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**ORAL HISTORICAL, DOCUMENTARY, AND
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF
BARTON AND VINTON, MISSISSIPPI:
AN INTERIM REPORT ON PHASE III OF THE
TOMBIGBEE HISTORIC TOWNSITES PROJECT**

Edited by Charles E. Cleland and Kim A. McBride

Contributions by

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Abstract

This report is the third and last in a series of interim reports describing archaeological, archival, and oral historical research produced by the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project of the Michigan State University Museum and Department of Anthropology. Together with the Phase I and Phase II interim reports, complete documentation is provided of the project's research of the extinct towns of Colbert, Barton, and Vinton, Mississippi. The first section provides an introduction to the goals and setting of the research and historical background from documentary sources. A major portion of this report details the final data recovery of seven Barton sites, bringing together archaeological, oral historical and archival information. A third section presents the results of a variety of investigations, including an analysis of the Barton road system, conclusions from the magnetic survey program, conclusions from Cedar Oaks housesite, and a detailed faunal analysis. A final section is focused towards an evaluation of areas for further study and a summary and synthesis of the cultural history of these riverside communities.

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Finally, for tremendous effort in the preparation of this report we owe a debt of gratitude to Kim McBride.

C. Cleland and W. Lee Minnerly

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Part 1

Introduction and Historical Background

by

Charles E. Cleland
Kim A. McBride
Winston W. Way, Jr.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

by

Charles E. Cleland

The construction of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway linking the Tennessee River with the Gulf of Mexico 235 miles to the south is perhaps the most ambitious project ever undertaken by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. This giant federal undertaking will impact a large number of prehistoric and historic resources, including those within what was designated the Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District. This District included a five mile corridor stretching 135 miles along the Tombigbee from Gainesville, Alabama to Paden, Mississippi, and was determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places in 1977.

Given the size and complexity of the Multi-Resource District, it is obvious that complete excavation of all sites was impossible, and probably unnecessary if a management plan were to be centered around specific research goals. Although some work on historic sites was already underway, a planning session in 1977, with participants from Federal, State, and private arenas, resulted in the development of a comprehensive plan and research design to identify resources and research goals and develop processes for implementing investigation. Studies were to be problem-oriented, especially toward an understanding of settlement and economic systems, and both site specific (see below, for example) and general (Doster and Weaver 1981; Weaver and Doster 1982) in scope.

The research potential from this type of extensive and coordinated effort was tremendous. At least as far as historic archaeology is concerned, the Tombigbee projects presented a unique opportunity to study a wide range of cultural problems and a variety of site types located in a large region. Of further research advantage was the fact that investigation provided for a well funded interdisciplinary approach to data collection. Intensive participation and interdisciplinary communication among archaeologists, architects, cultural geographers, historians, archivists, oral historians, and anthropologists offered the opportunity to approach problems from the broadest perspective. Moreover, because the various investigations and research efforts were coordinated by the government, it was possible to select sites for study which would best contribute to the study of specific problems within the Multi-Resource District as a whole. It was thus possible for example to investigate the nature of the nineteenth century settlement of the Upper Tombigbee Valley as a settlement system taking into account the economic, social, and political variables which linked the people occupying functionally distinct yet structurally related sites.

Eventually through the mitigation program various contractors studied a riverside plantation and tenant community (Adams 1980), a black tenant community (Kern et al. 1982b), a light industrial site and mill community (Adams et al. 1981), a cotton gin (Hambacher 1983), a brick kiln (Atkinson & Elliott 1978), early commercial sites and communities (Rafferty et al. 1980; Sonderman et al. 1981) and nineteenth and existing twentieth century farmsteads (Smith et al. 1982).

Michigan State University's Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project added a significant dimension to the settlement studies of the Tombigbee Valley because it was centered on the study of three river port/landing communities which were a fragment and important settlement type of the Valley during the nineteenth century. Specifically, the project collected archival, oral historical, and archaeological data on the extinct towns of Colbert, Barton, and Clinton, located in Clay County, Mississippi. Figures 1 and 2 show the location of these sites, and their relation to the other historic sites investigated within the Multi-Resource District.

It was originally assumed from incomplete archival data that these three communities, which are located in contiguous geographical space, were sequentially occupied by essentially the same group of residents. The picture proved to be incomplete as more archival and oral history information demonstrated a more complex pattern of settlement and land use. These data, as well as archaeological investigations, document the importance of the townsite as a settlement type and the complex social and economic factors which saw the evolution of townsite settlement patterns from the pre-Civil War era to the turn of the twentieth century.

Although various authors writing about sites within the Multi-Resource District have tried to better define the complex web of cultural interaction which tie the sites together as a functioning whole, much of this integrative synthesis remains to be done. It is hoped that ultimately the townsites, which are the subject of this study, will play a major role in such a synthesis.

This is the third and last in a series of interim reports describing the archaeological, archival, and oral historical research produced by The Museum and Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, under its Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project. The first report, in two volumes edited by W. Lee Minnerly (1982), set out the procedures for field investigation and contained descriptive material identifying potential data sources as well as an evaluation of the potential of various data sets in addressing specific problem domains. These problem domains as well as several related hypotheses for each domain were set out a priori in the Phase I proposal based upon the expectations of the existence and recovery of data appropriate to the testing of each hypothesis.

The Phase II report, also edited by W. Lee Minnerly (1983), is a compendium of preliminary descriptive reports on the archaeological, oral historical, and archival programs of the project. Each contains initial conclusions based on a more realistic appraisal of the actual

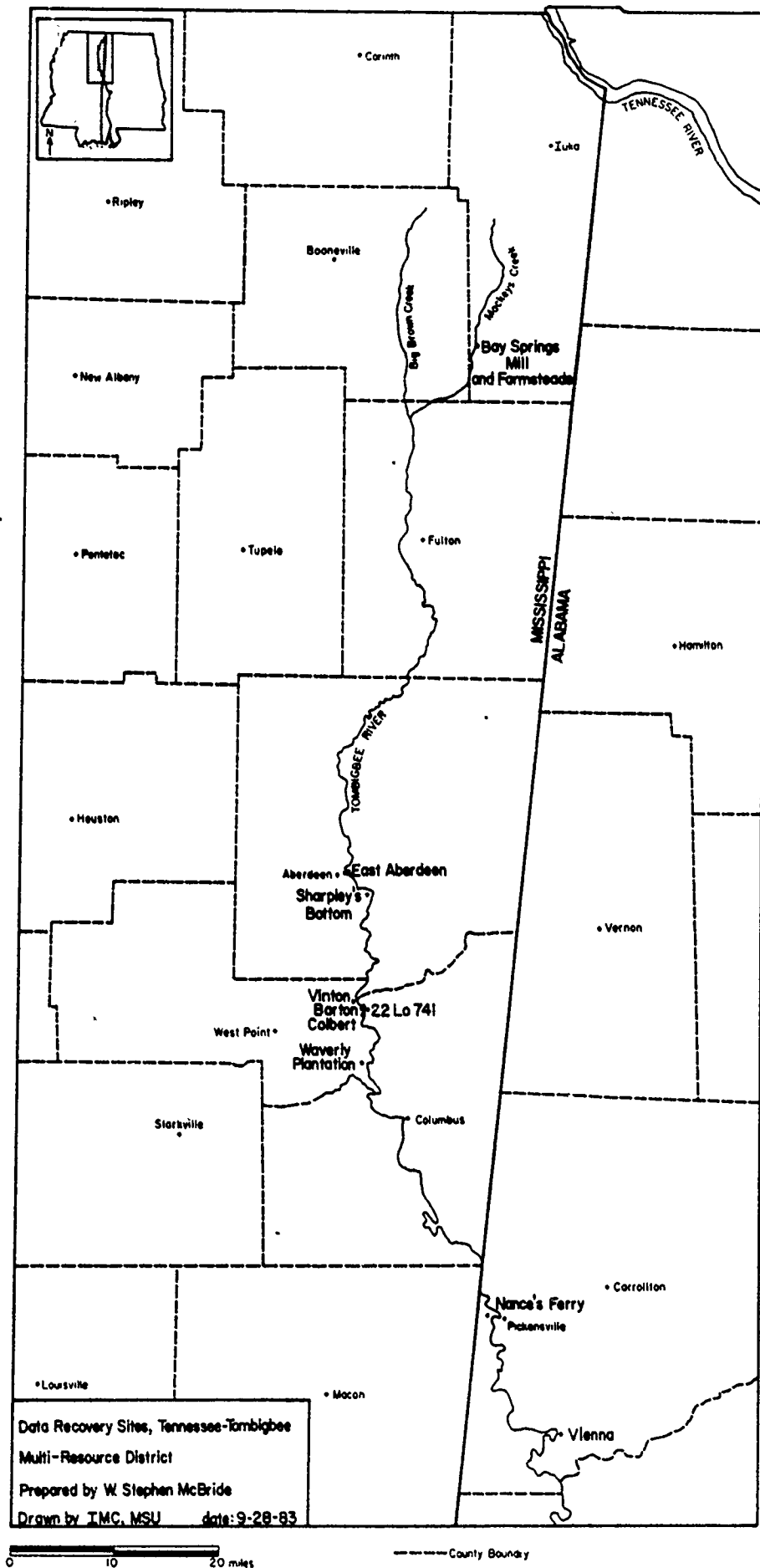
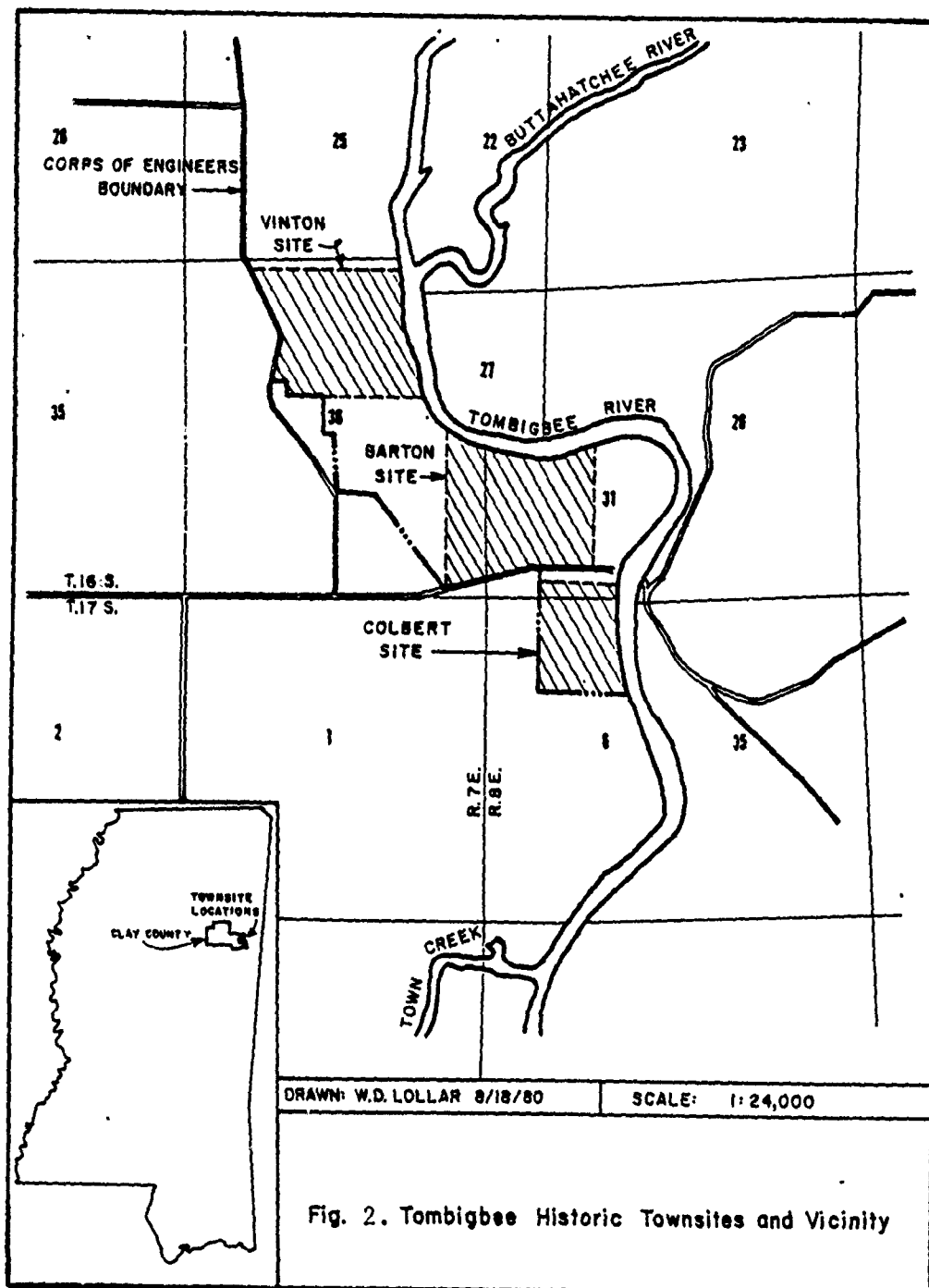


Figure 1. Data recovery sites.



data generated by these research programs to date. The Phase II report contains the first attempts to integrate data from archaeological testing with archival and oral history data. Specifically, this is related to the several sites identified within the Barton and Vinton sample frames in order to evaluate their overall potential for data recovery. It was on the basis of these projections and expectations that recommendations for mitigation were made in the Phase III proposal.

This report, the Phase III interim report, is descriptive, detailing the archaeological work performed at the seven sites selected for data recovery at the Barton townsite. It also contains detailed accounts from the archival literature relating to the history of settlement of the Barton community during the antebellum period as well as the Barton-Vinton communities in the postbellum era. These data, in addition to the eight-volume compilation of oral history transcripts (McClurken and Anderson 1981), as well as microfiche copies of the total artifact inventory, represent the basic data sets compiled in the course of the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project.

It was originally anticipated that a fourth or analytic phase of the project would follow the completion of Phase III description. As a result, the Phase III report contains some summary and analytic statements which may appear to be out of place among descriptive reports. These include an evaluation of the magnetometer survey, a summary statement on Cedar Oaks, a discussion of the Barton road system, and a detailed analysis of faunal material from the Cedar Oaks site. In fact, the concluding chapter attempts to draw together the archaeological, archival, and oral history data from Barton and Vinton into a statement which describes in brief detail the cultural history of these riverside communities during the last half of the nineteenth century.

Obviously, the data collected have not been exhausted as far as descriptive and analytic potential is concerned. Much of this work will proceed outside the scope of government-sponsored research and eventually become available through Michigan State University. At the present time, there are ongoing studies of Barton demographics, the archaeology of the Barton site related specifically to the source and volume of material goods, a comparative study of the inventories of Barton-Vinton stores in contrast to archaeological inventories of recovered artifact types, and a study of the disposal patterns through time as reflected at the Cedar Oaks site.

Throughout the process of the archaeological, archival and oral historical investigation of the Barton and Vinton communities, there has been a dynamic series of readjustments in methods of data collection as well as redefinition of problem orientation of the project. Such mid-course corrections, though necessary, were troublesome and disruptive. For the most part, they were necessary because prior expectations about the quantity and quality of archaeological, archival, and oral history data sets were inaccurate.

For example, in the case of the oral history program, it was expected that very few informants would be available who could provide useful first-hand information about the Vinton and Barton townsites. As

it turned out, the oral historical record was tremendously abundant and detailed. A major problem which developed was how to focus and limit oral testimony to maximize the data still held in the memories of living informants.

In the case of the archival program, prior predictions about the wealth of the documentary records were fairly accurate. In some areas the record was more abundant than predicted and in some disappointingly impoverished, but in total it was consistent with what might be expected, since these sites were only intensively occupied during the 1850s and were small, out-of-the-way communities for the remainder of their nineteenth and all of their twentieth century occupation.

It was the archaeological program which produced the biggest surprises and the greatest disappointments. Largely, this was because the data recovered in excavation did not at all conform to prior predictions. The Phase I proposal was written and appraised under the rush of an extremely short construction schedule and without benefit of initial testing. Since no other sites of this type had been subject to archaeological testing or excavation in the Upper Tombigbee valley at the time the initial proposal was written, the experiences of other archaeologists were not helpful in predicting the quantity or quality of data which excavations could be expected to recover.

Given no concrete means of making such estimations, logic dictated the following propositions. The last half of the nineteenth century was one of unprecedented industrial productivity as the mechanical inventions of the early half of the century found practical application in the production of consumer goods. The vast productivity of northern factories coupled with the newly developed national rail network and sophisticated marketing filled every home in America with large quantities of cheap consumer goods. Furthermore, if these machine-produced goods found their way in abundance into the homes and businesses of America, the excavation of a whole town would produce these goods in even greater abundance.

Most archaeologists who have excavated late nineteenth century sites would agree with this logic, and their experience with sites of this era indicates nineteenth-century sites produce prodigious amounts of cultural materials. Clearly, this was not the case at Barton and Vinton where neither abundant artifacts nor substantial evidence of structural features were found. Some possible explanations are offered in the concluding chapter.

Irrespective of dashed expectations, the research described in this and the first two interim reports has led to the compilation of a great deal of data on town life in the nineteenth century upland South. It is significant that these data produced a new picture of these communities --one not predicted or expected on the basis of our prior knowledge.

CHAPTER 2. THE STUDY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: A NARRATIVE OF MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY BARTON AND VINTON, MISSISSIPPI

by

Winston W. Way, Jr.

and

Kim A. McBride

Introduction

The next two chapters provide a context for our investigation of the Barton townsite from site-related documentary materials. Their purpose is to enhance the perspective acquired from the oral history, magnetometer, field, and laboratory programs. These narratives also should serve as a test for interpretations derived from other sources and as a context for theoretical analyses of archival materials.

Biases in the archival record should be acknowledged at the outset. Literate white males, especially those with relatively high socioeconomic standing and power, dominate many of these pages, and to some extent these narratives are from their perspective. But the variety of records drawn upon provides a picture of townsite life sufficiently broad to represent most individuals to some degree. During the earlier period of Barton's settlement, the black population was not large at the townsite proper, and mention of them appears infrequently in the archival record other than as property to be traded or sold. The record for the latter portion of the nineteenth century rectifies this gap somewhat. Certainly, women's concerns and activities are not as clearly understood as men's, again less so in the earlier period of Barton's history. Perhaps these biases are also best mitigated by an interdisciplinary approach. The material presented here is only one vantage point from which to view the Barton townsite; fortunately, other sources, such as the field archaeological and oral historical materials, have different but complementary strengths.

These chapters are drawn almost exclusively from a wide range of primary source materials relating to the townsites. Along the way, some comparisons will be made to the broader regional studies of Doster and Weaver (1981) and Weaver and Doster (1982). As part of the overall plan for resource management in the Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District, many of the topics raised in the regional studies have been considered here in greater depth.

The emphasis on primary sources sets the stage for future applications and comparisons to more theoretical and secondary works, for more explicit interpretation and application of the townsites history to current issues in anthropology, history, and geography. Of course these narratives are not some sort of standard by which to test and view other works, as all stages in the historical process, from the designation of actions and events to be remembered, recorded, and preserved, to their later discovery and application, are implicitly interpretive and selective.

These narratives are organized according to the subjects used in directing all Townsites Project research: settlement, transportation, economy, and social structure. Subsistence is addressed in the economy section. The temporal focus in Chapter 2 is the period of growth and decline of the mercantile center of Barton. To provide some background on the early settlement of the townsites area, we begin in the 1830s but focus on the years 1848 (when the town was founded) to 1865. Settlement did not cease at this time, but Barton could no longer be considered a riverport town, and by this point the focus of activity in the area had shifted to Vinton. Developments in Vinton up through 1865 will be addressed in Chapter 2. In many respects, it is hard to separate the development of the two communities, and it will be useful to make comparisons between them and document their sometimes competitive relationship. Most of Vinton's history, however, occurs after the decline of Barton and in a very different economic and social setting, and this is the subject of Chapter 3.

Settlement

The lands on which the townsites developed were part of the last Chickasaw cession in Mississippi, created in 1832 by the Treaty of Pontotoc. The land south of Tibbee Creek, about six miles south of Barton, had been ceded in 1830 as part of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, and the land east of the river had been ceded 16 years earlier as part of the Chickasaw Treaty of 1816.¹ Consequently, the latter land had long been settled by whites, who quickly took advantage of the newly purchasable land in the rich prairie west of the Tombigbee. According to the Treaty of Pontotoc, which was revised in 1834, white settlement was not to proceed until after the Chickasaw sold their property as individuals and in fee, but white squatters were undoubtedly present before this was accomplished.²

In 1836, the government issued legal title bonds to Chickasaws for the lands of the study area, and sales occurred very soon thereafter. A commission was established whereby certain Chickasaw chiefs, often of mixed ancestry, were appointed to help individuals unfamiliar with the Euro-American language or legal systems to sell their property. James and George Colbert and Benjamin and Henry Love assisted in or handled most transactions in the study area.³ Whether many of the Chickasaws mentioned in the deeds had ever occupied the specific parcels under transfer, or to what extent they were directly involved in the transactions, is uncertain. The property was rapidly transferred, and extensive Euro-American settlement commenced.⁴

A Chickasaw named Imma-ho-ta-tubby held legal possession of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, the site of what was to become Vinton. He sold it, along with Section 35, Township 16, Range 7, to Isham Harrison in April 1835 for \$7,200. Immediately to the north of Section 36 was Section 25, Township 16, Range 7, which was sold by the Chickasaw John Nock-n-bah to R. N. Dudley in May 1835 for \$1,080. One month later, Dudley sold this property to Micajah Bennett and William Harrod for \$1,800. At this time Bennett also purchased Section 26, Township 16, Range 7, just west of Section 25 and north of Section 35.⁵ By mid-century these sections had all become part of the Vinton community.

Born in Georgia, Micajah Bennett was one of the earliest prominent settlers in the area, having kept a ferry at Colbert even before 1834. He was a trustee of the Colbert Academy in 1838 and a commissioner of the proposed but never realized Colbert bridge.⁶ By October 1838, Bennett and Harrod had sold Section 25 and the southern half of Section 26 to Thomas D. and Nancy Wooldridge for \$13,323. It is difficult to determine the extent to which Bennett and Harrod may have improved the property, but this could in part account for the increased price. Over the next two years, the Wooldridge family sold the property in several transactions to James E. and James T. Harrison for \$12,600, further increasing the Harrisons' holdings at the townsite area.⁷

The Harrison family was originally from South Carolina, and their migration to Lowndes County, Mississippi, seems to have proceeded in stages. Isham Harrison, who had been living in Jefferson County, Alabama, during the 1820s wrote to a brother in South Carolina in June 1834 describing his 640 acres in Noxubee County, Mississippi, and mentioning the unimproved and low priced land to the north.⁸ In 1835, he wrote again concerning the newly opened lands of the Chickasaw Cession, commenting that speculators had purchased most of the lands with unclear title, leaving the whole matter in "mistry and doubt." He also noted that land had risen 25 percent since 1834 but that good plantation lands were still available at about ten dollars per acre.⁹ Early the following year, Isham reported on the conflict between the speculators and the Chickasaws, predicting that they would soon settle their differences and that sales to individuals would commence shortly thereafter. Isham himself had already purchased land and was busy clearing it while watching closely for such opportunities for his relatives.¹⁰

In Macon, Mississippi, James T. Harrison (probably Isham's brother or uncle) received a letter in January 1836 from his father, Thomas, in South Carolina. Thomas encouraged James to settle in Isham's neighborhood, citing the facility of securing supplies via the river and the long-settled country on the opposite side of the Tombigbee, presumably Columbus.¹¹ James seems to have followed this advice, for we know his purchases in the Vinton area began in 1839. Thomas sent negroes and wagons of goods for James to rent or sell in Pickens County, Alabama, and the proceeds from these sales were to go toward land purchases. He instructed James to spend five dollars per acre up to the amount of \$6,100.¹²

The Harrisons were prominent men in the Colbert community, which preceded the Barton and Vinton settlements. At various times, they

served as election commissioners and assisted in the planning and construction of local roads.¹³ Isham and his wife, Harriett, were among the original stockholders of the Mississippi Union Bank, purchasing \$18,000 in stock in 1839 and listing their property in Sections 35 and 36 as security.¹⁴ They kept a cotton shed near the northwest corner of Section 31, Township 16, Range 8, later the site of Barton. One of the Harrisons may have been in partnership with a Mr. Bramlett, and they are believed to have been factors or financial agents for many settlers in the Colbert area.¹⁵ While extremely important to the development of the area, the extent to which these men actually resided on their land at the townsites remains unclear. By the time Barton was established, they had sold most of their property and turned their interests toward Aberdeen and Columbus, where they and their families remained prominent.¹⁶

Two other important early settlers in the study area were Sherod and Cader Keaton. The family was originally from Georgia but was living in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, immediately before their removal to Vinton, sometime between 1838 and 1841.¹⁷ They were related to John Williams, also of Tuscaloosa, who moved to Monroe County, Mississippi, in 1839, and presumably the Keatons also arrived at this time. The Keaton and Williams families were also related to the Futrells, who also came to the townsites from Georgia. They settled in Section 36 and later moved into Section 31, Barton proper.¹⁸ Between 1849 and 1853, James T. and Isham Harrison conveyed to John Williams land in Section 26, Township 16, Range 7, while deeding to the Keatons Sections 25, 35, and 36 immediately to the south and east of Williams.¹⁹ The Keatons did not begin to acquire title to this property in Vinton until 1849, but they did not own any property in Colbert or other nearby sections and probably lived at this location from the time of their arrival. Sherod had been authorized to keep a ferry below the mouth of the Buttahatchie River (then Section 25) in 1846, so it is clear they were in the Vinton area by that time. These early settlers illustrate the importance of family connections in migrations, both of the process of sending ahead some members to scout out lands, and moving the extended family together.²⁰

Besides the Keatons, other early settlers important to the Vinton community arrived in the mid-1840s. Dr. R. G. Miller was a long-time resident of the Vinton area, first appearing in association with the site in 1846, when he ran an advertisement in the Aberdeen Weekly Conservative for his services as physician. He advertised his location as about two and one-half miles from Colbert, near Sherod Keaton's place,²¹ and receipts for the years 1848-1855 confirm he was actively practicing medicine in the area.²² Miller married Sherod Keaton's daughter, Jane, before 1850 and resided in his father-in-law's house.²³ Early in 1851, the Millers established a separate residence nearby in the north half of the northwest quarter of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7. Although Jane Keaton Miller and her infant son, John, died in August of that year, Dr. Miller remained in the area until his death about 30 years later.²⁴

W. E. Trotter did not arrive in Vinton until 1855, but his influence was the most powerful in the community for the next 30 years. The business Trotter developed began in the late 1840s, and this store

complex, along with Keaton's and later the Vinton Ferry, provided the long-lasting nucleus of the Vinton community. Initially, John T. Young and Robert S. Ragland managed the store.²⁵ The earliest known records of this business date to 1849 and concern a variety of goods and metal work, indicating some sort of smithing facility.²⁶ Young would have a succession of partners and the property a series of owners, yet this enterprise remained in nearly continuous operation from 1849 to 1905, long after the demise of Barton.²⁷

The early settlement of Barton is not as clear as that of Vinton, although several individuals named Barton were in the townsite area during the early years. Armistead Barton owned at least 7,040 acres in 1840 and 3,200 acres in 1850 within a six-mile radius of the townsite.²⁸ An Absolom Barton owned a mercantile business in Colbert with E. T. Keese and perhaps E. P. Borden in the year 1836-1837.²⁹ Although Absolom was clearly not in business by 1844, the exact date of his departure from Colbert is unknown. A third Barton, Conway O., surveyed several roads around Colbert.³⁰ The town probably took its name from one of these men, who may even have been living in that area north of Colbert before the founding of the town of Barton. However, none of them is known to have lived on the Barton site or to have had any other connection with Barton during the decades in which it thrived. The only indication that there may have been more intensive and earlier settlement in Section 31 comes from La Tourette's 1839 map of Mississippi. Just north of "Colbert" is printed the name "Upper Colbert," with the name "Barton" penciled in at some unknown date.³¹ However, no other map indicates "Upper Colbert" or contains any sign of occupation in Section 31.

Unfortunately, the early deed records for Section 31 do not solve these mysteries as they are not numerous for before the founding of Barton. In June 1836, the Chickasaw Shin-a-lath-la sold Fractional Section 31, Township 16, Range 8, to David Starke for \$900. By 1840, Starke also owned two other complete sections in Lowndes County within a five-mile radius of Barton.³² Thomas Cowan owned this property along with Section 31 by 1850, although no record of a transfer from Starke has survived. It was from Thomas and Elizabeth Cowan that Hendley S. Bennett, as trustee for the town of Barton, purchased Section 31 in 1851.³³ Little more is known of David Starke or the Cowan family.

Regardless of these uncertainties surrounding pre-Barton settlement, by 1848 some of the Colbert businesses and residents had undoubtedly relocated to the north in Section 31. In February 1848, a charter was granted for a ferry in the "town of Barton" to Hendley S. Bennett and Agur T. Morse, and in July Sherod Keaton deeded land in Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, for a road right-of-way.³⁴ Hendley S. Bennett was trustee for the stockholders of Barton, or the Barton Company, as it was sometimes called.³⁵ However, he did not actually acquire title to Section 31 until May 1851, when Thomas L. and Elizabeth Cowan deeded the property to the Barton Company for \$750. The deeding of lots to individuals began soon thereafter.³⁶ It is not known why these legal transactions did not occur in 1848, when settlement of the town was beginning. Similarly, the town was not incorporated until February 1854, probably near its zenith.³⁷

The individual stockholders of the town are unknown, although there is a good bit of information concerning the trustees. Hendley S. Bennett was the son of John T. Bennett, who owned property about two and one-half miles southeast of Colbert. There is no record of Hendley Bennett owning any property at Colbert, nor does his name appear in any of the Barton deeds other than as trustee. He did purchase Section 19, Township 16, Range 7, about six miles west of Barton, in 1847, holding this property until 1851.³⁸ According to an 1848 deed, Agur T. Morse was also a Barton trustee, although in later transactions only Bennett acted in this capacity.³⁹ Morse was born in Connecticut and after a long migration through South Carolina and Alabama, he arrived in Mississippi between 1833 and 1836.⁴⁰ He owned a great deal of property in Colbert, including a warehouse and interest in a grist and saw mill,⁴¹ was active in the surveying of local roads, was an election supervisor and member of the Lowndes County Board of Police, and in 1846 was elected the first and only mayor of Colbert.⁴² Morse may have operated one of the early stores in Barton, and the first deed that Hendley Bennett transacted as trustee in 1851 was to Morse for the Barton ferry rights, along with several lots in Barton. Soon after this, Morse sold the ferry rights and most of his Barton property, and it is unclear how much longer he remained in the area.⁴³ He and his family do not appear in later transactions or in the 1860 Federal Census for the Barton and Vinton area.

After the inundation and destruction of many of the Colbert businesses in 1847, its function as a commercial center ended, and Barton assumed many of the roles and services Colbert had provided. New settlers moved into Barton, as they would have to Colbert, but many of the Barton residents had been in the area before 1848. Unlike the original backers of Colbert, many of whom probably never lived at the site but had high hopes for the town's growth and influence, the Barton stockholders remain obscure. Thus, it is the individual residents who stand out, and they will be considered here as a group.

It is somewhat difficult to determine those living at Colbert in 1847 who would have been potential candidates for removal to Barton after the December flood. Colbert seems to have been on the decline by 1844, when a number of lots were sold for unpaid taxes.⁴⁴ From 1836 to 1848, Colbert had 98 landowners, but many of these had departed by 1847.⁴⁵ In order to examine the settlement link between Colbert and Barton, or at least the 1836-1847 and 1848-1865 periods, researchers consulted deeds and other records of landownership, the 1850 U.S. Census of Population, election returns and announcements, and court files. This has enabled them to draw correlations between the presence of specific families at the sites for these periods. Table 1 lists these data and provides tabulations for the various information categories discussed below.

