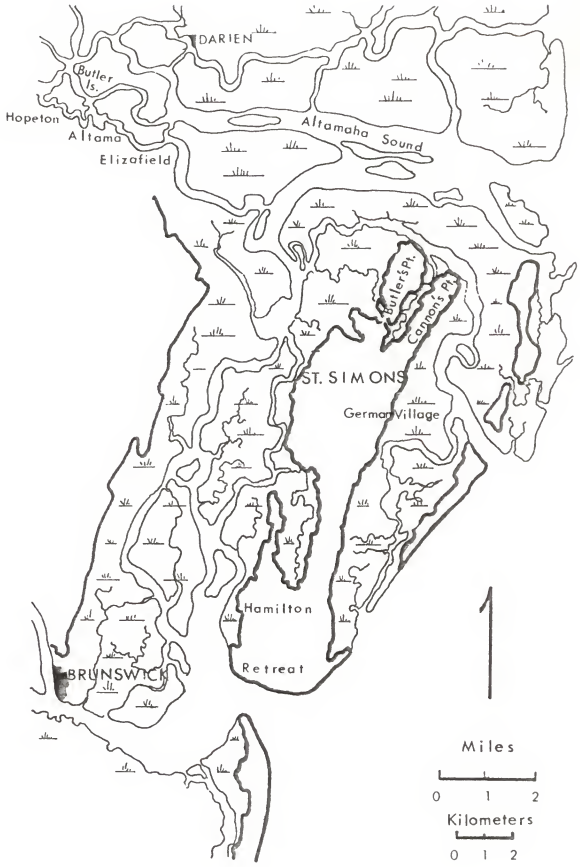

Sapelo Island
Doboy Sound
Altamaha Sound
Little St Simons Island
Long Island
St Simons Island
St Simons Sound
Jekyll Island
0 5 10
KILOMETERS

Figure 4. Glynn County plantations mentioned in the text. (Adapted from Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: xl).


DARIEN
Butler Is.
Hopeton
Altama
Elizafield
Altamaha Sound
Butler's Pt.
Cannon's Pt.
ST. SIMONS
German Village
Hamilton
Retreat
BRUNSWICK
Miles
0 1 2
Kilometers
0 1 2

at Sunbury, Liberty County, in partnership with James Hamilton (White 1854: 469; Wylly 1916 [1897]: 53). On May 14, 1792, Couper married Rebecca Maxwell, daughter of Colonel James Maxwell. Couper named his son after his business partner and his daughter after Hamilton's wife Isabella (Wylly [1914]; Cate "Genealogy" nd). In 1796, the Coupers moved to Cannon's Point (Wightman and Cate 1955:55).

By 1804, Couper completed the second unit of his home. Three years later, his slave force totaled 290. He mortgaged his slaves in that year when he borrowed $100,000 from his business partner Hamilton (Deed Book G: 12-16). In addition to "heavy and costly improvements," Couper endured a series of natural and economic disasters. In September, 1804, a hurricane destroyed the cotton crop, estimated at $100,000 (Van Doren ed., 1929: 176). The embargoes and the War of 1812 hindered cotton sales, but the interest on debts accumulated. In 1814, British raiders carried off "60 prime and effective Negroes" which lessened Couper's capital by $15,000. To rebuild his labor force and agricultural prosperity, he purchased 120 slaves on credit for about $450 each (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828; Wylly [1914]). Another hurricane in 1824 destroyed the cotton crop (Ludlum 1963: 116-117); Couper estimated the loss of the crop alone at $90,000. After nearly losing another crop in 1825 to caterpillars, cotton fell in price "without any hope of improvement" (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828).

In a letter to his brother James he reviewed his financial disasters and eventual bankruptcy:

> You know I commenced planting without capital. Of course I got into debt and 8 percent compound interest [seems?] to be the real perpetual motion . . . . In short I saw no hopes of paying my debts and retaining my property . . . . Mr. Hamilton being my principal creditor on his agreeing to pay what other debts I owed, I surrendered to him all my property, debts, and dues of every description, except my lands on St. Simons and one hundred slaves-So on the 1st day

> of January 1827, I was thrown on the world without a dollar to support my people and family. And glad to be off so well. (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828)

John Couper sold his share of the Hamilton-Couper lands to his ex-partner and his own son, James H. Couper, for $174,712. The acreage included Hopeton Plantation on the Altamaha River (2,000 acres), Carr's Island in the river, and several other large tracts (Deed Book H: 86-87).

James H. Couper, born in Sunbury in 1794, had attended Yale University. He became the manager of Hopeton in 1816; by 1825, Hopeton Plantation was the showplace of the South. After acquiring half interest in Hopeton and its slave force, he married Caroline Wylly, daughter of Alexander Wylly, a St. Simons planter who owned the German Village estate. J. H. Couper continued as manager of Hopeton until 1852 (Wylly [1914]; Kembel ed. by Scott 1961: 391, 405; Cate "Genealogy" nd; Deed Book H: 86-87; Hazzard 1825).

Shortly after extricating himself from debt, John Couper purchased 60 additional slaves in partnership with John Fraser, a former British officer, who had married Couper's daughter Ann. Fraser often served as the manager of James Hamilton's estate, Hamilton Place, until his death in 1839 (Cate "Genealogy" nd; Cate 1963: 8-9; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 393; Wills and Appraisement D: 347). After Fraser's death, W. A. Couper, John Couper's youngest son, managed Hamilton Place from 1841 to 1854 (Cate 1963: 8-9; Scarborough 1966: 27; Wills and Appraisement Book D: various). Born in 1818, William married Hannah King, daughter of T. Butler King, owner of Retreat Plantation, in 1845 (Marriage Record A: 36).

William also served for a time as overseer at Cannon's Point. He resided at Hamilton in 1842, but visited his father's plantation to oversee the slave force. His performance, however, failed to satisfy his

elderly father. Because of infirmities, John Couper rarely visited the fields, but on one occasion, he noted the corn was poor:

> About a month ago when William was at Cannon's Point and returning that day to Hamilton, I walked out to the cornfield leaving a request to see him as he rode home--waiting until tired, I returned and saw him [he] said that I meddled in every way with the crop. He would have nothing more to do with it. I accepted his resignation-not a word more passed and we are friends as usual. If this event had happened sooner the cotton would have been saved. Our united exertions were required-I perceive my situation and the convenient way will be to plead dottage [sic]. Interest to the loss of the crop and blame to boot . . . . I will thank William to show a single instance of my contradicting any orders he ever gave. (Couper to Couper June 24, 1842).

The name of William's successor is unknown as are the names of virtually all Cannon's Point overseers. Only the Hopeton account books list the names of hired supervisors for the period 1844 to 1853. Also, Fanny Kemble, wife of Pierce Butler, who owned neighboring Hampton Point Plantation, noted that the overseer at Butler's Island rice plantation, another holding of the Butler family, had served for fourteen years with John Couper at Cannon's Point (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 50, 72, 400). The overseer, Thomas Oden, is also known to have served at Hopeton under J. H. Couper from 1831 to 1836 (Wills and Appraisement D: 247, 298, 311, and 315). In 1838, he became Roswell King's replacement on Butler Island and served there until his death in 1841 (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 400; Scarborough 1966: 27, 168). Lacking plantation accounts for this period, there is no means of corroborating Kemble's statement; yet, in the 1840 census, Oden is listed as being between 30-40 years of age. If he supervised slaves for 14 years at Cannon's Point prior to his term at Hopeton, he would have been a teenager when he began at Cannon's Point in 1817. Possibly, Kemble meant 14 years of total service with the Couper family. Finally, there is some evidence that Hugh F. Grant, who later became owner of Elizafield and Grantly rice plantations on the Altamaha River (see House ed., 1954), served as an overseer at Cannon's Point (see p. 227 above).

The first Cannon's Point overseer listed in the Hopeton accounts is John Piles, Jr., who served from December 10, 1844, to November 30, 1845, at a salary of $250.00 (Couper 1839-1854: 217). Piles would have been 30 years of age when he began his service at Cannon's Point. Earlier he served as deputy sheriff of Glynn County, and in 1852 he became tax collector (House ed., 1954: 214, 308; Scarborough 1966: 49; Census Records-Glynn County 1850).

Piles's successor at Cannon's Point was John J. Morgan, who moved to the plantation with his wife, Lucy, and her two young daughters. Morgan received $271.66 for the period December 1, 1845 to December 31, 1846 (Couper 1826-1852: 320). Yet, he had to purchase foodstuffs for his family out of his small salary, though most Southern planters provided overseers with rations (Couper 1839-1854: 246; Scarborough 1966: 25-26). The following year, Morgan received a $250.00 salary and $15.00 for three cows he left behind (Couper 1826-1852: 320). Morgan was 46 years of age when he left Cannon's Point (Census Records-Glynn County 1850).

His replacement, Elisha McDonald, received only $200.00 for his service at Cannon's Point from January 1 to December 31, 1848 (Couper 1839-1854: 295). Daniel McDonald, possibly a kinsman and overseer at prestigious Hopeton plantation, received $800.00 in that same year (Couper 1839-1854: 302). Elisha McDonald does not appear in the 1840-1860 censuses.

In 1849, William Couper became part-time overseer at Cannon's Point. For two years he collected double salaries, receiving $700.00 as manager of Hamilton and $200.00 as supervisor of Cannon's Point (Couper 1826-1852: 309). He probably had no further occasion to clash with his father, who had retired as the plantation administrator in 1845, following the death of his wife Rebecca. John Couper moved to Hopeton to reside with his eldest son. The Coupers used Cannon's Point as a summer home when

malaria was endemic at Hopeton (Cate "Genealogy" nd; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 391). John Couper died at Hopeton on March 24, 1850 (Cate "Genealogy" nd).

Despite financial disasters during his career, John Couper remained one of the largest slaveowners in Glynn County. In 1830, John Couper held 113 slaves and only nine other people owned over 100 slaves (Census Records-Glynn County 1830). John Couper also owned one of the four largest estates on St. Simons Island. The other three were Butler's Point Plantation; Hamilton Place, owned by the heirs of James Hamilton, who died in 1828; and Retreat Plantation, owned by the King family (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: xli). In 1823, Cannon's Point had 280 acres in cotton, Hamilton had 299 acres, and Retreat had only 180 acres of cotton. Butler's Point Plantation planted 295 acres of cotton in that year and was the largest estate on the island (Hazzard 1825).

Couper achieved fame as an agricultural experimenter, for he imported olives, dates, and other exotics and he was a frequent contributor to the Southern Agriculturist (Coulter 1940: 314). He also held several public offices, serving as Justice of the Inferior Court of Glynn County from 1796 to 1811 and as Glynn County representative to the Georgia Constitutional Convention in 1798 ("Couper, John" NCF).

Although a formal will and inventory of the John Couper estate could not be located, J. H. Couper recorded a brief inventory in the Hopeton accounts. On June 26, 1850, the estimated value of John Couper's property was $43,830. The realty, valued at $8,500, included lands at Cannon's Point and the unoccupied Long [Sea] Island, which served as a cattle range. The estate also included 90 slaves valued at $31,500. The remaining $3,830 of the estate included livestock, boats and carriages, and household furnishings. Obviously, Couper's wealth consisted largely of slaves and not

material items or realty (Couper 1839-1854: np).

No legal transfer of title could be located in the Glynn County records, but J. H. Couper appears to have inherited the plantation and the valuable slave force. In the 1850 census, J. H. Couper is listed as owner of 112 slaves. The 523 Hopeton slaves, largely owned by the Hamilton Estate, are listed with the overseer Daniel McDonald. The 130 Hamilton slaves are listed with manager W. A. Couper; again, the slaves probably belonged to the Hamilton heirs, for William Couper is listed as owning only five slaves in the 1860 census (Census Records-Glynn County 1850-1860).

Despite his large property holdings, James H. Couper continued as manager of Hopeton until 1852; also, he acted as executor of the Hamilton Estate from 1828 to 1852. But in that year, Richard Corbin, the son of Hamilton's daughter, came of age, and Couper ended almost 40 years of service with the Hamiltons (Couper to Couper May 5, 1851; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 395). During his long tenure, Couper purchased the southern portion of Hopeton to create a plantation called Altama (Wightman and Cate 1955: 115). Also, he acquired Hamilton plantation (Couper to Couper May 5, 1851). By 1860, J. H. Couper's total realty was valued at $176,000, and his personal estate was valued at $131,000, including 210 slaves. In 1860, less than 3,000 people in the Old South owned over 100 slaves (Stampp 1956: 31). In Glynn County in 1860, only five planters held over 100 slaves (Census Records-Glynn County 1860).

As his father, J. H. Couper served as Justice of the Inferior Court of Glynn County from 1821 to 1825 and 1833-1841. Also, he was captain of the Glynn Hussars, a local militia unit in the 1830's. In 1831 he was appointed as a delegate to the Florida Boundary Line Commission ("Couper, James H." NCF; Couper to Schley June 2, 1826).

But by 1850, J. H. Couper no longer served in public office, and his health suffered at the malarial Hopeton and Altama plantations. In a letter to his son James, he discussed his future plans:

> Disgusted with the constantly recurring sickness of a rice plantation and warned by my age to withdraw in time from labors and exhaustion now becoming beyond my waning powers, I have determined to sell Altama Plantation, and have advertised it in the Charleston and Savannah papers. If I sell I shall bring the Altama gang to St. Simons and divide them between Hamilton and Cannon's Point. The arrangement will place the Negroes in a healthy climate, and under my immediate management. At which ever of the places I may reside, the other is within daily reach, and I shall avoid the dangerous and laborious expense of my present summer trips up the river. I may make a smaller amount of saleable crops, but I shall gain in the [?] and health of the Negroes, and in the reduced plantation expenses. (Couper to Couper May 5, 1851)

Nevertheless, Couper did not sell Altama and he continued to reside there until the Civil War (Couper to Couper August 12, 1861). In 1855, he also attempted to sell Hamilton Plantation. An advertisement appeared in the Albany Patriot, a paper with wide circulation in Southwest Georgia. But the plantation of 817 acres, with its labor force of 126 slaves, found no buyers (Couper in Albany Patriot November 1, 1855). In 1860, Couper still owned Hamilton when he offered the position of overseer to his own son James (Couper to Couper October 31, 1860).

Cannon's Point served the Coupers as a summer home; it was managed for most of the year by the resident overseers. After W. A. Couper ended his service as overseer in 1851, J. H. Couper hired Seth R. Walker at the rate of $400.00 per year (Couper 1826-1852: 366, 378). Walker does not appear in the 1840-1860 censuses. His successor, E. D. Fennell, assumed charge on December 8, 1852, and he received a similar salary (Couper 1839-1854: 419). Fennell is the last overseer to appear in the Hopeton books; his name is not listed in any of the census manuscripts. He remains as anonymous as McDonald and Walker.

Because of the inadequate documentary record, little can be learned of the overseers who served at Cannon's Point. Yet, a resident overseer was present as early as 1804 (Editor Columbia Museum and Savannah Advertiser May, 1804). Basil Hall, who visited the plantation in 1828, also referred to an overseer (Hall 1829: 223). Yet, biographical information could be recovered for only four of the known overseers: Thomas Oden; John Piles, Jr.; J. J. Morgan; and W. A. Couper. This represents a mere handful of the overseers who may have served at Cannon's Point.

Though Oden died in 1841, while employed at Butler's Point, his will and inventory could not be located; possibly, it was lost in the McIntosh County courthouse fire. In the 1840 census, he is listed as unmarried and the owner of six slaves (Scarborough 1966: 168; Census Records-Glynn County 1840).

John Piles, Jr., accumulated 19 slaves by 1850, but he owned no land. He probably hired the slaves to his planter employer, which was a common practice (Scarborough 1966: 34-35). Piles lived in the Catherine Blue household, which included Mary Blue and her son Daniel Blue. None of the household members owned land, and they were probably kinspeople of the unmarried John Piles. In 1860, Piles is listed as head of a household which included Elizabeth Piles, possibly his mother, who owned three slaves, and Mary Blue who owned $1,500 worth of realty. Piles' personal estate was valued at $5,000, including seven slaves. In both censuses, Piles is listed as a "farmer," though in 1850 he appears to have been a landless overseer (Census Records-Glynn County 1850—1860).

His successor, J. J. Morgan, appears in the 1840-1860 censuses. In 1840, he is listed as owner of two slaves and head of a household which included an adult woman, possibly his first wife, and three male children. But in 1844, he is known to have married Lucy Bills in Glynn County; she

may have been the widow of Noble Bills, owner of five slaves in the 1840 census. In 1847, Lucy, age 37, and her daughters, Caroline, six, and Ellen, age three, were living with Morgan at Cannon's Point. In the 1850 census, J. J. Morgan is listed as a slaveless "farmer," whose personal estate was valued as $1,000. He was serving as an overseer at Elizafield Plantation for Hugh F. Grant. In the 1860 census, Morgan's occupation is "farm laborer." He owned $2,000 worth of realty and $2,500 worth of personal property, including a 45 year old slave woman. Morgan had ended his service as overseer at Elizafield in 1849 (Census Records-Glynn County 1840-1860; House ed., 1954: 307).

W. A. Couper served as manager or overseer at Hamilton, Cannon's Point, and Retreat, three of the largest estates in Glynn County. He did not become a planter, but spent his antebellum adulthood as a hired supervisor. Yet, in reading a letter John Couper wrote to his brother in Scotland, one gains the impression that John Couper was grooming William to be his successor at Cannon's Point:

> My son William not near 11 years is an idle boy and would sooner walk a mile to race home on a plough horse than learn his lessons. I however intend to make a philosopher of him. Next year [I] shall send him to an academy at Northampton in Massachusetts, and when he has laid in a sufficient amount of Yankee cunning, I shall send him to Berlin in order to unlearn roguery and gain honour-German principles. At about 24 he may return home to plant cow-peas and pumpkins, and eat fat meat as his father has done . . . . (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828)

William began as manager at Hamilton in 1842 for $600.00 a year. This was considerably less than the salaries of his predecessors, Thomas Bowers and John Fraser, who received $1,000 yearly (Wills and Appraisement Book D: 330, 347, 368, 419). In 1847, he received a salary increase of $100.00. During the period 1849-1851, when he managed Hamilton and Cannon's Point, his total salary was $900.00. By the final years of his tenure at Hamilton, W. A. Couper received a $1,000 yearly

salary (Wills and Appraisement Book D: 27, 33, 127, 210, 225, 419; Scarborough 1966: 27). Also, in the 1850's, he aided overseer Dunham in the management of Retreat Plantation (Steel 1964: 116-117).

Even though he was the son of his employer at Cannon's Point, his wages were comparable to the other overseers. Also, his material life was similar to that of Oden, Piles, and Morgan. In the 1850 census, William is listed as the owner of $4,100 worth of realty, but his slave force is unknown. As Daniel McDonald at Hopeton, his name is listed with a slave force owned mainly by the J. Hamilton Estate. Couper, his wife Hannah, who was 24, and their three children lived in the dwelling house at Hamilton. In 1860, the value of Couper's realty was $4,000 and his personal property, valued at $4,700, included five slaves. There were six children in the W. A. Couper family ranging in age from fourteen to one. In contrast, his brother owned 210 slaves and $176,000 worth of realty (Census Records-Glynn County 1850, 1860).

The four known overseers at Cannon's Point share many similarities. All held fewer than 20 slaves. None of them acquired over $5,000 worth of realty or $5,000 worth of personal property. None of the known Cannon's Point overseers became planters. With the possible exception of John Piles, Jr., they spent their antebellum adulthoods as hired supervisors. Piles and Morgan came from farming families, but Oden's background is unknown.

In the coastal areas, overseers were often married, and they enjoyed longer tenure and higher wages (Scarborough 1966: 39, 200). Yet, the average tenure of overseers at Cannon's Point from 1844 to 1853 was only 1.5 years; the average yearly salary was only $283.33. A comparison with the pay scales of other large Glynn County plantations, including Hamilton or Hopeton, demonstrates the deficiency.

Yet, the maintenance of a resident white overseer and his family was a luxury that few planters could afford. One coastal planter estimated that wages to the overseer, support of his family, assignment of servants, and fodder for the overseer's livestock consumed the production of six to ten slaves (Agricola 1845: 429). In 1846, Morgan's salary of $250.00 represented 10% of the income ($2,405.76) from cotton sales. In 1848, McDonald's $250.00 salary was 15% of the income ($1,322.97). In 1849 and 1850, Couper's yearly $200.00 salaries represented 8% and 6% of the incomes ($2,399.80 and $3,528.76) for those years. In 1851, Walker's salary was 21% of the cotton sales of $1,993.03. In addition to salary, servants had to be assigned to the overseer's household and the overseer's house had to be maintained.

As a result, only one out of four planters, who owned over fifty slaves, relied on white overseers. Even on plantations with over 100 slaves, only 30% had hired white supervisors (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 201). Thomas Spalding, for example, never used white overseers after he established his Sapelo Island plantation. He gave directions to slave overseers and foremen who supervised the work of field slaves. Spalding boasted that he ran his plantations "without the intervention of any white man" (Coulter 1940: 85-86). Other planters, who relied on white overseers, were frequently disappointed, and the turnover rate for overseers was notoriously high (Scarborough 1964: 16; Fogel and Engerman 1974: 215).

In turn, few qualified men were attracted by the relatively low salaries and the onerous duties that overseers performed (Scarborough 1966: 27-29). White overseers were expected to rise with the slaves and assign them their tasks. They had to police the quarters and inspect the slave dwellings. The overseers doled out the food and clothing rations.

They physicked sick slaves and punished malingerers. Finally, overseers had to prevent slaves from sabotaging or stealing plantation property (P.C. 1838: 344-346). The most offensive and dangerous duty of overseers, however, was the punishment of recalcitrant slaves (Genovese 1974: 616-617).

To ensure completion of these duties, overseers were often forbidden to fraternize with slaves or entertain guests. Many complained that they lived in "a virtual social vacuum." Some overseers could not even leave the plantations without the consent of their employers (Scarborough 1964: 15). Consequently, alcoholism flourished among white overseers, who could neither please their employers nor the slaves (Genovese 1974: 797). An advertisement for overseers in the Darien Gazette stressed that applicants should be men of "sober, industrious habits" (Darien Gazette March 29, 1825). Another advertisement stated that "sobriety, and attention to order will be indispensably necessary" (Darien Gazette October 30, 1823).

Overseers usually came from farming families, who held land and often possessed a small slave force. Many became overseers to accumulate capital or credit to purchase slaves and land to establish themselves as independent farmers (Scarborough 1966: 4). John Piles, Jr., and J. J. Morgan were examples of this type of overseer. Other overseers were the sons or kinsmen of planters; they served as supervisors or apprentice planters for the experience. Later, they would inherit property and enter the planter class. Finally, there was a group of perennial overseers, who drifted from plantation to plantation, offering their services at bargain rates. To guard against transients, planters often demanded that applicants provide references from "respectable" planters (Scarborough 1966: 5; Darien Gazette October 30, 1823).

Although some overseers came from established planting families, overseers as a group were held in low esteem in the Old South (Scarborough 1964: 15). But on the Georgia and Carolina coast, the white population was smaller and overseers were more highly regarded (Phillips 1946: 307). On the sea islands, overseers, tradesmen, and farmers occupied an intermediate status between the planters and the landless whites--a group which included herders, boatmen, laborers, and others (Johnson 1930: 107).

Managers and stewards, however, had a higher status than the common overseers who supervised the field workers. The managers acted as representatives of absentee owners, and they generally managed one or more large plantations. They ordered the plantation supplies, advised their employers, sold the cash crops, and managed the overseers and slaves. Since they were usually the sons of planters, managers were accepted as social equals by their employers (Scarborough 1966: 179, 181, 183). J. H. Couper, who served as manager of Hopeton, and W. A. Couper, manager of Hamilton Place, are examples of such men. J. H. Couper served almost 40 years at Hopeton and W. A. Couper managed Hamilton for over a decade. In contrast, William's service at Cannon's Point was brief and unrewarding.

Yet, most planters dispensed with hired white supervisors and administered their own plantations with the aid of slave supervisors. At least 2/3 of all southern slaves lived on units that had no white overseers (Genovese 1974: 366). Slave overseers and drivers assumed the duties of white supervisors. Usually, there were drivers for the specialized work groups. An ex-slave from St. Helena Island, South Carolina, recalled that his father was foreman of the plow hands, and his mother was driver of the hoe workers (Cooley 1926: 123-124). Slave drivers were either superior workers, who were chosen from the ranks, or they were the sons and daughters of drivers. Because of higher status, drivers usually

received preferential treatment; material rewards included better housing, food, and clothing (Genovese 1974: 369-379; An Overseer 1836: 227).

In addition to agricultural supervision, drivers often doled out the rations, policed the quarters, and punished slaves who resisted the plantation regime. On many plantations, they even purchased the plantation provisions (Genovese 1974: 370, 382-383; Fogel and Engerman 1974: 210-211). By 1850, 7% of adult slave men in the Old South held managerial posts as overseers or drivers (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 38-39).

John Couper's most prominent slave supervisor was "Tom" Salih Bilali, a Muslim Fullah herder from the Kingdom of Massina in the Niger River Valley of West Africa (Curtin ed., 1967: 145-151). Couper purchased "Tom" in the Bahamas about 1800; later, he became the head driver at Hopeton (Wightman and Cate 1955: 153; White 1849: 228; Lyell 1849 Vol. I: 266). Other slave supervisors are briefly mentioned in a letter John Couper wrote to his grandson: "I staggered out this forenoon to give old Harry not old Nick but old Parson Harry-directions to prepare land for melons-" (Couper to Couper 1839). Apparently, one of the slave preachers was also a driver.

Slaves also served as craftsmen or as domestic workers. In 1850, 12% of the adult male slaves in the South were skilled workers, and another 7% were semiskilled or domestic workers such as teamsters, coachmen, gardeners, and house servants. At least 20% of the adult slave women performed service roles on Southern plantations (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 38-39).

On Cannon's Point in 1828, the list of skilled and service workers included: "cart drivers, nurses, cooks for the Negroes, carpenters, gardeners, house servants, and stock-minders . . ." (Hall 1829: 218).

In 1823, 63 adult slaves engaged in agricultural duties, and there were five mechanics and six house servants (Hazzard 1825). Frequently, the stock-keepers, coachmen, gardeners, and domestics were "partial hands"; they were young, elderly, or incapacitated and could not perform a full day's task in the fields (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 75-76). The status of skilled workers and service people was often higher than that of field workers. House servants frequently lived in quarters located near the planter, and they received the planter family's discarded food and clothing (Genovese 1974: 332). On Cannon's Point, many of the skilled workers and house servants may have lived in the northern set of cabins, located near the planter's dwellings, the kitchen, and the workshop.

Most Cannon's Point slaves, however, spent their lives in agricultural work. On Cannon's Point and other plantations that specialized in long-staple cotton, the needs of this crop dominated the plantation regimen. In 1823, Cannon's Point slaves planted 280 acres in cotton, but they planted only 10 acres each of corn and sweet potatoes (Hazzard 1825).

Cash and Food Crop Requirements

Though John Couper experimented with olives, dates, oranges, sugar cane, and silkworms as possible cash crops (Wightman and Cate 1955: 43; Sitterson 1953: 32; White 1849: 276; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 265), long-staple cotton remained the primary cash crop at Cannon's Point in the antebellum years. Because of the availability of natural manures such as mud and Spartina grass from the tidal marshes surrounding Cannon's Point, the cotton fields could be cultivated year after year (Editor of SA 1833: 159; Couper in Albany Patriot November 1, 1855). Even before 1800, John Couper's slaves spread crushed oyster shells and marsh mud

on the fields in alternate years (Johnson 1930: 58, 60). The Cannon's Point accounts contain purchases of scythes and sickles to harvest the marsh grasses to make compost for fields and gardens (Couper 1839-1854: 233, 241, 233; B. 1867: 85). Scythe and sickle blades were found at the overseer's house and the southern slave cabins (see Figure 7).

While the sea island and coastal fringe planters had an inexhaustible source of manure for their fields, planters and farmers in the coastal plain and the Piedmont lacked abundant natural manures. Since they ranged their livestock in forests, there was a dearth of stable manure (see Genovese 1962a). After exhausting their fields, they abandoned them and acquired new lands elsewhere. The frequent movements of planters and their slaves were reflected in the temporary nature of their plantation buildings (Bonner 1964: Chapter XI, 186-188). But on the coast, more sedentary agriculture was possible. With marsh manures, the fertility of fields could be maintained for years. Planters could construct substantial plantation buildings of brick, frame, and tabby--a concrete made from marine shells, shell lime, and sand.

There were other differences between the coastal and upland regions in Georgia. In the Piedmont, short-staple cotton was the major cash crop. It had a shorter growing season than long-staple cotton, which was confined to the coastal fringe and sea islands, where there were up to 260 frost-free days in a year (Coulter 1940: 69-70; Hilliard 1972: 30). In addition to a longer growing season, long-staple cotton had a different cultivation and processing routine.

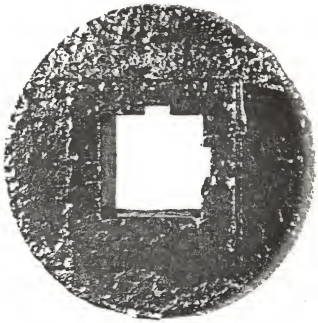
On Cannon's Point and other long-staple plantations, the field slaves spent the months of January through March manuring, listing, and bedding. In the process of listing, slaves pulled down the old cotton beds. New beds, set five feet apart, were created with plows and hoes.

In April, the slaves used hoes to plant the seeds; usually, a bushel of seed per acre was sufficient. After the clusters of plants sprouted, the slaves thinned them with hoes. Surviving plants were weeded six to eight times; often, the grass near the plants was removed by hand to protect the delicate cotton stalks. Field slaves "topped" the cotton in August to limit its upward growth. They also began picking in late August. At the height of the season, they were picking up to 50 pounds per person. In early November, slaves began cleaning the cotton with roller gins. The wooden rollers separated the oily black seeds from the long-staple cotton without injuring the fiber. On Cannon's Point and other St. Simons plantations, the gins were animal-powered Eve's roller gins, which cleaned up to 600 pounds of cotton a day. Ginning often lasted into the next year. Slaves laboriously hand-packed the clean cotton into bags with wooden or iron pestles (Hall 1829: 218-220; Editor of SA 1833: 160, 243-246; Postell 1853).

In contrast, short-staple cotton growers made more use of plows in seeding and cultivating. In April, the slaves used heavy plows to make the water furrows. The low beds that were left between the furrows were drilled with a light plow for seeding. Seeds were covered with a harrow. Usually, the slaves planted two to three bushels of upland seed per acre. Light plows were used extensively in cultivation as well as hoes. After the cotton bloomed in July, slaves began picking the cotton; picking and ginning continued until the Christmas holidays. Upland cotton was cleaned with the Whitney sawgin. Since the saws pulled the staple from the tufted seeds, this gin was unsuitable for the delicate long-staple cotton. The slaves packed the clean cotton in bags with a screw press, which compacted the cotton into standardized bales weighing a little less than 500 pounds (Thorpe 1854: 452-457; Stampp 1956: 45-46; Bonner 1964: 52-53).

Figure 5. Long-staple cotton processing technology. (A) cast iron crank fragment, possibly from a McCarthy's gin; (B) cast iron hub from a large wooden band wheel, possibly from an Eve's gin; (C) cast iron pestle, probably used in packing bags of long-staple cotton.

A



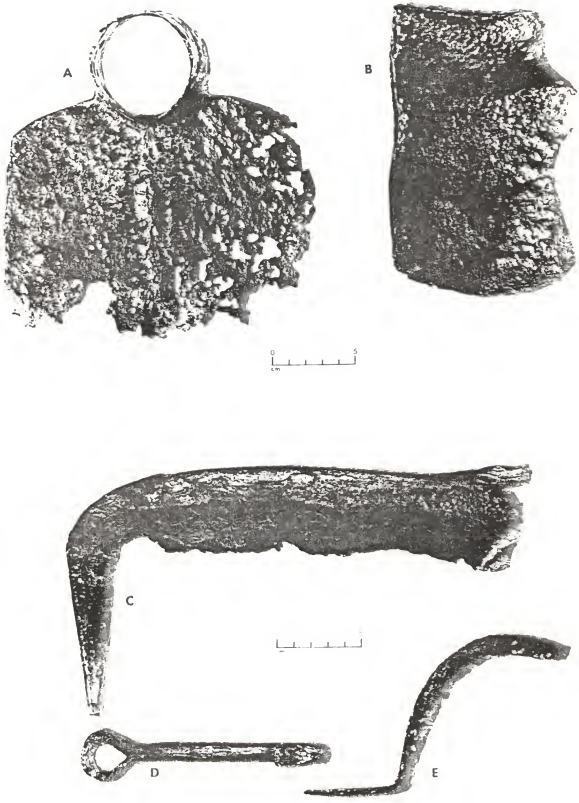
B

C

Figure 6. Long-staple cotton processing technology. Bandwheel, possibly from a McCarthy's gin.

0
5
cm.

Figure 7. Agricultural tools from the plantation sites. (A) broad hoe from the overseer's house site; (B) American axe from the overseer's house site; (C) scythe blade from the overseer's well; (D) possible plow clevis fragment from the northern third slave cabin refuse; (E) sickle blade from the overseer's house refuse.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Because of greater use of plows, upland cotton planters grew up to 10 acres per hand. Conversely, hoes were the primary cultivating instrument for long-staple cotton to prevent injury to the stalks. Each slave cultivated fewer than four acres (Thorpe 1854: 457; Gray 1958 [1933]: 735; Seabrook 1831: 344).

Also, greater care had to be exercised in ginning and packing the long-staple cotton, which was used for thread and lace (Gray 1958 [1933]: 731). Carolina planters often used small treadle-powered gins to remove seeds; in turn, Georgia planters generally used the Eve's gin, developed by a Bahamian planter and introduced by Thomas Spalding (Coulter 1940: 64). By 1804, John Couper had two gin houses, each of which contained three ox-driven Eve's gins. A "common jobbing Negro carpenter" made wooden replacement rollers for the gins. In that year, Couper was building a third gin house (Editor Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser May, 1804). A cast iron hub for a wooden band wheel, possibly from one of the large wheels which powered the rollers, was recovered from the workshop/ginhouse site at Cannon's Point (see Figure 5; Editor of SA 1833: 245).

By 1840, Fones McCarthy of Alabama had devised an improved roller gin. The gin had a leather-covered roller which pulled the staple through; a thin steel bar, operating vertically in front of the roller, separated the seed from the lint. The moving bar was powered by connecting rods linked to a crank (Gray 1958 [1933]: 736; USDA 1964: 2). A portion of a McCarthy gin crank came from the workshop-ginhouse structure. A small cast iron band wheel from the same site may have driven the crank (see Figures 5-6; USDA 1964: Figure 1). The Coupers purchased six new cotton gins in 1845 from Mitchell and Mure, their Charleston factors (Couper 1830-1854: 208); probably, these were McCarthy gins.

After ginning, slaves in the cotton house packed the lint into hemp bags with wooden or iron pestels. Such an iron pestle was recovered from the gin house (see Figure 5).

In addition to differences in cultivating and processing upland and long-staple cotton, planters also organized their slaves into different labor systems. On the Georgia and Carolina coasts, the task system prevailed, though the gang system was common elsewhere in the South (Phillips 1946: 279-280). In the gang system, the slaves worked from daybreak to evening in plow or hoe gangs under the direction of drivers. Slaves working by the task system received individual work assignments, and they were free when they completed the tasks (Stampp 1956: 54-55).

Labor Systems

The task system was particularly well-suited to a crop which had few acres per hand and required careful hoe-weeding. Drivers and overseers could adapt the tasks to meet the physical abilities of individual slaves. On Cannon's Point in 1828, a "full hand" listed, bedded, or weeded between 1/2 to 3/4 of an acre per day. Other slaves, rated as "partial hands," performed less than a full task. Most slaves finished their work by "mid-day" and the remainder of the day was leisure time (see Hall 1829: 218-223). Thus, despite a longer growing season and time-consuming weeding, ginning, and packing, slaves under the task system had more daily leisure time than slaves working under the gang system.

Slaves could spend their leisure time making handicraft items or growing produce for sale to planters or local shop-keepers. Also, they had more time to hunt and fish to vary their diets. As a result, slaves working by tasks may have enjoyed more material possessions and a more

varied diet than slaves working in gangs, who often labored from "day clean to first dark."

Therefore, slaves living on long-staple cotton plantations may have had relatively better living conditions than slaves living in upland cotton areas. Since agriculture on the coast was more sedentary, coastal planters built plantation structures from frame, brick, or tabby; as a result, coastal slave dwellings may have been superior to the more temporary cabins of upland plantations.

The plantation architecture, the work routine, the processing technology, and even the relative quality of slave life should reflect adaptation to a specific cash crop. Also, the prices of cash crops fluctuated through time and this may have affected the relative quality of planter, overseer, and slave life.

Marketing the Cotton Crop and Purchasing Provisions

When John Couper began planting, the quoted prices for long-staple cotton ranged from $.44 to $.52 per pound. But the best quality cotton was often sold at secret prices that were much higher than quoted ones. After 1806, the embargoes and the War of 1812 interrupted trade and the prices fell sharply. After the war, prices improved, but they fluctuated wildly. Quoted prices in the period 1820-1824 averaged only about $.25 per pound. In the later years of the decade, prices were extremely depressed. Annual prices during the years 1826-1834 varied from $.26 in 1828 to $.18 in 1832. After 1834, prices began to recover, and they peaked at $.45-$.50 per pound in 1837. Prices fell drastically after 1840. During the years 1842-1844, prices averaged less than $.18 per pound. In this bleak period, many planters had difficulty making legal interest on capital they had borrowed (Gray 1958 [1933]: 739). Given

these prices, Thomas Spalding declared that the cultivation of long-staple cotton was "one of the most profitless pursuits within the limits of the United States" (Coulter 1940: 72-73). But by 1847, prices had climbed to $.31 per pound. During the 1850's, prices averaged better than $.30 per pound. By 1860, most long-staple cotton brought $.47 per pound (Gray 1958 [1933]: 739).

There were three major periods of depressed prices: 1806-1815; 1826-1834;and 1840-1850. Since it cost most planters about $75.00 to produce a 350 lb. bag of common sea island cotton, depressed prices could be disastrous (Gray 1958 [1933]: 736-737). The costs of production included the maintenance of a large labor force, hired supervisors, and the planter family as well as other expenses. Yet, at the depressed prices of the period 1842-1844, a 350 lb. bag of common long-staple cotton would have realized less than $63.00.

When prices of cotton fell, it depressed the value of land and slaves. In a letter to his brother John Couper discussed the repercussions of price decline:

> . . . cotton then sunk in price, without any hope of improvement. Lands were reduced to 40% of their value and slaves to [$] 250 or 200 . . . . (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828).

In 1824, John Couper estimated his crop would have been worth $90,000 at current market price (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828). But by the years 1846-1853, which are documented in the Hopeton books, the income from cotton sales usually averaged less than $3,000 a year (Couper 1830-1854: 229, 297, 314, 320, 347, 376, 425, 464). In 1846, for example, the income from cotton sales was only $2,405.76 after service charges were deducted. The cotton included 34 bags of long-staple cotton priced at $.23 to $.25 per pound and five stained bags at $.07 1/2 a pound. Yet

expenditures for that year totalled $3,027.80. The major outlay ($1,429.36) was for plantation provisions, including food, clothing and medicine for the slave force. Expenses for hiring slave workmen and laborers totalled $1,197.62. The overseer's salary for 13 months was $271.66. Finally, the Coupers purchased $129.16 of plantation tools and a 1/2 hogshead of guano (Couper 1839-1854: 220-247). Though costs such as slave hiring could be diminished, the costs of plantation provisions were unrelenting year after year. During the period of depressed cotton prices, expenditures were usually greater than income.

Planters, including the Coupers, purchased their plantation supplies and often their slaves on credit from factors or commission merchants. The factors marketed the cotton crops, extended credit to the planters, and supplied goods--provisions as well as luxury items (Haskins 1955: 1-2). In the period covered by the Hopeton accounts, the Coupers relied on the following factors: Richard M. Carnochan; Mitchell and Mure; and Robert Mure (Couper 1839-1854: various). They all operated out of Charleston, South Carolina. After Carnochan's death in 1841 (Schirmer 1969: 122-125), John Couper used the factorage house of Mitchell and Mure. In 1850, Robert Mure assumed responsibility for marketing the Cannon's Point crops (Couper 1839-1854: various).

When Robert Mure became factor, cotton prices had begun to improve. After service charges, the 1851 income was only $1,993.03 but expenses for that year were $1,818.66. The total crop consisted of only 26 white and stained bags. In 1852, sales of cotton netted $2,767.39, and expenditures totalled $2,008.09. In 1853, the sale of 19 bags, brought in $2,566.12 after service charges. Expenses for that year were $2,006.24. In addition Cannon's Point obtained over $1,000 by hiring hands to work in the Brunswick-Altamaha Canal, linking the river to the deep-water port

of Brunswick (Couper 1835-1854: 376, 425, 464, and various). In 1851, 15 bags of white cotton sold for $.29 a pound; and in 1853, 16 bags of white cotton brought $.45 per pound. With the rise in prices, income from cotton sales was greater than expenditures.

Biases of Documentary Resources

Throughout the years of fluctuating prices, the field slaves grew the cotton crops which were sold to support the planter family, overseers, and slave specialists. Despite their economic and numerical importance, there is little information on the daily lives of field workers in the available documents. The documentary evidence is heavily weighted to the planter family, and the Couper family letters rarely mention slaves. Basil Hall, nevertheless, left a short description of the living conditions of slaves on Cannon's Point, and there is some information on the Couper slave force in the Glynn County census manuscripts from 1820 to 1860. In the 1820-1840 censuses, slaves are categorized anonymously by sex and age. Names and exact ages are recorded only in the 1850 and 1860 censuses. In the 1820 census, there were 132 slaves; of these 30 males and 39 females were over fourteen years of age. The remaining 63 were children. By 1830, there were 113 slaves including 30 males and 43 females over 10 years of age. The 1840 census lists 127 slaves; again, the 49 females outnumbered the 35 males over ten years of age. In the 1850 census, the Cannon's Point slaves may be listed in J. H. Couper's group of 112 slaves; the 1850 Cannon's Point inventory lists 90 slaves. In the 1860 census, the Cannon's Point slaves are not differentiated from other slaves owned by J. H. Couper (Census Records-Glynn County 1820-60).

Although some slave narratives exist for the Georgia coast, notably those collected under the auspices of the Georgia Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in the 1930's (GWP 1940), these contain only limited information on plantation life. The interviewers were primarily concerned with Africanisms existing among the ex-slaves and their descendants; there was less concern with the relationships between slaves and the white inhabitants of plantations.

Antebellum ex-slave narratives are often rich in detail about the daily and seasonal lives of slaves, their attitudes to other slaves and whites, and the nature of white and black social interaction. Unfortunately, the writer could locate only one antebellum ex-slave narrative from the long-staple cotton district. This was Charles Ball Fifty Years in Chains, or the Life of an African Slave (1859). The ex-slave narrator lived for a time on a coastal Carolina plantation, which specialized in long-staple cotton.

Though the documents reveal the Couper family's attitudes to slave workers, no slaves from Cannon's Point recorded their candid observations about the Coupers. John Couper, however, was regarded as a "wise and kind master" by fellow planters and visitors. Even the ardent abolitionist, Fanny Kemble, commented on Couper's humane treatment of his slave force. Yet in a conversation with Kemble, Couper compared his slaves to the "Irish, and instanced their subserviency, their flattering, their lying, and pilfering as traits common to the characters of both peoples" (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 322). This statement contains hints of slave resistance to white authority. Also, one of the Butler servants claimed that the slaves on Cannon's Point had once conspired to revolt (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 277). Though the conspiracy could not be corroborated, John Couper indicated in a letter that slave resistance was not uncommon: "About

crops, runaway Negroes [sic] and other plagues I will not touch . . ." (Couper to McNish and Johnston September 5, 1830).

Also, despite his friendship with Kemble, Couper detested abolitionists. In a letter written late in his life to a member of the King family, Couper expressed his dissatisfaction with the new Episcopalian minister, E. P. Brown. In his crabbed, arthritic handwriting, Couper began a diatribe against abolitionists:

> I believe Mr. Brown for aught I know to be a good man-but being from the hot bed of abolitionism, I distrust him . . . . I find Mr. Brown commences his meetings with our slaves-without asking any leave . . . . It would be less dangerous to suffer Negroes [sic] preaching sermons at night than [?]. Look to Jamaica- the preachers aided by abolitionists in England-have ruined that Island, and done no good to the Negroes-
>
> The same game is playing here-and will succeed-if not soon checked. (Couper to [King] nd).

The documentary sources for Cannon's Point are written from the viewpoint of planters or elite travelers. The observers present a biased view of slaves, and they always neglect the overseers. Archeology, however, could supply information on the housing, material possessions, and food sources of overseers and slaves on Cannon's Point. Artifacts and structural remains offer hope for a "democratic" source of history. Archeological materials may hopefully provide us with a non-elitist history of the workers and hired supervisors on the plantation (Glassie January 8, 1975; Fairbanks 1974: 62).

Archeological Resources of Cannon's Point

Archeological information may also demonstrate how status differences are expressed in housing, material possessions, and food sources. People occupying different status positions receive differing material and symbolic rewards. In stratified societies, status positions are ranked in hierarchies as are the associated rewards. The rewards include property or

the right to goods and services; power or the ability to achieve one's desires; and psychic gratification or security, dignity, and pleasure. Written records provide insights into power and psychic rewards, and archeology provides evidence about the goods and services commanded by people in varying status positions (see Tumin 1967: 39-42).

Most scholarly work on American slavery has concentrated on the psychic and legal deprivations of American slavery. Far less concern has been shown for the material conditions of slavery. Also, the only book-length study on overseers (Scarborough 1966) has dwelt on contractual relationships between planters and their hired supervisors. In Genovese's recent work, Roll, Jordan, Roll (1974), the conflict between overseers and slaves is considered at length, but there is little documentary evidence about the living conditions of overseers to allow comparison with slaves.

To generate information that could be used in a comparison of living conditions of plantation inhabitants, structures known to be associated with planters, overseers, and slaves were sampled. Charles Fairbanks, however, has suggested that much of the information needed to test hypotheses will not be confined to structures but will be found in the "backyards"--the outdoor activity and refuse areas. Consequently, the refuse areas and features associated with the plantation structures were sampled to provide information on material possessions and foods.

A cabin in the northern set of slave dwellings was selected for excavation. The hearth and much of the area occupied by the cabin was excavated. In addition, three (2 m x 3 m) squares[1] were excavated in the

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[1]The transit station was 7.86m north of stake 100 N 98 E. Datum Point was 19.85m N 107° 09' W of station. The elevation of the datum point, located on a large liveoak, was 1.70 m.

refuse that had accumulated southwest of the cabin (see Figure 8). To maximize recovery of artifacts and food bones, the excavators placed 1/8" mesh screen over the diamond mesh screen of the power-driven earth shakers.

In the refuse area, the historic artifacts were located in a zone of dark grey sandy soil, containing crushed and whole shell. The underlying zones contained large quantities of late prehistoric ceramics (see Figure 9). Faunal remains used in comparison with the food bones from other plantation sites came solely from the zone containing historic materials and a small refuse pit in the dirt floor of the cabin. The historic artifacts and associated faunal remains had been deposited over several decades. The materials, however, dated to the antebellum period (see Tables 1-2).

The nails used in constructing the slave cabin were predominantly machine-cut with machine-formed heads, indicating the cabin was built during or after the 1820's (see Table 6). A small refuse pit, located in what would have been the cabin floor area, contained a single sherd from a blue edge pearlware plate of the type manufactured from about 1780 to 1830 (South 1972); however, the presence of machine-cut, machine-head nails in the pit indicates that it was dug and filled during or after the 1820's. A well associated with the northern slave cabins was probably dug in the 1850's, for ironstone and granite china sherds appear in the well pit fill; large quantities of these types were imported into the United States after 1850 (see Godden 1963: 109). Also, a Peter Dorni pipestem in the rubble packed between the barrels and the well casing of the well tends to corroborate this date; Dorni pipes began to appear at American sites in the 1850's (Humphrey 1969: 15; Omwake 1961). A three-banded standard Union issue minie bullet (Collins 1966: 22) in the well

Figure 8. Excavations at the third cabin site in the northern set of slave cabins (see Figure 2).

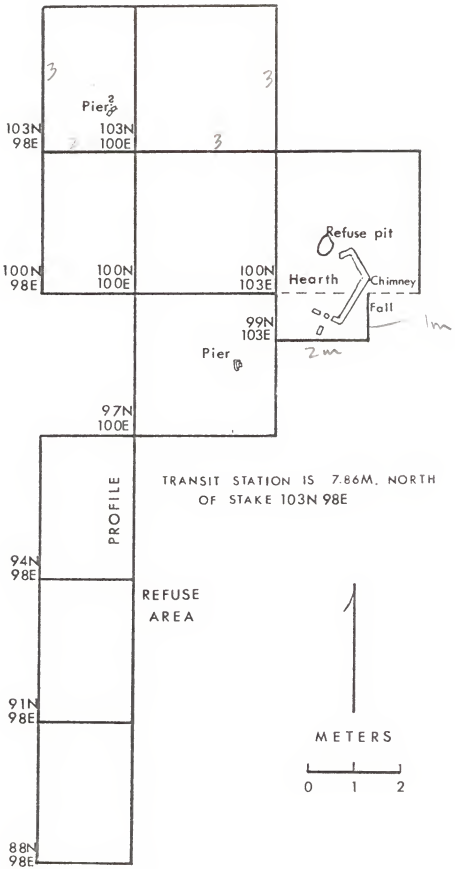
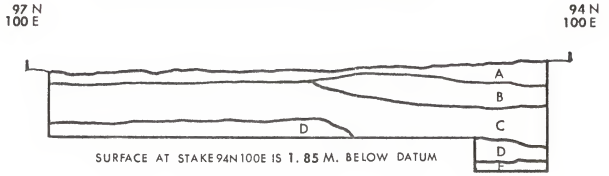

103N
98E
Pier
103N
100E
100N
98E
100N
100E
100N
103E
Refuse pit
Hearth
Chimney
Fall
1m
99N
103E
2m
Pier
97N
100E
PROFILE
TRANSIT STATION IS 7.86M. NORTH
OF STAKE 103N 98E
94N
98E
REFUSE
AREA
91N
98E
88N
98E
METERS
0 1 2

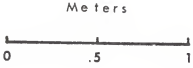
Figure 9. Northern third slave cabin profiles.

A. East wall profile of ☐ 94 N 98 E--slave cabin refuse: (A) humus and dark-grey sandy soil with loosely compact whole and crushed shell (zone I); (B) compact grey sandy soil with crushed and whole shell; (C) compact greyish-brown sandy soil with scattered shell; (D) stained brown sandy soil with infrequent whole and crushed shell; (E) orange sterile sandy soil.

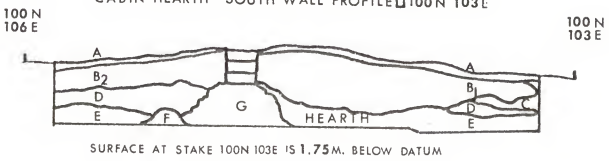
B. South wall profile of ☐ 100 N 103 E--slave cabin hearth: (A) duff and humus; (B_1) ash with whole shell and refuse; (B_2) chimney fall rubble; (C) dark-grey sandy soil; (D) compact dark grey sandy soil with crushed shell-former ground surface (zone II); (E) dark grey sandy soil with some whole shell (burned reddish-brown in hearth area); (F) mottled dark grey and orange sandy soil; (G) shell footing for hearth bricks.

REFUSE—EAST WALL PROFILE □94N98E





CABIN HEARTH—SOUTH WALL PROFILE □100N 103E



fill indicates the well was abandoned after 1862, when black Union troops occupied the island for a time (Heard 1938).

The ceramic sample from the refuse area associated with the cabin yielded a mean ceramic date of 1817 (Table 2). Although Stanley South devised the Mean Ceramic Date Formula as a means of dating eighteenth century sites and contexts by the distribution of ceramic sherds, the technique has also been applied to early nineteenth century sites (ie., Fairbanks 1974: 79; Miller 1972: 193). There are problems in the application of the formula, however, since far less research has been devoted to early nineteenth century ceramic types, and the beginning and terminal manufacture dates are not well known. Also, there is the problem of lag, especially when dealing with ceramics used by people of such widely differing status as planters and slaves (Fairbanks 1974: 77-79, 82). Planters, who purchased ceramics from their factors or commission merchants in the large port cities, probably obtained fashionable ceramics earlier than the slaves, who may have purchased relatively outmoded ceramic items from local shopkeepers (see p.174 above). In addition, the Mean Ceramic Date Formula is based on evidence that differences in the distribution of ceramic types at eighteenth century sites can be explained by chronological differences rather than status differences. At eighteenth century sites of varying function, which date to the same period, South found a similar distribution of ceramic types (South 1972: 75, 99-100). It is not known, however, if a similar situation exists for early nineteenth century sites.

