DATA RECOVERY AT 38RD1249, 38RD1260 AND 38RD1262: TENANCY IN RICHLAND COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

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DATA RECOVERY AT 38RD1249, 38RD1260, AND 38RD1262: TENANCY IN RICHLAND COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Research Series 68

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Cotton is only one among several crops and among many labors: and all these other crops and labors mean life itself. Cotton means nothing of the sort. It demands more work of a tenant family and yields less reward than all the rest. It is the reason the tenant has the means to do the rest, and to have the rest, and to live, as a tenant, at all. Aside from a few negligibilities of minor sale and barter and of out-of-season work, it is his one possible source of money, and through this fact, though his living depends far less on money than on the manipulation of immediate nature, it has a certain royalty. It is also that by which he has all else besides money. But it is also his chief contracted obligation, for which he must neglect all else as need be; and is the central leverage and symbol of his privation and of his wasted life.

-- James Agee, *Let Use New Praise Famous Men*

ABSTRACT

This study provides the results of data recovery excavations at three late nineteenth and early twentieth domestic sites in upper Richland County, South Carolina. Two of the sites, 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 are situated on one parcel, while the third site, 38RD1249, is found on a second. Both owners, for most the sites histories, were absentee and examination of the limited census data available suggests that the occupants of the three sites were agricultural tenants.

Background investigations provide a context against which late nineteenth and early twentieth century agricultural sites in Richland County may be evaluated. This study also provides information on the design of both period privies and wells, helping archaeologists to better understand the nature and appearance of these features.

Excavations at all three sites were limited to the examination of a limited number of features. A privy at both 38RD1249 and 38RD1262 was examined. At 38RD1260 a well was examined.

The privy at 38RD1249 provided few artifacts and its major contribution comes from the examination of its construction details.

At 38RD1262 the collection suggests a date range from about 1895 to perhaps 1930. The artifact pattern from the site is characterized by moderate foodway and household/structural remains. The closest similar pattern is that derived from the Finch Farm in Spartanburg County – an area of the Upper Piedmont. The collection exhibits characteristics that are consistent with our understanding of tenancy, such as a variety of lower cost ceramics and a large variety of agricultural related items.

At 38RD1260 the collection – nearly twice as large as that from 38RD1262 – dates from about 1935 to around 1955. The resulting pattern is dominated by foodways with a relatively low to moderate incidence of household/structural remains. Similar examples include the Millwood tenant site, 38BK397, 38HR131, and at a number of Sumter County sites. The well produced a large assemblage of automobile parts (and very few wagon specimens), as well as evidence that the 38RD1260 structure had electricity. Unlike 38RD1262, some of the artifacts suggest more wealth than would be expected from a tenant, although we have little comparative data available. The increased disposal income suggested by at least some of the artifacts may indicate the success of New Deal programs. Alternatively they may suggest that Richland County tenants were better off than many others elsewhere in the state.

The collections from the two sites provide a unique opportunity to examine the artifacts of tenancy and this study helps to reveal areas where additional study and research are needed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

Background

The data recovery investigations were conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Brickyard-Longtown, LLC, of Columbia, South Carolina. The field studies were conducted from October 18 through October 24, 2005 with a crew of two archaeologists (Julie Poppell and Nicole Southerland), plus the Principal Investigator (who was on-site throughout the project). A total of 120 person hours were spent conducting the data recovery work. Additional nineteenth and early twentieth century documentary and census research was conducted by Michael Trinkley and Julie Poppell.

These sites were identified by Chicora in 2004 and recommended potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (Southerland and Trinkley 2004; Figure 1). The review by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) requested that some additional testing occur at 38RD1249 and 38RD1260, and that all three sites have more detailed title search (letter from Mr. Chad Long to Mr. Bill Dixon

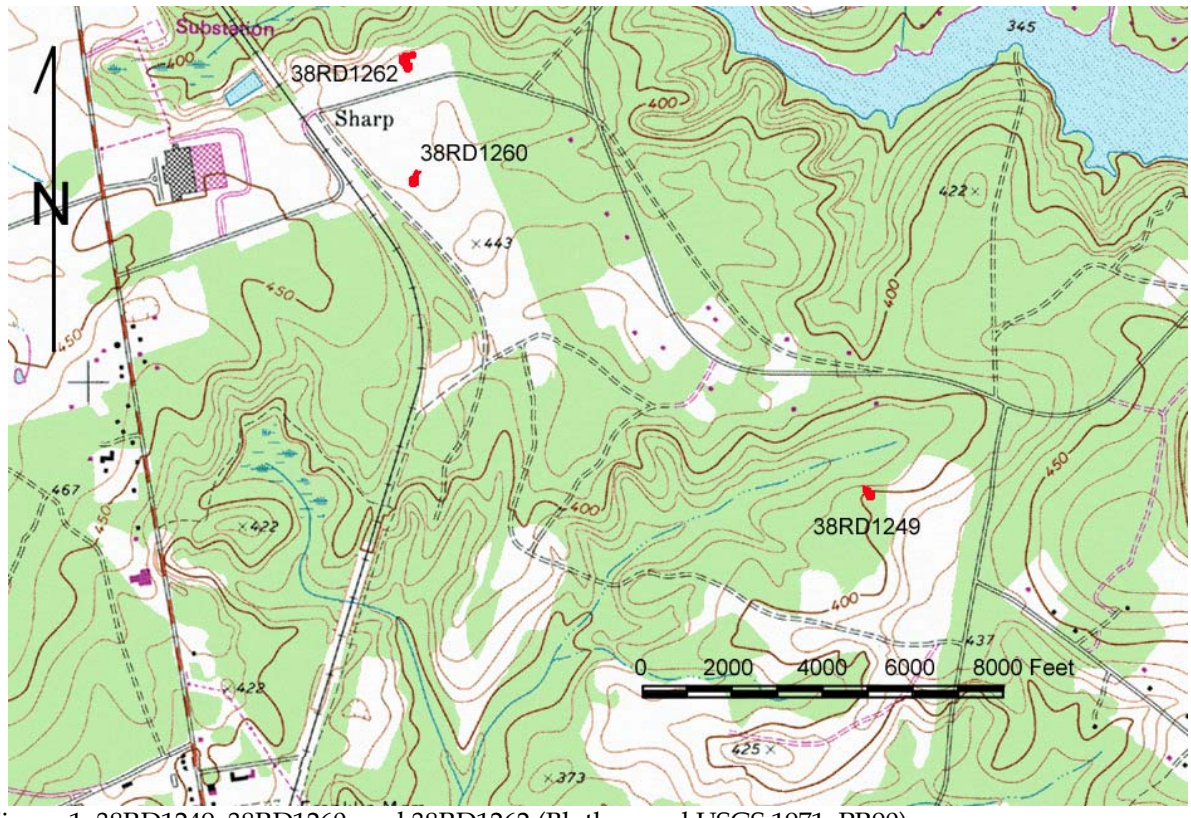


Figure 1. 38RD1249, 38RD1260, and 38RD1262 (Blythewood USGS 1971, PR90).

dated March 8, 2004). This work was accomplished and provided to the SHPO in April 2005, with the SHPO finding the sites eligible. The client chose to conduct data recovery rather than green space the three sites and a proposal outlining data recovery efforts and research goals was provided to the client in April 2005. It was approved and forwarded to the SHPO in May 2005, where it was also approved. Subsequently the client, expressing concern about the cost of the data recovery, requested that the SHPO reduce the scope of work, which was done on August 15. The decision was made to reduce the scope because there was a lack of documentary and oral history.

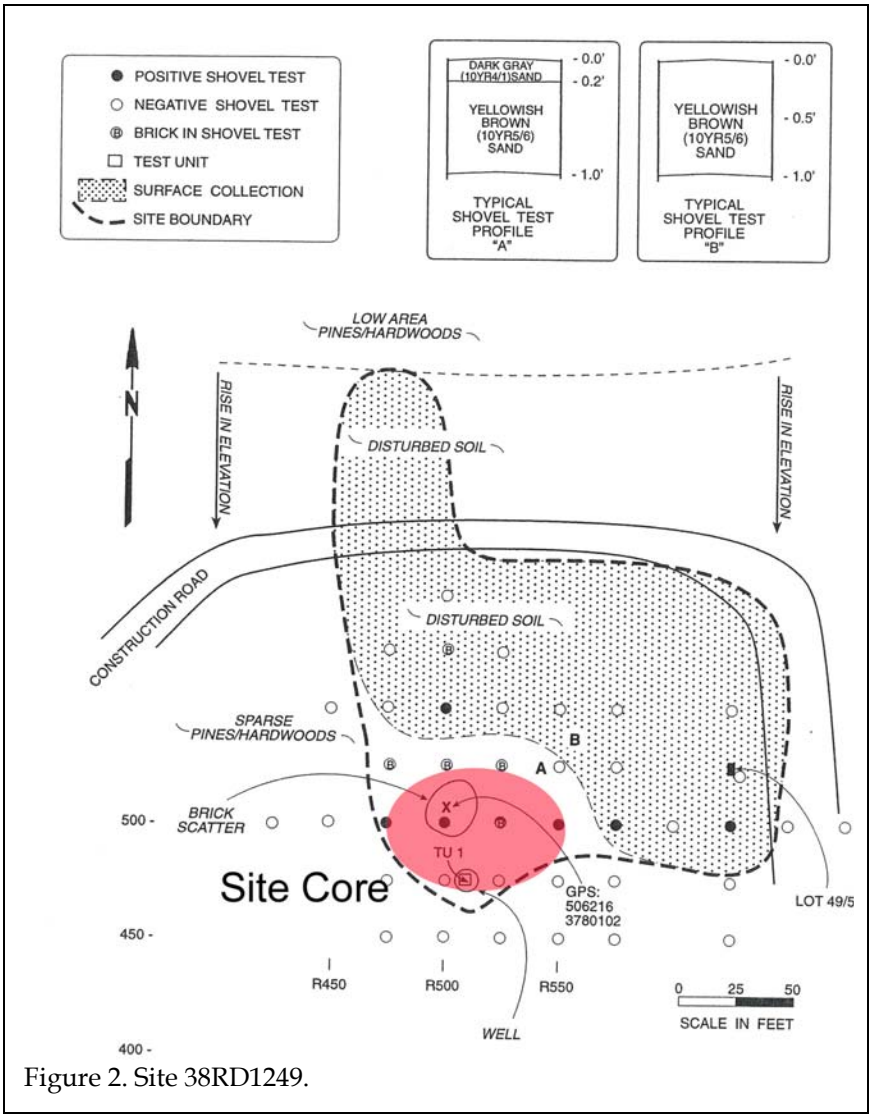


Figure 2. Site 38RD1249.

38RD1249

Although much of this site had been disturbed by construction, we identified an intact area (about 50 by 75 feet) in woods that contained a brick scatter and well. Shovel testing in the undisturbed area produced three positive tests and four tests with only brick. The well is at the southernmost portion of the site.

The well hole at the ground surface is about 12 feet in diameter; but at the surface of the test unit, which started about 3.0 feet below the ground surface, the diameter of the hole is reduced to about 5.0 feet. The test unit, excavated during the original survey in December 2003 and January 2004, consisted of a two foot square placed in the middle of the well depression. All soil was screened through ¼ - inch mesh and the cultural remains were collected. The unit was dug to the deepest depth that would be allowed by the confined space and length of the shovel, which at this site was 3.0 feet.

The profile of the well consisted of a surface horizon of humus with dark gray (10YR4/1) sand to a depth of 1.0 foot. No artifacts were found in this level. Below the humus was a level of grayish brown (10YR5/2) sand, which extended to a depth of 2.5 feet. This level had dense brick and artifacts present, primarily consisting of farming equipment, but also including artifacts from the Kitchen,

Architecture, Activities, Arms, and Clothing groups. Below this level was a mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/6) and gray (10YR5/1) sand. Sparse amounts of brick and artifacts were found in this level, which extended to 3.0 feet in depth.

In July of 2004, an auger test was performed to examine the soil deeper within the well. The auger, which measured 3.0 feet in length, was inserted in the bottom of the previously dug test unit. A sample of soil was taken, which at this point was 9.0 feet below the original ground surface. The soil was a brown (10YR4/3) sand – no subsoil was encountered. Due to the small size of the auger sample, it is unknown whether artifacts exist at this depth, but there was not the great density of artifacts found in the second level of the test unit.

Artifacts from this site span the very late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The historical research reveals that this parcel – at the time consistent with the archaeological evidence – was owned by the Rabon family, most likely L.A. Rabon. Based on the one identified plat and the previously cited USGS map, we believe the Rabon house was near the Rabon cemetery. The remains identified at 38RD1249 are not found on any map, adding credence to the interpretation that this structure was that of a tenant. We attempted to locate relatives of the Longtown Rabons, calling five of the most likely candidates listed in the Columbia-Blythewood area. None of them recognized any of the Rabons associated with this property and none came from the Longtown area. Consequently, the potential for oral history on the property was determined to be very low.

38RD1260

Site 38RD1260 is a late nineteenth to early twentieth century domestic site encompassing an area of about 100 by 75 feet (Figure 3). Unlike 38RD1249, modern construction had not impacted the site, leaving most of the structure area intact. In fact, this site produced two brick scatters, one revealing laid brick (and probably a chimney footing), and what was thought to be a well. Shovel testing yielded 14 positive tests and a small surface collection.

The well was identified through a 12 foot wide hole toward the north end of the site. A two foot square unit was excavated in the middle of the hole during original field investigations of the site in December 2003 and January 2004. All soil was screened through ¼ - inch mesh and the cultural remains were collected or noted. The unit was dug to the deepest depth that would be allowed by the confined space and length of the shovel, which at this site was 3.0 feet.

The unit profile consisted entirely of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sand. Dense artifacts were encountered in the unit including artifacts from the Kitchen Group, Architecture Group, Activities Group, and Furniture Group. Whole bottles and bone were found in the well.

Auger testing, performed in July of 2004, examined the soil three feet below the bottom of the previously dug test unit. The soil, found about nine feet below the original ground surface, was the same as found in the test unit – dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sand. The auger was also still hitting artifacts at this depth.

Artifacts at this site appear to be roughly contemporaneous with those found at 38RD1249 – dating from about 1890 through perhaps 1930.

Sites 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 are in the same general area and are near the area called Sharp on the 1935 Killian 15' topographic map.

The historical research reveals that both 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 are found on the same parcel, owned by William Rabon, Robert Fann, and then Frank G. Tomkins, from the 1880s through about 1935. Each individual owned

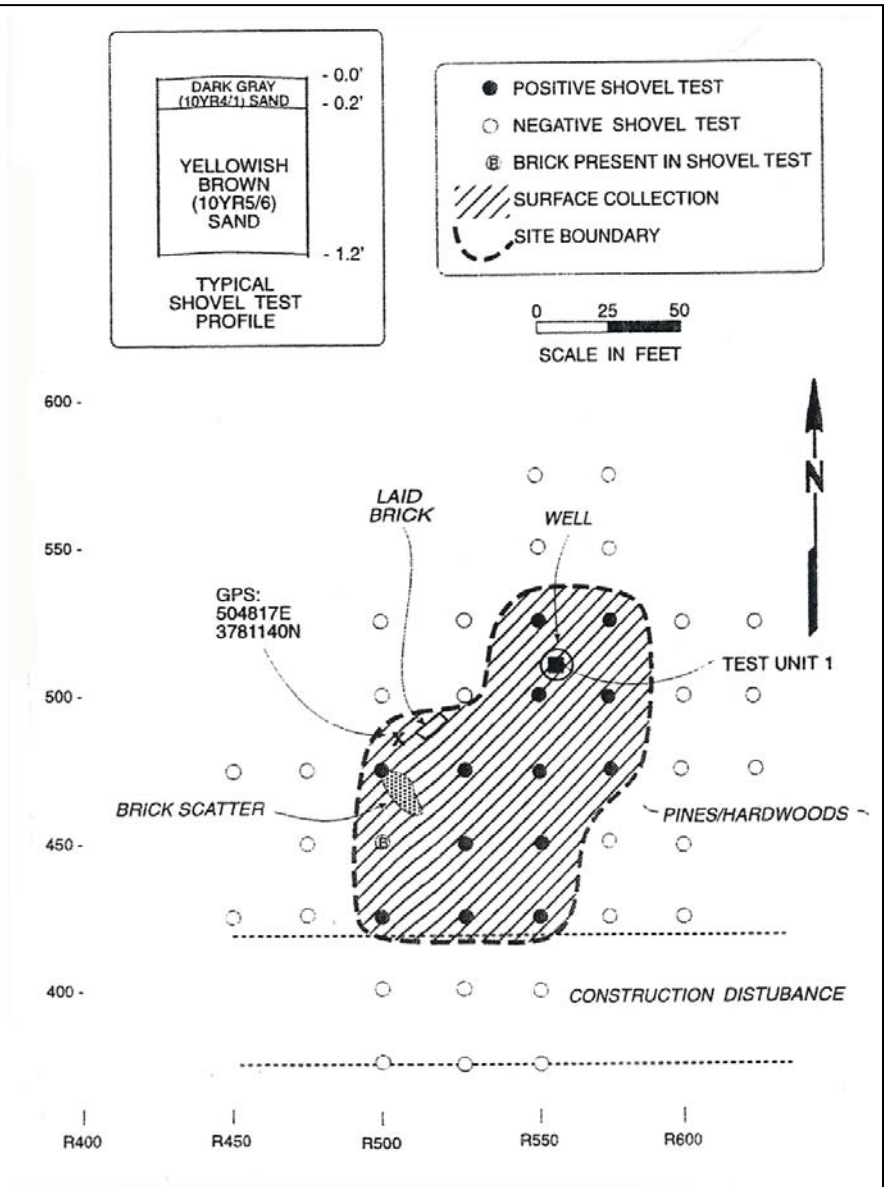


Figure 3. Site 38RD1260.

considerable acreage in Richland County and it seems unlikely that any actually lived on the property.

38RD1262

Site 38RD1262 is a nineteenth to twentieth century domestic site encompassing an area about 175 to 200 feet in diameter (Figure 4). Modern construction has not yet interfered with the site, so it is relatively intact. A total of 38 positive shovel tests were excavated at the site. While no well was found, two trash pits were found and tested. Two stone/brick piles (reflecting structural remains) were also found at the site.

The posited trash pits are located along the edges of the site with Trash pit 1 at the north edge and Trash pit 2 at the south end. A two foot square unit was excavated from each pit and the soil was screened through ¼ -inch mesh. The cultural remains were collected or noted in the field.

Trash pit 1, measuring about 10 feet in diameter, was 2.5 feet deep with the infill soil consisting of the dark gray (10YR4/1) sand found in the A1 horizon of the rest of the site. A total of 165 artifacts were recovered including artifacts from the Kitchen Group, Architecture Group, Clothing Group, Activities Group, Furniture Group, Arms Group, and Personal Group. This pit also produced ethnobotanical remains and whole bottles.

Trash pit 2, also measuring about 10 feet in diameter, was 1.5 feet in depth and contained the same color sand from the A1 horizon – dark gray (10YR4/1). This pit contained much fewer artifacts, producing a total of 17. These artifacts

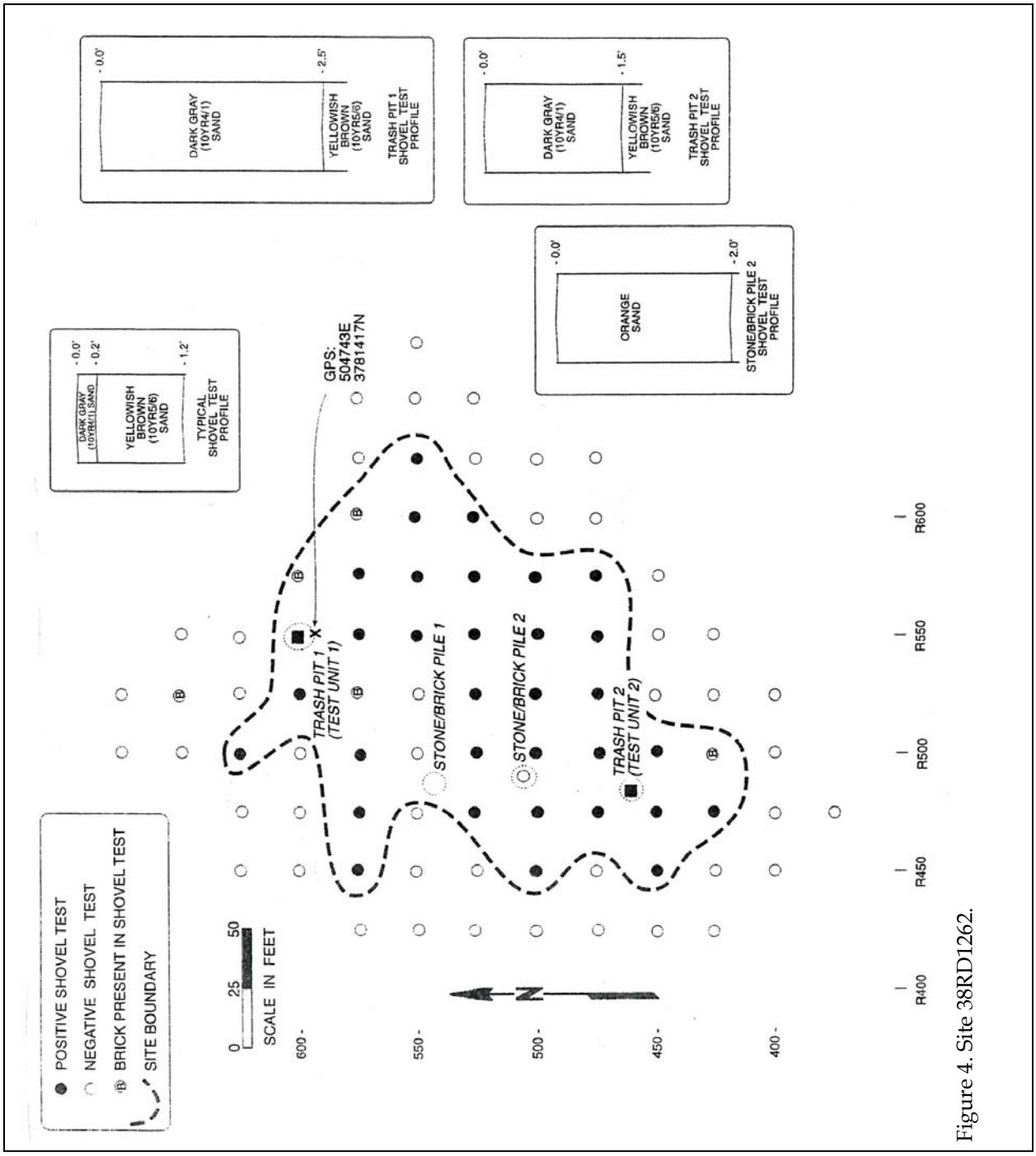


Figure 4. Site 38RD1262.

were represented by the Kitchen Group, Architecture Group, Arms Group, and Personal Group.

The historical documentation for this site is the same as for 38RD1260, with early ownership by Rabon, Fann, and Tomkins.

Research Questions

There are several significant studies on Southern tenancy, including the 1980 research by Adams and his colleagues at the Waverly Plantation tenant sites in Mississippi dating from about 1880 through 1930 (Adams 1980). Reflecting extensive investigations, this project explored five different topics: material culture, economic systems, social systems, settlement systems, and the settlement patterns of this community. Recognizing the need for flexibility, as well as limited previous studies from which to expand or refine research topics, the Waverly investigations sought "to collect the maximum amount of data possible within as rigorous a framework as possible" (Adams and Barton 1980:38).

A variety of conclusions were drawn as a result of Adams' work at Waverly. For example, while Prunty (1955) suggests only two basic settlement patterns – one for sharecroppers and another for tenants, the Waverly work suggests five different patterns might be useful in archaeological research on the Southern plantation. Adams also examined economic interactions evidenced by the artifacts, exploring the local, local commercial, area commercial, regional, national, and international networks. They argue that every archaeological site possesses a "profile" of the national market, with sites in different areas having access to different materials. Moreover, this access likely changed over time. They suggest that future research in this area is warranted. The examination of social systems relied exclusively on documentary history and oral history. Strangely, there was no discussion of how the archaeological assemblages might reflect different social classes present on the landscape. Relatively little research was conducted on disposal patterns. Yet the study provided an exceptional discussion of the artifacts, still standing as one of the basic references to the material life of tenancy.

Another essential research text is that by Orser and his colleagues from Millwood Plantation in Abbeville County, South Carolina and Elberton County, Georgia. The initial compliance related publication (Orser et al. 1982) eventually grew into a somewhat more popular version (Orser 1988). One feature of the former lost in the later was an impressive abundance of artifact-related research and typological study. Orser (1988:246) complains that one of the most critical failings of tenant research (excepting that of Adams and his own, of course) is that historical archaeologists "write complex site reports as if their sites were detached from the wider historical and cultural world – as if the sites' inhabitants were unaffected by the world in which they moved." There seems to be an oblique criticism of Adams in his complaint that "even some of those historical archaeologists who have considered the effects of the wider world on the past inhabitants of their sites generally have concentrated on the distance artifacts found at a site had to travel" (Orser 1988:246).

A better approach, according to Orser, would be to "determine what the artifacts *meant* to the people who lived there" (emphasis in original; Orser 1988:247). While this is undoubtedly true, Orser seems to have difficulty arriving at the lofty goal he sets. For example, he suggests that owner and tenant saw the plantation, respectively, as real estate to be bought and sold or as home. To support this, he compares the silver and surveying instruments from the home of the owner and documented from an inventory with the more folksy remains found archaeologically at a tenant site, such as a commemorative cup from a nearby town or a medallion from a carnival. Are these artifacts evidence of a different mind-set or merely evidence of different social status or wealth? Do we need these artifacts to remind us that owners and tenants had different places in the world?

Orser nevertheless does an impressive job documenting and exploring the different houses and settlements, artfully blending

archaeology and oral history. Turning to artifacts, he rejects South's notion that the differences seen between owner and tenant are the result of "broad cultural process," but attributes the differences to "unequal distribution of power and wealth" (Orser 1988:230). For his analysis, he groups his artifacts into categories he attributes to artifact function, including:

- Foodways – including procurement (ammunition and fishing weights), preparation (pans and knives), service (flatware and tableware), and storage (bottles and canning jars)

- Clothing – including fasteners (buttons and snaps), manufacture (needles and thimbles), and other (shoe leather and clothes hangers)

- Household/Structural – including architectural/construction (nails and window glass), hardware (hinges and bolts), and furnishings (stove parts and lamp pieces)

- Personal – including medicinal (medicine bottles), cosmetic (jars and brushes), recreational (pipes and toys), monetary (coins), decorative (jewelry and spectacles), and other (pocketknives and pencils)

- Labor – including agricultural (barbed wire and horse shoes) and industrial (tools).

Of course, in a broad scheme these are similar to the various artifact categories devised by South (1977), although perhaps updated for twentieth century life. For example, foodways are essentially the kitchen artifact group and clothing is identical to the clothing artifact group, while household/structural combines the architectural artifact group with the furniture group.

Orser notes that the patterns (what he calls "distribution of artifact samples grouped in functional categories") are broadly similar and suggests that further refinement can be achieved using Robinson's Index of Agreement – a statistical method that indicates similarity between two groups. The various analyses reveal that, not unexpectedly, artifacts in the foodways group are most common. What is more surprising is that while the owner and overseer have similar artifact groups, so too do the owner and the tenant. Orser uses the same techniques with vessel shape. One characteristic of the samples not commented on is that while the manager, cook, tenant, and wage hand all have assemblages where storage containers comprise between 20 and 25% of the collection, the owner's assemblage has only 11% storage containers. This may be a result of the owner's living and eating habits, or it may be a more significant and wide spread characteristic – certainly it bears additional study.

There were a number of studies done in the mid-1980s, such as those conducted under the auspices of the S.C. Department of Highways and Public Transportation (Trinkley and Caballero 1983a, Trinkley and Caballero 1983b, Trinkley et al. 1985). These were generally explorative and while unsophisticated by today's standards, did provide both background and a range of data sets. In combination with the work by Drucker and her colleagues at two sites in Abbeville County a pattern analysis was developed for tenancy, at least in the piedmont of South Carolina (Drucker et al. 1982).

As a result of earlier Highway Department work, Joseph and his colleagues conducted extensive work at the Finch Farm complex in Spartanburg County (Joseph et al. 1991). Research there found that there were few differences in the portable material culture of the owner and his tenants – a situation perhaps similar to Orser's findings at Millwood. Joseph attributes this to limited social interaction between Piedmont farmers with little need to

exhibit status. They suggest that status differences between owners and tenants were exhibited in architecture and landscaping. They also documented a variety of trash disposal techniques, including rear yard middens and trash burning. The changing patterns observed were also correlated with changes in perceptions regarding sanitation and hygiene.

Most recently Cabak and Inkrot (1997) have examined tenancy in the Aiken Plateau using data from a number of sites identified on the Savannah River Plant. In addition, they were able to incorporate a large amount of documentary and oral history – collected as a result of the government's original land purchases and also collected subsequently. Their archaeological dataset included 54 farmsteads. They found that the household material culture of tenants and yeoman farmers – not unexpectedly – differed little. They also found, however, that dwelling size and style, as well as the number of outbuildings, were among the most sensitive indicators of status.

Ignoring issues of architecture – many of which require standing structures or, at the very least, thorough archaeological investigations – they provide data on a variety of other topics. For example, using a Consumer Purchase Study they found that tenure groups spent approximately the same portion of their income on general categories of consumer goods – operators/owners simply had more income to spend. The differences would largely be invisible to archaeological study. Using their examples, owners spent more money on gasoline, more money on visits to the hair dresser, and more money on domestic help. Of course, it may be that these would show up in the archaeological record as a greater number of automobile parts, more cosmetics, and more domestic conveniences.

They also found that the sheet middens of owners tended to be 38% larger than of tenants – presumably because owners had more trash to dispose of (or possibly, as they suggest, because the owners' activities took place over wider areas).

When the artifacts were placed into the same functional categories suggested by Orser and his colleagues at Millwood, Cabak and Inkrot (1997:149) also found no significant differences between the tenure groups. They did, however, notice a correlation between tenure class and ceramic cost, with owners possessing more expensive ceramics than tenants. On the other hand, they found that tenants seemed to possess more personal items than owners (Cabak and Inkrot 1997:152) – an unexpected difference which they explain by suggesting that since tenants were not required to maintain their property they may have had more disposable income (Cabak and Inkrot 1997:200) – a conclusion with only modest support.

Turning to the issue of modernization, Cabak and Inkrot rely heavily on historical data, but do turn to archaeology to demonstrate that more modern (less traditional) dwellings (post-dating ca. 1950) exhibit smaller sheet middens and lower artifact densities – although they do not explain how these data were collected. Nevertheless, the data do show a decline in midden size and artifact density as families move indoors with the coming of electricity and plumbing (Cabak and Inkrot 1997:184-185).

As these reports – and others like them – are scanned, we see recurring themes consistent with general archaeological interests. These include research on settlement patterns – both how tenants spread across the landscape and also how their individual settlements were organized. At the Longtown sites this research topic does not seem appropriate since we have a very small sample and since the data recovery plan does not allow us to examine the site area – only specific features.

There is research on disposal practices, looking at not only how trash was discarded, but also how much trash was present. This

research, too, is not possible at Longtown since we are limited to the examination of distinct features, not the sites.

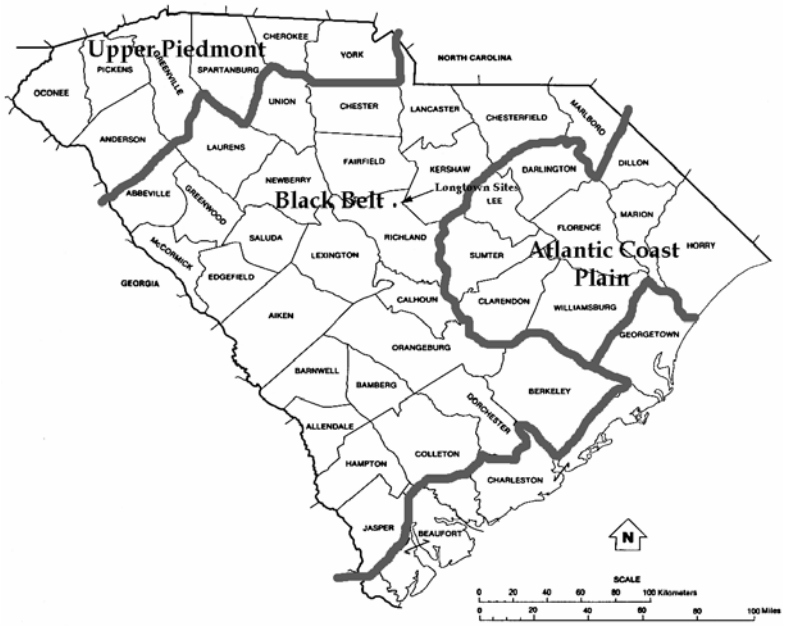


Figure 5. Tenancy regions in South Carolina.

There is also research on artifacts, reflecting a variety of approaches. Much research, for example, seeks to compare assemblages in an effort to distinguish owners from tenants, or even distinguish between different classes of tenants. There are efforts to examine how tenants spent disposable income (assuming they had any). There are efforts to compare archaeological assemblages with Consumer Purchase Studies as well as with national market profiles. There has been some effort to derive a pattern representative of tenancy.

It is in this area of artifact analysis that the three Longtown sites hold their greatest promise. In spite of the excellent research conducted, there has been little attempt to detect social or status differences between the tenants of the Atlantic Coast Plain, the Black Belt, or the Upper Piedmont.[1] Given the known, historical differences between these areas it seems unrealistic to expect tenancy to appear the same in all three areas.

The major contribution, therefore, of this work is admittedly particularistic and focuses on documenting the artifact assemblage at three tenant sites in the central Black Belt – a region of old, large plantations with a heavy percentage of tenants and African Americans. By almost all accounts the conditions were the worst in the Black Belt, at least during the height of the Depression.

Proposed Data Recovery

These sites were determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register for the data they contain. Data recovery excavations initially were to focus on the meaningful data sets at each site:

- at 38RD1249 the most significant data set was the well,
- at 38RD1260 the data sets included the well and the intact brick remains that might assist in distinguishing the footprint of the structure, and
- at 38RD1262 the data sets included the trash pits and the architectural remains.

The meaningfulness of these sites was increased through comparisons and contrasts between the individual sites and the ability to examine not only features, but also the architecture. These investigations provide an opportunity to look at three posited tenant sites

[1] These were terms used by the Federal Census, Woofter (1936:4), and others studying Southern tenancy during the Depression.

– two on a parcel owned by the same individual and all three in close proximity to one another.

As previously mentioned, the level of research at the sites was reduced by the SHPO. At 38RD1260 the only research allowed was the investigation of the well. At 38RD1262 the only research allowed was to include the investigation of the two pits. In both cases, investigations of the structural remains and yard areas were eliminated from the data recovery plan.

Curation

Updated site forms reflecting this work have been filed with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA). The field notes and artifacts from Chicora's data recovery at 38RD1249, 38RD1260, and 38RD1262 will be curated at SCIAA. The artifacts have been cleaned and cataloged following that institution's provenience system. All original records and duplicate records will be provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper.

The Natural Setting

Physiographic Province

Richland County, situated in the approximate center of South Carolina, is bounded to the southwest by the Congaree River, to the southeast by the Wateree River, to the northeast by Kershaw County, to the north by Fairfield County, as well as sections of both Cedar Creek and the Broad River, and to the northwest by Lexington County.

The county is located within two distinct physiographic provinces – the Piedmont Plateau and the Atlantic Coastal Plain. The northern half of the coastal plain is known as the Sand Hills. About a third of Richland County is found within the Piedmont, separated from the coastal plain by an irregular line, known as the Fall Line, that extends north from the vicinity of Columbia and runs west of US 21 to Blythewood. From Blythewood, the Fall Line continues southeast, entering Kershaw County at the confluence of Twentyfive Mile Creek and Rice Creek.

The project area is technically situated in the Carolina Sand Hills, an area of discontinuous hilly topography characterized by rounded hills with gentle slopes, moderate relief, and sandy soils. Although technically part of the Coastal Plain geology, the Sand Hills are distinct geographically. Much of the sand was blown into dunes during the Miocene, although weathered clays and very old river deposits are also present. In many cases these sandy deposits lie directly on the crystalline rocks of the Piedmont (Kovacik and Winberry 1987; Murphy 1995).

The study area, therefore, is in close contact with a range of physiographic regions. To the northwest are the dissected plains consisting of the hills and valleys cut by creeks and rivers as they flow toward the coastal plain. Possibly part of the peneplain, the Piedmont is characterized by the dendritic stream patterns. It is also characterized by a range of metavolcanic, quartz, and quartzite materials used by Native Americans for stone tools. To the south is the Coastal Plain, where the topography changes dramatically, the hilly upper Coastal Plain giving way to the broad expanses of relatively flat, level ground associated with the lower Coastal Plain. These areas provide sources for Coastal Plain cherts, also used extensively for tool manufacture.

In the project area the elevations range from about 330 to 425 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). Slopes are steep and slope down to Roberts Branch.

Geology and Soils

Most of the rocks of the Piedmont, just north of the project, are gneiss and schist, with some marble and quartzite (Hasselton 1974).

Some less intensively metamorphosed rocks, such as slate, occur along the eastern part of the province from southern Virginia into Georgia. This area, called the Slate Belt, is characterized by slightly lower ground with wider river valleys. Consequently, the Slate Belt has been favored for reservoir sites (Johnson 1970), as well as prehistoric occupation (see Coe 1964). In Richland County many of the Piedmont soils, such as the Nason-Georgeville unit, are weathered from argillites rich in silica and alumina. Other soils are formed in saprolite that weathered from crystalline rocks and "Carolina slates." Soils from the river floodplains formed in sediment that washed from the uplands of the Piedmont province.

The survey area consists of mostly moderately well drained to excessively drained soils. The most common soil found on the tract is Lakeland sand; this is also the soil found at all three of the study sites. This series has an A1 horizon of dark gray (10YR4/1) sand to a depth of 0.2 foot over a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sand to a depth of 2.4 feet.

The 1934 South Carolina Erosion Survey by M.W. Lowry (1934) found that this portion of Richland County exhibited moderate sheet erosion and occasional gullies. Although Richland County was not included in Stanley Trimble's erosion study of the Southern Piedmont, Fairfield County, within only a few miles of the project area, was reported to have lost over a foot of soil through erosion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Trimble 1974:3). It is part of the area classified by Trimble as having high antebellum erosion land use with postbellum continuation and belonging to his Region III – the Cotton Plantation Area (Trimble 1974:15). These data suggest that the project area has been affected by erosion during the early twentieth century.

Climate

Elevation, latitude, and distance from the coast work together to affect the climate of South Carolina. In addition, the more westerly mountains block or moderate many of the cold air masses that flow across the state from west to east. Even the very cold air masses that cross the mountains are warmed somewhat by compression before they descend on the Piedmont and Sandhills.

Consequently, the climate of Richland County is temperate (Lawrence 1978). The winters are relatively mild and the summers hot and humid. The average temperature for the winter is 48°F while the average summer temperature is 80°F. Rainfall in the amount of about 27 inches is considered adequate for most historic crops.

The average growing season is about 232 days, although early freezes in the fall and late frosts in the spring can reduce this by as much as 30 days (Lawrence 1978:73). Consequently, most cotton planting, for example, did not take place until early May, avoiding the possibility that a late frost would damage the young seedlings.

Floristics

Piedmont forests, found just north of the survey area, generally belong to the Oak-Hickory Formation as established by Braun (1950). Regardless, the potential natural vegetation of the project area is the Oak-Hickory-Pine forest, composed of medium tall to tall forests of broadleaf deciduous and needleleaf evergreen trees (Küchler 1964). The major components of this ecosystem include hickory, shortleaf pine, loblolly pine, white oak, and post oak. In actuality, the Piedmont is composed of a patchwork of open fields, pine woodlots, hardwood stands, mixed stands, and second growth fields. Shelford (1963) includes the Carolina Piedmont in the Oak-Hickory zone of the Southern Temperate Deciduous Forest Biome.

John Berry rightly comments that "a walk through the most xeric stages of the fall

line sandhills would probably be very boring. " Such areas are dominated by turkey oaks, scrubby post oaks, and broad expanses of open sandy soil. While most of the pines have been logged out, there are other econiches. On the more mesic soils, pines and mixed hardwoods can be common, dominated by loblolly pines, cedars, southern red oaks, and even pignut and mockernut hickories. In these mesic woods the understory includes dogwoods, sassafras, blackgum, and persimmon (Berry 1980:103,114-115).

Today little of the study tract exhibits anything resembling original forests. Years of cultivation followed by logging activities have rendered most of the area eroded and supporting a relatively limited forest of pines with mixed hardwoods. Add to this clear cutting and grading for development and the parcel becomes entirely dissimilar to anything that would have been seen historically.

Cotton Farming in the Black Belt

Cotton was a remarkable crop. It required only 50-60 inches of rain a year and needed only 200 frost free days. It could therefore be grown from the southern border of Virginia to the southern border of Tennessee, to the north border of Arkansas and Oklahoma, down to the arid regions of west Texas.

Farming Prior to the Twentieth Century

In 1884 Harry Hammond provided a detailed account of cotton cultivation practices in South Carolina. Those methods changed little over the following 50 years and are worth briefly examining today in order to better understand both the interplay between the natural environment and this cash crop, as well as to explore the seasonal activities of cotton farmers.

Hammond explained that little drainage was practiced since the farmers felt little need for it in the sandy soils. Fields were no longer allowed to lie fallow and there was no regular system of crop rotation. Cotton lands, in particular, were being planted year after year. Where rotation took place it was typically two years in cotton and one year in corn. Although green manuring with a crop such as cow pea was typically recognized as improving the land, it was not consistently practiced. By the late 1880s, Hammond noted that both cottonseed and the "superphosphates" were being increasingly used, often supplemented with guanos. A typical practice was to return to the land all of the cottonseed, plus one sack of guano and 100 pounds of superphosphates per acre.

The first step in planting was to knock down the stubble from the previous year's cotton crop, often by hand using clubs (Hammond 1884:512). The furrow of the new bed is "either run in the alley between the rows or the old bed is barred off and the furrow run through its center" resulting in the cotton rows either alternating or in being planted in the same spot year after year.

Tilling was shallow – varying "from 2½ to 6 inches measured on the land side of the furrow, and it is very rare to see more than one animal plowing" (Hammond 1884:508).

Rows were generally about 3½ feet apart, with the manure placed in the furrow and the bed built up in February and March. The goal was to get the cotton seed in as soon as possible, and planting usually occurred in May. Early planting ran the risk of frost; later plantings ran the risk of a dry spell that could delay the cotton from emerging until the first of June. Fertilizers were generally not applied with the seed, but usually before planting. These practices were still being used in first decade of the 1900s (Newman 1907:286).

Cotton was previously planted by hand drilling, but by the early 1880s the planter was more commonly used. This two-wheeled device was drawn by a horse with the wheels running

on the beds and making the holes for the seeds by blocks fastened on the tires. Farmers were planting anywhere from ½ bushel to 1½ bushels of seed per acre.

Under good conditions the plants would come up about 4-10 days after planting. The young plants would be thinned out to hills from 8 to 12 inches apart, sometimes as much as 18 inches, about 4-6 weeks after planting, usually when the third to sixth leaf appears on the plant. Thinning was completed in early June.

Figure 6. Cotton field in the South Carolina Black Belt showing the spacing of rows and mounding of the rows (Anonymous 1927:128).

As the crop grew there would be four to five plowings using a sweep, often combined with three or four hoeings – all completed from the last of June to the last of August. Blooms would first appear when the cotton plant was from 6 to 12 inches in height, typically from June 10th through 20th. Bolls would open from 42 to 45 days after the bloom, usually the end of July or early August.

If all went well picking would begin by at least the middle of August. All of the crop would be picked by early December and by Christmas the crop would be to market.

Hammond comments that there were no special issues involved in ginning – there were a number of different gins used on short-staple cotton and depending on the location the gin might be steam, water, or horse powered. A roller gin with steam power would make 400 to 600 pounds of lint in a 10 hours' run. The lint would be packed, by hand pressure, in round bags 7½ feet long. The upland cotton was typically put up in bales averaging 500 pounds and the bags would be sealed with an iron tie (Hammond 1884:514).

Farming in the Early Twentieth Century

By the 1920s relatively little had changed. One common text of the period remarks that although cotton was very adaptable, it did not favor the rich, moist, bottom lands, preferring the less fertile, sandy uplands (Duggar 1921:315). In fact, by this time it was advanced that 300 pounds of cottonseed meal and 27 pounds of potash as kainit "would furnish all the fertilizer constituents removed from the soil by a crop of 300 pounds of lint" (Duggar 1921:317). In spite of this, there was also recognition that to improve yields required judicious use of commercial fertilizer; the recommendation being that 400 pounds of fertilizer returned the highest profit on the investment (although more fertilizer would pay a higher dividend or return). Nevertheless, most farmers in the cotton South were applying 200 pounds of fertilizer – or less – per acre (Duggar 1921:324-325).

By the 1920s the stubble was occasionally fragmented by a stalk cutter, although "a more common method consists in beating the old brittle stalks with a heavy stick" – labor still being less expensive than farm equipment (Duggar 1921:341). Beds were still built up in February and March. Although farmers were advised to plow more deeply (6 to 8 inches being considered "unusually good preparation") most still cultivated only 3-4 inches deep. The beds created would be 3 to 4 feet in width – consistent with those 30 years

earlier – and several inches high. Fertilizer would be added first, prior to planting – another feature which had not changed. It appears, however, that center plowing was by this time most common, since that approach would "lift out the roots of the old cotton plants" (Duggar 1921:346).

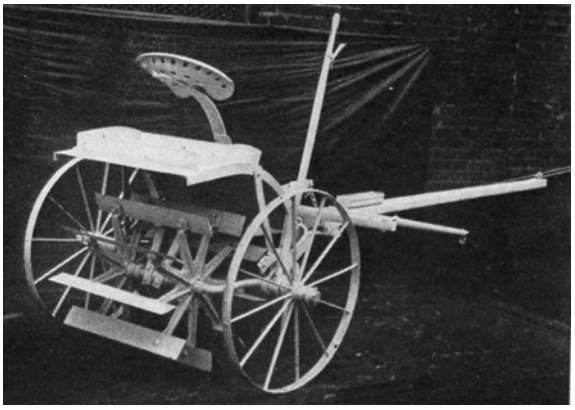

Figure 7. Weighing cotton in the field (Anonymous 1927:131).

Cotton planting was recommended to begin about 2 to 3 weeks after the average date for the last killing frost, still around mid-April in Richland County. By this time there were numerous forms of cotton planters, although most planted only a single row at a time by opening the furrow (generally 1-3 inches in depth), dropping in the seed, and covering it. Seed was being sowed at the upper end of the earlier estimates – typically at 1½ bushels per acre. Most farmers wanted their cotton planted by the end of the first week in May (Watson 1907:267).

As soon as the cotton had germinated and appeared as green plants Duggar recommended the first tillage with some type of cultivator (often a harrow with fenders or a one-horse cultivator with sweeps or scrapes). As soon as possible after the operation of scraping or barring off, the plants would be thinned, usually with a hoe in a process called "chopping." Plants were typically left no closer than about 12 inches apart. There would be a second and third tilling designed to remove weeds, pull soil up to the plant to provide support, and loosen the soil. All of these efforts rarely went deeper than 1-2 inches. Additional tilling may be done to remove weeds, but additional hoeing would be done only when vegetation was allowed to get too close to the cotton plants.

Picking would begin in August or early September and would continue through November. Duggar notes that a "fair day's work for an experienced picker is 150 to 200 pounds of seed cotton; but very skillful pickers, under special incentives, and for a single day at a time, have picked more than double these quantities" (Duggar 1921:361). There is also a brief discussion of the problems encountered in picking, with the warning that it is generally better to leave unpicked stained cotton (such as that on the ground) than to include it and have the quality of the entire lot lowered.

By the 1920s most gins were steam powered and suction pipes would remove the cotton from the wagon, carrying it to a cleaner and then through the gin. The staple is then carried to the press and compacted into rectangular (called "square") bales typically weighing 500 pounds each. These bales would be covered with bagging – a heavy coarse burlap-like cloth – and secured with metal bands.



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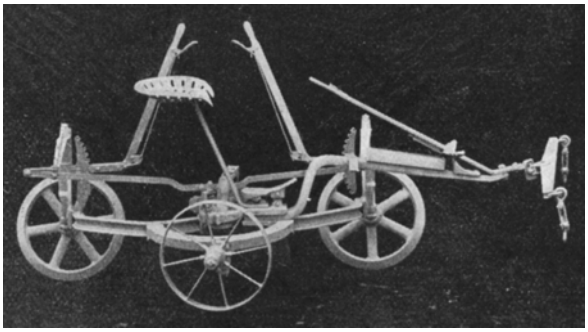

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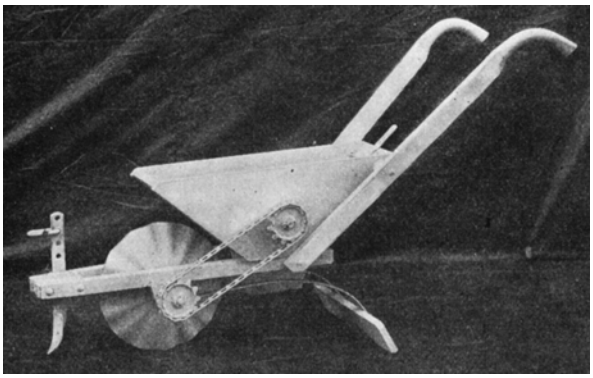

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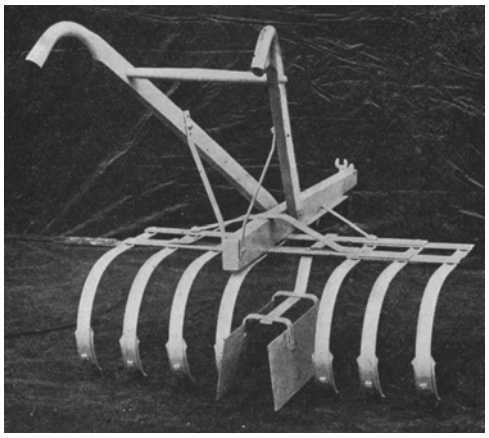

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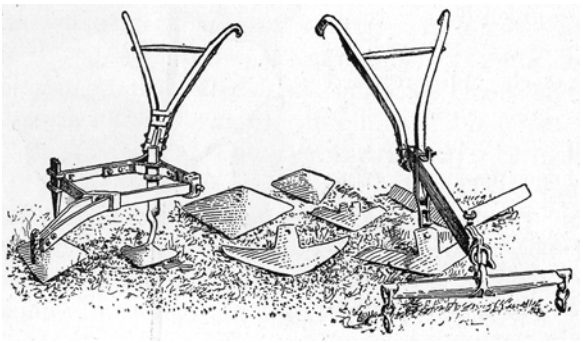

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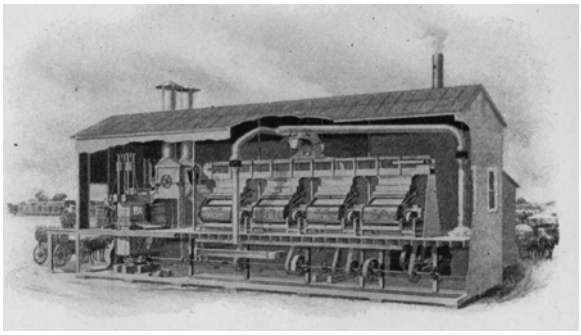

F

Figure 8. Cotton planting tools in the 1920s. A, stalk-cutter (Duggar 1921:Figure 77); B, disk plow with disk not visible behind frame (Duggar 1921:Figure 80); C, inexpensive cotton planter (Duggar 1921:Figure 150); D, one horse spring-took harrow with fenders (Duggar 1921:Figure 87); E, sweeps and scrapes (Duggar 1921:Figure 153); F, ginnery, showing four gins and suction pipe (Duggar 1921:Figure 158).

If the cotton was to be shipped any significant distance it would be taken to a compress, where the size of the bale would be still further reduced. Cotton would be graded by the buyer, not the seller and Duggar notes that the process of learning to grade cotton "cannot be learned without practice under an expert, and never very quickly." Nevertheless, it begins at the starting point of middling cotton on which most contracts were based. Lower grades included low middling, good ordinary, and ordinary. Better grades included good middling, middling fair, and fair. To these are added half and even quarter grades, resulting in terms such as strict good middling. All the grades, however, were based on characteristics such as the amount of trash, the color of the fibers (the best being snow white and the worse having a tinge of blue, indicating exposure to weather), and the amount of tangled, immature fibers (called nep). While the length of the fiber does not affect the grade, it does influence the price. Duggar observes that the lengths were generally described as middling of the ordinary short-staple, middling "benders," and middling long staple (Duggar 1921:374). In South Carolina these different lengths were often described as 7/8 to 1" short, 1 3/16", and 1 5/16", with a premium paid for the longer two (Anonymous 1927:132).