Looking only at information drawn from land records and the 1850 census, we find 30 families associated with the late Colbert period 1845-1847. In considering these last few years of Colbert's existence, residents still present in 1847 are isolated for analysis. Sixteen of the 30 families are also associated with the sites during the 1848-1865 period, most of them at Barton. There are 50 families associated with

Table 1. Presence of families by periods of association.

| | Election Returns and Announcements | | Land Records, 1850 Federal Census | | Other Chancery Records | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|
| | 1845-47 | 1848-65 | 1845-47 | 1848-65 | 1845-47 | 1848-65 |
| Rowkin, O.H. | x | | | | | |
| Warren, John A. | x | | | x | | |
| King, Reuben | x | | | x | | |
| Warren, Peter | x | | | x | | |
| Dukeminier, Jesse | x | | x | | | |
| Barry, W.T. | x | | | | | |
| Johnson, Miles | x | | | x | | |
| Kenton, Cader B. | x | | | x | | |
| Strong, Elisha | x | | | x | | |
| Horse, Akur T., Grace | x | | x | | | |
| Hanks, A.G. and M.E. | | | | x | | |
| McGowan, Robert | x | | | x | | |
| Curtis, James H., Mary | | | | x | | |
| Harris, Lewis | x | | | x | | |
| Hutchins, Jno. | x | | | x | | |
| Glenn, Matthew C. | | | | x | | |
| Grissold, F.M. | x | | | x | | |
| Gordon, Wm J. | x | | | x | | |
| Young, John T. | x | | | x | | |
| Collins, James M. | x | | | x | | |
| Curtis, John A. | x | | | x | | |
| Littleton, Robert | x | | | x | | |
| Littleton, Tatam, Susan | x | | | x | | |
| Grissold, James H. | x | | | x | | |
| Williams, Moses | x | | | x | | |
| Wiley, W.W. | x | | | x | | |
| Johnson, R.O. | x | | | x | | |
| Hilliard, James R. | x | | | x | | |
| Moore, William | x | | | x | | |
| Shell, Henry | x | | | x | | |
| Trotter, W.F. | x | | | x | | |
| Ford, Benj. H. | x | | | x | | |
| Vaie, Jachariah | x | | | x | | |
| Leftwich, Littlebury | x | | | x | | |
| McCann, John M. | x | | | x | | |
| Sisson, William | x | | | x | | |
| Dibrell, Matthew | x | | | x | | |
| Hampton, William | x | | | x | | |
| Hendon, Pamphet | x | | | x | | |
| Futrell, William | x | | | x | | |
| Bennett, E.W. | x | | | x | | |
| Gage, Caroline | x | | | x | | |
| Hicks, J.Y. and Mary | x | | | x | | |
| Littleton, Reubin | x | | | x | | |
| Leftwich, Joel | x | | | x | | |
| Harden, Daniel | x | | | x | | |
| Hogan, Arthur | x | | | x | | |
| Silverstone, Jno. | x | | | x | | |
| Kimes, Campbell | x | | | x | | |
| Capshaw, William | x | | | x | | |
| Miller, Abner | x | | | x | | |
| Lowd, David | x | | | x | | |
| Hines, Wiley | x | | | x | | |
| Bennett, H.S. | x | | | x | | |
| Natching, Jno. | x | | | x | | |
| Allen, John, Mary | x | | | x | | |
| Cox, J.J., Lou | | | | | | |
| Givens, Catherine | | | | | | |
| Urser, Robert | | | | | | |
| Caston, Mrs. E.V. | | | | | | |
| Johnson, J.R. | | | | | | |
| Fort, Martha | | | | | | |
| Atkinson, E.A. | | | | | | |
| Jemison, Ficklan, Powell | | | | | | |
| Barham, E.B. | | | | | | |
| Scott, Fletcher | | | | | | |
| Holly, James F. | | | | | | |
| Dickerson, Edwin | | | | | | |
| Jones, Henderson H. | | | | | | |
| Frazer, Elizabeth | | | | | | |
| Baldwin, Eliza | | | | | | |
| Wells, James M. | | | | | | |
| Rolling, Lemuel | | | | | | |
| Grizzle, Martha | | | | | | |
| Overton, Sidney | | | | | | |
| Angie, Sidney, Martha | | | | | | |
| McCullough, Charles | | | | | | |
| Belk, Perrill | | | | | | |
| Reid, Theodore | | | | | | |
| Strange, William | | | | | | |
| Van, Elisha | | | | | | |
| Ragland, Robert | | | | | | |
| Shell, Richard | | | | | | |
| Richardson, Bardine | | | | | | |
| Fort, N.S. | | | | | | |
| Field, Joseph | | | | | | |
| Gerdine, William | | | | | | |
| Capshaw, James M. | | | | | | |
| Rainey, William | | | | | | |
| Rainey, W.E. | | | | | | |
| Fields, P.H. | | | | | | |
| Duling, A.B., Mary | | | | | | |
| Duling, A.P. | | | | | | |
| Brown, Jacob | | | | | | |
| Natcher, Wm., Martha | | | | | | |
| Wiley, R.W. | | | | | | |
| Almand, James | | | | | | |
| Tomlinson, James | | | | | | |
| Smith, W.R. | | | | | | |
| Marshall, Wm. | | | | | | |
| Marshall, Robert | | | | | | |
| Leitch, John | | | | | | |

Sources for Table 1.: Clay County Deed Records, Clay County Chancery Office, West Point, Mississippi; 1850 Federal Census of Population, Lowndes County, Mississippi; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, Lowndes County Courthouse, Columbus, Mississippi; Lowndes County Estate Files, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History, Columbus, Mississippi; Election Returns for Lowndes County, Record Group 28, Records of the Secretary of State, Mississippi State Department

Tabulations of Table 1.

| Period | Presence Indicated By Land Records or 1850 Federal Census Only | Presence Indicated By Land Records, 1850 Census, Election Returns, Chancery Estate Files |
|--|--|--|
| 1845-47 late Colbert | 14 | 10 |
| 1845-47 and 1848-65 late Colbert and Barton | 16 | 32 |
| 1848-65 Barton | 50 | 60 |

the 1848-1865 period only, probably representing an influx of new people. Combining this information with that from chancery files and election returns, the picture of resettlement is better defined. Here we observe 42 families associated with the late Colbert period, and 32 of these are also associated with the sites from 1848-1865. A total of 60 families is associated with the 1848-1865 period only. Since the effects of such factors as age of residents, formation of new families, or occupation upon relocation or removal are not considered here, these findings must be viewed in a general manner. Yet they do reveal that, for many people, Barton was a continuation of the life begun in Colbert.

Barton and Vinton were also closely tied, but their relationship apparently was vastly different from that between Barton and Colbert. Vinton began (with Keaton's Ferry in 1843) before the founding of Barton, and its development as a smaller service center for the agrarian population of the prairie proved more viable than the larger commercial center of Barton. Most of the Vinton residents remained throughout the nineteenth century, while the denser and more commercially oriented population of Barton largely disappeared from the area in the 1860s.

The population of the Barton voting precinct, the north half of District 5 of Lowndes County, can be estimated from election returns collected from 35 separate elections between 1845 and 1863.⁴⁶ The number of voters is given in Figure 3. While these figures are not absolute because of fluctuations in voter turnout and the fact that only adult white males are represented, the trend of growth from 1845 to 1854, together with a decline thereafter, corresponds well to the number of businesses in operation at Barton during any one year and supports the finding that the period 1853-1855 marks the peak of Barton's growth.

Several elections were held only for the purpose of returning municipal officers at Barton. Unfortunately, the returns for the first such election in 1854 do not indicate the number of voters but only announce the election results. In 1857, 14 votes were cast for the same office, and in 1859 15 men voted; these are probably reasonable estimates of the number of households in Barton during these later years.⁴⁷ Matching census records with knowledge of landownership and occupation indicates from 25 to 28 households for the Barton and Vinton area between 1850 and 1860. Table 2 presents data for Barton and Vinton in 1850 with a total population of 76 free persons and 33 slaves in Barton and 35 free persons and 20 slaves in the north half of Section 36, the center of Vinton. This represents approximately 18 households for Barton proper and seven for Section 36, although Vinton's boundaries were vague, and a few residents south of Section 31 might be considered part of Barton (Table 2).⁴⁸

Comparisons of population density at Barton and Vinton can be made from these households. The Barton corporate limits were the boundaries of Fractional Section 31, Township 18, Range 8, which contained 149 acres for 109 persons.⁴⁹ This would indicate a population density of 1.36 acres per person (or .73 persons per acre for Barton in 1850). In Fractional Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, 75 persons resided within

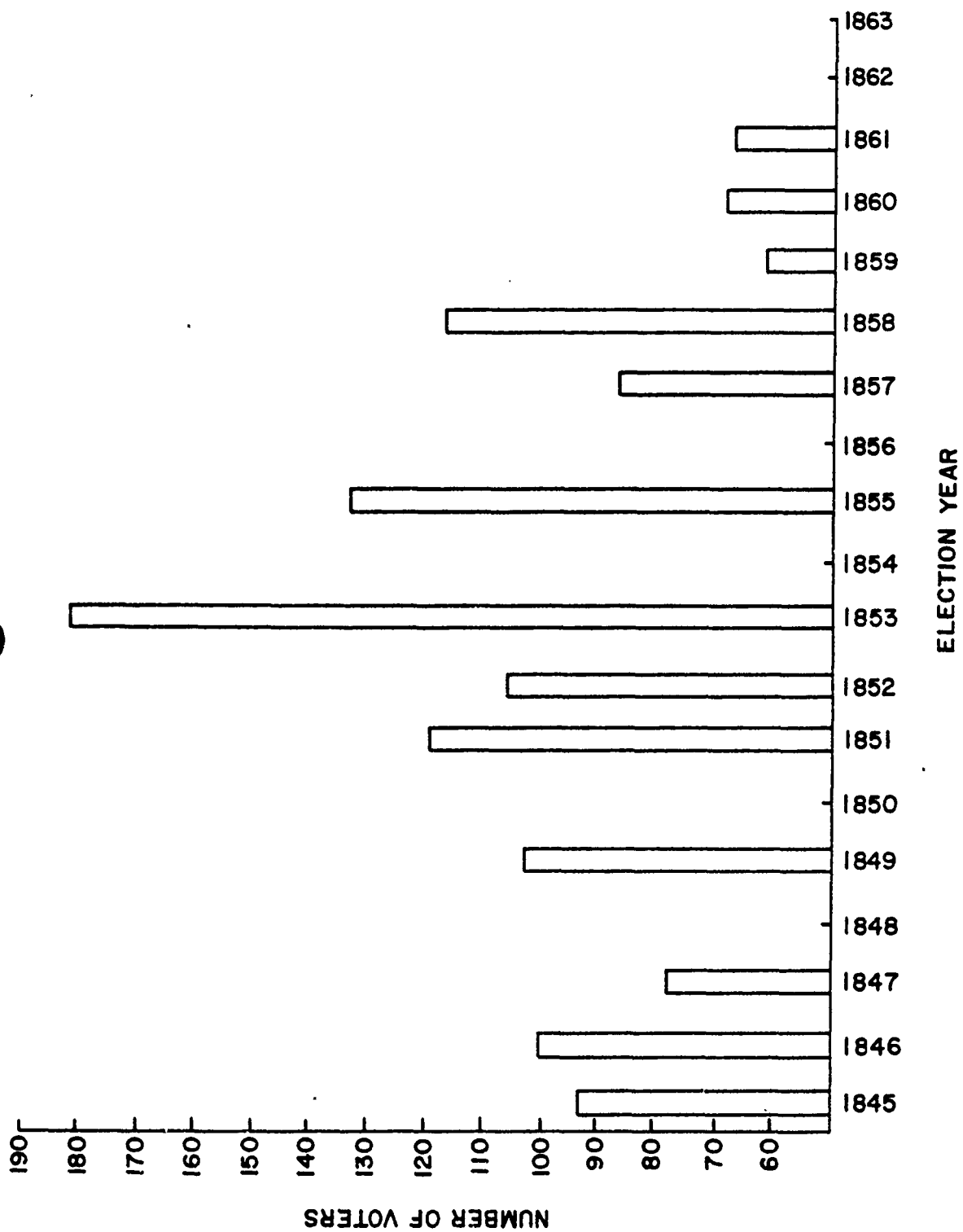


Figure 3. Barton precinct voting population as recorded by election returns, 1845-1861.

Table 2. Population of Barton-Vinton area, 1850

| Dwelling/ Family | Name | Age | Sex | Occupation | Notes ⁺ | Value of Real Estate | Birth Place | No. of Slaves |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------|--------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| <u>Barton Town</u> | | | | | | | | |
| 628/628 | Robert McGowane | 37 | m | merchant | | 4000 | SC | 3 |
| | Nancy | 30 | f | | | | TN | |
| | Robert | 8(?) | m | | | | TN | |
| | William | 3 | m | | | | MS | |
| 629/629 | Fletcher Scott | 18 | m | clerk | | | AL | |
| | Abner Willis | 50 | m | carpenter | | | NC | |
| | Mary | 18 | f | | | | NC | |
| | Susan | 16 | f | | | | NC | |
| | Elijah | 14 | m | | | | NC | |
| | John | 12 | m | | | | NC | |
| 630/630 | Agrissa G. Hanks | 42 | m | gunwright | | 2500 | SC | 3 |
| | Mary E. | 39 | f | | | | NC | |
| | Rebecca | 12 | f | | | | MS | |
| | Francis A. | 7 | f | | | | MS | |
| | William A. | 2 | m | | | | MS | |
| | John A. Warren | 28 | m | merchant | PM | | SC | |
| | John A. Curtis | 24 | m | merchant | | | SC | |
| | Miles Johnston | 56 | m | planter | | | NC | |
| | James F. Holly | 22 | m | planter | | | GA | |
| | Edwin Dickerson | 23 | m | carpenter | | | NC | |
| 631/631 | William Sisson | 50 | m | none | | 3200 | VA | |
| | Mary | 35 | f | | | | NC | |
| | Mary | 5 | f | | | | MS | |
| | John | 1 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Henderson H. Jones | 40 | m | stagedriver | | | VA | |
| 633/633 | Francis | 27 | m | | | 2000 | KY | 6 |
| | Agur T. Morse | 47 | m | planter | | | CT | |
| | Grace S. | 36 | f | | | | CT | |
| | William | 17 | m | | | | SC | |
| | Josiah | 15 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Elizabeth | 12 | f | | | | MS | |
| | Henry | 10 | m | | | | MS | |
| | George | 5 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Elizabeth Frazer | 39 | f | | | | CT | |
| | Edgar | 13 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Julia | 10 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Emmet | 5 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Emma | 2 | f | | | | MS | |
| | George | 7 | m | | | | MS | |
| 635/635 | Eliza Baldwin | 40 | f | | | 300 | CT | 4 |
| | James M. Wells | 24 | m | ferryman | | | MS | |
| | Samuel Bolling | 35 | m | carpenter | | | NC | |
| | Jane | 50(?) | f | | | | GA | |
| | William | 12 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Thomas | 10 | f(sic) | | | | AL | |
| | Martha Grizzel | 19 | f | | | | AL | |
| | John P. | 18 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Sydney Overton | 32 | f | | | | TN | |
| | Calvin | 14 | m | | | | MS | |
| 637/637 | Nancy | 9 | f | | | 800 | MS | 11 |
| | Peter Warren | 74 | m | planter | | | RI | |
| | Ann | 60 | f | | | | SC | |
| | Sarah | 37 | f | | | | SC | |
| 639/639 | Martha Angle | 28 | f | | | 1500 | SC | 5 |
| 648/648 | James H. Curtis | 31 | m | physician | | | SC | |
| | Mary S. | 28 | f | | | | SC | |
| | Amos Davis | 8 | m | | | | MS | |
| 649/649 | Mathew W. Dibbrell | 36 | m | physician | | 900 | VA | 1 |
| | Martha S. | 26 | f | | | | SC | |
| | William S. Capshaw | 7 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Mathew R. Glenn | 45 | m | millwright | | | GA | |
| 650/650 | Mary | 45 | f | | | 500 | GA | |
| | Lucy | 20 | f | | | | GA | |
| | James E. Tomlison | 26 | m | | | | TN | |
| | Mary Collier | 8 | f | | | | MS | |
| | Charles McCullough | 60 | m | mechanic | | | GA | |
| | Jacob Brown | 35 | m | carpenter | | | VA | |
| | Sarah | 25 | f | | | | NC | |
| | Mary | 12 | f | | | | MS | |
| | Merrill Belk | 32 | m | steamboatman | | | TN | |
| | Mary | 25 | f | | | | GA | |
| 651/651 | Thomas J. | 7 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Sarah F. | 5 | f | | | | MS | |
| | Avijah | 3 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Elisha Strong | 23 | m | physician | | | GA | |
| | Doct(?) | 20 | m | | | | GA | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |

Table 2. continued.

| Dwelling/ Family | Name | Age | Sex | Occupation | Notes ⁺ | Value of Real Estate | Birth Place | No. of Slaves |
|--|-------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| <u>Vinton Village (North ½ of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7E)</u> | | | | | | | | |
| 641/641 | Theodore Reid | 32 | m | carpenter | | | VA | |
| | Mary P. | 27 | f | | | | SC | |
| | Thomas S. | 8 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Theodore F. | 5 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Sarah R. | 3 | f | | | | MS | |
| 642/642 | William Strange | 22 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Elisha H. Van | 37 | m | blacksmith | | 2000 | NC | 1 |
| | Margaret E. | 17 | f | | | | NC | |
| | Mary | 3 | f | | | | AL | |
| | John T. Young | 30 | m | merchant | | 3000 | VA | |
| 643/643 | Louisa | 21 | f | | | | AL | |
| | Robert S. Ragland | 27 | m | | | | VA | |
| | William L. Boykin | 24 | m | clerk | | | TN | |
| | Robert W. Wiley | 30 | m | tailor | | | SC | |
| | Jane Shone(?) | 18 | f | | | | AL | |
| 644/644 | Cader B. Keaton ⁺⁺ | 52 | m | planter | | 4000 | GA | 16 |
| | Mary J. | 48 | f | | | | NC | |
| | Hezekiah W. | 24 | m | | | | AL | |
| | William P. | 22 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Martha M. | 14 | d | | | | AL | |
| | Benjamin F. | 12 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Thomas W. | 10 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Francis S. | 8 | f | | | | AL | |
| | Sterling S. | 36 | m | | | | AL | |
| | Sterling B. Wooten | 28 | m | (?) | | | AL | |
| 645/645 | John B. Keaton ⁺⁺ | 28 | m | planter | | | AL | |
| | Mary A. | 24 | f | | | | AL | |
| <u>Miscellaneous Agrarians in Close Proximity to Barton and Vinton-1850</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Probably in Section 1, Township 17, Range 7E: | | | | | | | | |
| 626/626 | John Hutchins | 56 | m | planter | | 7680 | NC | 27 |
| | Susa | 50 | f | | | | NC | |
| | Louisa | 7 | f | | | | MS | |
| | Louisa Cooper | 9 | f | | | | MS | |
| Probably in either Section 1, Township 17, Range 7E or Section 6, Township 17, Range 8E: | | | | | | | | |
| 627/627 | William T. Barry | 36 | m | planter | PM | 400 | SC | 4 |
| | Eliza A. | 32 | f | | | | NY | |
| | Richard H. | 12 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Felicia | 10 | f | | | | MS | |
| | Charles A. | 8 | m | | | | MS | |
| | John W. | 6 | m | | | | MS | |
| | Mary A. | 4 | f | | | | MS | |
| Probably in East ½ of Southwest ¼ of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7E: | | | | | | | | |
| 646/646 | Edmund B. Barham | 37 | m | | | 500 | GA | 3 |
| | Emeline | 34 | f | | | | GA | |
| | Octavia G. | 10 | f | | | | AL | |
| | Timothy | 7 | f | | | | AL | |
| | Napoleon H. | 3 | m | | | | MS | |
| Probably in South 100 acres of Southeast ¼ of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7E: | | | | | | | | |
| 647/647 | William J. Futrell | 40 | m | planter | | | GA | |
| | Maheley | 25 | f | | | | GA | |
| | William V. | 5 | m | | | | MS | |
| Undetermined Location: | | | | | | | | |
| 640/640 | Fredrick Oales | 31 | m | steamboatman | | | at sea | |
| | Eliza | 13 | f | | | | (?) | |
| | Alonzo | 5 | m | | | | (?) | |
| | Mary | 5 | f | | | | AL | |

compiled by Jack Elliott, Jr. from 1850 U.S. Census of Population
(PM stands for Postmaster)

560 acres in 1850, yielding a density of 7.46 acres per person (or .13 persons per acre).⁵⁰ Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, the center of Vinton, was thus less densely settled than Barton, and the lands outside this section that might still be considered part of Vinton were undoubtedly even more sparsely populated.

Figures 4 and 5 are drawn from federal census data and shows the age-sex structure of the Barton townsite population in 1850 compared to an equal number of contiguous households from the prairie about three miles west and north of Barton. While the differences are not great, the Barton population is older, or at least there are fewer individuals in the younger age categories than among the rural populations. In the 1850 Barton population, 39 percent are age 14 or younger; in the hinterland, 47 percent are under 15 years of age. This could be the result of a larger number of adult single persons associated with a commercial center and/or family size differences between town and rural settings. By 1860, the Barton population is even older, with 33 percent age 14 or younger. There are also differences in the sex ratio of these populations. In 1850, both Barton and the hinterland had more males, Barton having 170 males for every 100 females, the hinterland 140 males for every 100 females. By 1860, the Barton population was much more equal, with a ratio of 90 males for every 100 females.

Interestingly, the 1850 Barton-Vinton population included few adults born in Mississippi. According to the Population Schedule of the 1850 Federal Census for Lowndes County, enumeration numbers 626-653 (Table 2), there were 60 white persons over age 21 at the sites. One was born in Rhode Island, four in Connecticut, and one in New York. The majority migrated from the southeast: seven born in Virginia, one in Kentucky, five in Tennessee, 12 in North Carolina, 13 in South Carolina, and 11 in Georgia. Thus, 60 percent were born in Georgia or the Carolinas, only seven people were born in Alabama, and only one in Mississippi. The migrants' route, largely through Alabama, can be seen in the birthplaces of their children. Of those under age 21 appearing in the 1850 census, one was born in Tennessee, one in South Carolina, and four in North Carolina. Seventeen persons (30 percent) were born in Alabama, and 33 were born in Mississippi. From this it can also be seen that most of these Barton-Vinton families either arrived in Mississippi while relatively young or were formed there. The 33 persons born in Mississippi account for 58 percent of those under age 21 in 1850. Except for the lack of New Englanders and the one family from Ireland, the 1850 hinterland population shows origins similar to those of people in Barton and Vinton proper. In the hinterland, 68 percent of those age 21 and older were born in Georgia or the Carolinas (compared to 60 percent for Barton-Vinton); 30 percent of those under age 21 were born in Alabama, 45 percent in Mississippi.

Transportation

Similar to Colbert, Barton's central functional feature was its role in the transportation network linking the overland routes of the prairie with the river thoroughfare to Mobile. Moreover, Barton inherited Colbert's position as the main ferry crossing on the trunk

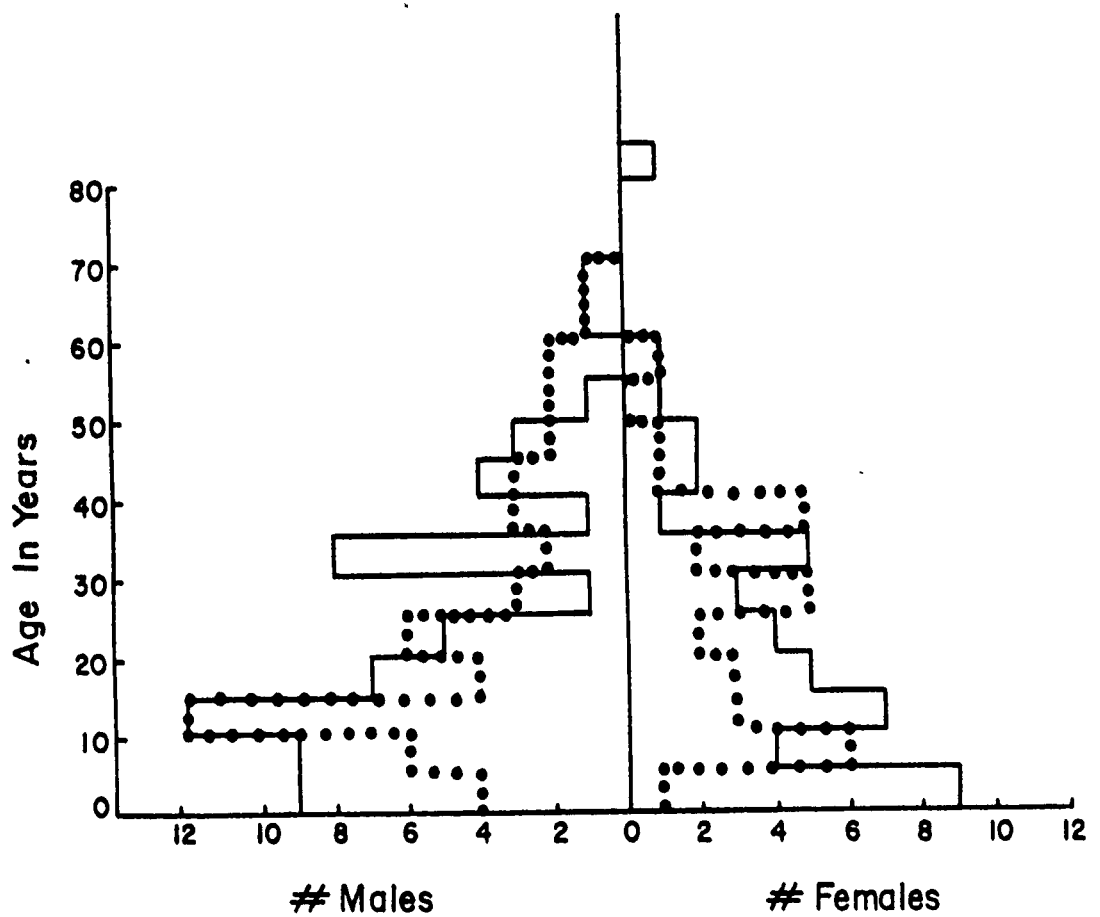


Figure 4. Population age and sex structure of Barton and hinterland, 1850.

..... Barton

_____ hinterland

Source: 1850 Federal Census of Population, Lowndes County
 #s 628-639, 648-653; Monroe County, Western Division,
 #s 33-50.

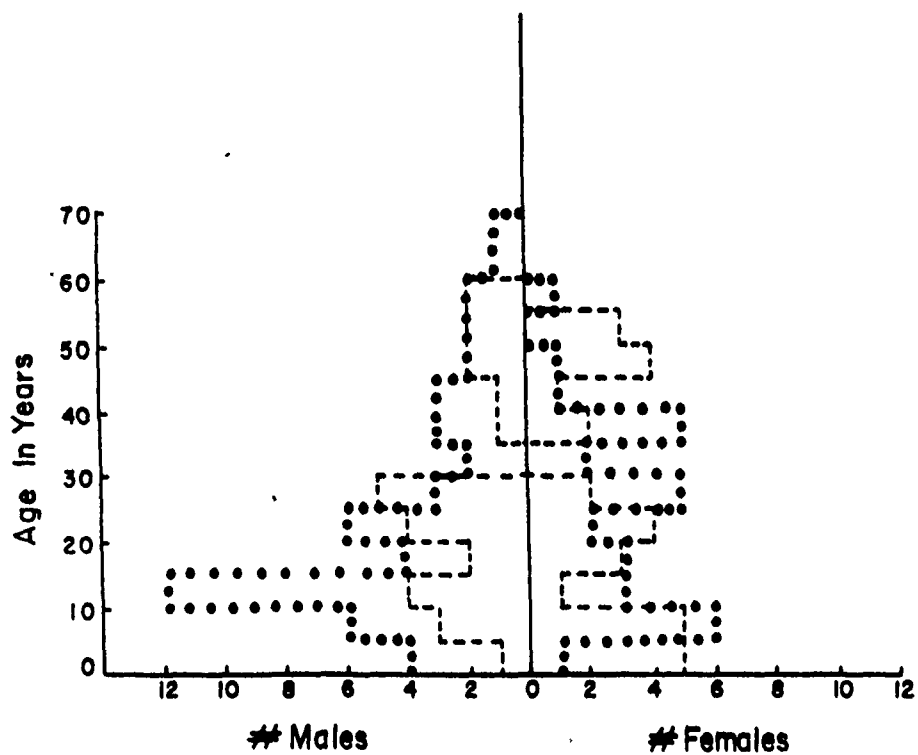


Figure 5. Population age and sex structure of Barton, 1850 and 1860.

.... 1850

---- 1860

Source: See Figure 4 for 1850; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County #s 890-899, 910-914.

route connecting Columbus and Aberdeen. To a very considerable degree, Barton was conceived and emerged as a reincarnation of Colbert, albeit without the grandiose "boom town" illusions that had accompanied the settlement of the earlier community. In essence, the same functional demands that gave rise to Colbert were central to Barton's development; after the 1847 flood, it was simply a matter of reorganizing these activities on a site not so easily undone by natural calamity. Barton emerged to fill this role.

There appear to have been few changes in the pre-1847 road system that had served Colbert once it was diverted to Barton in 1848.⁵¹ The two principal routes were still the Colbert-Starkville Road and the Columbus-Aberdeen Road, the former the main link between Barton and the prairie lands west of Town Creek, the latter the connection between the perimeter community of Vinton and the bottomlands east of Town Creek. In addition, several tributary roads that fed into the Colbert-Starkville trunk route crossed the prairie hinterland southwest of Barton. The northern section was crossed by parts of the old White and Pontotoc roads as well as the Colbert-Barton Road, a central section of which replaced the older Colbert-Starkville route. Farther to the south, the Upper Prairie and Chuquatonchee roads also fed into Barton. Perhaps some traffic even came through Barton from the Lower Prairie Road, which ran just north of the Tibbee Creek bottom, although Waverly, which was operating at least by 1836 and Barton's principal competitor, probably received most of this traffic.⁵² On the east bank of the Tombigbee, the Barton-Vinton ferries fed into a three-pronged junction. One route proceeded north over the Buttahatchee at Ringo's Ferry on to Aberdeen; a second paralleled the Buttahatchee on its south bank, proceeding west to Caledonia near the Alabama border; and the third and most heavily traveled route extended southward to Columbus.⁵³

The ferries on the Tombigbee were an essential feature of the overland transport system that converged at Barton-Vinton. In October 1843 Sherod Keaton had been authorized to keep a ferry at Vinton. He was reauthorized in 1846 and also was permitted to land on Agur T. Morse's east bank property. At the same time, Morse was authorized to keep a ferry "at the place formerly used as a ferry by said Morse" and to land on the west bank on Thomas Keaton's property. This probably represented an operation much like the one at Colbert, whereby Margaret Allen received the tolls from eastbound traffic and Littlebury Leftwich those from westbound traffic.⁵⁴

Despite the disintegration of Colbert after the December 1847 flood, Margaret Allen was authorized to establish and keep a ferry at Colbert in January 1848. There is also a definite record of a ferry in Section 31 at this time, the site of Barton. In March 1848, Agur T. Morse was authorized to keep a ferry at the "Town of Barton."⁵⁵ Both of these enterprises were relatively short-lived, for in 1851 James R. Hilliard and James H. Griswold succeeded in having both the Morse (Barton) and Allen (Colbert) ferries abolished and were authorized to set up their own at a point known as Jackson Springs, in the southeast corner of Barton between the Colbert and original Barton Ferry sites.⁵⁶ Griswold and Hilliard purchased ferry rights from Morse for \$800, and thereafter the Jackson Springs Ferry became the main Barton crossing, with some competition from the Vinton operation. Barton operators

foiled Reuben Littleton's subsequent attempts to reestablish the Colbert Ferry in 1853, and the damaged prospects of the Vinton Ferry may have figured into William Trotter's decision to sell it to Griswold's partner, James Hilliard, in 1857, only two years after Trotter's purchase.⁵⁷

Between 1857 and 1860, in a complex series of transfers that ended in a lengthy court proceeding, Griswold sold the Barton Ferry first to Martha Womble and then to Bardine Richardson. These transactions were not unencumbered, however, and Josiah Y. Hicks eventually took possession of the ferry in 1859. He then sold the Barton Ferry to Susan E. Littleton. She was married to Tatum Littleton, son of Reuben Littleton, who had earlier tried to reopen the Colbert Ferry. Susan E. Littleton, later S. E. Yates, held the Barton Ferry for the next 34 years.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, there is no precise information concerning the intensity of traffic over the Tombigbee at Barton-Vinton, but indications are that activity was brisk. Some evidence is provided by the heated competition described above. We also know from the sizable bonds required of ferry operators at the time that the prospects for profit were not negligible. For example, in Barton James Griswold had posted a bond for \$2,500 in 1853 in order to renew his license for two years.⁵⁹ The same terms were in effect in 1869 when S. E. and N. J. Yates operated the Barton Ferry.⁶⁰ Sherod Keaton posted a \$2,000 bond in 1847 for two-year rights on the ferry at Vinton.⁶¹

The rates that justified the intense competition and high expense are shown in Table 3. Clearly, crossing the Tombigbee was expensive; the average fare one way in about 1850 was \$.50 at a time when a loaf of bread could be had for five cents. In 1855, a Dun and Company agent estimated that the Barton Ferry brought James Griswold \$1,000 annually, and in 1857 it was estimated to have brought in \$1,200. The ferry sold for \$4,000 in 1858.⁶²

Although the chronological representation in Table 3 is sketchy and largely confined to the antebellum period, these figures are complete enough to confirm some general trends concerning transport intensity and the contingent process of economic development in the locality. Other sources indicate that from 1834 through the early 1840s there was rapid development in Colbert.⁶³ This is further substantiated by a sharp increase in the Colbert Ferry rates between 1834 and 1839, which presumably reflected the increased demand placed on that facility. The only notable exception was livestock ferriage, which dropped dramatically, perhaps as a response to competition at Waverly. Moreover, the trend toward expansion is evidenced by the fact that in 1834 nothing larger than a two-horse wagon was listed on the rate schedule for the Colbert Ferry, whereas five years later four- and six-horse wagons had become common fare.⁶⁴ This is clearly an indication that substantial road improvements had opened Colbert to heavier and more frequent traffic.

