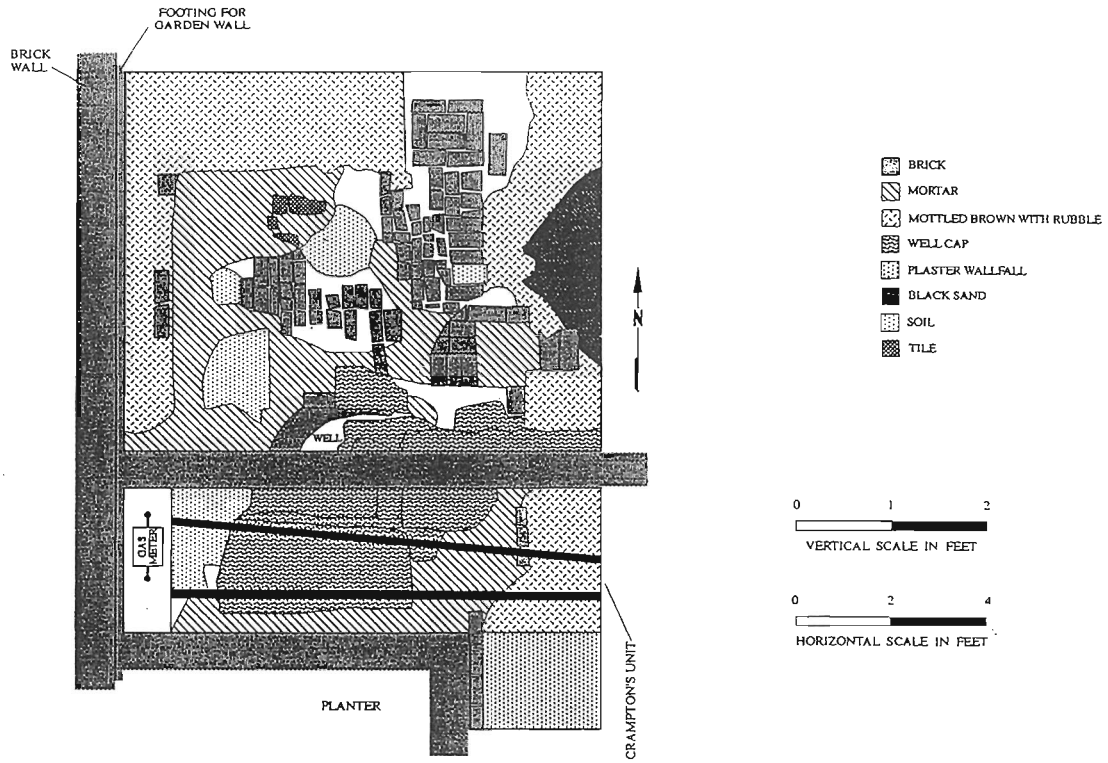
ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OWENS-THOMAS CARRIAGE HOUSE, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA



CHICORA FOUNDATION RESEARCH SERIES 38

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OWENS-THOMAS CARRIAGE HOUSE, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

RESEARCH SERIES 38

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In most cases, the greater the apparent disorganization, the more intense the use of the place in the past; it is these disturbances we must understand, instead of seeing them as conditions which render the site "insignificant," and the past unknowable.

-- Lewis Binford, 1981

ABSTRACT

Built in the first quarter of the nineteenth century by the English architect William Jay, the Owens-Thomas site in downtown Savannah, Georgia resembles those of the period in London, with a main building over a basement story, garden, and stable with servant's quarters. The main house has gone through several periods of restoration and architectural study, and recently attention has turned to the carriage house. Currently architectural research and conservation studies are being conducted on the carriage house and servants' quarters. Archaeological studies have also been conducted by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society, although they concentrated on the eighteenth century occupation on the lot which preceded the construction of the Owens-Thomas settlement. Chicora Foundation's current study reports on archaeological investigations of the nineteenth century deposits.

Research included exploration of architectural features associated with the southern half of the structure, an area associated with carriage and animal stalls. In the north half of the structure the excavations concentrated on recovering information about slave life in the urban setting. Yard area excavations incorporated research on pathways and landscape alteration.

While these investigations were guided by a desire to produce information essential for the correct interpretation and restoration of the structure, they also permitted the exploration of questions surrounding the lives of urban slaves in the nineteenth century. This combination of sponsor-related architectural/interpretative goals and anthropological goals resulted in an exceptional exchange of information.

As one of the few urban archaeological projects undertaken in Savannah in this decade, it reaffirms the exceptional history of the city and the ability of archaeology to address major questions of importance to our understanding of that cultural and architectural history.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was undertaken by the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, the owner of the Owens-Thomas House. This institution sees that their responsibility for the care, preservation, and interpretation of the Owens-Thomas House goes beyond the bricks and mortar to encompass the below ground remains. Funding for this project was provided by grants from the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Lettie Pate Evans Foundation of Atlanta, Georgia. We want to thank these foundations and the Telfair for their unwavering support and enthusiasm associated with these investigations.

In particular, we want to thank Ms. Olivia Evans Alison, Curator of the Owens-Thomas House. She was always gracious, pleasant, and helpful -- in spite of our numerous requests and needs. This attitude, however, was shared by all of the house staff, docents, and volunteers. It was a pleasure working with each person, especially Ms. Elizabeth DuBose, Ms. Amy Wilson, and Ms. JoAnne Peck.

We also want to thank those who assisted us with our excavations and research. Mr. Dave Crampton, archaeologist with the Army Corps of Engineers, volunteered his time to help us understand the previous work conducted at the carriage house and also made us feel "at home" in Savannah. Mr. Jeff Olsen, NGS Advisor with the Georgia Department of Community Affairs assisted in tracking down nearby mean sea level elevations for use as benchmarks and also explained the difference between the "new" and "old" sea levels. The staff of the Georgia Historical Society was exceptionally efficient and cooperative in helping with us with the research on the Owens-Thomas House. Their enthusiasm for the project was almost as great as that of the Telfair Academy.

Finally, we want to thank Mr. George Fore for his support of the archaeological studies and his assistance in understanding the intricacies of the architectural record.

INTRODUCTION

Background and Research Goals

The Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, owner of the Owens-Thomas House, retained Mr. George Fore with George Fore and Associates to began architectural conservation investigations of the main structure in 1991[1]. As one outcome of this work, a decision was made to renovate the carriage house and servants' quarters to house a visitor's center and staff offices, reducing the excessive use of the main house. In 1992 the Savannah College of Art and Design conducted a preliminary structural report of the carriage house (Fichter 1992). Combined with this work, and the decision to expand into the carriage house, were archaeological studies conducted as a volunteer program with the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society, under the direction of Mr. David Crampton (personal communication 1993). This work concentrated on the eastern third of the Owens-Thomas lot, in an area preliminary historical research, suggests is associated with the lot's first inhabitant, William DeBraham. The remains associated with this occupation were abundant and the archaeological features were complex.

The archaeological investigations centering on DeBraham's occupation were eventually closed and the volunteer director is currently beginning the analysis of the recovered materials, in anticipation of the final report production. In spite of the wealth of eighteenth century information collected, the Telfair Academy still had questions regarding specific architectural features relating to the standing carriage house and servants' quarters. They were also interested in learning more about the nineteenth century occupation of the structure, especially about the African American slaves.

In March 1993 the Telfair Academy decided to pursue additional archaeological research oriented to clearly defined goals and research interests. Chicora Foundation was requested to prepare a proposal for that work, which was submitted on April 23, 1993. The general scope of this work was reviewed by both Ms. Olivia Evans Alison, Curator of the Owens-Thomas House and Mr. George Fore, Architectural Conservator associated with the project. Some additional research questions were posed and the scope of the project was slightly expanded in a revised proposal, dated May 25. The work was approved by the Telfair Academy that same day and nine field days of archaeological investigation were scheduled over a two week period.

An initial planning meeting for the research, involving Chicora Foundation, the Owens-Thomas House Curator, and George Fore & Associates, was held on June 7. One outcome of this meeting was the determination that some historical research on the use of the lot would be appropriate. Consequently, two days of historical research, conducted at the Georgia Historical Society, were incorporated into the project. This research concentrated primarily on lot use, examining various maps and plats, exploring nineteenth century municipal services which might affect the archaeological resources, and collecting additional background data. An effort, largely unsuccessful, was also made to identify extant photographs of the carriage house and yard area. As might be imagined, the main house has attracted much more attention than the carriage house and

[1] The Owens-Thomas House, bounded by State Street to the north, Lincoln Street to the east, President Street to the south, and Abercorn Street to the west in downtown Savannah, was acquired by Telfair in 1951.

servants' quarters.

The archaeological investigations were conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley and Ms. Natalie Adams from June 18 through June 22 and June 25 through June 28. The laboratory processing of the collections and associated analyses were conducted at Chicora Foundation's Columbia laboratories from June 29 through July 10 (although conservation treatments, described elsewhere in this study are still on-going).

One major goal of this research, previously alluded to, is to allow a better understanding a variety of architectural features, ensuring a more sensitive and accurate interpretation of the structure's fabric. Specific architectural questions essential to the renovation of the structure and grounds included:

- the arrangement of internal partitions within the carriage house,
- the location of a through-doorway for carriages on the east elevation of the carriage house,
- the location, and construction, of the carriage pathway in the yard area,
- the location, and construction, of pedestrian pathways associated with the servants' quarters,
- the possible existence of drainages associated with the carriage house,
- the nature of any structure associated with the nineteenth century well known to exist as the site, and
- the nature of archaeological remains in the vicinity of the two bathroom facilities to be constructed on the site.

Each of these questions is keyed to current architectural research. Because the carriage house was thought to have an earthen floor[2], covered by a raised wood floor when converted to apartments ca. 1910, little information concerning the internal partitions is known. Some tentative reconstructions have been made, for example based on the presence of five mortise/notches for posts on the base of an east-west running joist, one wall has been suggested, probably separating the carriage storage area from the stables[3]. Likewise, the general area of the stairs providing access to the second floor[4] is

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[2] Builders of carriage houses, during the nineteenth century, were advised to use raised wooden floor, "for the circulation of air beneath," improving ventilation and dryness. Likewise, carriage houses should not "be placed, as is often the case, adjoining stables . . . as the gases disengaged from these places will have a very injurious effect upon the paint and varnish" (Reese 1848:1099). For the stable, builders were advised to install hard flooring and drains, rather than to allow wastes to be soaked up by litter or to sink into the floor, since this will allow odors to mingle with the air, "rendering [the stable] damp and foul" (Reese 1848:1100).

[3] The approximate size of the carriage house drive at the Owens-Thomas House is about 10 feet wide by 19 feet in length, very similar to the 7 by 18 feet size of those at Florence Court, Fermanagh County, England (Hardyment 1992:13).

known, although the exact arrangement of these stairs is not. The archaeological studies were designed to identify features, such as piers, which may relate to these partitions.

While the location of the original carriage doorway to the "garden" or yard area (on the west elevation) can still be discerned, the east elevation fronting Lincoln Street was replaced in 1910 (although portions of the original stone foundation still remain). Excavations were therefore necessary to determine if, as suspected, the carriage entrance was on Lincoln. Associated with this question is another -- did the carriage drive circle through from Lincoln to President? If so, there should be remains of the pathway present in the yard area.

Issues of pathways and drainages would be helpful to better understand the operation of the carriage house and slave quarters. Given the extensive use and traffic around the carriage house and associated quarters, it seems likely that paths would have been provided to the major activity areas. In addition, stables generate a tremendous amount of waste, which may have been carried off by drains[5]. The well present in the rear yard appears to be associated with the stables and slave quarters. Some type of enclosure and shelter might have been provided to protect the well from obvious forms of contamination, especially if it were an open shaft[6]. Alternatively, if equipped with a pump[7] early on, the well may have been capped and no covering would have been provided.

A last goal was to determine the nature of the archaeological deposits in the vicinity of the two proposed public rest rooms to be located in the rear yard area. Based on the findings, the design of the facilities could be modified to limit the damage to the archaeological resources.

It is obvious that much of this work was intimately related to the sponsor-oriented goals of preservation, stabilization, restoration, and reconstruction, with the potential for many of the "problems" outlined by Stanley South (1977:23-24). For example, financial realities forced the analysis of recovered artifacts to be minimal, with the concentration of resources devoted to answering specific questions. Yet, the artifacts associated with these excavations have the potential to answer many questions regarding the lives of those associated with the carriage house, as well as the relationships which may have existed between the African American slaves and those living in the main house.

Perhaps more to the point, of course, is that the sponsor's needs and questions relate to relatively "low order" archaeological inquiries -- the nature of the physical world surrounding the carriage house. In fact, there was only one question -- relating to the lifestyle of the African American slaves -- which would be deemed by most archaeologists as "anthropological." This, perhaps

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[4] This second floor was probably used primarily as a hayloft, although it may also have functioned as a granary. As Reese observes, "The hayloft in towns is generally over the stable, chiefly for the convenience of supplying the racks easily" (Reese 1848:1104).

[5] Not only would the carriage have been frequently cleaned, but the grooming and washing of the horses would add additional waste water. Reese (1848:1104) observes that there should be a place in the stable yard where all of this "wet-work" can be done.

[6] Hardee (n.d.) reports that early wells were bricked up about two feet above ground level, but fails to discuss coverings common in Savannah.

[7] Hand-operated wooden-cased suction pumps were used at least by the seventeenth century (Hardyment 1992:169) and by the nineteenth century there were a variety of pumps widely available, the most common of which was still a "common or sucking" pump (Reese 1848:848).

more than any other issue, frustrates the relationship between architectural historians/conservators and archaeologists. While the one has an interest in the reality of the structure as preserved in the ground, the other is interested in reconstructing past lifeways.

Of course such a dichotomy, at least in this case, is overstated. Partially the potential problems were ameliorated by the exceptional interest and understanding of both George Fore and Olivia Alison, as well as their desire to *also* understand how the slaves lived at the site. At the same time it is important for archaeologists to explore opportunities for combining both site-specific and more general research interests. Such an approach was relatively easy in this case since so little is known about urban slavery or the activities of those slaves. Lacking extensive studies of urban slavery, especially in Savannah, this archaeology provides basic descriptive and classificatory data, the "basic foundation of historical archaeology' (South 1977:21). It is hoped, as a result of this work, that not only will the Telfair Academy have the necessary data to ensure a realistic, accurate site interpretation, but that future archaeological research will benefit from this initial comparative data base.

The second goal of this research was to further explore a series of research questions relatively common in the examination of the urban landscape. Specifically, these included:

- the nature of urban slavery, as exhibited at this one site,
- spatial patterning within the rear yard area of the Owens-Thomas lot, and
- the site formation processes present, at least in the later nineteenth century deposits.

As anyone familiar with urban archaeology will quickly recognize, these are far from unique research areas. In fact, they have been the subject of research in the urban setting for at least the last 10 to 15 years and this foray into the urban archaeology of Savannah draws extensively on the work by Martha Zierden and The Charleston Museum in downtown Charleston, South Carolina (see, for example, a synthesis by Zierden and Calhoun 1984). Certainly Charleston's efforts at understanding its history are a model for other cities and researchers to imitate.

Relatively little research has been conducted on urban slavery, although the historian Richard Wade has presented a synthetic statement of slave lifestyles in the city nearly thirty years ago (Wade 1964). Somewhat more recently, Zierden and Calhoun (1983) suggest that urban slave sites will show more intersite variability than rural sites, since the urban slave often had the opportunity to "live out," forging a more independent economic lifestyle. In addition, the proximity of the urban slave to commercial and economic centers are likely to have provided a greater opportunity to access material items. Significantly, this research question may establish status differences within a single ethnic group. While differences in the material culture of rural and urban slaves is expected among all artifact groups, Zierden and Calhoun (1983:106) especially note that more status-related or socio-technic items (following Binford's division) are expected in the urban slave assemblage.

Unfortunately, Zierden has had few opportunities to explore this line of research in downtown Charleston. During the examination of Charleston's East Side, she found that:

> A major difficulty with this line of research is the "invisibility" of the urban slave. Although slaves comprised over half of Charleston's population throughout much of the antebellum period, are mentioned perfunctorily or not at all in the documentary sources. . . . Slave quarters built behind masters' town houses are relatively abundant, but isolating archaeological deposits clearly related to slave residents may be difficult.

> Refuse and lost objects of both masters and slaves presumably were deposited in the same backyard proveniences (Rosengarten et al. 1987:161).

While related specifically to her experiences in Charleston, this is an appropriate caution for Savannah as well. Not only are slaves usually not mentioned in the documentary sources, but they lived in such close proximity to their masters that to distinguish the two assemblages may be more than archaeology is capable. At the Owens-Thomas House it was hoped that the very obvious spatial (or horizontal) separation was adequate to explore this question. Of course, our inability to examine the assemblage deposited in vicinity of the main house precluded comparison between posited slave and master collections and makes conclusions offered somewhat tenuous.

In fact, moving on to the second research question, our study of spatial patterning was, of necessity, limited to an area measuring about 30 by 90 feet. Again, it is currently impossible to examine the entire lot -- searching for drains, specific work areas, and landscape features such as paths and gardens. There is a certain consistency (probably borne of repetition) in the various descriptions surrounding the Owens-Thomas garden. For example, Florence Marye observed:

> the usual Trust Lot layout is found here, the narrow garden space lying between the front of the house and a fine balustraded wall which encloses it was originally planted in pomegranates, japonicas, oleanders, and white crepe myrtle, of which only the last remains. The back garden enclosed on both sides by high tabby walls, each pieced by a solid wooden gate, contained figs and several varieties of orange trees, altheas, four-o'clocks, spider lilies, calicanthus shrub, wisteria and a herb bed. A flagged walk leading to the carriage house and servants' quarters was shaded by a grape covered arbor. The planting of this area has been changed, leaving very little of its original character (Marye 1933:23; see also Lockwood 1934:II:275-276 and Fichter 1993:9).

Both Rogers (1986) and Richardson (1943) support this view that rear yards were at least occasionally used for "pleasure" and kitchen gardens in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Curiously, none of these early references (especially those relating to the Owens-Thomas House garden) provide citations for the plants supposedly grown, or offer any real observation of how the garden and associated yard areas "co-existed."

Zierden et al. (1986:73) offer a very different reconstruction, observing that in Charleston, outside the commercial core, lots rarely had rear yard gardens; rather, this area was considered part of the working yard, filled with food preparation activities, animals, a well, privies, and paved areas -- all features essential to the day-to-day operation of the household. Given the vast range of domestic enterprises conducted in the urban setting, it is likely that many yards more closely resembled rural plantations than "elegant and pleasant landscapes."

The third research question -- the rural site formation process -- has been of interest to historical archaeologists for a number of years. Central to this topic is that the urban setting, because of its intensive occupation, appears "disturbed," with one building episode frequently intruding on another; with yard deposits constantly be churned up and added to; and with many areas being filled with refuse from other parts of the city. All of this means, of course, that urban archaeologists must be not only careful with both their excavation strategies and resulting interpretation, but they must also recognize the different context of urban deposition. This research has been summarized:

> we believe that urban sites that have experienced intensive occupation and alterations are still amenable to systematic, scientific research. Admittedly, the types of questions asked and the data requirements of those questions may differ greatly from traditional archaeological or historical studies (Honerkamp et al. 1983:187).

Some information was already known on the events surrounding the formation of this site, based on the earlier volunteer excavations by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society and it was clear that the site exhibited considerable complexity, including an earlier occupation by DeBraham dating to the early eighteenth century.

Previous Research

The Owens-Thomas House has been rather abused archaeologically. One of the first "excavations" was conducted by J. Everette Fauber in 1965 during early restoration efforts. In an effort to determine the function of the southwestern basement room, a relatively large portion of the floor was excavated. Based on the quantities and types of materials reported (see Fauber 1965) it is likely that the bulk of the materials were discarded, with only special items retained. The items recovered and reported by Fauber are cataloged by the Telfair Academy as G1 through G62.

About this same time, or perhaps even earlier, there are oral accounts of a "boy scout troop" being allowed to "excavate" in the rear yard of the house. Part of this oral history is that an "early" privy was encountered and completely looted. Unfortunately, there is no recollection of the materials found, the location of the privy, or the extent of the work.

In 1992 excavations in the carriage house yard were begun by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society at the request of Telfair Academy. As previously discussed, the purpose of this work was to better understand the archaeological deposits prior to converting the carriage house to offices and a visitor's center. These excavations, which opened approximately 300 square feet, were carried out on weekends over the better part of a year and concentrated on the recovery of an eighteenth century assemblage associated with the lot. This assemblage is most likely that of DeBraham's original dwelling on the site (Dave Crampton, personal communication 1993).

Curation

The field notes, photographs, materials, and artifacts resulting from Chicora Foundation's investigations at the Owens-Thomas House carriage and slave quarters (recorded as archaeological site 9CH787) have been curated at the Owens-Thomas House as part of the Telfair Academy of Arts and Science's permanent collections. Using a lot provenience system, this collection begins with catalog number G63 and runs through G98. The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary, or are in the process of conservation. Further information on conservation practices may be found in the **Artifact Analysis** section of this study. All original field records and duplicate copies were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper and the photographic materials were processed to archival permanence.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE CITY

Physiographic Area

The Owens-Thomas House is situated in the northeast section of downtown Savannah, bounded to the north by State Street, to the Lincoln Street, to the south by President Street, and to the west by Abercorn Street. As will be discussed in greater detail in the **Historical Overview**, the dwelling was situated on an original trust lot facing the northeast corner of Oglethorpe Square (Figure 1). While the elevation of Chatham County (of which Savannah is the county seat) range from sea level to about 70 feet above mean sea level (MSL), those in downtown Savannah range from about 37 to 41 feet MSL. As DeBraham noted, "the Plane of the City is at the highest Place, 30 feet above the surface of the Stream [Savannah River]" (DeVorsey 1971:152). Located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain, Savannah's ecology is not appreciable different from that of Charleston, further north in South Carolina.

Soils and Geology

Although Francis Moore observed "a variety of soils" in the vicinity of Savannah," including "sandy and dry," "clay," and "black rich garden mould well watered" in the 1735 (Moore 1840:I:n.p.), it would be the dry sands which would characterize Savannah. DeBraham, for example, recounted that the soil is "a single Stratum of Sand from 24 to 30 feet deep down to the general Springs (water Root) in the Quick Sand, on which Dew and Rains strains" (DeVorsey 1971:154). Haunton (1968:26-27) also comments on the sandy streets which were impassable in wet weather.

In general, the area around Savannah is predominately flat to nearly level, interspersed with numerous drainages. While some areas, such as the bluff on which the city is situated, are well drained, there are many areas which are naturally poorly drained (at least in part accounting for health problems discussed below). The soils are underlain by and developed from beds of unconsolidated sands, sandy clays, and clays of recent geologic origin. Most of the soils are light colored and contain small amounts of organic matter. All of the soils range from medium to strongly acid in reaction. The most common association are the Coxville-Portsmouth-Bladen associations . On better drained soils, such as those on the bluff area overlooking the Savannah River, are Norfolk, Ruston, and Dunbar soils with light colored A horizons and yellow sandy B horizons at about 20 inches (United States Department of Agriculture 1939:1111).

Climate and Health

The climate of this section of the Atlantic Coastal Plain province may be classified as humid subtropical. Most of the air masses which reach Savannah are continental, having been chilled in winter and heated in summer, before ever reaching the City. Because of these continental air masses the seasons change abruptly. During intervening periods, however, the weather may be tempered by air from the Atlantic Ocean. The temperatures range from cold in winter (with frequent periods of striking warmth) to hot in summer (with the climate made more uncomfortable by the high humidities). The growing season is about 273 days.

The average annual precipitation is 45 inches, with a prominent summer peak and reduced amounts in the winter. This rainfall pattern, however, is subject to tremendous variation -- often the

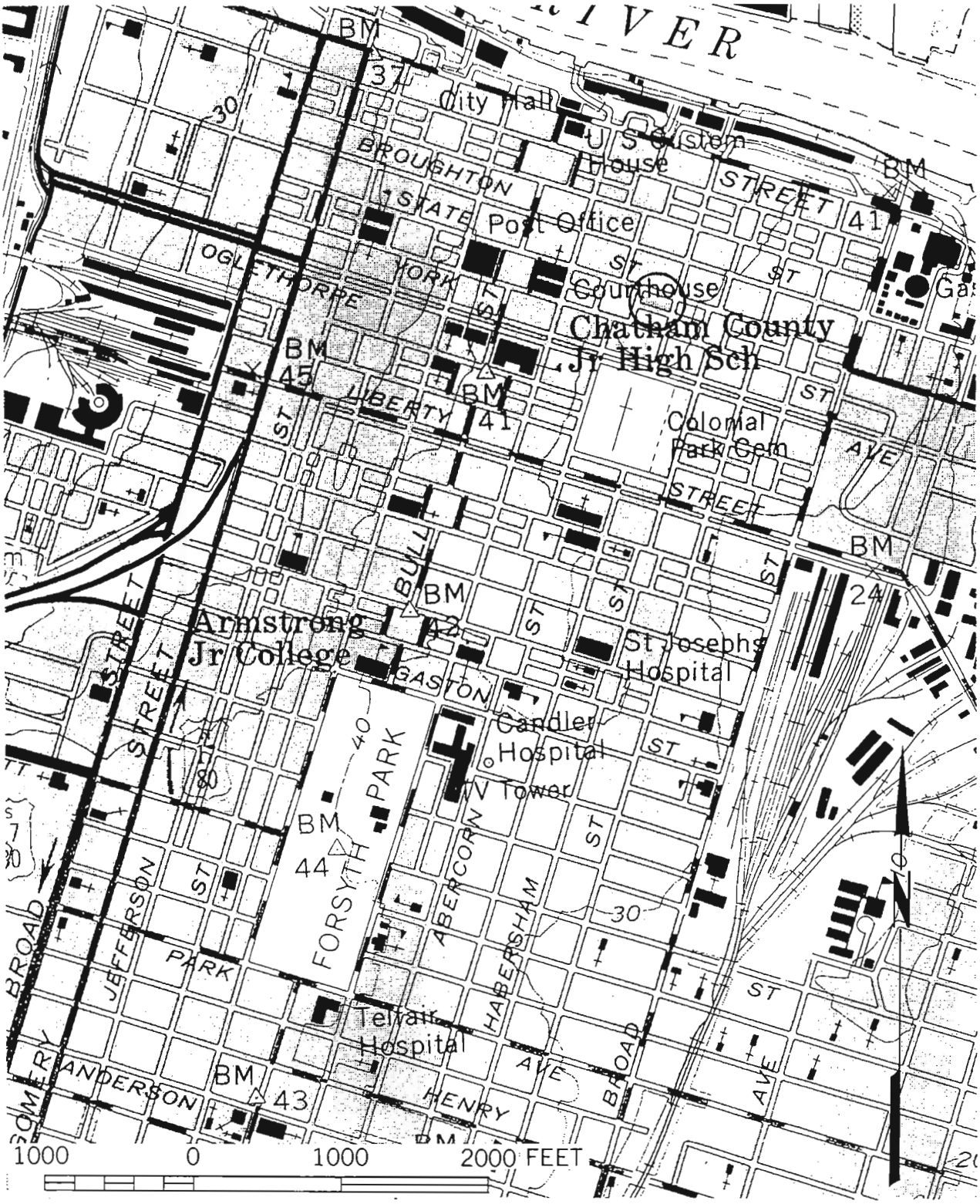

Figure 1. Location of the Thomas-Owens lot in downtown Savannah (Savannah 7.5' USGS, PR 1971).

wettest year has twice the rainfall as the driest and droughts have been known to cause serious water shortages. DeBraham notes that 1760 (the year he built his house on the Owens-Thomas lot) was "a Season remarkable for extraordinary Drought" (DeVorsey 1971:152).