Duggar also provides detailed information concerning the boll weevil. He argues that the best approach is eliminating the weevil where it overwinters – by plowing stubble under deeply or otherwise destroying as much of the litter as possible, as well as keeping the vegetation adjacent to the cotton fields under control and clean (Duggar 1921:397-398). Farmers were also striving to force the growth of the cotton as rapidly as possible in order to set a large number of bolls before many weevils are present. It had been found that the weevils wouldn't attack the bolls, especially large bolls, if there were an abundance of squares (this is the flower bud of a cotton plant).

Although a widely used technique, Duggar (1921:400) relegates poisoning to his "minor methods of combating the boll-weevil," noting that the most common poison was powdered arsenate of lead, applied at the rate of 2 to 2½ pounds per acre using a "powder gun" to blow the arsenate onto the growing cotton tips where the weevils feed before the appearance of squares. The problem with poisoning, he notes, is that it is effective only once – use of poison after the squares appear is ineffective.

Cotton Farming by Mid-Twentieth Century

While there was a great deal more attention paid to proper fertilization (South Carolina ranked third in fertilizer use, following Georgia and Alabama) and selecting the appropriate variety, cotton agriculture had changed relatively little by the 1940s. In fact, Fergus (1944:641) notes that in the Black Belt the hours of labor required to plant one acre of cotton had held constant at 1.6 since 1909 – suggesting that in nearly 40 years there had been no substantive improvements. In contrast, in the Western Semiarid region, labor had been reduced from 1.2 hours to only 0.6 hours – helping to explain why South Carolina was losing the battle to retain King Cotton.

Cottonseed was increasingly being treated with either ethyl mercuric chloride or ethyl mercuric phosphate to prevent disease – use increased from about 4,000 acres in 1935 to 815,000 acres in 1940, representing about 67% of cotton acreage (Fergus 1944:637). Farmers were still being told to plant as early as possible in order to minimize boll weevil damage and calcium arsenate was still the preferred poison. One or two row planters were still being used and the typical spacing was still 3½ to 4 feet with hills in the row 12 to 18 inches apart. Telling is that cotton was still being picked by hand:

> when lint cotton is selling for 10 cents a pound or less, the price

> paid for picking usually varies from 40 to 60 cents for 100 pounds of seed cotton. When lint cotton sells for 15 to 18 cents a pound, the price for picking is about 80 cents to $1.20 per hundred pounds of seed cotton during the early part of the season and increases to $2.00 a hundred during the latter part of the season when most of the cotton has been picked. A fast cotton picker can pick 200 pounds of seed cotton a day when picking in high-yielding cotton (Fergus 1944:653). [2]

Mechanical cotton pickers, while virtually unheard of in South Carolina, where being introduced in the region from Mississippi through Texas (Fergus 1944:656-657).

The Furnishing Merchant

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century agricultural production by both owner and tenant rested on the furnishing or credit merchant. This individual was a distinctive Southern figure portrayed by Faulkner's Will Varner in *The Hamlet*:

> He was the largest landholder and beat supervisor in one county and Justice of the Peace in the next and election commissioner in both, and hence the fountainhead if not of law at least of advice and suggestion . . . . He was a farmer, a usurer, a veterinarian; Judge Benbow of Jefferson once said of him that a milder-mannered man never bled a mule or stuffed a ballot box. He owned most of the good land in the county and held mortgages on most of the rest. He owned the store and the cotton gin and the combined grist mill and blacksmith shop in the village proper and it was considered, to put it mildly, bad luck for a man of the neighborhood to do his trading or gin his cotton or grind his meal or shoe his stock anywhere else (p. 5).

The legal supports for the furnishing merchant were the crop lien laws passed by Southern legislators, including South Carolina, in the years immediately following the Civil War. All were essentially the same – in exchange for credit, the farmer provided the merchant with a lien on his unplanted or growing cotton crop. When the crop was harvested it was typically turned over to the merchant for disposal by the creditor for payment of the lien or debt. By advancing credit (not cash), typically for provisions and supplies, the merchant acquired rights on all the cotton produced by the farmer or tenant (Johnson et al. 1935:29). This, however, was nothing especially new, it simply enacted into law the antebellum practices of the cotton factor (Woodman 1968).

The lien system was not popular. For example, in the *News and Courier* review of the state in 1885 the Richland County correspondent noted that the lien laws were:

> generally condemned by all classes except the colored tenants. It demoralizes labor and is pernicious in all its effects. This year it is very hurtful to merchants, owning to

[2] For reference, the typical picking price of .40 to .60¢ is about $5.13 to 7.69 per hundred weight in 2002$. This would yield about $10.26 to $15.38 per day, or about $.86 to $1.28 per hour, assuming a 12-hour day. In comparison, the Federal Minimum Wage Rate under the Fair Labor Standards Act for 1940 would have been 30¢/hour. Farm minimum wage rates did not exceed $1/hour until 1968.

> the short crops (News and Courier 1885:26).

In adjacent Lexington County the response was similar, "it has been of vast benefit to the merchants, but very injurious to both white and colored farmers" (News and Courier 1885:31). In Fairfield the conclusions were the same: "disastrous" (News and Courier 1885:38).

In spite of the venom expressed, the system operated because of radical changes in the agrarian economy. Planters no longer owned slaves – so there was no collateral there. The land itself had declined in value to the point that much was virtually worthless. The growth of tenancy meant that most dealings were with a cotton grower who owned virtually nothing – not the land, his house, or often even his stock. The crop – current or prospective – was the only thing of value that either owners or tenants could bring to the table in exchange for not only seed and fertilizer, ginning and compressing, but also food, clothing, tools, even the few luxuries that might be afforded.

Johnson and his colleagues explore the extraordinary rates charged by the furnishing merchants:

> The simple per annum interest rates in 1934 in three selected cotton counties studied in Mississippi and Texas, varied from 16.1 per cent to 25.3 per cent. In addition to this, however, were credit prices. In these same communities the excess of the credit price [compared to the cash price] was found to be greater than even the interest charges, and the total cost to the tenant for his supplies averaged more than 50 per cent per annum (Johnson et al. 1935:31-32).

Paying a charge of 50% for every need, the Southern tenant was placed in a position where accumulation of capital was unlikely and even the small owner was in constant danger of losing his farm and becoming a tenant – helping to explain the rise of tenancy.

Those analyzing the credit system came to realize that it – and the complex of social institutions bound up with it – had managed to survive only because of a very favorable world market. As that market declined, so too did the viability of the system. One South Carolina merchant noted that the system, with the very large number of defaulting tenants, had caused his business to go into bankruptcy. This merchant explained that he charged "interest plus a time price" that amounted to 50% -- 30% was intended to cover the operating costs and 20% was thought to be adequate to cover anticipated losses. It wasn't. Under the new system this same merchant explained that he was far more cautious in accepting credit and, as a result, charged only a "flat rate of 10 per cent which is assessed upon the account as it stands on September 30th" (Johnson et al. 1935:29). The merchant went on to state the obvious – that any system anticipating a 20% default rate was wrong.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Agriculture and Tenancy in Richland County

Our reconstruction of agricultural life in Richland County is sketchy. Curiously few papers or records have been preserved. While the losses attributable to the Civil War can explain the dearth of antebellum accounts, postbellum accounts are equally sparse. For example, while Richland County has agricultural liens, only those from 1870 to 1876 are preserved – later documents that might assist this study are entirely absent. In addition, all of the agricultural schedules after 1870 have been lost or destroyed, leaving us with only the compendium or country-wide data. These are flawed since Richland County varies so dramatically – combining the rich farm lands of the southern and southeastern areas around the Wateree River with the sandy, relatively unproductive regions to the north. Finally, available sources such as the historical survey of northern Richland County (Martin et al. 2002) provides virtually no substantive analysis of the county's agricultural activities.

The Late Nineteenth Century Economy

The economic history of Richland County in the 1880s can be reconstructed using Butler (1883) and the News and Courier (1884). The county had seven town or trading settlements with 169 stores, all but three operated by whites. These communities included, of course, Columbia, with its 154 stores – representing 91% of the trading establishments in the County. Eastover and Gadsden, each of which contributed five stores, were situated about 27 miles southeast on what is today the Seaboard Coast Line (previously Atlantic Coast Line or the WC & ARR) and 21 miles southeast on what is today the Southern Rail Line (previously South Carolina & Georgia or SC RR), respectively. Shand's, today a lost town, had two stores. Finally Kingsville and Acton each had one store. Kingville was located about 4 miles southeast of Gadsden, also on the rail line, while Acton was about 2.5 miles southeast of Eastover, at the McCord's Ferry to Camden crossing (Butler 1883:698-699). Hopkins was on the SC RR about 12 miles southeast of Columbia, but the community included no merchants. Other post offices included Grovewood (12 miles southeast of Columbia) and Wateree (32 miles southeast of Columbia on the SC & ARR) (Moore 1993:478-479).

Of the 169 stores, 32 (19%) kept liquor, 17 (10%) had hardware, 17 (10%) were dry goods stores, 30 (18%) were general merchandise stores, and 83 (49%) kept miscellaneous articles (likely meaning they were combinations of these above classifications). The estimated wealth of the 169 proprietors was $1,308,000 ($22,947,000 in 2002$) – for an average of just over $7,700 ($135,000 in 2002$) per store (Butler 1883:699). While impressive, Fairfield County to the north could boast 91 stores, with an average wealth of $7,400 ($130,000 in 2002$) per store. Lexington County to the west and Newberry to the northwest had average store wealth of $5,500 and $6,300 ($96,500 and $110,500 in 2002$) respectively. Consequently, while Richland's merchants were somewhat more prosperous, their wealth was not as great as might be expected given the political and geographic prominence of Richland County and the town of Columbia.

Almost nothing can be said concerning early commissaries, operated by planters. There are few plantation records for Richland County and even fewer from the northern or upper section. For example, the James C. LaBorde papers (South Caroliniana Library) are silent concerning mercantile issues. Edwin J. Scott notes only that, "there being but few country

stores, and those in the villages generally scantily supplied, Columbia did a very large retail business throughout the winter months" (Scott 1884:78).

The News and Courier (1885:25) provides information on the variety of industries in the County, noting that there were 21 grist mills (no flour mills – Adluh Flour Mill in Columbia was not formed until 1900), four foundries, 12 lumber mills, 17 turpentine stills, and 17 other manufactures, all employing a total of $466,000 ($8,175,000 in 2002$) in capital. There were not yet, however, any cotton mills in Richland County and while 21 grist mills were reported, all but one (Gibson and Company in Columbia) were small country mills. Overall the value of the annual product was only $56,000 ($982,500 in 2002$). Of the twelve lumber mills in the county, most (8) were located in Columbia, although one, Killian & Brother, was located in Killian's – a small railroad stop on the S.C.C. & A. Railroad about 11 miles north of Columbia. [1]

Improved agricultural implements were common in Richland County, with 3,126 enumerated. The most common was the guano spreader (almost certainly used with other fertilizers, such as phosphates, as well), accounting for about 72% of the total. Ranking far behind were other "improved" items, such as sowers, reapers, sulky plows, harrows, mowers, and horse rakes. This situation was almost identical in adjacent Lexington County where guano spreaders also represented 72% of the implements, although the total number of implements was slightly higher at 3,241. In contrast, Fairfield County, to the north, could boast only 546 improved implements and guano spreaders there accounted for only 2% of the total. This suggests that farmers in Richland County had quickly bought into advanced farming techniques and, especially, the use of fertilizers to improve lands that had been farmed for generations. It may also be that fertilizers were more quickly adopted in areas with sandy soils where fertility was inherently low – although this was not researched in detail.

In spite of this, Richland County boasted only 31 cotton gins. To the north Fairfield County reported 300 gins. To the northwest, in Newberry County there were 600 gins, while to the west in Lexington County there were 49 gins (News and Courier 1885:26, 31, 33, 38). The Richland County gins were capable of turning out about 3,000 pounds of lint per day and most charged .50¢ ($9.10 in 2002$) per 100 pounds.

The News and Courier review revealed that the cost of producing cotton in the county was about 8¢ ($1.40 in 2002$) a pound or $40 ($702 in 2002$) for a 500 pound bale. With cotton in 1880 selling for 9.8¢ ($1.70 in 2002$) a pound, this provided precious little profit. Cotton prices continued to fall to a low of about 6¢ ($1.05 in 2002$) by 1885 (Moore 1993:229).

The sad state of the state's agricultural economy is clearly outlined by Edgar (1998:428), who notes that the economy was in shambles. Not only were cotton prices down dramatically from the immediate post-war boom; but intent on cashing in, the state's farmers planted cotton at the expense of provision crops, further compounding their problems. Add to this the near total disregard for the land and a series of droughts, and the situation was bleak

Edgar also observes that in spite of these problems, South Carolina's governors were out of touch with reality. For example, in 1882 Governor Johnson Hagood extolled to the Legislature the virtues of the state, with "happy and prosperous" citizens and a "well-ordered, smooth working, and economic" government.

[1] By the mid-eighteenth century Killian was mapped as a post office, although Neuffer reports that Killian was "named for a family who lived . . . in . . . a great mansion across the railroad" (Neuffer 1981:9). Moore (1993:186) also suggests that Killian's was a training or parade ground for Confederate troops.

Four years later Governor John R. Richardson was equally out-of-touch by proclaiming that the "sun of prosperity" had "arisen from the dark clouds" (quoted in Edgar 1998:429). Yet during the 1880s thousands were losing their farms – statewide in just two years over a million acres went on the auction block, with almost 8% of the farmland being foreclosed and auctioned (Edgar 1998:431). These frustrations helped propel Edgefield's Ben Tillman into the governor's seat in 1890.

Although Moore (1993:230) suggests that Richland's economy was improving, the improvements were at best cosmetic. For example, while Moore reports the value of farm land and buildings increased (from $2,099,715 in 1860 to $2,187,220 in 1890), this does not consider inflation. When these figures are corrected to 2002$, the value of Richland farms actually declined by about 6%, from $45,646,000 to $42,769,000. Moreover, the number increased from 203 in 1860 to over 2,300 in 1890 (of course the census treated each tenancy as a farm). Moore also identifies corn and cotton yields increasing – which they did, corn from 77,118 bushels in 1860 to 110,122 bushels in 1890 and cotton from 9,946 to 13,915 bales. Cotton remained "King" since it continued to be the only apparent route to wealth. Butler (1883:95) reported profits, per acre, ranging from a low of about $1.87 ($33 in 2002$) per acre to a high of $23.45 ($411 in 2002$). However, the number of improved acres also increased by 43% -- from 77,118 acres in 1860 to 110,122 acres in 1890. We might also consider other factors, such as the value of implements and machinery, which when corrected to 2002$ declined by nearly a third, from $2,427,350 to $1,608,600. Overall, Richland's agriculture was in the same slump as found elsewhere across the state, with little if any real improvement since the Civil War.

While agriculture was still dominant only in the South, the rest of the country was feeling other economic woes, including over production, a decline in housing starts, and a downward drift in business activity. Even agriculture in other parts of the country was feeling the effects with wheat prices tumbling and corn held steady, but at low prices. Foreclosures of farm mortgages increased, further weakening banks. Debt payments and low prices restricted agrarian purchasing power, further infuriating South Carolina's farmers.

By 1893 the country, including Richland County, was faced with a severe double cycle depression that did not truly end until 1901-1902. Nationwide unemployment crept up to double digits and didn't come back down to single digits until 1900 (Hoffmann 1970; Steeples and Whitten 1998). Of the 158 national banks that failed, 153 were in the South and West. With the collapse of the Richmond Terminal, no trunk line in the southern states remained solvent. Only textile manufacturing prospered, becoming a safe haven – capital investment increased by 131%, the number of plants increased by 67%, and the number of spindles increased by 100%. Nevertheless, most of this growth occurred either at the beginning or ending of the depression – in the middle even cotton mill workers were not fully employed (Cooper and Terrill 1991:488).

The greatest impact, however, occurred to Southern farmers and their families. Cotton prices fell from 8.4¢/pound to 4.6¢. The economic crisis brought about the birth of the Southern Farmers' Alliance (the official name was the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union) and the Colored Farmers' Alliance. It also brought about Jim Crow laws and dramatically affected the lives of African Americans. In fact Cooper and Terrill observe that although the economic upheaval largely ended even before the decade did, "the damage done by that upheaval affected life in the South long afterward" (Cooper and Terrill 1991:489).

The Late Nineteenth Century Labor Force

African Americans composed about 85% of the farm labor in Richland County according to the News and Courier survey. In Lexington

County only about 40% of the labor was supplied by blacks, while to the north in Fairfield County 90% of the farm labor was African American. Richland County farmers, however, observed that not only was it increasingly difficult to find farm labor (describing it as "scarce") but some were also complaining about the efficiency of that labor, noting that it was "becoming more inefficient every year." In contrast, some farmers observed that, "when they [African American laborers] are paid good wages and are well treated" they "are more efficient than formerly." Elsewhere in the region there were similar complaints regarding the scarcity of black labor and, when available, its inefficiency. For example, from Lexington came the assessment, "Colored labor is greatly inferior to what it was five years ago and is not as efficient as it was last year." The efficiency was estimated down by 10% in Fairfield from just a year earlier. And in Kershaw to the east, the same complaint was heard, with the assessment that the problem was the rise of small tenant farms.

Much of the complaint, however, was likely in reaction to the African Americans rejecting labor agreements that resembled slavery or bound them too tightly to whites and land they did not own or control. While discussing the task system characteristic of the low country, Morgan observed that, "the preferences and ambitions of the freedmen reflected, above all, a desire for autonomy not only from the impersonal marketplace but also from individual whites" (Morgan 1982:596).

A farm laborer's day in Richland County was nine hours long and males were generally paid $9 ($160 in 2002$) a month, while females were paid $5 ($88 in 2002$) a month, with both receiving board (News and Courier 1885:26). The James C. LaBorde papers reveal that he was hiring locals (likely blacks) for $8 a month and board – generally in agreement with the News and Courier account. Elsewhere in the records there is evidence that he was charging $1.50 a month for rent, so "board" almost certainly meant provisions even while there is no specific mention of a commissary (James C. LaBorde 1880-1882 account book, South Caroliniana Library). The News and Courier survey also reported that in Richland County both wage and share systems were in about equally in use, although no specific information was provided concerning the provisions of the share system. Wages were lower in surrounding counties such as Fairfield and Lexington, suggesting that there were greater opportunities for African Americans in Richland County and farmers were forced to provide some incentive to acquire workers. In Lexington County the share system was most common, with "part of the crop" given to the tenant. In Newberry the system was defined by contract, with the tenant receiving 40% of the crop. In Fairfield the proprietor received "one-half of the crop, when the land and mules are furnished."

Labor contracts from the period generally provided careful division of the crops. For example, an 1875 contract from Marion County specified that the planter would furnish the land. The guano would be applied at the "credit market country prices." In exchange, the tenant was to not only tend the farm and gather the crops, but must also "repair the fencing," "clean out all ditches," "be sober and not allow any drinking at or about" the farm or allow any "frolicking." In fact, the agreement specifically denied the tenant visitors that might not be approved of the landlord. In exchange, the tenant was to receive all crops in excess of "one thousand lbs. good white lint cotton and enough of balance of said crop to pay for all advances, rendered by Planter in full during the year" – even if it should "take the whole crop."

A similar Marion County agreement in 1880 still specified land and guano "at the credit country prices." In addition, a mule would be provided to cultivate the lands for the price of $30. In exchange the tenant would be responsible for the cultivation and collection of the crops, "clean[ing] round the fencing to secure it from fire, clean all ditches . . . to be

sober and not allow no drinking or frolicking at or about said place, allow no one to stop or take up on said place . . . [and] to be responsible for all damages to said Houses and Plantation." As specified in the earlier contract, the owner was to receive 1,000 pounds of "good white lint cotton and enough at balance of crop to pay for all advances" (contracts on file, Chicora Foundation).

These reveal that tenants, especially African American tenants, operated under an oppressive system that was not all that far removed from slavery, with the owner directing virtually every aspect of the tenant's life (including even "frolicking"). The last several decades of the nineteenth century began with the Black Codes, intended to curtail African American freedoms and culminated with the 1895 South Carolina Constitutional Convention that almost entirely disenfranchised blacks, largely removing them from the political process and re-asserting white supremacy. The Federal government's retreat from its duty to protect the freedom of black citizens was symbolized by the 1896 Supreme Court decision of Plessy v. Ferguson which established the doctrine of "separate but equal."

Table 1 traces the agricultural history of Richland County from 1880 through 1930. Between 1880 and 1900 there was about a 30% increase in the number of Richland County farms, while at the same time the value of these farms doubled. The percent operated by tenants held relatively stable through the period.

Acres devoted to the cash crop, cotton, increased by 24%, while the yield increased by about 31%, suggesting that farmers were slightly more productive in this agricultural pursuit. Corn acreage increased by 56%, while the yield increased by 87%. Wheat acreage – and production -- almost tripled.

The value of animals slaughtered on farms increased, as did the number of swine. Milk and butter production both increased, with milk production increasing over 40 fold in just 20 years.

Moore observes that the picture which emerges is one of "scores of tenants dependent upon cotton, corn, and hogs" (Moore 1993:230). While both production and the number of farms increased, it seems clear that production was rising faster than the number of farms – or the number of tenants. Not only that, but the value of the farms – land, buildings, and implements – was also rising. All while the average size of the farm was falling. Edgar equates the increase in total number of farms and decline in average farm size with "more intense cultivation and more land butchery" (Edgar 1998:450). At the state level the percentage of those owning their own land declined from roughly 50% to 38%. In Richland County the level of ownership held relatively stable, but it was at about 32%. Regrettably the census does not allow us to examine the number of farms controlled by absentee owners.

The Political Consequences at the End of the Nineteenth Century

The politics of the late nineteenth century can largely be summed up in one name – Ben Tillman. Although a populist and appealing to the rural agrarian farmer, Tillman offered no substantial programs to address the needs of the debt-ridden farming class. What he did offer was an uncanny ability to identify and viciously attack those who seemed to pose the greatest threat to the farmer's independence. As a result he was one of the nation's most violent and outspoken supporters of lynching. He described those white politicians favoring biracial politics as "white negroes." And he was perhaps the most successful of the architects of the oppressive Jim Crow south (Kantrowitz 2000).

Tillman openly encouraged the paramilitary groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and, earlier, Hampton's Red-shirts. He was

Table 1.
Agricultural Production in Richland County, 1880-1930

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Number of farms	2,240	2,326	2,927	2,748	3,889	2,787
Percent operated by tenants	66.9	65.4	67.4	66.4	64.1	55.1
Average farm size in acres	104	127	81	76	71	69
Value of farms (corrected to 2002$)	25,720,800	51,069,800	66,973,500	128,554,700	195,323,700	137,068,550
% owned with mortgage debt		17%		26%	25%	28%
Corn, acres	19,431	23,849	30,399	27,311	36,804	27,784
Corn, bushels	171,040	280,008	320,860	366,283	549,791	354,855
Cotton, acres	28,361	41,672	35,182	37,259	46,910	24,522
Cotton, bales	10,973	13,915	14,373	17,476	26,690	8,032
Wheat, acres	514	440	1,474	122	2,217	1,154
Wheat, bushels	3,916	2,709	9,520	1,271	15,661	10,124
Oats, acres	2,158	5,004	4,345	6,019	4,026	6,858
Oats, bushels	30,904	59,765	54,280	108,384	66,345	48,575
Hay, acres	74	1,063	2,467	6,792	24,265	6,082
Hay, tons	67	1,127	2,548	7,032	15,898	4,559
Tobacco, acres			5	0	78	6
Tobacco, pounds			4,000	0	32,624	2,900
Vegetables, acres			949	665	NR	531
Vegetables, value (2002$)			1,012,230	2,001,640	4,999,200	1,294,960
Value, animals slaughtered (2002$)		6,575,500	8,540,950	13,594,840	17,309,460	NR
Number of swine	7,965	9,480	11,051	10,485	18,563	9,914
Milk produced, gallons	14,831	329,995	608,224	640,128	1,088,109	1,614,473
Butter produced, pounds	31,532	31,532	71,102	90,088	217,872	168,259

openly proud of his own ability to gain power through force and fraud and insisted that white men would (and should) always violently resist attacks on their power. Simply put, Tillman was a hateful demagogue.

One of his more memorable actions, however, focused on the issue of alcohol in South Carolina and the creation of a state liquor monopoly – the South Carolina Dispensary. Although South Carolina was largely supportive of prohibition (in 1891 27 communities were dry and an 1892 referendum overwhelmingly approved prohibition), Tillman saw drinking as an "individual freedom." More to the point, he reckoned that the issue of drinking would divide the Democratic Party and the cause of white unity. As a "compromise" Tillman created the Dispensary. The state would be able only to purchase wholesale alcohol and then rebottle it for retail sale. A local dispensary, however, would only be opened after the majority of the town's freehold voters signed a petition requesting one be opened. The only alternative to a state dispensary was local prohibition. The profits from alcohol would be divided between the state and the municipality where the dispensary was located (thus the government profited from heavy alcohol sales). On July 1, 1893 the Dispensary became the only legal source of alcohol in South Carolina.

From the very beginning the system was plagued with problems. Otherwise law-abiding citizens took pride in resisting the "tyranny of the Dispensary and the actions of its spies and

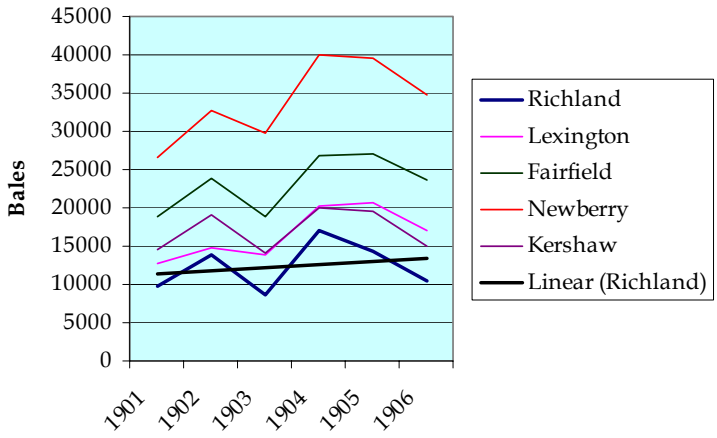

Figure 9. Cotton production in the first years of the twentieth century.

goons" (Edgar 1998:441). Although the South Carolina Supreme Court found that the Dispensary was an illegal monopoly, Tillman replaced the judges and had the case retried – obtaining a verdict more to his liking. The Dispensary became the "most profound, insidious, and widespread agency of corruption" in South Carolina history (quoted in Edgar 1998:450). The system continued to operate until 1907 when it was abolished in favor of local option. By 1909 only six counties, including Richland, remained wet and in 1915 South Carolinians (like the rest of the country) voted in prohibition.

However important the Dispensary is to local history, on the bigger stage the late 1890s was all about disfranchisement, Jim Crow, and the Anglo-Saxon identity. In 1895, with the opening of the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Judge Emory Speer delivered an appropriately optimistic address. Part of his comments focused on the fact that Anglo-Saxons were firmly in control of the South. Cooper and Terrill (1991:486) comment that he gave special stress to the issue of Anglo-Saxonism, noting that it was a form of sectional nativism that flourished almost everywhere in the nation.

The Democrats had discovered that their best means of defending the South from the "threat" of African American equality was the law – a complex mix of poll taxes, registration laws, multiple ballot boxes, vague secret ballots, literacy and property tests, and understanding clauses and grandfather clauses. While made as palatable as possible to low-income whites, many of these laws also served to disfranchise poor whites as well.

The Beginning of the Twentieth Century

Columbia was prospering during the first couple of decades. There were, in 1915, three patent medicine companies operating out of Columbia, including Boyd Chemical, Murray Drug Company, and Southern Asceptic Labs. There were also at least five different mineral or soda bottling plants, including Columbia Coca-Cola, Gay-Ola Bottling, Bloodwine Bottling, Columbia Pepsi-Cola Bottling, and Chero-Cola Bottling. There were four fertilizer companies in Columbia: Congaree, Palmetto Guano, F.S. Royster Guano, and the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company (Watson 1916).

With the arrival of the twentieth century Richland County's farms continued to be focused on cotton. Production fluctuated, with the maximum crop statewide being achieved in 1904. These fluctuations are similar in the surrounding counties (see Figure 9), although Richland consistently produced the lowest amount.

By 1920 both the number of farm units and their value reached an all-time high. While the proportion operated by tenants had declined slightly, still nearly two-thirds were being operated by tenants. Nearly two-thirds of all farmers were African Americans in Richland County (statewide the proportion was slightly

Table 2.
Major Forms of Tenancy in South Carolina

	Share Cropping Croppers	Share Renting Share Tenants	Cash Renting Cash Tenants	Standing Rent
Landlord furnishes:	Land House Fuel Tools Work stock Seed ½ fertilizer Feed	Land House Fuel ¼ or 1/3 fertilizer	Land House Fuel	Land House Fuel
Tenant furnishes:	Labor ½ fertilizer	Labor Work stock Feed Seed ¾ or 2/3 fertilizer	Labor Work stock Feed Tools Seed Fertilizer	Labor Work stock Feed Seed Fertilizer
Landlord receives:	½ of the crop	¼ or 1/3 of the crop	Fixed amount in cast or lint cotton	Fixed amount regardless of circumstances
Tenant receives:	½ of the crop	¾ or 2/3 of the crop	Entire crop less fixed rent	Entire crop, if any, beyond fixed amount

lower – about 56% were African Americans). Of the tenants in Richland County 82% were black (compared to statewide, where 69% of the tenants were black).

The 1920 census also allows us to explore the nature of tenancy in Richland County. There were four basic types of tenancy found in South Carolina (with the first three most common throughout the region):

1. *Cash Renting, also called Cash Tenants:* The landlord furnished the tenant only with land, a house, and fuel at a fixed rental to be paid either in cash, which is most often the case, or its equivalent in crop value, typically lint cotton. The tenant furnished labor, work stock, feed for the work stock, tools, seed, fertilizer, and receives all income after his rent is paid. The landlord only exercised supervision to prevent depletion, damage, or deterioration of the land and associated structures. This type of tenant was slightly better off than most since the defined agreement on the amount of rent to be paid made him somewhat more independent. The landlord had no lien on his crop and he could market his lint cotton wherever he chose.

2. *Crop-Share Renting or Share Tenancy:* The landlord furnished the land, house, fuel, and in addition, one-fourth or one-third of the fertilizer. The tenant furnished labor, work stock, feed for the work stock, tools, seed and three-fourths or two-thirds of the fertilizer. The landlord received one-fourth or one-third of the crop, with the tenant receiving the balance. The share tenant is distinct from the cropper (below) in the sense that he owns part of the means of production and makes an investment in the enterprise.

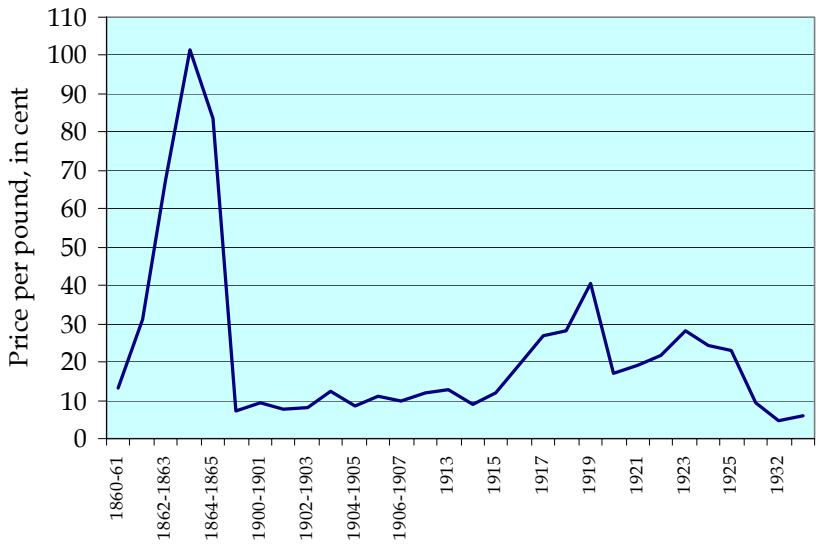

Figure 10. Cotton prices from the late antebellum through early 1930s (Anonymous 1927:132; Edger 1998:499; Watson 1907:269).

3. *Share Cropping, sometimes called simply Croppers:* The landlord furnished land, a house, fuel, tools, work stock, seed, feed for the work stock and one-half of the fertilizer. The tenant provided labor and the remainder of the fertilizer. The landlord would receive one-half of the crop, with the cropper receiving the remainder half. Since the cropper owns no means of production, he is less a tenant than wage labor. However, his relation to the landlord and the land kept him in a state of peonage nearly that of slavery.

4. *Standing Rent* is a rarer form of payment which was most common in Georgia and South Carolina. In this system the landlord receives a fixed amount (a set number of bales, for example) of the crop *regardless* of how large or small the tenant's crop may be. Thus the landlord is free from the risk of loss due to bad seasons or bad management.

In addition, under the last three arrangements the return to the tenant is always minus "interest" on indebtedness, and minus a so-called "cost of supervision" (Woofter 1936:10; Pytlak 1939).

In South Carolina as a whole, the most common tenants were the croppers or share croppers, accounting for about 35%. These were followed by the share tenants or share renters at 31%. Standing renters comprised an additional 20% and cash tenants another 13%. In Richland County, however, the most common form of tenancy – accounting for over a third of all tenants – were the cash tenants. Standing renters comprised about a quarter of all tenants in the county. Share tenants and croppers each consisted of about 19% of the total.

Consequently, Richland County in 1920 was somewhat unusual in that a relatively large proportion of the tenants were cash renting and exercising relatively significant control over their future. Croppers and share tenants were both less common than elsewhere. The proportion of those tenants having the least protection – the standing renters – was also slightly more common in Richland County than elsewhere.

Any way that it was examined, tenancy created a class from which escape was nearly impossible. Using the power of the state, owners created contracts to protect their interests – and these contracts were often so broad that they prevented the cropper or tenant from leaving the plantation without permission. In order to maximize profits and limit the mobility of the labor, owners of larger holdings often began commissaries or made arrangements with local merchants, limiting the options of croppers and

tenants and ensuring indebtedness. One period commentator remarked:

> The cropper has no control over the nature of his crops, the acreage, methods of cultivation or marketing of his crop, and is at all times under direct supervision by the landlord or his agents. The "settlement" at the time the crop is sold amounts to no more than this: After having received barely enough for subsistence from the landlord in the "furnishes" to enable him to continue working, he is occasionally granted a small cash bonus at Christmas during a good year. But usually the cropper finds himself in debt to the landlord after the cotton is picked and sold and is forced to remain until the debt is worked off. This state of affairs is legalized by means of vagrancy statutes and laws penalizing agricultural workers for failure to complete cultivation of a crop after having entered into a contract with a landlord. The oppression and degradation of the masses under this form of economic bondage is little better than those experienced under chattel slavery (Birchman 1939: 347).

Blacks, however, were taking action against both oppressive labor contracts and the erosion of their political power. During the 1920s there was a growing flood of African Americans leaving South Carolina – voting with their feet – and migrating to the better paying jobs of northern factories.

Richland County, like a few other more metropolitan areas in the Carolinas and Virginia, actually saw a slight gain in the black population between 1920 and 1930 (Earle 2000:103). For example, while nearby Fairfield and Newberry counties saw their African American workforce decline by 24% and 22% respectively, the African American population in Richland County increased by 5%.

Cotton prices, like production, fluctuated (Figure 10). In general, American agriculture prospered during World War I and cotton prices were typically higher than they had been in years. Southern agriculture, however, contracted after the war, as European farmers recovered. Nevertheless, cotton farming was "not highly prosperous even during the war years". Although most sectors of the economy recovered relatively quickly, "agriculture did not ever fully recover," and in the "years following 1920, the cotton industry experienced little, if any, prosperity" (Dimsdale 1970:5).

One of the disruptions in South Carolina agriculture was the arrival of the boll weevil. At the door to Savannah in 1917, the weevil had spread through much of South Carolina by 1919 (including Richland County) and by 1922 had covered most of North Carolina as well. Planters paid their tenants a penny per weevil in an effort to slow the spread and millions of pounds of arsenical dusts (primarily calcium arsenate) were applied. In spite of these efforts losses ranged between 30 and 60% of a crop (Haney et al. 1996). The most devastating year was 1922, when production statewide was only 30% of that it had been two years earlier (Anonymous 1927:130).

The boll weevil, the flight of black labor, the rise of the mills – all were viewed as the reason for the cotton farmer's predicament. The decline in cotton production, however, was more than anything else the result of the expansion of cotton growing in the West and abroad. Southern farmers were competitively handicapped by worn out land, expensive fertilizer, small farms, eroded lands, weeds, the boll weevil, and undependable rainfall. Speculators and a shaky economy added to

these fundamental problems. The South's dependency on cotton has been claimed to be perhaps the most important factor leading to the agricultural depression of the 1920s (Holmes 1974:316). Forty-five banks failed in 1926 alone and between 1921 and 1929, 225 South Carolina banks, or roughly half of those active at the end of WWI, had failed. These failures were largely the result of the decline in the value of lands that served as loan collateral (Schultz 1992:3).

With the economic upheaval of the 1920s also came social unrest. Although legally dry since 1915, many chose to ignore the law and throughout the state there were often stills producing moonshine. The state's "Blue Laws" that prohibited the sale of a wide variety of merchandise on Sundays were frequently ignored and when the Bleaseite Governor John G. Edwards attempted to enforce the laws he was roundly ignored and ridiculed in the press. His efforts to outlaw the teaching of evolution died quickly in committee. There was, however, a revival of the Ku Klux Klan and their power was great enough in the South Carolina General Assembly to defeat the reelection of Jewish businessman August Kohn to the University of South Carolina's Board of Trustees.

Table 3.
Net Income per Family by Tenure Status and Region, 1934
(Woofter 1936:Table 38) (2002$)

Region	Wage Hands	Croppers	Share Tenants	Renters
Atlantic Coastal Plain	199 (2,689)	519 (7,013)	833 (11,256)	536 (7,243)
Upper Piedmont	153 (2,067)	336 (4,540)	440 (5,945)	444 (6,000)
Black Belt (inc. Richland Co.)	156 (2,108)	334 (4,513)	313 (4,230)	471 (6,365)

Arrival of the Depression

Edgar notes that in 1930 the situation among South Carolina farmers was dire. Having gone on a spending spree when money was flowing, they had no reserves, and the decade of the 1920s was so bad that:

> South Carolina agriculture was about to go under. Farmland and buildings had lost more than one-half their value. One-third of the state's farms were mortgaged, and 70 percent of the state's farmers survived on borrowed money (Edgar 1988:485).

Moore adds to this that, "except for foodstuffs and bare necessities, hundreds of families living in Richland and surrounding counties seldom could buy what Columbia merchants were trying to sell" (Moore 1993:329). Schultz remarks that many remember the Depression years not for the "coming" of hard times, but instead "recall those days as a continuation of long-standing hardship" (Schultz 1992:3). By 1933 state government itself was on the verge of collapse – state employees were laid off and those that remained were paid with "state I.O.U.'s."

At first glance Richland County was again perhaps in better shape than many agricultural communities. For example, the value of farms declined by "only" 30% and "only" 28% had mortgage debt. On the other hand, the number of farms declined by 28% and the average size of these farms continued to decline. The acreage devoted to corn declined by 24% (roughly equal to the decline in the number of farms), yet corn production declined by 35%. Cotton acreage was down by 35%, clearly exceeding the drop in number of farms. More indicative of the problems, however, was that cotton yield had dropped by 70% in Richland County. Even the value of vegetables was down by 86%.

Table 4.
Annual Commissary Purchases of Arkansas Tenants (Woofter 1936:Table 102).

Commodity	% of Total Purchase	Projected Expenditure of Black Belt Cropper (2002$)
Food	64.4	215 (2,906)
Flour	23.3	78 (1051)
Lard	12.1	40 (546)
Meat	9.1	30 (410)
Sugar	5.5	18 (248)
Condiments	5.4	18 (244)
Coffee	2.5	8 (113)
Molasses	1.7	6 (77)
Miscellaneous food	4.8	10 (217)
Clothing	14.2	47 (641)
Medicine	3.3	11 (149)
Tobacco	5.5	18 (248)
Miscellaneous household items	12.5	42 (564)

The situation in the study area – the Killian enumeration district – may have been even worse. There the average farm size was only 41 acres – over a third smaller than farm size for the county as a whole. In addition, the average value of farms in the Killian area was only $699 ($7,616 in 2002$) compared to the Richland County average of $3,018 ($32,450 in 2002$).

In 1928 the Killian community had a population of 128 and was apparently not entirely dependent on Columbia. The R.G. Dun Mercantile Agency identified three businesses in the community (none were reported in 1902). Two were general stores – A.J. Davis and A.J. Roberts. The latter had apparently been there long enough to establish good credit for itself. The third business was the Killian Grocery and Mercantile Co. – perhaps a new business since it was listed as having less than $500 in capital.

Slightly to the north, the Blythewood community had a population of 200 and boasted 20 businesses, including 11 general stores (one that was also a filling station). Also present were gins, oil and gas, and other businesses. Even Ballentine, with a population similar to Killian, had three general stores, a gin and saw mill, and two filling stations (Dunn 1928).

The 1930 census identified 341 people in the Killian enumeration district, nearly 59% being white and the remainder (141) being African American. A total of 252, or 73.9%, were identified as "rural farm population." A portion of the study tract extended into the Level district. The racial makeup was not too dissimilar, with 51.2% of the population being white. More significant was that in the Level district all of the population lived on rural farms.

Although no agricultural schedules survive, it is possible to look at the occupations of those listed for the various enumeration districts. In Killian, 69.4% of the whites were listed as farmers – an occupation that would include both owners and tenants, but exclude day or wage laborers. An additional 8.3% of the white population fell into the farm laborer category. Other white occupations included miller, merchant, carpenter, wood cutter, and railroad worker. Farmer was the most common occupation for the African Americans in Killian as well, accounting for 48.1%. Farm laborers were slightly more common, accounting for 11.1% of the population. Other occupations included the saw mill (18.5%), railroad (11.1%), domestics (11.1%), and road worker.

Of the white farmers, 55% were listed as owners; the remaining 45% were renters or tenants of one type or another. The same division – 55% owners and 45% tenants – was found among the black farmers. Both white and black farmers had very similar average ages – 42.8 for whites and 43.6 for blacks. The only noticeable difference was that the white farmers had an average family size of 7.5 individuals, compared to only 4.5 with the black farmers. This may be related to the difference in income levels, with blacks simply not able to support

Table 5.
Typical prices, 1932-33

Bacon, 1 lb.	0.13
Baking Powder, 1 lb.	0.05
Coffee, 1 lb.	0.19
Corn Meal, 5 lbs.	0.10
Flour, 24 lb. sack	0.63
Ham, 1 lb.	0.08
Ketchup, 3x14 oz.	0.29
Preserves, 16 oz.	0.15
Salt, granulated, 1 lb.	0.73
Soap, white naptha, 8 bars	0.25
Sugar, 10 lbs.	0.47
Boots, men's, 1 pr.	3.00
Shirt, men's, 1	0.65
Dress, ladies', 1	1.00
Bed & springs, used	3.25
Broom, house	0.29
Dishes, 16-piece set	0.89
Dresser, used	3.50
Lamp, Aladdin mantle	2.98
Refrigerator	99.50
Milk of Magnesia	0.57

families as large as whites. If so, it may imply that blacks actively sought to limit the number of children.

In Level, 53.6% of the whites were farmers, compared to 66.7% of the blacks. There were no white farm laborers or railroad workers, although other occupations included sawmill worker, carpenter, merchant, road worker, and chain gang guard. Among blacks 8% were farm laborers, 20.8 were sawmill workers, and 4.2% were railroad workers.

The 1930 census breaks tenancy into two groups: "cash tenants," and "other tenants." Cash tenants comprised 55% of the Richland County tenants, up from the 36% reported a decade earlier. The category of "other tenants" consisted of croppers, share tenants, and those paying standing rents – and comprised the remaining 45% of the tenancy found in Richland County. This number was down from the 64% reported in 1920. This shift toward cash tenancy suggests that in some small way tenancy might have been improving in Richland County.

The cash renters were paying an average of $116 ($1,247 in 2002$) a year rent for Richland County farms. In comparison, cash renters in Lexington County were paying an average of only $85.47 ($919 in 2002$) and in Newberry only $97.48 ($1,048 in 2002$).

Nevertheless, conditions could still only be described as deplorable. In 1930 over 60% of all farmers lived on a dirt road and if "improved" sand-clay roads are included, nearly four in every five farmers lived on a dirt road. Only 9% of the farms had telephones, only 6% had water piped into the house, and only 7% had electricity. In each of these cases the numbers are so small that they do not even consist of a significant proportion of the owners – virtually no tenant saw anything approaching a "modern convenience."

The situation is made even clearer by the Bureau of Home Economics (1939). This research surveyed over 15,000 tenant homes in South Carolina to arrive at a profile of the "typical" tenant house. They found that 38% of these houses were 25-49 years old, with another third between 10 and 24 years old. Nearly 80% were of unpainted frame construction (and slightly over 2% -- as late as 1939 – were still constructed of logs). Foundations were generally in fair to poor condition and roofs were largely in poor condition. Exterior walls were about evenly split between good, fair, and poor conditions. Doors and windows were typically in poor condition. Window screens were largely absent and, where present, were in poor condition. Interior walls and floors were generally in fair to poor condition.

Turning to household facilities, less than 1% had gas, less than 4% had electricity, and only 0.1% had piped heating (meaning that virtually all depended on either fireplaces or wood stoves). In terms of refrigeration less than 1% had mechanical units (refrigerators). An additional 14.5% could boast of ice boxes, while the remaining 85% had no refrigeration at all. Only 0.1% had a power washing machine.

Cooking was almost universally done using wood or coal stoves since less than 0.5% had either a gas stove or electric range.

Woofter (1936) also provides similar details, recounting that in South Carolina 97.4% of all tenants used a wood or coal stove. Over two-thirds of all tenants used an "unimproved" outdoor privy and over 28% had no toilet facilities whatsoever. As late as 1934, 72.1% of South Carolina tenants had a dug or bored well. An additional 13% relied on a spring for fresh water. The typical tenant house in South Carolina had 2.7 bedrooms and 1.8 "other" rooms, including kitchens and parlors. In these 4.5 rooms there was an average of 1.3 occupants per room.

The disparity between black and white was clear. The average South Carolina value of white tenant houses was $454 ($4,880 in 2002$), compared to $238 ($2,560 in 2002$) for black tenants. In Richland County the proportion of tenants was about 56% African American and 44% white.

Woofter (1936:Table 38) also provides information on the average tenant incomes by region in South Carolina. These are shown in Table 3 – where we can begin to see the reality of tenancy. The modern HHS poverty level for a family of six (an average tenant family) would be just less than $26,000 – over 10 times what a wage hand might be making in Richland County and four times what a renter would be making.

These wages, however, are meaningless unless we also examine how that money was spent and here, again, Woofter provides at least some assistance, itemizing expenditures of Arkansas tenants, shown in Table 4. Although the data are probably not directly comparable to South Carolina, they do provide at least some indications.

Nearly two-thirds of the tenant's income was spent on food. The bulk of the food budget was spent on three items – flour, lard (for flavoring) and meat (almost universally fat salt pork). What may be surprising is the relatively significant portion of the income spent on condiments – 5.4%. Presumably this was an effort to make otherwise bland food palatable. Woofter and others comment on the absence of vegetables – either purchased or home grown and Woofter (1936:102) comments that "the practice of tending a garden is foreign to the habits of most tenants."

These dietary habits – responsible for a variety of health ailments, such as the dietary deficiency pellagra – were deeply rooted in Southern tenants. Two studies from the late nineteenth century found African American diets dominated by "bacon, flour, corn meal, and molasses," and per man per day costs averaged between 8¢ and 11¢ ($1.74 and $2.39 in 2002$) (Atwater and Woods 1897, Frissell and Bevier 1899).

Using even the lowest figure for the two adults in an average tenant family and assuming only one meal a day, a year's food would cost approximately $1,270 – about 60% of the wage hand's net family income. When we factor in children and at least some minor supper meal costs, the Arkansas tenant projections seem appropriate.

It is also useful to examine what the $78 in flour purchases could obtain (assuming no interest on purchases or poor risk penalties). Using published consumer prices for 1932-33, flour was .63¢ per 24 pound bag. Consequently, the $78 purchase would equate to about 2 bags a week or close to 200 pounds per month. In contrast, the $30 for meat might purchase about 375 pounds of ham, or about 7 pounds a week – or less than a pound a day, for a family of 6.

Another facet of tenancy was mobility. The 1920 census revealed that over half (55.6%) of the white tenants in the study region had been on their reporting farm less than 2 years. In comparison, African Americans were slightly more stable, with only 38.1% having been on

their current farm for less than 2 years. Nearly twice as many blacks as whites reported having been on their current farm for 10 years or longer (Goldenweiser and Truesdell 1924:136). A 1930 study reported essentially the same findings – African American tenants were more stable, on average staying at a farm 6.1 years, compared to only 4.8 years by whites. These figures, however, varied by tenure status. For example, renters and share tenants were the most stable, with whites remaining at a farm an average 5.7 years and blacks remaining 8.2 years as renters and 9 years on shares. In contrast, wage hands tended to be the most mobile, with whites remaining on a farm only 3.6 years and blacks 5 years. Croppers were between these, with whites remaining on average 4.4 years and blacks 5.6 year. A study specific to South Carolina found that white tenants (type not considered) had made an average of 5.6 moves over their 24.4 years of work, while blacks had made 4.6 moves over their 27.5 years of work (Woofter 1936:110, 112).

However, when a tenant moved, they likely would not move far, generally staying in the county of their birth or an adjacent county. A South Carolina study found 80.2% of white tenants moved within the county and 88.3% of blacks remained within the county. Dramatically declining percentages were reported moving to adjacent counties, to other South Carolina counties, to an adjoining state, and finally, to another state (Woofter 1936:114).

Woofter (1936:xxviii) notes that there were fewer opportunities for blacks and that they were "more easily satisfied than are white tenants" – which seems to confuse cause and effect.

Depression Programs Affecting Tenants

A number of Depression era programs were initiated by Roosevelt. Naturally some were more effective than others. One of the more successful was the development, in 1935, of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). Private utility companies were unwilling to invest in transmission lines and the substations necessary to provide service to rural – and often scattered – customers. Thus, while Columbia had at least scattered electrical power going back to the 1890s (although the power grid was really not well established until after the formation of Broad River Power in 1924), most of Richland County continued to be lit by kerosene lamps.

The REA initially received funding from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and made low-interest loans to both private companies and rural cooperatives. By 1936 it was recreated as an independent body that would make preferential loans only to cooperatives. By the end of that year 29 rural systems were in place and by the end of 1941 there were 773 systems (Watkins 1993:262-263). South Carolina created the State Rural Electrification Authority to spur even further rural electrification and by 1940 about a quarter of the state's previously dark farms were lit with electricity.

Another critical program for the state's rural farms and tenants was the Farm Security Administration. It began in 1933 as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and was initially responsible for the efforts to pay farmers to reduce agricultural production. This effort was successful – 10 million acres of cotton were plowed under and 5 million hogs were butchered – and commodity prices were, in fact, raised. The AAA, however, made payments to the landlords, not the tenants, so the program succeeded at the expense of small farmers and tenants, for whom reduced production meant the elimination of their tenancy or livelihood. Cooper and Terrill (1991:648) note that the number of tenants was reduced by nearly 300,000 between 1930 and 1940. Many of these tenants, however, became day laborers on farms, or worse, were either unemployed or found only seasonal work.

The AAA was replaced by the Resettlement Administration and this was ultimately renamed the FSA. The agency sponsored a comprehensive medical care program for low-income farmers, tenants, and migrant workers between 1935 and 1947. The main emphasis of the FSA, however, was a loan program that helped tenants readjust their use of available resources in ways that would improve their incomes and eventually become self-sufficient.