Nevertheless, the Mean Ceramic Date Formula does provide approximate mean dates for the span of manufacture of ceramics found in site contexts; in turn, these dates can be supplemented with dates from non-ceramic artifacts, and food remains, would require roughly contemporaneous samples to

demonstrate that differences and similarities resulted from status and not chronological changes. Given this limited dating objective, the Mean Ceramic Date Formula demonstrated the basic chronological similarities in the materials used for comparison. The mean ceramic dates for the slave cabin refuse, the overseer's refuse, and three zones of the planter kitchen refuse are remarkably similar; they indicate that the ceramics in these contexts fall within the same time span of manufacture (see Table 2).

Nevertheless, the mean ceramic date of 1817 for the slave cabin is earlier than the apparent span of occupation (1820's-1850's). The cabin was built during or after the 1820's, and the presence of "Peter Dorni" pipestems and the "Treble Stan'd Extra Rich" button in the refuse (see Table 1) indicates that materials were deposited into the 1850's. But the cabin was also abandoned in the late antebellum period, for unburned refuse filled the hearth. Though the sample of sherds from the hearth fill was less than 30, South has also applied the mean ceramic date formula to such small samples (see South 1972: 89). Using this as a precedent, the tiny sample yielded a mean ceramic date that was somewhat later than the mean ceramic date for the refuse.

Table 3. Mean ceramic date of hearth fill.

type	median	count	product
13	05	3	15
19	05	1	5
11	18	4	72
2	60	2	120
		10	212 ÷ 10 = 21.2
			21.2 + (1800) = 1821.2

Again, the date is far too early, but there were no closely dateable non-ceramic artifacts in the hearth fill that could be used to refine the date. Nevertheless, the absence of ironstone and granite ware sherds in the refuse area as well as the hearth may indicate that the cabin was abandoned before the widescale importation of these types after the mid-nineteenth century.

Charles Fairbanks, who applied the mean ceramic date formula to a sherd sample from Kingsley Plantation, Ft. George Island, Florida, also received earlier dates than expected (Fairbanks 1974: 79, 82). In the case of Kinglsey Plantation, this problem may be explained by lag, for the slaves may have used many outmoded discards from the planter. The use of old, discarded ceramic types would have produced an earlier mean ceramic date.

But at Cannon's Point, the slaves used few discards and appear to have purchased their own ceramics (see p.174 above). Yet, local shopkeepers may have stocked older, less fashionable ceramics. As an example, Sawyer and Herring, Darien shopkeepers, offered "30 crates blue and printed Crockery, assorted, expressly for country stores" (Darien Gazette February 8, 1819). Also, slaves may have replaced ceramic items less frequently than the planter family, who may have been more concerned with changes in fashion. The slave-owned ceramics are far more heterogeneous than those used by the planter family (see p.173 above). Slaves acquired individual pieces of small lots only as older items were broken. Slave retention of older but usable items may account for the early mean ceramic date of the refuse and the apparent absence of ironstone and granite ware chine in refuse that was deposited in the 1850's.

Fairbanks also believes that the terminal manufacturing dates of several early nineteenth century types listed in the South article are

too early. Equally important, the height of popularity for a ceramic type may not coincide with the mean date of manufacture. British potters may have disposed of earlier, less desirable stocks by dumping them on the American market (Charles Fairbanks, verbal communication).

Because the formula was not originally intended for nineteenth century sites, not all relevant types are listed. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, decorative techniques that had been applied to pearlware and creamware bodies were transferred to the whiteware bodies, that became popular after the 1820's. Blue and green edge, banded, and transfer-print decorations began to appear on whiteware examples. Yet, the South article contains only one category of whitewares, with a mean ceramic date of 1860 (South 1972).

In addition to these problems in using the Mean Ceramic Date Formula, there may have been another variable affecting the deposition of broken ceramic items at the Cannon's Point overseer's house. The tenure of individual overseers at Cannon's Point appears to have been very brief. During the period 1844-1853, the average stay was 1.5 years. Overseers who departed may have left or sold their small lot of ceramics to their successors. E. D. Fennell, Seth Walker's successor, purchased $9.28 worth of "articles" from Walker on December 8, 1852 (Couper 1839-1854: 443); possibly, this included household ceramics. Also, at Elizafield plantation, owned by Hugh F. Grant, Benjamin Talbott, the new overseer in 1843, purchased $10.00 of "Plates and Crockery" from Skinner, the previous overseer (House ed., 1954: 266). If this were a common practice, incoming overseers would purchase or inherit a relatively old, heterogeneous collection of ceramic items; occasionally, they would purchase replacements from factors or local shopkeepers.

The ceramics from the overseer's refuse are varied, and they range

from creamware sherds to granite ware sherds. The sherd sample yielded a mean ceramic date of 1821 (see Table 2). The evidence from nails, however, indicates that the structures occupied by the overseers were built during or after the 1820's (see Table 7); also, clay pipes in zone I of the refuse midden indicate that the site was occupied after the Civil War. Zone I contains a Davidson pipestem, and the Davidson firm did not begin manufacturing pipes until 1862 (Humphrey 1969: 15). A "Try Lorilarrd's Tobacco" pipe from zone I post-dates 1869 (James Heslin, written communication).

The mean ceramic date from the overseer's refuse is remarkably similar to that from the slave cabin refuse; the ceramics used by the overseer appear to have been as outmoded and heterogenous as the ceramics used by the slaves who occupied the third northern cabin.

The Davidson and Lorillard pipes came from the surface humus zone (Zone I), which overlay a thin deposit of shell and artifacts (Zone II), dating to the antebellum period (Table 4). Beneath the zone of shell was a zone of dark brown sandy soil (Zone III), which contained some whole and crushed shell and most of the food bones (see Figures 10, 11). Three (3 m x 3 m) squares were laid out in the refuse area.[2] The overseer's refuse was screened with 1/8" mesh to recover a large sample of faunal remains and artifacts.

A well near the refuse concentration was also excavated. Because of root disturbance and the salvage of the well casing during the early

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[2]Transit station was established as stake 100 N 100 E (see Figure 10), which was 10.52m N 44° 54' E to the NW corner of the north standing chimney. Datum point was 16.50 meters N 43° 46' of station. Elevation of datum point, located on a large liveoak, was 1.33 m.

Figure 10. The overseer's house site.

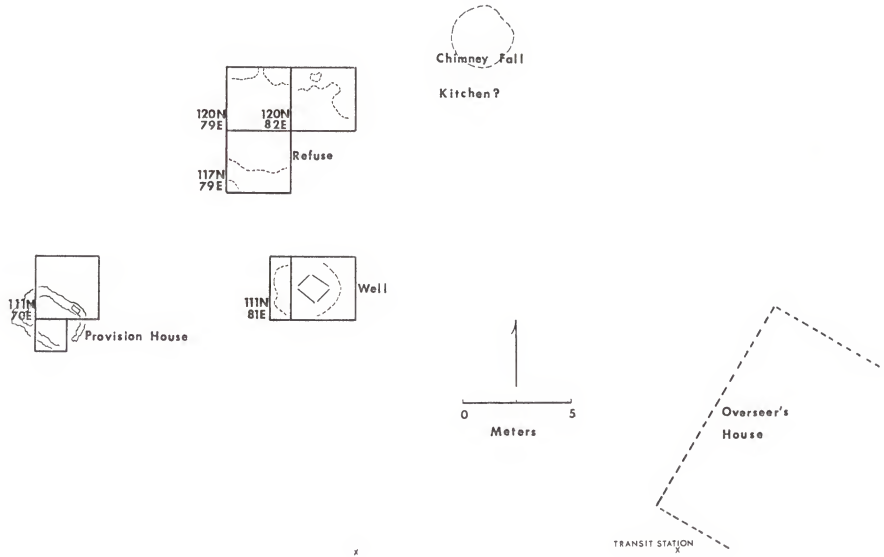

Chimney Fall
Kitchen?
120N
79E
120N
82E
Refuse
117N
79E
111N
79E
Provision House
111N
81E
Well
0
5
Meters
Overseer's
House
TRANSIT STATION

Figure 11. Overseer house profiles.

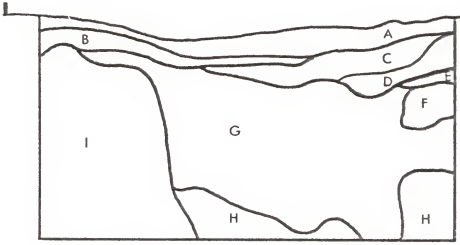
A: West wall profile of □ 111 N 82 E--overseer's house well: (A) modern duff; (B) grey-brown sandy soil; (C) soft, dark brown sandy soil; (D) light tan soil with some shell; (E) humus lime; (F) light tan-brown mottled sand-no shell; (G) mottled tan and brown sand with shell and artifacts; (H) light tan disturbed sand; (I) medium tan disturbed sand with scattered shell. (A=zone I; B and C = zone II).

B: West wall profile of □ 117 N 79 E--overseer's house refuse: (A) modern duff and humus (zone I); (B) loosely compact whole and crushed shell in dark grey sandy soil (zone II); (C) dark brown sandy soil with some whole crushed shell (zone III); (D) mottled tan and orange sterile sandy soil.

111 N
82 E

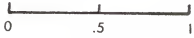
WELL—WEST WALL PROFILE ◘ 111N82E

114 N
82 E



SURFACE AT STAKE 111N 82E IS 1.70 M. BELOW DATUM

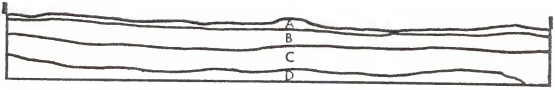
Meters



117 N
79 E

REFUSE—WEST WALL PROFILE ◘ 117N79E

120 N
79 E



SURFACE AT STAKE 117N 79E IS 1.46 M. BELOW DATUM

Figure 12. Overseer's house well.

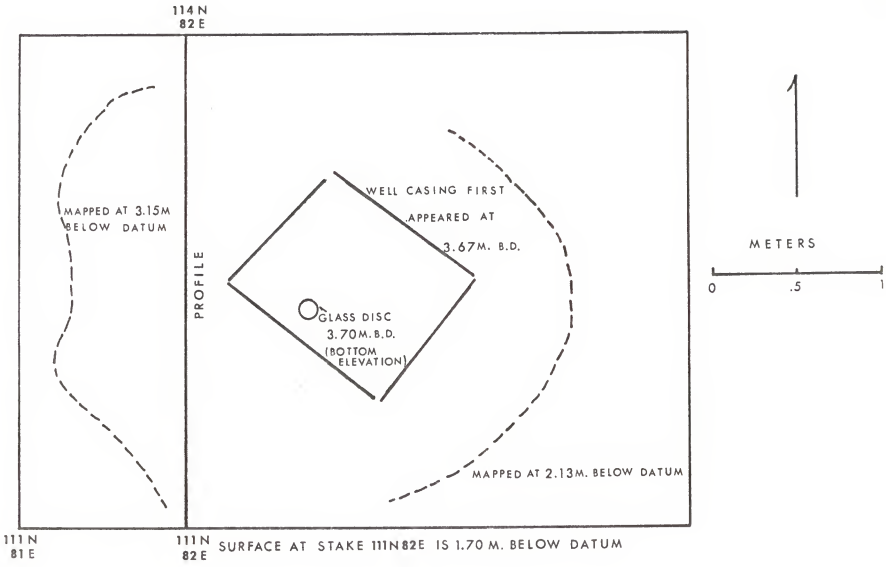
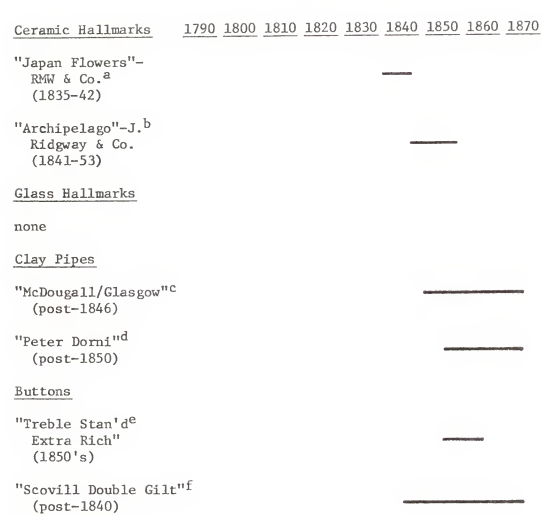

114 N
82 E
MAPPED AT 3.15M
BELOW DATUM
PROFILE
WELL CASING FIRST
APPEARED AT
3.67M. B.D.
GLASS DISC
3.70M.B.D.
(BOTTOM
ELEVATION)
MAPPED AT 2.13M. BELOW DATUM
METERS
0
.5
1
111 N
81 E
111 N
82 E
SURFACE AT STAKE 111N82E IS 1.70 M. BELOW DATUM

Table 1. Dating the northern third slave cabin refuse.



[a]Godden (1971: 89).

[b]Godden (1971: 88).

[c]Walker (1971: 25), Walker and Walker (1969: 132); Humphrey (1969: 17-18).

[d]Humphrey (1969: 15); Omwake (1961: 12-15).

[e]Luscomb (1972: 161).

[f]Luscomb (1972: 174).

[g]Luscomb (1972: 11).

Table 2. Applications of the mean ceramic date formula (see South 1972).

A. Slave Cabin Site--Refuse

Ceramic type	Type median	Count	Product
13	05	97	485
8	05	26	130
20	05	67	335
17	0	19	0
12	05	7	35
10	18	9	162
11	18	105	1890
20	05	86	430
2	60	74[a]	4440
1	60	4	240
5	15	6	90
		500	(8237 ÷ 500) + 1800 = 1816.5 = 1817

B. Overseer's House Site--Refuse (Zones II-III)

Type	Median	Count	Product
13	05	18	90
8	05	2	10
6	43	13	559
15	-2	3	(-6)
19	05	9	45
12	05	8	40
10	18	3	54
11	18	16	288
20	05	52	260
2	60	36[b]	2160
3	57	1	57
1	60	1	60
27	-15	7	(-105)
5	15	2	30
		171	(3653 ÷ 171) + 1800 = 1820.7 = 1821

C. Overseer's House Site--Well

Type	Median	Count	Product
13	05	5	25
8	05	2	10
19	05	15	75
12	05	12	60
10	18	4	72
11	18	32	576
20	05	49	245
2	60	43[c]	2580
1	60	7	420
5	15	2	30
		171	(4093 ÷ 171) + 1800 = 1823.9 = 1824

Table 2. (continued)

D. Couper Kitchen Site--Zone II

Type	Median	Count	Product
8	05	3	15
15	-2	11	(-22)
19	05	2	10
17	0	4	0
10	18	10	180
11	18	141	2538
20	05	2	10
2	60	38[d]	2280
3	57	4	228
5	15	5	75
		220	(5314 ÷ 220) + 1800 = 1824.16 = 1824.2

E. Couper Kitchen Site--Zone III

Type	Median	Count	Product
13	05	3	15
8	5	3	15
15	-2	11	(-22)
19	05	11	55
17	0	15	0
12	05	8	40
10	18	7	126
11	18	520	9360
20	05	47	235
2	60	18[e]	1080
3	57	6	342
1	60	2	120
5	15	3	45
		654	(11411 ÷ 654) + 1800 = 1718.45 = 1817.5

F. Couper Kitchen Site--Zone IV

Type	Median	Sherds	Product
15	-2	6	(-12)
19	05	13	65
17	0	22	0
12	05	2	10
10	18	3	54
11	18	239	4302
20	05	12	60
27	-15	1	(-15)
5	15	5	75
		303	(4539 ÷ 303) + 1800 = 1814.9 = 1815

Table 2. (continued)

G. Ceramic types used in mean ceramic dating (South 1972)

Ceramic type no.	Ceramic type	
1	brown stoneware bottles	(c.1820-1900)
2	whiteware	(c.1820-1900+)
3	ironstone and granite china	(c.1813-1900)
5	Canton porcelain	(c.1800-1830)
6	mocha	(c.1795-1890)
8	"finger-painted" wares	(c.1790-1820)
10	"willow" transfer on pearlware	(c.1795-1840)
11	transfer-printed pearlware	(c.1795-1840)
12	underglaze polychrome pearlware	(c.1795-1815)
13	"annular wares" pearlware	(c.1790-1820)
15	lighter yellow creamware	(c.1775-1820)
17	underglaze blue pearlware	(c.1780-1820)
19	blue and green edge pearlware	(c.1780-1830)
20	undecorated pearlware	(c.1780-1830)
27	"black basaltes" stoneware	(c.1750-1820)

[a]Includes 3 decorated whiteware sherds.

[b]Includes 27 decorated whiteware sherds.

[c]Includes 9 decorated whiteware sherds.

[d]Includes 27 decorated whiteware sherds.

[e]Includes 10 decorated whiteware sherds.

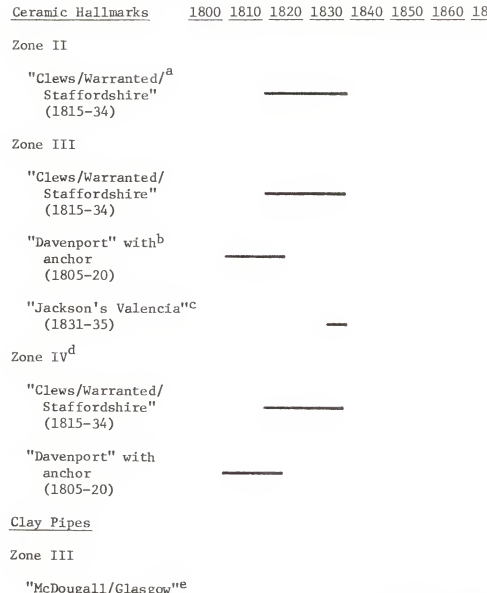
Table 4. Dating the overseer's house refuse (Zones II-III)

Ceramic Hallmarks	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870
No identifiable marks									
Glass Hallmarks									
"Dyottville Glass-works Phila."[a] (post-1833)						———	———	———	
Clay Pipes									
"McDougall/Glasgow"[b] (post-1846)							———	———	
Buttons									
No identifiable marks									

[a] Toulouse (1971: 171).

[b] Walker (1971: 25); Walker and Walker (1969: 132).

Table 5. Dating the Couper kitchen refuse (Zones II-IV).



[a] Stefano (1974a: 324).

[b] Coysh (1970: 26).

[c] Godden (1963: 132).

[d] Zone IV contains percussion caps; it post-dates 1822 (Noel Hume 1969a: 215).

[e] Walker (1971: 25); Walker and Walker (1969: 132).

nineteenth century, excavators could not distinguish between the well pit and the well fill; after the removal of zone II (2.13m below datum; see Figures 11, 12), the fill was removed in 10cm levels. At 3.67m below datum, the well casing first appeared. Within the well fill, excavators found a glass disc with the engraved legend--"PATENT/GL/Hugh F. Grant/1829." The well had been filled in sometime after 1829, the date on the disc or lens (Figure 39).

The levels inside the well casing contained a sample of only 12 sherds. The well pit, which antedated the well fill, was removed and screened as a separate unit; the well pit sample was only seven sherds. Several of the sherds from the well fill and the well pit fill matched sherds from the refuse, indicating that workers used household rubbish to fill the well pit and to fill the well after its abandonment. The well appears to have been abandoned shortly after its construction. The well pit and the well both contained whiteware sherds, which post-date 1820, and the well did not contain ironstone and granite ware china sherds, which became common in the 1850's. There were no closely dateable non-ceramic artifacts in the well casing or well pit. A McDougall pipestem, however, recovered from the 6th 10cm level of the combined pit and well, indicates the well may have been filled in after 1846 (Walker 1971: 25; Humphrey 1969: 17-18). The total sherd sample from the upper levels of the combined pit and well, the well casing fill, and the well pit yielded a mean date of 1824 (see Table 2).

To recover comparable household refuse from the Couper sites, the excavators laid out two small squares (2m x 2m; 2m x 3m) in the area north of the planter's kitchen (see Figure 13). Surface collections indicated this was the disposal area for kitchen food wastes as well as discarded household items from the Couper dwelling. Materials were water-screened with 1/8" mesh.

Figure 13. The Couper house, associated structures, and excavation squares.

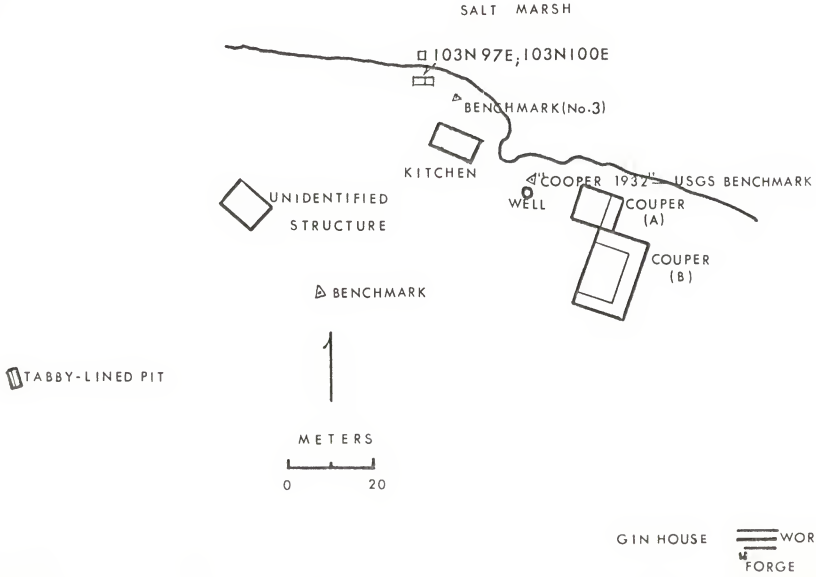
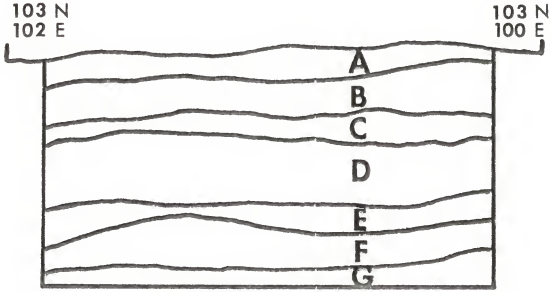

SALT MARSH
103N 97E; 103N 100E
BENCHMARK (No. 3)
KITCHEN
COOPER 1932 – USGS BENCHMARK
UNIDENTIFIED STRUCTURE
WELL
COUPER (A)
COUPER (B)
BENCHMARK
TABBY-LINED PIT
METERS
0
20
GIN HOUSE
WORK SHOP
FORGE

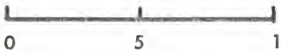
Figure 14. South wall profile of ☐ 103 N 100 E--Couper kitchen refuse: (A) humus with crushed shell; (B) loosely compact shell with light grey sandy soil and crushed shell (zone II): (C) black sandy soil with charcoal and some crushed shell (zone III): (D) dark-grey snady soil with crushed shell and few whole shells (zone IV); (E) light-grey highly-compact sandy soil with crushed shell (zone V); (F) loosely compact whole shell and light-grey sandy soil (zone VI); (G) light-brown sterile sandy soil.

REFUSE—SOUTH WALL PROFILE



SURFACE AT STAKE 103N102E IS 1.40M. BELOW DATUM

Meters



The surface zone contained post-bellum artifacts, including wire nails. Also, a disturbed area in ☐ 103N 100E (2m x 2m) contained wire nails and a shotgun shell base with the impressed legend: "UMC Co. New Club no. 12." This item was made from 1867 to 1910 (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 89-90). Underlying the surface zone was a layer (Zone II) of loosely compact whole and crushed shell which contained artifacts that could be dated to the antebellum period. The sherd sample yielded a mean ceramic date of 1824. Zone III was a layer of black sandy soil with large amounts of charcoal from kitchen fires, faunal remains, artifacts, and some building rubble. The sample dated to 1818. The underlying layer (Zone IV) was compact dark-grey sandy soil with large amounts of charcoal, whole and crushed shell, brick, and mortar rubble. The sherd sample dated to 1815 (see Table 2). Below Zone IV, the zones contained small samples of historic artifacts or late prehistoric materials (see Figure 14).[3]

Because of the similarity in mean ceramic dates, Zones II-IV were selected for comparison with the slave cabin refuse (mean date of 1817) and the overseer's house refuse (mean date of 1812). The mean ceramic dates from the antebellum zones of the planter's kitchen are closer to the median date of known occupation than are the corresponding mean ceramic dates from the slave cabin and overseer's house. The Coupers occupied the dwellings at Cannon's Point from 1796 to 1845. After 1845, there was only intermittent occupation in the summer months. The median date of occupation (1821), derived from documents, is similar to the mean ceramic dates of the antebellum zones which ranged from 1815 to 1824. There seems to be a closer correspondence between the date of manufacture and the acquisition and discard of ceramics at the Couper kitchen than at the slave and overseer sites.

[3]Transit Station established on USGS "Cooper" NO. 3 (see Figure 13). Elevation of datum plane was 1.65m above USGS benchmark.

Postbellum Occupation

At all three sites, there was only limited postbellum occupation. The slave site appears to have been abandoned before the Civil War. The overseer's house was occupied for a time after the Civil War, and the Couper house was occupied sporadically until 1890. In December of 1861, the civilian population evacuated St. Simons Island, and the Confederate troops followed in February of 1862. All of the slaves had been removed by their owners before Federal troops landed in March. The Union soldiers, however, established a contraband colony for Brunswick-area blacks at Retreat and Hamilton (Heard 1938: 252-254). Though there were only 89 people in the colony in April, 1862, 500 people had joined the colony by the fall (Official Records 1901: 756; Heard 1938: 265). Ex-slaves and Union personnel salvaged farm implements, wagons, and livestock for the contraband colony. On one occasion, a Union landing party traveled up the Hampton River to Cannon's Point where they found "a quantity of cattle" (Official Records 1901: 533; Heard 1938: 265). In November, most of the blacks left for Hilton Head, South Carolina, and Fernandina, Florida, leaving behind "deserted fields and ruined, empty houses" (Heard 1938: 265). In January of 1863, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and the black 1st South Carolina Volunteers arrived to transfer the remaining black families to Fernandina and remove the salvaged equipment and livestock (Higginson 1962 [1870]: XV). Finally, government cotton agents arrived to strip the plantations of window sashes, panes, and "old iron" (Barnes eds., 1963: [illegible]-51, 64).

Almost two years after its abandonment, a Union Naval Surgeon described the Couper mansion:

> In the basement, large quantities of [fossil] bones and minerals of all sizes and kinds are scattered around the floor. Broken furniture, dilapidated paintings and broken crockery by the boatload are strewn around the rooms. (Barnes eds., 1963: 57)

James Hamilton Couper had removed most of his slave force and some of the plantation livestock to a 490 acre tract in Ware County. In his 1864 tax returns, he listed the 812 acre Cannon's Point estate as valued at $10,000 in 1860, but it was "now in the possession of the enemy and worth nothing" (Couper 1864).

After 1864, former St. Simons Island slaves began drifting back (Heard 1938: 279). Many settled at Harrington, formerly a part of the Demere estate, where they occupied small tracts of land (Wightman and Cate 1955: 155).

James Hamilton Couper, who had lost two sons in the war, mortgaged Cannon's Point to James Couper Lord of New York for $6,000 shortly after the war ended (Deed Book C: 370-371). In March 1866, Couper sold Cannon's Point and Lawrence to John Griswold of Newport, Rhode Island for $9,000 (Deed Book N: 364-365). In June of that year, Couper died and was buried in Christ Church cemetery (Leigh 1883: 451).

In 1873, when Leigh visited the plantation, the only inhabitant was old Rina, a former house servant. The old mansion lacked furnishings and the gardens were overgrown (Leigh 1883: 280).

But in 1876, Col. W. R. Shadman, builder of the Gascoigne Bluff lumber mill, purchased Cannon's Point (Cate 1930: 132; Engel and Stebbins 1974: 1; Deed Book BB: 194-195). The Shadman family occupied the former Couper mansion; Shadman's son William and his wife Emma lived in the house until it burned in 1890 (Lovell 1932: 270; Wightman and Cate 1955: 55).

During the years 1880-85, the Brunswick Advertiser carried an irregular column on St. Simons Island by Dr. R. L. Massey; he frequently noted the

Shadmans' agricultural experiments. The Shadmans eschewed long-staple cotton but grew a variety of other crops. They used olives from Couper's old groves to produce oil for sale, and they marketed oranges from the old groves and planted rye, oats, sugar cane, and sweet potatoes. Shadman also claimed to own the largest "hogpen" in Glynn County; he fenced in 350 acres to support over a hundred hogs (Engel and Stebbins 1974: 1-2, 38, 51). But in 1886, the olive groves were lost in a freeze, and four years later the Couper house was struck by lightening (Wightman and Cate 1955: 43, 55).

The newspaper columnist never mentioned the Shadmans' labor force, which could have included tenant farmers or hired laborers. Possibly, some laborers may have lived in the southern cabins, for there is some evidence of postwar occupation (McFarlane 1975). Also, a family seems to have occupied the old workshop near the Couper house (Simon 1973). The inhabitants of the workshop may have been black house servants of the Shadman family. Excavators recovered an 1877 seated liberty quarter with a perforation; the obverse side was heavily worn. In the twentieth century, black Southerners were known to have worn silver coins on their limbs as a warning device; if an enemy were attempting to conjure them, the coin would turn black. Silver coins were also tied around the ankle to cure illness (Parsons 1923: 212; Puckett 1968 [1926]: 288-289).

For the postwar period as well as the antebellum years, the documentary evidence is inadequate; documents are concerned only with the resident white families. Other inhabitants remain anonymous, and their lives are known only from the material items and food remains they discarded.

III. HOUSING AND STATUS DIFFERENCES

"The object of nearly every archeological project is to locate buildings, not necessarily because one is pursuing the history of architecture, but because buildings are the axis around which human life rotates" (Noel Hume 1969b: 115). Too often, however, historic sites archeologists have been concerned only with identifying and dating architectural features for restoration work. Far less work has been done on the social implications of the housing and associated structures found at domestic historic sites.

But it is believed that "the structures in a community reflect differences in wealth and rank" (Trigger in Chang 1968: 58). Contemporary sociologists frequently use housing and location of residence as well as occupation and income to delineate social divisions in communities (Lasswell 1965: 82, 232-235; Warner, Meeker, and Eells 1960: 121-129). Archeologists also make inferences about the social structure of past communities from differences in structures and their arrangement in space (Trigger in Chang 1967: 58, 60). The accuracy of the inferences made from structural remains and settlement pattern can be tested more fully on historic sites, for documentary evidence is often available to identify past occupants and their ethnic, social, political, and economic status. Correlations can be established between archeological and documentary evidence to determine how accurately structures and their arrangement reflect social differences in the community (see Fontana 1968: 180; Schuyler 1970: 87).

Frequently, the dwellings and other structures occupied and used by community members were concentrated in a single settlement; but in many societies, the community members were dispersed over a wider area. "In these cases, the community as socially defined, would be associated with more than one settlement or site" (Trigger in Chang 1968: 61). Such a situation existed for Glynn County--the community which included Cannon's Point. The community members were dispersed among the towns, hamlets, plantations, and farms; they periodically assembled in the county seat to sell, buy, vote, worship, and socialize (Arensberg 1959). The excavations at Cannon's Point sampled structures and associated activity and refuse areas at only one site in this far-flung community.

Having identified the domestic sites on the plantation by documents and analogy, it was possible to compare how social differences were reflected in Southern housing. Such a comparison would include: (a) the construction materials and techniques, (b) expected durability, (c) available living space, (d) building hardware, (e) features available to occupants, and (f) household furnishings.

Old South Housing

Documentary evidence concerning Southern antebellum housing is surprisingly incomplete. Relatively more is known about slave housing and planters' dwellings than the housing of white farmers and craftsmen, who composed the bulk of the Southern plantation. Travelers frequently included descriptions of planters' houses, especially the most elaborate, in their accounts. Slave dwellings were often examined by pro-slavery apologists as well as by abolitionists, because of the concern over slave treatment.

Status Differences in Housing

During Olmsted's journey through coastal South Carolina, he compared and contrasted the appearance of dwellings on plantations, farms, and subsistence holdings. The dwellings of slave-holding farmers were usually of hewn logs, and they had stick and clay chimneys. The dwellings had porches and additions. The cabins of their slave families would be clustered around these farm houses. In contrast, the houses of "the poorest class of whites were of a meaner sort-being mere square pens of logs, roofed over, provided with a chimney, and usually with a shed of boards, supported by rough posts, before the door." Slave cabins on the largest plantation he observed had no windows, no porches, and they possessed only mud and stick chimneys. The dwellings of planters who resided on their holdings were "comfortable-looking residences, not unlike the better class of New England farm-houses." On a plantation with an absentee owner, "there was no residence for the owner, at all, only a small cottage, or whitewashed cabin, for the overseer" (Olmsted 1968: [1856] 384-386). Other travelers as well as ex-slaves often noted the basic similarities between the houses occupied by slaves, poorer whites, and even the yeomen (Genovese 1974: 533).

Chronological Differences in Housing

The quality of Southern housing varied with status, but the quality of housing also varied through time. As an example, Emily Burke, a Northeasterner by birth, was a school teacher in eastern Georgia during the 1840's. She visited large plantations "where the master's residence had not a pane of glass in the windows, nor a door between the apartments." The planters' wealth was not expressed in housing but in slave and livestock

ownership (Bonner 1964: 177). But during the 1850's, many of the planters' modest "log houses were transformed into larger, white-columned structures, with the original logs left underneath to betray the transformation to later generations" (Bonner 1964: 181; Zelinsky 1953: 177).

Also, during the later antebellum period, there was increased concern with slave housing. Agricultural journals urged that slave-holders provide each slave family with a cabin 16' x 18' or 20' that had plank floors, shuttered windows, and hearths and chimneys. Too often, however, the chimneys were of sticks and clay because of the expense of bricks (Bonner 1945; Genovese 1974: 524-525, 733). J. Hume Simons, author of the widely-used Planter's Guide and Family Book of Medicine (1849), suggested that slave cabins be raised off the ground on piers to allow air to circulate under the plank floors. "The floors should be tight, not only to prevent cold wind from affecting them, while asleep, but to prevent them [slaves] from pouring slops through the floor; which in my opinion, frequently gives rise to typhus fever" (Simons 1849: 207-208).

These were ideals that were often adopted by slaveowners in the later decades. The quality of slave housing, however, ranged from frame structures with plank floors and brick chimneys to windowless log huts with dirt floors and impermanent stick and mud chimneys. Small, smokey, windowless cabins were commonly found on Southern plantations (Flanders 1933: 155; Genovese 1974: 525). Yet by 1860, there were 5.2 slaves per dwelling on larger plantations, and among the free population there were 5.3 people per house (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 115-116).

Planters usually provided standardized dwellings, based on European models, for their slaves. Nevertheless, Thomas Spalding, a planter on Sapelo Island, housed his slaves in villages of huts, with walls plastered

with clay (Lovell 1932: 95-101). Spalding provided the field slaves with tools needed for house work and repair (Wylly 1910: 52). Most planters, however, discouraged African-style housing; and they used slave carpenters or hired free craftsmen to construct slave dwellings. Planters provided the specifications, and slave families had little opportunity to design houses to meet their special needs (Genovese 1974: 528). But occasionally, Africanborn slaves constructed their own dwellings. Okra, a slave owned by J. H. Couper at Altama, built a dwelling similar to the one he left behind in Africa. It was a hut with wattle and daub walls (12' x 14'), which had a palmetto roof; however, Couper forced him to destroy it (GWP 1940: 178-179).

Planters attempted to provide each slave family with a dwelling or a room in a multi-room structure (Genovese 1974: 524-525; Fogel and Engerman 1974: 115-116). In the coastal South, slave dwellings were generally of frame or tabby construction: brick, hewn log, or round log construction was more typical of the Piedmont and Upland South (Woofter 1930: 31-32; Flanders 1933: 155, and photographs facing pp. 90, 122, 138, 292).

Regional Differences in Housing

Thus, the construction techniques and materials, which contributed to the relative quality of slave and free housing, varied regionally in the South. In the Piedmont and Upland South, structures were frequently made of horizontal logs, often hewn into rough square or rectangular shape on two or all four sides. This technique, probably introduced into Pennsylvania by German-speaking immigrants from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, was also adopted by the Scotch-Irish. These ethnic groups who migrated into the Valley of Virginia and the Piedmont, introduced log construction to English settlers (Kniffen and Glassie 1966: 59-63; Nichols 1957: 120-121).

But in Georgia, log construction was rarely practiced in the "lower Coastal Plain and Sea Island areas" (Zelinsky 1953: 183-184). In tidewater Georgia, frame, brick, and tabby construction predominated. In frame construction, heavy structural members were hewn from pine, cypress and other woods and covered with planks or clap board (Nichols 1957: 28-30; Kniffen and Glassie 1966: 42; Kniffen 1965: 565). Brick was used less commonly and tabby, a concrete formed from shell and lime, was used only sparingly in the early nineteenth century (Nichols 1957: 28-30; Spalding 1830).

House types also varied regionally. In the tidewater South, the basic house type was the frame English cottage with one bay or room (about 16' x 16'), a steep roof, and an exterior chimney. An evolved version consisted of two equal units with exterior end chimneys. On the coast, the two room cottage with loft, steep roof, and exterior end chimneys, was the most common type. Often these cottages were raised "as much as a full story on brick foundations or piers" (Kniffen 1965: 565).

Other house types in the coastal region were the hall-and-parlor and the Georgian. The hall-and-parlor, a common Southern tidewater type, had English antecedents. In Virginia, a parlor was often added to a "hall" or one-bay cottage to form a hall-and-parlor house. The hall was usually larger than the parlor and there were one or two external gable-end chimneys (see Forman 1948: 37, 40-42, Glassie 1968: 96). In turn, the Georgian floor plan had two rooms on either side of a broad central hall. Typically, it had a pair of internal brick chimneys. The Georgian house was one-storey with a high pitched roof (Glassie 1968: 109-112; Nichols 1957: 122-123).

The square one-bay English cottage, the two room cottage, the hall-and-parlor, and the Georgian types were more typical of the coastal areas (Kniffen 1965: 565; Glassie 1968: 78-79, 109). In the Piedmont, settlers from Pennsylvania introduced the double-pen house. It was rectangular in shape and had opposed front and rear doors. It could have a central chimney, a single exterior, or double exterior chimneys. This type diffused into the Lowland South (Glassie 1968: 78-79, 102-103). Piedmont and Upland people also tried to reproduce the hall-and-parlor tidewater type in log construction, but found it difficult because logs longer than 25 feet were unwieldy and tapered excessively (Nichols 1957: 120-121). Rather, they built the "dog trot" type or "two pens and a passage." The dwellings had two small units joined by a common roof over an open hall. Another possibility was to add a second pen to the chimney end of a single pen house to form a "saddlebag" or two pens with a central chimney (Glassie 1968: 89-90, 96; Kniffen 1965: 561; Zelinsky 1953: 175). In the Piedmont and Upland South, another house type, the "I-house," two stories high and one-room deep, became associated with the economically successful. It could be built of log, brick, stone, and frame (Kniffen 1965: 555; Glassie 1968: 99-100). Finally, the Georgian type appeared in the Piedmont as well as tidewater (Nichols 1957: 123; Glassie 1968: 109-112).

In tidewater Georgia, the basic house types could be reproduced in frame, brick, or tabby. Tabby was created from equal parts of shell, shell lime, salt-free sand, and freshwater; tabby construction was fairly common on the sea islands where large Indian middens of marine shell were plentiful. Early users attributed the technique to the Spaniards, and General Oglethorpe adopted tabby construction for the building of Frederica,

the first English settlement on St. Simons Island. Thomas Spalding revived the technique after 1805, and used it to construct buildings on his Sapelo Island plantation (Spalding 1830: 617-619; Spalding to Whiting 1844).

Tabby Construction

The technique required forms of plank with morticed ends that were kept apart by spreader pins. Special forms for windows and doors could be dropped in. There could be partial forms with the tabby poured in courses; or, wooden forms could be built up to the eaves-line, with the tabby "poured in one form as in modern monolithic concrete" (Spalding 1830; Fairbanks 1974: 69). Spalding claimed the technique was less expensive than frame construction and far more durable. Spalding's slaves collected the oyster shells from middens, burned the lime, mixed the ingredients, and poured the courses: "all the art that was necessary was to know the use of the plummet and the level to keep the walls strait [sic] and perpendicular" (Spalding 1830: 617, 619-620).

In the early 1800's, tabby houses, slave dwellings, barns, cotton gin houses, hotels, and even churches appeared on the coast (Spalding 1830: 623; Coulter ed., 1937: 79). Poured tabby was most common, but tabby bricks were also made. These could be used for the foundation piers of frame dwellings as well as for chimneys. Poured tabby from abandoned structures could also be sawed into blocks and re-used; many of the tabby ruins at Frederica were robbed in this way (Coulter ed., 1937: 73; Spalding 1830: 618).

Tabby construction was an effective way of providing slave housing, and several sea island plantations have tabby slave dwellings. At Kingsley Plantation, Ft. George Island, Florida, the largest cabin in an arc of

slave dwellings was excavated in 1968. The walls appear to have been constructed with forms built to the eaves-line, rather than course forms. The single hearth was constructed of tabby brick with a clay brick fire box, for clay brick resisted heat better. The floor plan was reminiscent of the hall-and-parlour type. The room with the hearth measured 16.1' x 12.6' and the adjoining room was 16.1' x 8.2' (see Fairbanks 1974: 67-74; Forman 1948: 37, 40-43).

Some St. Simons planters also constructed tabby slave dwellings. An example at Retreat plantation has survived to the present. It measured 18' x 48' with four rooms on the main floor and a sleeping loft. With one chimney stack and a double fireplace, it appears to have been a duplex, housing at least two families. The cabin, originally provided with shutters and cypress shingles, was one of eight dwellings at the Newfield tract at Retreat. Similar duplex tabby cabins also appeared at Butler's Point. These were double pen cabins with a central chimney and two doors and two windows on a side (see Glassie 1968: 102). At Hamilton Place, later acquired by J. H. Couper, the duplex slave dwellings, the hospital, and the corn houses were of tabby construction (Wightman and Cate 1955: 53, 59, 79; Couper in Albany Patriot November 1, 1855).

At Cannon's Point, however, John Couper sparingly used tabby in building construction. Only portions of the structures at the northern end of the peninsula were constructed of poured tabby; these included the walls of the ground floor of the planter's dwelling, the piers supporting the verandah, the floor of the detached kitchen, the walls of a possible ice house pit, and the ground story of an unidentified structure (see Figures 2, 13). The superstructures of these buildings were of frame construction. No building on Cannon's Point appears to have had walls constructed entirely from poured tabby.

Tabby bricks were used to build the chimneys of one unit in the planter's house, and they were sporadically used to construct chimneys of other structures including the workshop/ginhouse, several unidentified structures, and the third cabin in the northern series of slave dwellings.

At the overseer's house, chimneys, hearths, and pilasters were of clay brick. Only the floor of a possible kitchen was constructed of poured tabby, though the chimney and hearth were of clay brick construction. Tabby bricks served as the pilasters of a possible provision house. The superstructures of the overseer's house, the possible kitchen, and the provision house were of frame construction.

At the southern set of cabins, brick and frame construction predominated. Apparently, extensive tabby construction was confined only to the northern sector of the plantation where large deposits of marine shells were available. Charles Lyell, a visitor to the plantation, remarked on the extensive Indian middens in this area of the plantation (Lyell 1849 Vol. I: 252). The overseer's house and the southern set of duplex cabins were not conveniently located near large shell deposite. Perhaps, workers found it easier to transport structural members, brick, and planks to these sites rather than bring cartloads of shell from the middens near the Couper house. Poured tabby was utilized only for the kitchen floor at the overseer's site.

Yet, John Couper did build tabby slave cabins at Couper's Point on southern St. Simons Island. Slave workers had constructed five double cabins by the outbreak of the War of 1812; however, the "British raids of that war carried away many of his Negroes, and the other houses which he planned were never built" (Coulter ed., 1937: 82).

Also, Couper had more slave cabins on Cannon's Pont than the eight cabins represented on the 1869 map. An article in the Darien Gazette

tallied the damage at Cannon's Point in the wake of the 1824 hurricane; five outbuildings on the plantation and "12 Negro houses" were blown down by the storm (Darien Gazette October 12, 1824). Since tabby structures were also susceptible to hurricanes, some of the 12 slave dwellings may have been constructed of poured tabby. Many of the tabby buildings destroyed in the 1824 hurricane on the Georgia coast were never rebuilt, and few tabby dwellings were constructed after 1830, except near Darien (Coulter ed., 1937: 79). Yet surface surveys failed to reveal the remains of any tabby slave cabins on Cannon's Point.

The nails recovered from the southern set of frame cabins indicate they were built during or after the 1820's (McFarlane 1975: Chapter V). The nails recovered from the third cabin in the northern set of slave dwellings indicate a similar date (see Nelson 1963: 25; Smith nd: np). of construction or rebuilding. Cut nails with machine-made heads compose 98% of the identifiable nails in the zones associated with the cabin (see Tables 6, 9).

After 1830, there was little tabby construction on St. Simons Island. Possibly, the availability of commercial brick and lumber in Brunswick encouraged the construction of frame structures with brick foundations and chimneys. Henry A. Breed, proprietor of a "new and commodious store" in Brunswick, offered 140,000 bricks for sale in lots to suit the needs of the purchaser (Brunswick Advocate December 28, 1837). In addition, planters could purchase lime, bricks, lumber, and cement from their factors (Haskins 1950: 114). Rough sawed lumber was fairly cheap, and frame and tabby construction required about the same amount of time. Also, by the 1830's, it was believed that masonry buildings were unhealthy to sleep in, and this superstition may have abetted the decline of tabby construction (Coulter ed., 1937: 79, 83). Frame construction became the rule, even for slave dwellings.

Cannon's Point Structures

The Southern Slave Cabins

In the southern set of frame cabins, one unit of the third duplex was excavated. The sills of the cabin may have rested on the ground surface, for no brick piers could be located. The approximate dimensions of 20' x 40' (6.1m x 12.2m) were reconstructed from sill fragments. It is also possible that the builders used wooden piers to support the sills. Analogies from twentieth century black houses on the Georgia coast indicate that the piers could have been heavy upright posts or horizontal logs resting on the ground surface (Cate "28 Pictures" nd; Woofter 1930: 215). Removal or decay of the piers would leave little archeological evidence since they were not sunk into the ground.

The fourth cabin had apparently been rebuilt with brick piers. The piers were not equidistant or aligned properly. The dimensions of each unit of the fourth cabin were approximately 20' x 22.5' (see McFarlane 1975: Chapter V).

The Northern Slave Cabins

In the northern set of dwellings, one cabin was excavated and the associated refuse area was sampled. It was a single unit or one-bay cabin with a single hearth. The chimney was of tabby brick and the hearth was partly lined with clay brick. The hearth rested on a shell footing and there was no brick base in the firebox. When excavated, the sandy soil inside the hearth was reddish brown in color, highly compact in texture, and contained burned bone and crushed shell. Excavators found a small refuse pit at the northeastern edge of the hearth in what would have been the floor area. The floor zone was highly compact, dark-grey sandy

soil with crushed shell, food bone, and early nineteenth century artifacts. The cabin apparently had a dirt floor (see Figure 8).

The dimensions of the cabin were difficult to determine, although a tabby block and clay brickbats may have supported the southwestern corner of the cabin (see Figure 8). The possible pier was 8.5' (2.6m) from the center of the hearth. Also, a possible clay brickbat pier may have helped to support the western edge of the cabin. The western edge was approximately 19.7' (6.0m) from the interior edge of the hearth. A small pintle, 3.6" (9 cm) in length and possibly from a window shutter, was recovered near this brick pier. A bolt from a plate stock lock (Noel Hume 1969a: 247-248) and a hinge were recovered from □100 N 98 E, west of the hearth. A large pintle, 5.6" (14cm) in length and probably from a door, came from □100 N 98E. Apparently the door of the slave cabin faced south toward the area where the refuse was deposited (see Figure 8). In one-bay cabins, the wall with the door was frequently located at right angles to the hearth. A shuttered window probably perforated the wall opposite the hearth (see Kniffen 1965: 567). Given this tentative evidence, the approximate dimensions of the cabin would have been 5.2m x 6m or about 17' x 20'. This is remarkably similar to the ideal dimensions of slave cabins (16' x 18' or 20') that reformers presented in agricultural journals (Genovese 1974: 524).

In summary, the slave cabin was of frame construction with sills resting on low tabby, clay brick, and possibly wooden piers. The chimney appears to have been of tabby brick construction, and the firebox was partly lined with clay brick. There was at least one shuttered window on the western side of the cabin. Numerous fragments of window glass were recovered from the vicinity of the cabin and refuse area. Apparently, the windows

were glazed as well as shuttered. Glazed windows in slave cabins were uncommon (see Genovese 1974: 524).

The northern set of cabins was associated with a well, located 25' (7.6m) east of the fourth slave cabin hearth. It was a pit-dug well about 10.2' (3.1m) in diameter. In the pit, a rectangular well casing was built from posts and discarded planks. Inside the casing, which measured 31" x 36" (.8m x .9m), barrels, without bottoms, were stacked; the space between casing and barrels was filled with building rubble.

Though slave housing was standardized, Cannon's Point slaves could have modified the cabins to meet their family needs. They could have built sleeping lofts, partitions, additions, poultry houses, rabbit hutches, and pig yards. Near the slave cabins, the slaves cleared and hoed land for their gardens (Cooley 1926: 123-214; Johnson 1930: 123-124; Genovese 1974: 524-535).

The Overseer's House and Associated Structures

In contrast to the single and duplex slave cabins, the overseer's house was a multi-room dwelling whose dimensions could be determined from brick pilasters, which were cleared and mapped. There were two interior chimneys with shallow double fireplaces, and there were arches under the fireplaces which lightened the mass of the chimney base. The eastern arch under the south chimney was excavated to determine the mode of construction. The chimney base had been constructed in a shell-and-mortar-covered shallow pit. On the interior edge of both chimneys were brick footings for storage closets or recesses next to the hearth, a common feature of "better" coastal houses.

Figure 15. The brick foundations of the overseer's house.

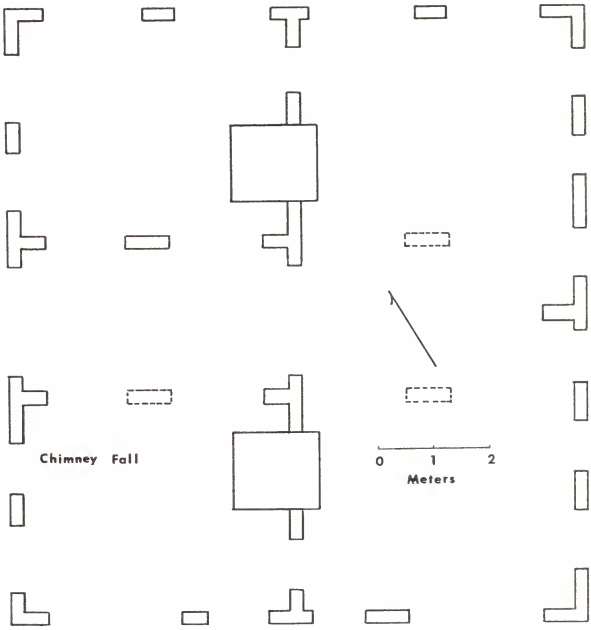
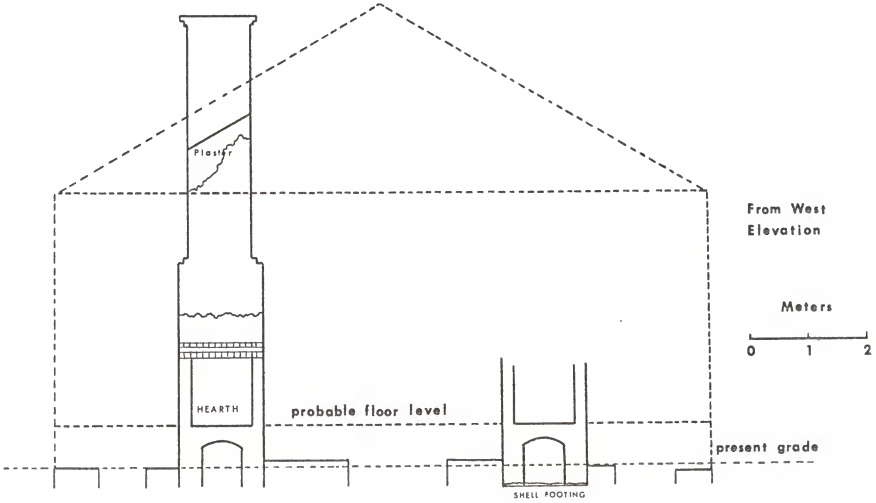

Chimney Fall
0
1
2
Meters

Figure 16. Cross section of the overseer's house.


