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Title: Excavation of a Mid-Nineteenth Century Trash Pit, Wynnewood State Historical Site,  
Sumner County, Tennessee

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EXCAVATION OF A MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY  
TRASH PIT, WYNNEWOOD STATE HISTORIC SITE  
SUMNER COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Samuel D. Smith

ABSTRACT

In 1981, during monitoring of construction activity, an unusually large trash pit was discovered at the Wynnewood State Historic site, Sumner County, Tennessee. Subsequently, this feature was completely excavated and yielded an important collection of mid-nineteenth-century artifacts. This paper discusses the historic context and nature of this feature, its probable specific date (with a revised approach to use of the Mean Ceramic Date Formula), its site-specific function, and its broader socioeconomic and sociocultural implications. Efforts to extract useable comparative data from other nineteenth-century Tennessee sites indicate a pressing need for some degree of standardization of artifact reporting.

INTRODUCTION

The Wynnewood State Historic site (also known as Castalian Springs) is located in eastern Sumner County near the north edge of the Tennessee Central Basin (Figure 1). The state-owned tract, composed of 24.7 acres, contains a wide range of natural and cultural features. Focal point for the historic site is Wynnewood (Figure 2), a large two-story log building, the construction of which probably began in 1829. Originally conceived as a stagecoach inn and mineral springs resort, it has served a variety of purposes, including its major role as the home of Alfred Royal and Almira Winchester Wynne and their descendants from the early 1830s until 1971.

In addition to the main house, the state-owned tract contains other standing buildings and archaeological remains from various periods. Scattered artifacts are present attesting to some use of the tract during several prehistoric eras, and there is at least one substantial stone-box cemetery related to the nearby Mississippian period mound and village area known as the Castalian Springs Indian site (state archaeological site number 40SU14). At the base of the steep limestone-outcropped slope on which the house sits are sulphur springs (all but one now covered by alluvium) that flow into Lick Creek. This location, once called Bledsoe's Lick, is an important early historic landmark, and was visited by Isaac Bledsoe, as well as other "long hunters," in the late 1700s. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a number of buildings, in addition to the house, were constructed. A dozen of these still stand, and at least this many are represented by archaeological remains within or just outside the tract boundaries.

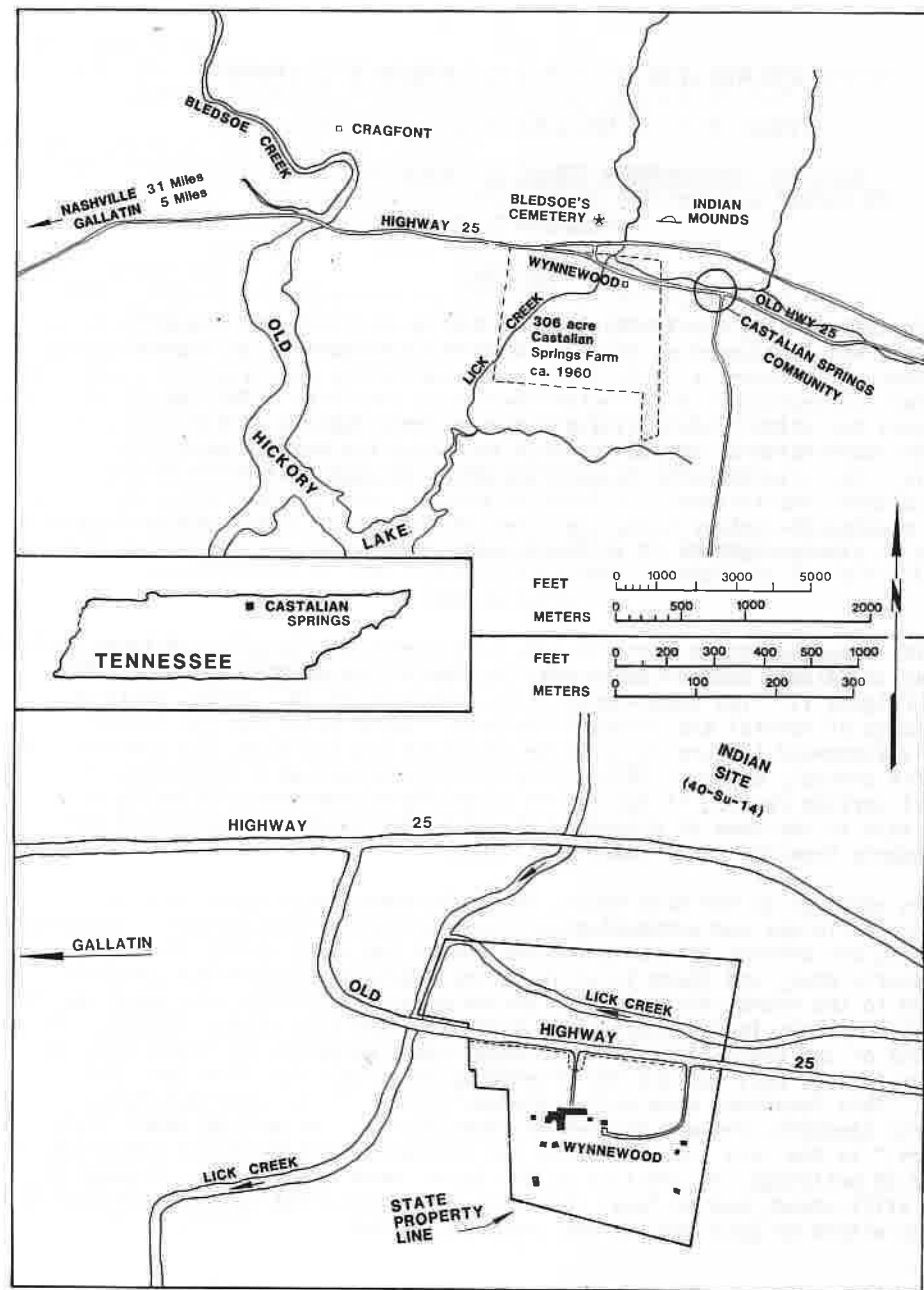


Figure 1. General location and site boundary maps for Wynnewood.

Since 1971, Wynnewood has been operated primarily as a historic house museum. This operation is carried out jointly by the state, through the Tennessee Historical Commission, and a local association, the Bledsoe's Lick Historical Association, Inc. In 1973, the National Park Service designated Wynnewood a National Historic Landmark.

In 1975, the Tennessee Historical Commission, with a matching grant-in-aid from the National Park Service, sponsored two research projects concerned with the Wynnewood site. The first was a historical background study conducted by Walter T. Durham (1975). This was followed by an exploratory archeology project of two months duration (Smith 1975).

The 1975 archaeological excavations were conducted in twelve different locations on the tract, including tests around the main house and on the sites of several former buildings. Site activity associations investigated included prehistoric, early historic (late eighteenth-century), nineteenth and twentieth-century domestic, nineteenth-century doctor's office, nineteenth and twentieth-century guest cottages, nineteenth-century school, and nineteenth-century slave cabins. The slave cabins area was one of the most interesting of those investigated. Here a previously unknown functional area was defined and yielded information of interest to a broader understanding of Middle Tennessee plantation systems (e.g., Smith 1977).

The archaeology project report (Smith 1975:105-108) discussed the importance of the various kinds of remains found at Wynnewood and stressed the need for continued site protection. As with most testing programs, there was not time to thoroughly investigate any one area of the site, and it seemed likely that some of the most interesting archaeological features remained to be found.

In June of 1981, the writer was contacted by Paul Cross, Historic Projects Officer for the Tennessee Historical Commission, concerning the proposed construction of a new sewer system at Wynnewood. As this would require some rather extensive backhoe trenching near the slave quarters area, it was agreed that the work should be carefully planned and monitored. On the morning of June 15, 1981, I met at Wynnewood with Paul Cross and Ray Billingsley, Chief of Maintenance for the Tennessee Division of Parks and Recreation, to determine the least destructive manner of carrying out the required trenching. We especially wished to avoid any impact on the known building sites in the slave quarters area.

The initial problem was to intercept the old septic drain line running west from the main house (Figure 3). The first attempt (Backhoe Trench A) failed to locate the drain, and it was decided to move the machine farther downhill (west). Backhoe Trench B was started in line with the south end of Trench A and finally intercepted the drain just northeast of one of the slave quarters cabin sites. Once the drain was located the backhoe was moved back to the north and continued on with the main drainfield-line trench.

Near the south end of Trench B a sizable quantity of nineteenth-century debris was encountered, which was part of the general sheet refuse around the

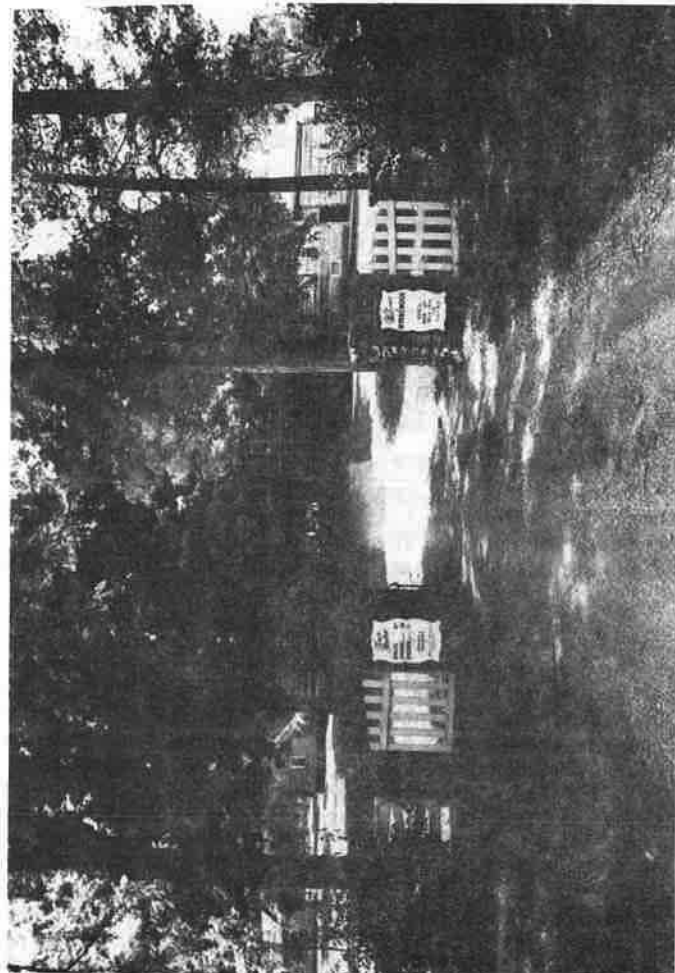


Figure 2. Front view of Wynnewood (facing south).

slave quarters. Though no specific features were identified in this segment of the trench, and effort was made to salvage as many as possible of the artifacts.

This activity was resumed on the morning of June 16, 1981. The focus of my planned effort was to salvage artifactual material from the south end of Trench B, with occasional checks on the northern section of the trench as it was extended. As the backhoe moved farther away from the slave quarters area, the quantity of artifacts steadily decreased, and it appeared unlikely that anything more would be found as the trench approached the west front-yard area. Thus thinking that all was clear, I was somewhat chagrined to find on my next inspection that the backhoe had just cut through a very large, mid-nineteenth-century trash pit. It was, in fact, the largest comparable feature I had ever seen on a rural Tennessee domestic site.

The balance of the day was very hectic. The backhoe had cut almost directly through the center of the trash pit (Figure 4 - Feature Number 12, in continuation of the feature log started in 1975), but the backhoe trench, which was 90 cm (3 feet) deep, had not reached the bottom of the feature. The first priority was to hand excavate this lower portion (approximately 25 cm) of the feature. Following this, a profile was drawn of the Feature 12 portion of the east wall of Trench B. Meanwhile an effort was made to check on the continued work of the backhoe operator. Fortunately, no additional features were encountered.

The next immediate priority was what to do about the sizable quantity of Feature 12 artifacts deposited in the backhoe's backdirt pile, which paralleled the trench. It was agreed that the trench could remain open for a few days while the maintenance crew completed the laying of pipe and pouring of gravel fill, but some additional help was needed to salvage what had been redeposited. At this point I was extremely fortunate to receive the assistance of Stephen T. Rogers, Cultural Resource Surveyor for the Tennessee Historical Commission.

Two additional, very long days were spent retrieving as many as possible of the displaced Feature 12 artifacts. We first lined the Feature 12 portion of the Trench B walls with plastic and plywood, then screened or trowel sorted the displaced feature fill, which was readily distinguishable from the essentially sterile matrix soil. As the fill was screened or trowel sorted, it was used to refill the portion of the backhoe trench above the sewer line gravel fill. In this way the sewer line project was completed, and the remainder of Feature 12 was left in a reasonably well protected condition. It was apparent, however, that the presence of an active drain field running through the middle of the feature would be detrimental to its long range preservation.