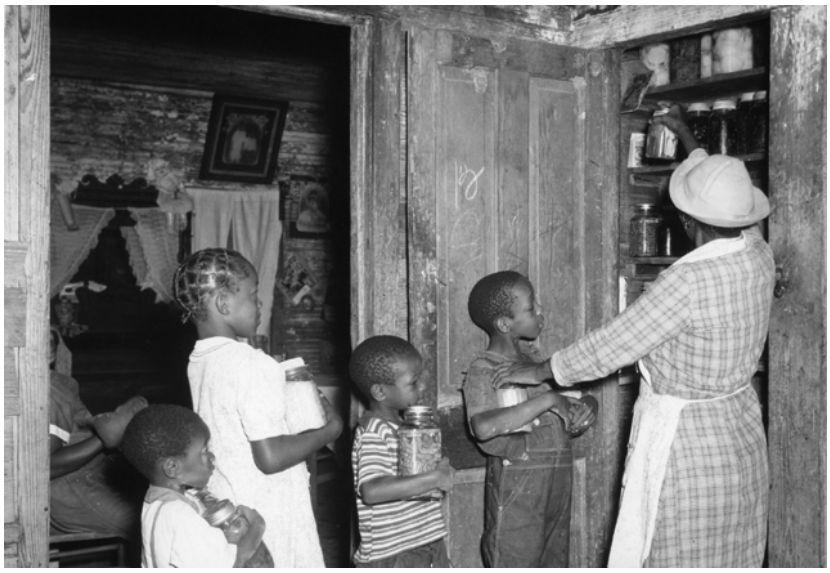

Figure 11. South Carolina tenant family and their pantry of canned vegetables resulting from the Farm Security Administration program (FSA CD8151-983).

The FSA program was comprehensive, with the first step being an effort to identify the causes of the tenant's poor performance and then to work out a farm and home management plan. The farm plan would typically diversify plantings, integrate vegetable production and include chickens and other animals for eggs and meat. The goal was to help the family become self-supporting. A home management specialist worked with the farmer's wife to develop thriftier ways of providing a good diet and better clothing. One aspect of this was a dramatically increased focus on home canning.

By 1938-1939, almost one farm family in ten was taking part in the FSA program. Loans averaged $397 and drew interest at 5%. The federal monies were used to purchase things that tenants needed to make a living – a mule, a plow, seed, fertilizer, even pressure cookers in order to can more vegetables and become more self-reliant. Of all the FSA projects, their focus on canning – even at the time – seemed excessive to some.

During a 1965 interview with Jack and Irene Delano, photographers with the FSA, Irene Delano commented:

> I don't know how many canning pictures we've taken but a tremendous number because that was a very important project. I remember one time we were so sick of canning pictures and we came to a house, this little house, and the whole floor was filled with cans, stuff that this woman had canned, you know. I remember that shot. Jack had the woman way in the background and these cans just coming at you, glass jars of vegetables and fruit (on-line Smithsonian interview, http://www.aaa.si.edu/oralhi/delano65.htm).

Although we have not been able to identify documents for Richland County, a report for Iredell County, North Carolina reported that in 1934 over 29,000 quarts of beans, over 11,000 quarts of apples, and over 23,000 quarts of corn had been canned – with nearly 107,500 quarts canned from home gardens and an additional 8,800 quarts canned

from community gardens. Of all this produce, 70% were put up in glass canning jars – allowing reuse after sterilization (Kirk et al. 1936:292).

The FSA programs, however, never had the financial or human resources to do as much as was needed. They were also unable to match the power of the business interests that favored a big farm strategy for agricultural recovery (Cooper and Terrill 1991:647). Cooper and Terrill note that the various programs, at best, had ambiguous results. Although they did much to help those who had no where else to turn, they ultimately did little to alter the established order of the South. As a result, in spite of the sweeping governmental programs, "southern agriculture in 1940 was still characterized by small cultivation units, too little diversification, low earnings, and poor living standards" (Cooper and Terrill 1991:653).

Considering only rural farm units, in 1940 the Killian enumeration district contained 37 units; 22 (59.5%) were owner occupied while the 13 (35.1%) were occupied by tenants. Less than a quarter were occupied by African Americans. All but one still lacked an interior bathroom and running water and two lacked even a privy. Four out of every five still lacked electricity.

In Level there were 29 units with 55.2% occupied by owners and 44.8% by tenants. The same number – 44.8% -- of these units was lived in by African Americans. Nearly two-thirds of these structures needed major repairs and there wasn't a single structure that had an interior toilet or running water. Four of the structures had no privy. Again, four out of five still lacked electricity.

In contrast, within the urban area of the City of Columbia, only one out of every five houses still lacked an interior toilet.

Looking at farms county-wide less than half had an automobile and its average age in 1940 was seven years old. Less than 5% of the farms had a tractor – possibly because two mules still cost about the same as an automobile. Only 7% of the farms had a telephone, although nearly 22% had electricity (pretty consistent with the situation in Killian and Level). Nearly three-quarters of the farms were still situated on dirt roads.

As Cooper and Terrill (1991:653) observe – living standards on southern farms had changed little by 1940.

Prohibition, enacted in 1919 and effective in 1920, was repealed in 1933. By 1940, however, there were only seven Columbia establishments selling alcohol. This number increased to 19 by 1942 and in 1943 there were 33 liquor stores (Moore1993:412). At the end of the 1930s Columbia boasted of a "new municipal auditorium" seating 4,000, a "new $1,300,000 veterans' hospital," about 13,000 homes "with a large number owned by occupants," and a "city curb market with over 300 tons of fresh fruits, vegetables and grains" (Anonymous 1938).

Ownership of the Three Tracts in the Early Twentieth Century

38RD1249

The earliest residents of the area on record in Richland County were the Rabon and Wallace families and the earliest ownership of this site, from the early twentieth century, can be traced to L.A. Rabon. A plat prepared by Jas. C. Covington dated October 31, 1941, shows the Estate of L.A. Rabon (Richland County PB K, p. 197). Although the plat does not show any structures, from the measurements given 38RD1249 falls into what is shown as Tract #2.

There are two deeds on record for L.A. Rabon as a grantee. On March 13, 1913, L.A. Rabon received a tract of land from Frank Wallace (Richland County DB BG, p. 120). This was a quit claim and no description of the land was given in the deed except that it was already

in the possession of Rabon. In the other deed, Timothy Rabon conveyed 57 acres near Little Crane Creek and known as "the Wallace Tract" to L.A. Rabon on March 8, 1889 (Richland County DB T, p. 204).

L.A. Rabon is found in both the 1900 and 1920 Federal census reports (but is absent in 1910 and 1930). In 1900 he was living in Columbia's Ward 5 and listed his occupation as "woodyard." Since his son, W.L. Rabon, was listed as "woodyard laborer," it seems possible that L.A. Rabon was the owner (although we have not identified the sawmill). He had a rather large family, consisting of his wife, Janie; two sons, W.L. and Simon; and six daughters, Mary, Sally, Flora, Winnie (who may have been a daughter-in-law, married to W.L.), Emma, and Kate. Mary, Sally, Flora, Winnie, and Simon all worked at Columbia Mills as weavers or spinners.

By 1920 Rabon (at that time 70) and his much reduced family – consisting of his wife Janie and their 27 year old daughter, Emily – were living in Killian. By this time Rabon listed his occupation as a farmer (Emily was a nurse at a hospital).

In contrast, we have been unable to identify the Frank Wallace who sold the land to Rabon. Timothy Rabon does appear in the 1900 census as a farmer in Center Township (consisting of the eastern third of the county).

J.T. Rabon conveyed the property with 38RD1249 to Simon Rabon on January 31, 1942 (Richland County DB FE, p. 581). The property description in the deed stated that this was Tract #2 on the Jas. C. Covington plat of 1941.

Unfortunately, an exhaustive search of deeds at the Richland County Courthouse failed to produce a deed transferring ownership from L.A. Rabon to J.T. Rabon (suggesting that the transfer was by will). The only other deed on record for J.T. Rabon is one from March 25, 1942, in which eight cotton mills (including Columbia, Granby, Olympia, and Richland Mills) and lands surrounding them were conveyed to Simon Rabon (Richland County DB FE, p. 580). The only J.T. Rabon appearing in the federal census was an Eau Claire mechanic, renting his home, and not steadily employed – obviously not the purchaser of eight cotton mills and likely not the seller of a farm north of Columbia. We have likewise been unable to identify the Simon Rabon, although this may have been L.A. Rabon's son (who would have been about 44 years old at the time of the transaction).

Regardless, on September 27, 1943, Simon Rabon sold two parcels of land to Billie B. Barber. The deed stated that these were Tract #2 (containing 38RD1249), and Tract #4 "of the original lands of L.A. Rabon as shown on a plat for L.A. Rabon by Jas. C. Covington, C.E., October 31, 1941" (Richland County DB FP, p. 479).

Billie B. Hansen, formerly Barber, conveyed these two tracts of land to W. Vincent Barber on October 29, 1979. The deed described the property as "two tracts, each containing 30.9 acres, designated Tract #2 and Tract #4" on the Covington Plat of 1941 and "identical to land conveyed in Deed Book F-P, page 479" (Richland County DB D-519, p. 905). W. Vincent Barber sold the land from Hansen to IBM on October 22, 1985. The tracts were combined with several other parcels in the area purchased by W. Vincent Barber and sold together as173.761 acres, designated "E" on the plat by B.P. Barber and Associates dated August 13, 1985 (Richland County DB D-764, p. 483).

The historical research reveals that during the first quarter of the twentieth century this parcel was owned by the Rabon family, most likely L.A. Rabon. Based on the one identified plat and the previously cited USGS map, we believe the Rabon house was near the Rabon cemetery. The Rabon family is poorly documented in the census, but what is known suggests that they were a family of limited means.

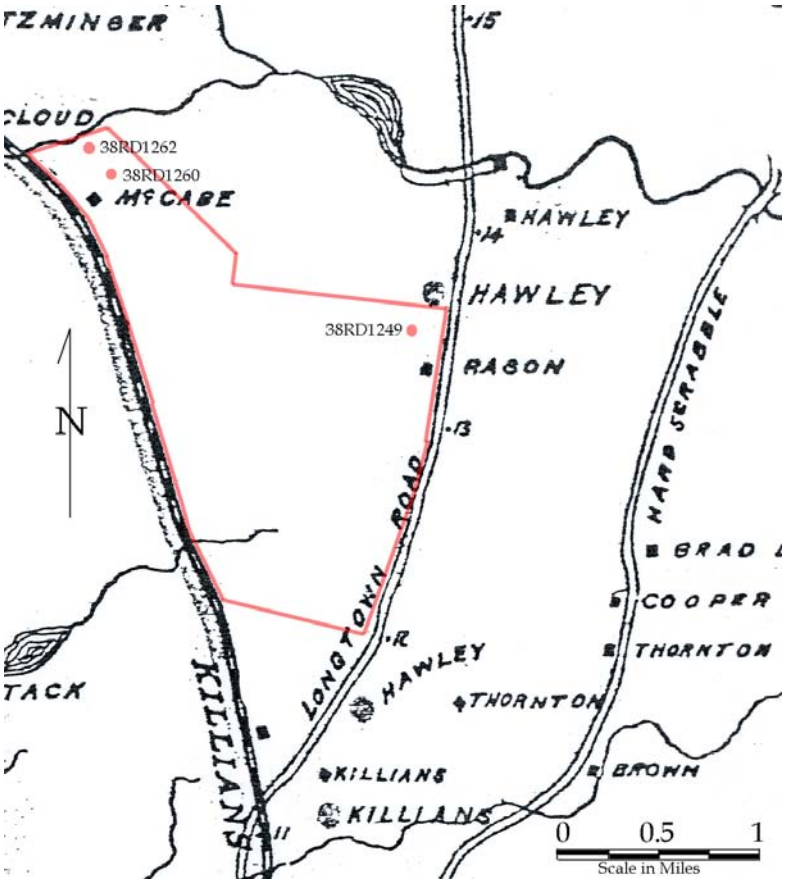

Figure 12. Section of the 1897 *Map of Richland County* showing the locations of the study sites.

The remains identified at 38RD1249 are not found on any map, adding credence to the interpretation that this structure was that of a tenant. We have attempted to locate relatives of the Longtown Rabons, calling five of the most likely candidates listed in the Columbia-Blythewood area. None of them recognize any of the Rabons associated with this property and none came from the Longtown area. Consequently, the potential for oral history on the property is very low.

38RD1260 and 38RD1262

The earliest owner of the land containing both of these sites on record in Richland County was William Rabon, who sold the property to Robert Fann on February 30, 1883. The deed conveyed 88¾ and 37 acres, which were surveyed by Wm. B. Elkins in March of 1874. The deed stated that this was the Estate of Pig Pen Branch, bounded on the north by John McCabe, on the south by Susan "Rabun," on the east by the Estate of Henry Wallace, and on the west by the Charlotte, Columbia and Augusta Railroad and purchased by William Rabon from Caroline Powers (Richland County DB O, p. 604). The deed did not give a date or deed reference for that transaction; and, unfortunately, a search of the Richland County records failed to produce a deed of Caroline Powers to William Rabon prior to 1883.

A William Rabon does appear in the 1880 federal census. Born in 1814, he was at the time 66 years old and listed his occupation as a farmer. His wife was Mary; also in his household was a 23 year old son, George W., who listed his occupation as a laborer. George's wife, Annie, was also in the household and her occupation was listed as a laborer. Their son, William A., the grandson of William and Mary, was a year old.

Robert Fann, Jr. was a 32 year old farmer in Upper Township (which would have included the study area). His household included only Mary, his wife.

On August 15, 1912, Robert W. Fann sold three parcels of land to Frank G. Tompkins. Parcel #1 was the 88¾ acres received from William Rabon. The deed described Parcel #1 as bounded on the north by Rabon, on the east by the Estate of Wallace, and on the west by Southern Railroad (formerly C.C. and A. Railroad) (Richland County DB BC, p. 552).

Frank G. Tompkins is listed in 1900 federal census as a 24 year old single attorney. By 1920 he was an attorney working for the railroad in Columbia. It seems likely that his purchase was an investment – he maintained his Columbia home and does not appear to have lived on the Killian area property.

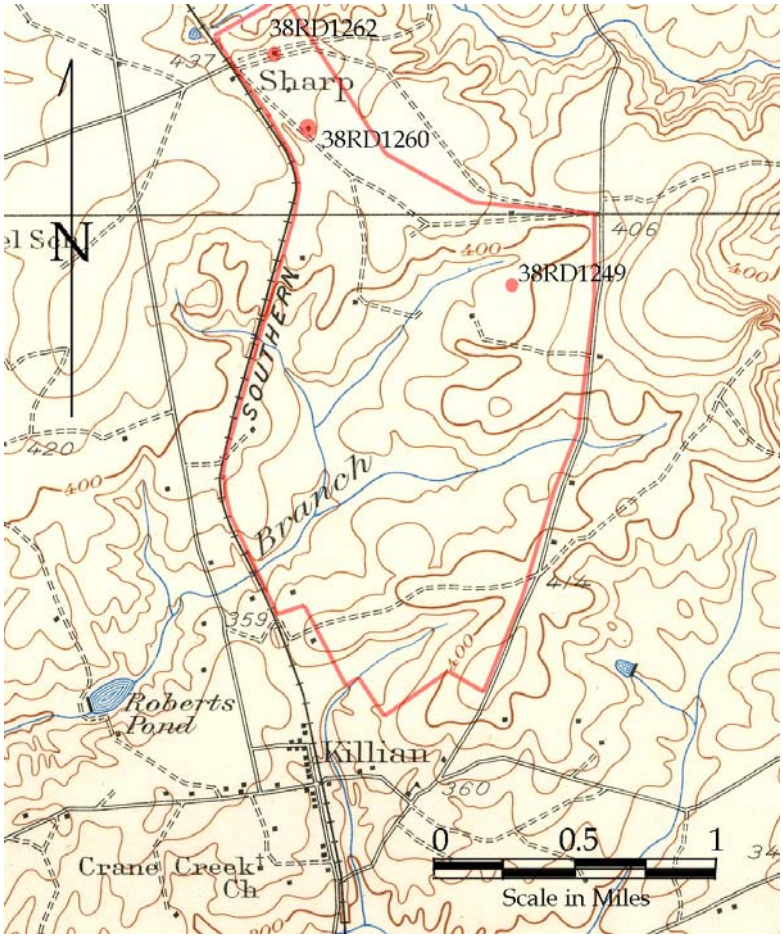

Figure 13. Section of the 1935 Killian 15' USGS topographic map showing the locations of the study sites.

Tompkins conveyed 600 acres consisting of the land from Robert Fann and lands received from Joseph McCabe to Rosemary Farms, Inc. on May 18, 1935 (Richland County DB DY, p. 562). The land from Joseph McCabe can be traced back to John McCabe, who owned the property described as being "near Sharpe Station" prior to 1889 when ownership was transferred to his widow, Mary McCabe (Richland County DB T, p. 352). This piece of property can be ruled out as containing 38RD1260 and 38RD1262, however, because subsequent deeds stated that it was on the west side of the railroad whereas both tracts lie to the east.

Rosemary Farms, Inc. deeded that same 600 acres back to Frank G. Tompkins, individually and as trustee for Frank G. Tompkins, Jr., Martha Tompkins Melton, and Louise Tompkins Brailsford on October 14, 1942 (Richland County DB FG, p. 285).

In two separate deeds, Frank G. Tompkins, as trustee, gave Martha Tompkins Melton and Louise Tompkins Brailsford each one-fifth interest in 408.6 acres in Richland County (Richland County DB FJ, p. 469, and DB FJ, p. 468, respectively). Both of those deeds stated that these were lands conveyed in Richland County DB AX, p. 62; DB BC, p. 552; DB FG, p. 285; and DB DY, p. 562.

On August 29, 1960, Martha T. Melton and Louise T. Brailsford conveyed to Robert L. Huffines and Andrew D. Griffith – individually and as trustee for W.H. Moore, Jr. and R. Trippett Boineau – "33⅓ each of 1,087 acres as shown on a plat for Frank G. Tompkins, Jr., by Wm. Wingfield, February 25, 1959, in Plat Book R, pages 112 and 113" (Richland County DB D-282, p. 113). The plat did contain both of the study sites (Richland County PB R, pp. 112-113).

George I. Alley, plaintiff, was deeded 48.85 acres, designated Parcel A on a plat by Wm. Wingfield dated August 3, 1971, from R. Trippett Boineau on January 10, 1973. The deed

stated that Parcel A was "identical to land conveyed to R. Trippett Boineau by deed of Golfhaven Associates on September 8, 1972" and unrecorded January 10, 1973 (Richland County DB D-267, p. 366). Parcel A on the 1971 Wingfield plat was nearly identical to A-1, containing 48.228 acres, on the 1985 B.P. Barber and Associates plat for IBM.

On April 25, 1974, D. Peck Bouknight, Henry W. Kirkland, and George I. Alley conveyed two parcels of land, consisting of 48.85 acres each, shown on a plat for B.B.D., Inc. by Wm. Wingfield, R.L.S., on August 3, 1971, recorded in Plat Book 40 on page 275, to K.A.B.B., a partnership (Richland County DB D-313, p. 726). Parcels A and B on the Wingfield plat correspond to A-1 and A-2, respectively, on the B.P. Barber plat of 1985. The Wingfield plat shows Sharp Road in the same location as Hobart Road, suggesting that the name may have been changed at some point in time. The Wingfield plat stated that it was compiled from an existing plat (but did not give a plat reference) and was not surveyed at that time (Richland County PB 40, p. 275). Both sites were in Parcel A. The K.A.B.B. partnership sold both parcels to IBM on October 4, 1985 (Richland County DB D-761, p. 972).

IBM deeded 1000 acres – shown in Plat Book 361 on page 2617 – to Barry Jacobs, Betty Jean Jacobs, Rhett Jacobs, and Karen Jacobs Sprayberry on November 19, 1999 (Richland County DB D-362, p. 406). Parcel II shown on that plat contained 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 (Richland County PB 361, p. 2617). On December 18, 2002, Longtown Associates, LLC, purchased those same 1000 acres from Jacobs, et al. (Richland County DB D-737, p. 2210).

This historical research reveals that both 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 are found on the same parcel, owned by Rabon, Fann, and then Tomkins, from the 1880s through about 1935. Each individual owned considerable acreage in Richland County and it seems unlikely that any actually lived on the property. In particular, Frank Tomkins is listed in the 1920 and 1930 Columbia City Directory as an attorney with a downtown office and a residence on Senate Street. He was clearly acquiring the property as an investment.

Summary

The historical research – combined with the original documentation – fails to unequivocally prove that the three sites were occupied by tenants. Nevertheless, a reasonably good case can be made for tenancy when the historical evidence is combined. In the case of 38RD1249 there is a structure nearer the Rabon cemetery that is situated in a greater position of prominence and appears more likely to be the owner's house (although little remains of the archaeological footprint). This structure is shown on the 1897 *Map of Richland County* and is identified as "Rabon." This structure is no longer shown on the 1935 Killian topographic map, suggesting that it had ceased to exist by this time.

In the case of 38RD1260 and 1262 the owners all had a number of parcels and there is evidence that at least Tomkins was an absentee owner. The 1897 Richland County map also fails to show a Fann in the vicinity of 38RD1260 and 38RD1262, lending additional credence to the idea that, even prior to Tomkins, the owners were absentee. The 1935 Killian map shows structures at both 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 – suggesting that the structures may have existed at least into the early 1930s.

It is likely that both 38RD1260 and 38RD1262, situated in the Level Enumeration District of Richland County, were occupied by farm tenants, although they may have been either white or black. A sawmill worker is an alternative possibility, although less likely. Some degree of turnover by the occupants is probable, so that the structures could have seen between one and two families per decade. It is also nearly certain that the structures would have been in

poor condition, lacking indoor conveniences and electricity.

EXCAVATIONS

Methods

Excavations at 38RD1249, 38RD1260, and 38RD1262 were limited to the exploration of features. At 38RD1249 the feature was thought to be a well that was evidenced by a ca. 12-foot circular depression about 4 feet below grade. At 38RD1260 the feature was also thought to be a well and again the feature presented itself as a ca. 12-foot wide circular depression about 3 to 4 feet below grade. In the case of this site, however, a ca. 25-year old walnut tree was growing out of the side of the depression. Also present at 38RD1260 was intact brick that appeared to represent a chimney base, indicating relatively intact structural remains (Figure 14). At 38RD1262 several stone and brick piles were identified, again suggestive of structural remains, but more prominent were two features. While both were tentatively identified as trash pits with some surface indications, the larger (to the rear of the posited structure) was about 10 feet in diameter, while the other was only about 4 feet in diameter.

The initial approach for the two wells was to use heavy equipment to expose them, allowing excavation of the remains without risk of collapse. The equipment would, as the excavation deepened, also expand the exposed area, allowing a slope on the side walls necessary for the sandy soils. For the two trash pits we anticipated conventional excavation – bisecting the feature, removing half by natural or arbitrary levels. As previously explained, the data recovery plan for the three sites was reduced in scope, so no excavations were to take place in yard areas or to expose structural remains – all work was to be confined to the four identified features. Since each area was to be destroyed by development shortly after this work took place, the features were mapped in relationship to other items (such as brick piles) on the site, but no detailed mapping of the sites relative to one another took place.

Figure 14. Use of heavy equipment to bisect the wells, allowing for safe excavation.

Each feature was bisected, with only one half removed for this study. All fill was dry screened through ¼-inch mesh. Collection of artifacts was designed to retain those materials capable of addressing the research goals of the project, while minimizing the amount of materials to be processed. Thus, all ceramics were retained. All whole or nearly intact glass vessels were retained, along with all rims and bases.

Figure 15. Screening of levels within the feature excavation.

Side panels with distinct embossing or names were likewise retained. All plain body sherds, however, were discarded in the field. A similar strategy was used for metal can fragments – rims and seams (both useful in dating) were retained, as well any fragments with embossed names or evidence of painting. All other tin can fragments were discarded in the field.

Most other metal fragments were retained until identified in the laboratory, although some large or bulky items were identified in the field and discarded.

Other artifacts were collected in a routine fashion and brought to Chicora's Columbia laboratories for cleaning, sorting, cataloging, and analysis (described in a following section).

Examination of 38RD1249

So much of this site had been destroyed prior to the survey that it was impossible to determine with any certainty where the structure was situated relative to the feature. There was, however, a scatter of brick to the north of the feature, suggesting that the structure *may* have been located 25 to 50 feet to the north. Unfortunately none of the historic maps provide information on the road network in this area and all topographic features had been removed prior to the survey, so it is not possible to speculate further on the site setting.

Nevertheless, the identified feature had characteristics consistent with what we anticipated a well might possess – it was depressed, suggesting collapse; it was circular; and testing revealed artifacts and fill to at least 6 feet.

Figure 16. Probable chimney base identified at 38RD1260, looking northwest.

We used a track hoe to remove vegetation and expose the feature. Excavation took place from the west side, allowing safe

Figure 17. Feature at 38RD1249 after clearing, prior to excavation. Looking south.

examination of the feature. Prior to any excavation the depression was found to be 3.4 feet below grade and to measure about 13 feet in diameter. For excavation the feature was bisected, with the western half removed.

Level 1 consisted largely of the sides of the depression and terminated at the base of the 2004 test excavation. Thus Level 1 extended from the surface to a depth of 6.6 feet below grade. It consisted of three distinct soil zones: a dark olive-gray (5Y3/2) sand, a pale yellow (2.5Y7/3) sand, and the upper portion of a light yellowish-brown (2.5Y6/4) sand. It was at the base of Level 1 that wood sides were identified. On the south the wood appeared to be in situ, situated vertical in the profile. On the north side the wood appeared to be collapsing inward.

Level 2, a foot in depth, included the lower half of the light yellowish-brown sand found at the base of Level 1 and the upper portion of mottled light yellowish-brown (2.5Y6/3) sand mixed with grayish-brown (2.5Y5/2) sand. At the edge, especially to the south, was a lens of light yellowish-brown (2.5Y6/4) sand).

Level 3, also a foot in depth, included the base of the mottled light yellowish-brown sand found encountered at the base of Level 2.

Level 4 included the light yellowish-brown (2.5Y6/4) sand initially found on the edges of Levels 2 and 3 and terminated as a square in yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand.

Upon excavation the feature was identified as a wood-lined privy. It

Figure 18. West half of the privy at 38RD1249 removed. Profile looking east.

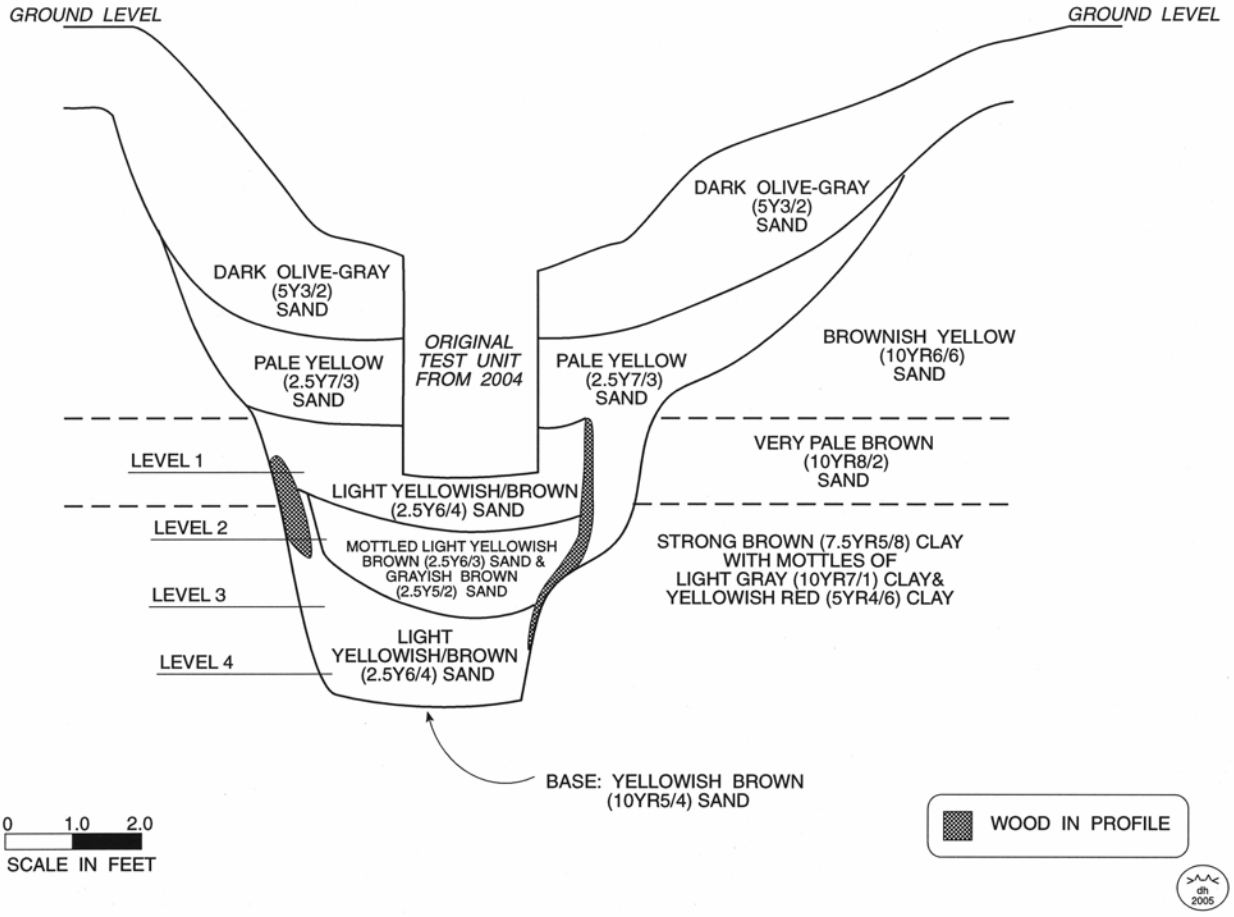

Figure 19. Profile of the privy at 38RD1249.

was found to be 10-feet in depth, although much of the feature appears to have been filled after the abandonment of the privy and the collapse of its sides. As a result interior dimensions are difficult to reconstruct, but may have been about 5 feet square. The base of the pit, however, was only 2-feet square, suggesting that at some point the privy was reduced in size. The lining was found intact for only about a foot – elsewhere the only walls identified were those of darker staining in the loose sands and these is evidence that the side walls collapsed, allowing the feature to expand outward.

Level 3 may be the only zone that represents primarily in-situ privy soil (based on its darker color and mottling indicative of mixing). This level includes very few artifacts, indicative of a very low rate of deposition, consistent with an in-use privy. Below it, Level 4, contained no artifacts and its very light color and narrower dimensions suggest that it may have been a sump and the sand (virtually identical to the subsoil at this depth) was left in place to act as a filter of liquid wastes. Above, Level 2 contains a relatively low density of remains, while the bulk of the remains came from Level 1 – suggesting that Level 1 was primarily the fill zone.

The fill episode appears to have taken place relatively quickly since there is no

Figure 20. Heavily overgrown feature at 38RD1260 prior to data recovery. The walnut tree in the well is seen to the right of the two individuals in this image.

evidence of water laid sand or lens or organic material between Levels 1 and 2. The artifacts, discussed in a following section, provide more definitive information.

Examination of 38RD1260

This site was in far better condition than 38RD1249 and it was possible to identify not only the well, at the northern edge of the site, but also in situ brick features indicating the approximate location of the structure and its northeast-southwest orientation, with the chimney on the northwest end of the structure. This reconstructed orientation based on archaeological features (see Figure 3) is consistent with the structure's location based on the 1935 topographic map (see Figure 13). The well would have been located only a few feet from the rear corner of the structure, probably off the edge of a rear porch adjacent to the kitchen.

Like the feature at 38RD1249, this feature was interpreted to be a well based on surface features. It exhibited a depression about 3-feet below grade and about 12-feet in diameter. A large walnut tree was growing out of the north quadrant of the depression. A number of artifacts were visible on the surface or in the eroding profiles. Many of these artifacts were very large architectural remains, suggesting the depression was used for the disposal of large materials found in and around the structure.

Figure 21. Opening the excavation area. The feature is in the right foreground.

Figure 22. Profile of the well at 38RD1260, looking northwest.

Again a track hoe was used to remove the vegetation and provide access to the well from the southeast (Figure 21), allowing excavation of the southeast half. The original testing unit penetrated the well fill about 3 feet or to a depth of 6 feet below grade. Excavations began at grade, however, resulting in the first three levels containing only very small amounts of fill material.

Levels 1 through 8 all consisted of a black (7.5YR2.5/1) sand. At the edges of the feature there was a transition zone of brown (7.5YR4/3) sand, probably reflecting leaching in the very porous sands.

Levels 9 and 10 were both a very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) sand and exhibited a tapering profile.

Level 11 was a brown (7.5YR4/3) sand, while the base of the feature (Level 12) was a brown (7.5YR4/3) sand with obvious water lensing.

The feature was 12 feet in depth and based on the profile and lensing at the base was a hand dug well, probably with barrel casing. The diameter of the feature in Levels 10-12 was about 2.5 feet – probably reflecting the original well shaft diameter. Overall, the feature has a somewhat stepped appearance which we believe relates to the hand excavation of the well – it was stepped to prevent collapse and allow a large enough penetration for the placement of the barrels once the water table was hit.

The depth of the feature and water lensing indicates that water was encountered at a depth of about 11 feet (or higher). Today, however, the feature was entirely dry, indicating a considerable drop in the water table over the last 50 years.

Artifact density was heavy in all of the upper levels down to Level 9, suggesting that the bulk of the fill occurred after the well ceased being used and after much of the casing had rotted and collapsed – allowing the well to begin slumping. Interpretation, however, is difficult

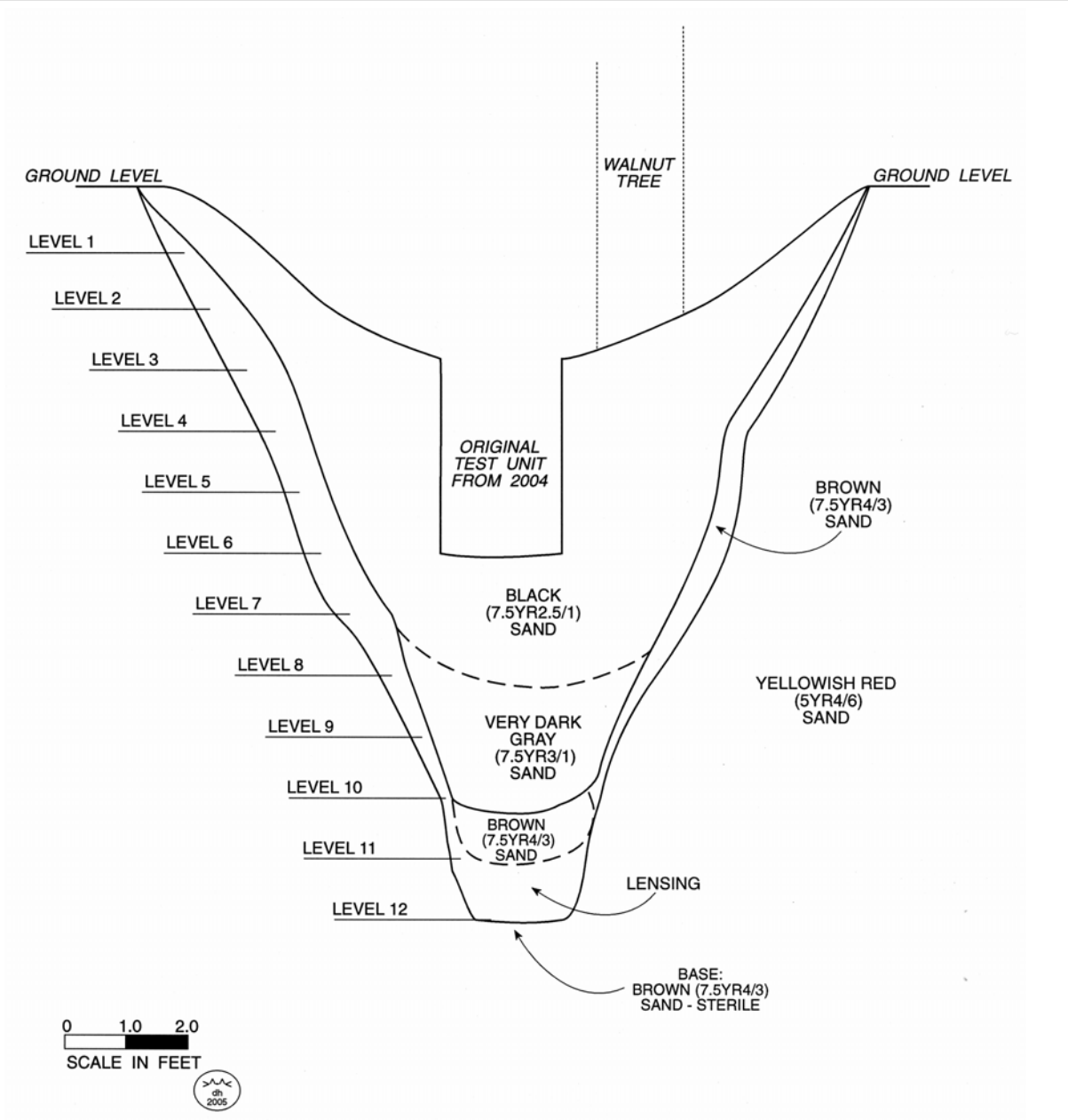

Figure 23. Profile of the well at 38RD1260.

since the walnut tree penetrated virtually the entire well, causing extensive disturbance.

Examination of 38RD1262

The precise structural location was indistinct at this site, although the several stone and brick piles to the south of the feature suggest that the house was situated about 50 feet to the south or southwest of the feature. Given the historic map showing a major historic road to the south, it seems likely that the structure faced south and the feature was in the rear yard.

Unlike the features at 38RD1249 and 38RD1260, the anomaly at 38RD1262 was

shallower – only a foot in depth – and smaller – only about 9 feet in diameter. In addition, an initial test was excavated to a depth of about 2.5 feet at which time it seemed subsoil was encountered. Based on these findings our original interpretation was the feature represented a trash pit. A similar feature was found in the front yard of the structure as well.

Consequently, the initial investigations began with the larger of the two pits – the one in the rear yard – and the pit was bisected with the southern half excavated by hand. Fill was screened through ¼-inch mesh and excavations

Figure 24. Hand excavation of the southern half of the rear yard feature at 38RD1262.

initially sought to identify the base of the pit with all fill being classified as Level 1. After 3-feet of excavation we realized that not only had the bottom of the pit not been reached, but that it was expanding outward. What was interpreted as subsoil in the initial test unit was found to actually represent a lighter color soil zone.

We realized that what was originally interpreted as a trash pit was actually either a well or privy like the features at 38RD1249 and 38RD1260. It was shallower and smaller in size only because it had been more effectively filled.

The feature in the front yard was examined at the same time and it was found to be tree throw. The refuse identified during the testing phase was consistent in density and remains to the materials found as sheet midden across the site. No additional work was conducted in the front yard area and work focused on the feature in the rear yard, with mechanical equipment brought in to allow it be safely explored and we continued with the excavation of the southern half.

Level 1, which had been removed by hand, was found to consist of a black (7.5YR2.5/1) sand with lensed very dark grayish-brown (2.5Y3/2) sand on the left (or west) side. There was also a lens of light brownish-gray (2.5Y6/2) sand below the black sand and to the east of the very dark grayish-brown sand.

Level 2, the first to be mechanically exposed, consisted of an outer band of pale yellow (2.5Y7/3) sand, with very dark grayish-brown (2.5Y3/2) and light brownish-gray (2.5Y6/2) sand as a central core.

Levels 3 and 4 both consisted of the same outer band of pale yellow (2.5Y7/3) sand, with an inner core of very dark grayish-brown (2.5Y3/2) sand.

Level 5, about 1.5 feet in depth, was entirely pale yellow (2.5Y7/3) sand.

Level 6, also about 1.5 feet in depth, consisted of a light yellowish-brown (2.5Y6/4) sand.

Figure 25. Profile of the privy at 38RD1262, looking north. The original test pit is visible in the upper right.

The subsoil surrounding the feature consisted of a light yellowish-brown (10YR6/4) sand grading into a yellowish-red (5YR4/6) clay at a depth of about 8.5 feet below grade. The base of the feature graded into a mottled olive brown (2.5Y4/4) sand and light olive brown (2.5YR5/4) sand.

The feature was found to be 11 feet in depth and 4.6 feet in width at the base. The vast majority of the artifacts (n=2,950) were recovered from Level 1, largely consisting of the black sand seen in Figures 25 and 26. Artifact density declined steadily to 122 specimens in Level 2, 130 in Level 3, 14 in Level 4, one in Level 5, and three in Level 6.

It appears, based on the profile, that Levels 1-3 are the primary fill zones, while the lower levels all seem consistent with gradual deposition – probably reflecting soil that was added to the privy to cover waste. Although no wood sides are extant as they were in the 38RD1249 privy, the lower third is still quite distinct, providing good evidence of the original sides. In fact, much of the eastern side seems relatively intact, showing little or no evidence of collapse or slump. Much of the fill episode appears to have occurred from the west, where the wall is much less distinct.

In most respects, however, the privy at 38RD1262 is similar to that found at 38RD1249. The depths – 10 and 11 feet – and widths – approximately 4.0 and 4.6 feet – are nearly identical, suggesting some degree of standardization in privy design.

Twentieth Century Privy Construction

Sanitary privy construction was understood at least as early as William Cain's (1879) *Sanitary Engineering*. This study, however, encouraged the Rochedale Pail System, which required the relatively frequent pick-up and disposal of collected wastes – a process that was probably better suited to city dwellers than rural farmers. Nevertheless, there were other publications, all of which expressed concern

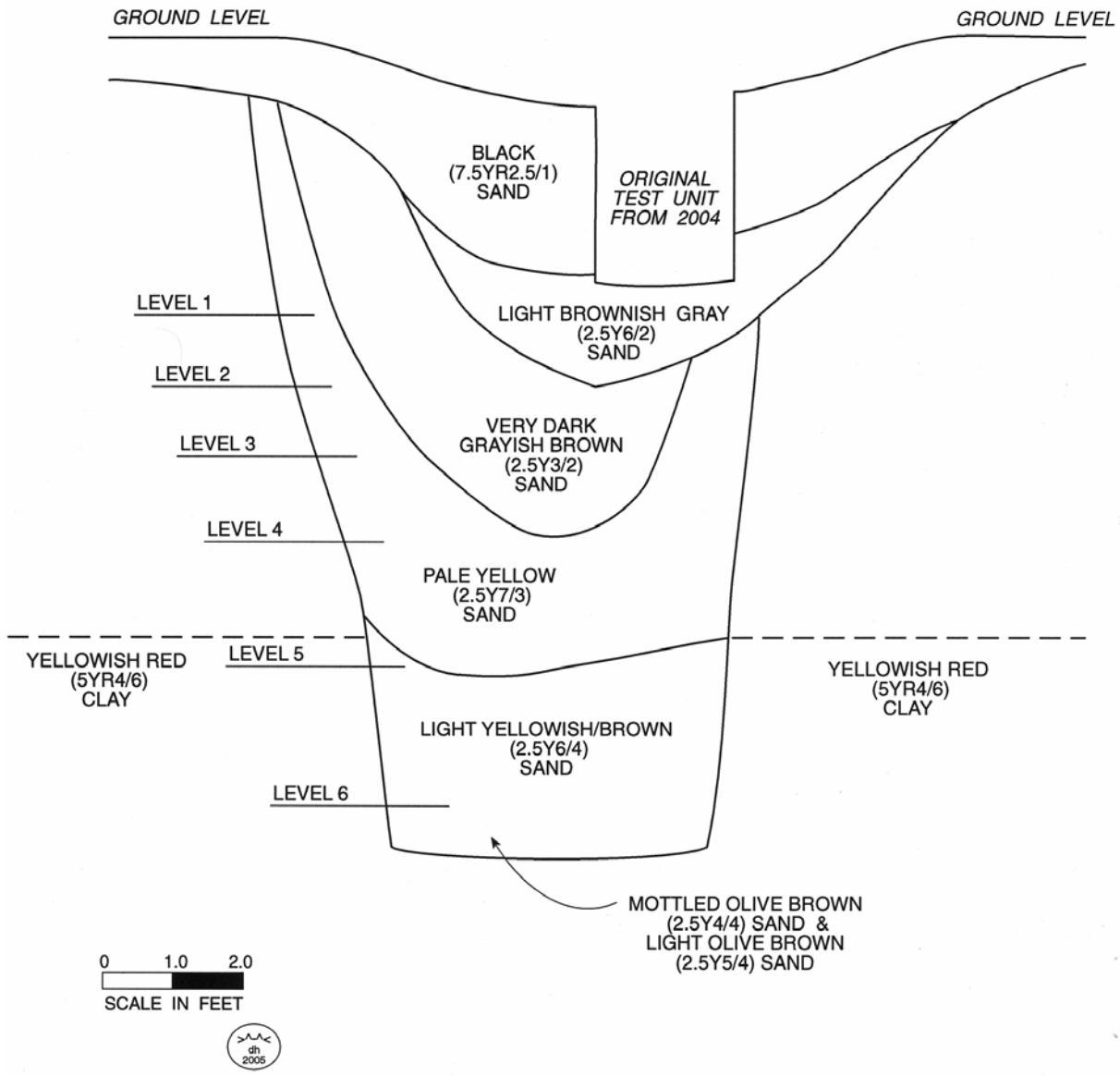

Figure 26. Profile of the privy at 38RD1262, looking north.

over the unsanitary condition of America's privies (Anonymous 1910; Booker 1914; Franklin 1889; Lay 1910; Stiles 1914). In spite of these efforts, most rural privies were deplorable. Some (Figure 27) were little more than raised chairs, allowed the waste to accumulate on the ground, in open air. Many others were so dilapidated that they were breeding grounds for a variety of disease, including hookworm and typhoid (Figures 28 and 29).

With the coming of the Depression and Roosevelt's New Deal programs, there was finally funding to improve the condition of many privies. Detailed plans were prepared by the Public Health Service (Anonymous 1932). Standards were set, including a minimum distance from wells of at least 100 feet. Vaults were set at a minimum capacity of 50 cubic feet, with the common dimensions of 3.5 feet square and 4.5 feet in depth (Anonymous 1932:9-10).

Figure 27. Privy showing accumulation of human wastes (LC-USF34- 080026-E).

Nearly two million pit privies were constructed over the course of the New Deal. Often the program was teamed with a state-sponsored program, such as the "Nevada Fly-Proof Privy Program" (Harmon n.d.). Each privy took a three-man team about 20 hours and cost between $17 and $23 ($218 to $295 in 2002$) in materials, typically paid for by the recipient family. The cost to the federal government in labor for installation was about $50 ($641 in 2002$). All were fly proof and built to resist damage and run-off. Some had wood-lined vaults, although many were pre-fabricated cement. The program was by all accounts an exceptional success, dramatically improving the sanitary conditions of rural agricultural regions. Nevertheless, the program was deeply resented by those opposing the New Deal program – presumably all individuals who had access to indoor plumbing.

Figure 28. Typical Southern privy (FSA 8b37033)

Figure 29. Typical Southern privy (FSA 8b22074).

The program was continued at least through WWII, with the work being performed by conscientious objectors in the employment of the Civilian Public Service (CPS), although this work is far less well documented (Miller 2004).

The privies found at 38RD1249 and 38RD1262 were probably not particularly sanitary. Although the water supply is not identified for either structure, at 38RD1249 the structure was probably only 25-50 feet away from the privy, while at 38RD1262 the structure was likely no more than 50 feet distant. Assuming that both possessed some sort of well near the house, the privy in both

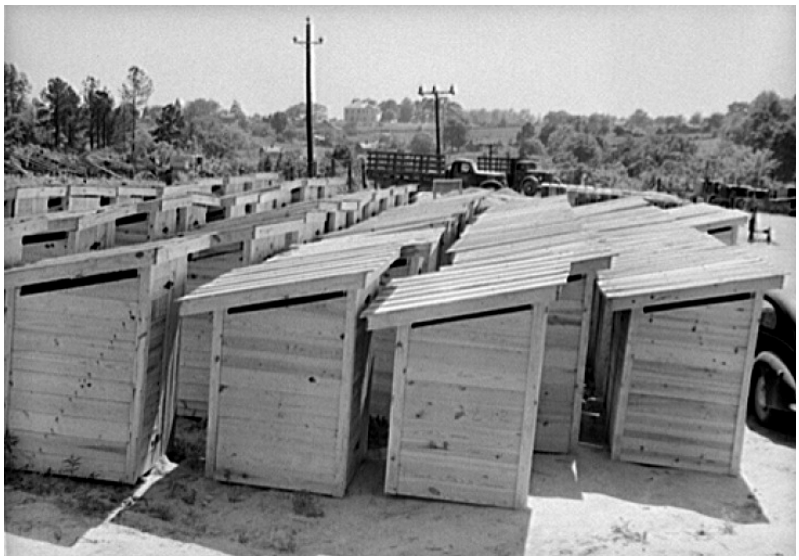

Figure 30. WPA privies waiting to be installed (LC-USF34-044312-D DLC).

cases would have been rather close to the water supply.

Both had privy pits approximately 4.0 to 4.6 feet square and both were rather deep – approximately 10 to 11 feet. They would have had pits in excess of 160 cubic feet – far exceeding the more modest 50 cubic feet being recommended. Although these privies would have been usable far longer without the need for cleaning or moving, this would have been a rather large mass of waste.

Twentieth Century Wells

There is not nearly the literature on well construction that is present for privies. Stewart and Davenport comment that shallow wells were generally no more than 40 feet in depth and were typically 3 to 6 feet in diameter. They might be curbed with rock, brick, concrete, or timber (Stewart and Davenport 1923:360). The timber lined wells were the least desirable since the wood rotted and required periodic replacement – often as frequently as every 10 years. Hand dug wells were a considerable investment in time and labor, with one source commenting that every 3-feet would take about a day until the bottom was reached and water began flowing, at which point that same 3-foot depth might take three days (Brush 1982).

Although there isn't as much documentation, the photographs available from the Farm Security Administration reveal the same dilapidated conditions that are seen for privies (Figures 32 and 33). Open wells were not only dangerous and required constant upkeep (which they seem to rarely have received), but they also allowed mice, frogs, and snakes access – resulting in high levels of coliform bacteria as they died and decayed.

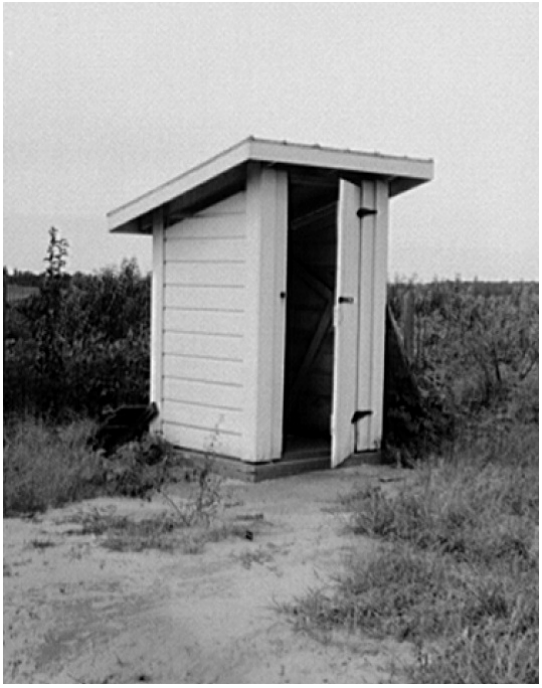

Figure 31. WPA privy set up on a rural tenant farm (LC-USF34-080440-D DLC).

Figure 32. Typical tenant well (FSA 8a26507).

Figure 33. Typical plantation well in Chesnee, South Carolina, with smoke house in the background (FSA 8b32309).

The Farm Security Administration converted a number of these open wells into piped wells. A pipe was placed into the well, which was then sealed. This kept run off as well as animals and insects out of the water, reducing disease (Figures 34 and 35). This work, however, seems to have been less common than privy construction – possibly because it was more costly. Nevertheless, piped wells with force pumps are found on tenant sites and it is possible that many were converted open wells.

The single well encountered in these investigations was certainly an open well and it was likely lined only with wood planks or possibly barrels. At a depth of 12 feet it was a very shallow well and possibly was used for only a short period of time.