Plaster
HEARTH
probable floor level
present grade
SHELL FOOTING
From West
Elevation
Meters
0
1
2

The mapped pilasters and the placement of the chimneys indicated a floor plan similar to the Georgian house type. The house was of frame construction with two rooms on each side of a central hall. The exterior dimensions of the house were 34.1' x 36.1' (10.4m x 11.0m). The hall was approximately eight feet wide. The Georgian houses were one storey with a high ceiling or enclosed loft; the loft was about 10.5' (3.2m) tall at the highest point (see Glassie 1968: 109-112; Nichols 1957: 122-123; Figures 15-16).

The associated structure with poured tabby floor and brick chimney was not excavated, though it is believed to be a detached kitchen. An extensive refuse deposit lay to the southwest of the structure. Approximately 32.8' (10m) southwest of the detached kitchen was a pit-dug well about three meters in diameter. There was a rectangular wooden casing about 3.6' x 3.0' (1.1m x .9m), which had been partly salvaged before the well was filled. The well had been cleaned out at least twice and a fluctuating water table may have caused its abandonment shortly after construction. Another depression east of the house may have been the second well. West of the well was a possible provision house. The footing ditch had been filled with shell and household refuse from the kitchen midden. Several tabby bricks and fragments associated with the footing remains may have served as part of the wall footing for the frame structure, since tabby bricks were commonly used for foundations rather than walls (see Coulter ed., 1937: 849; Figure 10).

The Couper House and Associated Structures

In contrast to the brick and frame construction of the overseer's house, the Couper family's dwelling made extensive use of poured tabby

Figure 17. The tabby foundations of the Couper house.

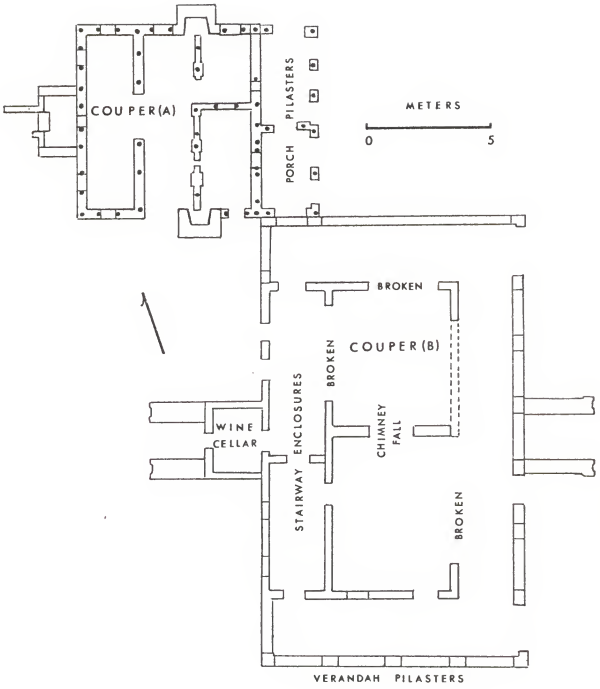
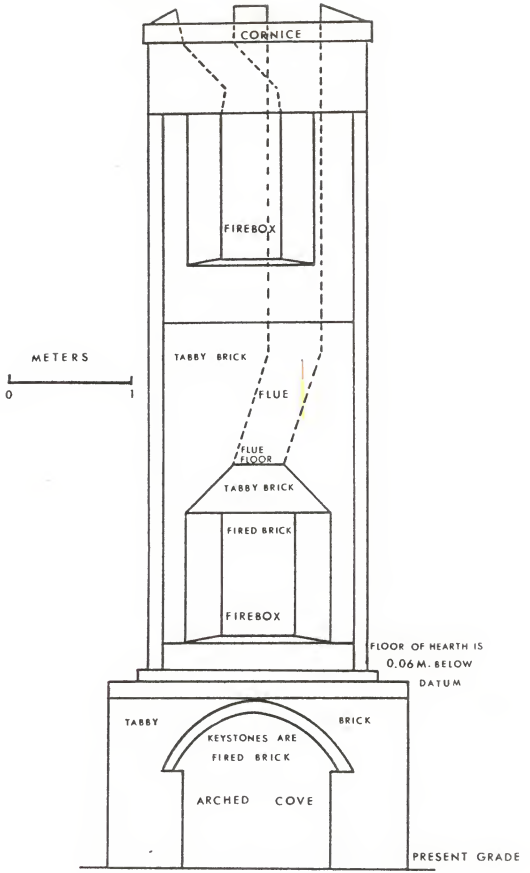

COUPER(A)
PORCH
PILASTERS
METERS
0
5
BROKEN
COUPER(B)
BROKEN
WINE
CELLAR
STAIRWAY ENCLOSURES
CHIMNEY
FALL
BROKEN
VERANDAH PILASTERS

Figure 18. Elevation of Couper A north chimney.

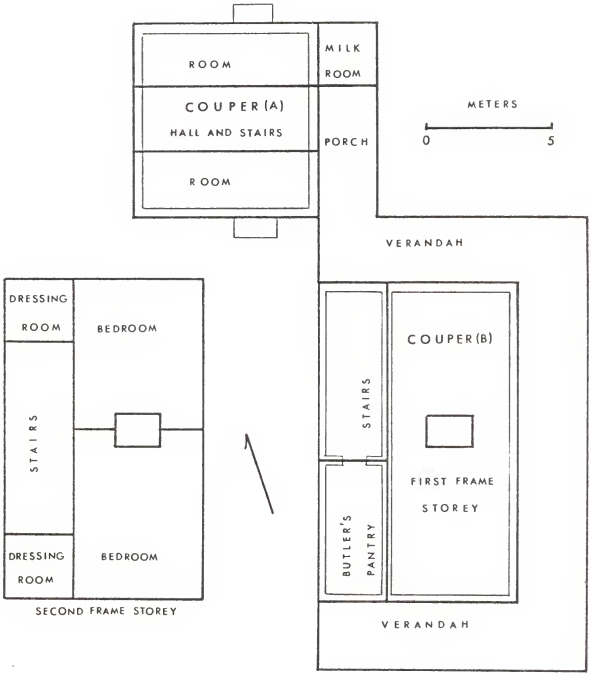

CORNICE
FIREBOX
METERS
0
1
TABBY BRICK
FLUE
FLUE FLOOR
TABBY BRICK
FIRED BRICK
FIREBOX
FLOOR OF HEARTH IS 0.06 M. BELOW DATUM
TABBY
BRICK
KEYSTONES ARE FIRED BRICK
ARCHED COVE
PRESENT GRADE

construction. Large Indian shell middens ringed the northern and eastern edges of the penninsula and provided a ready source of material for structures in this sector of the plantation.

There were two hall-and-parlor units in the planter's dwelling. The Couper A unit is believed to be earlier. It was originally an independent structure whose gound floor was of tabby poured around vertical posts. The posts were hewn timbers measuring about 0.5' x 0.5', and these may have been the framing of a still earlier house. Windows and doorways were framed with vertical square posts. The exterior dimensions were 25.3' x 25.9' (7.7m x 7.9m), and there were two interior partitions running north and south forming four rooms (Figure 17). Along the north and south walls were 2 1/2 storey chimneys with heavy bases of tabby brick. The chimney bases had arches to lighten the mass. The north chimney was largely built of tabby brick with clay brick used to line the firebox. The second floor and loft fireplaces had separate flues within the chimney (Figure 18). On the west wall was a stoop constructed of poured tabby and tabby brick. On the east face were the foundation pillars for a porch. The pillars were of tabby brick and hewn post construction. The poured tabby walls of the Couper A unit were capped with two or three rows of tabby brick. The tabby ground floor supported a frame hall-and-parlor structure of 1 1/2 storeys (Figure 17).

The late Margaret Davis Cate, a noted amateur historian of the Georgia coast, interviewed a member of the Shadman family who occupied Cannon's Point in the postbellum years; the informant stated that the Couper A frame structure had two rooms and a hall. A dairy room was located in the northeastern corner of the Couper A porch (Cate "Cannon's Point - plans for House" nd; Figure 19).

Figure 19. The frame stories of the Couper house. (Adapted from Figure 17; Cate "Cannon's Point-Plans for House" nd).


ROOM
MILK ROOM
COUPER (A)
HALL AND STAIRS
PORCH
ROOM
METERS
0
5
VERANDAH
DRESSING ROOM
BEDROOM
STAIRS
DRESSING ROOM
BEDROOM
SECOND FRAME STOREY
STAIRS
COUPER (B)
BUTLER'S PANTRY
FIRST FRAME STOREY
VERANDAH

The Couper A unit may have been built as early as 1738 by Daniel Cannon, who occupied the Cannon's Point tract until his move to Charleston in 1741. When John Couper arrived at Cannon's Point in 1796, he either occupied the abandoned dwelling or constructed the A unit. The Cannon house or Couper A unit was a "typical storey and a half cottage of that region" with a tabby basement (Cate "Cannon, Daniel" nd; Wightman and Cate 1955: 55; Cooney comp., 1933: 41).

The Couper B unit was completed by 1804, when Aaron Burr visited the plantation (Van Doren ed., 1929: 182). In two descriptions of the plantation house, observers referred to the B unit as a "three-storeyed" mansion (Leigh 1883: 280; Barnes eds., 1963: 57). In a painting of the Couper B unit done by John Lord Couper, son of J. H. Couper, there appear to be two frame stories and a loft (with dormer windows) resting on a tabby ground floor (Cooney comp., 1933: 40). The porch stoops on the eastern and western sides of the structure gave access to the first frame storey, which had a verandah on three sides (see Figures 17, 19). The dining hall and butler's pantry were located in the frame storey; the parlor and library may have been located in this frame storey or in the tabby-walled ground floor (Barnes eds., 1963: 57; Cate "Cannon's Point" nd; Lovell 1932: 74-75; Wightman and Cate 1955: 57). The second frame storey contained dressing rooms and bedrooms (Cate "Cannon's Point" nd; Figure 19).

The tabby walls of the B unit, with exterior dimensions of 35.4' x 60.0' (10.8m x 18.3m), lacked hewn posts, but they had been poured in one foot-deep courses as in the Couper A unit. On the western side, there were double tabby walls, which enclosed a stairway and stairs leading to a butler's pantry (Cate "Cannon's Point" nd). The windows and doorways in the poured tabby walls of the Couper B unit were framed by bucks nailed

Figure 20. Floor plan of the Couper kitchen ruins.

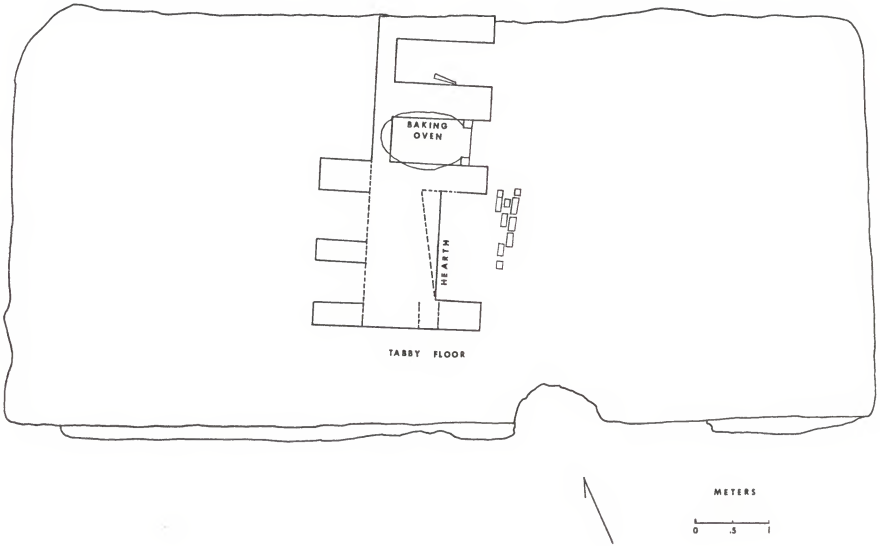
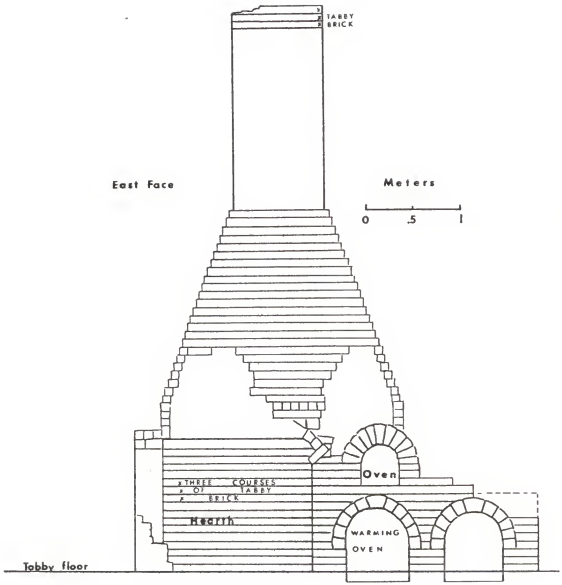

BAKING OVEN
HEARTH
TABBY FLOOR
METERS
0
.5
1

Figure 21. The east face of the Couper kitchen chimney.


TABBY
BRICK
East Face
Meters
0 .5 1
Oven
THREE COURSES OF TABBY BRICK
Hearth
WARMING OVEN
Tabby floor

to tenons set in mortices near the tops and bottoms of the sides. Along the northern, eastern, and southern tabby walls were the verandah pilasters, constructed of poured tabby and possibly hewn logs. The major unit of the ground floor enclosed a large square room with a central chimney and east/west dividing wall. In the ruined fireplace were the remains of a steatite box with double-sloped roof, possibly a warming oven for foods brought from the detached kitchen (see Figures 17, 19).

At the detached kitchen, the floor (19.4' x 39') (ca 5.9m x 11.9m) of the building was tabby, poured after the chimney base had been laid. On the eastern face of the chimney was a baking oven with granite floor, flue opening, and iron door. Coals were placed in the oven with the flue drawing; after burning, the ashes were raked out for baking. Beneath the oven were two vaults without flues; these may have served as warming ovens or storage areas. A large hearth was used for roasting meats or for cooking cauldrons (see Figures 20, 21).

Southwest of the planter's house was a tabby-lined pit, which probably held ice (see Figure 13). The exterior dimensions were 8.2' x 8.5' (2.5m x 2.6m). The deeper, larger compartment had a tabby floor, sawdust insulation, and drainage pipe; the interior dimensions were 3' x 6.6' x ca. 4.6' (0.9m x 2.0m x 1.4m). The shallow western compartment may have held meltwater for cooling foods or sawdust to re-pack the ice blocks. A frame structure may have enclosed the compartments, or the ice could have been covered with layers of straw, shingles, and sod (Bonner 1964: 184; Booth 1971: 115).

Water for the planter's family and the kitchen came from a well west of the Couper house. It was a ring well rather than a pit well, for it was lined with wedge-shaped bricks. The well had been cleaned out periodically until the house burned in 1890 (Wightman and Cate 1955: 55).

The planter's dwelling appears to antedate the slave cabins and the overseer's house. Parts of the Couper A unit may date to as early as 1738, though the B unit dates to about 1804. The extensive use of tabby in the planter's complex of structures may be explained by the accessibility of shell middens and the relatively early date of construction. After 1830, tabby construction became far less common. In addition to these chronological differences, there were differences in the quality of slave, overseer, and planter dwellings that can be explained by differences in status and access to the plantation surplus.

Construction Materials and Techniques: Comparison

The third cabin in the northern set of one-bay cabins had a simple winged hearth, made of heterogeneous tabby and clay bricks. The cabin may have been dirt-floored and the sills rested on tabby and clay brickbats or wooden piers. Yet, the windows were shuttered and glazed.

In contrast to the varied materials used to build the one-bay cabin, essentially one type of brick was used to construct the pilasters and chimneys of the overseer's house. The bricks were dark wine red in color and measured 8 5/8" x 4" x 3" (22cm x 10cm x 8cm). The interior brick work was plastered. Numerous window glass fragments indicate the windows were glazed.

At the Couper house, the materials were also homogeneous, and the workmanship was professional. The poured tabby walls of Couper B were laid in regular courses and supported a heavy frame superstructure. Even the pilasters which supported the verandah were finished with plaster as were the walls of the ground floor. The bricks used in constructing the chimney stack and hearths in Couper B were similar in size and texture.

The brick work on the kitchen was of the highest quality. Again, clay bricks were homogeneous, though the masons made occasional use of tabby bricks in the hearth and the top of the chimney stack (see Figure 21).

The overseer and planter dwellings were built to last, and the tabby walls of the planter's house and one chimney of the overseer's house are still largely intact. The construction materials and techniques reflect the expected durability of the plantation structures.

Expected Durability

During the 1804 hurricane that struck St. Simons Island, Aaron Burr observed that the gale destroyed several plantation outbuildings, one of the chimneys on the Couper house, and part of the verandah. Burr did not report on the survival of slave cabins, though he may have included these in the destroyed outbuildings (Van Doren ed., 1929: 182).

In the aftermath of the 1824 hurricane, Couper reported that he lost several outbuildings and 12 slave cabins. His "old and new dwelling houses [Couper A and B?]" also sustained "considerable damage" (Ludlum 1963: 116-117). Yet, his dwelling survived the storm, while virtually all of the plantation slave cabins were destroyed.

The poorer construction materials and the workmanship devoted to the slave cabins indicate their temporary nature. They were built with a hodge podge of materials, probably salvaged from a variety of structures. The slave cabins lacked the extensive pilasters and sturdy chimneys of the overseer's house and the tabby basements and massive chimneys of the Couper's dwelling. The frame structure, which rested on the ground surface or on low piers, was more susceptible to decay, termites, and mosquitoes, than buildings raised several feet from the surface (see Wightman and Cate 1955: 175).

Available Living Space

The status differences existing among the plantation inhabitants are also reflected in the number of rooms and the available living space for household activities.

By 1850, there were 90 slaves listed in the Cannon's Point inventory (Couper 1839-1854: np), and they occupied at least two sets of cabins. The southern set included four duplex cabins or eight dwelling units, and the four northern cabins were one-bay dwellings. Each of the units could have housed an average of 7.5 people. Assuming there were six 20' x 20' (6.1m x 6.1m) units and two 20' x 22.5' (6.1m x 6.9x) units in the southern cabins (McFarlane 1975:65-66) and four one-bay cabins of approximately 17' x 20' (5.2m x 6.1m), this would have provided an estimated total of 4,660 sq. ft. of living space. This would furnish an average of 51.8 sq. ft. for each slave or an equivalent unit of 7.2' x 7.2'. Yet, one unit in the third southern slave duplex would have provided more available space (53.3 sq. ft.) for a slave household than the third cabin in the northern set (45.3 sq. ft.).

In comparison, the overseer's house had four rooms of equal size, a hall, and a loft. The interior dimensions of each room were about 12.5' x 15.8' (3.8m x 4.8m) for a total of ca. 790 sq. ft., including the hall. Often a single man and possibly his servant occupied the structure; yet, servants assigned to the overseer may have lived in the detached kitchen (see Nichols 1957: 38). If so, a single overseer would have enjoyed up to 790 sq. ft. of living space on the ground floor. But in 1846, J. J. Morgan, his wife Lucy, and her two young daughters occupied the house (House ed., 1954: 307; Census Records-Glynn County 1850). This would have provided 197.5 sq. ft. for each member on the ground floor,

plus a sleeping loft for the children. The loft provided <1231.0 sq. ft. of space (see Figure 15).

The Couper A and B units provided more total living space, but there were more household members. By 1850, the J. H. Couper family used the dwelling on Cannon's Point only as a summer home; during the remainder of the year, they resided at Altama Plantation. In the 1850 census, the Couper household included Couper; his wife, Caroline; their eight children; three members of the Ann S. Fraser family; a school teacher, George Adams; a teenager, Virginia Hill. Thus, a maximum of fifteen people would have occupied the Cannon's Point house in the summer of 1850 (Census Records-Glynn County 1850).

The interior dimensions of the Couper A unit were approximately 23.3' x 23.3' (7.1m x 7.1m). If the ground floor had been occupied, this would have provided less than 542.9 square feet. The frame storey above the tabby ground floor or basement had two rooms and a hall of approximately equal dimensions (Cate "Cannon's Point" nd). Excluding the hall, there would have been about 361.9 square feet of living space. Also, the loft of the A unit, enclosing 542.9 square feet, served as a sleeping and storage area. There may have been a total of <1447.7 square feet of living space in the A unit.

The interior measurements of the B unit were approximately 24.3' x 40.0' (7.4m x 12.2m), but this included two stairway enclosures on the ground floor. Excluding these enclosures, there would have been two large rooms in the ground floor (possibly the library and parlor), providing about 632.0 square feet of space. The frame storey above the tabby ground floor included a stairway, the butler's pantry, the dining hall, and possibly the library and parlor. Excluding the stairway, this would have provided about 813.6 square feet, including the butler's pantry (see Cate "Cannon's

Point" nd). The second frame storey contained bedrooms, two dressing rooms, and a stair landing. The area occupied by the stair landing is unknown and cannot be deducted from the total of 972.0 square feet. In addition, the B loft, depicted with dormer windows in Couper's painting, served as a sleeping and storage area. It may have enclosed up to 972.0 square feet. Including the lofts, the estimated available living space in the Couper B unit would have been less than 3389.6 square feet. The total estimated space for the A and B units would have been less than 4837.3 square feet. Also, a dairy room located in the northeastern section of the Couper A porch (Cate "Cannon's Point" nd), and a possible wine cellar under the western stoop, and the verandahs might be included in the total.

Using this tentative estimate of the areas devoted to food consumption, leisure, and sleeping in the Couper units, there would have been an average of 322.5 square feet for each member of the 1850 household. But the composition of the Couper households fluctuated through the years. In 1820, there were only 10 members in the John Couper household (Census Records-Glynn County 1820), and each member enjoyed 483.7 square feet of dining, leisure, and sleeping area.

Though an unmarried overseer had more available living space than members of the larger Couper households, there were fewer specialized rooms in the overseer's house. The planter's dwelling included such specialized enclosures as a library, butler's pantry, dairy room, wine cellar, and dressing rooms. Food was prepared in a detached outbuilding and carried to the butler's pantry. There may have been as many as six rooms, a hall, and a loft in the Couper A unit. Also, there was a dairy room in the Couper porch. The Couper B unit may have had as many as ten rooms, three or more stair enclosures, a loft, and a wine cellar under the western stoop.

In contrast, the overseer's dwelling enclosed four small rooms and a loft; these served for food consumption, leisure activities, and sleeping. As at the planter's house, food was prepared in a detached outbuilding and carried to the house; one of the western rooms may have served as a dining hall. Finally, at the slave cabins, the one-bay or duplex unit included areas for food preparation as well as food consumption, sleeping, leisure, and storage. These areas may not have been clearly defined by walls or partition. Thus, the number of specialized enclosures available to occupants more clearly reflects the status differences among plantation inhabitants than tentative estimates of available living space per household member.

Building Hardware

The building hardware from the plantation sites does not adequately reflect status differences, because only limited excavations were conducted at the planter's dwelling and the overseer's house. Nails and other hardware items generally came from the refuse areas and it is difficult to determine their ultimate origin. Nails recovered from the planter's kitchen refuse may have come from repairs and renovations on the planter's dwelling, the kitchen, or other nearby structures. Nails and hinges from the overseer's refuse and well may be evidence of repairs made on the kitchen or the house.

In addition, time and funds did not permit cleaning and microscopic examination of nails recovered from the sites (see Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 7) which would have permitted closer identification and dating of nails. Rather, slightly corroded nails were classified by comparison with published examples (Nelson 1963; Fontana 1965).

The preponderance of post-1820's cut nails with machine-formed heads

at the overseer and slave sites indicates that the structures were built during or after the 1820's. Cutnails with hand-formed heads (1790's-1820's) are far more common in the kitchen refuse; this corroborates the documentary evidence, for the B unit and the kitchen were completed in the early years of the nineteenth century (see Nelson 1963: 25-27; Tables 8-9).

Classification of whole, unbent nails by size and possible function reveals a higher frequency of shingle nails in the kitchen refuse and a relatively low occurrence at the slave cabin. Possibly, shingles at the cabin were fastened by poles laid over each course of shingles, and the poles were nailed to rafters and ribs. This was a common technique of applying shingles on lower status dwellings in Georgia (Parsons 1970 [1855]: 108). In turn, the shingles of the kitchen and planter's dwelling were probably fastened individually, and this accounts for the higher occurrence of shingle nails.

Larger nails, however, are more common at the slave cabin than the overseer and planter sites. Possibly, heavy structural timbers for the overseer and planter dwellings were morticed, tenoned, and joined with tree nails; in contrast, the structural members for the slave cabin were quickly joined by heavy nails, spikes, and construction bolts. Yet, it is more probable that the relative scarcity of heavier nails, spikes, and bolts at the overseer and planter sites is the result of limited excavation in the overseer and planter dwellings.

More hardware items were also recovered from the slave site than the other sites. Slave cabin hinges included a broken strap hinge from the chimney rubble overlying the hearth and a possible shutter hinge from a zone associated with the cabin. A small shutter open-pin anchor or pintle and a larger pintle, probably for a door, came from zones associated with the

Table 6. Northern third slave cabin site (nail types).[a]

Identifiable Specimens-whole and partial Nail Types-	Dates of Manufacture	Slave cabin zones and features associated with hearth		Slave cabin associated zones		Slave cabin refuse area	
		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency	
wrought nails-rose head	into the early 19th century	-	-	1	0.6%	1	0.1%
machine-cut, hand-made heads	1790's-1820's	2	1.3%	3	1.8%	6	0.8%
machine-cut, early machine-made heads	1815-1830's	1	0.6%	-	-	-	-
machine-cut, machine-made heads	1820's to present	153	98.1%	166	97.6%	717	99.0%
TOTALS		156		170		724	

[a] Nelson (1963)

Table 7. Overseer's housesite (nail types).

Identifiable Specimens-Nail Types (Nelson 1963)	Dates of Manufacture	Overseer's house South chimney		Overseer's well		Overseer's refuse		Possible Provision House	
		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency	
wrought iron-rose head	into the early 19th century	-	-	-	-	1	0.4%	-	-
machine-cut, hand-made heads	1790's-1820's	-	-	3	1.0%	7	3.1%	1	2.3%
machine-cut, early machine-made heads	1815-1830's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
machine-cut, machine-made heads	1820's to present	9	100%	306	99.0%	217	96.4%	42	97.7%
TOTALS		9		309		225		43	

Table 8. Couper site (nail types).

Identifiable Specimens-Nail Types	Dates of Manufacture	Couper House (B unit)		Kitchen refuse Zone II		Kitchen Refuse Zone III		Kitchen Refuse Zone IV		Kitchen Other Contexts	
		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency	
wrought nail-rose head	into the early 19th century	-	-	1	2.4%	-	-	4	1.1%	3	1.8%
machine-cut, hand-made heads	1790's-1820's	-	-	5	11.9%	34	6.3%	142	39.8%	69	41.1%
machine-cut, early machine-made heads	1815-1830's	-	-	1	2.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-
machine-cut, machine-made heads	1820's to present	22	100.0%	34	80.9%	502	93.7%	210	58.8%	93	55.3%
machine-cut sprig	1810's to present	-	-	1	2.4%	-	-	1	0.3%	-	-
wire nails		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.8%
TOTALS		22		42		536		357		168	

Table 9. Site totals of nail types.

Identifiable Specimens Nail Types	Dates of Manufacture	Slave site		Overseer site		Couper site (including house)	
		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency	
wrought nails-rose head	into the early 19th century	2	0.2%	1	0.1%	8	0.7%
machine-cut, hand-made heads	1790's-1820's	11	1.0%	12	1.4%	250	22.2%
machine-cut, early machine-made heads	1815-1830's	1	0.1%	-	-	1	0.1%
machine-cut, machine-made heads	1820's to present	1036	98.7%	851	98.5%	861	76.5%
machine-cut sprig nails	1810's to present	-	-	-	-	2	0.2%
wire nails	1850's to present	-	-	-	-	3	0.3%
TOTALS		1050		864		1125	

Table 10. Fastenings from plantation structures

Identifiable Fastenings (Walker 1971; Fontana 1965)	Possible Function (Walker 1971; Fontana 1965; Dunton 1972)	Slave cabin site	
		Frequency	
Nails: (whole and unbent)			
2d	laths and shingles?	3	1.4%
3d	laths and shingles?	5	2.3%
4d	shingles and interior finish?	7	3.2%
5d	shingles and interior finish?	8	3.7%
6d	clapboarding?	18	8.3%
7d	clapboarding?	38	17.6%
8d	boarding and flooring?	14	6.5%
9d	boarding and flooring?	16	7.4%
10d	boarding and flooring?	19	8.8%
12d	rafters and framing?	32	14.8%
16d	rafters and framing?	37	17.1%
20d and larger	heavy framing	19	8.8%
Totals for nails		216	
Other Iron Fastenings:			
wrought and cut spikes	heavy framing	8	
construction bolts	heavy framing	4	
cotters, nuts, and washers	for securing construction bolts	3	
wood screws	window and door hardware	9	
cut tacks		4	
Brass Fastenings:			
tacks		7	
7/8" nails	furniture?	-	
4d nails		1	

Overseer's house	Overseer's site-other structures (excluding well)		Couper house (B unit)	Couper kitchen site	
Frequency	Frequency		Frequency	Frequency	
-	8	7.8%	-	7	2.3%
1	9	8.7%	-	26	8.4%
1	18	17.5%	1	56	18.1%
-	7	6.8%	-	19	6.1%
-	11	10.7%	1	48	15.5%
1	15	14.6%	-	58	18.7%
-	6	5.8%	1	13	4.2%
-	6	5.8%	2	23	7.4%
-	5	4.9%	1	13	4.2%
1	13	12.6%	1	32	10.3%
-	3	2.9%	3	14	4.5%
-	2	1.9%	1	1	0.3%
4	103		11	310	
1	2		-	9	
-	-		-	-	
-	-		-	1	
-	2		2	13	
-	-		-	6	
-	4		-	-	
-	-		-	2	
-	-		-	-	

Figure 22. Building hardware from the norhtern third slave cabin. (A) strap hinge; (B) possible shutter hinge; (C) construction bolt; (D) eye spike; (E) shutter pintle; (F) door pintle.

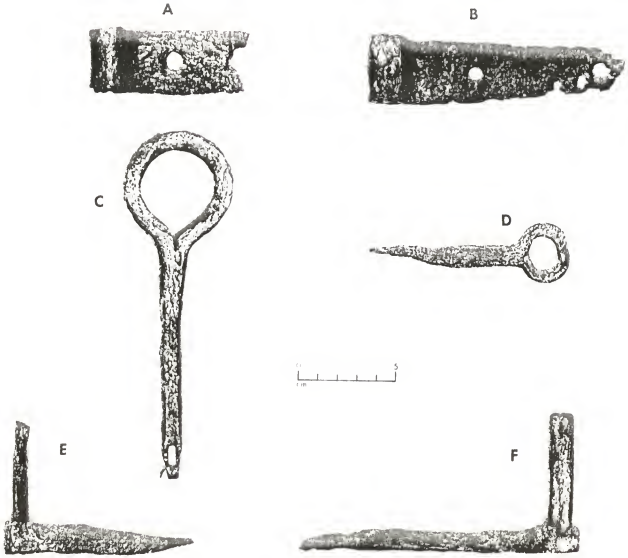
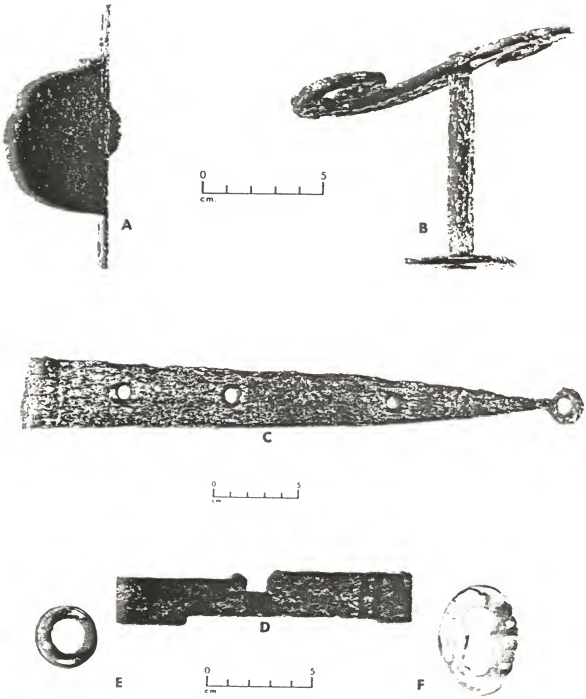

A
B
C
D
E
F

Figure 23. Building hardware from the plantation sites. (A) window sash pulley from the Couper B unit; (B) shutter holder from the Couper B unit; (C) strap hinge from the Couper kitchen; (D) stock lock bolt from the northern third slave cabin; (E) brass door knob fitting from the overseer's house site; (F) brass key escutcheon from the Couper kitchen refuse.


A
0
5
cm.
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F

cabin. An eye spike, used to hang a door from a pintle, was present in the refuse. Finally, a bolt from a stock lock and a stamped brass door knob escutcheon came from a zone associated with the cabin (see Figures 22-23; Noel Hume 1969a: 247-248; Dunton 1972: 52, 256; Watkins 1970: 74-75).

At the overseer's house, a broken strap hinge from a door and a door knob fitting were present. The planter's kitchen refuse yielded hinge fragments, a brass key escutcheon, and a key fragment. A large strap hinge, probably from the oven door, came from a warming oven in the kitchen. In the Couper B unit, a window sash pulley and a shutter holder were recovered (see Figure 23; Watkins 1970: 74-75; Walker 1971: 76, 79-80).

Features Available to Occupants

These would include fireplaces, porches, cooking facilities, storage areas, wells, privies, and refuse disposal areas.

At the slave cabins, fireplaces served for food preparation as well as warmth and light. The overseer's house had four shallow fireplaces, which served all the rooms, and a detached outbuilding served for food preparation. In the Couper A unit, there were two chimney stacks and fireplaces for the floors and loft (see Figure 18). In the painting of the B unit, a single massive chimney stack is depicted. The kitchen had hearths and baking and warming ovens (Figure 21).

Extensive porches surrounded the A and B units and provided a convenient area for leisure or storage. No porch pilasters were found at the overseer's house, but the Georgian type commonly had porches (Glassie 1968: 109-111); possibly, the porch rested on wooden piers or pilings. The slave cabin probably did not possess a porch.

There were specialized storage areas at the planter's house, including

a dairy, wine cellar, and butler's pantry. The overseer's house had two chimney recesses for storage and a detached provision house. Slaves may have stored their possessions on makeshift shelves or in trunks or chests; a small brass padlock from the northern slave cabin well pit fill may have secured a chest. Local shop-keepers offered "chest and trunk locks" for sale (Darien Gazette February 15, 1819).

Each set of slave cabins had a communal well, though possibly two wells served the overseers and their servants. A well located southwest of the Couper B unit provided water for the planter's family and servants.

Privies could not be located at the third northern cabin, the overseer's site, or the planter's dwelling.

Slaves who occupied the third cabin discarded their refuse just outside the structure (see Figure 8). In contrast, refuse areas at the overseer's and planter's houses were associated with the detached kitchens (see Figures 10, 13).

House Furnishings

There is little archeological evidence of the furnishings used by slaves, overseers, and planters. Gratings from stoves appeared at the planter's dwelling and in the kitchen refuse. Clock parts came from the planter's house, and a brass pulley, possibly from a clock, was in the northern slave well pit fill. By 1860, serviceable clocks could be purchased for as little as $3.00 (Martin 1942: 102). Oil lamp parts came from the overseer's house well and the slave cabin. Oil lamps were somewhat of a luxury in the antebellum period as Sperm whale oil, the preferred fuel, cost as much as $2.50 a gallon by 1840 (Kovel and Kovel in Gainesville Sun June 30, 1974; Martin 1942: 94-97). Most lower status people used candles or relied on fireplaces for lighting (Martin 1942: 128).

Documentary evidence about the household furnishings of plantation inhabitants is also sparse. It is believed that slaves generally provided their own furniture. They built bedsteads, tables, chairs, or purchased items from local shop-keepers. Planters rarely provided furnishings for the slave cabins (Genovese 1974: 531). Occasionally, slaves received discards of furniture from the planters (Flanders 1933: 156). Yet, coastal slaves often lacked a table for meals, and they ate on the floors or on rude benches (Johnson 1930: 140). One slave from a long-staple cotton district in Carolina listed the furnishings in the tiny cabin he shared with a man, woman, and their five children. The items included blocks of wood for seats, a short bench, a bed of rushes and corn husks, a box, and an iron pot (Ball 1859: 113). Other slave families, however, managed to accumulate tables, dressers, and chests (A Planter 1836: 580-584).

Even less is known about the furnishings in overseers' houses. But when J. H. Couper offered his son the management of Hamilton plantation in 1860, he promised a salary of $1,000 per year, " with an outfit of plain furniture, servants, plantation supplies as usual" (Couper to Couper October 31, 1860).

The planter family could have ordered their slave artisans to fashion furniture, or they may have purchased items from factors and merchants (Haskins 1950: 118-119).

Carnochan's store in Darien offered the following New York-made furnishings:

> Grecian Sofas, Bureaus, French Presses, Large and Small Dining Tables, Ladies' Work,Tables, Card Tables, Candle Stands, Large high post carv'd Mahogany Bedsteads, Portable Desks, Tea Tables, Secretaries and Book Cases, Ladies' Dressing Tables with Glasses, Wash-hand Stands, Foot Benches . . . . (Darien Gazette December 30, 1820)

More prosiac household furnishings such as chamber pots, washbasins, and pitchers were present at the plantation sites. At the slave cabin, fragments of three pitchers and one chamber pot could be identified. At the overseer's house, only one chamber pot and one pitcher were present. In contrast, the Couper kitchen refuse yielded fragments from two washbasins, four pitchers, and two chamber pots. The planter family had a greater variety of chamber wares, which were probably stored in the dressing rooms of Couper B unit. The overseers kept their chamber wares in a bedroom, and the slaves washed their bodies, urinated, and defecated in the one-bay cabins which served for sleeping, leisure, and eating.

Yet, even the possession of chamber pots was a luxury for most slaves. J. Hume Simons urged that planters provide a "seat with a hole and cover for the calls of nature" in each slave cabin "because there are seldom or never any conveniences in the way of chambers; and if they [the slaves] had them, they would immediately break them." He claimed that it "is almost a universal practice among negroes [sic] to go into the open air for the calls of nature, in all kinds of weather" (Simons 1849: 208). The Cannon's Point slaves, however, purchased chamber pots from local shopkeepers, and a handsome mocha pearlware chamber came from a privy pit near the S-3 cabin in the southern set (McFarlane 1975).

Summary

Status differences in plantation housing are clearly reflected in the construction materials and techniques, expected durability, and the features available to occupants. The numbers of specialized areas in structures, the total number of rooms, and the total living space also demonstrate status differences; yet, usable space per inhabitant is more difficult to determine because of varying household composition. Single

overseers may have had more available living space than the numbers of the Couper families, but overseers had fewer rooms, specialized areas, and servants.

The estimated amount of sleeping, leisure, and dining area of the three dwellings indicates the status differences:

Third slave cabin	Overseer's house	Planter's house
a. (total living space)		
340 sq. ft. + loft (<340)= <680 sq. ft.	<790 sq. ft. + loft (<1231.0 sq. ft.) = <2021 sq. ft.	<3322.4 sq. ft. + lofts (1514.9)= <4837.3 sq. ft.
b. (living space per person - 1850)		
av. 45.3 sq. ft	up to <2021 sq. ft.	ca. 322.5 sq. ft.

The number of enclosed areas for sleeping, leisure, and dining is a more sensitive indicator of status despite the difficulty in determining the functions of individual rooms:

Third slave cabin	Overseer's house	Planter's house
one room and a loft	four rooms and a loft	(excluding halls and stairways) possibly 16 rooms, 2 lofts, and wine cellar and dairy room.

The evidence from building hardware is not conclusive because of the nature of the samples; yet, building hardware could be a reliable indicator of status differences, for visitors to the South noted that lower status whites often built dwellings without using any iron fastenings. They substituted tree-nails for iron nails and hung doors on wooden gudgeons rather than iron spike anchors. They fastened doors and shutters with wooden latches and hide strings. Shingles were held in place by poles which were

fastened to rafters and ribs with treenails (see Parsons 1970 [1855]: 108-109). Therefore, slave cabins and overseer dwellings on other plantations may have had fewer iron fastenings, hinges, or pintles than the planter's houses.

There was little archeological or documentary evidence about household furnishings; but in contemporary societies, these are reliable indicators of status differences (Lasswell 1965: 235-238).

The housing on plantations also reflects the values and attitudes of the planters, who provided the standardized dwellings for overseers and slaves. Their concepts of appropriate housing for slaves and overseers are reflected in the construction materials, expected durability, living space, and amenities. The planters redistributed a portion of the plantation surplus to support slave carpenters or hired white artisans to create housing from local and commercial materials. Attitudes concerning slave and supervisor housing varied regionally and through time. Finally, there were idiosyncratic variables, since planters made the final decision on housing costs; many planters skimped on slave housing as they did on food and clothing rations.

The slave dwellings on Cannon's Point were of relatively high quality. The northern one-bay cabins were similar in dimension to examples presented as ideals in agricultural journals. Though the cabins may have had dirt floors, there were brick chimneys and glazed windows. In turn, the southern duplex cabins were larger than the one-bay units and probably housed the bulk of the slave population.

The excavated cabin at Rayfield Plantation, Cumberland Island, which measured 18' x 18' or 324 square feet, was somewhat smaller than a single unit of a Couper southern duplex cabin (400 square feet) or the northern one-bay cabin (340 square feet) at Cannon's Point. The Rayfield

cabin may also have had a dirt floor, for ash from the hearth spilled out into the living area (see Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 6-8).

At Kingsley plantation, Fairbanks excavated the largest cabin, possibly occupied by a slave foreman; the structure measured 18.6' x 24.5' or 455.7 square feet (Fairbanks 1974). This was comparable to one unit (450 square feet) of the largest duplex cabin, S-4, in the southern set.

The Cannon's Point, Rayfield, and Kingsley cabins were larger than most Old South slave dwellings, which measured less than 16' x 18' (288 square feet) (see Genovese 1974: 524; Fogel and Engerman 1974: 115-116). Yet, the Cannon's Point cabins may have held more than the average number of occupants. By 1860, there were about 5.2 slaves per cabin on larger plantations (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 115-116). In an ideal cabin measuring 16' x 18', each slave would have had 55.4 square feet. This is somewhat larger than the 51.8 square feet average per inhabitant for Cannon's Point or the 45.3 square feet average for a slave household in the northern set of one-bay cabins. Again, the Coupers may have had more slave cabins in the decade 1850-1860 than four single and four duplex dwellings, but this information could not be recovered from the 1860 slave schedules. The total Couper Slave force of 210 from Cannon's Point, Hamilton Place, and Altama occupied a total of 39 slave dwellings. This average of 5.4 slaves per dwelling was slightly larger than the Southern average (Census Records-Glynn County 1850).

Although the slave cabins at Cannon's Point were crowded, the construction materials were superior to most Southern slave cabins, which had stick and clay chimneys and unglazed windows. Yet, some Cannon's Point cabins had dirt floors at a time when Southern planters were trying to provide wooden-floored cabins for their slaves.

Nevertheless, the cabins on Cannon's Point were better than many dwellings occupied by poorer whites or even yeomen (Genovese 1974: 533;

Parsons 1970 [1855]: 108-109). The overseers at Cannon's Point also occupied a house that out-ranked many of the white dwellings in the Old South.

Overseers' dwellings rarely had more than three rooms; but on the Georgia coast, the status of overseers was higher than elsewhere, and overseers were frequently married. Planters hoped to hire married overseers, who would be less likely to seek alliances in the slave quarters (Genovese 1974: 421). In 1823, William Page advertised for an overseer to manage his plantation on Colonel's Island near Brunswick; he stated that a "man with a family would be preferred to a single one" (Darien Gazette October 30, 1823). The four-room Georgian house at Cannon's Point may have been built to attract married overseers with their families.

On the coast, the Georgian house type was associated with affluent farmers and townspeople (Glassie 1968: 109-112). At El Destino, a cotton plantation in Leon County, Florida, the planter's dwelling was a high-roofed Georgian house with a wide central hall; the overseer's dwelling was a smaller one-storey house (Phillips and Glunt eds., 1927: 46). The overseer's house on Cannon's Point was far above average in living space, quality of materials, and amenities.

The Couper house was also atypical. Few planters in Glynn County owned such a large dwelling; in fact, the Couper B unit was the largest house on St. Simons Island (Wightman and Cate 1955: 55). Visitors were always impressed with the Couper house. Even the hypercritical Fanny Kemble described it as "a roomy, comfortable, handsomely laid-out mansion." In contrast, she referred to the dwelling of the Demere family, who owned Mulberry Grove Plantation on St. Simons Island, as a "tumble-down barrack of a dwelling in the woods, with a sort of poverty-striken pretentious air

about it, like sundry 'proud planters' dwellings I have seen" (Kemble ed., by Scott 1961: 342-343). Yet, in 1840, the Demeres owned a total of 48 slaves (Census Records-Glynn County 1840).

The Coupers carefully maintained their dwelling; the account books record periodic purchases of paints and building hardware. As an example, on February 13, 1846, Mitchell and Mure, the Charleston Factors, sent four kegs of white lead, 15 gallons of linseed oil, two gallons of turpentine, and 11 lbs. of chrome green to Cannon's Point to repaint the dwelling and its green shutters. During that same year, the Coupers hired a slave carpenter for 15 days to aid in house repairs (Couper 1839-1854: 226, 241).

Though the house was abandoned during the Civil War, a Union naval surgeon who visited Cannon's Point regarded it as a beautiful mansion with "high, fine verandas, green shutters, and plenty of shrubbery around the house" (Barnes eds., 1963: 57). In 1873, Frances Butler Leigh, Fanny Kembles' daughter, left an account of a visit to the old Couper home:

> At Cannon's Pt. stands what must have been a very fine three-storeyed frame mansion, with a verandah running all 'round and having a large portico on each side of it, whilst round it were vestiges of pretty ground and gardens, which had once been tastefully laid out." (Leigh 1883: 280)

The archeological and documentary evidence indicates that the Cannon's Point planter and overseer dwellings were superior to most comparable dwellings on the Georgia coast. Though the Cannon's Point slave cabins were superior to most slave cabins in terms of construction materials, the inhabitants of the northern one-bay and southern duplex cabins may have suffered from overcrowding.

IV. ARTIFACTS AND STATUS DIFFERENCES

If artifacts from sites that were occupied by "historically known affluent people at one point in time" can be compared with artifacts from sites occupied by "historically known non-affluent individuals at the same period in time" (South 1972: 100), it could be possible to explain differences in artifact assemblages by referring to status differences. This would demonstrate that the people with relatively higher status in a community enjoyed privileged access to material items, which in turn would be reflected in the quality and quantity of artifacts from the sites.

In the Old South, however, there was not always a perfect correlation between a person's ethnic, social, or legal status and his or her position in the economic hierarchy. The material conditions in which Southerners lived did not always reflect their true status in the social hierarchy. Therefore, correlations should be established between the site inhabitants' standing in the social hierarchy and their position in the economic hierarchy, as reflected in their daily living conditions.

On Cannon's Point, the ethnic and social status differences existing among the inhabitants should have produced qualitative and quantitative differences in the artifacts. Obviously, the material possessions of the planter family differed markedly from those of the slaves; there should be a wider range of artifact types, and the artifacts at the planter site should be of relatively higher quality. It is not known, however, if the artifacts at the overseer's site will resemble those of the planter or the slaves.

The artifacts considered in this section include the more common items found on historic sites: ceramics; glass containers; cutlery; buttons; clay tobacco pipes; personal possessions; and horse equipment. The food procurement and preparation items will be considered in the section devoted to diet. Agricultural equipment and building hardware will also be discussed in more appropriate sections.

Ceramics: Tablewares, Teawares, Storage Containers, and Chamber Wares

Although it may be possible to infer the relative "socioeconomic level of a population and define any major status differences which existed at a site by means of the distributional analysis of ceramics" (Miller and Stone 1970: 100), this assumption has not yet been tested (South 1972: 100; Fontana 1968: 180). Although Stanley South believes that status differences might be reflected in seventeenth century ceramic assemblages, status differences may be more difficult to detect in eighteenth century sites because of "rapid distribution of ceramic types over a broad area" (South 1972: 75-77, 100). Excavation of a variety of eighteenth century sites of differing functions reveals a similar distribution of ceramic types. Yet, analysis by shape rather than type might be "a more sensitive indicator of function and possible socioeconomic level" (South 1972: 99). In addition, South did not consider nineteenth century sites, though the distribution of ceramic types at these sites might reveal status differences.

Accurate prediction of social status based on differences in ceramic types or shapes would require the excavation of a number of sites to demonstrate a pattern. Another approach would be to use documentary controls to establish the social status of the inhabitants of sites at the same

period in time and compare the ceramics from the sites (South 1972: 100). Therefore, differences in ceramic types and shapes could be explained by differences in status and access to material resources.

At Cannon's Point, the ceramic samples came from sites occupied by people who differed in social and ethnic status during the same period in time. The inhabitants had differential access to the plantation surplus and achieved differing incomes. Planters could use credit on future cash crop sales to purchase ceramics for household use from factors. Overseers purchased ceramics from factors or local shopkeepers with cash advances on their yearly salaries. Slaves, who sold produce and handicraft items, could have purchased ceramics from shop-keepers in Brunswick or Darien. As a result, there should be differences in the quantities of ceramics, the diversity of ceramic types, and the relative quality of ceramic items.

It is also possible, however, that only the planter purchased ceramics and then distributed chipped or outmoded items to the overseers and slaves. After excavating a slave cabin at Zephaniah Kingsley's plantation on Ft. George Island, Duval County, Florida, Charles Fairbanks concluded:

> Evidently the slave cabins were not furnished with a special class of wares. This differs somewhat from the picture of clothing provided the slaves which was usually of special types judged more durable and "suitable" for laborers (Kemble). I cannot escape the conclusion that the slaves were supplied with dishes from the plantation house. (Fairbanks 1974:79)

If slaves and overseers did use old or discarded caramic items, formerly owned by the planter, one could expect similar ceramic types at all three sites; the ceramic items, though chipped or disfigured before being given to slaves or overseers, would be of a similar quality. Since planters probably purchased large sets of tableware and teaware from their factors, items from these sets would then appear at the slave and overseer sites if gifts of old articles or use of discards were a regular

practice. Items from the same sets could then be identified from similarities in printed or painted decorations, though the flow of undecorated items would be difficult to trace.

Consequently, there are two possible explanations to account for the expected ceramic distribution at the three sites. One explanation considers differences in access to plantation resources and funds. The other explanation assumes there was a flow of ceramic discards or gifts from the planter to the overseer and slaves.

Purchase of Ceramics. If planters, overseers, and slaves regularly purchased their own ceramic items for household use, the range of ceramic types and the percentages of the types will differ at all three sites. Items from the same patterns should rarely appear at all three sites if ceramics were purchased independently by all three groups.

Distribution of Ceramics. If slaves and overseers regularly used planter discards, there will be a similar range of ceramic types at the three sites. Though quantities of sherds will differ, the percentages of ceramic types should be roughly similar. Also, items from the same sets should appear at all three sites.

Ceramic Type Distribution at Plantation Sites

The evidence from the ceramic samples does not confirm the distribution hypothesis. The greatest diversity of ceramic types appears at the planter and overseer sites. Different ceramic types (see Table 11) appear at the three sites:

Slave Cabin	Overseer's House	Planter's Kitchen
24 types	28 types	30 types

There are also differences in the frequencies of ceramic types from the antebellum refuse contexts (see Table 10). Grouping the ceramic types by their surface decoration (see Fairbanks 1974: 77; Also, see Table 16) reveals the following:

Table 17. Surface decorations (antebellum refuse contexts).

	Slave Cabin	Overseer's House	Planter's Kitchen
banded	25.4%	30.2%	1.1%
blue and green edge	12.3%	5.0%	2.1%
underglaze hand-painted	5.0%	4.5%	4.1%
transfer-printed	21.4%	14.0%	76.7%
undecorated (creamware, pearlware, and whiteware)	28.9%	35.8%	8.7%
others	7.0%	10.6%	7.3%

There is a very high occurrence of banded ware and undecorated sherds in the refuse contexts from the slave and overseer sites. Although many of the undecorated fragments are the "plain parts of decorated specimens, largely the blue featheredge" (see Fairbanks 1962: 13), others came from undecorated holloware and flatware items. In contrast, undecorated sherds are 9% of the kitchen sample, and banded ware sherds are only 1% of the sample from the planter's kitchen. Transfer-printed sherds, however, constitute 77% of the total. Transfer-printed pearlware and whiteware sherds are only 21% of the slave total and 14% of the overseer's sample. The blue and green edge sherds occur in a descending frequency from slave cabins to planter's kitchen.