By the mid-1840s, "flush times" in Colbert appear to have ended. This recession is borne out not only by numerous cases of abandonment but also by an appreciable decline in the Colbert Ferry rates by 1848.⁶⁵ It is impossible to determine to what extent the disastrous flood of the previous year may have affected this shift. One presumes the effect was negligible because the rates established in January 1848, only a few

Table 3. Schedule of Ferry Rates: Colbert, Barton, Vinton, and Waverly, Mississippi.

| | 6-Horse Wagon | 4-Horse Wagon | 3-Horse Wagon | 2-Horse Wagon | 1-Horse Wagon Cart | 1-Horse Sulky | 4-Wheel Carriage 1-Horse 2-Horse | Horse & Rider | Footman | Hogs | Cattle Horses Mules | Sheep Goats |
|---------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--|------------------|---------|------|---------------------------|----------------|
| Colbert | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1834 | | | | .37½ | .25 | .25 | .50 | .12½ | .06½ | .06 | .06 | .06 |
| 1839 | 1.00 | .75 | .62½ | .50 | .25 | .37½ | .50 | .12½ | .06 | .03 | .05 | .03 |
| 1848 | .75 | .50 | .50 | .50 | .25 | .25 | .50 | .10 | | .02 | .05 | .02 |
| Barton | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1853 | .75 | .50 | | .50 | .25 | .25 | | .10 | | .05 | .05 | .05 |
| 1863 | 1.25 | 1.00 | | .60 | .30 | | .40 | .20 | .10 | .05 | .10 | .05 |
| Vinton | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1847 | .75 | .50 | .50 | .50 | .25 | .25 | .50 | .10 | | .02 | .05 | .02 |
| Waverly | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1833 | | | | .37½ | .25 | | .25 | .13½ | .06½ | .03 | .03(C) .06½(H) | .03 |
| 1863 | 1.25 | 1.00 | | .60 | .30 | | .40 | .20 | .10 | .05 | .10 | .05 |

Source: Lowndes County (Mississippi), Board of Police Minutes.

weeks after the flood, were essentially the same as those for the Barton Ferry in 1853 and identical with those at Keaton's Ferry (Vinton) in 1847. Competition from the other ferries may have been a factor, but it seems more probable that the decreases were more a consequence of slower rates of economic growth as the 1840s progressed. The next possible impression is for 1863, when severely inflated rates may be observed for both the Barton and Waverly ferries as well as those at West Port and Columbus; this was surely the consequence of unstable wartime conditions and the failing Confederate currency.⁶⁶

Barton-Vinton was also situated on the route of the Columbus-Aberdeen stagecoach, which was operated in 1857 by Jemison, Ficklan and Powell, Stage Contractors. The precise date this service began is uncertain; the 1850 census lists one Henderson H. Jones as a stage driver residing in Barton,⁶⁷ and the earliest record of the stage passing through Barton dates from 27 May 1849.⁶⁸ In 1857, Jemison, Ficklan, and Powell purchased the western half of Lot 4 and the eastern half of Lot 5 in Block 2, fronting Main Street, presumably the site of the stage stop in Barton after that date.⁶⁹ The stage also stopped in Vinton at or near the site of William Trotter's store, although it is unclear how early this practice was initiated.⁷⁰ One must presume that after the decline of Barton in the late 1850s, the Vinton stop eventually became the main station for the community. One-way fare to Columbus in 1849 was \$1.25.⁷¹ Unfortunately, no information has survived that might indicate the fare to Aberdeen, but given Barton's midpoint location between Columbus and Aberdeen, the fare was probably approximately the same to both cities.

In contrast to overland traffic, steamer traffic almost certainly increased at Barton-Vinton throughout the period 1848-1857. The reason is obvious. The production of cotton in Lowndes County increased from a yearly average of 21 bales per farm in 1850 to 80 bales per farm in 1860, and the hinterland that Barton-Vinton served was among the richest in the country.⁷² Until the arrival of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad in West Point in 1857, there was only one means of bringing this considerable crop to market: via Tombigbee steamer to Mobile.

There were no less than five landings in the Barton-Vinton vicinity in the 1850s: Colbert, Barton Ferry, Barton, Parker's Bluff, and Vinton. The steamers continued to stop at Colbert at least until 1851 while the ferry was still in operation and perhaps even later. As they approached Barton proper, the steamers apparently landed first at the Jackson Springs Ferry (Strip 6, in the southeastern corner of Barton), then proceeded around the bend to the Barton landing, which was probably at the base of the bluff above the old Morse Ferry upon which the Fort and Collins warehouse was situated in Block 25. Still another landing, Parker's Bluff, was very near the Barton (or Barton's Bluff) landing, probably near the Johnson's or Harrison's warehouses. From this point the steamers rounded a second bend and proceeded to the Vinton landing at the mouth of Millstone Creek.⁷³

Weaver and Doster (1982:53) note that since landings entailed little capital investments, there were often more than were absolutely necessary in terms of hinterland support and use. These five landings

along a three-mile stretch of river were probably used in a very flexible manner, depending on the goods to be delivered or picked up. The ferries were another story and competition appears to have been very strong.

Precise information on the frequency of steamer traffic at Barton-Vinton is almost completely nonexistent. It is impossible to learn from sources presently available even an approximate schedule of arrivals and departures. A list of steamers that served the sites during the Barton-Vinton period would probably include the Cora, Dandridge, Dove, Eliza #2, Elinore, Erika, Georgia Sykes, Irene, Jenny Lind, John Briggs, Leonete, Marengo, Mist, Reindeer, Vigo, Waverly, William Bradstreet, and Young Renown. Although there were undoubtedly more, direct verification is difficult. More often than not, one can only infer landings at Barton-Vinton from the fact that a steamer reached Aberdeen in a given season. At best the river traffic through Barton-Vinton was seasonal, concentrated in the high water months between late November and April. During the rest of the year, the Upper Tombigbee was generally impassable. Furthermore, most steamers never ventured beyond Columbus; under favorable conditions, a significantly smaller number would continue as far as Aberdeen. Thus, Barton-Vinton lay toward the outer perimeter of this traffic, and the transport problem for the planters in the prairie remained severe until the arrival of the railroad at West Point in 1857. In some years the rains failed altogether, and the low water all but prevented moving the crop out. This was precisely the case at Barton for two successive winters, in 1855 and 1856, when closed navigation disrupted the entire local economy.⁷⁴

The Mobile and Ohio Railroad brought an end to the transportation problem in the Mississippi Black Prairie region. Organized in 1848, the M&O commenced construction immediately unfettered by the lengthy delays and negotiations that characterized many of the early railroads in the South.⁷⁵ Extending northward from the terminus at Mobile, the line paralleled the Tombigbee's west bank, first penetrating the Black Prairie in Kemper County in 1855. The following year, construction reached Macon in Noxubee County, arriving at West Point in northern Lowndes County on Christmas Day, 1857. In April 1861, shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, the northern terminus at Columbus, Kentucky, was opened, from which a 20-mile steamer connection brought the M&O into junction with the Illinois Central at Cairo, Illinois.

The establishment of the railhead at West Point meant a massive reorientation of the traffic flow within the hinterland previously serviced by the river facilities at Barton-Vinton. In the first season after the M&O's arrival, 17,215 bales of cotton were shipped out of West Point, where the crop was stacked in great piles along the tracks.⁷⁶ At that point, there was not a single warehouse at this former crossroads hamlet--a condition rapidly rectified as the "rail boom" progressed over the next few years. The advantages of rail transport for the local planters were obvious. The railroad effectively circumvented the perils of the river route--fire, flood, snags, delay, and limited accessibility--and it offered regular, year-round service that was faster and involved considerably fewer risks. Shipping and insurance rates were often substantially less. It is entirely probable that by the eve

of the Civil War, the M&O had reduced the cotton traffic on the Tombigbee by more than half.⁷⁷

The residents of Barton-Vinton were far from impervious to the threat the railway represented. As early as 1851, a referendum was held in Lowndes County on the issue of a special tax proposed for the purchase of \$165,000 in M&O stock to insure the completion of the railroad through the county.⁷⁸ The proposition was soundly defeated in the Barton district, and the overall county returns were so close that another vote had to be scheduled.⁷⁹ The issue finally came before the voters again in 1853, this time passing by a substantial majority.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the individual precinct tabulations that would indicate Barton's second response have not survived.

Efforts began immediately in Barton to bring an east-west rail route through the community to prevent its isolation from the mainstream of economic development. As early as 1852, a promotional meeting for the purchase of stock in the Canton, Aberdeen and Tuscumbia Railroad was held in Barton, but this scheme had still not materialized when the Civil War disrupted the entire economic picture.⁸¹ Even after the war, speculation did not end concerning the possibility of building a rail route through Barton but continued to linger well past the turn of the century. Actually, two companies--the Chicago, St. Louis and New Orleans, and the Nashville, Aberdeen and Canton--gave serious consideration to the plan and went so far as to purchase property through Barton in the late 1890s.⁸² But nothing ever came of these preparations, and the railroads finally sold out in 1937.⁸³

The transportation reorientation in the Barton-Vinton hinterland spelled disaster for this river community. While West Point rapidly developed into the economic hub of the prairie lands between Columbus and Aberdeen, complete with daily rail service, schools, and bustling new businesses, Barton-Vinton soon disintegrated into a stagnating hamlet. By 1860, the overland feeder routes into the community had been diverted to the railhead at West Point. Of the five principal mercantile establishments operating in Barton throughout the mid-1850s, only one, possibly two, remained after 1860.⁸⁴ In April 1858, the post office in Barton moved to Vinton; in 1862 the Barton precinct was reorganized around Vinton for "the convenience of the voting community."⁸⁵ By 1865, the drastic economic constriction of the Civil War finished the process begun in 1857 with the arrival of the railroad. Occupied by only a few scattered inhabitants, Barton was nearly abandoned with nothing but its ferry to justify its continued existence.

Economics

Cotton was the prime commodity in the Barton-Vinton economy, even more so than in Colbert. In early autumn, planters and farmers in the hinterland hauled their crop by wagon to the warehouses and sheds above the steamboat landings in Barton-Vinton to await high water and eventual shipment to the Mobile factors who negotiated its sale. In contrast to the one known warehouse operation in Colbert,⁸⁶ five have been identified in Barton-Vinton (Figure 6). The most important of these, a joint concern owned by Hendley S. Bennett, Martha Fort, and James M. Collins,

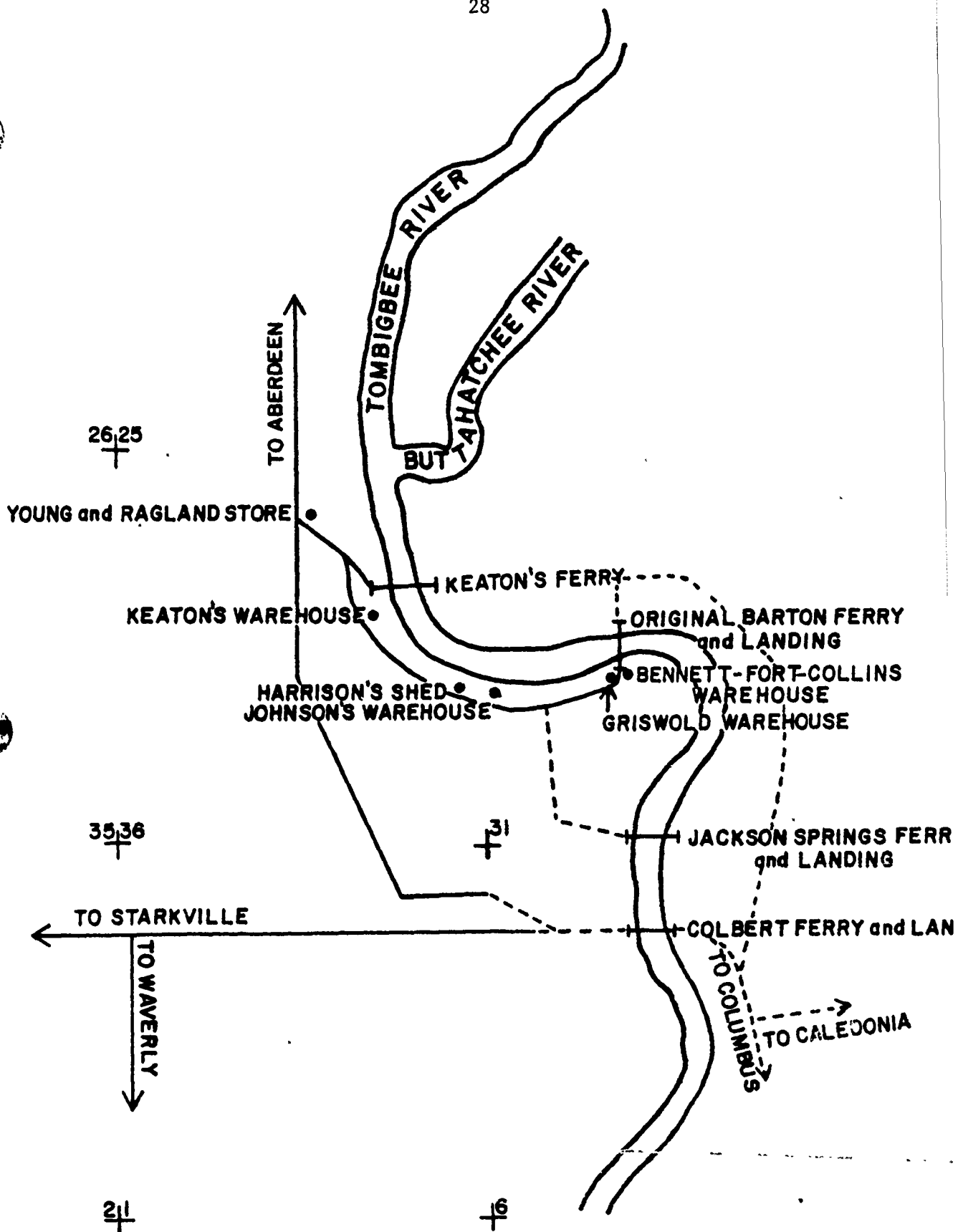


Figure 6. Locations of principal warehouses in the study area, mid-century.

was situated above the Barton landing in Block 25 and consisted of a warehouse proper and a smaller cotton shed. Bennett apparently built both structures before November 1852. At that time he sold a sixth interest in the property (Block 25) and the buildings to Collins and a third interest in the buildings as well as a sixth interest in Block 25 to Fort.⁸⁷ Although these three co-owners were planters of considerable means in the prairie lands west of Barton-Vinton,⁸⁸ only Collins is known to have lived on the site, where he occupied the residence commonly called Cedar Oaks and operated the principal mercantile establishment in Barton from 1852 until his move to West Point in 1859.⁸⁹

A second warehouse is believed to have stood above the Barton landing on Block 4, occupying the rise immediately west of the Bennett-Fort-Collins operation. This concern belonged to James W. Griswold, the Barton Ferry owner who ran a general store and a blacksmith shop in addition to three other concerns. The origin of this structure is uncertain; it is first mentioned in 1853, although Griswold was in Barton as early as 1851.⁹⁰

The landing at Parker's Bluff on Barton's northern corner was flanked by two storage facilities: a warehouse belonging to Miles Johnson and associated with his storehouse at the same location on the west half of Block 1,⁹¹ and Isham Harrison's cotton shed just beyond the Barton town limit along the road leading to Vinton.⁹² The Johnson operation was apparently the first warehouse in Barton, as it is mentioned as the only such facility in 1851 and received "considerable business from the country back of Barton."⁹³ Isham Harrison was one of the earliest major planters on the Colbert prairie and was present as early as 1836. It is entirely possible that his cotton shed predated the establishment of Barton by as much as a decade.⁹⁴ In any case, it was already standing in 1848 when the road connecting Barton with Keaton's Ferry was laid out.⁹⁵ The shed was probably constructed primarily for Harrison's personal use, especially in the early period, but as the demand for storage space increased in subsequent years, other area planters probably used it also.

The warehouse at Vinton predated all other storage facilities in the immediate locality with the possible exception of Harrison's shed. It is first mentioned in 1843, long before the place name "Vinton" came into use in 1851.⁹⁶ Situated at the mouth of Millstone Creek above Keaton's landing, or Keaton's Ferry as it is more commonly called, this warehouse was probably constructed by Sherod Keaton shortly after the arrival of the Keaton family in the vicinity, sometime between 1838 and 1841.⁹⁷ It is certainly identical with the "Keaton's Warehouse" identified in several 1848 entries in the County Board of Police Minutes, and presumably it was operated in conjunction with the Keaton Ferry at the same location.⁹⁸ The history of this structure during the early 1850s is more obscure; John T. Young, who founded the Vinton store before 1849 and subsequently acquired the ferry about 1850,⁹⁹ may have operated it for a short while. By 1855, William E. Trotter appears to have assumed ownership of the warehouse together with nearly everything else in Vinton, including the ferry, the blacksmith shop, and the general store. His proprietorship of these associated properties did not end until the closing years of the century.¹⁰⁰

In addition to these operations, there is some evidence that Elisha W. Strong, a physician and local planter just outside Barton, may have operated a warehouse in the area, but if so its location is a mystery.¹⁰¹ Although Elliott (1978) cites Strong as a Barton resident, there are no deed records establishing his interest in any real estate within the town limits.

Another mystery concerns the precise economics of the local warehouse operations. The few surviving receipts and bills provide only the most elementary idea of storage rates and handling procedures. It seems that incoming freight from Mobile, mostly supplies for area planters, was normally held in the warehouse until the residents arrived to collect it. Regretably, we know nothing about the handling of the Mobile-bound cotton freight that was sheltered in these places.

Although Barton-Vinton's primary economic function was as an up-river substation and shipping point in the Mobile cotton trade, it also soon developed into a thriving country trade center. During the period 1848-1865, ten mercantile houses operated in the community, catering principally to the day-to-day domestic needs of the local agrarian population. They dealt primarily in dry goods, clothing, and light hardware; rarely did they handle plantation supplies in significant quantities (bagging, rope, barrels, salt pork, and so forth), and their grocery stock was usually limited to coffee, spices, whiskey, and the like. The large commission merchants in Mobile generally filled the larger plantation orders, and the majority of the population produced its own food or traded directly with local farmers.

Peter Warren, the merchant from Colbert who reestablished a store in Barton after the 1847 flood,¹⁰² was probably the earliest merchant in Barton-Vinton. Although the precise date of his move to Barton is uncertain, it was probably in early 1848, soon after the inundation. The 1850 census clearly places him in Barton.¹⁰³ Warren apparently owned two parcels of real estate there: Block 18 upon which his residence was probably located, and Lot 1 of Block 2 in the business district, undoubtedly the site of his store (Figure 7).¹⁰⁴ He was more than 70 years old when he shifted his operation to Barton and did not remain active in the store for very long. Although most of the surviving accounts for the Warren store date from its earlier period in Colbert, there are several for the Barton operation that indicate he was principally a dry goods dealer. After his retirement in 1853, his sons Peter T. and Benjamin Warren assumed control of the store.¹⁰⁵ Warren's business at Barton never seemed to match his earlier success at Colbert, but while his means were never considered great, he enjoyed a formidable reputation for honesty and religious piety.¹⁰⁶ After a lifelong migration that took him from his birthplace in Rhode Island through South Carolina and ultimately to Mississippi, Warren died in Barton in 1856.¹⁰⁷ His sons left the community shortly thereafter, but two daughters, Sarah Warren and Martha Angle, were still living there in 1860.¹⁰⁸ In 1857, James Collins (another Barton merchant) bought the Warren store and donated it to the Barton Christian Church.¹⁰⁹

John A. Curtis was also one of the earliest merchants in Barton-Vinton and his operation may have predated Warren's. Curtis's establishment is first mentioned in April 1847, although the original

Figure 7. Hypothetical plat of Barton, indicating location of family residences and businesses from deeds.

location is in doubt.¹¹⁰ It may have been situated in the northeast corner of Block 7, as this was probably the location of his operation after 1852 (Figure 7). But Curtis did not purchase this property from James M. Capshaw until that date, and the price he paid (\$20.00) does not indicate that a structure was present on the lot at that time.¹¹¹ This does not preclude the possibility that Curtis built the store there earlier upon leased property. It is also quite possible that the original Curtis store site was in Colbert, perhaps on property owned by James H. Curtis, who was in partnership with his brother John before 1850. In any case, this early partnership quickly failed, and when John Curtis reestablished himself in Barton shortly before 1850, it was without his brother.¹¹² About the same time (1849), James Curtis is believed to have moved to Barton, where his brother's second store was almost certainly located.

John Curtis was hardly past adolescence when he began this second operation and despite his reputation for diligence and honesty, he suffered considerably for credit.¹¹³ Having no means to speak of, he seems to have had a difficult time, buying and selling chiefly for cash. Most of his purchases were made in Mobile, although in at least one documented instance he dealt directly with a Virginia tobacco wholesaler (John C. James) on credit. Surviving accounts from the Curtis store in Barton indicate that in addition to dry goods, the inventory included hardware, clothing, and some grocery items.¹¹⁴ For a short time in 1852, Curtis acted as the agent of another Barton merchant, Robert McGowan, presumably managing the latter's goods and sales during the interim before McGowan's move to Vinton in 1853.¹¹⁵ His annual sales probably never exceeded \$3,000-\$4,000 for the duration of his business in Barton. In 1858 Curtis left Barton and attempted to establish yet another small general store in Columbus. This venture also ended in disaster in 1860, when Curtis was jailed on murder charges, and his business was closed.¹¹⁶

Another general mercantile operation in Barton-Vinton that predated 1850 was the store of John T. Young, the original Vinton merchant. The earliest mention of this store is in November 1849,¹¹⁷ but it is possible that Young commenced business even earlier, probably in 1848. The store was located on the old Colbert-Aberdeen Road in a log structure one-half mile due west of Sherod Keaton's Ferry on the Tombigbee, approximately one mile northwest of Barton proper. In 1850, a road joining Keaton's Ferry with the main thoroughfare to Aberdeen was established at the store site.¹¹⁸ This junction and general store became the nucleus of the perimeter community later known as Vinton, which ultimately outlived Barton proper and survived until after the turn of the century.

John Young migrated to Mississippi from Virginia after a brief residence in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, during the early 1840s. He was not yet 30 years old when he arrived in Vinton.¹¹⁹ Shortly thereafter he entered into partnership with another young settler from Virginia, Robert S. Ragland, who probably moved to Vinton from Aberdeen.¹²⁰ The two shared Young's residence for a time, but Ragland departed shortly after mid-century. Subsequently, Young had two other partners at Vinton before selling out in 1853; we know nothing about these last two except their names. In 1850 a man named Moore appears in partnership with

Young, followed the next year by an individual named Gordan.¹²¹ It is possible that Moore was or was related to the William H. Moore who was in partnership with William E. Trotter at the same site after 1855. In any event, Young's difficulty keeping partners is perhaps explained by the very strong opinion against Young's character and integrity that R. G. Dun and Company agents gave in 1853 regarding Young's association with his successor at Vinton, Robert McGowan.

Y[oung] I consider one of the most subtle, plausible and unprincipled scoundrels I have ever known; such an association [with Robert McGowan] cannot be otherwise than dangerous [to McGowan].¹²²

In May 1853, Young sold his property in Vinton to William Dowd of Aberdeen and William Smith of Mobile. At that time it consisted of about .12 acres upon which his store was located, one or more adjacent lumber sheds, and his residence located a few hundred yards to the rear.¹²³ In addition to the Vinton store, Young also purchased the ferry from the Keatons, although it is not clear whether he ever completed payment.¹²⁴ In all probability, the Vinton blacksmith shop was originally his undertaking as well.¹²⁵ Despite his apparent industry, Young's venture at Vinton failed in spring 1852, his New York creditors having entered several judgments against him. He lingered in the community until late 1853, when he moved to New Orleans to establish himself as a cotton factor. This last venture never got off the ground, and Young gave it up around mid-year 1856, migrating to Texas afterward.¹²⁶ Nothing further is known of him.

William Gerdine's establishment in Barton also predated mid-century, dating from sometime in 1849.¹²⁷ In general, very little is known about this venture, the site of the store remains a mystery, and not a single account with Gerdine has been discovered that might yield a clue concerning the nature of his inventory.¹²⁸ We do know that he was a young but exceptionally prominent planter in the vicinity. Shortly before 1846, he moved his family from Georgia to his new plantation on Spring Creek, just a few miles southwest of Colbert in the Waverly locality. In 1850, he owned real estate valued at \$20,000 in addition to 40 slaves, making him one of the largest slave holders on the prairie behind Barton-Vinton.¹²⁹ Despite his considerable means, Gerdine's store at Barton was apparently a modest operation and did not survive the year.¹³⁰ Although he seems to have quickly abandoned this business sideline, Gerdine remained a prosperous planter on the prairie throughout the antebellum period and was a business partner with George H. Young of Waverly during the 1850s.¹³¹

Robert McGowan was probably the last Barton-Vinton merchant to begin operations before 1850. The earliest mention of his business is in April 1849.¹³² McGowan operated out of at least two buildings at different times, which makes it difficult to establish the location(s) of his store. The most probable site of his original store was on Lot 1, Block 3 in Barton (Figure 7). This is the property he sold in 1851 to James H. Griswold, who took over the building formerly occupied by McGowan but apparently did not take possession of his inventory.¹³³ It is not clear where McGowan moved after this date. About the same time

he sold out to Griswold, McGowan purchased the east half of Lot 5, Block 7 in Barton.¹³⁴ While this may have been the site of a second store, it does not appear likely because John Curtis (discussed above) acted as McGowan's agent in 1852. This suggests that Curtis both housed and managed McGowan's inventory at that time, probably because there was no building on McGowan's property in Block 7 from which he could operate.¹³⁵ McGowan moved his operation to Vinton in 1853 and set up in the structure formerly occupied by John T. Young, which he obtained on lease from its absentee owner. He remained there until 1854, when he apparently failed on some debts and withdrew from business.¹³⁶

McGowan arrived in Mississippi sometime between 1842 and 1847 after earlier residences in South Carolina (his birthplace) and Tennessee.¹³⁷ There is evidence suggesting that he resided near the Colbert community as early as 1844.¹³⁸ McGowan was initially regarded as "shrewd, energetic, money-making, of good character and judgement," doing "an apparently good business. . . probably some \$3,000 in sales for the fiscal year ending May, 1851." The following year his sales were figured at \$8,000. He traded not only in Mobile but also in New Orleans which apparently reassured his creditors. Aside from a few bad debts, his credit standing remained good through 1853. McGowan seems to have considered moving to West Point in 1853, or at least establishing a branch store there, as he took James H. Westbrooke into partnership to manage the West Point branch. But this plan never materialized; instead, he opted for relocation in Vinton, where by September 1853 he was established in business with T. F. Scott. It was here that his fortunes began to reverse. We do not know to what extent the move to Vinton affected his sales, but clearly his association with John T. Young, his ill-regarded predecessor, did not enhance his reputation, and McGowan's credit was seriously jeopardized within a few months of his relocation. In February 1854, McGowan withdrew from the firm. The following autumn, litigation was brought against the Vinton partnership, after which Scott quit the business as well, his means being insufficient to continue alone.¹³⁹

After his failure at Vinton, McGowan moved into Marshall County, Mississippi, establishing himself in business at Waterford with a well-to-do uncle in 1856. The house of R&R McGowan did moderately well until 1858, when the elder McGowan retired, and his nephew relocated in Holly Springs. This venture also prospered for a few years but apparently collapsed after the outbreak of the Civil War.¹⁴⁰

These early merchant ventures in Barton-Vinton were hardly lucrative enterprises. Except for McGowan's momentary success, those who managed to survive only narrowly avoided failure, but their successors in the post-1850 period were generally more fortunate. Of the six houses which opened between 1850 and 1856, only one was a patent failure, another had mixed fortunes, and the rest experienced varying degrees of success--two even appear to have done particularly well.

Miles Johnson probably opened his store in Barton in 1850, although the earliest record is for July 1851.¹⁴¹ This business was located on Lots 1-3 in Block 1, in the northwest corner of town (Figure 7).¹⁴² A warehouse associated with this property was commonly believed to have accounted for a major portion of Johnson's business. This establishment

remained in operation until the advent of the Civil War.¹⁴³ Johnson was a middle-aged widower from North Carolina whose exact date of arrival in Mississippi is unknown. He purchased an entire section deep in the Colbert Prairie from George H. Young in 1836 and established there a middle sized plantation with 15-20 slaves by mid-century.¹⁴⁴ He was also one of the commissioners for the proposed bridge over the Tombigbee River at Colbert in 1838.¹⁴⁵ After 1848 but before his move into Barton, Johnson's wife Mary died,¹⁴⁶ leaving him with at least one son, R. O., whom he took into his business as a clerk.¹⁴⁷ By 1850, Johnson had moved from his plantation into the Barton Hotel.¹⁴⁸ Sometime before July 1851, he had acquired a lot and residence in Barton valued between \$600 and \$700, in addition to his business property.¹⁴⁹ His character and habits were considered irreproachable except that he drank "not infrequently," which was perhaps a reason behind his acquisition of part interest in the Barton Tavern in the early 1850s. In 1851 his store and warehouse brought in an estimated \$5,000, and his credit standing was moderate but steady. Surviving accounts from the Johnson store are uncommon, but such as they are, they indicate a trade primarily in foodstuffs and storage. Johnson was probably the principal grocer in town. In 1854 he retired to his farm, leaving his business in Barton to his son.¹⁵⁰ R. O. Johnson continued the operation until 1860 and was probably the last merchant to leave the dying town. The Johnson family did not sell its last interests in Barton until 1866.¹⁵¹

Although by no means the wealthiest, James H. Griswold was perhaps one of the most active entrepreneurs who ever resided in Barton-Vinton. He apparently first appeared in Barton in January 1851, when he purchased Robert McGowan's storehouse and lot, trading five or six slaves as payment (Figure 7).¹⁵² In June of that year, Griswold was one of the principals in the Jackson Springs Ferry, together with James R. Hilliard.¹⁵³ In addition, he and his brother Fedum Griswold operated several other businesses in Barton: James and Fedum had added a daguerreotype gallery to the store by July 1851,¹⁵⁴ and in 1854 they were operating a blacksmith shop in Barton.¹⁵⁵ Their warehouse, first mentioned in June 1855, was probably located near the river.¹⁵⁶

The Griswold brothers were New Englanders. Before moving to Barton in mid-century, James Griswold had been a merchant in Pikesville, Mississippi, about 50 miles northwest of Barton in Chickasaw County. His move was probably prompted by his marriage in March 1850 to Anna M. Young, daughter of Wade Young, a wealthy planter on the prairie southwest of Barton.¹⁵⁷ By summer 1851, Fedum Griswold had joined his brother and is presumed to have opened the daguerreotype gallery connected with the store. The family probably occupied the residence on Lots 1-3 in Block 4 near their blacksmith shop and warehouse (Figure 7).¹⁵⁸ James Griswold also owned Blocks 13 and 20 and Strip 1 in Barton, a considerable portion of old Colbert acquired from James Hilliard in 1851. About that same time, he purchased the section immediately adjacent to old Colbert on the west bank of the river.¹⁵⁹

R. G. Dun and Company agents regarded James Griswold as a "steady, shrewd and industrious" man of "good character and habits." They described Fedum as a man of integrity and "above mediocre in mental culture." The Griswold store produced annual sales estimated at \$6,000-\$7,000; the best reported year was 1854, when sales ending in May

amounted to \$7,284. The next two years brought considerable difficulty because of low water in the river, and sales dropped to \$5,500 for the year ending in May 1855. Even so, the business was considered solvent, and Griswold's moderate credit standing remained intact despite several suits brought against him in 1854. But these problems were apparently more serious than suspected and probably account for Fedum Griswold's withdrawal from the firm in early 1857.¹⁶⁰ After his brother's return to the north, James Griswold struggled alone for the rest of the year but clearly without the confidence of his creditors. Suddenly, suspicions began to circulate about his character. Field agents for R. G. Dun and company reported that James was "a very close man not of the strictest moral character, will put off payment as long as he can but is ultimately good on suit...considered a flint."¹⁶¹ In the course of that year, Griswold liquidated all of his property outside Barton, selling the entire lot, together with his ferry, to Martha Womble.¹⁶² By October he was making arrangements to terminate his business, and he sold the family residence to William Natcher shortly thereafter. By February 1858, he had begun farming with eight or ten farm hands on a place about five miles from Barton, apparently with considerable capital and complete solvency.¹⁶³ The last mention of his blacksmith operation dates from 1860,¹⁶⁴ but exactly when he relinquished this last interest in Barton is unknown. It is unlikely that it survived the first years of the Civil War.

In early 1852, James M. Collins opened what was to become the principal mercantile operation in Barton-Vinton during the antebellum period.¹⁶⁵ Although the exact location is unclear, it is quite possible that Collins took over a building occupied earlier by Agur T. Morse, who may have conducted a mercantile business in Barton during 1848-1849.¹⁶⁶ Morse sold this property, situated on the western half of Lot 5 in Block 7, to Collins for \$250 in September 1851 just as Collins was preparing to commence trade.¹⁶⁷ Judging from the price this parcel brought, it almost certainly supported a structure of some kind. However, Collins's store may have stood on Lots 4 and 5 of Block 2 (in the center of the business section of town), which Collins purchased in May 1852. Late in April 1857, Collins sold this property to the stage contractor Jemison, Ficklan, and Powell for \$25.00, excluding 20 ft of the east side of Lot 4 and 20 ft off the west side of Lot 5,¹⁶⁸ which suggests that Collins wished to keep these small strips because he had buildings of some kind situated there--perhaps a storehouse. The most probable location of the Collins store was the western half of Lot 5 in Block 7. Collins purchased the other property rather late (May 1852) for it to have been the site of the store, particularly as R. G. Dun and Company reported in July 1851 that Collins intended to open his store "the ensuing season,"¹⁶⁹ which would have been during the following fall or winter. Collins may have built subsidiary buildings on Lots 4 and 5 of Block 2, especially since this property fronted the most probable site of his store on the opposite side of Main Street (Figure 7).