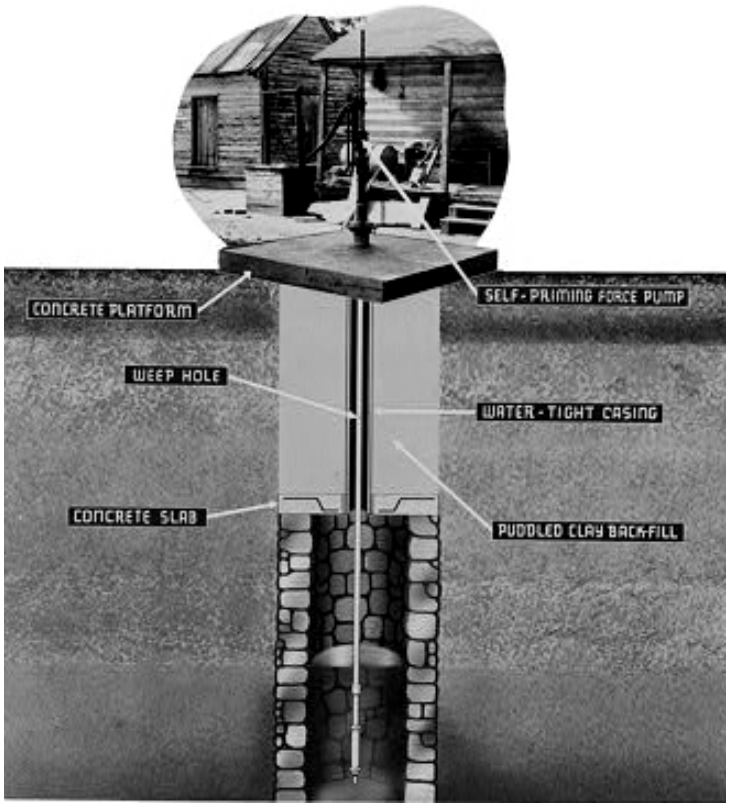

Figure 34. Portion of an educational poster showing the process of converting an unsanitary open well to a piped well (FSA 8e06532).

Figure 35. Example of a force pump well (FSA 8c22512).

ARTIFACTS

Methodology

Processing and Conservation

All artifact processing took place at Chicora's labs in Columbia. During the washing, artifacts were sorted by broad categories – ceramics, glass, metal, and other. Upon drying, the artifacts were temporarily bagged by these categories, pending cataloging. Conservation treatments were conducted by Chicora personnel in Columbia during December 2005 and January 2006.

Table 6.
Functional Typology (adapted from Orser 1988:233)

Foodways
- Procurement – ammunition, fishhooks, fishing weights
- Preparation – baking pans, cooking vessels, large knives
- Service – fine earthenware, flatware, tableware
- Storage – coarse earthenware, stoneware, glass bottles, canning jars

Clothing
- Fasteners – buttons, eyelets, snaps, hook and eyes
- Manufacturing/Repair – needles, pins, scissors, thimbles
- Other – shoe leather, clothes hangers

Household/Structural
- Architectural/Construction – nails, flat glass, spikes
- Hardware – hinges, bolts, staples, hooks
- Furnishings/Accessories – stove parts, furniture pieces, lamp parts

Personal
- Medicinal – medicine bottles, droppers
- Cosmetic – hairbrushes, hair combs, jars
- Recreational – smoking pipes, toys, musical instruments, souvenirs
- Monetary – coins
- Decorative – jewelry, hairpins, hatpins, spectacles
- Other – pocketknives, fountain pens, pencils, inkwells

Labor
- Agricultural – barbed wire, horse and mule shoes, harness, hoes, plow parts
- Industrial – tools

Because of the reduced scope of the project and the very large quantity of materials recovered, only exceptional items were treated and even then the work was limited to stabilization of the specimen to allow photography and long-term curation.

The metals were found to exhibit very low soluble chloride levels; as a result, treatment consisted of the application of a commercial rust inhibitor, Rust-Oleum's Rust Reformer®, a proprietary mixture consisting primarily of tannic acid with barium sulfate. This product successfully controls corrosion, stabilizing the artifact. It does not, however, remove existing corrosion. However, since many of the specimens are thin metal, more aggressive treatments such as electrolysis would likely have caused significant loss.

The materials have been accepted for curation by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The collection has been cataloged using this institution's accessioning practices. Specimens were packed in plastic bags and boxed. Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline-buffered paper. All original field notes, with archival copies, are also curated at this facility. All materials have been delivered to the curatorial facility.

Analytical Methods

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains.

The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow

such authors as Godden (1964), Norman-Wilcox (1965), and Price (1970). Glass artifacts were identified using sources such as Jones and Sullivan (1985), McKearin and McKearin (1972), and Vose (1975). Additional references, where appropriate, will be discussed in the following sections.

Previous tenant archaeology has used a variety of different functional groups in an effort to subdivide historic assemblages into groups that could reflect behavioral categories or that permitted easier analysis and interpretation. For example, one approach is to use South's (1977) functional groups – commonly recognized by archaeologists more familiar with colonial and antebellum research. These include Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Arms, Tobacco, Clothing, Personal, and Activity groups. One benefit of using this approach is that at least one tenant pattern, developed by Drucker and her colleagues, relies on these divisions (Drucker et al. 1982). It has also been used by other researchers (e.g., Joseph et al. 1991, Stine 1989, and Trinkley and Caballero 1983c).

Another approach, adopted by Adams (1980) is organizing artifacts by type of material, such as glass, metal, plastic, leather, rubber, and so forth – without any specific functional association. Although this approach avoids some problems ascribing functions, it doesn't provide much assistance when attempting to compare several sites.

A final approach, developed by Orser and his colleagues (Orser et al. 1980) is a modification of South's groups, with five functional classifications: foodways, clothing, household/structural, personal, and labor. This approach has been adopted by some researchers such as Cabak and Inkrot (1997).

Table 7.
Principal Catalogs Consulted

Date	Catalog Name	Type of Catalog
1865	*Russel & Erwin Manufacturing Co. Catalog* (New Britain, CT)	Hardware, farm implements
1873	*James L. Haven & Co.'s Illustrated Catalogue and Price List No. 11* (Cincinnati, OH)	Hardware, farm implements
1884	*Sargent & Co.'s Illustrated Catalog of Hardware* (New Haven, CT)	Hardware
1885	*Frederick Stearns & Co. Retail Druggist Diary & Want Book* (Detroit, MI)	Proprietary, patent medicines
1895	*Montgomery Ward & Co. Catalog No. 57* (Chicago, IL)	General merchandise
1897	*Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog* (Chicago, IL)	General merchandise
1900	*Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog* (Chicago, IL)	General merchandise
1902	*Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog* (Chicago, IL)	General merchandise
1908	*Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog* (Chicago, IL)	General merchandise
1913	*The Whitaker Manufacturing Co. Catalog No. 21* (Chicago, IL)	Hardware, farm implements, tools
1914	*G.W. Huntley Co.* (Chicago, IL)	Jewelry, watches, tablewares
1918	*Montgomery Ward Catalog* (St. Paul, MN)	General merchandise
1923	*Bering-Corles Hardware Co.* (Houston, TX)	Tools, kitchenwares, hardware
1925	*The Schafer Co. General Catalog No. 3* (Decatur, IN)	General
1925	*Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog* (Chicago, IL)	General merchandise
1927	*Becton, Dickinson & Co. General Catalog* (Rutherford, NJ)	Medical
1927	*The Druggist's Circular* (New York, NY)	Proprietary, patent medicines
1931	*Logan-Gregg Catalog* (Pittsburg, PA)	General merchandise
1932	*Belknap Hardware Catalog No. 86* (Louisville, KY)	General merchandise
1933	*Montgomery Ward Catalog* (St. Paul, MN)	General merchandise
1938	*Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog* (Chicago, IL)	General merchandise
1941	*The Hagn Merchandiser, Catalog No. 405* (Chicago, IL)	General merchandise
1954	*Pope-Gosser China Co. Price List*	China, dinnerware
1955	*Belknap Hardware Catalog No. 115* (Louisville, KY)	General merchandise

One problem in selecting one approach over another is that the patterns that result are not readily translatable – the use of Orser's categories precludes comparison with studies that have used South's, and vice versa. The easiest solution, at least for many archaeologists, would be to continue the use of South's artifact grounds since most historical archaeologists are familiar with the categories. This approach, however, may not be the best since South's typology was designed for British colonial sites. With some reluctance we have chosen to use Orser's functional typology and this is presented in Table 6.

While this approach does seem somewhat more intuitive than South's and probably more appropriate for late nineteenth or early twentieth century objects, there are still issues. For example, Orser would place "nuts and bolts" in the Household/Structural category. Reference to any early twentieth century catalog will reveal just as many Labor items with nuts and bolts as fastening devices as are found in the Household/Structural category. In addition, where would automobile parts go? Should they be considered Personal or Labor items (we have chosen the former)?

While direct comparison to South's patterns is not possible, Foodways roughly correlates to the Kitchen Group and Household/Structural roughly correlates to the Architectural Group – allowing at least general comparisons. [1]

Another important analytical technique used in this study is the minimum vessel count, primarily as an additional tool to the more traditional count of ceramics.[2] The most common approach for the calculation of minimum number of vessels (MNV) is to lay out all of the ceramics from a particular analytic unit (such as a feature), grouping the sherds by ware, type, and variety (e.g., floral motif vs. pastoral). All possible mends are then made. Body sherds are, from this point on, considered residual and not further considered. Remaining rim sherds, which fail to provide mends, are examined for matches in design, rim form, colors, and other attributes that would indicate matches with previously defined vessels. Those that fail to match either mended vessels or other rims are counted as additional vessels.

Although no cross mend analyses were conducted on the glass artifacts, these materials were examined in a similar fashion to the ceramics to define minimum number of vessel counts, with the number of vessel bases in a given assemblage being used to define the MNV. Attempts were made to mend and match vessel bases in order to ensure the accuracy of the count. If a glass artifact exhibited a different color and/or form not represented by the counted bases, then it was designated a separate vessel or container.

[1] The only notable variations – and they seem rather minor – are that the Arms Group and some Activities items are added to Foodways and some Activities and Personal items are added to Household/Structural.

[2] Although counts are used in this, and virtually every study of historic wares, we know that they are biased as measures of the proportions of types. Simply put, the proportion by number of sherds of a particular type reflects two things -- first, the proportion of that type in the population, and second, the average number of sherds into which vessels of that type have broken (known among some researchers as their brokenness) in comparison with the brokenness of other types. In general, however, brokenness will vary from one type to another and also from one size vessel of a particular type to another size vessel of the same type. Usually, types with a high brokenness will be over-represented in comparison to those with a low brokenness. More importantly, this bias not only affects the study of a single assemblage, but may also affect the study, or comparison, of different assemblages that may have a different level of brokenness.

Table 8.
Artifacts Recovered from the 38RD1249 privy

	Test Unit	Lv. 1	Lv. 2	Lv. 3	Totals	
Foodways					**114**	**59.1%**
WW, undecorated	4	4	2	1	11	
WW, decalcomania		2			2	
WW, transfer printed	1				1	
Por., undecorated	1	1			2	
SW, industrial	1	2			3	
SW, alkaline glaze		1			1	
container glass, brn		1			1	
container glass, lt gr		2			2	
container glass, aqua		1	2		3	
container glass, manganese	2	9	2		13	
container glass, clear	2	6	16		24	
container glass, melted			6		6	
canning jar lid, milk glass		1			1	
can frags	29	6	5		40	
canning jar lid cap, zinc		1			1	
tinware bowl		1			1	
12 ga. shotgun shell	1				1	
.22 caliber shell		1			1	
Clothing					**3**	**1.5%**
brass shoe grommet	2	1			3	
Household/Structural					**37**	**19.2%**
cut nails	8	2			10	
wire nails	7	10			17	
UID nails	2	1		4	7	
door hinge	1				1	
stove eye cover	1				1	
pipe			1		1	
Personal					**0**	**0%**
Labor					**39**	**20.2%**
washer	1				1	
strap/rivets		11			11	
plow blade		1			1	
bucket lug	1				1	
shovel head	1				1	
barbed wire frags		2			2	
clay flower pot frags	22				22	
TOTALS	87	67	34	5	193	

Mean dates rely on South's (1977) mean ceramic dating technique, using primarily the mean dates that he has developed. Of greater importance to us is the occupation span reflected by the ceramics. Knowing the span represented might assist us to gauge the contribution of different owners. One method used to determine the occupation span of the excavations is South's (1977) bracketing technique. This method consists of creating a time line where the manufacturing spans of the various ceramics are placed. Determining where at least half of the ceramic type bars touch places the left bracket. The right bracket is placed the same way, however, it is placed far enough to the right to touch at least the beginning of the latest type present (South 1977:214). We have chosen to alter South's bracketing technique slightly by placing the left bar at the earliest ending date when that ending date does not overlap with the rest of the ceramic type bars.

We have also relied on a broad range of other items to provide dating, including maker's marks on ceramics, glass factory marks, patent dates, and analysis of brand names.

Some effort has also been made to use a wide variety of catalogs in an effort to identify items that while common 50 or 100 years ago, are rarely seen today. The catalogs used are shown in Table 7.

Rather than examine the three sites in strict numerical order, we have chosen to first include the two privies – 38RD1249 and 38CH1262 – which also happen to be similar in age. The last site considered will be 38RD1260,

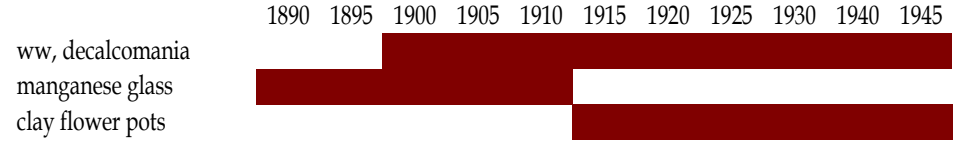

Figure 36. Datable objects in the 38RD1249 privy.

where the feature investigated was a well and the site dates more recently than the other two.

38RD1249

Including the test unit from the earlier testing (Southerland and Trinkley 2004:36), 193 artifacts were recovered from the excavated portion of the feature (Table 8). The most abundant category is Foodways, accounting for 114 specimens or 59.1% of the collection. The Household/Structural and Labor categories provide similar contributions at 19.2% and 20.2% respectively. The only functional category not represented is Personal.

The collection offers relatively few specimens useful for dating. Figure 36 illustrates the few items offering reliable dates. To these we can note that the paper shotgun shell (found in the test unit) likely pre-dates ca. 1960, after which they were rapidly replaced by plastic shells (Barnes 1993:384) and the zinc cap and Boyd canning jar liner post-date 1895 (Toulouse 1977:135). Cabak and Inkrot (1997:75) offer some diagnostic markers for initial occupation periods, noting that the combination of decalcomania, manganese glass, and collections dominated by wire nails is consistent with a 1900-1924 initial occupation period.[3] We, too, believe that the refuse in the 38RD1249 privy was deposited in the first quarter of the twentieth century, perhaps about 1920.

The remains are consistent with domestic refuse, although the collection is not adequate to make many observations concerning lifeways or status. Moreover, some categories may be inflated. For example, the Household/Structural category consists largely of nails (34 of 37 specimens), yet many of these may have come from the privy lining and not necessarily any refuse thrown into the privy.

It is also impossible, given the very limited collection, to make any meaningful comments on the source of the various items or the role that the tenant might have played in the commercial network.

38RD1262

The privy from this site produced 3,332 artifacts – far more than identified from 38RD1249 and likely to provide a better glimpse of tenant life. As revealed in Table 9 the feature was dominated by the Foodways category, which consists of over 58% of the assemblage. This is followed by the category of Household/Structural, largely architectural remains, which contributed nearly a quarter of the recovered artifacts. Clothing and Personal items combined are about equal to the Labor category, perhaps giving an impression of the rather bleak life of the tenant.

Because of the very large (and we believe representative) assemblage, some effort will be spent in reviewing the collection. The discussions below will examine each of the categories, further subdividing the assemblage.

[3] There are some specimens, such as the alkaline glazed stoneware, which they suggest indicates a pre-1899 date (based largely, we believe, on Greer's [1981:264] date range). We believe, however, that the use of alkaline glazed stoneware continued into the twentieth century.

Table 9.
Artifacts recovered from the 38RD1262 privy

	Test Unit	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6		
Foodways								**1945**	**58.4%**
WW, undecorated	13	169	3	2	9	1			
WW, molded		29							
WW, decalcomania	6	14							
WW, transfer printed		11							
WW, poly hand painted		1							
Porcelain, undecorated		3		3					
Porcelain, gilt		4							
Porcelain, striped		3							
Porcelain, decalcomania		3							
Yellow ware, undecorated		5							
Rockingham	3	20							
Burnt refined earthenware		3							
SW, industrial	1	19	1	1					
SW, alkaline		15							
container glass, black		22							
container glass, brn	12	68		1					
container glass, lt gr		56	2	4					
container glass, green	8	5							
container glass, aqua		110	2	1					
container glass, manganese	10	131	6	5					
container glass, clear	43	774	14	14					
container glass, melted		23	1						
wire bottle closures		6		1					
Lightening fastener		1							
crown caps		6							
canning jar lid, milk glass		15	2						
can keys		2							
can frags		118	23	29	4				
canning jar lid, iron		2							
canning jar lid cap, zinc		9	1						
lead seal		1							
spoon		1							
utensil handle			1						
tinware bowl				1					
tinware plate				1					
tinware cup				1					
pot handles		3							
jelly cake pan		1							
frying pan		1							
food chopper pulverizer		1							
fish hook, brass		1							
12 ga. shotgun shell	2	23	1	2					
.22 caliber shell	1	27							
.22 caliber bullet		1							
.32 caliber shell		2							
Clothing								**173**	**5.2%**
safety pins		2							
buckles		2							
brass shoe grommet	5								
suspender buckles		16							
suspender/jeans buttons		9							
collar buttons		2							
cuff link		1							
shirt buttons	1	15							
scissors		1							
shoe parts		104	4	11					
Household/Structural								**827**	**24.8%**
cut nails	15	314	23	6			3		
wire nails	9	183	2	5					
UID nails		17							
spikes		1							
staples		9							
roofing tacks		17							
window glass	6	58							
hinges		2							
handles	1	1							
door knob/locks		2		1					
other hardware	1	37							
padlock/lock cover	1	1							
stove parts		2							
furniture handle		1							
caster		3							
shade roller brackets		2							
bed spring	1								
shelf brackets		1							
fire grate		1							
lamp parts		66	10	21	1				
light bulb screw base		1							
pipe		2							
Personal								**109**	**3.3%**
feminine hygiene syringe		1							
oinment container frags		4							
blue glass medicine container		2	1	3					
manganese glass medicine container		8							
aqua glass medicine container		15	1						
clear glass medicine container		21	1	1					
light green glass medicine container		4	1	2					
clear glass toiletry bottle		1							
manganese glass toiletry bottle		1							
UID lid		1							
metal tobacco can frags		12							
white clay tobacco pipe bowl frags			2						
bisque doll parts	1	7	1						
clay marbles		2							
harmonica reeds/body frags		8							
plastic comb frag	1								
jewlery frag		2							
bead		1							
pocket watch parts		4							
Labor								**278**	**8.3%**
battery terminal wire		1							
lead acid battery parts		21							
wire frags		57		2					
bucket parts		12	1						
well bucket parts		1							
well pully		1							
brass scale frag		4							
tackle or awning pully		2							
corn shovel		3	1						
barn door roller		2							
horse/mule shoe	2	11							
bridle/harness buckle	1	3	1						
tack/plow hardware		17		2					
iron curry comb				1					
wagon parts		35	1						
plow part		3							
hoe		2		1					
axe		1		1					
chain frags		9	1						
misc. hardware		6	3	1					
railroad spikes		37		1					
brass folding rule frag		1							
clay flower pot frags	1								
pump hose band		1							
iron strapping		27							
TOTALS	**145**	**2933**	**111**	**125**	**14**	**1**	**3**	**3332**	

Table 10.
Shotgun shells in Level 1 of the 38RD1262 privy (date range is for company, not specific headstamp)

No.	Shell Headstamp	Company	Date Range
7	Winchester No. 12 Nublack	Winchester	1866-1932
2	Winchester No. 12 Repeater	Winchester	1866-1932
1	Western No. 12 Field	Western Cartridge Co.	1898-1932
1	Western No. 12 Newchief	Western Cartridge Co.	1898-1932
1	No. 12 US Romax	US Cartridge Co.	1864-1934
1	No 12 US Climax	US Cartridge Co.	1864-1934
1	P.C.C. No. 12 League	Peters	1887-1934
3	U.M.C. Co. No. 12 New Club	Union Metallic Co.	1867-1911
3	U.M.C. No. 12 Nitroclub	Union Metallic Co.	1867-1911
2	Remington U.M.C. Co. No. 12 New Club	Remington-UMC Co.	1911-1934
1	U.M.C. Co. No. 20 Union	Union Metallic Co.	1867-1911

Level 1

Foodways – Procurement

This subcategory includes 54 items related to hunting or fishing, including one fishhook, 52 shell casings, and one bullet.

Table 11.
Shells in Level 1 of the 38RD1262 privy (date range is for company, not specific headstamp)

No.	Shell Headstamp	Company	Date Range
1	W.C. Co. 32 A.C.P.	Western Cartridge Co.	1898-1932
1	S & W 32	United States Cartridge Co.	Post 1878-1938
1	P (rim fire)	Peters Cartridge Co.	1887-1934
4	<>	Winchester Western	1932-1944
12	U	Union Metallic Cartridge Co.	1867-1911
10	H	Winchester Repeating Arms	1866-1932

The fishhook is a simple, single hook design of brass, measuring 1¼-inches in length. This is a medium size, probably suitable for worms or crickets and possibly used for bass or catfish.

There are 23 shotgun shells in the collection, of which 22 are 12 gauge representing six different companies (see Table 10). There is only one 20 gauge shell.

Seven of the cartridges were not manufactured after 1911. Eleven additional cartridges were not manufactured past 1932. This suggests that the cartridges were used in the first third of the twentieth century.

The remaining 29 casings represent two .32 caliber examples and 27 specimens of .22 caliber shells ranging from shorts to long rifles. Six different manufacturers are represented, with dates suggesting deposition probably in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (see Table 11).

Ammunition prices varied greatly, but one period catalog (Schafer) reveals that the shotgun shells ranged between about .04 to .05¢ each (.40 to .50¢ in 2002$), while .22 ammunition was significantly less costly, about ½ to .01¢ each (.05 to .10¢ in 2002$). The cartridges, discarded around the house, suggest efforts to dispatch commensal species, rather than hunting for food (the one exception is the .22 caliber shot that might have been transported home in an animal carcass).

Foodways – Preparation

This category includes seven specimens from Level 1, including a food chopper part, an iron frying pan, a jelly cake pan, a large spoon fragment, two long handles, and a pot handle. These are all items typical to a turn of the century kitchen, although none are especially temporally diagnostic.

The chopper part is known as a pulverizer, illustrated in the 1923 Bering-Cortis

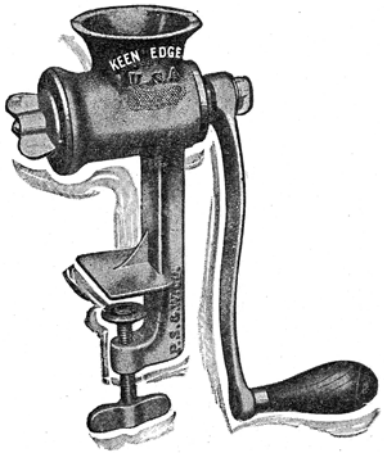

Figure 37. Keen Edge Food Chopper (Bering-Cortes Hardware Co., 1923, page 453).

catalog in a parts list for the Keen Edge Food Chopper. The advertisement notes that the,

> Keen Edge Food Chopper and Meat Cutter will cut anything edible – beef, pork, fish, onions, carrots, potatoes, apples, cocoanut – any kind of meat, vegetables or fruit: in fact, anything that can be chopped in a chopping bowl. It is also a perfect coffee grinder. It feeds rapidly, cuts easily, is very light and strong, and is easily cleaned – but it is a full-sized family machine; we make no small, under-sized cutters (Bering-Cortis, 1923, page. 453).

The device (see Figure 37) came in four sizes with costs ranging from $25.50 to $54.00 ($258 to $568 in 2002$). A replacement pulverizer cost between 20¢ and 40¢ ($2 and $4 in 2002$). Although the Keen Edge was patented in 1898, other models were also available and no specific date can be attached.

The other items are far less costly. The frying pan, for example, is shown in the Bering - Cortes catalog as costing $1.75 ($18 in 2002$). The jelly cake pan, of plain tin, would likely have cost about .30¢, while the basting spoon probably cost around .05¢ ($3.00 and .53¢, respectively, in 2002$).

Foodways – Service

The 265 ceramics are shown in Table 12 below as 64 reconstructed vessels. Whitewares are by far the most common ceramic, accounting for 81% of the identified wares. Of the various vessel forms, flatwares (plates and saucers) are the most common, accounting for 59% of the collection, followed by hollow wares (36%). Higher status vessel forms, such as pitchers or serving vessels are uncommon. It seems likely that most serving vessels were simple bowl forms.

Table 12.
Minimum Vessel Count for Level 1, 38RD1262 privy

	Plate	Saucer	Bowl	Cup	Serving	Creamer	Pitcher	Totals
WW, undecorated	17	1	2	7				27
WW, molded	6	2		3				11
WW, brown tp					1			1
WW, green tp	3	2				1		6
WW, poly hp				1				1
WW, decalcomania		3	3					6
Porcelain, undecorated				1				1
Porcelain, molded		1	1					2
Porcelain, gilt	1	1		2				4
Porcelain, stripes		1		1				2
Porcelain, decalcomania				2				2
Rockingham							1	1
Totals	27	11	6	17	1	1	1	64

WW – Whiteware; tp – transfer printed; hp – hand painted

Figure 38 shows a typical tenant farmer's table,

Figure 38. Typical tenant's table showing heavy use of plates, mismatched designs, limited utensils, and use of metal pans for serving dishes (FSA 8b23711).

illustrating the reliance on plates, the mixing and matching of designs, limited use of utensils, and use of pans as serving vessels.

Much of the dinner ware available to tenants would have been give-aways (see Green 2000:112), heirlooms, and gradual accumulations. Thus, the assemblage shown in Table 12 is not at all unusual. When purchased, dinner sets might cost as little as $4.98 for 100-pieces in the 1902 Sears catalog ($99.60 in 2002$) or a more modest 42-piece set in 1914 might cost as little as $9.35 ($167.00 in $2002). By 1941 a 20-piece set of Fiesta ware cost only $4.50 ($55.00 in 2002$). All of these, however, were almost certainly beyond the means of the typical tenant farmer. Even individual plates (at a cost of .99¢ in 1941 [$12.00 in 2002$]) were expensive and help us understand the attractiveness of premiums and other give-aways.

Only one of the maker's marks identified suggests an heirloom piece. A "Semi-Porcelain" mark used by Harker Pottery prior to 1900 was found on what we have identified as a whiteware (Lehner 1988:197-198). Two other marks, while offering information on consumer choice, provide little temporal assistance. The Mellor & Co. Ironstone China mark was used by Cook Pottery from 1893 to about 1959 (Lehner 1988:107) and the Vitreous mark of the Edwin M. Knowles Co. was apparently used for an indeterminate number of years between 1900 and 1963 (Lehner 1988:237; Gates and Ormerod [1982:99] however suggest a date range of 1900 to 1948).

The only metal tableware identified was a single bone handled knife fragment. This, like many of the ceramics, might be something of an heirloom, although Sears was still advertising a set of six bone handled knives and forks in 1902 for as little as .80¢ ($16.00 in 2002$). Otherwise stainless 2-piece utensil sets cost as little as $1.44 by early 1940s ($18.00 in 2002$). Still commonly available were sets of only knives and forks.

In the category of service items, the container glass includes 12 tumblers, one footed dish, three dish lids, and one dish with lid. The tumblers have rim diameters ranging from about 2½ to 3½ -inches with ribbing, molded starbursts and rays (often called a star medallion pattern among collectors), and ribs found only at the rim. All of the dishes have molded designs and three are of clear glass while one is manganese.

Foodways – Storage

In this category there is a relatively small number of stonewares, consisting of only four identifiable alkaline glaze vessels: one jar, one crock, and two jugs.

The black glass consists of a single wine bottle with a 3-inch base. This is a blown bottle and is almost certainly an heirloom piece.

The brown glass includes seven bottles, one of which is marked with the base stamp of Owens Illinois Glass Company. There is no year

Table 13.
Contents of Bottles, 38RD1262 Privy, Level 1

	Food	Alcohol	Soda	Unknown
Black		1		
Brown		2		5
Green		1		1
Lt. Green		3	2	9
Aqua	1		2	14
Manganese		3	1	9
Clear	1	17		15
Totals (%)	2 (2.3)	27 (31.1)	5 (5.7)	53 (60.9)

date, however, and the mark itself was used from 1929 through 1966 (Toulouse 1971:403). Two other bottles, based on their size and shape, are whiskey bottles.

There are two green glass bottles, although only one can be classified concerning function. That one is a wine bottle with its cork still inside the bottle.

In the category of light green glass there are 14 bottles. Two are Coca-Cola bottles, one from the Columbia bottling plant and another from Greenwood. The round shape and script suggest that both bottles pre-date 1915. The Columbia plant was operating by 1902 and the Greenwood (S.C.) plant began in 1904 (Jeter 1987:42, 45). Another light green soda bottle is embossed "J.C. Seegers/Columbia/S.C." Jeter (1987:19) suggests that Seegers began bottling about 1895, but does not offer a terminal date. Two of the bottles were used by the S.C. Dispensary – one is a half-pint Jo Jo flask, the other is a cylindrical quart bottle.

The aqua glass collection reveals 17 bottles. One of these is a Chero Cola bottle. This was a sweet caramel colored soft drink developed in 1905, although embossed bottles were not used until 1912. While the nature of the script used can help date the bottle, only the base was present in this collection. The Columbia bottling plant did not open until 1919 and apparently operated only until 1929 (although the bottle may be from another city) (Jeter 1987:39). One bottle was used for pickles and is reported being in use through ca. 1890 (Wilson 1981:89).

Another aqua bottle base bears the mark of Whitall-Tatum, between 1935 and 1938, providing a good date range for this particular specimen (Toulouse 1971:544).

A Coca-Cola bottle was also identified in this category. Like the others found in this level, it appears to date between 1902 and 1915 (Jeter 1987:42-45).

The manganese glass is suggestive of dates between the last quarter of the nineteenth century and WWI (Jones and Sullivan 1985:13). One identifiable bottle is that of Coca-Cola, with a date from about 1902 to perhaps 1915 (Jeter 1987:42). Another, based on size and shape, was a liquor bottle. Two, both half-pint Jo Jo flasks, are S.C. Dispensary bottles.

The clear glass consists of at least 46 bottles, most providing little or no information concerning function or date of use. One, however, is clearly a milk bottle although the dairy slug is not included with the fragment. A second bottle contains the same Whitall-Tatum mark used between 1935 and 1938. Also present is a clear glass beer bottle embossed, "W.H. Griffin/Bottler/Columbia/S.C." Jeter (1987:53) notes that this bottler was in operation between the 1890s and 1906.

Another two specimens are marked "half pint full measure," commonly used on whiskey bottles as a guarantee of the accuracy of the half pint contents. Another bottle is marked "Diodora/Corn Whiskey/Jack Cranston Co. Baltimore/MD." Based on Baltimore City Directories, this company – a manufacturer of wines, liquors, and whiskeys – was in business for a brief period between 1909 and 1919. The brand name "Diodora" was registered with the U.S. Patent Office in 1904 by Jack Cranston of Augusta, Georgia. At least four bottles have the warning, "Federal law prohibits . . . " a phase

required on all liquor bottles manufactured after prohibition (i.e., 1932-1964). At least four other clear glass liquor bottles are present, based on their size and shape.

Table 14.
Cans identified from Level 1, 38RD1262 privy

#	Can Style	Probable Contents	Estimated Date
5	Sanitary lid/base, external double side seam	Food	Post-1900, probably post-1922
2	Hole-in-cap lid, flanged soldered-on base	Food	Pre-1922
1	Hole-in-cap lid, flanged soldered-on base	Condensed milk	No date
6	Flanged soldered-on base	Probably condensed milk	No date
20	Flanged soldered-on base	Food	Pre-1922
12	Sanitary base	Food	Post-1900, probably post-1922
4	Sanitary base, external double side seam	Food	Post-1900, probably post-1922
1	Oval sanitary base	Food	Post-1900, probably post-1922
3	Hole-in-cap lid	Food	Pre-1922
2	Stamped/removable lids	Food	No date
3	Cans with lugs	Food	No date
3	Oil can lid	Oil	No date
8	Rectangular sanitary base, keyed opening	Food (fish)	No date

Seven of the clear bottles are identifiable as being from the S.C. Dispensary. These include three half-pint flask bottles, three pint bottles (all Jo Jo style flasks), and one cylindrical quart bottle. Inclusively, these bottles would have been used from 1893 through perhaps as late as 1907 (Huggins 1971; Teal and Wallace 2005).

As shown in Table 13 the function of the majority of the bottles cannot be accurately determined. Of those to which a function can be ascribed, alcohol was the most common. While beer and wine are present, far more common was hard alcohol, especially corn whiskey.

Turning from bottles to cans we see equal variety, including sanitary, hole-in-cap, and flanged soldered-on tops. We also see both external double side seams and overlapped, soldered side seams. The identifiable cans are itemized in Table 14. The collection includes cans that are likely pre-1922, as well as post-1900 (probably post-1922) – providing dates that are consistent with the other artifacts thus far identified from Level 1 of the 38RD1262 privy.

This table reveals that at least 70 cans are present in the collection, with at least 25 (35.7%) pre-dating 1922 and an additional 22 (29.3%) most likely post-dating 1922. The remainder of the cans do not offer any special dating assistance. Condensed milk was likely found in only seven (10%) of the cans, with foods by far the more common item. Very few of the cans offer any other special indicators.

The lugs or ears are typical of cans containing everything from salted peanuts to peanut butter to lard to coffee (the latter being a very common staple). Even tobacco was packaged in this type of container, along with, of course, paints and glazing putty. The stamped or removable lids were found on similar cans and so may be associated with bulk purchases of coffee or paint (Clark 1977).

One of the more uncommon can styles is the oil can lid. This is funnel or cone shaped with a 1-inch opening and vent on the side. The three identified were likely 1-gallon size containers. This style of can is illustrated in catalogs such as the 1897 Sears for products such as lard, neatsfoot oil, harness, and motor oils. Given the proclivity of Southerners to use lard, we have somewhat arbitrarily included these cans in the foodways category.

An unusual item in this category is a lead seal 1½-inches in diameter stamped, "J. Hungerford Smith Co./Rochester, N.Y.//True Fruit/Shrub//Trade/Mark." The Hungerford

Table 15.
Buttons Recovered from Level 1, 38RD1262 privy

Type	No.	Description	Diameter (in mm)
21	3	Iron with fiber center, 4-hole	14, 16, 17
23	5	Porcelain, white, 4 hole	10, 11, 11.5, 12.5, 13.8
24	2	Iron back and front, fabric covered	11.5, 20..5
27	1	Brass, domed, stamped flower design	32
32	1	Iron, sunken panel, 4-hole	17
-	1	Glass, bright green, pressed in metal setting	7
-	1	Hard rubber, 4-hole	16
-	1	White metal, 1-piece stationary collar button	7
-	1	Brass, 1-piece stationary collar button	5.3

Smith Co. was established in 1879, incorporated in 1890, and is still in business today (as part of Conagra Foods). True Fruit was a common advertising slogan and this seal was probably associated with catsup.

More common items include four milk glass canning lid liners and three threaded zinc canning caps – post-dating 1895. There are also two tinned metal canning jar lids that are probably more recent. The six crown caps identified in the collection post-date 1912 (Kaplan 1982).

Clothing – Fasteners

The 16 buttons (including two collar buttons) are shown in Table 15. The size ranges follow generally accepted concepts of use, with those buttons 6 mm and under being associated with undergarments or delicate outer garments, those between 7 and 13 mm used on shirts and pants, and the larger buttons being used for coats. Five of these are Prosser or white porcelain buttons (South's Type 23), typically associated with shirts and within the anticipated or expected size range. Both the Type 21 and Type 32 buttons are likely suspender buttons. These were found on work pants, such as jeans, prior to 1937 and are still found on bib overalls.

While detachable collars date to the first half of the nineteenth century, the early collars had the problem of leaving gaps between the shirt and the collar – hence the development of collar buttons to snap the collars in place. Detachable collars became especially prevalent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (although the final company making detachable collars ceased production only a few years ago).

The single cuff link recovered from the site is two piece brass.

In addition to these conventional buttons there are nine brass or iron riveted buttons, typically used with jeans and bib overalls. Fly front buttons were not replaced by a zipper in Lee jeans until 1926 and riveted buttons continue to be used at the waist on jeans and at the sides of bib overalls. The diameters of these riveted buttons range from 14 to 17 mm. Two of the buttons are marked, "Aragon / A.M.R. Co.," although no further information has been identified concerning this company. Another button has a rope design.

Also recovered are 13 examples of suspender or bib overall (i.e., brace) parts, including five buckles, sometimes called "hook-up closures" and eight slides – two of which were marked, "Utica Athletic" (although no information has been found concerning this trade mark). Although all of these devices were rather common and do not exhibit much technological change, the absence of suspender clips may suggest a pre-1937 date.

The final items in this category are one button clasp hose supporter, two iron belt buckles, and two safety pins.

Clothing – Manufacture

The only items in this category are the remains of a pair of scissors, with a blade length of 3-inches and overall length of 6¾-inches.

Clothing – Other

The 92 shoe fragments include two insole fragments, 18 outer sole fragments, one leather heel and vamp, two tongue fragments, three brass lacing eyelets, 49 leather fragments with brass grommets, and 11 leather fragments. Together these items represent the remains of at least 10 shoes and all appear to represent twentieth century construction.

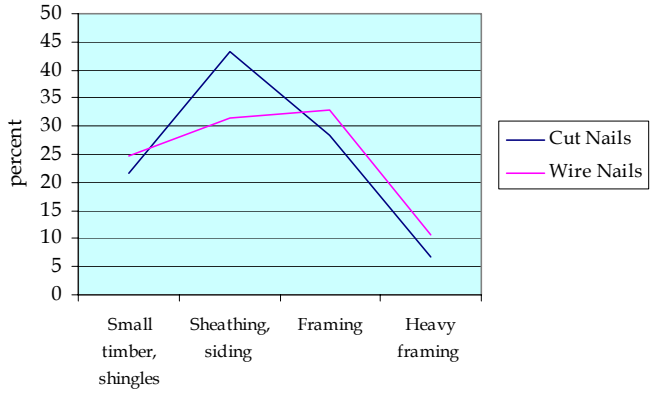

Figure 39. Comparison of cut and wire nail percentages.

Table 16.
Nails Recovered from Level 1, 38RD1262 Privy

Penny Wt.	SAE	Cut	Wire
2d	1″	1	1
3d	1¼″	6	9
4d	1½ ″	21	20
5d	1¾″	7	9
Small timber, shingles (%)		35 (21.6)	39 (24.7)
Combined %		23.1	
6d	2″	33	14
7d	2¼″	9	7
8d	2½″	28	29
Sheathing, siding (%)		70 (43.2)	50 (31.6)
Combined %		37.5	
9d	2¾″	5	8
10d	3″	32	22
12d	3¼″	9	22
Framing (%)		46 (28.4)	52 (32.9)
Combined %		30.6	
16d	3½″	2	3
20d	4″	7	5
30d	4½″	1	3
40d	5″	1	5
60d	5½″		1
Heavy framing (%)		11 (6.8)	17 (10.8)
Combined %		8.8	

Also present are two leather fragments of a single belt having a width of ¾-inch.

Household – Structural

This category is dominated by 514 nails – not a surprise considering that most tenant structures were frame and, in general, poorly constructed. The nails are dominated by the earlier cut nails that comprise 61.1% of the collection. The more recent wire nails account for only 35.6% of the assemblage. This suggests a structure spanning the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries. Cabak and Inkrot (1997:75) suggest a date from perhaps 1850-1874 (cut nails predominant) to 1875-1899 (cut nails and wire nails). Of course these dates mark initial occupation or construction. Either way, there is some indication that the construction debris that found its way into the 38RD1262 privy may have been built in the nineteenth century.

Since different size nails served different self-limited functions, it is often possible to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes to indicate building construction details. Table 16 lists nails by both penny weight sizes and the Standard Average European (SAE) size, as well as characterizing the function of various nail sizes.

When cut and wire nail sizes are compared, there is really little difference except for the greater number of cut nails used in sheathing and framing – otherwise the signatures appear very similar (see Figure 39). We believe this can be interpreted as suggesting that both nail types were used interchangeably during construction (assuming, of course, that the privy discard is representative of the structure).

Another feature of this assemblage is that the three most common building sizes are all present in roughly similar proportions – suggestive of balloon framing, wood siding, and wood shingles.

In addition to the collection of identifiable nails, there are 17 UID nail fragments, along with one spike, 17 roofing tacks or nails, and 58 fragments of window glass.

The feature also produced 1,529 pounds of brick, most lacking evidence of mortar. Several of these were fire brick bearing the stamp of the nearby brickworks in Killian, although many more were simply red clay brick with sizes of 7¾ to 8⅝ x 3-1/16 to 4-3/16 x 2⅛ to 2⅝ inches, with an modal size of 8⅜x3⅞x2⅝ inches. The mortar that is present contains both Portland cement and a small amount of lime.

Household - Hardware

Remarkably little of the hardware present in the privy is useful for dating, although a single hand wrought pintle does suggest that the structure either had some antiquity (perhaps dating to the late antebellum) or else incorporated salvaged hardware. Even seemingly modern hardware – like the strap hinge or the door pull – can be found in antebellum catalogs such as Russell-Erwin.

Household – Furnishing

This collection consists of items ranging from remnants of porcelain casters to trunk locks to roller shade blind hardware. The recovered items are not especially useful in dating, although they do help us understand the lifeways of the site occupants. For example, the three fragments of casters or caster stems represent mobile furniture and are often seen on dressers, beds, and larger pieces of furniture. The bracket for a spring roller shade provides information on the window treatments of the household – and window treatments seem to often be lacking in tenant households. The iron lock covers are characteristic of those found on large trunks.

The collection produced not only two stove parts – revealing the presence of a wood burning stove – but also a fire grate, revealing a throat or opening of 29-inches.

The primary lighting in the household, based on the discards in the privy, appears to be kerosene lamps. Recovered was a brass base similar to those found on Aladdin table lamps (see Courter 1971:134). Also present are two glass bases – one of pressed green glass, the other of milk glass (see Courter 1971:20-31 and Woodhead et al. 1984:42-46 for examples). Also present are the remains of five lamp chimneys, one of manganese glass with a machine applied bead decoration (this decoration post-dates 1883, although it continues into use today, see Woodhead et al. 1984:62). The other four are clear glass, one with hand applied scallops and the other three being straight, unadorned chimneys.

There are, however, two indications that the structure might eventually have had electricity. Level 1 produced a brass light bulb screw base and a length of electrical wire.

Lacking the filament, the base provides little information except that the size is appropriate for the Edison incandescent lamps

that post-dated 1881 (Woodhead et al. 1984:73). The electrical wire had a woven fabric covering (described in the literature as rubber covered wire since rubber was an intermediate layer). This wire had a woven copper wire conductor, single braid, and was used for electric light and power wiring in homes (see, for example, the Schafer catalog of 1925, pg. 505). Consequently, we have relatively good evidence that the structure associated with this privy probably had electrical service late in its history. Although we have no good information on when the Killian area received electrical service, it may well have not been until post-1940, suggesting a rather late date for the occupation of the structure.

Personal – Medicinal

It is in this category that we discover some of the more intimate aspects of the occupants lives. One of the items recovered is a black, hard rubber pipe for a syringe set. Although the various Sears catalogs describe this as only as a "hard rubber pipe," being part of various bulb syringe sets, Wilkie (2003:138) identifies it as a vaginal pipe, part of a douche kit, used by midwives for various treatments, including "fallen ovaries" or "after pains." It was intimately associated with mothering during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Also recovered were four round tin or brass ointment containers, one with an illegible paper label. All were open with their lids fitted on the bases, as if used until empty and then discarded (see Clark 1977:111).

Glass containers are far more common, with a total of 34 identified in the collection (see Table 17). Included are 13 of clear glass including a cure for fever and chills (typically malaria), constipation (the cause of "biliousness, sick headache, sour stomach, indigestion, dizziness, furred tongue, bad breath—think of the embarrassments and discomforts traceable to constipation" according to a 1919

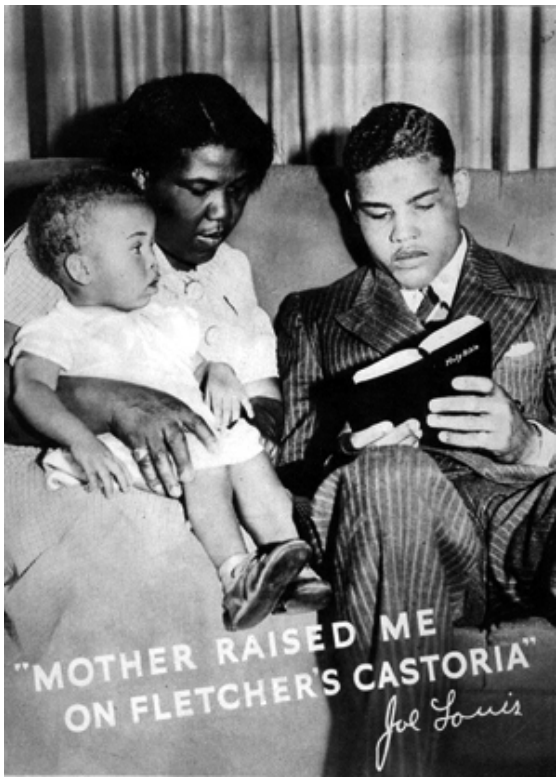

Figure 40. Famous Fletcher's Castoria ad featuring the legendary boxer Joe Lewis.

advertisement for Dr. King's), and various liver complaints ("liven your liver and bowels" was the 1918 promise for Dodson's). The Vaseline product would have been used in the treatment of minor wounds, bruises, and skin irritations.

Although the possible McConnon & Co. bottle was likely a patent medicine, the company, which operated from 1889 into the 1960s, produced a range of items, such as face powder, spices, and paper glue, including even fertilizers and insecticides. Its origin was likely as the McConnon & Company Drug Store, but it eventually became so large as to have its own employee dining facility with its own china.

The J.R. Watkins Company was founded in 1868 as a manufacturer of patent medicines and is still is existence today. It moved from Plainview to Winona in 1885. The contents of this container are unknown.

Table 17.
Medicine bottles identified in Level 1, 38RD1262 privy

No.	Description/Marking	Date/Other Information	Source
1	Clear glass, "VASELINE/CHESEBROUGH/ NEW YORK"	1879-1955; probably post-1908 when screw caps began	Fike 1987:56
2	Clear glass, "LIVER · TONE/DODSON"	Ca. 1912-1948	advertising; Sanborn 1912 Americus, Ga.; Fike 1987:146
1	Clear glass, "JOHNSON'S CHILL & FEVER TONIC/GUARANTEED TO CURE/A.B. GIRARDEAU, SAVH. GA"	Advertised 1891	Fike 1987:235
1	Clear glass, "__N__/__NONA, M__"	Prob. Winona, Minn., manufacturer possibly J.R. Watkins; post 1885	Fike 1987:185
1	Clear glass, small tube, lip		
1	Clear glass, "__& Co./__ MINN."	Possibly Winona, Minn. and McConnon & Co.; post 1889	Fike 1987:70, 102
3	Clear glass		
1	Clear glass, "Wingfields/DRUGGIST/ COLUMBIA"	At least 1912 through at least 1921	Columbia City Directories
1	Clear glass, "DR. KING'S/NEW LIFE PILLS//H.E.BUCKLEN__//CHICAGO, U.S.A."	By at least 1886 through at least 1920	advertising, Fike 1987:53; see also Wilson 1981:45
1	Clear glass, prescription bottle with cc measure and "I in a diamond" mark on base	Illinois Glass Co. mark from 1915-1929	http://myinsulators.com/glass-factories/bottlemarks.html
5	Aqua glass, "CASTORIA/Chas. H. Fletcher's"		
9	Aqua glass		
1	Lt. green glass, "JOHNSON'S CHILL & FEVER TONIC/GUARANTEED TO CURE/A.B. GIRARDEAU, SAVH. GA"	Advertised 1891	Fike 1987:235
1	Lt. green glass, "PITCHER'S // CASTORIA"	1868 to 1890s, perhaps later	Fike 1987:177; http://www.centaur.com/
2	Lt. green glass		
2	Blue glass, round	Perhaps Vicks	
1	Manganese glass		

One of the otherwise unidentified clear glass bottle bases has a double V on its base. While not recognized as a glass factory mark, it does very closely resemble the two triangles, one inside the other, trademarked by Vick Chemical Co. in 1927 (71258969) and renewed as late as 1965. The trademark is today expired, but was associated with Vicks Vaporub – a "medicinal salve for use in such ailments as croup, colds, pneumonia, catarrh . . . ."

There are 14 aqua bottles identified in the collection. The only identified bottle, accounting for five specimens, belongs to Fletcher's Castoria – "a vegetable preparation for assimulating [sic] the food and regulating stomach and bowels of infants and children' (Fike 1987:162). The Fletcher marked bottles post-date the 1890s, but the company is still in business, producing its Castoria, "composed of senna, sodium bicarbonate, essence of wintergreen, taraxicum, sugar and water" (according to the original 1868 patent). The company was one of the more aggressive advertisers, even reaching out to the African American community with its famous Joe Lewis ad (Figure 39).

There are four light green bottles, 2 blue bottles, and one manganese bottle. One of the aqua bottles – for Johnson's Chill & Fever Tonic – has been identified in the collection as a clear bottle. Another is Pitcher's Castoria – the forerunner of Fletcher's Castoria.

The blue bottles might have held any number of salves, but the most commonly recognized medicine in a blue bottle (today a plastic container) is of course Vicks – a proprietary medicine for which no good history exists. Based on the trade marks, however, Vicks was first used in commerce in 1894 (Trademark No. 867818, 71347246) by both Richardson-Merrell of New York (later Richardson-Vicks and most recently Proctor & Gamble) and Vick Chemical Co. of Philadelphia. The term "Vaporub" was not used in commerce until 1911 by Richardson-Merrell and 1924 by Vick Chemical Co. Nevertheless, the absence of embossing on these containers suggests a paper label, in use by at least the early 1940s (see Ward 1994:200).

It is possible to provide some prices for these various products, using the 1926 *Druggists Circular*. At that time Vicks Vaporub came in three sizes, ranging in retail price from .35¢ to $1.50 ($3.57 to $15.31 in 2002$). Vaseline was .15¢ ($1.53 in 2002$). Dodson's Liver Tone was .60¢ ($6.12 in 2002$). Johnson's Chill & Fever Tonic was .25¢ to .50¢ ($2.55 to $5.10 in 2002$). Dr. King's New Life Pills were .25¢ ($2.55 in 2002$), as was Castoria. Consequently, for less than .50¢ (about $5 today), it was possible to purchase a cure for just about whatever might ail you – whether it was constipation, chapped hands, or malaria.

Personal – Cosmetic

Although a number of medicinal bottles were identified, only three cosmetic containers were present (and recognized) in the collection. One is a manganese toiletry bottle with no other identification. Another is a white metal twist-on lid embossed with an "S" on the top. The final item is a clear container marked "FRENCH GLOSS/3 FLUID OZ./WHITTEMORE/ BOSTON."

The "S" emblem was not recognized and we failed to identify it among those registered with the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office. The lid is typical of what might have been on a salve or ointment jar.

Classification of the French Gloss item was difficult. It is actually a black shoe polish and, in the 1926 *Druggists Circular* the item is listed as "Shoe Dressing – Whittemore's – French Gloss (in cartons, for ladies' black shoes)" with a price of .15¢ ($1.53 in 2002$). Whittemore Brothers & Co. of Cambridge was in existence at least as early as 1904 when they advertised at the Louisiana Purchase Universal Exposition of that year. At the time they were included under the categories of both shoes and "chemical and pharmaceutical arts."

In contrast, at least a few have related these items to cosmetic or even medicinal purposes. Wilkie (2003:110), for example, include French Gloss as a skin cream used by midwifes, while William and Mary on a website devoted to excavations at a Danville, Virginia mill town, suggest that French Gloss might possibly be a "bryl cream"

(http://www.wm.edu/wmcar/Danvilledig/largemedhyg.htm). These latter two examples may, of course, represent only mistakes or lapses in research.

Personal – Recreational

In this category we identified 12 non-hinged tobacco tins. All are 3-inches in width, with heights varying (where identifiable) from 3½-inches to 4¼-inches. Depths (where identifiable) are more consistent at ⅞ to 1-inch. These are a common collector item and a variety are illustrated by Clark (1977:100, 198).