The differences in the ceramic distribution would indicate that the slaves, overseers, and planters purchased their ceramic items independently and probably from different sources. Yet, there were four examples of the

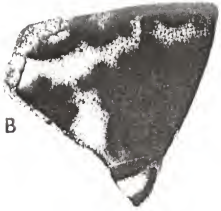
Figure 24. Use of planter discards. (A) basket stand fragment from planter's kitchen refuse; (B) basket stand fragment from northern third slave cabin refuse.

A

B

Figure 25. Use of planter ceramic discards--"Oriental Stonechina." (A) hall-marked sherd from the planter's ice house fill; (B) rim sherd from the planter's kitchen refuse; (C) sherd from the northern slave cabin well.

A



B

C

Figure 26. Use of planter ceramic discards--"Park Scenery-G. Phillips" (A) hallmarked plate fragment from the planter's ice house fill; (B) planter's kitchen refuse; (C) northern third slave cabin refuse.

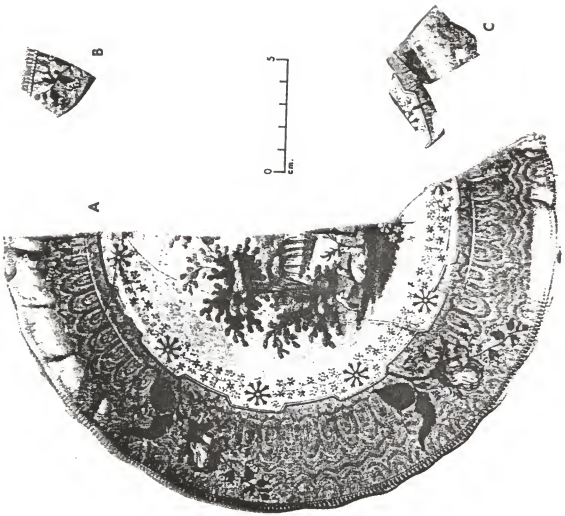
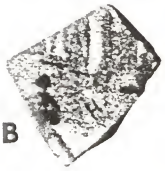

A
B
C
0
5
cm.

Figure 27. Use of planter and overseer discards. (A) hallmarked sherd ("Archipelago-John Ridgway and Co."); (B) sherd with "Archipelago" pattern from the northern third slave cabin; (C) sherd with unidentified pattern from the overseer's well; (D) sherd with same pattern from the northern third slave cabin site.

A

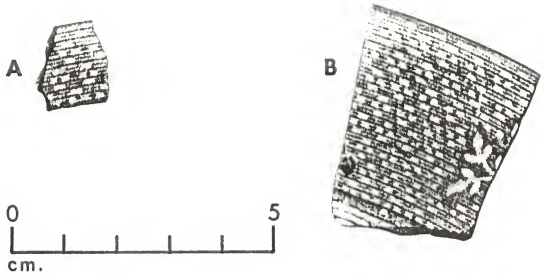

B

0
5
cm.

C

D

Figure 28. Use of planter ceramic discards. Rim fragments from: (A) planter's kitchen refuse; (B) ice house fill; (C) northern third slave cabin; (D) overseer's house well.


A
B
0
5
cm.
C
D

use of planter discards at the slave site. These included elements of an underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware basket stand and three transfer-printed tableware patterns: one item came from a set marked "Oriental Stonechina"; another came from a G. Phillips/"Park Scenery" set; while a third was from a set marked John Ridgway and Co./"Archipelago pattern" (see Figures 24-27).

The slaves may also have used overseer discards because sherds of an unidentified set of transfer-printed pearlware saucers appear at both the overseer and slave cabins. Finally, sherds from an unidentified transfer-printed tableware set appear at all three sites (see Figures 27-28). Not surprisingly, all but one of the discards are transfer-printed, for this reflects the abundance of transfer-printed wares at the planter's house.

Moreover, the transfer-printed items at the slave and overseer sites indicate the heterogeneity of the ceramics used by the lower status groups. Fairbanks also commented on the mixed nature of Kingsley slave ceramics (Fairbanks 1974: 77-97).

At the slave cabin site, 33 ceramic items could be recognized from a total of 154 transfer-printed sherds. At least 30 different patterns were represented by the 33 ceramic items. At the overseer's house site, 41 ceramic items with 33 different patterns could be identified from a total of 94 transfer-printed sherds (see Table 11). A similar pattern existed for the other ceramic types at the slave and overseer cabins. The archeological evidence indicates that slaves and overseers purchased small sets or individual items and built up heterogeneous collections of household ceramics.

In contrast, at the planter's kitchen, 185 items representing

approximately 60 different patterns could be recognized from 1,520 total transfer-printed sherds. A number of the patterns could be identified from hallmarks or similarity with published examples. There were items resembling the "Gazebo pattern" manufactured by Pettys and Co. (1818-1822) (Coysh 1972: 54). Fragments of a possible "Landing of Lafayette" (1824) plate, made by J. and R. Clews, were also present at the planter's site (Godden 1966: 89). In addition, there are teaware items that are similar to Davenport's "The Muleteer" (1835-40) and "Mare and Foal" (1815-30) patterns (Coysh 1970: 32-37). Tableware items from a "Park Scenery" set by G. Phillips (1834-48) could also be identified. Items from the "Archipelago pattern" by John Ridgway and Co. (1841-53) (Godden 1971: 88) appeared in the planter's ice house fill as well as in the third slave cabin refuse. Finally, other patterns which could not be named were hallmarked: "Clews/Warranted/Staffordshire"; "Rileys"; and "Oriental Stonechina." At the slave cabin, only one pattern could be identified other than the discards. This was a soup plate in the "Japan Flowers" (1835-42) pattern manufactured by Ridgway, Morley, Wear and Co. (Godden 1971: 89).

The planter family appears to have purchased large tableware and teaware sets from their factors. Slaves and overseers seem to have purchased individual items or small sets from local shop-keepers; occasionally, they used old and discarded items from the planter family. Only 9% of the 33 slave transfer-printed vessels were discards, but only 2% of the 42 transfer-printed articles at the overseer's site were discards from the planter family.

Although the ceramics do reflect the status differences of the inhabitants, there are remarkable similarities in the ceramic profiles from the slave and overseer sites. Banded, undecorated, and blue and green edge

Table 11. Comparisons of site contexts (type frequencies and percentages from antebellum refuse contexts).[a]

Types	Slave Cabin Refuse		Overseer's House Refuse Zones II-III		Couper Kitchen Zones II-IV, Closed Contexts	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
unglazed coarse earthenware	5	0.1	1	0.5	4	0.3
glazed coarse earthenware	3	0.6	1	0.5	16	1.3
annular pearlware	97	17.9	18	10.1	3	0.2
annular whiteware	1	0.2	21	11.7	3	0.2
finger-painted pearlware	26	4.8	2	1.1	6	0.5
mocha whiteware	-	-	13	7.3	-	-
mocha drab yellow	-	-	-	-	-	-
annular drab yellow	14	2.6	-	-	1	0.1
"orangeware"	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
"Jackfield"-type ware	-	-	-	-	3	0.2
undecorated creamware	-	-	3	1.7	28	2.3
blue and green edge pearlware	67	12.3	9	5.0	26	2.1
underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware	19	3.5	-	-	41	3.3
underglaze blue on bisque	1	0.2	-	-	-	-
underglaze polychrome pearlware	7	1.3	8	4.5	10	0.8
willow transferprinted pearlware	9	1.7	3	1.7	20	1.6
transfer-printed pearlware	105	19.3	16	8.9	900	72.5
undecorated pearlware	86	15.8	52	29.1	61	4.9
transfer-printed whiteware	2	0.4	6	3.4	33	2.7
sponged whiteware	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
undecorated whiteware	71	13.1	9	5.0	19	1.5

[a] Types based on South (1972); Noel Hume (1969a).

Table 11. (continued)

Types	Slave Cabin Refuse		Overseer's House Refuse Zones II-III		Couper Kitchen Zones II-IV, Closed Contexts	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
ironstone and granite china	-	-	1	0.5	10	1.5
brown stoneware bottles	4	0.7	1	0.5	2	0.2
salt-glazed stoneware	2	0.4	1	0.5	25	2.0
lead-glazed stoneware	1	0.2	-	-	3	0.2
alkaline-glazed stoneware	-	-	-	-	6	0.5
slip-coated stoneware	1	0.2	1	0.5	-	-
unglazed stoneware	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
lead-glazed black basaltes	-	-	7	3.9	1	0.1
lead-glazed red stoneware	13	2.4	1	0.5	-	-
undecorated European porcelain	2	0.4	1	0.5	4	0.3
transfer-printed European porcelain	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
sprigged European porcelain	-	-	1	0.5	-	-
Canton porcelain	6	1.1	2	1.1	13	1.1
gold overglaze Oriental porcelain	-	-	1	0.5	-	-
TOTALS	543	100.0	179	100.0	1242	100.0

Table 12. Site comparisons (type frequencies and percentages)

Type	Slave Cabin Site		Overseer's House Site		Couper Kitchen Site	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
unglazed coarse earthenware	7	1.0	1	0.2	4	0.2
glazed coarse earthenware	3	0.4	1	0.2	33	1.6
annular pearlware	103	15.2	24	4.5	8	0.4
annular whiteware	1	0.2	23	4.4	5	0.3
finger-painted pearlware	27	4.0	4	0.8	9	0.4
mocha whiteware	-	-	15	2.8	-	-
mocha drab yellow	-	-	14	2.7	-	-
annular drab yellow	15	2.2	9	1.7	1	0.1
"orangeware"	-	-	-	-	4	0.2
"Jackfield"-type ware	-	-	-	-	4	0.2
undecorated creamware	-	-	3	0.6	62	3.1
blue and green edged pearlware	82	12.1	29	5.5	39	1.9
underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware	23	3.4	2	0.4	63	3.1
underglaze blue hand-painted on bisque	2	0.3	-	-	-	-
underglaze polychrome pearlware	10	1.5	28	5.3	16	0.8
willow transfer-printed pearlware	9	1.3	13	2.5	57	2.8
transfer-printed pearlware	143	21.1	66	12.5	1346	66.3
undecorated pearlware	105	15.5	158	29.9	84	4.1
transfer-printed whiteware	2	0.3	15	2.8	117	5.8
sponged whiteware	4	0.6	1	0.2	2	0.1
undecorated whiteware	102	15.1	68	12.9	56	2.8
ironstone and granite china	-	-	3	0.6	19	0.9

Table 12. (continued)

Type	Slave Cabin Site		Overseer's House Site		Couper Kitchen Site	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
brown stoneware bottles	4	0.6	12	2.3	3	0.2
salt-glazed stoneware	5	0.7	8	1.5	32	1.6
lead-glazed stoneware	1	0.2	-	-	11	0.5
alkaline-glazed stoneware	-	-	-	-	6	0.3
slip-coated stoneware	2	0.3	2	0.4	2	0.1
unglazed stoneware	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
lead-glazed "black basaltes"	-	-	9	1.7	1	0.1
lead-glazed red stoneware	14	2.1	4	0.8	-	-
undecorated European porcelain	5	0.7	8	1.5	11	0.5
transfer-printed European porcelain	-	-	-	-	3	0.2
sprigged European porcelain	-	-	1	0.2	-	-
Canton porcelain	7	1.0	6	1.1	29	1.4
Oriental porcelain	-	-	2	0.4	1	0.1
TOTALS	677	100.0	529	100.0	2029	100.0

Table 13. Northern third slave cabin site (type frequencies and percentages)

Type	Refuse Midden	Cabin Hearth	Cabin	Miscel-laneous	Total	Percent
unglazed coarse earthenware	5	2	–	–	7	1.0
glazed coarse earthenware	3	–	–	–	3	0.4
annular pearlware	97	5	1	–	103	15.2
annular whiteware	1	–	–	–	1	0.2
"finger-painted" pearlware	26	1	–	–	27	4.0
annular drab yellow	14	1	–	–	15	2.2
blue and green edge pearlware	67	6	8	1	82	12.1
underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware	19	2	2	–	23	3.4
blue hand-painted on bisque	1	–	1	–	2	0.3
underglaze poly-chrome pearlware	7	1	2	–	10	1.5
"willow" transfer-printed pearlware	9	–	–	–	9	1.3
transfer-printed pearlware	105	16	19	3	143	21.1
undecorated pearlware	86	8	10	1	105	15.5
transfer-printed whiteware	2	–	–	–	2	0.3
sponged whiteware	–	3	1	–	4	0.6
undecorated whiteware	71	17	12	2	102	15.1
brown stoneware bottles	4	–	–	–	4	0.6
salt-glazed stoneware	2	2	1	–	5	0.7
lead-glazed stoneware	1	–	–	–	1	0.2
slip-coated stoneware	1	–	1	–	2	0.3
unglazed stoneware	1	–	–	–	1	0.2
lead-glazed red stoneware	13	1	–	–	14	2.1
undecorated European porcelain	2	1	1	1	5	0.7
Canton porcelain	6	1	–	–	7	1.0
TOTALS	543	67	59	8	677	100.0

Table 14. Overseer's house site (type frequence and percentages).

Type	Refuse[a] (Zones I-III)	Well	Provision House	Miscel-laneous	Tot-al	Per-cent
unglazed coarse earthenware	1	-	-	-	1	0.2
glazed coarse earthenware	1	-	-	-	1	0.2
annular pearlware	19	5	-	-	24	4.5
annular whiteware	23	-	-	-	23	4.4
"finger-painted" pearlware	2	2	-	-	4	0.8
mocha whiteware	15	-	-	-	15	2.8
mocha drab yellow	-	14	-	-	14	2.7
annular drab yellow	1	8	-	-	9	1.7
undecorated creamware	3	-	-	-	3	0.6
blue and green edge pearlware	11	15	3	-	29	5.5
underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware	2	-	-	-	2	0.4
underglaze polychrome pearlware	8	12	8	-	28	5.3
"willow" transfer-printed pearlware	5	4	4	-	13	2.5
transfer-printed pearlware	29	32	5	-	66	12.5
undecorated pearlware	101	49	8	-	158	29.9
transfer-printed whiteware	7	8	-	-	15	2.8
sponged whiteware	-	1	-	-	1	0.2
undecorated whiteware	14	34	20	-	68	12.9
ironstone and granite china	3	-	-	-	3	0.6
brown stoneware bottle	4	7	1	-	12	2.3
salt-glazed stoneware	3	1	4	-	8	1.5
slip-coated stoneware	1	1	-	-	2	0.4
lead-glazed "black basaltes"	9	-	-	-	9	1.7
lead-glazed red stoneware	1	3	-	-	4	0.8
undecorated European porcelain	1	7	-	-	8	1.5
sprigged European porcelain	1	-	-	-	1	0.2
Canton porcelain	2	2	1	1	6	1.1
gold overglaze Oriental porcelain	1	1	-	-	2	0.4
TOTALS	268	206	54	1	529	100.0

[a]Includes ceramics from zone I, which dates to the post-bellum period.

Table 15. Couper kitchen site (type frequencies and percentages).

Type	Refuse Midden[a] (Total)	Kitchen	Site Total	Percent
unglazed coarse earthenware	4	-	4	0.2
glazed coarase earthenware	33	-	33	1.6
annular pearlware	8	-	8	0.4
annular whiteware	5	-	5	0.3
finger-painted pearlware	9	-	9	0.4
annular drab yellow	1	-	1	0.1
"orangeware"	4	-	4	0.2
"Jackfield" - type ware	4	-	4	0.2
undecorated creamware	62	-	62	3.1
blue and green edged pearlware	39	-	39	1.9
underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware	63	-	63	3.1
underglaze polychrome pearlware	16	-	16	0.8
willow transfer-printed pearlware	57	-	57	2.8
transfer-printed pearlware	1344	2	1346	66.3
undecorated pearlware	84	-	84	4.1
transfer-printed whiteware	117	-	117	5.8
sponged whiteware	2	-	2	0.1
undecorated whiteware	56	-	56	2.8
ironstone and granite china	19	-	19	0.9
brown stoneware bottles	3	-	3	0.2
salt-glazed stoneware	31	1	32	1.6
lead-glazed stoneware	8	3	11	0.5
alkaline-glazed stoneware	6	-	6	0.3
slip-coated stoneware	2	-	2	0.1
unglazed stoneware	1	-	1	0.1
lead-glazed black basaltes	1	-	1	0.1
undecorated European porcelain	11	-	11	0.5
transfer-printed European porcelain	3	-	3	0.2
Canton porcelain	28	1	29	1.4
gold overglaze Oriental porcelain	1	-	1	0.1
TOTALS	2022	7	2029	100.0

[a] Includes all zones.

Table 16. Couper kitchen site (type frequencies and percentages from antebellum contexts).

Type	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Total	Percent
unglazed coarse earthenware	3	–	1	4	0.3
glazed coarse earthenware	9	1	6	16	1.3
annular pearlware	–	3	–	3	0.2
annular whiteware	3	–	–	–	0.2
finger-painted pearlware	3	3	–	6	0.5
annular drab yellow	–	1	–	1	0.1
"orangeware"	–	1	–	1	0.1
"Jackfield"-type ware	1	2	–	3	0.2
undecorated creamware	11	11	6	28	2.3
blue and green edged pearlware	2	11	13	26	2.1
underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware	4	15	22	41	3.3
underglaze polychrome pearlware	–	8	2	10	0.8
willow transfer-printed pearlware	10	7	3	20	1.6
transfer-printed pearlware	141	520	239	900	72.5
undecorated pearlware	2	47	12	61	4.9
transfer-printed whiteware	23	10	–	33	2.7
sponged whiteware	1	–	–	1	0.1
undecorated whiteware	11	8	–	19	1.5
ironstone and granite china	4	6	–	10	0.8
brown stoneware bottles	–	2	–	2	0.2
salt-glazed stoneware	6	15	4	25	2.0
lead-coated stoneware	1	1	1	3	0.2
alkaline-glazed stoneware	3	3	–	6	0.5
slip-coated stoneware	–	–	–	–	–
unglazed stoneware	1	–	–	1	0.1
lead-glazed black basaltes	–	–	1	1	0.1
undecorated European porcelain	1	2	1	4	0.3
transfer-printed European porcelain	1	–	–	1	0.1
Canton porcelain	5	3	5	13	1.1
gold overglaze Oriental porcelain	–	–	–	–	–
TOTALS	246	680	316	1242	100.0

wares predominate at the slave and overseer sites, but transfer-printed types compose the bulk of the sample from the planter's kitchen. Surprisingly, the frequency of porcelain does not seem to be an indicator of status differences; Oriental and European porcelains represent only 1.5%, 2.8%, and 1.5% of the slave, overseer, and planter antebellum refuse context samples (see Table 11). Yet, the appearance of porcelain at eighteenth century sites or in inventories is generally believed to be a reliable indicator of status differences (ie., Teller 1968; Stone 1970).

At Cannon's Point, the appearance of banded and transfer-printed wares, not porcelains, appear to be the indicators of status differences. Also, the frequency of undecorated wares may be an indicator of status differences, but many of the undecorated sherds come from the center portions of blue and green edge items. The edged wares appear in differing frequencies at the three sites, but these were manufactured only from 1780 to 1830 (South 1972). In contrast, banded decorations appear on pearlware, whiteware, and hard yellow bodies from the 1790's into the late nineteenth century (South 1972; Noel Hume 1969b: 317; Michael 1973: 4-5). Their span of manufacture and importation includes the period 1794 to 1861, or the documented antebellum occupation on Cannon's Point. Also, transfer-printed pearlwares and whitewares were manufactured from 1795 into the postbellum period (South 1972: Noel Hume 1969a: 130-131; Noel Hume 1969c: 396; Watkins 1970: 83; Kingsbury 1974: 169-170). Since banded and transfer-printed wares were available to plantation inhabitants throughout the antebellum period, these wares may be more reliable indicators of status differences than wares that were available for shorter periods of time. The relative frequencies of banded and transfer-printed wares at the plantation sites reflect the preferences of their purchasers throughout the decades of the antebellum period.

There seems to be a relationship between the appearance of banded and transfer-printed wares and the social status of the users. A high frequency of banded wares and a low frequency of transfer-printed wares is characteristic of the slave and overseer sites. In turn, at the planter's kitchen, there is a very high frequency of transfer-printed types and a very low occurrence of banded wares.

If the appearance of these two wares is interrelated, it can be tested with the chi-square test of independence:

Null Hypothesis: The two classifications, banded ware and transfer-printed ware, are independent.

Test Hypothesis: The two classifications, banded and transfer-printed ware, are dependent.

Ceramics	Sites			
	Slave	Overseer	Planter	Total
banded	146(38.2)	89(23.3)	23(196.5)	258
transfer-printed	154(261.8)	94(159.7)	1520(1346.5)	1768
	300	183	1543	2026

$$X^2 = \frac{O^2}{E} - n; \qquad X^2 = 736.5$$

Rejection Region: The null hypothesis will be rejected if X^2 exceeds the tabulated value of X^2 when $a = .05$ and $d.f = (r-1)(c-1) = 2$. Since $736.5 > 5.99$, the null hypothesis is rejected and the two classifications are assumed to be dependent.

The strength of this association can be tested with the contingency coefficient:

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{X^2}{n+X^2}} = \sqrt{\frac{736.5}{2026 + 736.5}} = \sqrt{.2666} = .5163$$

The adjusted value of C when r = 2 is: $C\ max = \sqrt{\frac{r-1}{r}}$

$$C\ max = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2}} = .7071$$

$$C\ adj = \frac{C}{C\ max} = \frac{.5163}{.7071} = .7302 = .73$$

The value for C adj indicates a high degree of association between the classifications--banded and transfer-printed wares.

The evidence from the controlled comparison of sites with known inhabitants, who differed in social class status, can be restated in the form of an hypothesis, which can be further tested on early nineteenth century sites. On sites occupied by slaves and rural lower status whites, there should be a high frequency of banded ware items. A high frequency of transfer-printed wares and a low occurrence of banded wares should indicate a higher social status such as elite planter.

Although the archeological evidence from Cannon's Point demonstrates that the plantation inhabitants usually purchased their own ceramics, the slave and overseer preference for banded wares and the planter's predilection for transfer-printed wares have to be explained. The most elementary explanation would be the relative cheapness of banded wares and the higher cost of transfer-printed wares. The cost differences may be related to manufacturing techniques; or, the wares may have been specifically designed for different markets, reflecting the different tastes of the social groups that used them. It is also probable that the wares served different functions, and this will be reflected in the shapes of reconstructed vessels; thus, differences in shape and function could account for the differences in

sherd distribution.

Relative Cost of Nineteenth Century Ceramic Types

The weekly newspapers in Brunswick and Darien frequently carried detailed advertisements of the goods that general merchandisers offered to planters and farmers. Yet, textiles and foodstuffs received the most concern, and vague references to "crockery ware" are typical (Darien Gazette and Brunswick Advocate: Various). Occasionally, there are more detailed descriptions of the ceramics that merchandisers had in stock. In 1818, James A. Geike, offered to sell "45 crates of Liverpool ware, assorted" (Darien Gazette November 2, 1818). Charles F. Sibbald, the following year, advertised "Blue printed dinner Sets and other blue printed ware in crates" (Darien Gazette April 26, 1819). Sawyer and Herring even described the patterns in their advertisement: "A few sets blue India dining China, 170 ps each/ Sets of blue and gilt rich India breakfast and tea China" (Darien Gazette February 8, 1819). This may have have been "East India" porcelain (Noel Hume 1969a: 261), but was probably earthenware printed with Near Eastern motifs (see Coysh 1972). In addition, Sawyer and Herring offered "30 crates blue and printed Crockery, assorted, expressly for country stores" (Darien Gazette February 8, 1819). A similar reference occurs in William Scarborough's advertisement: "30 crates crockery ware, assorted expressly for this market" (Darien Gazette December 11, 1823). These may have been transfer-printed items with American scenes, which were exported in large quantities to the United States (Coysh 1970: 7, 22-24; Kingsbury 1974: 169-170). Another ceramic type, blue edge ware, is described in an advertisement submitted by Rice, Parker and Co., Brunswick factors; they offered "50 doz. Blue Edged Soup and Dinner Plates" (Brunswick Advocate February 16, 1839 and June 1, 1839).

Yet, other ceramic types cannot be identified from the advertisements, and the lists of merchandise never include prices. Rather, there are such notations as "for sale on accomodating terms" or "sold low for cash" (Darien Gazette and Brunswick Advocate: Various).

Slaves and possibly overseers purchased their ceramic items from the local shop-keepers in Brunswick and Darien. Since shop-keepers often gouged slaves (see Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 276), they may have had to pay dearly for the ceramics they purchased.

Planters probably purchased most of their ceramics from factors (Haskins 1950: 115, 118-119). If they purchased items from local merchandisers, factors usually paid the bills and added it to the planter's expense accounts (Woodman 1968: 30-31). Both factors and local shop-keepers did not purchase ceramics directly from Europe but from New York importers. The New York packet lines dominated the trade with Europe, carrying cotton from Southern ports to Liverpool and Le Havre. They returned to New York with European consumer items. In New York, factors and merchants purchased imported goods, which were transported by New York-owned scooners, sloops, and steamers to Southern ports (Bruchey ed., 1967: 227, 230-231). Consequently, the prices of imported goods were inflated. Since planters often purchased items on credit, interest charges were added to the handling and storage fees (Couper 1839-54: various). A South Carolina planter's lament is typical:

> Inquiring the reason why European goods are sold so much higher in this state than at the northward, I was informed that the merchants of Carolina are less punctual, and more frequently bankrupts [sic]-that the planters have money only once a year, viz. after selling their crops,-and of course the merchants trust a great deal. (Phillips ed., 1969 [1910]: 299).

Though the Hopeton account books record the household purchases that J. H. Couper made when he was manager of Hopeton, the ceramic items are rarely described in sufficient detail to permit identification. As an example, there is the January 30, 1835 entry for the purchases of sundries from Hawes, Mitchell, and Collins, who operated a supply house in Darien (House ed., 1954: 307). The ceramic items include: "1 set of cups and saucers $.75/1 pitcher $.38/2 bowls $.25/2 dishes $.37/2 sugar dishes $.25/1 set white plates $.38/1 creamer $.25" (Couper 1839-54: 4). Possibly, the "1 set white plates" were undecorated pearlware or white-ware. Despite the description of shapes and their appropriate prices, the ceramic types cannot be identified.

Ceramic items are not listed in the overseer accounts in the purchases of sundries. In 1846, John J. Morgan, Cannon's Point overseer, purchased $50.13 worth of sundries from Mitchell and Mure, the Cannon's Point factors (Couper 1826-1852: 320); possibly the sundries included household ceramics. By 1859, John J. Morgan was serving as overseer on Hugh Grant's rice plantation, Elizafield, on the Altamaha River and his account included the following ceramic purchases: "1 doz. Cups and Saucers $1.70/1 Soup Plates $1.50/2 vegetable dishes $1.50" (House ed., 1954: 266). Again, shape and price are listed, but not decorative technique, which may have been a marginal concern of the purchasers.

Though the documentary evidence is inadequate to reconstruct the price differences that existed among various ceramic types, some insights into relative cost may be gained from the manufacturing and decorative techniques used by nineteenth century British potters, who dominated the North American pottery market (Stefano 1974b: 553). Direct painting, application of colored slips, and transfer-printing were the three most common means of decorating early nineteenth century utilitarian earthenwares.

At Cannon's Point sites, these decorative techniques appeared on pearlware, whiteware, and hard yellow earthenware bodies.

Underglaze hand-painted designs, usually floral, were popular in the early nineteenth century. The use of cobalt blue seems to be somewhat earlier (Fairbanks 1974: 77), but both blue and polychrome examples in orange, green, brown, and blue were heavily favored in the export trade (Watkins 1968: 142-143; Whiter 1970: 139-140). Hand-painted decoration "in the folk manner was used in factories from Scotland to Bristol" (Watkins 1970: 21). Underglaze blue, green, and other colors were also applied to the molded edges of shell edge examples (Walker 1971: 108; Fairbanks 1962: 13). Often, the earlier examples of edge wares have the color carefully feathered in; but on later examples, the paint may be simply striped along the edge. Generally, the central portions of molded-edge flatwares such as plates and platters were left undecorated (Noel Hume 1969c: 393).

Another popular decorative technique involved the application of colored slips. After throwing a hollow item on the wheel, a turner finished it on a lathe, where excess clay was cut off and the body was polished (Fleming 1923: 57-59). The items could then be dipped in slip, and bands could be tooled out to expose the biscuit; or, bands of slip could be blown on when the item revolved slowly on a lathe. Another technique was to place acidic materials on the colored bands to produce a branching or "mocha" effect. Finally, colored slips could be swirled on with the fingers to produce a marbled design (see Godden 1963: 108-109; Walker 1971: 132-134).

Banded wares were made by Staffordshire potters, but they were also a specialty of Scottish potters (Mankowitz and Haggar 1957: 73; Fleming 1923). The application of colored slips was a survival of the folk technique

of slip decoration, extensively used on many seventeenth and eighteenth century wares (Watkins 1970: 22). Charles Dickens, who visited the Copeland Works in Staffordshire in 1852, described the application of colored slip bands and the use of acidic blue solutions to form "rude images of trees." He noted that banded ware was "exported to Africa and used in cottages at home" (Godden 1963: 108-109). Banded wares, with their varied decorative techniques, were also exported in great quantities to the United States (Noel Hume 1969a: 131).

Transfer-printed wares reached their height of popularity in the United States from 1790 to 1850. Although transfer-printing was first applied to creamware in the late eighteenth century, none of these rarer black on creamware examples were recovered from the plantation sites (Noel Hume in Quimby 1973: 240-242). But by 1795, the techniques of transfer-printing cobalt blue on pearlware had been perfected, and these were exported in great quantities (South 1972; Coysh 1970: 7). At first, chinoiserie patterns predominated; but later, there was a plethora of English, American, and Near Eastern designs. These remained popular into the 1840's, when floral designs superseded them (Godden 1963: 113). Cobalt blue and black were used in the earlier years, because they could withstand the heat of the glost oven without blurring; after 1828, other colors were successfully transfer-printed (Coysh 1970: 7).

Transfer-printing required engraved copper plates, which were coated with ink. Workers applied papers or bats of glue to the engraved plates and transferred the inked designs to the earthenware biscuit. Central designs and the rim borders were usually applied separately. After washing off the papers, the print was fixed by heating. Then, glaze could be applied before the final heating in a glost oven (see Coysh 1970: Whiter 1970).

Transfer-printing was used on earthenwares which were intended for daily use. Because of the reliability of cobalt blue, small losses occurred. The use of transfers required only semi-skilled, inexpensive labor to decorate enormous quantities of earthenware. Over 50% of all the earthenwares produced from 1800-1825 in Great Britain were transfer-printed blue on white. The United States was the principal foreign market; by 1841, almost 40% of the yearly production was entering American ports (Godden 1963: 11).

Yet, all three techniques (hand-painting, slip-decorating, and transfer-printing) co-existed throughout much of the nineteenth century. Potters used these techniques to decorate the mass-produced pottery of nineteenth century Great Britain. With flints and Cornish clays, they achieved whiter, more uniform bodies. By using plaster molds to produce flatware items and patterns and lathes to manufacture holloware, potters could mass-produce items. Use of coal ensured uniform biscuit and glost firings with small losses (Whiter 1970: 2).

Folk styles of decoration, like hand-painting and slip application, appeared on popular artifacts in the same fashion that folk songs appeared on phonograph records in the 1920's. By the 1820's, transfer-printing, a popular decorative technique, became the most common method of decorating utilitarian wares, though "the technique had taken the best part of thirty years to win out . . ." (Noel Hume in Quimby 1973: 247).

It is difficult to determine which decorative technique was the most costly in terms of skilled labor and time. Rather, it appears that the three major types of decoration were designed for differing markets. The cobalt blue and polychrome hand-painted designs were regarded as " 'peasant' styles and while it is true that they belonged in village homes rather than in aristocratic town houses, designs, shapes, and thinness of potting are

frequently of a high standard" (Noel Hume 1969c: 395). Banded ware was "produced as an inexpensive, utilitarian ware for use at home and for export." A common ware, "it did not meet later, more sophisticated standards of taste" (Van Rensselaer 1966: 340). As the blue and polychrome hand-painted wares, annular ware was considered a "cottage pottery," intended for use by rural people (Watkins 1970: 22). Thus, these wares may have appealed to people who were still participating in a folk society (Glassie 1968: 4). In turn, people who participated more fully in the popular culture of western Europe may have preferred the transfer-printed wares, which were more sensitive to the changes of fashion (see Whiter 1970). As a result, "Staffordshire printed ware became the most popular form of tableware for the [American and British] middle classes during the nineteenth century" (Kingsbury 1974: 169, 172). Possibly, the "folk styles" of decorating were retained because these appealed to a smaller but steady group of customers: rural Englishmen and Scots; West African farmers; and rural white and black Americans.

Archeological evidence from several early nineteenth century sites provides some confirmation. From Darien, Georgia, the excavation of three houses and associated features, believed to be occupied by "prosperous, if not luxurious, middle class" families during the first half of the nineteenth century, produced a collection of 1,146 sherds. Ceramic types occurred in the following frequencies: banded 13%; shell edge 14%; transfer-printed 54%; and others 20%. Though the former inhabitants were not identified in the report, the author felt that the artifacts indicated:

> . . . a reasonably prosperous, middle class society, probably of British-American stock, in which the housewife had sufficient means at her command to buy the latest products of the Staffordshire potters. Luxuries were not many, although there are a few choice pieces of Oriental porcelain [<2%]. (Watkins 1970: 82)

The ceramic distribution from Kingsley and Rayfield plantation slave cabins is somewhat different. At Kingsley cabin, there was some postbellum occupation because of the high frequency of ironstone type earthenwares, which appear in post-1850 sites (Durrenberger 1965: 21); in contrast, there were few sherds of ironstone or granite china at the Cannon's Point sites (see Tables 11-12). In the total of 482 sherds from the Kingsley cabin, ceramic types occurred in the following frequencies: banded 8%; shell-edge 5%; hand-painted underglaze 7%; and transfer-printed 6%. If the 217 ironstone china sherds, which may be postbellum (Fairbanks 1974: 77), are deleted, the total drops to 265. Of the new total, banded wares constitute 14%; shell-edge is 10%; hand-painted is 13%; and transfer-printed makes up 10% (see Fairbanks 1974: 77-79). At Rayfield cabin (1834-1865), the sherds were not quantified, but only shell-edge, banded, and stonewares were present; no transfer-printed items were reported (see Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 11).

The evidence from Darien and the two slave cabins indicates that white townspeople obtained larger amounts of transfer-printed ceramics than slaves. The documentary and comparative archeological evidence, however, cannot account for this difference. Presumably, there were cost differences, but these cannot be determined from available documents. Also, ceramic types may have had differing appeal for folk- or popular-oriented people, but this remains an untested assumption. The entries in the plantation accounts, however, may provide an insight into the purchasing habits of planters and overseers. Apparently, there were more concerned with shape than decorative techniques. As a result, differences in shape may account for the differences in ceramic type distributions.

Table 18. Surface decorations (site totals and percentages).

Surface decoration	Slave Cabin		Overseer's House		Couper Kitchen	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Coarse Reddish Earthenware						
(a) unglazed	7	1.0	1	0.2	4	0.2
(b) glazed	3	0.4	1	0.2	33	1.6
"Banded" on Pearlware and Whiteware						
(a) annular	104	15.4	47	8.9	13	0.6
(b) finger-painted	27	4.0	4	0.8	9	0.4
(c) mocha	-	-	15	2.8	-	-
"Banded" on Hard Yellow Paste						
(a) mocha	-	-	14	2.7	-	-
(b) annular	15	2.2	9	1.7	1	0.05
TOTAL	146	21.6	89	16.8	23	1.1
"Orangeware"	-	-	-	-	4	0.2
"Jackfield" type ware	-	-	-	-	4	0.2
Molded Edge Pearlware						
(a) blue "shell edge"	82	12.1	28	5.3	11	0.5
(b) blue octagonal "shell edge"	-	-	-	-	8	0.4
(c) blue "bead and barley" edge	-	-	-	-	4	0.2
(d) blue "barley" edge	-	-	-	-	3	0.2
(e) blue "beaded" edge	-	-	-	-	6	0.3
(f) green "beaded" edge	-	-	1	0.2	-	-
(g) green floral edge	-	-	-	-	7	0.3
TOTAL	82	12.1	29	5.5	39	1.9
Underglaze Hand-Painted Pearlware						
(a) blue	25	3.7	2	0.4	63	3.1
(b) polychrome	10	1.5	28	5.3	16	0.8
TOTAL	35	5.2	30	5.7	79	3.9

Table 18. (continued)

Surface decoration	Slave Cabin		Overseer's House		Couper Kitchen	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Sponged Whiteware	4	0.6	1	0.2	2	0.1
Transfer-Printed Pearlware and Whiteware						
(a) blue "willow"	9	1.3	13	2.5	57	2.8
(b) blue floral and scenic	144	21.3	78	14.7	1454	71.7
(c) black scenic	-	-	3	0.6	6	0.3
(d) red	1	0.2	-	-	2	0.1
(e) magenta	-	-	-	-	1	0.05
TOTAL	154	22.8	94	17.8	1520	74.95
Undecorated						
(a) creamware	-	-	3	0.6	62	3.1
(b) pearlware and whiteware	207	30.6	226	42.7	140	6.9
TOTAL	207	30.6	229	43.3	202	10.0
Ironstone and Granite China	-	-	3	0.6	19	0.9
Salt-Glazed Stonewares						
(a) bottles	4	0.6	12	2.3	3	0.2
(b) utilitarian vessels	5	0.7	8	1.5	32	1.6
Lead-Glazed Stonewares						
(a) black basaltes	-	-	9	1.7	1	0.05
(b) red stoneware	14	2.1	4	0.8	-	-
(c) utilitarian vessels	1	0.2	-	-	11	0.05
Alkaline-Glazed Stoneware	-	-	-	-	6	0.3
Slip-Coated Stoneware						
(a) red stoneware	-	-	-	-	1	0.05
(b) bottles	-	-	2	0.4	-	-
(c) utilitarian vessels	2	0.3	-	-	1	0.05
Unglazed Stoneware	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.05

Table 18. (continued)

Surface decoration	Slave Cabin		Overseer's House		Couper Kitchen	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
European Porcelain						
(a) undecorated white	5	0.7	8	1.5	11	0.5
(b) transfer-printed	–	–	–	–	3	0.2
(c) sprigged	–	–	1	0.2	–	–
TOTAL	5	0.7	9	1.7	14	0.7
Oriental Porcelain						
(a) Canton blue on white	7	1.0	6	1.1	29	1.4
(b) gold overglaze	–	–	2	0.4	1	0.05
TOTAL	7	1.0	8	1.5	30	1.5
SITE TOTALS	677	100.0	529	100.0	2029	100.0

Shape and Function of Ceramic Types

Analysis by shape may be a better indicator of function and socio-economic status tnan the relative frequency of ceramic types (South 1972: 99). Utilitarian ceramics in the early nineteenth century performed the following functions:

(a) used in preparing dairy products and other foods,

(b) used in storage and preservation of foods,

(c) used in consumption of foods and liquids--tablewares, teawares, coffeewares, etc.,

(d) used in maintenance of health and cleanliness--chamber wares.

Each ceramic type contained only a limited number of shapes, intended for one or more of the above functions:

Coarse Earthenwares. These appear in shapes intended for use in kitchen and dairy (Fairbanks 1962: 14).

Banded Wares. The English and Scottish manufacturers produced banded wares in the following shapes-drinking mugs, bowls, and jugs (Godden 1963: 108-109; Fleming 1923: 59). Also, banded pitchers, teapots, cups, and even tureens were made (Van Rensselaer 1966: 340). In the late nineteenth century, T. G. Green & Co. still made mocha mugs (pint, quart, and porter); jugs (pear-shape and ship-shape); handled porringers; sugars; and "common bowls" (Godden 1966: 133). Banded wares were primarily made for the consumption of foods and liquids, including tea and coffee.

Blue and Green Edge Wares. These were usually table flatware items such as plates and platters, though some holloware items--tureens and vegetable dishes--were manufactured (Watkins 1970: 7; Godden 1971: 109). An advertisement by Rice, Parker & Co., Brunswick factors, offered "Blue Edged Soup and Dinner Plates for sale" (Brunswick Advocate February 16, 1839) to Glynn County customers.

Underglaze Hand-painted Wares--Cobalt Blue and Polychrome. Hand-painted designs, usually floral, appear on tableware items such as plates and bowls and on teaware items (Walker 1971: 129; Noel Hume in Quimby 1973: 245). These designs are most common, however, on pitchers and mugs (Noel Hume 1969c: 395). Cobalt blue was also used to highlight the pierced borders of basket stands and other items (Coysh 1970: 23).

Sponged Ware. By using a sponge to apply colored slips, workers could quickly decorate bowls and cups (Fleming 1923: 28).

Transfer-printed Pearlware and Whiteware. Most tableware services made in Britain were earthenware, but earthenware tea sets were "rare by comparison" (Whiter 1970: 122). Transfer-printed patterns occurred on tablewares, chamber wares, and tea and coffee sets (Noel Hume 1969a: 131; Noel Hume 1969c: 396; Watkins 1970: 27-39; Stefano 1974a: 325; Whiter 1970: 64-65).

Ironstone and Granite Chinas. These wares, usually undecorated, appear in table, tea, and chamber shapes (Godden 1971: 24, 38-39; Durrenberger 1965: 21).

Salt-glazed Stonewares. These were usually storage forms such as jugs, jars, coolers, pitchers, and bottles (Webster 1972). In 1819, Yonge Richardson & Co., in Darien offered to sell "Stone[ware] Jugs and Jars, assorted" (Darien Gazette October 4, 1819).

Lead-glazed Stonewares (Teawares). Lead-glazing occured on red and black stonewares intended for tea sets (Godden 1966: xix, 174; Mankowitz 1953: 127-128).

Lead-glazed Stoneware (Storage Vessels). Some storage vessels were glazed with lead (Fairbanks 1962: 14).

Alkaline-glazed Stonewares. A type of glaze often used on stoneware storage vessels made by nineteenth century black and white Southeastern potters (Greer 1971: 155, 161; Thompson in Robinson and others eds., 1969: 130-143).

Slip-coated Stoneware. A technique used on beverage bottles (Switzer 1974: 9-14) and on utilitarian storage vessels (Greer 1971: 155).

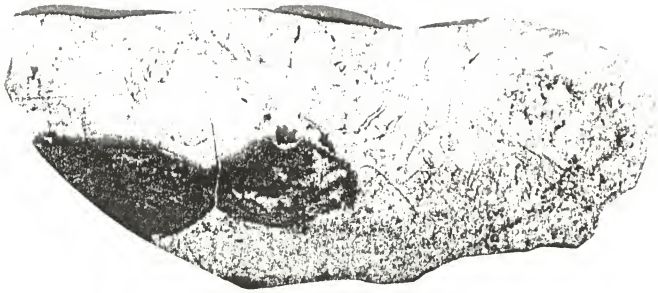
European Porcelains. In the early nineteenth century, European porcelains were usually intended for the tea or dinner sets of the very wealthy (Whiter 1970: 122-124; Godden 1971: 7). After 1850, decorated and undecorated European porcelain dinner and tea sets became more common in the United States (see Bridges and Salwen 1971: Appendix I; Fairbanks 1974: 77; Durrenberger 1965: 18).

Oriental Porcelains. Oriental blue on white or "Canton" porcelain (1800-1830) was produced in tableware and teaware forms. Blue on white items were far more common than gold or enamel overglaze examples (see Noel Hume 1969a: 261-262).

To further test the hypothesis, ceramic items from Cannon's Point sites were reconstructed, and the shapes were identified by comparison with type specimens in the University of Florida Anthropology Laboratory and with illustrations in Godden (1963); Godden (1966); Whiter (1970); Coysh (1970; Coysh (1972); and various site reports.

Quantification of ceramic types by shape and function reveals the probable explanation for the high frequency of banded and undecorated sherds at the slave and overseer sites. At the slave cabin, 44% of the total tableware items were serving bowls, and 24% of the tableware at the overseer's house were serving bowls. These bowls were decorated with banded, underglaze hand-painted, and sponge techniques; or, they were

Figure 29. Unidentified unglazed blue-on-bisque ceramic type from the northern third slave cabin site.



0
5
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Figure 30. "Common bowl" shape. (A) reconstructed finger-painted pearlware bowl from the northern third slave cabin refuse; (B) partial slip-decorated bowl from southern third slave cabin site.

A

B

undecorated pearlware and whiteware. In addition, two transfer-printed bowls (possibly tea or spill bowls?) could be identified at the slave and overseer sites. Finally, a bowl of unglazed bisque at the slave cabin had a hand-painted cerulean blue floral design; this ceramic type has never to the writer's knowledge been reported in any archeological literature (see Figure 29).

In contrast, only 8% of the identified tableware items at the planter's kitchen were serving bowls. Transfer-printed items, however, composed 70% of the total tableware at the planter's kitchen. At the slave and overseer sites, transfer-printed items were only 24% and 31% of the total tableware items. At the planter's kitchen, transfer-printed vessels were 60% of the total sample. Transfer-printed items were only 26% of the slave total and 30% of the overseer's total of ceramic items.

Though transfer-printed wares at the plantation sites appeared in table, tea, and chamber shapes, virtually all of the banded ware shapes at the three sites were serving bowls--the "common bowl" shape with foot rings and carinated, flaring sides (see Godden 1966: 173; Figure 30).

The high frequency of serving bowls at the slave and overseer sites may be related to dietary differences which existed between the planter and the subordinate classes on the plantation. The slaves and overseers received or purchased rations of cornmeal, rice floor, and cracked second quality rice. Cornmeal, rice, and vegetables could be stewed up with whatever meat was available. Pottages, meat and vegetable stews, or rice pileaus could be left simmering for hours while slaves and overseers engaged in a variety of other tasks. The liquid-based food was served in bowls along with bread made from cornmeal or rice flour. In contrast, the Couper family had the pick of plantation livestock and garden produce;

Table 19. Shape and function of ceramic items (northern third slave cabin site).

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Coarse Reddish Earthenware							
(a) unglazed	1 unidentified item						1
(b) glazed	1 unidentified item						1
"Banded" on Pearlware and Whiteware							
(a) annular	8 bowls	8					
	12 bowls?	12?					
(b) finger-painted	1 bowl	1					
	1 bowl?	1?					
"Banded" on Hard Yellow Paste							
(a) annular	1 bowl	1					
		23					
Molded Edge Pearlware							
(a) blue "shell-edge"	12 plates and platters	12					
Underglazed Hand-Painted Pearlware							
(a) blue	1 basket stand	1					
	1 plate	1					
	1 bowl	1					
	1 bowl?	1?					
	1 cup		1				
	1 cup?		1?				
(b) blue on bisque	1 bowl	1					
(c) polychrome	1 plate?	1					

Table 19. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
(c) polychrome (continued)	1 bowl	1					
	3 cups		3				
		19	5				
Sponged Whiteware	1 bowl	1					
	2 holloware items						2
Transfer-Printed Pearlware and Whiteware							
(a) blue "willow"	2 saucers		2				
(b) blue floral and scenic	1 platter	1					
	2 plates	2					
	10 plates and platters	10					
	2 soup plates	2					
	1 bowl?	1?					
	1 tureen	1					
	2 tureen covers?	2?					
	2 cups		2				
	5 saucers		5				
	2 pitchers					2	
	2 unidentified items						2
(c) red	1 cup?		1?				
		19	10			2	2

Table 19. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Undecorated Pearlware and Whiteware	9 plates and platters	9					
	5 bowls	5					
	1 tureen	1					
	1 mug	1					
	4 cups		4				
	1 "coffee can"?		1				
	1 pitcher					1	
	1 chamber pot					1	
	3 unidentified items						3
		16	5			2	3
Salt-Glazed Stoneware							
(a) bottles	1 ale? bottle				1		
(b) utilitarian	4 storage containers				4		
					5		
Lead-Glazed Stoneware							
(a) red stoneware	2 holloware items		2?				
(b) utilitarian	1 storage container				1		
			2		1		

Table 19. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Slip-Coated Stoneware	1 bowl	1					
Unglazed Stoneware	1 unidentified item						1
European Porcelain							
(a) undecorated white	1 saucer		1				
	1 handle to teaware item?		1?				
	1 lid to teaware item?		1?				
			3				
Oriental Porcelain							
(a) Canton blue on white	1 plate	1					
	1 saucer		1				
SITE TOTALS		80	26	0	6	4	10

Table 20. Shape and function of ceramic items (Overseer's house site).

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Coarse Reddish Earthenware							
(a) unglazed	1 unidentified item						1
(b) glazed	1 unidentified item						1
"Banded" on Pearlware and Whiteware							
(a) annular	2 bowls	2					
	7 bowls?	7?					
	2 cups?		2?				
(b) finger-painted	1 cup		1				
	1 bowl?	1?					
(c) mocha	1 bowl	1					
"Banded" on Hard Yellow Paste							
(a) mocha	1 bowl	1					
(b) annular	1 bowl	1					
		13	3				
Molded Edge Pearlware							
(a) blue "shell-edge"	10 plates and platters	10					
	1 tureen lid?	1?					
(b) green "beaded" edge	1 plate?	1?					
		12					

Table 20. (Continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Tableware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Underglaze Hand-Painted Pearlware							
(a) blue	1 cup?		1?				
(b) polychrome	1 soup plate	1					
	1 plate?	1?					
	1 platter	1					
	2 bowls	2					
	5 cups		5				
		5	6				
Sponged Whiteware	1 bowl?	1?					
Transfer-Printed Pearlware and Whiteware							
(a) blue "willow"	3 saucers		3				
(b) blue floral and scenic	6 plates	6					
	3 platters	3					
	12 plates and platters	12					
	1 bowl?	1?					
	1 tureen	1					
	2 cups		2				
	7 saucers		7				
	1 pitcher					1	
	3 unidentified items						3
(c) black scenic	1 plate	1					
	1 saucer		1				
		24	13			1	3

Table 20. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Undecorated							
(a) creamware							
(b) Pearlware and Whiteware	16 plates and platters	16					
	2 bowls	2					
	1 mug?	1?					
	6 cups		6				
	1 "coffee can"?		1				
	1 "octagonal" cup		1				
	1 chamber pot?					1?	
	2 holloware items						2
		19	8			1	2
Ironstone and Granite China	2 plates	2					
Salt-Glazed Stoneware							
(a) bottles	2 ale? bottles				2		
(b) utilitarian	1 butter churn			1			
	2 storage containers				2		
				1	4		
Lead-Glazed Stonewares							
(a) black basaltes	1 holloware item		1?				
(b) red stoneware	4 holloware items		4?				
			5				

Table 20. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Slip-Dipped Stoneware	1 ale? bottle				1		
European Porcelain							
(a) undecorated							
white	1 spill bowl		1				
	1 cup		1				
	1 saucer		1				
(b) sprigg-molded	1 cup?		1				
			4				
Oriental Porcelain							
(a) Canton blue							
on white	2 plates	2					
	1 lid to teaware item?		1?				
(b) gold overglaze	2 saucers		2				
		2	3				
SITE TOTALS		78	42	1	5	2	7

Table 21. Shape and function of ceramic items (Couper kitchen site).