DeBraham remarked that:

> The City of Savannah continued from its first Settlement, for near 30 years to be accounted a very healthy Place. The South Carolinians used to come there for recruiting their Health.

However, as soon as Hutchinson's Island and nearby swamps were converted to rice cultivation:

> the Vapours hanging upon them . . . rolled in . . . and all the Streets and Houses filled with them, to the Prejudice of its Inhabitants, whose Diseases are in every respect similar to those in the Neighboring Province of South Carolina (DeVorsey 1971:160).

Richard H. Haunton, in his discussion of Savannah a decade before the Civil War, remarked that:

> to the problems of a semi-tropical climate were added those common to an urban environment in an age of primitive sanitation facilities. Trash and litter were thrown into the City's streets and lanes, which, said the *Georgian* in 1857, were "in a condition fit to be classed among the dirtiest and most unwholesome thoroughfares in the South." "Offal and other putrying matter" lay exposed on the outskirts of town. The City's privies, inadequately ventilated and infrequently cleaned, presented the most serious problem to the health authorities (Haunton 1968:283).

Hardee (n.d.:127) reports that "in almost all private houses of any importance there was a well" during the colonial and early antebellum periods. These water sources, often no deeper than 16 feet, were frequently contaminated with privy seepage or overflows. In 1854 Savannah's first waterworks began supplying filtered water from the Savannah River. In 1887 the city switched to artesian wells, significantly improving the quality of the potable water supply (Hardee n.d.:47).

Wastes, as previously mentioned, were often simply thrown into the streets, although Savannah did have a Scavenger Department by at least 1820 (Anderson 1856:16a). By at least 1839 city residents were required to stockpile wastes for removal between April and October (Wilson 1858). While these city sponsored garbage services continued into the late nineteenth century, they did little to stem the tide of privy waste. Perhaps the earliest city ordinance, dating from 1839, required at least one privy per residence, although it is likely that most wealthy households had multiple privies. Each privy was required to built of brick or stone, sunk at least six feet below surface with at least one foot of the vault constructed above ground surface, and possess a flue or vent pipe extending one foot above the privy roof. "Dry wells" were a nineteenth century alternative to privies, largely nurtured by the availability of city water. They were, as the name implies, wells that did not penetrate the water table and were designed to allow wastes to percolate into the soils. The dry wells, however, were seen as a worse health hazard than the privies, since they often overflowed. The city sewer system began in 1872 and by 1888 privies were allowed only when houses were more than 300 feet from a sewer line. Apparently privies and perhaps even dry wells lasted into the early twentieth century (Haunton 1968:295-296; Lester 1889:201-202; Wilson 1858:12, 339).

It is likely that a well would have supplied the water for the animals and slaves, although the main house itself was equipped with an elaborate system for collecting water, as well as water closets and pumped water. The slave quarters, however, apparently were not plumbed for water until the

1910 renovations, so there would have been at least one privy on the lot. The stables would have been another major contributor to the "unpleasant" environment surrounding the rear lot.

Floristics

Francis Moore, traveling through Savannah in 1735, left one of the few early accounts of the region's natural vegetation, noting that in the Trustee's Garden just east of the city was a stand of:

> old wood, as it was before the arrival of the colony there. The trees in the grove are mostly bay, sassafras, evergreen oak, pellitory [prickly ash, also known as the toothache tree], hickory, American Ash, and the laurel tulip (Moore 1840:I:n.p.).

This natural vegetation, however, had been almost totally cleared away by Oglethorpe's original settlers. In its place were introduced a broad range of exotic plants, such as lemons and olives. Alice G.B. Lockwood observes that the settlers were still struggling, in 1742, "with the culture of such fruits as oranges and 'limmons,' loath to believe that they could not raise them here as well as they could in the same latitude on the other side of the world" (Lockwood 1934:II:272). In spite of the problems, DeBraham noted thriving "two large Olive Trees, some Sevil Orange, Apple, Plumb, Peach, Mulberry, honey Locust, one Apricot, and one Amerel Cherry Tree" upwards of a decade after abandonment (DeVorsey 1971:155).

Visitors to Savannah during the early nineteenth century were greeted with unpaved streets, many of which were covered in grass (1819 account by Adam Hodgson, quoted in Lockwood 1934:II:275). By 1829 a visitor noted the presence of "groves of trees planted in the streets." In particular:

> In all the streets and squares of Savannah, most of which are very tastefully laid out, numerous rows of Pride-of-India trees [China-Berry] have been planted, which serve to shade the walks, and give a tropical air to the scene (1827 account by Captain Basil Hall, quoted in Lockwood 1934:II:275).

Yet another visitor to Savannah, in 1833, remarked that "its streets are planted so thick with the Pride of China that the small dark houses are hardly seen," while an 1829 visitor, Charles Joseph Latrobe, remarked that:

> the broad rectangular streets are lined with luxuriant Melia [China-Berry] and Locust-trees, and there are frequent open squares with grass-plots" (quoted in Lockwood 1934:II:275).

While all of these accounts emphasize the regularity and beauty of Savannah, it is likely that as an urban environment the town also possessed it "seedier" side. Period commentators in Charleston, for example, mention the weeds growing the streets, the cutting of planted trees for fire wood, and the urban decay especially present during periods of economic recession (see, for example, Trinkley 1989). It is almost certain that Savannah's biotic community was also largely shaped by the intentional (i.e. garden planning and deforestation) and unintentional (fires) actions of its inhabitants. Both, however, created an unnatural, disturbed environment open to plants typically called "weeds," many of which are stenotrophic and thrive on enriched (or polluted) conditions.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

A Brief History of the City and Lot

By the second quarter of the eighteenth century South Carolina had risen to such economic, if not political, importance that it was essential for its plantation and trade network to be buffered from the Spanish holdings in Florida (Coleman 1976:169-170). In addition, establishing such a buffer colony would serve the goal of making productive colonists out of the growing number of English poor urban dwellers -- a major philanthropic concept which also worked to ensure at least short-term political stability in the Mother Country. Finally, the colony would establish new territory for mercantile enterprises, essential to England's economy. Consequently, George II granted a 21-year charter to the "Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia," a group of prominent noblemen and political leaders (including several member of the House of Commons who succeeded in raising Parliamentary support and funding for the new colony). James Edward Oglethorpe, a young and ambitious member of Commons selected to lead the colony, was personally responsible for organizing the venture and accompanied the first 120 settlers to Georgia during the winter of 1732-33.

Oglethorpe selected Savannah, known by the Indian name of Yamacraw Bluff as the location of the settlement. It possessed an array of essential features -- close proximity to South Carolina, well drained soil, a good water supply, an excellent harbor, easy interior communication, and easy access to the coastal islands. It was also already well known to Indian traders and was defensible, should the need arise (Spalding 1977:10).

Savannah was apparently laid out using a plan developed by Oglethorpe which emphasized regularity -- a universal order common to Georgian mindset. Central to this organization was a square, the center of the town ward, around which were four tythings and four trust lots (Figure 2). The four trust lots were initially intended to serve the "public good," and most of the early public buildings were situated on these lots. A tything consisted of 10 town lots of equal size, divided by a narrow lane providing rear lot access. Each male settler would receive:

> a town lot containing 60 feet in front, 90 feet in depth, a garden lot embracing 5 acres, and a farm containing 44 acres and 141 poles, 50 acres in all (Lockwood 1934:267).

By the 1750s Savannah had grown and DeBraham described its organization:

> she is laid out 2,115 by 1,425 feet square in her Bounds, this again in 24 Tidings [tythings], each of them in 10, in all 240, and 48 Trustee Lots, with six Market Places, each 315 by 270 feet square. Three broad Streets 75 feet wide, running perpendicular from the Bay, and three other 75 feet wide parallel with the Bay, centrically crossing each other, divides the City in six equal Quarters, each Quarter had four Tidings, each Tiding is run through (parallel to the Bay) by a line 22½ feet wide, each half Tiding Consists in five contiguous Lots, each Tiding as well as Trustee Lot is 60 feet in front, and 90 feet in depth. Trustee Lots are divided from each other as well as from the Tiding Lots by Streets 75 & 37½ feet wide (DeVorsey 1971:152).
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> This arrangement of open areas and wide streets was designed to provide adequate light and

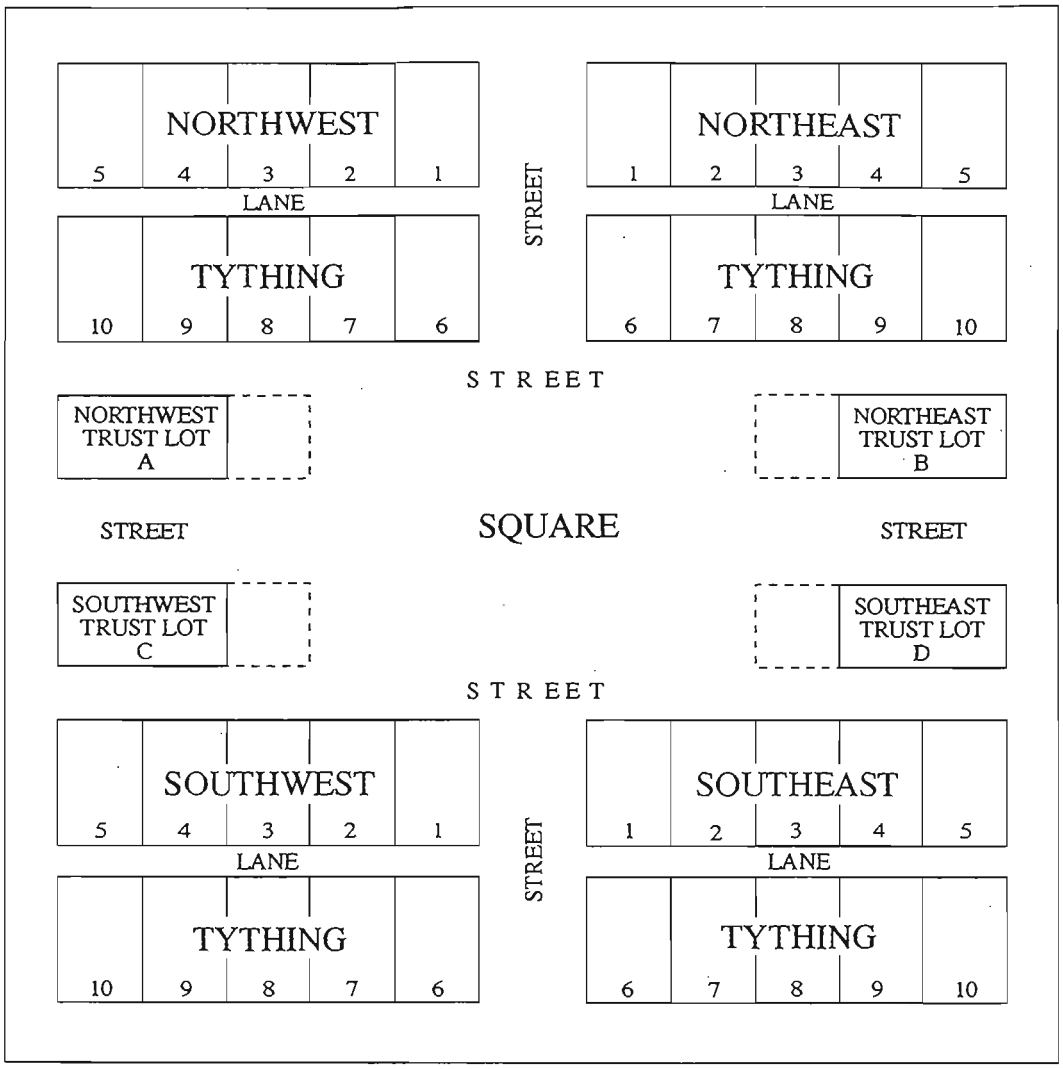

Figure 2. Reconstruction of the basic module of Oglethorpe's Savannah Plan (adapted from Fichter 1992:Figure 1).

air, hopefully making Savannah a healthier location than many on the coast. It also offered the strategic advantages of a compact, defensive settlement, while the squares reduced long attack vistas. In addition, it is clear that Utopian tendencies are also present in the identical size of lots, equal access to "public good" lots, park areas, and granting (not selling) of lots. It was also hoped that limiting the size of land holdings would promote a large male population capable of quickly forming a large standing militia. Georgia was to be a state of yeoman farmers, not aristocratic planters. As part of this overall policy, the trustees prohibited slavery, in order to ensure self-sufficiency.

Peter Gordon's 1734 View of Savannah shows the extent of settlement just a year after Oglethorpe's landing. That portion reproduced as Figure 3 shows that the eastern portion of the City, including the location of what would eventually become the Owens-Thomas lot, had not yet been laid out.

This program of development placed Georgians under a distinct economic disadvantage compared to their South Carolina neighbors just across the Savannah River. Of course it didn't help that the earliest agricultural pursuits -- silk culture and wine production -- were ill-conceived failures. The economy was generally stagnant and interior settlements failed to thrive. When the colony's charter was surrendered in 1752, the population was only 3000 people (including 800 slaves).

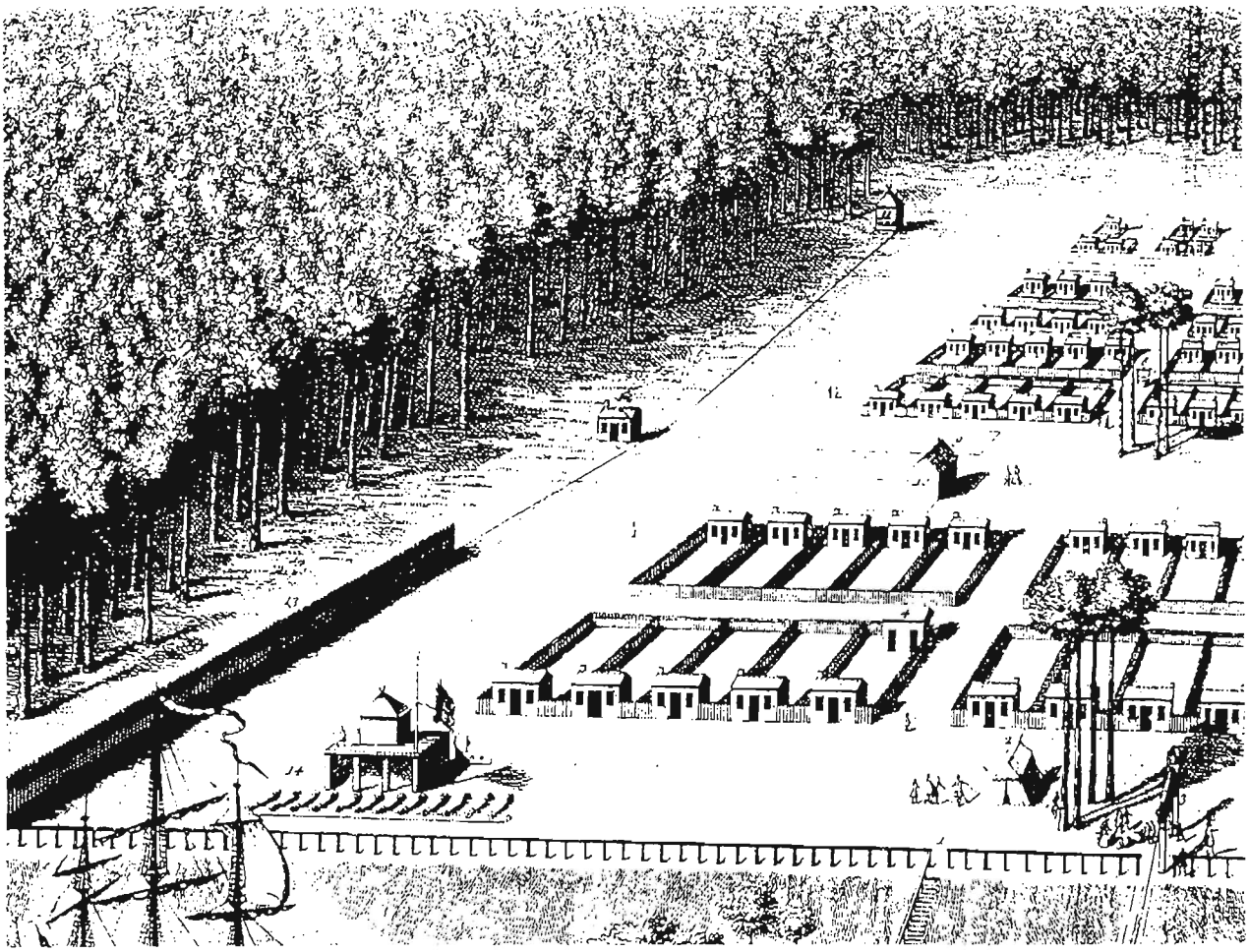

Figure 3. A View of Savannah as it Stood the 29th of March 1734 (Georgia Historical Society, 1361 MP, #1 SAV).

In May 1756 George II granted Trust Lot X to the two Royal Surveyors, William DeBraham and Henry Yonge, Sr., with DeBraham receiving the eastern half measuring 60 by 90 feet and "fronting on the common," and Yonge receiving the western half "fronting the square in Anson's Ward" (Chandler 1907:131). This grant was in response to a petition by DeBraham and Yonge a year earlier for land on which to erect a surveyor general's office (Candle 1983:2). Consequently, it is not clear from the available information whether the lot was used for domestic or private functions (or perhaps both).

DeBraham does note that he built his house "in the lowest Part of the City" in 1760 (DeVorsey 1971:152). DeBraham further described an appropriate Savannah town house as a:

> brigg or stone building of about 50 feet square, from 5 foot under to 5 foot above ground, in all 10 foot high with three windows (3 foot square) on each side, its position should be as near north to south as possible; a 40 foot square department for a cellar is to be partitioned from the building by two halls, one on the east, one on the south an another; the partition to the east is without any opening, the door is in the south partition; a piazza 6 foot wide and 5 foot high from the horizon is to be conducted all around the building; a dwelling house may be raised upon it to which the piazza will serve as a private communication to all the rooms with out off taking from the rooms what is necessary for a passage through the house by the north to west windows in the cellar as will, than by the east to south windows in halls. The different warm and cold airs may be let in to ventilate the cellar, so as to make thereby the quicksilver in a thermoscope rise or fall in it at liberty . . . . The author has raised such a building in Savannah and now existing (notes on file, Owens-Thomas House, from DeBraham's 1771 *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, East Florida*).

While these descriptions have usually been taken to represent activities on Lot X, this cannot be documented by the currently available historic sources. A 1770 Ward Map of Savannah (Figure 4) shows the arrangement of what became Anson Ward and the location of Trust Lot X. While the map inadvertently switches the ownership of Lots X and W, it shows that Savannah continued its growth up to the American Revolution.

Under Royal "patronage" the economy stabilized, and commercial functions began to expand into new areas. One of the most significant changes was the development of a slave-based plantation society. Coupled with this was Savannah's entrance into shipping economy. By 1773 there were 25 ocean-going vessels registered to Georgians. In that same year 225 vessels exported over 11,000 tons of goods from Savannah (Coleman 1976:220). As a result of this economic surge, Savannah saw increased architectural refinement and new building (see Honerkamp et al. 1983:24 for a review of building forms, especially on the Tything lots).

DeBraham left Georgia to begin his new duties as Surveyor General of East Florida on January 22, 1765. It was likely this move which resulted in DeBraham selling his Savannah lot and house to Charles Pryce, Jr. on June 11, 1772 (Chatham County RMC, DB X, p. 546). Pryce, appointed attorney general of Georgia in 1764, also acquired the western half of the lot from Yonge. Notes on file at the Owens-Thomas House suggest that Pryce rented the property out and did not actually live on-site.

As James Vernon McDonough observed, "Georgia revolted against England out of sympathy for the other colonies rather than because of any grievances of her own" (McDonough 1950:17), indicating that politically, economically, and especially socially, Georgians held strong ties to the Mother Country. This economic and demographic interruption culminated with the British occupation

of Savannah between 1779 and 1782. During the war Pryce's house was converted into barracks for British officers and it was apparently during this period that the property was damaged. The Georgia Loyalist Claims indicate that Pryce reported his losses as including "outhouses and offices . . . destroyed." There is no mention that the main house was destroyed and his claim only describes his loses from being unable to rent the house at £80 a year (notes on file, Owens-Thomas House).

Fichter (1992:7-8) notes that the property was transferred from Pryce to his father, Charles Pryce, Sr. by will on January 26, 1784 and that it was sold by the senior Pryce to John Irving in April 1785. The property was resold by Irving in December 1786 to William Stephens, who held the lot until the first decade of the nineteenth century (Chatham County RMC, DB P, p. 12).

Savannah recovered quickly after the American Revolution and by 1800 the town had grown to 5,146 inhabitants. In spite of rather frequent outbreaks of yellow fever (eight between 1820 and 1854), the town continued to grow to a population of over 22,000 by the eve of the Civil War. In spite of the prosperity Savannah continued to be overshadowed by Charleston. Haunton (1968:2) attributes this to the lack of credit and marketing facilities in Savannah -- in 1823, for example, Savannah could boast of only three banks and a single insurance company.

It was during this period, in May 1810, that Stephens sold Trust Lot X to the Trustees of Chatham Academy (Chatham County RMC, DB CC, p. 544). The Academy held the property until 1816 when it was purchased by Richard Richardson (Chatham County RMC, DB FF, p. 515), a cotton factor and Savannah merchant. It was under Richardson's ownership that the main house, carriage house, and slave quarters were built on the property. It is also under Richardson's ownership that the English architect, William Jay, was introduced to Savannah.

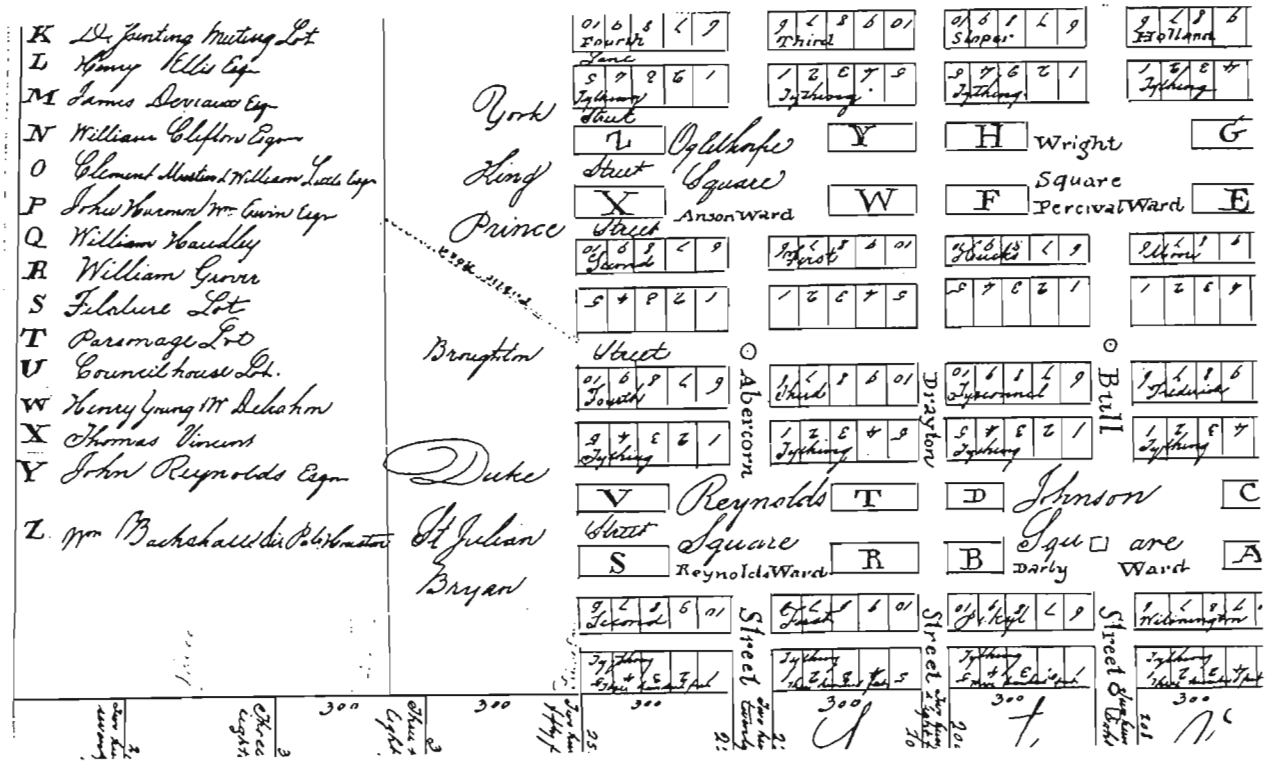

Figure 4. A portion of the 1770 Ward Map of Savannah, showing Trust Lot X (Georgia Historical Society, 1361 MP, #2 SAV).