James Collins was a man of considerable means. Before his arrival in Barton he presided over a large plantation on Town Creek, about four miles northwest of Barton.¹⁷⁰ According to the 1850 census, he owned 20 slaves.¹⁷¹ He was also the brother-in-law of William M. Cozart of Columbus, a member of the prominent house of Cozart, Billups, and

Humphries.¹⁷² During winter 1852, Collins moved his family into Barton, where they occupied the residence known as Cedar Oaks until their departure for West Point in 1859.¹⁷³

Collins's operation in Barton was considered a country outlet for Cozart, Billups, and Humphries of Columbus. Given the family relationship, the connection between the two businesses must have been close, but there is no evidence that the Columbus house had a direct interest in the Collins store. From all indications, Collins did quite well in Barton, becoming the leading merchant almost immediately with annual sales estimated at \$8,000-\$10,000. These dropped in 1855-1856 to about \$7,000 per annum because of the failure of navigation on the Tombigbee, which indicates that the cotton trade constituted a significant portion of his business, an assumption more or less confirmed by his interest in the large warehouse on Block 25. In October 1855, he took his former clerk, J. Benjamin Howorth, into partnership. Apparently, Howorth managed the business while Collins put up most of the capital. Outside of business, Collins was estimated by R. G. Dun to be worth \$150,000 in 1858. Although this figure seems exaggerated in light of subsequent reports by the same company, there can be little question that Collins' independent wealth was the main support for the commercial venture.¹⁷⁴

In March 1859 Collins left Barton and moved his business to West Point, which had become a principal station along the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. At the same time, he took on another partner, Moses Jordan, who also possessed considerable property. The business apparently prospered until the general economic dislocation attending the Civil War ruined it. Collins subsequently opened a grocery store, which did not match his former success. During the 1870s he became an insurance agent in West Point,¹⁷⁵ where he died on 8 May 1888.¹⁷⁶

Collins was clearly not the only man of means who attempted a business in Barton-Vinton. By March 1854, R. G. Dun and Company reported that another prominent planter in the area, Dr. William Rainey, and his nephew, W. E. Rainey, were operating a general store in Barton.¹⁷⁷ The location of this operation can be reasonably well established as the east half of Lot 5 in Block 7, immediately adjacent to the Collins store (Figure 7). Rainey apparently purchased this property together with Block 16 from Robert McGowan in 1853 after the latter's move to Vinton, although there is no recorded deed to establish the exact date of purchase.¹⁷⁸ Rainey's store probably commenced business in the latter part of that year.

The elder Rainey was a physician, well educated, and generally considered a man of good character. He possessed considerable land about two miles north of Vinton valued at \$15,000-\$20,000 in 1855, as well as slaves. His nephew was likewise considered a man of fine breeding but not nearly as well off financially. Both men lacked business experience, and despite the brisk trade they were conducting, financial difficulties were apparent by late 1854. Several suits had been brought against them by that time, although none were considered serious, and their total indebtedness was estimated at \$6,000. At the same time, about \$13,000 in outstanding notes and accounts were owed them. Obviously, the Raineys were fairly liberal in extending credit, which may have been their principal difficulty. Their sales in 1854 were placed

at \$4,500. By 1856 their trade had diminished considerably, and several judgments amounting to just over \$2,800 had been brought against the firm. They fared no better the following year, and by October they were in the process of closing up, pressed but solvent. R. G. Dun and Company reported the business completely dissolved by February 1858.¹⁷⁹

Rainey's unhappy successors in business at the same site were A. B. and A. H. Duling, father and son. An earlier resident of Colbert, A. B. Duling had operated a warehouse in this community until the 1847 flood.¹⁸⁰ He apparently did not move to Barton until 1856 and became the last known merchant to attempt a business there. The exact date that Duling commenced trade is unclear. The first mention of the store dates from October 1857, when his predecessor, William Rainey, was closing up.¹⁸¹ Although the Dulings appear to have purchased the property in the preceding year,¹⁸² it is difficult to imagine where they would have operated if they began business at this time, since Rainey did not leave before the end of 1857 at the earliest. Whatever the case, R. G. Dun and Company held A. B. Duling in low regard, reporting that he had no capital, very little trade, and that he was terribly hen-pecked and hopelessly bound to "Petty Coat Government."¹⁸³ "his wife has some negroes and property, but the old fellow can't spend it; if he could it would have been gone long ago...not reliable, no means and not celebrated for being punctual if they had the means."¹⁸⁴ By March 1859 the Dulings were out of business, and A. H. (then 23 years of age) was listed in the 1860 census as a medical student. For reasons that are apparent from the description above, surviving accounts from this store are so rare it is impossible to reconstruct a picture of its inventory.

Ironically perhaps, the sole survivor among the merchants of Barton-Vinton who endured the economic stagnation and disintegration of the community to prosper in subsequent years was William E. Trotter, eventual successor to the business founded in Vinton by John T. Young in 1848. After Robert McGowan's failure at Vinton in 1854, its absentee owners sold the property to William Trotter and his brother-in-law, William H. Moore, in 1855.¹⁸⁵ From that point forward, the history of this small hamlet is largely the story of William Trotter's enterprise until his final ruin in 1892.

We know little about Trotter before his arrival in Vinton. Born in Fayetteville, Tennessee, in 1816, he traveled with his parents first to Decatur, Alabama, in 1822, then to Columbus, Mississippi, in 1829. He was educated at Franklin Academy in Columbus and later served his business apprenticeship in the firm of Henry Hunt in that city. At age 24, Trotter moved to Moscow in Marion County, Alabama, where he established himself as a merchant.¹⁸⁶ Shortly before his departure in 1854, R. G. Dun and Company reported that he was the best businessman in the county and had made a small fortune in trade.¹⁸⁷ During his residence in Moscow he married Sarah A. Moore, who was probably related to the Moore family occupying a plantation near Town Creek west of Vinton in 1850.¹⁸⁸ Her brother, William H. Moore, Trotter's early partner at Vinton, was very possibly connected with John T. Young, the original Vinton merchant, although this is not certain.¹⁸⁹ It is tempting to speculate further that Trotter's move to Vinton after 14 years of success in

Moscow was prompted by the desire to relocate nearer his wife's family, especially as her brother already had a line on a good business opportunity in the area.

When Trotter and Moore opened for business sometime before September 1855, they possessed considerable capital assets. In addition to the store, they also acquired the blacksmith shop, the warehouse, and the ferry, although the last they sold to James Hilliard in 1857.¹⁹⁰ Hilliard's occupation is listed in the 1860 census as "miller," indicating that that service was also available at Vinton.¹⁹¹ Cotton storage appears to have accounted for much of their business, together with their returns from handling plantation supplies as forwarding and shipping merchants. Virtually nothing is known concerning the volume of sales during the antebellum period, but apparently the business was a success from the outset. In 1868 sales at the Vinton store were estimated at \$20,000,¹⁹² an extraordinary figure considering the depressed conditions of Reconstruction, and it is quite possible that the last years before the Civil War yielded even greater returns.

Outside of business, both partners made considerable investments. Moore owned a farm near Vinton upon which he kept about ten slaves.¹⁹³ In 1858 Trotter purchased a sizable plantation 12 miles west of Vinton near Chuquatonchee Creek,¹⁹⁴ and he also owned many slaves, perhaps as many as 25.¹⁹⁵ In 1860 the value of his real estate was estimated at \$10,000. On the eve of the Civil War, his total worth was probably in excess of \$50,000.¹⁹⁶

For unknown reasons, Moore relinquished his interest in the "Vinton Property," selling out to Trotter in 1859 for \$1,000. The quit-claim deed by which the property was transferred suggests that a debt was involved. Afterward, Trotter continued to operate the store alone, although he seems to have involved his son-in-law, W. D. L. Hodo, in the business briefly during the early 1860s.¹⁹⁷ Although the fortunes of Trotter's business during this period remain a mystery because the war interrupted the regular reports periodically submitted by R. G. Dun and Company during the antebellum years, Trotter's store probably emerged as the central hub of the Barton-Vinton community during this time. By 1858 Trotter had become postmaster, his store apparently serving as the post office,¹⁹⁸ and he continued in this capacity under the Confederate government.¹⁹⁹ In 1862 the voting precinct was moved from Barton to Vinton, and Trotter's store became the local polling station.²⁰⁰ From time to time, Trotter acquired supplies for the Confederate Army, a role which he later dismissed as inconsequential in his petition for pardon after the war.²⁰¹

Trotter apparently survived the difficult Civil War and Reconstruction years with his initial investment basically intact. The sales estimate by R. G. Dun and Company for 1865 tends to support this conclusion, as do subsequent reports from the Mercantile Agency. Throughout the period of retrenchment, Trotter's credit rating and reputation remained sound despite his diminished capital,²⁰² and the 1870s and 1880s brought rapid recovery and expansion. This period was probably the heyday of the Vinton store. In 1872 Trotter reacquired the Vinton Ferry,²⁰³ and by the early 1880s he had added a mill and cotton gin to the business. In fact, by 1877 Trotter was the third largest merchant in

Clay County, surpassing all but two of his 52 competitors in the county seat at West Point.²⁰⁴ By 1883 his total real property around Vinton probably exceeded 3,500 acres.²⁰⁵ Trotter's success continued until 1888, when a series of ruinous suits began that involved his connection with his son's spurious business activities in West Point. The final judgment rendered against him in 1892-1893 forced him out of business and completed his financial ruin at age 76.²⁰⁶ He died near Vinton at the residence of his daughter, Fannie Kirk, in March 1899.²⁰⁷ The fortunes of Trotter's operation in the postbellum period will be examined in more detail in the succeeding chapter.

Aside from general merchandising and storage, Barton-Vinton had few other businesses. The only manufacturing took place at the shop of William Natcher, the Barton hatter, probably in Block 4, adjacent to or connected with the Natcher residence on Lots 1-3.²⁰⁸ The only documentation of this shop dates from June 1855, when Natcher advertised a variety of men's hats for "gentlemen's wear and plantation use," in an Aberdeen paper. Hats could be obtained in Barton, but Natcher also had an arrangement with the firm of Leedy and Kidd in Aberdeen for taking orders.²⁰⁹

Another business was the town inn and its tavern situated on Block 8, facing Main Street immediately across from the Johnson store (Figure 7).²¹⁰ An adjacent stable was also connected with this business. The first known proprietor of the Barton Hotel was A. G. Hanks, who was apparently already in business in 1850; the census of that year lists two merchants and a planter boarding with him at the time.²¹¹ In 1851 Hanks was licensed to keep a tavern, almost surely at the same site.²¹² In October 1857, Edward A. Atkinson acquired the property from Hanks,²¹³ and obtained retail liquor rights the following year.²¹⁴ Sometime before May 1859, Benjamin Ford gained possession of the hotel, where he continued to run the tavern until 1864, when the whole operation appears to have terminated. At this time the deed records indicate that the hotel was no longer standing in Barton.²¹⁵

Finally, James M. Capshaw may have had a law office in Barton. He had been active in that capacity at Colbert, where he owned property and served as an agent for several interests. Between 1851 and 1857, he owned at least four and one-half blocks in Barton. In February, he purchased Lot 2 of Block 2 and Lot 1 of Block 7, selling the west half of Lot 1, Block 7, to John A. Curtis in July of that year. Either the remaining east half of Lot 1 in Block 7 or Lot 2 in Block 2, which faced each other across Main Street (Figure 7), would have been likely spots for his enterprise. An 1850 receipt to J. M. and B. F. Capshaw for storage of various items suggests that on the property not used as an office, Capshaw may have maintained storage facilities for his clients.²¹⁶

Social Structure

Before the formation of Colfax (later Clay) County in 1872, the townsites were located in District 5, of Lowndes County, Mississippi, the boundaries of which were described as commencing

at a point on the west side of the Tombigbee River opposite the mouth of the Buttahatchie River thence along the northern boundary of the county to the northwest corner of the county, thence south along the western boundary of the county to a point where the township line between Townships 18 and 19 north of Range 16 strike the western boundary of the county, thence east along said township line to a point where said township line strikes the Tombigbee River, thence up said River to point of beginning.²¹⁷

As early as 1836, a voting precinct had been established at Colbert for those living north of Tibbee Creek and west of the Tombigbee,²¹⁸ and in 1843 District 5 was officially divided into two beats, with Tibbee Creek the line of division.²¹⁹ The Colbert voting precinct was changed to Barton in March 1849, where it remained until it was moved to Vinton in 1862.²²⁰ Until 1854, when Barton was incorporated, residents were considered part of the northern section of District 5 for political and governmental purposes. The northern part of District 5 usually elected one member to the County Board of Police, one Justice of the Peace, and one policeman or constable. After 1854, Barton held elections for its own corporate officers. The Barton officials consisted of one constable, five selectmen, and one Justice of the Peace, who also acted as mayor and head of the selectmen.²²¹ Unfortunately, no "minutes" have been found from the governing Barton selectmen, but for the County Board of Police, supervising road construction and upkeep was one of the more important local functions.

Many of the Barton merchants were prominent office holders in the district (and later in town) or often helped manage elections. In fact, nearly half of those elected to an office at Barton were merchants at the time (Table 4). For example, the Barton trustee and early ferry owner Agur T. Morse was elected mayor of Colbert in 1846, and James Collins, who operated one of the largest stores in Barton, served as a Barton precinct election manager at least seven times between 1852 and 1858 and was elected as a Barton selectman in 1854 and 1857. Table 4 lists the Barton and Vinton residents who held such offices. The number of citizens involved is striking, and while merchants and other businessmen clearly served more than commercial functions in the area, Barton millwrights, tailors, steamboatmen, carpenters, and farmers also held important local office. There were also individuals holding offices who did not reside directly within Barton or Vinton and who were more strictly planters in occupation; these included Jesse Dukeminier, W. T. Barry, Jno. Hutchins, Lewis Harris, and W. R. Smith. Especially in the late 1850s and early 1860s, when Barton was declining, these planters and farmers around the townsites effectively assumed the roles that merchants had dominated earlier.

The degree of participation in local offices can also be seen by comparing Table 4 with the Barton and Vinton households of the 1850 Federal Census (Table 2). Of those living in Barton in 1850, 12 households included some person(s) involved in managing elections or holding office. In 1860, 11 out of 27 households include participants. If anything, these figures underestimate the degree of involvement because they exclude those office holders who lived near but not in the town

Table 4. Mid-century office holders, Barton-Vinton area.

| Name | Biographical Note | Defeated | Elected | As | In | Managed Election in | Posted Bond for Officials in |
|--------------------|--|-------------|---------|--|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| Miles Johnson | Barton merchant | X X | | magistrate, D. Senate seat | 1851 1850 | 1849, 1851 1851, 1851 1852 | |
| John A. Warren | son of Peter Warren, the Barton merchant | | | | | 1848 | |
| Peter Warren | Barton merchant | | | | | 1848 | |
| Jesse Dukeminier | planter, 1 mi. southwest of Barton | X X X | X | constable, D. Justice Peace, D. Justice Peace, D. policeman, B. | 1849 1853 1859 1860 | 1848, 1851, 1855, 1856 | |
| William T. Barry | planter just south of Barton | X | X X | Clerk, Circuit Court Justice Peace, D. selectman, B. | 1849 1847 1859 | 1848, 1849 1858 | 1857 |
| Cader B. Keaton | Vinton planter | | | | | 1849 | |
| Elisha Strong | planter several miles west of Barton | | | | | 1849 | |
| Agur T. Morse | Barton trustee, ferry owner | X | X | Mayor, J.P., C. Board of Police | 1846 1854 | 1850, 1850, 1851 | |
| Agriasa Hanks | Barton Hotel owner | X | X | constable, D. constable, D. | 1851 1855 | 1850 | |
| John A. Curtis | Barton merchant | | | | | 1852 | |
| W. W. Wiley | | | | | | 1855, 1856 | |
| R. O. Johnson | Barton merchant | | X | selectman, B. | 1859 | 1858, 1859 | 1857 |
| James R. Hilliard | Barton, Vinton Ferry | | | | | 1858 | 1853 |
| William Moore | Vinton merchant | | | | | 1859 | |
| Henry Shell | farmer west of Barton | | | | | 1859 | |
| W. E. Trotter | Vinton merchant | X | X | Board of Police policeman, D. | 1863 1864 | 1860 | |
| Benjamin H. Ford | Barton Hotel owner | X | X | Justice Peace, D. selectman, B. | 1859 1859 | | |
| Stephen A. Shell | farmer near Barton | | | | | 1862 | |
| Bardine Richardson | Barton Ferry | | | | | 1862 | |
| N. S. Fort | | | X X | policeman, B. Justice Peace, D. | 1860 1858 | | |
| Joseph W. Field | planter southwest of Barton | X | | State Convention | 1867 | | |
| William Gerdine | Barton merchant | X | | State Represent- ative | 1849 | | |
| James M. Capshaw | Barton lawyer | X | X X | J.P., Mayor, B. Justice Peace, D. Board of Police | 1854 1853 1847 | 1854 | |
| William Rainey | Barton merchant | | X | selectman, B. | 1854 | 1854 | |
| Robert McGowan | Barton merchant | | X | Justice Peace, D. | 1849 | 1850, 1851, 1852, 1852, 1853, 1853 | |
| James H. Curtis | Barton merchant | X | | State Represent- ative | | 1850, 1850, 1851 | |

Table 4. continued.

| Name | Biographical Note | Defeated | Elected | As | In | Managed Election in | Posted Bond for Officials in |
|---------------------|--|----------|---------|--|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| W. E. Rainey | Barton merchant | | | | | | 1857, 1857 |
| P. H. Fields | planter and physician near Barton | X | X | selectman, B. Board of Police | 1854 1855 | | |
| Augustine B. Duling | Barton merchant | | X X | J.P., Mayor. B. J.P., Mayor, B. | 1857 1859 | | |
| Augustine H. Duling | Barton merchant and medical student | | X | constable, B. | 1857 | 1859 | |
| Jacob Brown | Barton carpenter | X X | | constable, D. constable, D. | 1853 1855 | | |
| William Natcher | Barton hat manufacturer | X | | constable, D. | 1858 | | |
| Robert W. Wiley | Vinton tailor | X | X | magistrate, D. policeman, D. | 1851 1853 | | |
| James Almond | planter near Barton | | X | constable, D. | 1851 | | |
| James Tomlinson | Barton resident | X | | constable, D. | 1851 | | |
| W. R. Smith | planter south of Barton | X | | Co. Sheriff | 1853 | | |
| William Marshall | Barton farmer | | X | constable, B. | 1859 | | |
| Robert Marshall | Barton farmer | | X | selectman, B. | 1859 | | |
| R. H. Barry | son of William T. Barry | | | | | 1859 | |
| John Leitch | Barton-Vinton resident | | | | | | 1857 |
| Merrill Bell | Barton steamboatman | | X | constable, D. | 1847 | | |
| Lewis Harris | planter, 4 mi. west of Barton | | | | | 1850, 1850 | |
| John Hutchins | planter, just southwest of Barton | | | | | 1850, 1852, 1852, 1853, 1853, 1855 | |
| Matthew C. Glenn | Barton millwright | | | | | 1851 | |
| F. M. Griswold | brother and partner of James Griswold | | | | | 1851 | |
| William J. Gordon | possible partner of Vinton merchant J. Young | X | | policeman, D. | 1851 | 1852 | |
| John T. Young | Vinton merchant | | | | | 1852 | |
| James H. Griswold | Barton merchant | X | X | selectman, B. selectman, B. | 1854 1857 | 1856, 1858 | |
| Moses Williams | planter southwest of Barton; merchant(?) | | | | | 1856, 1860 | |
| Tatum Littleton | owned Barton Ferry | | X X | selectman, B. selectman, B. | 1854 1859 | 1856, 1858 1859 | 1857 |
| James Collins | Barton merchant and planter | X X | X X | selectman, B. constable, B. J.P., Mayor, B. selectman, B. | 1854 1859 1857 1857 | 1852, 1853, 1853, 1855, 1856, 1858, 1854, 1860 | at West Point |

Abbreviations: J.P. = Justice of the Peace
Board of Police = Member of the Lowndes County Board of Police
B. = for the town of Barton
C. = for the town of Colbert
D. = for the northern part of District 5, in Lowndes County

Sources: election returns for Lowndes County, Mississippi, RG 28, Records of the Secretary of State, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, Lowndes County Courthouse, Columbus, Mississippi; Records of Bonds, Lowndes County Courthouse Records, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, Mississippi.

proper, and because many households included several individuals active in such affairs.

Another indication of the distribution of offices is the number of terms or offices held by various individuals. Of the 51 people listed in Table 4, 23 held or ran for only one office or served for only one term, 14 served in two terms or offices, three in three, three in four, one in five, two in six, three in seven, and one in eight. The most active was merchant James Collins, mentioned previously. Many of these calculations include appointments as election or campaign managers in which the candidates were defeated. Examining only elected officials listed in Table 4, we see that 17 were elected only once and five only twice. None served in more than two offices or terms.

The locus of official activities is not known, if in fact one existed, and we have no record of a town hall or meeting place. The Barton Hotel and Tavern may have served as a center, for we know that official business concerning the Barton ferry was conducted in its back room in 1858. Another possible locus was the post office, which was at Colbert from 1838-1848, at Barton from 1848-1858, and at Vinton thereafter.²²²

Local store owners frequently served as postmasters, and the store building probably functioned as the post office. O. H. Boykin was appointed postmaster on 28 January 1848, before the post office moved from Colbert to Barton, and he continued to serve after the change. William L. Boykin was appointed postmaster on 30 December 1848 and again on 3 February 1851. In the 1850 Federal Census, William Boykin was listed as a clerk in the household of John T. Young, who at that time owned and operated the Vinton store. John A. Warren was appointed on 5 August 1850, and Benjamin Warren was appointed on 3 October 1851. Both were sons of the Barton merchant Peter Warren and helped manage his store, which probably served as the Barton post office during this time. On 14 February 1853, the year of Warren's retirement, W. T. Barry was appointed postmaster. Barry, a planter residing just south of Barton, held the position until Benjamin Howarth, partner in Collins and Howarth, was appointed on 12 December 1855. He was the last postmaster at Barton, and the next appointment was Vinton merchant W. E. Trotter, who continued in this capacity from 17 April 1858 until 30 January 1867, when the Vinton post office was discontinued.²²³

The postal route from 1842-1846 was from Pontotoc, to Okolona, to Aberdeen, to Hamilton, to Colbert, to Waverly, to Columbus, and back, three times a week by two-horse carriage. From 1850 to 1854, the main route extended from Columbus to Houston via Waverly, West Point, and other communities west of Barton and Vinton, and the towns must have connected with one of these places, perhaps West Point or Columbus. In 1860, the connection was from Vinton to West Point and back on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.²²⁴

The secession of the southern states and the Civil War disrupted the postal service along with everything else. In 1860 a \$300 annual contract had been negotiated with James Hilliard of Vinton to carry the mail on the Vinton-West Point route. This route was suspended in May 1861, and the Confederate government took over mail service in June.

Hilliard was unwilling to continue service without a personal guarantee from postmaster W. E. Trotter for this salary, and Trotter soon contracted with another individual, M. E. Coudy, for \$200. In letters to Confederate General John H. Reagan, Trotter explained that he had paid the last of Hilliard's salary himself in order to provide mail service in the area. Not receiving a satisfactory response from the government, he continued to contract with Coudy without assistance. Later in 1861, the Confederate States contracted with William Futrell for a route between Vinton and West Point three times a week. When this was not renewed in 1862, Trotter again took over the service, relying on the proceeds of the office as compensation. Because of the poor drainage and often muddy roads between Vinton and West Point, Trotter asked for a route change to Aberdeen or Columbus several times in 1861. Again in 1865 he requested such a change, but it also seems not to have been granted.²²⁵ In 1866 the U.S. government resumed a weekly service until it was discontinued in January 1867. The route still consisted of Vinton to West Point and back.²²⁶

Although there were no battles fought at or very near Barton and Vinton, the Civil War probably struck the final blow to Barton. There were both Confederate and Union troops in the area, particularly in spring 1864. Cotton was confiscated from the plantations around Barton, evidenced by suits filed by William Taylor and Elisha Strong, and both armies probably relied on livestock and other goods.²²⁷ On several occasions in 1863 and 1864, the Confederate States purchased nearly \$800 worth of goods from W. E. Trotter of Vinton, including fodder, wheat, bacon, horseshoes, a gin horse, and Trotter's services as agent at the West Point Depot.²²⁸ W. E. Trotter's daughter, Mrs. M. A. T. White was a young child at Vinton during the war. In a 1926 letter to the West Point Leader, she described such diverse events as local roads filled with refugees, her family entertaining officers, and dressing General Forrest's spider-bitten hand at the Trotter home.²²⁹

Integral parts of any town are its social institutions, such as churches, schools, fraternal orders, and civic clubs. Although we have record of only one church during the period of Colbert's occupation, several social institutions and organizations appear later at Barton and Vinton. They provided essential human services, and as the economy declined they became the major symbols of the remaining community. The Christian Church at Colbert relocated at Barton, and in 1859 its trustees were Benjamin Howarth, R. O. Johnson, A. B. Duling, Tatum Littleton, and William J. Futrell. The Barton location of the church before 1857 is unclear, but after that time it was probably on Lot 1 of Block 2 and may have been there earlier. This lot had been the site of the Warren store from 1848 to 1853 and was valued at \$200 after Peter Warren's death in 1856.²³⁰ James Collins, who had been a trustee of the Colbert church,²³¹ purchased the property in 1857 from Peter Warren's estate, and when payment was complete in January 1859, he deeded it to the trustees of the Christian Church.

According to a 1902 letter concerning the early history of the Christian Church in Mississippi, "there was also a church at Barton, but West Point caught most of the members from that place."²³² A Brother Ussery is mentioned in this letter as preaching around mid-century in the churches of Aberdeen, Cotton Gin Port, Prairie Mount, Richmond, and

Barton, Mississippi. According to the 1860 Federal Census for Lowndes County, one Robert Urserly was living within the town of Barton and was listed as minister of the Christian Church. He purchased the south half of Block 20 and Strip 1 of Barton in 1860, property which he held until 1864. By this time he was said to be of Monroe County, seemingly having removed from Barton.²³³ The status of the church after this time is not known.

Pilgrim's Rest Baptist Church was also in the area. In 1846 a Baptist convention was held in Columbus, and Pilgrim's Rest sent M. Bennett, W. Bennett, J. Andrews, and R. G. Clay as delegates. According to the minutes from this convention, the fellowship of Pilgrim's Rest in 1846 numbered 100 people: 26 white males, 29 white females, and 45 blacks. At that time, nine persons had been baptized, seven were recruited by letter, 11 were dismissed, none was restored, two were excluded, and two had died. M. Bennett, undoubtedly Micajah, was listed as an ordained minister and was one of the elders who preached at the county-wide meeting.²³⁴

Precisely where Pilgrim's Rest was located is not known, but it was probably in the northeast quarter of Section, 26, Township 16, Range 7, which Micajah Bennett purchased in 1836. When the Bennett family sold the north half of this section in 1853, they made exception for two acres in the northeast quarter, presumably the church grounds. A later deed specifies this as the Baptist Church.²³⁵

There was also a Methodist Church at Vinton. In 1853 its trustees were Jesse Dukeminier, George W. Mealor, Overton Harris, J. Elliott, and J. Gibson. In September 1853 they paid H. W. Allen and John Burnett \$400 for half interest in a one-acre tract of land in Vinton as well as all rights to the lower room of the building upon it.²³⁶ In May 1853, Cader B. and Mary J. Keaton deeded this land to Allen and Burnett, trustees of the Vinton Masonic and Friendship lodges, for the expressed use of the church and these groups.²³⁷ The \$400 the Methodist Church paid in September probably represented its share of the building expenses. The tract of land was described as being near the graveyard on the west side of the Columbus and Aberdeen Road, in the north half of the northwest quarter of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7.

These three churches, all active around the mid-nineteenth century and during Barton's peak years, were located about one mile apart in a more or less northwest to southeast line. The Christian Church was in Barton townsite proper, the Methodist Church near the Vinton Cemetery, and the Baptist Church probably in the north of Section 26. We know little of the early membership other than the trustees and the delegates Pilgrim's Rest sent to the Baptist Association meeting. Jesse Dukeminier and Overton Harris of the Methodist Church and Micajah Bennett, W. Burnett, and John Andrews of the Baptist Church were all listed in the Federal Census of 1850 as planters. William J. Futrell and A. B. Duling of the Christian Church at Barton and R. G. Clay of the Methodist Church were listed as farmers; for a short time, Duling was also a Barton merchant. J. Gibson was probably an overseer, and in 1860 Tatum Littleton owned and operated the Barton Ferry. R. O. Johnson was the son of Miles Johnson, who had been a trustee of the church at

Colbert. They were Barton merchants, as was Benjamin Howarth, partner of James Collins.²³⁸

Figure 8 indicates the approximate distances between these men's residences and churches. In the more nucleated commercial center of Barton, all of the Christian Church trustees resided within town boundaries. In contrast, the trustees of the Vinton churches came from much greater distances and reflect the fact that Vinton was more of a service and social center catering to a dispersed agrarian population.

Some residents may have attended church elsewhere. For example, there was probably no Episcopal church in the study area. The Register of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Columbus indicates several members were from the Waverly area, and Ann and Mary Innis were listed as members from Barton in 1858 and 1860.²³⁹ However, denominational differences should not be overemphasized as most residents probably had to be flexible about attending whatever church could secure a minister at any given time.

Other social groups in Barton and Vinton during the mid-nineteenth century include the Masons and the International Order of Odd Fellows. As mentioned above, Cader and Mary Keaton deeded land for a lodge at Vinton in 1853, and the building was probably erected that summer. The Vinton Masonic Lodge No. 162 was granted dispensation in 1851 and chartered on 22 January 1852, at which time there were 19 members of various rank. These were Howell Adams, H. W. Allen, John Bennett, William L. Boykin, John Burnett, J. M. Capshaw, Lewis Carr, R. B. Carr, B. G. Denman, William Dowsing, William F. Franks, Josiah Harrell, R. G. Miller, Jesse Morfind, Reuben Nason, C. Q. Sands, W. R. Smith, John T. Young, and M. H. Young.²⁴⁰ In addition to Friendship Lodge No. 32, which shared the upper room with the Masons at Vinton, in 1851 there was Friendship Lodge No. 36 of the International Order of Odd Fellows at Barton. It met every Thursday night, although we do not know where.²⁴¹

These communities also supported several schools. In Colbert an academy had been located on nine acres in the extreme northeast of Section 1, Township 17, Range 7, just off the southwest corner of what would be Barton's corporate limits.²⁴² Later, Block 17 of Barton was known as the schoolhouse lot; it was located just along the western boundary of the town limits.²⁴³ Judging from Elliott's hypothetical plat of Barton (Figure 7), this would have been about an eighth of a mile northeast of the old Colbert Academy site.