The doll parts represent at least three dolls – one rag doll with bisque porcelain appendages, one doll with wired bisque porcelain appendages, and one with glazed appendages. Also recovered were parts of three different harmonica, including reeds and body fragments. One of these was a Hohner – a very common brand (the company began in 1857 and is still in business today). Similar harmonica were being sold by Sears during this time period for about .45¢ ($9.80 in 2002$). The other two could not be identified with only partial information: "__nr__/__R.W.Z. No. 6010__" and "__ng No[v]elty/__ED No. 531_2/MADE [IN] GERMANY." The other items in this category were two clay marbles, both about ⅝-inch in diameter.

Personal – Decorative

Only three "decorative" items were recovered. One is a translucent white bead (Kidd and Kidd W1c). The other two, both pieces of stamped brass, one gilded, were probably jewelry fragments.

Personal – Other

The four items in this category represent three specimens – a pocket knife of uncertain size and form (only a portion of the iron tang remains) and two brass pocket watches (represented by the frame or collar of one, designated in the trade as a 16 size, and two gears).

Based on how many are illustrated in period catalogs, both were apparently common items. For example, the 1902 Sears catalog contains nine pages of pocket knives, with prices beginning at only .23¢ ($4.60 in 2002$). There were even more pages of pocket watches, with the least expensive being the "94-cent American Watch" ($18.80 in 2002$). The 1932 Belknap catalog lists 22 pages of pocket knives, with the least expensive being about .50¢ ($6.60 in 2002$). In contrast, pocket watches appear be falling out of favor by this time since only four pages of selections are provided (three pages of wrist watches are also provided), the least expensive being $1.00 ($13.16 in 2002$).

Labor – Agricultural

This is a diverse category that includes a large quantity of farm-related items. Unfortunately, most of the clearly technological items have very long use histories and few offer any special temporal information. They do, however, provide a good view of the activities that were taking place on the farm.

The collection produced 22 artifacts – a brass battery terminal lug (described in some

Figure 41. Example of well bucket. Note the distinctive handle (Belknap, 1932, pg. 1341).

catalogs as a "cable split type") and 21 fragments of lead plate grid. We believe these were likely for a tractor, based not on any distinctive features or sizes, but rather on the absence of other artifacts associated with automobiles (in comparison, the 38RD1260 well produced a number of automobile parts).

The 13 bucket fragments include a range of parts, but they appear to represent perhaps six buckets, three of which are complete enough to at least determine diameters of 8, 10, and 11-inches. The 1932 Belknap catalog illustrates tin pails with diameters of just over 8-inches, with prices of about $1.00 ($13.16 in 2002$). Dairy pails tended to be both larger, perhaps representing the 10 and 11-inch diameter bases; prices ranged from about .79¢ to $2.50, reflecting weight and quality ($10.39 to $32.90 in 2002$). Buckets described as "flaring pails," about the same size, were even less expensive -- .40¢ each ($5.26 in 2002$).

One of the three buckets with handles can be identified as a well bucket, based on its very distinctive handle shape (see Figure 41). Such buckets in 1932 sold for about $2 ($26.32 in 2002$).

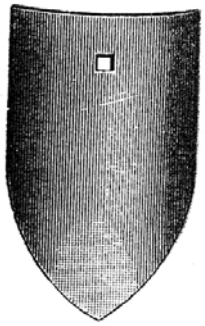

Figure 42. Corn shovel sweep (Bering Cortes 1932, pg. 157).

Related to the well bucket, we also recovered a well pulley (sometimes called well wheels) fragment for a ½ -inch rope. These, too, are commonly illustrated in the period catalogs (as well as historic photographs, see Figure 33 for a good illustration). These cost about $1.56 in period catalogs ($20.53 in 2002$).

Four brass fragments represent the remains of a single "scoop," commonly associated with larger kitchen scales and grocers' scales. Why such an item would be found on a tenant site is uncertain, except that if discarded by the grocer as broken, it might be salvaged for reuse of the brass plate.

The two pulley fragments represent one tackle or awning pulley with a 3-inch diameter and one pulley base. The tackle or awning pulley is marked, "DURHAM/PATENTED."

Turning to cultivation and plow parts, three corn shovels were recovered. These are used on cultivators or plows for bed preparation and also to ridge rows. They would have been a relatively common plow sweep on a Midlands farm. These were typically not heat treated, so might not only be lost during plowing, but also wore out and were routinely replaced. In the 1923 Bering-Cortes catalog, they were sold by the pound, with the 5½ x8½ shovel costing

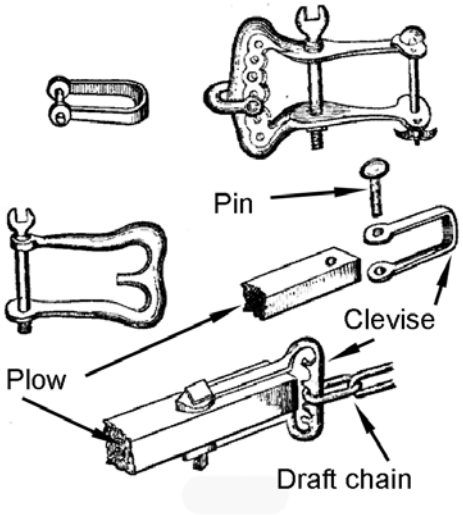

Figure 43. Examples of clevises, showing use on plows to connect the plow to the draft chain.

about .41¢ ($4.32 in 2002$). By 1932 the cost was about .32¢ ($4.21 in 2002$). Also recovered was a fragmentary plow blade (too little was present to identify the style).

Also recovered was a malleable iron clevise. This is a stirrup-shaped device used with a pin to connect a draft chain to a plow other tool.

A single axe head was recovered. The style is nearly identical to what is shown in the 1865 Russell and Erwin catalog as the "Kentucky" style. By the 1932 Belknap catalog, this was the "Southern Kentucky Plain" style and the cost was around $4.00 ($53.00 in 2002$), depending on the brand, weight of the axe head, and handle it was placed on. Curiously, the 1931 Logan-Gregg catalog fails to carry any but the Jersey and Dayton patterns.

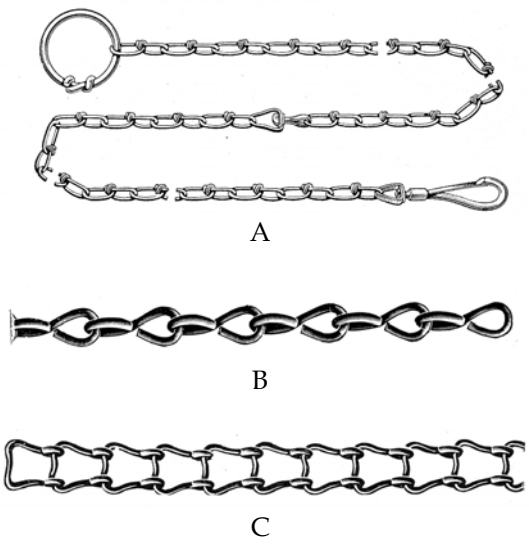

Figure 44. Examples of chain recovered in Level 1, 38RD1262 privy. A, tie out chain (Logan-Gregg, 1931, pg. 89; B, Jack chain (Bering-Cortes, 1923, pg. 217; C, ladder chain (Bering-Cortes, 1923, pg. 217).

Two hoes were found. One, again based on the early Russell and Erwin catalog, is a "planter's" hoe blade. Called an "eye hoe" since its design included a eye for the insertion of a handle, these continue to be found in the 1932 Belknap catalog. This size (blade width of 5½-inches and blade depth of 5¼-inches) was among the smallest, with a per piece cost of about $1.50 ($20.00 in 2002$). Also present was what is found in the 1923 Bering-Cortes (and later 1932 Belknap) catalog as a "cotton hoe." This hoe had a gooseneck shank and the cost was based on the width of the blade. In this case a 7-inch hoe would have cost about $1 in 1923 and $2 or more in 1932 ($10.53 and $26.32 in 2002$, respectively).

Seven chain items are present, including what were known in the trade as "Out Chain," "Ladder Chain," and "Jack Chain," as well as a malleable repair link. The "Out Chain" was also known as a "Tie Out" and composed of weldless links; these were used to stake out animals, including dogs or even cows. "Jack Chain" consisted of twisted links and was also a rather light duty chain. Ladder chain, as the name implies, looks like a ladder. This chain was particularly light weight. Other than the tie out chain, the function of these other chains on a tenant site is uncertain.

Horse-related items – as might be imagined – are rather common and include three harness buckles, seven mule shoes, and four horse shoes. Although buckles generally came on the tack, they were also replaceable, with the 1895 Sears catalog revealing that similar 1 and 1¼-inch buckles cost just over a penny a piece (and were sold by the dozen). By 1932 the price had increased to 8¢ and 12¢ respectively ($1.05 to $1.58 in 2002$).

The horse and mule shoes were still in the 1932 Belknap catalog, although there are far more varieties of horseshoes than mule shoes. In addition, prices are noted as being given "on application," probably because they were based on the weight of the iron used and this was volatile.

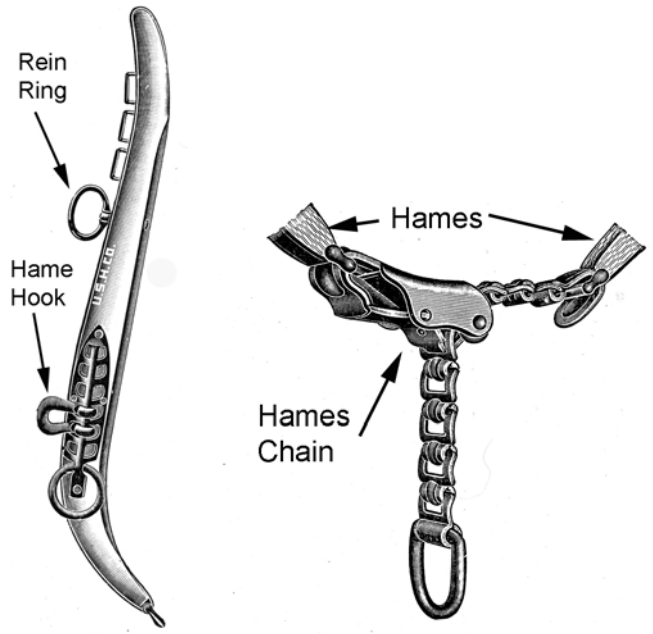

Figure 45. Hame (showing hook or tug) and hame chain (Bering Cortes, 1923, pgs. 212, 213).

All of the shoes disposed of in the 38RD1262 privy were heavily worn at the toes. All of the mule shoes, but only one of the horse shoes had calks. The calked shoe is used to provide firmer footing on slippery or muddy roads (Mounted Service School 1910:56). Mule shoes ranged in length from 4⅝ to 5½ -inches and vary in weight from 7.4 to 13.8 ounces. The horseshoes evidenced less variation and were only 5 or 5½-inches in length, with weights from 4 to 12 ounces (the latter with calks).

Also in this category were two driving bit fragments, one bridle bit snaffle fragment, two harness rings, and two back band hooks. The driving bit is used for carriage animals. The bridle bit fragment included the rein ring and half-cheek piece. The back band, made out of heavy canvas, goes over a mule's back, behind his shoulders. The traces are then attached to this back band and transfer part of the load to the mule's back. The buckles, such as those found in this collection, adjust to regulate the load. The 1923 Bering Cortes catalog provided not only webbing and hooks in order to make back bands to size, but also pre-made back bands (the latter were about .73¢ each or $7.68 in 2002$).

There were also a number of work harness items, including fragments of a hame chain and a hame hook recovered. The hames were the tubular (historically hardwood) arms that fit on either side of the horse's collar (fitted to the shoulders). The collar provides the padding; the hames are intended to transfer the horse's power to the plough or wagon. The hooks, on either side (also known as tugs), had chains (trace chains) attached, by which the horse pulled its load. Under the horse's neck the hames were connected together, sometimes by a leather strap or sometimes using a chain, advertised in the Bering-Cortes catalog as being fastened "in half the time required to fasten a leather strap."

Finally, there were several brass rivets on leather that probably represent harness decorations.

Also recovered were a number of carriage, buggy, or wagon parts – most of which today are rather foreign to researchers and the public alike. These items include a pole yoke socket, whiffletree hook, and yoke ring – all used on a neck yoke in a team harness with a wagon. The neck yoke is a bar, generally wood, by which the end of the tongue of a wagon or carriage is supported.

The collection produced three fifth wheels. These are wheel-like devices that were placed horizontally over the forward axle of a carriage or wagon (generally under the seat) to provide both support and also stability during turns. The device allowed the front wheels of the carriage or wagon to turn independently from the rear wheels (via the king bolt which is the center of oscillation). There are a large number of different designs and although these items were generally not illustrated in early to mid-twentieth century catalogs, they were (and

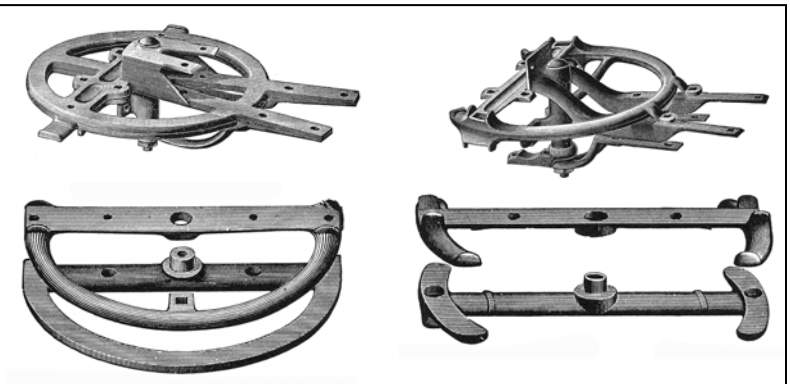

Figure 46. Examples of various fifth wheels and their parts (adapted from the George Worthington catalog, 1909, pg. 49-51).

continue to be) found in specialty catalogs. Since this collection yielded at least two different models, the collection is from two different wagons or buggies.

A concealed joint for a buggy top was also present, indicating that in addition to utilitarian items, there was also a small, lightweight passenger carriage present on the farm (although not necessarily owned by the tenants).

More common were items associated with a wagon, including three wagon box rods, a bow iron, cockeye, three wagon box straps, and four corner straps. The wagon box rods tied the sideboards together. The box iron is a staple on the side of a wagon bed which received the bows of the tilt or cover. The cockeye is also known as a whiffletree tongue and was a connecting device on the whiffletree (the bar to which the traces of an animal's harness are connected and typically called either a singletree or doubletree). The wagon box straps were bolts used to attach the horizontal side boards to a wagon bed. The corner straps or corner irons tied wagon corners together.

Other wagon or carriage items included an iron spring, four carriage spring fragments and two intact springs, a wagon handle, an axle hub, a skein, and an iron band. The springs are all identified in the George Worthington Co. catalog as elliptic springs, commonly called leaf springs and would have supported the wagon body. The two intact springs, however, were rather light weight, listed as supporting only 550 pounds (Spivey 1979:10). Several of the artifacts involved the wheel assembles. The skein is a metal strengthening band (sometimes called a thimble) that fit over the wooden arm of the axle and preventing wear to the wood. Although different in style, the axle band accomplished the same function. The axle hub was a style known as the Warner with a Rouse band for insertion of the individual spokes. Such hubs are illustrated in the 1909 George Worthington catalog (Spivey 1979:99), as well as the 1902 Sears catalog. By 1909, however, Sears was no longer providing hubs, only complete wheels.

There were a range of other hardware items that are likely – though not positively – associated with wagons, including threaded rods, rivets, cotter pins, and bolts.

The last item in this category was the barn door hanger – a roller device that allowed barn doors to be rolled open on a track. These were apparently common items, being found in a variety of catalogs with the designs becoming more intricate over time. The items from the 38RD1262 privy much more closely resemble the styles found in the earlier Sears catalogs, when the price would have been about .27¢ ($5.40 in 2002$). By the early 1920s, similar devices would have cost around $2.50 ($26.32 in 2002$).

Labor – Industrial

In this category are generally tools other than those distinctly agricultural in nature. For the 38RD1262 privy, level 1 produced only one artifact falling into this category – a fragment of a brass (and wood) folding rule. These were common and are found in catalogs from at least

1902 through 1932. The price ranged from about .15¢ in 1902 ($3.00 in 2002$) to 60¢ in 1932 ($7.89 in 2002$).

Labor – Other

A range of seemingly unidentifiable items – or items not conveniently placed elsewhere – are included in this category.

There were 8 railroad spikes ranging in size from 5¼ to 6-inches in length and an additional 29 fragments. These were likely salvaged from the nearby railroad lines, although their use on a tenant farm is uncertain.

There were 45 fragments of unidentifiable iron, iron bar, and fragmentary iron pieces. Also recovered were 47 iron wire fragments ranging from .05-inch to .20-inch. The nine copper wire fragments were in the thinner end of this range, from .05-inch to .11 inch.

There were two lead strips, four copper strips, and three fragments of melted lead. Also recovered were 27 fragments of strap iron, ranging from ½ to 1-inch in width and probably representing banding (for example, banding such as this would have been used on ginned cotton or on boxes of supplies sent by rail.

Finally, there are a few somewhat more identifiable items – or at least items that are recognizable. In this category are three gears – two iron and one brass – ranging in size from just under 1-inch to almost 1¼-inch. There is one brass pump hose band, clamped to about ½-inch diameter, which might have been an air or water hose clamp. There are two fragments of leather belting with brass staples. Such belting might have been used on some types of farm equipment. A total of 30 hard rubber fragments were identified, all apparently from some type of box or cover.

The last item is an 11-inch wheel with thin wire spokes. Originally it would have had a thin, hard rubber tire. We have found similar wheels on two different items – the 1932 Belknap catalog illustrates the "Pullman-Lloyd Loom Woven baby carriage" with wheels that are identical in size and description. The cost of this item would have been $36.00 ($474.00 in 2002$). The status of such an item is far beyond what we would ordinarily expect of a tenant. Alternatively, the 1923 Bering-Cortes catalog shows an "Express Wagon" with wheels this same size. This wagon would have cost about $4 ($42.00 in 2002$). While this is certainly more affordable, and could have been acquired second-hand to further reduce its cost, it still seems above the status of tenants. It is possible that the wheel represents nothing more than an item salvaged, at least temporarily, from the trash.

Level 2

Level 2 produced only 111 artifacts – far less than from Level 1. In addition, the artifacts in Level 2 are in most respects similar to those previously discussed.

Foodways – Procurement

A single 12-gauge shotgun shell was recovered. As with Level 1, this was a paper shell with a copper cap stamped, "U.M.C. Co. / No. / 12 / NITROCLUB." The Union Metallic Co. was incorporated in 1867 and combined with Remington to form Remington-UMC in 1911. Consequently, this cartridge likely pre-dates 1911.

Foodways – Service

There are only four artifacts in this category – three undecorated whiteware ceramics and a bone utensil handle fragment. Both items have long histories of use and do not provide temporal data. The whiteware fragments represent a single 8-inch diameter plate.

Foodways – Storage

This assemblage exhibits some diversity, including a single Albany slip stoneware fragment of indeterminate function, and two fragments that mend to represent a milk glass canning jar liner. Also present is a zinc canning jar lid.

More common than canning jar remains are can fragments, suggesting the importance of canned foods. Recovered are remains of seven cans – two hole-in-cap lid fragments with diameters of 2⅜ and 1¾-inches, two bases with diameters of 2 and 2⅛-inches, one stamped lid with a diameter of 4¼-inches, and two rectangular bases.

There are remains of eight bottles, at least four of which are alcohol bottles. These include two clear flasks, one manganese flask, and one clear flask with the "C.L.F.G. Co." mark. This is the C.L. Flaccus Glass Company of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania (Huggins 1971:10).

The remaining bottles may have held condiments – one light green, two aqua, and one clear. None identify the contents.

Clothing – Other

In this category are four fragments of shoe sole leather, exhibiting nail and brass brads.

Household/Structural – Architectural

Twenty-five nails were recovered, including 23 cut nails (92%) and two (8%) wire nails. Although the collection is much smaller than found in Level 1, cut nails are even more common, suggesting an 1850-1874 date according to Cabak and Inkrot (1997:75). While it is interesting that the proportion of cut nails increases with the depth of the privy, the collection seems too small to place a great deal of trust in the result. Moreover, we are seeing not the original structure, but a secondary deposit of trash. It may be that older building components were being replaced – with the earlier debris discarded in the privy. Regardless, the data does support a late nineteenth century origin for the structure.

Household/Structural – Furnishings

In this category are nine fragments of a milk glass light fixture. These match fragments found in Level 1, indicating some degree of mixing between the various levels.

Also recovered is the tin oil fount (or reservoir) of a lantern. Lanterns were illustrated in virtually all catalogs of the period, ranging in price from .45¢ to .60¢ in the 1902 Sears catalog ($9.00 to $12.00 in 2002$). By 1925 the Schafer catalog priced similar lanterns at $1.34 to $2.08 ($13.80 to $21.40 in 2002$). Regardless of the period, these lanterns were not inexpensive and would have represented a considerable investment to a tenant. While they could be used inside, they were specifically designed for working environments, with larger oil reservoirs and relatively large wicks.

Personal – Medicinal

This category produced four bottles – two panel bottles (one light green and one aqua), neither with any embossing; one blue glass medicine bottle, and one clear glass jar marked, "CHESEBROUGH MFG. CO. / VASELINE." This jar is identical to a specimen from Level 1 and likely post-dates 1908.

Personal – Recreational

Level 2 produced two recreational items – one is white porcelain doll arm or leg fragment. The other is the remains of a ribbed kaolin pipe bowl. The 1902 Sears catalog does not illustrate a single kaolin pipe and corn cob pipes could be had for only .02¢ (.40¢ in 2002$) while various brier pipes began at only .14¢ ($2.80 in 2002$). It seems likely that this was an heirloom specimen, although it is possible that

kaolin pipes continued to be offered in small general stores.

Labor – Agricultural

This collection includes a variety of utilitarian items associated with farm activities. A harness buckle is the only tack item. The three rivets are illustrated by various catalogs with various wagon hardware such as fifth wheels, corner irons, whiffletree tips, and carriage steps – suggesting a common function. The iron bracket is likely wagon related, although its exact function is unknown. The corn shovel is similar to those found in Level 1, as are the chain link and bucket handle.

Other

In this category are various rubber fragments, probably from a hose, a wire fragment, a leather band with a brass clamp, four railroad spikes, a piece of strap metal, and several unidentified iron fragments.

Level 3

Level 3 contained 125 specimens – a slightly higher density than Level 2. The collection, however, closely resembles both Levels 1 and 2.

Foodways – Procurement

A single 12 gauge shotgun shell was recovered. The head stamp reveals, "U.M.C. CO. / No / 12 / NEWCLUB." The Union Metallic Co. was incorporated in 1867 and combined with Remington to form Remington-UMC in 1911. Consequently, this cartridge likely pre-dates 1911.

Foodways – Service

The two undecorated whitewares recovered represent an oval server. The three white porcelain ceramics represent a cup, saucers, and another server. Also present were two tumblers – one of clear glass and the other of ribbed manganese glass. The final items are all thin tin, at one time enameled, and represent a plate, cup, and bowl.

While small, this assemblage seems very typical of tenants. While catalogs such as the 1902 Sears tend to illustrate complete sets, almost all include oval serving platters and several are white porcelain. It seems likely, however, that some may have purchased their crockery directly from local merchants as individual pieces. Even Sears, however, offered enameled ware as individual pieces, with bowls costing about .18¢, plates about .13¢, and cups .11¢ ($3.60, $2.60, and $2.20 in 2002$ respectively). Individual tumblers in 1902 cost about .28¢ or $5.60 in 2002$.

Foodways – Storage

This assemblage included a Albany slip stoneware lid to a jar or crock, as well as the remains of five food cans – all with sanitary or stamped lids ranging in size from 2½ to 6-inches.

The glass containers present include three S.C. Dispensary bottles – one light green flask, one manganese flask, and one manganese Jo-Jo flask. Also present were the remains of single brown, aqua, and clear bottles. The collection also included a wire bottle closure.

Clothing – Other

These remains consist of one leather sole fragment, as well as six body fragments, each with grommets, indicating a boot form. At least two pairs are probably present.

Household – Architectural

Only 11 nails were recovered from this level; 6 or 54.5% were cut, the remainder were wire.

Household – Hardware

The single item in this category is an agate ware door knob. Such knob sets in the 1902 Sears catalog cost only .06¢ -- considerably less than the "Electro Bronze Plated Ornamental" knobs that sold for .24¢ ($1.20 and $4.80 respectively in 2002$).

Household – Furnishings

The only item in this category are fragments of a milk glass ceiling light fixture that matches the remains found in both Levels 1 and 2.

Personal – Medicine

In this category are four bottles – one is a light blue, marked on the base, "W.T. & Co. / A / U.S.A. / PAT. JAN. 18 1898." This mark was used by Whitall-Tatum and Company until 1935, providing a date range from its patent date of 1898 until the maker's mark changed in 1935 (Toulouse 1971:544).

Also present are two light green bottles and one clear bottle.

Labor – Agriculture

In this category are the remains of an ax head in the Kentucky pattern, a hoe fragment with ferrule, and an iron "open back" curry comb (Figure 47). Illustrated in the 1902 Sears catalog, such a curry comb cost only .03¢ (.60¢ in 2002$). The last item present is a brass rivet.

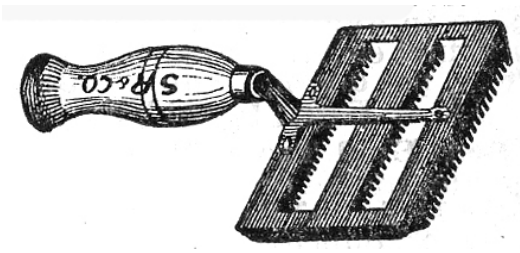

Figure 47. Open back curry comb (Sears, Roebuck 1902, pg. 414).

Other

As in the previous levels, Level 3 produced a railroad spike, several wire fragments, two brass strips, an iron ring, and a brass clamp, stamped "Harris Patent / C.R. Harris, Pat. Dec. 2, 1885."

Levels 4, 5, and 6

Level 4 produced 14 specimens, including an undecorated whiteware server, matching to remains in Level 3, tin can fragments, and one fragment of the milk glass light fixture found in Levels 1 through 3.

The only item from Level 5 was a fragment of undecorated whiteware – matching those found in Levels 4 and 5.

Level 6 produced only three artifacts – all machine cut nails.

Summary

The 38RD1262 privy produced a large assemblage and Figure 48 illustrates the date range of objects that have been recovered. We use the same strategy as has been proposed for South's Ceramic Bracketing Technique – creating a time line where the manufacturing spans of the various items are placed. The left bracket, or beginning period, is placed where at least half of the item bars touch or at the earliest ending date when that ending date does not overlap with the rest of the item bars. The right bracket, or ending date, is placed far enough to the right to touch at least the beginning of the latest type present (see South 1977:214 for a discussion of this technique as it applies to ceramics).

If we assume that the collection is representative of the materials present in and around the tenant structure, then the structure was abandoned about 1930, with the occupation perhaps beginning about 1895 – representing a span of about 35 years. What will also become

more apparent as the remains from the last site, 38RD1260, are discussed is that the 38RD1262 privy failed to incorporate any automobile parts, although a very large assemblage of wagon remains were recovered. For this date range we are discounting the importance of the two electrical items – these seem to be isolates and we are reluctant, with such a small assemblage, to assume occupation continued into the 1940s.

Consequently, the privy seems to document the use of the property under the primary ownership of Frank G. Tompkins, an absentee owner who held the tract from 1912 through 1935. Prior to Tomkins the property was held by Robert Fann, Jr., a small farmer. It seems that the tenants probably spanned both owners.

The pattern analysis for the privy is shown in Table 18 and is compared to several other examples. What is striking at first glance is the amount of variation seen in the different assemblages – perhaps calling into question the usefulness or meaning of the pattern process.

In fact, as each of these patterns is more carefully examined, we can identify at least some of the conscious or unconscious bias involved. For example, the 38RD1262 data, as often mentioned, represents a single feature. The pattern is derived from a secondary deposit and it seems unlikely that a great deal of architectural debris would have disposed in a privy. It seems likely that the pattern would change – and perhaps dramatically – if we had excavated or sampled with actual structure.

Figure 48. Datable objects in the 38RD1262 privy.

Table 18.
Pattern Analysis for the 38RD1262 Privy Compared to Other Tenant Sites.

Category	38RD1262 Privy	Millwood Tenant[1]	24 Tenant Farms in Aiken[2]	Finch Farm Tenant[3]	38BK397[4]	38HR131[5]	Sumter County Sites[6]
Foodways	58.4	88.6	19.7	58.9	79.5	79.9	79.0
Clothing	5.2	3.7	17.9	0.5	0.6	7.1	0
Household/Structural	24.8	2.8	59.8	34.2	19.5	4.8	11.0
Personal	3.3	3.6	2.2	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.3
Labor	8.3	1.3	0.3	5.1	0.2	7.7	9.7

[1] Orser 1988:235 (based on excavation of structure)
[2] Cabak and Inkrot 1997 (average of 24 tenant farms, based primarily on shovel testing)
[3] Joseph et al. 1991:172 (Locus D)
[4] Brockington et al. 1985:219
[5] Trinkley and Caballero 1983a:48
[6] Trinkley et al. 1985:39

The Millwood tenant pattern is perhaps even less representative. Although derived from several well defined and well documented tenant structures, Orser (1988:231) notes that only a few excavation units were placed at each of the sites and that virtually no yard areas were examined given the severe erosion. He does not, however, offer any explanation for the exceptionally low incidence of architectural remains. The sites apparently dated from ca. 1865 to ca. 1930.

The Aiken sample represents well documented tenant sites, but the artifacts are not collected from block excavations – only shovel testing. These tests were also laid out to bisect the structure, so it is possible that they over-represent architectural remains. The reliance on gridded shovel tests might also have resulted in under-representation of kitchen and food remains, since refuse dumps would not have been examined if not on the predefined grid. Again, the sites date from the postbellum, ca. 1875, to at least the 1930s and likely later.

The Finch tenant site may be one of the more representative samples since the collection reflects dispersed test units that examined several site areas. The site appears to date from the early to mid-twentieth century. Possibly affecting the assemblage, however, are agricultural practices and soil erosion typical of the Piedmont. It is, however, interesting to note that this site – which generally seems to reflect a broad spectrum of site areas – bears a close resemblance to the collection from the 38RD1262 privy.

The 38BK397 site collection was obtained from a heavily plowed field with no obvious architectural features. Artifacts date from the very late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. Brockington et al. (1985:236) note the low incidence of architectural remains and suggest that this may be the result of recycling by the impoverished tenants (or we suppose the recycling of these items by the owner). This pattern is almost identical to that offered by several other tenant studies. The 38HR131 research was conducted using a rear yard trash deposit at a standing tenant house. The scarcity of architectural remains is therefore easy to understand – the structure was still standing and the only architectural items were those resulting from replacement. Artifacts from this site dated at least into the 1930s. In the case

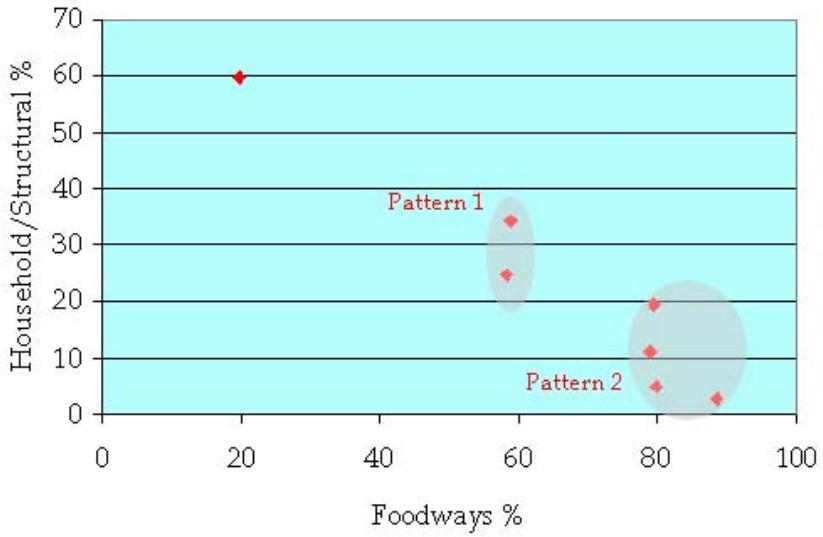

Figure 49. Scatter plot of different tenant patterns (see Table 18 for the data sources).

of the Sumter research, all of the data resulted from limited test unit excavation in agricultural fields. There was no clear evidence of structural remains (i.e., no standing remains or concentrations of brick) and the plowing likely produced rather homogenous deposits. The sites date from the very late nineteenth century through the first third of the twentieth century.

As a result, we have perhaps two tenant patterns. In one the household and structural remains are scarce, representing less than 20% of the assemblage, with a resulting high proportion of foodway remains (over 70%). Representatives of this include 38BK397, 38HR131, the Sumter County sites, and Millwood (see Figure 49, Pattern 2).

In the other pattern, represented by both 38RD1262 and the tenant occupation at Finch Farm, the foodway remains are more moderate, accounting for just under 60% of the assemblage, while the Household/Structural remains account for between 20 and 35% of the collection (see Figure 49, Pattern 1).

While the clusters seem tight and obviously distinct, what the differences mean is far from clear. We may be observing sampling bias, idiosyncratic variations, or perhaps distinctions in different patterns of tenancy. What is interesting is that the archaeological study of tenancy has stagnated since the 1990s and the differences in these various patterns have not been more aggressively examined.

Regardless of meaning, the pattern does reveal that the bulk of the artifacts present at 38RD1262 relate to food, or the tenants' efforts to obtain food. Adams and his colleagues (1980:297) as a result of both store ledgers and archaeological data noted that although food was underrepresented in the archaeological record, there was little doubt that tenants "concentrated their purchases mostly on food and clothing." For the 38RD1262 data, it seems that clothing is far more underrepresented than food-related items (although certainly food remains themselves are very scarce).

Although not easy to quantify, the collection from 38RD1262 does possess some characteristics that seem higher status than might be expected for tenants.

For example, the food chopper seems out of place. It is difficult to believe that a tenant in the first quarter of the twentieth century would possess a $25-$54 food processor. Similarly, the window shades appear to be an uncommon item – at least based on all of the tenant and depression era photography. Finally, the large quantity of wagon remains also seems somewhat out of character, although they might be dismissed as simply representing salvaged parts.

Table 19.
Vessel Forms at Tenant Sites, in %

Vessel Form	38RD1262	Millwood Tenant[1]	38BK397[2]	Waverly[3]
Flatware	55.9	39.1	39.7	54.5
Hollow ware	33.8	34.8	57.5	32.1
Serving	4.4			4.3
Storage	5.9	26.1	2.7	

[1] Orser 1988:242
[2] Brockington et al. 205
[3] Adams 1980:530

On the other hand, when the distribution of vessel motifs is examined, the assemblage is clearly dominated by plain, decalcomania, and striped examples, which account for 77.4% of the collection. More expensive motifs, such as transfer printed, hand painted, and gilt decorations are relatively uncommon, accounting for only 22.6% of the collection.

The collection is also dominated by flatwares, which account for 55.9% of the assemblage in Level 1. Hollow wares account for just over a third of the vessels (33.8%). Storage vessels contribute an additional 5.9%, followed by serving vessels at only 4.4%.

Unfortunately, analyses of tenant assemblages at this level of detail are relatively uncommon. Table 19 reveals the vessel forms for the Millwood tenants, the tenants identified at 38BK397, and for those at Waverly. Although the data is limited, the Millwood and 38BK397 data are vaguely similar to one another, but clearly distinct from the 38RD1262 privy collection. On the other hand, the Waverly data is surprisingly similar. Just as with the pattern analysis, it appears that a variety of factors may be affecting the vessel forms. This, and the very limited data available, suggests that further study of vessel forms at tenant sites is a worthwhile research goal.

The Waverly collection is also a near perfect match to the 38RD1262 data when vessel motifs are considered. While 77.4% of the 38RD1262 privy collection consisted of simple, inexpensive motifs, at Waverly 78.5% of the assemblage consisted of these same motifs. In contrast, 22.6% of the privy assemblage consisted of more expensive motifs. At Waverly these more expensive motifs comprised 21.4% of the collection.

Orser (1988:245) to some degree discounts the role archaeology can play in reconstructing tenancy, noting that architecture and settlement patterns were far more revealing than the artifacts, at least at Millwood. This may be true at some sites, but what this study suggests is that we have some considerable variations, as well as some notable consistencies when different tenant sites are compared and contrasted. Curiously, while archaeologists have sought, with some success, over the past several decades to explore the meanings of differences and similarities in plantation and slave records, no similar interest has been seen to critically examine tenancy.

38RD1260

The well from this site produced 6,370 artifacts – significantly more than from 38RD1262 (where 3,332 specimens were recovered). We believe the collection is not only large and representative, but that it also provides an excellent contrast to the remains from the 38RD1262 privy, where the specimens appear to be earlier. As revealed in Table 20 the feature was dominated by the Foodways category, which consists of over 74% of the assemblage. This is followed by the category of Household/Structural, largely architectural remains, which contributed nearly a quarter of the recovered artifacts. Clothing and Personal items combined are about equal to the Labor category, perhaps giving an impression of the rather bleak life of the tenant.

		Test Unit	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Level 12		
Foodways															**4725**	**74.2%**
	WW, undecorated	10	1	5	3	34	7	6	3	5	6	4	13	2		
	WW, molded			2	2	10	3	3			7	4	3			
	WW, decalcomania	3				4				3	2		1			
	WW, poly hand painted		2	4	3	14	1	1								
	WW, overglaze stripe					8	2	1								
	WW, gilt				1						1		1			
	WW, tinted					1										
	milk glass	3	3	1		10					9	15	17			
	SW, industrial	2			2	3	1	2		2	3		1			
	SW, alkaline		1								1					
	glass bowl				3	5										
	container glass, black	7	8	9	20	34	20	18	14	40	23	33	30	1		
	container glass, brn				1											
	container glass, olive green		3	9	5	11	10	9	6	3		6				
	container glass, lt gr	2		5	14	17	8	4	7	5	23	33	52			
	container glass, green	1				4	1	2	4	4	3	3	13			
	container glass, aqua						2									
	container glass, blue	34	85	101	347	824	245	306	179	272	141	108	96	22		
	container glass, clear								1		1	1				
	container glass, pink											1				
	container glass, manganese			1					2							
	container glass, milk glass		5	14	17	66	36	66	4	8	7		9			
	container glass, melted															
	wire bottle closures					1										
	glass canning jar lid					2										
	crown caps		1			13										
	twist-on tops		1			14	1					1	2			
	canning jar lid, milk glass					2										
	can keys	3	9	17	18	242	100	54	39	53	52	32	36	15		
	can frags							1					1			
	glass stopper					1	1		1	1	3		3			
	aluminum spout				1	4			1		3	4				
	friction top metal lid	1			2			6		3	6	1	1			
	jar lid, metal screw threads	3	1	4	8	1	8	3	4	2	4	13	1			
	canning jar lid cap, zinc							1								
	canning jar lid, metal			1			1				6					
	canning jar gasket															
	aluminum foil					2		2	1	1	2		1			
	spoon			1		1		1		1	2		2			
	fork										1					
	utensil handle					3										
	silver plated knob										1					
	tinware bowl				1	2	1						1			
	tinware plate	1														
	tinware dipper					1			1	2		1				
	tinware cup/frags		4													
	pot			1	1	1					1	1				
	wash basin					1							1			
	coffee boiler/pot/insert					1					1					
	tea kettle	1														
	muffin pan											1				
	pot lids					2	1									
	aluminum pan			2												
	frying pan			1												
	griddle			1												
	electric butter churn jar frags			1		7										
	shotgun shell	1				1				1	1	2	2			
	.22 caliber shell					5			4	1	5	1	3			
	.22 caliber bullet							3		1						
	.32 caliber shell					2		2								
Clothing															**291**	**4.6%**
	safety pins					2	1	1		1	1		1			
	buckles					6	1			2	1	1				
	suspender buckles					1	1	1	2	2						
	suspender/jeans buttons					3					1					
	snaps/hooks					1	2	9	3	9	6	1	4			
	buttons			3		6	5	9	3	9	6	3	4			
	scissors					1					1					
	shoe parts		3		3	50	11	29	15	27	26	17	20			
	nylons					1		1								
	belt frags					1			1				1			
	hanger fragment					1										
	sad iron											1				
Household/Structural															**849**	**13.3%**
	wrought nails					17						5	7			
	cut nails					121	14	56	30	43	46	35	23			
	wire nails	2		1	1	14	5	18	2	4	5	6	8	2		
	UID nails					5										
	spikes					1										
	staples					2										
	roofing nails					20	2	26	4	14	5	6	11			
	window glass					7	10	16	2	11	3	5	3	2		
	hinges						1	1			1					
	door knob/locks					1	1	1				1	1			
	other hardware							5	1	2	2	1	2			
	tacks					6										
	trunk parts			1												
	stove parts		1		3			1								
	dish pan			1												
	caster		1													
	wash tub				1											
	mirror					13	4		9	16	2	1	1			
	furniture springs					2	1	8	2	1						
	clock parts												2			
	bisque porcelain figurine												1	1		
	cash box			1												
	lamp/lantern parts			4												
	light receptacle		1									10	80			
	light bulb screw base/bulb glass															
	plug fuse								6	9						
	flue stopper					8	2	3	1		1		1			
Personal															**397**	**6.2%**
	feminine hygiene syringes					2										
	ointment container frags											1	1			
	blue glass container			1		1		1	6			1	1			
	green container					2					3					
	clear glass container			5	8	153	15	8	9	5	1	1	7			
	brown glass container			1	1	2	1				7	11	7			
	milk glass container			5	2			2	3	3	1	1	5			
	light green glass container							2	2		4		1			
	brown glass container		2	4						13		1				
	lipstick tube									1						
	toothbrush					1							1			
	metal lid					1	2									
	plastic lid					1	1		2							
	tin container					2	1		1							
	metal tobacco can frags			1		6					2	1				
	bisque/porcelain doll parts					2										
	ice skate		1													
	brass token					1										
	toy gun					1					1	1	1			
	toy diner/tea set pieces					2		1								
	stroller frags								2	2	3					
	marble					1						1				
	piggy bank frag					1										
	plastic comb frag								1							
	jewelry frag					3				1						
	pocket knife										1					
	pencil/eraser					1				2	1	1				
	flashlight frags												1			
	battery frags					1		1								
Labor															**70**	**1.1%**
	oil can					1										
	wire frags		2	1		2			1							
	bucket parts		1			1	1				1					
	barrel straps					2		2	4							
	scale beam					1			1	6		1				
	iron handles					3										
	horse/mule shoe					1										
	tack/plow hardware					1										
	horse rasp					1										
	hoe					1										
	plow part					1										
	manure fork											1				
	iron container lid				1							1	1			
	penknife container				1											
	chain frags					2					2					
	padlock parts										1					
	misc. hardware					4			1							
	railroad spikes					1										
	clay flower pot frags					2				2						
	rubber hose		1		1	1										
Other															**38**	**0.6%**
	UID parts		2										3			
	bicycle parts							1	1	1	2					
	Automobile parts			2		10		3	1			4	1			
TOTALS		**72**	**140**	**194**	**484**	**1839**	**570**	**707**	**387**	**595**	**457**	**384**	**496**	**45**	**6370**	

Because of the very large (and we believe representative) assemblage, some effort will again be spent in reviewing the collection. The discussions below will examine each of the categories, further subdividing the assemblage.

Level 1

Foodways – Preparation

This subcategory includes a single specimen – the remains of a thin white enameled tea kettle with a wire handle. A nearly identical kettle is illustrated in the 1925 Schafer catalog, where it was being sold for $1.33 ($13.60 in 2002$).

Figure 50. Enameled ware tea kettle (The Schafer Company, 1926, p. 616).

Foodways – Service

Recovered were one decalcomania whiteware, two poly hand painted whitewares, fragments of a milk glass plate, and the remains of a straight sided tinware cup.

None of these items offer especially sensitive dating. The decalcomania post-dates 1901 and has been given a mean ceramic date of 1926. Otherwise, these remains are typical of items spanning much of the twentieth century.

Table 21.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 1

	Milk	Soda	Food	Canning	Alcohol	UID
Clear	1	1	7	4	1	3
Brown					1	
Lt. Green		1	1			
Totals	1	2	8	4	2	3

Foodways – Storage

In this collection are the remains of at least 20 glass containers, itemized in Table 21. Containers used for food account for three-quarters of the collection, while those associated with alcohol are far less common – accounting for only 10% of the collection.

One of the clear containers had the base mark of the Knox Glass Bottle Co. of Mississippi, dating from 1932 to 1953 (Toulouse 1971:271). Another clear glass container was marked with "AHK," used by the Alexander H. Kerr & Co. of Los Angeles for food containers other than fruit jars. This mark post-dates 1944 (Toulouse 1971:44). A final container has the mark of the Hazel-Atlas Glass Co., dating from 1920 to 1964 (Toulouse 1971:239).

The two soda bottles represent a silk screened Pepsi-Cola with a Columbia, South Carolina base mark, and a silk screened Royal Crown. The Pepsi bottle likely dates, based on the colors and Columbia plant stamp from about 1940 to the mid-1950s, at which time the blue color was dropped from the silk screening process (Jeter 1987:61-62). The Royal Crown bottle probably dates from about 1935 to as late as 1959 (Jeter 1987:66).

One of the brown bottles thought to be associated with alcohol has a base stamp of Duraglas that would have been used from 1940 through 1954 (Toulouse 1971:403). The other bottle has a stamp for the Thatcher Manufacturing Company. Unfortunately the mark was used from 1900 on (Toulouse

1971:496). Fortunately, this bottle is also embossed, "Federal Law Prohibits Sale or Reuse of this Bottle," dating it from 1932 to 1964.

A light green condiment jar has a base stamp of the Pierce Glass Co. of St. Mary's, Pennsylvania, used from 1905 to 1917 – making this perhaps the oldest item recovered from Level 1 and far older than any of the other recovered items.

A single milk glass canning jar lid liner and a zinc jar lid were recovered. Post-dating 1869, this style continued in use through the 1930s, gradually being replaced by Kerr's lacquered metal lids (Toulouse 1977:96).

The fragment of alkaline glaze stoneware represents a bottle form. Since this pottery is typically dated from the 1820s through the 1890s (Greer 1981:264), its presence here suggests a heirloom piece. The plastic twist-on lid likely post-dates 1930.

The can fragments reveal six food cans, ranging in diameter from 2½ to 4½ inches. All have double side seams. One has its top half cut open and folded back to allow access to the contents. Another had its top completely removed, again by a knife. Also present were two "sardine" cans – each rectangular but ranging in size from 2¾ by 1½ inches to 4⅛ by 3-inches. Two have their lids opened with a knife on three sides and lid peeled back.

A final can, also rectangular, measures 2¾ by 1½ inches and has a height of 2 inches. Based on the shape and size, this appears to be a spice container.

Clothing – Other

The three specimens in this category include a rubber shoe heel with a red rubber sole fragment, a leather heel fragment with nails, and a leather inner sole fragment with nails and brads.

Household – Furnishings

The single item in this category was an iron washing pan with a 13 inch diameter. Similar pans are found in the 1926 Schafer catalog, costing about $2.00 ($20.40 in 2002$) and by 1938 Sears was offering such a pan for only .78¢ ($10.00 in 2002$).

Personal – Recreational

One of the more unusual items recovered was an ice skate. Not only does this seem to be an odd item for anyone in Richland County, where freezes sufficient to allow the use of an ice skate are extremely rare, but this particular skate was designed to be nailed to a skating boot and would have been more expensive than a detachable skate. For example, the 1938 Sears catalog advertises detachable or "clamp" skates for as little as 96¢ ($12.30 in 2002$). Skate boots, however, sold for no less than $2.69 ($34.50 in 2002$) and some for as much as $7.69 ($98.60 in 2002$). The 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog illustrates only a skating boot, priced at $3.95 ($55.00 in 2002$). We are surprised to find this in a tenant assemblage.

Personal – Other

Only two items – both Clorox bottles – are found in this category. One is embossed Duraglas and includes an Owens Illinois Glass Company stamp, dating from 1940 to 1954 (Toulouse 1971:403). The style of container, however, can be more precisely dated to the five year period from 1945 to 1950, based on information provided by the Clorox Company. A second bottle, while lacking any distinguishing manufacturing stamp, is also dated to the 1945-1950 period by Clorox.

Agriculture – Labor

Only three specimens fall into this category. One is a fragment of barbed wire, another is a rubber hose fragment marked

"Carolina Rubber Hose." This company, also known today as HBD Industries, is located in Salisbury, North Carolina and was founded in 1940. The final item is a can lug, similar to those found on paint cans.

Level 2

Foodways – Procurement

The single procurement artifact from Level 2 is a shotgun shell base stamped, "REM-UMC/No./12/SHURSHOT." The Remington Arms Company merged with Union Metallic Cartridge Company in 1911, forming REM-UMC until 1934, when DuPont bought out REM-UMC as well as Peters to Form the Remington Arms Company as it exists today.

Foodways – Preparation

The two artifacts in this category include a bowl from a ladle consisting of a thin stamped metal with a rolled rim and a tin iron pot rim consistent with a cooking pot.

The ladle is similar to those found in catalogs such as the 1933 Montgomery Ward varying in price from .09 to .23¢ ($1.25 to $3.19 in 2002$). A similar white enameled covered kettle is found in the same catalog for .72¢ ($10.00 in 2002$).

Foodways – Service

This assemblage consists of an undecorated whiteware saucer and cup, a molded whiteware plate and bowl, and two polychrome hand-painted whiteware plates. One of these has the maker's mark of Southern Potteries, Inc. in Erwin, Tennessee. Although the company was in business from 1917 to 1957, this particular mark appears to have been used in the 1930s (Lage 2004:316; Lehner 1988:433).

Also present is a milk glass cup, a clear glass mug, and two tumblers. Tumblers were being offered for as little as a dozen for .39¢ ($5.20 in 2002$) in the 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog. Mugs, however, were far more expensive, selling for .79¢ each ($11.00 in 2002$). Tumblers were still only .39¢ ($5.00 in 2002$) a dozen in the 1938 Sears catalog.

Foodways – Storage

In this category is a single zinc canning jar lid. As previously mentioned, this style of canning lid was gradually going out of fashion by the 1930s, slowly being replaced by the lacquered metal Kerr-style lids.

The commercial production of aluminum foil began in the 1920s, replacing the tin-lead foil used to wrap tea, candy, gum, and cigarettes. It wasn't, however, until 1947 that Reynolds Wrap Aluminum Foil was introduced. The function of small fragment present in this assemblage cannot be identified.

There are 45 bottles represented in the collection, itemized in Table 22. As with Level 1, alcohol-related containers represent a very low proportion of the collection (about 9% in this level) and the majority are food related.

Table 22.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 2

	Milk	Soda	Food	Canning	Alcohol	Extract	UID
Clear	2	4	23	6	1	2	
Brown					3		
Lt. Green		1					1
Green		2					
Totals	2	7	23	6	4	2	1

Two milk bottles are present. One is very fragmentary and provides no identification. The other has, in green silk screen, "Harm__/Dairy."

Included in the soda bottles are two Pepsi-Cola examples, identical to those found in Level 1 and dating from 1940 to the mid-1950s. Another was Double Cola, which was first introduced in 1933. Jeter (1987:48), however, dates this brand in Columbia from 1941 through 1951. Also found was a Sun Crest bottle. Although the line was introduced by The National NuGrape Co. of Atlanta in 1938, Jeter (1987:69) suggests that it was not being bottled in South Carolina until the 1950s. Given the proximity of Atlanta and the absence of a bottling plant identification, it seems that this bottle can only be used to indicate a post-1938 date.

The single light green soda bottle was silk screened in yellow and red, "Royal Crown" and is identical to the example from Level 1. Introduced in 1935 by Nehi, Jeter (1987:66) dates the bottle from 1935 to 1959.

Figure 51. Advertisement for Sun Crest.

The two green bottles are both Seven Up and both have bottom stamps for the Columbia, SC bottler. Jeter (1987:67) notes that this plant was not active until about 1950. This is consistent with one of the glass company marks which Toulouse (1971:403) dates from 1940 to 1954.

The six identifiable canning jar fragments are all embossed. One is embossed "Cro[wn Mason]" which Toulouse (1977:19) specifies post-dates 1910, with no terminal date specified. A specimen marked only "Ball" is identified by Toulouse (1977:5) as a very common mark, occurring from 1888 to the present. The specimen with "Ball/Perfect/ Mason" dates from about 1915 (Toulouse 1977:7). Three marks, "SE__," "Trade __ Mason," and "McConnell," were not identified.