Jay's London apprenticeship with D.R. Roper began at least by 1809 and continued throughout the usual term until about 1814 or 1815. During this period it is likely that he was heavily influenced by John Nash (1752-1835), Sir John Soane (1753-1837), and Sir Robert Smirke (1780-1867), although these formative years are rather poorly understood. McDonough noted that:

> frustrated in his attempt to establish a practice [in London] . . . he was forced to seek employment in the office of another. Whatever the reason, he undoubtedly welcomed the opportunity and assurance of rich patronage which Savannah offered him, free from professional competition (McDonough 1950:16).

Jay arrived in Savannah on December 29, 1817, although he had apparently begun the plans for Richardson's house on Trust Lot X sometime earlier and the building was already being raised. Jay's Regency style was at home in Savannah, with her strong commercial and social ties to England. As McDonough observes, Jay was heavily influenced by the common English town house or terrace arrangement (see Richards 1981:134; Yarwood 1963:327). McDonough remarks that:

> the typical site of a characteristic "Georgian" town house was a long narrow strip running back from the street; the house covering the front, the middle a garden or courtyard, with a coach-house and a stable at the back, all except the poorest were built over a shallow excavated basement. . . . The arrangement . . . was much the same as that of the London house. A direct English influence here probably accounts for finding servants' quarters and kitchens in basements of Savannah houses (McDonough 1950:26).

Perhaps more to the point is the comparison of the Owens-Thomas House to the "villa" or "country house" popular in England at the time (see, for example, du Prey 1982). In fact, Matero and Studenroth observe:

> the formula for such a house plan set behind a sparsely elegant facade with curved or polygonal highlights was first introduced by John Soane in the 1780s and eventually became common practice among London architects by the early nineteenth century (Matero and Studenroth 1984:10).

In England such houses were built by the wealthy who chose to live in rural or suburb settings while retaining a sense of "grandeur and elegance". The style was transposed to Savannah's relatively large trust lots which allowed this expression in an otherwise urban setting.

Savannah's tax records indicate that by 1819 Trust Lot X and "buildings" were appraised at $26,000. The inscription under the front portico confirms that the construction was completed by June 1819. The house has been incorporated into the Historic American Building Survey (HABS, GA-14-9) and has been the subject of several architectural evaluations. The building was described during the HABS work as:

> brick with stucco, basement tabby with deeply incised horizontal jointing. Slate roof. 60' 4" (five-bay front) x 50' 6" (five-bay sides), plus projecting semioctagonal wings at rear. Two stories over semiraised basement, hipped roof with parapet with recessed panels, two int. chimneys. . . . Quoins at corners first floor. . . . Central hall plan, but with front and back halls separated by service stairs, and front hall subdivided by Corinthian columns [which] frame central flight of symmetrically divided grand staircase . . . . Rear yard enclosed with high tabby wall on two sides; carriage and servants' house at rear (Linley 1982:334; additional descriptive information on the main house can be obtained from McDonough 1950, while Fichter 1992 provides

additional details on the carriage and slave house at the rear of the lot).

Richardson owned the house until 1822 when financial difficulties forced him to sell the property to his business partner, Durham T. Hall (Chatham County RMC, DB LL, p. 400). Hall, in turn, succumbed to the same business failures and the property and house was sold to the Bank of the United States at a Sheriff's sale (Chatham County RMC, DB QQ, p., 44). Fichter (1992:8) reports that during this period the house was rented to Mrs. Mary Maxwell, who operated a boarding house on the premises. In 1830 the house was purchased for $10,000 by George Welshman Owens, a congressman, lawyer, and mayor of Savannah (Chatham County RMC, DB QQ, p. 49).

It was in this third decade of the nineteenth century that Savannah reached its nadir of growth (Haunton 1968:45). Exports were down, the population remained almost stagnant, and internal improvements were limited. As both Haunton (1968:33) and Honerkamp et al. (1983:27) illustrate, this downturn was a precursor to a period of growth and expansion which lasted until the Civil War:

> in the four year period from 1848 to 1852 the town's population increased by 51%, to 21,500. After 1835 the number of new wards in the town nearly doubled, with 12 added between 1847 and 1856 alone. A corresponding increase in building construction is noted, as is a definite housing shortage in 1850, when occupancy of tentable houses was nearly 100% . . . . Between 1848-60 the taxable value of land improvements almost tripled, rising from 3.6 to 10 million dollars. The number of banks in the city had risen to 9 by 1860 (Honerkamp et al. 1983:27).

Clearly, Savannah compared favorably to most Northern cities in terms of economic growth and development in the decades immediately preceding the Civil War.

Vincent's Subdivision Map of the City of Savannah in 1853 illustrates the lot layout of the Owens-Thomas House (Figure 5). Present are three structures, the main house at the west end of the lot, the carriage house at the east end, and a relatively small building against the north wall between the two. While the original drawing was at a scale of 200 feet to the inch (1:2400), efforts to scale the carriage house and slave quarters produce measurements of about 60 by 25 feet (compared to the actual measurements of approximately 60 by 21 feet). The third building, situated about 32 feet west of the carriage house, is scaled to measure about 8 by 18 feet, suggesting that it may represent a series of privies[8]. No other structures, such as a well, are shown on this plat.

The 1848 census of Savannah, which survives only as a compilation, describes Anson Ward as:

> one of the old ward of the City -- named after Lord Anson, the celebrated navigator; its square, containing one acre, is names Oglethorpe Square; it has a public cistern, for the use of the fire department. Population 300 whites and 300 colored. In this ward there are no public buildings, except the Methodist Sunday School Room. Number of dwelling houses 60 -- of brick 8, wood 52. Private wells of water 8 (Bancroft 1848:17).

Comparing this account to the Vincent map, it appears that relatively few buildings had been added in the intervening five years. It is also likely that at least one of wells reported by the census was at

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[8] Individual privies at the Aiken-Rhett House (built ca. 1816-1820) in Charleston measure approximately 12 feet square (see Zierden et al. 1986).

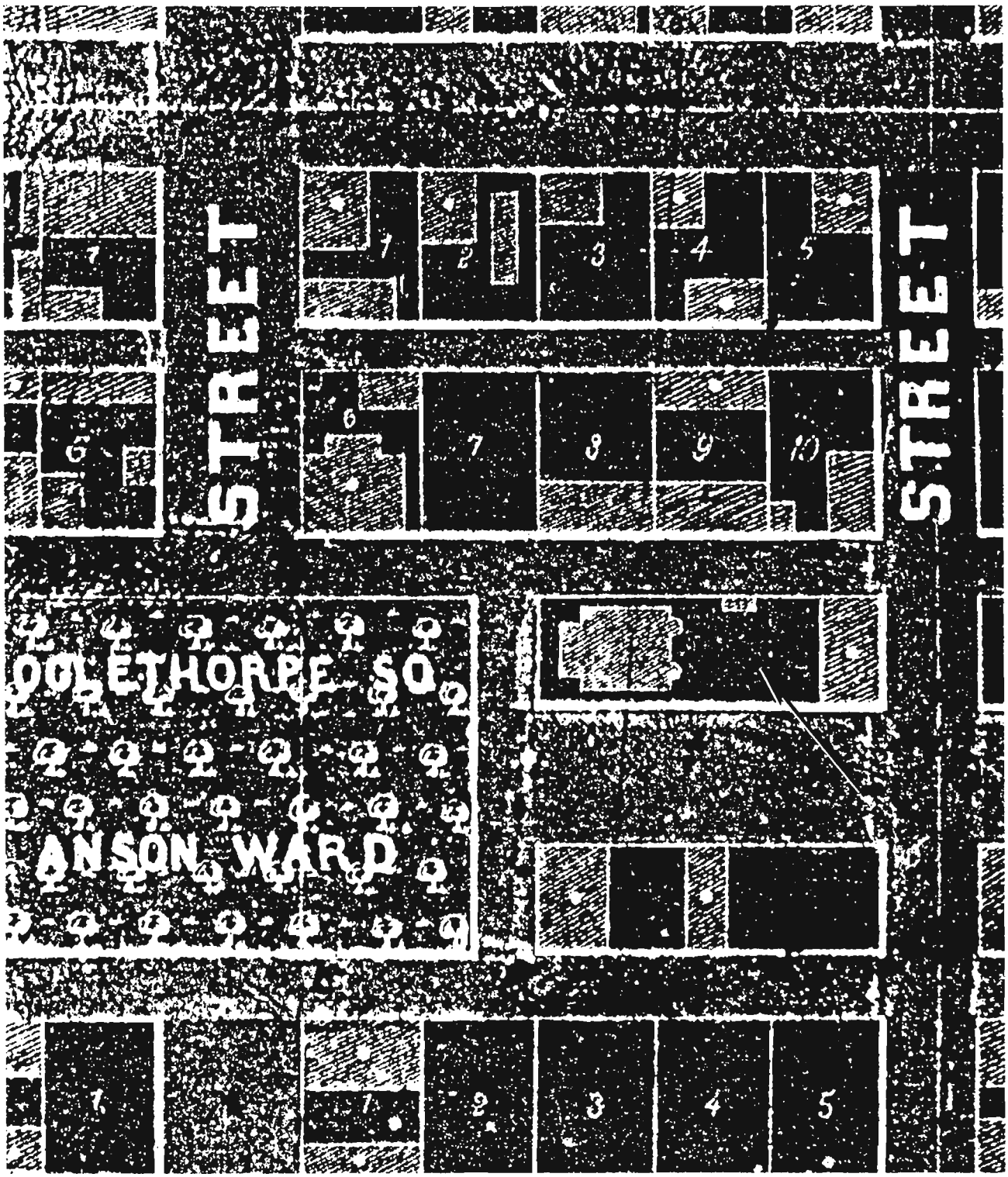

Figure 5. Portion of Vincent's 1853 Subdivision Map of the City of Savannah, showing the Owens-Thomas lot and houses (Georgia Historical Society, 1361 MP, #10 SAV).

Figure 6. Bird's Eye View of the City of Savannah in 1871, showing the Owens-Thomas lot and structures (Georgia Historical Society, 1361 MP, #15 SAV).

the Owens-Thomas House.

Relatively little is known about the site during the last half of the nineteenth century. The 1871 Birds Eye View of the City of Savannah (Figure 6) shows only two structures -- the main house and the carriage house. While the accuracy of this map is typically accepted, and it does appear to show the structures known to be present correctly, there are minor inconsistencies. For example, the rear wall is not shown. Consequently, this drawing must be cautiously accepted as a general representation.

Usually more accurate are the Sanborn Insurance Maps, available for the property in 1884, 1888, 1898, and 1916 (Figures 7-10). Present on the 1884 drawing (Figure 7) is the main house at the west end of the lot and the carriage house at the east end. At this time the carriage house is shown as a two story stable with a non-combustible roof (probably tile, although other materials, such as metal, slate, or asbestos shingles are possible). Just west of the carriage house about 12 feet are two brick sheds open to the east, with their back or west walls forming a wall separating the carriage house area from the central garden, about 24 feet from the carriage house. An opening, about seven feet in width apparently allowed circulation from the carriage house area into the garden. Along the south garden wall there is a one story brick building, identified as an office. This apparently represents a doctor's office built in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Olivia Evans Alison, personal communication 1993). Centered between the main house and carriage house, along the north garden wall, is a one story structure measuring about 10 by 15 feet, probably the same structure shown in the 1854 Vincent plan of the settlement.

Between 1871 and 1884 the assessed value of both the lot and the improvements declined dramatically -- from $5500 for the lot and $16,000 for the improvements to $4275 for the lot and only $9800 for the buildings (Georgia Historical Society, 124 Abercorn Street). This sudden decline in value probably reflects the lack of maintenance common after the Civil War, especially when coupled with such a massive building.

The 1888 Sanborn map shows the stable as having a dwelling on the second floor, probably correcting the oversight from the earlier map. It also reveals that the office is a brick building with a frame cornice. Otherwise, the placement and scale of the various buildings remains unchanged from four year previous (Figure 8). Based on a ca. 1900 photograph in the Owens-Thomas House collections, access to the doctor's office was by way of an entrance off President Street.

This edition does, however, reveal that the streets fronting the lot to the north (State Street) and south (President Street) were not paved, a condition common in Savannah. A photograph showing the west and south elevations of the Owens-Thomas House ca. 1884 also indicates that both Abercorn and President streets are graded soil with trees planted off the bricked walk, actually in the street (Georgia Historical Society, W.C. Hartridge Collection, Box 183, Folder 3098). Annual city reports from the early 1890s reveal that the streets in this area were still dirt, although some progress was being made to lay either crushed shell or brick bats and cinders (McDonough 1894:71-72, 1893:87)

By 1898 the sheds and associated wall dividing the carriage area from the main garden are gone (Figure 9). So too is the small structure along the north wall. What had been a doctor's office is now listed as vacant and the carriage house is no longer listed as a stable, but rather is shown as a two story servant's dwelling. This map also indicates that the distance from the west wall of the carriage house to the east wall of the vacant building is 25 feet. About this time the numbering system appears to stabilize, with the main dwelling taking the number 124 Abercorn and the vacant office taking the number 224 East President. The servant's dwelling at the rear of the lot is not numbered.

Fichter (1992:10-11) suggests that there may have been some building activity on the site about June 1901, citing a permit for improvements to a "bathroom in the garage on State Street." Noting that since the carriage house and "garage" (referencing the vacant building on President Street and fronting the garden) shared a common gate entrance, "the improvement could therefore be related to either building" (Fichter 1992:11). Since none of the structures are designated by a State Street address it is curious that the permit was taken out using that description. Without additional research we must agree that this information cannot be used to document work at any of the structures present in the early 1900s.

In 1910 there is evidence that a building permit was taken out to remodel the outbuilding (presumably the carriage house) and this process is described in detail by Fichter (1992:11). It was apparently during this period of renovation that the south and east walls were replaced and that the structure was divided into rental apartments. This work was undertaken by Miss Margaret Thomas, the granddaughter of George Owens.

The 1916 Sanborn map illustrates some of the changes which had taken place on the site. The carriage house, previously listed simply as "servants' dwelling," is now shown as two dwellings, representing the apartments created by the 1910 remodeling. Entrances are shown on Lincoln Street and the apartments are numbered 121 and 125 (north to south) Lincoln Street. The "rear" yards of these apartments were also divided by a wall or fence, presumably to offer privacy. There was a similar wall or fence separating these small yards from the rear yard of the main house. This wall appears to have incorporated the east wall of the office (now listed also as a dwelling). In the northwest rear yard corner of the northern apartment a small wood frame structure appears. Measuring about 5 by 12 feet it is tempting to classify this as a privy, although this seems unlikely

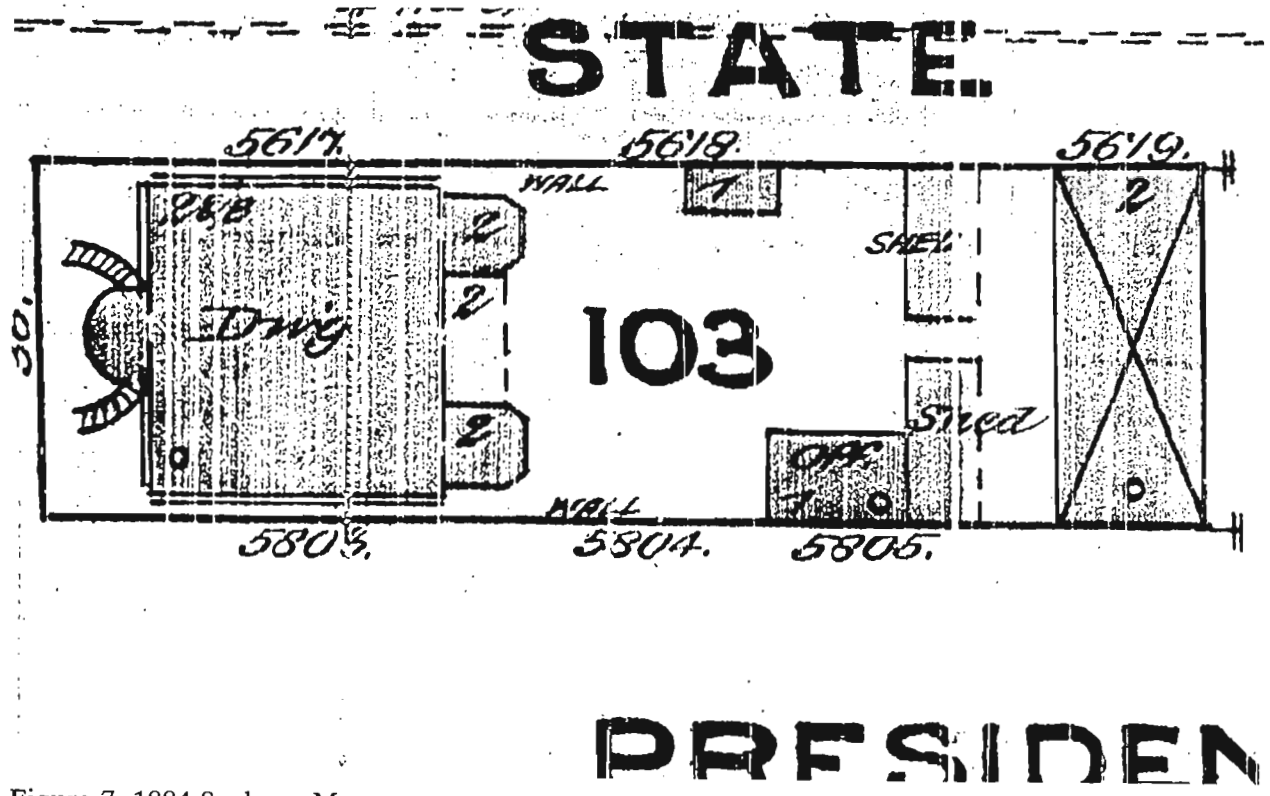

Figure 7. 1884 Sanborn Map.

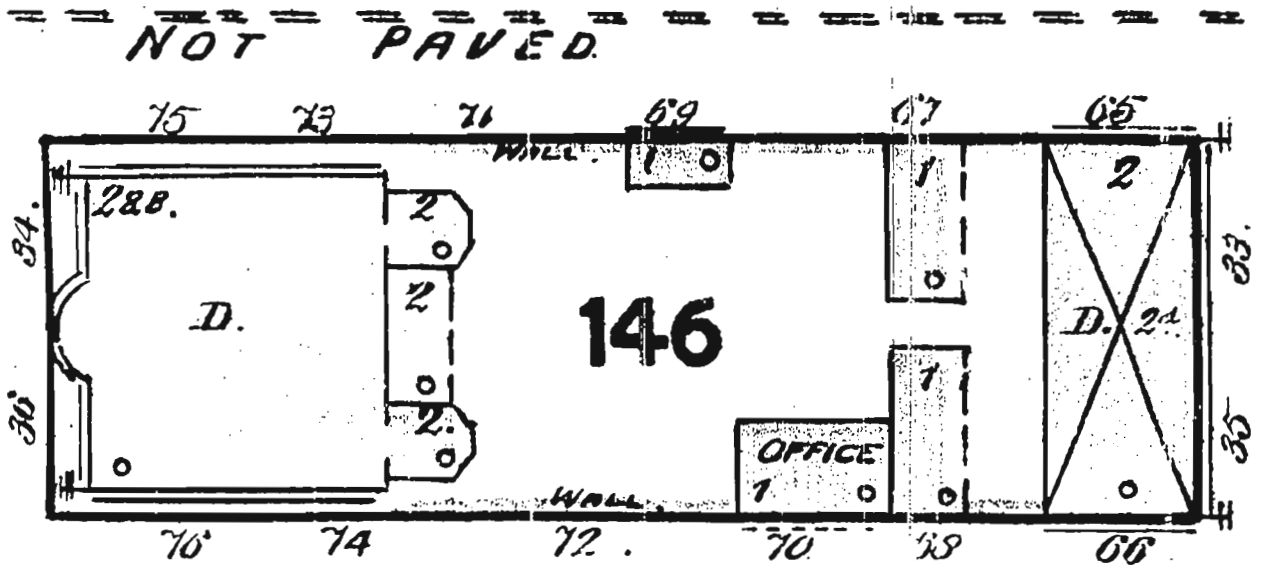

Figure 8. 1888 Sanborn Map.

Figure 9. 1898 Sanborn Map.

Figure 10. 1916 Sanborn Map.

given the recent renovations. Curiously, a similar structure (constructed of brick rather than wood) is found about 15 feet further west, in the garden yard of the main house. The vacant office is now listed as a dwelling and is given the number 224 President Street. It also appears to have had a privacy wall, separating it from the main house's garden.

Fichter (1992:11) reports that additional alterations were made at 224 E. President in 1923. Although expressing some confusion whether the work was conducted at the carriage house or the old doctor's office (now a dwelling), the street address would suggest that the work was conducted at the latter. The renovation was described as "remodel house to garage," perhaps suggesting that the dwelling was gutted to make a garage.

In 1934, when the house was drawn by a HABS survey team, the lot layout consisted of the main building, the carriage house, the office on President Street, and a privy on State Street. The carriage entrance onto President Street was already closed, and the carriage house yard was bisected by an east-west privacy wall (Figure 11).

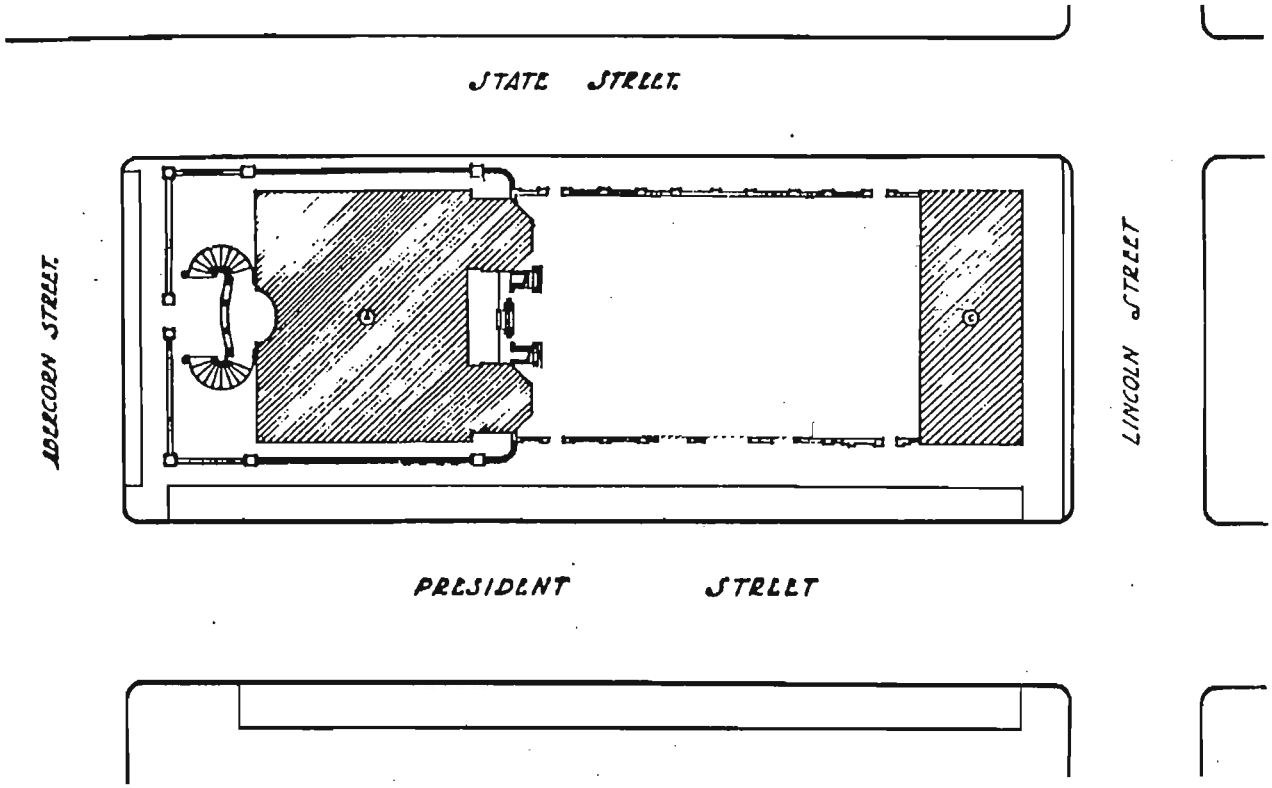

Figure 11. HABS plan of the Owens-Thomas House lot.

Miss Thomas died in 1951 and bequeathed the property to the Telfair Academy. The main house was opened as a house museum in 1954 and additional work was conducted at the carriage house apartments in 1955 (Fichter 1992:11). By this time the office/garage was no longer standing (1954 Sanborn Map, sheet 16), suggesting that it had been removed as part of the museum preparations. The two apartments are still shown, along with their east-west privacy wall and the

north-south wall separating the carriage area from the main yard. A structure is shown in the northwest corner of the northern apartment yard. This may be a privy, or may simply be a shed.