The English, Classical, and Mathematical School at Barton had one Isaac N. Smith as principal, and an advertisement in an Aberdeen paper announced commencement of one session's exercises on 6 January 1851. Its government was said to be "mild and strict," with tuition for the five-month session costing \$8.00 for the first principles of the English language; \$13.00 for the higher branches of the English language; \$13.00 for the first principles of Latin, Greek, and mathematics; and \$20.00 for Latin and Greek classics, sciences, and higher mathematics.²⁴⁴ The advertisement also assured potential candidates that boarding could be obtained on good terms with private families in Barton. Given the transportation problems across the prairie in the wetter months, boarding may have been the only practical way for children whose families

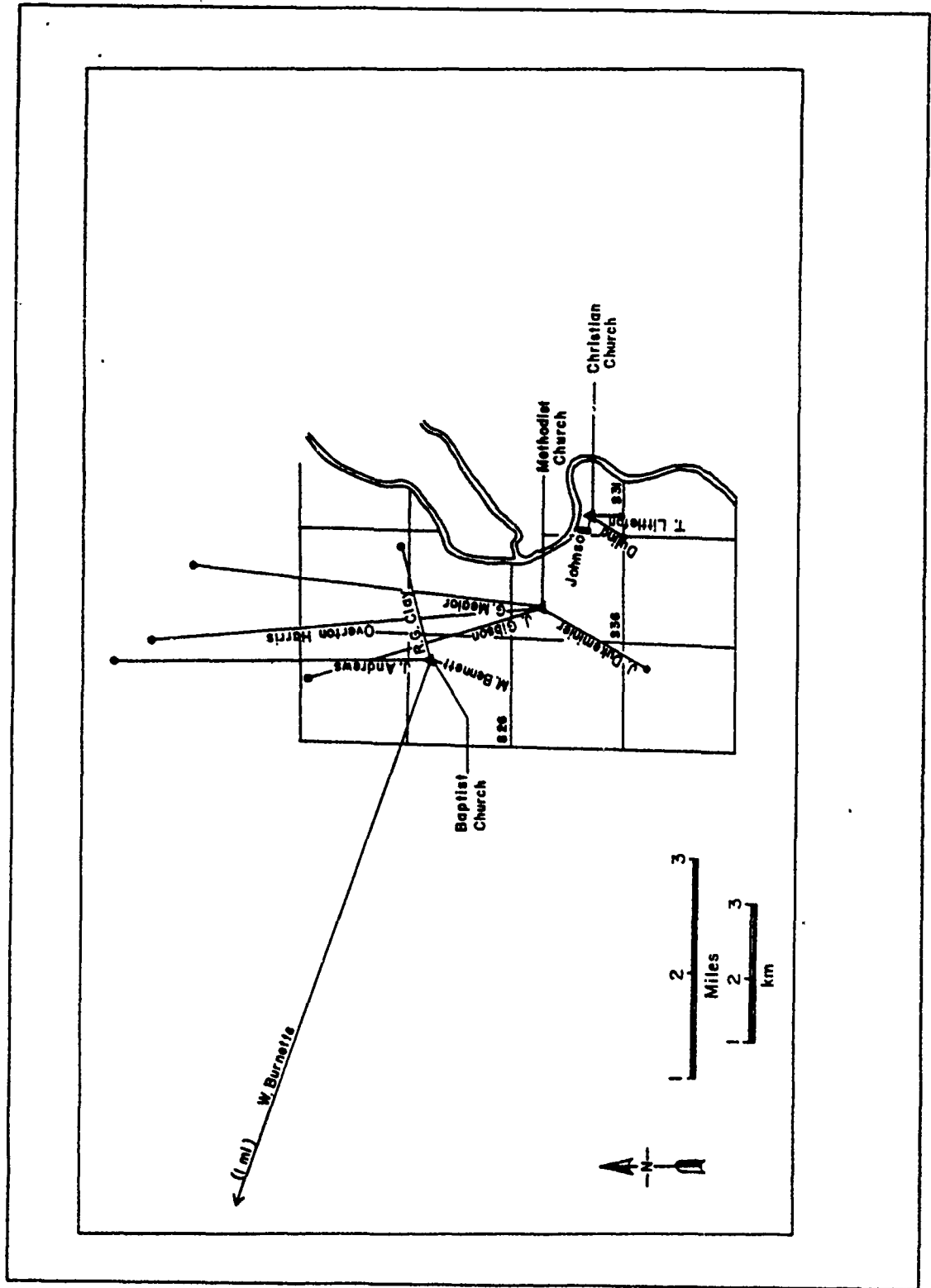


Figure 8. Churches and associated office holders in the study area at mid-century.

lived outside of town to attend school regularly. Accounts from Monroe and Lowndes County chancery files attest to the frequency of boarding, and board varied from as much as \$8.00 per child per month to as little as \$25.00 per year, perhaps depending on each arrangement, family relationships, the child's participation in work and on forth.²⁴⁵

Individuals other than Isaac Smith received payment for tuition, although we do not know if they were teaching in the Barton school or tutoring privately. Robert Ragland, who was in partnership with John T. Young at Vinton, received \$12.00 from one pupil for the season ending 15 July 1848.²⁴⁶ T. S. James received payment of \$10.00 in 1854 and \$15.00 in 1852, and William Keaton charged \$1.50 per month for his services.²⁴⁷ Another teacher in the area may have been E. L. Sanders, who was listed in the 1860 Federal Census of Lowndes County as a County School Teacher living in the Barton and Vinton area. Tuition receipts to R. S. Gladney of Aberdeen from several families on the prairie just north of Vinton suggest that some children may have been sent to schools in the larger towns of Columbus and Aberdeen. Tuition for these children was \$23.00 in 1851 and \$29.00 in 1853, higher than at the Barton school.²⁴⁸ Chancery court records reveal other school expenses and the necessary preparation for a school session may have included a new set of clothes as well as books and supplies. H. W. Pittman, who in 1852 was 18 years old and paying tuition to T. J. James and R. W. Wiley, both of the Barton and Vinton area, lived several miles northwest of Barton. In February his guardian purchased for him the following items:²⁴⁹

| | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 1 pr shoes | \$1.75 |
| 1 pr boots | 2.25 |
| 2 1/2 yd jeans | 1.25 |
| 1 1/2 yd nankeen | 1.90 |
| 9 1/2 yd domestic | .90 |
| 1 hat | 1.25 |
| 1 history | .50 |
| 1 handkerchief | .25 |
| 1 quire paper | 1.25 |
| 2 1/2 yd jeans | 1.25 |
| 1 1/2 yd linen | 1.37 |
| 10 yd domestic and | |
| 5 yd jeans | 2.25 |
| 1 blanket coat | 5.00 |
| paid to Mrs. ?Luke for | |
| making clothes | 4.25 |
| | <u>\$25.67</u> |

Owen Williams, whose home was about 2 mi northwest of Barton, attended the Barton school in 1851-1852. He was probably about 18 years of age at the time and held accounts at all of the Barton stores. His charges which totaled nearly \$200 over two years, were for a variety of items, including candy, candles, soaps, perfumes, ink, blacking, cigars, apples, whiskey, coats, shirts, and whips.²⁵⁰

Some families left the community in order to send their children to larger schools. Mary and Benjamin Williams were married in 1848 and lived at Vinton until their children were of school age. At this point,

the family moved to West Point, Mrs. Williams's sentiments being that "our children must have their chance."²⁵¹

Beyond inferences drawn from the presence of these churches, clubs and schools, it is difficult to elicit details of the personal and social lives of most Barton and Vinton residents. Some took steamboat rides and hunted with friends as pastimes in the late 1850s.²⁵² A passenger on a steamboat excursion from Columbus to Aberdeen commented in passing, Barton that "the principal avocations of the people are practicing physics, talking politics, getting up barbecues, and pitching dollars."²⁵³ Political meetings, which were undoubtedly social occasions as well, were also held at Barton. A discussion between the candidates for the 1851 State Convention was scheduled for Barton in August 1851, and the next summer a public meeting was held "for the purpose of taking measure to pay appropriate honors to the name and memory of Henry Clay." James Capshaw, W. T. Barry, A. B. Duling, and Benjamin Warren were among those in attendance.²⁵⁴

Summary

Due to the nature of the nineteenth century treaties and settlements with the Chickasaws and Choctaws of northern Mississippi and Alabama, the transfer of the land upon which the townsites were to develop came relatively late. Early settlers had likely already been encroaching on the land in the late 1820s and early 1830s, but regardless, Euro-American settlement commenced rapidly in the mid 1830s and was marked by purchases by both land speculators and settlers. Many settlers came in familial chains, as some members scouted ahead for suitable land with good prices. Many came from the Carolinas and Georgia, with some members remaining at stops such as Tuscaloosa, Alabama along the way. In fact, many of the early Mississippi settlers' children were born in Alabama. Rich land and good transportation via the Tombigbee River were among the attractions to the Colbert-Barton-Vinton area. The earliest Euro-American settlement of Barton and Vinton was fairly dispersed, unlike that of Colbert. Barton's settlement changed drastically in 1848 however, as victims of the 1847 flood at Colbert began to resettle and start over on higher ground. Although new faces were added to the Barton community during the 1850s and 1860s, many of the first residents and many of the merchants had been at Colbert. Like Colbert, and unlike Vinton, Barton was a platted town with commercial and residential lots. The main commercial street ran parallel to the river bluff, with larger, residential lots behind and away from the river. Several sources suggest that growth of Barton peaked in 1853-1856, probably with no more than thirty households for Barton and Vinton. As a commercial center Barton was much more densely populated than Vinton, and also had an older population due to the single adults who were there to engage in business.

The developments in both local and national transportation systems were to be crucial factors for the viability of the Barton community, whose mainstay was the river. There was a ferry across the Tombigbee at Colbert by 1834 and one at Vinton by 1843. Both suffered with the opening of a ferry at Barton in 1848 by former Colbert Mayor and Barton Trustee Agur T. Morse, although the Vinton ferry continued operation.

The ferry crossing at Colbert and then Barton was part of the Columbus-Aberdeen Road, a major thoroughfare connecting two county seats, stage-coach route, and source of much traffic. Annual revenues from the ferry were at least \$1,000 to \$1,200 during the mid 1850s.

But most important to the Barton community were the steamers along the Tombigbee, source of goods shipped from Mobile and means to transport cotton to market and the world. There were at least five landings in the Colbert, Barton, Vinton area, a river length of about three miles, and at least one cotton slide, at Vinton. River traffic probably greatly increased during the 1850s as cotton production increased. However, navigation was subject to the seasonal fluctuations of the river. Goods were usually shipped during the highwater months of November to April, but when the water failed to rise to sufficient levels, as it did in 1855-1856, the local economy was severely disrupted.

A more reliable means of transport, via the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, was soon available in nearby West Point, and as that community grew and attracted the business of western Lowndes County the Barton stores began to decline. Foreseeing the plight of their river community, Barton precinct voters had voted against the Mobile and Ohio line, and it is estimated that by 1860 the cotton traffic on the river was reduced by one half. Once in the 1850s and later in the 1890s preliminary efforts were made to bring rail to Barton but these routes never materialized. Although the ferry remained in operation and the river continued as an important source of goods and focus for the community, the coming of the railroad to West Point slowly pulled Barton and Vinton ties from Columbus and Aberdeen and toward West Point. Upkeep of the often difficult roads and bridges across the Black Prairie and local creeks to West Point became increasingly important matters for the local government.

Barton's economy revolved around cotton, and the town provided storage facilities and access to the river steamers on which the cotton went down river and the goods to produce it came up. Most of the larger farmers dealt with cotton factors and commission merchants from Mobile for bulk quantities of plantation supplies, but the Barton stores provided all residents and farmers with their everyday needs and services. Many of the Barton merchants had also been at Colbert, moving to Barton in 1848 and 1849, and the store at Vinton was in operation at least by 1849. General dry goods stores predominated, and both Barton and Vinton provided grain milling, blacksmithing, and cotton warehouses. Barton even briefly had one specialty - a daguerreotype studio, as well as a law office and a tavern/hotel complete with livery.

Most merchants lived in Barton, in the residential lots south of main street, or in the hotel, although many also owned farm property west of the townsites. Goods were sold on both a cash and account basis, and storekeepers dispensed cash as well as goods. Goods were obtained largely through big city wholesalers, but some produce also came from local sources. Business practices and solvency were investigated and reported on by the Dun and Company Credit Agency. Customers came both from the town itself and from the adjacent prairie lands, both east and west of the river and from up to six miles distance. Almost all

stores were owned and operated by local residents and their families, although one store, that of James Collins, was considered a branch of the larger Columbus and Mobile Cozart, Billups, and Humphries firm, this also through a family connection. Sales varied with the general economy, cotton production, and the river levels, but were annually in the \$4,000-10,000 range per store.

During the mid 1850s there were at times up to seven different stores in operation in Barton simultaneously. In 1858, after the railroad had come to West Point, there were still six stores in Barton and Vinton, although several were failing. In 1860 only two remained and by 1861 there was only the one store at Vinton. Of the former Barton businesses, some had closed due to death or retirement, but most simply because the proprietors had moved on to Columbus, West Point, northern Mississippi, New Orleans, and parts unknown. Most people had moved many times before, as similar towns briefly thrived and declined with the sometimes turbulent settlement of the new South.

Besides a source of goods and economic services, Barton and Vinton provided many other services to its residents and to its hinterland. As early as 1836 a voting precinct was established at Colbert, and this was moved to Barton in 1849 and to Vinton in 1862. Barton itself was incorporated in 1854 and for a few years elected a mayor, board of selectmen and constable. Otherwise, residents were served by the local county government of Lowndes County, and elected a justice of the peace and policeman. No locus of official activity at Barton has been discovered except for the hotel. A wide range of citizens filled the local offices, and merchants often served as postmaster, with the store as the post office. Mail came and went several times a week.

There had been a Christian Church at Colbert, and it was relocated to Barton and was active at least until the early 1860s. There was also a Methodist Church at Vinton, later absorbed into another Methodist Church several miles west. Pilgrim's Rest Baptist Church was located about one mile west of Barton and survives today as a part of the Bethel Baptist Church in the Darracott community. Although information is not abundant on the social lives of Barton and Vinton area residents, there were both Masons and International Order of Odd Fellows chapters in Barton and Vinton, and political rallies, barbeques, and socials to attend. The Colbert Academy was followed by the Barton English, Classical and Mathematical School during the early 1850s. This school drew not only local pupils, but children from the farms west of town who boarded in Barton during the school session. Private tutoring seems also to have been common.

Most of our information on ante-bellum Barton and Vinton concerns the white population. Blacks are hardly represented except as slaves or property. Census records suggest that Barton and Vinton residents owned about fifty slaves in all, but some may not have lived or worked in the townsites themselves but rather in the farm lands west of the townsites and where the black population was denser. Many blacks may have left the area after emancipation to seek better opportunities or join family members elsewhere, but the frequency of black surnames matching large ante-bellum estates suggests that many also remained. Their situations and efforts are much better represented by the records presented in the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2.

1. James F. Doster and David C. Weaver, Historic Settlement In the Upper Tombigbee Valley. Report submitted in fulfillment of Contract Number C-5714(78) to Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, United States Department of the Interior, especially pp. 40-48.
2. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
3. Don Martini, "Mice in the Wigwam: The Colberts vs. Historians," Northeast Mississippi Historical Journal 11(1968):19.
4. Doster and Weaver, p. 48; Mary E. Young, Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks: Indian Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830-1860. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1911).
5. Deed, Robert N. Dudley to William Harrod and Micajah Bennett, 10 June 1836, Clay County Deed Book F:18: deed, Il-lah-ho-nah to Micajah Bennett, 11 June 1836, Clay County Deed Book 3:21-22; deed, Im-ma-ho-ta-tubby to Isham Harrison, 1 April 1835, Clay County Deed Book I:240: deed, John-Nock-N-Bah to R. A. Dudley, 30 May 1836, Clay County Deed Book E:19, Clay County Courthouse, West Point, Mississippi.
6. Jack D. Elliott, Jr., A Cultural Resources Survey of Selected Construction Areas on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, Alabama and Mississippi, Volume II. Report submitted to U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Mobile District, in fulfillment of Contract Number DACW01-76-1089, p. 47; deed, J. L. Allen to T. L. Rodgers, et al., 30 March 1838, Clay County Deed Book F:214-215; An Act to provide for the Construction of a Bridge over the Tombigbee River, at the Town of Colbert, 16 February 1838, Laws of Mississippi, Hutchinson's Code of Mississippi.
7. Deed, Micajah Bennett to Thomas Woolridge, 20 December 1838, Clay County Deed Book F:230-231; deed, William Harrod et al. to Thomas D. Woolridge, 10 October 1838, Clay County Deed Book F:270-271; deed, Nancy Woolridge and Thomas D. Woolridge to James T. Harrison, 29 January 1839, Clay County Deed Book F:231-232; deed, Nancy Woolridge and T. D. Woolridge to James E. Harrison, 6 November 1829, Clay County Deed Book I:216; deed, Thomas D. Woolridge and Nancy Woolridge to James T. Harrison, 1 January 1840, Clay County Deed Book F:121-123.
8. Betty Wood Thomas, Geneology and Local History (Columbus, Mississippi: Blewitt Company, 1979), pp. 137-140; Isham Harrison to Dear Brother, 16 June 1834. James T. Harrison Papers, #2441, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
9. Isham Harrison to Dear Brother, 27 July 1835, James T. Harrison Papers.

10. Isham Harrison to Dear Brother, 7 February 1836, James T. Harrison Papers.
11. Thomas Harrison to James Harrison, 4 January 1836, James T. Harrison Papers.
12. Ibid.
13. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, November 1837, January 1838, April 1838, Lowndes County Courthouse, Columbus, Mississippi.
14. Deed, Isham Harrison and Harriett Harrison to Mississippi Union Bank, 1 June 1839, Clay County Deed Book F:238-241.
15. Statement of account, January 1843, Stephen Bennett to Harrison and Bramlett, Lowndes County Estate File 388, Stephen Bennett, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History, Columbus, Mississippi; deed, Sherod Keaton to H. S. Bennett and Agur T. Morse, Trustees, 14 July 1848, Clay County Deed Book C:545.
16. Dr. W. A. Evans, Who's Who In Monroe County Cemeteries (Hamilton, Mississippi: Mother Monroe Publishing Company, 1979), p. 130. This is a reprint of a column which appeared in the Aberdeen Examiner, 2 March 1839; Thomas, Genealogy and Local History, pp. 134-143. These are reprints of the column which appeared in The Commercial Dispatch, Columbus, Mississippi, 18 April, 2 May, 9 May, 16 May, and 23 May 1979.
17. Petition of Robert Wall and Martha Wall, 23 February 1843, Monroe County Chancery File 113, guardianship of James Wall, Monroe County Chancery Office, Aberdeen, Mississippi.
18. Petition of William J. Futrell, 19 October 1848, Monroe County Chancery File 163, the Estate of John Williams, as guardian of Esther Keaton; Section Indexes, Section 36 T16 R7, Section 31 T16 R8, Clay County Courthouse.
19. Deed, Isham Harrison, Sr. and Harriett Harrison to Cader B. Keaton, 25 July 1853, Clay County Deed Book F:379-380; deed, James T. Harrison to Sherod Keaton, 28 October 1853, Clay County Deed Book F:82; deed, James E. Harrison et al. to Sherod Keaton, 28 October 1853, Clay County Deed Book I:231. It is difficult to compare prices between these transactions as the Harrisons are not selling all of the parcels they owned, but rough comparisons may be made according to acreage. Cader Keaton paid Isham Harrison \$4,000.00 for 480 acres in 1849-53, or \$8.30 per acre, while Isham had paid \$7,200.00 for this plus another 800 acres in 1836, or \$5.65 per acre. James Harrison sold Sherod Keaton 640 acres for \$7,871 at \$12.30 per acre, having himself paid \$12,600 in 1838-40 for this property plus another 320 acres, or \$13.12 per acre.
20. See section on ferries for more detail; David C. Weaver and James F. Doster. Historical Geography of the Upper Tombigbee

Valley. Report submitted in fulfillment of Contract Number C-5714(78) to Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, United States Department of the Interior, p. 29.

21. Advertisement, Aberdeen, Mississippi Weekly Conservative, 4 March 1846.
22. Bill and receipt of payment, John G. Williams to R. G. Miller, 27 February 1850, Monroe County Chancery File 359, John Williams; bill and receipt of payment, Washington Mealer to Dr. R. G. Miller, 14 March 1862, 6 January 1865, Monroe County Chancery File 756, Mary Rainey.
23. Betty Wood Thomas, compiler, 1850 Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, (Columbus, Mississippi: Blewitt Company, 1978). See Table 11 for site residents.
24. Deed, Cader B. Keaton to R. G. Miller, 9 March 1838, Clay County Deed Book F:376.
25. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 6 August 1849, 14 May 1850; deed, John T. Young and Louisa M. Young to William F. Dowd and William A. Smith, 14 May 1853, Clay County Deed Book F:370-371.
26. Bill and receipt of payment, David Moore estate to Young and Ragland, 15 June 1850 - 15 January 1851, Lowndes County Estate File 602, David Moore; statement and receipt of payment, Catherine Bennett to Young and Ragland, November 1849 - March 1851, Lowndes County Estate File 428, Cynthia Bennett.
27. See pp. 38-40 and 100-3 for more information on the Vinton store.
28. W. Lee Minnerly, editor, Oral Historical, Documentary, and Archaeological Investigations of Colbert, Barton, And Vinton, Mississippi: An Interim Report On Phase I Of the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project, Volume I, Final Interim Report Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Contract No. C-07026 to the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southwest Region, 1982, Fig. 12, p. 77, Figure 13, p. 78.
29. Deed, Keese and Barton to E. P. Borden, 12 July 1836, Clay County Deed Book H:14.
30. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, April 1838.
31. John La Tourette, An Accurate Map and Delineation of the State of Mississippi.....(Mobile, 1839), original in the Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., copy available at Special Collections, University of Alabama Library, Tuscaloosa, map #3980-4; see also Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary,..., 1982, Figure 30, p. 103.

32. Deed, Shin-a-lath-la. to David Starke, 23 May 1836, Clay County Deed Book F:162-163.
33. Deed, Thomas E. Cowan and Elizabeth Cowan to Hendley S. Bennett, trustee, 14 May 1851, Clay County Deed Book F:350-351.
34. Deed, H. S. Bennett, trustee to A. T. Morse, 17 February 1851, Clay County Deed Book D:548-549; deed, Sherod Keaton to H. S. Bennett, 14 July 1848, Clay County Deed Book C:545.
35. Deed, H. S. Bennett to Mary F. Curtis, 12 March 1852, Clay County Deed Book D:575-576.
36. see note #33.
37. An Act to incorporate the town of Barton in the County of Lowndes, 27 February 1854, Laws of Mississippi.
38. Petition to Sell Land, April 1849, Lowndes County Estate File 587, John T. Bennett; deed, John Goodwin, Mary Goodwin, Stephen Adams and Mary Adams to Hendley S. Bennett, 18 December 1847, Clay County Deed Book E:55-56; deed, Hendley S. Bennett and Maria A. Bennett to Martha W. Fort, 6 November 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:94-95.
39. For the many deeds transacted by Bennett as a trustee, see the sectional indexes for the Town of Barton and for Section 31, Township 16, Range 8 E, Clay County, Clay County Chancery Office.
40. Thomas, 1850 Census, enumeration number 634, p. 110. See the birth places of Morse's children, listed in the census.
41. Deed, Reubin King to Agur T. Morse, 24 March 1845, Clay County Deed Book C:535-536; deed, A. T. Morse and wife to Mary R. Duling, 9 May 1846, Clay County Deed Book D:459.
42. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 1836, 1837; official's bond, 14 September 1846, Lowndes County Bond Book, Lowndes County Courthouse Records, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, Mississippi.
43. Deed, Hendley S. Bennett, trustee to Agur T. Morse, 3 June 1851, Clay County Deed Book D:548-549; see also deeds from Morse to many Barton residents, Clay County Deed Book D:552-554, 578, 549, all in 1851.
44. See the Clay County Sectional Index for the Town of Colbert for a list of transactions conducted in 1844 by Eli Abbott, Tax Collector.
45. Calculated from Clay County Deed Records for the Town of Colbert.

46. These election returns were reported to state officials and those that are extant are now a part of Record Group 28, Records of the Secretary of State, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi. These records are arranged by years, types of elections, and often by counties. The above noted materials were drawn from Volumes 38, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 47, and 80 of Record Group 28. For years with multiple elections, that election which gave the largest number of voters was utilized.
47. Elections returns, 9 March 1854, envelope 2, Series F, No. 78, Volume 31; 15 January, Series F. Volume 81; 21 February 1857, No. 32, Record Group 28, Records of the Secretary of State, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History.
48. Elliott, Cultural Resources Survey..., pp. 71-76 shows Elliott's original estimate of the townsite population. Table 2 is drawn from his refinements, made from additional research while working with the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project.
49. Various deeds and tax sales estimate the acreage of Section 31 at this figure. Some deeds estimate it at less however, but they likely do not take in the lower lying areas. If anything 109 acres is a bit low, but it is a good estimate of the higher portion of Section 31.
50. For Vinton acreage, see the charts from the original surveys, Clay County Deed Book F:260, population figures are drawn from Table 2.
51. See Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary, and Archaeological... 1982, Figure 29, p. 54 for a map of the road system in 1848.
52. One prominent planter on the upper prairie road, William Winston, is known to have used both Barton and Waverly as storage and shipping points. See the Last Will and Testament of William Winston, Box 1, Parham-Winston Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama; see also William H. Adams, editor, Waverly Plantation: ethnoarchaeology of a tenant farming community. Report submitted in fulfillment of Contract # C-55026(79) to Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service and United States Army Corps of Engineers, 1980, p. 302.
53. The presence of these roads is confirmed by the 1839 map of Mississippi by John La Tourette, entitled "An Accurate Map or Delineation of the State of Mississippi, (see note 31). There is frequent mention of these roads in the Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes. In particular, see meeting of October 1843 for authorization of road connecting Keaton's ferry (Vinton) with the Colbert-Hamilton Road which led into Aberdeen.

54. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, October 1843 and February 1846. The Keatons ran the northern ferry until shortly after mid-century, possibly later. The line of proprietorship in the period 1851-53 is vague. John Young may have run the operation until 1853. William Trotter and William Moore purchased the ferry in 1955. See also note #99.
55. On the establishment of Morse's ferry at Barton see Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 13 March 1848, 8 January 1848.
56. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 16 June 1851. The location of the Jackson Springs Ferry is discussed in Elliott, A Cultural Resources Survey..., pp. 60-61.
57. Deed, Trotter and Moore to James R. Hilliard, Clay County Deed Book F:550-551; deed, Agur T. Morse and Grace G. Morse to J. R. Hilliard and J. H. Griswold, 8 July 1851, Clay County Deed Book D:552; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 26 September 1853.
58. Deed, H. L. and Martha Womble to James Griswold, 16 January 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:488-490, 499-500; deed, H. L. and M. A. Womble to B. Richardson, 21 January 1858, Clay County Deed Book F:542-544; deed, B. Richardson to Josiah Y. Hicks, 6 April 1858, Clay County Deed Book F:94-95; deed, B. Richardson to Josiah Hicks, 23 October 1858, Clay County Deed Book E:507-508; deed James H. Griswold to Josiah Y. Hicks, 22 October 1859, Clay County Deed Book E:508; deed, J. Y. and M. Hicks to Susan Littleton, 6 February 1860, Clay County Deed Book E:508-509; see also Lowndes County Chancery File 63, Josiah Y. Hicks versus James Griswold, et al., 1858-1859, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History.
59. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 30 May 1853.
60. Ibid., 14 December 1869.
61. Ibid., 14 October 1847.
62. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Collection, p. 8; testimony of J. D. Duke, April 1859, Lowndes County Chancery Case File #63, Josiah Y. Hicks versus James H. Griswold, et al.; deed, J. H. and A. M. Griswold to B. Richardson, 5 April 1858, Clay County Deed Book F:544, although this deed does not mention the price of the transaction.
63. The election returns for the Colbert precinct in the 1837 general election show that only 37 votes were cast at Colbert, compared with 171 votes cast in the general election of 1843. These votes, of course, represent white males of majority age, and include residents in the hinterland behind Colbert as well. Even so, it is not amiss to speculate that Colbert's population in 1843 may have exceeded 150. The relevant election returns for the Colbert precinct are located in Record Group 28, Vol. 23, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History.

64. Ferry rates at Colbert for the years 1834 and 1839 are given in Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, April 1834 and July 1839. The earlier schedule makes no mention of four and six horse wagons, unlike the later one.
65. The majority of Colbert deeds are found in Clay County Deed Books C and D. The record here shows numerous tax deeds for 1844, indicating that many parcels in Colbert were sold for taxes, a fact which strongly suggests widespread abandonment.
66. Adams, Waverly Plantation..., p. 95.
67. This stage company is identified in the deed, James M. Collins to Jemison, Ficklan and Powell, Stage Contractors, 23 April 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:507. Robert Jemison of this company was a wealthy planter from Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and was the founder of Steens, Mississippi, in eastern Lowndes County. Nothing concerning the other principals has been uncovered to date. For Jones' occupation see Thomas, 1850 Census, enumeration # 633.
68. Receipt to William H. Carrington for stage fare from Barton, Lowndes County Estate File 492, John P. and Martha A. Grizzle.
69. Deed, James M. Collins to Jemison, Ficklan and Powell, 23 April 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:507.
70. This information has not been documented to date but occurs consistently in oral accounts of Vinton's history.
71. See note #68.
72. Doster and Weaver, Historic Settlement..., p. 198.
73. All five of the landings around Barton-Vinton are mentioned in the Directory of River Packets in the Mobile-Alabama-Warrior-Tombigbee Trades, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. This document gives a list of landings and their distances from Mobile. Also see Doster and Weaver, Historic Settlement..., p. 87. The exact site of the Colbert landing is not known, although it was probably situated near the ferry operated by Margaret Allen at "the Rock Bluff at or near the termination of Washington Street" in old Colbert. In any case, the landing was situated somewhere on the west bank of the Tombigbee in Section 6, Township 17S, Range 7W. See Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, January 8, 1848. On the locations of the Barton Ferry (Jackson Springs) landing, Barton (Barton's Bluff) landing and the Vinton landing, see Elliott, Cultural Resources Survey..., pp. 60, 61, 68, 78. Jack D. Elliott, Jr. believes that Parker's Bluff was located on the east bank of the Tombigbee across from Barton (Personal Communication, 1981), and an Allen Parker did own considerable property on the east side of the river near Barton. There are, however, three facts which seriously diminish this possibility: 1) there is no bluff on the east bank of the Tombigbee adjacent to the Barton site; 2) there is no evidence of

storage facilities or other services having been located on the east bank across from Barton which might justify a steamer landing; and 3) there was almost certainly a landing below Johnson's warehouse and Harrison's cotton shed, as these were the oldest such facilities in Barton, situated some distance from the later warehouses on the opposite side of town. Moreover, this landing would have been situated precisely at the location described as Parker's Bluff in the list of landings cited above.

74. See Doster and Weaver, Historic Settlement..., pp. 64-76 for background on the steamers of the upper Tombigbee. A more complete list of Tombigbee steamers together with the known facts about them is on file at the Center for the Study of Southern History and Culture at the University of Alabama. There is a paucity of river shipments recorded for destinations north of Columbus in the relevant materials of the Kirksey Collection, University of Alabama, Special Collections, and the Parham-Winston Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History. Regarding the severity of low water see Doster and Weaver, Historic Settlement..., pp. 69, 75-76; R. G. Dun and Co. Reports for 1856 stress that most Barton businesses were suffering because of low water, Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 10.
75. For a more detailed account of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad consult Doster and Weaver, Historic Settlement..., pp. 97-102 .
76. Ibid., p. 98.
77. This contention is based on the figures quoted in "Cotton Shipments Received," Merchants and Planter's Prices Current, 11 September 1858 (Mobile, Alabama). The table presented here reports that in 1854 some 214,450 bales of cotton had been received in Mobile via the Tombigbee River. In 1858, however, only 118,652 bales entered the port through Tombigbee steamers. Apparently the remainder of the crop from the Tombigbee Valley had been taken over by the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. Since 200,000 to 225,000 bales seems to have been a normal harvest for this area during the mid-fifties, it may be assumed that the steamers lost perhaps 100,000 bales to the railroad in 1858. Subsequent reports in the same publication confirm this transition in transport.
78. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 6 May 1851.
79. In Barton the measure was defeated 34-8. In the county at large, however, the votes were almost evenly split, 338 for and 332 against. See Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 27 December 1852.
80. The final vote approved the tax, 751-351. Note the substantially larger turnout in this second referendum, in which the advocates doubled their number from the previous election while the opposition vote remained constant. See Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes 14 February 1853.

81. Advertisement, Aberdeen, Mississippi Weekly Independent, 24 July 1852.
82. Deed, W. M. Coletrain et ux to Canton, Aberdeen and Nashville Railroad Company, 25 July 1899, Clay County Deed Book 31:591.
83. Deed, St. Louis and New Orleans Railroad Co. to P. G. Lawley, 9 April 1937, Clay County Deed Book 57:539; deed, Canton, Aberdeen and Nashville Railroad Co. to P. G. Lawley, 14 December 1937, Clay County Deed Book 58:132.
84. For complete descriptions of Barton stores, including dates of operation, see pp. 30-40 .
85. Jack D. Elliott, Jr., compiler, "Clay County Post Offices Through 1976," Typescript in possession of author. Copies are also on file at Bryan Memorial Library, West Point, Mississippi and Columbus Public Library, Columbus Mississippi. This information is also available from the Post Office Department, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C.; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 14 April 1862.
86. This facility was sold by Agur T. Morse to Mary Duling in 1846. See deed, Agur T. Morse and Grace Morse to Mary R. Duling, 9 May 1846, Clay County Deed Book D:459.
87. Deed Hendley S. Bennett to James M. Collins, 12 December 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:352-353; deed, Hendley S. Bennett to Martha W. Fort, 16 December 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:94-95.
88. See Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary, and Archaeological..., 1982, Figure 13, p. 78.
89. For complete information on Collins, see pp. 36-7 .
90. The existence of the Griswold warehouse is established in the Mississippi Volume 14 R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 32, Baker Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. For complete information on Griswold, see pp. 35-6 .
91. The location of the warehouse is not clear but has been deduced from the situation of Johnson's known property in Barton. See deed, R. O. Johnson to W. E. Trotter, 25 October 1860, Clay County Deed Book G:104.
92. Harrison's shed is first mentioned in 1848. See deed, Sharod Keaton to H. S. Bennett and Agur T. Morse, 13 September 1848, Clay County Deed Book C:545.
93. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, P. .
94. See pp. 9-10 for complete information on Isham and James Harrison.

95. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 13 March 1848.
96. Ibid., October 1843.
97. See pp. 9-10 for Keaton family background.
98. "Keaton's warehouse" is mentioned in Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 13 July 1848. Keaton's ferry discussed on p.23 . Also see Laws of Mississippi, "An Act to establish Keaton's Ferry on the Tombigbee River," approved 15 February 1848.
99. See pp. 32-3 on Young's business venture in Vinton. His involvement in the ferry operation is unclear. He may have purchased the operation on credit from Keaton sometime before March 1851. However, there is no recorded deed for such a transaction, which suggests he may have defaulted on payment. The only mention of Young's purchase of the ferry is in Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Collection, p. 136.
100. On Trotter's career at Vinton, see pp.38-40 and 100-3 .
101. Statement of account from E. Strong and Co., Lowndes County Estate File 602, David Moore.
102. Agur Morse, a former Colbert merchant may have attempted to open another general store in Barton. If so, its history was very brief. See note 166. Augustine B. Duling, another former Colbert merchant, attempted a mercantile business in Barton in 1856, but quickly failed. His wife had owned a warehouse in Colbert.
103. Thomas, 1850 Census, Enumeration No. 638. This dwelling number for Warren is consistent with the sequence of numbers cited for all known Barton residents at this time.
104. The estate settlement filed shortly after Warren's death in 1856 lists two parcels of property identified as a "storehouse in Barton valued at \$200.00 and a dwelling and lot valued at \$400.00." Another document attached to this settlement establishes the locations of Warren's property as Lot 1, Block 2 and all of Block 18. See Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren.
105. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 137. Most of the known receipts from the Warren store bear the signature of one of his sons.
106. Most of the surviving documentation concerning Warren's business dates from the Colbert period, when he appears to have prospered. The nature of his business there may be gleaned from the accounts contained in Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren; 492, John P. and Martha A. Grizzle; 557, Sidney T. Angle; 776, Moses Westbrook; 474, John Parker; and 428, Cynthia Bennett. The modest extent of his business in Barton is reported in Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 137.

107. To follow Warren's migration to Mississippi, note his birthplace and those of his children in Thomas, 1850 Census, #638. His date of death is established in Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren.
108. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #889.
109. Deed, Peter Warren estate by Harrison Hale, Exec. to B. M. Howarth et al., 10 January 1859, Clay County Deed Book F:599-600.
110. Statement of account from John A. Curtis and Co., Lowndes County Estate File 545, James E. Neves.
111. Deed, James M. Capshaw to John A. Curtis, 26 July 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:339.
112. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, pp. 39, 41.
113. His age in the 1850 Census is listed as 24. Thomas, 1850 Census, #630. His credit problems are reported in the Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, pp. 39, 41.
114. John A. Curtis to John C. James, 21 December 1856, 23 January 1857, 13 February 1857, 25 February 1857, 16 March 1857, and 27 June 1857, John C. James Papers, #3209, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; also see statements of account to Curtis in Lowndes County Estate File 545, James Neves; 602, David Moore; 1158 Lemuel Westbrook.
115. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, pp. 39, 41. For further discussion of McGowan's business in Barton and Vinton, see pp. 33-4 .
116. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 41. There is a statement of account from Curtis to J. B. Atkinson dated as late as November 1859, which would appear to come from his Barton store, but this cannot be definitely established. Lowndes County Estate File 1071, J. B. Atkinson.
117. Statement of account from Young and Ragland, Lowndes County Estate File 428, Cynthia Bennett.
118. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 13 May 1850.
119. Young's earlier residence in Tuscaloosa is established in Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 136. His age is listed as 30 in the 1850 Census, see Thomas, 1850 Census, #643.
120. Ragland was originally a teacher according to the Dun reports, a fact which is substantiated by several surviving receipts showing charges for tutoring by Ragland. See Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 136; receipts, Monroe County Chancery File 359, John Williams.