An immediate effort was made to find some way of financing a complete salvage of the feature, as well as an analysis of the results. Funds for such spur-of-the-moment projects are seldom easy to obtain, but in this case the Tennessee Historical Commission's involvement with management of the site was an important advantage. Once the Commission members understood the importance

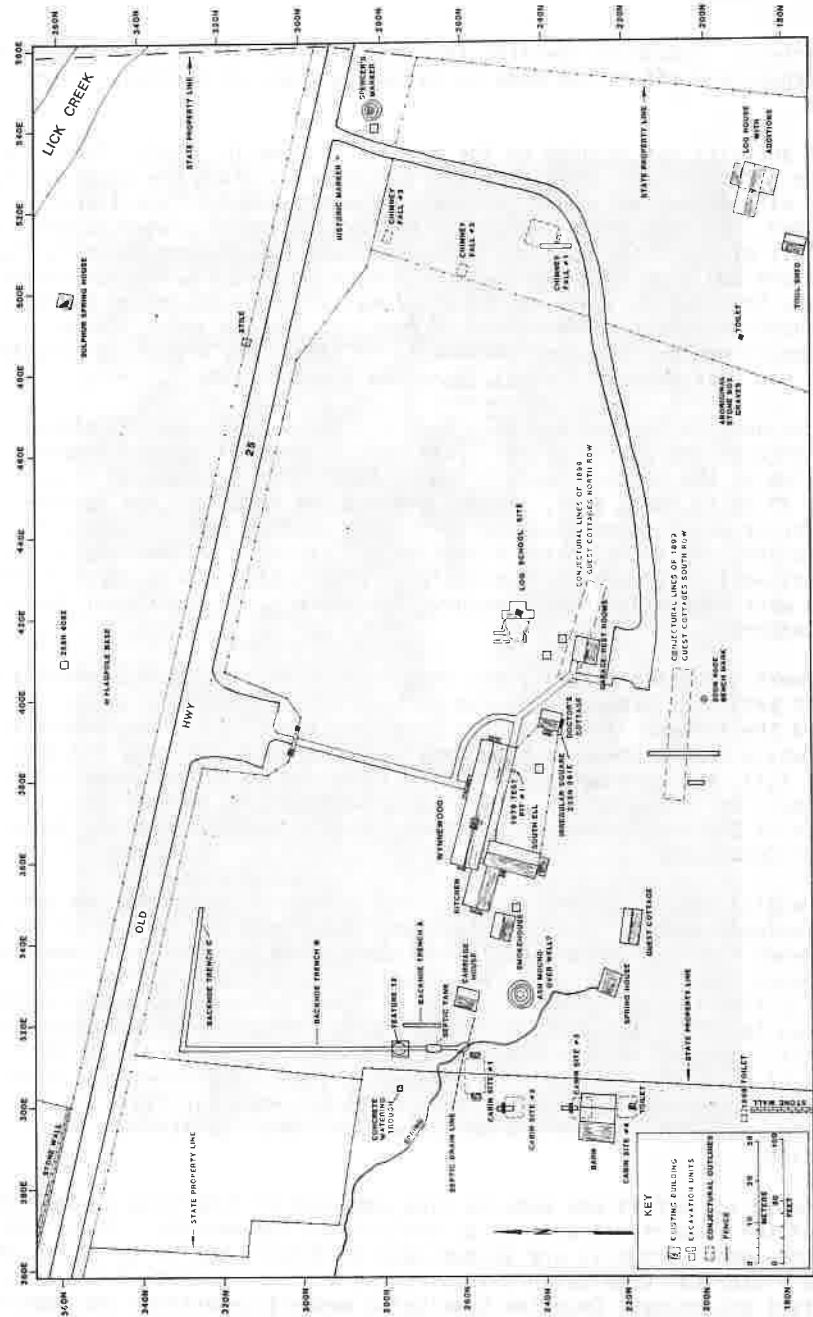


Figure 3. Archaeological base map for Wynnewood State Historic Site (1975 with additions through 1981).

of Feature 12, approval was given for a small grant of state funds, issued as a contract between the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Tennessee Department of Conservation, Division of Archaeology. A note of appreciation is extended to the Commission members, to the Historical Commission Director, Herbert L. Harper, and to his staff, especially Linda T. Wynn, Grants Management Officer.

The project funds were used to hire Karen M. Johnson as a field and laboratory assistant, to provide for a faunal remains analysis by Emanuel Breitburg, and to pay for some equipment and supplies. Additional equipment and supplies and the writer's time were provided by the Division of Archaeology.

The final excavation of Feature 12 was begun on July 17, 1981, and continued for fifteen working days, ending on August 10. During this final period, Stephen T. Rogers again assisted with some of the field work, and the following individuals worked on the project as volunteers (in order of time spent): Stuart Smith, Judy Smith, Sandra Smith, Leslie Miller, and Judy Eron. As with the 1975 project, Lee and Doris Myers, the Wynnewood site caretaker and tour guide, again provided much valuable assistance and logistic support.

Following the field work at Wynnewood, the artifacts were processed at the Division of Archaeology office in Nashville. This included washing, cataloging (under Division of Archaeology accession number 81-60), preservation treatment as needed, and final analysis. Karen M. Johnson again assisted with all phases of this work and prepared several of the maps and tables used in this paper.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In order to understand the significance of Feature 12 it is necessary to see it against a general site-history background. Much of the available historical information concerning Wynnewood is contained in a large collection of Wynne family papers, now housed at the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville. Extensive use was made of these papers by Walter T. Durham in preparing articles for the Tennessee Historical Quarterly (Durham 1974) and the site-specific background study (1975). Based on Durham's studies, several periods of site history may be defined.

Early Hunting and Settlement Activities

Historic events on the state-owned tract date from 1772. In that year the lick springs in the bottom to the north of the main house were visited by the long hunter Isaac Bledsoe, who reported the presence of large herds of bison. Bledsoe's Lick was soon visited by other Euro-Americans, and the state-owned tract includes the reputed site of Spencer's Tree, the 1778-1779 winter home of the long hunter Thomas Sharp Spencer.

Between 1780 and 1783, Isaac Bledsoe returned to the area and built a stockaded fort on a hilltop about one-half mile northwest of the lick springs. Bledsoe's Fort or Station was one of about thirteen such frontier



Figure 4. Feature 12 (after excavation and partial backfilling) shown in relation to Wynnwood kitchen (facing southeast).

fortifications established in the area that became Sumner County in 1787. Bledsoe obtained title to the lick springs area shortly after 1789.

Isaac Bledsoe was killed by an Indian raiding party in 1793, and four years later James Winchester purchased a tract of 320 acres, including the mineral springs, from Bledsoe's heirs. About this same time, in 1798, James Winchester began construction of his nearby mansion known as Cragfont (Figure 1). The lick springs tract remained in Winchester's possession until his death in 1826.

#### Early Castalian Springs, 1829 to 1861

In 1829, James Winchester's 320 acre lick springs tract was sold as two parcels. One tract went to Winchester's son-in-law, Alfred Royal Wynne. The other was sold to Wynne and his business partners. The purchase was secured by notes, which were never paid, and a few years later both tracts were deeded to Almira Wynne as her share of her father's estate. These 320 acres formed the main body of the farm and resort operated by Almira and Alfred Wynne throughout much of the nineteenth century.

In 1829, the 320 acre tract was located along Tennessee's major east-west road (later Highway 25), and the original business concept was the establishment of a stagecoach inn and mineral springs resort. Unfortunately for the first option, about the time the inn was completed the main route connecting Knoxville and Nashville was relocated south of the Cumberland River. This left the proprietors with the single option of trying to cultivate a summer resort-season trade.

Efforts to promote such trade were started in 1830, and it was also about this time that the Wynnes moved into the large log complex where they would raise a family of fourteen children. Probably also in 1830, the mineral springs and inn became known as "Castalian Springs" (from the springs of Castalia in Greek mythology). This name was later adopted by the small community that grew around old Bledsoe's Lick (to avoid confusion the name of the Wynne home was changed to Wynnewood in the 1940s).

From 1830 to about 1861, Castalian Springs continued to fulfill its dual role of family farm and resort with varying degrees of success. The main house, containing ten rooms, its various attachments, and several outbuildings were all completed during the early portion of this period. Dependencies constructed included several "huts" or cottages for summer guests, scattered about the yard, and a row of slave cabins to the west of the main house. In addition to summer guests, Castalian Springs also provided lodging for more permanent boarders, including a series of doctors and school teachers.

East of the main house tract, two or three storehouses were in use at various times. These were related to A. R. Wynne's wider business interests. Such interests ranged from merchantile and milling operations to trading in slaves and horses. He also followed the more stable pursuit of raising livestock and farm crops.

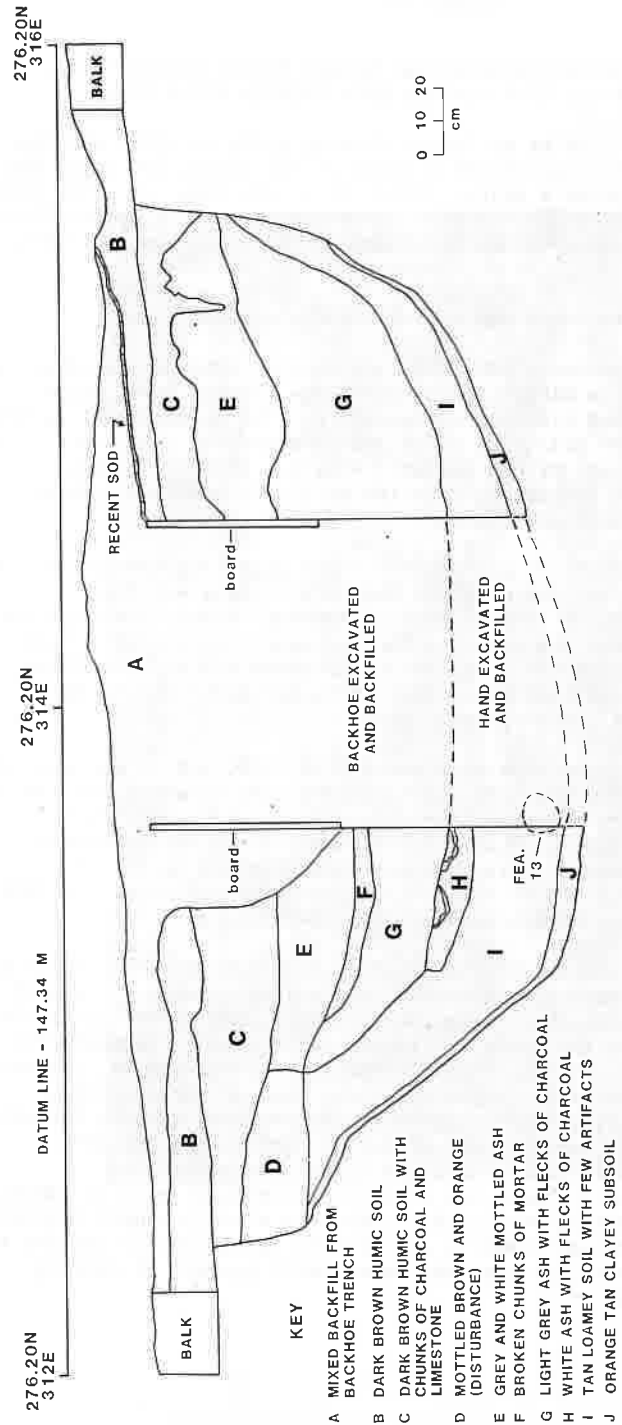


Figure 5. Composite east-west profile of Feature 12 (section based on opposing profiles presented as facing north).

The effort to develop Castalian Springs into a popular resort achieved little success during the early 1830s. The original partnership was dissolved around 1833, and the Wynne family became the sole proprietors. By 1838, however, a renewed local interest in the establishment was expressed in newspaper articles praising the medicinal qualities of the water, the pleasing natural setting, and the fine accommodations for guests. It appears that the 1839 and 1840 seasons witnessed an influx of summer guests not surpassed at any other time before the Civil War.

Apparently, the resort operation continued to be reasonably successful during much of the 1840s, but by 1851 interest had waned. The Wynnes continued to accept guests until the Civil War era, but no real interest was again shown in promoting the springs until after the death of A. R. Wynne.

#### Post-Resort Period, 1862 to 1893

During the Civil War a moderate amount of troop activity, both Union and Confederate, occurred in and around Castalian Springs. Some of this affected the Wynnes. One morning in 1862, a Confederate calvary force of forty-four men was served breakfast in the inn. Later that same year Federal troops established an encampment on the back side of the Wynne farm.

Following the war, the Wynne family entered a period of decreased financial resources, with reduced farming and horse trading providing only a minimal standard of living. All that remained of the former resort activity was an occasional boarder, such as the community doctor or schoolteacher. After the late 1870s, the farming operations were conducted for the most part by one or more of the Wynnes' children. Almira Wynne died in 1883. Alfred Royal Wynne survived, though in poor mental health, until 1893. He died at the age of 93.

#### The Second Resort Period, 1894 to 1914

Following the death of A. R. Wynne, there was a resurgence of interest in the Castalian Springs. For a few years, two of Wynne's daughters continued to live on the place and received summer guests on a very modest scale.

In 1899, the springs and inn were leased to J. B. Blakemore of Parkin, Arkansas. A major promotional effort was made, and the revitalized "Castalian Springs Hotel" was opened to forty-nine registered guests in June, 1899. By the start of the 1900 season, Blakemore had made extensive repairs to the main house, had erected two rows of ten-room guest cottages (Figure 3), and had added such accommodations as a dance pavilion, bowling alleys, a billiard room, and a bathhouse (all in areas along Lick Creek).

In spite of the extent of his promotional effort, Blakemore did not return for the 1900 season, but terminated his lease by selling it to Thomas P. Youree, a Sumner County resident. Youree with the help of A. R. Wynne's three unmarried daughters, Louise, Susan, and Mary, operated the hotel and springs for about four more years.

By this time, A. R. Wynne's grandson, George Winchester Wynne (son of Winchester Wynne), was assisting his aunts in managing Castalian Springs. Under his supervision, summer guests were accommodated until 1914, when all such activity was finally terminated.

#### Post-1914 Period

The last of A. R. Wynne's children died in the 1920s. George W. Wynne and his wife Eula then moved into the house, which they renamed Wynnewood in the 1940s. Though boarding guests no longer came to Wynnewood after 1914, the flat bottom along Lick Creek, around the one still active sulphur spring, continued to provide a pleasant setting for group picnics and outings. Under state ownership this tradition has continued, and in recent years the Bledsoe's Lick Historical Association, Inc. has annually sponsored a major Fourth of July celebration on the site.

In 1971, George W. Wynne's desire to see Wynnewood preserved led to the purchase of the house and 13.9 acres by the State of Tennessee. Additional small tracts were added by purchases in 1975 and 1977, resulting in the present total of 24.7 acres.

#### Additional Historical Notes

Durham's (1974 and 1975) historical studies of Wynnewood provide an excellent synthesis of the large collection of Wynne family papers as well as some other sources such as contemporary newspaper accounts. There is, however, a source not discussed in these studies that contains some very important site-specific demographic information. This is the United States census schedules for Sumner County, particularly those prepared for 1850 and 1860.

The first question that can be resolved by use of the census data concerns the presence of slaves at Wynnewood. Durham (1974:148) discusses information suggesting that during the 1830s and 1840s A. R. Wynne and his business associates were involved with slave trading, purchasing slaves in Tennessee and Kentucky for resale in Natchez. This was a common activity for a number of individuals in Sumner County until the mid-1850s (Durham 1972:423). In Wynne's case, it may have occurred without any direct use of his home farm. Information available from the Wynne family papers (Durham 1975:18) touches on the trading activity, but is extremely vague concerning slaves that may actually have lived at Wynnewood.