The Ideal Carriage House

Brown (1978) has proposed a methodology utilizing "real-versus-ideal" comparisons in industrial archaeology which may be a useful perspective for these discussions. In essence, Brown advocates comparing the archaeological remains of an industrial activity (or for our purposes an urban setting), such as site layout (the real, based on empirical observations) to the historical documents, such as technical literature, which indicates how the site should be laid out (the ideal). Obviously this approach can be difficult (or even impossible) to operationalize. For example, the "ideal" is often stated in only the most general terms and the "real" must be fully recognized and correctly interpreted. While the methodology, at some levels, may be subjective and subject to serve criticisms, it still offers a heuristic device for better understanding variation in the urban setting.

One detailed account of the carriage house is provided by J.C. Loudon (1838) in *The Suburban Gardeners, and Villa Companion*. Loudon remarks that the most common, and important, "outdoor offices" were the stable, coach-house, and harness room, although others might include a cow shed, pigsty, or poultry house. He observes:

> The smallest description of outdoor offices to a suburban house comprises a stable, gig-house, hayloft or room, and harness-room. The stable should have floors perfectly dry; it should be well lighted and ventilated, and the windows should be furnished with shutters for use during winter. The stable windows, according to some, should be so high that a man cannot see through them; the object of which is to prevent careless or bad groomers from knowing when their master is coming to look after them. The floor the stable ought to be perfectly flat; and in the centre of every stall there should be a small grating over a drain communicating with a general drain conducted lengthwise through the stable behind the stalls, so that every part of the floor may be at all times dry. There should be an opening in the lower part of the stable door to admit air; and ventilating tubes should be placed in the upper part of the walls, or carried through the roof, to allow the heated air to escape, but provided with sliding shutters to regulate its exit. The hay-room is generally placed over the stable; but a much better situation for it is on the ground floor in a separate house, a loft over the gig or coach-house, or even a spare stall in the stable, enclosed with a door, so as to exclude smells. At all events, when the hayloft is placed over the stable, the floor over the stalls should be made air-tight by being ceiled below; and no opening ought to be left for putting the hay into the rack, or which can by any means admit the air of the stable to ascend into the hayloft. When this is the case, the hay is contaminated by the effluvia proceeding from the stable litter, and, consequently, cannot be relished by the horse. When the loft is placed over the stable, there ought to be no communication between it and the stable whatever, except through a vertical tube, about 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and projecting about 1 ft. from the wall, behind the horses; by means of which, the hay can be let down as wanted, to a box with a lid, and thence taken out, and put into the rack. The entrance to the loft ought to be by a ladder outside, or by stairs from the gig-house. . . . The gig-house, and also the harness-room, ought to be well lighted and ventilated; and the harness-room ought never to be without a stove or an open fireplace for use in damp weather. In general, the harness-room and the gig-house should adjoin each other, and communicate by a door; and the fireplace or stove should be placed in the wall between them. The outside walls of all harness-rooms ought to be battened, and plastered inside, for

nothing so soon injures harness as damp. . . .

> The ground on which a stable or coach-house if built ought to be dry, either naturally or by drainage; and the walls ought to be of sufficient thickness to exclude the extremes of heat in summer, and of cold in winter. There ought to be abundance of light admitted, as for cheerfulness as for cleanliness. . . . . That part of the floor of the stable on which a horse stands should always be made perfectly level . . . . In general, the floor of the stalls should never be covered with litter in the daytime, or when the horse is not expected to lie down; because the litter retains moisture, harbours insects, and produces an unequal surface for the horse to stand on. Stables, as they are commonly kept, contain an atmosphere charged with ammoniacal gas from the urine, and carbonic acid gas from the lungs, of the horse, which, with moisture from the floor, and other aeriform matters, are extremely disagreeable to man; but, if the stables were properly constructed, ventilated, and drained, kept free from litter during the day, and amply lighted, in the manner we have recommended, they would be as wholesome for a human being to enter, and remain in, as the living-rooms of a dwelling house. . . .
>
> *The Coach-House* should not only be dry, and well ventilated, from its situation and construction, but there should be a fireplace in it, or, rather, a flue for a stove; because it must be recollected, that a coach is composed of wood, iron, cloth, stuffing, &c., and is as liable to be injured by changes in the temperature, or by moisture, as chairs, tables, sofas, beds, or any other articles of furniture in the dwelling-house. . . .
>
> *The Harness-Room*, as we have already stated, should have the walls lines with boards in those parts where the harness is be hung, and should have a fireplace or stove, with ample means of ventilation and lighting. . . .
>
> *The Groom's or Coachman's Room* is very properly placed over, or adjoining to, the stable for the horses; because the latter are liable to various kinds of accidents in the night-time (Loudon 1838:81-2, 697-699).

Reese (1847) in *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* related a variety of very similar recommendations, noting that the stable should be located at "some distance" from the main house. The location, in particular, should be well drained and Reese observed that "it is essential that proper drains be executed by the builder" (Reese 1847:1100). The interior should be whitewashed "on account of cleanliness," with at least one extra stall for sick animals. Reese remarked that while many stable doors were 3 feet 6 inches, a width of 4 feet was to be preferred. The height should be 8 feet. The floor of the stable should be lain in a durable material, such as Dutch bricks laid edgeways. Stone was not recommended since the horses would slip and common brick was thought to be too soft. Reese also emphasized the importance of adequate drainage with the stable, describing several different approaches to achieve adequate fall. Ducted ventilation, similar to that proposed by Loudon, is repeated by Reese (1847:1101).

Stalls should be:

> six feet wide in general, and should be eight or nine feet in depth . . . the height of the partition should be seven feet at the head and five at the heels. . . . The stall posts are uprights at the bottom of the stall to stay the partition [see Figure 12] . . . . Each side of this post should have a ring for pillar reins, which are used when the horse is

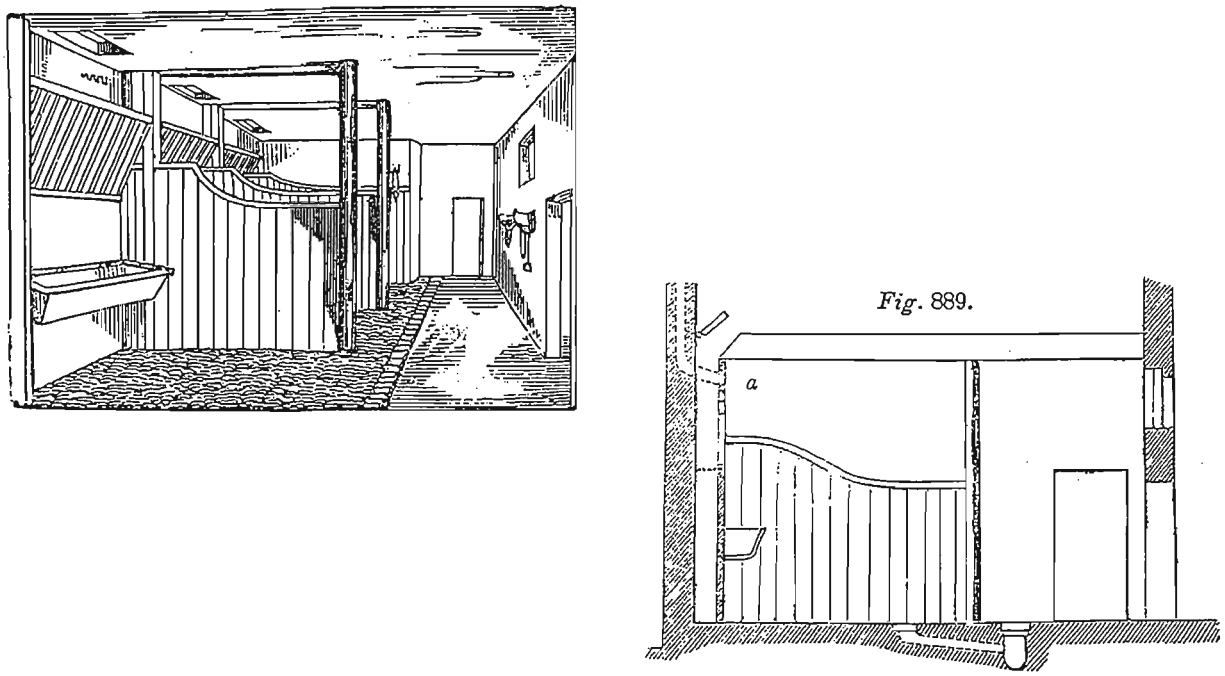

Figure 12. An appropriate stable arrangement as illustrated by Reese's *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy*.

required to stand reversed in the stall. . . .

In some stables there are, besides the stalls, some compartments much wider,

called boxes, for such horses to be in that are ill, or which require much rest (Reese 1847:1102-1103)

Reese observes that other authors had objected to the use of hay lofts over the stable on account of the foul vapors raising to contaminate the hay and dust falling down on the horses. He counters noting that a tight fitting door and using a canvas sheet can solve both problems. Besides, "in towns, where space is so valuable, no place could be found for the hayloft so convenient as over the stable" (Reese 1847:1103).

Reese also recommended the use of a stable-yard, "where all the wet work should be done. It may be well, likewise, to have a shed at one side of the yard, where the horses can be groomed in cold or wet weather, and where they can be moved about occasionally" (Reese 1847:1104). He also recommended, like Loudon, a separate harness-room since the stable was "an unfit place" for leather. The room should be equipped with "proper pegs" on which to hang the harnesses, as well as "stools and shelves for saddles and various other articles, and cupboards for brushes, brooms, sponges, cloths,. bandages, and such things as are in constant use." An inventory of a coach house would include:

coach mops	curry-combs	dung-buckets and boxes
jacks for wheels	inside brushes	stables shovels and forks

horse brushes	birch brushes	rugs for gigs and carriages
spoke brushes	scissors & pickers	quartern measures
quarter brushes	mane combs	trimming combs
crest & bit brushes	harness brushes	horse blocks
dandy horse brushes	stable pails	leather for carriages
whipcord	heath brushes.	

A variety of four wheeled carriages were available, ranging in size from about 15 feet for a formal coach to about 8 feet for a phaeton or britzschkas. Two wheeled carriages or gigs could be as short as 5 to 6 feet. Reese points out that the carriage required almost as much maintenance as the horses:

> After the carriage has been out, whether in the sun and dust, or rain, it should be carefully washed and dried. It should, if possible, be cleaned before the dirt dries on it, and it should be well sluiced with plenty of water to prevent any sand from remaining, which might scratch the varnish in rubbing. . . . Great care in cleaning goes much toward the preservation of a carriage (Reese 1847:1099).

These brief, and certainly idealized, descriptions provide some background against which to evaluate the Owens-Thomas Carriage House as it becomes revealed through the archaeological and architectural research. There are immediate similarities, and differences, between the observed architectural features and the carriage house and stables described by Loudon and Reese. For example, both recommend high windows, which were originally present on the south elevation of the Owens-Thomas Carriage House. There is also evidence that internal partitions were fixed to the ceiling as recommended by Reese. The tabby walls evidence the remains of multiple coats of a lime or whitewash, likely to have been used to improve the stable's appearance, as well as improve its healthfulness. The attached servant's quarters also correspond to the recommendations made by both Loudon and Reese.

If Fore's reconstruction of the stall locations is correct, they would have measured about 4 feet in width, rather narrow according to the recommendations. The ventilation recommended is likewise absent, and there is no evidence, on the surface, of paving. It also appears that the carriage was not kept separate from the stalls. Likewise, the harnesses were kept in the same building. No heating was provided for the carriage house, although perhaps given Savannah's relatively mild winters, this would have been unnecessary. At 20 feet in depth, the carriage house could have housed just about any carriage in use at the time.

Taken in total, the Owens-Thomas Carriage House bears a general resemblance to the ideal, although it is clear that many adaptations were made in the design and construction of the facility. Perhaps these were related to cost containment or, alternatively, to a need to maximize the urban space. This again illustrates that the importance of exploring this "real-versus-ideal" dichotomy.

Additional Work

Even a quick review of the currently assembled data will reveal the need for more intensive historical research if the property's use is to more fully understood. One of the first steps should be to conduct a complete title search of the parcel in order to answer some of the ambiguities in ownership, method of transfer, cost, and description. It may be helpful to also examine any mortgages on the property since these often can provide additional clues concerning the condition of the dwellings and their value, as well as the economic well-being of the owner.

Further research should be conducted on the inventories and appraisements of those devising

the property in the hope of learning the types of activities which took place at the site. An effort should be made to identify any information regarding the number of slaves which may have occupied the quarters in the first half the nineteenth century. Similar information should be sought on any hired servants retained by the Owens family after the Civil War.

Efforts should be made to better understand the postbellum and early twentieth century occupation of the site, especially as these relate to the various periods of building, occupation, and renovation. Information available through city directories, which began listing individuals by street address in 1884, can be cross indexed with city tax rolls to reconstruct the status of those who occupied the site.

This research reviewed the most readily accessible photograph files at the Georgia Historical Society, including those associated with the Owens-Thomas House and Oglethorpe Square in the Cordray-Foltz Collection (# 1360), buildings (Owens-Thomas, Lincoln Street, President Street, and East State Street) and geographic locations (Oglethorpe Square) in the Savannah Collection (#1361 PH), architectural photographs in the McDonough Collection (# 1343), and various items in the W.C. Hartridge Collection (# 1349). There are certainly additional photographic collections which should be examined in the hope of locating views of the buildings and especially the yard areas.

Finally, an effort should be made to identify and review collections of papers relating to those who owned the property. For example, the Southern Historical Collection (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) has a collection of Owens family papers, including those related to George Welshman Owens. It is possible that additional papers exist scattered in other Southeastern archives.

EXCAVATIONS

Strategy and Methods

The initially developed research strategy was to examine a variety of archaeological and architectural features, incorporating a general interest in the building fabric and structure, as well as a more specific interest in slave lifeways in the nineteenth century urban Savannah setting. This research did not incorporate a research interest in the eighteenth century deposits which predated the building of the carriage house and slave quarters by Richard Richardson in 1816-1819. These earlier remains, while encountered in this research and briefly discussed in this study, will be the subject of a much more extensive report by Mr. Dave Crampton (personal communication 1993).

The various areas of excavation were selected prior to arrival at the site based on the research questions previously outlined. For example, questions relating to internal partitions in the carriage house would require excavation in areas anticipated to reveal piers or other structural supports for those partitions. Questions relating to pathways could be addressed only through excavations carefully placed to maximize the opportunity for identifying in situ landscape features. Consequently the general, if not exact, location of the various excavations was fairly well established prior to the field work.

We found, however, that not all areas initially selected for study were equally accessible. Some had been heavily disturbed by various renovation or building activities, especially those associated with the ca. 1910 work on the carriage house. As expected in the urban setting we encountered a broad range of utility lines, obstacles, and other hindrances. Other areas had been partially excavated by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society project (see Figure 13). Some locations were partially inaccessible. For example, floor joists and flooring made some areas under the existing structure either difficult or impossible to reach. Consequently, some modifications of the original research design were made out of necessity, while a few changes were matters of convenience. Finally, as is common with much archaeological research, there were units which raised more questions than they answered -- illustrating that to achieve anything approaching good comprehension much more archaeological research would be necessary.

The site had been previously recorded by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society as 9CH787. This site designation is applied to all units within or adjacent to the current Owens-Thomas lot limits (i.e., even the excavations undertaken on city right of way are incorporated into this site designation). Naturally this is a somewhat arbitrary approach since the entire city can be viewed as a continuous (and contiguous) archaeological site. Regardless, since the numbering had already been established it is used in this research.

No site grid was used for these excavations; instead excavations were tied into specific building or lot features (such as the building corner). While this may be considered to be an untraditional approach, it still maintains horizontal control while allowing maximum flexibility of unit placement. Further, in a setting which is subject to tremendous ground disturbance through renovation of the standing structure, it ensures that units can be relocated in the future -- something that an arbitrary datum is less likely to achieve. The standard unit size was a 5 foot square, although a variety of sizes were used, depending on the exact research strategy and needs. For example, a 10 by 8 was opened incorporating an area partially excavated by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological

Society and 2.5 by 5 foot units were used under the carriage house where space was at a premium. All units, however, were sequentially numbered and designed as Test Pits, regardless of size.

Vertical control was maintained through a series of mean sea level datums established on the site. These were run from a USGS datum at 208 Bull Street (45.33 feet at the Chatham County Board of Education building). The primary datum, at an elevation of 42.36 feet, was established at the northwest edge of the northern concrete stoop for the southern carriage house apartment. A secondary datum was established at the point used by Crampton for control of below surface elevations. This datum, situated on the southeast corner of the southern concrete stoop for the northern carriage house apartment, is 42.12 feet. Tertiary datums were established for specific units.

Excavations were primarily based on natural stratigraphic zones. The only significant deviation from this occurred under the carriage house where the zone was subdivided into levels for more accurate temporal control. In general the site exhibits a relatively simple stratigraphy. In the yard areas the upper 0.2 to 0.3 foot, below any modern paving and designated Zone 1, consists of a dark gray fine sand, primarily consisting of a nineteenth century assemblage. Below this, designated as Zone 2, is a tan to light tan sand, often with dense rubble, incorporating the eighteenth century assemblage. Deviation from this "simple" stratigraphic profile, however, was common and typically relates to a variety of mid nineteenth through early twentieth century "disturbances." These deviations will be discussed in more detail on a unit by unit basis in the next section.

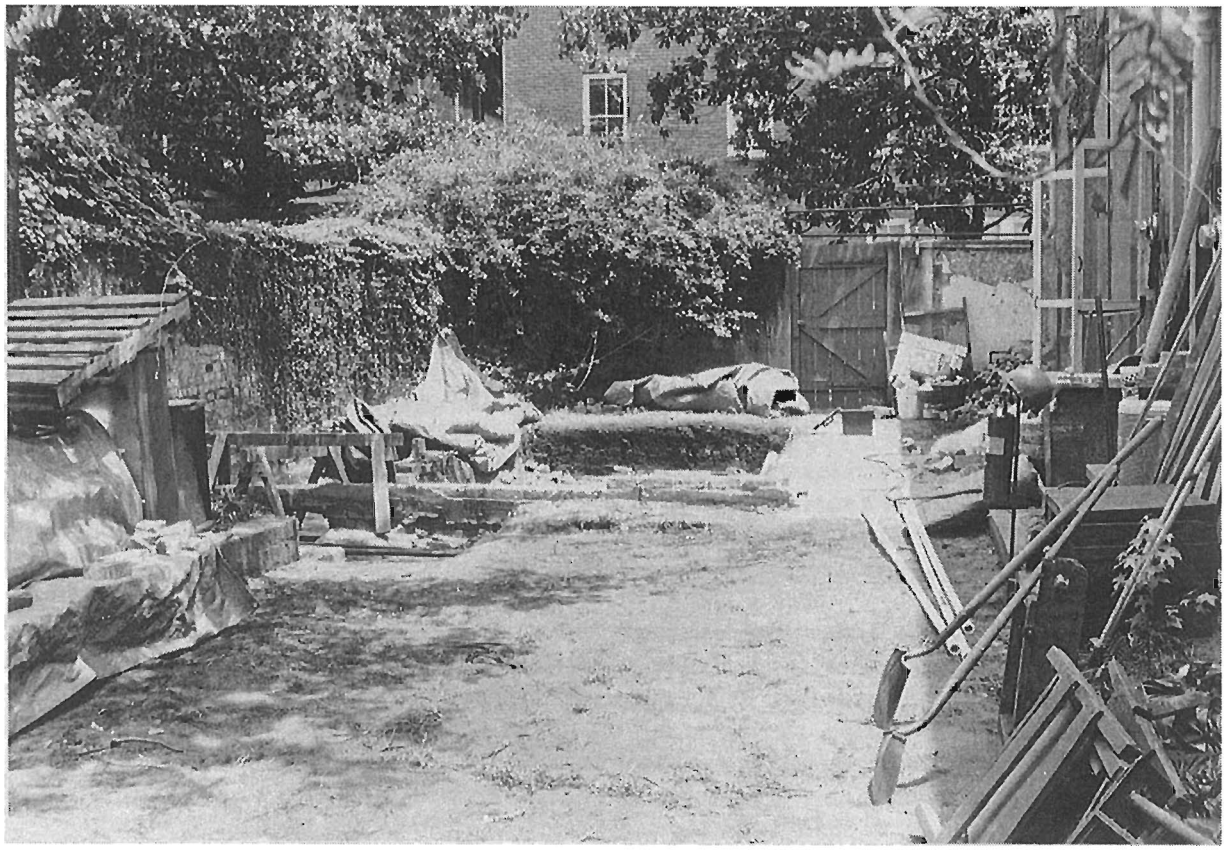

Figure 13. Carriage house yard, view to the north.

All fill was dry screened through ¼-inch mesh using roller screens. Units were generally trowelled at the base of the excavations, although cleaning between zones was conducted as appropriate. Soil samples were collected from each unit and zone. Units were photographed using black and white negative film and color slides. Units were drawn in plan view using a horizontal scale of one inch to two feet, while profiles were typically drawn using the same horizontal scale and a vertical scale of one inch to one foot.

A total of 10 units, incorporating 305 square feet and 199.5 cubic feet of fill, were excavated (see Figure 14). These include one 10 by 8 unit, six 5 foot units, one 5 by 10 foot unit, and two 2.5 by 5 foot units. This work was accomplished with 144 person hours by two archaeologists. Of these units three, totalling 50 square feet, were placed under the standing structure. An additional 75 square feet were placed in the sidewalk area adjacent to the east elevation of the carriage house, while the remaining 180 square feet were placed in the yard area.

Features, such as identifiable pits, were excavated in a substantively similar manner. Photographs were taken before and after excavation, with drawings made as necessary during the process. Fill was screened through ¼-inch mesh. Small soil samples were collected, although flotation samples were beyond the scope of the current investigations (for the benefit of future researchers the discussions below make note of fill which evidences the potential to yield significant ethnobotanical remains).

Archaeological and Architectural Remains

Test Pit 1

This unit, measuring 8 feet north-south and 10 feet east-west, was placed in the vicinity of the carriage house well -- an area partially excavated by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society. Its south wall is placed against the east-west privacy wall and its west wall is placed against the north-south garden wall (Figures 15 and 16). An additional area to the south, also previously excavated by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society was further cleaned and incorporated into the interpretations. Although the excavations in many areas consisted of little more than removing pockets of rubble, excavations of up to 0.8 foot in depth were undertaken along the north and east edge of the unit to better define a brick pier and associated brick paving. This fill consisted of a gray-brown sand with abundant rubble incorporating brick fragments, redware tiles, and purple slate shingle fragments.

Upon cleaning this unit revealed a brick pier measuring 1.5 by 1.4 feet in the northeast quadrant (a matching pier was identified in Test Pit 2 to the south, discussed below). Southwest and south of this pier is heavily worn and patched brick flooring. This flooring extends south of the pier, with neatly laid brick work forming an eastern wall. While there is an addition to the east in the southeast quadrant of the unit, the eastern terminus is well defined further to the south and is expected to measure about 13 feet north-south, with a matching pier situated under the northeast corner of the southern planter. The floor appears to measure about 7 feet east-west, with its western terminus about 0.6 foot east of the garden wall. This brick floor exhibits very heavy wear, with areas of extensive damage to the brick coupled with very sloppy repairs consisting only of mortar and rubble laid down to maintain a roughly level surface. Examination of the floor reveals a series of at least three floor levels, one laid on top of the other. It is likely that it was easier to lay a new floor than to attempt major repairs, hence the build up of flooring material.

Centered under the east-west privacy wall is a capped well. Constructed of brick suggesting an early nineteenth century date, the well measures about 2.6 feet in diameter and is 22.5 feet in depth with about 2.5 feet of standing water. Probing indicated a solid brick floor to the well, but

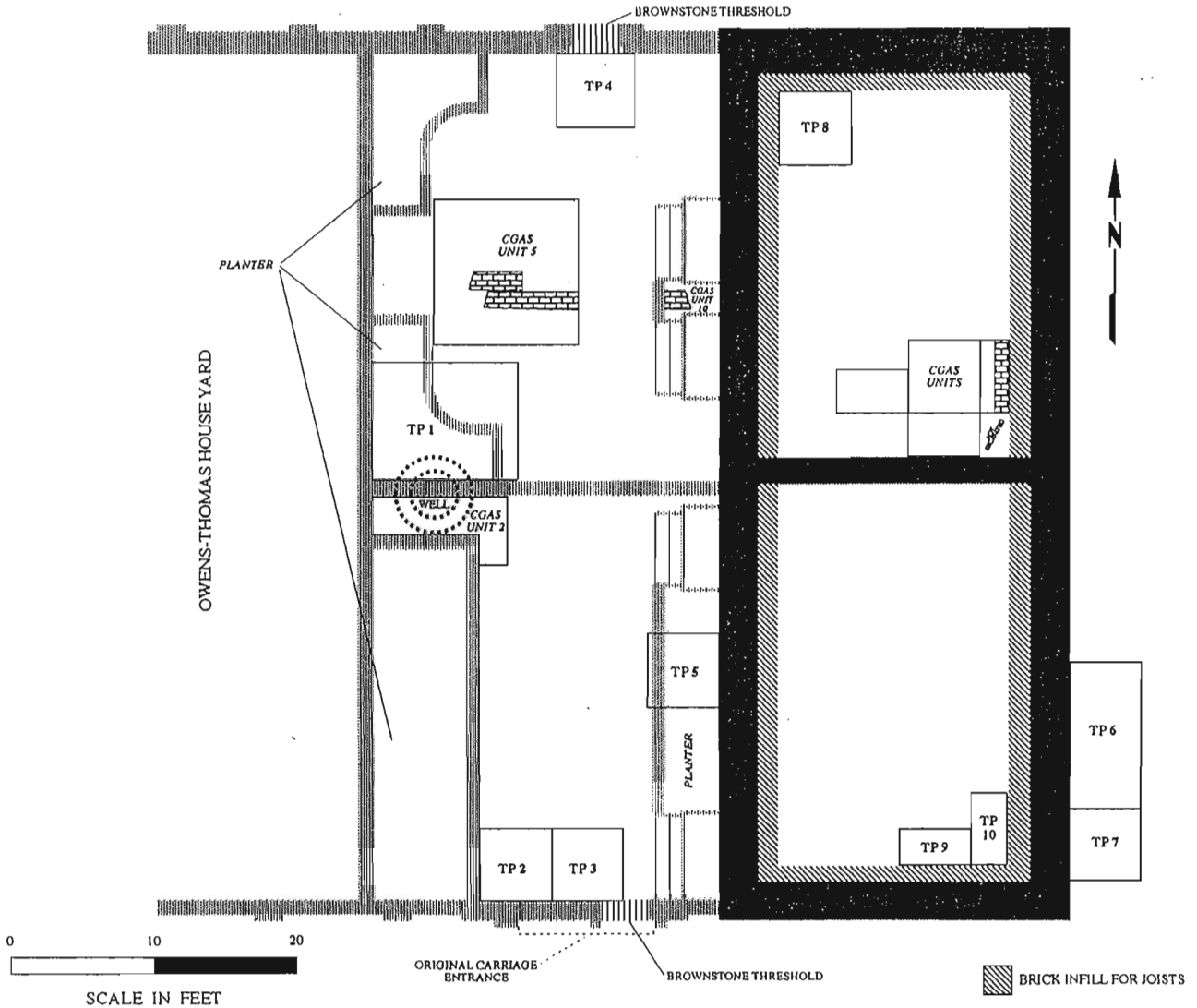

Figure 14. Chicora's excavations at the Owens-Thomas Carriage and Slave Quarters.