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Kitchen/ Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Coarse Reddish Earthenware							
(a) unglazed	1 unidentified item						1
(b) glazed	2 milk-settling pans			2			
Totals				2			1
"Banded" on Pearlware and Whiteware							
(a) annular	2 bowls	2					
	4 bowls?	4?					
(b) finger-painted	2 bowls?	2?					
"Banded" on Hard Yellow Paste							
(a) annular	1 bowl	1					
Totals		9					
"Orangeware"	2 mixing bowls?			2			
"Jackfield"-type Ware	2 teaware items		2?				
Molded-Edge Pearlware							
(a) blue "shell-edge"	9 plates and platters	9					
(b) blue octagonal "shell-edge"	1 plate	1					
(c) blue "bead and barley" edge	1 plate	1					
(d) blue "barley" edge	1 plate	1					

Table 21. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Kitchen/ Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
(e) blue "beaded" edge	1 washbasin?					1?	
(f) green embossed floral edge	1 platter	1					
Totals		13				1	
Underglaze Hand-Painted Pearlware							
(a) blue	1 basket stand	1					
	1 soup plate?	1?					
	1 platter	1					
	3 cups		3				
	1 teaware cover?		1?				
(b) polychrome	1 bowl?	1?					
	5 cups		5				
Totals		4	9				
Sponged Whiteware	1 bowl?	1?					
Transfer-printed Pearlware and Whiteware							
(a) blue "willow"	1 soup plate	1					
	5 plates and platters	5					
	2 cups		2				
	1 teapot		1				
	1 sugar bowl?		1?				
(b) blue floral and senic	1 soup plate	1					
	10 plates	10					

Table 21. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Kitchen/ Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
(b) blue floral and scenic (cont.)	9 platters	9					
	74 plates and platters	74					
	9 tureens	9					
	3 tureen covers	3					
	17 cups		17				
	3 "London" cups		3				
	1 "bute" cup		1				
	24 saucers		24				
	3 pitchers?					3?	
	1 washbasin?					1?	
	10 holloware items						10
	5 unidentified items						5
(c) black scenic	1 cup		1				
	2 saucers		2				
(d) red scenic	1 cup?		1?				
(e) magenta	1 cup?		1?				
Totals		112	54			4	15
Undecorated							
(a) creamware	5 plates	5					
	1 cup?		1?				
	1 chamberpot					1	
(b) pearlware and whiteware	5 plates and platters	5					
	1 bowl?	1?					
	1 mug?	1?					
	4 cups		4				
	1 "bute" cup		1				

Table 21. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Kitchen/ Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
(b) pearlware and whiteware (cont.)	1 saucer		1				
	1 chamberpot					1	
	2 holloware items						2
Totals		12	7			2	2
Ironstone and Granite China	4 plates and platters	4					
	1 pitcher?					1?	
Salt-Glazed Stoneware							
(a) bottle	1 ale? bottle				1?		
(b) utilitarian	1 jar				1		
	1 jug				1		
	14 storage containers				14		
Totals					17		
Lead-Glazed Stoneware							
(a) black basaltes	1 handle to teaware item?		1?				
(b) utilitarian	1 jug				1		
	3 cylindrical jars				3		
	9 storage items				9		
Totals			1		13		
Alkaline-Glazed Stoneware	1 jug				1		
	2 storage items				2		
Totals					3		

Table 21. (continued)

Surface Decoration	Shape	Probable Function					
		Table-ware	Teaware and Coffeeware	Kitchen/ Dairy	Storage	Hygiene	Unknown
Slip-Dipped Stoneware							
(a) red stoneware	1 teaware item?	1?					
(b) utilitarian	1 cylindrical jar?				1?		
Unglazed Stoneware	1 ink well?				1?		
Eurpoean Porcelain							
(a) undecorated white	1 cup?		1?				
	3 saucers		3				
(b) transfer-printed	2 cups		2				
	1 saucer		1				
Totals			7				
Oriental Porcelain							
(a) Canton blue on white	5 plates	5					
	1 platter	1					
	1 cup		1				
(b)	1 saucer		1				
Totals		6	2				
SITE TOTALS		161	83	4	35	8	18
PERCENTAGE		52.1%	26.9%	1.3%	11.3%	2.6%	5.8%

documents attest to the abundance of roast beef, pork, mutton, and steamed vegetables on the Couper table. Slave fishermen supplied the ingredients for supplementary fish and terrapin soups. The roast meats and soups were served from platters and tureens and they were eaten from plates and soup plates (see V: Food Resources and Status Differences).

Another difference in ceramic distribution was the relative abundance of stoneware items at the planter's kitchen and the paucity of stoneware at the slave and overseer sites. This may also be explained by dietary differences. Stoneware jugs and jars were used to preserve meats and vegetables and store dairy products (Webster 1972; Atherton 1969: 80). Stoneware vessels were well-represented at the planter's kitchen; excluding bottles, there were 33 storage items (Table 21). Other than bottles, only two stoneware storage vessels and a possible butter churn could be identified at the overseer's site (Table 20). At the slave cabin , only one lead-glazed and four salt-glazed storage vessels could be identified (Table 19); possibly, they were storage jugs for molasses, similar to ones recovered at Kingsley and Rayfield cabins (Fairbanks 1974: 78; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 11).

No dairy items could be identified in the slave cabin sample, and it is doubtful if the slaves possessed milk cows or ewes. Though the overseers did enjoy dairy products, they lacked the numerous stoneware vessels needed to preserve meats and seasonal vegetables. A lack of dairy items may be indicative of slave status, and a scarcity of stoneware storage vessels may be associated with lower social status.

By totalling the frequencies of table, tea, dairy, storage, and chamber vessels, other differences in the ceramic collections are revealed:

Table 22. Shape of ceramic items from the plantation sites.

	Slave Cabin	Overseer's House	Planter's Kitchen
tableware	64%	58%	52%
tea and coffeeware	21%	31%	27%
storage vessels (excluding bottles)	4%	2%	11%
others and unidentified items	11%	9%	10%
Total items	126	135	309

The evidence from Cannon's Point indicates that a lower percentage of tableware and a greater diversity of shapes seems to be indicative of higher status. At the slave cabin, serving bowls, plates, and platters predominated; but at the planter's kitchen, there was a much wider range of shapes and more vessels were available for storage, hygiene, and dairying. As expected, the frequency of teawares is lower at the slave cabin than at the planter's site. The findings at Cannon's Point parallel those at the Darien houses and the Kingsley and Rayfield slave cabins. At the Darien sites, believed to be occupied by middle class townspeople, numerous shapes were reported (see Watkins 1970). In turn, tablewares predominated at Kingsley and Rayfield cabins (Fairbanks 1974: 78; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 79).

Summary: Ceramic Artifacts

The ceramics from Cannon's Point indicate that it may be possible to predict the relative status of former inhabitants by observing differences in the ceramic collections. If evidence from other early nineteenth century sites corroborates the findings from Cannon's Point, it may be possible to use the frequency of banded and transfer-printed wares

to predict the social standing or the ethnicity of former site occupants. A very high percentage of transfer-printed wares should indicate elite status; in turn, a low frequency of transfer-printed wares and a high frequency of banded wares should be indicative of rural middle class whites or slave status. Banded ware appears with increased frequency at lower status sites. At the planter's kitchen, banded ware was less than 1% of the total; but at the overseer and slave sites, it was 17% and 22% of the totals.

Classification of ceramic types by shape demonstrates that the percentage of tableware may be used to predict status. A high percentage of tableware and a low diversity of other shapes may be indicative of a lower status; ceramic items were purchased and used mainly for food consumption by the slaves. On higher status sites, there should be a greater diversity of ceramic shapes and a lower percentage of tableware, for ceramic items were used for purposes other than food consumption. There were pitchers, washbasins, and several chamber pots in the planter's kitchen sample, and a punch bowl came from a possible ice house pit near the kitchen (Godden 1971: Plates 45-46).

The percentages of tea and coffeewares on plantation sites may be used to predict ethnicity. Elite and middle class whites probably possessed more tea items for use in the tea-drinking ceremony (see Roth 1961). Tea and coffee ware items composed 27% and 31% of the planter and overseer samples; in contrast, teaware items composed only 21% of the slave cabin total.

The remarkable similarities in the ceramic distributions at the overseer and slave sites can be partly explained by the presence of many banded ware bowls at both sites. In turn, the presence of serving bowls

seems to be related to dietary similarities; overseers and slaves frequently cooked meats and vegetables together and ate these from serving bowls.

The relative material poverty of the Cannon's Point overseers is paralleled by evidence from the Marlborough site in Virginia. After 1806, the site was occupied by "John W. Bronaugh, a tenant or overseer," and "creamwares and late eighteenth century-and early nineteenth century white wares diminish sharply in numbers, reflecting a more austere life at Marlborough in its descent to an overseer's quarters . . ." (Watkins 1968: 64, 173-147). At the site, porcelains date to 1740-60 when Mercer, a wealthy planter-merchant owned the site; by the early nineteenth century, there are only utilitarian earthenware examples and these are few in numbers (Watkins 1968: 133).

Glass Containers for Beverages, Medicines and Foods

Glass containers increased in importance throughout the nineteenth century because technological innovations facilitated mass production and new uses such as canning stimulated production. Although ceramic sherds are generally more common on early nineteenth century sites than glassware fragments (ie., Watkins 1970: 83), glass fragments are often the most plentiful artifacts on late nineteenth century sites (ie., Berge 1968: 180).

Bottles for Beverages

Though blowing in molds had been used for some bottles before 1800 (Noel Hume 1969a: 62), most beverage bottles were free-blown and then manipulated with hand tools to produce the desired shape (Lorrain 1968:

35). Free blowing of bottles in America continued into the 1820's (Noel Hume 1969a: 71). Because free-blown bottles were somewhat asymmetrical, a kick-up was formed in the base to strengthen the bottle and enable it to stand upright without wobbling. The bottle was then rolled or marvered on a flat surface to approximate symmetry. Pontil marks generally appear on the base, where an iron rod was attached to hold the bottle during the finishing process--the forming of the lips and string rims (see Jones 1971: 62-66, 68).

After 1810, European and American glass-makers began blowing glass into hinged contact molds, which were the same dimensions as the intended bottle (Watkins 1970: 51; Lorrain 1968: 38). These were three-part molds; one piece formed the base and two pieces molded the shoulder and neck. A pontil held the body while the neck and lip was finished (Lorrain 1968: 40; Jones 1971: 68). By 1821, H. Ricketts of Bristol had patented a ring mold to form the base of bottles. It was now possible to produce uniform bottles of exact capacity with a saving in time and fuel (Jones 1971: 66-67). After 1840, a more efficient two-piece mold began to replace the older hinged three-part mold (Lorrain 1968: 39-40).

Another technique of molding was to blow glass into a one-piece mold, open at the top. After the basic pattern was formed by the mold, the bottle could be expanded by further blowing (Lorrain 1968: 36; Switzer 1974: 5-6). Dip-molding was a common technique in the early years of the nineteenth century, but began to disappear by 1850 (Lorrain 1968: 37). With dip-molding, no mold marks were apparent on the body; yet, marks from contact molds could also be removed by rotating molten glass in the molds (Switzer 1974: 5-6, 23).

By the 1850's, the pontil was being replaced by the sabot and snap-case, which clamped around the bottle body to hold it during finishing. The center of the kick-up or molded base, which had previously been pontil-scarred, could now be used for molded hallmarks or advertisements (see Jones 1971: 62, 72). Also, the lips, formerly finished by laying on a ring of glass around the neck, were now being formed with the lipping tool, which achieved greater uniformity (Lorrain 1968: 40-41).

These manufacturing innovations, which can be used in dating bottles (Newman 1970), enabled glass-makers to achieve uniformity and mass-production with less cost. At the plantation sites, evidence of these manufacturing techniques appeared on the olive-green bottle fragments. At the northern third slave cabin, some olive-green bottles had been formed in a dip-mold, and pontils held the bottles for hand-finishing the lips. There were fragments of bottles formed in three-piece contact molds that bore embossed letters on the shoulders. No two-piece molded bottles could be identified. Some of the bottle lips had been finished by hand, while others appear to have been formed with a lipping tool. Striations on the bottle necks resulted from rotating bottles in a mold to remove marks.

From the surface of a refuse midden associated with the fourth cabin, the bases of Class I subtype 3e and subtype 3f bottles were recovered (Switzer 1974: 18-19). Without pontil marks, they post-date the introduction of the sabot snap-case (Jones 1971: 72).

At the overseer's house, a molded base, without a pontil scar, bore the following hallmark: "Dyottville Glass Works Philadelphia" (Toulouse 1971: 502-504). Other fragments came from bottles formed in hinged molds and dip-molds.

Table 23. Fragments of glass containers (antebellum refuse contexts).

Glass containers	Slave Cabin Refuse		Overseer's House Refuse (Zones II-III)		Couper Kitchen Refuse (Zones II-IV)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Olive-green bottles for ale, wine, beer cider, porter, etc. (Switzer 1974: 16; Olsen 1965: 105-107; Noel Hume 1974: 196-197)	313	48.8	43	38.7	247	52.9
Light green "champagne" bottles (Switzer 1974: 24-26; Walker 1971: 149)	41	6.4	9	8.1	32	6.9
Other imported (ie., Bordeaux) bottles. Identified from shoulder seals.	4	0.6	-	-	-	-
Case bottles for gin, bitters, etc. (Toulouse 1970: 61-62; Noel Hume 1970: 62; Walker 1971: 171-173, 178)	13	2.0	6	5.4	58	12.4
Pale green cylindrical bottles with embossed lettering. Unknown function	-	-	-	-	20	4.3
Medicine vials and bottles (Watkins 1970: 50-56, 63-67; Walker 1971: 151-178)	200	31.2	48	43.2	80	17.1
Cut and pressed glass bowls and covered dishes, etc. (Durrenberger 1965: 40-46; Watkins 1968: 154)	14	2.2	1	0.9	4	0.9
Decanters, carafes, and cruets (Watkins 1970: 51-59)	27	4.2	-	-	-	-

Table 23. (continued)

Glass Containers	Slave Cabin Refuse		Overseer's House Refuse (Zones II-III)		Couper Kitchen Refuse (Zones II-IV)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Stemmed goblets and wine glasses (Watkins 1968: 151-152)	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.2
Cut and pressed glass tumblers (Watkins 1970: 55; Watkins 1968: 154)	1	0.2	4	3.6	20	4.3
Culinary bottles (Switzer 1974: 50-58; Walker 1971: 149; Berge 1968: 186)	27	4.2	-	-	5	1.1
TOTALS	641	100.0	111	100.0	467	100.0

Table 24. Fragments of glass containers (site totals).

Glass Containers	Slave Cabin Site		Overseer's House Site		Couper Kitchen Site	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Olive-green bottles for ale, wine, etc.	352	50.1	115	44.1	337	50.6
Light-green "champagne" bottles	43	6.1	18	6.9	49	7.4
Other imported wine bottles	4	0.6	-	-	-	-
Case bottles	14	2.0	21	8.1	73	11.0
"Drake's Plantation Bitters" bottle (Switzer 1974: 40-41)	-	-	2	0.8	-	-
Light amber bottles for ale? Class I subtype 3a. (Switzer 1974: 16-17)	-	-	2	0.8	2	0.3
Pale green cylindrical bottles	-	-	-	-	22	3.3
Medicine vials and bottles	211	30.1	90	34.5	126	18.9
Cut and pressed glass bowls, covered dishes, etc.	14	2.0	4	1.5	5	0.8
Milkglass containers	-	-	1	0.4	2	0.3
Decanters, carafes, and cruets	29	4.1	-	-	-	-
Stemmed wineglasses	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.2
Cut and pressed glass tumblers	3	0.4	8	3.1	37	5.6
Culinary bottles	31	4.4	-	-	12	1.8
TOTALS	702	100.0	261	100.0	666	100.0

Table 25. Fragments of liquor containers from the plantation sites.

Container Types	Slave Cabin Site		Overseer's House Site		Couper's Kitchen Site	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Olive-green bottles for ale, wine, cider, porter, etc.	352	85.2	115	73.7	337	73.1
Light-green "champagne" bottles	43	10.4	18	11.5	49	10.6
Other imported wine bottles	4	1.0	-	-	-	-
Case bottles	14	3.4	21	13.5	73	15.8
Light amber bottles for ale?, etc.	-	-	2	1.3	2	0.4
TOTALS	413	100.0	156	100.0	461	100.0

The bottles at the planter's site had been highly fragmented by foot traffic, but there were base fragments of bottles with hand-formed kick-ups and pontil marks. Other fragments came from bottles that appear to have been made in dip molds and hinged contact molds.

In addition to the ubiquitous olive-green bottle fragments, which were made primarily in Great Britain and the United States (Jones 1971: 67; Olsen 1965: 105-107), there were sherds from light-green bottles These were blown in molds and rotated to remove marks while the glass was still molten; some bottles, however, bear the marks of three-piece molds (Switzer 1974: 23, 28). These bottles were apparently made on the continent and contained imported wines, such as champagne (Switzer 1974: 24-26; Walker 1971: 149; Berge 1968: 187-188; Clausen 1970: 5).

Fragments of light-green "champagne" bottles, including the characteristic lip and kick-up fragments (Switzer 1974: 23-28), appear at the slave cabin and planter's kitchen. At the overseer's house, the base of a Class III subtype 2b bottle came from the refuse midden, and a whole Class III type 2 bottle was recovered from the well (see Switzer 1974: 26).

Other imported wine bottle fragments, resembling examples in Switzer (1974: 28-29) and bearing Bordeaux shoulder seals, could be identified at the slave cabin.

Case bottles, blown in molds (Noel Hume 1969a: 62), were present at all three sites. Containing Holland gin and other beverages (Noel Hume 1974: 194; Toulouse 1970: 61-62), they were designed for shipment in wooden boxes with square compartments (Watkins 1968: 150).

Finally fragments of a Class I subtype 3a light amber bottle appear at the overseer site (Switzer 1974: 16-17). Light amber bottles, which probably held ale, also appear at the planter's site.

By isolating the fragments of probable liquor containers from other glassware sherds, the frequencies reveal a higher occurrence of olive-green bottle fragments at the slave site and a greater use of case bottles at the planter and overseer sites (see Table 25). Fragments from light-green "champagne" bottles occur at all three sites in similar frequencies. By examining the function of these bottles and their cultural significance, it may be possible to explain the differing frequencies at the sites.

At the three sites, fragments from olive-green bottles are the most common. In the early nineteenth century, these bottles held a variety of beverages. When H. Ricketts patented his bottle base mold, he claimed it was an "Improvement in the Art or Method of Making or Manufacturing Glass Bottles, such as are Used for Wine, Porter, Beer, or Cyder" (Jones 1971: 73). Often, empty bottles were imported, and shop-keepers or tavern-owners decanted liquors from casks, barrels, and pipes to fill bottles for local sales (Darien Gazette September 14, 1838; Baron 1962: 242; Hundley 1860: 227-228). Rice, Parker & Co. offered to sell barrels of cider "in good order for bottling" (Brunswick Advocate December 6, 1838). Full bottles also arrived in Southern ports; Rice, Parker & Co. advertised "Ale and Porter in whole and half bottles" (Brunswick Advocate October 25, 1838). Ale, with its higher alcoholic and undecomposed sugar content, kept better than beer and could be shipped longer distances (Switzer 1974: 9).

The darkest olive-green bottles, commonly called "black" bottles, were light-repelling. They may have been intended for brewed beverages such as porter--a dark, bitter beer; in turn, the lighter olive-green bottles may have been designed for wines (see Noel Hume 1974: 197-198):

	Slave Site	Overseer Site	Planter Site
"black" (porter, ale, etc.?)	57%	33%	36%
medium-green (wines?)	43%	67%	64%

Assuming there was a strong correlation between the color of olive-green bottles and their contents, the higher frequencies of dark-green fragments at the slave site could indicate a greater use of brewed beverages by slaves; and the higher frequencies of medium-green fragments at the planter and overseer sites may indicate more consumption of wines by the white plantation inhabitants. It is doubtful, however, if liquor-makers and local bottlers always reserved the light-repelling "black" bottles for porter, ale, and cider.

Brewed beverages also came in unglazed, salt-glazed, and slip-coated stoneware bottles. Usually made in Great Britain and the Netherlands, they commonly carried ale (Switzer 1974: 9-15). Stoneware bottle fragments occurred in the following frequencies at the plantation sites:

	Slave Site	Overseer Site	Planter Site
salt-glazed	4	12	3
slip-coated	-	2	-

The slaves from Cannon's Point probably purchased small quantities of liquor from local shop-keepers or received occasional grog rations during holidays (see Hall 1829: 224). Overseers and planters probably purchased most of their liquor from factors. But in the Hopeton account book, individual entries for liquor purchases are rare. On January 4, 1842, however, John Couper purchased two demijohns of brandy and wine from Mitchell & Mure (Couper 1839-54: 100). Other liquor purchases were probably included in entries for sundries. On June 20, 1852, the plantation

purchased groceries and liquors on credit from Claghorn and Cunningham, Savannah grocers (House ed., 1954: 301). Included under "miscellaneous expenses" were four dozen bottles of "Scotch Ale" at $10.00 (Couper 1839-54: 472). The ale may have been intended for the J. H. Couper family, who spent the summers at Cannon's Point; the resident overseer, Seth R. Walker; or possibly the slaves.

The Coupers, renowned for their hospitality, stocked a variety of liquors. When Aaron Burr visited Butler's Point, John Couper sent him an assortment of "French wines, consisting of Claret, Sauterne, and Champagne, all excellent." During his stay, Burr also enjoyed Madeira wine, brandy, and porter from Butler's stock (Van Doren ed., 1929: 174). Rebecca Couper used imported brandy and Cannon's Point oranges to create her famous orange cordial ([Couper] "Orange Cordial" nd).

Claret wines were especially popular among the affluent (Hilliard 1972: 52). George Street's advertisement is rather typical: "10 boxes superior Claret wine." Prospective customers with more humble tastes could select whiskey, gin, and "bottled Porter and Cider" from Street's stock of liquors (Darien Gazette Ocrober 27, 1821).

Because of the variety of beverages transported in bottles, it is difficult to determine the cultural significance of the bottle distribution at the sites. Slaves, however, probably consumed less liquor than the white inhabitants of the plantation (Genovese 1974: 645-646). When slaves did drink, they may have preferred brewed beverages.

Bottles for Medicines

These ranged in shape from unlettered panel bottles to free-blown cylindrical vials to small mold-formed lettered and unlettered bottles.

The shapes were identified by comparison with illustrations in Griffenhagen and Young (1959); Watkins (1970); and Walker (1971).

At the slave cabin, fragments of medicine bottles included the characteristic necks and lips (Fairbanks 1974: 81, 86) and base fragments, including one with a glass pontil mark (see Jones 1971: 70).

At the overseer's site, there were remains of numerous vials and bottles, including one bearing the legend "[Or]iginal / [G]enuine;" this was probably an early patent medicine bottle. Another small molded bottle had the embossed letters " . . .E"/ . . .NCE;" the original legend may have been "Genuine Essence" of Jamaican ginger (Walker 1971: 150). Other fragments with the letters "[Dyspe]psia" came from a medicine claiming to cure gastric complaints. Finally, fragments of a molded log cabin bottle, resembling a "Drake's Plantation Bitters" bottle (Switzer 1974:40), came from the fill of a chimney arch in the overseer's house.

Fragments of molded bottles and vials occurred at the planter's site. Also, an entire "jalap" bottle (Charles Fairbanks, verbal communication) came from the fill of a possible ice house near the planter's kitchen. "Bateman's Drops," a popular early nineteenth century nostrum, came in a similar elongated cylindrical vial (Atherton 1949: 77; Griffenhagen and Young 1959: 167). Similar bottles were recovered from the Darien houses and the Arkansas Post State Bank site (Watkins 1970: 64; Walker 1971: 160).

Because of the fragmentary nature of the medicine containers, only a few bottles could be partly reconstructed to determine their function. Some carried patent medicines, though others probably held the drugs that were most common on plantations: "castor oil, spirits of turpentine, blue mass, quinine, laundanum, paregoric, liniment, verimfuge, and epsom salts" (Flanders 1933: 163-164).

These medicines reflected the prevailing concepts of disease etiology. Galen's theory, that imbalance of bodily humours (blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile) caused disease, still had its adherents. Others subscribed to Thomas Sydenham's concept that illnesses were induced by decaying materials; "morbific matter," released by decay, infected the air and entered the body through the respiratory tract. Whether because of excess humours or infection by particles of "morbific matter," the body had to be cleaned by bleeding, blistering, sweating, vomiting, and purging. Harsh emetics and purgatives, lancets for bloodletting, and enema pipes were common on plantations. Also, drugs such as calomel, a purgative mercury compound, and quinine were regarded as panaceas; they were used for practically any illness (Duffy 1959: 54-56; Simons 1849). Quinine, first isolated from cinchona bark in 1822, was especially popular (Shyrock 1930: 163), because malaria was endemic in the Old South.

Malaria, however, was not as common on the sea islands as on the mainland:

> In summer and autumn, fevers and agues occur in the lower lands. The islands are regarded as desirable places of resort during the sickly season; in very wet seasons, they are occasionally subject to light cases of fever. (White 1849: 282-283)

The John Couper family lived throughout the year on Cannon's Point and J. H. Couper used the plantation as a summer home after his father's death. On the islands, they could escape the "miasmas" produced by decaying matter in the river swamps and fresh marshes.

Other alleged health hazards were created by the "noxious effluvia" from decaying garbage. It was the overseer's responsibility to make periodic inspections of the slave dwellings to ensure that the houses and surrounding areas met early nineteenth century standards of cleanliness

(A Planter 1836: 580-584; P. C. 1838: 345). When slaves became ill, the overseers had to diagnose the illnesses and dole out the necessary medicines (Scarborough 1966: 86-87). Relying on medical manuals such as the Planter's Guide and Family Book of Medicine (1849), the overseer administered the necessary purgatives, emetics, or opiates. In the book, two engraved figures, one male and one female, illustrated the regions of the body where leeches, mustard blister compounds, and blood-letting cups could be applied (Simons 1849). Overseers and planters called on doctors only when the cases appeared baffling or hopeless (Shyrock 1930: 172; Mallard 1892: 33-34). Because of haphazard medical care and other problems, the average life expectancy of slaves in 1850 was 12% below that of white Americans (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 122-124).

Medicine bottle fragments occur more frequently at the overseer and slave sites. They compose 35% and 30% of the total glassware at these sites (Table 24). Medicine bottle fragments were also common at Kingsley plantation (Fairbanks 1974: 86). In turn, fragments from medicine containers were only 19% of the total at the planter's site. And at Darien, medicine bottle fragments represented only 15% of the total glassware fragments (Watkins 1970: 83).

Because of poorer diets (see Hilliard 1972: 62-69; Etheridge 1972) and exposure to elements (Ball 1859: 118, 151), slaves and overseers probably became ill more frequently than members of the planter's family. Fragments of patent medicine bottles at the slave and overseer sites are evidence of their attempts to relieve the symptoms of recurring illnesses with medicines from the plantation stocks.

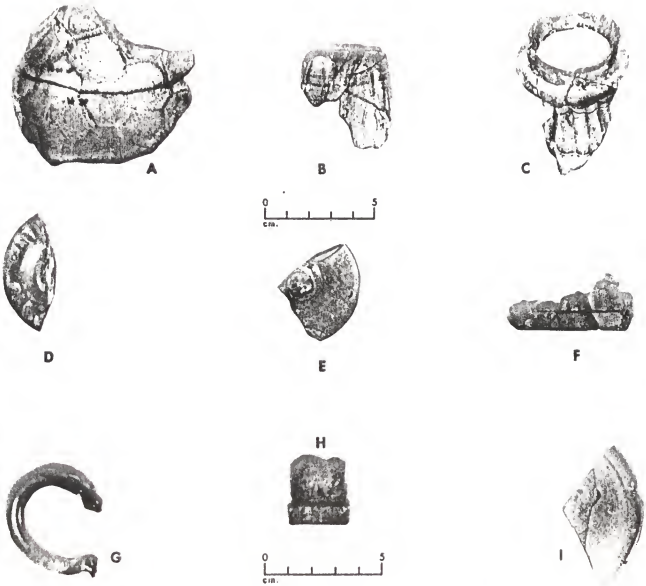
Glass Tableware

Glass tableware could be made by free-blowing, blowing in molds, and pressing. Cutting was usually a finishing or decorative technique; when cold, glass items could be shaped with abrasive wheels or fine designs could cut into tableware with revolving copper wheels and engravers (Watkins 1970: 51; Noel Hume 1969a: 193).

In the early nineteenth century, cutting was a technique usually reserved for "the glass of the wealthy, the lower orders being admirably, though later, served by the pressed 'cut'glass invented in the United States in about 1827" (Noel Hume 1969a: 193). In the pressing technique, glass was forced into a contact mold to form the desired item (Davis and Corbin 1967: 38-39). After 1837, the technique was applied to drinking vessels as well as tableware (Walker 1971: 143). Pressed glass items were especially popular between 1830-1880 (Davis and Corbin 1967: 38-39 ; Walker 1970: 143).

At the slave cabin, there were fragments from the following tableware items: a stemmed wine glass (Watkins 1968: 151-152); a faceted decanter; a possible cruet; decanter and carafe stoppers (Charles Fairbanks, verbal communication); a fluted decanter (Watkins 1970: 52-53); a cut glass container and cover; and a pressed glass tumbler. The overseer's site revealed fragments from cut and pressed glass tumblers and the handle from a pressed glass container. The only identifiable tableware from the planter's kitchen included cut glass tumblers; a milk glass cover; fragments of a wine glass with engraved sunburst design; and fragments of a pressed glass cover to a bowl (see Figure 31).

Figure 31. Glass tableware from the plantation sites. (A) faceted decanter; (B) possible cruet; (C) fluted decanter; (D) carafe stopper; (E) wineglass base; (F) cut glass container; (G) handle from pressed glass container; (H) fragment of pressed glass cover; (I) milk glass cover; (A-F are from the northern third slave cabin; G is from the overseer's house refuse; and H-I are from the planter's kitchen refuse).


A
B
C
0
5
cm.
D
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F
H
G
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0
5
cm.

The tableware items at the slave cabin appear to be discards, particularly the decanters and the cut glass containers. These items were usually associated with upper status people in the early nineteenth century (Noel Hume 1969a: 193; Watkins 1970: 51). Because of the probability that slaves used the planter's discarded glassware, the distribution of glass tableware does not indicate status differences. Yet, since slaves rarely used the planter's ceramic discards, it is also possible that they purchased their own luxury glass tableware. George Street, a Darien shopkeeper, stocked "Elegant Cut-glass Decanters [and] Tumblers" (Darien Gazette October 27, 1821) for potential customers.

Culinary Bottles

Culinary and condiment bottles could not be recognized at the overseer's site, but they were present in some quantities at the planter and slave sites. These resemble items illustrated in Switzer (1974: 50-58) and Walker (1971: 147-149). Possibly, the bottles represent luxury foods purchased by the slaves (see Johnson 1930: 135). Fragments of a shoulder seal with the legend--"Huile Surfine"--came from an imported oil bottle at the slave site.

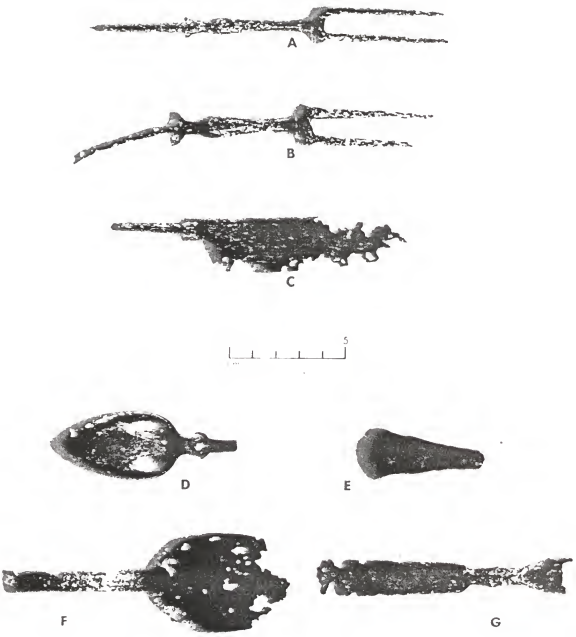
Metal Containers for Food

Fragments from tin-plated iron cans, used for packaging foods, were present in small quantities in the refuse at all three sites. Though most fragments were too corroded or small to permit close identification, a partial container came from the footing trench of the possible provision house at the overseer site. Approximately 15 cm in diameter, the base had been strengthened with an iron wire ring; the side seams had been soldered (see Figure 32).

Figure 32. Tin can recovered from overseer's provision house footing trench.

0
5
cm.

Figure 33. Cutlery from the plantation sites. (A) and (B) two-tined forks from the planter's kitchen refuse; (C) knife from the overseer's house refuse; (D) silver-plated brass spoon from the overseer's house well; (E) pewter handle from the northern third slave cabin refuse; (F) iron spoon bowl from the surface of the northern fourth slave cabin refuse; (G) handle of a fork from the northern third slave cabin site.


A
B
C
5
D
E
F
G

In the early nineteenth century, metal containers for foods were cut from tin-plated iron sheets. The bodies were formed around a cylinder and the seams and bottom plate were soldered. After filling, the top plate was soldered into place, while a pin-hole in the cover allowed gasses to escape during heating. A small cap was then soldered on the top to seal the container (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 68-69).

Canned foods appeared in Great Britain after 1814. By 1840, canning began in the United States. Lobsters, salmon, vegetables, and fruits were popular canned foods (Bitting 1937: 13-14, 51; Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 68-69). French canned sardines, salmon, and green peas also appeared in America (see Lord 1969: 42-43).

Cutlery

An iron fork, with a two-part bone handle; probably the bent iron handle from a spoon or fork; and a pewter spoon handle came from the slave cabin refuse. An iron spoon was collected from the surface of the refuse midden associated with the fourth cabin. At the overseer site, two partial iron bowls from serving spoons and an iron table knife were present. Two-tined forks were recovered from the planter's kitchen refuse (Figure 33).

Bodily Protection

Clothing and Footwear

Relatively more is known about slave clothing than white apparel, since observers of the Old South, pro- and anti-slavery, were so concerned with slave treatment. In turn, elite white fashions are emphasized in

studies of American costume, but the clothing of rural white Southerners is neglected (see Martin 1942: 188, 197-204).

A similar situation exists for the documentary evidence concerning Cannon's Point inhabitants. There is a detailed description of the slave textile ration in 1828, when Basil Hall visited the plantation. Also, in the Hopeton account books, there are lists of textiles purchased for the Cannon's Point slaves. Although occasional lists of clothing items purchased for the planter's family appear in these accounts, the overseer purchases of clothing are not listed in detail but are included in the sundries purchases. It is not known if the textiles the overseers purchased were similar to those of the slaves or the planter family.

When Hall visited Cannon's Point, he left the following description of slave clothing:

> The slaves are generally dressed in what is called white Welsh plains, for winter clothing. This costs about 80 cents, or 3s. 6d. a-yard, in Charleston. They prefer white clothes, and afterwards die [sic] it of a purple colour to suit their own fancy. Each man gets seven yards of this, and the women six yards-the children in proportion. Each grown up Negro gets a new blanket every second year, and every two children in like manner one blanket. The men receive also a cap and the women a handkerchief, together with a pair of strong shoes, every winter. A suit of homespun cotton, of the stuff called Osnaburgs, is allowed to each person for summer dress. (Hall 1829: 225)

On many large Southern plantations, socks, drawers, petticoats, and overcoats could also be included in the clothing ration. Generally, adult male slaves on larger plantations received four cotton shirts, two cotton pants, two wool trousers, and a pair of shoes per year. Adult women received a pair of shoes, four dresses per year, or the equivalent textiles; children received only long shirts until they reached puberty (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 116-117). Yet, by the late antebellum period,

planters spent only $7-$10 to clothe each adult slave for a year (Genovese 1974: 550-551, 556-557).

Some slaves were not even assured of this minimum of coarse clothing. On one coastal Carolina plantation, adult men wore either shirts or trousers, the women possessed only petticoats or shifts, and children, even when pubescent, went nude in the warmer weather (Ball 1859: 118). The slave narrator, who later escaped, worked on handicraft items in his leisure time to provide his adopted family with coarse blankets, which they fashioned into coats (Ball 1859: 133-134).

Clothing could be issued as individual items or as bulk textiles. On many plantations, slave seamstresses produced the clothing items needed by the plantation inhabitants (Flanders 1933: 160-162). Yet, no seamstresses are noted among the slave specialists at Cannon's Point in 1828 (Hall 1829: 218). Individual families appear to have fashioned their own clothing from the textile rations, and this was a common practice on the sea islands (Johnson 1930: 132-133). Archeological evidence for family manufacture of clothing is present at the northern set of cabins; a pair of iron scissors was found outside the third cabin and a thimble came from the refuse associated with the cabin (Figure 34).

At Cannon's Point, slaves received issues of textiles and sewing equipment twice a year. The planter purchased plains for winter clothing and hundreds of yards of osnaburgs for summer wear. As an example, on April 2, 1841, John Couper purchased 58 1/4 yards of "Jeans," 313 1/4 yards of osnaburgs, four pounds of thread, four gross of buttons, and four papers of needles from John Anderson & Co., a Savannah dry goods dealer (House ed., 1954: 299; Couper 1839-1854: 72). On November 9, the purchase of winter textiles from Anderson included 351 1/2 yards of unbleached cotton shirting, 64 1/2 yards of blue cotton plaids, three pounds of blue

Figure 34. Sewing equipment. (A) cast iron scissors from the northern third slave cabin site; (B) silver thimble from the overseer's well; (C) brass thinble from the northern third slave cabin refuse.

A

B

C

thread, and three gross of buttons. From S. L. Collins, a general merchandiser in Darien (House ed., 1954: 301), Couper purchased 43 pairs of shoes on December 31 (Couper 1839-54: 91, 96). In other years, red flannel for undergarments and blankets were included in the rations.

Although textiles were purchased in bulk for slaves, ready-to-wear items appear in the lists of clothing items intended for the planter family. In 1843, when John Couper was still a resident planter, he purchased a blue coat, dark-grey pantaloons, and two merino vests from Mitchell and Mure (Couper 1839-54: 117, 151). A large purchase of clothing from Mitchell and Mure, charged to Cannon's Point as "Miscellaneous Expenses" in 1848, may have been intended for the J. H. Couper family (Couper 1839-54: 301). The list included: four merino shirts; six pairs of cotton socks; silk handkerchiefs; one piece of "linsey-woolsey;" one piece plaid "Homespun;" 12 yards of "Apron check;" 30 yards of "unbleached Canton Flannel;" seven yards of cassimere; two pairs of "Ladies hose;" three cravats; one package of "Pantaloon Buttons;" 1/2 gross "Metal Buttons;" four cloth caps; six pair calf [boots?]; two "Misses Lace Boots;" and four children's lace boots (Couper 1839-54: 301). Excluding the linsey-woolsey, homespun, and cassimere, which were regarded as "Negro cloths" (Stampp 1956: 290-291), the other items were probably ordered for the Couper family. Possibly, the "Negro cloths" were for house servants.

Though these items may have been purchased for Elisha McDonald, the overseer in 1848, his name does not appear in the 1850 census and the composition of his household is unknown (Couper 1826-52: 320; Census Records-Glynn County 1850). No lists of textile purchases can be attributed

with certainty to the overseers. A possible analogy, however, comes from the J. J. Morgan account, when he served as overseer with Hugh Grant in 1859. In that year Morgan purchased 28 yards of "brown linnen [sic] Drill; 12 yards of Flax osnabergs [sic];" four yards of "Table Cloths;" four dozen "pearl shirt buttons;" and 25 spools of thread (House ed., 1954: 268). With the exception of the "Table Cloths," the linen twills and osnaburgs are reminiscent of slave textiles. Finally, silver and brass thimbles from the overseer's house well provide archeological evidence of clothing manufacture or repair by the overseers' families or servants (see Figure 34).

Clothing Fasteners

On the whole, little can be learned about the clothing of white inhabitants from available documentary evidence. Some information about the relative quality of apparel, however, may be gained from the distribution of clothing fastener types from the plantation sites.

The distribution of button types, based on Olsen (1963) and South (1964), reveals a higher frequency of one-hole bone discs at the planter's kitchen (Tables 26-27). One-hole bone discs, found on military and civilian sites of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, were often made locally. They were attached to clothing by passing a cord through the hole and knotting it to hold the disc (Jelks 1973: 82; South 1964: 119). These may have been covered with cloth and used to fasten dresses or coats (Charles Fairbanks, verbal communication). Conversely, engine-turned four-hole bone buttons are absent at the planter's kitchen, but they are 19% of the overseer's total and 7% of the slave total. Five-hole bone buttons with a centering hole for the cutting tool, are 28% of the slave

total and 19% of the overseer site total (Table 27). Four- and five-hole bone buttons commonly appear in post-1800 sites and contexts; they were probably used on trousers (South 1964: 121; Olsen 1963: 552) or underwear (Watkins 1970: 74-75).

Shell or "mother of pearl" buttons are absent at the overseer's house, but are present at the planter and slave sites. Two-hole and four-hole shell buttons have been reported from Ft. Pierce, Florida (1838-42), and other early nineteenth century sites (Clausen 1970: 11-12; South 1964: 121-122). Shell buttons were probably used as fastenings on shirts (South 1964: 132; House ed., 1954: 268).

Four-hole white porcelain buttons were also used on shirts, and these were relatively abundant at the overseer and slave sites. These buttons are more common on post-1840 sites (South 1964: 122-132).

Four-hole iron buttons, which probably came from trousers or other outer-garments (Charles Fairbanks, verbal communication), occur more frequently at the slave site and are absent from the planter's site. A large one-hole iron button, which was 32mm in diameter and decorated with white metal, came from the overseer's house and was probably a coat button. Another one-hole iron button (21mm in diameter) probably served a similar function.

Some of the larger brass buttons at the plantation sites came from overcoats, while smaller buttons may have fastened waistcoats or vests. Most brass buttons were stamped flat or concave discs with brass wire eyes fastened to the back.

At the slave cabin, a US Navy button, dating to the period 1800-1830 (Luscomb 1972: 11), may have come from surplus coats purchased for slaves. Also present were four civilian type 18 buttons. One button bore the

Table 26. Identifiable clothing fasteners (antebellum refuse contexts).

Button Types[a]	Slave Cabin Refuse		Overseer's House Refuse Zones II-III		Couper Kitchen Refuse Zones II-IV	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Bone						
One-hole disc	1	2.4	-	-	5	20.8
four-hole button, type 20	3	7.3	-	-	-	-
five-hole button, type J and type 19	8	19.5	-	-	3	12.5
Shell						
one-hole disc	-	-	-	-	1	4.2
two-hole button	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
four-hole button, type 22	1	2.4	-	-	3	12.5
blank	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
White Porcelain						
four-hole, type 23	3	7.3	1	16.7	3	12.5
Glass						
glass front, brass set holder (sleeve-link?)	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
Iron						
one-hole disc	-	-	-	-	1	4.2
four-hole button type 21	2	4.9	2	33.3	-	-
eye	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
Brass						
type D and type 7	3	7.3	-	-	-	-
type F	-	-	-	-	1	4.2

Table 26. (continued)

Button Types	Slave Cabin Refuse		Overseer's House Refuse Zones II-III		Couper Kitchen Refuse Zones II-IV	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Brass (cont.)						
type I	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
type 18	2	4.9	-	-	3	12.5
type 18, US Navy	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
type 25	-	-	-	-	1	4.2
type 32	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
hook	3	7.3	1	16.7	-	-
eye	6	14.6	1	16.7	2	8.3
grommet	-	-	1	16.7	-	-
trouser fastening or grommet ("Hitchcock and Co.")	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
elliptical front with gilt	-	-	-	-	1	4.2
White Metal						
type C and type 8	1	2.4	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	41	100.0	6	100.0	24	100.0

[a]Types based on Olsen (1963); South (1964).

Table 27. Identifiable clothing fasteners (site totals).

Button Types	Slave Cabin Site		Overseer's House Site		Couper Kitchen Site	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Bone						
one-hole disc, type 15	1	1.7	1	3.1	6	22.2
four-hole button, type 20	4	6.9	6	18.8	-	-
five-hole button, type J and type 19	16	27.6	6	18.8	3	11.1
Shell						
one-hole disc	-	-	-	-	2	7.4
two-hole button	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
four-hole button, type 22	2	3.5	-	-	3	11.1
blank	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
White Porcelain						
four-hole, type 23	6	10.4	7	21.9	3	11.1
Glass						
glass front, brass set holder similar to type 35	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
Iron						
one-hole disc	-	-	2	6.3	1	3.7
four-hole button, type 21	4	6.9	2	6.3	-	-
eye	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
Brass						
type D and type 7	3	5.2	-	-	-	-
type F	-	-	-	-	1	3.7

Table 27. (continued)

Button Types	Slave Cabin Site		Overseer's House Site		Couper Kitchen Site	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Brass (cont.)						
type I	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
type 18	4	6.9	3	9.4	3	11.1
type 18, US Navy	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
type 25	-	-	1	3.1	1	3.7
type 32	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
hook	3	5.2	1	3.1	-	-
eye	6	10.4	1	3.1	2	7.4
grommet	-	-	2	6.3	-	-
trouser fastening or grommet ("Hitchcock and Co.")	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
elliptical front with gilt	-	-	-	-	1	3.7
White Brass						
type D or type 7	-	-	-	-	1	3.7
White Metal						
type C or type 8	1	1.7	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	58	100.0	32	100.0	27	100.0

legend "Best Gilt," and another was impressed with the words--"Scovill Double Gilt." Also a 14mm brass button with iron eye was identical in size and shape to a button recovered from the planter's kitchen refuse. Apparently, the button came from cast-off clothing discarded by the planter. A large type I button (25mm), imported from Britain in the 1850's, had an embossed fox's head on the front and the back bore the legend "Treble Stand Extra Rich" (Luscomb 1972: 161). With the exception of the embossed fox and "Best Gilt" buttons, other examples were less than 20mm in diameter.

Brass buttons at the overseer's site are fewer in number, but they included three type 18 buttons. One 21mm button had the legend "Benedict & [Burnham?]" and dated to the 1843-1849 period (Luscomb 1972: 21). Another was marked "Loom FR&Co. Warranted." A type 25 button came from the overseer's well. Only the "Benedict" button was larger than 20mm in diameter.

At the planter's kitchen the most unusual example was a type F "bullet button," which appeared on civilian and militia garments after 1812 (Olsen 1963: 552); James H. Couper was commander of the Glynn County Hussars, a militia cavalry unit (Couper to Schley June 2, 1836). Other brass buttons included a 16mm type 25 with decorated face, and a type 18 button with the legend: "Superfine London."

A type 7 white brass button, which was 20mm in diameter, appeared at the planter's kitchen. A cast white metal type C button, recovered from the slave cabin, dates to the period 1760-1790 (Olsen 1963: 553). It may represent an outmoded discard used by the slaves. Lastly, a glass button in brass set holder, possibly a sleeve-link (South 1964: 125), may have been another discard used by slaves.

Though there are several differences in the distribution of button types at the plantation sites, it would be difficult to predict social class differences. Yet, shell shirt buttons are absent from the overseer's house and four-hole bone and iron buttons from trousers and other garments were not recovered from the planter's site. Since fasteners performed different functions, a classification by possible function may explain some of the differences in distribution at the sites:

Table 28. Possible functions of clothing fasteners (site totals).

Possible Function	Slave Site		Overseer Site		Planter Site	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
trousers, underwear, etc. (4- and 5-hole bone)	20	34	12	38	3	11
trousers and outer garments (4-hole iron)	4	7	2	6	1	4
shirts (shell and porcelain)	10	17	7	22	8	30
coats, vests, dresses, etc. (metal; one-hole bone)	12	21	7[a]	22	13[b]	48
dress fasteners (brass and iron hooks and eyes)	10	17	2	6	2	7
sleeve link (glass etc.)	1	2	-	-	-	-
others	1	2	2	6	-	-
TOTALS	58	100	32	100	27	100

[a] Includes two large one-hole iron discs, probably coat fasteners.

[b] Includes elliptical front with gilt, probably a coat button front.

This very tentative functional classification reveals a higher percentage of trouser and underwear buttons at the slave and overseer sites, and a higher percentage of coat buttons at the planter's house. Yet, if slaves received only one or two types of buttons, they may have used these for a variety of functions; bone buttons may have served as fasteners on shirts, home-made coats, and even dresses as well as trousers and underwear.

Despite frequent references to button purchases in the Hopeton accounts, the materials used in manufacturing the buttons are not identified. Nevertheless, classification of clothing fasteners by composition reveals the following distribution:

Table 29. (Composition of clothing fasteners (site totals).

Materials	Slave Site		Overseer Site		Planter Site	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
bone	21	36	13	41	9	33
shell	4	7	-	-	5	19
porcelain	6	10	7	22	3	11
iron	5	9	4	12	1	4
brass (buttons)	10	17	4	12	6	22
brass (hooks and eyes, etc.)	10	17	4	12	2	7
white metal	1	2	-	-	1	4
glass	1	2	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	58	100	32	100	27	100

Though bone buttons are slightly more abundant at the slave and overseer sites, shell buttons are most common at the planter's site and are absent at the overseer site. Brass clothing fasteners, including nine hooks and eyes, are most common at the slave cabin; also, iron buttons are most common at the slave and overseer sites.

A similar pattern appears at Kingsley slave cabin, where bone (types 19 and 20) and brass (types 7, 9, and F) buttons were most common in the sample of 15. In addition to four bone and four brass buttons, there were three white porcelain (type 23), two iron (type 21), and two white metal (types 11 and 30) buttons (Fairbanks 1974: 89). At Rayfield slave cabin, five-hole bone buttons, brass civilian coat buttons, and a brass military coat button were present (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 13).

The tentative evidence from Cannon's Point and Kingsley indicates that on sites occupied by lower status people in the early nineteenth century, four- and five-hole bone and four-hole iron buttons may be more common. Bone and iron buttons may have been included with the textiles issued to slaves, while rural whites may have purchased these for trousers, underwear, and other items. On slave sites, many of the brass buttons, hooks, and eyes may have come from discarded clothing, formerly worn by the planter family (Fairbanks 1974: 89; Genovese 1974: 556-557).

In addition, slaves probably purchased fasteners from local shopkeepers. In Rufus R. Merrill's "variety store," there were "Ball Buttons [type F?] and Rings/Plated [gilt?] and methewman [?] Buttons" (Darien Gazette February 15, 1819). In the local stores, slaves could have selected from a wide variety of luxury textiles and "Ready Made Clothing" (Brunswick Advocate December 28, 1837). George Street stocked silks, bombazeen, damask, lace, and "Ladies White and Black silk Hose, cotton

[ditto]" (Darien Gazette October 27, 1821). According to Basil Hall, Cannon's Point slaves spent most of their income on "dress and trinkets" (Hall 1829: 224).

When slaves and overseer families sewed their own clothing from bulk textiles, they may have based their everyday clothes on folk models, rather than popular or fashionable models. Their work clothing may have retained "styles and forms of cut" that were popular among the elite in earlier decades (Köhler 1963 [1928]: 51; Foster 1953: 165; Glassie 1968: 3-4). Although slave trousers and dresses had European models, the use of headkerchiefs and turbans may have had African antecedents (Glassie 1968: 117; GWP 1940: 179-180). In turn, the planter family purchased fashionable ready-made items from factors; and, they emulated the popular fashions, disseminated by fashion plates in magazines (Nevinson 1967: 91), when their slave seamstresses fashioned clothing from luxury textiles. As a result, there may have been a folk/popular dichotomy in the clothing worn by the slaves and overseers, and the apparel worn by the elite planter family. Yet, slaves were not oblivious to fashion. The slave women on Hopeton Plantation requested that Caroline Couper purchase the latest styles in textiles and articles of dress for them when she visited Savannah (Johnson 1930: 142).

Recreation and Status Consumption

This category could include liquors, which have been discussed in the glass container section, items used in tobacco consumption, ornaments, games and toys, personal possessions, and horse equipment.

Tobacco

Tobacco in the early nineteenth century could be smoked in clay pipes, smoked as cigars, used as snuff, or chewed. Snuff-taking was in decline, but cigars were becoming more popular, especially among planters, who purchased cigars in bulk from factors (House ed., 1954: 48). "Spanish" cigars, packed in cedar boxes, were preferred; these were fashioned from Cuban leaf in Spain, Cuba, or the United States. Often, the Cuban leaves were mixed with domestic tobacco to produce "half-Spanish" cigars. "American" cigars, packed in chestnut boxes and made from Connecticut and other domestic leaves, were far more common (Heimann 1962: 87-89, 94). Joseph H. Burroughs, a Savannah merchandiser, stocked the following cigars: "10,000 yellow and brown Spanish Segars/15,000 half Spanish Segars/25,000 imitation [ditto]/100,000 American [ditto]" (Savannah Georgian November 2, 1837). I. Sasportas, a Darien shop-keeper, offered "first chop Spanish cigars in boxes and 1/4 boxes" (Darien Gazette December 28, 1818).

Clay pipes, usually termed "Negro pipes" in advertisements, were also popular in the early nineteenth century. Smoking tobacco came from leaf tobacco, which could be torn by hand, or "twists," which could be cut up to fit the pipe bowls. Twists were long ropes of tobacco leaves, which were sold by the yard. Twists could be used for pipes or chewing-which was often more convenient for workers (Heimann 1962: 117-119). Local merchants offered "leaf tobacco" (Darien Gazette October 27, 1821), and C. E. Putman advertised "Manufactured Ladies' twist and leaf tobacco" (Darien Gazette September 14, 1824). Women chewed and smoked as well as the men; Mrs. Andrew Jackson and Mrs. Zachary Taylor smoked clay pipes in the White House without creating scandal. But after the 1850's, tobacco use became less fashionable among elite women (Heimann 1962: 90; Martin 1942: 81-82).

Snuff is rarely advertised in the newspapers, though there is one reference to "Snuff boxes" in Rufus R. Merrill's advertisement (Darien Gazette February 15, 1819). Judging from newspaper advertisements, cigars, pipes, and chewing were the favored modes of tobacco use on the early nineteenth century Georgia coast.