At the start of the 1975 archaeology project, all that was known was that a few slave cabins were thought to have once existed in an area west-southwest of the main house. Archaeological survey and testing confirmed the presence of several small building sites in this area, and both the architectural and artifactual information recovered provided persuasive evidence that this was the Wynnewood slave quarters (Smith 1975:78-94). The conjectural outlines of three slave cabins were shown in the 1975 report (Smith 1975:14), and the following year surface information was found to indicate a fourth such site

(as now shown on Figure 3). The validity of this interpretation is now confirmed by the more recently obtained census data.

The original 1830 census schedule for Sumner County (microfilm copy, Tennessee State Library) lists Alfred R. Wynne as the head of a household of seventeen individuals. Other names are not given, but in addition to Wynne, his wife, and four children, there were eleven slaves (1 male under 10 years, 1 male 10-23, 4 males 24-35, 1 male 36-54, 2 females under 10, and 2 females 24-35). By 1840, Wynne's immediate family had increased by the addition of four children and there were now fourteen slaves (1 male under 10, 4 males 36-54, 2 females under 10, 4 females 10-23, and 3 females 24-35).

The Seventh Census, in 1850, represented an attempt to greatly improve the quality of information that census takers collected (Wright 1900:39-45). For the first time all of the household members were listed by name, age, and sex, with additional information on place of birth, value of real estate, and adult male occupations. Slaves were now accounted for on a separate schedule, but still without their names shown.

By 1850 (U. S. Census, Sumner County, District 3, p. 50), A. R. Wynne's household was a large one. The list includes: Alfred (age 49), Almira (43), and twelve children (ages 4 months to 18 years); Thomas S. Sawyer (a 40 year old school teacher from New York), his wife, and their three children; Edward C. Robb (a 32 year old Tennessee-born physician); and William Menafee (a 25 year old Tennessee-born merchant). The Tennessee State Library also has the 1850 Schedule 2 for slave owners in Sumner County. In this year A. R. Wynne owned fifteen slaves (6 males - 5, 45, 50, 50, 51, and 60 years; 9 females - ages 4 months, 3, 5, 7, 8, 26, 33, 41, and 50 years).

It appears that for the 1830 to 1850 period Wynne's slaves may have remained in three or four relatively stable family groups. There is also a suggestion that as these same family groups increased in size, their numbers may have been reduced by selling young males.

By 1860, a dramatic change in the Wynnewood slave population had occurred. Wynne's immediate household (U. S. Census, Sumner County, District 3, p. 52) consisted of nine family members, T. J. Kennedy (a 38 year old Kentucky-born physician), and Hanse Billings (a 66 year old Vermont-born "Book Pedlar") and his wife. Wynne's slaves now numbered only four (1 male age 17, 1 male 55, 1 female 35, and 1 female 40). Of special interest is the 1860 addition of another column on Schedule 2 for "No. of Slave Houses." The number for A. R. Wynne is four, almost certainly the same four cabin sites (Figure 3) identified by the archaeological assessment!

A previous archaeologically-derived conclusion (Smith 1975:94) was that, at least for the two slave cabin sites tested (No. 2 and 3), no utilization after the Civil War period is indicated. This is an interpretation again reinforced by census data. By 1870 (U. S. Census, Sumner County, District 3), A. R. Wynne's household consisted of eleven individuals. In addition to Wynne, his wife, and seven children and grandchildren, there were two black females, Isabella (age 10) and Selia (a 65 year old "cook"). The resident



cook and her daughter, or assistant, probably lived in the room in the upper part of the Wynnewood kitchen. If so, any subsequent use of the former slave cabins would likely have been as something other than dwellings.

By 1880 (U. S. Census, Sumner County, now District 1), only four of their fourteen children still lived with Alfred and Almira Wynne. The household included one boarder, Alex Carter, but no blacks remained in residence. A few black families lived in the neighborhood, but none with the surname Wynne.

The 1890 census was destroyed (Wright 1900:69). The general population schedules for 1900 and 1910 are now available, but the information they provide on Wynnewood is beyond the period of interest to the present discussion.

In addition to the general census and slave schedules, the Tennessee State Library has microfilm copies of two other decennial schedules of interest to an interpretation of Wynnewood during the nineteenth century. These are the 1850 and 1860 Schedule 4 - Productions of Agriculture. A. R. Wynne is listed both years, and the information clearly defines the type of farming operation he maintained during the mid-1800s (Table 1). It also indicates the same downturn in the scale of operations previously suggested by the decrease in number of slaves from 1850 to 1860. In particular there was a 50 percent drop in the number of swine raised, with notable decreases for several other farm products. The only notable increase seems to have been in the number of horses, and this would account for some of the increase in the value of Wynne's livestock from 1850 to 1860. However, from 1850 to 1860, there was a state-wide inflation in the value of real property (Smith 1980:56), and this is the main reason why the assigned value of Wynne's farm increased from \$11,000 to \$34,000.

#### RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

In Tennessee, as well as other areas of the Southeast, archaeological research on historic period sites has been rather biased in approach. In every region of the state there are potentially thousands of historic period sites representing a wide range of cultural activity, ethnic diversity, and socioeconomic scale, but as yet most all site excavation projects have focused on only a few categories, particularly historic house museum sites and the sites of military fortifications (Smith 1981:3).

In recent years some funding has been available for site survey and recording work of a less biased nature, and this has made possible the development of historic-data based regional models (Stripling 1980), exemplified by what is now a significant number of recorded sites. The main theoretical framework for this survey work is the "county as a community" concept (Smith 1976:4-6), based in part on Arensburg and Kimball's (1965:106) "Southern County" community type. The basic premise is that for any region of the state, particularly during the nineteenth century, the most consistently definable sample, or microcosm, of culture is at the level of the county.

Table 1. Information on A. R. Wynne's farming operation from U. S. Census Schedule 4, Productions of Agriculture.

Category	1850	1860
Acres Improved	200	200
Acres Unimproved	350	405
Cash Value of Farm	11,000	34,000
Value of Farming Implements & Machinery	150	200
Horses	15	41
Asses & Mules	0	4
Milch Cows	10	10
Working Oxen	2	6
Other Cattle	40	30
Sheep	60	40
Swine	150	75
Value of livestock	1,000	6,440
Wheat, bushels of	100	200
Indian Corn, bushels of	2,000	1,500
Oats, bushels of	500	200
Wool, lbs. of	120	150
Peas & Beans, bushels of	8	10
Irish Potatoes, bushel of	30	50
Sweet Potatoes, bushels of	150	75
Butter, lbs. of	600	500
Hay, tons of	0	12
Honey, lbs. of	0	60
Value of Homemade Manufactures	100	100
Value of Animals Slaughtered	350	525

Note: Additional categories on the original schedules include the following products not produced by A. R. Wynne in 1850 or 1860: Rye, Rice, Tobacco, Cotton, Barley, Buckwheat, Orchard Products, Wine, Market Garden Products, Cheese, Clover Seed, Grass Seed, Hops, Hemp, Flax, Silk, Maple Sugar, Cane Sugar, Molasses, Beeswax.

It should be emphasized that the development and eventual testing of such models is dependent on the use of both historical and archaeological data. It is especially critical at the level of regional cultural definition that the "Unique Nature of Historic Site Archaeology" (Larrabee 1969:72-73) be adequately understood. Definitions should be based on all available data, historical and archaeological, and the collection and interpretation should be carried out by individuals with an understanding of both sources.

For Tennessee's Central Basin region, the examination of a representative county (Stripling 1980:25-26) suggests a synchronic, mid-nineteenth-century model composed of 1,000 to 2,000 households headed by persons categorized as "farmers," with additional households headed by, or containing, around 600 individuals engaged in 62 other occupations. Of these other occupations, approximately 400 individuals are categorized under 36 occupations that may be considered "site specific," i.e., an occupational category such as blacksmith, shoemaker, cabinet maker, gunsmith, etc., that would leave behind discreet archaeological remains. This provides at least the beginning for a comprehensive understanding of a regional historic period site universe. Until such time as this universe has been adequately sampled by archaeological excavation of representative sites, no cogent definition of widespread material cultural patterns will be possible.

Toward this long-range goal of understanding regional cultural behavior, the Wynnewood site contains several important components. These were discussed in the first site report (Smith 1975:11) and are again summarized above as site activity associations investigated.

Feature 12, the subject of this paper, represents one of the most valuable types of features dealt with by historical archaeologists. A trash pit is a kind of "time capsule" of intentional discard, often containing the major portions of ceramic, glass, or other items in use by the site occupants during a discreet segment of time (Noel Hume 1969:141-142). Feature 12 seems unquestionably to have contained the by-products of mid-nineteenth-century kitchen activity.

The Wynnewood kitchen (Figure 3), now referred to as the "old kitchen" or "kitchen museum," is described by Durham (1975:15-16):

A large kitchen, approximately 20 feet square, with a massive stone fireplace was located in a story and half log house connected by its roof structure to the west end of the main building and separated by another "dogtrot." It is thought to have been a part of the original construction of the inn.... Separate open-riser stairs connected the kitchen to the room above it.

During the first resort period, ca. 1829 to 1861, the kitchen must have been the focal point not only for much of the Wynne family activity but also for activity connected with another of the site's principal functions, the accommodation of guests. Indeed, based on what is currently known about the archaeology of rural domestic sites in Tennessee, large trash pits such as

Feature 12 appear to be rather anomalous and in this instance could have been a direct result of some unusually large influx of summer guests.

If this was the case, then Feature 12 may be especially valuable for defining some of the behavioral patterns that would be specific for early mineral spring health resorts. In terms of the broader problem of defining regional culture in the Central Basin, this is a site type that has not received any other archaeological investigation. It was, however, an important category. From historical data, Thorne (1971) has traced the rise and fall of thirty-one Middle Tennessee watering spas. Their existence was directly tied to several factors, including the system of medical practice known as hydropathy or hydrotherapy (or "water cure"), which was the mid-nineteenth-century antithesis to the prevailing, chemically-based allopathic medicine (Duffy 1962:3-37; Rauchle 1974). Regardless of how one viewed the pros and cons for the curative powers of mineral water, an equally strong attraction provided by the spas was their resort activity (Rauchle 1971:3-5). Though some were more affluent than others, the general phenomena was basically elitist in nature.

If Feature 12 is related to the resort activity at Wynnewood, it should reflect the social standing of guests, perhaps tempered somewhat by the idea of a "rustic" experience, and should also reflect the mid-nineteenth-century social standing of the Wynne family.

An indication of the latter is already available by way of land ownership (Table 1) and slaves. In 1850, the Wynne family owned 550 acres of land. By comparison to Owsley's (1965:224) table for land ownership in the Central Basin, it may be seen that this was more land than was owned by 89.2 percent of the Central Basin slave-holding landowners and more than was owned by 90.0 percent of the nonslave-holding landowners. The fact that A. R. Wynne owned fifteen slaves in 1850 would also have set him apart from his neighbors. For 1850, this was more slaves than were owned by 81.1 percent of the slave-holding landowners in Middle Tennessee (Mooney 1957:113). Though Castalian Springs' economic diversity and the absence of certain other factors (Smith 1976:7-8) negate calling it a "plantation," the farming operation alone seems to have been well above the norm. In Owsley's (1965:7) terminology, A. R. Wynne, aside from his position as resort owner and business man, would seem to rank somewhere between a "large farmer" and a "small planter."

Again turning to Feature 12, the above considerations may be expressed in terms of several hypotheses:

Hypothesis A - Feature 12 appears to be an unusual type of feature for mid-nineteenth-century rural domestic sites in Tennessee. The need for a large trash disposal pit may have been caused by the presence of large numbers of summer guests.

Test Implication - If the purpose of Feature 12 was to fulfill a short-term need caused by an unusual number of

diners, then this should be indicated by the presence of short-term fill layers. If filling did occur during a relatively brief time span, then establishing the chronological placement of Feature 12 will make it possible to relate it to the known sequence of historic events at the site. Chronological placement is dependent on a careful analysis of the artifacts found, particularly time sensitive artifacts such as ceramic sherds. Much recent work has centered on improving the typology for nineteenth-century ceramics (Price 1979), and making South's (1972) Mean Ceramic Date Formula useable for nineteenth-century problems (Smith 1976:160-163; Garrow 1983). Artifact associations such as that provided by Feature 12 are extremely important toward this end.

Hypothesis B - The contents of Feature 12 should reflect the socioeconomic status of the individuals that were served by the Wynnewood kitchen.

Test Implication - The status of site occupants is another question that has been examined in the archaeological realm by reference to ceramic artifacts (e.g., Otto 1977; Turnbaugh 1977; Miller 1980). For Tennessee, a "domestic-site ceramic-ware pattern" has been previously proposed (Smith 1980:56-61) and may be further tested by an examination of the Feature 12 ware-group percentages.

Hypothesis C - The ratio of the various artifact groups found in Feature 12 may indicate the existence of a discard pattern specific to the refuse deposited on mineral spring health resorts.

Test Implication - South's (1977:95-96) method of tabulating artifacts by group, class, and type has achieved widespread use as a means of defining patterns peculiar to specific categories of sites. By tabulating the Feature 12 artifacts in this manner, they can be compared to various other samples. Depending on the conclusion for Hypothesis A, this should help to develop a better understanding of regional archaeological patterns common to upper-class rural-domestic families or those that may be predicted for mid-nineteenth-century health resorts.

#### FEATURE 12 EXCAVATION

As noted in the introductory section, the three days of initial salvage of Feature 12 artifacts were followed by a fifteen-day project, during which the feature was completely excavated. For this latter phase the bench marks established in 1975 were relocated and grid lines were extended to the Feature 12 area. The feature was outlined by a 4 m square, the southwest corner of which was point 274N312E (Figure 3).

The east and west portions of this unit were divided by the backfilled north-south backhoe trench, containing the sewer drain line. It was necessary to leave the backhoe-trench fill intact, and the selected approach was to first excavate two opposing quadrant-like sections. The 4 m square was divided into north and south portions along the 276.20N grid line, then its northwest and southwest sections were excavated. When the excavation was finished in these two sections, two profiles were drawn that were later combined into a complete east-west sectional view (Figure 5). As shown, the feature was 3.10 m (10.2 feet) in diameter at the top with a maximum depth of approximately 1.15 m (3.8 feet).

Following completion of the northeast and southwest sections, sharpened planks were placed along each profile face, then driven into the subsoil. The side of the planks opposite the profile was then lined with sheet plastic and the northeast and southwest sections were backfilled to near the top of the backhoe trench fill. This provided stabilization of the backhoe trench fill while the northwest and southeast sections were excavated.

Following complete excavation of the feature, the remaining two sections were partially backfilled and the retaining planks were removed. This left the backhoe trench fill intact, and provided the overall view of the feature shown in Figure 4.