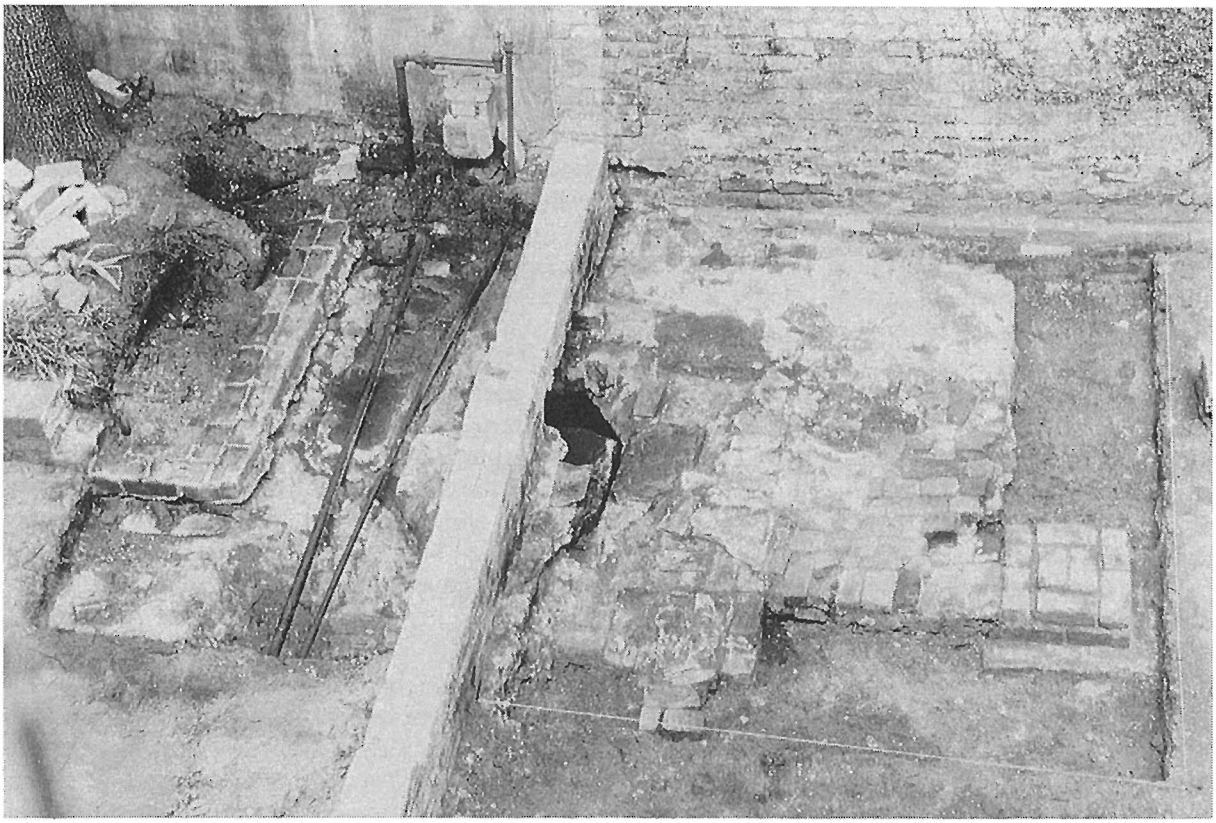

Figure 15. Test Pit 1, view to the west from the second floor of the carriage house.

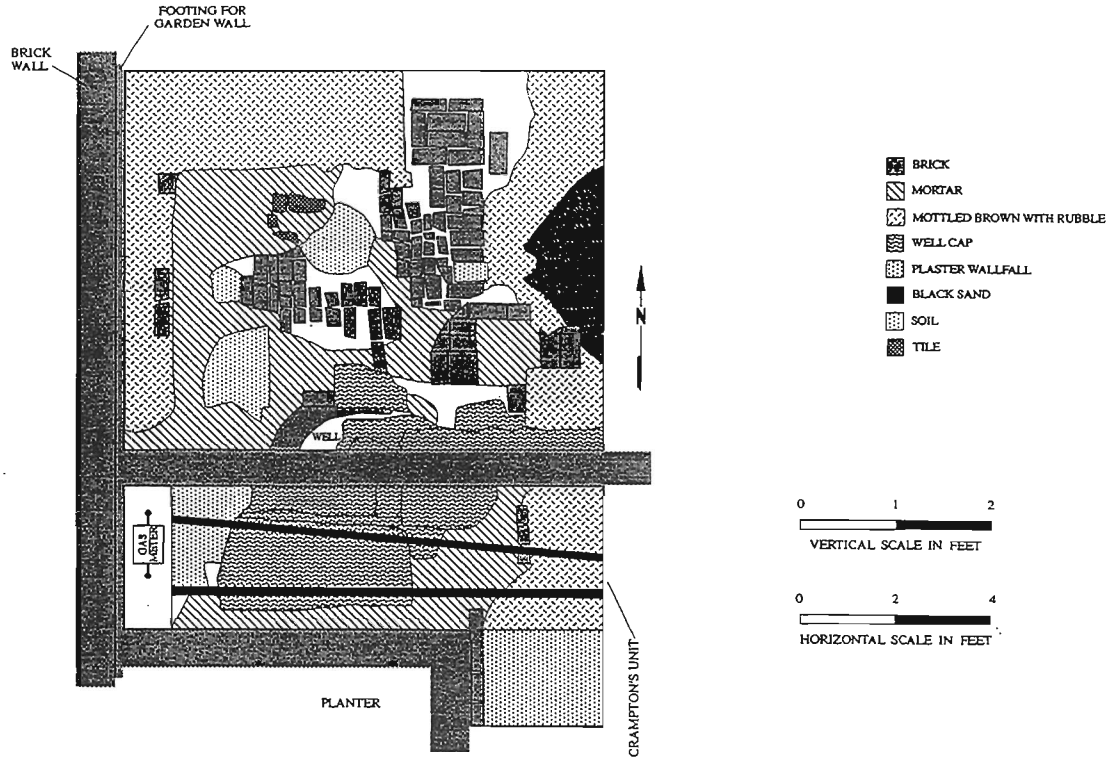

Figure 16. Test Pit 1, also showing the immediate area to the south.

failed to reveal any significant deposition. Along the northeastern wall of the well is an iron fitting probably used to retain piping and or a pump mechanism. This pump probably dates from the original construction of the well and was probably instrumental in assuring that the well was not used for refuse disposal. As will be discussed in more detail later, it is likely that this well serviced the needs of the slaves, carriage operations, and stable. This well was apparently capped when the privacy wall was built as part of the ca. 1910 renovations and the flagstone caps appear to be similar to flagstones laid as a pathway in the northern carriage house apartment yard.

The brick floors appear to have at least a mid-nineteenth century date and probably are part of the same construction episode as the well itself. The top of the well, coupled with the brick flooring, suggest a nineteenth century yard with an elevation of about 39.5 to 39.8, depending on both location and temporal period. The pier and flooring, as well as their relationship to the well may be interpreted in several ways. The identified pier may be part of a well house with the brick floor representing the confines of the structure. The eastern extension of brick flooring would represent the remains of a pathway to the well. While this interpretation is attractive, it seems unlikely that a pumped well largely devoted to very utilitarian needs, would either require or be given a well house. An alternative interpretation is that the pier, while abutting the brick floor, was actually associated with the shed structure shown on the 1884 Sanborn Map (Figure 7), leaving the well itself not roofed. The brick floor was laid around the well as a work surface in an area that would frequently be very wet and receive heavy traffic.

This latter interpretation seems to better account for the information currently available, although the opening between the sheds, allowing circulation from one yard to the other, would be larger than shown on the Sanborn Maps. A recent brief investigation by George Fore suggests that portions of the wall separating the carriage house yard from the main house yard may date from the period of initial construction. This would further support the separation of yard areas and functions, if not actually the early nineteenth century construction date for the sheds. Unfortunately, the planters and associated landscaping seriously limit the potential to better understand the construction, or function, of the two sheds shown on the 1884 Sanborn Map.

Following this latter interpretation, it would be appropriate to refit the capped well with a period pump, usually described as a common or sucking pump (see Reese 1847:848). Such pumps are illustrated in the 1865 Russell & Erwin *Catalog of American Hardware* (Russell and Erwin 1980 [1865]:282-283). The area centered around the well, measuring about 13 feet north-south by 7 feet east-west should be bricked. While it is essential to provide a safe passage way, the bricks should illustrate the extensive use of the well area. Since the well provided not only drinking water for the slaves and horses, but also water for grooming and washing down the carriage, appropriate illustrative artifacts might include buckets, brushes, and perhaps a watering trough. Interpretation of the sheds to the north and south is much more difficult. They are not illustrated on the 1853 Vincent map and *may* represent a postbellum addition, although the discussions offered (associated with Test Pits 2 and 3) below provide some evidence for an early nineteenth century origin.

Test Pits 2 and 3

These units were placed in the yard area adjacent to the southern wall with the western unit (TP 2) also adjacent to the planter wall (see Figure 14 and 17). Forming a 5 by 10 foot unit combined, these two units were excavated to explore the carriage drive area, associated yard debris, the construction of the carriage gate which is now bricked up, and examine the eighteenth century stratigraphic deposits in this portion of the yard.

This portion of the site had been previously covered with Belgian blocks (the tops of which

Figure 17. Test Pits 2 (to the right adjacent to the planter wall) and 3 (to the left), view to the south.

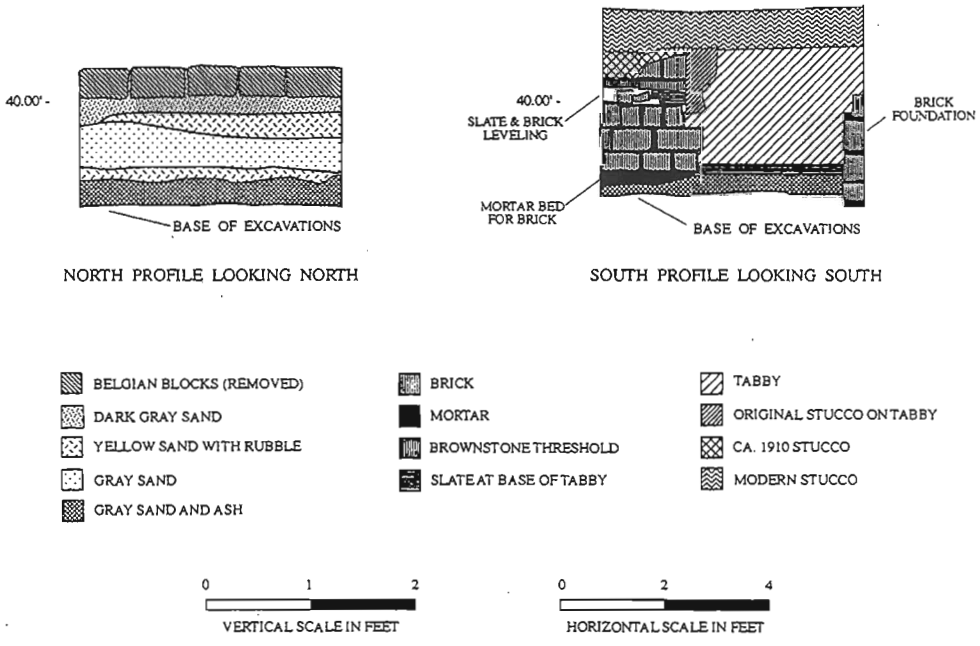

Figure 18. Test Pit 2, north and south profiles.

were at an elevation of approximately 40.30 feet MSL), recently removed by the Owens-Thomas House staff. This paving was apparently placed in the yard during the ca. 1910 renovations. There is no oral history regarding what was present in the yard area prior to this work. Below the Belgian blocks (beginning at about 40.00 feet MSL) in Test Pit 2 this work identified between 0.2 and 0.3 foot of a dark gray sand (10YR3/2) overlying a 0.2 foot lens of yellow sand and mixed construction rubble (10YR5/4). Below this was about 0.4 foot of gray sand (10YR4/3) and a second 0.05 to 0.1 foot thick lens of yellow sand (10YR5/4) and construction debris. At the base of the excavations was a 0.3 foot thick level of gray sand and ash (10YR4/3) which appears to grade into the yellow sand taken as sterile throughout the site area at 39.00 feet MSL (Figure 18).

These excavations revealed that nineteenth century materials (mixed with earlier eighteenth century remains) were found only in the upper 0.2 to 0.3 foot. Below this and the deposits appear to be almost exclusively eighteenth century in origin. The uppermost yellow sand lens, associated with building rubble, appears related to the construction of the carriage house in the early nineteenth century, indicating that since that construction there was, at most, about 0.2 foot of deposition over nearly a 100 year period. The excavations also failed to identify any evidence of a prepared carriage path, or absence a carriage surface, any evidence of rutting or erosion. This evidence strongly supports the contention that at least portions of the yard area were bricked or otherwise paved (as revealed around the well in Test Pit 1).

In the southwest corner of Test Pit 2, partially under the adjoining planter wall, portions of a structural brick foundation wall four courses in depth were identified. Based on associated fill and the bricks themselves (measuring 4-4¼ by 2¼ by 8½-8⅞ inches) this wall appears to date from the nineteenth century. This wall is in line with similar features found in Test Pit 1 around the well. The currently available information suggests that this wall was associated with the shed structure shown on the 1884 Sanborn Map (Figure 7), coordinating with the alternative reconstruction offered from the similar features in Test Pit 1. It appears that much of the shed was removed prior to the 1910 renovations, probably for ease of landscaping.

Test Pit 3 was placed to the east of Test Pit 2 and was excavated only through the nineteenth century remains to a depth of about 0.2 to 0.3 foot below the current ground surface (which had been excavated about 0.1 foot in depth by the earlier efforts of the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society). This unit, placed in the middle of the carriage path, also failed to reveal any evidence of rutting or erosion expected to be associated with an unpaved carriage path.

These two excavations are primarily useful in offering indirect evidence supporting yard paving. Based on the historical accounts of the "ideal" carriage house it is clear that this was an area which would receive exceptional traffic, be exposed to hay, animal wastes, daily cleaning of carriage and horses, and considerable pedestrian traffic. For the yard not to be paved, while however unlikely, would have resulted in considerable disturbance which would be visible in the archaeological record. That evidence is not present. The only reasonable explanation is that significant, high traffic areas, of the yard were paved. This is certainly supported by the multiple episodes of brick paving repair around the well in Test Pit 1. The eventual disposition of this paving is not known, although given the wear and damage to the paving around the well it seems likely that other areas would have been in even worse shape by the end of the nineteenth century. It was perhaps during the 1910 renovation that this paving was removed.

Moving from the units to the associated carriage entrance, the archaeological investigations were helpful in better understanding the construction of the gate, its threshold, the stucco applications, and its eventually closing. From the exterior (Figure 19) it is clear that the brown stone or sand stone threshold is currently in the three sections (Figure 20). From west to east these include sections measuring 3.35 feet, 3.3 feet, and 2.2 feet. Each is about 1.1 feet in width and about 0.28 foot

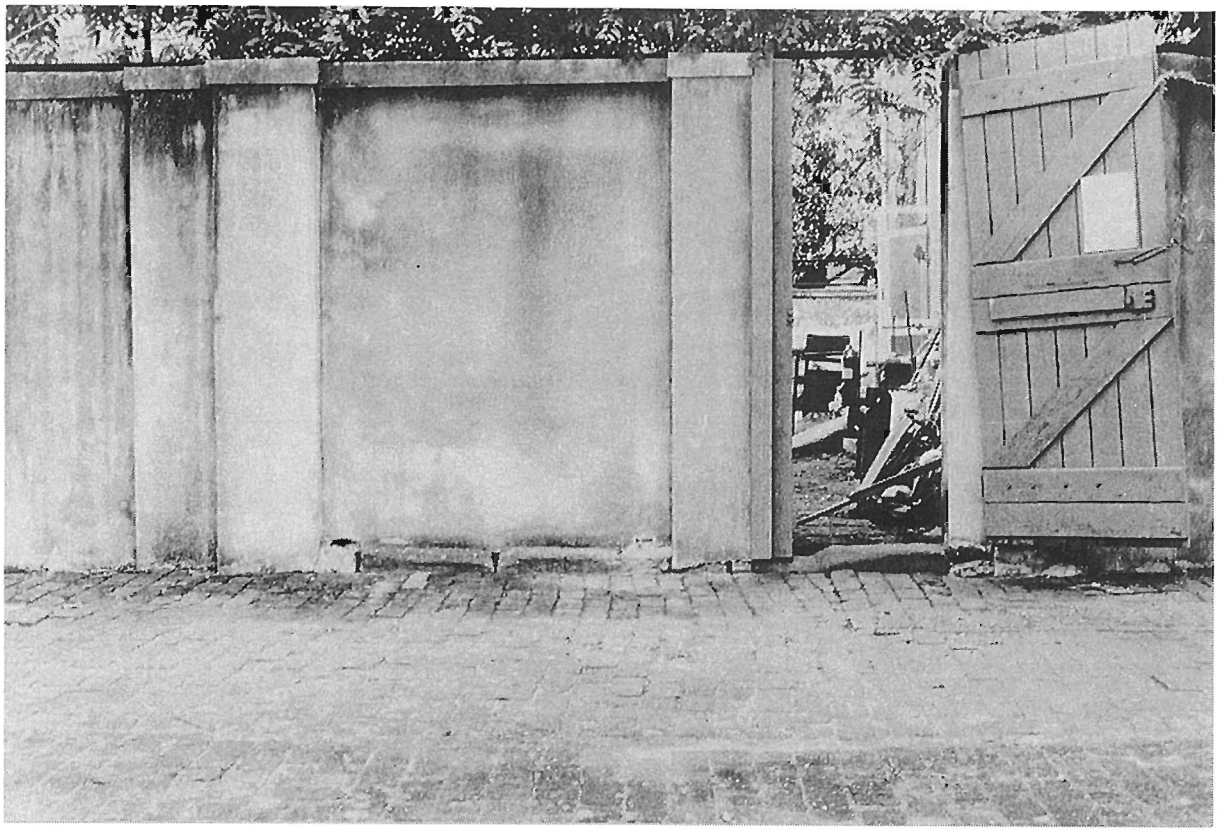

Figure 19. Original carriage entrance, view from President Street to the north.

in thickness. The eastern most section exhibits an area intentionally prepared to lower the threshold, probably for yard drainage into the street (just as the pedestrian gate on the north side shows two similarly prepared drains)(Figure 21). George Fore suggests that this area has received additional wear from the carriage wheels, expanding and rounding the drain opening. The center block exhibits a iron stop set in lead and a bolt hole worn to the south from the drag of the bolt. To the west the details become less clear since the brick in-fill wall covers much of the threshold; however, there is evidence of additional wear and fragmentation of the threshold from the passage of carriage wheels. Also on the outside three of the original four hand wrought hook hinges are still present (with two being used to hold the present pedestrian gate). The upper left hook hinge evidences considerable wear from the gate swing. The fourth hook hinge, at the lower edge of the east side, is still present under the modern stucco. The pedestrian gate also reveals evidence of what are probably the remains of the original hand wrought eye hinges, significantly reduced in length.

Inside, Test Pit 2 revealed three course of brick laid in a mortar bed to support the brownstone threshold. It had been leveled on the brick using clinkers and slate. The tabby wall had then been poured around the brick infill. A portion of the original cement stucco on the tabby was preserved below grade, as was the ca. 1910 stucco over the brick infill of the gate opening. At the base of the tabby wall the builders used a layer of slate (similar to the stone foundation of the carriage house) to prevent the tabby from wicking moisture (Figure 18).

This information provides considerable evidence for the reconstruction of the yard and gate area. Given the intensive activities taking place in the service yard, it was likely paved. The sights and smells would have been those associated with the care of the carriage and horses. While still

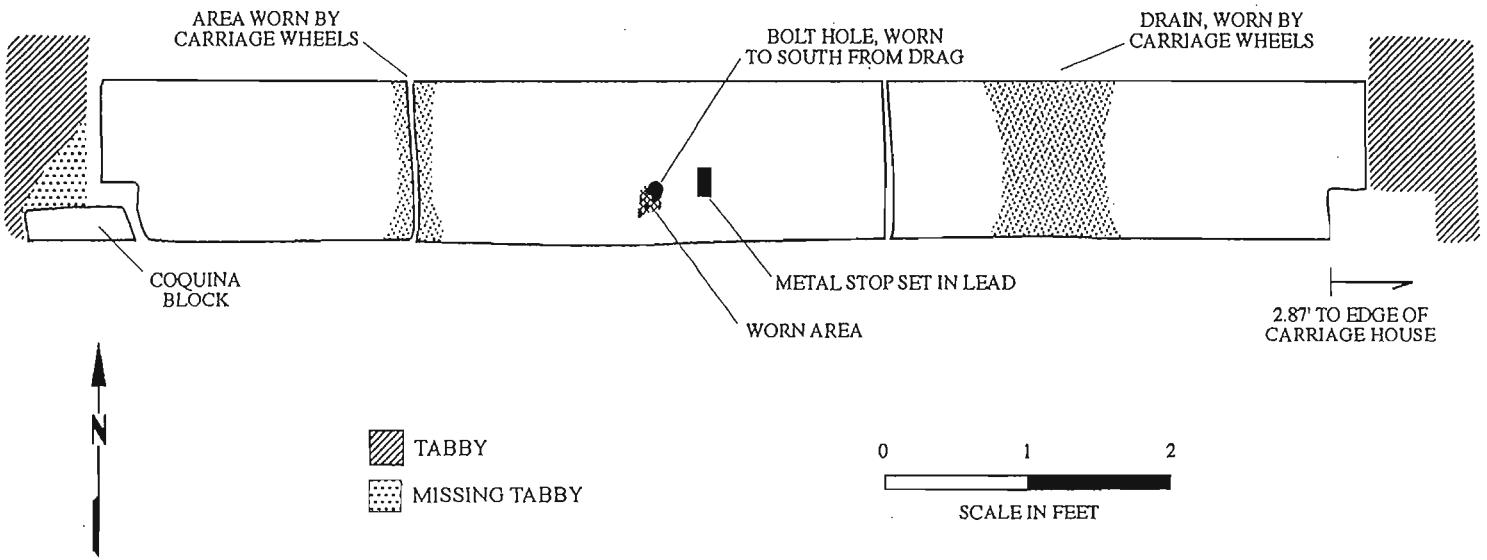

Figure 20. Plan of the brownstone threshold.

Figure 21. Eastern threshold section showing prepared drainage enlarged by carriage wheel. Sidewalk paving likely dates from the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

unclear, the location of the gate so close to the carriage house (requiring a very tight turning radius, suggests that the sheds were present as part of the original construction, requiring the gate location to be relatively close the carriage house itself. The gate opening can be re-opened, perhaps using the original hook hinges and recreations of the eye hinges. This arrangement also strongly suggests that the carriage house doors were originally solid wood, rather than of any ornate or open design. This is supported by Loudon, who notes that:

> it is equally clear to us, that the gates of most small places near towns ought to be close; because one great object of every country residence is privacy, and in a small place, without close gates, privacy is impossible. . . . Close gates may, also, be sometimes desirable in point of effect (Loudon 1838:722)

Perhaps more problematic will be the use of the threshold. Since it is raised above the sidewalk level it will likely pose a trip hazard to many pedestrians and will create problems for those in wheelchairs. Lowering this threshold, however, will destroy original historic fabric. Consequently, it is probably more appropriate to ramp over the threshold, maintaining the original fabric.

Test Pit 4

Test Pit 4 was placed on the north yard wall, centered on the pedestrian entrance. It was hoped that this unit would shed light on the nature of paths and walkways in the less heavily used yard area and might also provide evidence of yard debris associated with the slave quarters. Of course, both goals were tempered by our realization that in other yard areas there was very limited nineteenth century deposition.