No individual entries for tobacco appear in the lists of sundries purchased for the planter family or overseers on Cannon's Point. Nevertheless, Hugh Grant, a rice planter on the Altamaha River, purchased cigars, and some of his overseers purchased tobacco, though others apparently abstained. In 1843, overseer B. Talbott bought nine pounds of tobacco [twist?] and 333 "segars." In contrast, John J. Morgan had no tobacco products listed in his 1859 account (House ed., 1954: 48, 266-268).

A rare entry for slave tobacco does appear in the Hopeton account books. On November 23, 1852, a 104-pound box of tobacco was included in a list of plantation provisions for Cannon's Point purchased from Robert Mure & Co. (Couper 1839-54: 479). Tobacco was occasionally included in the rations of coastal slaves (Woofter 1930: 30-31). On C. C. Pickney's South Carolina plantation, slaves regularly received tobacco and pipes (Phillips ed., 1969 [1910]: 206). More commonly, tobacco was a luxury which planters did not provide; slaves purchased tobacco and pipes from local merchandisers (Johnson 1930: 86; Ball 1859: 128-130).

The documentary evidence would suggest social differences in tobacco use that may be reflected archeologically. Clay pipes, may have been more popular among slaves than whites, who preferred cigars or snuff. If pipe smoking was less popular among the white inhabitants of Cannon's Point, few if any pipe fragments should appear at the planter and overseer sites. Conversely, pipe fragments should be relatively abundant on slave sites.

This was confirmed by the archeological evidence: at the slave cabin, there were 107 pipe stem and bowl fragments, 47 at the overseer site, and only 26 pipe fragments at the planter's kitchen (Table 30).

The slave cabin pipes included examples made by McDougall Co. in Glasgow, Scotland, the most important center for pipe-making in the nineteenth century (Walker 1971:23). A Dutch pipemaker, J. Prince of Gouda, is also represented. Prince pipes have been reported from early nineteenth century Canadian sites, including Fort Coteau du Lac (1780-1851) and Signal Hill (1795-ca. 1850) (Walker 1971: 30-33; Rick 1970: 39; Jelks 1973: 17-75). Also appearing in the cabin refuse were the pipes of Peter Dorni, who lived in northern France about 1850; his pipes were widely imitated by pipe-makers in the Netherlands (Omwake 1961: 12-15). Products of English pipe-makers are also present; and Variety E pipes, similar to slave cabin examples, were recovered from a privy (1828-95) in Rome, New York (Hanson 1971: 94; Hanson and Hsu 1971). Finally, an undecorated "apple bowl" appeared in the slave cabin refuse: "apple" bowls have been reported from Ft. Laramie (1834-90) and Signal Hill, Newfoundland (Wilson 1961: 121, 124; Walker 1971: 26-27).

At the overseer's house, pipes from three Glasgow manufacturers were present: McDougall; W. White; and Davidson. McDougall and White pipes appear in pre-1861 sites, including Building 115 at Sacramento, occupied by a dealer in sundries whose establishment burned in 1852. Davidson began making pipes in 1862 (Humphrey 1969: 12, 15, 17-18). Class VII pipes, similar to examples from the overseer site, also appear in Building 115 (Humphrey 1969: 23). A type 23 pipe bowl with raised tobacco leaf pattern dates to the period 1820-60 (Noel Hume 1969a: 302-303). American-made pipes, produced by Bergmann and Campbell Companies of New York City, have not yet been dated; yet, both companies were in

Table 30. Frequencies of clay tobacco pipe fragments at plantation sites.

Pipe Fragments	Slave Cabin Refuse	Overseer's House Refuse (Zones II-III)	Couper Kitchen Refuse (Zones II-IV)	Slave Cabin Site	Overseer's Site	Couper Kitchen Site
"I. H. Bergmann's/New York"	-	-	-	-	2	-
"[Ca]mpbell" [New York?]	-	-	-	-	1	-
"Davidson/Glasgow" (Humphrey 1969: 15-17)	-	-	-	-	2	-
"Peter Dorni" (Omwake 1961)	3	-	-	3	-	-
"Try Lorillard's Tobacco/1618 20 Chambers New York"	-	-	-	-	1	-
"McDougall/Glasgow" (Humphrey 1969: 17-18)	1	1	1	2	3	1
"J. Prin[ce]/Gouda" (Walker 1971: 30, 34)	-	-	-	1	-	-
"78-W. White/Glasgow" (Humphrey 1969: 12, 18)	-	-	-	-	2	-
Class VII (Humphrey 1969: 12, 18)	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ribbed Pipes, Variety E (Hanson 1971: 94)	5	-	-	5	-	-
Type 21 (Noel Hume 1969a: 302-303)	-	-	-	-	-	1
Type 23 with raised tobacco leaf design	-	1	-	-	1	-

Table 30. (continued)

Pipe Fragments	Slave Cabin Refuse	Overseer's House Refuse (Zones II-III)	Couper Kitchen Refuse (Zones II-IV)	Slave Cabin Site	Overseer's Site	Couper Kitchen Site
Type 30 detachable stem bowls	1	3	1	1	4	1
Unidentifiable decorated or marked pipe fragments	14	5	8	14	8	9
Undecorated "apple" bowl pipes (Wilson 1966: 34)	1	2	-	1	2	-
Undecorated bowl with mushroom spur (Wilson 1966: 34)	-	1	-	-	1	-
Type 23 undecorated (Noel Hume 1969a: 302-303)	-	-	-	-	1	-
Undecorated pipe fragments	58	5	12	80	18	14
TOTALS	83	18	22	107	47	26

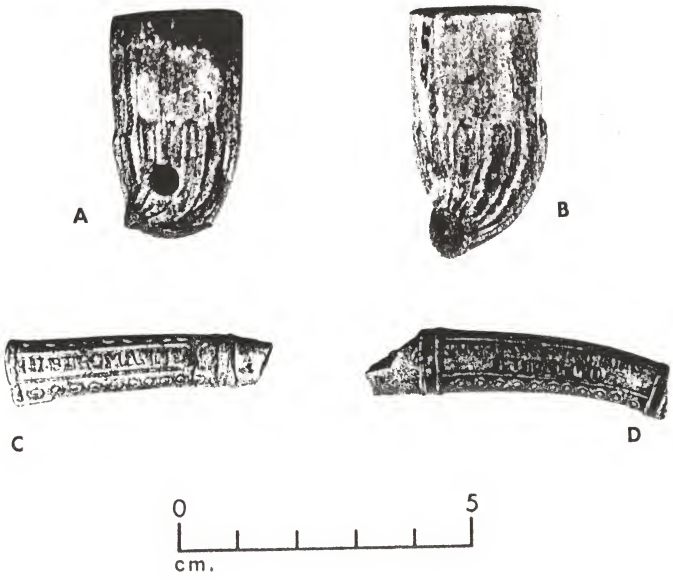
existence in the antebellum period (James Heslin, written communication). A stem with the legend, "Try Lorillard's Tobacco/1618 20 Chambers [street]," came from Zone I of the refuse midden. The earliest date for P. Lorillard Co. (at this address) in the New York City directories is 1869 (James Heslin, written communication; Figure 35).

The small planter's kitchen pipe sample contained a McDougall stem and a fragment from a type 21 pipe (1780–1820) (Noel Hume 1969a: 302–303). A pink clay detachable stem bowl also came from the kitchen refuse. Reddish clay detachable bowls appeared at the slave cabin and overseer site. These were manufactured in the United States and abroad (Fairbanks 1974: 86).

European and American companies produced vast quantities of clay pipes from ball clay. After preparation, workers formed the clay in molds and created bore holes with lubricated wire. After molding, they trimmed the mold seams before kiln-firing. "Pipes destined for export were placed in the hotter parts [of the kiln] as this made them stronger and less liable to break in shipping" (Walker and Walker 1969: 134–136). Often the mold lines were disguised by decorative ribs or molded leaves (Humphrey 1969: 14; Figure 35), and this resulted in a further saving of time. Molds for clay pipes frequently contained the names and locations of manufacturers (Walker 1971: 19); the Lorillard pipe appears to be an advertisement for that brand of smoking tobacco. As early as 1822, J. and A. Bennett in Darien stocked "Lorillard's Tobacco" (Darien Gazette November 28, 1822).

Clay pipes were fragile and cheap, and smokers readily discarded them when they broke (Walker 1971: 19; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; 13). Occasionally, pipes do show evidence of repair and re-use (Wilson 1966: 34). An example of re-use comes from the overseer's site; a Class VII

Figure 35. Clay tobacco pipes. (A) re-used Class VII pipe from the overseer's well; (B) Class VII pipe from the southern third slave cabin site; (C) and (D) Bergmann and Lorillard pipes from the overseer's house site.


A
B
C
D
0
5
cm.

pipe bowl was re-bored and used with a reed stem after the original stem was broken (Figure 35). No example of re-used pipe bowls were present in the slave cabin refuse.

The evidence from Cannon's Point indicates that planters rarely used pipes and may have preferred cigars or snuff. Yet, no snuff bottle fragments (see Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 13; Durrenberger 1965: 25-26) or snuff box remains could be identified. At the overseer's house, a brass container, possibly a snuff box, was recovered from the well. Overseers also used pipes and possibly cigars as well. An abundance of pipe remains at the slave cabin indicates that smoking was the preferred way of using tobacco among slaves.

There is little evidence from other early nineteenth century sites to corroborate the findings at Cannon's Point. At Kingsley slave cabin, only 15 tobacco pipe fragments were recovered; one stem fragment was made in Gouda; another came from a detachable stem bowl. No snuff bottle fragments were reported (Fairbanks 1974: 86). At Rayfield cabin, fragments from tobacco pipes, including an L. Fiolet pipe imported from France, were present in addition to a snuff bottle fragment (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 13).

Ornaments

Beads were recovered from all three sites, but only one bead came from the overseer's house. All nine of the beads at the slave cabin and two of the beads at the planter's kitchen were faceted, hexagonal beads, similar to examples recovered from Kingsley and Rayfield slave cabins (see Tables 31-32). Though Robert Ascher believed the bead at Rayfield may have been worn by an enslaved African, who was smuggled into the

Figure 36. Faceted, hexagonal beads from the northern third slave cabin site; (A) and (B) "turquoise;" (C) and (D) "brite navy;" (E) and (F) black.

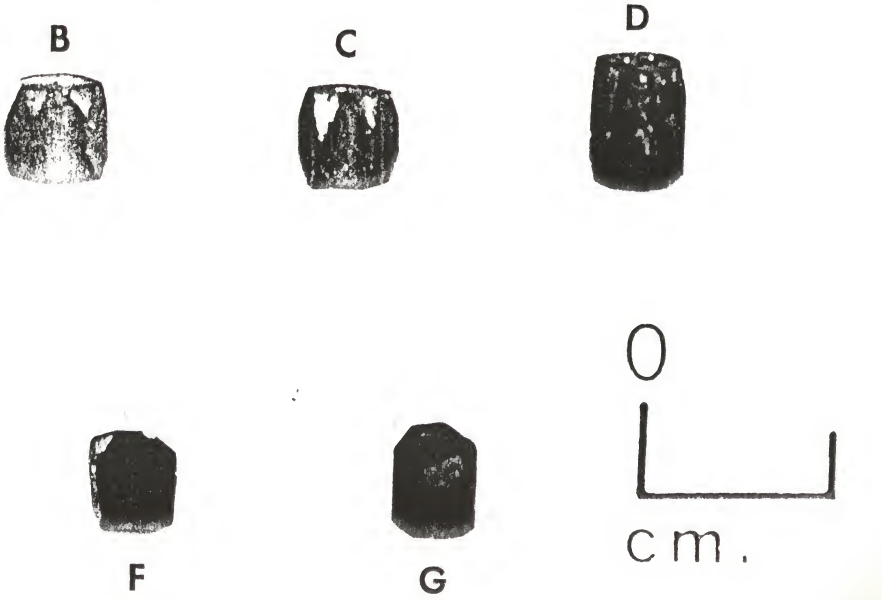

B
C
D
0
cm.
F
G

Figure 37. Beads from the planter's kitchen refuse and the overseer's house refuse. (A) faceted hexagonal "turquoise" bead; (B) Type IIIa or "cornaline d'Aleppo;" (C) faceted hexagonal "brite navy" bead; (D) "palm green" wire-wound (Type WIb9) bead; (E) black tube (Type Ia^2) bead. (A-D are from the planter's site; E is from the overseer's site.)

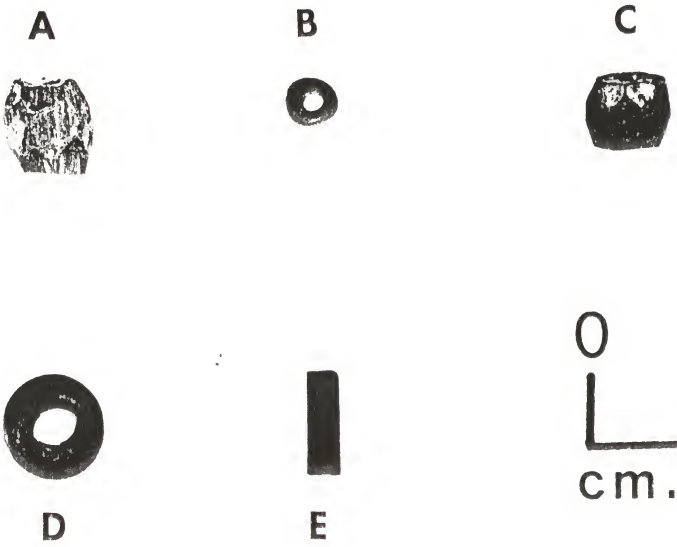

A
B
C
0
cm.
D
E

Table 31. Glass beads (antebellum refuse contexts).[a]

	Turquoise	Brite Navy	Black	Dark Palm Green
Slave Cabin Refuse				
Cornerless, hexagonal, monochrome beads similar to Type 10 (van der Sleen nd: Figure 5, 41)	2 whole (4x5mm) (5x5mm)	1 whole (4x5mm) 2 fragments	3 whole (4x5mm)	-
Overseer's Refuse (zones II-III)				
Monochrome tube bead similar to Type Ia[2] (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 54, 67)	-	-	1 (7mm)	-
Couper's Kitchen Refuse (zones II-IV)				
(a) Cornerless, hexagonal, monochrome beads similar to Type 10	1 (5x6mm)	1 (5x5mm)	-	-
(b) Wire-wound monochrome bead similar to Type WIb9 (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 62, 84)	-	-	-	1 (4x6mm)

[a]Color categories from Kidd and Kidd (1970).

United States in the nineteenth century (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 8-9), these "faceted beads, usually in a pale blue metal, are quite common in the New World, occurring in large quantities in Seminole graves from about 1780 to well into the nineteenth century" (Fairbanks 1974: 90). These were cane beads, produced by drawing out a bubble into a long slender tube. When half-molten, facets could be formed by molding (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 48; van der Sleen nd: 23-26). Corners were removed by grinding.

A single black cane bead came from the overseer's house refuse; most of the overseers were single and this may account for the paucity of beads at the site. Bi-color cane beads at the planter's kitchen, often called "cornaline d'Aleppo" (van der Sleen nd: 85), were recovered from zone 6, which underlay tabby rubble. The context post-dates 1795 because of the presence of transfer-printed pearlware and early cut nails (South 1972; Nelson 1963: 25). Bi-color cane beads were made by forming a core tube and rolling this on a plate of half-molten glass to form the exterior (van der Sleen nd: 25). A wire-wound bead and an unidentified seed bead complete the collection. Wire-wound beads were made individually by wrapping strands of molten glass on coated wire (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 49).

The beads at Cannon's Point could have been used for necklaces (GWP 1940: 166), and earrings (Charles Fairbanks, verbal communication), or in embroidery work (Pullan cited in Karklins and Sprague 1972: 97). Some Muslim slaves in Georgia used prayer beads, or they wore a string of beads around their waist (GWP 1940: 161, 166).

The faceted beads at the slave cabin may have been discards or gifts from the planter, because of similarities in color, shape, and size; yet, pale blue or turquoise faceted beads were quite common (Fairbanks 1974:

Table 32. Glass beads from plantation sites.

	Turquoise	Brite Navy	Black	Dark Palm Green	Redwood/ Apple Green	Unidentified
Slave Cabin						
Cornerless, hexagonal, monochrome beads similar to Type 10 (van der Sleen nd: Fig. 5, 41)	2 whole (4x5mm) (5x5mm)	2 whole (4x5mm) (5x7mm) 2 fragments	3 whole (4x5mm)	-	-	-
Overseer's House						
Monochrome tube bead similar to Type Ia[2] (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 54, 67)	-	-	1 (7mm)	-	-	-
Couper's Kitchen						
(a) Cornerless, hexagonal, monochrome beads similar to Type 10	1 (5x6mm)	1)5x5mm)	-	-	-	-
(b) Wire-wound monochrome bead similar to Type WIb9 (Kidd and Kidd: 1970: 62, 84)	-	-	-	1 (4x6mm)	-	-
(c) Tube beads with exterior and core similar to Type IIIa[3] (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 58, 76)	-	-	-	-	2 (3x4mm)	-
(d) Unidentified heavily-patinated "seed" bead	-	-	-	-	-	1

90). The slaves may have purchased their own ornaments from local shop-keepers (Hall 1829: 224).

Games and Toys

Only two artifacts can be included in this category. A partial doll's head of white earthenware, covered with translucent greenish glaze, came from the well pit fill at the northern cabins. A clay marble was recovered from the surface near the slave cabin; it may have been deposited on the site after the Civil War (see Randall 1971: 103).

Personal Possessions

Personal possessions were surprisingly rare at the planter's kitchen. Probably, discards would have been claimed by the house servants. Only the side plate of a flintlock pistol was recovered from the kitchen refuse.

A brass handle from a fan came from the well pit fill associated with the northern set of cabins; it may have been a discard from the planter family or a purchase to complement the Sunday finery of a slave woman. A small pocket knife, owned by a slave, came from the third cabin refuse. By 1860, single-bladed pocket knives cost only a few dimes (Martin 1942: 215).

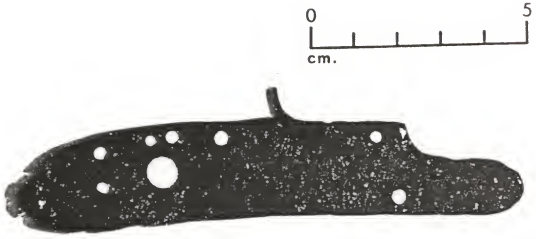
More personal possessions came from the overseer site. A brass badge or brooch with two six-pointed stars came from the overseer well. A rib from an umbrella also came from the well. Umbrellas with whalebone or steel frames were manufactured in the United States after 1800 (Martin 1942: 213). The bone handle from a toothbrush also came from the overseer site. A fragment of a graphite pencil from the well was probably used in writing reports to the planter. No evidence of writing equipment was present at the slave cabin.

The most unusual personal possession from the plantation sites was a glass disc, 16.25 cm in diameter, recovered from the overseer well. One side was convex, and the flat side was inscribed with the following: "PATENT/GL/Hugh F. Grant/1829." The word PATENT was machine engraved; the remainder of the legend had been engraved in script with a diamond (see Figure 39). The convex side had been ground by hand, and the glass may have been a lens from the lighthouse built at St. Simons Village, on the southern tip of the island (Charles Fairbanks, verbal communication).

Hugh Fraser Grant, son of Robert Grant who was a Glynn County planter, would have been 18 years old in 1829 (Census Records-Glynn County 1850). Possibly, he served as overseer at Cannon's Point before his marriage to Mary Elizabeth Fraser on April 27, 1831 (Hugh F. Grant," NCF). After his marriage, Hugh Grant moved to Georgetown, South Carolina, to manage rice plantations owned by Reverend Hugh Fraser, his father-in-law (House ed., 1954: 4-8; Rogers 1970: 195, 268-269). In 1833, Robert Grant transferred Elizafield rice plantation on the Altamaha River to his son, Hugh, who re-located in Glynn County (Deed Book H: 353-356).

Although there is no documentary evidence in the "Hugh F. Grant papers" to corroborate Grant's presence at Cannon's Point (Lilla Hawes, personal communication, there is some evidence in the 1830 Glynn County census. A young man, in the age category 15-20 years, is listed as living at Cannon's Point. The youth was not one of John Couper's sons: W. A. Couper would have been 12; and James H. Couper was 36 years old and manager of Hopeton plantation. Hugh Grant, however, would have been 19 years old (Census Records-Glynn County 1830, 1850).

Figure 38. Personal possessions. (A) pistol flintlock from the Couper kitchen refuse; (B) brass brooch from the overseer's house well.



A

B

Figure 39. Engraved glass disc or lens from the overseer's house well.

FAITHFUL
G.H.
Hugh Ford
1829

Horse Equipment and Vehicles

A brass stirrup was recovered from the surface of the slave cabin refuse; it may have been deposited after the Civil War or slaves may have had access to riding animals. On Thomas Spalding's Sapelo Island plantation, favored slaves were allowed to own horses (Wylly 1910: 51). A harness ring was also recovered from the slave cabin refuse.

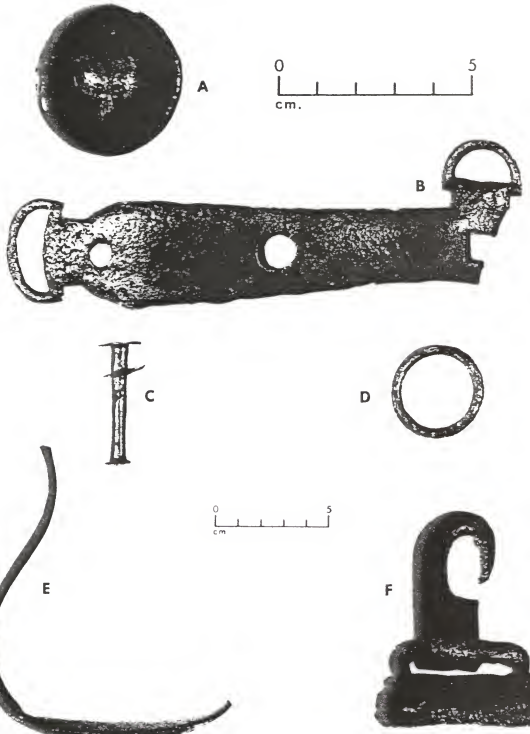
At the overseer site, a circular copper and pewter bridle ornament, with an applied lead bear or fox head, came from the refuse. Also, five brass rivets with washers are similar to illustrated examples of vehicle parts (Watkins 1968: 169-170). A cast iron object may have come from a horse collar. Also, a wrought iron trace hook came from the arch under the south chimney (Charles Fairbanks, verbal communication). At least one of the overseers, Seth R. Walker, owned a buggy and harness, valued at $120.00 (Couper 1839-54: 442) (Figure 40).

Harness buckles also appeared at the planter's kitchen. In 1850, five "carriage riding horses" and "two carriages and buggys" were listed in the Cannon's Point inventory (Couper 1839-54: np).

Summary: Non-Ceramic Artifacts

Though slaves usually purchased their own ceramics, they often used non-ceramic items discarded by the planter family. Elaborate cut glass tableware, usually associated with higher status users, appeared at the slave site. Also, several brass buttons at the slave site may have come from clothing discarded by the planter family. Beads at the slave site are quite similar in color and shape to examples at the planter's site, and they may be discards. Since the distribution of non-ceramic artifacts is skewed by extensive re-use of discards, status differences are not

Figure 40. Horse equipment and vehicle items. (A) copper and pewter bridle ornament with applied bear head from the overseer's house refuse; (B) cast iron fitting, possibly from a horse collar; (C) brass vehicle rivet; (D) harness ring from the northern third slave cabin refuse; (E) brass stirrup from the surface of the northern third slave cabin refuse; (F) wrought iron trace hook from the southern chimney arch of the overseer's house.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clearly indicated and the evidence is rather ambiguous.

Opaque dark-green bottle fragments, however, are relatively more common at the slave cabin site. Since these bottles may have held brewed beverages, their appearance at the slave site may indicate differences in drinking habits. It is also possible that local tavern-keepers and distillers packaged hard spirits in imported, re-used, or American-made "black" bottles. The ubiquitious fragments of opaque glass may be evidence of an illegal trade in whiskey which existed between shop-keepers and slaves.

Though planters and overseers looked askance at slave drinking, alcoholism flourished among the whites (Genovese 1974: 644-645). There were no legal or customary restraints to hinder white consumption of liquors. The medium-green bottles, which may have held wines, and the case bottles, which frequently contained Holland gin, are relatively more common at the planter and overseer sites. The Couper family stocked a wide variety of liquors in bottles and barrels for their guests.

Glass medicine containers occurred more frequently at the slave and overseer sites. Overseers were responsible for the health of slaves and they kept the medicine stocks. Slaves and overseers often worked in inclement weather, and they may have suffered from dietary deficiencies. Remains of medicine bottles document their health problems.

Certain bone and iron buttons appear more frequently at the lower status sites than at the elite site. These buttons, obtained as rations or purchased from shop-keepers, were used on the outergarments and underwear of slaves and overseers. A high frequency of four- and five-hole bone buttons and a four-hole iron button at an early nineteenth century site may indicate that the former inhabitants were lower status.

Slaves and overseers preferred pipes to other forms of tobacco use. In turn, pipe fragments are relatively scarce at the planter's site, where the Couper family and their guests probably smoked "Spanish" cigars. During the early nineteenth century, clay pipes were more popular with lower status people.

V. FOOD RESOURCES AND STATUS DIFFERENCES

Food has been such a distinctive part of Southern life that Henry Glassie included it in his study of the material folk culture of the Eastern United States. In a vivid passage, he describes the food of many contemporary rural Southerners:

> . . . the family sits down today to a noontime dinner of field peas cooked with fat meat and sprinkled with 'pepper sauce' from a 7-Up bottle filled with vinegar and sun-dried peppers. Depending upon how long it has been since hog-killing, there might be a pork chop, some ham, bacon, or sausage on the side of the plate. To sop the juices there are buttermilk biscuits thickly spread with butter which the lady of the house churned while she rocked, and afterward there is cornbread soaked in syrup . . . . (Glassie 1968: 102, 107)

The antebellum antecedents of modern Southern food habits have been documented by Sam Hilliard in Hogmeat and Hoecake (1972). The accounts left by antebellum travelers who commented, often unfavorably, on Southern foods are a major source of information. Diaries and daybooks of planters and farmers also contain references to the foodstuffs that were grown or purchased. Finally, analogies from contemporary Southern diets and a few late nineteenth and early twentieth century dietary studies complete the inventory of documentary sources (Hilliard 1972: 37-38).

The salient characteristics of the antebellum Southern diet included (a) a heavy reliance on fish, game, and wild plants, (b) a decided preference for hog meat, and (c) the supremacy of corn (Hilliard 1969: 1-2). Given the low ratio of cleared to uncleared land and the numerous bodies of water, food collecting remained an important activity in most

parts of the South (Hilliard 1972: 70). Hogs, which survive on an incredibly varied diet and bear frequent, large litters (Chaplin 1971: 137-138), remained the preferred domestic animals, even with the passage of frontier conditions (Hilliard 1972: 111). Maize, which thrived in the Southern climate and produced sizable yields per acre, was the dominant food crop even though other grains were available (Hilliard 1972: 151).

Yet, little is known about the relative role of wild foods in the diets of white and black Southerners of all classes. European travelers were impressed with the abundance of game and fish on Southern tables; a survey of these accounts would indicate that in "the diet of all classes of Southern society, hog meat had serious rivals in the furred and feathered creatures of the forests and in the seafood from the streams, lakes, and coasts" (Shingleton 1970: 407-408). Travelers, nevertheless, may have been overly impressed with the hunting and fishing prowess of Southerners, and they may have underemphasized the more prosiac food sources (Hilliard 1970: 409-410). In turn, planters' daybooks and journals rarely recorded wild foods, though there are monotonous references to pork and corn. The actual role of wild foods in the diet of Southerners cannot be adequately determined from documentary evidence. As Hilliard noted: "Intuitively, we know the forests and streams were utilized as sources of food, but their importance relative to the domestic supply remains largely speculative . . ." (Hilliard 1970: 409-410).

There are other gaps in the documentary evidence. Differences between white and black diets were not recorded in detail. Surprisingly, more is known about the slave diet than that of white Southerners (Hilliard 1972: 55). And finally, it is not known how status differences among whites were reflected in their food habits.

It is believed, however, that there were "marked differences in the kind, quality and (possibly) the quantity of food consumed" by free whites and black slaves. Presumably, whites had greater opportunity to vary their diets than the slaves, who had the lowest social and legal status in the Old South (Hilliard 1972: 55).

Despite obvious deficiencies in the historical record of Southern diets, there have been few attempts to generate new information by excavations of antebellum plantations and farms (see Fairbanks 1974: 62). Plantations and farms, whose inhabitants occupied differing ethnic and social status positions, should contain the remains of the animals (and possibly plants) that served as food sources. Dwelling sites, which were known to have been occupied by planters, yeoman farmers, overseers, or slaves, can be excavated to recover food remains that may provide information about aspects of Southern food practices that are neglected in the documents. Faunal remains should supply reliable evidence about the relative roles of wild and domestic animals in the diet. Equally important, food remains could demonstrate how white and black diets differed in quality and quantity; since planters and overseers usually differed in social standing, the food bones from their dwellings should demonstrate dietary class differences as well.

In the case of plantation inhabitants, the differences in food resources can be explained by differential access to plantation production. The planters had the pick of plantation produce and livestock, but overseers and slaves had only limited access to these food sources because law and custom protected the planter's monopoly.

Domestic Plant and Animal Food Sources

Overseers

Southern white overseers typically received a ration of corn and meat from the planter, and other food items were deducted from their yearly salary (Scarborough 1966: 25-26; Phillips and Glunt eds., 1927: 577-578). In addition, they were often allowed to cultivate a garden (Abbey 1929: 190). Fanny Kemble, visiting Butler's Point, noted that the overseer's wife had "made a 'sort of a garden'" (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 167). On Hugh F. Grant's rice plantations on the Altamaha River, overseers were allowed to keep livestock, including oxen (House ed., 1954: 47-48). The Cannon's Point overseers also kept livestock; J. J. Morgan owned at least three cows during his final year as overseer on Cannon's Point (Couper 1826-52: 320).

But on Cannon's Point, during the period 1846 to 1853 when overseer accounts are available, the overseers appear to have purchased their own corn and meat. There are puzzling bulk purchases of maize, "2nd quality rice," rice flour, beef, pork, and molasses in the overseer's expense accounts (Couper 1839-54: Various).

In 1846, for example, J. J. Morgan purchased barrels of beef, pork, and sugar from Mitchell and Mure, the Charleston factors; also, he bought 21 1/2 bushels of corn and 45 bushels of rice flour from the Cannon's Point estate. These two purcnases alone totaled $73.85 (Couper 1839-54: 226, 246), a sizable portion of Morgan's $250.00 yearly salary (Couper 1839-54: 246). Assuming that Morgan received no rations from the Coupers and did not purchase other provisions, this amount of food would provide 25.9 quarts of rice flour and 13.2 quarts of maize per week. Since Morgan is listed as a non-slaveholder in the 1850 Glynn County Census,

the food was used by Morgan, his wife, and two young daughters, and possibly the servants that were assigned to him. Rice flour could be used in bread-making, and cornmeal could be cooked as bread, gruel or pottage (Hillard 1972: 48-49; Johnson 1930: 135). Cornmeal and rice flour were also major items in the diets of sea island slaves.

Slaves

Most Southern planters supplied their slaves with weekly rations of corn and meat from the plantation stocks. Seasonal vegetables, fruit, and even commercial food supplements such as molasses, salt, and coffee could be added to the basic ration. Yet, corn and pork remained the core of most slave diets (Fogel and Engerman 1972: 110-111). The usual weekly ration was a peck of corn and 2-5 pounds of "bacon" for each adult. The "bacon" could be cured sidemeat, shoulders, or even joints (Hilliard 1972: 56-57; Blake 1852: 31). Slaves generally prepared their rations and other foods in their quarters. Some planters, however, adopted communal cooking, and a few encouraged their slaves to grow all their own food in extensive gardens (Bonner 1964: 198).

Again, Cannon's Point differed somewhat from the Southern norm. In a description of Cannon's Point, Basil Hall noted that adult slaves received nine quarts of maize per week, and children received from five to eight quarts. They received no "bacon" but only some salt fish and occasional salt beef. The beef ration was a favor and could never be claimed as a right (Hall 1829: 224). The fish could have been salted on the plantation, or it may have been commercial fish obtained from a factor or general merchandiser. Factors' advertisements of plantation provisions in newspapers often included cured mackerel, codfish, and herrings (ie., Brunswick Advocate October 25, 1838). On Butler's Point

overseer Roswell King issued commercial fish, ("No. 3 Mackerel"), to slaves along with beef and pork (King 1828: 526).

The Cannon's Point slaves could substitute a bushel of sweet potatoes or two pecks of unhusked rice or "paddy" for the maize. Typical of nineteenth century dietary concepts, planters felt that potatoes and brown rice were not as nutritious as "Indian corn" (Hall 1829: 224).

Another glimpse into the diet of Cannon's Point slaves is provided by the plantation accounts of J. H. Couper, who gradually assumed financial control of Cannon's Point when John Couper reached his eighties. By 1844, though John Couper was still residing on Cannon's Point, J. H. Couper kept the accounts of expenditure and income. In March of that year, the estate purchased 400 bushels of corn from a general merchandiser. In October, Couper paid the Cannon's Point slaves for 44 1/2 bushels of corn; this corn, grown by slaves in their garden plots, was probably redistributed as rations. In that same month, the plantation obtained a corn shelter from Mitchell and Mure to speed up the rationing process. Finally, Couper closed the year with a purchase of 400 bushels of rice flour and 60 gallons of molasses from the Estate of James Hamilton, owners of Hopeton Plantation on the Altamaha River (Couper 1839-54: 168, 176, 177, 185).

By 1846, John Couper had moved to Hopeton to live with his son, and the resident overseer assumed charge of daily affairs. In this year, J. H. Couper purchased 200 bushels of rice flour in February from the Hamilton Estate. In February and March, he added 1200 bushels of corn from Mitchell and Mure. In April, Mitchell and Mure sent an additional 120 bushels of corn. During December, they purchased 400 bushels of rice flour and 28 gallons of molasses from Hopeton and 212 bushels of

corn from the Hopeton slaves (Couper 1839-54: 223, 226, 227, 235, 239, 246, 247).

These foodstuffs were in addition to the corn, sweet potatoes, cow peas, and other food crops grown on the plantation. In both years, there were no purchases of commercial meat; in fact, the first purchases of bacon sides, packed in hogsheads, appear in the 1852 accounts (Couper 1839-54: 472, 479-480). Protein for slave consumption was either raised on the plantation, or slaves had to provide most of their own protein by keeping domestic animals, hunting, and fishing.

On many plantations, beef and mutton were usually reserved for holidays. As an example, on Cannon's Point, during the three day Christmas break, slaves received "plenty of beef and whiskey" (Hall 1829: 224). If cattle were plentiful, however, these could have been slaughtered periodically, and edible portions distributed among the slaves. The periodic killing of large domestic animals was more typical of the Atlantic coast plantations, where cured pork was rarely issued (Hilliard 1972: 59). Such a situation may have existed at Cannon's Point, for cattle, sheep, and hogs could have been slaughtered to provide several pounds of fresh meat for each slave family. But as in the case of the overseers, little documentary evidence about Cannon's Point meat rations has survived, and the problem can only be resolved by observing the occurrence of large domestic animal bones in the faunal remains from overseer and slave sites.

But slaves were not wholly dependent on rations. They were allowed to clear a small garden patch, though their vegetable crops were usually the same ones that were supplied as rations--corn, sweet potatoes, cowpeas, turnips, and greens (Hilliard 1972: 60). On Cannon's Point, in 1828, slaves

could plant as much land as they chose (Hall 1829: 224). Usually, slaves cultivated about one-half acre (Hilliard 1972: 183). Couper also planted a special patch of cabbage and cauliflowers for the use of his slaves, and they received turnips and rutabagas from the fodder crop (Editor of SA 1833: 252).

Despite the legal prohibitions against slave ownership of property (Flanders 1933: 246), slaves accumulated some domestic animals. Usually, these were poultry and hogs (Woofter 1930: 30-31), though slaves at Cannon's Point also kept domestic rabbits (see Table 36). Cannon's Point slaves used the surplus from their corn ration to feed their domestic animals (Hall 1829: 224). Marked or branded slave hogs may have ranged through the oak hammocks of the plantation, visiting the slave homes for corn and refuse; or, they could also have been penned or even tethered (Olmsted 1968 [1856]: 422; Crum 1940: 51). Since hogs convert 1/5 of what they eat into usable meat and beef steers convert only 1/20 of what they consume (Leeds and Vayda eds., 1965: 233), hogs, which could subsist on anything from corn and acorns to insects and human feces, were the preferred domestic animals of slaves. Though some of the hogs were consumed, most were probably sold to planters or local merchants (Woofter 1930: 30-31).

Domestic fowl, which are also omnivores, provided another source of income. In 1828, Cannon's Point slaves sold chicken eggs at $.12 1/2 a dozen, fowls at 20 to 25 cents, and ducks at twice that amount (Hall 1829:224). Yet, to gather eggs in sizable quantities, slaves had to provide pens or coops to prevent females from hiding their egg caches.

The Planter Family

In contrast to the limited food resources of slaves and overseers, planters monopolized the plantation livestock and food crops. Though

part of the surplus was redistributed to slaves as rations, this monopoly of the plantation food irked hungry slaves and even overseers. They periodically raided the planters' corn houses, poultry yards, and stockpens (Genovese 1970: 145; Genovese 1974: 599; P. 1837: 505).

Such a situation may have existed at Cannon's Point, but most of the plantation livestock was kept on Long [Sea] Island, an uninhabited barrier island owned by the Coupers. Here, hogs fed on liveoak acorns, and steers and sheep browsed in the liveoak-hickory-magnolia forests and visited the salt marshes along the western edge of the island (Campbell and Keller 1973: 3, 4, 9; Shelford 1963: 86). Stock-keepers rounded up the animals in the spring (Hazzard 1825). After capture, range animals were fattened on turnips and cowpeas at Cannon's Point (Couper 1832: 288-289). In an 1850 inventory of Cannon's Point livestock, 70 cattle, valued at $420, are listed; hogs and sheep are not itemized (Couper 1839-54: np).

In addition to herds of livestock, the Coupers had an extensive vegetable garden to supply their needs; the Coupers gave the excess to guests and neighbors (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 267). The garden supplied turnips, cabbages, cauliflowers, green peas, salad greens, and several kinds of grapes (Editor of SA 1833: 252; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961; 238, 267; Couper to Couper August 31, 1810).

A large orchard provided plums, peaches, nectarines, and figs (Couper to Couper June 21, 1810). By 1832, John Couper had planted over 20 acres of oranges (Editor of SA 1833: 249). Couper also experimented with olives, sugar cane, and even dates (Couper 1835; Lyell 1849 Vol. I: 253).

Despite the seeming abundance, there were occasional shortages. In a letter to his brother, John Couper described such a time:

> My wife has just disturbed me in a fury, unexpected company have dropped in near dinner, some Lamb killed two days ago is sower [sic]-We have rec'd no beef . . . our fisherman has returned with bad luck-it blows too hard-it is too late to kill poultry-so Bacon and eggs. . . . Tomorrow . . . Terrapin and sheephead-not sheep's head-We are Christians, taking no care for tomorrow . . . . (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828)

Nevertheless, the Coupers had a regular source of protein in the plantation animals and their products. They also had the facilities to preserve meats and make semi-perishable dairy products such as cheese ([Couper] "Cheese" nd). After slaughtering cattle, sheep, and hogs, the Coupers' slaves cured meat in a lengthy process. They rubbed black and cayenne pepper, saltpeter, and salt into joints which they packed in salt-filled tubs. Later, they pickled the meat in barrels ([Couper] "To Salt Meat in Hot Weather" nd). By pickling in brine, less desirable parts could be preserved for later issue to slaves. But meat intended for the planter's table received special consideration. Joints were trimmed to shape, and the spine, ribs, and tenderloin were separated from the abdominal walls. Planters preferred such cuts as the hams, shoulders, and tenderloin (Hilliard 1969: 4-5). When steers were slaughtered on one coastal Carolina plantation, the planter family reserved the hindquarters; they gave the forequarters and the "offal"--the heads, necks, legs, tails, and the viscera (Ball 1859: 137-138).to the slaves.

Though much of the plantation surplus supported the Couper family, a portion of the surplus also maintained a number of slaves, who performed domestic and subsistence chores for the Coupers. In 1828, the service personnel included "cart drivers, nurses, cooks for the Negroes,

carpenters, gardeners, house servants, and stockminders . . ." (Hall 1829: 218).

The reference to "cooks for the Negroes" indicates that some communal cooking occurred on Cannon's Point. Possibly, the cooks prepared the noon meals for the agricultural slaves. On the coast, slaves frequently ate communally-prepared meals in the fields (Olmsted 1968 [1856]: 432). During picking and ginning season on long-staple plantations, planters often appointed slaves to cook for the agricultural slaves, who worked longer hours (Postell 1853).

The gardeners and stock-keepers in Hall's list were directly involved in the production of food for the planter's table. Other slaves slaughtered the animals, and they prepared the meats, vegetables, and cereals for consumption. Sans Foix, Couper's head cook, was second only to Cupidon, the renowned cook of the Marquis de Montalet of Sapelo Island. After the Marquis died in 1822, Cupidon and his wife and son were manumitted; reputedly, they moved to Cannon's Point to work for Couper. Couper trained Sans Foix, while Venus, his wife, supervised Couper's poultry yard (Lovell 1932: 115; Wightman and Cate 1955: 57).

Food Preparation Facilities and Techniques

The Planter's House

At the planter's house, the food preparation and preservation facilities included a kitchen, a possible ice house, and areas to cure meats and make dairy products. There may have been small outbuildings for slaughtering, smoking, and food storage; also a dairy room was located in Couper A (see Booth 1971: 11-12; Figure 19). Because of the danger of fire and the smells and noise of food preparation, the kitchen

was detached from the Couper's house (Wightman and Cate 1955: 57). At the kitchen, cooks and their helpers carried out the "rough and unpleasant work of the kitchen department-such as cleaning and salting fish, putting up pork, etc. . . ." Here, the slaves probably laundered the Couper family's bed linens and clothing (Ball 1859: 112). North of the kitchen, on the edge of the salt marsh, the slaves deposited oyster shells, bones, fish scales, offal, broken ceramics, and glassware, and the ashes from the kitchen fireplaces.

Though no identifiable cooking utensils were recovered from the test excavation of the kitchen refuse, an elite planter family would have possessed a variety of cooking items. Slave cooks prepared seafood soups in cauldrons in the hearths, and they roasted meats on spits or in "kitchens"--portable metal ovens. Small game animals could have been broiled in "Dutch ovens," with coals placed on the flat lid. The baking ovens served for a variety of breads and pastries. Frying pans would have been used for eggs, meats, and other items. Finally, waffle and wafer irons were common in elite households (see Booth 1971: 17-18).

Most seafoods, including terrapins, were probably prepared in the form of soups and chowders ([Couper] "Catfish Soup" nd), though oysters and some fish could have been fried. Crabs and shell fish could also have been roasted in the hearth ashes. Choice cuts of domestic animals and game, which had been reserved for the Coupers, were probably roasted rather than stewed with vegetables. At a dinner of the St. Clair Club, whose members were the leading planters of St. Simons Island, the fare included clam broth and chicken soup in the first course; this was followed by fish, shrimp pies, crab in the shell, roast meats, and vegetables (Lovell 1932: 124).

The remains of storage vessels did appear in the kitchen and household refuse. Several riveted hoop fragments, probably from storage barrels, were present. In addition, the remains of three jugs, which may have contained molasses, and four jars or crocks, which held preserved foods, could be identified (see Table 21). Finally, fragments of a perforated steatite "pot-warmer" were found. Since steatite has remarkable heat-keeping qualities, it may have been placed in the butler's pantry of Couper's house to maintain the temperature of cooked foods.

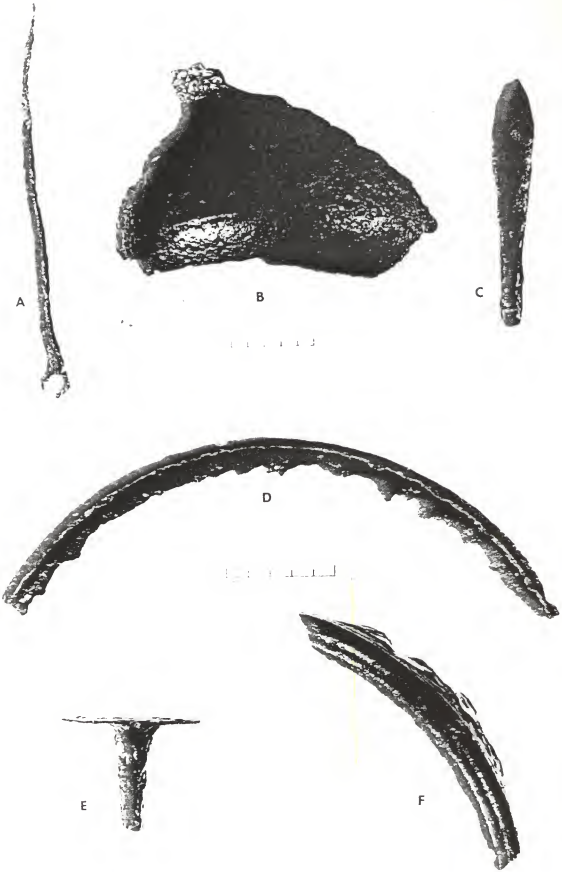
After cooking, slaves carried tureens of soup and vegetables and platters of meats to a door at ground level in the mansion. Stairs led to a butler's pantry which adjoined the dining room (Wightman and Cate 1955: 57). Couper's slave waiters, Sandy, Johnny, and Dick, served the courses to the Coupers and their guests (Lovell 1932: 123).

To chill wines and fashion the sherbets that accompanied meals, ice was necessary. Ice had been available in the port cities of the South since the early 1800's, but its storage required special facilities. At Cannon's Point, a tabby-walled pit built in a porous shell midden, may have served as the Couper's ice house (see p. 134 below).

The Overseer's House

In contrast to the large domestic slave force and elaborate food preparation facilities of the Couper family, the overseers could rely on only one or two servants to perform household chores. Usually, the planter assigned a slave woman to serve the overseer (Scarborough 1966: 25; Phillips and Glunt eds., 1927: 577-578). Although male servants might also be allocated to gather firewood and tend the overseer's livestock,

Figure 41. Food preparation equipment from the plantation sites. (A) skewer from the overseer's house refuse; (B) cauldron fragment from the overseer's well; (C) skillet handle from the overseer's well; (D) rim fragment, possibly a Dutch oven lid, from the south chimney arch of the overseer's house; (E) leg, possibly from a Dutch oven; (F) possible Dutch oven rim fragment from the northern third slave cabin refuse.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at least one overseer claimed he required only "a woman to cook and wash . . ., milk, make butter, and so on" (An Overseer 1855: 340).

The facilities for food preparation and preservation included a possible detached kitchen and a possible provision house. Since fragments of a salt-glazed stoneware butter churn were present in the provision house, it may also have served as a dairy as well as storage area for barrels of rice flour, molasses, and cured meats.

Food preparation utensils recovered from the overseer site included fragments of cast iron pots, the rim of a "Dutch oven" lid, and the handle of a frying pan. Also, a skewer for roasting chunks of meat came from the refuse area (see Booth 1971: 18; Figure 41).

With iron kettles, meat and vegetable stews could be left to simmer for hours (Booth 1971:17) while the overseer's servant washed clothes, collected fuel, cleaned fish, or tended the garden with a hoe, possibly the one recovered from the surface near the overseer's house. Cured meats would be especially suited to such stews. "Hopping John," popular among whites as well as blacks, combined bacon with cowpeas and rice (Genovese 1974: 548). Broken second quality rice, such as the 196 pounds purchased by overseer Seth R. Walker in 1851 (Couper 1839-54: 397), could have been cooked as pileaus, combining seafoods, game, and vegetables with rice. Fresh meats could also have been roasted on skewers or cooked in stews. The frying pan may have been used to prepare eggs or small game (Booth 1971:18), and breads could have been baked in a Dutch oven or frying pan (Booth 1971: 18; Johnson 1930: 135).

Foodstuffs were kept in barrels or in stoneware crocks and jugs in the provision house. Yet fragments from only two stoneware storage containers could be identified at the overseer's site (Table 20). Possibly

time was not available to pickle meats or other foods at the overseer's house; overseers and their families may have relied on commercially preserved meats, packed in barrels.

The Slave Cabins

Cannon's Point slaves lacked many of these amenities. Though slave cooks prepared some communal meals for agricultural slaves, and some planters lauded communal cooking because it eliminated waste of rations and ensured better nutrition (A Planter 1836: 582-583), most slaves preferred to cook in the privacy of their homes (Genovese 1974: 544). The fireplace served as the kitchen and there was usually one utensil--the cast iron pot. Some slaves, however, did manage to accumulate frying pans, "Dutch ovens," tin "roasting kitchens," and even waffle irons (Johnson 1930: 135; Lovell 1932: 191). Planters usually supplied the cooking pots, though other items could be purchased from local shopkeepers (Johnson 1930: 135-136; Cooley 1926: 120-122; Darien Gazette: Various). At the third cabin in the northern set of slave dwellings, excavators recovered fragments from several cooking pots and the rim to a possible Dutch oven (see Figure 41). A flat-bottomed pot, which could have been placed on a trivet or on the coals, had an attachment for a wooden handle; the item came from the well fill associated with the northern set of cabins. It may have been discarded in the post-bellum period.

The primary food, corn, could be prepared in a number of ways. Kernels were often boiled whole in iron pots to produce hominy, which was a favorite with the "working class (white and black)" along the coast (A.S.D. 1838: 80). But more commonly, corn was made into meal

by pounding in mortars or grinding in the mills located near the plantation corn house. The mortar and pestle, with its African, Indian, and even European antecedents (Glassie 1968: 116), also served for rice and sesame preparation. Where rice flour was not issued, sea island slaves beat wet rice into a paste, mixed it with honey, brown sugar, or salt, and made "sarakas"-flat cakes (GWP 1940: 70-71, 162, 193-194). The slaves on Cannon's Point probably used their rice flour and sweetening rations to make "sarakas." Sesame or "bene," often grown by sea island slaves, could be ground in mortars to obtain oil for cooking; the remainder was made into "bene" cakes and candy (GWP 1940: 70-71: Wightman and Cate 1955: 163).

Although corn could also be pounded in mortars to make meal for "sarakas" (GWP 1940: 166-167), most slaves ground corn on hand mills and baked the meal in the form of bread or pone. Typical hand mills consisted of two grindstones, which the planter purchased from factors or local shop-keepers (Brunswick Advocate February 15, 1838). The lower stone was fixed in the box and the upper or runner stone revolved; a long pole, attached to a horizontal timber above, rested in a socket near the outer edge of the stone (see Wightman and Cate 1955: 181). Grinding the weekly corn ration was a time-consuming process; often, the slaves ground their corn late into the night (see Ball 1859: 121). At least one planter urged the adoption of animal-powered mills to allow the slaves more leisure time (Humanity 1858: 237-238).

Ground corn could be boiled as gruel in an iron cauldron or cooked as pottage with the addition of meat and vegetables (Hilliard 19/2: 49; A Planter 1836: 582-583). The preferred form, however, was bread or

pone. If a Dutch oven was present, wet meal could be baked in it, with coals placed on the top lid to cook it thoroughly (Hundley 1860: 86-87). Pone could even be baked in a frying pan if that were available (Johnson 1930: 135). If such utensils were lacking, the pone could be cooked on hoe blades or placed in the ashes (Carawan, Carawan, and Yellin 1968: 34). Sweet potatoes could be roasted in ashes along with the pone, oysters, and crabs (Johnson 1930: 135). Sweet potatoes were a favorite of slaves; unfortunately, they were difficult to store and they remained a seasonal food (Rusticus in Urbe 1835: O'Hear 1845).

Sweet potatoes, turnips, and cowpeas could be cooked up in stews with meat from rations or the flesh of collected animals (Genovese 1974: 58; Hilliard 1972: 51; Ball 1859: 195). Because of limited utensils available for food preparation, slaves and many white farmers often combined their available foods in "seemingly incongrous mixtures" (Hilliard 1972: 62). An ex-slave describes such a concoction: "The whole had been boiled . . . until the flesh had disappeared from the bones, which were broken in small pieces-a flitch of bacon, some green corn, squashes, tomatoes, and onions had been added . . ." (Ball 1859: 139).

Summary

The differences in planter, overseer, and slave diets can be partly explained by differential access to: (a) domestic plants and animals, (b) facilities and utensils used to prepare foods, and (c) available labor for food production and preparation. Slaves could rely only on their own labor to prepare rations and raise garden produce, poultry, and hogs. The overseer usually had a servant or two to perform many household and subsistence duties, including livestock-keeping and gardening. In turn,

the planter family could support gardeners, stock-keepers, and cooks to perform subsistence chores.