In each of the four sections of 4 m Square 274N312E, excavation proceeded by first removing the humic zone, including any surface backdirt from the backhoe trench, and in some places a thin layer of tan clayey loam between the humic soil and the underlying sterile clay subsoil. Though excavated as two levels on the west side of the 4 m square, this will be referred to in a combined manner as "Zone I."

After removal of Zone I in each section, the top of Feature 12, outside the backhoe trench, was visible. It was felt important that the feature be excavated in terms of some stratigraphic sequence. It was known from the original backhoe trench profile that the fill layers were rather intermixed. With the additional problem of excavating four separate sections, it seemed best to use arbitrary 20 cm levels. For purposes of interpretation, these will be combined into larger units during the discussion of artifacts.

All soil removed during the second phase excavation was screened. Most of it was dry screened in the field through  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch mesh. As an additional control, from each level of feature fill in each section a 27 quart (25 liter) container of soil was collected. These 20 soil samples were later fine screened in water.

At the time of discovery of Feature 12, a hurried attempt was made to excavate the lower portion of the feature in the bottom of the backhoe trench. Most artifactual material was concentrated in the upper portions of this lower fill, and the bottom contained a layer of almost sterile soil. This lower soil was clearly part of the feature, but because of the low artifact density it was completely excavated only on the east side where an effort was

made to record a complete north-south profile. Some of this lower fill left along the west wall contained part of what was later called Feature 13.

Feature 13 (Figure 5) was the "burial" (articulated skeleton) of a young pig. A portion of this skeleton was found in the northeast corner of the southwest-section cut, and it was later completely excavated by carefully undercutting the area of the backhoe trench. Its discovery led to at least two separate lines of speculation concerning the establishment of Feature 12.

One possibility is that the pit was originally dug for the purpose of disposing of a dead pig. Perhaps the digger became over zealous, and it was decided to use such a large hole as a general disposal pit.

Another possibility is that the hole was dug as a general-purpose disposal pit, and the pig just happened to be the first thing that needed disposing.

Whatever the exact motive, the pig was clearly the first item placed in the pit, and its remains were covered with a substantial layer of soil containing few artifacts, presumably some of the same soil removed in digging the hole. As can be seen in Figure 5 ("I"), this layer of soil extends well up the sides of the pit, and this provides one indication that the pit was not open for a very long time.

The short-term nature of the filling of Feature 12 is additionally indicated by some of the artifacts found.

#### ARTIFACTUAL REMAINS

It would probably be adequate to treat all of the artifacts found as one Feature 12 group. However, because of the different means of excavation and to retain some of the stratigraphic information, five provenience groups will be used for initial presentation. "Zone I" is equivalent to "A" (outside the backhoe trench) and "B" in Figure 5. "Backhoe Trench" refers to those artifacts removed by the backhoe and later recovered from the spoil pile. "Upper Feature 12" equates to "C," "D," and "E" in Figure 5. "Middle Feature 12" equates to "F" and "G" (but with some small amount of material from "I"). "Lower Feature 12" corresponds to "H" and "I" and the hand excavated area below the backhoe trench.

Presentation of the artifacts follows South's (1977:95-96) group, class, and type scheme, which contains 9 groups and 42 classes. His format, however, is based on eighteenth-century site information and requires some modification for use with nineteenth-century, and especially late-nineteenth and twentieth-century, sites. Glass bottles, for example, become an increasingly complex class on later sites and tend to lose their "Kitchen Artifact Group" association (Smith 1982:61).

While there are numerous classification systems that have been used for organizing historic site artifact data, the South method presents an opportunity to achieve standardization in reporting, which would eventually

Table 2. Artifact totals for Feature 12 excavation.

	Zone I	Backhoe Trench	Upper Feature	Middle Feature	Lower Feature	Feature Total	Total w/ Zone I
<b>Kitchen Group</b>							
Ceramics	415	777	1176	517	183	2653	3068
Wine Bottle	25	40	119	80	4	243	268
Pharmaceutical Bottle		3	9	8	1	21	21
Bottle (general)	129	88	266	136	25	515	644
Tumbler, Mug	3	2	8	2	3	15	18
Glassware			3			3	3
Tableware		6	2		2	10	10
Kitchenware	36	43	233	76	100	452	488
Group Total	608	959	1816	819	318	3912	4520
<b>Architectural Group</b>							
Window Glass	67	61	221	259	39	580	647
Nails	96	77	222	160	21	480	576
Door Lock Parts					5	5	5
Construction Hardware		1	1	1	1	4	4
Group Total	163	139	444	420	66	1069	1232
<b>Furniture Group</b>							
Furniture Hardware			2			2	2
Lamp Chimney			2	3	3	8	8
Figurine			1	1		2	2
Group Total			5	4	3	12	12
<b>Arms Group</b>							
Bullets	1						1
<b>Clothing Group</b>							
Buckles				1		1	1
Buttons	3	3	9	9	1	22	25
Straight Pins			3	11	3	17	17
Needles				1		1	1
Hook and Eye				1	1	2	2
Glass Bead			1	1		2	2
Group Total	3	3	13	24	5	45	48
<b>Personal Group</b>							
Personal Items	3		5	1	1	7	10
<b>Activities Group</b>							
Toys		1	1			2	2
Fishing Gear			2			2	2
Tobacco Pipes			1			1	1
Storage Items		5	1	5		11	11
Ethnobotanical		1	12	5	1	19	19
Stable and Barn	1	3	1	4		8	9
Miscellaneous Hardware	34	9	25	16	3	53	87
Group Total	35	19	43	30	4	96	131
<b>Bone Group</b>							
Faunal Remains	*	*	*	*	*	5456	5749
(by weight in grams)	(650.1)	(8396.6)	(4195.9)	(6610.7)	(7650.3)	(26853.5)	(27503.6)
* - faunal remains discussed in separate report							
<b>Total</b>							
Without Faunal Remains	813	1120	2326	1298	397	5141	5954
With Faunal Remains						10597	11703
<b>Material Recorded by weight only (in grams)</b>							
Brick Fragments	1047.1	653.8	5297.8	10152.3	3886.0	19939.9	21037.0
Mortar	18.7	57.2	472.0	1757.1	536.0	2822.3	2841.0
Coal	54.0		3.1			3.1	57.1
Cinders			2.4			2.4	2.4
Burned Clay			4.8	233.0		237.8	237.8
Charcoal (partial sample)	40.4	69.0	629.3	1650.2	241.9	2590.9	2631.3

make available numerous sets of comparable data useable by researchers of various site types and periods. As expressed by South (1977:93):

The organization of data along these classificatory lines should produce results varying with the level of generalization at which the analysis takes place ... broader cultural processes will likely be revealed at the group level of generalization due to the functional relationship between the group and generalized behavioral activity in the cultural system. Comparison at the type or style level of classification is expected to reveal answers to questions about nationalistic or ethnic origin, trade routes, culture contact and idiosyncratic behavior ....

For historic site artifact discussions that follow the South format, it is useful to begin with a group and class summarizing table (e.g., Polhemus 1980:117-118). For the Feature 12 excavation this data is summarized in Table 2. For this initial table, separate totals are given with and without Zone I. At least some of the material from Zone I does not directly pertain to Feature 12; however, most of the items found were either displaced by the backhoe (and missed during the first phase salvage) or had been earlier dislodged from the top of the feature.

Kitchen Group

Excluding faunal material, this is by far the largest group in the Feature 12 collection. Compared to the other non-faunal remains, the kitchen group accounts for 75.9 percent of the collection with Zone I, 76.1 percent without Zone I. By comparison, South's (1977:107) domestic site discard pattern (the Carolina Artifact Pattern) exhibits a mean of only 63.1 percent for the Kitchen Artifact Group. Such a high percentage for the Feature 12 kitchen group suggests a direct kitchen to feature discard flow, without the blending that would occur in open-surface domestic discard.

Ceramics

No other class of artifacts has caused as much consternation for archaeologists dealing with nineteenth-century sites as has ceramic sherds. For sites dating to the first half of the nineteenth century the problem centers on British export wares and how sherds of these should be classified in respect to several refined-earthenware categories, principally creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone. Anyone seriously concerned with the problem will, or should, be familiar with Price's (1979) comprehensive discussion, which proposes a solution to the pearlware/whiteware quandary.

The antithesis to Price's classificatory system is most eloquently argued by Miller (1980). Unfortunately, for researchers in the Mid-South, his observations concerning creamware and economic scaling have little regional utility, creamware being rare on post-1800 sites. In his conclusion he dismisses ware types with the statement that they "can only provide chronological information during the 19th century" (Miller 1980:15). In this

WARES/Types	Zone I	Backhoe Trench	Hand Excavation	Feature Total	%	Total w/ Zone I	%	Minimum Number Vessels
PORCELAIN	52	132	350	482	18.2	534	17.4	21
Undecorated	(46)	(61)	(232)	(293)		(339)		(4)
Plain with Mold Design		(1)	(2)	(3)		(3)		(2)
Purple Luster (Pattern A)	(3)	(20)	(67)	(87)		(90)		(3)
Overglaze Enamel (Pattern B)		(1)	(9)	(56)		(56)		(4)
Overglaze Enamel (Pattern C)	(2)	(1)	(36)	(37)		(39)		(5)
Gilded Rim Band	(1)	(2)	(4)	(6)		(6)		(2)
						(1)		(1)
CREAMWARE	11	10	15	25	0.9	36	1.2	4
Undecorated	(11)	(9)	(5)	(14)		(25)		(1)
Annular (banded)		(1)	(5)	(6)		(6)		(1)
Annular (swirl)			(3)	(3)		(3)		(1)
Annular (Mocha)			(2)	(2)		(2)		(1)
PEARLWARE	16	45	139	184	6.9	200	6.5	19
Undecorated	(8)	(21)	(63)	(84)		(92)		(1)
Edge Decorated (blue)	(3)	(14)	(12)	(26)		(29)		(4)
Edge Decorated (green)		(1)	(4)	(5)		(5)		(1)
Annular (banded)			(7)	(7)		(7)		(1)
Annular (Mocha)			(1)	(1)		(1)		(1)
Transfer Printed (blue)	(1)		(10)	(10)		(11)		(3)
Transfer Printed (blue, Willow)			(2)	(2)		(2)		(1)
Handpainted (blue floral)		(4)	(7)	(11)		(11)		(2)
Handpainted (polychrome w/ luster)	(4)		(19)	(19)		(23)		(1)
Handpainted (earthen polychrome)		(1)	(12)	(13)		(13)		(3)
Handpainted (rim bands only)		(4)	(2)	(6)		(6)		(1)
WHITWARE	203	331	625	956	36.0	1164	37.9	55
Undecorated	(102)	(129)	(279)	(408)		(510)		(10)
Plain Embossed Rim			(1)	(1)		(1)		(1)
Edge Decorated (blue)	(4)	(6)	(11)	(17)		(21)		(3)
Edge Decorated (green)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(3)		(4)		(1)
Annular (banded)	(5)	(7)	(3)	(10)		(15)		(1)
Annular (swirl)			(12)	(12)		(12)		(1)
Transfer Printed (blue)	(16)	(37)	(69)	(106)		(124)		(2)
Transfer Printed (blue, "Jackson's")	(13)	(25)	(59)	(84)		(97)		(1)
Transfer Printed (blue, Willow)		(6)	(3)	(9)		(9)		(1)
Transfer Printed (purple)	(14)	(18)	(24)	(42)		(56)		(3)
Transfer Printed (purple, "Greecian")	(2)	(9)	(28)	(37)		(39)		(1)
Transfer Printed (purple, "Dresden")		(3)	(25)	(28)		(28)		(7)
Transfer Printed (reddish pink)	(20)	(24)	(46)	(66)		(66)		(2)
Transfer Printed (pink)		(5)	(4)	(9)		(9)		(2)
Transfer Printed (green)	(2)	(2)	(7)	(11)		(11)		(1)
Transfer Printed (brown)		(5)	(1)	(6)		(6)		(1)
Sponge Decorated (blue, green, magenta)	(10)	(21)	(35)	(56)		(66)		(1)
Sponge Decorated (blue)	(6)	(2)	(2)	(4)		(4)		(1)
Handpainted (blue floral)	(1)	(11)	(11)	(22)		(28)		(4)
Handpainted (bright polychrome)	(9)	(3)	(9)	(15)		(16)		(2)
Handpainted (bright green bands)		(1)	(1)	(2)		(2)		(0)
Handpainted (rim bands only)	(1)	(13)	(8)	(21)		(22)		(5)
Flow Blue								
OTHER REFINED EARTHENWARES	2	1	9	10	0.4	12	0.4	(3)
Olive glazed w/ dark floral design			(1)	(1)		(1)		(1)
Gray-green glazed	(2)	(1)	(5)	(5)		(5)		(1)
Yellow glazed			(3)	(4)		(6)		(1)
STONEWARE	7	41	33	74	2.8	81	2.7	5
Salt-glazed	(7)	(41)	(33)	(74)		(81)		(5)
COARSE EARTHENWARE		1	5	6	0.3	6	0.2	5
Glazed Earthenware ("Redware")		(1)	(4)	(5)		(5)		(4)
Rockingham Ware			(1)	(1)		(1)		(1)
---BURNED---								
Refined Earthenware	119	216	700	916	34.5	1035	33.7	11
Undecorated	(71)	(93)	(354)	(447)		(518)		(1)
Edge Decorated (blue)	(4)	(14)	(23)	(37)		(41)		(3)
Edge Decorated (green)		(1)	(1)	(1)		(1)		(0)
Annular (banded)		(6)	(11)	(19)		(19)		(0)
Transfer Printed (blue)	(34)	(69)	(152)	(221)		(255)		(4)
Transfer Printed (blue, "Jackson's")	(2)	(5)	(15)	(20)		(22)		(1)
Transfer Printed (purple, pink, red ?)		(4)	(54)	(58)		(58)		(0)
Transfer Printed (purple, "Greecian")			(5)	(5)		(5)		(0)
Transfer Printed (purple, "Dresden")		(2)	(11)	(13)		(13)		(0)
Transfer Printed (green)			(4)	(4)		(4)		(0)
Sponge Decorated (blue, green, magenta)	(1)	(4)	(24)	(28)		(29)		(0)
Handpainted (blue floral)	(1)	(6)	(31)	(37)		(38)		(1)
Handpainted (polychrome)	(3)	(1)	(6)	(7)		(10)		(1)
Handpainted (bright green bands)	(3)	(7)	(8)	(15)		(16)		(0)
Handpainted (rim bands only)		(2)	(2)	(4)		(4)		(0)
TOTAL	415	777	1876	2653	100.0	3088	100.0	123

Table 3. Ceramic sherds from Feature 12 excavation.

writer's view, the need for precise chronological placement of nineteenth-century components and features is of much greater importance than Miller implies.