The one clear alcohol bottle is embossed "HALF-PINT" and the statement, "Federal Law Forbids Sale or Re-Use of This Bottle," dates the specimen from 1932 through 1964. The three brown bottles are all consistent with "long neck" beer bottles, although none can be identified to a specific brand. Two, however, have identifiable base stamps. One, with Duraglas and the Owens-Illinois mark, dates from 1940 through 1954 (Toulouse 1971:403). The other has the stamp of Brockway Glass Co., used since 1925 (Toulouse 1971:59-61).

There are two extract or flavorings bottles. One is a clear panel bottle embossed "Sauer." Although the company was founded in 1887, it seems likely that this bottle is probably post-1927, by which time the company had become the largest producer of extracts and spices in the country. The other container, also clear, has a beveled ideal style base and a sheared ring neck finish. On the base is the mark of the Knox Glass Bottle Company (also found in Level 1), dating from 1928 through 1968 (Toulouse 1971:293).

The 23 food containers represent a variety of foodstuffs, although very few can be

specifically identified. Five containers are almost certainly for coffee, probably dating from WWII. Ward notes that glass coffee jars "became a familiar wartime substitute for the metal can" and that the jars were "made of Owens-Illinois 'Duraglas,' . . . in a standardized shape used by many coffee producers" (Ward 1994:194). Characteristics were the pebbled glass above and below the paper label, as well as the shape. These containers have Owens-Illinois Pacific Coast Co. base stamps indicating dates between 1929 and 1954 and from 1932 to the present (Toulouse 1871:403, 406).

Two other containers have base stamps of "DES. PAT. 20277/L.G.W./4 A 45 15." The L.G.W. is the stamp for the Laurens Glass Works in Laurens, South Carolina, used since 1911. Although the Design Patent number has the potential for providing additional information, this number is not associated with the container and may reflect either a misstamp or other error.

One container represents a Dukes Mayonnaise jar. This brand was originated in 1917 by Mrs. Eugenia Duke of Greenville. It was originally used in her sandwiches being sold to soldiers at nearby Camp Sevier, but became so popular that she began producing it for local trade. She sold out to the C.F. Sauer Company in 1929. The specimen from Level 2 likely post-dates acquisition by Sauer.

A container has a base stamp of "Anchorglas" and the symbol for Anchor Hocking Glass Corp., used since 1946. Another has the Anchor Hocking stamp using since 1938 (Toulouse 1971:46, 48).

Other base stamps identified include one for the Lummis Glass Co. of New York, used from 1940 through 1955 (Toulouse 1971:335) and one for the Owens Illinois Glass Co. used from 1940-1954 (Toulouse 1971:403).

The collection also included nine cans, ranging in diameter from 2½ to 4½ inches. A single rectangular aluminum can was also present. Stamped on the base was "NORWAY," probably reflecting the use of the container for sardines or a similar fish. Aluminum was first used for food cans in 1957, suggesting that this can is one of the most recent artifacts in the assemblage.

Household/Structural – Architectural

This collection produced a single wire nail, 30d in size.

Household/Structural – Furnishing

The single specimen in this category is a metal trunk lock.

Personal -- Medicinal

The assemblage includes two medicine bottles – one of blue glass and another of clear glass. The blue glass bottle is stamped, "MADE / IN U.S.A." Although we have not been able to document when this phrase was first used, we have been able to determine that it was being used at least by 1940.

Also present is a milk glass ointment jar, although no manufacturer is indicated.

The final item is a brown glass bottle with a metal lid. The base mark is Vicks Va-Tro-Nol. Fike (1987:184) reveals that the product was introduced in 1931 and was marketed to be used at the first warning signs of a cold "to aid nature's own defenses against colds" (Ward 1994:218). The identical bottle is illustrated in a 1955 *Saturday Evening Post* advertisement with the statement that its use will, "open up your nose – *in seconds*." The 1938 Sears catalog also illustrates the product and notes that the "50¢ size" sells for .39¢ ($5.00 in 2002$) and the "30¢ size" sells for .24¢ ($3.08 in 2002$).

Personal – Cosmetic

This subcategory includes five bottles, four of clear glass and one of milk glass. The

milk glass specimen, while likely a hand cream, could not be identified in any available catalogs. A clear glass container likewise could not be identified, but probably represents a scented cream, given the stylized flowers and leaves on the side edges and along the base of the container.

One bottle matches the style illustrated in a 1952 McKesson catalog for Breck, and probably contained shampoo or hairdressing. Another bottle matches items in the 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog advertised as "beautifying" and "liquefying" creams – today generally called "cold creams" and used for moisturizing and removing makeup. Prices in the various ads ranged from about .49¢ to .55¢ ($6.80 to $7.60 in 2002$). The container has a base stamp for the Hazel-Atlas Glass Company, used from 1920 through 1964 (this same mark is found in Level 1; Toulouse 1971:239).

The final bottle has "Revlon" embossed on its base. Based on the size and shape of the bottle it would have been used for make-up, likely foundation. The company was formed in 1932, but no firmer date is possible.

Personal – Recreational

The single item in this subcategory is a non-hinged tobacco can similar to those reported from 38RD1262. By 1933 Montgomery Ward was selling the ½-pound can for .49¢ ($6.80 in 2002$).

Personal – Other

Two Clorox bottles were recovered from Level 2. One is too fragmentary to date beyond the fact that it is post-1929 (when Clorox was introduced). The other is a half-gallon jug and this size was not introduced until 1939. Fortunately, this particular bottle also has a base mark for Owens-Illinois Pacific Coast Co., which Toulouse (1971:406) dates from 1932 to 1943. Consequently, this particular bottle is very tightly dated from 1939 to 1943.

Other

In this category there are two automobile parts. One is a gasket and threaded shield for a headlight bulb, the other is a reflector shield for a headlight bulb. Both parts are aluminum, but no firm date was possible.

Level 3

Foodways – Preparation

This level produced a range of kitchen items, providing a view of the occupants' cooking habits. Present were the remains of a handled griddle and an iron frying pan. Both were typical of southern cooking – the griddle often being used to fry corn bread and the skillet or frying pan best known for the ubiquitous fried chicken (among other dishes). The 1938 Sears catalog reveals that griddles could be purchased for as little as .37¢ ($4.87 in 2002$) and the skillet might have cost as little as .69¢ ($8.85 in 2002$).

Other stove-top cooking utensils included a gray enameled pot with a wire bail handle. This would have been used for preparing soups, vegetables, or other one-pot meals. Sears would have sold this for about .48¢ ($6.15 in 2002$). There were also two aluminum pans – one a ½-quart "Windsor sauce pan," the other a handle to a much larger (perhaps 8-10 quarts) sauce pan. The ½-quart sauce pan is not offered in aluminum by Sears, but the 1955 Belknap catalog suggests a price of about .75¢ ($5.00 in 2002$). A larger sauce pan might have cost as much as $2.00 ($26.00 in 2002$) – representing a rather significant cash outlay.

Also present was an enameled tinware 4-quart mixing bowl. These are called pudding pans in the 1938 Sears catalog and cost about .59¢ for the size identified ($7.50 in 2002$).

The last two items represent the same type of item, although at different ends of the technological spectrum. One is an Albany slip

stoneware lid to a butter churn. These were common devices in the rural kitchen, allowing the production of home churned butter if the occupants either had a milk cow, or had access to raw milk. They are common in catalogs until 1930 – after which time they almost immediately become impossible to find. While being advertised, a complete 3-gallon churn cost about $1.30 ($26.00 in 2002$). At the other end of the spectrum are the remains of the glass jar used with an electric churn. The remains from Level 3 (with matches extending into Levels 4 and 5) are identical to the jar illustrated in the 1955 Belknap catalog costing $8.91 ($60.00 in 2002$). While not present in the collection, the electric churn itself would have cost $48.66 (not including the jar; $328.58 in 2002$).

This artifact not only tells us that the resident had electricity, but also considerable free income. There were less expensive churns; for example, the same 1955 Belknap catalog reveals that a hand churn with a smaller capacity (8 quarts) would cost only $7.19 ($48.26 in 2002$). This suggests that the occupants specifically wanted or needed a large capacity churn – perhaps because of an exceptionally large family or, more likely, because they were selling butter to neighbors who did not have access to a churn or found it more convenient to purchase this product. Consequently, the evidence of an electric churn at 38RD1262 may provide evidence of a cottage industry.

Foodways – Service

The ceramics identified in Level 3 are similar to those found above in Levels 1 and 2. Present are two undecorated whiteware cups, one undecorated whiteware plate, one molded whiteware saucer (matching a specimen in Level 2), one polychrome hand painted whiteware plate (also matching a specimen in Level 2), one green stamped whiteware plate, one decalcomania whiteware plate, and one decalcomania whiteware oval server. Consequently, the collection consists of four plates, one saucer, two cups, and one server. Although a small collection, it is beginning to clearly demonstrate the importance of flatwares.

One of the ceramics (the floral decalcomania plate) had the mark of the Cannonsburg Pottery. The company operated

Figure 52. Gem Dandy Electric Churn and Duraglas jar for churn (Belknap 1955, pg. 569).

from 1901 through 1978 and the mark is variously dated as being used in the 1930s (Lehner 1988:74-76) and 1952-1954 (with the specific pattern identified; Lage 2004:57).

There were also several glassware items, including one tumbler, a clear glass bowl with a scalloped rim and vertical ribs, and translucent green ("Jade-ite") bowl. The two bowls might have been used for mixing, but were likely intended to be used for serving.

Foodways – Storage

Level 3 produced a large collection (n=82) of glass containers and, for the first time, we see a significant quantity of alcohol containers (representing about 27% of the total collection). Food (including condiment) and canning containers, however, continue to represent the bulk of the collection (49%).

Many of these bottles have dating characteristics similar or identical to those already noted for Levels 1 and 2. For example, several of the alcohol bottles are embossed "Federal Law Forbids . . . " indicating a date range of 1932 through 1964. Identified base stamps include Anchor Hocking Glass Corp. (1938 on; found previously), Armstrong Cork Co. Glass Division (1939-1969; Toulouse 1971:24), Brockway Machine Bottling Co. (1925 on; found previously), Fairmont Glass Works, Inc. (1945-1960; Toulouse 1971:200-201), Knox Glass Bottling Co. (1924-1964; found previously), Knox Glass Bottle Co. of Mississippi (1932-1953; found previously), Owens Illinois Glass Co. (1932-1943, 1929-1954; found previously), and Owens-Illinois Pacific Coast Co. (1932-1943; found previously).

Table 23.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 3

	Soda	Food	Canning	Alcohol	Extract	UID
Clear	8	19	20	8	2	1
Brown		1		11	1	1
Lt. Green	2					
Green	2			2		
Olive Green				1		3
Totals	12	20	20	22	3	5

In addition to the bottle maker's marks, there were also some containers with information concerning the products. One of two identifiable alcohol containers is a clear bottle with the base embossed, "Berry Bros. & Co." This is Berry Brothers & Rudd, wine and alcohol merchants dating from 1699. Their best known brand is Cutty Sark blended whisky, introduced in 1923. The other is a green bottle with the remnants of paper and foil label for the Atlantic Ale, produced by the Atlantic Company. The Atlantic Company was founded in Atlanta in 1867 as The City Brewery, eventually becoming The Atlantic Company in 1937, eventually ceasing business in 1956. During this period they were based in Charlotte, North Carolina. Advertised as "The Beer of the South," Atlantic was the largest regional brewery in the South during the 1940s, producing a pilsner-style ale.

Although no brand is indicated, one of the green beer bottles is embossed, "No Deposit No Return." These "one-way" bottles were first introduced by Owens-Illinois in 1935 and were more quickly adopted by beer brewers than by soda bottlers (where consumer resistance wasn't overcome until the 1960s).

Soft drinks include three Double Cola, a Coca-Cola, a Royal Crown, and a Pepsi. The Double Cola, found previously, has been dated from 1941 to 1951 (Jeter 1987:48). The Coca-Cola bottle is the "Mae West" style, introduced in 1915. The base of the bottle reveals that it was bottled in Chester, South Carolina, which ceased production in 1936. The glass manufacturer's mark, however, was used only from 1932 through 1943 (Toulouse 1971:406), indicating that the bottle was produced from 1932 through 1936. The Royal Crown bottle, produced by the Columbia bottling plant, is dated by Jeter (1971:66) only as ca. 1955. The Pepsi bottle, like the others found at this site, dates from the 1940s through the 1950s, based on the inclusion of red, white, and blue silk screen printing (Jeter 1971:61-62).

The only food product specifically identified was Dukes Mayonnaise, also reported from Level 2.

Level 3 also produced 18 cans. Fifteen of these are round food cans, typically with sanitary seals. The sizes range from 2¼ to 4½ inches. One of these cans revealed a partially intact painted red and white checkerboard label easily identifiable as Dinty Moore® Beef Stew. This product was introduced by Hormel Foods in 1935 (Spam® followed in 1937).

Figure 53. Canning jar gaskets (Bering-Cortes Catalog, 1923, p. 456).

The cans exhibit evidence of being opened both with knives – revealing jagged start-stop edges – and with can openers – revealing a uniform cut.

One of the cans was a "sifting top canister" for spices. Two other cans were rectangular – typical "sardine" cans.

Also recovered was a friction top lid, characteristic of cocoa cans, as well as a twist-on lid with a paper liner.

In addition to the previously mentioned 20 canning jars, there were also four zinc canning jar lids and one metal lid. This level also produced a red rubber gasket or preserve jar seal (Figure 52).

The single specimen of Bristol slip stoneware is a crock form.

Clothing – Fasteners

In this subcategory are three mother-of-pearl shell buttons. One is ⅝-inch in diameter with two holes in a fish eye pattern. This was a common style, illustrated in the 1938 Montgomery Ward catalog as selling for .09¢ for a card of 12 ($1.15 in 2002$). Another button is 4-hole, ¾ -inch in diameter. The final example is 13/16-inch in diameter; its 2-holes are placed close to the edge.

Clothing – Other

This collection includes three fragments of a child's right shoe, size 12. Enough was present to help identify the style, a very simple five eyelet oxford style. This style is illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog for .89¢ ($11.40 in 2002$).

Figure 54. "Neat Stitchdowns" (Sears, Roebuck and Co., 1938, p. 328).

Household/Structural – Architectural

As with previous levels, very few architectural remains are present in the well. Level 3 produced a single wire nail (20d) and seven fragments of window glass. By 1938 window glass does not seem to have been particularly expensive – the Sears catalog reveals that individual 9x12 sheets would have cost only .05¢ (.64¢ in 2002$).

Household/Structural – Furnishings

Four items are present in this subcategory. One is the remains of a lantern,

including the oil fount, burner, and part of one arm. By 1955 a similar lantern is advertised in the Belknap catalog for $13.50 ($90.60 in 2002$). Although frequently used as vehicle lights, they could be used in the house; consequently, we have not distinguished it from a lamp.

Also recovered was a fragment of a cash box, similar to those advertised in the 1895 Montgomery Ward catalog for .50¢ ($11.60 in 2002$). By the 1938 Sears catalog the cost had increased to .69¢ ($8.85 in 2002$). This seems to be an unusual item for a tenant household.

Other items included a fragment of a trunk and an iron wash tub handle.

Personal – Medicinal

Five containers were identified that fall into this group. One is a brown medicine bottle with a base stamp for Owens-Illinois Glass Company having a date range of 1929-1954 (Toulouse 1971:403). There were two green glass containers. Both appear to be ointment jars. One has the same Owens-Illinois Glass Company stamp on its base as mentioned above. The fourth container is a blue glass panel bottle, likely used for a patent medicine. The last specimen is marked, on its base, "Chesebrough," similar to other specimens found at 38RD1262. This jar likely post-dates 1908.

Personal – Cosmetic

In this subcategory we identified seven containers – five clear glass and two milk glass.

The clear glass containers included one ointment or cream jar, two shampoo or hairdressing bottles very similar to a specimen identified in Level 2, one cold cream or hand cream jar, and one toilet water or lotion bottle. The one intact shampoo or hairdressing bottle has a base stamp for Owens-Illinois Glass Company having a date range of 1929-1954 (Toulouse 1971:403). The cold cream or hand cream jar has a base stamp for Hazel- Atlas Glass Company (Toulouse 1971:239), used between 1920 and 1960.

Both milk glass containers are identified as Woodbury and represent hand cream, cold cream, or similar product. A characteristic of both jars is a stepped fret design, which is documented to at least the 1950s. One jar has a base stamp for Hazel-Atlas Glass Company (Toulouse 1971:239), used between 1920 and 1960; the other has a base stamp for Anchor Hocking used since 1938 (Toulouse 1971:48). The Woodbury advertisement for its "Soothing Protective Hand Cream" announces that the product, "Helps keep hands supple and smooth" and that it counters the "harsh effects of cold weather, housework, office work," as well as being "a boon to factory workers."

Labor – Agricultural

Three items were identified as falling into this category. One was the remains of a manure fork. These had four to six curved tines (the recovered specimen had six tines) and would have been used most commonly to remove manure laden straw from barns and stables. Similar forks are illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog selling for $1.68 ($21.50 in 2002$).

Also present were two rubber hose fragments and a twist-on lid, probably from an agricultural container.

Level 4

The Level 4 collection is nearly four times as large as Level 3. As a result it represents a much better overall view of the site occupants.

Foodways – Procurement

The eight artifacts in this subcategory include only one 25 gauge shotgun shell – a much smaller gauge than has been found in previous levels. The headstamp, damaged by corrosion, is not readily identifiable. The word

"Nitro" is present, but this was used by several companies, including Union Metallic Co., Remington (once merged with Union), and American Ammunition.

Two specimens are .32 caliber casings with headstamps identifying the manufacturer as Remington after its 1911 merger with Union Metallic Co. and prior to its 1934 merger with Peters. The remaining five are .22 caliber casings. Three have headstamps of the Super-X Brand, produced by Winchester Western and dating from 1932 to 1944. The other two, while exhibiting different headstamps, were both manufactured by Remington Arms after its 1934 merger with Peters.

Foodways – Preparation

These specimens are all kitchen items used in food preparation. One of the most interesting is a "coffee boiler" similar to those found in both the 1938 Sears and 1955 Belknap catalogs. The item was white enamel with a red rim and a hinged lid. In 1938 the price was only .48¢ ($6.15 in 2002$), but had climbed to $2.85 by 1955 ($19.13 in 2002$). The pot was well used, evidencing a soldered repair near its shoulder.

Also present were two enameled lids – one white, the other blue with white spatter. Neither lid, however, fits a white enamel pot also recovered from this level. This is a type of utensil known at the time as an "open baker," although often called a "casserole" today.

Three utensil handles were identified; all were of a size suggesting a cooking (rather than table) utensil. Other fragmentary remains include a tin wash basin, two bowls (of a style called "soup plates" in catalogs), and a dipper.

Foodways – Service

Whitewares from this level include undecorated, molded, and decalcomania – all similar to previous levels. Also present, however, was whiteware with an overglaze red stripe, similar to what some advertise as "hotel ware." Table 24 itemizes the vessel forms identified from the collection, revealing that nearly two-thirds of the collection consists of plates, with bowls and cups being found in equal proportions (although two of the bowls were glass and might represent more decorative rather than functional items – suggesting that coffee drinking might have been more important than soup eating).

Several of the ceramics had identifiable maker's marks. The red striped whiteware, for example, yielded a mark for the Salem China Company in Salem, Ohio that was used from 1940 through 1967 (Lage 2004:295; Lehner 1988:396). An underglazed decalcomania specimen was found with the mark for the Paden City Pottery in West Virginia. This company devised a technique for applying the decal under the glaze (most decalcomania designs are overglaze), but abandoned the technique, finding that the useful colors were too limited (Lehner 1988:336). Unfortunately the period of this experimentation is not well documented and the maker's mark dates from at least 1930 through 1956 (Lage 2004:246).

Table 24.
Minimum Vessel Count for Level 4, 38RD1260 well

	Plate	Bowl	Cup	Totals
WW, undecorated	3		2	5
WW, molded	2	2		4
WW, red stripe	4			4
WW, poly hp	3		1	4
WW, decalcomania	1			1
Milk glass	1		1	2
Green glass		1		1
Deep aqua glass		1		1
Totals	14	4	4	22

WW – Whiteware; hp – hand painted

Also in the collection are the remains of at least three tumblers, one of them with a painted design of flowers and leaves. A virtually identical pattern is illustrated in the 1941 Hagn's catalog, selling for $1.10 per set of 12 ($13.40 in 2002$). Another tumbler, based on the scored

rim, was originally a jelly jar. The collection includes a goblet (represented only by a plain stem) and two steins.

There are at least three pieces of decorative glass in the collection, including a lid to a bowl (with a tear drop shaped molded knob), and two clear glass bowls. One of these matches a similar bowl in Level 3.

The last item is a clear glass baby bottle, marked "Evenflo." The Evenflo brand of bottles began to be marketed in 1935 with the patent of its "Sure Seal" ring, which secured the nipple to the bottle. The brand is still produced today, although most bottles are now of plastic.

Foodways – Storage

A primary component of this collection was glass containers. Of the 151 identified most (or nearly 59%) were food containers. If canning jars are included, the food-related containers account for 73.5%. The ratio of canning jars to commercial food jars is about 1:4, suggesting that a relatively significant amount of home preserved food is present in the collection. Alcohol containers represent only 12.6% of the assemblage (Table 25).

Table 25.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 4

	Soda	Milk	Food	Canning	Alcohol	Extract	UID
Clear	7	5	88	22	11	3	2
Brown					8		1
Lt. Green	3						
Green			1				
Totals	10	5	89	22	19	3	3

The soda bottles include three Coca-Cola specimens, all post-dating 1915. The clear glass bottles include four Pepsi specimens, dating from 1940 to the mid-1950s, at which time the blue color was dropped from the silk screening process (Jeter 1987:61-62). A single specimen of Royal Crown was recovered, probably dating from about 1935 to as late as 1959 (Jeter 1987:66). The last identifiable bottle was labeled "Tom's." This was a non-alcoholic maltless beverage sold as sodas and root beers. The brand began in 1934 at the Hartness Bottling Works in Spartanburg and eventually transferred to the Atlantic Bottling Corp. in Columbia. The terminal date of the product is unknown.

The five milk bottles identified in Level 4 represent the largest assemblage thus far identified at the 38RD1260 well. One bottle is embossed only with its size ("1 Quart") and "Registered/Sealed 11 PA." The latter is related to the inspection program of the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture, first enacted in 1935 and applying to wholesalers and bottlers operating in that state.

One bottle is silk screened "Dairylea" and includes an early version of the Dairylea trademark. Dairylea is a dairy cooperative dating back to 1923, although the logo was not used until 1932. On the base are marks for both Owens Illinois Glass Co. and Duraglas. Combined these provide a limited date range of 1940-1954.

Three additional bottles are all printed Columbia Diaries which commonly included such mottos as "Drink! Columbia Dairies vitamin D pasteurized milk," or "Eat! Columbia Dairies ice cream home made for home trade." Based on Columbia city directories the dairy was in operation by 1929 and ceased business about 1950.

Although there are a great many food jars, only two of them can be identified with a particular brand. One is marked on the shoulder, "Another Curtiss Product" with a distinctive "C" logo. This was the Curtiss Candy Co., founded in 1916 and acquired by Standard

Brands in 1963. Curtiss is best known for its Baby Ruth and Butterfinger brand candy bars, but the company also produced cookies, muffin mix, soup mix, steak sauce, and mustard. The jar recovered from Level 4 is almost certainly an example of the Curtiss-brand mustard. The other product was marked, "JUMBO / BRAND / PEANUT BUTTER /THE FRANK TEA & SPICE CO. / CINCINNATI, O." The brand was named after the famous P.T. Barnum circus elephant and the logo was a profile of an elephant head. The peanut butter was apparently produced from the early 1930s to 1967.

Other than these two, the containers have only various makers' embossing with six different manufacturers's represented. All have been identified elsewhere in the collections: Owens Illinois Glass Co. and Duraglas, with use dates of 1940-1954 (Toulouse 1971:403); Owens Illinois Glass Co., with use dates of 1929-1954 (Toulouse 1971:403); Lummis Glass Co., with use dates of 1940-1955 (Toulouse 1971:335); Laurens Glass Works, with its mark used since 1913 (Toulouse 1971:324); Knox Glass Bottle Co. of Mississippi 1932-1953 (Toulouse 1971:271); and Hazel Atlas Glass Co., with use dates of 1920-1964 (Toulouse 1971:239).

The canning jars are rather nondescript, although four embossed marks were identified. None are especially rare or unusual; our interest, however, is directed to the fact that all of the marks date from the first quarter of the twentieth century. For example, the Kerr Self Sealing Mason is dated from 1915-1919 (Toulouse 1977:43), the Ball Perfect Mason is dated ca. 1915 (Toulouse 1977:7), the Atlas H-A Mason dates from ca. 1920 (Toulouse 1977:4), and the Crown Mason is dated ca. 1910 (Toulouse 1977:19). It seems reasonable that canning jars would have a relatively long use life – being discarded only when damaged or perhaps when canning was no longer being done by the family. Consequently, these dates (which are among the earliest found at the site), have limited reliability. In addition to the canning jars, the collection also included four zinc lids and one clear glass jar lid.

Several of the alcohol bottles have "Federal Law Prohibits . . ." embossed on them, indicating a post 1932 date. A beer bottle has a maker's mark for the Thatcher Manufacturing Co.; unfortunately the mark was used from 1900 to the present (Toulouse 1971:496). Another bottle was manufactured by Anchor Hocking and that mark post-dates 1938. Also found was the mark for Obear-Nester Glass Co., an N in a square. This mark was used from 1915 to the present (Toulouse 1971:374). Of the 19 bottles only one distiller could be identified – Hiram Walker & Sons, Canada. Their crown and W trade mark was used on at least two known brands, Biltmore Pure Rye Whiskey (1927-1993) and Mountain Ridge Bourbon Whiskey (1927-1993).

There were three flavoring or extract bottles recovered. One includes, on the base, "DES. PAT. / 94742." This patent, however, is for a ladies coat – not a bottle. The number, however, suggests a ca. 1935 patent date. The shape, however, is identical to the Montclair Flavoring Extracts offered by Sears. Common flavorings of the period were vanilla, root beer, lemon, orange, strawberry, or ginger ale and prices ranged from as low as .15¢ to as high as .79¢ ($1.90 to $10.00 in 2002$).

This level also yielded at least 47 metal cans, all with sanitary seals. While it would be useful to be able to equate can sizes with contents (even in a general sense), this is difficult to do since can sizes have only recently been standardized. Nevertheless, Table 26 provides some general information on the cans for which complete dimensions are available. This suggests that the canned foods acquired by the 38RD1260 occupants included a variety of products, such as meats, vegetables, and possibly soups or juices.

When the identifiable lids of the cans are examined, nine (56%) were opened with a

Table 26.
Comparison of Nominal and Actual Can Sizes, in inches

Actual Size			Size Standard		
Diameter	Height	Number or Name	Diameter	Height	Possible Contents
212	412	211 Cylinder	211	414	
214	406	1 (Picnic)	211	400	Mainly condensed soups. Some fruits, vegetables, meat, fish, specialties.
214	406				
300	400	8Z (Mushroom)	300	400	Mushrooms
300	406				
300	408	300	300	407	Pork and beans, baked beans, meat products, cranberry sauces, blueberries, specialties.
300	408				
304	306	2 (vacuum)	307	306	Corn
304	406	303	303	406	Principal size for fruits and vegetables. Also some meat products, ready-to-serve soups, specialties.
304	410				
306	408	2	307	409	Juices, ready-to-serve soups, some specialties, pineapple, apple slices. No longer in popular use for most fruits and vegetables.
306	408				

Using the convention of the Can Manufacturers Institute, measurements are expressed in 3-digit numbers. The first digit indicates the number of whole inches in a dimension and the second and third digits indicate the fractional inches as sixteenths of an inch. Thus 303 x 406 is 3-3/16 x 4=6/16 inches.

knife, five (31%) were opened with a can opener, and two (13%) were opened with a "church key." There were also two cans whose lids had a number of holes poked in them (in one case 15 holes and in the other, 30), to allow the contents to be sprinkled out.

There were styles other than conventional sanitary top cans, including one cone top can. This style, today seen on such products as brake fluid, was previously used for beer, being introduced perhaps as early as the 1930s although the "crowntainer" of aluminum coated steel wasn't introduced until 1940. All were apparently used until the early 1950s (Scullin 2001).

The remains of 10 rectangular cans were also identified. Four are "sardine" cans, while the remaining six are all meat cans, such as those used for Spam or corned beef. Ads from the period reveal a range of brands, such as Wilson & Co.'s Mor, Armour & Co.'s Treet, and of course Hormel's Spam. Spam was first introduced in 1937, with the others following soon after. In addition to these cans, the collection also contains two can keys.

The last recognizable can style consisted of two spice cans, each with "sifting tops" that slid open and allowed the spice to be sprinkled out. While not specifically a can, the collection also includes one aluminum fold out spout – identical to those still found today on paper salt containers.

Other lids or container closures included two crown caps, nine metal twist-on lids for glass jars, three twist-on lids for bottles, and seven "friction-top" or pry-up lids such as are found on containers of cocoa today.

Clothing – Manufacture

The only item recovered in this category was a single scissor handle, typical of what was called "straight trimmers" in the trade. These would have cost about .69¢ based on the 1932 Belknap catalog ($9.00 in 2002$).

Clothing – Fasteners

This collection included two safety pins, six buckles, six buttons, a suspender/overall slide, two suspender/overall buttons, and a snap.

Two of the buckles are a size common to men's belts (1½ inches or greater in height). The remaining four are all under an inch and are of sizes typical of women's belts or even children's shoes.

The buttons include one South's Type 25, one South's Type 27, three black rubber buttons with either two or four-holes, and one brass two-piece button.

One of the suspender/overall buttons is stamped "Fly's." The Fly Manufacturing Co. began in 1915, initially producing overalls and gradually expanding into other lines. The business continued to operate at least through the depression.

Clothing – Other

In this category are the remains of 11 shoes – five are ladies' shoes, one is a man's work boot, two are men's or boy's oxfords, one is a child's shoe, and the final two specimens are too fragmentary to identify. The one ladies' shoe complete enough to measure represents a size 7.

The men's work boot has seven eyelets, similar to a variety of styles illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog for prices ranging from about $1.39 to $1.89 ($17.80 to $24.20 in 2002$). The oxfords are identical to those found in Level 2 (see Figure 54). The child's shoe is a brown plastic material, probably an imitation patent leather.

One of the shoe heels is the O'Sullivan brand (Figure 55). By 1923 the O'Sullivan Rubber Company produced nine of every 10 rubber heels in America. The trademark was first used in commerce in 1904 (the company began in 1895) and is still used by the company. The company had a major ad campaign during the Second World War, with their rubber soles and heels, "dedicated to the important war-time service of keeping American healthy and at work).

Figure 55. Advertisement for O'Sullivan's Rubber Heels and Soles (*Saturday Evening Post*, July 24, 1943).

The last item is the head of a metal coat hanger. The coat hanger was invented in 1903 and by the 1932 Belknap catalog were being sold for $3.30 per 100 or roughly .03¢ apiece (.39¢ in 2002$).

Household – Structural

Level 4 produced 17 machine cut nails, ranging in size from 8d to 16d, and 121 wire nails, ranging in size from 3d to 50d (see Table 27). As mentioned earlier, there is no guarantee that the nails recovered from the well are representative of any particular structure on the property. Nevertheless, the breakdown in Table 27 is certainly suggestive of a tenant structure, with a preponderance of framing nails, followed by siding nails. The very low incidence of nails used for small timbers is consistent with the absence of lath and plaster, as well as a roll asphalt roofing material (the collection did produce 20 roofing tacks).

Table 27.
Wire Nails from Level 4, 38RD1260

Penny Wt.	SAE	Number
3d	1¼″	3
4d	1½″	3
Small timbers, shingles		*6 (5.3%)*
6d	2″	6
7d	2¼″	8
8d	2½″	17
Sheathing, siding		*31 (27.2%)*
9d	2¾″	14
10d	3″	31
12d	3¼″	16
Framing/Heavy Framing		*61 (53.5%)*
16d	3½″	4
20d	4″	5
30d	4½″	5
40d	5″	1
50d	5½″	1
Heavy framing		*16 (14.0%)*

Household – Hardware

Level 4 produced a diverse collection of miscellaneous hardware. The only specifically identifiable object was the spindle from a door knob. These are used to connect the interior and exterior door knobs and would be occasionally replaced as a loose knob wears on the spindle.

Household – Furnishings

This collection reflects items that would likely have been in the house – in this case such furnishings as mirrors, springs from upholstered furniture, an iron stove leg, a flue stopper, and a porcelain light receptacle.

Three mirrors are present in the collection, based on distinctly different beveled edges and glass thickness. At least one of the mirrors was probably for personal use, perhaps a cosmetic or shaving mirror. The other two were more likely backings on furniture or wall mirrors. The 1941 Hagns' catalog reveals that personal mirrors might cost as little as .50¢, while wall mirrors ranged up to $7.95 ($6.10 to $96.95 in 2002$).

The porcelain light fixture is a style still available today and intended for halls, closets, laundries – any location where a bare bulb and dangling chain would be acceptable. Their chief recommendation was the very low cost – about .80¢ each ($11.70 in 2002$).

The flue stopper, of stamped brass, was designed to close-up the flue in a wall previously used by a wood or coal stove. The price of these were about .19¢ each ($2.50 in 2002$).

Personal – Medicinal

Level 4 produced 10 medicine containers or bottles. Two of these are brown, while the others are all clear glass. The brown bottles both have the Owens Illinois Glass Co. mark, in use from 1929 through 1954 (Toulouse

1971:403). One is an Anacin aspirin bottle, the other an unmarked medicine bottle. Anacin was trademarked in 1916 as a "medicinal preparation for internal use in cases of headache, neuralgia, and pains centering on the trigeminal nerve." By combining aspirin and caffeine Anacin could advertise that it was more than *just* aspirin – it was a "combination of medically proven active ingredients." Anacin was being sold by Sears in 1939 for .19¢ ($2.40 in 2002$).

The bulk of the clear glass containers were not identifiable, although four were embossed. One represents a Vaseline jar, embossed with "Chesebrough." Another is an over the counter or patent medicine, embossed "Grove's / Tasteless Chill Tonic." Fike indicates that the product was being advertised as late as 1948 (Fike 1987:234), although we have identified trade marks registered by its successor, Grove Laboratories, at least as late as 1961. Also present is a container embossed "The J. __ Watkins Co." Although founded in 1868 (and still in business today), the company's first registered trademark was in 1922. Watkins produced colognes, perfumes, hair shampoos, skin lotions, dusting powders, bath oils, skin creams, and facial make-up. The final specimen represents a Castoria bottle.

Also present were two metal containers. One is a round salve container with a viscous paste still present inside. The other is a pill tin, probably dispensing aspirin. In addition to the containers there was a zinc twist-on lid with its top stamped, "___R Dressing."

The last three items represent a douche or enema set consisting of a red rubber tubing fragment and a black, 6-inch syringe. The other item is a bent vaginal pipe. The 1932 Belknap catalog illustrates several "Fountain Syringes." While there are slight differences in designs, all included a molded rubber bag holding about 2 quarts, tubing, and at least two pipes – one rectal and the other a "bent vaginal" (Figure 56).

Figure 56. Fountain syringe (Belknap catalog, 1932, pg. 1755).

Douches were used as a contraceptive since at least 1600, and by the early 20th century, solutions of Lysol and other equally harsh disinfectants and detergents were used as contraceptive "feminine hygiene" douches (Iannacchione 2004; Wilkie 2003:164).

Personal – Cosmetic

The remains of 10 bottles are found in this subcategory. These containers fall into four categories – lotions and cold creams, deodorants, scents, and hair oils.

The most common were lotions and cold creams, representing five containers. While these items can have different uses or applications, they overlap and it is typically difficult (with a brand name) to distinguish the functions. One specimen is a black plastic twist top with "Jergens Lotion" molded into it. Jergens post-dates ca. 1901 although the exact date of its introduction could not be immediately determined. By at least 1938 the product was very common and Sears was selling it for as little as .20¢ ($2.60 in 2002$).

Another specimen, while bearing no name, was found in a jar that the 1938 Sears catalog illustrates for several brands of cosmetic

creams. One is the Cutex Nail Cream; another is the Nadinola Freckle Cream.

Two deodorant containers were also identified. One container has the very distinctive shape of the Arrid Cream Deodorant, advertised in the 1944 *Saturday Evening Post* as the largest selling deodorant, although the "cream" was "new." The other was labeled "Odo-Ro-No," a product of the Odorono Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio and the brand name was first used in 1909. Today the brand name is owned by Conopco, Inc. which owns a variety of cosmetic/pharmaceutical brands, including Vaseline, Elizabeth Arden, and others. This product is illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog under the headlines, "Guard Your Personal Daintiness" and "Don't Risk 'Under-Arm Odor.'" It was being sold in various sizes for as little as 31¢ ($4.00).

Two bottles were identified as likely containing scent (toilet water). One bottle has a shape identical to that shown in the 1938 Montgomery Ward catalog as a "Floral Perfume."

The last item was used for hair oil – the bottle cap had a single shaking hole for dispensing the liquid.

Personal – Recreational

The toys in this category include a white porcelain doll fragment as well as a toy porcelain plate for a doll's "tea set." Similar items were illustrated in the 1902 Sears catalog. Through time dolls increased in size, becoming more realistic, as did their various "furnishings." The doll part and toy both appear to represent a much earlier time period.

Also found was the barrel and chamber of a toy pistol or cap gun. Similar toys were available at least by 1938 when Sears advertised them for as little as .59¢ ($7.60 in 2002$).

A fragment of thin stamped metal is likely part of a stroller seat. The 1931 Logan-Gregg Hardware Co. illustrates a "Kiddie-Kar Stroller" that appears to match the recovered item. Selling for $6.50 ($77.40 in 2002$), this would have been a very expensive item for a tenant.

Turning to adult recreation, the collection revealed four tobacco tins, one of which still had adhering paint and could be identified as "Prince Albert." Produced by R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., the term was first used in 1907. By 1949 Prince Albert was being advertised in *The Saturday Evening Post* as "The National Joy Smoke."

Another clearly adult product was a brass token for Green River Whiskey. The brand was first bottled in 1890 and is in existence today. There are many stories concerning the tokens, ranging from simply promoting the brand (a common early twentieth century practice), to their being exchanged for a drink (rather unlikely). One of the more interesting accounts is that the company placed an ad in the 1935 edition of the magic journal, *The Linking Ring*, offering examples of their token to any magician and encouraging magicians to use their tokens in tricks, thus gaining publicity for the company. An early motto of the company was "The Whiskey Without a Headache" (with one sign even proclaiming, "Blots Out All Your Problems") and this was used throughout Prohibition (when the whiskey remained available with a doctor's prescription for "medicinal use"). Since the token shows this motto changed to "Whiskey Without Regrets" it seems likely that it post-dates 1933 (when Prohibition was repealed).

Personal – Decorative

In this category were two women's jewelry items. One was a women's screw-back earring of white metal and a round white stone. The other was a stamped brass flower with hooks for attachment to fabric or leather. A

man's Odd Fellows insignia was also recovered. This simple three chain link design is illustrated in the 1914 Huntley catalog costing only .50¢ ($8.90 in 2002$). The Odd Fellows were a fraternal organization primarily for the working class that provided a range of social and economic benefits.

Personal – Other

Level 4 produced a single stamped brass pencil ferrule and the remains of a D-cell battery. While the D-cell was invented in 1896, it wasn't until at least 1910, when the flashlight was greatly improved with the invention of the tungsten filament lamp, that they became a common element. By the 1940s there were a number of brands, with Ray-O-Vac, Winchester, Eveready, and Bright Star all commonly advertising in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Labor – Agricultural

A range of items were recovered, although none were found in any quantity. Agricultural implements included a hoe head, a whiffletree tip, a fragment of cow tie chain, and a plow blade. All of these would be found in any early twentieth century farm and the only curious thing is that plow parts are not more common. Likewise, two horse-related items were found – an iron rasp used for preparing hoofs and a horse shoe – a relatively small quantity for a rural farmstead.

Three iron drop handles were recovered, representing the only items found in any quantity. Also found were the remains of a small rectangular oil can with drop spout – typical of a heavy penetrating or lubricating oil (what today is often called "3-in-1-oil").

Other items fall into the category of "junk" or discard: several wire fragments, a bucket lug, and a fragment of black rubber hose.

Other

In this category are a number of miscellaneous items – some are simply unidentifiable to us, while other items can't be placed elsewhere. In the former category are two fragments of what may be electric insulators or electric parts, a slotted bolt, and a fragment of translucent blue tubing. In the latter category are a variety of either automobile or tractor parts, including a headlight for a Chevrolet, several fragments of a car seat spring and frame, a portion of a radiator, a chrome fender part, an automobile door handle, and other various engine parts.

Level 5

Foodways – Preparation

The enameled tin ware bowl from Level 5 matches the design of the coffee pot in Level 4, suggesting they may have been purchased together as a set. Also recovered from this level are fragments of the electric butter churn jar found in Level 3.

Foodways – Service

The ceramics recovered from this level are all found in either Level 3 or 4 and the only design that has been previously recovered which is missing from this assemblage is decalcomania. Several of the ceramic designs, such the molded whiteware and the polychrome hand painted whiteware match specimens in Level 4.

Similarly, this collection produced several tumbler specimens that are matches for those previously reported in Level 4.

The one unique specimen is a silver plated table spoon marked "Oneida Community" and "Par Plated." The Oneida Community, Ltd. was formed in 1880, but the first of their "Community Silver" (later "Community Plated") patterns were begun in

1901. The item recovered is their Vernon pattern, first produced in 1917. Sold both individually and in sets, the 1914 price for Community Silver table spoons in the G.W. Huntley Co. catalog was $1.60 each ($28.60 in 2002$). By the 1938 Sears catalog prices for table spoons were $1.20 ($15.40 in 2002$).

Foodways – Storage

Level 5 yielded the remains of at least 72 bottles. Most (37.5%) were food related, with this proportion increasing to 52.8% if canning and food containers are added together. Alcohol containers account for 22.2% of the collection. In this collection the canning to food jar ratio is 1:2.5.

Table 28.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 5

	Soda	Milk	Food	Canning	Alcohol	Extract	UID
Clear	4	1	27	8	3	2	9
Brown					12		1
Lt. Green	1			2	1		
Aqua				1			
Totals	5	1	27	11	16	2	10

The five soda bottles represent brands found previously in this feature: Double Cola, two Pepsi, Royal Crown, and Tom's. All date from the 1940s through 1950s.

The one milk bottle is from Edisto Farms Dairies. Columbia city directories reveal that this dairy began in 1938.

The food containers occasionally have manufacturer's marks, but all have been reported from previous levels. The only identifiable fragments are from a Jumbo Peanut Butter container matching those found in Level 4. Similarly, the canning jars fail to further refine the site's dating, although those that can be dated continue to suggest that the jars may date from the first quarter of the twentieth century.

One of the alcohol bottles is embossed "J.N. Nieves & Cia, Inc." This was a Puerto Rican rum distiller of the Ron Venerable brand. Although we could not identify when this brand was popular, the bottle manufacturer was identified as the Puerto Rico Glass Corp. which post-dates 1955. This provides one of the latest dates for the specimens recovered from the well.

One of the two extract bottles has the mark of the Foster-Forbes Glass Co. of Marion, Indiana. The identified mark, however, has been used since about 1929, so it fails to refine temporal controls. The other bottle does not have a manufacturer's mark, but is embossed with the design patent number of 94,824. This patent was issued to B.D. Fuerst in 1935. Fuerst assigned the patent to Owens-Illinois Glass Co.

There are 17 intact cans and an additional 16 fragmentary examples. As previously revealed, most of the cans do not conform to the sizes that are today standard. Nevertheless, of the intact specimens, seven (slightly over two-fifths) are the approximate size of what is today a No. 2 can, often associated with juices, fruits, soups, and some specialty items.

Of the 33 cans, 19 (57.6%) are most likely food cans. An additional seven (21.2%) are condensed milk cans. Five are rectangular and were used for fish (representing 15.1%). Also present were two beer cans (one was a cone top), one soda can, and one can for black pepper (identified both by the sliding cover and also by remnant paint identifying the contents). Ground black pepper was being sold by Sears in 1938 for .12¢ ($1.50 in 2002$).

Clothing – Fasteners

In this collection are four buttons, including two rubber examples, one stamped brass, and one two-hole shell specimen; two metal snaps; a fragment of a suspender clasp; and a brass buckle.

The stamped brass button, a cluster of four flowers, is similar to one illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog with the heading, "Flower Buttons – Natural Charm!" Their price was six for .10¢ ($1.30 in 2002$). In comparison, shell buttons (similar to one recovered from this level) were being sold 24 for .09¢ ($1.15 in 2002$).

Clothing – Manufacturing

The only item is a single safety pin fragment.

Clothing – Other

In this category are the remains of seven shoes. One is clearly a ladies high-heel specimen (consisting of two quarters, two vamps, and a welt). Another is a work boot similar to others identified from this feature.

Household – Architectural

The assemblage includes 14 wire nails ranging in size from 3d to 30d. The sizes are fairly equally spread between the different posited functions, although there is a very slight concentration (35.7%) in the category of framing.

Also present are two roofing tacks and 10 fragments of window glass.

Household – Hardware

In this category are two specimens. One is a strap hinge, just as likely associated with an outbuilding as with the main house. The other item is a spindle and lever handle. The 1932 Belknap catalog illustrates similar items associated with French doors – a rather high status item for a tenant house.

Household – Furnishings

Several of the items from Level 5 are matches to specimens previously reported, such as four mirror fragments, two additional fragments of a brass flue stopper, and several stove parts (including another leg, a grate, and a stove pipe collar). Also recovered is a spring identical to those shown in the 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog as "link fabric springs" – the springs fastened to the angle iron bed frame side rails. Such beds ("bed, link spring *and* mattress") sold for $11.45 ($150.66 in 2002$).

Personal – Medicinal

In this subcategory are 12 jars and one salve tin. The glass containers include five over the counter medicine containers and two prescription bottles (based on the containers which have graduations on the sides).

Two of the bottles, based on their size, shape, and comparison to advertisements likely contained mineral or cod-liver oil. Cod-liver oil was historically used as a dietary or vitamin supplement, gradually going out of fashion as milk began to be fortified; mineral oil was generally used as a laxative, although it was also used as baby oil. One of these bottles has a design patent number (D92173) that dates it to 1934. The glass manufacturer's mark for Fairmount Glass Works, however, reveals that the bottle was produced between 1945 and 1960.

The last three bottles could be identified to specific contents. One was embossed, "Lydia E. Pinkham's Medicine" and had a base mark for Owens Illinois Glass Co. that dates from 1929 through 1954. Although the trademark registrations for Lydia Pinkham specify that it was first used in 1881, the web site for the current owner, Numark Laboratories, indicates that the product was first introduced in 1875.

The early trademark descriptions specify that the product was for "female complaints, " while a more complete description specified, "blood purifiers, vegetable compounds, uterine tonics and sedatives, general tonics and alternatives, vaginal douches, laxatives, and liver pills." The earliest product apparently contained 15% alcohol (Fike 1987:150; Pinkham herself acknowledged this, noting the alcohol was a "solvent and preservative"), although the major ingredients were various "vegetable compounds," more specifically motherwort, gentian, Jamaican dogwood, pleurisy root, licorice, black cohosh, and dandelion (earlier versions may also have included unicorn root, liferoot, and chamomile).

Still produced today, these are identified as "traditionally found to be beneficial in menstrual and menopausal distress." More to the point, Wilkie (2003:153, 159) identifies Pinkham as one of several commercially available products used as abortifacients. The *PDR for Herbal Medicines* (Fleming 1998) fails to note this affect for any of the herbs in "designated therapeutic dosages." It is likely, however, that in combination and high dosages, it might well encourage a natural abortion. Pinkham's own advertising claimed that the product would "dissolve and expel tumors from the uterus in an early stage of development."

We found a 1952 McKesson drug store circular advertising "Pinkham Herb Medicine" for $1.39 a bottle ($9.46 in 2002$).

Also present was a container for Vicks Vaporub and another for Chesebrough's Vaseline – both products found in upper levels.

Personal – Cosmetic

The collection produced evidence of nine cosmetic containers. The most common were creams, representing any of a number of common products, such as vanishing creams, freckle creams, cold creams, and vitamin creams. Three containers typically used for creams were identified.

There is evidence of two lotions – one container with a design patent date of 1934 (D92413) and another represented only by a plastic twist-on cap.

Other containers include one for Fitch's Brilliantine. Fitch dates to 1893 when the product line apparently consisted of a hair tonic and a preparation for setting waves. By the 1950s shampoo, after shave, hair oil, Brilliantine, shaving cream, vanishing cream, cleansing cream, cocoa butter lubricating cream, toilet finishing cream, and massage cream had all been added to the line. A 1952 McKesson ad shows Brilliantine sold for $1.27 ($8.64 in 2002$).

Another bottle, embossed with a horizontal panel of pansies, roses, and daisies was likely for perfume or toilet water. A very similar bottle is shown in the 1936 Montgomery Ward catalog under the heading of "Floral Perfumes," selling for .39¢ ($5.00 in 2002$).

The last two items were a stamped brass lipstick tube cover (the lipstick tube was invented in 1915) and a stamped brass lid with holes and a wreath design for a powder can. The latter would have been used for any number of different talcum products, ranging from Johnson's Baby Powder to Mennen's Borated Powder. These products, in the 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog sold from .10¢ to .19¢ ($1.40 to $2.60 in 2002$).

Personal – Recreation

The only artifact recovered is a single opaque white and green marble.

Personal – Other

Thirteen artifacts are present in this category. One is a brown glass half-gallon Clorox bottle, dating from 1940 through 1944. Other items include a red pencil eraser and a

white porcelain pig foot from a "piggy bank." The most common artifact – accounting for 10 specimens – is the D-cell battery. These were also reported from Level 4.

Labor – Agricultural

This collection is rather sparse, consisting of only four items: a pail, two strap fragments (one from a barrel), and an iron scale beam with remnants of a Japanned surface and weights from 15 to 35 pounds (see Figure 57).

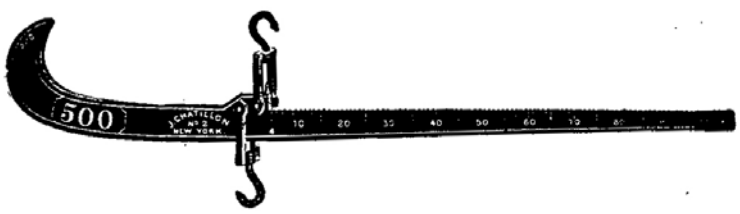

Figure 57. Example of a scale beam (Bering-Cortes Hardware Catalog, 1923, pg. 255).

The upper hook would have been used to hang the beam. The lower hook would have had the item to be weighed attached. A weight (not found) would have run along the beam until it leveled.

The scale is an interesting specimen since much larger versions were commonly used in the fields to weigh collected cotton. The smallest version that we have identified would have a capacity of 150 pounds – considerably greater than the one identified at 39RD1260. The function of this scale is unknown.

Other

As in previous levels, the most common items in this category are those related to automobiles or tractors. This level produced several such items, including an ignition coil, a battery cable, a choke or carburetor control, and a rear light for an automobile.

Level 6

Foodways – Procurement

This collection produced three .22 caliber shells, all manufactured by Remington Arms Co. after its merger with Metallic Cartridge Co. in 1912. The .32 caliber shell, stamped "REM – UMC" was similarly manufactured by Remington after its merger and some authorities suggest this cartridge may have been produced during WWII.

While .32 caliber shells are often associated with small handguns, there were rifles that took .32 caliber cartridges, although they were generally intended for short distances and small game.

Foodways – Preparation

The only item recovered representing this subcategory was a small fragment of crumpled aluminum foil.

Foodways – Service

The whiteware ceramics recovered include four cups (two undecorated and two molded), and two plates (one molded and one with an overglaze red stripe). Also included are one milk glass cup and one plate. There was also a blue enameled tin ware cup.

Two of the three tumblers in the collection match specimens found in Levels 2 and 5. The third tumbler, not identified in earlier levels, is illustrated in the 1936 Montgomery Ward catalog as a "Safe-Edge Tumbler" – "clear, thin-blown glass with reinforced edges that will not chip." These glasses were being sold for as little as .03¢ each (.40¢ in 2002$).

Other items in the collection include a clear glass bowl or vase; a decorated bowl that matches remains found in Levels 3, 4 and 5; an oval bowl with a scalloped rim; and a sherbet

glass manufactured of clear pressed glass. Similar items are found in the 1936 Montgomery Ward catalog for as little as .04½¢ each (.58¢ in 2002$) where they were advertised for "desserts and ice cream or fruit cocktails."