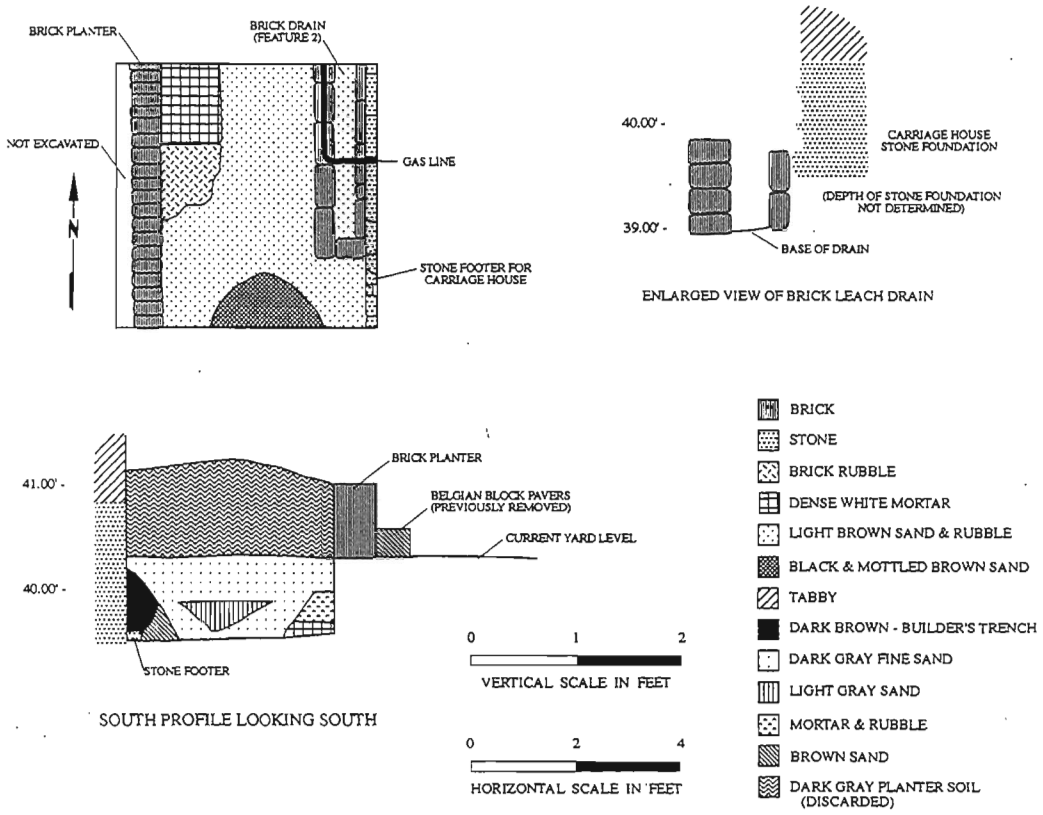

Figure 22. Excavtions in Test Pit 5 and brick drain.

The excavations, unfortunately, provided virtually no information regarding early nineteenth century site use. We quickly discovered that this particular area was crossed that three relatively modern water pipes (one for each of the two apartments created in 1910 plus one which may be a replacement), a PVC drain pipe dating the past 20 years, and an electrical conduit associated with an outdoor light. In addition, the eastern half of the unit revealed disturbance to a level of at least 3 feet, likely representing an early twentieth century plumber's chase (excavated as Feature 1). This major disturbance was filled with a large quantity of debris from the first quarter of the twentieth century, including several large sections of glazed drain pipe, probably representing the goal of the excavations.

The unit did reveal what appears to be a relatively intact gray sand lens about 0.2 foot in depth overlying the disturbances. This appears to represent deposition associated with the ca. 1910 renovations, suggesting that the plumber's chase and water pipes were associated with this effort. There was no good evidence for any extensive early nineteenth century yard trash, supporting the speculation that this portion of the yard was also paved. The excavations, however, did reveal that the tabby wall was formed up on top of a brick wall laid in Liverpool bond[9]. This wall was found turning to the south along the eastern profile, although damage to the wall was extensive. This wall

[9] Liverpool bond is a variation of English bond and consisted of altering one header course with three stretcher courses. McKee (1973:50) observes that it is found in the early eighteenth century, although it become more popular from the mid-eighteenth century through early nineteenth century. Its form, therefore, offers only a general dating clue.

and its bricks are identical to that found by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society and associated with DeBraham's ownership of the lot. It appears that in the nineteenth century the wall, situated on the lot line, was leveled and the tabby enclosure wall simply built over it. Unfortunately, sufficient work has not been conducted to identify the corners of this original structure, so its foot print cannot be understood at this time. It is clear from both these excavations, and those of the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society, that the eighteenth century has suffered major damage through what appear to be intentional demolition activities.

The interpretative results of this unit are more modest than many of the other excavations. While the unit documented extensive disturbances during the early twentieth century (offering an interesting collection of materials from the late postbellum) and revealed an additional piece of the early eighteenth century puzzle, it fails to provide any convincing evidence of antebellum use. A case can be made that the absence of any appreciable quantity of early nineteenth century material in the spoil indicates the existence of paving in this portion of the yard, although reconstructions built on negative evidence, especially considering the extensive disturbance, are difficult to assess.

Test Pit 5

This unit was situated adjacent to the west wall of the carriage house, just south of the south apartment's northern doorway. It was placed to explore the western carriage entrance, search for evidence of any paving, and further explore a drain feature first identified further north by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society. The unit was entirely within a planter created during the ca. 1910 renovations and this fill was removed, without sifting, to a depth of about 40.35 (approximately that of the current yard level). The excavations revealed relatively little in the way of either artifacts or, more importantly, intact nineteenth century deposits. The excavations, which were terminated at the point were eighteenth century artifacts became numerous, revealed the remnants of a recent planting in the planter, as well as brick rubble and mortar lenses probably associated with the construction of the carriage house. Below these, consisting of eighteenth century deposits, was a light brown sand and rubble zone (Figure 23).

More importantly, the excavations revealed the existence of the brick drain, originating north of the unit and terminating at what was the carriage entrance. This drain consisted of four courses of lightly mortared bricks on the exterior edge and two bricks laid on their edge adjacent to the carriage house wall (Figure 23). The bricks were typically 8¾ by 4½ by 2⅝ inches. There was no fall from this closed end to that portion previously found by the Coastal Georgia Archaeological Society, indicating that it was leach drain, intended to collect wastes, perhaps including roof drainage. Excavated as Feature 2W, the fill of this drain contained little material and no evidence of water laid sand lenses. It appears to have been kept open and clean until abandonment, at which time it was quickly (perhaps intentionally) filled.

The excavations also revealed that the tabby carriage house wall is sitting on a continuous stone foundation extending across the carriage door opening. No evidence of a threshold was found, although it seems likely that some such feature would have originally been present (and evidence may be found as the brick infill is removed). The stone foundation was raised to a height of 40.59 feet MSL, with the footer encountered at 39.68 feet MSL. The depth of the foundation was identified in this excavation.

The brick drain is perhaps the most significant interpretative feature of this unit. Originally constructed as an open drain, it appears to have originated slightly higher than currently found, probably being level with the yard paving. It ran the length of the west elevation, terminating at the carriage entrance. As will be discussed below, it also ran along at least portions of the east elevation. Unfortunately, insufficient work has been conducted to determine if the drain terminated at

doorways, although this seems likely based on the information from the carriage entrance. Since this drain represents an original architectural feature, as well as a functional item relating to the nature of the urban and stable environment, it should be incorporated into the renovations and interpretation of the building.

Test Pits 6 and 7

Test Pit 6, measuring 5 by 10 feet, and Test Pit 7, measuring 5-feet square, were located on the east elevation of the carriage house, along Lincoln Street. The southwest corner of Test Pit 6 is 6.75 feet north of the carriage house's southeast corner (see Figure 14). Underlying the brick sidewalk (which slopes about 1:20 away from the carriage house) we found lenses of brown to gray sand and yellow sand. The brown sand was found to represent original street soil, while the yellow sand was leveling for the sidewalk. Immediately below the yellow sand, covering the bulk of the 5 by 15 foot trench, was badly deteriorated tabby. This tabby extends from the southern profile of Test Pit 7[10] northward to within 2 feet of the northern profile of Test Pit 6 and extends from the carriage house foundation eastward for an average of 3 feet (Figures 23 and 24). Probes into the tabby reveal that its depth ranges from less than 0.1 foot along its eastern edge to upwards of a foot about 0.5 foot east of the carriage house wall.

At the north end of this tabby was evidence of a brick drain identical to that found on the west carriage elevation in Test Pit 5 (designated Feature 2W). To distinguish this portion of the drain, it was termed Feature 2E. The base of this drain is with 0.05 foot of the elevation on the west building face, suggesting that some considerable effort was spent on their construction. Since the drain extends under the tabby wall fall it was impossible to explore in its entirety. However, based on horizontal probing, it appears that the drain extends southward for at least another several feet. This would seem to preclude a carriage opening on the east elevation since the drain stopped prior to the carriage opening on the west.

Excavation of Feature 2E revealed a low density of artifacts and a homogeneous brown sandy fill, again indicative of abandonment and rapid filling. Associated with Feature 2E was a small, but intact, portion of the builder's trench, designated Feature 3. Extending to 38.48 feet MSL, this trench was considerably deeper than the drain and is likely associated with wall construction. The drain actually appears to be constructed on builder's trench backfill.

The tabby apron (for lack of a better term) appears to have been used as partial backfill of the builder's trench, although we are unable to offer any plausible explanation for this behavior. Subsequently, perhaps at the time of the building renovation, the brick drain was largely removed or robbed, leaving only occasional bricks as evidence of its previous existence. Incorporated in the backfill of the robbed drain were numerous fragments of the cement stucco covering the original tabby wall.

At the west edge of the units there were several areas where the original stone foundation was not covered by the tabby. The recovered segments indicate that the stone wall is continuous along this portion of the carriage house and that when the tabby wall was removed, the stone foundation was left in place as support for the new curtain wall of brick.

The main contribution of this unit to the interpretation of the carriage house is its ability to

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[10] Additional probing after the conclusion of the field project revealed that the tabby extended to just beyond the southeast building corner, although it did not continue along the southern building wall.

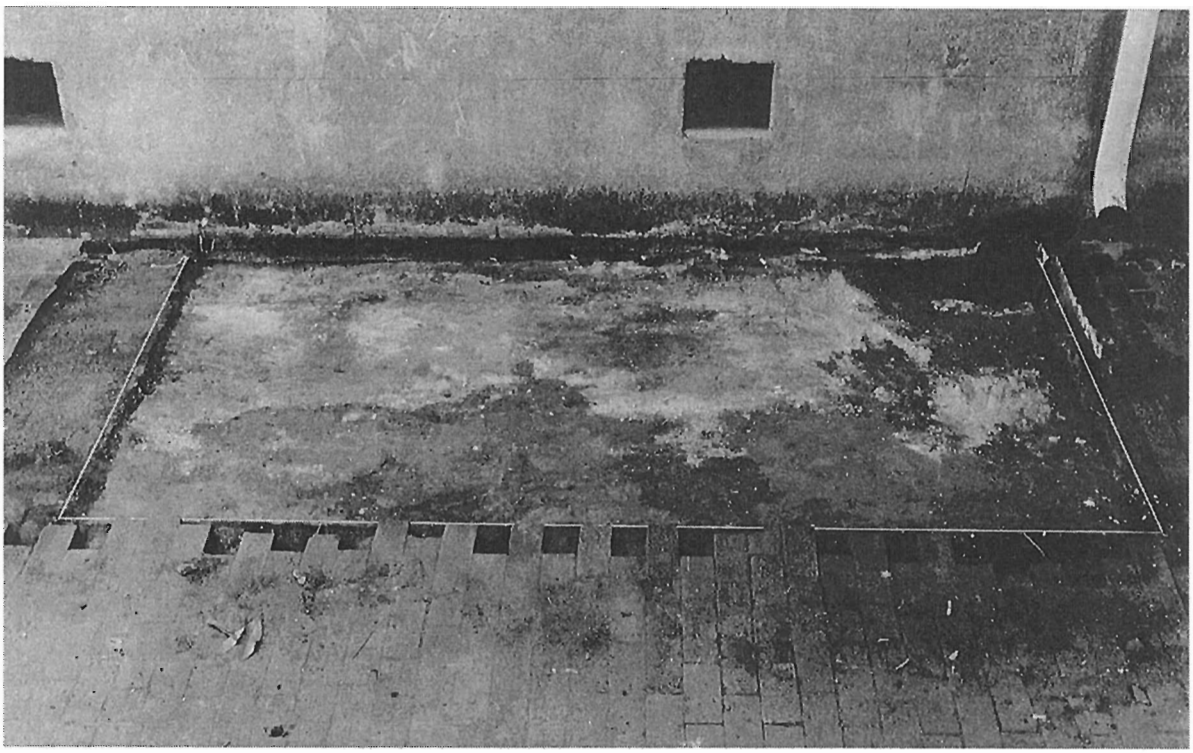

Figure 23. Test Pits 6 and 7, view to the north.

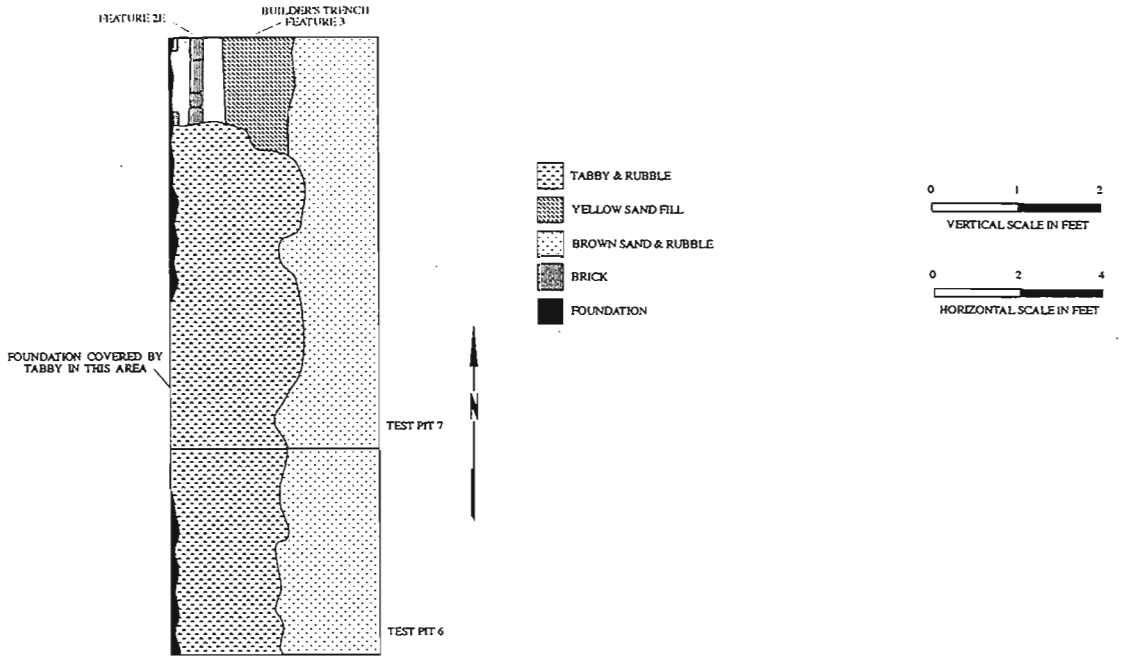

Figure 24. Plan view of Test Pits 6 and 7.

eliminate consideration of a carriage entrance from Lincoln Street. While it is possible that controlled excavation of the tabby "apron" might suggest its function, or allow a better understanding of its formation process, it seems unlikely that this will substantively contribute to the interpretation of the structure.

Test Pit 8

This 5 foot unit was situated in the northwest corner of the servant's quarters, with the structure's north wall forming the north profile of the unit and the structure's west wall forming the west profile. The top of the floor joists were at 42.21 feet MSL, while the brick wall constructed in ca. 1910 along the north wall was at 39.75 feet. As can be imagined considering the enclosed conditions, the crawl space soil was very dry and loose. The ground level varied from about 38.84 to 39.07 feet MSL, reflecting small undulations in the soil. Scattered on the surface were brick bats and associated rubble, primarily from the ca. 1910 renovations. The excavations were taken down about 0.8 foot through an unconsolidated lens of dark gray powdery sand, at the base of which the soils began to have slightly better compaction and began to exhibit a lighter brown color. While excavations were terminated at this point, it appears that sterile yellow subsoil would have been encountered within an additional 0.3 to 0.5 foot.

The upper soil represented a mixture of eighteenth and nineteenth century materials with no evidence of either cultural or soil stratigraphy. It seems that as the soil dried out the amount of mixing increased. Materials recovered include a relatively large quantity of faunal material, well preserved ethnobotanical remains, and a range of domestic refuse. It seems likely that much of this material was deposited under the house through the vent holes, although there was no clear concentration of material immediately under the vents.

This unit was originally excavated at the suggestion of colleagues who thought that the undisturbed under house location might represent an area of intact early nineteenth century deposits. While nineteenth century materials are denser in this unit than most other areas on the site, there is considerable mixing throughout the foot or so of soil deposition. Some of the mixing can certainly be attributed to the heavy traffic associated with the recent archaeological and architectural studies. Even prior to this, however, there were episodes of pest control inspections and utility repairs, all of which contributed to the dispersion and mixing of the archaeological remains. It seems likely that this area saw periods of heavy traffic beginning with the ca. 1910 renovations and that these events all served to homogenize the deposits.

Consequently, while it is possible to separate the historic remains based on typological assessments, it is impossible to define neat assemblages. Likewise, it is difficult to attribute the faunal or floral remains to a specific occupation period or source, as tempting as it is to characterize this as an urban slave assemblage. It seems fairly safe, however, that the assemblage was generated on site -- it does not seem to represent any fill episodes. Given the introduction of refuse collection early in Savannah's history, it seems more likely that the materials present are associated with the nineteenth slaves living in the building than with the later, postbellum, occupants. It is not, however, to rule out that some of the remains are associated with the earlier eighteenth century deposits. The interpretative value of this unit is therefore limited to what can be ascribed to a particular period of site occupation and we find the same problems which have plagued the exploration of urban slave life elsewhere affecting research in Savannah.

Test Pits 9 and 10

Test Pits 9 and 10, each measuring 2½ by 5 feet, were placed in the southern half of the building and were designed to explore the stable and carriage areas. Test Pit 9, with its long dimension

oriented east-west, was placed 5 feet from the structure's southern wall and 10 feet from the west wall. Test Pit 10 was laid out just east of TP 9 to create an "L" shaped unit, with the base of the "L" pointing to the north. The floor averaged between 39.40 and 39.50 feet MSL, about a half a foot higher than the soil on the north side under the slave quarters and about a foot lower than the yard outside the carriage house.

The goal of these excavations were to further explore the interior of the nineteenth century structure and, especially, search for architectural features associated with the stable portion of the building. Being unsuccessful at finding a report of excavations in another stable/carriage house setting, we based our expectations on the idealized version of such a structure found in the historic literature (previously discussed). Consequently, we anticipated a brick floor, possibly with drains, and possibly support foundations or piers for the partition walls.

Excavation in Test Pit 9 (Figure 25) found about 0.2 foot of recent, very fine powdery black soil. Under this was a lens of lime about 0.2 foot thick, probably intended to cap the stable deposits during the ca. 1910 renovations. Below this lime the investigations identified nearly a foot

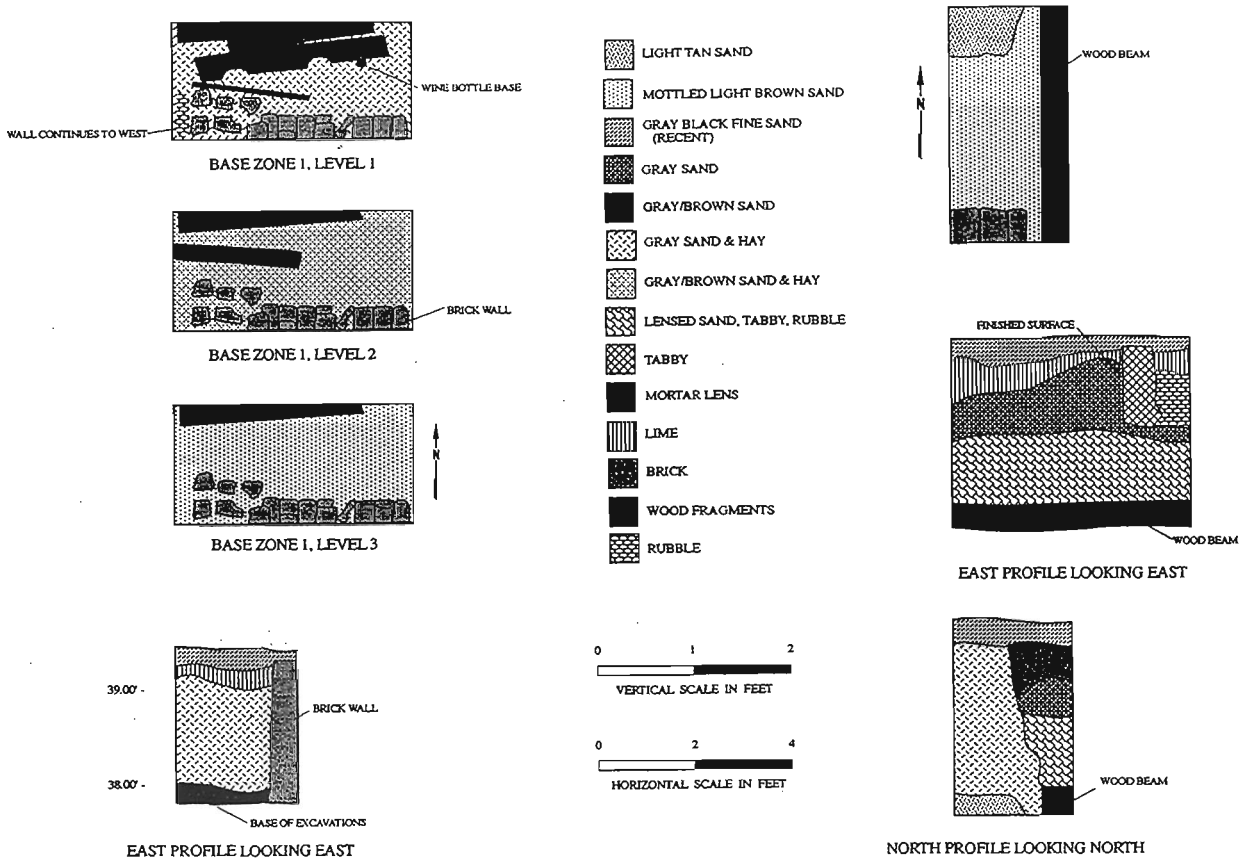

Figure 25. Plan and profile views of Test Pits 9 and 10 within the carriage house.

and a half of very dry lensed soil and hay. The desiccant quality of the hay, combined with the incredibly dry conditions under the house, created a micro-environment capable of extraordinary preservation. Materials recovered from the hay and gray sand zone (which was excavated in three arbitrary levels) includes rat and horse feces, large quantities of straw, wood timbers and boards (several with preserved paint or a lime wash), a wood basket, several carved wood containers, and

floral remains. The excavations were terminated at the base of the hay lensing where the soils became more compact and began to lighten in color. At this same point (ca. 37.80 feet MSL) the quantity of eighteenth century artifacts increased dramatically, suggesting the base of nineteenth century activities.

The timber pieces found included five items. The first was a 2.5 foot long section of 1 inch thick lumber with one beaded edge and the other edge split off. The second was a ¾-inch by 5½-inch by 4 foot board with two worn areas, each with heavy salt deposits. The wear indicates extensive use, although neither evidences teeth marks usually associated with horses. The salt staining, however, may indicate use in the stall area. The third is nominally the same dimensions except for the length, which is only 3.2 feet. This board has only one worn area and has a light lime wash. Both fragments, while found in the stable, closely resemble seats for a privy and may simply have been discarded in the stable. The fourth is a badly decayed section of lumber measuring 2-inches by 4-inches by 2.7 feet. This piece is relatively modern and comparison with similar lumber associated with the wall support constructed in ca. 1910 indicates that it is intrusive. The fifth wood timber was found in the north profile and was not removed. It is also measured ¾-inch in thickness and was 3.8 feet in length. No width could be obtained. The location of items 1-3, and 5 in Zone 1, level 1 suggests that they all were used in the structure up to its abandonment as a stable.

Along the south wall of the unit was a rudely constructed 9 inch brick wall extending approximately two feet west of the unit and one foot to the north. This brick wall extended the entire depth of the excavation, but had apparently been undermined at some point since it was about 20° off vertical to the south. The wall corresponds to architectural evidence of an east-west partition perhaps separating the carriage or gig room from a harness room.

Excavations in Test Pit 10 revealed an essentially identical stratigraphy of lensed gray sand and hay in the west half, while in the east half there were lenses of mortar, sand, building debris and tabby rubble[11]. At the base of the unit in the eastern half was a badly deteriorated 4 by 8 inch wood beam representing the plate for the cribbing established in the ca. 1910 renovations to support the structure while the tabby wall was removed. The lenses identified represent fill in the trench excavated to solid soil for the placement of this cribbing. Unlike the other wood, preserved by burial in the straw, this beam was on damp soil which caused extensive decay. The east-west running wall found in Test Pit 9 continued into Test Pit 10, but had been punched through for the placement of the cribbing. Given the damage to the eastern half of the unit it was impossible to identify any partition supports for the north-south wall suspected through architectural investigations.

Perhaps the most perplexing interpretative issues involve the variation between the "real" and the "ideal" carriage house, as well as the differences in elevation between the interior and exterior. Unfortunately, the excavation of 25 square feet is insufficient to conclusively answer the questions being asked. At this point we can only speculate on the answers and propose additional questions.

The lensing of straw[12] in both units clearly reveals the area to have been used as a box stall, rather than for carriage storage. The depth of the straw and soil mixture indicates use over a long period of time, since every time the soiled straw was removed it is likely that the sand moistened from urine would also have been dug out. Through time this would have lowered the elevation, with it

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[11] One fragment of tabby contained a finished surface with multiple coats of lime wash, representing periodic "whitewashing" to sanitize the building and brighten its appearance.

[12] Straw is a course dried plant material using as bedding, while hay is used as feed. The material identified in this work is straw, probably from wheat.

being built back up through the use of dry straw. The dating of this episode of box stall use is almost impossible, since the constant removal of dirty straw and associated moist sand would also remove datable artifacts. This current study revealed that the materials present are almost exclusively from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, although there are a few items which *may* date from the middle of the nineteenth century. George Fore has offered perhaps the best explanation for the presence of the box stalls, suggesting that as the Owens family's fortunes declined after the Civil War the carriage house was converted from the storage of a carriage to box stalls, operating as a livery for those needing to board animals.