More recently Garrow (1983) has addressed the problem of dating nineteenth-century ceramics and offers his own method of classification to distinguish early and late (ca. post-1830) ware types. Though not actually stated in the material cited, his scheme is apparently based on degree of hardness or density of the body of refined earthenwares. While it is perhaps unfair to prejudge this proposed system before it has been fully published, my initial reaction is that it would be an extremely subjective means of classification.

Subjectivity is, of course, one of the problems with Price's typological system, which relies in large part on the presence of an "overall blue or blue-green" glaze cast or tint to distinguish "white" pearlware sherds from "white" whiteware sherds (Price 1979:14). The immediate question that arises is how much blue constitutes a blue cast? Though not a complete solution to the problem, it is helpful to use a few sherds of known eighteenth-century pearlware as a comparative standard during the cataloging process.

An additional dimension to the problem is whether or not the absence of a blue glaze tint does have temporal significance. Miller (1980:2-3) argues that the term "Pearl Ware," or some variant thereof, was used in makers' marks on whiteware much later than the ca. 1830 period proposed for the decline of pearlware. This, however, seems to confuse the issue of manufacturer's trade mark with empirical artifact data. As Price (1979:15) suggests, the observable changes in color of decoration and glaze may be related to a shift away from the use of lead in glaze compounds beginning in 1820. It is important to note, however, that while this may have been a general trend, actual prohibition against the use of lead did not come until the end of the nineteenth-century (Hillier 1968:41).

It is also true that a blueish cast sometimes occurs in the glaze of later all-white ironstone wares (Wetherbee 1980:7). "White Ironstone" is in fact a term that might be useful for dealing with post-1840 archaeological collections. With a comprehensive guide, such as Wetherbee's (1980), many sherds could be identified in terms of the various mold designs. On the other hand, "Ironstone" as used in reference to earlier wares should be treated as a trademark or a variety of whiteware (see discussion in Price 1979:11-12).

In spite of the complex nature of the problem, it is this writer's contention that Price's (1979) classification system (based on glaze tint, color palette of design elements, and the other criteria that she outlines) is the most useful system currently available for dealing with archaeological collections dating to the first half of the nineteenth century. Part of its utility is that it provides a means of temporal subdivision that, at least in this region, may help to make the South (1972) Mean Ceramic Date Formula useable for most if not all of the pre-Civil War period.

Following the Price system, the 3,068 sherds from the Feature 12 excavation were cataloged as presented in Table 3. It was necessary to separately list 1,035 sherds of refined earthenware as too badly burned to determine their ware category. This distinction was made so that the main ceramic group may later be assessed for its chronological information. The presence of this burned group is, however, of interest in that it suggests breakage of wares on the Wynnewood kitchen floor, which were then swept into the fireplace before their final deposition.

In Table 3 the "Upper," "Middle," and "Lower" feature provenience groups used in Table 2 have been combined into one column. Cross matching of sherds indicated linkage of all of the feature levels excavated. At least four vessels that were partially reconstructed contain sherds from the highest and lowest feature levels, as well as levels in between. As previously suggested by the profile interpretation, the filling of Feature 12 must have occurred within a short period of time.

Table 3 also includes an estimate of the minimum number of vessels (N = 123) represented in the collection. Some degree of cross-matching and reconstruction was possible for 21 of these. Many of the burned sherds are from vessels also represented by unburned fragments. A separate vessel count was assigned only where a burned sherd, or sherds, was clearly part of a container not previously identified.

Representative samples of sherds and partial vessels are shown in Figures 6, 7, and 8. The following are some additional comments concerning the various types.

A majority of the porcelain sherds (Figure 6, upper left) are from tea cups and deep saucers. Most, if not all, of the cups had handles (Figure 6, upper right). Similar handles are illustrated by Cushion (1976:120 and 149-153) and dated ca. 1810 to 1825. At least 12 of the minimum number of porcelain vessels represent cups and saucers in three definable patterns (Table 3). Pattern "A" has an underglaze purple floral design between two thin bands near the rim, which has a wide purple rim band. The rim bands and some of the floral elements are covered with a metallic luster. Pattern "B" utilizes a similar underglaze purple and purple luster design but with additional overglaze enamel (yellow and green) painting of some of the floral elements. Pattern "C" utilizes rather free-flowing floral designs that are painted underglaze in purple and overglaze in purple, yellow, and green.

Based on association of decoration with usual vessel type, at least 35 to 40 percent of the Feature 12 sherds are from plates. Many of the "undecorated" sherds are actually from undecorated portions of vessels with designs. Considering a representative portion of these as probable plate fragments, plates can be estimated to account for at least half of the sherds recovered.

Most common are sherds of blue transfer printed and blue or green edge decorated pearlware and whiteware. Parts of at least 3 blue transfer printed whiteware plates are present (Figure 7, upper right) that bore a mark

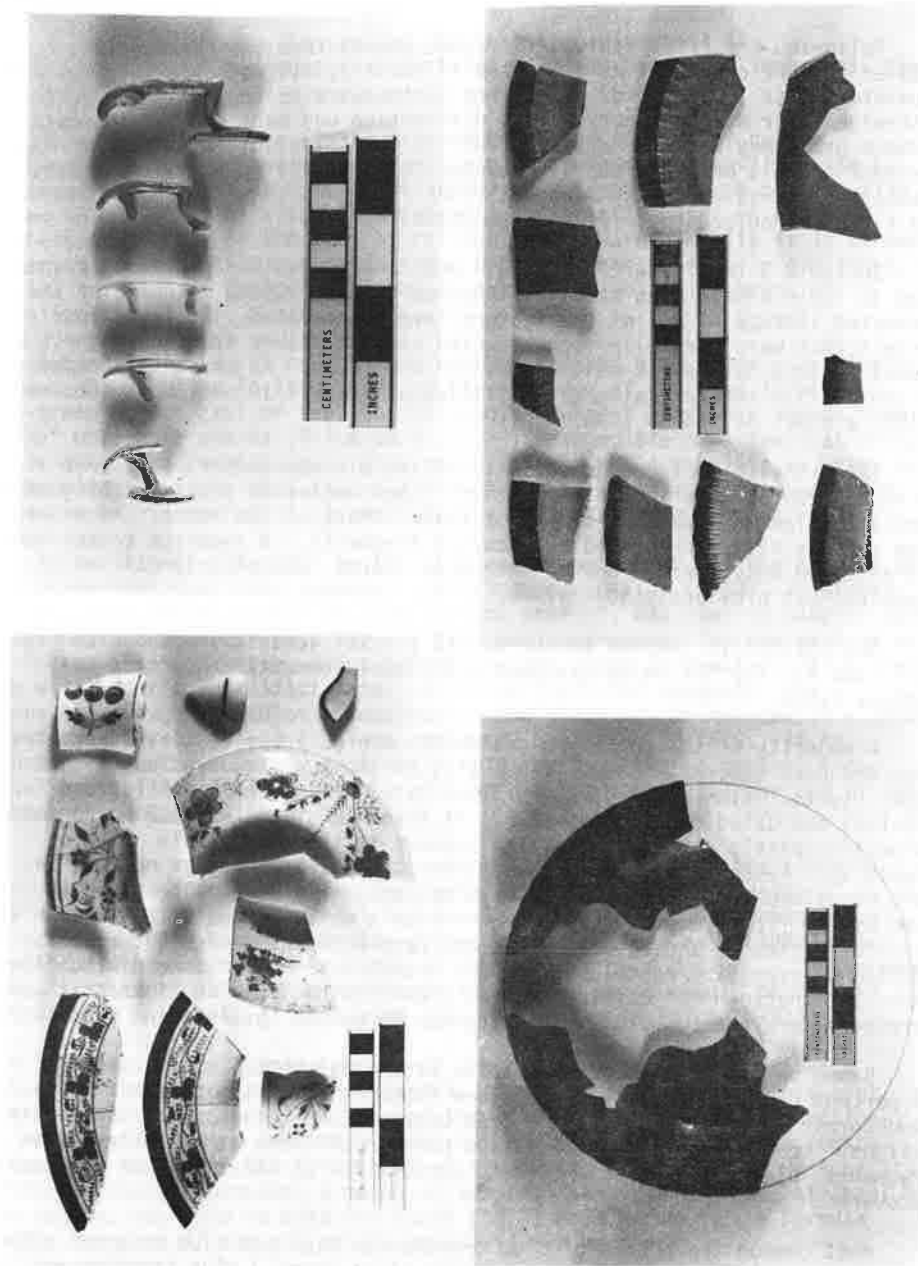


Figure 6. Ceramic sherds: upper left, porcelain; upper right, porcelain cup handles; lower left, blue edge decorated plate (burned); lower right, blue and green edge decorated whiteware and pearlware.

including a now illegible pattern name and below this the words "Jacksons Warranted." These were made by the English potters Job and John Jackson, who produced some 40 different American historical views on vessels with their distinctive border design and scroll-like printed mark (Larsen 1975:156-167; Camehl 1916:269). The estimated date for this firm and its mark varies slightly as given by Larsen (1975:156) and Godden (1964:349) but is approximately 1831-1840.

A minimum of three other whiteware plates (Figure 7, lower left) are decorated with a purple transfer printed design and are marked with a chalice and beehive, the pattern name "GRECIAN," and the initials "W. R." These were the products of the English firm of William Ridgeway, ca. 1834 to 1854 (Godden 1960:245). Numerous fragments of plates decorated in this same pattern, but in blue or green, were previously recovered from excavations at the Hermitage, also in Middle Tennessee (Smith 1976:153).

A portion of one other purple transfer printed plate (Figure 7, lower right) was found that bears a printed basal mark: "Marone Dresden Flowers 1955." This is presumed to be the pattern name and number, but all efforts to identify the mark have been unsuccessful. It is similar in style and design to a ca. 1830 to 1840 "British Flowers pattern" plate illustrated by Copeland (1982:27).

A few other fragments of vessels were found that bear whole or partial maker's marks. One sherd of undecorated whiteware has the impressed anchor without other insignia used by the English firm of Davenport during the 1820s (Godden 1964:190). Three sherds of reddish pink transfer printed whiteware have portions of a "griffin" mark printed in red. This appears to be the mark used by the English firm Rockingham China Works, ca. 1826 to 1830 (Godden 1964:545). Other miscellaneous markings on sherds from the bottoms of whiteware vessels include a printed "3," a printed "6," a printed "15," and an impressed three-arm propeller-like device in a circle. These are probably workmen's marks such as those described by Copeland (1982:31).

Sherds of annular decorated (Figure 7, upper left) and handpainted (Figure 8, upper right and lower left) wares account for approximately 8 percent of the sherd collection. The majority are from bowls and cups.

Coarse earthenware and stoneware account for a very small percentage of the collection (2.8 percent). Approximately one-third of the stoneware sherds are from a single dark gray salt-glazed container (Figure 8, lower right) that is 20 cm (8 inches) tall with a maximum rim diameter of 26 cm (10½ inches). In traditional terminology this type of container was often referred to as a "crock." It is perhaps most similar to the "milk pot" form described by Greer (1981:98). Its color, form, incised decoration, and lack of an interior or exterior slip suggests that it was made in the eastern Middle Tennessee stoneware region, ca. 1824 to the 1870s (Smith and Rogers 1979).

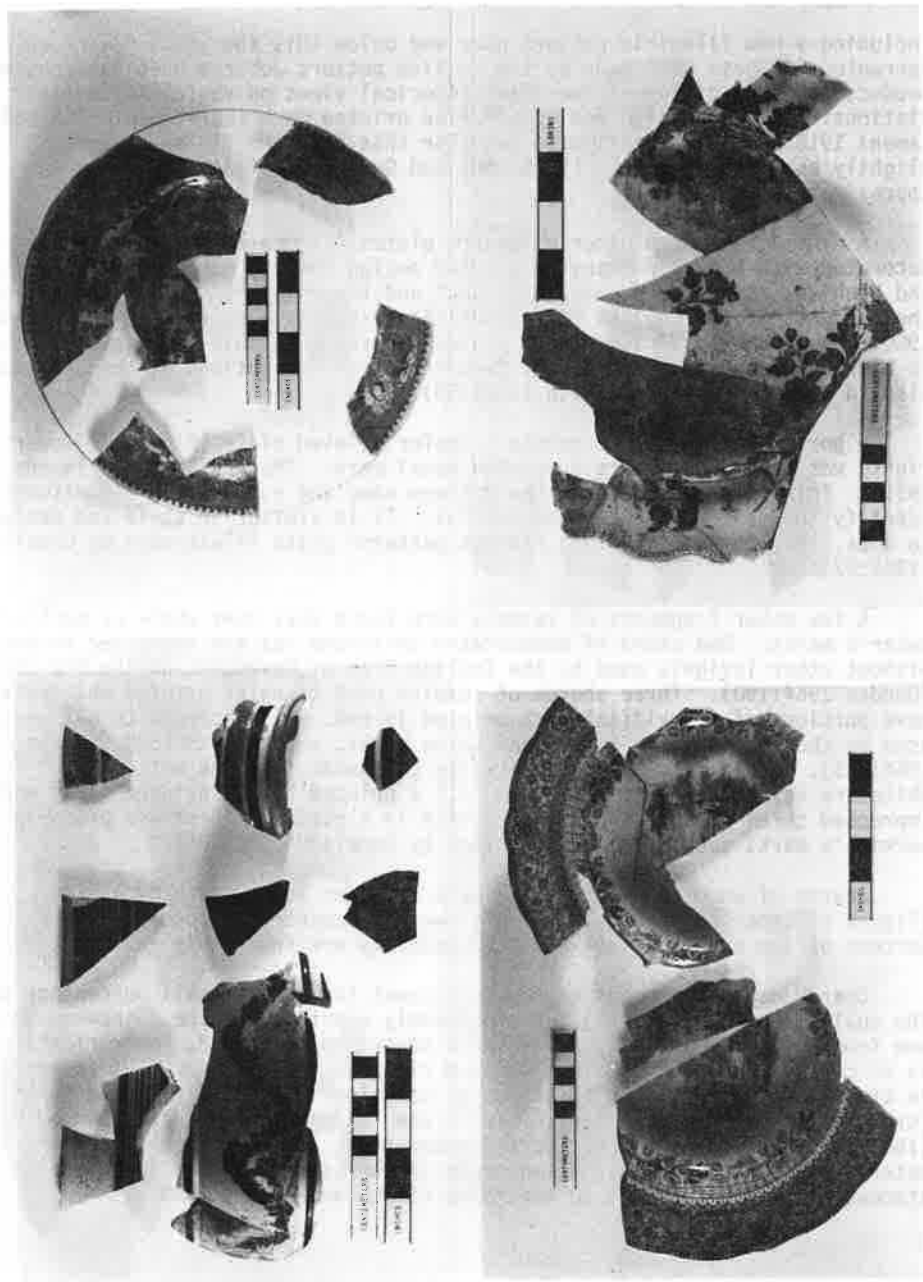


Figure 7. Ceramic sherds: upper left, annular decorated creamware, pearlware, and whiteware; upper right, "Jacksnons Warranted" blue transfer printed whiteware; lower left, "Grecian" purple transfer printed whiteware; lower right, "Marone Dresden Flowers" purple transfer printed whiteware.