Foodways – Storage

The collection includes 71 bottles, with food containers comprising the largest group (49.3%). If canning jars are included, the proportion rises to 63.4%. The ratio of canning jars to food jars is 1:3.5.

Table 29.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 6

	Soda	Milk	Food	Canning	Alcohol
Clear	10	1	35	10	5
Brown					6
Lt. Green	1				1
Green	1				1
Totals	12	1	35	10	13

The most common soda recovered from this level is Pepsi, with three bottles, all post-1940. Two bottles are represented only by the crown lips and no brand could be determined. The remaining bottles consist of individual specimens of Bireley's (technically a fruit drink), Seven-Up, Royal Crown, Tom's, Tru-Ade, Dr. Pepper, and a partial brand mark that may be Circle, perhaps "Circle-K."

The Circle-K Stores originated in 1951, although we have not been able to determine when they introduced their bottled drinks (that they existed is confirmed by the sale of Circle-K crown caps on eBay).

Bireley's was a pasteurized fruit drink made from blended fruit juices and was not carbonated. The style bottle recovered from Level 6 was most likely produced from 1926 (when it was patented) until about 1939 (when the new trade mark was introduced).

Seven-Up was first produced in 1928 and while the logo has undergone several distinct changes, so little was present that no dating is possible.

Tru-Ade was a non-carbonated soft drink introduced in 1938. Jeter (1987:71) notes that while the bottlers in Charleston and Florence went out of business in the late 1940s, it appears that a bottler in West Columbia continued in the early 1950s.

Another drink not found in earlier levels is Dr. Pepper. Begun in Waco, Texas in 1885, the brand is still present today. The specimen recovered was bottled in Charleston.

The Royal Crown and Tom's have both been previously identified at 38RD1260. The Royal Crown from this level, however, has the distinctive pyramids in the center of the label. This logo dates from the mid-1930s to perhaps the early 1950s.

The single milk bottle from this level is silk screened Edisto Farms and matches those identified in Level 4.

The 35 food containers include two that are likely vinegar bottles. One has the Owens Illinois Glass Co. and Duraglas base marks, indicating manufacture between 1940 and 1954 (Toulouse 1971:403). The other has a Hazel-Atlas mark that dates from 1920 through 1964 (Toulouse 1971:239).

One container is embossed "One of the Blue Plate Fine Foods." The Blue Plate brand was first used in 1927 by Blue Plate Foods (in New Orleans), which made mayonnaise and sandwich spread. By 1930 the company was producing India relish, dressings, salad oil, and tarter sauce as well. By the 1950s the company was owned by Wesson Oil and Snowdrift and eventually Luzianne Products. The recovered container, however, has a design patent (95620)

dating from 1935 at which time the design was assigned to Blue Plate Foods of New Orleans. It's likely that the container dates from about 1935 until perhaps the early 1950s.

Another container was embossed with French's pennant and "Pat. Pending" on its base and is likely a mustard jar. Although French's dates to at least 1901, the pennant emblem was apparently not used until 1918 and it was not filed with the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office until 1947. Consequently, this container, while post-dating 1918, likely pre-dates 1948.

While no other brands were identified, several jars have glass company base marks. All, however, have been identified elsewhere in the collection.

Several of the canning jars have datable marks. For example the "Atlas Mason" dates ca. 1920 (Toulouse 1977:4) and the "Balls Perfect Mason" dates about 1935 (Toulouse 1977:7). This assemblage does not appear to date quite as early as that found in Level 4, but the collection is also much smaller. Three zinc lids (all with liners), one clear glass liner, and one metal liner were also recovered.

Only one of the liquor bottles can be identified to a brand. That specimen is a green beer bottle with a remnant paper label for "Atlantic Ale." This brand has been identified from Level 3.

The collection also contained 22 tin food cans, only one of which could be measured. It is a 300x314 can – a size not found today. There were, in addition, two sardine cans, one meat tin, and two unidentifiable can shapes. Three crown top beer cans were also recovered. Five keys (often found on meat cans) were recovered.

Other items included an aluminum spout (like those seen today on salt containers) and six threaded metal lids ranging in size from ¾ to 2¼ inches.

Clothing – Fasteners

This assemblage is similar to those of the past few levels, and includes a safety pin, nine buttons, and an overall/suspender button embossed Fly's (another Fly's button was recovered in Level 4).

The buttons include three shell, five plastic, and one clear glass examples. The shell buttons include both 2- and 4-hole examples, representing men's shirt buttons (4-hole examples) and more decorative specimens. The plastic buttons in beige, red, brown, and black, are illustrated in the 1936 Montgomery Ward catalog under the heading, "Colorful Composition." Several are of a size that they were likely used for coats and the 1938 Sears catalog includes them under that heading. One of the buttons, similar to a specimen found in Level 5, is a flower button and the 1938 Sears includes a near identical match – "colored bakelite in Rosebud (pink bud, green leaves)."

Clothing – Other

Like other levels, the collection here is dominated by shoe parts, with five shoes represented. Unlike other levels, however, one of these examples is a "sneaker" or "tennis shoe" – a sports shoe made of canvas with a soft rubber sole. In this case the only part remaining was the sole. Although present were fragments of two children's shoes and two adult shoes, at least one of which was a man's. Other shoe remains include one iron heel cap. A similar item is offered in the 1936 Montgomery Ward catalog for 5¢ (a package of 6; .65¢ in 2002$).

The last item recovered was a nylon stocking. The specimen had a seam up the rear and was reinforced in the welt, after-welt, and foot. Similar stockings are advertised in the 1953 Sears catalog for as little as .89¢ a pair ($6.00). While nylons were invented and widely sold in the late 1930s, the war effort halted production; it wasn't until the early 1950s that nylons became commonplace. Seams did not disappear

until the early 1960s. Consequently, it is likely that the specimen recovered from Level 6 dates from the 1950s.

Household – Architecture

The collection contained four cut nails and 55 wire nails. Of the wire nails 46 can be sized and of these 80.4% are in the category of framing. Only 13% are sheathing and only 6.6% are small timber nails. There are, however, an additional 26 roofing nails, as well as 16 fragments of window glass.

Household – Hardware

In this category are five miscellaneous hardware items and a single butt hinge.

Household – Furnishings

Eleven of the items in this category are similar to specimens recovered from higher levels, including eight bed springs and three fragments of a brass flue stopper (matching remains found in Levels 4 and 5).

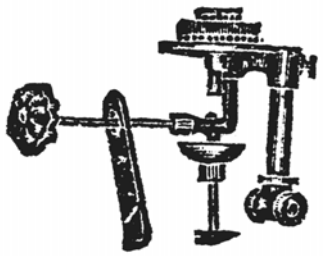

Figure 58. Kerosene or oil burner assembly for a cooking stove (Belknap catalog, 1932, pg. 1232).

Also recovered from Level 6, however, was a control knob for an oil or kerosene stove. These knobs, similar to what today would be recognized as a faucet or water bibb knob, controlled the flow of fuel to an individual burner. Typically sold as part of a burner, these were common in the 1930s and are found in the 1932 Belknap catalog for $5.10 ($67.00 in 2002$).

Personal – Medicinal

This collection contains 11 containers. One is a small pill tin, such as those aspirin came in. There are in addition, one Vicks Vaporub container, a salve jar, two medicine jars, three medicine bottles (one representing an unidentified over-the-counter medicine), one prescription bottle (based on the shoulder markings), a panel bottle for "Chattanooga Medicine," and a "Listerine" bottle.

One of the medicine bottles has a manufacturer's mark for Pierce Glass Co. that was used from 1905 to 1917 (this mark has been identified from Level 1 as well).

Fike (1987:55) notes that the Chattanooga Medicine Co. focused on one product, variously labeled as "Cardui The Woman's Tonic," "McElree's Cardui," and "McElree's Wine of Cardui." Fike explains that the Rev. R.I. McElree learned of the herbal relief for menstrual pain and sold it to the Chattanooga Medicine Co. (now Chattem Labs, known for its Gold Bond products and Garlique) in 1882 (1880 according to the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office) and the manufacture of the product wasn't discontinued until 1982.

The tonic included 19% alcohol and some claim that the drug's benefit was largely obtained from this source. However, the primary active ingredient, milk thistle (*Cardui mariae;* today *Silybum marianum*), from which the tonic took its name, is known for its estrogen-like effects and today pregnant women are advised to avoid the herb since it can interfere with normal fetal development. Blackhaw is another drug known for its relief of menstrual cramps. Golden Seal is best known as a laxative, anti-inflammatory, and to produce contractions during labor (although many today know Golden Seal for its reputed ability to flush marijuana from the system prior to a drug test).

The last labeled product was Listerine. While invented in 1879, Listerine wasn't widely

Figure 59. Cardui label.

marked to the public until the 1920s when its benefits as a mouthwash were recognized (it was first sold over the counter in 1914). Nevertheless, it has historically also been used for the treatment of dandruff and dry scalp, as a skin antiseptic, a deodorant, and a wound irrigant. In the 1938 Montgomery Ward catalog it was advertised for .59¢ ($7.60 in 2002$) and its uses, in addition to that of mouthwash, listed, "after-shaving application – a rub for tired, aching feet – an antiseptic for cuts and abrasions – and aid in removing dandruff."

Personal – Cosmetic

Five containers are represented in this collection, two by black plastic twist tops. Two others are ointment jars, and the final specimen is another example of a Fitch's product, probably a hair product (a Fitch's bottle was also recovered from Level 5).

Personal – Recreational

The only artifact falling into this category is a brass token. On one side is a Boy Scout on a horse surrounded by "Boy Scouts / Manufactured by the Excelsior Shoe Co. Portsmouth O." On the reverse is a swastika and in each quadrant another symbol: a horseshoe, four leaf clover, wishbone, and "Indian" symbols. Surrounding is "Membership Emblem of the Boy Scouts Club / Good Luck." This token was apparently given away with the purchase of Excelsior's "Official Boy Scout Shoes."

The company apparently manufactured these shoes from at least 1911 (when the Boy Scout handbook has an ad for Excelsior's shoes which cost $2 for little boys to $3 for big boys and men; $40 to $60 in 2002$) until perhaps the early 1930s (the 1952 handbook has an ad for Buster Brown shoes, the "official shoe" for the past 20 years). Ads appearing as late as 1929 note that these were the "Official Boy Scout Shoes."

Of course, the presence of this token does not mean that a child had the shoes or was a Boy Scout. It is likely the tokens were traded, exchanged, and even lost. Nevertheless, it is an interesting find.

Personal – Other

In this category are the remains of 12 D-cell batteries, represented primarily by their

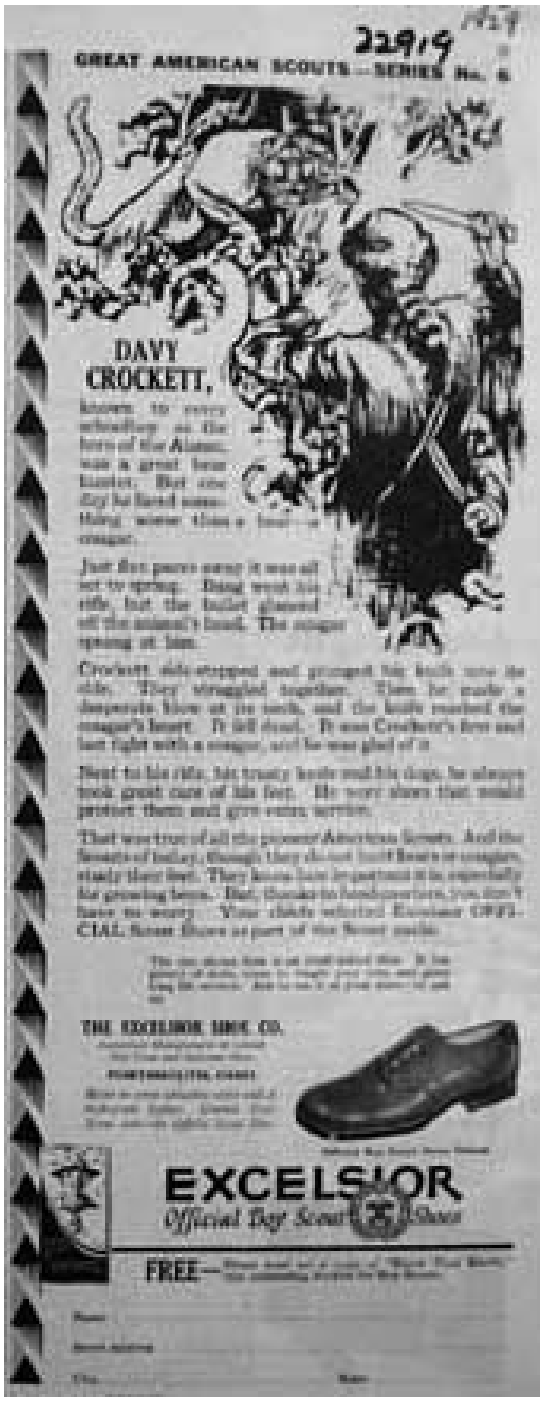

Figure 60. Ad for Excelsior Shoe Co. from 1929.

carbon cores. Also present, however, are the remains of a flashlight. Almost identical examples are found in the 1936 Montgomery Ward catalog being sold as "Ward's Low Priced Flashlights" for as little as .29¢ ($3.80 in 2002$).

The only other artifact in this category is a pencil.

Labor – Agricultural

Recognizable items include fragments of a trace chain, a padlock shackle, a plow wrench, and the remains of two buckets.

Other

Items in this category include three probable automobile related items, including a fragment of a tail light, a spark plug, and a tire rim.

One other artifact is also worthy of mention. A 2½ -inch round solid shot was recovered. With no indication that it was used as a gate weight, the most reasonable assumption is that it represents cannon shot – perhaps associated with Sherman's movement through this area after at the end of the Civil War. It may have been found in the fields surrounding the house and kept as an interesting relic.

Level 6

Foodways – Procurement

The collection includes two .22 casings with a "U" headstamp, signifying Union Metallic Cartridge Co. and a pre-1912 date; one stamped "HI / U / SPEED," dating the cartridge to the period after the merger of Union Metallic with Remington Arms; and one stamped "Super X," a mark for Winchester Western. Winchester-Western was formed in 1931 and was acquired by Olin in 1940. Olin continues the use of the "Super X" headstamp today, but under only the Winchester brand.

Foodways – Preparation

The single item is the handle of a red and white tin ware pot. This design is identical to the tin ware utensils found in higher levels. This handle mends with a sauce pan body identified in Level 8.

Foodways – Service

This level produced a single whiteware bowl. The manufacturer's stamp, for Homer Laughlin, is dated about 1920 (Lehner 1988:245, 248, 251).

Table 30.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 7

	Soda	Food	Canning	Alcohol	UID
Clear	2	25	12	5	2
Brown				3	1
Aqua	1				
Green	1				
Totals	4	25	12	8	3

A deep aqua bowl with a scalloped rim was recovered, as well as a fragment of a "Jade-ite" cup (matching specimens found in Level 5). The only other remains were portions of five different tumblers, one of which (a floral pattern) matches specimens found in Level 5.

Foodways – Storage

Level 7 yielded 52 glass containers, only 15.4% of which were alcohol-related. Food containers comprise 48.1% of the collection and that proportion increased to 71.1% if canning jars are included. The ratio of canning to food jars in this level is 1:2.1.

The sodas include single specimens of Pepsi, Coca-Cola, and Tom's – all brands previously identified in the well.

Of the 25 food containers only one evidenced a manufacturer's mark not previously seen in the well. A jar produced the MTC mark of the Thatcher Manufacturing Company of Kane, PA. This mark was used about 1923 to the early 1950s (Toulouse 1971).

Three of the food containers were identifiable – all being French's Mustard jars (previously reported from Level 6).

None of the canning or alcohol bottles reveal manufacturer's not previously reported or specific brands. One alcohol bottle, however, does have a mark of an S in a circle, possibly representing Swindell Bros, Baltimore, MD. Of greater interest is that the base is also embossed with two grape clusters and the word "WINE," identifying the contents, if not the producer. This is also the first bottle documented for wine as opposed to either beer or liquor.

Lids include two metal twist lids for food containers, two metal twist lids for bottles, and one crown cap. Also recovered is a metal liner with a rubber ring (used in canning), four zinc lids, one milk glass liner, one clear glass liner, and the remains of a "spring bail" closure.

Sixteen of the 22 cans recovered from this level are round food tins. Only two are sufficiently intact to determine size and of these only one fits a recognized size – a No. 2 can. The other is a 208x208 can. Two cans are sardine tins; the remaining cans include individual specimens of a cone top beer can, a baking powder tin (based on a remnant painted label), a condensed milk can, and a round spice tin (with a slide top). One iron key and a friction top were also recovered.

Clothing – Fasteners

The assemblage includes two overall slides and three buttons. One of these buttons – for overalls or jeans – is stamped "Sanforized." This process for pre-shrinking cloth was introduced in 1930 with the name licensed to other manufacturers in 1940. Sears, however,

was advertising a variety of Sanforized products in the early 1930s, suggesting that they were acquiring the products directly from Cluett, Peabody & Co. For example, the 1936 Sears catalog has a page devoted to overalls under the heading, "Sanforized Shrunk," with prices only $1.00 ($13.00 in 2002$).

Another button is stamped "Lee," indicating a post-1915 date.

Clothing – Other

In this category are four shoes – one identified as a women's flat heel and another as a man's lace-up. Also present was a fragment of leather, possibly a belt, stamped with "Hauf Co./Prov. R.I." No such company could be identified.

Household – Architectural

This collection includes 30 wire nails, 26 of which could be measured. These ranged in size from 6d to 40d, with 13 or 50% representing a size typically used for siding or sheathing.

Household – Hardware

A single artifact – a nut and bolt – comprise this category.

Household – Furnishing

Nine mirror fragments were recovered representing two different mirrors (neither of which matches the fragments found in higher levels). Both of these were beveled, although one is curved. Also present were bed springs – also found in upper levels.

Level 7 did, however, yield a screw-type plug fuse with "Shock-Proof Thrift" molded on its face. None of these terms were registered as trade marks. This style fuse, with an "Edison base" dates to at least the first decade of the twentieth century, but was rarely used after 1950. These screw-in fuses were designed to protect an electric circuit. When there was excessive current a metal element melted, opening the circuit.

Also present in the collection are the remains of at least three interior frosted light bulbs with brass bases. Although no filament remains, the use of interior frosting indicates that the bulbs post-date 1925 (Woodhead et al. 1984:74). By 1938 Sears advertised 60 watt bulbs for 12¢ ($1.70 in 2002$).

Personal – Medicinal

Six bottles were present in the category, including one Chesebourgh Vaseline container, three over-the-counter medicine bottles for liquid, one Fletcher's Castoria bottle, and one bottle of a size and shape typically used for cod liver or mineral oil.

The cod liver or mineral oil bottle is identical to the specimen found in Level 5. One of the over-the-counter bottles has a manufacturer's mark for the Knox Glass Bottle Co. used between 1924 and 1968.

Personal – Cosmetic

This category produced five containers, including two small bottles, a shampoo or hand lotion bottle, a face cream or deodorant jar, and what was probably an inexpensive imitation of Ponds Cold Cream. Also present was a plastic comb imprinted with "Perfecta / Japan." No trademark associated with similar imported products could be identified.

Personal – Recreational

Two glass marbles were recovered from Level 7. As late as 1932 the Belknap catalog was advertising "Imported Marbles" as Seconds ($15.00 per 100), Mediums ($25.50 per 100), and First Quality ($36.00 per 100) ($197.00 to $474.00 in 2002$).

Personal – Decorative

The single artifact recovered from this category is an oval brass locket. The cover is decorated with stylized flowers along the edge and on the front cover. A similar locket is illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog for $3.98 ($51.00 in 2002$).

Personal – Other

In this category is a pocket knife with two blades. The 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog illustrates a similar knife being sold for .27¢ ($3.75 in 2002$) – illustrating how inexpensive and universally common these items had become by the early twentieth century.

Labor – Agriculture

Present in this collection were the remains of three buckets and the remains of a 5-gallon galvanized oil can. The oil can would have been used for bulk storage and might be found in a garage or repair facility. The other remains are all miscellaneous debris – a fragment of barbed wire, a staple, and a barrel strap.

Other

In this category is a single automobile part – a part of a chrome bumper – and a bicycle axle.

Level 8

Foodways -- Procurement

The Procurement category includes one 12 gauge shotgun shell with a "Western Xpert" headstamp. Also present are a .22 caliber casing with a "U" headstamp, signifying Union Metallic Cartridge Co. with a pre-1912 date, and a .32 caliber lead bullet.

Foodways – Preparation

The three items recovered include a red and white enamel sauce pan body that mends with a handle found in Level 7, a gray enamel preserving kettle, and a fragment of aluminum foil.

The preserving kettle is heavyweight tin ware with a bail handle that holds about 17 quarts. It was designed for the steam bath preserving of canned goods. Similar items are found in the 1955 Belknap catalog for about $6.00 ($40.30 in 2002$).

Foodways – Service

The whitewares include two undecorated plates, one undecorated cup, and one decalcomania cup. Also present are a "Jade-ite" cup matching similar specimens in Levels 6 and 7) and an aqua glass bowl matching to specimens in Level 7. Four tumblers are present in the collection.

Level 8 produced one silver plated table spoon with the backmark "1881 Rogers A1." This pattern was identified in the 1914 G.W. Huntley Co. catalog as La Vigne. At that time the price would have been .65¢ ($11.61 in 2002$) and Huntley advertised it as "Wm. A. Rogers '1881' Brand of Medium Priced Silver Plated Flatware." Hagan (1981:188) indicates that the pattern was introduced in 1908.

Table 31.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 8

	Soda	Milk	Food	Canning	Alcohol	Extract	UID
Clear	2	2	10	20	8	1	5
Brown					10		
Aqua	1						
Lt. Green			1				
Green	2						
Totals	5	2	11	20	18	1	5

Foodways – Storage

This collection consists of 62 glass containers, with the collection dominated by canning jars (20 specimens, 32.2%). Food and canning jars account for 50% of the collection, while alcohol containers represent only 29% of the total. This is also the first level where canning jars are more common than food containers, yielding a ratio of 1:0.6.

The clear soda bottles include Pepsi and Tom's – both brands that have been recovered from several well proveniences. The aqua and green bottles are all unmarked.

The milk bottles lack dairy names, although one is sufficiently intact to include the phrase, "Vitamin D."

Two of the food containers are of special interest. One is a French's mustard jar – identical to specimens found previously. The other item is not a bulk container, but rather a green molded glass salt shaker, complete with its perforated metal screw-top. The base has the Hazel Glass Co. mark used from 1920 through 1964 and the specimen closely resembles an example from the 1932 Belknap catalog being sold for about .18¢ ($2.37 in 2002$).

The collection includes three crown caps, three twist-on glass jar lids, and three friction caps typical of containers such as cocoa.

The can collection consists of 30 can fragments, but only three intact specimens. These include one cone-top beer can, one hole-in-top can measuring 300 x 314 and probably representing an evaporated milk container, and one rectangular fish or meat can that had been opened with a key. The remaining round can fragments have diameters ranging from 206 to 500, with clusters between 206 and 212, 300 and 308, and 400 and 408. Two cans were likely the 211 size, two cans were 300 size, and two were probably 307. Like other assemblages, we see considerable variability, representing a period prior to can size standardization.

The three fragmentary rectangular cans represent one food tin, one spice can, and one can that probably was used for a liquid such as syrup or oil. Similar cans are found in the Schafer Co. 1925 catalog for syrup in quantities from ¼ to 1 gallon.

Clothing – Fasteners

This collection includes two brass and iron suspender or overall buttons, one marked "Sanforized" (see Level 6), and nine buttons. The buttons include one Type 22 brass specimen stamped "U.S. Army." This particular design has not been identified. Also present are two shell buttons, six plastic buttons, and gilt-brass decorative or fashion button.

Clothing – Other

In this category are the remains of five shoes, as well as a variety of miscellaneous parts (leather fragments and brass grommets). Also recovered were two buckles, one brass and one iron, as well as a safety pin fragment.

Household – Architecture

Recovered were 39 intact nails, including four cut specimens and 35 wire nails, along with eight cut nail fragments and four unidentifiable fragments. The size of the cut nails ranged from 3d to 30d, with 51% representing a size used in framing (9-12d). Nails associated with siding account for 23% of the collection. Also present were 14 roofing nails and 11 fragments of window glass.

Household – Hardware

The only items from this subcategory are two screws.

Household – Finishing

Remains included a bed spring fragment (matching those found in previous levels), an intact light bulb, eight light bulb fragments, and 16 mirror fragments (12 are only 1/16-inch in thickness and have beveled edges, the remainder are ¼-inch thick).

The intact light bulb has a heavy blue cast and is marked, "Mazda / 120V100 Watt / Westinghouse /W." The remaining fragments were all clear glass, frosted on the interior. The Mazda bulb is advertised in the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 1093), where they are described as "surpass[ing] all others for long life, better light and economical service." A 100-watt Westinghouse Mazda bulbs cost 30¢ ($3.80 in 2002$), compared to the Sears bulb that would cost only 15¢ ($1.90 in 2002$). However, the "special blue glass gives light that approaches daylight" and was "ideal for sewing or judging colors."

Personal – Medicinal

Three clear bottles were identified. One was a prescription bottle with embossed liquid measurements on the size, another fragment had "Pharmac[ ]" embossed, and the third was embossed with "Lamber[t]" and represents a fragment of a Listerine bottle.

Personal – Cosmetic

Six specimens were identified from this subcategory. One was a brass tube, representing the interior portion of a lipstick. On the base was "Irresistible – Liplure / Vivid / Made in U.S.A." This same shade, made by a different company, is advertised in the 1938 Montgomery Ward catalog (pg. 453). The Montgomery Ward brand sold for .20¢ ($2.60 in 2002$). Liplure, or Angelus Liplure, was made popular by Harold Rome's 1937 revue, *Pins and Needles*, which included the song, "Nobody Makes a Pass at Me." The show was commissioned by Louis Schaffer, the drama head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and it reflected the new populist outlook of the Roosevelt administration. *Pins and Needles* had the longest run of any musical during the 1930s – providing plenty of opportunity for Liplure to enter popular culture.

Also recovered was a clear glass hand cream bottle, a clear glass ointment jar (similar to those used for cold or face creams), and three milk glass containers, two of which were identified as Ponds cold cream containers. The song "Nobody Makes a Pass at Me" also includes a reference to "I use Pond's on my skin" – presenting the vision of the stereotypical ideal woman of the time.

Personal – Recreational

The only items recovered were two glass marbles.

Personal – Other

In this subcategory were the remains of two pencils, and a ½ gallon Clorox bottle. Although these bottles began use in 1939, the grained texture dates this specimen after 1945.

Labor – Agriculture

Recovered were six barrel strap fragments, a large iron gear, and an iron wheel 6¾ -inches in diameter. The gear could not be specifically identified, but 5-inches in diameter and 3 teeth to the inch, it was clearly associated with heavy equipment. The wheel, however, was identified as virtually identical to several found on plows in the 1916 Montgomery Ward *The Farm Book*, including the Climax Prairie Breaking Plow and the Climax Shaker Potato Digger (pg. 75, 93).

Other

In this category are a set of brass gears, two iron springs all inside a brass bracket or housing. We believe that the specimen

represented part of a large clock or possibly a timer apparatus.

Level 9

Foodways – Procurement

This assemblage included one 12-gauge shotgun shell and five brass .22 rim fire shell casings. The shotgun shell was a Federal Monarch; Federal Cartridge Co. has been in business since 1922, although its headstamps were used even before that date, by Federal Cartridge and Machine Co. The .22 caliber casings are all manufactured by Union Metallic Cartridge Co.

Foodways – Preparation

The two recovered items from this subcategory include a gray enameled coffee pot and a metal muffin pan fragment.

The coffee pot appears identical to one identified in the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 724) as part of the "Big Bargain 9 Piece Gray Enamel" set for only $1.79 ($22.95 in 2002$). The muffin pan is found in several catalogs, including the 1932 Belknap catalog (pg. 1303) and the 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog (pg. 347), where prices ranged from about .08¢ to .19¢ ($1.10 to $2.60 in 2002$).

Foodways – Storage

Table 32.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 9

	Soda	Food	Canning	Alcohol	Extract
Clear	1	29	4	6	1
Brown				6	
Aqua			1		
Green	1			5	
Totals	2	29	5	17	1

Level 9 produced 54 containers (Table 32), with most (53.7%) being food containers. Alcohol containers are the next most common, representing 31.5% of the collection. As in all previous levels except for the last, food jars are more common than canning jars, with a canning to food jar ratio of 1:5.8

One of the clear bottles is embossed "Penick & Ford Ltd Inc. / New Orleans, LA." on its base. The firm of Penick & Ford dates to at least 1920 when it specialized in the wet milling of corn and corn syrup production. The company expanded its grocery line, owning a number of private labels, including Brer Rabbit Molasses, Brer Rabbit Syrup, Penick Syrup, Penick Salad Oil, Douglas Starch, Penford Corn Syrup, Penford Corn Sugar, and Douglas Feed. Acquired grocery lines included Vermont Maid syrup in 1928 and My-T-Fine Desserts in 1934. The patent number associated with this bottle, 123631, dates the design to 1940 when it was assigned to Penick & Ford.

The only other identifiable containers were a French's Mustard jar and a Jumbo Peanut Butter jar. Very common, however, were what appear to be small mayonnaise jars – six were recovered from this assemblage. Other recognizable jar forms are two relish or small jellies.

The only identifiable soda bottle was a clear glass Pepsi bottle.

The canning jar collection includes zinc caps with porcelain liners, as well as six fragments of red rubber cap rings.

The collection includes 29 cans, although like previous collections a large percentage of the can sizes were not standardized. Nevertheless, three are identifiable as rectangular spice containers, while the two other rectangular cans appear to be meat and cocoa. Standard sizes include No. 2 and 6 oz cans, with the majority occurring in the diameter range of 300 to 307.

Foodways – Service

The collection includes 25 fragments of whiteware, including undecorated, molded, decalcomania, gilt edged, and green tinted. These represent two plates, a saucer, and a cup. The cup pattern is very similar to one illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 547) as "Flower Basket," being sold as a 32-piece setting for $2.98 ($38.00 in 2002$). That at least some matching sets were purchased is suggested by the molded plate and saucer that are identical.

Also present were a green tinted "Jadeite" milk glass cup and a milk glass plate – which have matches in levels 5 through 8. Similarly, a pale pink glass tumbler has a match in level 7, while an aqua decorated bowl has matches in levels 7 and 8.

The collection includes at least six tumblers, two with identical designs. Also present is a foot and stem from a goblet.

Recovered from level 9 are two spoons and a fork. The fork, sterling silver, is illustrated in the 1914 Huntley catalog (pg. 401) as Violet and trade quality would cost $4.90 ($87.50 in 2002$). In spite of the value of this utensil it has been bent and worked, with the pattern cut or worn off, to form a tool of some type. The maker was R. Wallace & Sons Manufacturing Co., who used the mark between 1897 an 1956 (Rainwater and Redfield 1998:353-353).

One of the spoons is marked "Victor Co. ½." This may be a stamp for the Victor Silver Co., the low-end silver plated flatware of the Derby Silver Co. It was purchased by International Silver in 1898, but the mark continued to be used into the 1920s (Rainwater and Redfield 1998:351). The spoon is entirely plain – similar to other specimens identified to this firm.

The other spoon is marked "Pat. Mar. 1920 1881 R. Rogers A1." Although the exact pattern has not been identified, the trademark is that of Wm. A. Rogers Ltd. and was first used in 1910. The company and their trademarks were purchased by Oneida in 1929.

Clothing – Fasteners

Recovered were a safety pin fragment, a suspender/overall button, and six buttons. The buttons include one shell, and five plastic specimens. Also from this level is an iron buckle.

Clothing – Manufacture

In this category was half a pair of scissors, with a blade approximately 3-inches in length.

Clothing – Other

All of these remains are shoe related and represent at least 13 shoes and one slipper. The shoes include four identifiable women's shoes and five men's shoes.

One of the rubber heals in the collection is marked "USR Co." – indicating the U.S. Rubber Co., formed in 1892 and changed to Uniroyal in 1967.

The collection of men's shoe remains includes work boots – similar to styles previously reported – and illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 345) as their "Solid Leather Work Shoe" for $3.98 ($51.00 in 2002$), or the 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog (pg. 205) as the "Ward's Special Farm Shoes" for $2.00 ($27.80 in 2002$). One of these specimens exhibits extended use, with a replacement heel that is too small for the boot – probably reflecting use of available or salvaged materials. Also present, but less common, are more casual two or three eyelet shoes remains.

The collection of women's shoes includes one example of a 2-inch white heel – often called a "Spanish" or "Cuban" heel. The white color also indicates summer (after Labor Day) wear.

Household – Architectural

The 56 nails are dominated by wire examples (82% of the collection) and a third of the specimens are 9d to 12d in size – reflective of framing. An additional 21% are sheathing and siding nails. The collection, however, includes nails ranging in size from 4d to 60d – suggesting that the level includes a broad range of structural materials. Also present are five roofing nails and three fragments of window glass.

Household – Hardware

Present is one-half of an 8-inch strap hinge, a size suitable for a robust shed or barn door, although it could have been pressed into service in any number of situations. The other remains include a single screw and an iron escutcheon.

Household – Furnishing

This assemblage includes three items – two mirror fragments that match similar remains in levels 7 and 8, and a single plug fuse without any company information (a similar plug fuse was recovered from level 7). These fuses, the electric light bulb fragments, and the electric butter churn all document that the 38RD1260 residence was electrified.

Personal – Medicinal

Recovered was one green glass bottle and a matching dropper that is similar to several products illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 755) as Viosterol (vitamin D) and Halibut Liver Oil (a source of vitamins A and D) with Viosterol. The liquid with dropper was intended for infants who were unable to take the medicine by a spoonful. The cost was about $2.79 ($35.80 in 2002$).

Another bottle appears identical to the Amphyl Antiseptic offered by Montgomery Ward's 1938 catalog (pg. 464). Advertised as a "non-irritating, non-poisonous antiseptic and germicide," it was "fine to disinfect hands, sick room, instruments, etc." and cost .44¢ ($5.60 in 2002$).

The last identifiable bottle was a 26 oz. bottle of Phillips' Milk of Magnesia. This was being sold by a variety of catalogs and was heavily advertised. The 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 759) had a smaller bottle for only .34¢ ($4.40 in 2002$). By 1949 an ad from the *Saturday Evening Post* showing a young female with a radiant smile announced, "She can thank Phillips' LAXATIVE ACTION for this." The ad goes on to recommend that it be used every morning for "gentle, effective constipation relief . . . so you're not only rested after your night of slumber, but start the day on the sunny side – bright, cheerful, thoroughly refreshed!"

Whorton (2000) has written a history of constipation – and the clamor of advertisers to prevent the problem. He suggests that the first half of the twentieth century was the "golden age of constipation" when a variety of claims were being trumpeted for patent medicines and other treatments – including truly outrageous marketing to children.

The last bottle was for the J.R. Watkins Co. and would have held one of their many liniments.

Personal – Cosmetic

In this category are nine containers. Three are generic cold or face cream containers, one of clear glass and two of milk glass. A fourth is specifically identifiable as a Ponds cold cream jar. Also present are two scent or lotion bottles, as well as a Moroline petroleum jelly jar. Another is a Nadinola jar – probably their Freckle Cream shown in the 1938 Sears catalog for 47¢ ($6.15 in 2002$). Nadinola was produced by the Paris, Tennessee National Toilet Co. beginning in 1899 and was one of over 200 products intended to bleach and whiten the skin (most, including Nadinola, contained 10%

ammoniated mercury, a very toxic chemical). Peiss (1998) notes that while Nadinola was heavily used by African Americans, its marketing featured plantations, magnolia blossoms, and whiter than white hoop-skirted bells, successfully camouflaging any hint of the product's use by black clientele. Nevertheless, its marketing to whites played on the fear of white women that even a hint of a swarthy or dark complexion might be an indication of black blood and needed to be hidden.

The final item was a tooth powder can, similar to the one advertised in the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 773) selling for .17¢ to .69¢ ($2.20 to $8.85 in 2002$).

Personal – Recreational

Included are three glass marbles and a single toy tea cup of white porcelain with a gilt handle. A similar "Toy Dinner Set" was sold by Sears in the 1938 catalog (pg. 905) for .98¢ ($12.60 in 2002$). The catalog explained that "Dolly can now have her parties in modern manner and at little cost to her 'Mama.' And 'Mama' herself will be the proudest little hostess ever when she serves 'dinner' for her friends with this complete set."

Personal – Other

The only item in the category is a plastic pencil ferrule with a red eraser.

Labor – Agricultural

The remains are similar to those found elsewhere in the feature, including a padlock, two links of chain, twisted wire, and a small hoe fragment.

Other

Recovered were an unidentifiable brass fragment and an iron wheel. The latter may be the wheel from a toy car or truck, but we were unable to find a similar item in any of the catalogs.

Level 10

Foodways – Procurement

Recovered was a 12 gauge shotgun shell with the Western "Xpert" headstamp – likely predating the 1944 purchase of Western by Olin. Also present was a .22 caliber rim fire shell casing, with the "HI/SPEED" headstamp, used by Remington Arms Co. The final item was a .410 caliber shotgun shell casing with no other headstamp information.

Foodways – Preparation

The only item recovered from this subcategory is an aluminum basket or inset for a coffee percolator. Rarely seen in today's world of automatic coffee makers, these were commonly found inside coffee percolators used on stoves – the coffee grounds were placed inside the basket and the water brought to a boil. While the 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog shows these coffee pots selling for as little as .50¢ ($7.00 in 2002$), the 1955 Belknap catalog illustrates insert replacements selling for as little as .07¢ each (.50¢ in 2002$). The same catalog also illustrates replacement handles and glass percolator tops – reflecting a time when items were repaired, not discarded.

Table 33.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 10

	Soda	Food	Canning	Alcohol
Clear	1	15	8	8
Brown				6
Green				3
Totals	1	15	8	17

Foodways – Service

This assemblage includes 23 whiteware fragments, including undecorated, molded, ivory tinted, and green tinted wares. These

represent, however, only one cup and one bowl, with many specimens matching items found in previous levels.

Also present were the remains of a green glass pitcher, two tumblers, and a mug (as well as fragments from tumblers and an aqua bowl identified in previous levels. The pitcher is similar to Montgomery Ward's 1933 "7-Piece Ice Tea Set" (pg. 361) being sold for .79¢ ($11.00 in 2002$).

The final item is an aluminum knob. Although we found no match for the item, it appears as though it may have been used on a pot lid.

Foodways – Storage

In this subcategory are 41 glass containers, almost equally divided between food jars (15 or 36.6%) and alcohol containers (17 or 41.5%). The canning to food jar ratio is 1:1.9, similar to the bulk of the levels from this feature.

Several of the canning jars have early dates. For example the Atlas Strong Shoulder Mason and the Ball Perfect Mason are both dated by Toulouse (1977:4, 7) to about 1915. As mentioned previously, this suggests that canning was becoming less common (with the greater availability and affordability of ready-prepared foods) and jars were gradually being discarded.

Also present are the remains of 17 cans, including one condensed milk, 12 food cans, two meat tins, and two spice containers.

Closures include a zinc canning lid with milk glass liner, one glass jar lid, one metal canning jar lid, three crown caps, and four metal twist caps.

Clothing – Fasteners

Level 10 produced three buttons – one plastic and two brass -- a brass hook, and an iron buckle.

Clothing – Other

The bulk of these items were shoe related, including four heels, one leather toe fragment, a leather tongue fragment, a leather vamp fragment, and 10 miscellaneous leather fragments. These represent one child's shoe, the remains of a possible "sneaker" fragment, a men's work boot, and a women's shoe with a 1-inch heel.

Although the first sneaker (cloth and rubber soled shoe) was developed as early as 1893, the term wasn't applied until 1916 when the U.S. Rubber Co. used it with their Keds brand, to describe the reduced noise of their rubber soles.

The last item in this collection was the handle for a sad iron. The 1932 Belknap catalog (pg. 1408) illustrates a nearly identical handle with the entire iron costing about $1.22 ($16.00 in 2002$). The handle had broken off the iron and was discarded; the iron itself may have been retained for a door stop or for some other use – it was not found in the well.

Household – Architecture

This is the only provenience where wrought nails were identified. Otherwise, the collection was dominated by wire nails, with most (14 or 50%) the sizes associated with framing. Also present, as with other levels, were small quantities of roofing nails and window glass – suggesting that as repairs were conducted, the debris found their way into this feature.

Household – Hardware

Present was a lockbox from a rim lock. Somewhat similar (although not the same size) rim locks are illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 1032) and 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog (pg. 458), where the cost about .35¢ ($4.90 in 2002$).

The other item was a hook, similar to those used on screen doors.

Household – Furnishings

Recovered are 10 fragments of thin lantern glass and a single mirror fragment.

Personal – Medicinal

Seven containers were identified that fit this category. Two are clear bottles that likely contained cod liver or mineral oil, a common laxative and dietary supplement of the period. Two additional bottles, one brown and one clear, appear to be small medicine bottles; the brown container was probably used for aspirin and is similar to those illustrated in the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 760). Another bottle, of blue glass, is likely a milk of magnesia type product. For example, the 1938 Sears catalog (pg. 759) illustrates a similar bottle of Approved Milk of Magnesia, offered either as a liquid or pills.

The last item is a salve can, probably for a zinc cream or petroleum jelly. A nearly identical container is found in the 1938 Montgomery Ward catalog (pg. 464) containing a zinc ointment – "a relief for many ordinary skin irritations" – for only .19¢ ($2.40 in 2002$).

Personal – Cosmetic

Seven bottles are included in this subcategory. Four are lotion bottles, one is a probable face or skin cream jar, one is a perfume bottle, and one was probably used for hair oil or shampoo based on the size and form of the bottle.

Personal – Recreational

Level 10 included another toy ceramic with the same pattern as the specimen found in level 9. This item is a white porcelain creamer.

Also present is the fragment of a Prince Albert tobacco tin.

Personal – Other

These items include a fragment of a white porcelain piggy bank, matching the specimen reported from level 5, and a fragment of pencil lead.

Labor – Agricultural

Three items are included in this subcategory – a barrel strap, a staple, and a portion of an oil or lubricant can lid top.

Other

Four items in this category are likely associated with an automobile – a valve cap from the stem of a tire and three fragments of a red glass tail light lens.

Level 11

Foodways – Procurement

The two 12 gauge shotgun shells were both Western brands, with the Super X and Field headstamps. These likely date prior to 1944 when the company was acquired by Olin.

There are also three .22 caliber shell casings – one each manufactured by Winchester Western, Union Metallic Cartridge Co., and Remington Arms. All of these companies have been discussed previously.

Foodways – Service

The ceramics recovered from Level 11 include one undecorated whiteware bowl and one cup. The cup exhibits a mark for the Salem China Company of Salem, Ohio that began during World War 2 (their "Victory" mark), although a terminal date is not reported (Lehner 1988:396-397). A molded bowl was also present. The remaining items were matched by items from higher levels. Similarly, an aqua glass bowl and milk glass cup have also been reported from previous levels.

Two spoons were recovered. Both patterns are found in Hagan (1981:10-11) and both are reported to be late nineteenth century patterns. One is undecorated and identified as Windsor. This pattern is also found in the 1923 Bering-Cortes catalog (pg. 664) advertised as the Windsor pattern. Tea spoons were selling for .17¢ each ($1.80 in 2002$). The reverse of this example is marked "Alliance." The other pattern was known as Olive and is more elaborate. The reverse is marked M.P. Co. A 8. Although described as nineteenth century patterns, both were probably available into at least the first third of the twentieth century and do not necessarily reflect heirloom items.

Also recovered from this level was a brass knob, previously silver plated, which appears to have been the finial broken from a plated tea or coffee pot.

Foodways – Storage

A total of 35 glass containers was recovered from Level 11, with food containers representing 40% of the total, followed by alcohol containers at 28.6%. The canning to food jar ratio is 1:3.5, again suggesting that canning jars were being rapidly replaced by prepackaged foods.

The 13 cans identified from this level include 11 food containers, one sardine or fish tin, and one spice tin.

Clothing – Fasteners

Recovered were two plastic buttons, one brass button with a glass jewel inset, and one shell button. Also recovered was a fragment of a safety pin.

Clothing – Other

The 20 fragments of leather and shoe heels are largely unidentifiable fragments from this level. Only a single women's shoe could be identified. Also present, however, is a fragment of a plastic belt, probably for a woman or child.

Household – Architecture

Nails are less common here than in previous levels. Nevertheless, 45% of the cut nails are of size typically used in framing (9d to 12d). Equal numbers are found of sizes suitable for timber shingles or other detail work and sheathing and siding. Together these two classes account for 40% of the collection.

Table 34.
Glass Containers from 38RD1260, Level 11

	Soda	Milk	Food	Canning	Alcohol	UID
Clear	3	2	14	3	2	
Brown					4	
Aqua				1		
Lt. Green						
Green	1				3	1
Black					1	
Totals	4	2	14	4	10	1

Household – Hardware

Recovered in this subcategory was a doorknob fragment of red clay, probably associated with the lock box fragment recovered from Level 10. Termed "mineral knobs," these were selling for about .41¢ ($5.40 in 2002$) in the 1932 Belknap catalog (pg. 740).

Also present is another plug fuse, this one marked "Super Pyrex U.S.A." Similar plug fuses are illustrated in the 1955 Belknap catalog (pg. 1606), with the comment that not only was the glass the perfect insulator, being shock proof, but the glass allowed light to enter from all sides, "making the link visible at all times." The cost of these fuses was $1.38 each ($9.26 in 2002$). Pyrex was invented in 1915 and patented in 1919 – but these fuses are not found until the second half of the twentieth century.

Household – Furnishings

This collection is dominated by a variety of unusual lantern and globe fragments. Present are two lamp chimneys similar to the Rochester model illustrated in the 1923 Bering-Cortes catalog (pg. 447) and being sold for kerosene burners at .25¢ each ($2.60 in 2002$). Also recovered are the remains of two industrial lamp globes – both Dietz brand and similar to the one illustrated in the 1932 Belknap catalog (pg. 1476) for blizzard lanterns at a price of .34¢ ($4.50 in 2002$). A third, similar globe was also recovered but was engraved, "Fitzall / New York U.S.A."

Also present were what are called bottom globes, designed for wall mounted kerosene or angle lamps, with an opening at the top of the globe (where a top globe would be located) and on the side, where it would have fit over the burner attached to the wall fitting. Similar globes are found in the 1944 Montgomery Ward catalog (pg. 565) selling for .79¢ ($8.00 in 2002$).

In addition to the globes, the remains of four kerosene lamp burners were also identified in the level, including both the burner and its hinged cover. The wick turner knobs are stamped "Angle Mfg. Co. / U.S.A." This company was in business by 1896, although the wick turner knobs were stamped Angle Lamp Co. prior to 1905. The firm went out of business in 1929. Also present were the remains of several metal lamp bowls, likely associated with Angle burners.

Personal – Medicinal

Seven bottles comprise this subcategory, including four pharmacy or pill bottles, one of which still contains an unknown liquid. Also recovered were a Pepto Bismol bottle and a Phillips Milk of Magnesia bottle. The last bottle contains a quantity of iodine (based on the color and smell).

Personal – Cosmetic

This collection includes the plastic handle of a toothbrush – the only such item recovered during these investigations. This particular toothbrush is illustrated in the 1933 Montgomery Ward catalog (pg. 225) as the "New Perma-Grip Pro-phy-lac-tic Tooth Brush" being sold for .39¢ ($5.40 in 2002$).

The single bottle recovered was likely used for hair tonic or shampoo, while the milk glass jar probably held face cream. The last item is a small metal lid, probably to talcum or tooth powder.

Personal – Recreation

The only item recovered that falls into this category is a toy saucer or plate. The specimen exhibits the same pattern as those recovered from levels 9 and 10.

Personal – Decorative

The only item from this category is a brass brooch fragment.

Labor – Agriculture

In this subcategory was a rectangular can lid, probably for a liquid, and two staples.

Also recovered was a bottle embossed at the neck, "Fly-Tox." We have identified 1926

Figure 61. Examples of ads for Fly-Tox (*The Literary Journal*, July 17 and August 21, 1926).

advertisements for Fly-Tox in July 17 and August 21 issues of *The Literary Journal*. The ads warn parents of the disease and death caused by flies and mosquitoes (as well as moths, roaches, ants, and fleas) – "flies cause forty thousand deaths," "for health, happy little folks spray every room with Fly-Tox," "the mosquito is . . . an assassin," "whole epidemics . . .," "flies and mosquitoes transmit typhoid fever, dysentery, infantile paralysis."

While little can be found concerning Fly-Tox, its leading competitor was the Standard Oil pesticide Flit, made famous by Theodore Seuss Geisel's ("Dr. Seuss") ad campaign with the phrase, "Quick, Henry, the Flit!" Since period ads for Flit announce its improvement with the addition of DDT, it is likely that Fly-Tox was similarly empowered to kill during the 1940s. Their earlier composition has not been identified during this research. Nevertheless in the late 1930s, household insecticides such as Flit and Fly-Tox accounted for over 56% of the country's annual pesticide sales.

Other

In this category was a fragment of a South Carolina license plate lacking a date. Other items were a white metal rivet, an iron cap, and a decorative brass object.

Level 12

This level produced very few artifacts: two undecorated whiteware ceramics representing a plate and a cup, the remains of a single food jar, several unidentifiable nails, and an additional fragment of the bisque porcelain that has been identified in previous levels. None offer any significant additional insights.

Summary

Figure 62 illustrates datable artifacts recovered from 38RD1260 using the same bracketing technique proposed for 38RD1262. This analysis suggests that the materials in the well date from about 1935 through about 1955 – representing an entirely different period than the privy identified at 38RD1262. This, of course, makes sense – while the privy produced abundant evidence of wagons, the 38RD1260 well yielded equally abundant evidence of automobiles. And while the privy produced little evidence of electricity, the well contained a variety of items indicating that its structure was electrified. Even the architectural items reveal changes – the 38RD1262 privy contained abundant cut nails, while the 38RD1260 well was dominated by wire nails.

With the 1935-1955 date range in mind, the 38RD1260 feature appears to document use

Figure 62. Datable objects in the 38RD1260 well.

of the property by Rosemary Farms and later by Frank G. Tompkins (earlier absentee owner), as trustee for Martha Tompkins Melton and Louise Tompkins Brailsford. The property continued to be held by absentee owners and the assumption is that the 38RD1260 well represents refuse from a tenant on the property.

The pattern analysis for 38RD1260 is provided in Table 35, where it is compared to several other sites, including the earlier remains from 38RD1262. The graph offered in the summary for 38RD1262 is revised with the addition of the 38RD1260 data and presented below as Figure 62. It reveals that the pattern data from the 38RD1260 well is consistent with one of the previously identified patterns, supplementing the range exhibited for what is termed "Pattern 2" – those sites with high foodways and low household/structural, such as the Millwood tenant, 38HR131, the Sumter sites, and 38BK397. This site is distinct from 38RD1262, where we find high foodways and moderate structural.

Table 35.
Pattern Analysis for the 38RD1260 Well Compared to Other Tenant Sites
(not including the "Other" category).

Category	38RD1260 Well	38RD1262 Privy	Millwood Tenant[1]	24 Tenant Farms in Aiken[2]	Finch Farm Tenant[3]	38BK397[4]	38HR131[5]	Sumter County Sites[6]
Foodways	74.2	58.4	88.6	19.7	58.9	79.5	79.9	79.0
Clothing	4.6	5.2	3.7	17.9	0.5	0.6	7.1	0
Household/Structural	11.3	24.8	2.8	59.8	34.2	19.5	4.8	11.0
Personal	6.2	3.3	3.6	2.2	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.3
Labor	1.1	8.3	1.3	0.3	5.1	0.2	7.7	9.7

[1] Orser 1988:235 (based on excavation of structure)
[2] Cabak and Inkrot 1997 (average of 24 tenant farms, based primarily on shovel testing)
[3] Joseph et al. 1991:172 (Locus D)
[4] Brockington et al. 1985:219
[5] Trinkley and Caballero 1983a:48
[6] Trinkley et al. 1985:39

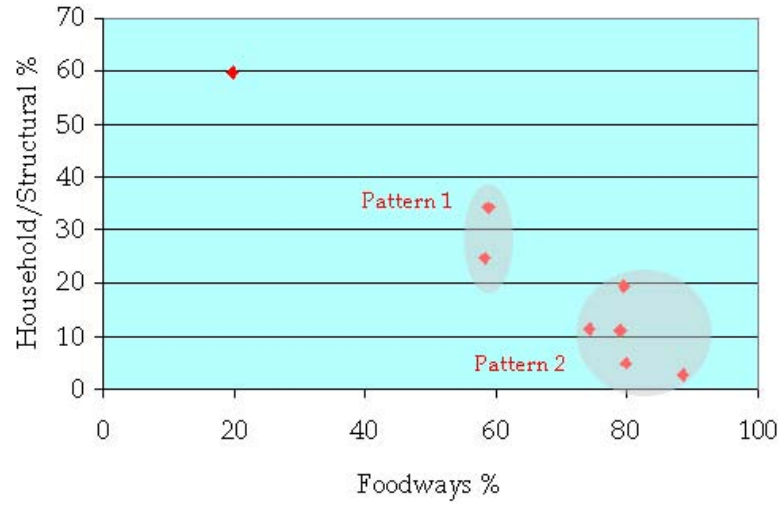

Figure 63. Scatter plot of different tenant patterns (see Table 35 for the data sources).