121. According to the Dun reports Ragland had left the business by March 1851. See Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 136. See also bills showing Moore and Gordan as partners with Young in Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren and Lowndes County Estate File 602, David Moore.
122. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8.
123. Deed, John T. Young and Wife to W. F. Dowd and W. A. Smith, 14 May 1853, Clay County Deed Book 27:370-371.
124. See note 99.
125. Surviving bills from Young's business show entries for smithing services. See Lowndes County Estate File 602, David Moore; Monroe County Chancery File 359, John Williams.
126. Mississippi Volume 14, p. 136; Louisiana Volume 2, p. 136, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection.
127. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 137.
128. There are no recorded deeds mentioning any property in Barton belonging to Gerdine. It is possible that he may have rented a building, perhaps Agur Morse's old stand.
129. Thomas, 1850 Census, #581.
130. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 137.
131. In 1850 his plantation consisted of 55 acres in Section 21, Township 17, Range 7. In 1860 Gerdine still occupied the same property. See Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary, and Archaeological..., Figures 13 and 15; see also Adams, editor, Waverly Plantation..., pp. 76, 90, 92-3, 302.
132. Statement of account from Robert McGowan, Lowndes County Estate File 602, David Moore.
133. Deed, Hendley S. Bennett to F. M. and J. H. Griswold, 1 July 1854, Clay County Deed Book F:386-387; Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8.
134. Deed, A. T. and G. G. Morse to Robert McGowan, 12 September 1851, Clay County Deed Book D:554.
135. McGowan paid fifty dollars for this property with Block 16 of Barton, a price which strongly suggests that no structures were then standing on either parcel. See deed cited in note 134.
136. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8.
137. The birthplaces of his children suggests this pattern of migration. See Thomas, 1850 Census, #628.

138. Account of hire of Negroes belonging to Minor Heirs of Isaac Collins, Dec'd, Lowndes County Estate File 199, Louisa Collins.
139. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8. Scott was residing in the McGowan household as early as 1850, and it seems that he was connected with the business as a clerk even before the move to Vinton. See 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #628.
140. Mississippi, Volume 15, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 27.
141. Earliest mention of the Johnson store is in Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection p. 11. However, Johnson was already residing in the Barton Hotel at the time of the 1850 Census. See 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #630.
142. The property Johnson sold to W. E. Trotter in 1860 was almost certainly the site of his store. See deed, R. O. and Kate Johnson to W. E. Trotter, 25 October 1860, Clay County Deed Book G:104.
143. R. O. Johnson appears on the 1860 Census as a merchant. The latest known bills and receipts from Johnson's store date from 1860 also. See 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #898.
144. 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #630; Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 11, deed, G. H. and L. Young to Miles Johnson, 19 May 1836, Clay County Deed Book F:23.
145. Laws of Mississippi, p. 309.
146. Mary Johnson was named in an 1848 deed but she may have died by 1850, when Miles Johnson was listed as living at the Barton Hotel; deed, Miles and Mary Johnson to Hendley S. Bennett, 11 March 1848, Clay County Deed Book F:62, 71-72; 1890 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #630.
147. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun Co. Collection, p. 11.
148. 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #630.
149. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 11.
150. Ibid.
151. Surviving receipts and bills from the Johnson store dating after 1854 carry the name of R. O. Johnson. See Lowndes County Estate Files 1071, J. B. Atkinson; 913, Peter Warren; Johnson's business property was purchased by W. E. Trotter in 1860. See note 142, and also deed, J. R. Johnson to William Futrell, 20 March 1866, Clay County Deed Book E:615.
152. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8.

153. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 16 June 1851.
154. See note 152.
155. Artifacts recovered from this site confirm the existence of a smithing operation. Bills and receipts from the Griswolds during this period also attest to such activity. See Lowndes County Estate Files 1071, J. B. Atkinson 913, Peter Warren 857, Carson Shinn; Deed, H. L. Bennett to F. M. and J. H. Griswold, 19 December 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:386-387.
156. The proximity of Block 4 to the Barton landing and the other storage facilities on Block 25 strongly suggests that it was the site of the Griswold warehouse.
157. See Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8; Monroe County Marriage Book, 1850-1858, p. 10, Monroe County Chancery Office; Wade Young's property appears on Figure 13 of Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary, and Archaeological..., 1982.
158. William Natcher subsequently lived in the house on this lot, although the deed for his property is not recorded. It stands to reason that the Griswolds may have resided there earlier, since the location was central to their business concerns. See deed, William Natcher to W. J. Futrell (use of) and E. B. Barham, 23 June 1858, Clay County Deed Book E:461-462.
159. Deed, H. L. Bennett to F. M. and J. H. Griswold, 19 December 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:386-387; deed, James R. Hilliard and wife to James H. Griswold, 21 April 1851, Lowndes County Deed Book 26:229; see also Lowndes Co. Chancery Case File 63, Josiah Hicks versus J. H. Griswold et al.
160. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8.
161. Ibid., p. 37.
162. Lowndes Co. Chancery Case File 63, Josiah Hicks versus J. H. Griswold, et al.
163. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 37.
164. Statement of account, J. H. B. Atkinson to J. H. Griswold, February-April 1859, Lowndes County Estate File 1071, Jerome B. Atkinson.
165. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 10.
166. A native of Connecticut, Morse moved to Mississippi not earlier than 1833, becoming a major stockholder in the town of Colbert in 1837. His interests in Colbert included a general store, blacksmith stop, sawmill, and warehouse. He became the first proprietor of the Barton ferry in 1848. Morse's mercantile operation

continued until 1849, and was possibly relocated in Barton after the 1847 flood destroyed Colbert. See Thomas, 1850 Census, #634; deed, John Allen to Kenneth Clark, 29 September 1843, Clay County Deed Book C:462-465; statement of account, Lowndes County Estate Files 557, Sidney T. Angle; 210, William T. Atwater 545, James E. Neves and 492, John P. and Martha A. Grizzle.

167. Deed, Agur T. Morse and Grace C. Morse to J. M. Collins, September 1851, Clay County Deed Book D:578; Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 10.
168. Deed, H. S. Bennett to J. M. Collins, 27 May 1852, Clay County Deed Book D:584; deed, J. M. and A. E. Collins to Jemison, Ficklan and Powell, Stage Contractors, 23 April 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:507.
169. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 10.
170. See Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary, and Archaeological..., 1982, Fig. 13.
171. See Thomas, 1850 Census, #85.
172. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 10.
173. See Chapter 3 of this manuscript.
174. Collins' means outside of business is a considerable point of interest to the field agents reporting to R. G. Dun and Co. See Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 10.
175. Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Mississippi. (New York: R. G. Dun and Co., 1866-1875). The most complete collection of this publication is to be found in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
176. Collins is buried in Greenwood Cemetery, West Point, Mississippi.
177. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 26.
178. McGowan's deed to the property dates from 1851, deed, Agur T. and Grace C. Morse to Robert McGowan, 12 September 1851, Clay County Deed Book F:554. His move to Vinton is discussed on p. . There is a lapse in the title for this property between McGowan and Rainey, but the corresponding dates of McGowan's departure and Rainey's arrival leave little doubt that Rainey purchased the parcel from McGowan. Rainey sold the property to Mary Duling in 1856. See deed, William Rainey to M. R. Duling, 15 February 1856, Clay County Deed Book F:493.
179. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 26.
180. Deed, Agur T. and Grace G. Morse to Mary R. Duling, 9 May 1846, Clay County Deed Book D:459.

181. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 46.
182. Deed, William Rainey to M. R. Duling, 15 February 1856, Clay County Deed Book F:493.
183. See note 181.
184. Ibid.
185. Deed, William F. Dowd et al. to Trotter and Moore, 12 June 1855, Clay County Deed Book 29:441-442.
186. Virtually all that is known about Trotter prior to his arrival in Vinton is reported in the memorial sketch of his life entitled "W. E. Trotter" in the West Point Leader, 23 April 1899, Clay County Courthouse.
187. Alabama Volume 16, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 199.
188. The marriage of W. E. Trotter to Sarah Moore is reported in "W. E. Trotter," West Point Leader, 23 April 1899. See also Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary,...., Figure 13.
189. See p.32-3.
190. The partners financial means are commented upon in Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 32. A description of the Vinton property acquired by Trotter and Moore is given in the deed from William F. Dowd et al. to Trotter and Moore, 12 June 1855, Clay County Deed Book 29:441-442; see also Trotter and Moore's advertisement in the Aberdeen, Mississippi Weekly Conservative, 10 November 1855. For the sale of the Vinton ferry see deed, Trotter and Moore to James R. Hilliard, Clay County Deed Book F:550-551.
191. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #900/914.
192. Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 32.
193. Ibid.
194. Deed, M. L. Strong, et ux. to W. E. Trotter, 14 November 1858, Clay County Deed Book F:234. Trotter's plantation was situated on Section 19, Township 16, Range 6. In 1880 he purchased the adjoining Section 24. See deed, Benjamin Curtis and Morris Ketchum to W. E. Trotter, 13 February 1880, Clay County Deed Book 10:445.
195. The field agent for Dun and Co. reported that Trotter owned 25 slaves. See Mississippi Volume 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 32. They were not necessarily living in one location, however, and the 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #904, lists only 9 slaves at the Trotter household.

196. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #904.
197. Deed, W. H. Moore to W. E. Trotter, 22 December 1859, Clay County Deed Book 32:587-588; receipt, Trotter and Hodo to Simpson, Cannon and Merritt, January 1861, Samuel M. Meek Papers, (Folder 15, call no. 271), Mississippi State Department of Archives and History; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #907/921 where W. D. L. Hodo is listed as a "merchant."
198. See note 85.
199. W. E. Trotter and John H. Reagan, Postmaster General, 24 May 1861, 6 June 1861, 8 September 1861, 18 January 1862, 8 July 1862, 22 April 1864, microfilm #104, Records of the Post Office Department, Records of the Confederate States of America, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
200. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 14 April 1862.
201. Vouchers, The Confederate States of America to W. E. Trotter, 1863, Microfilm 346, Reel 1038, Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms, National Archives and Records Service; Oath of W. E. Trotter, 14 August 1865, Microfilm m-1003, Reels 31-35, Pardons and Oaths of Allegiance for Prominent Confederates, National Archives and Records Service.
202. In 1871, for example, the Mercantile Agency reported Trotter's capitalization at \$5,000 to \$10,000, with a credit rating that was still quite respectable. See The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Mississippi, 1871.
203. Deed, John Reagh and wife to W. E. Trotter, 25 May 1872, Clay County Deed Book 1:253-254.
204. Only Ivy and Foster, and B. F. Robertson, both of West Point, appear to have done a larger business than Trotter in 1877. See The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Mississippi, 1877.
205. Trotter's property included his plantation on Chuquatonchee Creek (Sections 19 and 24, Township 16, Range 5) and 480 acres which he owned on the east bank of the Tombigbee across from the townsites (North 1/2 Section 26, Township 16, Range 19 and the Southwest 1/4 of Section 23, Township 16, Range 19). For the latter parcels consult Lowndes County Deed Books 45:366, 53:515, 60:365, and 68:63. For a picture of Trotter's property on the west bank of the Tombigbee see Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary,..., 1982, Figures 15-17.
206. On the demise of Trotter's business see clay County Chancery Case Files 776, A. G. Woodruff and Co. et al. versus W. T. Trotter et al.; File 898, Mississippi Mills versus C. W., W. T., and W. E. Trotter et al; Sherriff's deed, W. L. Cromwell, Sheriff, to W. P. Rankin, 5 September 1892, Clay County Deed Book 23:405.

207. "W. E. Trotter deed," West Point Leader, 30 March 1899.
208. The date Natcher acquired this property is uncertain, as there is no recorded deed for the transaction. It seems that he purchased it from the Griswolds, who acquired possession in 1852. The date of purchase may have been 1854, when the Natcher family moved to Barton from Tuscaloosa County, Alabama. Martha Natcher acquired Block 19 in Barton shortly before their move and seems to have moved her residence to this location by 1858, if not earlier. See deeds, H. L. Bennett to F. M. and J. H. Griswold, 19 December 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:386-387; J. M. and E. C. Collins to Mrs. Martha Natcher, 15 March 1854, Clay County Deed Book F:402; Wm. and N. H. Natcher to W. J. Futrell (use of) and E. B. Barham, 23 June 1858, Clay County Deed Book E:461-462.
209. See his advertisement in the Aberdeen Weekly Conservative, 25 June 1855.
210. Deed, Bardine Richardson, Agent for Benjamin Ford to Catherine Givens, 2 May 1864, Clay County Deed Book E:574.
211. Thomas, 1850 Census, #630.
212. Hanks' subsequent application for a liquor license was turned down in 1854, but approved in 1856. See Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 27 March 1854 and 27 March 1856.
213. See note 210.
214. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 25 January 1858.
215. Deed, A. G. Hanks to E. A. Atkinson, 10 October 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:532; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 9 May 1859; deed, B. Richardson to Catherine Givens, 28 January 1864, Clay County Deed Book E:574.
216. Deed, Joel Leftwich to James M. Capshaw, 6 June 1840, Clay County Deed Book G:53-54; deed J. M. Capshaw to Calvin McCrachin, 22 July 1841, Clay County County Deed Book G:65-67; statement of account, 1843-1845, James E. Neves to J. M. Capshaw, agent for Nelson et al., Lowndes County Estate File 545, James E. Neves; Lowndes County Estate File 474, Joel Leftwich, in which Capshaw often appears as an agent for the administrator J. D. Cole; for his Barton property, see deeds, Clay County Deed Books D:550, 576-577; F:356, 520-521, 529. For his likely business prospects see deed, H. S. Bennett, trustee to J. M. Capshaw, 17 February 1852, Clay County Deed book D:576-577; bill and receipt of payment, 11 March 1850, 6 December 1850, Estate of David Moore to J. M. and B. F. Capshaw, Lowndes County Estate File 602, David Moore.
217. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, April 1840.
218. Ibid., April 1836.

219. Ibid., October 1843.
220. Ibid., 13 March 1849, 14 April 1862.
221. Election returns, Record Group 28, Records of the Secretary of State, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History; An Act to incorporate the town of Barton, in the county of Lowndes, 27 February 1854, Laws of Mississippi.
222. See testimony of A. B. Duling, April 1859, Lowndes County Chancery Case 63, Josiah Hicks versus James Griswold, et al.; Elliott, "Clay County Post Offices..."
223. Ibid.; see pp. 30- 40 for more detail on these individuals.
224. Route #56, Mail Routes, Book 44, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi, 1842-1846; Route #5768, Mail Routes, Arkansas and Mississippi, Volume 4, 1850-1854; Routes #7007 and #7178, Mail Routes, Mississippi, 1867-1871; Record Group 28, Records of the United States Post Office Department, National Archives and Records Service.
225. See note 199; also contract for postal route #7470A, 9 May 1861, microfilm #104, Records of the Post Office Department, Records of the Confederate States of America, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
226. Routes #7007 and #7138, Mail Routes, Mississippi, Volume 2, 1866-1867, Record Group 28, Records of the United States Post Office Department.
227. Suit #2415, William Taylor versus William Weaver and Harrison Johnson; #2402, Elisha D. Strong versus Harrison Johnson and Edwin B. Mason; #2400, Richard Berry versus Harrison Johnson and Edwin B. Mason, Record Group 21, United States District Courts, Archives Branch, Federal Archives and Records Center, East Point, Georgia.
228. Vouchers, see note 201.
229. Mrs. Martha Adeline White to the West Point Leader, July 1926, published in the West Point Leader, 23 July 1926.
230. Deed, Eli Abbott, tax collector to Trustees, Christian Church, 19 January 1847, Clay County Deed Book D:474; final settlement, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren.
231. Deed, Estate of Peter Warren by Harrison Hale to B. M. Howarth et al., 10 January 1859, Clay County Deed Book F:599-600.
232. B. F. Manire to Dr. D. B. Hill, 5 February 1902, letter in possession of Mr. Jack D. Elliott, Jr., Palo Alto, Mississippi.

233. Deed, Mary E. Hanks to Robert Ursery, 24 January 1860, Clay County Deed Book E:210; deed, Robert and Elizabeth Ursery to Susan Littleton, 1 February 1864, Clay County Deed Book E:578.
234. Minutes of the Ninth Anniversary of the Columbus Baptist Association, 12-15 September 1846, Local History Manuscript Files, Columbus Baptist Association File, Columbus and Lowndes County Public Library, Columbus, Mississippi.
235. Deed, John G. and Harriett E. Williams to Barton Williams, 9 November 1853, Clay County Deed Book F:76; deed, Benj. Williams, Adm. of L. B. Williams to Mary F. Braden, 4 March 1867, Clay County Deed Book F:94-94; Minutes and membership lists of Pilgrim's Rest and Bethel Baptist Church, 1877-1878, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Special Collection, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University.
236. Deed, H. W. Allen, James Bennett, trustees, to Jesse Dukeminier et al., 8 September 1853, Clay County Deed Book F:382-83.
237. Deed, C. B. Keaton, Mary J. Keaton to H. L. Allen, John Bennett, trustees, 14 May 1853, Clay County Deed Book F:473-474.
238. Thomas, 1850 Census.
239. St. Paul's Episcopal Church Register, #1248m, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History.
240. Jeane Hand Henry, compiler, Abstracts of Annual Returns, Mississippi Free and Accepted Masons, 1819-1849. (New Market, Alabama: Southern Genealogical Services, 1969), pp. 318-320.
241. Announcement, Columbus Southern Standard, 22 February 1831, Mitchell Memorial Library.
242. Deed, John L. Allen to T. L. Rodgers, Agur T. Morse, Micajah Bennett, and Peter Warren, 30 March 1838, Clay County Deed Book F:214-215; deed, Agur T. Morse to Timothy L. Rodgers et al., 30 March 1838, Clay County Deed Book G:30-31.
243. Deed, William J. and M. Futrell to Mrs. Martha C. Angle, 10 October 1853, Clay County Deed Book F:380-381.
244. "An English, Classical, and Mathematical School at Barton, Mississippi," Aberdeen Weekly Independent, 22 February 1851, Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen, Mississippi.
245. Bill and receipt of payment, G. H. Young to P. C. Harrison, 1 January 1862, Lowndes County Estate File 899-900, Samuel and Laura Shinn; bill and receipt of payment, B. Earle to T. James, 7 February 1853, Moses Williams to J. Dukeminier, 1 January 1852, Monroe County Chancery File 529, H. W. Pittman.

246. Bill and receipt of payment, John Williams to R. Ragland, 15 July 1848 to 18 July 1849, Monroe County Chancery File 359, John Williams.
247. Bill and receipt of payment, B. Earle to T. James, 1852, Monroe County Chancery File 529, H. W. Pittman; statement of account, John G. Williams to Owen F. Williams, May 1851, Monroe County Chancery File 388, John G. Williams, guardian to Owen Williams.
248. Report of Elizabeth Andrews, August 1853, Monroe County Chancery File 548, John Andrews; report of guardian, June 1851, Monroe County Chancery File 480, Jane C. and John W. Smith.
249. Statement, H. W. Pittman to Moses Williams, February 1852, Monroe County Chancery File 529, H. W. Pittman.
250. Bill and receipt of payment, John G. Williams to J. N. Smith, guardian's statements of account, 2 March 1852, May 1853, May 1854, Monroe County Chancery File 388, John G. Williams, guardian of Owen Williams.
251. "Mrs. Mary F. Williams," 9 October 1925, West Point Leader. (obituary)
252. Clay County Chancery File 277, James H. Keaton versus M. M. and W. R. Richardson, Clay County Chancery Office.
253. "Our Trip to Aberdeen," Aberdeen Sunny South, 13 March 1858, Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen, Mississippi.
254. Announcement, Columbus Southern Standard, 26 July 1851, Mitchell Memorial Library; "Public Meeting at Barton," Columbus Southern Standard, 31 July 1852.

CHAPTER 3. THE STUDY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES AT BARTON AND VINTON, MISSISSIPPI.

by

Kim A. McBride

Introduction

As with the earlier period narrative, this chapter adds documentary perspective to that of the other project programs. Some sections are more analytical and interpretive than others, but overall the format is largely descriptive; final interpretations should come from syntheses of all data sources. The temporal focus is from 1865 to 1900 and extends into the twentieth century in many cases. The subject of this narrative often differs from that of the earlier one, reflecting Barton's shift from a commercial center to a rural agricultural community, and incorporating the many black residents who become more visible in the documentary record. There are also continuities: an economy still focused around cotton production, the services provided at the Vinton store center, and the sense of community many Vinton residents shared. These changes and continuities are the subject of this chapter.

Settlement

Around 1860 the population of Barton apparently included about 15 white families, most of whom owned one or more lots or blocks in town and some with other farm property nearby. The ensuing decade was one of decline, and by 1870 many residents had departed. The upheaval and confusion of the Civil War and Reconstruction may partly account for the dearth of recorded land transfers during this decade, but the demise of the town and loss of its population also were factors.

Barton was not totally unoccupied during this time, and some blacks may have moved in to use the space vacated by former white residents. In antebellum Barton and Vinton, the blacks are a somewhat mysterious group, occurring in the archival record for the most part as property to be described in terms of value and trade. Beginning with the 1870 Federal Population Census, this population becomes more visible, and throughout the remainder of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century blacks occupy and shape the history of Barton and Vinton to an extent equal to if not greater than the whites. But their story is often hard to follow, especially in terms of settlement, and many do not own the land on which they farm and live. Many begin to acquire property in the last years of the nineteenth century, but mortgages and turnovers are frequent.

This pattern is not exclusive to the blacks; many whites also rented their property, and mortgages probably were the most common type of land transaction in general. At Barton, land transactions during the late 1860s begin to make use of the usual township-range system, discarding in most cases the lot and block descriptions of the "town" days. Holdings in Section 31 were now generally larger than they had been in the 1840s and 1850s, and it is during this period that W. E. Trotter acquired extensive holdings west of Vinton. Although most Barton residents of the 1850s and 1860s left the area, a few did not, and several new families moved to the sites in the 1870s. Most did not remain long, but some, like the Coltranes, stayed for several generations. At Vinton, there was probably less change in terms of settlement patterns and the specific families living there.

In this section about the later period, the population and settlement of Barton and Vinton will be examined. Some general characteristics of the population will be discussed, as well as individual families and their sequences of occupation.

At Barton and Vinton in 1860, there were 123 whites and 34 blacks if all slaves reported resided in town. It is relatively difficult to pinpoint the whereabouts of many residents in 1870, but Table 5 is a good estimate for Barton and the southern part of Vinton. There were 48 whites, less than half of the number in 1860, and 53 blacks, compared to 34 a decade earlier.

The dominant pattern in the 1860s was the removal of the white population from Barton. Of the 28 or so families in Barton and Vinton in 1860, only 10 appear in the 1870 census (Table 5) or are known to have remained in the area.¹ A few new families were coming in, but many were leaving. Table 6 shows the birthplaces of Barton and Vinton area residents for this later period. In 1850 only one adult white at Barton or Vinton was born in Mississippi; in 1860 only five. For those under 21, in 1850 58 percent were born in Mississippi; in 1860 45 percent (see Chapter 2). In 1870 the Barton and Vinton residents were still largely from other areas. Only 5 percent of the adult whites were born in the state, although 73 percent of those under 21 were Mississippi natives. Alabama remained the most likely birthplace for adult whites, as it had been in 1850 and 1860, but other southern states were represented. Unlike the 1850 population, no residents were born in northern states. It is unlikely that Barton or Vinton, now mostly rural, interior, agricultural communities, would have attracted many northerners or would have been especially receptive to them in the aftermath of the war. The immigration from other southern states slowed considerably during the 1880s and 1890s, and by 1900 73 percent of the whites in Barton and Vinton were born in Mississippi; by 1900 all area whites under 21 were born in the state.

The pattern for the area blacks was somewhat different (Table 6). Little information is readily available before and just after the war, but by 1870 a much higher percentage of black adults (70 percent) compared to white adults (5 percent) were born in Mississippi. This is likely the result of the lack of choice for blacks on the matter of mobility and the fact that as settlement in Mississippi progressed, many slave owners relied on reproduction as much as acquisition of new slaves

Table 5. Population of Barton and Vinton, 1870.

| Dwelling # | Family # | Name | Age | Sex | Color | Profession | Value of real estate | Value of personal estate | Place of birth | Month of birth if this year | Attended school this year | Can not read | Can not write | Male, U.S. cit. over 21 |
|-------------------------------|----------|-------------------|------|-----|-------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| Township 16 of Lowndes County | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | McDonald, A.H. | 29 | m | w | Farmer | 1000 | 500 | AL | | | | | x |
| | | Martha | 21 | f | w | Keeping house | | | AL | | | | | |
| | | John | 21 | m | w | | | | AL | | | | | |
| | | Alma | 2 | f | w | | | | AL | | | | | |
| | | Columbia | 4/12 | f | w | | | | MS | Nov | | | | |
| | | Margaret | 16 | f | w | at home | | 150 | AL | | | | | |
| | 2 | Johnson, Julius | 35 | m | b | Farm laborer | | | VA | | | x | x | x |
| | | Sarah | 25 | f | b | Farm laborer | | | AL | | | x | x | |
| | 3 | Owen, Austin (?) | 23 | m | b | Farm Laborer | | | AL | | | x | x | x |
| | | Ann | 21 | f | b | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Fannie | 5 | f | b | | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Clifton | 2 | m | b | | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | 4 | Richardson, B. | 50 | m | w | Farmer | 2000 | 1000 | NC | | | | | x |
| | | Sarah, A. | 45 | f | w | Keeping house | | | SC | | | | | |
| | | Willis M. | 17 | m | w | Attends school | | | AL | | x | | | |
| | | Bryant C. | 15 | m | w | " | | | AL | | x | | | |
| | | Bardine | 6 | m | w | " | | | MS | | x | | | |
| | 5 | Cox, Charles | 36 | m | b | Farm laborer | | | AL | | | x | x | x |
| | | Jane | 25 | f | b | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Rosetta | 1 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Frederick | 17 | m | b | Farm laborer | | | AL | | | x | x | |
| | 6 | Peavy, John | 37 | m | w | Minister | 150 | 130 | AL | | | | | x |
| | | Sarah | 25 | f | w | Keeping house | | | SC | | | | | |
| | | Amillia | 6 | f | w | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | William | 4 | m | w | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | John | 2 | m | w | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | 7 | Yeates, Jacinth | 40 | m | w | Ferryman | | | TN | | | | | x |
| | | Susan | 38 | f | w | Keeping house | 1000 | 3000 | TN | | | | | |
| | | Mollie | 5 | f | w | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Alice | 3 | f | w | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Littleton, Montie | 19 | m | w | Attends school | | | MS | | x | | | |
| | | Ada | 16 | f | w | " | | | MS | | x | | | |
| | 8 | Hickerson, Lewis | 50 | m | b | Farm laborer | | | MD | | | x | x | x |
| | | Emma | 12 | f | b | Farm laborer | | | MD | | | x | x | |
| | 9 | Trotter, W. E. | 55 | m | w | Farmer/Merchant | 16320 | 11100 | TN | | | | | x |
| | | Sarah A. | 44 | f | w | Keeping house | | | AL | | | | | |
| | | James M. | 22 | m | w | Clerk in store | | | AL | | | | | x |
| | | Sarah | 19 | f | w | Teaching school | | | AL | | | | | |
| | | Richardson, James | 11 | m | w | Attends school | | | NS | | x | | | |
| | | Celestia | 8 | f | w | " | | | | | x | | x | |
| | | Trotter, William | 16 | m | w | " | | | MS | | x | | | |
| | | Ada | 14 | f | w | " | | | MS | | x | | | |
| | | Benjamin | 12 | m | w | " | | | MS | | x | | | |
| | | Richard | 10 | m | w | " | | | MS | | x | | | |
| | | Lucy | 8 | f | w | " | | | MS | | x | | x | |
| | | Susan | 6 | f | w | " | | | MS | | x | | x | |
| 13 | 10 | Sayers, John | 60 | m | b | Farm laborer | | | NC | | | x | x | x |
| | | Jane | 40 | f | b | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Parthena | 13 | f | b | Farm Laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Ann | 11 | f | b | Farm Laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | John | 9 | m | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Jessee | 6 | m | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Nancy | 1 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |

Table 5 continued.

| Dwelling # | Family # | Name | Age | Sex | Color | Profession | Value of real estate | Value of personal estate | Place of birth | Month of birth if this year | Attended school this year | Can not read | Can not write | Male, U.S. cit. over 21 |
|------------|----------|---------------------|------|-----|-------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 14 | 11 | Moore, Ann E. | 34 | f | w | Keeping house | | | GA | | | | | |
| | | Sallie | 16 | f | w | At home | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Jerry | 12 | m | w | " | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Louisa | 10 | f | w | " | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | William | 8 | m | w | " | | | MS | | | | x | |
| 15 | 12 | Miller, R. G. | 50 | m | w | Farmer/Physician | 3800 | 1500 | TN | | | | | x |
| | | Collier, J. G. | 22 | m | w | Farm Supt. | | | GA | | | | | x |
| 16 | 13 | Gore, Caroline | 46 | f | m | Domestic | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Silva | 20 | f | m | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Jackson | 20 | m | m | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| 17 | 14 | Keaton, Andrew | 27 | m | b | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Maria | 23 | f | b | Keeping house | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Sarah | 7 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Henry | 5 | m | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Georgia | 3 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Hicks, James | 3 | m | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| 20 | 15 | Keaton, William | 26 | m | b | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | | | x |
| | | Georgia | 20 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Ida | 4 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | John | 2 | m | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| 21 | 16 | Gore, William | 24 | m | m | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | x |
| | | Francis | 20 | f | b | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Alice | 2 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| 22 | 17 | Harper, Charles | 21 | m | m | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | | | x |
| | | Matilda | 18 | f | m | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Hampton, Washington | 23 | m | b | Farm laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | x |
| 23 | 18 | Williams, Thomas | 22 | m | w | Farm Supt. | | 150 | MS | | | | | x |
| 24 | 19 | Keaton, Flanders | 25 | m | b | Farm Laborer | | | MS | | | | x | x |
| | | Beddie | 22 | f | b | Farm Laborer | | | MS | | | | x | |
| | | Wesley | 6 | m | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Addie | 4 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Richard | 3/12 | m | b | | | | MS | March | | | | |
| 25 | 20 | Cox, Roxie | 32 | f | b | Farm Laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Henrietta | 17 | f | b | Farm Laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Joseph | 5 | m | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| 27 | 20 | Rainey, T. E. | 33 | m | w | Farmer | 1500 | 1200 | GA | | | | | x |
| | | Sarah | 23 | f | m | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Sallie | 4 | f | m | | | | MS | | | | | |
| | | Fannie | 2 | f | m | | | | MS | | | | | |
| 29 | 22 | Hatcher, Martha | 35 | f | b | Farm Laborer | | | TN | | | x | x | |
| | | George | 14 | m | b | Farm Laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Joseph | 12 | m | b | Farm Laborer | | | MS | | | x | x | |
| | | Lucy | 9 | f | b | | | | MS | | | | | |
| 30 | 23 | McDonald, Marion | 31 | m | w | Farm Laborer | | | AL | | | | | x |
| | | Dorcass | 30 | f | w | Keeping house | | | AL | | | | | |
| | | Lucy A. | 9 | f | w | | | | AL | | | x | x | |
| | | John D. | 8 | m | w | | | | AL | | | | | |
| | | Tina | 4 | f | w | | | | AL | | | | | |
| | | Fannie | 1 | f | w | | | | AL | | | | | |

Source: 1870 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County.

Table 6. Birthplace of Barton and Vinton residents.

| | MS | %BORN IN MS | AL | GA | TN | SC | NC | VA | OTHER |
|---------------------------|----|----------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|
| 1870 | | | | | | | | | |
| all whites 21 & over | 1 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| all blacks 21 & over | 14 | 70 | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1-MD |
| all whites under 21 | 22 | 73 | 8 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| all blacks under 21 | 30 | 94 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1-MD |
| black males 21 & over | 6 | 60 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1-MD |
| black males under 21 | 12 | 92 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| black females 21 and over | 8 | 80 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| black females under 21 | 18 | 95 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1-MD |
| white males 21 & over | 1 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 3 | - | 1 | - | - |
| white males under 21 | 10 | 83 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| white females 21 & over | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - |
| white females under 21 | 11 | 65 | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1880 | | | | | | | | | |
| all blacks 21 & over | 15 | 68 | 3 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | - |
| all blacks under 21 | 32 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| all whites 21 & over | 2 | 13 | 6 | - | 4 | - | 3 | - | - |
| all whites under 21 | 14 | 50 | 14 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| black males 21 & over | 7 | 70 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| black males under 21 | 16 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| black females 21 & over | 8 | 66 | 2 | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| black females under 21 | 16 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| white males 21 & over | 0 | 0 | 2 | - | 3 | - | 2 | - | - |
| white males under 21 | 4 | 33 | 8 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| white females 21 & over | 2 | 25 | 4 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| white females under 21 | 10 | 62.5 | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1900 | | | | | | | | | |
| all blacks 21 & over | 29 | 94 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1-KY |
| all whites 21 & over | 11 | 73 | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1-PN |
| all blacks under 21 | 52 | 98 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| all whites under 21 | 17 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| black males 21 & over | 15 | 88 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1-KY |
| black males under 21 | 21 | 95 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| black females 21 & over | 14 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| black females under 21 | 31 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| white males 21 & over | 4 | 66 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| white males under 21 | 8 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| white females 21 & over | 7 | 77 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1-PN |
| white females under 21 | 9 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

Summary of % born in MS

| | 1870 | 1880 | 1900 |
|------------------|------|------|------|
| whites 21 & over | 5 | 13 | 73 |
| whites under 21 | 73 | 50 | 100 |
| blacks 21 & over | 70 | 68 | 94 |
| blacks under 21 | 94 | 100 | 98 |

Source: Federal Population Censuses.

from the eastern states to increase their holdings. Of course, some new blacks were still coming to the townsite area, as evidenced by the similarity of the 1870 and 1880 percentile born in the state. By 1900, however, 94 percent of the blacks were from Mississippi. The pattern of their out-state birthplaces differed from that of whites in that they were not as likely as whites to be from Alabama.