### Bottle Glass

South's (1977:95) use of eighteenth-century data for constructing his various artifact classes creates certain problems when dealing with later collections. The major changes in bottle manufacturing technology and function that began to occur during the nineteenth century make this an especially troublesome category. It requires considerable imagination to fit a nineteenth-century bottle glass collection into the three classes (Wine Bottle, Case Bottle, Pharmaceutical Type Bottle) provided by South. Different researchers have responded by using the "Pharmaceutical" class as a catchall category (e.g., Polhemus 1980:160) or by excluding nineteenth-century bottle fragments that do not conform to South's scheme (e.g., Honerkamp, et al. 1982:120).

In Table 2, the wine and pharmaceutical bottle classes are intended to conform to the descriptions provided in South's primary source, Noel Hume (1970:60-75). Case bottles, as described by South and Noel Hume, were not found in Feature 12, and the largest group of Feature 12 fragments is tabulated under a "general" bottle class. As most broad, intersite comparisons will be made at the group level, such modification of the classes seems justifiable and certainly seems preferable to excluding a portion of a site's artifact assemblage.

The 935 Feature 12 bottle fragments are generally composed of small pieces that provide little information concerning the specific forms of bottles represented. There are 216 fragments that were distorted by heat, again suggesting breakage in the kitchen followed by sweeping of debris into the fireplace.

It is of interest that the 268 piece of olive colored wine bottle glass account for 37.4 percent of the bottle glass collection (excluding the 216 "melted" fragments.) Though remaining to be thoroughly tested, the notion that the presence (and perhaps the frequency) of wine bottle glass on nineteenth-century domestic sites is reflective of social status has been previously suggested (Smith 1980:41).

The 21 fragments of pharmaceutical bottles account for 2.9 percent of the collection. These are from small pale blue or pale green specimens with flat everted lips. Most were square sided, and one or two bore embossed writing, which is no longer decipherable.

Little could be done with the remaining 428 pieces of bottle glass except to tabulate them by color. These are: clear, N = 229 (31.9%); aqua, N = 151 (21.1%); greenish, N = 28 (3.9%); amber, N = 14 (2.0%); blue-green, N = 5 (0.7%); royal blue (from Zone I), N = 1 (0.1%).

### Other Kitchen Group Items

A few of the other items included in the Kitchen Group (Table 2) are shown in Figure 9 (upper left). The Tumbler (and Mug) Class contains 13 pieces of clear to clear-frosted tumbler fragments and 5 pieces of thick,



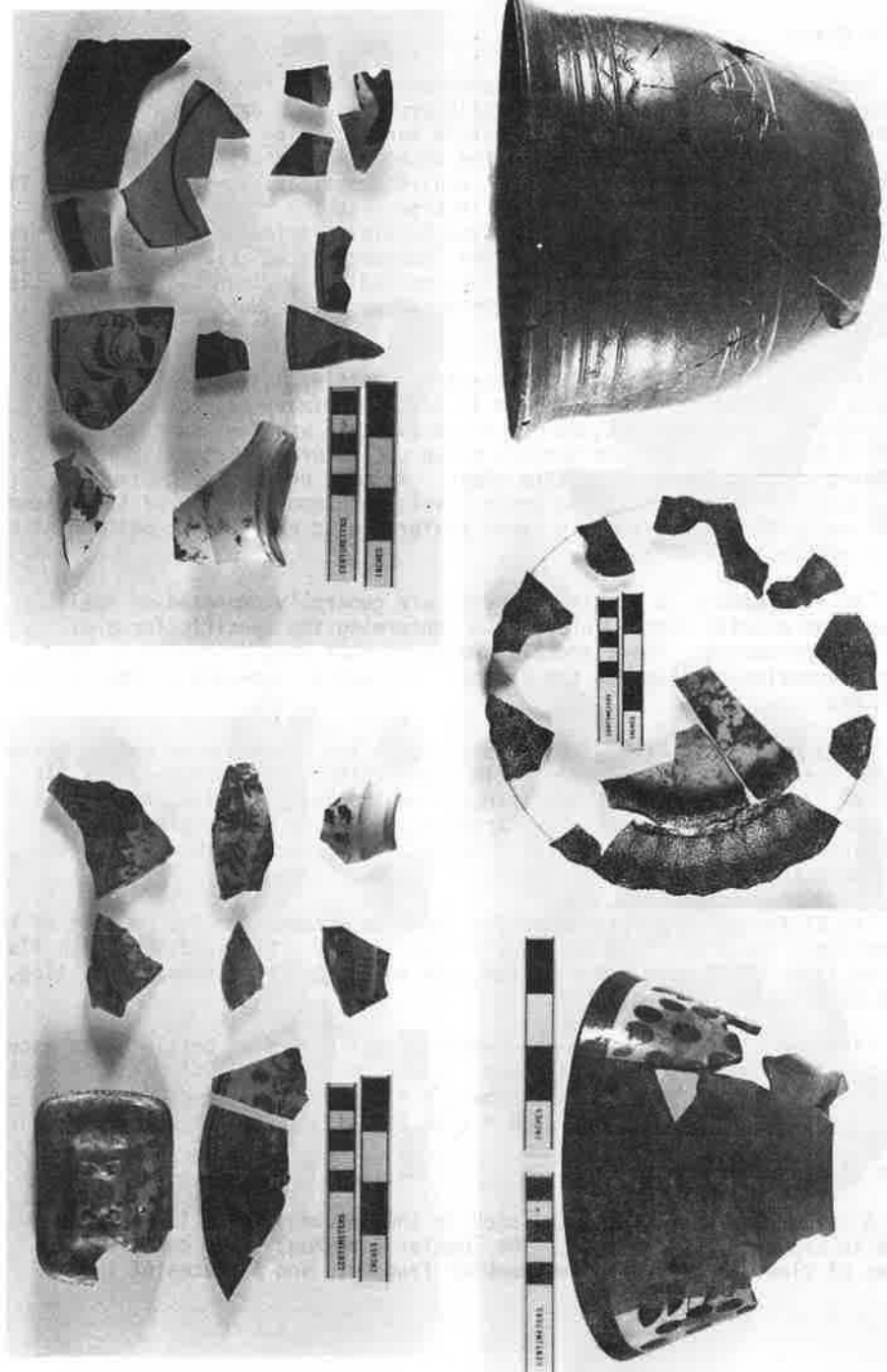


Figure 8. Ceramic sherds: upper left, purple, pink, and reddish transfer printed whitewares; upper right, handpainted pearlware and whiteware; lower left, blue floral handpainted pearlware bowl; lower center, blue, green, and magenta sponge decorated whiteware plate; lower right, salt-glazed stoneware container.

clear glass from one or two mugs. The Glassware Class is composed of a small piece of clear, pressed glass and 2 pieces of footpad from a clear, stemmed wine glass. The 10 items in the Tableware Class include forks (Figure 9 a), knives (Figure 9 b), and bone handles (Figure 9 d) for knives and forks. The 488 items in the Kitchenware Class are mostly fragments or parts of tinware containers, but include 11 pieces of cast-iron cooking vessels and a decorative brass container lid (Figure 9 c).

The exact form of most of the items represented by the tinware fragments is uncertain but includes flat-sided and cylindrical containers. There is at least one tinware disc (Figure 9 e) that appears to be from a "hole-in-top" or "hole-in-cap" type tin can. The best estimate for the commercial introduction of this early type of tin can seems to be around 1839 (Busch 1981:96).

One especially intriguing find is the half section of a cast-iron Dutch oven lid that came from near the bottom of Feature 12 (Figure 10). This was originally 40 to 41 cm (16 inches) in diameter. It is the correct size to fit the bottom portion of a Dutch oven (Figure 10) located in the Wynnewood kitchen museum. According to persons familiar with Wynnewood, this lidless Dutch oven was an item that was in the kitchen when the house was transferred to state ownership, and it is presumably a Wynne family heirloom. It does not seem illogical to believe that the archaeological and museum specimens may once have been parts of the same vessel.

#### Architectural Group

The next largest group of artifacts below the Kitchen Group is composed of architectural items. The 1,232 artifacts placed in this group compose 20.7 percent of the Feature 12 non-faunal collection. Some of the items in this group seem to be unexpected finds in what is basically a kitchen debris deposit. One possible explanation is the deposition of such items following the burning of scrap wood, such as pieces of old doors, in the kitchen fireplace. There was also a layer of mortar (Figure 5 "F") in the feature, suggesting some discarding of non-kitchen debris.

#### Window Glass

The 647 pieces of flat glass (Table 2) were initially tabulated according to thickness range within the various levels. The same unimodal distribution was observed in all levels with a consistent median of 1.0 to 1.4 mm. For the entire collection the thickness ranges are as follows: 0.5-0.9 mm, N = 66 (10.2%); 1.0 - 1.4 mm, N = 451 (69.7%); 1.5 - 1.9 mm, N = 123 (19.0%); 2.0 - 2.4 mm, N = 5 (0.8%); 2.5 - 2.9 mm, N = 2 (0.3%).

In the few years since Roenke's (1978) comprehensive discussion of the chronological information potentially available from flat glass, a number of other researchers have suggested schemes for dating window glass collections. While it is agreed that there was an increase in window glass thickness during the nineteenth century, a generally accepted formula for dating this change remains to be established. In terms of Roenke's (1978:116) suggested modal

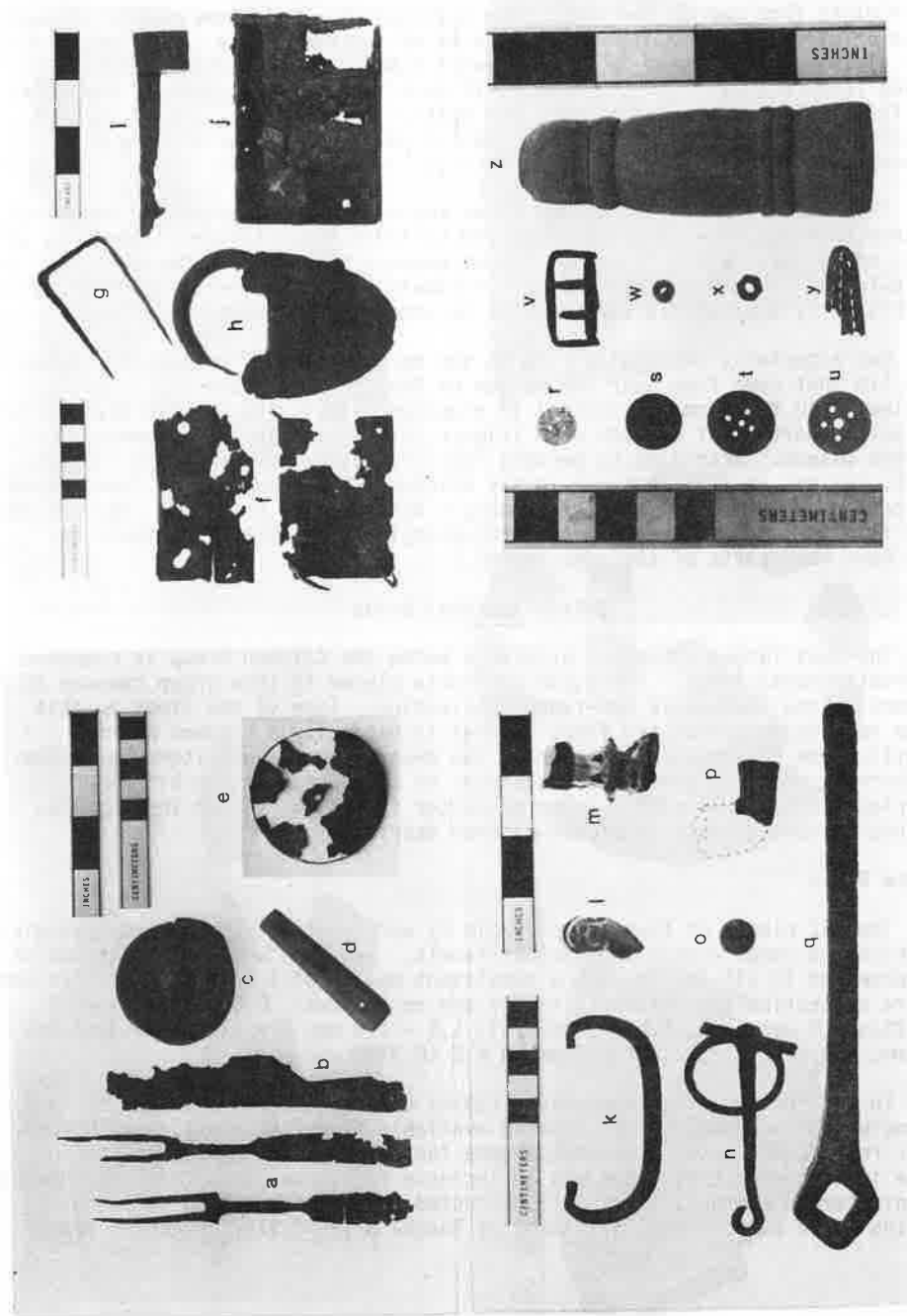


Figure 9. Representative artifacts from the Kitchen Group (upper left), Furniture Group and Activities Group (lower left), Architectural Group (upper right), and Personal Group (lower right).

thickness dates, at least 80 percent of the Feature 12 window glass fragments are thin enough to fall into the pre-1845 date range.