Non-Domestic Animal Supplements

Possibly, because of limited access to domestic foods, slaves and overseers may have relied more heavily on game, fish, and wild plants than the planter family. As an example, a slave on a cotton plantation in coastal South Carolina learned to trap racoons, opossums, and rabbits, because slaves received pork and beef rations only six or seven times a year (Ball 1859: 195-196). Also, a northern visitor to Georgia claimed that he met slaves who received only corn in their rations; another heard rumors that slaves on plantations were reduced to eating alligators, crows, owls, and insects (Redpath 1968 [1859]: 71; Parsons 1970 [1855]: 153-154). There are other such negative examples in the antebellum anti-slavery polemics and the ex-slave narratives.

Contemporary authors, however, have emphasized the positive role of hunting, fishing, and collecting in slave life. John Blassingame, author of The Slave Community (1972), based largely on antebellum ex-slave narratives, stresses the contribution that black men made to slave families with their hunting and fishing skills. In Time on the Cross (1974) and Roll, Jordan, Roll (1974), the authors demonstrate the importance of wild foods in varying the monotonous and coarse slave rations. Again, they emphasize the sociological contribution of hunting and fishing (Fogel and Engerman 1974: 110-111; Genovese 1974: 546-547). Yet, the actual dietary contribution of wild foods cannot be gauged from the available documents.

Though slaves may have needed wild foods to supplement their hard rations, it is also possible that lack of time hindered their food procuring efforts. Agricultural duties restricted the leisure time of

slaves; numerous household tasks further reduced the time that could be spent on hunting and fishing. In contrast, the planter family had slave fishermen (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828), and planters commonly assigned slaves to collect oysters and hunt game (Postell 1853; Wooster 1930: 35). The overseer, who had time-consuming supervisory duties and few servants, could spend far less time collecting wild foods than Couper's slave specialists.

As a result, there are two possible explanations to account for the relative role of wild foods in the diets of plantation inhabitants. One explanation emphasizes need, and the other is concerned with the time available for subsistence. These hypotheses can be tested with the faunal remains from slave, overseer, and planter refuse contexts that date to the antebellum period. The faunal remains used in the comparison came from Zone I of the slave cabin refuse, Zones II and III of the overseer's refuse, and Zones II-IV of the planter's kitchen refuse.

Null Hypothesis. Because of limited access to domestic food sources, slaves would rely more heavily on wild foods than the overseer or planter family. Conversely, the overseer, with a small salary and limited access to plantation surplus, would rely more heavily on wild foods than the planter family, who enjoyed unlimited access to plantation livestock and food crops. Therefore, non-domestic animals will comprise a higher percentage of the total animals at the slave sites. Decreased proportions of non-domestic animals will be present at the overseer and planter sites.

Test Hypothesis. Because of differences in time available for subsistence, the proportion of wild foods in the diets of plantation inhabitants will reflect the status hierarchy. Slaves could rely only on their own

labor to gather wild foods and their leisure time was curtailed because of agricultural duties. Overseers, who supervised the slaves and were responsible for the maintenance of the plantation, could rely only on themselves or on their servants to procure wild foods. Lastly, the planter family could appoint slaves to fish, collect shellfish, and hunt for the planter's table. As a result, there will be a higher percentage of non-domestic animals at the planter's site, and there will be decreased percentages of non-domestic animals at the overseer and slave sites.

The faunal remains do not confirm the null hypothesis, but confirm the test hypothesis. There was a higher percentage of non-domestic animals at the planter's kitchen with decreasing percentages at the overseer and slave sites. Of the total minimum number of individual animals identified by distinctive elements, non-domestic animals constitute 90% of the sample from the planter's refuse; 88% of the overseer's sample; and 82% of the slave sample.

Table 33. Minimum number of individual possible food animals (identified to genus and species)

	Slave Site Individuals		Overseer's Site Individuals		Planter's Kitchen Individuals	
Domestic	12	17.6%	5	12.2%	17	9.9%
Non-Domestic	56	82.4%	36	87.8%	154	90.1%
Total	68		41		171	

Though the total minimum number of individuals from all the refuse contexts is greater than 30, up to 200 or 250 MNI per site may be needed for a statistically satisfactory sample (Elizabeth Wing, verbal communication). Also, if bones are highly fragmented, as they are at the plantation

sites, it is difficult to provide an accurate estimate of the individuals present, and the MNI sample will be correspondingly small (see Thomas 1969: 394).

The relative frequency of the identifiable bone fragments from the three sites indicates a somewhat different pattern of wild animal use. With this approach, the highest percentage of non-domestic animal bones appears at the kitchen site, followed by the slave and overseer sites. But there are inherent problems in dealing with identifiable fragments. This technique assumes that all individual bones of all species are equally affected by change or deliberate breakage and that all survive different food preparation techniques, handling, and subsequent disturbances equally well (Chaplin 1971: 64-67). Yet, the number of bones per species varies, and the number of fragments that are present are dependent on the butchering and cooking techniques that affect bone survival (Daly 1969: 146; Perkins and Daly 1968: 98-99). Since the faunal remains had been exposed to foot traffic and the elements and the bones had lain in different soils, differences in relative frequency of bone fragments can be attributed to both natural and cultural cuases; in turn, the appearance of individual food animals at a site is solely the result of cultural activity. Despite these problems, the relative frequency of identifiable fragments has some validity when bones are highly fragmented (see Thomas 1969: 394).

Table 34. Relative frequency of identifiable fragments of possible food animals (identified to genus and species).

	Slave Site Fragments		Overseer's Site Fragments		Couper Kitchen Fragments	
Domestic	95	10.2%	53	17.1%	178	6.6%
Non-Domestic	839	89.8%	257	82.9%	2506	93.4%
Total	934		310		2684	

The bone weight of each group may be a more realistic indicator of the actual dietary role of non-domestic animals than either the minimum number of individuals or the relative frequency of fragments. If reliable conversion factors existed, the dry skeletal weights could be converted to their equivalent weight of edible meat (see Ziegler 1973: 25). Yet, this method assumes an ideal relationship between total dressed carcass weight and the weight of the bones that are actually present (Chaplin 1971: 67-69). Again, differences in skeletal pattern, butchering techniques, and deposition practices should affect the bone weights. The approach also neglects the scrap bone (Daly 1969: 149-150), which is usually identified only by class (ie., "unidentified large mammal"). Yet, bone weight does offer insights into the relative contribution that non-domestic animals made to the diets of plantation inhabitants.

Table 35. Relative weights of identifiable bone fragments of possible food animals.

	Slave Site Weight		Overseer Site Weight		Couper Kitchen Weight	
Domestic	296.4g	62.5%	110.2g	55.6%	1270.4g	60.1%
Non-Domestic	177.9g	37.5%	88.1g	44.4%	842.4g	39.9%
Total	474.3g		198.3g		2112.8g	

At the slave cabin, non-domestic animals constituted 38% of the total bone weight; yet, non-domestic animals constituted 44% of the total weight at the overseer's site and 40% at the Couper kitchen. Although there were more non-domestic individual animals at the Couper site, they may have been less important in the total diet (in terms of edible meat) than at the overseer's house. Here, non-domestic animals are almost half of the total weight of identifiable fragments. Finally, the relative bone

Table 36. Northern third slave cabin faunal remains.[a]

Taxa (Genus and Species)	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
Didelphis marsupialis (opossum)	32	3.4	23.0	4.9	2	2.9
Sylvilagus sp. (rabbit)	12	1.3	2.2	0.5	1	1.4
Oryctolagus cuniculus (domestic rabbit)	4	0.4	0.7	0.2	1	1.4
Neotoma floridana (Florida wood rat)	3	0.3	0.3	0.1	1	1.4
Procyon lotor (raccoon)	14	1.5	7.4	1.6	2	2.9
Mustela vison (mink)	3	0.3	0.4	0.1	1	1.4
Sus scrofa (domestic pig)	60	6.4	86.5	18.2	3	4.4
Bos taurus (domestic cattle)	16	1.7	157.4	33.2	3	4.4
cf Ovis aries[b] (domestic sheep)	10	1.1	43.0	9.1	2	2.9
Gallus gallus (domestic fowl)	5	0.5	8.8	1.9	3	4.4
Rallus longirostris (clapper rail)	1	0.1	0.3	0.1	1	1.4
Malaclemys terrapin (diamondback terrapin)	137	14.6	58.9	12.4	3	4.4
Trionyx cf ferox (soft-shell turtle)	2	0.2	0.3	0.1	1	1.4
Hyla sp. (tree frog)	2	0.2	0.1	<.1	1	1.4
cf Rana pipiens (leopard frog)	1	0.1	0.1	<.1	1	1.4
cf Dasyatis sp. (stingray)	2	0.2	0.2	<.1	1	1.4
Acipenser oxyrhynchus (sturgeon)	4	0.4	0.3	0.1	1	1.4
Lepisosteus osseus (long-nosed gar)	92	9.8	6.7	1.4	3	4.4
Arius felis (marine catfish)	75	8.0	10.5	2.2	6	8.7
Bagre marinus (gafftop-sail catfish)	93	9.9	13.4	2.8	4	5.6
Archosargus probatocephalus (sheepshead)	6	0.6	1.3	0.3	2	2.9
Bairdiella chrysura (silver perch)	24	2.6	0.6	0.1	2	2.9
Cynoscion nebulosus (spotted sea trout)	1	0.1	0.4	0.1	1	1.4
Cynoscion sp. (sea trout)	9	1.0	0.8	0.2	3	4.4
Menticirrhus sp. (kingfish)	7	0.8	0.2	<.1	2	2.9
Micropogon undulatus (Atlantic croaker)	15	1.6	1.1	0.2	3	4.4
Pogonias cromis (black drum)	147	15.7	41.9	8.8	3	4.4
Sciaenops ocellatus (red drum)	6	0.6	3.1	0.7	2	2.9

[a] Format based on Wing (1965).

[b] See Hole, Flannery, and Neely (1969) for forumla to distinguish sheep and goat metapodial condyles.

Table 36. (continued)

Taxa (Genus and Species)	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
Mugil sp. (mullet)	138	14.7	3.7	0.8	7	10.2
Paralichthys sp. (flounder)	15	1.6	0.8	0.2	3	4.4
Totals	936		474.4		69	
Other Taxa						
Unidentified small mammal	65		4.5		-	
Unidentified medium mammal	217		42.6		-	
Unidentified large mammal	661		526.3		-	
Unidentified mammal	635		71.4		-	
Unidentified Aves (bird)	137		25.0		-	
Unidentified Chelonia (turtle)	250		41.7		-	
Lacertilia (lizard)	1		0.1		1	
cf Salientia (toads and frogs)	7		0.3		-	
cf Sciaenidae (drums)	61		20.8		-	
Ariidae (marine catfish)	229		49.6		25	
Unidentified Osteichthyes (bony fish)	576		56.5		-	
cf Myliobatidae (eagle rays)	1		0.1		1	
Unidentified bone	229		30.3		-	
Totals	3069		869.2		27	
Site Totals	4005		1343.6		96	

Table 37. Overseer's house faunal remains.

Taxa (Genus and Species)	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
Didelphis marsupialis (opossum)	8	2.6	6.9	3.5	1	2.4
Sylivilagus sp. (rabbit)	3	1.0	0.4	0.2	1	2.4
cf Sciurus carolinensis (E. gray squirrel)	1	0.3	0.1	<.1	1	2.4
Neotoma floridana (Florida wood rat)	1	0.3	0.2	<.1	1	2.4
cf Oryzomys palustris (E. rice rat)	3	1.0	0.3	0.2	1	2.4
Procyon lotor (raccoon)	8	2.6	6.5	3.3	1	2.4
Felis catus (domestic cat)	11	3.5	1.9	1.0	1	2.4
Sus scrofa (domestic pig)	33	10.6	49.2	24.8	2	4.8
Bos taurus (domestic cattle)	8	2.6	58.4	29.5	1	2.4
Gallus gallus (domestic fowl)	1	0.3	0.7	0.4	1	2.4
Chelydra serpentina (snapping turtle)	34	10.9	9.0	4.5	1	2.4
Malaclemys terrapin (diamondback terrapin)	61	19.6	50.8	25.6	3	7.1
Masticophus flagellum (E. coachwhip)	2	0.6	0.7	0.4	1	2.4
cf Dasyatis sp. (stingrays)	2	0.6	0.1	.1	1	2.4
Lepisosteus osseus (long-nosed gar)	8	2.6	0.8	0.4	1	2.4
cf Brevoortia sp. (menhaden)	2	0.6	0.1	<.1	1	2.4
cf Dorosoma sp. (shad)	1	0.3	0.1	<.1	1	2.4
Arius felis (marine catfish)	32	10.3	4.3	2.2	5	11.9
Bagre marinus (gaff-topsail catfish)	15	4.8	3.0	1.5	2	4.8
Centropristes straitus (black seabass)	4	1.3	0.2	0.1	1	2.4
Archosarus probatocephalus (sheepshead)	14	4.5	1.4	0.7	3	7.1
Bairdiella chrysura (silver perch)	6	1.9	0.2	0.1	2	4.8
Micropogon undulatus (Atlantic croaker)	8	2.6	0.6	0.3	2	4.8
Pogonias cromis (black drum)	4	1.3	0.4	0.2	1	2.4
Sciaenops ocellatus (red drum)	3	1.0	0.8	0.4	2	4.8
Mugil sp. (mullet)	37	11.9	1.0	0.5	3	7.1
Chilomycterus schoepfi (striped burrfish)	2	0.6	0.2	0.1	1	2.4
Totals	312		198.3		42	

Table 37. (continued)

Taxa (Genus and Species)	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
Other Taxa						
Unidentified small mammal	24		1.3		-	
Unidentified medium mammal	95		19.0		-	
Unidentified large mammal	219		119.8		-	
Unidentified mammal	200		14.2		-	
Unidentified Aves (bird)	52		11.5		3	
Unidentified Chelonia (turtle)	26		2.5		-	
cf Sciaenidae (drums)	7		2.7		-	
Ariidae (marine catfish)	23		2.1		-	
Unidentified Osteichthyes (bony fish)	123		9.6		-	
Unidentified bone	26		1.3		-	
Totals	795		184.0		3	
Site Totals	1107		382.3		45	

Table 38. Couper's kitchen faunal remains.

Taxa (Genus and Species)	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
Didelphis marsupialis (opossum)	5	0.2	3.0	0.1	2	1.1
Sylvilagus sp. (rabbit)	19	0.7	2.4	0.1	3	1.7
cf Neotoma floridana (Florida wood rat)	2	0.1	0.2	<.1	2	1.1
Mus musculus (domestic mouse)	3	0.1	0.2	<.1	2	1.1
Rattus norvegicus (norway rat)	9	0.3	1.2	0.1	3	1.7
Procyon lotor (raccoon)	20	0.7	16.0	0.8	5	2.8
Mustela vison (mink)	8	0.3	1.5	0.1	3	1.1
Sus scrofa (domestic pig)	61	2.3	170.7	8.1	5	2.8
Odocoileus virginiánus (white-tailed deer)	4	0.2	23.4	1.1	1	0.6
Bos taurus (domestic cattle)	48	1.8	893.5	42.2	4	2.2
cf Ovis aries[a] (domestic sheep)	63	2.3	200.7	9.5	5	2.8
Gallus gallus (domestic fowl)	6	0.2	5.5	0.3	3	1.7
Chelydra serpentina (snapping turtle)	3	0.1	0.6	<.1	1	0.6
Kinosternon cf subrurum (E. mud turtle)	5	0.2	0.8	<.1	2	1.1
Malaclemys terrapin (diamond-back turtle)	918	33.9	410.8	19.4	14	7.7
Chrysemys sp. (pond turtle)	39	1.4	40.1	1.9	4	2.2
Trionyx cf ferox (soft-shell turtle)	96	3.5	82.3	3.9	7	3.9
cf Coluber constrictor (black racer)	1	<.1	0.1	<.1	1	0.6
Elaphe sp. (rat snake)	4	0.2	0.3	<.1	2	1.1
Alligator mississipiensis	5	0.2	23.8	1.1	3	1.7
Bufo cf terrestris (southern toad)	11	0.4	0.5	<.1	3	1.7
Rana sp. (frog)	2	0.1	0.2	<.1	2	1.1
Carcharinus sp. (requiem shark)	2	0.1	0.3	<.1	1	0.6
Dasyatis sp. (stingrays)	45	1.7	3.7	0.2	5	2.8
cf Rhinoptera bonasus (cow-nosed ray)	114	4.2	14.0	0.7	5	2.8
Acipenser oxyrhynchus (sturgeon)	81	3.0	19.8	0.9	4	2.2
Lepisosteus osseus (long-nosed gar)	167	6.2	16.8	0.8	4	2.2
cf Brevoortia sp. (menhaden)	76	2.8	0.8	<.1	3	1.7
Arius felis (marine catfish)	265	9.8	31.6	1.5	19	10.4

[a]See Hole, Flannery, and Neely (1969).

Table 38. (continued)

Taxa (Genus and Species)	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
Bagre marinus (gaff-topsail catfish)	305	11.3	67.3	3.2	18	9.9
Caranx cf hippos (crevalle jack)	1	.1	0.3	.1	1	0.6
cf Chloroscombrus chrysurus (bumper)	1	.1	0.1	.1	1	0.6
Archosargus probatocepalus (sheepshead)	97	3.6	41.1	1.9	8	4.4
Bairdiella chrysura (silver perch	20	0.7	0.7	.1	3	1.7
Cynoscion nothus (silver sea trout)	1	.1	0.1	.1	1	0.6
Cynoscion regalis (weak fish)	3	0.1	0.5	.1	3	1.7
Cynoscion sp. (sea trout)	1	.1	0.1	.1	1	0.6
Leiostomus xantharus (spot)	4	0.2	0.2	.1	2	1.1
Menticirrhus sp. (kingfish)	7	0.3	0.3	.1	2	1.7
Micropogon undulatus (Atlantic croaker)	17	0.6	1.0	.1	5	2.8
Pogonias cromis (black drum)	81	3.0	29.3	1.4	4	2.2
Sciaenops ocellatus (red drum)	5	0.2	6.4	0.3	3	1.1
Mugil sp. (mullet)	75	2.8	1.9	0.1	6	3.3
Paralichthys sp. (flounder)	12	0.4	1.0	.1	5	2.8
Totals	2712		2115.1		182	
Other Taxa						
Unidentified Rodentia	8		0.5		-	
Unidentified small mamal	137		6.9		-	
Unidentified medium mammal	281		44.5		-	
Unidentified large mammal	1085		888.5		-	
Unidentified Artiodactyla (even-toed hoofed mammal)	2		7.4		-	
Unidentified mammal	1108		152.7		-	
Unidentified Aves (bird)	266		37.6		-	
Unidentified Chelonia	1442		248.0		-	
Cheloniidae (marine turtles)	82		78.5		-	
Lacertilia	2		0.2		1	
Unidentified Serpentes	5		0.2		-	
Unidentified Reptilia	1		0.2		-	

Table 38. (continued)

Taxa (Genus and Species)	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
cf Salientia	19		0.7		-	
Unidentified small Sciaenidae	31		0.7		-	
Unidentified large Sciaenidae	20		20.5		-	
Carangidae (jacks)	1		0.1		-	
Ariidae	662		63.1		13	
Unidentified Osteichthyes	1705		196.2		-	
Unidentified bone	465		53.8		-	
Totals	7322		1800.3		18	
Site Totals	10034		3915.4		200	

weights may indicate that slaves obtained most of their edible meat from domestic animals and not from food collecting.

If scrap bone could be included, a more accurate assessment could be made, but categories such as "unidentified bird; medium mammal; large mammal; and mammal" may contain both domestic and non-domestic animals. The identified and unidentified bones, however, can be grouped by class. By weight, mammals made up 74% of the slave total, 73% of the overseer's total, and only 63% of the planter's total. This may indicate that mammals (domestic and non-domestic) played a greater role in slave and overseer diets. Conversely, the weight of fish bones (Osteichthyes and Chondrichthyes) indicates that fish were more important in the slave diet than in the planter or overseer diets. The weight of reptiles, which is overwhelmingly turtle, shows greater use of this food source by the planter family and less use by the overseers and slaves (see Tables 39-41). A similar pattern of turtle use is reflected in the relative frequency of fragments and the minimum number of individuals.

Dietary Contribution of Fauna

Both the MNI and bone weights demonstrate the relative importance of wild animals in the planter family's diet. In turn, the MNI and bone weights indicate that slave food collecting did not contribute the major share of the meat diet, though it may have been psychologically important by varying the diet. Also, food collecting may have been a small but steady source of protein between meat rations. But in all three sites, relative bone weights indicate that domestic animals probably contributed the major share of the meat diets.

Table 39. Northern third slave cabin fauna (food animals).

	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
I. (Specimens identified to genus or species) and grouped by class.						
Identified						
Domestic mammal	90	9.6	287.6	60.6	9	13.0
Wild Mammal	64	6.8	33.3	7.0	7	10.2
Domestic Aves	5	0.5	8.8	1.9	3	4.4
Wild Aves	1	0.1	0.3	0.1	1	1.5
Reptilia (Chelonia)[a]	139	14.9	59.2	12.5	4	5.8
Amphibia (Salientia)	3	0.3	0.2	.1	2	2.9
Osteichthyes	632	67.5	84.8	17.9	42	60.9
Chondrichthyes	2	0.2	0.2	.1	1	1.5
Totals	936		474.4		69	
II. Possible food animals.						
Domestic	95	10.2	296.4	62.5	12	17.6
Non-Domestic[a]	839	89.8	177.9	37.5	56	82.4
Totals	934		474.3		68	
III. Non-Domestic food animals						
Terrestrial	64	7.6	33.3	18.7	7	12.5
Aquatic[b]	775	92.4	144.6	81.3	49	87.5
Totals	839		177.9		56	

IV. Genus and species diversity of probable food animals at the slave cabin site.

Domestic Mammal	4	13.8
Wild Mammal	5	17.2
Domestic Aves	1	3.5
Wild Aves	1	3.5
Reptilia (Chelonia)	2	6.9
Amphibia[c]	1	3.5
Osteichthyes	14	48.3
Chondrichthyes	1	3.5
Totals	29	

Table 39. (continued)

	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
V. Identified and unidentified bone by class.						
Mammal	1732	45.9	965.7	73.5	16	16.7
Aves	143	3.8	34.1	2.6	4	4.2
Reptilia	390	10.3	101.0	7.7	5	5.2
Amphibia	10	0.3	0.5	.1	2	2.1
Osteichthyes	1498	39.7	211.7	16.1	67	69.8
Chondrichthyes	3	0.1	0.3	.1	2	2.1
Totals	3776		1313.3		96	

[a] *Hyla* sp. is an incidental non-food animal and has been excluded.

[b] Includes *Rallus longirustris*, a salt marsh bird.

[c] *Hyla* sp. is excluded.

Table 40. Overseer's house fauna (food animals).

	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
I. (Specimens identified to genus or species) and grouped by class.						
Identified						
Domestic Mammal	52	16.7	109.5	55.2	4	9.5
Wild Mammal	24	7.7	14.4	7.3	6	14.3
Domestic Aves	1	0.3	0.7	.3	1	2.4
Reptilia (Chelonia)	95	30.4	59.8	30.2	4	9.5
(Serpentes)	2	0.6	0.7	.3	1	2.4
Osteichthyes	136	43.6	13.1	6.6	25	59.5
Chondrichthyes	2	0.6	0.1	0.1	1	2.4
Totals	312		198.3		42	
II. Possible food animals.						
Domestic[a]	53	17.1	110.2	55.6	5	12.2
Non-Domestic[b]	257	82.9	88.1	44.4	36	87.8
Totals	310		198.3		41	
III. Non-Domestic food animals.						
Terrestrial	24	9.3	14.4	16.3	6	16.7
Aquatic	233	90.7	73.7	83.7	30	83.3
Totals	257		88.1		36	
IV. Genus and species diversity of probable food animals.						
Domestic Mammal	3	11.5				
Wild Mammal	6	23.1				
Domestic Aves	1	3.9				
Reptilia[c] (Chelonia)	2	7.7				
Osteichthyes	13	50.0				
Chondrichthyes	1	3.9				
Totals	26					
V. Identified and unidentified bone by class.						
Mammal	614	56.8	278.2	73.0	10	22.2
Aves	53	4.9	12.2	3.2	4	8.9
Reptilia	123	11.4	63.0	16.5	5	11.1
Osteichthyes	289	26.7	27.5	7.2	25	55.6
Chondrichthyes	2	0.2	0.1	.1	1	2.2
Totals	1081		381.0		45	

Table 40. (continued)

[a] *Felis catus* can be regarded as a food animal because of butcher marks on two specimens.

[b] *Masticophus flagellum* has been excluded, though it may have been a food animal (see Hilliard 1972: 88).

[c] *Masticophus* has been deleted.

Table 41. Couper's kitchen fauna (food animals).

	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
I. (Specimens identified to genus and species) and grouped by class.						
Identified Domestic Mammal	184	6.8	1266.3	59.9	19	10.4
Wild Mammal	58	2.1	46.5	2.2	16	8.8
Domestic Aves	6	0.2	5.5	0.3	3	1.7
Reptilia (Chelonia)	1061	39.1	534.6	25.3	28	15.4
Reptilia (Serpentes)	5	0.2	0.4	.1	3	1.7
Reptilia (Crocodilia)	5	0.2	23.8	1.1	3	1.7
Amphibia (Salientia)	13	0.5	0.7	.1	5	2.8
Osteichthyes	1219	45.0	219.3	10.4	94	51.7
Chondrichthyes	161	5.9	18.0	0.9	11	6.0
Totals	2712		2115.1		182	
II. Possible food animals.						
Domestic [a]	178	6.6	1270.4	60.1	17	9.9
Non-Domestic [b]	2506	93.4	842.4	39.9	154	90.1
Totals	2684		2112.8		171	
III. Non-Domestic food animals.						
Terrestrial	58	2.3	46.5	5.5	16	10.4
Aquatic	2448	97.7	795.9	94.5	138	89.6
Totals	2506		842.4		154	

IV. Genus and species diversity of probable food animals.		
Domestic Mammal	3	7.7
Wild Mammal	6	15.4
Domestic Aves	1	2.6
Reptilia (turtles)	5	12.8
Reptilia (Alligator)	1	2.6
Amphibia (frogs)	1	2.6
Osteichthyes	19	48.7
Chondrichthyes	3	7.7
Totals	39	

Table 41. (continued)

	Specimens		Weight		Minimum Individuals	
	number	%	grams	%	number	%
V. Identified and unidentified bone by class.						
Mammal	2863	29.9	2413.3	62.5	35	17.5
Aves	272	2.8	43.1	1.1	3	1.5
Reptilia	2603	27.2	885.9	22.9	39	19.5
Amphibia	32	0.3	1.4	.1	5	2.5
Osteichthyes	3638	38.0	499.9	13.0	107	53.5
Chondrichthyes	161	1.7	18.0	0.5	11	5.5
Totals	9569		3861.6		200	

[a] *Mus musculus* and *Rattus norvegicus* have been excluded.

[b] *Coluber constrictor*, *Elaphe* sp., and *Bufo* sp. are probably non-food animals and have been excluded.

Dietary Role of Non-Domestic Mammals

There are means other than relative weight to determine the dietary contributions of particular groups of animals. For example, the number of individual animals in each taxon can be multiplied by "the appropriate amount of meat obtainable from each" (Daly 1968: 150). This technique, however, requires a conversion of total body weight to edible meat weight. Although published conversion factors and total weights exist for many North American mammals and a few birds, there are no comparable factors or total weights for reptiles, amphibians, and fish (Ziegler 1973: 29; White 1953: 396-398). There are additional problems of age and sex variability. Lastly, only portions of the animals could have been carried to the sites; thus, the distinctive elements that are used to calculate MNI may not represent entire animals (see Ziegler 1973: 28).

Another possibility is to convert dry skeletal weight to total fresh body weight or edible meat weight. But reliable conversion factors have not been determined (Ziegler 1973: 28), and one critic feels that the technique can be accurate only with the calculation of the meat/bone ratio for each bone at different ages and for each sex (see Chaplin 1971: 67-69).

Because reliable conversion factors and average live weights for fish, amphibians, and reptiles have not been published, only the dietary percentages of non-domestic and domestic mammals could be calculated. Multiplying the usable weight by the minimum number of individuals yields the relative dietary contribution of each mammal genus (see Tables 43-45). The percentage of non-domestic mammals in all three sites reflects the status hierarchy. Non-domestic mammals supplied less than 4% of the mammal meat at the slave site; wild mammals supplied 6% and 8% of the overseer and planter totals.

Dietary Role of Domestic Mammals

Determining the actual dietary contribution of domestic mammals is more difficult because of rationing, purchases of meat, and slave and overseer ownership of livestock. While some of the hog bones at the slave cabin site may have come from slave-owned swine, most of the pork and probably all the mutton and beef eaten by the slaves came from the plantation herds. Large domestic mammals may have been slaughtered periodically, and the entire animals or the less desirable portions were distributed among the slave families. Translated to usable meat, the large domestic animals may have made up 96% of the slave mammal meat diets (Table 43).

The relative bone weights indicate a similar pattern in the total diet. Large domestic animal bones were 61% of the total bone weight at the slave cabin; 60% at the planter's kitchen; and only 54% at the overseer's house (Table 42). Significantly, no sheep bones appear in the overseer's refuse. This may indicate that overseers did not receive rations when periodic killings of large domestic animals occurred. Overseers may have slaughtered animals from their small herds or purchased commercially cured meats.

Purchased meat may be identified by a low ratio of bone fragments to individuals; in turn, a high ratio suggests "the much fuller use of individual animals" (Chaplin 1971: 67). Dividing the number of identifiable large domestic mammal fragments by the respective minimum number of individuals yields the following ratios: slave cabin 10.8; overseer's house, 13.7; and Couper's kitchen 12.3. The high ratio at the overseer's house would indicate little use of purchased meat.

Table 42. Large domestic mammals.

I. Role of large domestic mammals (hog, cattle, and sheep) in slave, overseer, and planter diets.

	Fragments	%	Weight[a]	%	MNI[b]	%
A. Slave cabin						
Large Domestic Mammal	86	9.2	286.9	60.5	8	11.8
Other Food Animals[c]	848	90.8	187.4	39.5	60	88.2
Total Food Animals	934		474.3		68	
B. Overseer's house						
Large Domestic Mammal	41	13.1	107.6	54.3	3	7.3
Other Food Animals[d]	271	86.9	90.7	45.7	38	92.7
Total Food Animals	312		198.3		41	
C. Couper kitchen						
Large Domestic Mammal	172	6.4	1264.9	59.9	14	8.2
Other Food Animals	2512	93.6	847.9	40.1	157	91.8
Total Food Animals	2684		2112.8		171	

II. Role of domestic hog in slave, overseer, and planter diets.

A. Slave cabin						
Sus scrofa	60	6.4	86.5	18.2	3	4.4
Other Food Animals	874	93.6	387.8	81.8	65	95.6
Total Food Animals	934		474.3		68	
B. Overseer's house						
Sus scrofa	33	10.6	49.2	24.8	2	4.9
Other Food Animals	279	89.4	149.1	75.2	39	95.1
Total Food Animals	312		198.3		41	
C. Couper kitchen						
Sus scrofa	61	2.3	170.7	8.1	5	2.9
Other Food Animals	2623	97.7	1942.1	91.9	166	97.1
Total Food Animals	2684		2112.8		171	

[a] Measured in grams.

[b] MNI-Minimum Number of Individuals.

[c] Includes Oryctolagus cuniculus, domestic rabbit, and Gallus gallus, domestic fowl.

[d] Includes Felis catus, domestic cat, and Gallus gallus.

Table 42. (continued)

III. Role of domestic cattle in slave, overseer, and planter diets.

	Fragments	%	Weight	%	MNI	%
A. Slave cabin						
Bos taurus	16	1.7	157.4	33.2	3	4.4
Other Food Animals	918	98.3	316.9	66.8	65	95.6
Total Food Animals	934		474.3		68	
B. Overseer's house						
Bos taurus	8	2.6	58.4	29.5	1	2.4
Other Food Animals	302	97.4	139.9	70.5	40	97.6
Total Food Animals	310		198.3		41	
C. Couper kitchen						
Bos taurus	48	1.8	893.5	42.3	4	2.3
Other Food Animals	2636	98.2	1219.3	57.7	167	97.7
Total Food Animals	2684		2112.8		171	

IV. Role of fish (Osteichthyes and Chondrichthyes) in slave, overseer, and planter diets.

A. Slave cabin						
Fish	634	67.9	85.0	17.9	43	63.2
Other Food Animals	300	32.1	389.3	82.1	25	36.8
Total Food Animals	934		474.3		68	
B. Overseer's house						
Fish	138	12.1	13.2	6.7	26	63.4
Other Food Animals	174	87.9	185.1	93.3	15	36.6
Total Food Animals	312		198.3		41	
C. Couper kitchen						
Fish	1380	51.4	237.3	11.2	105	61.4
Other Food Animals	1304	48.6	1875.5	88.8	66	38.6
Total Food Animals	2684		2112.8		171	

Table 43. Slave cabin site (the relative dietary importance of mammals used for food).

Mammals	Average live Weight in Kilograms [a]	Conversion Factor	Useable meat in Kilograms	Minimum Number of Individuals	Dietary contributions of meat in Kilograms	%
Didelphis marsupialis (opossum)	5.43[b]	.70	3.80	2	7.60	1.1
Sylvilagus sp. (rabbit)	1.58	.50	0.79	1	0.79	0.1
Oryctolagus cuniculus (domestic rabbit)	2.02	.50	1.01	1	1.01	0.2
Neotoma floridana (Florida wood rat)	0.23	.70	0.16	1	0.16	0.1
Procyon lotor (raccoon)	11.31	.70	7.92	2	15.82	2.3
Mustela vison (mink)	0.35	.70	0.25	1	0.25	0.1
Sus scrofa (domestic pig)	90.50	.70	63.35	3	190.05	27.4
Bos taurus (domestic cattle)	271.49	.50	135.75	3	407.25	58.8
cf Ovis aries (domestic sheep)	69.68	.50	34.84	2	69.68	10.1
Total					692.61	

[a] Average live weights and conversion factors taken from (White 1953: 397-398; Ziegler 1963: 30-31; Hilliard 1972: 102, 129; Perkins and Daly 1968: 100).

[b] White's average weight may be too high (see Ziegler 1963: 30).

[c] White's weight may be too high, see above.

[d] Hilliard suggests average live weight of 200 pounds (see Hilliard 1972: 102).

[e] Hilliard suggests average live weight of 600 pounds though fattened oxen may have weighted more (see Hilliard 1972: 129).

Table 44. Overseer's house site (the relative dietary importance of mammals).

Mammals	Average live Weight in Kilograms [a]	Conversion Factor	Useable meat in Kilograms	Minimum Number of Individuals	Dietary contributions of meat in Kilograms	%
Didelphis marsupialis (opossum)	5.43	.70	3.80	1	3.80	1.4
Sylvilagus sp. (rabbit)	1.58	.50	0.79	1	0.79	0.2
Sciurus carolinensis (E. grey squirrel)	0.85	.70	0.60	1	0.60	0.2
Neotoma floridana (Florida wood rat)	0.23	.70	0.16	1	0.16	0.1
Oryzomys palustris (E. rice rat)	0.08[b]	.70	0.06	1	0.06	<.1
Procyon lotor (raccoon)	11.31	.70	7.92	1	7.92	2.9
Felis catus (domestic cat)	0.85[c]	.50	0.43	1	0.43	0.2
Sus scrofa (domestic pig)	90.50	.70	63.35	2	126.70	45.9
Bos taurus (domestic cattle)	271.49	.50	135.75	1	135.75	49.1
Total					276.20	

[a] Average live weights and conversion factors taken from (White 1953: 397-398; Ziegler 1963: 30-31; Hilliard 1972: 102, 129).

[b] This weight is an estimate derived from known weight of a Sigmodon hispidus (cotton rat) specimen in the Florida State Museum, which is similar in body size. Oryzomys palustris may be an incidental non-food animal.

[c] The specimen from overseer's house was immature (see Ziegler 1963: 30).

Table 45. Couper's kitchen site (the relative dietary importance of mammals).

Mammals	Average live Weight in Kilograms [a]	Conversion Factor	Useable meat in Kilograms	Minimum Number of Individuals	Dietary contributions of meat in Kilograms	%
Didelphis marsupialis (opossum)	5.43	.70	3.80	2	7.60	0.7
Sylvilagus sp. (rabbit)	1.58	.50	0.79	3	2.37	0.2
cf Neotoma floridana (Florida wood rat)	0.23	.70	0.16	2	0.32	0.1
Procyon lotor (raccoon)	11.31	.70	7.92	5	39.60	3.5
Mustela vison (mink)	0.35	.70	0.25	3	0.75	0.1
Sus scrofa (domestic pig)	90.50	.70	63.35	5	316.75	28.3
Odocoileus virginianus (white-tailed deer)	67.87[b]	.50	33.94	1	33.94	3.0
Bos taurus (domestic cattle)	271.49	.50	135.75	4	543.00	48.5
cf Ovis aries	69.68	.50	34.84	5	174.20	15.6
Total					1118.53	

[a]Average live weights and conversion factors taken from (White 1953: 397-398; Ziegler 1963: 30-31; Hilliard 1972: 102, 129; Perkins and Daly 1968: 100).

[b]White's average weight for deer is too high for southeastern deer, which probably average 150 lbs (Stephen L. Cumbaa, verbal communication).

Yet, the actual contribution of purchased meat might be difficult to recognize, especially if much of the pork or beef was "clear meat" with bones removed (see Hilliard 1972: 57-58). If only side meat was present, rib fragments would be difficult to identify (see Olsen 1971: 17-18), and these would be classified as "unidentified large mammal." Thus, much of the purchased pork or beef might not be represented in the MNI list of large domestic mammals, and the actual contribution of "clear meat" or "side meat" to the diet could not be determined from faunal remains.

But barrels of commercial pork contained items other than "clear meat." Barrels of "prime pork" often held "two shoulders, two jowls, and sides enough to fill the barrel" (Hilliard 1972: 58). The hog remains at the overseer's house, however, indicate use of other elements than those found in "prime pork." There are teeth from the maxillae, vertebrae, ischium fragments, fragments of radii, and an astragalus. Also, the presence of skull fragments, teeth, and the limb bones of domestic cattle indicate that the identifiable remains did not always come from commercial meats.

The dietary percentages and the relative bone weights of large domestic animals reveal a surprisingly high consumption of beef at all three sites. In terms of estimated usable meat, cattle may have supplied 49% of the mammal meat for the planter family, 46% for the overseers, and 59% of the mammal meat at the slave cabin. But by bone weight, cattle bones composed 30% of the total bone at the overseer's house, and pig composed 25% of the total. At the slave cabin, beef was 33% of the total bone weight, but pig was only 18% of the total weight. At the planter's kitchen, beef bones constituted 42% of the total bone weight; pork bones represented only 8% of the total weight (Table 42).

Yet, Hilliard believes that beef consumption by Southerners was "sporadic," and the total amount consumed was relatively small compared to pork (Hilliard 1972: 45). The evidence from Cannon's Point may not support this assumption. The elite planter family frequently used beef, despite the ready availability of other domestic and non-domestic animals. Cattle may have been the major contributors to the overseers' diet, and most of the slave meat ration seems to have come from cattle (Tables 43-44).

But slave consumption of beef may be overestimated. At Cannon's Point, the slaves received beef infrequently and the rations may have represented only a few pounds for each family (Hall 1829: 224; Hilliard 1972: 59; Ball 1859: 195). Though entire animals might have been slaughtered for division among the slave families, the rations may also have consisted of the less desirable portions not claimed by the planter family. These portions might include the heads, necks, backbones, tails, lower legs, stomach, kidneys, hearts, lungs, and intestinal tract (see Ball 1859: 137; Hilliard 1972: 43). But without documentary evidence, the quantities of meat rationed to the slaves in a given year cannot be determined; however, internal organs may have been a major portion of the meat ration, though they are not represented in the bones.

At the slave cabin, identifiable hog bones include teeth from maxillae and dentarys, phalanges, tarsal bones, fragments from crania, vertebrae, and ribs, a calcaneum, a scapula, a fibula, and a radius. They were using the jowls, heads, backbones, shoulders, the lower legs, and the side meat. The tarsals and calcaneum indicate that lower hind legs were present, but no femur fragments could be identified; possibly, the planter family appropriated the hams for their own use.

Cattle elements include teeth, vertebrae, ribs, and fragments from a left scapula and pelvis. Again, slaves were consuming flesh from the

head, backbones, forelimbs, and sidemeat. Since femurs were absent, the planter family may have kept these preferred cuts (see Ball 1859: 138).

Sheep are represented by teeth from maxillae and dentarys, bullae, ulna fragments, an astragalus, and a left femur. Again, meat from heads and forelimbs were consumed, and the presence of a femur indicates that slaves used some of the hindlimbs.

At the Couper kitchen, hog and cattle femurs appear in addition to numerous other elements including teeth and cranial fragments. Possibly, the planter reserved the hindlimbs of animals that were killed for slave rations as well as using most portions of the animals that were slaughtered for the planter family.

Although age determination is extremely tentative when bones are highly fragmented, the evidence from teeth indicates that the planter family used a wider age range of domestic mammals than the slaves and overseers. A deciduous pig's lower incisor came from an animal that was younger than 12-17 months. A badly worn pig's premolar may indicate the other age extreme, though wear is not always the result of age. A newly erupted pig's first molar indicates that another animal was slightly more than 6 months old. Other hog elements appear to have been from mature adults (Silver in Brothwell and Higgs 1963: 256, 265). An unerupted third molar fragment came from a steer less than 24-30 months old, and a heavily sculptured phalanx may have come from a fattened work ox (Silver in Brothwell and Higgs 1963: 254, 262). Most sheep bones were from mature adults, possibly wethers (see Couper 1832: 37), though a recently erupted lower left second premolar came from an animal that was slightly older than 24 months (Silver in Brothwell and Higgs 1963: 263).

No lamb bones were present in the sample, though the Couper family used immature sheep as food (Couper to Couper May 24, 1828). The evidence from faunal remains and documents indicates the Couper family used tender flesh from immature pigs and sheep, meat from mature cattle, hogs, and sheep, and the fat meat from fodder-fed older individuals.

In contrast, the teeth and other elements of large domestic animals at the overseer's house came from adults. At the slave cabin, only elements from adult sheep and hogs were present in the sample, although a fragment of an unerupted cattle molar was recovered. If the fragment was a part of a first molar, the animal would have been less than 5-6 months old; but if the fragment came from a third molar, the animal may have been as old as 30 months (see Silver in Brothwell and Higgs 1963: 262). Other cattle elements appear to be from mature adults.

Dietary Role of Fish and Turtles

Though large domestic mammals may have been the major contributors to the diets of plantation inhavitants, fish were an important dietary supplement. Fish make up 63%, 63%, and 61% of the total individuals at the slave, overseer, and planter sites. But in terms of bone weight, fish bones were 18% of the slave cabin total; 7% of the overseer total; and 11% of the planter's total. Fish may have been more important in the slave diet; conversely, the overseers and the planter family may have relied more heavily on turtles as a non-domestic protein source. By weight, turtles were 30% of the total identified bones at the overseer's site, but turtles were only 13% of the total identified bones at the slave cabin. Turtles were 25% of the total bone weight in the kitchen sample (Tables 39-41).

The differences in fish and turtle diversity at the three sites also reflect social status differences. At the Couper kitchen, there were 22 identifiable fish genera and species as well as five genera of turtles. Also, the remains of marine turtles (Family Cheloniidae) are present though they could not be identified to genus. In contrast, there are only 15 fish genera and species and two turtle species at the slave cabin. There are 14 genera and species of fish and two of turtle at the overseer's house (Tables 36-39). This evidence partly confirms the test hypothesis and illustrates the contribution of slave food collecting specialists to the planter family's diet.

The test hypothesis, however, does not adequately explain the remarkable similarities in fish and turtle diversity at the slave and overseer sites. Possibly, similarities in slave and overseer food collecting technology could account for the similar diversity of aquatic animals at the overseer and slave sites. Or, the planter's food collectors may have supplied all the plantation inhabitants with wild foods; after choosing their preferred foods, the planter family would have distributed the rest to the slaves and overseers. Finally, the planter's slave specialists could have visited more habitats and collected a wider range of aquatic animals than the slaves and overseers, who engaged in part-time food collecting.

Fishing Technology

Slaves and overseers may have possessed inadequate fishing technologies, and they could collect only a few species from the available range. Possibly, they lacked boats and could not visit the sounds, beaches, and freshwater rivers and creeks emptying into the Altamaha estuary. If they possessed boats, they may not have owned seine or trawl nets to

collect a wide range of available fish. If boats were lacking, they may have fished from the banks, using hooks and lines or cast nets.

Boats

There are no documentary references to Cannon's Point slaves building or owning boats (Hall 1829; Lyell 1849; Bremer 1854), but slave-owned boats were common in tidewater Georgia. Usually, these were dug-out canoes made from logs over 10 feet long. By burning and scraping with adzes and draw knives (Genovese 1974: 487), slaves created the transportation needed for fishing and trading their produce in town.

Planters also used large canoes made from cypress logs for transporting goods or visiting their elite neighbors (Wightman and Cate 1955: 199-201; Coulter 1943). "Plantation boats . . . were as necessary a part of plantation equipment on the Georgia coast as plows, mules, or oxen-or slaves" (Coulter 1940: 61). During the hurricane of September 14, 1824, John Couper lost two flats for shipping cotton and two canoes from his stock of plantation boats. A small four-oared canoe with a locker in the stern may have served for fishing. Another canoe, unfinished, was designed for six oars-men (Darien Gazette November 23, 1824). A similar canoe, over 50 feet long, owned by J. H. Couper, could make the trip to Savannah in 10-12 hours with six strong oarsmen (GWP 1940: 182). The cypress logs for these larger boats came from the Altamaha River swamps. On December 31, 1850, J. H. Couper purchased a large cypress log from Hopeton for $25.00 (Couper 1839-54: 402).

Although slaves may not have had access to the prized cypress logs of the Altamaha, some cypress trees were available on St. Simons Island (Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 226). Slaves would have needed canoes to travel

to Brunswick or Darien to sell produce and handicraft items. Roswell King allowed Butler's Point slaves to visit Brunswick on Sunday mornings to sell their wares, including dug-out canoes (see King 1828: 524). Though none of the tools used in canoe construction appeared at the third slave cabin in the northern set, draw knives were present at the southern duplex cabins.

With boats, slaves could have used seine or trawl nets to increase the amount of fish taken in a fishing trip. A description of Carolina sea island blacks collecting sea food during the Civil War provides an analogy for Cannon's Point:

> To-day all the people were on the Bay "drawing seine" . . . . They had made one "drawing" and were just casting the seine again as I walked along for half a mile towards the drum-hole. The shell banks which are exposed at low tide, were fringed with small children with baskets and bags which they were filling with oysters and conches . . . . I could go out to the very edge of one of these curious shell banks, and the seine was drawn up almost at my feet. The net was laid on a boat which was hauled out into the water by the men, who were up to their waists, then dropped along its full length, which is very great, and gradually hauled in shore again with two or three bushels of fish in it, and any number of crabs which the children pick up very carefully and fling ashore. (Pearson ed., 1969: 156-157)

Bank Fishing

Cannon's Point slaves could also have fished from the creek banks or salt marsh edges, using lines and nets. During low tide, they could have collected shellfish from the flats in the Hampton tidal river and Jones tidal creek.

The salt marshes are drained by a network of tidal rivers and creeks, which range from small creeks that are dry during low tide to large rivers up to two miles wide (Ursin 1972: 3; Larson 1969: 24-25). The problem is

gaining access to these tidal streams. Only rarely do the tidal creeks and rivers cut into the high ground, creating a steep bank or low bluff. Usually, the high ground is separated from the large tidal channels by an expanse of salt marsh. Only the "high marsh" or "the upper section of the littoral zone in the salt marsh" is firm enough to walk on (Dahlberg 1972: 327). The marsh creek banks and the tall Spartina alterniflora marsh bordering the creek are composed of sediments that are too soft to support the weight of a person during low tide (Teal 1958: 185; Larson 1969: 24-25). In the high marsh, the sand content of the sediments is higher and the marsh is firm enough to walk on (Teal 1958: 186-187; Dahlberg 1972: 327). When the high marsh is inundated by tides, free swimming marine animals enter the area to feed. But only a few fish species from the estuary population regularly feed in the flooded marshes (Miller and Jorgenson 1969: Tables 2 and 10; Dahlberg 1972: Table 2; Table 46).

In fact, the two marine catfish species, which make up 23% of the total fish individuals at the slave site and 30% of total fish at the overseer house, do not enter the high marsh areas. Being sand-or mud-bottom feeders, they remain in the creek and river channels (Larson 1969: 167; Dahlberg 1972: Table 2). Though the slaves could have caught many of their fish from the unflooded fringes of the high marsh, they had to have direct access to the creeks and rivers to collect the remaining genera, including catfish.

An 1869 map of Altamaha Sound depicts Jones Creek cutting into the high ground along the western edge of Cannon's Point peninsula opposite the northern slave cabins; currently, the channel at this point is eight feet deep at mean low tide. Two smaller channels, less than four feet

Table 46. Habitat distribution of fish appearing at the slave and overseer sites.[a]

I. Slave cabin

	Lower Reaches: Sounds Tidal Rivers, and Creeks	High Marsh (x present - absent)
Chondrichthyes	cf Dasyatis sp. (stingray)	-
Osteichthyes	Acipenser oxyrhynchus (sturgeon)	no information
	Lepisosteus osseus (gar)	-
	Arius felis (marine catfish)	-
	Bagre marinus (gafftop sail)	-
	Archosargus probatocephalus (sheepshead)	x
	Bairdilella chrysura (silver perch)	x
	Cynosicion nebulosus (spotted sea trout)	x
	Cynoscion sp. (sea trout)	x
	Menticirrhus sp. (kingfish)	rare
	Micropogon undulatus (croaker)	x
	Pogonias cromis (black drum)	x
	Sciaenops ocellatus (red drum)	x
	Mugil sp. (mullet)	x
	Paralichthys sp. (flounder)[b]	x

II. Overseer's house

	Lower Reaches	High Marsh
Chondrichthyes	Dasyatis sp.	-
Osteichthyes	Lepisosteus osseus	-
	cf Brevoortia sp. (menhaden)	x
	cf Dorosoma sp. (shad)	x
	Arius felis	-
	Bagre marinus	-
	Centropristes striatus (sea bass)	-
	Archosargus probatocephalus	x
	Bairdiella chrysura	x
	Micropogon undulatus	x
	Pogonias cromis	x
	Sciaenops ocellatus	x
	Mugil sp.	x
	Chilomycterus schoepfi (burrfish)	rare

[a] Based on Miller and Jorgenson (1969); Dahlberg (1972: Table 2).

[b] Paralichthys lethostigma appears in the high marsh habitat (Dahlberg 1972: Table 2).

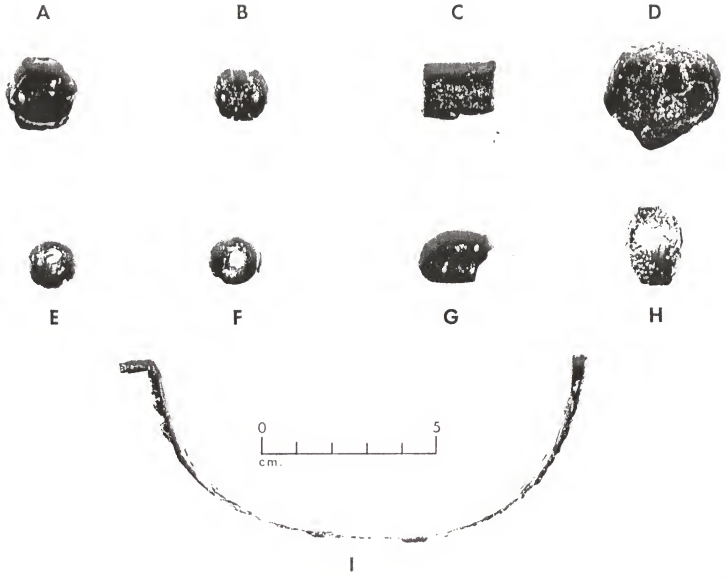
deep, cut into land west of the overseer's house and south of the duplex slave cabins (US Geological Survey 1954; Figure 2). Slaves could have fished from the banks at these points during the high tide, which brings in several important food species. Even without boats, slaves would have had direct access to the channels to collect catfish and other species.