The lower elevation within the carriage house, when compared to the yard area, is easier to explain, especially when the conversion from stable to apartments is fully considered. It is likely that the freshest straw and animal filth was removed prior to the conversion. It was at that time that the layer of lime was added to the floor to control insects and deodorize the area.

Unfortunately, the ability to answer questions concerning the carriage house has been limited by both the available resources and the presence of the floor joists and flooring. The current archaeological research, however, has revealed some information on the nature of the ca. 1910 renovations, the owners' decline in fortune in the late nineteenth century and the use of the carriage house at that time, as well as internal arrangements during its earlier period. The research has also revealed that there is a high potential of recovering significant archaeological remains from the building.

This research also offers information on the potential long-term stability of the archaeological record. As long as the floor is elevated and air circulation is not impeded, it is likely that these organically rich archaeological deposits will survive with little or no deterioration. However, as soon as the floor is lowered, either as a slab or even slightly above grade slab, it is likely that the environmental conditions will change dramatically (ventilation will decline and soil moisture will be increased) and the archaeological deposits will begin a rapid process of deterioration. This deterioration will not only have tragic consequences on our ability to interpret the Owens-Thomas site, but may also cause a lose of structural integrity to the flooring system as the organics decay and compact.

There seem to be three alternatives:

- The first is a much more intensive archaeological investigation of the carriage house after removal of the floor joists. This excavation would be guided by a continued need to better understand the layout and function of the carriage house, harness room, and stalls, as well as a need to recover sensitive archaeological artifacts. Through the large scale excavation of the building both goals could be accomplished within the currently proposed building schedule.

- The second alternative is to leave the floor raised above grade and conduct no additional archaeological research, essentially preserving the current conditions for a time when additional research might be appropriate. This alternative, of course, would require redesign of handicapped access and re-thinking the interpretation of the building.

- The third alternative is to involve a number of different architects and engineers to explore slightly above grade designs which would ensure the long-term preservation of the site by (a) not disturbing the current soil lenses and (b) not altering the current micro-environment of the crawl space area. This alternative, assuming an technically and cost effective design could be found would allow the current design to progress without the need for additional archaeological research.

It is likely that the first and third alternatives have basically similar costs, while the second alternative may be slightly less costly. The first and third alternatives allow the currently proposed at (or near) grade design to progress, while the second alternative requires that the building design be re-assessed. It is important to emphasize that a fourth alternative, the "do-nothing" alternative allowing the work to progress without additional research or redesign, would cause unacceptable losses to the archaeological record as well as expose the floor to subsequent failure as the organic materials decay.

The currently developed information reveals that the carriage house has an exceptional interpretative potential. It can be used to explore the use of animals in an urban environment throughout the nineteenth century. It can be used to show how the change of fortunes after the Civil War caused considerable modifications of daily routines and activities. It can be used to show the complexity of urban slave life, since it would have been the slaves in antebellum who were responsible for the carriage, the animals, and all of the accoutrements.

Probing in the Carriage House

In addition to the previously described formal excavation units, a series of four informal 1.5 by 1.5 foot units were excavated searching for specific architectural features. Probes 1 and 2 were placed in the northeast quadrant of the carriage house to search for stall partitions. The first probe revealed extensive disturbance from an early sewer pipe installation. The second failed to reveal any evidence of brickwork. Probe 3 was situated in the northwest quadrant, but found that the ca. 1910 pier system had caused extensive disturbance in the immediate area being explored. Probe 4 was placed after the removal of additional flooring in the northeast quadrant. This investigation, while failing to immediately identify brick features, did reveal significant information regarding the stratigraphy of the site and the potential for additional research.

Probe 4, like other areas under the existing floor, revealed about 0.3 foot of fine, loose sand reflecting recent deposition. Below this was 0.2 foot of quicklime, placed to seal the carriage house floor during the ca. 1910 renovations. Below the quicklime was about 0.2 foot of crumbling brown soil overlying 0.5 foot of very hard packed brown sand. This material, during excavation, had to picked out and appears to represent an intentionally packed floor. Artifacts within this floor date primarily from the eighteenth century, although nineteenth century materials are also found.

This particular area, which evidences no disturbances, offers a dramatically different stratigraphic profile that revealed by Test Pits 9 and 10. Additional excavation in this area has the potential to reveal earth-fast post stains and the packed soil itself is an archaeological feature which can be used to interpret the use of space within the carriage house. Given the significance of this feature to interpret the architecture of the carriage house, it should be further explored after removal of the floor joists.

Probing in the Yard Area

In an effort to expeditiously investigate the two areas, anticipated to measure about 10 by 8 feet, selected for toilet locations -- one in the northwest yard area and one in the southwest -- probing at 0.5 foot intervals was undertaken. The goal of this work was exclusively to identify intact, surface architectural features, principally walls. In both areas the probing identified a number of "positive hits," attributed to brick rubble. This nearly uniform distribution of rubble is not unexpected given that the excavations revealed considerable evidence of the earlier eighteenth century occupation of the site, coupled with early twentieth century modifications to the extant structure. Especially dense remains were found during the probing in the northwest yard area, perhaps related to the shed or privy shown on the various Sanborn Insurance Maps. The probing, however, failed to reveal any clearly intact architectural remains. The southwestern area revealed much sparser remains, with the

only obvious concentration occurring the southeast portion of the examined area, perhaps correlating with the intact shed pier found in the excavation of Test Pit 2.

The examination of these two areas, while failing to identify any obviously intact remains, did suggest that any activities to take place in these areas should be designed to impact only the upper 0.5 foot of the extant original soil (excluding the planter fill). Below this depth there remains the potential for intact archaeological and architectural remains. In particular, the excavations in Test Pit 4 revealed the existence of an eighteenth century wall running along the north property line. This wall, if present in the vicinity of the proposed northwest toilet, should not be damaged during the location of the water and sewer lines. If these lines cannot be run either over this wall, or to the south, the toilet should be relocated.

ARTIFACTS

Introduction

These excavations at the Owens-Thomas Carriage House produced 4305 artifacts, as well as samples of architectural materials (primarily bricks and stone) and soil samples. The 10 test pits have been divided into four basic analytic units on the basis of spatial location, supposed function, and the origin of the artifact assemblage. These include:

- the yard area, which was further divided into early/mixed and late deposits with the early deposits anticipated to reflect refuse discarded or lost during DeBraham's ownership of the eastern half of the Trust Lot and the later materials deposited by the slaves using the carriage house yard;

- the stable area, which is anticipated to reflect refuse discarded by slaves or freedmen during the use of the carriage in the nineteenth century;

- the carriage house area, which is anticipated to consist of materials deposited by the slaves living in the carriage house during the early antebellum; and

- the sidewalk area, which most likely represents mixed deposits from a wide variety of locations.

Obviously, the assumptions on which these divisions are grounded can be questioned, and for those desiring to explore the collection from different perspectives, Tables 1 through 4 provide the raw counts of artifacts within these four areas. Since the goals of this work were largely to support the architectural research, we have not incorporated artifact descriptions, but instead have chosen to concentrate on issues of dating, pattern, function, and status in an effort to maximize the information the collections can contribute to our understanding of the Owens-Thomas House.

The collections include a rather large assemblage of eighteenth century material from the initial occupation of the site. The nineteenth century remains, from the construction of the extant Owens-Thomas House and its Carriage House, are sparse in comparison and limited both spatially and stratigraphically. In addition, our work found rather constant mixing of the assemblages, requiring the use of several analytical techniques (discussed below) to maximize the data return.

In addition to the normal assemblage of ceramics, glass, and metals, the excavations in the stable (Test Pits 9 and 10) produced a very dry, desiccated environment conducive to the preservation of fabric, paper, and wood. These items bear special, if brief, mention and discussion.

Seven proveniences produced 15 fragments of fabric, including cotton, silk, wool, and jute or hemp. These items include possible clothing, upholstery, and bagging. The remains are described in Table 5. Three fragments of paper were found in two proveniences. One is brown kraft paper, another is white with letterpress type representing a form from the Board of Health, and the third is

Table 1.
Artifacts Associated with the Carriage House Yard Area.

Artifacts	TP1	TP2 1.1	TP2 1.2	TP2 1.3	TP3	TP4	Fea. 1	TP5 1.1	TP5 1.2	Fea. 2W	Total
Overglazed Chinese Porcelain	2	2	5	20	1		2				32
Underglazed Chinese Porcelain	6	5	9	30	2	4	1	2			59
Overglazed English Porcelain							2				2
Underglazed English Porcelain					1		8				9
White Porcelain		2				2			1		5
NA Salt Glazed Stonewares	1		3	6			6		1		17
Ginger Beer Bottle							1				1
Alkaline Glazed Stonewares				1							1
Nottingham	1		1	1							3
Westerwald			3	4	1						8
White Salt Glazed Stonewares	2	1	3	12			3				21
White Salt Glazed Stonewares, Scratch Blue				7							7
Lead Glazed Slipwares	3	1	13	21				1			39
Jackfield	1			2							3
Green Glazed, Cream Body							1				1
Clouded Wares	1		1				1	1			4
Decorated Delft	2			2			1		5		10
Plain Delft			8	4	2		3		1		18
Buckley Ware							1				1
Creamware, Undecorated	17	2	25	87	3	5	34	3	12		188
Annular	1							2	2		5
Black Transfer Printed	1										1
Pearlware, Undecorated	12	4	5	2	1	3	26	2	20		75
Polychrome Hand Painted			1						2		3
Blue Hand Painted			7		1						8
Blue Transfer Printed	9	9			13	1	6	2	2		42
Edged	8		2	2	1	6		1			20
Annular	3	3			3	1					10
Whiteware, Undecorated	1			1	1	2	8	1	1		15
Blue Transfer Printed	2	1			5				4		12
Non-Blue Transfer Printed	1	1	1		1						4
Annular	1										1
Metallic Luster		1									1
Tinted Glaze					1				1		2
Redwares			2	2			1				5
Burnt Earthenwares				1		1	2				4
Glass, Black	14	15	16	209	8	12	101	4	27		406
Lt. Olive	11	1	2	13							27
Clear	8	14	3	29	19	36	77	22	13		221
Aqua		2	6	30		17	63	5	6		129
Brown	1				1	1	2		1		6
Blue	1				1	1	1				4
Milk	1	1			1		1	2			6
Bright Green					2		1				3
Drinking Container Fragments	8	3	1	3	1	1	5		1		23
Glass Bowl Fragments						1					1
Crown Caps						1	2				3
Stove Parts							1				1
Window Glass	32	12	43	158	16	28	114	34	25	5	467
Construction Hardware	7	3		2		1	1		3	1	18
Wrought Nails							13				13
Cut Nails	3						5		2		10
Cut Nail Fragments							5	1			6
Wire Nails	5	1				12	8	2			28
Wire Nail Fragments						2					2
UID Nail Fragments	61	9	33	155	12	9	82	15	28		404
Spikes				2				1			3
Furniture Artifacts			1	1				1			3
Gunflint				1							1
Lead Shot				1							1
Pipestems, 4/64"						6			1		7
5/64"	2		3	10		3	1	1			20
6/64"							1		2		3
Pipebowls	1			3							4
Buttons		1	1		1	1	2			1	7
Coins			1							1	
Bone Toothbrush							1				1
Jewelry									1		1
Toys		1	1		1	4	1				8
Tools								1			1
Storage Items	1					1		1			3
Miscellaneous Hardware	1				1	7	6		2		17
Other Items			1	4	1	8	6	2			22
Total	232	95	201	826	102	177	67	107	164	7	2518

Table 2.
Artifacts Associated with the Stable Area.

	-------TU9--------			-------TU10-------			
Artifacts	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.3	Total
Overglazed Chinese Porcelain		1	4	3		7	15
Underglazed Chinese Porcelain			1	3	2	3	9
NA Salt Glazed Stonewares						4	4
Alkaline Glazed Stonewares		1				1	2
Westerwald			3				3
White Salt Glazed Stonewares		2	2	1	1	7	13
Lead Glazed Slipwares		1	2			5	8
Jackfield	2		1			3	
Decorated Delft		2	2				4
Plain Delft			1	1		2	4
Creamware, Undecorated	3	14	11	5	4	11	48
Annular						1	1
Blue Hand Painted	1						1
Pearlware, Undecorated		7	1	4		1	13
Blue Transfer Printed	1				1	1	3
Edged		1			1		2
Annular		1					1
Whiteware, Undecorated	2		1		1	2	6
Blue Transfer Printed		1					1
Non Blue Transfer Printed			1		1	2	4
Decalcomania		1					1
Redwares		2	2		1	1	6
Glass, Black	30	70	10	18	11	10	149
Lt. Olive	8	1					9
Clear	12	4	1	6		1	24
Aqua	4	29	3	3	5	11	55
Emerald Green	1						1
Glass Bowls		1					1
Drinking Vessel Glass			1				1
Can Fragments	17	34	2		14	12	79
Crown Caps				2			2
Window Glass	8	40	13	5	15	38	119
Construction Hardware	2		1	3		1	7
Wrought Nails				1		1	2
Wrought Nail Fragments	1			2			3
Cut Nails	5			3		1	9
Cut Nail Fragments	1	2		5		1	9
Wire Nails	1	1		17			19
UID Nail Fragments		6	17	6	7	25	61
Spikes		1					1
Furniture Items	2						2
Pipe Stems, 4/64"					1		1
5/64"	1		1	1	1	2	6
Pipe Bowls						1	1
Buttons	1	1		1		1	4
Fabric	9	1	3	2	2	1	18
Leather					1	1	2
Brass Bell		1					1
Toys	1			12		1	14
Storage Items	1	1	5	1	1		9
Stable/Barn Items	1			1			2
Miscellaneous Hardware	2	1			4		7
Other Items	2	9	5	4	4	2	26
Total	118	239	93	111	78	157	796

Table 3.
Artifacts Associated with the Carriage House and Slave Occupation.

Artifacts	TU8
Overglazed Chinese Porcelain	4
Underglazed Chinese Porcelain	1
Overglazed English Porcelain	3
Ginger Beer	3
White Salt Glazed Stonewares	1
Clouded Wares	1
Creamware, Undecorated	10
Pearlware, Undecorated	3
Polychrome Hand Painted	1
Blue Transfer Printed	2
Annular	3
Whiteware, Undecorated	1
Polychrome Hand Painted	1
Redwares	1
UID Earthenwares	2
Glass, Black	44
Aqua	32
Clear	18
Brown	3
Blue	3
Eating Utensils	5
Drinking Vessels	6
UID Tableware Vessels	1
Window Glass	52
Construction Hardware	2
Wrought Nails	9
Wrought Nail Fragments	1
Cut Nails	10
Cut Nail Fragments	10
Wire Nails	3
UID Nail Fragments	71
Spikes	5
Pipestems, 4/64"	1
5/64"	5
6/64"	3
Pipe Bowls	6
Buttons	17
Other Clothing	23
Coins	2
Jewelry/Watch Parts	3
Fan Rib	1
Slate Pencil	1
Toys	7
Storage Items	2
Miscellaneous Hardware	3
Other Items	6
Total	392

UID = unidentifiable

Table 4.
Artifacts Associated with the Public Sidewalk Area.

Artifacts	---TU6--- I.1	I.2	Cap	Fill	TU7	Fea. 2E	Fea. 3	Total
Overglazed Chinese Porcelain	1	2						3
Underglazed Chinese Porcelain	4	4	2		3		3	16
White Porcelain		1						1
NA Salt Glazed Stoneware	1	6			1			8
Westerwald	2							2
White Salt Glazed Stoneware	1				2			3
Lead Glazed Slipwares	1	6			2			9
Clouded Wares	1		1					2
Decorated Delft	2				1			3
Undecorated Delft							1	1
Creamware, Undecorated	7	21	3		8	2	3	44
Annular		2						2
Pearlware, Undecorated	5	15	1		1		1	23
Polychrome Hand Painted			1			1		2
Blue Hand Painted	1		1		3			5
Blue Transfer Print	5	15	1		6	1		28
Edged	3	5						8
Annular		1			1			2
Whiteware, Undecorated		1						1
Blue Transfer Printed		4	1					5
Annular		1						1
Yellow Ware	2							2
Redwares	2				1			3
UID Coarse Earthenwares	1							1
Glass, Black	5	40	1	3	14	1		64
Aqua	5	25	2		11		2	45
Clear	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	12
Bright Green	3				1			4
Drinking Containers		3						3
Kettle Fragments		1						1
Can Fragments					8			8
Window Glass	25	43	10	3	21	9	7	118
Construction Hardware	2	1						3
Wrought Nails	13	8	5		11	1	6	44
Wrought Nail Fragments	6	2	1					9
Cut Nails		4			4	1		9
Cut Nail Fragments		2			4			6
Wire Nails	5	2	1		3			11
UID Nail Fragments	15	34	1	1	8		2	61
Furniture Items	1	1						2
Gunflints	1							1
Pipestems, 4/64"	1	2						3
5/64"	2				1			3
Pipe Bowls			1					1
Buttons	2		1		1			4
Buckles	1							1
Toys		1						1
Stable/Barn		1						1
Miscellaneous Hardware	2	1			1			4
Other Items	2							2
Total	134	259	34	8	119	16	26	596

a remnant of a printed book page. None have dates. The wood materials include a fragmentary chair rung, a wood top fragment, a 5½ inch diameter "Shaker" box with a one piece base (probably made from white oak), and a 1½ inch diameter tapered jar-shaped wood container carved from a single piece of wood. Also found was a fragment of woven straw hat brim. Leather items included primarily shoe parts, although harness leather was also recovered from several stable proveniences.

Table 5.
Fabric from the Stable Area.

Provenience	Material	Thread Count	Possible Function	Color
TP8, Z.1, L.1	wool	60	brocade	
TP9, Z.1, L.1	cotton	74	clothing/mattress tick	white/blue stripes
	cotton	76	clothing/mattress tick	white
	cotton	24	clothing?	unidentifiable
	cotton	100	clothing/upholstery	off white?
	jute/hemp	12	burlap	
	jute/hemp	12	burlap	
	jute/hemp	12	burlap	
	jute/hemp	12	burlap	
	jute/hemp	12	burlap	
TP9, Z.1, L.2	cotton	68	clothing	white
TP9, Z.1, L.3	silk	120	clothing	unidentifiable
TP10, Z.1, L.1	cotton	60	clothing	light color
TP10, Z.1, L.2	cotton	30	clothing?	dark color

Dating Syntheses

Each of the four analytic units under consideration produced an adequate ceramic sample for application of South's Mean Ceramic Dating technique (South 1977:217-218). In general, the dates tend to be early, in several cases much earlier than the known historic dates for the Owens-Thomas occupation.

The yard area proveniences were subdivided into two groups -- those which obviously dated from the initial settlement of the lot in the eighteenth century or which were mixed assemblages (PI 1; TP 2, Z. 1, L.2 and 3; TP 5, Z. 1, L. 1 and 2; Feature 1) and those which were felt to be more certainly nineteenth century in origin (TP 2, Z. 1, L.1; TP 3; TP 4). Our decision to incorporate the eighteenth century and mixed proveniences was based on our primary concern with the nineteenth century Owens-Thomas occupation, although obviously, other permutations of the materials are present. The mean ceramic date (MCD) for the early or mixed proveniences is 1780.7, while the mean ceramic date for the latter assemblages is 1801.5 (Table 6).

The stable area produced an even earlier date, with a MCD of 1780. The unit under the carriage house, presumed to be associated with the slave occupation of the site, yielded a MCD of 1792.4. The sidewalk area, which is a public area and likely reflects trash accumulated from a variety of sources, produced a mean ceramic date of 1793.3.

The reason for these early dates is clear enough -- the vast bulk of the collection consists of materials with an eighteenth, or at best very early nineteenth century date. Whitewares are uncommon, especially when compared to the creamware and pearlware assemblage. The reason or reasons the nineteenth century occupation left such a limited impact on the archaeological record is less clear. Certainly there is greater deposition of eighteenth century materials, probably the result of the earlier occupation. Coupled with this is perhaps the nature of the site being investigated -- a

Table 6.
Mean Ceramic Dates

Ceramic	Mean Date (xi)	Early Yard (fi)	Early Yard fi·xi	Late Yard (fi)	Late Yard fi·xi	Stable (fi)	Stable fi·xi	Carriage Hs. (fi)	Carriage Hs. fi·xi	Sidewalk (fi)	Sidewalk fi·xi
OG Chinese Porcelain	1730	29	50170	3	5190	15	25950	4	6920	3	5190
UG Chinese Porcelain	1730	48	83040	11	19030	9	15570	1	1730	16	27680
English Porcelain	1770	8	14160	1	1770			3	5310		
White Porcelain	1883	1	1883	4	7522					1	1883
NA SG Stoneware	1866	17	31722			4	7464			8	14928
Nottingham	1755	3	5265								
Westerwald	1738	7	12166	1	1738	3	5214			2	3476
White SG Stoneware	1758	20	35160	1	1758	13	22854	1	1758	3	5274
WSGS, scratch blue	1760	7	12320								
Ginger Beer SW	1860	1	1860					3	5580		
Lead Glazed Slipware	1733	38	65854	1	1733	8	13864			9	15597
Jackfield	1760	3	5250			3	5280				
Green Glazed, Cream Body	1767	1	1767								
Clouded Wares	1755	4	7020					1	1755	2	3510
Delft, decorated	1750	10	17500			4	7000			3	5250
plain	1720	16	27520	2	3440	4	6880			1	1720
Buckley Ware	1748	1	1748								
Creamware, undecorated	1791	178	318798	10	17910	48	85968	10	17910	44	78804
annular	1798	5	8990			1	1798			2	3596
blue hp	1805					1	1805				
tp	1790	1	1790								
Pearlware, undecorated	1805	67	120935	8	14440	13	23465	3	5415	23	41515
blue tp	1818	19	34542	23	41814	3	5454	2	3636	28	50904
poly hp	1805							1	1805	2	3610
blue hp	1800			1	1800					5	9000
edged	1805	13	23465	1	1805	2	3610			8	14440
annular	1805	3	5415	7	12635	1	1805	3	5415	2	3610
Whiteware, undecorated	1860	12	22320	3	5580	6	11160	1	1860	1	1860
poly hp	1848							1	1848		
blue tp	1848	6	11088	6	11088	1	1848			5	9240
non-blue tp	1851	2	3702	2	3702	4	7404				
annular	1866									1	1866
decalcomania	1926	1	1926			1	1926				
tinted	1941	1	1941	1	1941						
metallic luster	1831			1	1831						
Yellow Ware	1853									2	3706
Total		532	947332	87	156727	144	256319	34	60942	171	306659
MCD			1780.7		1801.5		1780.0		1792.4		1793.3

carriage house with a relatively modest domestic assemblage associated with slaves. We may be seeing a situation the remains from nineteenth century low status occupation was overwhelmed by the earlier, higher status assemblage. The dates may also reflect the social status of the nineteenth century occupants, with the slaves being given discarded heirloom pieces or old sets from the main house as they were no longer in vogue (this concept is further explored below).

It is clear from these discussions that there is a need to more clearly understand when different site areas were used. To aid in determining intensity of use over time, a variation of another method of dating may be used. This technique has been employed by Bartovics (1981) in his study of Daniel's Village. Bartovics advocates the calculation of probability distributions for ceramic types within an assemblage. Using this technique an approximation of the probability of a ceramic type contribution to the site's occupation is derived. This formula is expressed:

$$Pj/yr. = \frac{fi}{F \times Dj}$$

where

Pj = partial probability contribution
fj = number of sherds in type j
F = number of sherds in sample
Dj = duration in range of years

While the actual computations are not included with this study, they revealed that most assemblages were likely to have been deposited in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The early and mixed yard assemblages indicate deposition was most likely between 1740 and 1830, indicating that they are, in fact, thoroughly mixed. In contrast, the later yard assemblage was most likely deposited between 1780 and 1840, more closely approximating what might be expected from the historic record. The stable assemblage revealed that extensive deposits occurred between 1740 and 1830. This is most likely mixed since the bulk of the work in the stable was conducted in an area where the removal of hay would cause extensive disturbance and "excavation" into the earlier eighteenth century zones. In this area the ceramics are likely very poor indicators of temporal range. Likewise, under the carriage house, in deposits attributed to the stable and carriage servants, the ceramics indicate intensive depositions occurring between 1740 and 1840. Finally, as might be expected, the sidewalk assemblage indicates the greatest temporal range in deposition, from 1762 to 1840.

This research goes beyond the historic documentation -- or at least the historic documentation currently available -- and suggests that virtually all of the assemblages indicate an almost complete cessation of deposition between 1830 and 1840. It is early during this period that the house passed from its original owner, Richard Richardson through a variety of hands to George Welshman Owens, its last owner of influence before the Civil War. Regrettably little is known about the site's history during the last half of the nineteenth century, but this very preliminary research indicates that the carriage house and slave quarters were largely unused.

It was also possible to determine the *terminus post quem* for Feature 2E -- the eastern drain associated with the carriage house. Here the presence of blue transfer printed whiteware reveals that the deposit must have been laid after 1795, while the builder's trench, Feature 3, has a *terminus post quem* date of 1780, based on the presence of undecorated pearlware. These are somewhat early TPQs for a structure known to have been built ca. 1817-1819, but considering the small sample are not particularly disappointing.

Pattern Analysis and Comparisons

South's artifact groups serve not only as a convenience method of ordering archaeological data, but are also functional categories which can be used for an "artifact pattern analysis." South (1977) maintains that the patterns identified in the archaeological record will reflect cultural processes and can assist in delimiting distinct site types. The recognition of these patterns is not an end in and of

itself, but rather should be one of a series of techniques useful for comparing different sites with the ultimate goal of distinguishing cultural processes at work in the archaeological record. Other researchers have wisely observed that the technique can be misused (see, for example, Joseph 1989), being forced beyond its originally bounds by poor samples, inadequately documented collecting strategies, and inappropriate comparisons. When used with prudence, it has the potential to help explain the function of archaeological assemblages and explore the meaning of different artifact collections.