#### Nails

As discussed by Benson (1983), this is another class of artifacts that, especially for nineteenth-century sites, has been treated in a highly variable manner by historical archaeologists. In spite of a number of site specific studies, the twelve page article by the architectural historian Lee H. Nelson (1968) remains one of the few available sources providing a good synthesis of information concerning the general development and chronology of nails. An updated and much more substantial synthesis would be a welcomed contribution.

Arguments concerning the desirability of recording the metric attributes of nail collections (e.g., Benson 1983, Polhemus 1980:190-192) are well taken. However, to do this effectively often requires a complex cleaning process, the cost of which must be weighed against the information needed. Most of the Feature 12 nails are heavily corroded, many beyond the point where they will withstand cleaning. The context of most of them, in ash filled layers, implies that they arrived in the feature as a result of being embedded in miscellaneous pieces of construction wood that were burned in the kitchen fireplace. Architectural information, the usual goal of metric analysis, would therefore not be of direct interest in this case.

The 576 nails in Table 2 were cataloged under several types (based on Nelson 1968). Wire nails are represented by 66 whole and head portions and 22 shank portions. Of these 88 specimens, 19 came from Zone I, 63 from the Backhoe Trench backdirt, 5 from the upper portion of Feature 12, and 1 from the middle portion of the feature. The actual origin of all of these is believed to be Zone I. The top of the feature had been disturbed by various later activities, including a shallow water line, and some admixture between the top of the feature and the later yard level occurred. The cross-cutting of the feature by the backhoe also produced disturbance along the edges of the cut, and some downward migration of artifacts was no doubt caused.

The one small wire nail recovered during screening of the "Middle Feature" context probably had been redeposited in this manner. The only other explanation would be that the feature is somewhat later than suggested by other artifacts. Unfortunately, clear information on the earliest introduction of wire nails (which were not really common until the 1890s) does not seem to be available. Nelson (1968) does imply that small wire nails used for holding together cigar boxes and other small wooden items may have been entering the United States from Europe before the 1850s.

Several kinds of machine cut nails were rather evenly distributed throughout the excavation levels. Most numerous were machine cut and headed specimens (complete and head portions,  $N = 328$ ; shank portions,  $N = 136$ ). Less common were machine cut brads ( $N = 5$ ), machine cut tacks ( $N = 4$ ), and "Early" machine headed nails ( $N = 3$ ).

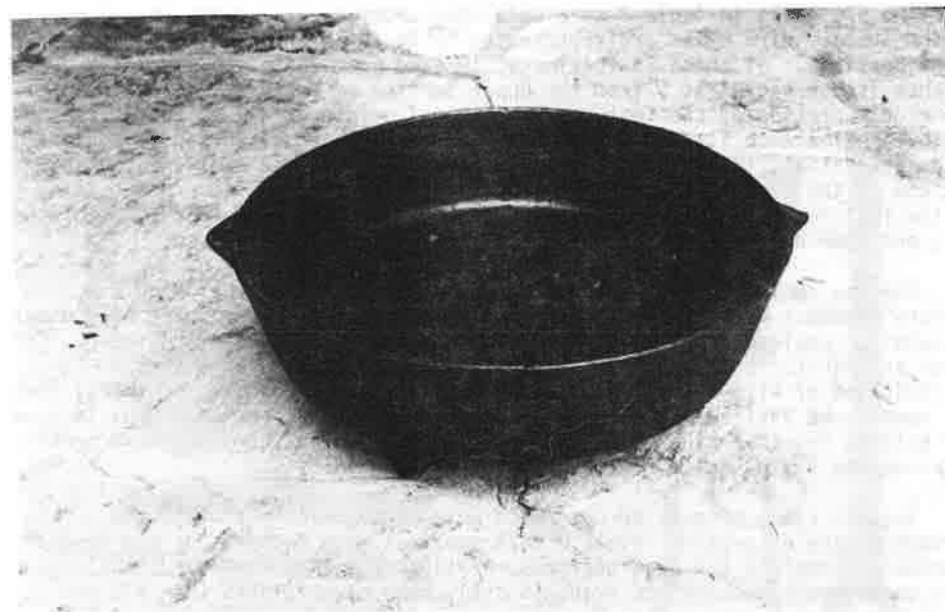
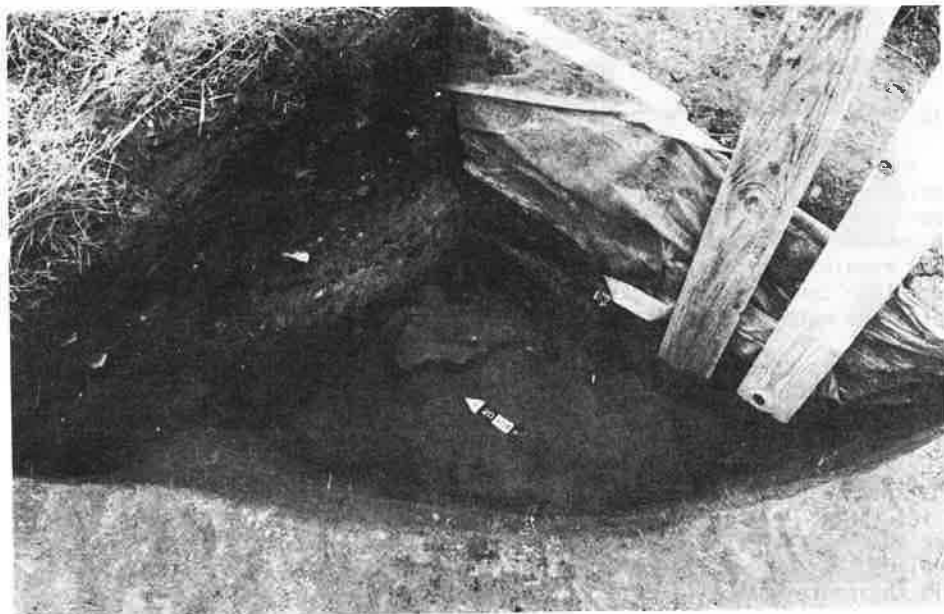


Figure 10. Partial Dutch oven lid (upper photograph) found near base of Feature 12 (arrow north) and lower portion of Dutch oven from Wynnewood kitchen museum.

Hand wrought nails occurred sparsely. There are 11 complete specimens (1 from Zone I) and 1 shank portion. According to Nelson (1968), hand wrought nails continued to compete with cut nails into the 1820s but declined in use thereafter.

#### Other Architectural Group Items

Iron door lock parts found in the lower portion of Feature 12 are shown in Figure 9. Items "f" are three pieces of a small, surface mounted door or cupboard lock. The lower piece exhibits part of the locking mechanism. The opposite side of this same piece (the front side) has a 55 mm long, rivet-hinged key-hole cover (also iron). A larger surface-mounted door lock is shown (Figure 9 j) from the back side with the side-wall opening for the sliding-bolt to the left. A somewhat similar, but larger, door-lock bolt (Figure 9 i) is also shown.

Construction hardware items (Table 2) include a partial iron support brace, a bow staple (Figure 9 g) and two padlocks. The larger of the two padlocks is shown in Figure 9 (h). It is made of iron with a brass keyhole surround and a brass keyhole cover. The latter is stamped with the word "PATENT." The slightly smaller padlock is very similar but has a broken brass keyhole cover. Several stylistically similar "Tumbler Padlocks" with "Brass Drops and Bushings" are illustrated in Russell and Erwin's 1865 catalog of American hardware (Russell and Erwin 1980:106-109).

#### Furniture Group

South's (1977:95) Furniture Group contains only one class, Furniture Hardware. Feature 12 furniture hardware (Table 2) consists of a brass upholstery tack and an iron drawer handle (Figure 9 k).

Two additional classes are needed to accommodate other Feature 12 items that clearly belong in the Furniture Group. Most common are fragments of glass from clear lamp chimneys. There are also portions of two small ceramic figurines (Figure 9 l and m) that belong here rather than in the Kitchen Group. These are made from an earthenware (whiteware) body with green, black, magenta, and flesh-tone underglaze coloring of clothing and body parts.

#### Arms Group

This group is represented by a single bullet of the conical "Minie ball" form. It came from Zone I and is probably later than Feature 12. This kind of bullet was first developed in 1848 (Lord 1965:15).

#### Clothing Group

The fairly numerous small items (e.g., straight pins) in this group suggest some use of the kitchen for incidental activities such as sewing.

A two-tined clothing buckle was found (Figure 9 v). It is made of brass.

The most common class in this group is composed of 14 bone (Figure 9 t and u), 7 shell (Figure 9 r), 3 brass (Figure 9 s), and 1 iron buttons. One of the brass buttons has an impressed backstamp: "BEST QUALITY" "LONDON." It is also worth noting that no porcelain buttons were found. The rapid spread of mechanically-pressed "china" buttons after their introduction in 1840 (Lamm, et al. 1970:4-7) means that they should be common in post-1840 button collections.

In like manner all of the straight pins (Table 2) recovered (most of them from the water screened soil samples) are of the early type with wire-wound heads (see illustration in Smith 1976:207). According to Noel Hume (1970:254) the replacement of this type by pins with solid heads began with an 1824 English patent.

Other notable items in this group include two glass beads. One of them (Figure 9 w) is a translucent royal-blue bead made by the mandrel-wound process. It has a maximum diameter of 5.7 mm and is similar to type 46 in Good (1972:112). The second bead (Figure 9 x) is 6.3 mm in diameter and has a royal-blue outer layer and a sky-blue inner layers. It is hexagonal in cross section, faceted, and otherwise similar to type 11 in Good (1972:106). Similar beads were previously found at Wynnewood in association with the slave cabin sites (Smith 1975:88), and additional discussion (Smith 1977:159-161) has been given to the apparent widespread association between blue beads (particularly blue faceted beads) and slave activity areas. It is not difficult to imagine the loss of these beads by slaves working in the Wynnewood kitchen.

#### Personal Group

Included here are a partial slate pencil (made of soapstone) and several pieces of slate, probably from a writing tablet. Other items are a small brass ring, part of a bone handle toothbrush (Figure 9 y), and a bone handle (Figure 9 z), probably from a shaving brush.

#### Activities Group

South's (1977:96) Activities Group is composed of 13 classes, 7 of which are used here (Table 2).

The Toys Class is represented by one dark-gray stoneware marble (Figure 9 o) and one half section of a light-gray stone marble.

The Fishing Gear Class is composed of portions of 2 iron fish hooks.

The Tobacco Pipe Class is represented by a single stem section of an unglazed short-stem stoneware pipe (Figure 9 p).

The Storage Items Class is composed entirely of sections of iron bands from wooden burials.

No formal ethnobotanical study was conducted on the Feature 12 remains, but all samples, particularly the residue from the water-screened soil samples, were carefully searched for non-wood charred remains. Using Eickmeier's (1974) guide as the primary reference, the following items were identified (in order of decreasing frequency): corn (cob sections and one kernel), peach pits, cherry pits, walnut shell, and hickory nut shell.

The Stable and Barn Class includes 3 harness buckles, 2 horseshoes, an iron harness ring, 1 partial stirrup, 1 piece of wagon hub boxing, and a half section of a snaffle bit (Figure 9 n).

The Miscellaneous Hardware Class includes an assortment of metal items, not all of them specifically identifiable. The 34 items (Table 2) from Zone I include 31 pieces of iron fence wire and 3 pieces of relatively modern machinery parts. The remaining 53 Feature 12 items include 34 pieces of iron wire, a section of iron chain, an iron chain hook, an iron rivet, an iron wrench with a  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch square opening (Figure 9 q), and several miscellaneous pieces of iron, brass, and lead.

#### Bone Group

Faunal remains were initially recorded by weight, then turned over to the zooarchaeological consultant, Emanuel Breitbart, for analysis. His results are presented in a companion article in this volume.

Virtually all of the faunal material, including that from Zone I, is directly attributable to its preservation in Feature 12. It was subsequently treated as one sample for comparison to the samples previously recovered in 1975.

In terms of its ratio to the other artifacts found, the Feature 12 Bone Group exhibits a high concentration. Including Zone I, the ratio of bones to other artifacts is .97. Excluding Zone I, the bone-to-artifact ratio for feature fill increases to 1.06. This is near the upper end of South's (1977:80) "High bone ratio indicating a peripheral secondary midden" portion of his bone ratio scale. Specifically for Feature 12, it is a ratio strongly suggesting a primary use of the pit for disposal of kitchen debris.

#### Aboriginal Artifacts

Not included in Table 2, and unrelated to the historic period represented, are 812 aboriginal items recovered during the Feature 12 excavation. These are mostly chert chips (N = 802), the by-products of stone tool manufacture. Unlike the historic material, almost half of these were recovered from Zone I. Other aboriginal items include 6 chert bifaces, 1 stemmed projectile point, 2 pieces of cord-marked pottery, and 1 fragment of stone pipe bowl. A general scatter of prehistoric material occurs over much of the Wynnewood site and is discussed in the site assessment (Smith 1975:30-35).

## INTERPRETATION

In a previous section the various research considerations surrounding an interpretation of Feature 12 were expressed in the form of three hypotheses with test implications. These may now be addressed in terms of Feature 12's specific form and content.

## Hypothesis A

Hypothesis A concerns the nature of Feature 12 in terms of its function, length of utilization, and probable specific date. As previously stated, the structure of the fill layers and cross-matching of ceramic vessel sherds indicate little time lapse during the filling process. While this could possibly have been the result of some major house cleaning, this would not likely have produced such a high ratio of discarded food bones. The specific type of fill, containing moderate to heavy concentrations of ash, is more typical of discard from a kitchen, including the daily accumulations of wood residue from the fireplace.

The most logical explanation for the existence of Feature 12 would seem to be its use during a period of accelerated kitchen activity, which resulted in the need for disposal of excessive broken and odoriferous materials. In terms of the available historical documentation for Wynnewood, such a need is most likely to have occurred during one of the several summer periods when the number of guests was great.

Season of deposit is not something that can be interpreted from most classes of artifacts, but the potential does exist for ethnobotanical and faunal remains. The ethnobotanical sample is too small to be very informative, but does not seem to represent anything that would not be available during the summer, including the few nut shells that could have carried over from the previous fall. The best support for a summer deposition period comes from an analysis of the faunal remains. This is discussed in the companion article by Emanuel Breitburg.

If Feature 12 was the product of one season of deposition, then it is certainly of interest to attempt to determine when. To answer this requires a dual interpretation of historical and artifact data.