The collection from 38RD1260 provides a somewhat different view of tenancy than 38RD1262. There is, for example, electricity and at least some of the conveniences that resulted,

Table 36.
Probable Contents of Glass Containers at 38RD1260 and 38RD1262

	Milk	Soda	Food	Canning	Alcohol	Extract
38RD1260	2.2	10.1	46.6	19.2	19.8	2.1
38RD1262		11.4	13.6		75.0	

such as the ability to churn butter electrically rather than by hand, or the use of electric lights rather than kerosene lamps. Electricity, however, remained a luxury and there is no sign of electric irons or electric kitchen aids.

There is other evidence of change. For example, with the coming of electricity we see the wholesale discard of kerosene lamps at the bottom of the well. There is also considerably less evidence of agricultural labor, no wagon parts, fewer plow parts, fewer horse or mule-related specimens, and fewer tools – all perhaps related to the introduction of tractors. A change that is certainly equal to the coming of electricity would have been the introduction of the automobile. And we see an increase in convenience provided by foods in glass jars, with a concurrent reduction in canning and increase in the discard of canning jars (at least some clearly heirlooms from a previous generation).

The medicinal and cosmetic items in the collection are also worthy of comment. The occupants at 38RD1260 were beginning to participate in a more consumer driven society – laxatives are common, as are a variety of over the counter preparations. 38RD1260 produced a number of hand cream, face cream, and similar cosmetics – even lipstick and a variety of deodorants. Of particular interest are the examples of Nadinola – a product often used by African Americans to bleach or lighten the skin, but also used by white women to ensure their Anglo-Saxon roots. We also see tooth powder only in the 38RD1260 well remains, along with a single discarded nylon bristle toothbrush – the result of Americans beginning to take dental hygiene more seriously about the time of the Second World War. This same concern with hygiene is seen in the presence of a pesticide bottle in the 38RD1260 well.

When the container glass is examined, we see that nearly a fifth of all glass containers held alcohol – clearly the occupants were not teetotalers. Nevertheless, the bulk of the collection -- 65.8% -- represents either canning jars or food (including condiment) containers. The absence of milk bottles at 38RD1262 doesn't necessarily imply that no milk was drunk. Rather it may be that the occupants at 38RD1260 did not have a milk cow or the development of sanitary dairies in the Columbia area made the purchase a viable alternative. Milk and extract containers both occur in nearly equal proportions.

As a site, the canning to food container ratio is 1:2.4, suggesting perhaps that canning had peaked in popularity and was on the decline (based on the recovery of primarily antiquated canning jar fragments). Combined with metal cans, there seems to be abundant evidence that the occupants were relying heavily on convenience foods – commercially prepared, canned, and packaged foods.

Table 37.
Vessel Forms at 38RD1260, in %

Flatwares	55.2
Hollow wares	43.1
Serving	1.7

When this site is compared to the earlier 38RD1262 there is a notable difference – the earlier site contained far more alcohol containers and little evidence of canning jars was found (lids were found, although no minimum vessel count using the glass was possible). Soda is the only container that is found in about the same proportions at both sites.

It is also useful to compare the ceramic collection. The majority of the collection – 55.2% -- represents flatware, followed by 43.1% hollow ware. Serving vessels (only one was identified) account for only 1.7% of the collection. These percentages are very close to those found at 38RD1262 (serving vessels were more common at that site, as were storage containers, absent from 38RD1260).

The ceramic assemblage shows no particular indication of affluence, with less than a quarter of the collection consisting of more expensive motifs such as decalcomania or hand painted wares (most are plain, with a few stamped, striped, or tinted specimens). Nevertheless, the overall assemblage appears better off than we might imagine tenants.

For example, we have evidence of electricity – and it seems unlikely that a landlord would pay for this convenience. There is also ample evidence of an automobile. And we see a range of expensive items, such as the butter churn, the Boy Scout shoes, the doll's tea set, silver plated and even some sterling silver utensils, silver plated teaware, evidence of a clock, an ice skate, and other items. In fact, the variety of remains suggests that this tenant was perhaps making his way out of tenancy.

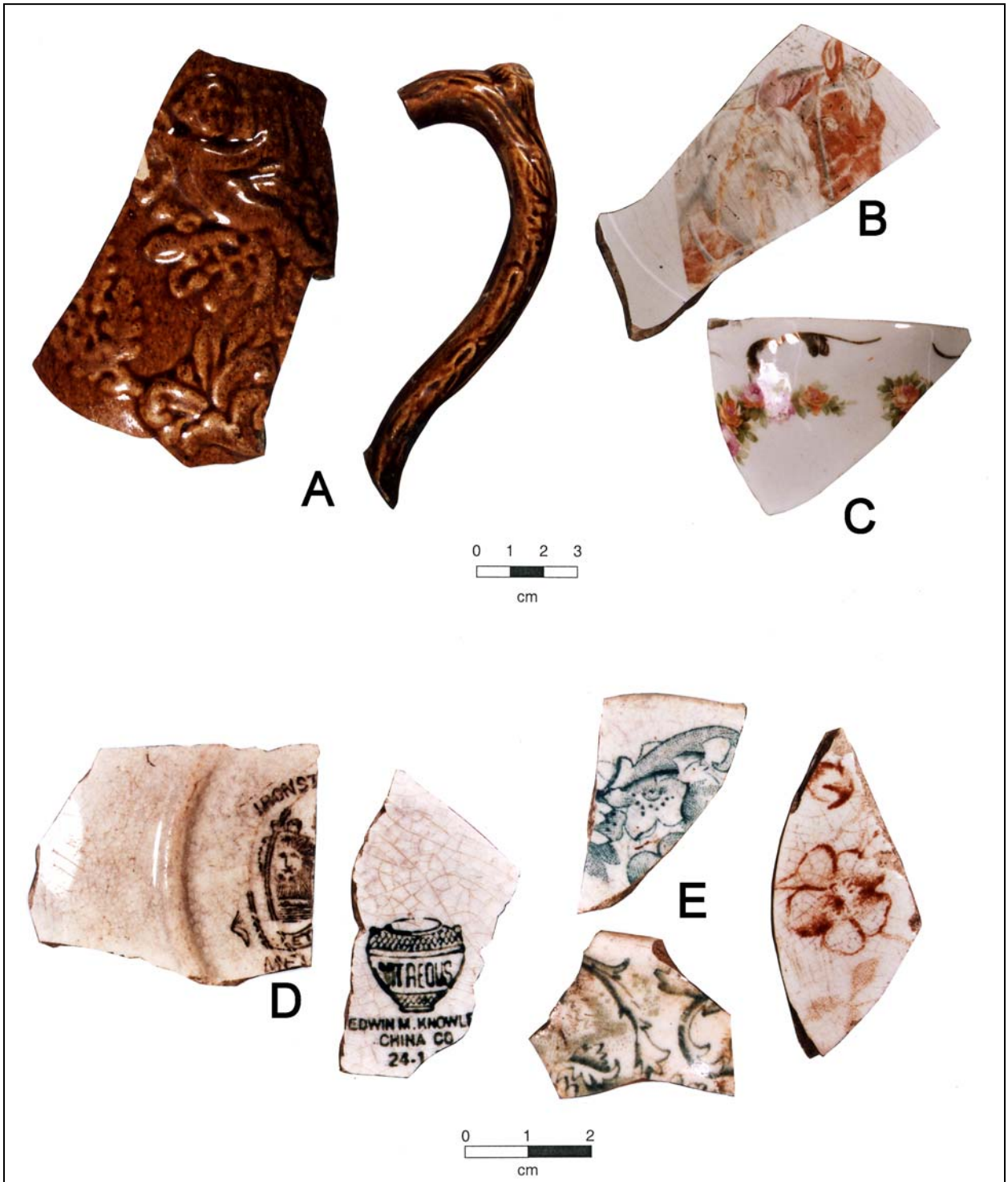

Figure 64. 38RD1262. A, Rockingham; B, decalcomania whiteware; C, decalcomania porcelain; D, examples of makers' marks on whiteware; E, non-blue (green and brown) transfer printed whiteware.

Figure 65. 38RD1262. A, Dodson's Liver-Tone; B, Pitcher's Castoria; C, Chas. H. Fletcher's Castoria; D, Coca Cola / Columbia, S.C. / This Bottle is Never Sold; E, J.C. Seegers / Columbia / S.C.; F, green wine bottle with cork.

Figure 66. 38RD1262. A, Dr. King's New Life Pills / Chicago, Ill.; B, Johnson's Chill & Fever Tonic / Guaranteed to Cure / A.E. Girardeau Savh GA; C, Whittemore / Boston; D, W.H. Griffin / Bottler / Columbia / S.C.; E, clear flint glass medicine bottle; F, Wingfield Druggist / Columbia; G, S.C. Dispensary bottle; H, pickle bottle; I, F.W. Seegers / Bottler / Columbia, S.C. / Registered / Bottle Not To Be Sold; J, Chero Cola / This Bottle Never Sold.

Figure 67. 38RD1260, A, Oneida Community silver plated spoon; B, William A. Rogers "1881" silver plated spoon; C, sterling silver fork, Violet pattern, bent and worked to form a tool; D, polychrome hand painted whiteware; E, front and reverse showing maker's mark, decalcomania whiteware.

Figure 68. 38RD1260. A, stamped whiteware; B, green tinted whiteware; C, Albany stoneware; D, milk glass with a green tint; E, milk glass; F, Edisto Farms Dairy milk bottle, front and reverse; G, Columbia Dairies milk bottle; H, Chesebrough Vaseline jar base; I, Tom's, Hartness Bottling Works, West Columbia, S.C.; J, Jumbo Peanut Butter, Cincinnati, OH; K, A. Overholtt Co. (whiskey bottle).

Figure 69. 38RD1260. A, probable coffee jar with zinc canning lid suggesting reuse for canning; B, food jar with zinc canning lid suggesting reuse for canning; C, food jar; D, Duraglas jar, probably for coffee; E, food jar; F, food jar.

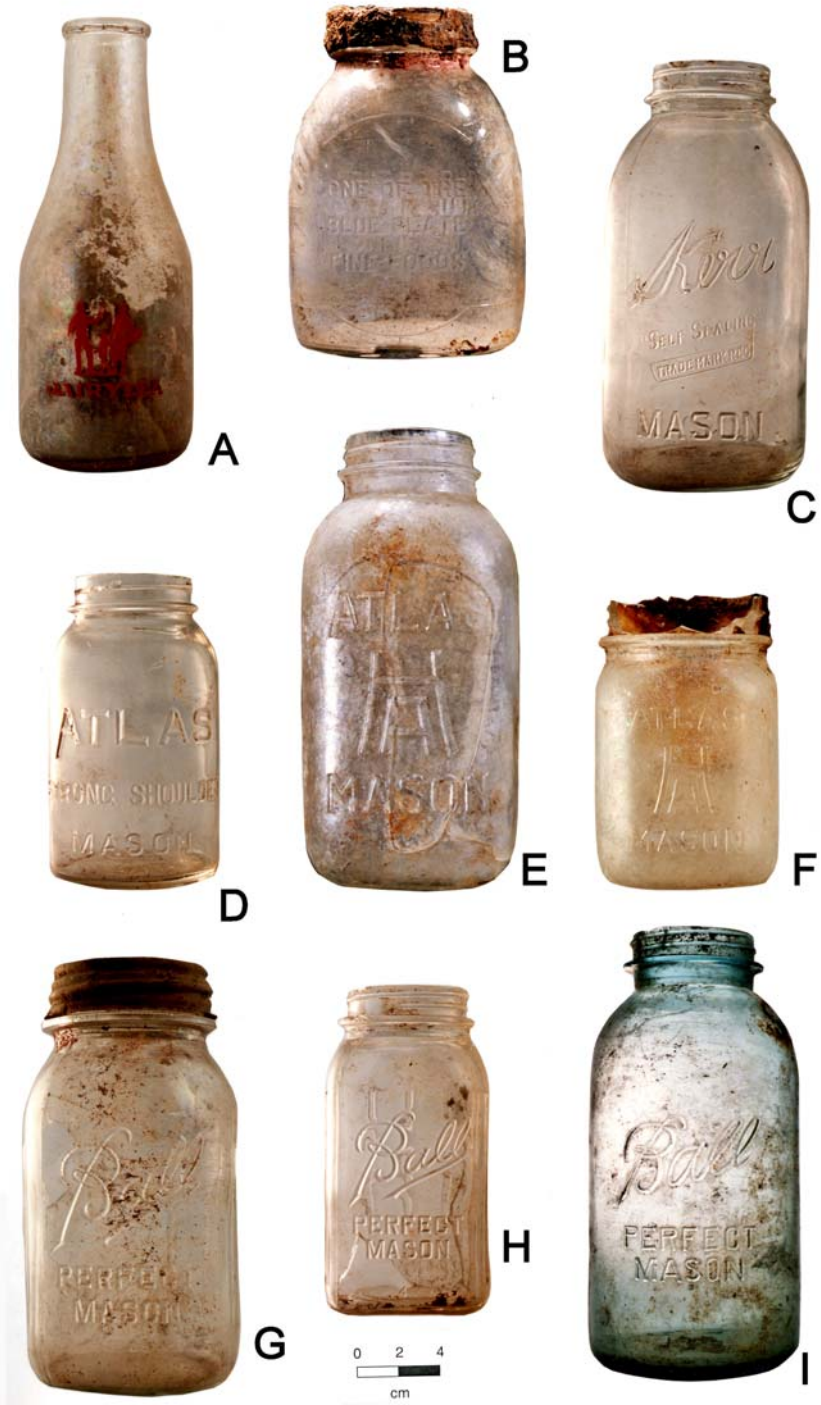

Figure 70. 38RD1260. A, Dairylea milk bottle; B, Blue Plate Fine Foods, probably mayonnaise; C, Kerr Self-Sealing Mason Jar; D, Atlas Stone Shoulder, small mason jar; E, Atlas large mason jar; F, Atlas small mason jar; G, Ball Perfect Mason with zinc canning jar cap; H, Ball Perfect Mason; I, blue Ball Perfect Mason.

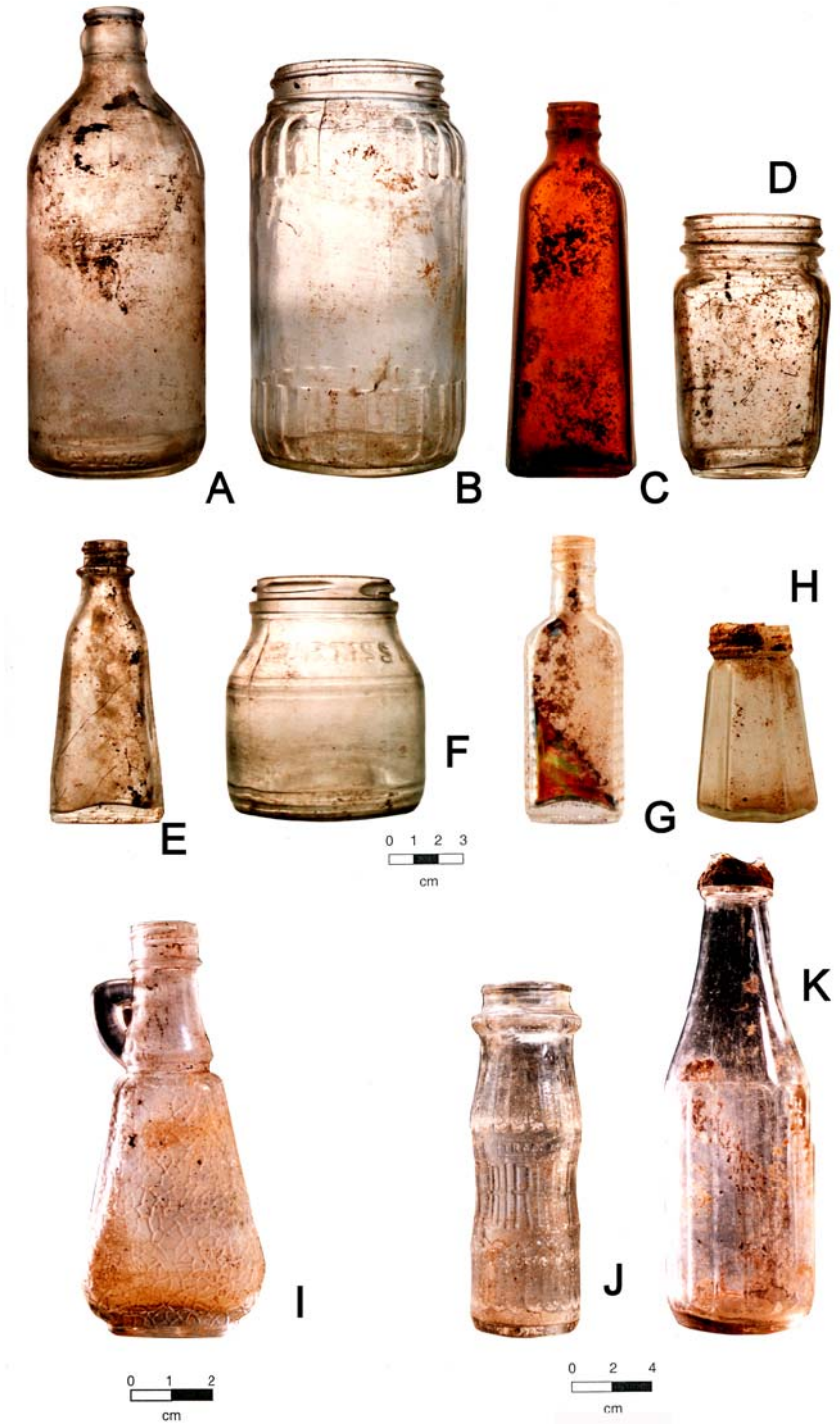

Figure 71. 38RD1260. A, vinegar bottle; B, Duke's Mayonnaise; C, extract bottle, possibly vanilla; D, food jar, probably mustard; E, extract or flavoring bottle; F, "Another Curtiss Product" food jar; G, extract or flavoring bottle; H, salt shaker with metal lid; I, small syrup bottle; J, Birelley's juice bottle; K, ketchup bottle.

Figure 72. 38RD1260. A, Double Cola, front and reverse; B, Pepsi Cola, red, white, and blue bottle; C, 7-Up, front and reverse; D, Sun Crest; E, Hiram Walker & Sons, Canada half-pint whiskey bottle, post 1887.

Figure 73. 38RD1260. A, pint alcohol bottle; B, clear pint alcohol bottle with metal screw cap; C, clear pint alcohol bottle; D, clear alcohol (probably wine) bottle; E, Berry Bro.'s & Co., London, England alcohol bottle; F, alcohol bottle; G, beer bottle.

Figure 74. 38RD1260. A, clear 4/5s quart cylindrical alcohol bottle; B, green 4/5s quart cylindrical alcohol bottle; C, brown whiskey bottle, screw top; D, clear screw top alcohol bottle; E, pint alcohol bottle; F, clear half pint alcohol bottle; G, clear, half pint alcohol bottle.

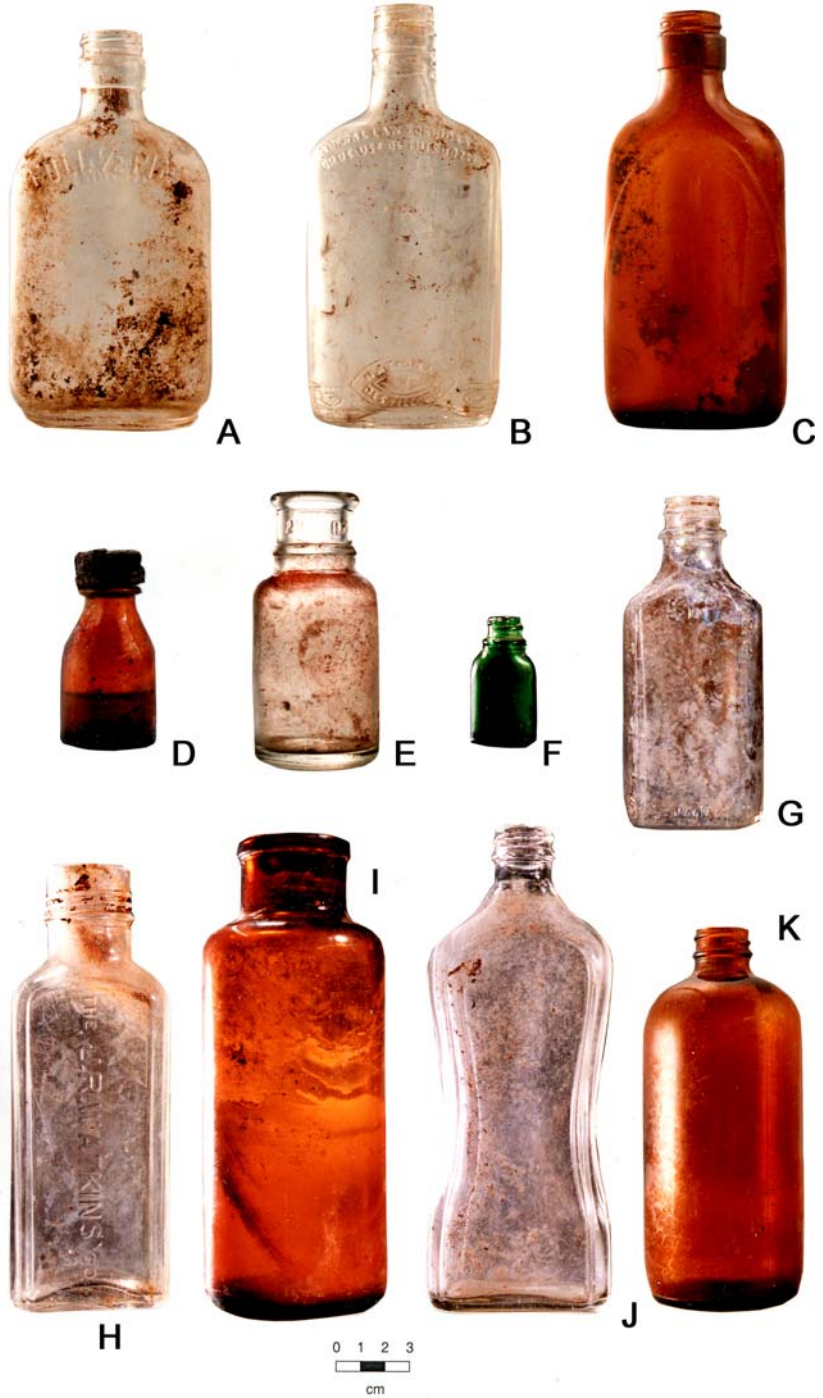

Figure 75. 38RD1260. A, clear half pint alcohol bottle; B, clear half pint National Distillers; C, brown half pint alcohol bottle; D, medicine bottle, probably iodine; E, medicine bottle, cork or stopper; F, small green medicine bottle, possibly aspirin; G, Duraglas medicine bottle; H, J.R. Watkins bottle; I, brown medicine bottle, cork or stopper; J, clear hobble skirt medicine bottle; K, brown cylindrical bottle.

Figure 76. 38RD1260. A, homeopathic medicine vial; B, medicine bottle, cork or stopper; C, medicine bottle, possibly iodine; D, Moroline; E, medicine bottle with metal screw lid; F, Vick's; G, Anacin; H, Phillip's Milk of Magnesia; I, Lydia Pinkham's Medicine; J, blue medicine bottle, probably milk of magnesia; K, probable cod liver oil bottle with metal screw top.

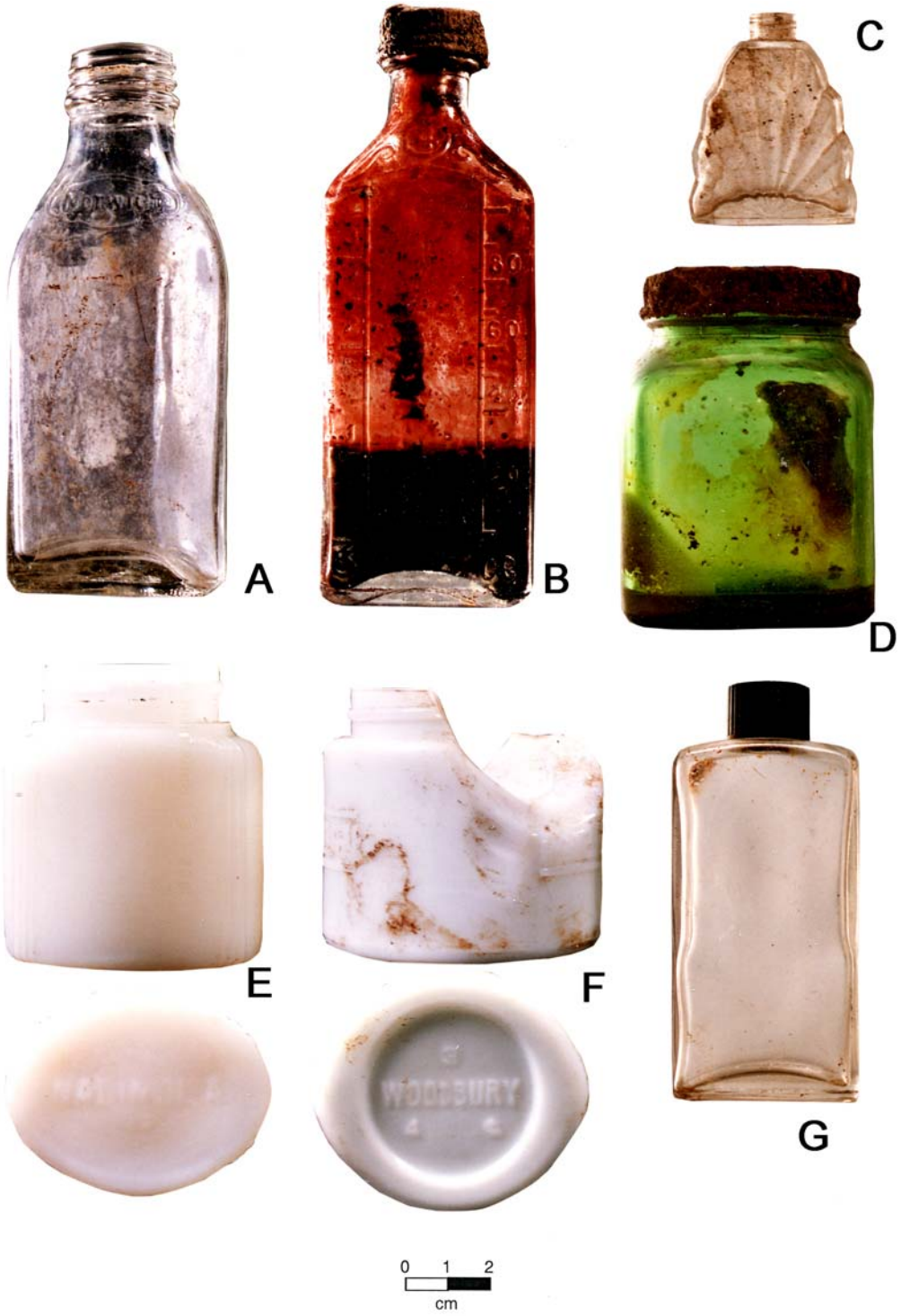

Figure 77. 38RD1260. A, Norwich; B, medicine bottle with iodine; C, perfume bottle; D, green jar with metal screw lid; E, Nadinola jar; F, Woodbury jar; G, cologne or toilet water bottle with plastic cap.

Figure 78. 38RD1260. A, Fitch's; B, Revlon; C, Pond's; D-E, cosmetic jars; F-G, cologne or toilet water bottles; H-I, cold cream jars; J, nail polish bottle; K, cold cream jar; L, Fly-Tox; M, Penick & Ford, New Orleans; N, Clorox bottle.

Figure 79. 38RD1260. A, cone-top metal beer can; B, syringe tubing; C, hard rubber vaginal syringe; D, scissors; E, blue Mazda light bulb; F, glass car light cover fragment; G, brass lid, possibly for tooth cleaning powder; H, Green River Whiskey token.

Figure 80. 38RD1260. A, glass medicine dropper; B, lipstick tube; C, locket; D, earring; E, Lip Lupe lipstick tub base; F-G, decorative brass jewelry; H, shell button; I-L, buttons; M, toy tea set fragments; N, piggy bank; O, Boy Scout token; P, pencil ferrule.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

What History Tells Us

At the most general level, we have a broad collection of statistics, oral histories, sociology, and social science looking at tenancy from the 1920s and 1930s. Some more recent researchers have been able to weave these data together to provide compelling social or economic histories. In Richland County, however, we do not have agricultural liens, plantation day books or accounts, or oral histories. The agricultural schedules for the period in question are no longer available and the enumeration tract data are ambiguous.

We are able to identify the owner of the parcels on which the three sites are located. In the case of 38RD1249 the property, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, was owned by the Rabon family, most likely L.A. Rabon. It was later transferred to J.T. Rabon and then to Simon Rabon. We do not, however, know the family connections of these individuals, if any exists. In 1943 Simon Rabon sold the parcel containing the site to Billie B. Barber. Barber held the property into the 1970s. The early Rabons appear, based on very scanty information, to have been farmers of modest means and owning a relatively small amount of property. By the 1930s, it seems that J.T. Rabon was wealthy and likely an absentee owner. Nothing is known about Barber.

The parcel containing both 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 was acquired by Frank G. Tompkins in 1912 and Tompkins held the property until 1935, when it was sold to Rosemary Farms, which may have been a holding company since the property was deeded back to Tompkins in 1942. Tompkins, a Columbia attorney and investor, was clearly an absentee owner and nothing is known concerning his activities on the property, although it seems unlikely that he was a farmer or particularly familiar with farming activities.

Although there are no plats of either parcel, sites 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 are shown on the 1935 Killian 15' topographic map. They are not, however, found on any other period maps of the area.

When we examine the enumeration district data for the vicinity of 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 we discover that most of the residents were farmers (73.9% in 1930) – either owners or tenants. Since we can rule out owners, it is likely that 38RD1260 and 38RD1262 represent residences of tenants. Similar information is available for the enumeration district that contains 38RD1249. These data, however, are unable to suggest whether these tenants were more likely African Americans or whites – and this matters since there were significant differences in the income levels of black and white tenants (perhaps leading to other culturally identifiable differences). Moreover, as the artifacts from 38RD1260 are examined, we find a collection that does not appear consistent with the common perception of tenancy.

As a result, historical documents provide very little information concerning those who lived and labored on these tracts. In fact, there is almost no information concerning tenancy in Richland County – and no information that would allow comparisons and contrasts to be drawn between the tenants on the sandy, infertile soils of upper Richland and those on the richer alluvial soils of lower Richland. The tenants in Richland County, in spite of detailed historical and architectural surveys of both upper and lower Richland, remain invisible people. Histories that are available for Richland County have almost without exception focused on the development

of Columbia to the exclusion of activities elsewhere.

Frankly, it seems unlikely that historical studies will be able to provide much information concerning tenancy in Richland County – the documentary sources are simply not present. Without archaeological study, then, Richland's tenants will remain invisible to history.

Research Questions

Based primarily on previous archaeological research on tenancy, a broad number of research topics were considered. These included such issues as exploring settlement patterns on the plantation landscape, investigating market profiles as observed in the artifactual remains, comparing the artifact assemblages of owners and tenants, and examining refuse disposal practices.

In spite of the research potential so amply demonstrated by such researchers as Bill Adams (1980) and Charles Orser (1988), or the more recent work of Melanie Cabak and Marie Inkrot (1997), the archaeology of tenancy has not been a primary research goal in South Carolina. In fact, the record – at best – is spotty. For example, at even the most fundamental level, there is little comparative data and archaeologists have not sought to examine patterns that might be associated with tenancy.

As a result, our goal at these three sites was limited to the examination of the artifacts and an effort to reconstruct the lifeways of the sites' occupants. As previously discussed, our work was limited to the excavation of the three features, therefore limiting our ability to comment on architectural remains or details on refuse disposal. We have attempted to follow Orser's advice that research should focus on what the artifacts meant to the occupants.

In this process, however, we have also attempted to compare and contrast the sites, perhaps helping in a modest way to build data useful for developing a tenancy pattern suitable to the Black Belt. While obviously more oral or documentary history would have been useful, not only was it not present, but we must also recognize that tenants did move with some regularity. As a result, any effort to develop patterns or examine ethnic or status differences will need to accept that most sites can provide only approximations.

Our study does provide a detailed account of cotton farming for the period, as well as a context for tenancy – topics that have not been adequately dealt with by previous researchers. These provide not only background, but also help to illustrate particular data gaps.

The Features Themselves

Our studies revealed that the three features represented two privies (at 38RD1249 and 38RD1262) and one well (at 38RD1260). Although a small sample, we believe these may be the first such features identified for the area and therefore they provide significant comparative data.

The 38RD1249 feature, originally just over 3 feet in depth and about 13 feet in diameter, was found to represent a wood-lined privy about 10 feet in depth. Although difficult to determine with certainty since the sides had partially collapsed, it appears that the original privy pit was about 4-feet square. At the base the pit was only 2-feet square. The fill of the pit took place quickly and this feature produced relatively few artifacts.

The 38RD1262 feature was only about a foot in depth and about 9 feet in diameter – appreciably smaller than that at either of the other two sites (accounting for the initial interpretation of a trash pit). Excavation, however, revealed that it was 11 feet in depth and 4.6 feet at the base. Most of the artifacts were found in the upper portion of the feature, representing trash disposal, while the lower

levels all represent gradual deposition consistent with deposition to cover waste.

These two features are more similar than different – the depths (10-11 feet) are consistent, as are the internal dimensions (4 and 4.6 feet). These similarities suggest some consistency in privy design. They are, however, distinct from the standardized privy construction recommended by the Public Health Service (3.5 feet square and 4.5 feet in depth) and likely used by the WPA. Their size (over three times that recommended by the Public Health Service) suggests an investment in labor that would have allowed them to be used for longer periods of time, minimizing the need to excavate out waste or dig a new privy.

What they provided in longevity, however, they may have lacked in sanitation. The 38RD1249 privy was only 25-50 feet away from the house and no more than 50 feet from the 38RD1262 house. The proximity of the privy to the house – and presumably a water supply – suggests that convenience trumped sanitation. On the other hand, these structures clearly fall into the two-thirds of the structures possessing an "unimproved" outdoor privy.

At 38RD1260 the feature was initially about 3 feet below grade and about 12 feet in diameter, with a large tree growing out of one edge. Excavation revealed a well 12 feet in depth and nominally 2.5 feet in diameter. The well was apparently hand dug with a stepped appearance in the upper levels. Water was apparently encountered by at least 11 feet (perhaps higher considering the possibility that the water table has dropped in recent years). There was no clear evidence of casing, although it seems likely that in the loose, sandy soils some side supports would have been necessary.

When the well is compared to historic accounts, the depth is very shallow – suggesting only short-term use. Otherwise, the diameter is reasonable, although it would have been lined with either planks or barrels. Open wells such as this example were among the least sanitary, yet they were very common among tenants.

38RD1249

This privy produced only 193 artifacts, with foodways representing the most abundant category (59.1%). The artifacts appear to have been deposited in the first quarter of the twentieth century, perhaps ca. 1920. Unfortunately, the collection was so sparse that the feature is not capable of addressing many of our proposed research questions (although it does address a variety of privy-related functional issues).

38RD1262

This privy produced 3,332 artifacts – a sufficiently large sample that we should have considerable confidence in the resulting conclusions. The collection suggests a date range from about 1895 to perhaps 1930. Representing a range of about 35 years, we must accept that we could be looking at an assemblage produced by three or four different families – but this is the situation with any tenant site.

In our discussions of a "tenant pattern," we observe that there is considerable temporal and spatial diversity among the samples, combined with significant differences in how the samples were collected. All of these differences may reasonably affect the samples and how representative they may be considered. Regardless, at least two patterns are present. The one from 38RD1262 is characterized by moderate foodway and household/structural remains. The closest similar pattern is that derived from the Finch Farm in Spartanburg County – an area of the Upper Piedmont.

When the artifacts themselves are examined, we see clear evidence that tenants focused their limited purchasing power on food-related items. Even clothing (ranked as the second most common purchase by Woofter 1936:Table 102) was poorly represented,

accounting for only 5.2% of the total collection. Clothing is generally poorly represented at tenant sites, although the Aiken assemblage of Cabak and Inkrot (1997) appears to be an exception (see Table 18).

The assemblage is clearly dominated by inexpensive ceramics, such as undecorated whitewares or mass produced decalcomania wares. The collection also consists primarily of flatwares, accounting for 55.9% of the collection, with hollowwares accounting for an additional third of the vessels. The closest similar assemblage was that from Waverly.

In spite of the understandable assemblage of poverty, the collection produced several artifacts that seem to stand out. For example, the privy produced evidence of a food chopper or processor, as well as roller shades and porcelain casters for furniture. Also present were a very large number of wagon parts, suggesting the tenant at least had access to, if not actually owning, one or more wagons.

The function of only two-fifths of the bottles from the site can be determined; nevertheless, most (80%) of those whose function can be ascertained were alcohol containers – generally pint or smaller bottles of hard alcohol (as opposed to beer or wine). Although canning jars are sparse, the collection did yield a large assemblage of tin cans, indicating that processed foods were a component of the diet.

The clothing artifacts reveal an assemblage dominated by work clothes – shirts with white porcelain buttons and overalls with suspender buckles. There were, however, a few specimens suggestive of special clothes – for example the two collar buttons indicative of a man's dress shirt and the hose supporter indicative of hose use by a woman. The shoe remains are generally inconclusive, but certainly characteristic of work shoes (as opposed to dress wear). Personal decorative items are similarly rare – represented in the collection by only a few jewelry fragments and a single glass bead.

When the household furnishings are examined, we gain some idea of the occupants' household. There was a wood cook stove – there was no evidence of either coal or gas cooking – and an open fireplace, probably for heating. The home would have been lit with kerosene – there is little compelling evidence for electrical service.

Even more intimate aspects of the occupants' lives become apparent when we examine the recovered medicinal items (cosmetic items are nearly absent from the assemblage). Patent or over-the-counter medicines are present for what were possibly malaria, constipation, colds, and various liver complaints. Also recovered was evidence of various salves, including Vaseline. Although present, prescription medicine was far less common.

One of the more revealing items, however, was a hard rubber "pipe" or syringe, used primarily by women for douche. While douches are today often associated with cleanliness and hygiene, they were originally strongly associated with birth control. Wilkie (2003:148, 164), for example, briefly discusses the use of prophylactic douche, as well as other easily acquired herbal medicines, including even the various Castoria products. By the twentieth century family medical texts discussed douche as a means promoting cleanliness (Gunn 1901:467; Swartout 1943:393-394), perhaps as suggested by Wilkie, part of the legal campaign against abortion begun in the nineteenth century.

Recreational items were limited to tobacco, harmonicas, marbles – all likely used by adults – and doll fragments – suggestive of at least one female child.

There were also a number of agricultural items – plow parts, bucket

fragments, pulley fragments, tools, chains, and horse-related items. These are the artifacts that identify the occupant as a tenant – artifacts that bound the family to the land. In the case of 38RD1262 they comprised around 8% of the total assemblage – more than either the clothing or personal items.

38RD1260

This third site, representing a well rather than a privy, produced 6,370 specimens – nearly twice as many as found at the 38RD1262 privy. The collection dates from about 1935 to around 1955, temporally distinct from 38RD1262. Consistent with this the well produced automobile rather than wagon parts and evidence of the growing importance of electricity rather than a reliance on wood and kerosene. Even the architectural items are distinct, with two-thirds of the nails from the privy being machine cut and 90%of the nails from the well being wire.

Not only is the temporal span different, but the pattern represented by the remains is also distinct. As mentioned in the discussion of the 38RD1262 collection, there appear to be two distinct patterns (at least based on the limited evidence). The well collection appears to belong to the second of these patterns – one that is dominated by foodways with a relatively low to moderate incidence of household/structural remains. In this collection the purchasing power of the tenant was even more focused on foodways than at 38RD1262. There are a number of tenant sites with a similar pattern, including the Millwood tenant site, 38BK397, and 38HR131. The closest parallel, however, is found in the Sumter data.

Given the size of the collection it is perhaps not surprising that the foodways collection contains such a wide variety. The collection includes a tea kettle, several different types of coffee pots, tinware tableware, pots and pot lids, a preserving kettle, an iron frying pan and griddle, and a muffin tin. None of these items, in spite of their diversity, are particularly expensive. In fact, many are of very inexpensive, light weight materials. Similarly, inexpensive wares -- such as undecorated, decalcomania, tinted, and stamped whiteware – dominate the collection. The distribution of flatwares and hollowwares is nearly identical (55.2% and 43.1% respectively) compared to 38RD1262.

One of the more interesting foodways items is the glass container designed specifically for an electric butter churn. This item is identified in catalogs as costing nearly $50, or the equivalent of over $300 in today's money. The container or jar alone cost nearly $9 ($60.00 in 2002$). Not only does this item indicate the house had electricity, but it also suggests considerable disposable income – far and above what we would expect of a tenant. In addition, the electric churn would allow the production of far more butter than a normal family might use, perhaps suggesting either a cottage industry with the family selling excess or perhaps indicative of a communal purchase, similar to the sharing of pressure cookers during the depression.

The presence of children in the household is clearly indicated not only by toys in the collection, but also by the recovery of at least one Evenflo infant bottle, first marketed in 1935. Tenancy evokes the memory of the migrant worker mother nursing her infant at her breast – not using a glass bottle to provide formula. This is another item that seems out of place at a tenant site. The bottle may be associated with both the fresh milk (evidenced by the glass milk bottles) and the canned milk (found as small number of hole-in-top condensed milk cans).

Similarly out of place are the several plated (and one sterling) utensils found in the well – items that while perhaps heirlooms, were still expensive and far beyond anything seen in the FSA photographs of tenants' tables. Other features, however, seem entirely appropriate, such as the very large number of plain glass

tumblers – ubiquitous items seen in almost every period photograph.

Another interesting feature is the broad range of containers at the well. While three-quarters of the containers at the privy held alcohol, only about a fifth of the well assemblage held alcohol. The most common container at the well held food, with the proportion swelling when canning jars, milk bottles, and extract containers are added. Only soda bottles comprised about the same proportion of the assemblage at both sites. Canning jars (and their various accoutrements) are quite common at the well, with the jars comprising a fifth of the glass container assemblage. Many of the jars, however, appear rather dated – seemingly older than the site itself. One explanation is that the jars, with rather significant lifespans, were being gradually discarded, replaced by the convenience of ready-prepared and canned foods. When the variety is examined, we see a broad range of foods – from coffee to spices to condiments to canned and potted meats and fish. The diet at 38RD1260 appears to be far more diverse than indicated at 38RD1262.

Turning our attention from food and the kitchen to clothing, the collection at the well is diverse. We are certainly seeing a large collection of overalls and other utilitarian clothing, combined with relatively inexpensive work boots. But we also find evidence of nylon hose and some of the buttons are fancy (although not especially expensive). Shoes include a variety of seemingly "middle class" examples, such as the child's "neat stitchdowns" or oxfords, the woman's high and Cuban heels, the shoes specifically designed for the Boy Scouts, and men's two-eyelet styles. Even examples of sneakers are present in the assemblage.

Household items include a range of kerosene lamps and lanterns – representing a range of portable, wall mounted, and work lights. Other furnishings include such remains as mirror fragments, parts of a bed, and evidence of an iron stove. Also recovered were a number of items indicating that the household – at least toward the end of its history – had acquired electricity. Identified were such items as light bulbs – including a rather expensive blue lamp designed to imitate natural daylight – plug fuses for a breaker box, the previously discussed electric churn, and a porcelain light fixture. One of the more interesting items is part of an oil burner assembly – indicating that this dwelling had migrated from a wood or coal stove to a kerosene or oil stove, a small but significant "modern" improvement.

The architectural remains are dominated by wire nails and window glass. The nail sizes suggest a rather simple structure – making the recovery of French door latches seem very out of place. Otherwise, the rim locks and door knob fragments are all within our expectations for a tenant house of the period.

The collection of personal items – just over 6% of the assemblage – is among the most revealing.

Recreational items consist of the expected marbles, pocket knife, tobacco cans, and jewelry fragments. The children's toys, however, exhibit a diversity that seems out of place for a tenant. They are, for example, doll tea set pieces, a toy gun, and even an ice skate. The latter is clearly an oddity, not only given Richland County's warm winters, but also because the skate would have cost at least $3 to $4 – the equivalent of $30 to $50 in 2002$.

The personal items, especially those relating to medicinal and cosmetic functions, provide considerable insight concerning the 38RD1260 occupants. There are 64 recognizable medicine-related containers. The most common are those associated with first aid, accounting for 24.6% of the total and including seven salve or ointments, five petroleum jelly products (Vaseline and Moroline) containers, two Listerine containers, and two antiseptic containers.

The next most common group consists of those that are classified as unidentifiable (21.5%). These include what appear to be over the counter or patent medicines (six containers), six unidentifiable bottles, and two J.R. Watkins bottles.

Third in prevalence are antacids and laxatives, accounting for 18.5% of the assemblage and including two Phillips' Milk of Magnesia, one unbranded milk of magnesia, one Pepto Bismol, five cod liver or mineral oil bottles, one combination Viosterol and oil, and two Castoria bottles.

Prescription drugs comprise the fourth group, accounting for 10 containers and 15.4% of the collection.

Family planning items account for 7.7% of the collection and include a douche syringe, a vaginal pipe, douche tubing, Lydia E. Pickham's Medicine, and Cardui. Some, such as Wilkie (2003:164-165) would include a variety of other products. For example, Vaseline could be used as a contraceptive barrier as well as to affix diaphragms and sponges. There is some evidence that medicines such as Grove's and the castorias could be used as abortifacients.

The last two categories, each accounting for 6.1% of the total, are analgesics, and cough and cold medicines. In the former are four containers – one Anacin bottle and three aspirin containers. In the latter are two Vicks Vaporub containers, one Vicks Va-Tro-Nol, and one Grove's Tasteless Chill Tonic.

Unfortunately, other tenant studies have not provided the level of detail to allow comparisons, but (excluding unidentifiable containers), the prevalence of family planning items is of special interest. Whites have had sustained birth rate declines since about 1800, blacks since about 1850, although both groups experienced fertility fluctuations. For example both saw an increase in birth rates after WWII (the "Baby Boom" that did not decline until the 1960s). Conventional explanations have included the rising cost of children, the decline in agricultural employment, rising female employment, and declining child mortality. There were likewise changing attitudes concerning large families and contraception. The birthrate decline in the nineteenth century has been attributed to women exercising greater control over their lives. Finally, there are more complex theories focusing on such issues as the interaction of the size of generations with their income prospects and preferences for children versus material goods (Haines and Steckel 2001). While the archaeological evidence doesn't direct attention toward a specific explanation, we do see some indications that the occupants at 38RD1260 may have sought to exercise control over unwanted pregnancy. This provides an example of where archaeology is able to provide insights not immediately available from the documentary record alone.

Turning to the cosmetics, we find 56 containers in eight categories. The most common items were face creams, accounting for 24 vessels (42.8%), including 20 generic containers, three Pond's and one Nadinola.

The next most common were hand care products, accounting for 12 containers (21.4%), including eight lotions, three creams, and one identified as Jergens.

Next were hair care products, comprising 16.1% of the collection and including three shampoos, three oils, one Breck, and two Fitch's.

Scents accounted for four containers (7.1%), make-up for three (5.4%), deodorants for two (3.6%) and tooth care for one (1.8%). The last item is talcum, which may be a scent, infant care, or body care.

The abundance of face creams is interesting, especially given the product's association with bleaching or lightening the skin of both whites and blacks, as well as the power

the cosmetics industry had over turn of the century females (Peiss 1998). Nevertheless, we are again limited by our ability to find comparative collections – other researchers have not provided the level of detail necessary to discern patterns at other early twentieth century domestic sites.

When we look at the final category of labor, we see a dramatically reduced number of items associated with agriculture. There are only four horse or mule items and only four plow or agricultural tool items. There are, however, 27 automobile parts. Thus, while the site location is still clearly rural, the strong agricultural association seen at 38RD1262 is not present.

The collection from the 38RD1260 well is not so clearly tenant related as is 38RD1262 – there is limited evidence of agricultural activity, there is electricity, there are expensive items such as the ice skate, and there is an abundance of cosmetic items that would likely not be found in a tenant household. In spite of this, we are not certain if the occupants were something other than tenants or if we may be seeing improving economic conditions as a result of New Deal programs.

Directions for Future Work

One reviewer has questioned the ability of pattern studies – described as "little more than a comparison of empirically derived data sets with little to no interpretative value" – to address meaningful questions. Curiously, this same reviewer has strongly questioned the comparability of the patterns presented in Table 18, suggesting that site dating, sample sizes, or site formation processes may be affecting the patterns.

Although these positions – pattern analyses are of no value, yet we have inadequate pattern studies – seem to be in opposition to one another, we tend to agree, at least in part. There are meaningful questions concerning the usefulness of pattern studies – but is their seeming failure to yield tidy conclusions the result of basic flaws in the approach, the result of inadequate data, or perhaps even the result of multiple tenancy patterns that have yet to be discovered?

Our very brief overview suggests that the patterns that have been offered in the past may form two groups or clusters. At the present time we don't believe there are sufficient data to determine whether these clusters are valid and meaningful or simply random occurrences resulting from skewed data sets.

We are inclined to believe that there may be multiple tenant patterns. Just as the discipline has determined that slavery produces two patterns related to chronology and construction, is it not possible that we will observe similar chronological modifications of tenant patterns – assuming that we identify and adequately investigate temporally discrete settlements?

As a result, we believe that more data are needed, as long as those data are well defined, precisely collected, and fully analyzed. We believe that the current work clearly indicates the value of detailed excavation and analysis.

As an aside, we remain uncertain that Orser's artifact groupings are inherently better than those proposed by South – they seem to represent different roads to the same destination. What seems far more important than the precise method used, is the strategy used by the archaeologist in the field. Unfortunately few tenant sites are explored in sufficient detail to allow samples comparable to those at Longtown to be collected. Very few of the tenant studies we examined have any discussion of either privy or well features. It may help if archaeologists began to explore a broader range of tenant features and ensured collections where a very large assemblage was present.

The overview of historic documents and even census data shows clearly that only through archaeology are we likely to understand the lives of tenant farms or the transition out of tenancy.

Orser has suggested the need to study what the artifacts meant to the occupants, without really providing much guidance in that direction. This study suggests that very detailed analysis may be able to begin the process since it is only by understanding the artifact that we can understand its meaning.

For the last decade of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century we are fortunate to have a broad range of catalogs capable of providing a wealth of artifact-related data. Curiously, these resources have not been commonly used by archaeologists to provide that additional level of meaning urged by Orser. As a result, we believe that archaeological studies would benefit from a more common use of period catalogs.

The current study has also suggested several topics that may be worthy of future research. One is the study of privy standardization and the variation from published standards. Privies, when investigated by archaeologists, are generally seen only as repositories of artifacts – it may be useful to also examine their structure and function within rural agricultural society.

Other topics of considerable interest include rural health and sanitation, especially women's health and the control that women exercised over their own bodies and pregnancy. These are issues that have seen very limited documentary research and we believe that archaeological studies have the potential to make significant contributions.

Our reviewer has also suggested that while we have touched on issues of economic status, the research could go much further – calculating the total costs of various artifact categories and/or the entire assemblage, allowing the collection to be placed in a local or regional economic framework.

This would be an ambitious undertaking fraught with difficulties. It would require tremendous effort – and careful chronological control – to obtain averages of canned food prices, shoe costs, and cosmetic expenses. Since most catalogs are of national firms, it might also distort our understanding since studies such as that by Faville et al. (1942) suggest relatively few purchased directly from catalogs (this seems to be at least obliquely implied by Emmet and Jeuck [1950] as well). Such an endeavor would also require considerable funding – difficult to identify today. But most fundamentally, such an approach would require multiple data sets, each sampled in a very similar manner – so we return full circle to needing more careful excavations that explore a full range of the data sets and features present at tenant sites.

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