Even at the level of a fairly simply heuristic device, pattern analysis has revealed five to seven "archaeological signatures," several of which are of particular importance to our work at the Owens-Thomas House. For example, the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982; South 1977) is taken to reflect an averaging of British domestic behavior, while Zierden from her extensive work in Charleston has developed a mean profile or pattern for dual-function (commercial and domestic) Charleston sites, as well as a townhouse profile[13] (see Grimes and Zierden 1988:98). Garrow (1982) also developed the Public Interaction Artifact Pattern intended to reflect the pattern at sites serving public, rather than domestic, functions. Garrow (1982) also proposes the Washington Civic Center Pattern, which Cheek et al. (1983:90) suggest might be better termed a "Nineteenth Century White Urban Pattern."

Table 7 lists the artifact patterns for the Owens-Thomas site (excluding the early and mixed yard deposits) and compares them to several previously generated patterns. The Owens-Thomas House mean very closely approximates the Townhouse profile from excavations in Charleston, South Carolina. In fact, the only major differences are the higher than anticipated percentage of clothing and activities artifacts. The high proportion of the activities remains is clearly associated with the very large number of specialized artifacts found throughout the site, including the yard, stable, and under house areas. The quantity of these remains is likely related to the special function of the site, coupled with its use for recreation by the slaves (accounting for very large quantities of "toys"[14] in many of the assemblages. The contribution of clothing items from one 5-foot unit has swelled the site mean (see Table 3). Although it is difficult to determine whether the one unit is representative, or if it simply reflects sampling bias, it seems reasonable that clothing items are more likely to be lost between floor boards that a wide variety of other items. Finally, some disparity may be expected simply considering the different sampling strategies employed by the Charleston research (investigations at multiple sites which included a variety of yard areas) when compared to the work at the Owens-Thomas House (one site with only the service yard incorporated into the sampling). Regardless, the similarities to the Charleston Townhouse profile far outweigh these minor differences.

It is perhaps more interesting to view the different site areas and explore their relationship to the mean. Examination of Table 7 reveals that while the site mean is very similar to the Charleston Townhouse profile, the individual site areas show considerable deviation around that mean. In fact, when only kitchen and architecture items (frequently perceived of the major determinants of the patterning process) are viewed, it is clear that the late yard and stable cluster together, along with the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Charleston Dual-Function profile. The Carriage House unit,

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[13] This artifact pattern profile was developed on the basis of excavations at three Charleston townhouses: Gibbes, Aiken-Rhett, and Rutledge. While each is a relatively small sample, taken together this represents an impressive urban town-house collection with considerable homogeneity. The pattern reflects an activities group lower than South's Carolina Artifact Pattern, which Grimes and Zierden (1988:99) observe is not unexpected since South used both domestic and commercial sites to develop his pattern and the activities group may be taken as an indication of commercial behavior.

[14] The most notable of which are marbles, likely used in games of chance by the slaves.

Table 7.
Comparison of Artifact Patterns

	Owens-Thomas House					Charleston		
	Late Yard	Stable	Carriage Hs.	Sidewalk	Site Mean	Revised Carolina	Dual Function	Townhouse
Kitchen	62.30	59.43	38.01	52.35	53.02	58.40	63.10	58.38
Architecture	28.07	28.89	41.58	43.79	35.58	28.30	25.03	36.00
Furniture	.00	0.25	.00	0.34	0.15	0.40	0.08	0.21
Arms	.00	.00	.00	0.17	0.04	0.20	.20	0.32
Tobacco	2.41	1.00	3.83	1.17	2.10	7.90	5.97	2.79
Clothing	0.80	3.01	10.20	0.84	3.71	3.00	1.18	0.91
Personal	.00	0.13	1.79	.00	0.48	0.35	0.14	0.24
Activities	6.42	7.29	4.59	1.34	4.92	1.30	4.14	1.10

Notes: Revised Carolina Artifact pattern from South (1977) and Garrow (1982).
Charleston patterns from Grimes and Zierden (1988).

as well as the sidewalk unit[15], are both isolates, as it the Charleston Townhouse profile.

The clustering of the yard and stable kitchen/architecture artifact proportions with those of the Revised Carolina Pattern and Charleston Dual Function profiles is re-assuring, as is the more general similarity of the Owens-Thomas House means to the overall means of the Charleston Townhouse profile. The correlation of Savannah and Charleston patterns should not be surprising since the identification of broad, culturally based patterns is the goal of South's technique and two Southern urban centers might be expected to have more in common than not.

Still, there are differences worthy of additional research. Most significantly, the Charleston work (based on much larger and diverse samples) strongly suggests that the Activities Group is a particularly good indicator to distinguish combined domestic and commercial shops, with by-products indicative of site function swelling the Activities Group, from the townhouse sites with only domestic remains and consequently, few activities related artifacts. Yet at the rear yard of the Owens-Thomas excavations, at a site clearly similar to those on which the Townhouse profile has been based, there is a very strong showing of Activities Group material. As previously mentioned, this difference seems best explained by the nature of the rear yard at the Owens-Thomas House. Always shielded from the main yard, always used for service activities, and always the domain of the African American servants, this yard takes on a different artifact pattern than the more homogeneous yard characterizing the Charleston Townhouse profile. In fact, it may be that the Owens-Thomas Carriage House, or similar sites with clearly defined yard spaces, may be able to provide a clearer view of the nineteenth century urban slavery than other sites previously studied.

Future research may show that the Carriage House profile, with its nearly equal proportions of kitchen and architecture items, and heavy emphasis on clothing and activities provides an indication of what may have been some additional freedoms allowed African Americans in the urban environment. At an archaeological level this may relate to better or more clothing items, and an increase in toys and objects related to various craft activities.

Status and Lifestyle Observations

Since one goal of archaeological research has traditionally been to better understand how different people lived, a wide variety of techniques have evolved for looking at status and lifestyle. At times the efforts have devolved into rather simplistic statements, causing at least one researcher to remark, "It is well known that the rich lived better than the poor," and suggest that archaeologists should "count less and think more" (Friedlander 1990:109). Hopefully, it is possible to both count more (or at least in different ways) and to think (both more and better).

In the past archaeologists have used assemblage level studies to gain some indication of status. For example, Otto (1984:64-67) has used the percentages of decorated ceramic types, finding that nineteenth century Cannon's Point slaves tended to use considerably more undecorated, banded,

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[15] The sidewalk unit does bare a close resemblance to the Public Interaction Pattern (Garrow 1982:67). The most striking feature of this pattern is the nearly equal proportion of kitchen and architecture artifacts. This has been suggested the result of the essentially non-domestic nature of the pattern, coupled with the massive architecture of public buildings. The sidewalk assemblage shows some similarity to this pattern, most likely indicating that the materials have accumulated from a range of different activities, including both architectural demolition and construction, as well from domestic refuse.

edged, and hand painted wares than the plantation owner, who tended to use transfer printed wares[16]. Of course, on rural sites there seems to be better spatial separation of refuse than is found at many urban sites. Likewise, mindful of Friedlander's admonishment, we hoped that this approach would reveal the extent to which finer wares were being passed on to the slaves in the carriage house, as well as their potential to acquire better wares.

Table 8.
Ceramic Decorative Types, by percent of MNV

Decorative Type	Late Yard	Stable	Carriage Hs.	Sidewalk
Undecorated	10.0	65.2	42.8	40.0
Annular	25.0	8.7	42.8	12.0
Edged	10.0	13.0		16.0
Hand Painted		4.3	8.6	
Decalcomania		4.3		
Luster	5.0			
Transfer Printed	50.0	4.3		16.0

Table 8 reveals that the yard is dominated by transfer printed wares, although the interior spaces, such as the stable and the carriage house, are dominated by undecorated, annual, and edged wares with transfer printed ceramics uncommon to absent. The high percentage of transfer printed wares in the yard may be related to mixing from the eighteenth century deposits, which has been a problem throughout this study. Alternatively, these materials may reflect trash from the main house, spread over the work yard as a disposal technique. If the site is taken as a whole, combining the vessels from the yard, stable, and carriage house, plain wares dominate (40%), followed by annular and transfer printed (at 20% and 22% respectively), edged (10%), and hand painted, decalcomania, and luster accounting for only 8% of the vessels.

There seems to be little evidence for an assemblage evidencing a large proportion of higher status wares (with fully 70% of the ceramics evidencing a relatively simple, lower status decorative motif), as one might expect if discarded ceramics from the main house were being provided to the slaves or if the slaves were using available cash income from "working out" for better ceramics. Taking a more conservative view, and emphasizing the transfer printed wares, at least in the yard area, it is possible to argue that the site represents something midway between the two poles of upper and lower status. The sidewalk area closely parallels the average of the site, suggesting that refuse was not scattered too far and that materials in the sidewalk area may retain a semblance of their original character.

Vessel form may also be used to explore status and wealth, with slave assemblages most often containing relatively high percentages of bowls and utilitarian wares, while planters' sites tend to exhibit more plates and teawares. Table 9 reveals the distribution of different vessel forms, indicating that plates are common in all of the various site areas -- much more common than might be expected for a site used by nineteenth century African American slaves. Most surprising, however, may be the near absence of utilitarian vessels (with only one example recovered from the excavations). This

[16] Zierden and Grimes (1989:96) observe that while porcelains are typically taken as indicators of status in the eighteenth century, they were replaced by transfer printed wares in the early nineteenth century, with transfer printed wares from upper status townhouse sites typically accounting for around 22% of the ceramics.

absence of storage or utilitarian vessels). This view seems to support the view that while the site may be distinct from the Townhouse profiles developed in Charleston, it fails to be dominated by the low status wares that one might expect at a site associated with slaves.

Table 9.
Vessel Forms (by percent of MNV)

Vessel Form	Late Yard	Stable	Carriage Hs.	Sidewalk
Tablewares				
Plates/saucers	51.7	50.0	46.1	65.7
Bowls	41.4	30.5	53.9	26.5
Serving		2.8		2.9
Tea and Coffeeware	6.9	13.9		5.9
Utilitarian		2.8		

Miller (1980, 1991) has suggested a technique for the analysis of ceramic collections to yield information on the economic value of the assemblage which, as Garrow notes, "theoretically provides a means of roughly determining the economic position of the household that used and discarded the ceramics" (Garrow 1982:66). While this technique could have profound impacts on urban archaeological research, revolutionizing our perception of the economic status, it has not been embraced by all historic archaeologists, significantly reducing its usefulness in comparative studies.

The technique has been used for the assemblages at the Owens-Thomas House (with the exception of the sidewalk collections), with the results shown in Table 10. Of course, as Miller himself would point out -- this is a less than ideal test, since the proveniences are not totally sealed and there is the possibility of contamination (especially from the earlier eighteenth century occupation level). As with the decorative types, there is a dichotomy between the yard and the structural units. The ceramic index values for the stable and carriage house excavations are uniformly low -- comparable to among some of the lowest values identified at South Carolina slave sites (see Hacker and Adams 1993:176). In contrast, the ceramic index for the yard is very high -- exceeding the value for typical planters. If the three areas are averaged together (a strategy which we cannot prove is appropriate given the small samples), they yield a overall ceramic index of 1.85, still rather high and perhaps equal to a plantation overseer or small owner.

Summary

Since the goal of this work was, at least partially, to explore the nature of urban slavery, it seems appropriate, if not exactly risky, to summarize with a few observations synthesizing the previous sections. The causal reader is almost certainly struck by either the sense of the obvious or the sense of ambiguity. As an apology we can only plead that this is among one of the few urban archaeological studies in this area outside of Charleston and that its primary objective was recovery of architectural (not cultural) information.

In the context of the obvious, it is clear that the African American slaves living in the carriage house and working in the stable and stable yard were not wealthy. They did not have fine porcelains or expensive leaded crystal. Yet when compared to high status urban sites in Charleston, some parts of the slave assemblages exhibit a surprising wealth of clothing and personal objects. Only in the category of furniture hardware does the Owens-Thomas assemblage depart from others of higher status. Without better information from more sites we can only speculate that the apparent wealth of the assemblage is real and reflects the ability of urban slaves to exercise greater control over their own

Table 10.
Ceramic Index Values

	Late Yard			Stable			Carriage House		
Plates									
undecorated				1.00 (1780)	6	6.00	1.00 (1792)	2	2.00
edged	2.00 (1802)	2	4.00	2.00 (1787)	3	6.00			
transfer printed	5.25 (1796)	6	31.50						
	(average value = 4.40)			(average value = 1.20)			(average value = 1.00)		
Bowls									
undecorated	1.00 (1801)	2	2.00	1.00 (1780)	5	5.00	1.00 (1792)	1	1.00
annular	1.60 (1799)	5	8.00	1.60 (1799)	1	1.60	1.60 (1799)	3	4.80
hand painted							2.00 (1799)	2	2.00
trans printed	4.32 (1795)	3	12.96	4.32 (1795)	7	4.32			
	(average value = 2.30)			(average value = 1.53)			(average value = 1.40)		
Cups/Saucers									
undecorated				1.00 (1780)	3	3.00			
annular				2.17 (1825)	1	2.17			
hand painted				2.50 (1787)	1	2.50			
				(average value = 1.53)					
Totals		18	58.46		22	20.59		8	9.80
Ceramic Index		3.25			1.39			1.23	

persons, their labor, and their surroundings. Whether furniture was simply not an object sought after by African Americans in the urban environment, or whether it was unachievable, cannot be determined using this evidence, although it seems likely that even by "working out" the slave would have been limited in his cash acquisitions.

Much of this analysis has concentration on what the ceramics -- their decoration, their vessel form, and their cost -- can tell us about the status of those presumably using them, breaking them, and leaving them behind[17]. We have chosen to proceed on the basis of the assemblage more-or-less accurately reflecting the African American slaves who lived and worked at the site. With this in mind, the assemblage becomes almost an oddity -- straddling or at times alternating between the presumed wealth/upper status of the white owner and the poverty/lower status of the black slave.

While the bulk of the ceramics are either plain or have inexpensive decoration, a sizeable portion are transfer printed. Likewise, the collection is nearly evenly divided between plates, typically associated with formal English dining, and bowls, associated with the one-pot stews typical of slavery. When the collection is viewed as a whole, using George Miller's ceramic index, it suggests a middling status -- perhaps akin to the plantation overseer. In other words, while some parts of the assemblage could readily be attributed to a "typical" slave site, others cannot -- at least not easily.

At the present time it is impossible to attribute this "diversity" to either cast-offs from the main house or to intentional purchases by the slaves. Perhaps future work at the main house will provide the information necessary to determine the availability of different designs and motifs. Likewise, work at the main house would offer the first step in creating a comparative sample. We are currently looking a very small "slice of the pie," essentially examining the collection in a vacuum. Future work at additional sites will also help create a firmer understanding of the expected diversity and refine our interpretation of the data.

[17] One of the ambiguities is whether the assemblage, especially the yard assemblage, is mixed or represents a relatively "pure" collection of materials deposited by the African American slaves at the Owens-Thomas House. If we make the admittedly brash assumption that the assemblage is "pure" then we are faced yet additional ambiguities -- it would be easier to assume mixing of main house and slave quarter's refuse and through out the collection. But, the easy answer is often not the right one.

SUMMARY, SYNTHESIS, AND INTERPRETATION

The goal of a summary, or at least a good summary, is as much to excite the reader into reading the text, as it is to answer substantive questions. Unfortunately, that ability is often lost on archaeologists, who view summaries as either an opportunity to rehash what has been said before, albeit perhaps in less boring and formidable length, or alternatively as an opportunity to quickly close the writing and put the whole experience behind them. If we wish this summary to be any different, it will help to dispense with some of the formality. All of the qualifications and (hopefully) explanations are offered in the text. Here, we will concentrate only on reconstruction -- on answering the questions previously posed -- and on making, in some small degree, the past of the Owens-Thomas Carriage House come alive.

The first series of questions posed were architectural and related to how the site was put together or how archaeology could contribute to the architectural conservation of the structure.

What was the arrangement of internal partitions within the carriage house? Architectural studies could only decipher what was present at grade or above. Archaeological studies can add another dimension -- that of below grade remains. The archaeological research found that below grade features were present and in good condition. The most notable of these was an east-west brick wall forming a southern wall within the carriage house, perhaps offering shelter for harness and carriage materials. Beyond this, negative evidence was developed for partitions elsewhere within the carriage house, although the limited excavations could not rule out the presence of ground-fast post construction. In addition, the research found that soil compaction and site formation processes varied tremendously within the carriage house and that further excavation would likely make significant contributions toward a better understanding of this particular building.

Was there an east entrance for the carriages, off Lincoln Street? The archaeological research failed to find any convincing evidence for a second entrance. In fact, the elevation of the stone foundation, coupled with interior use patterns, convincingly argues that no second entrance ever existed. In retrospect, given the nature of the urban environment, even during the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that the architect would have tried to limit or control access to the building.

What could be determined regarding the carriage pathway in the yard? Excavations failed to reveal any evidence of a path. There was no difference in compaction, no inclusion of shell or other aggregate, and no evidence of rutting or erosion. Taken in context of other findings, however, this does not mean that no pathway existed, rather it means that the vast bulk of the courtyard was probably paved. This, of course, has an impact on the nature of the archaeological deposits present in the yard, since materials could collect in the yard only where no paving was present, the paving deteriorated, or where it was removed at various times.

What could be determined regarding pedestrian pathways in the yard? With the bulk of the yard being paved, it was probably unnecessary for special pedestrian pathways.

Were drainages associated with the carriage house which might assist in the interpretation of function and organization? These investigations failed to identify any evidence of drains within the carriage house. Information important to answer this question, however, can likely still be obtained through more intensive excavation within the carriage house, concentrating on partition walls and soil

differences. Drains were found on the east and west elevations of the building, correlating with the structure's non-gable ends and associated roof drainage. The drains were shallow and were intended simply to catch and leach the run-off, not drain it elsewhere. The drains were well maintained until abandonment, at which time they were quickly filled. Beyond these drains, the investigations also noted the presence of one drain in the carriage gate on President Street and two drains in the pedestrian gate on State Street. Clearly, there was considerable run-off from the carriage yard which was channeled into the street. This relates to the previous questions of paving, suggesting that the paving was laid to promote natural drainage out of the yard.

What, if any, type of structure was associated with the nineteenth century well? These investigations determined that it is unlikely any special covering was present over the well, although there is some evidence that two nineteenth century sheds were located in the southwest and northwest corners of the yard, just north and south of the well. In addition, the paving around the well, although heavily damaged and repaired, is still intact. A southeast corner support or pier for the northern shed is intact and is integrated into the brick work. In addition, there is some evidence that the wall separating the working carriage house yard from the more formal main house yard had a doorway centered on the well.

What types of archaeological features are present in the northwest and southwest yard corners, where bathrooms are to be constructed? The probing in these two areas failed to reveal any clear evidence of intact architectural features. Excavations in the vicinity of the pedestrian gate on the north lot line, however, revealed that the tabby wall is laid up on top of an earlier eighteenth century foundation wall thought to be associated with construction on the east half of the Trust Lot by DeBraham. This feature should not be damaged by excavation or plumbing work.

In general, what is the likely impact of the proposed architectural work on the archaeological record? This is, in some ways, the most complex question of all, since it involves taking the limited evidence, integrating it with an ethical philosophy, and arriving at realistic recommendations. The evidence has been presented and can be briefly reviewed in the body of the report. The work on the Owens-Thomas Carriage House goes beyond might be described as emergency conservation and is "restoration" in one form or another. It seems that the guiding philosophy should be to "do no harm" either to the architectural ***or*** archaeological record. If either is to be damaged then the plans should either be revised or the damage should be mitigated through appropriate recordation. Just as there are few intact nineteenth century carriage/slave houses, there are few intact archaeological deposits associated with such structures. Disregarding one for the other seems inappropriate at any level. Concerns with the construction of a toilet in the northwest yard corner have already been mentioned. The potential for recovery of additional, significant information within the carriage house precludes construction work which would damage or destroy the archaeological data without recordation. Efforts to repave the yard should incorporate the placement of filter fabric or other devices to effectively seal the artifact bearing zones. Finally, all construction activities should respect the fabric not only of the structure, but also of the below ground archaeological record.

After this brief recapitulation of architectural issues, there remain several archaeological concerns, addressing issues of interest primarily to those studying the history of the urban setting. Each of these, however, also incorporate issues which can help in the accurate interpretation of the site. The question of how archaeological sites are interpreted to the public will not be directly dealt with, although the emphasis will be on accuracy and honesty. Given the limited research at the Owens-Thomas Carriage House, and at other urban sites, there are questions for which there are no satisfactory answers and this must be admitted.

What is the nature of urban slavery? This is question which in the past has been addressed as

much through historical documents as the archaeological record. In other areas the impact of African Americans is overwhelmed by the vast quantity of remains and the inability to accurately ascribe refuse to particular groups. At the Owens-Thomas Carriage House these problems have been at least partially mitigated. Unlike the spatial patterning at Charleston upper class suburban residential sites where the African American slaves occupied the same basic space as their masters, at the Owens-Thomas House there was more than simply a social division, there was also a physical division and this appears to have functioned to create a relatively "pure" assemblage. The recovered assemblage suggests that at least these particular urban slaves were able exercise some of the prerogatives of the urban environment, thereby enjoying greater diversity in ceramics, clothing, and perhaps personal items. While not incorporated into this analysis, the faunal material suggests considerable diversity, with at least some of the mammal bone evidencing sawing rather than cleaving. Coupled with the evidence of privy inherent in the architectural evidence, the carriage/stable slaves likely enjoyed a lifestyle rather better than many of their colleagues on nearby rice plantations. Clearly this is not to imply that urban slavery was anything other than what it was -- an abomination. Rather, it is essential to understand the diversity even within slavery.

What evidence is there of spatial patterning in the rear yard? These investigations found relatively little evidence of spatial patterning. In fact, the research found that there was little nineteenth century deposition. Similarly thin nineteenth century deposits have been found in Charleston and may relate to gradually changing refuse disposal practices (see Zierden and Grimes 1989:91). Although, unlike Charleston, there are no marshes in which to discard trash, Savannah's municipal growth does evidence some concern with trash collection and disposal. While this may have an impact on the collection, it seems more likely that the determining factor was the placement, and later removal, of a paving in the carriage yard. This allowed for relatively minor amounts of trash to accumulate, although nothing similar to upwards of two feet found at some Charleston sites was encountered[18]. While this absence of deposition makes the identification of spatial patterning problematical, comparison of assemblages from the yard to those from within the carriage house or stable clearly indicate differences. Unfortunately, at this time we can't speculate on the cause of these differences.

What are the recommendations for future archaeological research at this site? This is obviously a rhetorical question, since it is likely that any further research will continue to be related to the needs of the sponsor rather than the development of a research design. However, additional research in the formal yard would assist in better understanding of refuse disposal and site formation processes at this one site. While we might anticipate that refuse disposal in the formal yard will be equally sparse, speculation is difficult in the absence of any reliable information. Excavations in the formal yard may also reveal that it is less formal than the current interpretation would suggest, revealing a continuation of the working yard westward toward the main house (similar to urban villas or suburban townhouses in Charleston). Unfortunately, the less than scientific "excavations" conducted in the main house by Fauber during the mid-1960s destroyed some of the best archaeological deposits -- providing yet another cautionary parable. Those remaining will likely yield less information and be more difficult to interpret. Perhaps of greatest interest in the house are studies tied into the architectural plumbing features -- an area of relatively little research which can contribute to a more complete understanding of building technology. Traditional archaeological techniques, combined with non-destructive methods, will be able to cost-effectively explore this question. Finally, prior to any additional archaeological research it will be useful to have a complete historical study of the lot and its owners. This information will be able to direct additional research and serve to provide a wider

[18] Although Zierden and Grimes(1989:91) also note that at suburban townhouses trash is less dense and may have been deposited off site.

interdisciplinary base.

What are the recommendations specific to the current project? As previously mentioned, the current project has the potential to impact yard area deposits through landscaping and carriage deposits through the construction of an at-grade building.

- The yard area deposits are very thin and susceptible to damage even from the process of construction. Every effort should be taken to protect the yard area by prohibiting excavation below of the existing yard grade and requiring the contractor to limit operation areas (avoiding the spread of construction debris and general disturbance to the soil which always accompanies construction work). In addition the removal of the planter fill should be done by hand. No materials should be stockpiled within the yard area since this will cause compaction and lead to additional damage of the archaeological deposits.

- It seems unlikely that an at grade floor can be added to the carriage house without causing irreparable damage to the archaeological remains. Even minute changes in the soil chemistry or moisture levels will lead to the deterioration of the materials present. The results of "green spacing" or sealing of the deposits has not been extensively studied by archaeologists since such sites are so rarely opened back up. The most comprehensive analysis of site burial effects available dates from the 1980s in California (Hester 1988:II-3). While offering some general cautions, it is far too include to do more than indicate problem areas. Within the previously discussed philosophy of "do no harm," the appropriate action is to either develop alternative plans for the use of this space which ensure the safety of the archaeological deposits, or to ensure that those deposits are thoroughly investigated prior to construction.

In addition, there is always the potential for interpretation which distorts the historical realities of both the site and the nature of slavery. Additional archaeological investigations within the carriage house will likely be able to address spatial patterning, activity areas, and formal layout, ensuring that this aspect is more correctly interpreted. Perhaps the greatest problem in the interpretation of urban slavery is that it is trivialized -- the slaves and their lives are lost in comparison with the grand house, the fine furnishings, and the political and commercial importance of the owners. That the wealth and prestige of the owners would not exist had it not been for the labor and blood of the African American slave is often overlooked. This need not be the case since a compelling history of these "invisible people" can be developed with the information currently available. But presenting their story simply and honestly they can be given a voice, allowing the public to more fully understand what life was like in antebellum Savannah.

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