Bank fishing may have been the most common method of collecting fish. From the creek bank, slaves or overseers and their servants could have caught shrimp and mullet with cast nets (Hilliard 1969: 7-8). Perforated cylindrical weights, possibly from cast nets (see Fairbanks 1974: 87), appeared at the slave and overseer sites. Fish, other than mullet, can be taken with hook and line (Larson 1969: 166-172), and evidence of this fishing technique is provided by two slip-sinkers and a terminal weight at the slave cabin and two slip-sinkers at the overseer site (see Figure 42).

If Cannon's Point slaves did possess boats, it "was seldom that a master permitted his people to go at will in boats upon the creeks, and only by special permission could they go upon the Sound for one of the most exciting of all water sports, drum fishing" (Johnson 1930: 142).

The larger red and black drums were caught in the sounds, especially in the deeper areas--the "drum holes" (Woofter 1930: 221-222; Pearson ed., 1969: 156). Drums were taken on lines baited with crab and shrimp and weighted with heavy lead sinkers (Crum 1940: 55). A large conical terminal sinker from the slave cabin may have been used for drum fishing in the sounds (Figure 42), for red and black drum remains appear in the slave cabin refuse. On the other hand, the drums may have been collected by the planter's slave fishermen, who distributed the excess fish to the agricultural slaves.

Figure 42. Fishing and trapping items from the plantation sites. (A) and (B) slip-sinkers from the northern third slave cabin site; (C) possible cast net weight from the northern third slave cabin hearth fill; (D) terminal sinker from the northern third slave cabin refuse; (E) and (F) slip-sinkers from the overseer's house site; (G) possible cast net weight from the overseer's house refuse; (H) slip-sinker from the planter's kitchen refuse; (I) spring trap element from the south chimney arch of the overseer's house.


A
B
C
D
E
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0
5
cm.
I

Distribution of Fish and Turtles

During drum season in the warmer months, the sea island planters often appointed three or four field slaves to fish for drums (Johnson 1930: 142). The planters monopolized most of the catch, though some fish were given to overseers and the slave fishermen. The heads, backbones, and offal were doled out to the agricultural slaves (Phillips ed., 1969: 203-208); the slaves made stews from the heads and internal organs (Johnson 1930: 142; Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: 308).

If the planter family reserved the steaks and distributed the heads, backbones, and offal to the slaves, an abundance of cranial bones and vertebrae would appear at the slave sites, though few of the bones would appear at the planter's kitchen. Yet, cranial fragments and vertebrae from large black drums and red drums appear at all three sites. There were five drumfish at the slave cabin, three at the overseer's house, and seven at the planter's kitchen (Tables 36-38). Possibly, the Coupers distributed excess whole drumfish to the slaves and overseers.

But given the archeological evidence of fishing equipment at the slave and overseer sites, it can be assumed they collected most of their own supplementary fish and turtles. Occasionally, excess fish and turtles, collected by the planter's fishermen, may have been distributed to slaves and overseers.

Habitat Utilization

Use of different habitats seems a more plausible explanation for the differences in fish and turtle distribution at the sites. Because of limited time available for subsistence, slaves and overseers visited few of the habitats near Cannon's Point, and they collected only a limited

range of fish and turtles. Although they probably possessed boats, direct access to the sounds and the landward marshes and streams was blocked by Little St. Simons Island. To reach the outlying habitats, slaves had to make a long canoe trip down the Hampton River, taking the tides into account. Slaves and overseers probably did most of their fishing in the tidal marshes and streams surrounding Cannon's Point.

Cannon's Point and Outlying Habitats

Dr. Michael Dahlberg, who has done extensive research on Georgia coastal fisheries, regards the sounds and the larger tidal rivers and creeks as a single unit--"the lower reaches of the estuary" (Dahlberg 1972: 327). The "high marsh," which is inundated during the high tide, is considered as a distinct habitat, visited by animals specifically adapted for feeding in these areas (Miller and Jorgenson 1969: Tables 2, 10; Dahlberg 1972: 327). The shallow waters off the beach are another habitat (Dahlberg 1972: 327).

Though essentially the same species are found in the "lower reaches" habitat, there are temporal and spatial clusters. Abundance and species diversity varies with salinity and temperature changes (see Dahlberg 1972: 349-350). The young can adapt more readily to variable salinity than adults, who may be restricted to higher salinity areas of the "lower reaches" (Dahlberg 1972: 348). The larger drums and the adult spots and croakers are more common in the deeper waters of the sounds (Dahlberg 1972: 342-343; Dahlberg and Odum 1970: 383, 391). Adult jacks and bumpers prefer the high salinity areas of the estuary; the bumper is most common in shallow waters off the beach (Dahlberg 1972: 340).

By fishing more frequently in the sounds and off the beaches, the planter's slave specialists collected a wider range of fish, including several species that do not appear at the slave and overseer sites; spots, jacks, and bumpers appear only at the planter's kitchen. There are nine Sciaenid species at the planter's kitchen in contrast to seven at the slave cabin and four at the overseer's house (Tables 36-38). The drums and croakers at the slave and overseer sites may have been collected on rare visits to the sounds or they may have been re-distributed by the planter family.

The planter's refuse also contained two additional genera of sharks and rays (Table 38). The collection of sharks would require sophisticated hooks and lines, even for such small sharks as Carcharinus limbatus, the black-tipped shark, which frequently schools in the estuaries. Cow-nosed ray schools also enter Georgia estuaries (Larson 1969: 142, 158-159; Dahlberg and Heard 1969; Dahlberg 1972: 334). The Atlantic stingray, however, appears at all three sites; it is remarkably adaptive to changing salinities and appears in creeks, rivers, and sounds (Dahlberg 1972: 334).

The distribution of turtles at the plantation sites corroborates the hypothesis that the planter's slave specialists used a wider range of habitats. The diamond-back terrapin, the only turtle occurring at all three sites, is common in the tidal streams and marshes (Ursin 1972: 95). These could be collected by hook and line or basket traps. If boats were available, they could have been captured by hand or with dip or drag nets (Larson 1969: 202-203; Coker in Taylor 1951: 221). Four other terrapin species appear at the planter's site (see Table 38), but these are usually found in freshwater streams and brackish marshes along the mainland (Larson 1969: 31; Teal 1962: 615). At the slave site, only

soft-shell terrapins were present in addition to diamond-back terrapins (Table 36). Only snapping turtles and diamond-backs appeared at the overseer's house (Table 37). Soft-shell turtles prefer still waters, and they may have come from permanent ponds and streams on the plantation (Conant 1958: 34; Ernst and Barbour 1972: 104; US Geological Survey 1954). The snapping turtle can be found in "any permanent body of fresh water" and may enter brackish waters (Conant 1958: 34; Ernst and Barbour 1972: 104).

Significantly, marine turtles do not appear at the slave and overseer sites. Slaves and overseers did not visit the beaches during May and June, when sexually mature females came ashore to lay eggs (Hazzard 1825).

The faunal and ecological evidence indicates that the planter's slave specialists regularly visited the sounds, the beaches, and landward marshes and streams to collect a greater diversity of fish and turtles for the planter's table. In turn, the slaves and overseers utilized the tidal marshes, Jones Creek, and Hampton River; they rarely visited outlying habitats (see Figures 43-44).

Seasonality

Abundance and species diversity varies with temperature changes; during the colder months, the numbers of species and the total number of individuals is reduced (Dahlberg 1972: 349; Dahlberg and Odum 1970: 384, 388, 390-391).

In a contemporary study of St. Simons and St. Andrews Sounds, researchers found that generally "sciaenid fish populations were concentrated in the creeks during the fall, winter, and early spring." As the waters warmed, "the populations began to shift to the sound and by mid-summer the

Figure 43. Cannon's Point and outlying habitats. (Adapted from Kemble ed. by Scott 1961: XL; USGS ed., 1954).

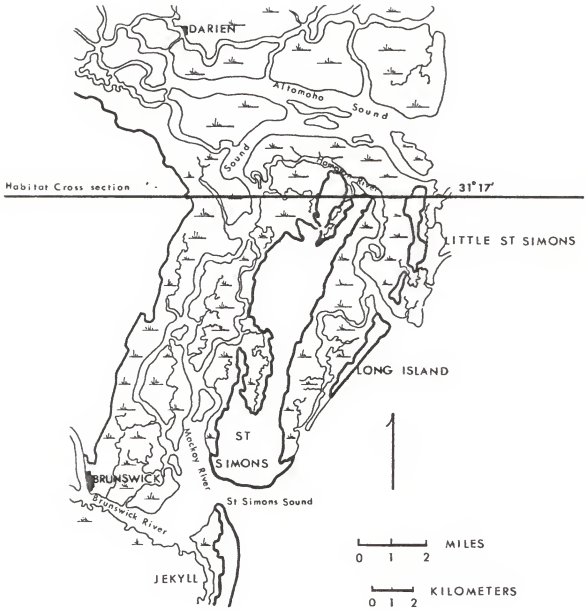
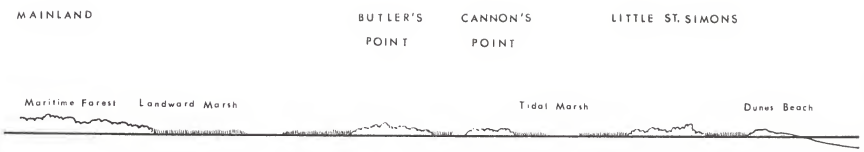

DARIEN
Altamaha Sound
Sound
Habitat Cross section
31°17'
LITTLE ST SIMONS
LONG ISLAND
ST SIMONS
Hampton River
BRUNSWICK
Brunswick River
St Simons Sound
JEKYLL
MILES
0 1 2
KILOMETERS
0 1 2

Figure 44. Idealized habitat cross section of Cannon's Point and outlying areas. (Adapted from Figure 43; Larson 1969; Dahlberg 1972).


MAINLAND
BUTLER'S POINT
CANNON'S POINT
LITTLE ST. SIMONS
Maritime Forest
Landward Marsh
Tidal Marsh
Dunes Beach
MACKAY RIVER
JONES CREEK
HAMPTON RIVER
ATLANTIC

greatest percent of the sciaenid catch was being taken in the sound" (Mahood and others 1974: 15-16). If slaves and overseers usually fished from creek banks, the fall and winter months should have been most rewarding for Sciaenid fishing. Sciaenids constitute 37% of the fish individuals at the slave site and 57% of the total identifiable fish bone weight. But at the overseer's house, Sciaenids were only 27% of the individuals and 15% of the fish bone weight (Tables 36-38).

During the warmer months, catfish and sheepshead are plentiful in the tidal creeks (Tables 46-47). Catfish and sheepshead are relatively more abundant at the overseer's house, where they are 38% of the total fish individuals; in contrast, they are only 28% of the total fish at the slave cabin. These differences in frequency of seasonal fish may be related to seasonal differences in slave and overseer duties.

In the period 1844-53, J. H. Couper replaced overseers during the winter months, usually in December (Couper 1839-54: 217, 246, 273, 295, 332, 409, 442). If this pattern had existed in the past, it meant that the new resident overseers had to set up housekeeping and assume their supervisory responsibilities during the winter months, after the hectic fall picking and ginning season.

Forest Resources

Slaves and overseers relied most heavily on aquatic resources. Aquatic animals constitute 88% of the individuals at the slave cabin and 83% of the total at the overseer's site (Tables 39-40). Slaves and overseers spent most of their subsistence time collecting fish and marsh terrapins rather than collecting small forest mammals, which frequented the uncleared forest, secondary undergrowth, and salt marsh fringes.

Table 47. Seasonality of fish genera at the plantation sites.

Genus and Species	Seasonality-(present in)	Citation
Carcharinus sp. (requiem shark)	warm months	Dahlberg (1972: 334)
Dasyatis sp. (stingray)	warm months	Dahlberg (1975: 29)
cf Rhinoptera bonasus (cow-nosed ray)	uncommon	Dahlberg (1975: 31)
Acipenser oxyrhynchus (sturgeon)	spawns in rivers in spring and summer	Larson (1969: 36)
Lepisosteus osseus (gar)	year-round	Dahlberg (1972: 334)
cf Brevoortia sp. (menhaden)	adults present in warm months	Dahlberg (1972: 335)
cf Dorosoma sp.		
Arius felis (marine catfish)	warm months	Dahlberg (1972: 337)
Bagre marinus (gaff-topsail catfish)	scarce in winter months	Dahlberg (1972: 337)
Centropristes striatus (black seabass)	year-round	Dahlberg (1972: 340)
Caranx cf hippos (crevalle jack)	uncommon	Dahlberg (1975: 63)
cf Chlorosocombrus chrysurus (bumper)	June-December	Dahlberg (1975: 63)
Archosargus probatocephalus (sheepshead)	warm months	Larson (1969: 166)
Bairdiella chrysura (silver perch)	spawn off-shore April-May	Dahlberg (1972: 341)
Cynoscion nebulosus (spotted sea trout)	year-round	Dahlberg (1972: 342)
Cynoscion nothus (silver sea trout)	May-August	Dahlberg (1972: 342)
Cynoscion regalis (weak fish)	warm months	Dahlberg (1972: 342)
Leiostomus xantharus (spot)		
Menticirrhus sp. (kingfish)	warm months or year-round	Dahlberg (1975: 71-72)
Micropogon undulatus (croaker)	spawn off-shore September-April	Dahlberg (1972: 343)
Pogonias cromis (black drum)		
Sciaenops ocellatus (red drum)		
Mugil sp. (mullet)	M. cephalus-year-round M. curema-February-December	Dahlberg (1972: 345)
Paralichthys sp. (flounder)	year-round	Dahlberg (1975: 95)
Chilomycterus schoepfi (burrfish)	April-December	Dahlberg (1972: 348)

Small forest mammals, collected with firearms or traps, would have provided meat, and the hides could have been sold or traded (Ball 1859: 195).

Though most Southern states prohibited slave ownership of firearms, Georgia never enacted such a law (Flanders 1933: 230); indirect evidence for slave-owned firearms has appeared at all the slave cabins excavated on the Georgia coast (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 13; Fairbanks 1974: 87; McFarlane 1975). At the third one-bay slave cabin, five lead shot, a percussion cap, and an irregular dark gunflint came from the refuse.

Evidence of firearms use also appeared at the overseer's site; three shot, a percussion cap, and a dark gunflint were recovered. In December, 1851, overseer, Seth R. Walker purchased a gun, shot bag, and powder flask for $22.50 (Couper 1839-54: 397). An element from a spring trap indicates another means of food collecting.

Trapping would be especially suitable for such animals as opossums, raccoons, rabbits, minks, and wild rodents, all of which are nocturnal or active during dawn and dusk (Larson 1969: 246-263; Cahalane 1947: 482, 498). Although slaves and overseers possessed firearms, they may have relied on traps because they had only limited time for food collecting.

Firearms would be required only for deer, squirrels, and birds. A squirrel was present in the overseer's refuse (Table 37). Remains of a Clapper rail from the tidal marsh appeared in the small refuse pit at the slave cabin. Deer remains were present only at the planter's kitchen (Table 38). The planter's slave specialists may have hunted deer on the uninhabited barrier islands such as Little St. Simons or Long Island.

Food Values and Attitudes

Despite differences in species distribution, which can be explained by the utilization of differing habitats, there were many similarities in the types of animals that planters, overseers, and slaves used for food. Surprisingly, opossum, raccoons, and rabbits appeared at all three sites, including the planter's kitchen; at present, they are associated with lower status whites and blacks. Wood rats were present at all three sites, but their flesh is edible; devotees of the woodrat prefer it to squirrel (Cahalane 1947: 498; Goldman 1910).

The presence of sharks and rays at the planter's kitchen presents another problem, for by the 1880's food attitudes had changed. When a huge stingray was caught in a St. Simons tidal stream in July 1884, only the blacks eagerly sought the "flops" of the "stingaree," which they preferred to "pork and beefsteak" (Engel and Stebbins 1974: 83). Yet, sharks and rays represent 6% of the individuals at the planter's kitchen. Also, marine catfish, which are now held in low esteem, compose 35% of the fish individuals at the kitchen (Table 38). Apparently, sharks, rays, and catfish contributed to the elegant seafood soups served in the Couper household ([Couper] "Catfish Soup" nd).

Sturgeon remains appeared at both the planter and slave sites. As late as June, 1883, a seven-foot sturgeon was landed at St. Simons Island (Engel and Stebbins 1974: 64).

Marine turtles, deer, and alligators appear only at the planter's kitchen, and they may represent choice game items reserved for the planter's table. Aaron Burr, a visitor to Butler's Point in 1804, included the following passage in a letter to his daughter Theodosia:

> You perceive that I am constantly discovering new luxuries for my table. Not having been able to kill a crocodile [alligator], I have offered a reward for one, which I mean to eat, dressed in soup, fricassee, and steak. Oh! how I long to partake of this repast. (Van Doren ed., 1929: 182)

The most unusual possible food animals at the plantation sites are minks, a rice rat, and a domestic cat (Tables 36-38). Since minks appear in coastal aboriginal sites (Larson 1969: 263), they may have been used for food by the slaves and planter family. Possibly, Sans Foix could have made the musky flesh palatable. The rice rat at the overseer site could have been trapped along the marsh fringe (Teal 1962: 615; Goldman 1918). As the wood rat, it may have been regarded as a food source. A young house cat, with butcher marks on a right dentary and left ulna, appeared at the overseer site; it may have been cut up for the stewpot or butchered for fishbait. If eaten, the cat demonstrates the relative poverty of Cannon's Point overseers.

Summary

It is difficult to predict ethnic or caste differences from the distribution of domestic and non-domestic animals at the plantation sites. The dietary similarities occurred between black slaves and white overseers and not between the white overseers and white planters.

The slaves and overseers utilized the salt marsh, Jones Creek, and Hampton River habitats. They fished from boats in the tidal streams or from the banks. On land, they collected nocturnal mammals in the secondary undergrowth or along the marsh fringes, using traps or firearms. They rarely visited the sounds, beaches, landward marshes, and freshwater habitats. Yet, for both slaves and overseers, large domestic animals probably provided most of the meat consumed in a year; wild mammals,

terrapins, and fish were small but steady sources of protein.

Given the same basic food resources, slaves and overseers prepared their foods in similar fashion. They probably cooked vegetables, grains, and any available meat together in the same vessel, because they possessed few utensils and lacked the time needed for elaborate food preparation (see Hilliard 1972: 62).

To obtain more sustenance from their limited meat, they cleaved open the bones and stewed them (Ball 1859: 139; Chaplin 1971: 14-15). Though bones at the slave and overseer sites were broken by foot traffic, it was apparent that much of the fragmentation resulted from cleaving large mammal limb bones and crania. No saw marks were present on the bones, indicating that meat saws were not used to divide the carcasses into cuts and joints. Rather, there were axe or cleaver marks as well as knife marks on the fragmented large mammal bones.

In contrast, few bones were cleaved open at the Couper kitchen site, though the planter's cooks may have used some limb bone segments in soup-making. Saw marks, however, were present on scapulae, ribs, and vertebrae of large mammals, indicating a regular butghering pattern to produce roasts for the planter's table.

These differences in butchering and food preparation are reflected in the ceramic vessels used to serve foods. At the planter's house, roasts were served on platters, following the first course of seafood- and meat-based soups served in tureens. The planter's family and guests consumed these foods from plates and soup-plates, which compose a high proportion of identifiable tableware items at the planter's kitchen.

The slaves and overseers, however, ate stews from tureens (see Tables

19-20) or directly from the pots. They ate the liquid-based food, with its "spoon meat," from bowls, and sopped up the pot liquor with bread made from corn meal or rice flour (Booth 1971; Hilliard 1972).

Yet, white and black diets may have differed in one important respect--access to dairy products (Hilliard 1972: 61). No identifiable dairy implements were present at the slave cabin, and it is doubtful if slaves kept cows or ewes. Fragments of a butter churn appear at the overseer site, and some of the overseers had milch cows. In turn, milk-settling pans appeared at the planter's kitchen and John Couper's directions for cheese-making are still available in the Southern Historical Collection.

Because of range-feeding, few milch cows were available. Planters monopolized the milk production from the herds and any surplus usually went to the slave children (Hilliard 1972: 61). The presence of dairy implements at an antebellum site may indicate the former inhabitants were white. Though they may have eaten meat and greens from banded ware bowls, they had buttermilk with their cornbread and milk for their coffee.

Social status difference may be predicted from the relative percentages of non-domestic animals in plantation sites. Once the possible food animals have been determined from documents or by other means (see Thomas 1971), the appearance of individual food animals at a site can be attributed to cultural activity. At Cannon's Point, the percentages of non-domestic animals at the three sites reflects the class hierarchy, but the samples of individuals may not be large enough to have predictive value.

But if larger samples of individuals from other plantations corroborate the evidence from Cannon's Point, a high percentage of non-domestic animals in the site refuse could indicate the former inhabitants were planters with slave food collecting specialists. A lower percentage of non-domestic animals could indicate the presence of farmers or overseers with a small slave force, who could not readily spare hands for food collecting. On sites occupied by slaves, a still lower percentage of non-domestic animals could be expected. They could depend only on themselves to collect foods, and their agricultural work curtailed the time that could be devoted to food gathering.

If bone weights could be transformed into their equivalent usable meat weights, this should be a reliable indicator of social differences. The relative dietary contributions of fish, reptiles, birds, and wild and domestic mammals could be used to predict social status differences. Among lower status people in the South, hog meat may have predominated in their diet; in turn, upper status people may have had greater opportunity to vary their sources of meat protein. Upper status people could have devoted their leisure time to recreational hunting and fishing, or they could have maintained slave food collecting specialists.

VI. SUMMARY

Social and Ethnic Status Differences

The archeological remains from the plantation sites generally reflect social status differences. Only housing clearly indicates the ethnic and legal differences existing among the free white inhabitants and the black slave laborers. The planter and overseer dwellings were similar in terms of available living space; the number of specialized rooms; the features available to occupants; the quality of construction materials; and expected durability. The overseer's house, in fact, was probably superior to many of the planters' dwellings on smaller Glynn County plantations. The Couper family may have built the spacious overseer's house to attract married supervisors, who may not have been lured by the relatively low salary.

The distribution of ceramic types and shapes clearly shows social status differences. The type distribution of overseer and slave ceramics was similar; also, there was a smaller range of shapes at the overseer and slave sites. The slave and overseer ceramics were relatively outmoded and heterogeneous in comparison to the ceramics used by the planter family. Banded ware serving bowls were common at the lower status sites, and the high occurrence can be explained by dietary similarities. Yet, the frequencies of teawares at the plantation sites may be used to predict ethnic status, for teawares were less common at the slave sites.

Most non-ceramic artifacts do not appear to be sensitive indicators of status differences on early nineteenth century sites. At the slave cabin,

there was a higher percentage of opaque dark-green bottle fragments; however, the evidence from liquor bottle fragments is rather inconclusive, since bottle types held a wide variety of contents. Glass medicine containers occurred more frequently at the slave and overseer sites. But the distribution of glass tableware did not show status differences because the slaves apparently used discards from the planter family. Certain bone and iron button types appeared more frequently at the slave and overseer sites and these may be indicators of lower status. Also, slaves and overseers preferred pipes to cigars or snuff. The evidence from other artifacts is rather ambiguous.

The vertebrate faunal remains from the sites demonstrate social status differences. There was a higher number of non-domestic animals at the planter's site, and slightly decreased frequencies appeared at the overseer and slave sites. More significant differences appeared in the distribution of fish and terrapins. The planter's slave specialists visited more habitats and collected a wider range of species than the slaves and overseers, who were only part-time collectors. The food collecting behavior and the diets of slaves and overseers showed remarkable similarities. Slaves and overseers cooked meats and vegetables together in cauldrons and ate the mixtures from banded ware bowls. The overseers, however, possessed milk cows, though milk and dairy products may have been missing from the slave diet.

Thus, in predicting the ethnic status of former site inhabitants on antebellum plantations, settlement pattern and housing appear to be the most reliable indicators. Single, duplex, or multi-room slave cabins were arranged in single or parallel rows. Overseers' multi-room dwellings and associated outbuildings were located near the slave quarters; if there

was more than one slave village, the overseer's house might be centrally located. If the planter resided on the plantation, a larger dwelling with associated structures for household and maintenance activities would be located some distance from the slave quarters and overseer's residence.

In turn, most artifacts and the faunal remains would reflect social status differences. Overseers generally came from farming families and they received low salary and prestige. Most planters dispensed with white overseers and replaced them with slave overseers and drivers. Not surprisingly, the artifacts from the overseer's house are quite similar to those used by the slaves. Also, because of limited leisure time, overseers or their servants collected animals from the same habitats that the slaves utilized: the Hampton tidal river; Jones creek; the tidal marshes; and the forests of Cannon's Point. Despite the lower ethnic and legal status of slaves, their material possessions and food resources rivaled those of white overseers.

The artifacts and faunal remains, however, do not reveal the African heritage of the slaves. At Cannon's Point, Rayfield, and Kingsley, excavators of slave cabins did not recover any artifacts based on African models (McFarlane 1975; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1974). As Charles Fairbanks noted in the Kingsley report:

> It was not surprising that no surely African elements in the material culture could be identified. It has long been known that blacks arrived in this country with nothing but their chains. They did manage, however, to leave survivals of their language and other behavioral traits in the slave culture of the South which survive in Afro-American culture until the present. I felt that the special circumstances of Kingsley's permissive attitude toward his charges, would assure that some elements of African material culture would have been recreated in the plantation situation. Pottery, ornaments, game pieces, or ritual objects might well be expected in such a milieu. We found nothing, however, that could surely be identified as such. (Fairbanks 1974: 90)

Popular and Folk Artifacts

Instead, the bulk of artifacts recovered from the three plantations were mass-produced items from Great Britain or the northeastern United States. Most were based on popular or innovative models (see Glassie 1968: 17-20). For example, potters in the early nineteenth century produced a bewildering variety of shapes and decorative styles. The Spode pottery produced six sizes of tea pots and up to 12 sizes of chamber pots. They even provided special shapes and patterns for their overseas markets (Whiter 1970: 64-65). Transfer-printing became the preferred method of decorating ceramic items. While other decorative techniques such as slip-coating and hand-painting had folk antecedents, these decorations appeared on a variety of innovative ceramic shapes that were mass-produced with molds, profiles, and lathes.

Non-ceramic artifacts of the early nineteenth century were produced in great quantities by molding, pressing, and stamping. Formerly, items had been formed by forging, casting, hand-blowing, or carving. The plantation inhabitants purchased standardized bottles blown in hinged molds. They used patent nostrums which were packaged in small mold-blown bottles. They smoked commercial twist tobacco in molded pipes bearing the makers' names. They buttoned coats and vests with stamped brass buttons made in New England and Great Britain. Finally, they used stamped iron buttons, machine-cut shell and bone buttons, and molded white porcelain buttons to fasten trousers, shirts, and underwear.

Other commercial artifacts showed less change in shape and manufacturing techniques. Cast iron cauldrons of the early nineteenth century differed little from eighteenth century examples. Also, the hoes used by Cannon's Point field slaves were quite similar to seventeenth and eighteenth

century broad hoes (see Noel Hume 1969a: 275; Noel Hume 1966: 23; Figure 7). The shapes of household dairy and storage ceramics also varied little through time. The lead-glazed earthenwares and alkaline-glazed stonewares at the planter's site may have been fashioned by Georgia or Carolina potters (Fairbanks 1962: 14; Greer 1971).

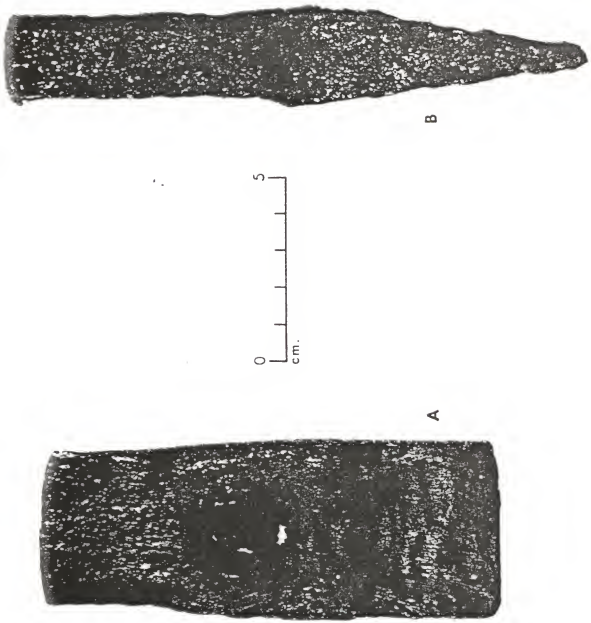
Finally, some of the building hardware at the plantation sites may have been made in the plantation workshop. Excavation of the workshop/ginhouse revealed a cross-pein forge hammer, a smith's chisel, and quantities of slag (see Figure 45). The pintles and strap hinges, possibly made in the workshop, were based on traditional models; these early nineteenth century examples are quite similar in shape to eighteenth century pintles and hinges (see Dunton 1972).

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, there was a gradual replacement of traditional material items with their popular equivalents. Though artifacts based on traditional or folk models vary little through time, there is major regional variation in folk artifact distribution. In contrast, mass-produced artifacts based on innovative models show major variation through time as short-lived types became less fashionable among jaded consumers. Innovative people readily accepted the cheap mass-produced commercial items. Popular artifacts, produced in the British Isles, were widely distributed throughout much of the world in a relatively short time (Glassie 1968: 33; South 1972: 73; Kelso 1971).

Planter, Overseer, and Slave Subcultures

Though the bulk of artifacts from the slave and overseer sites were based on popular or innovative models, the ceramics from these sites do reflect the folk-oriented subcultures of the field slaves and the yeoman

Figure 45. Blacksmith's tools from the workshop/ginhouse. (A) cross-pein hammer; (B) chisel.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overseers. The outmoded and heterogeneous ceramics used by the slaves and overseers indicate they were far less concerned with symmetry and homogeneity in material culture than the planter family, who purchased large sets of stylish tableware and teaware. The planter family's concern with order and balance was probably manifested in their clothing, house furnishings, organization of space, and even their garden layouts (see Deetz in Quimby 1973: 18; Foster 1953).

The planter elite had preferred access to material, symbolic, and power rewards. With a larger total income, planter families could participate more fully in the popular or elite culture of the Western world. Planters could send their children to private academies and universities. They subscribed to newspapers and periodicals, purchased books, art works, fashionable clothing, and stylish household furnishings.

Farmers and their overseer sons, poorer whites, and slaves were the major population elements in Old South society, but they were marginal participants in the market economy and popular culture of the Western world. Though farmers sold some cash and food crop surpluses to obtain slaves, commercial foodstuffs, and material items, they remained highly self-sufficient. They fashioned many of the implements used on their farms, built their own dwellings, sewed their own clothing, and engaged in supplementary hunting and fishing. Though most farmers were literate, traditional ways, housing, and artifacts persisted into the twentieth century (Glassie 1968: 188-189; Rothstein 1967: 375-376; Owsley 1949). The poorer white herders and subsistence gardeners remained on the fringes of the market economy. Slaves, living under numerous legal and customary restraints, achieved small cash incomes from the sale of produce and handicrafts. Literacy was rare among poorer whites and slaves; many

states even forbade the teaching of slaves to prevent slave rebellions (Rothstein 1967: 375-376; Genovese 1974: 562-563).

Though the subcultures of farmers, poorer whites, and slaves were largely traditional, this folk-orientation may be poorly reflected archeologically. At Cannon's Point, popular artifacts, made from durable materials, form a disproportionate part of the archeological record. Many artifacts, made from perishable materials and based on traditional European and African models, would not have survived.

Documentary evidence demonstrates that antebellum slaves did fashion material items based on African models. This behavior persisted into the twentieth century. African-influenced objects included wood sculpture, basketry, and ceramics, especially the alkaline-glazed Afro-Carolinian stoneware vessels, "shaped in the form of a tormented face" (Thompson in Robinson and others eds., 1969: 122). Despite this persistence of African-influenced artifacts, more African elements may survive in "musical, social, or kinesthetic traditions than in material culture" (Glassie 1968: 116). This may also reflect the biases of research in the twentieth century, for scholars have been mainly concerned with Afro-American folklore and speech (Genovese 1974: 397).

Yet, the Africans who came to the United States were atypical immigrants. They did not come as family groups but as isolated individuals, taken from diverse ethnic groups from the Gambia River to Mozambique. While the early white colonists imported European material items to create familiar housing, artifacts, and food, the slaves brought nothing but their shackles. While European immigrants settled in ethnic clusters in rural and urban areas, where they attempted to reproduce their old living styles, plantations contained slaves from widely differing

linguistic and cultural groups. Furthermore, in the United States, most slaves lived in communities where white farmers not blacks were numerically dominant. About half of the slaves lived on farms which had twenty or fewer slaves (see Mullin 1972).

The individuals who became slaves had been forcibly removed from their communities--iron age agricultural villages. As members of the communities, the people possessed a "private culture" or a personal organization of experience. This included a knowledge of the rules or principles that allowed individuals to make their speech and behavior meaningful and communicable to others. Though each person's manifest speech and behavior varied slightly, knowledge of accepted standards of speech and behavior allowed for social interaction and cooperation among individuals. The standards of appropriate speech and behavior varied in different social contexts. Since the contexts of social interaction differed with age, sex, and social status, the standards of speech and behavior or the "operating cultures" of male agriculturists differed from those of female traders or young children.

In a non-ranked society, the major differences in operating cultures would have followed age and sex divisions. But in the large, socially-complex societies which characterized much of west, central, and south-western Africa, there were many occupational specialties and operating cultures (see Goodenough 1963: 259-264; Davidson 1968: 91-99).

Yet, of the 400,000 Africans imported into the United States (Genovese 1974:5), a disproportionate number were young males. Though all age, sex, and occupational classes were represented in the slave cargoes, the bulk were agriculturists (see Curtin 1969; Curtin ed., 1967).

Slaves were placed in a new society where whites were numerically dominant. In colonial Virginia, African-born slaves were sold to farmers or sent to the quarters of large plantations to work under white overseers. The African or "outlandish" slaves soon learned the work routine, and they became conversant in the English-based plantation creoles. They learned the standards of speech and behavior that were appropriate for the work and residential contexts. Most field slaves in colonial Virginia were African-born; they lived with yeoman farmers or overseers in European-type dwellings, "makeshift slave huts, and crude outbuildings." Despite continued interaction with yeoman whites, the African heritage was present in speech, behavior, housing, and material items (see Mullin 1972: 15, 46-47, 62, 174n).

Georgia, however, usually acquired slaves from other colonies; direct importation of African slaves began only after 1766. By 1798, Georgia enacted a state law which forbade direct importation of slaves from Africa or other foreign parts. Though Georgia imported far fewer slaves than Carolina, the patterns of importation probably approximated those of South Carolina. About 20% of the imported slaves may have come from the Senegambia, and approximately 40% came from Angola (Curtin 1969: 143, 158; Flanders 1933: 182).

In 1808, the United States abolished the slave trade; yet, during the period 1811-1860, an estimated 50,000 African slaves surreptitiously entered the United States. Slaves from the Congo basin and Angola were heavily represented in the illegal cargoes (see Curtin 1969: 231-232, 258, 260). Frequently, 300 to 400 "prime Africans" would appear in Savannah slave markets. Slave smuggling prospered because the sea islands and navigable rivers along the coast offered havens for slaving ships

(Flanders 1933: 183; GWP 1940: xvii-xviii). The most notorious slaver was the yacht Wanderer, which landed 409 slaves at Jekyll Island on November 28, 1858 (Wells 1967: 24-31).

By the nineteenth century, the bulk of the American slave force was native-born. The Africans who were smuggled into Georgia were placed among acculturated native-born slaves. With the end of the legal slave trade in 1808, slave owners aided the natural increase of slaves by providing adequate housing, clothing, and food. Standards for living conditions "became part of the accepted standard of decency for the ruling class and part of the normal expectations of the slaves" (Genovese 1970: 146).

The imported African slaves had to acquire new standards of speech and behavior appropriate for the work and household contexts of coastal cotton and rice plantations. The Africans, however, were introduced among native-born slaves and white overseers, who had little knowledge of African ways or little sympathy for the plight of newly-arrived slaves. Wallace Quarterman, an ex-slave interviewed by the Georgia Writers' Project, recalled the problems that arose when his owner, Colonel Fred Waring of Skidaway Island, purchased seven or eight Africans in Savannah shortly before the war. They could not communicate with the other slaves or with Daniel Blue, the overseer:

> . . . Mr. Blue put um in duh fiel, but he couldn do nuttn wid um. Dey gabble, gabble, gabble, an nobody couldn unduhstan um an dey didn know how tuh wuk right. Mr. Blue he go down one mawnin wid a long whip fuh tuh whip um good. (GWP 1940: 150)

Despite their isolation among native-born slaves, the Africans did construct drums, ritual images, ceramics, and even houses that were based on African examples. Though the native-born slaves often looked askance

at the language and behavior of Africans (GWP 1940: 191), they vividly remembered their artifacts. Also, the Africans bore their heritage on their faces in the form of cicatrization or "country marks," as the whites called them. In advertising for a runaway slave couple, one coastal planter carefully portrayed their physical appearance:

> Celia is about thirty-five years of age, African-born, speaks rather bad English, and in a very peculiar manner, but is otherwise smart and shrewd. On being spoken to, she has the singular habit of throwing up her head, with a disdainful air. Jack, her husband, [is] between forty and forty-five years of age, about five feet eight inches high, steady and sedate in his manners, one upper tooth lost, and some country marks-Both of said negroes [sic], it is believed are branded on the breast with the letter M . (Darien Gazette August 2, 1819).

Their brands, their "bad English," and the coarse clothing they wore as well as the slave houses they abandoned represent their European heritage. In studies of American slavery, the European elements in slave life have received the greatest concern. Less is known about the African heritage, but some of its richness can be glimpsed in the ex-slave narratives.

The African Heritage

Ben Sullivan, son of Belali Sullivan who was James H. Couper's butler at Altama, remembered "lots uh Africans" including three owned by Couper--Okra, Gibson, and Israel. Okra attempted to build an African-style dwelling, but Couper forced him to destroy it. In Sullivan's words, Couper "say he ain wahn no African hut on he place." Sullivan also heard rumors of another African slave who built a house "wid cawn stalks an mud an wid a straw filluh." Another slave, Dembo, possibly African-born, beat the funeral drums at Altama; again, Couper tried to squelch

an obvious African custom. He announced to the slaves "he dohn wahn drums beatin round duh dead." Despite Couper's injunction, the slaves continued their funerary practices. Okra made a drum from maplewood and calf skin "about eighteen inches wide an fifteen inches deep wen he finish it" (GWP 1940: 178-182).

Ryna Johnson, living at Harrington near Cannon's Point, was an ex-slave of the Coupers. Since she referred to "the Coupers" rather than James specifically, she may have been a slave at Cannon's Point. She recalled three Africans who lived on the plantation: "Alexanduh, Jimmy, an William, dey is all African. I membuh ole William. well an he tell me lots about times in Africa" (GWP 1940: 175).

William still bore "country marks," for he had "two leedle line makh on he right cheek." Ryna also remembered some of William's African speech patterns:

> William he talk funny talk. He hab funny wuds fuh tings. I use tuh know some ub em, cuz he teach em toh me but it so long . . . Ise fuhgit. But I membuh he say pot call 'so jo' and watuh 'deloe' and he call fyun 'diffy'. (GWP 1940: 176)

Other ex-slaves and descendents on the Georgia coast described the material items fashioned by the Africans and the American-born slaves. Elderly residents of Tatemville, a settlement near Savannah, recalled "Golla" slaves who made the following items:

> . . . "spoons, trays, buckets. Dey made piggins [small buckets with an elongated stave for a handle] an mawtuh an pestle from a lawg uh wood. Dey would make wooden cuttuhs fuh meat an vegetubble an would dress some uh dem wid pretty figuyhs. (GWP 1940: 66-67).

Shadwick Rudolf, a slave owned by Dave Baily of Woodbine plantation in Camden County, recalled an African slave woman, Nanny Mammy who ate only from an African-style wooden bowl. Also, at Woodbine, slaves fashioned drums from sheephide stretched over a bucket (GWP 1940: 193-194).

In addition to wooden ware and drums, slaves made pottery vessels. Shad Hall's grandmother, who was daughter of Belali Mahomet, the Muslim slave driver on Spalding's plantation, made pots and cups from local clay (GWP 1940: 166).

The most common African-style household utensils were the mortars and pestles used for preparing maize and rice. Katie Brown, another descendant of Belali Mahomet, recalled that her grandmother beat wet rice into a paste in a mortar to make "sarakas" or flat cakes. Shad Rudolf's grandmother at Woodbine also made "sarakas" from rice and brown sugar (GWP 1940: 162, 193-194). Rosanna Williams, recalled that her father, Lonnon Dennerson, owned by Charles Grant of Glynn County, grew sesame which he pounded in a mortar with salt. Finally Charles Wilson, a resident of Harrington, planted sesame in the twentieth century. His slave parents had prepared sesame in mortars to make cakes, candy, and oil (GWP 1940: 71, 162, 193-194; Wightman and Cate 1955: 163).

A native-born slave from the Carolina coast, who escaped to the north shortly before the war, described slave handicrafts in some detail. On rainy days, slaves made baskets of white oak or hickory splits and sleeping mats of swamp rushes. The slave narrator also carved wooden bowls and ladles for household use and for sale to local shop-keepers.

The narrator also left an account of a slave funeral. When a slave woman and her African husband lost their young son, they wrapped the child in muslin, "with several curious and strange figures painted on it in blue and red," and buried him with a small bow and a tiny wooden canoe (Ball 1859: 128-130, 133, 198).

African funerary practices were especially persistent. Slaves smashed household articles that belonged to the dead on the fresh graves

(Thompson in Robinson and others eds., 1969: 149; GWP 1940: 117, 154). This practice continued into the twentieth century (Combes 1974: 52-61; Wightman and Cate 1955: 207-215). Also, despite the opposition of planters, slaves constructed drums for funerals; the slaves on Wilmington Island, Georgia built four-cornered funerary drums that were about four feet high (GWP 1940: 106).

Other ritual objects were fashioned by Wilmington Island slaves. Uncle Robert, an ex-slave recalled:

> I membuh duh African mens use tuh all time make lill clay images. Sometime day lak mens and sometime lak animal. Once dey make a big un. Dey put a speah in he hand an walk roun im an say he wuz duh chief. But dat clay got too much ribbuh mud in um an he ain las long. Sometime dey try tun make duh image out uh wood, but seem lak duh tool ain right, so mos times dey's ub clay. (GWP 1940: 106).

Slaves also made one- and multi-stringed instruments with gourd resonators to accompany the dances, including the harvest dances which they held secretly in the woods (GWP 1940: 186-187). Similar instruments, with membranes stretched over the gourd resonators, became the forerunners of the modern banjo (Oliver 1970: 22).

Acculturation of African Slaves

Despite examples of African-style artifacts in the ex-slave narratives, the Africans and their artifacts were readily recalled because they were so uncommon. The available documentary evidence indicates basic similarities in the material cultures of slaves and many whites (Genovese 1974: 533-534). There were three major processes that limited the recreation of African material items among the slave inhabitants (a) selection and simplification, (b) availability and substitution, and (c) differential acculturation.

Selection and Simplification

Though the cargo of the Wanderer can hardly be regarded as typical of the slaves smuggled into the United States in the nineteenth century, the Wanderer slaves were predominantly young males between the ages of twelve and eighteen from the Congo Basin and the Angola hinterland (Wells 1967). Ex-slaves on the Georgia coast recalled "Golla" slaves from Portuguese Angola (GWP 1940: xviii, 65-66, 99). Also, evidence in the Gullah dialect and Afro-American art and funerary practices indicates that many slaves in tidewater Carolina and Georgia came from groups living in Angola (Thompson in Robinson and others eds., 1969: 140, 149). In addition, Ibo people were smuggled into Georgia in the early nineteenth century (GWP 1940: 182). Local tradition claims that a group of Ibo slaves committed suicide at Ebo Landing on Dunbar Creek, St. Simons Island (Wightman and Cate 1955: 67).

If the majority of imported slaves in the nineteenth century were young males from agricultural groups in the African interior, only a few of the operating cultures in a given African society would be present. Since other age, sex, and occupational categories were poorly represented in the samples of newly-imported slaves, the slaves could not have reproduced the full range of material items that were characteristic of a given society. This would have resulted in the simplification of the complex material cultures of African societies because of the biased selection of immigrants (see Foster 1960: 10). The high proportion of young males in the nineteenth century cargoes may account for the prominence of drums and carved wooden items and the rarity of ceramics based on African models.

Since slaves came from widely differing societies and the ethnic origins of slaves are so poorly known, it is difficult to trace Afro-American practices or material items to a specific ethnic group or even a region. But despite the cultural diversity of African societies (see Mullin 1972: 174n), there were some broad similarities in food crops, food preparation techniques, and musical instruments.

Maize, introduced by the Portuguese and others in the sixteenth century, was an important crop for many Africans from the Gambia River to Angola (Miracle 1965: 46, 51, 55). In the Gambia Valley, maize was prepared with mortars and pestles (Park 1888: 11). The Yoruba of Nigeria and many ethnic groups in Angola also used mortars to prepare maize and other staples (Ojo 1966: 55, 80-81; Tams 1969 [1845]: 101). Even such a small ethnographic sample illustrates the spread of maize, which became the basic slave foodstuff, and the mortars and pestles, which appeared in the sea islands (see Miracle 1965; Glassie 1968: 116).

African societies shared many other crops. Indigenous West African or Afro-Asian domesticants included yams, okra, cowpeas, sesame, sorghums, millets, upland rice, and cotton. The Afro-Asian domestic animals such as fowl, cattle, sheep, goats, and swine were present where stock diseases were not endemic (see Baker 1962: 229-233; Fagan 1965: 28-29). In addition to maize, Europeans had introduced such American species as manioc, sweet potatoes, peanuts, sugar cane, and tobacco (Ojo 1966: 55).

Africans prepared these basic foodstuffs by stewing grains and vegetables with meat and pepper in ceramic vessels (see Duncan 1967 [1847]: 59, 251; Winterbottom 1969[1859] Vol. I: 64-66). Or, the grains could be cooked separately and served with a stewed vegetable and meat relish (see Fagan 1965: 73; Smith in Gibbs 1965: 123-124; Curtin ed.,

1967: 73; Monteiro 1969 [1875] Vol. II: 238-239, 291). They ate these foods from ceramic serving bowls, as among the Ibo, or from wooden bowls and calabashes, as in the Gambia Valley (Basden 1966 [1921]: 177; Park 1888: 20). Given the process of selection and simplification, such broad similarities in food preparation techniques would have survived more readily than more culturally specific practices.

Certain musical instruments were also widely distributed. Drums were common among coastal peoples though their cultural roles differed. In contrast, the one- and multi-stringed instruments were more typical of the West African Savannah peoples (see Oliver 1970). Such widely-shared characteristics as mortars and pestles, cooking practices, and musical instruments would have persisted longest among the native-born slaves.

Availability and Substitution

Slaves in the United States could have reproduced food preparation and consumption equipment that was pre-adapted to the same food crops grown in the South; maize, sweet potatoes, cowpeas, and okra were the basic slave foods. Or, they could have substituted other implements. The cast iron cauldrons, usually supplied by planters, would have replaced ceramic cooking vessels. European ceramic bowls and plates were the functional equivalents of African ceramic, wooden, and calabash servers. Slaves could have readily purchased ceramics from local shopkeepers.

Some planters, however, prevented their slaves from trading to cut down on plantation losses, for slaves frequently raided the planters' cash crops and corn houses for trading stock (An Overseer 1836: 230).

Francis D. Scarlett's advertisement in the local newspaper is rather typical:

> All persons are hereby cautioned against trading for any articles whatever, particularly corn, from any of the Col. Island negroes [sic] without permission, as the law will be rigidly enforced against such. (Brunswick Advocate December 21, 1837)

On such plantations, slaves would have used the planters' discarded ceramics or substituted non-ceramic functional equivalents. Also, slaves living on frontier farms or plantations would rarely have acquired ceramics. On Edwin Epps's Red River Valley Louisiana plantation, Solomon Northrup and other slaves could not obtain crockery; instead, they baked their corn pone and bacon in the coals and drank from gourds (Northrup 1968: 127-128). On the sea islands, some slaves substituted cedar pails and piggins or watertight baskets for ceramics (Stampp 1956: 288; Cooley 1926: 133-134).

Yet, given the proximity of Darien and Brunswick, Cannon's Point slaves had access to shop-keepers (see Figure 4). Some African-born slaves, however, preferred wooden ware, and at least one woman on Sapelo Island made her own ceramic serving vessels.

Since most planters did not provide household furniture, slaves fashioned their own. They made cedar tubs, buckets, and piggins for household use or sale (see King 1828: 524). Slaves built beds, stools, chests, and benches (Ball 1859: 113; Flanders 1933: 156). These furnishings were reminiscent of those in African homes. Often, such commonplace items as benches and wooden vessels would be decorated with carved designs (ie., Ojo 1966: 81, 242). But because slave household furnishings were made of perishable materials, only written descriptions survive.

The boats which sea island blacks used for fishing and trading had West African homologues. Coastal Africans fashioned small fishing banoes from tree trunks by burning and excavating with adzes (Smith 1970: 518-520).

Yet, though Afro-Americans continued to make canoes, mortars and pestles, furniture, drums, and stringed instruments, they generally replaced traditional items with their popular equivalents when these were available.

Differential Acculturation

Because of selection and simplification and the availability of popular material items, the material culture of slaves came to approximate the material culture of lower status whites. Nevertheless, African-style items did persist, though they were more conspicuous than behavior or speech based on African standards. Owners and supervisors could force slaves to tear down African-style dwellings or destroy their drums. But since whites customarily did not live in the slave quarters, they could not prevent slaves from telling "Anansi" or "Aunt Nancy" stories (Thompson in Robinson and others eds., 1969: 127; GWP 1940: 107) or carving small figurines (GWP 1940: Plates I-III) in the privacy of their homes.

The white plantation inhabitants were primarily concerned that slaves acquire the standards of speech and behavior that would allow them to perform agricultural tasks or skilled and service work. In the work context, there was much interaction between slaves and whites. The domestic servants, in particular, were under the close scrutiny of

whites. The slave operating cultures for the work contexts would have showed conformity to appropriate Euro-American standards.

In the residential context, antebellum planters and farmers usually provided standardized housing, similar to the folk housing of Euro-Americans. These might be one-bay cabins and small hall-and-parlor dwelling in the lowlands, or double-pen and dog-trot cabins in the Piedmont. Slaves also incorporated European standards of dress and modesty into their operating cultures. Finally, the slave family form was modeled on western standards; polygymous unions were rare (Jones 1965: 75-78).

Though planters provided slaves with the basic foodstuffs, slaves prepared meals in their own dwellings and supplemented their rations with wild foods. Therefore, slaves could reproduce African cooking techniques using familiar foods; often, they planted sesame to aid in re-creating African cookery. In addition, slaves often furnished their cabins with handicraft items, based on African or European models. As a result, African artifacts and techniques may have persisted in food preparation and domestic furnishings.

In the privacy of their dwellings, the slaves retained African speech, verbal arts, and concepts of disease etiology. Though elite whites believed that humoral excesses or morbific matter from decaying refuse caused disease, slaves felt that sympathetic magic produced illness (GWP 1940: various). While overseers forced slaves to clean up refuse near their dwellings, slaves may have been more concerned with finding the conjure devices that enemies had planted.

The more intimate expressions of the slaves, often overlooked by the whites, were African-influenced cooking practices, speech patterns, stories, singing, dance forms, some funerary customs, basketry styles, and small wooden carvings (Thompson in Robinson and others eds., 1969: 127; Genovese 1974: 197-198, 200-201, 212-213, 233-234). Because of the perishable nature of most African-style artifacts, the archeological record, which preserves the durable popular items, emphasizes the similarities in the material cultures of slaves and overseers. In actuality, slaves may have used numerous African artifacts, and their total material culture may have differed from that of the overseers.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN SOURCES

BGGW	Bennet, Gilbert, Gilbert, & Whittle, Attorneys & Counselors at Law, American National Building, Brunswick, Georgia.
CFP	Couper Family Papers (1775-1960). On Microfilm at the Georgia State Archives, Atlanta.
F-CFP	Fraser-Couper Family Papers (1810-1817 and 1850-1884). On File at the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah.
JCC	John Couper Collection (1775-1963). On Microfilm at the University of Georgia at Athens Library.
JHCPR	James Hamilton Couper Plantation Records (1826-1854), SHC.
MDCC	Margaret Davis Cate Collection at Brunswick Junior College Library, Brunswick, Georgia.
MHBS	Mac Hazelhurst Burroughs Scrapbooks Acc. 1923. On Microfilm at the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
NCF	Name Card Files, Georgia State Archives.
SHC	Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.
TBKP	Thomas Butler King Papers (1763-1925), SHC.
WACP	William Audley Couper Papers (1795-1930; 1943-1945), SHC.
WGRL	Wimberley George de Renne Library, University of Georgia at Athens Library.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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