Once given the chance,² many blacks may have moved into the sandier areas of Barton and Vinton. The number living in the prairie west of the townsites was probably very high in the antebellum period, and in 1860 in Barton and Vinton blacks made up only 22 percent of the population. Drawing from Tables 5, 7 and 8, blacks constituted 54 percent of the population in 1870, 45 percent in 1880, and 74 percent in 1900.

Figure 9 shows the structure of these populations. Both sex and racial composition were nearly symmetrical, or equal, in 1870. Ten years later, white males seemed especially underrepresented, perhaps the result of their selective outmigration in search of employment. The sex ratio for male and female whites at this time was 66. By 1900 the ratio was 100 (equal) and had been accomplished by a reduction in the number of white females as they, too, left the area. The sex ratio for male and female blacks at this time was 138.

The age structure was also undergoing changes. In 1850, 39 percent of the townsite population was age 14 or younger; in 1860 the figure was 33 percent (see Chapter 2). In 1870 the situation was quite different: 47 percent of the whites and 49 percent of the blacks were under 15 years of age (see Table 9 for a breakdown also by sex). A decade later, 51 percent of both blacks and whites were age 14 or younger. During these decades the number of blacks and whites were nearly even, and the juvenile population may be related to the more purely agricultural economy and the loss of support for the tradesmen represented in 1850 and 1860, many of whom were single and without children. By 1900, other forces seem to have been at work. Increasing numbers of whites were leaving the area, and the white population had aged considerably: only 21 percent under age fifteen. The black population had also aged, but less; 39 percent were in this young category (Table 9).

It is not known to what extent former slaves left the area after emancipation. The frequency of black surnames such as Matthews, Fields, Strong, Keaton, Lloyd, or Cox, corresponding to those of the larger planters surrounding the townsites, suggests that many either did not leave or returned. Figure 10 shows the number of black males between the ages of about 14 and 44 and the general vicinity of their residence in 1870, information collected by Lowndes County for militia purposes. As in antebellum days, blacks were more heavily concentrated in the prairie lands west of the townsites.

Table 7. Population of Barton and Vinton, 1880.

| | Family # | Dwelling # | Name | Color | Sex | Age | If born this year, month | Relation to head | Single | Married | Widow | Married this year | Occupation | Number months unemployed | Sickness or infirmity or disability | Attended school this year | Cannot read | Cannot write | Birthplace of this person | Birthplace of father | Birthplace of mother |
|-----|----------|------------|----------------------|-------|-----|-----|--------------------------|------------------|--------|---------|-------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 524 | 524 | | Yates, N. J. | w | m | 50 | | | | | | | Farmer | | | | | | TN | TN | TN |
| | | | S. E. | w | f | 50 | | wife | | x | | | Housekeeping | | | | | | TN | TN | TN |
| | | | Mollie | w | f | 14 | | daughter | x | | | | Atten. School | | | | | | MS | TN | TN |
| | | | Alice | w | f | 12 | | " | x | | | | " | | | | | | MS | TN | TN |
| | | | Inez | w | f | 8 | | " | x | | | | " | | | | | | MS | TN | TN |
| 525 | 525 | | Arington, Eu | b | m | 34 | | | | | | | Laborer | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| | | | Angeline | b | f | 27 | | wife | | x | | | " | | | | | | AL | SC | NC |
| | | | Mary Ida | b | f | 11 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | AL |
| | | | William | b | m | 7 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | AL |
| | | | Eddie | b | m | 5 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | AL |
| | | | Henry | b | m | 2 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | AL |
| | | | Mary Ann | b | f | 45 | | mo.-in-law | | | x | | Cook | | | | | | NC | NC | NC |
| 526 | 526 | | Billingsway, Lewis | b | m | 60 | | | | | x | | Ferryman | | | | | | VA | VA | VA |
| 527 | 527 | | Platt, B. F. or T. | w | m | 54 | | | | | | | Farmhand | | | | | | AL | | AL |
| | | | Mattie | w | f | 48 | | wife | | x | | | Keeping house | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | James | w | m | 19 | | son | x | | | | Field hand | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Thomas | w | m | 14 | | son | x | | | | Field hand | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | William | w | m | 7 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Samy | w | m | 5 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Gardner, Sophonia | w | f | 17 | | daughter | | x | | | | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Mattie | w | f | 2 | | gr. dau. | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| 528 | 528 | | Platt, Jno. | w | m | 24 | | | | | x | | Farming | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Madora | w | f | 24 | | wife | | x | | | Housekeeping | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Walter | w | m | 7 | | son | | | | | | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Lulu | w | f | 6 | | dau. | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Ginny | w | f | 5 | | dau. | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Madora | w | f | 3 | | dau. | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | AL | AL |
| | | | Boby Girl | w | f | 1 | Apr | dau. | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | AL | AL |
| 529 | 529 | | Pasteur, D. J. M. | w | m | 50 | | | | | x | | Physician | x | | | | | NC | NC | NC |
| | | | Sarah | w | f | 18 | | dau. | x | | | | Housekeeping | | | | | | AL | NC | SC |
| | | | Mary | w | f | 14 | | dau. | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | NC | SC |
| | | | Edward | w | m | 16 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | NC | SC |
| | | | Louis | w | m | 12 | | son | | | | | | | | | | | AL | NC | SC |
| 530 | 530 | | Hollace, Mat | b | m | 55 | | | | | x | | Farm hand | x | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | Mary | b | f | 27 | | wife | | | | | Keeping house | | White Swelling | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| | | | King | b | m | 4 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | AL | AL |
| | | | Jimmy | b | m | 1 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | AL | AL |
| | | | Margaret | b | f | 18 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | AL | AL |
| 531 | 531 | | Tounsel, Frank | b | m | 25 | | | | | x | | Farm hand | x | | | | | MS | | MS |
| | | | Sophy | b | f | 25 | | wife | | x | | | Farm hand | x | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| | | | Willie | b | m | 14 | | step son | x | | | | Farm hand | x | | | | | MS | | MS |
| | | | Jenie | b | f | 12 | | step dau. | x | | | | Nurse | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| | | | Lucy | b | f | 2 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| | | | ---- | b | m | 7 | May | son | | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| 532 | 532 | | Morgan, Henry | b | m | 26 | | | | | x | | Farm hand | x | | | | | MS | | MS |
| | | | Lucy | b | f | 23 | | wife | | x | | | Farm hand | x | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| | | | Minnie | b | f | 5 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| 533 | 533 | | Coltrane, W. M. | w | m | 48 | | | | | x | | Farmer | x | | | | | NC | NC | NC |
| | | | M. E. | w | f | 32 | | wife | | x | | | Keeping house | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| | | | Eva | w | f | 8 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | NC | MS |
| | | | Daisy Lee | w | f | 1 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | NC | MS |
| 534 | 534 | | Marshall, Wm. Thomas | w | m | 43 | | | | | x | | Farmer | x | | | | | TN | NC | NC |
| | | | Drucilla | w | f | 32 | | wife | | x | | | Keeping house | | | | | | AL | GA | AL |
| | | | Robert Lee | w | m | 9 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | AL | TN | AL |
| | | | Fanny E. | w | f | 5 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | TN | AL |
| | | | Wm T. | w | m | 2 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | TN | AL |
| | | | Franklin | w | m | 1 | Feb | son | | | | | | | | | | | MS | TN | AL |
| | | | Mary E. | w | f | 63 | | mother | | | x | | Keeping house | | | | | | NC | NC | NC |
| | | | Natcher, Lucy E. | w | f | 22 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | PA | MS |

Table 7. continued.

| Dwelling # | Family # | Name | Color | Sex | Age | If born this year, month | Relation to head | Single | Married | Widow | Married this year | Occupation | Number months unemployed | Sickness or infirmity or disability | Attended school this year | Cannot read | Cannot write | Birthplace of this person | Birthplace of father | Birthplace of mother |
|------------|----------|----------------|-------|-----|-----|--------------------------|------------------|--------|---------|-------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 535 | 535 | Moore, Lit | b | m | 35 | | | | x | | | Farmhand | x | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | Hilman | b | m | 14 | | son | x | | | | Farmhand | x | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | Francis | b | f | 12 | | daughter | x | | | | Cook | | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | Maude | b | f | 8 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| 536 | 536 | Cox, Nancy | b | f | 35 | | | | | x | | Farmhand | x | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | Rush, Marcilla | b | f | 20 | | daughter | | x | | | Farmhand | x | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | Cox, Sall | b | f | 17 | | daughter | x | | | | Farmhand | x | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | Orange | b | f | 14 | | daughter | x | | | | Farmhand | x | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | Sherman | b | m | 12 | | son | x | | | | | 12 | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | John | b | m | 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |
| 537 | 537 | Gibson, Frank | b | m | 20 | | | x | | | | Farmhand | x | | | x | x | MS | | |
| 538 | 538 | Young, Henry | b | m | 40 | | | | x | | | Blacksmith | x | | | x | x | GA | | |
| 539 | 539 | Hodo, J. M. | w | m | 20 | | | x | | | | Clerk and book keeper | x | | | | | MS | AL | AL |
| 540 | 540 | Loyd, Becky | b | f | 50 | | son | | | x | | Keeping house | | | | x | x | SC | SC | SC |
| | | Alex | b | m | 20 | | son | x | | | | Work Field | | | | x | x | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Jess | b | m | 18 | | daughter | x | | | | Field Hand | | | | x | x | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Mollie | b | f | 14 | | daughter | x | | | | Field Hand | | | | x | x | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Harry | b | m | 12 | | son | x | | | | | | | | x | x | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Ida | b | f | 6 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | x | x | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Chloe | b | f | 10 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | x | x | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Angeline | b | f | 5 | | gr. daug. | x | | | | | | | | x | | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Sardila | b | f | 4 | | gr. daug. | x | | | | | | | | x | | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Henry | b | f | 3 | | gr. daug. | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Liza | b | f | 30 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | x | x | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Francis | b | f | 32 | | daughter | x | | | | Farm hand | x | | | | | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Jack | b | m | 8 | | gr. son | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Mollie | b | f | 1 | Mrch | gr. daug. | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | SC | SC |
| 541 | 541 | Loyd, Eli | b | m | 35 | | | | x | | | Farm Hand | x | | | | | MS | SC | SC |
| | | Angeline | b | f | 30 | | wife | | x | | | Farm hand | x | | | | | MS | | |
| | | Nancy | b | f | 11 | | step daug. | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | | |
| | | Liza | b | f | 5 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | | |
| | | Francis | b | f | 3 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | | |
| | | Alice | b | f | 10 | | daughter | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | | |
| 542 | 542 | Loyd, Bill | b | m | 25 | | | | x | | | Field hand | x | | | x | x | MS | | |
| | | Callie | b | f | 20 | | wife | | x | | | | idle | | | | | MS | | |
| 543 | 543 | Moss, Martha | b | f | 18 | | | x | | | | Field hand | x | | | x | x | MS | MS | MS |
| | | Johnnie | b | m | 1 | | son | x | | | | | | | | | | MS | | |
| | | Loyd, Dick | b | m | 20 | | | x | | | | Field hand | x | | | x | x | MS | | |
| 544 | 544 | Ray, Sandy | b | m | 25 | | | | x | | | Cook | x | | | x | x | MS | | |
| | | Kize, Emma | b | f | 25 | | | x | | | | Servant | x | | | x | x | MS | | |
| 545 | 545 | Trotter, W. E. | w | m | 64 | | | | x | | | Merchant and planter | x | | | | | TN | VA | VA |
| | | Sarah A. | w | f | 54 | | wife | | x | | | Housekeeping | | | | | | AL | TN | TN |
| | | Ben | w | m | 20 | | son | x | | | | Farm manager | | | | | | MS | TN | AI |
| | | Lucy | w | f | 14 | | daughter | x | | | | Attends school | | | | | | MS | TN | AL |
| | | Susie | w | f | 11 | | daughter | x | | | | " | | | | | | MS | TN | AL |
| | | Rush, Willie | b | m | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | MS | MS | MS |

Source: 1880 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Mississippi.

Table 8. Population of Barton and Vinton, 1900.

| Dwelling # | Family # | Name | Relation | Color | Sex | Age | Marital status | # years married | Mother of children | # of these living | Birthplace of this person | Birthplace of person's father | Birthplace of person's mother | Occupation | Months not employed | Can read | Can write | Owned or rented home | Owned free of mortgage | # of farm schedule |
|------------|----------|-------------------|-----------|-------|-----|------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 8 | 8 | Watson, Henry D. | head | w | m | 49 | m | 19 | | 2 | TN | RI | MS | Farmer | | yes | y | o | f | 9 |
| | | Fannie L. | wife | w | f | 45 | m | 19 | 2 | 2 | MS | AL | AL | Farmer | | y | y | o | f | 10 |
| | | Henry D., JR. | son | w | m | 12 | s | | | | MS | TN | MS | | | y | y | | | |
| | | Julian M. | son | w | m | 9 | s | | | | MS | TN | MS | | | no | no | | | |
| | | Matcher, Lucy C. | boarder | w | f | 42 | s | | | | MS | PA | MA | | | y | y | | | |
| 9 | 9 | Matthews, Andrew | head | b | m | 30 | m | 4 | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | | y | y | | | |
| | | Susie | wife | b | f | 17 | m | 4 | 0 | 0 | MS | MS | MS | " | | n | n | | | |
| 10 | 10 | Strong, Tom | head | b | m | 30 | w | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | | n | n | | | |
| 11 | 11 | Croffer (?), Tom | head | b | m | 20 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | | n | n | | | |
| 12 | 12 | Coltraine, Wm. M. | head | w | m | 68 | m | 28 | | | NC | NC | NC | farmer | | y | y | o | f | 11 |
| | | Mary E. | wife | w | f | 51 | m | 28 | 6 | 4 | MS | MS | MS | | | y | y | | | |
| | | Wm M. | son | w | m | 18 | s | | | | MS | NC | MS | | | y | y | | | |
| | | Daisy L. | daughter | w | f | 26 | s | | | | MS | NC | MS | | | y | y | | | |
| 13 | 13 | Lloyd, Liza | head | b | f | 42 | w | | 8 | 6 | MS | FL | FL | servant | 20 | n | n | | | |
| | | Killer(?) | daughter | b | f | 20 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Mary E. | daughter | b | f | 16 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Jim M. | son | b | m | 15 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Grant | son | b | m | 13 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Bill | son | b | m | 11 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | John E. | son | b | m | 6 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Mitchell, Johnnie | nephew | b | m | 12 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | farm labor | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Griffin, Fannie | gr. daug. | b | f | 3 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | | | | | |
| | | Annie Lee | gr. daug. | b | f | 7/12 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | | | | | |
| 14 | 14 | Russell, Slater | head | b | m | 48 | m | 20 | | | AL | AL | AL | Farming | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Francis | wife | b | f | 42 | m | 20 | 7 | 4 | MS | FL | FL | Farming | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Mary D. | daughter | b | f | 10 | s | | | | MS | AL | MS | Farming | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Ida Lee | daughter | b | f | 1 | s | | | | MS | AL | AL | | | | | | | |
| 15 | 15 | Killingham, Lee | head | b | m | 69 | m | 53 | | | KY | KY | KY | Farming | | n | n | | | |
| | | Maranda | wife | b | f | 68 | m | 53 | 14 | 10 | AL | AL | AL | Farming | | n | n | | | |
| | | Violer | daughter | b | f | 20 | s | | | | MS | KY | AL | Farming | | n | n | | | |
| | | Circus(?), Daniel | gr. son | b | m | 15 | s | | | | MS | NS | NS | Farming | | n | n | | | |
| 16 | 16 | Smith, Dixie | head | b | f | 26 | w | | 2 | 1 | MS | MS | MS | Farming | 0 | n | n | | | |
| | | Moton, Puger | nephew | b | m | 24 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | 4 | n | y | | |
| | | Berry, Harrison | son | b | m | 1 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | | | | | |
| 17 | 17 | Shearley, Andrew | head | b | m | 51 | m | 19 | | | MS | AL | AL | Farming | 0 | y | y | o | f | 2 |
| | | Mary | wife | b | f | 55 | m | 19 | 1 | 0 | MS | MS | MS | Farming | 0 | y | n | | | |
| | | Ida | daughter | b | f | 28 | s | | | 3 | MS | MS | MS | Farming | 0 | y | n | | | |
| | | ? Bell | gr. daug. | b | f | 9 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | y | n | | | |
| | | Williard | gr. son | b | m | 5 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | | | | | |
| | | Birdine | gr. son | b | m | 2 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | | | | | |
| 18 | 18 | Matthews, David | head | b | m | 34 | m | 18 | | | MS | MS | MS | Farming | | y | y | r | r | 13 |
| | | Jane | wife | b | f | 34 | m | 18 | 10 | 5 | MS | MS | MS | Farming | | y | y | | | |
| | | Marger | daughter | b | f | 19 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | Farming | 4 | 4 | y | y | | |
| | | Bill | son | b | m | 14 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | Farming | 4 | 4 | y | n | | |
| | | L. C. | son | b | m | 8 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | | | | | |
| | | David | son | b | m | 6 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | | | | | |
| | | Louis | son | b | m | 4 | s | | | | MS | MS | MS | | | | | | | |

Table 8. continued.

| Dwelling # | Family # | Name | Relation | Color | Sex | Age | Marital status | # years married | Mother of — children | # of these living | Birth place of this person | Birthplace of person's mother | Occupation | Months not employed | Can read | Can write | Owned or rented home | Owned free of mortgage | Farm or house | # of farm schedule |
|------------|----------|---|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 19 | 19 | Gibson, Edward Bettie S. | head wife | w w | m f | 47 34 | m m | 13 13 | 0 0 | 0 0 | MS MS | SC SC | Overseer | 0 0 | y y | y y | o f | f f | | |
| 20 | 20 | Lloyd, Elija Mollie J. Jessie Gibson, Jimmie L. Green, Willie A. Matthews, Coten | head daughter son gr. son gr. daugh gr. dau | b b b b b b | m f m m f f | 60 17 15 11 5 8/12 | w s s s s s | | 2 2 | 2 2 | MS MS MS MS MS MS | FL MS MS MS MS MS | Farming Farming Farming Farming Farming Farming | 0 0 0 2 1 1 | n n n y n n | n n n y n n | o m m m m m | f f f f f f | | |
| 21 | 21 | Gresham, M. Ruffus C. Rolland Lee George T. | head son son son | w w w w | f m m m | 54 24 19 15 | w s s s | | 5 3 | 3 3 | AL MS MS MS | SC AL AL AL | Farming Farming Overseer Farming | 0 0 0 5 | y y y y | y y y y | r r r r | | | |
| 22 | 22 | Killingham, N. Rose | head wife | b b | m f | 27 24 | m m | 4 4 | 0 0 | 0 0 | MS MS | KY MS | Farm labor Farming | 0 0 | n n | n n | r r | | | |
| 23 | 23 | Montgomery, March Mary E. Charlie B. | head wife son son | b b b b | m f m m | 60 40 7 2 | m s s s | 3 3 | 4 2 | 2 2 | MS MS MS MS | SC MS MS MS | Farming Farming Farming Farming | 0 0 | n n n n | n n n n | r r r r | | | |
| 24 | 24 | Keaton, Larry Sarah Flin Bettie | head wife son daught. | b b b b | m f m f | 32 26 7 6 | m m s s | 3 3 | 4 2 | 2 2 | MS MS MS MS | NC MS MS MS | Farming Farming Farming Farming | | y n n n | y n n n | o f f f | f f f f | 19 | |
| 25 | 25 | Johnson, David Mary Ted | head wife son | b b b | m f m | 26 26 2 | m m s | 7/12 7/12 | 1 1 | 1 1 | MS MS MS | SC MS MS | Farming Farming Farming | | y n n | y n n | r r r | f f f | 20 | |
| 26 | 26 | Lenoir, Andrew Eliza Bessie Andrew, Jr. Nathaniel | head wife daughter son son | b b b b b | m f f m m | 32 31 8 4 2 | m m s s s | 13 13 | 5 3 | 3 3 | MS MS MS MS MS | MS AL MS MS MS | Farming Farming Farming Farming Farming | | y y y n n | y y y n n | o m m m m | f f f f f | 21 | |
| 27 | 27 | Berry, Harry Merica(?) | head wife | b b | m f | 22 18 | m m | 1 1 | 0 0 | 0 0 | MS MS | MS MS | Farming Farming | | n y | n y | r r | f f | 22 | |
| 28 | 28 | Matthews, Lary Tilitha | head aunt | b b | m f | 39 34 | w w | | 3 0 | 0 0 | MS MS | MS MS | Farming Farming | | n n | n n | r r | f f | 23 | |
| 29 | 29 | Gipen (?), Tom | head | b | m | 28 | w | | | | MS | MS | Farming | | n | n | r | f | 24 | |
| 30 | 30 | Wallace, Jack Mollie Charity | head wife daughter | b b b | m f f | 33 26 13 | m m s | 2 2 | 2 1 | 1 1 | MS MS MS | MS MS MS | Farming Farming Farming | | y n n | y n n | r r r | f f f | 25 | |
| 31 | 31 | Goolsby, Charlie A. Cora E. Dupree Cacy | head wife son son | w w w w | m f m m | 26 25 4 1 | m m s s | 7 7 | 2 2 | 2 2 | MS MS MS MS | MS MS MS MS | Farming Farming Farming Farming | | y y y n | y y y n | r r r r | f f f f | 26 | |
| 32 | 32 | Sharp, Frandor A. Mary A. Mary E. Mattie Lucy O. Richardson, Edith | head wife daughter daughter daughter boarder | w w w w w w | m f f f f f | 51 42 16 13 10 25 | m m s s s s | 17 17 | 3 3 | 3 3 | MS MS MS MS MS PN | SC MS MS MS MS Wales | Farming Farming Farming Farming Farming Teaching | | y y y y y y | y y y y y y | o f f f f f | f f f f f f | 27 | |

Source: 1900 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Prairie View Election Precinct.

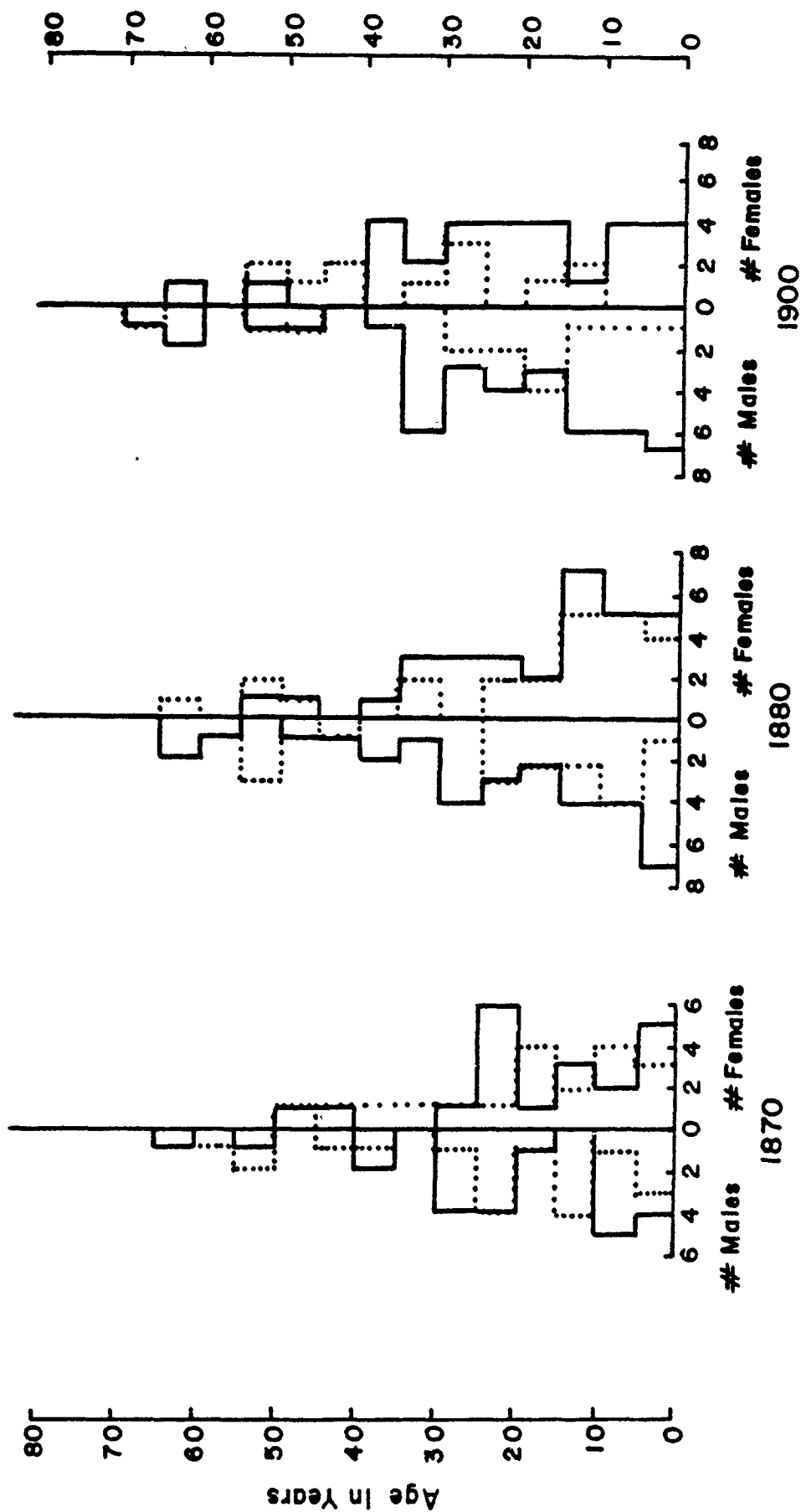


Figure 9. Barton and Vinton population structure, 1870-1900.

— black population white population

Sources: Federal Population Censuses, see Tables 14, 16, and 17.

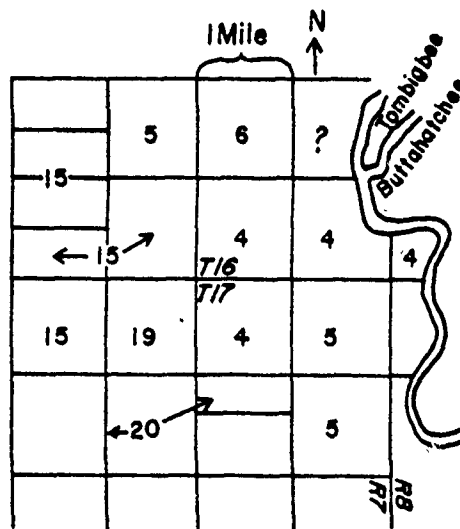


Figure 10. Numbers of black males approximately 14-45 years of age by section of residence in 1870.

Source: Lowndes County Militia List, Department of Archives and History, Jackson.

Table 9. Age composition of Barton and Vinton population: percentage under 15 years of age.

| | 1870 | 1880 | 1900 |
|---------------|------|------|------|
| black males | 48 | 47 | 47 |
| black females | 50 | 55 | 31 |
| white males | 39 | 44 | 25 |
| white females | 56 | 58 | 17 |

Source: Figure 9.

The town population was arranged in households of varying size and composition. Most were headed by an adult male, although from 7 to 18 percent were female headed. Boarders were much more common in the 1850s and 1860s than later and were usually related. The households generally had four to six members, although some were as large as 14 and several were composed of only one. Household means, calculated from Tables 5, 7, and 8 are displayed in Table 10, by decade and by race. Blacks consistently had a lower household mean, partly a product of a higher frequency of single occupancy by young black males, as can be seen in Tables 7 and 8. In general, black households were more varied in composition and size than those of whites.

As mentioned above, land transactions in the late 1860s and 1870s are not numerous at Barton and Vinton. In 1867 James Collins sold Blocks 6 and 11 (Cedar Oaks being in Block 6) to R. J. Connor for \$640.³ Bardine Richardson, who had owned the Barton Ferry in the 1850s, and Susan and N. J. Yates, the next ferry owners, retained considerable property in Barton through the 1860s, surviving some confusion over unpaid taxes and the status of the entire fractional section with the Monroe County government.⁴ They were the major landowners in town during the late 1860s and 1870s.

Many of the earlier settlers moved away during this period, among them William V. Futrell, son of William J. and Mahala Futrell. The family had lived on the eastern edge of Barton since at least the late 1840s and was related through Mahala to the Keatons, with whom they may have migrated to the townsites. In 1860 William J. was one of the wealthier Barton residents, owning property in both Section 31 and the south half of Section 36. He died soon after, and by 1866 his wife had married E. V. Gaston. She sold the family property in Barton that year, but her son William soon recovered it, the transactions likely representing settlement of some debt. Shortly afterward, William married, and he first mortgaged and then sold the property to the Richardsons. By 1872 he had moved to Aberdeen, where he owned and operated a variety store.⁵

Table 10. Household characteristics.

| | 1850 | 1860 | 1870 | 1880 | 1900 |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Mean size, whites | 4.6 | 4.4 | 5.3 | 5.6 | 4.2 |
| N= | 27 | 28 | 9 | 8 | 6 |
| Mean size, blacks | | | 3.8 | 4.6 | 3.5 |
| N= | | | 13 | 13 | 20 |
| Number having boarders | 11 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Number female heads | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 |

Source: Federal Population Censuses, see Tables 2, 5, 7 and 8.

Some new families were coming in at this time. In 1869 and 1870 Asberry H. and Marion McDonald, probably brothers, purchased land in Barton and adjoining Section 36. Both were young, married, and with families; they came to Mississippi from Alabama. Asberry was listed in the 1870 Federal Census as a farmer, Marion as a farm laborer. They did not seem to find the area to their liking, for they sold out to Wheeler Watson a year later.⁶

Watson was of the same large Monroe County family as Henry Watson, who would later own the Vinton property, and it was from Wheeler that the Coltranes first acquired property at the townsites, in 1875. Four years later former Barton resident Bardine Richardson, now of Coahoma County, Mississippi, sold the Coltranes most of the remainder of Section 31, plus a portion of Section 36. In 1878 W. M. Coltrane and W. C. White purchased the south half of Section 6, just south of Barton, for unpaid taxes. White was from West Point and married to one of W. E. Trotter's daughters, and he sold out his interest to Coltrane in 1881. At this point, the Coltranes owned much of what had once been Colbert and Barton, as well as the southern portion of Vinton.⁷

The problems the Coltranes faced in keeping their property during this period of economic stagnation and readjustment were typical for many residents. As noted above, a large percentage of the land transactions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century were mortgages. The Coltranes remained well-established and respected residents. William taught for many years at the Vinton school, and his daughter Eva was one of the correspondents for the Vinton column in the West Point newspaper. In 1886 the Coltranes were taxed for seven cattle, three mules, two carriages, one piano, and one watch, holdings exceeding those of many residents in the area.⁸

The Coltranes lost the south half of Section 6 through a court ruling that the original tax sale had been in error, and in 1885 this land reverted to the Cox family. They sold the north half in 1886 through a mortgage to J. D. Hutchinson on a debt of \$1,300, a transaction which also included 18 acres in the southwest corner of Section 31. The

western part of the property, in the southeast quarter of Section 36, was sold in 1888 but recovered in 1898, the transfer likely being in title only. Four acres in this section were sold to Henry Walker in 1887, presumably as a homestead, and the Coltranes held the remainder through the century, although there were some problems with taxes in 1888. This brief account illustrates the uncertainty that characterized the times for those able to own land, which many were not.