As noted in the historical section, Wynnewood appears to have seen peaks of resort activity during two periods. The first occurred during the 1830s and 1840s, especially the late 1830s and early 1840s. The second lasted from the late 1890s until 1914.

Good archaeological information for this latter period was previously obtained (Smith 1975:72-78) and is clearly distinct from the kind of remains found in Feature 12. On the other hand, it should be obvious from the preceding section that individually datable Feature 12 artifacts seem to cluster around the late 1830s to early 1840s period.

Table 4. Suggested dates for nineteenth-century ceramic types.

Feature 12 Types	Date Range	Median	Source
<b>CREAMWARE</b>			
Undecorated	ca. 1762-1820	1791	South 1972
Annular (banded, swirl, Mocha)	ca. 1780-1815	1798	South 1972
<b>PEARLWARE</b>			
Undecorated	ca. 1780-1830	1805	South 1972
Edge Decorated	ca. 1780-1830	1805	South 1972
Annular (banded, swirl)	ca. 1790-1830	1810	*
Annular (Mocha)	ca. 1795-1830	1813	*
Transfer Printed (blue)	ca. 1795-1830	1813	*
Handpainted (blue floral)	ca. 1780-1830	1805	*
Handpainted (polychrome)	ca. 1795-1830	1813	*
<b>WHITEWARE</b>			
Undecorated	ca. 1830-1890+	1860	*
Undecorated (Davenport mark)	ca. 1820-1830	1825	Godden 1964
Edge Decorated	ca. 1830-1860+	1845	Price 1979, Garrow 1983
Annular (banded, swirl, Mocha)	ca. 1830-1870+	1850	*
Transfer Printed (blue)	ca. 1830-1860+	1845	Price 1979, Garrow 1983
Transfer Printed ("Jackson's")	ca. 1831-1840	1836	Godden 1964, Larsen 1975
Transfer Printed (bright colors)	ca. 1830-1860+	1845	Price 1979, Garrow 1983
Transfer Printed ("Grecian")	ca. 1834-1854	1844	Godden 1980
Transfer Printed ("griffin" mark)	ca. 1826-1830	1828	Godden 1964
Sponge Decorated (or Spatterware)	ca. 1830-1870	1850	**
Handpainted (blue floral)	ca. 1830-1870	1850	Price 1979, Garrow 1983
Handpainted (bright polychrome)	ca. 1830-1870	1850	Price 1979, Garrow 1983
Flow Blue	ca. 1840-1865	1853	Price 1979, Garrow 1983
<b>COARSE EARTHENWARE</b>			
Rockingham Ware	ca. 1840-1900	1870	Barret 1964 and *
<b>Non-Feature 12 Types</b>			
"WHITE IRONSTONE"	ca. 1840-1900+	1870	Wetherby 1980
<b>COARSE EARTHENWARE</b>			
Yellow Ware (plain and "Mocha")	ca. 1830-1930	1880	Ketchum 1971, Garrow 1983

\* Interpretation based on various sources, particularly Noel Hume (1970), South (1972, 1974, and 1977), Kovel (1973), Price (1979), Copeland (1982), and Garrow (1983).

\*\* Much disagreement on the introduction and time span of this type of decoration. Compromise date based on Lewis (1972: 44), Kovel (1973: 29), Greeman (1977), Robacker (1978), Price (1979), and Garrow (1983).

The suggested "terminus post quem," for ceramic items is based on the sherds of "GRECIAN" pattern transferware produced by William Ridgeway. These indicate that the feature must be later than 1833. One probable "hole-in-top" can lid was also found in the feature and suggests that its "date-after-which" should be closer to 1839. It may also be surmised that the feature is probably not later than the early 1840s. Among various "missing" items are porcelain buttons. The scale on which these were produced after 1840 suggests that they will be absent from few post-mid-1840s archaeological button collections. At the First Hermitage, for example, the button collection from the South Cabin, which was razed about 1856, contained 29 (14 percent) of these buttons (Smith 1976:198-199). Furthermore, Wynnewood's own slave cabin number 2, which had little if any post-1860 occupation, produced 4 (20 percent) of these (Smith 1975:89; calculations made for this paper).

In an effort to provide a still more specific date for Feature 12, a careful reworking of nineteenth-century ceramic date ranges was undertaken for use with South's (1972 and 1977:201-271) Mean Ceramic Date Formula. The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 represents a considerable revision of the writer's own past efforts toward use of the formula (e.g., Smith 1976:161), and the date ranges proposed reflect considerable compromise, as shown by the sources used. One of the most difficult choices was assigning a median date to undecorated whiteware, which in reality has no end date. In an effort to avoid my own subjectivity, the median date of 1860 previously suggested by South (1974:336) was retained. There is still, no doubt, some inherent subjectivity in other of the date ranges presented, and suggestions for improvement will be welcomed.

Without some kind of revision of South's (1972) original date ranges, the formula becomes unuseable for collections later than about 1830. With the revisions proposed here it should be useable at least to the 1860s. One important difference in the data presented in Table 4 is the use of date ranges projected from maker's marks. While this means that part of Table 4 is specific for Feature 12 only, the technique can be used anytime marked sherds are found (for individual sherds or multiple sherds from the same vessel). This use of date ranges based on marks should help to increase the time span during which the formula is applicable as well as increase its reliability.

As elsewhere, no use has been made of porcelain or regionally produced stonewares and earthenwares due to the difficulty of assigning dependable dates to these. Two types of coarse earthenware, Rockingham Ware and Yellow Ware, are felt to be useable. Yellow Ware was not present in Feature 12, but it and "White Ironstone," as described by Wetherbee (1980), are listed on the chart with the proposed median dates that could be used for other collections.

Using only the unburned sherds, those for which a ware type could be defined based on Price's (1979) typology, two ceramic formula computations were made by applying the Table 4 data to Table 3. Including the sherds from Zone I, a sherd count of 1,399 produced a product of 2,579,562, yielding a

mean ceramic date of 1843.9. Using the "Feature Total" only, a sherd count of 1,167 produced a product of 2,151,064, yielding a mean ceramic date of 1843.2.

These dates are within the expected range projected from historical data and other artifacts. Their closeness also reinforces the interpretation that, except for wire nails and other miscellaneous modern yard debris, almost all of the artifacts recovered by the excavation were originally part of Feature 12.

Following initial development of the Mean Ceramic Date Formula, South (1974:147 and 1977:236) has suggested an optional equation whereby the mean ceramic date ("Y") is used to compute an interpreted median occupation date ( $Z = 235.5 + .87Y$ ). Using the 1843.2 ceramic date for Feature 12 the computed median occupation date is 1839.1.

This date of slightly more than 1839 is of more than passing interest. So much so, that I have been wary of presenting it as an interpretive device due to its "particularistic archaeology" (South 1977:8-12) implications. It suggests a possible direct tie between Feature 12 and Wynnewood's summer of 1839 as described by Durham (1974:144-145):

The booming summer business at the springs in 1839 was recognized far and wide. The Gallatin Union doffed its editorial hat to Col. Wynne in its edition of July 12. "The Castalian Springs," it said, "is becoming a place of considerable resort.... This most excellent water is considered equal to any in the United States, and we can but believe that the time is not far distant when it will be classed with the first fashionable watering places of this country. Col. Wynne, the proprietor, is still going on building and improving--his present accommodations not being sufficiently extensive to accommodate the visitors that are beginning to resort there from different sections of the Union."

The fulsome summer crowds of August 1839 were swelled by the presence of county politicians of both major parties who had retired to the springs on the day after the state elections there to await the results. The first news to reach Castalian indicated that Newton Cannon, the Whig candidate for governor, was leading James K. Polk, the Democratic Party's standard bearer. A Whig correspondent, one of the mixed group in retreat at Col. Wynne's spa, noted that when this news was circulated among Polk's supporters, "several became serious, taciturn and had quite long faces." But sometime thereafter, when the writer had withdrawn to the out of doors to contemplate the sweet

prospects of a Whig victory, news arrived that Polk has been elected Governor.

The Democratic victory at the polls was greeted at the Castalian Springs by a series of explosions that split the silence of the wooded hillsides.

"It is incredible, but ... it is a fact that a posse, aye sir, a number of people had taken a keg of powder into the woods and boring holes into logs, set them off to tell the world that Polk is elected governor," the Whig complained.

At the inn where jubilant Democrats rode horseback through the grounds giving victory shouts, the celebration lasted late into the night. The Whig correspondent wrote, "It is past ten P.M. and I hear some persons riding by my lodging bawling 'huzza for Polk! huzza for our next Senator, Trousdale,' etc. When will this mania cease its ravages?"

Could these same "ravages" have included property damages that contributed to the filling of Feature 12? Perhaps this begs too much specificity of the archaeological record. However, if not this particular set of events, then at least a similar and nearly contemporary summer season is surely the most likely explanation for the existence of Feature 12.

#### Hypothesis B

Hypothesis B concerns the relationship between the contents of Feature 12 and the social status of the individuals served by the Wynnewood kitchen. Regardless of whether the feature contents were most directly related to the Wynne family or to the serving of summer guests, the level of social status reflected should be rather high. At the present time, the historic artifact category best understood in terms of status relationship is again ceramics.

One of the earliest studies to demonstrate a relationship between ceramics and status is Stone's (1970) examination of eighteenth-century inventories, which links the ownership of porcelain to the more affluent. More recent studies, such as those by Otto (1977), Turnbaugh (1977), and Miller (1980), have demonstrated comparable relationships, and have based their conclusions on archaeological as well as historical data.

In 1977, one of Tennessee's first (and still one of the few) intentional excavations of a nineteenth-century middle-class farmer's house site was undertaken in upper East Tennessee (Smith 1980). This led to the discovery of a ceramic assemblage demonstratively different from what was previously known by way of work on contemporary upper-class domestic sites. A synthesis was made of all available ceramic data from other Tennessee sites and a broad "domestic-site ceramic-ware pattern" was proposed (Smith 1980:56-61). The upper range of this pattern was represented by the Hermitage mansion with 98.5 percent refined earthenware and porcelain and only 1.5 percent coarse earthenware and stoneware. At the lower end of the range were middle-class

farm house sites with 54.9 to 57.4 percent refined earthenware and virtually no porcelain and 42.6 to 45.1 percent locally or regionally made wares.

If the assumptions concerning Feature 12 are correct then its ceramic collection should be distributed in the upper portion of this scale. For calculating these basic ware-group percentages, the entire collection of 3,068 sherds may be used. The distribution is as follows: porcelain - 17.4 percent, refined earthenware 79.8 percent (combined 97.2 percent); coarse earthenware - 0.2 percent, stoneware - 2.6 percent (combined 2.8 percent).

In terms of the original scale, the Feature 12 collection falls immediately below the aforementioned top of the range, and it is outranked in percentage of porcelain by only two sites.

One other possible status indicator was previously mentioned in the discussion of bottle glass. For Feature 12, dark olive wine bottle glass accounts for 37.4 percent of the bottle glass collection. Though other quantified samples are not so readily available, the limited work on middle-class farm house remains indicates that on at least some of these lower-status sites this kind of glass will be totally absent (Smith 1980:41).

#### Hypothesis C

This hypothesis concerns the possible existence of a discard pattern specific to nineteenth-century mineral spring resorts, and it is clearly the most difficult of the three to assess. Only if a much broader sample of the archaeological record from this and other comparable sites was available could any final statements be made.

The total collection from Feature 12 does seem to exhibit an unusually high percentage of Kitchen Group artifacts, especially ceramic sherds, which account for 51.5 percent of the collection.

Unfortunately, it is difficult or impossible to obtain the same kind of Kitchen Group information from most reports on nineteenth-century sites, but for most a total ceramic to total non-faunal computation can be made. In order to assess Feature 12, a wide-ranging comparison was made and suggests an interesting general trend.

Beginning with South's (1977:126-127) basic data for the eighteenth-century Brunswick site in North Carolina, ceramic sherds account for 34.7 percent of the non-faunal collection. In East Tennessee, test excavations around the Carter House (Smith 1979:36-44), built during the late eighteenth century, produced 33.8 percent ceramic sherds. Also in East Tennessee at the Netherland Inn (Benthall 1973:Section II, 1-72), a predominately early to mid-nineteenth-century collection yielded 28.5 percent ceramic sherds. In Middle Tennessee, the ca. 1804 to 1850s First Hermitage site (Smith 1976:135-248) contained 17.3 percent ceramic sherds. Another Middle Tennessee site, a late nineteenth-century house site on Wynnewood's East Tract (Smith 1975:99) produced only 12.1 percent ceramic sherds. And finally, also in Middle Tennessee, at the site of the ca 1880 to 1940 Ryman

House (Hinshaw 1981:66-87), ceramic sherds account for only 10.7 percent of a large non-faunal collection.

The trend suggested is one of decreasing relative frequency of ceramic sherds throughout the nineteenth century. The obvious correlate is an increase in availability of other kinds of material goods following general advances in manufacturing and distribution technologies.

Feature 12 is clearly anomalous in relation to this trend. Is its high percentage of ceramics merely a reflection of direct kitchen discard or is there some other factor at work? Perhaps inherent in the accommodation of guests was a high-risk china-breakage factor. If so, Feature 12 may provide the beginning point for understanding the patterning of artifacts on the general class of nineteenth-century sites referred to as health spas and resorts.

#### FINAL COMMENTS

Much of the previous work on nineteenth-century domestic sites in Tennessee has been handicapped by the too general nature of the records examined. Most of the work reported has been carried out around standing historic houses, and the artifactual remains recovered are attributable only to broad time periods, which sometimes overlap periods of culturally-distinct site utilization. For this reason, a deposit such as Feature 12 provides a valuable addition to the archaeological data base.

In terms of specific context, it adds much to an understanding of the material aspects of the Wynnewood site. In particular it provides a view of material culture at Wynnewood during one of the most important phases of site history and allows good visualization of kitchen activity relative to the treatment of summer guests. If the proposed temporal placement of the feature is correct, it may even provide insight into a particular set of specific events. In spite of "particularistic archaeology" misgivings, the occasional ability to provide such direct insight on past events is not something that most historical archaeologists would readily relinquish.

Beyond its site specific role, Feature 12 provides a data set that should be useable for many future comparisons. Part of the potential utility of this data is believed to derive from the form by which it has been recorded and presented. Too much of the past archaeological literature for regional nineteenth-century sites (this writer's included) represents a hodgepodge of individual styles of artifact data presentation. Without some degree of standardization of data, we can only continue to wander in a morass of unsynthesized information. It is this need, as much as anything else, that is pleaded for by way of this paper.

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