Of course, some families held their property from the 1850s throughout the century, as did the Natchers and Marshalls. William and M. H. Natcher had come to Barton in 1854 from Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and William had a hat manufactory at Barton. R. M. Marshall had resided in Barton since 1859, and in 1860 Mary Natcher was living in the Marshall household. R. M. Marshall's son William was residing at Vinton as a farm laborer for Dr. R. G. Miller. In 1860 William purchased 10 acres in the northeast quarter of Section 1, and his mother Mary E. Marshall purchased 20 acres in the southeast quarter of that section. William purchased 21 additional acres in the northeast quarter from William T. Barry in 1869, and in 1880 he was the head of a household that included his wife Drucilla, four children, his mother Mary E. Marshall, and Lucy Natcher, then 22. William's property remained in his family at least until 1899, when his wife Drucilla sold it to Henry D. Watson of Vinton.¹⁰

Susan and N. J. Yates and the Coltranes continued to own almost all of Section 31 through the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Lucy Natcher, who had moved to Vinton before the turn of the century, owned the Natcher-Marshall property, Block 19, until she sold it in 1915 to Jan Uithoven. The Coltrane family kept its Barton property until 1913, when the majority of Section 31 was sold to Jan Uithoven, and it has remained in his family ever since.¹¹

In addition to the main body of Section 31, there were two other major parcels. The Coltranes sold 18 acres in the southwest quarter of Section 31, south of the present Barton Ferry Road, to J. D. Hutchinson in 1886. This parcel also included the north half of Section 6, and it passed from the Hutchinsons to L. Marx in 1923, to J. E. Seitz in 1928, and to J. B. Walker in 1932. Bertie May Walker sold it to A. D. Simmons in 1950, in whose family it has remained.¹²

The other major parcel in Barton was the ferry property: about 44 acres in the southeast corner of Section 31, some land on the east bank of the river, and several acres in Section 6. Susan Yates sold this property to F. A. Sharp in 1894, having held it for 34 years. Sharp kept it until 1906 and then sold it to the Cogdells, who had been running the ferry for at least several years. In 1913, they sold it to Jan Uithoven, and in 1919 he sold it to Zack T. Ellis, in whose family it has remained (Chapter 10 provides more detail on these people).¹³ Since the 1920s there have been many oil leases and timber deeds on all the property in Section 31, and there were at least 19 mortgages on Section 31 land between 1870 and 1970.¹⁴

Changes in Vinton after the Civil War were not as great as those in the nucleated community of Barton, although the boundaries of Vinton may have broadened through the second half of the nineteenth century, as the

moving of the church and school several miles north suggests. The center remained the Vinton store in the northern part of Section 36, and W. E. Trotter, who owned the store from 1855 until his financial collapse in 1892, was the town's central figure.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Trotter's holdings grew tremendously, and he owned or controlled at least 4,000 acres. He had bought the land around the store and ferry, and the site of his house, in 1855. Three years later he bought a section of land about 11 miles west of Vinton, in the bottoms of Chuquatonchee Creek. Beginning in 1870 Trotter bought much of the prairie land just west of Vinton, extending about two miles west, north, and south of his home. He also acquired several parcels on the east side of the Tombigbee, within one and one half miles of Vinton. In 1880 he added another section to his westernmost holdings.¹⁵

Figure 11 shows Trotter's land, giving dates of acquisition and resale or mortgage. Several parcels were acquired through mortgages; others, although not specified in the deeds, may have been settlements of debts owed to Trotter's store. Some of the southwestern property, such as the south half of Section 35, he bought and immediately resold to the Dukeminier family, into which his daughter Ida married. Likewise, his control of the eastern part of Section 2 (Figure 11) was in respect of this relationship.¹⁶ His acquisitions continued until 1881, but soon thereafter his troubles began. He mortgaged his western property in 1887, and his more northwestern property in 1889 during the suits that would eventually end his business career at Vinton in 1892. During the suits of the late 1880s, his property was described as 3,649 acres in Clay County, 400 in Monroe, and 320 in Lowndes, for a total of 4,369 acres. This was more than most of the largest planters in the area held during the 1850s and 1860s. In 1892 Trotter's property was sold in settlement of the debts incurred by him and his son W. T., mostly in connection with his son's business in West Point (see below). Most of the property either went directly to or was later transferred to W. P. Rankin of Nashville, Tennessee, including the Vinton store and house.¹⁷

W. E. Trotter was the major landlord in the Vinton area until the early 1890s and the source of mercantile goods, a combination not uncommon given the crop lien system which characterized southern agriculture during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Most of Trotter's customers were also his tenants. It is not known whether the settlement or provisioning system changed significantly under Trotter's successor W. P. Rankin, but the fact that Rankin was an absentee landlord probably made some difference. Rankin owned considerable amounts of land until about 1900.

W. E. Trotter did not own all the land around Vinton. The area just north of Trotter's home property had been settled very early by the Sherod Keaton family. There were lengthy court battles over this property in the late 1870s relating to Sherod's son James' marriage to Octavia Barham of Barton. James was fatally wounded by his father-in-law E. B. Barham in the 1850s, and after Sherod's death there was much dispute over the rights of James' widow and her son to the Keaton property. Although her son did receive title to part of the estate, it

a. = acquired in m. = mortgaged in s. = sold in

Sources: Clay County Land Abstracts, Lowndes County Sectional Indexes.

remained in the hands of Sherod Keaton's widow, M. M. Cogdell Keaton, and her neighbor and later husband, W. R. Richardson, throughout most of the century. Many of Sherod's former slaves continued to live and farm there.¹⁸ Sherod's son-in-law, Dr. R. G. Miller, another early Vinton figure, continued his residence just west and north of the Trotter family, where he owned the southern half of Section 26 and the northern part of the northwest quarter of Section 36. Miller was a childless widower, and about four to six black families lived on and farmed his land. When he died around 1881 he was deeply in debt to Trotter, who took over his property.¹⁹

Another major block of land Trotter did not own during this period was just southwest of Barton, in Section 1, Township 17, Range 7. It had been owned in the 1850s by John Hutchins and had been inherited by his daughter Lou and her husband, J. J. Cox. It remained in the Cox family through most of the century, until Henry D. Watson bought much of it in 1894. This land was commonly known as the Cox place or quarter and was farmed mostly by black sharecroppers or renters.²⁰

As evidenced by the increasing percentages of those born in Mississippi from 1860 to 1900, fewer people were coming into the area during the latter part of the century. Most of the families associated with Vinton (although some of them now lived about 6 miles north of the Vinton store and center) had been in the area for a long time. Among them were the Brooks, who had been there at least since 1850 and were related to the Dukeminiers, Trotters, and Moores, all "old" families. The Cogdells, major figures during this period, had been in Vinton since at least 1860, and Nat Howard, who was associated with the Vinton store, was married to Rebecca Hudson, whose family had come to the area before 1860. The Bradleys, another major Vinton family, had arrived in Mississippi before 1861, the Thrailkills before 1866, and the Whatleys before 1863. Henry Wilson, whose family settled in the northern half of Section 25, was born in Mississippi in 1834.²¹

Some people were still moving to Vinton, but migration had declined. Around the turn of the century, it seems that Vinton received several new residents. D. E. Benton, who moved from West Point into the old Dr. Miller house in 1898, had been living in Ohio as late as 1892. George Neville, the "popular grocer" who ran the Vinton store in the 1890s, was from Jackson, Tennessee, where he visited frequently. Several families, including those of E. F. Gibson and Mrs. A. E. Lary, moved to Vinton around 1897 from Monroe County.²²

There were significant changes in settlement in the last few years of the nineteenth century. One was the initiation of a trend of land acquisition in the prairie west of the Vinton and Barton centers by small landowners, mostly blacks who had been renting or sharecropping. The increasing number of blacks listed as "farmers" rather than "farm laborers" in the 1900 Federal Census (Table 8) may be one indication of this, and Figure 12 shows some of these holdings, for 1896 to 1904. Most were from 40 to 60 acres and occupied by one family.²³

Many were financed by multiple mortgages and yearly payments of cotton. For example, in 1897 Lary Keaton bought his 40 acres for a down payment of four 500-pound bales of cotton and 12 more to be paid over

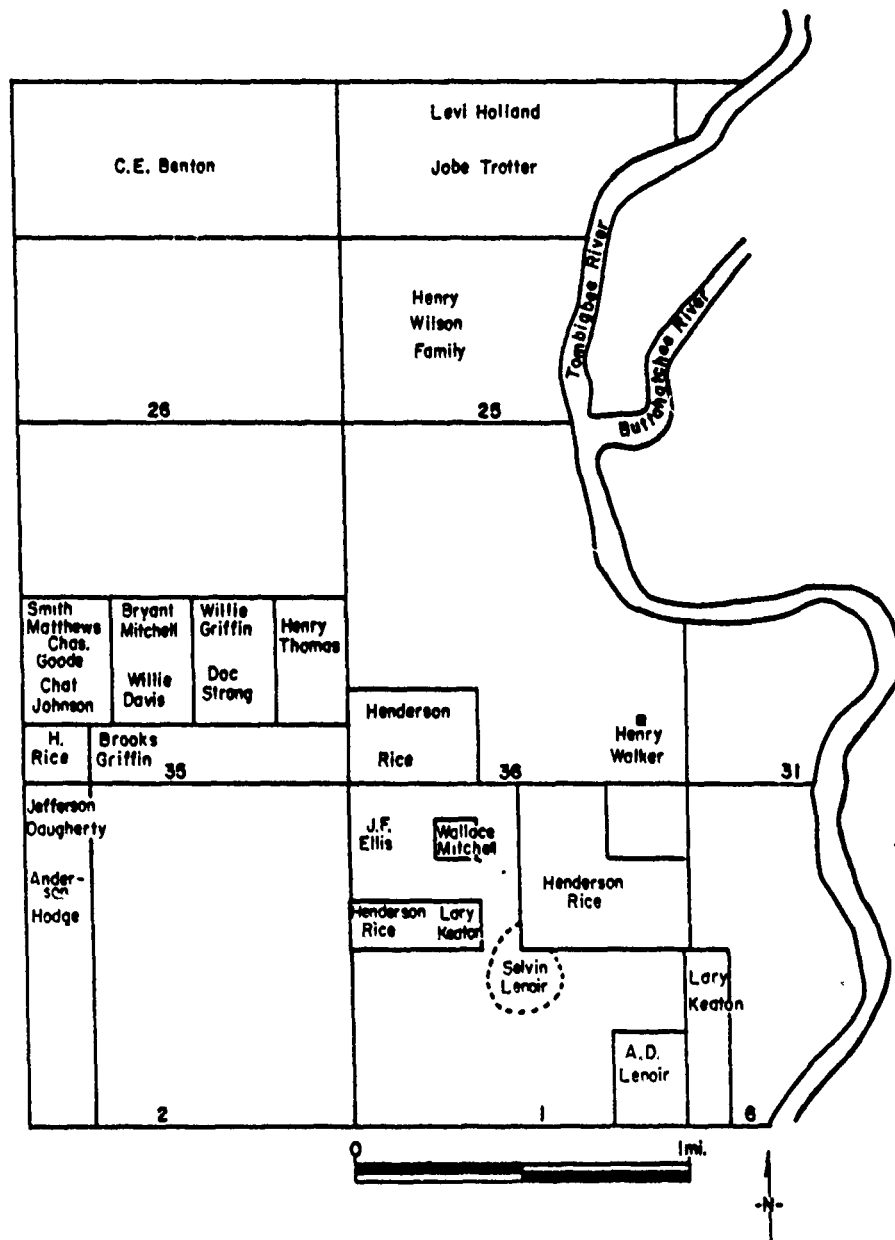


Figure 12. New landowners, 1896 to 1904.

Source: Clay County Land Abstracts.

the next three years. His relation, William Keaton, purchased 160 acres farther north in Section 24 (not on Figure 12), which he financed by six notes, each for 1,250 pounds of middling cotton, one payment due every October from 1901 to 1906.²⁴ Some tracts passed from one individual to another when payments were too hard to meet, but for those who held on to the property, their autonomy must have been considerably increased.

These new landowners certainly mark a major change in the settlement pattern, but most black farmers still rented their land. Table 11 shows the type of tenure for blacks and whites in the central Vinton area in 1900; clearly, whites were more likely to own land and blacks to rent it.

Another significant change around the turn of the century was a new landlord, Henry D. Watson. He had owned the northern half of Section 26, which he sold to Trotter in 1876, and his brother Wheeler had owned the northern half of Section 6 and some land in Section 31 from 1870 to 1875. The main concentration of Watsons was not at the townsites, however; they had been living in Monroe County, about eight or nine miles north and west of the sites, since before 1850. Henry D. had been living in Columbus immediately before his purchases near the townsites in 1894.²⁵

Henry bought the southern half of Section 6 and much of Section 1 (Cox place) from A. C. Cox in 1894. It was from Henry's wife, Mrs. F. L. Watson, that Lary Keaton bought his land in 1897. In 1900 Henry D. also bought most, if not all, of W. P. Rankin's land and property, Rankin being the absentee owner who had taken over most of Trotter's holdings. Although the Watsons were encumbered by mortgages of these purchases for several years, their new property amounted to about 2,000 acres, including the Vinton store and house center in Section 36. If Henry and his family were not already in the Trotter house, they certainly had moved there by 1900. Henry and his wife Fannie died before 1920, but their son Julian continued to live at Vinton, in the old Trotter house, until his death in 1941. Another son, Henry D., II, left Vinton and moved west to Strong, Mississippi in 1909; his wife, Ethel Smith Watson, and their daughter and son-in-law, Ethel Watson Wallace and Charles Wallace, reside there today. Most of the Watson property, both in Section 36 and the lower Cox place, have remained with the Wallaces and other children of Henry D., II, and Ethel Smith Watson.²⁶

Table 11. Tenure in 1900, by # of families.

| | owned | rented |
|--------|-------|--------|
| blacks | 4 | 8 |
| whites | 4 | 2 |

Source: 1900 Federal Population census, Table 8.

Transportation

As in the earlier period, local transportation networks were extremely important (Weaver and Doster 1982:33-39) in postbellum Barton and Vinton. Local roads figured strongly in competition between ferries and in residents' ties to West Point and the northern towns of Aberdeen and Darracott.

The struggle between river and railroad traffic during the 1870s and 1880s in the upper Tombigbee Valley was beyond the influence of a small hamlet such as Vinton, although of no small importance to it. The river was still a focal point in the lives of many, providing seasonal transportation and goods. Cotton was shipped down river to Mobile, although the Mobile and Ohio line and the seed oil company at West Point probably attracted most of the area's cotton.

Records of the S. B. Cotton Receiving Company of Mobile indicate that cotton was transported by river to Mobile from the townsites in the late 1870s.²⁷ Table 21 lists these shipments. Marks ES, EHS, and GAS probably represent those of Elisha, Elisha H., and Gus Strong, all large landowners west of Barton. The marks of BAD, with various additional submarks, indicate that B. A. Duncan was probably handling the cotton grown on his land by various renters or sharecroppers. The freight charges are in keeping with the rates for such a distance from Mobile as the townsites, and the hazards of river traffic can be seen in the entries indicating bales short upon arrival.

Table 12. Townsite cotton shipments, 1878-1879.

| Date Received | Marks | No. of Bales | Owner | Boat or RR | Originated From | Freight |
|------------------|----------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------|
| 8 Feb 1878 | ES | 13 | Ivy & Foster | Str <u>Fleta</u> | Vinton | \$1.50 |
| 20 Mar 1878 | ES | 15 | " | 29 Str <u>Lotus</u> #2 | Vinton-8 Barton-7 | 1.50 |
| 12 Feb 1879 | BAD-JR | 1 | " | short by Str <u>Fleta</u> 12 Feb | Barton | 1.75 |
| 12 Feb 1879 | EHS | 20 | " | Str <u>Fleta</u> | Barton | 1.75 |
| | GAS | 20 | " | | " | " |
| | BAD-P | 4 | " | | " | " |
| | BAD-IR | 3 | " | | " | " |
| | BAD-JR | 4 | " | | " | " |
| | BAD-O | 4 | " | | " | " |
| | BAD-Mary | 1 | " | | " | " |
| | GAS | 1 | " | short by Str <u>Fleta</u> | " | " |

These shipments from Barton and Vinton probably took advantage of seasonal river conditions and the convenience of the proximity of these lands to the water. However, they can hardly account for all of the area's cotton, and much must have gone overland to West Point or Aberdeen. For example, Henry Keaton, a black man renting on the Sherod Keaton land in the north of Vinton, took his cotton to Aberdeen to sell in 1878. The Table 12 entry for GAS of 20 bales shipped aboard the steamer Fleta in 1879 compares to G. A. Strong's total production in that year of 225 bales. Similarly, Elisha H. Strong produced 40 bales in 1879, and only 20 are accounted for in the shipment seen in Table 12.²⁸

The river also continued to be used seasonally for transporting rafts of logs and timber. The most crucial stretch lay between Vinton and Columbus, where river or rail transportation was available, depending on the season and competitive rates. The Army Corps of Engineers had completed a river clearance project in 1882 from Fulton to Columbus which provided good high water transport. In 1897 a major project to restore this 144-mile stretch to good condition by removal of snags and branches reached the Vinton area, around which the Corps worked during July. Along a 20-mile stretch beginning north of Waverly and continuing north, they removed 814 stumps, logs, and sunken and overhanging trees from the banks and river.²⁹

Despite these improvements, goods were usually brought in overland by railroad and then wagon. Aside from shopping trips to West Point or Aberdeen, the major source of goods was the Vinton store run by W. E. Trotter. It was consistently listed in the R. G. Dun and Company reports while Trotter was in business, representing his desire to establish and maintain a credit rating for purchasing from East Coast wholesalers.³⁰ He and his son W. T., who had a store in West Point in the 1880s, were receiving goods from Memphis, Atlanta, New York, Chicago, Mobile, and Sparta, Illinois, by rail at West Point, from where they were taken by wagons to Vinton.³¹

Locally, the ferries at Barton and Vinton continued to serve as important links to Lowndes County. J. J. Cox had acquired considerable land in the area during the war, including the Vinton Ferry. From Susan Littleton he purchased much land in the south of Barton around that ferry. Susan, wife of Tatum, had acquired the Barton Ferry in 1860 from J. J. Hicks for \$4,082; in 1864 she married N. J. Yates.³² Cox lost his land in 1867, and the sheriff sold the Vinton (Keaton) Ferry to John Reagh for \$400, a price which included the ferry boat and houses.³³ The sheriff sold Cox's strip of land along the south and east of Section 31, Township 16, Range 8, back to Mrs. S. E. Littleton, now Yates, for \$1,000.³⁴ Also included were most of the north half of Section 6, Township 17, Range 8, and Fractional Sections 22 and 27, Township 16, Range 19, on the east bank of the Tombigbee River adjacent to the townsites. Most of this property the Yates sold in 1869 to A. H. and M. M. McDonald for \$1,500. Although this property soon passed from the McDonalds to Bardine Richardson and Wheeler Watson, the Yates must have retained the ferry and right to it.³⁵ When the county of Clay was organized, the Board of Supervisors ruled that N. J. and Susan E. Yates were allowed to keep the ferry "at what is called the Barton Ferry."

Rates were set at \$.75 for a six-horse wagon, \$.50 for a four- or two-horse wagon or carriage, \$.25 for a one-horse buggy, \$.10 for a man and horse, \$.05 for a footman, and \$.2 1/2 for each horse, mule, cow, goat, sheep, or hog. The Yates gave bond, but the amount was not specified.³⁶

It seems that the Vinton Ferry was not in use at this time. In 1870 a judgment against James R. Hilliard had abrogated what claim he had to the Vinton Ferry, which John Reagh purchased from the sheriff for \$400.³⁷ Reagh presumably then had a complete and clear title, for in 1872 he sold 27 acres, including the Vinton Ferry, to W. E. Trotter for \$400.³⁸ Five years later, in November 1878, Trotter petitioned the Board of Supervisors to continue the West Point and Vinton Road to the Vinton Ferry and a half-mile along the Old Caledonia Road and to establish a public ferry at the Vinton Ferry. His petition was granted, and upon posting \$1,000 bond he was licensed to keep the Vinton Ferry for ten years.³⁹

Again we see competition between the Barton and Vinton ferries and the local road system was very important. In March 1881, W. E. Trotter and W. M. Coltrane et al. petitioned for a change in the Barton-Vinton Road, to which N. J. Yates of the Barton Ferry and others counter-petitioned. Presumably, the change, which is not specified, would have directed traffic from the Barton Ferry to the Vinton Ferry and Trotter's store. The change was to be made without expense to the county, and eleven local men were appointed commissioners to review the matter. A few days later the change was issued,⁴⁰ and for a number of years thereafter the Vinton Ferry must have secured most of the crossings. But in the late 1880s Trotter began to have legal and financial difficulty, and by 1892 he had lost most of his holdings and influence; the Vinton Ferry probably was not in continuous use thereafter. In January 1893, Mary E. Marshall of the Barton area and others petitioned to reopen the old road from the Barton Ferry to the West Point Road and to discontinue the road from Barton to Vinton. Commissioners were appointed, and several months later they adopted this change. In August 1894, after holding it for 34 years, S. E. Yates sold the Barton Ferry and surrounding land for \$480 to F. A. Sharp. Sharp was then age 45, white, married, and had two daughters. In 1900 they all lived in the Barton area.⁴² In 1880 Lewis Billingsway, a 60-year-old black man, had run the ferry; he lived alone and near the Yates and the ferry, perhaps on the bluff northeast of it.⁴³

During the 1890s, the Vinton property underwent a series of transfers and mortgages as the Trotter enterprise faded and creditors, many nonlocal, took possession. The West Point and Vinton Road was still kept up, and there was undoubtedly much traffic north to Darracott and Aberdeen. In 1897 J. N. Cogdell petitioned to reopen the road from the Vinton store to the "Vinton Old Ferry," and for a new road from there up the river 400 yards to the Vinton ford, to be used in times of lower water. Lowndes County had opened a road on the opposite side of the river from the Vinton ford. The petition was approved, and George Neville, who ran the Vinton store at the time, was appointed overseer of the hands on the Trotter place, who were to keep up the road. At the same time, R. O. Brooke petitioned to open an old road from the Vinton store to the ford, but this was rejected.⁴⁴ The activity directed toward the Vinton ford is further evidence that the Vinton Ferry was not

in full operation. The Barton Ferry, however, continued, and in 1912 it was declared free. Residents were then advised that "the approaches to the ferry have been put in good order, and our advices from over the river indicate a good trade for West Point from that section."⁴⁵ There were no longer any Barton or Vinton business interests to worry about bringing in potential customers.

Many local residents were appointed as commissioners to review new bridges for which the county gave out contracts on a lowest bid basis. These bridges, especially those over Town Creek, Dry Creek, and Hang Kettle Creek, were essential in assuring continuous access from the townsites across the prairie to West Point, with which ties were strong. Many residents would also go up to Aberdeen, particularly those who lived in the northern part of Vinton and who interacted more with the Darracott community. Darracott not only was closer than West Point, but also was more accessible by the Columbus-Aberdeen road along the sandy terrace above the river. Local residents were appointed overseers of the roads near or through their lands, and most people were expected to contribute labor, equipment, or materials for upkeep. (Table 18 below provides a listing of these commissioners and overseers.) Individuals could also petition to erect gates across public roads. H. W. Wilson was granted permission to erect two gates of link No. 11 fence across the Vinton-Aberdeen Road in 1898, and F. A. Sharp had been allowed to put a gate across the public road "near old Barton" in 1895.⁴⁶ The problems in keeping up roads across the muddy prairie, and their importance, can be seen in the near pre-occupation of the local county government with the local transportation systems. W. E. Trotter's repeated requests to have the mail route changed from West Point to Columbus or Aberdeen also underscore the difficulties of overland travel.

The coming of the railroad to West Point was very influential in the demise of Barton. Ironically, in the late 1890s the townsites were on a possible route of a Canton, Aberdeen, and Nashville Railroad line, but the right-of-way then purchased was all that materialized, and it was sold in 1937.⁴⁷ The community west of the townsites, Strong's Station, remained small but seemed to benefit during the first part of the twentieth century from being on the M&O line; the community of Vinton might have revived had the rail line come through. Perhaps Vinton would indeed have been "on the boom," as its column of 1897 reported so optimistically.⁴⁸

Economy and Subsistence

Most of the Barton stores did not survive the dislocation of trade and traffic to West Point and the disruption of the Civil War. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the economy of the townsite was to be very different from that in the 1840s and 1850s. The store at Vinton, which had been strong even when competing with the Barton stores, now became the main center for local goods. In the past the stores had been more than places to purchase items, serving as Post Office, gathering center, and source of both credit and cash. However, many residents could and did do business with other sources, such as the factors or commission merchants out of Mobile, or with larger stores in

Columbus or Aberdeen. After the war and the breakdown of the factorage system, many white residents continued to patronize Aberdeen and Columbus businesses, although many also patronized the Vinton store. For most of the blacks, now on their own for the first time and with little capital or credit, the Vinton store became the only means for obtaining needed food, farming supplies, and equipment. Most farmed under the sharecropping system, owing shares to both the landowner and the mercantile furnisher, often one and the same in W. E. Trotter, and some probably rented. Some black Vinton farmers did begin to acquire their own property in the last years of the nineteenth century, but many continued to farm into the twentieth century by renting from Henry Watson, and they were furnished by him just as they or earlier farmers had been by Trotter.

Although community institutions such as church and school continued at Vinton, and services such as ginning, milling, and smithing were available at the Trotter store center, the occupational diversity seen in the 1850s was largely gone by 1870. The variety of services must have diminished as the townsites were transformed from small riverport towns into rural agricultural centers. Table 13 presents a comparison of occupations for the immediate Barton-Vinton area, as derived from the Federal Population Censuses. (Only white males are listed for 1850 and 1860.) There is a considerable range of tradesmen present, and only 30 percent in 1850 and 38 percent in 1860 were listed as planters, farmers, or related occupations like farm hands or overseers. By 1870 many of the tradesmen were gone, and store-related occupations decreased from five in 1850, to three in 1860, to two in 1870. By 1880, 72 percent of the white males were occupied in farming; by 1900 87 percent.

Information on black males is available beginning in 1870, although most probably were employed previously in cotton production. Except for a ferryman, blacksmith, laborer, and cook in 1880, all black males from 1870 to 1900 were engaged as farmers or farm and field hands, and those who did not farm full time likely did so on a part-time basis. Of course, part-time farming probably applied to all residents.

Black females were usually listed with some occupation: field or farmhand or farmer in 1870, 93 percent; in 1880, 62 percent; and in 1900, 81 percent. Throughout these decades, only three black women were listed as "keeping house," which was the most common listing for white women. No occupational listing was given for many white women, however, especially in 1900.

These occupational listings are mainly for adults, but among blacks especially, children might be listed as farm hands, some as young as 11 or 12 and in one case, 6 (Table 8, 1900, #13). In 1880 one 12-year-old black girl was listed as a cook, another as a nurse. Young black males were almost exclusively listed as farm laborers or field hands, and no black children were listed as students, compared to 16 whites from 1870 to 1900. Many blacks and many other whites attended school during these decades, but perhaps not regularly enough to be considered full-time students (see below for more on school enrollment and attendance).

Table 13. Comparison of occupations, Barton and Vinton area.

| | 1850 | | | | 1860 | | | | 1870 | | | | 1880 | | | | 1900 | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-------|----|-------|---|-------|---|-------|----|-------|---|-------|----|-------|---|
| | black | | white | | black | | white | | black | | white | | black | | white | | black | | white | |
| | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f | m | f |
| Farmer | | | | | 8 | | 3 | 5 | | | | | 4 | | | | 16 | 18 | 5 | 1 |
| Planter | | | 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Farm/Field Hand/Labor | | | | | 5 | | 12 | 14 | 1 | | | | 12 | 10 | 3 | | 9 | 3 | | |
| Farm Supt/overseer | | | | | 1 | | | | 2 | | | | | | 1 | | | | 2 | |
| Keeping house | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 7 | | 2 | | 7 | | | | | |
| Physician | | | 3 | | 2 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Nurse | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Teacher | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Student | | | | | 2 | | | | 8 | 5 | | | | | 3 | | | | | |
| Minister | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ferryman | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Stage Driver | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Steamboatman | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Clerk/merchant | | | 5 | | 3 | | | | 2 | | | | | | 2 | | | | | |
| Tailor | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Carpenter | | | 5 | | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gun wright | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wagon/wheel wright | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mechanic | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Blacksmith | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Miller/mill wright | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Confectioner | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Laborer | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Domestic/servant | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | |
| Cook | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | |
| At home | | | | | | | | | 2 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | |

Source: U.S. Censuses of Population.

While farming was the most consistent occupation and the economic mainstay of the townsite population, several other occupations were represented throughout most of the nineteenth century. The services of a local physician were available to most, the nearest, and the one represented in Table 13, being Dr. R. G. Miller of Vinton. Another frequent listing was ferryman, indicating the continued importance of the crossings even though the economic significance of the Tombigbee had diminished greatly. At least two persons were involved in mercantile businesses in four of the five decades examined here, and even later, goods were available locally through landlords such as Henry D. Watson, who was listed in 1900 in Vinton as a farmer.

The economic center of Vinton, where most goods were obtained and most cotton likely turned over, was Trotter's store in Section 36. (The earlier history of the store is found in Chapter 2.) Even when competing with Barton merchants, the Vinton store did a good business. Receipts from the Vinton establishment are unusually scarce, hence it is difficult to determine early business procedures, although extant records indicate the usual running of accounts for local residents. Trotter's store apparently remained open throughout the Civil War, and it was the site of the Post Office from 1858-1868 and 1877-circa 1900. The ferry and Vinton landing, as well as the Vinton ford, were nearby, and Trotter's facilities also included storage, a gin, a grist mill, and a blacksmith shop.⁴⁹

Trotter's business was consistently rated by the R. G. Dun and Company Credit Agency. His pecuniary strength, by their reports, grew from the \$5,000-\$10,000 range in the late 1860s, to \$10,000-\$20,000 in 1874, to \$20,000-\$40,000 in 1876. By 1886 it was in the \$40,000-\$75,000 category, where it remained throughout the 1880s. Being the only store in the immediate vicinity, Trotter's sales often surpassed those of many West Point merchants. The general estimates of the Dun agents regarding Trotter's credit rating, based on sales, his record in meeting bills, and his ability and willingness to pay was usually "good." Agents in 1877 described him as "one of the most solvent and reliable in the county," and such a recommendation should have enabled him to order easily from nonlocal wholesalers on credit.⁵⁰ Trotter could then extend this credit to his customers during the cotton growing season, himself appraising the risk in each case from his knowledge as local furnisher and landlord.

Many of Trotter's customers may have settled up their accounts with him periodically, selling their cotton or other products to him, in West Point, or in Aberdeen and then paying their debts. But a good portion of his business was supplying local sharecroppers or renters who did not break even when their cotton or other goods were balanced against their purchases. The next year, Trotter would have a lien on whatever cotton, corn, fodder, or other crops they produced, often including their furniture, animals, and farm equipment as additional security. At the end of one season or the beginning of a new (from fall to winter usually) the old season's balance would be carried over with 10 percent interest, and Trotter would agree to furnish the farmer with an additional specified amount of goods for the new season. Besides furnishing food, clothing, and personal items, Trotter also supplied some mules and farm equipment. He owned 32 mules in 1886, and the annual charge for one ranged from \$45

to \$100.51 No contracts or agreements have been found indicating whether Trotter specified what crops were to be produced, although he may have had that power over those indebted to him, especially as he often owned the land they worked.

These unsettled accounts, recorded as chattel deeds in the local chancery office, no doubt made up a significant portion of Trotter's business, although some accounts were probably settled satisfactorily or in other ways. Table 14 gives the total debts from the chattel deeds for each year, meaning usually for goods supplied the previous year, and the amounts Trotter agreed to furnish these individuals for the coming year. These debts would indicate a very minimum of sales to this group, as most people were likely able to pay on at least a part of their year's balance with their crops and these balances represent only those purchases not yet paid.

Table 15 lists the 116 households or individuals indebted to Trotter from 1877 to 1881, many for several years running. Others either had bad and good years intermingled or may have found alternative sources once they had settled up. The majority of those listed in Table 15 are black males, and their debts range from \$1.00 to \$492. Several households, either neighbors or relatives, often both, frequently would go in together for a season, hoping to share both the work and the risks of farming under the lien system. Of course, these accounts represent the purchases and products of entire households, not just those of the men and, occasionally, women listed.

In Table 15, J. J. Cox, W. P. Meador, J. W. Dukeminier, J. L. Martin, S. H. Whatley, R. G. Miller, R. G. Ursery, and several others are some of Trotter's white customers. Their debts varied, but Trotter apparently expected some, like J. J. Cox and R. G. Miller, to be making extensive purchases during the year, perhaps as they themselves distributed goods to sharecroppers on their land. For example, Trotter agreed to supply Miller with up to \$800 worth of goods in 1879, and J. J. Cox with up to \$1,000 in 1878 and 1880 and \$1,500 in 1881. His advances for blacks never exceeded \$450, which he agreed to furnish Alfred Strong in 1878.⁵²

Table 14. Vinton store advances and accounts owed.

| | 1877 | 1878 | 1879 | 1880 | 1881 |
|--------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| Money owed Trotter | 2421.30 | 6306.05 | 6040.97 | 2451.56 | 3543.71 |
| To be advanced | 3187.00 | 12200.50 | 3794.00 | 5128.50 | 8575.00 |

These chattel deeds also included the probable location of the farmer's residence and activity for the coming year. Although the descriptions are in general terms, such as Strong's or Matthew's place, matching this information with land records yields general estimates for the location of at least this one group of customers and the reach of

Table 15. Residents' debts to W. E. Trotter.

| | 1877 | 1878 | 1879 | 1880 | 1881 | | 1877 | 1878 | 1879 | 1880 | 1881 |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Allen, George | | 3.00 | | 72. | 100. | Matthews, Peter | | 12. | | | |
| Bascom, Jim | 200. | | | | | Matthews, Gary | | 44. | | | |
| Baxter, J. R. | | | | 75. | | Matthews, Jackson | | 85. | | | |
| Baxter, E. F. | | | | 75. | | Matthews, Joe | | 125. | | | |
| Billups, Willis | | | 110. | | | Matthews, John | | 250. | 501 | | |
| Boyd, Lewis | | | | | | Matthews, Burrel | | 7.35 | | 5.00 | |
| Brewer, Susan, Frank | | | | | | Matthews, Barton | | 1.75 | 71. | | |
| Briggs, Anthony | | | 8. | | 5. | McClusker, Sandy | | | | | 100. |
| Brooks, Lumpkin | | | 8. | | | McClusker, W. P. | | | | 8. | 28. |
| Brooks, Charles | | | | | | Miller, R. G. | | 12. | 495. | 260. | 534. |
| Brown, Ismael | | | | | | Mitchell, Wallace | | | 147. | | 2.50 |
| Conway, Pierce | | | 47. | | | Moche, Ben | | | 262 | | |
| Constance, Dock | 100. | | | | | Moore, Alice | | | 9. | | |
| Cox, Frank | | 39. | | | | Morton, Tom | | 21. | 182. | 21. | 42. |
| Cox, J. J. | 100. | 240. | | 50. | 181. | Morton, George | | 121. | | | |
| Crusoe, Sarah | 23. | | | | | Morton, Willie | | 121. | 324. | | |
| Dakeminer | 575. | | | | | Morton, Sam | 127. | 395. | | | |
| Evans, Levi | 136. | | | | | Morton, Eden | | | | | 5.00 |
| Evans, Lewis | | 200. | | | | Outlaw, Cesar | 200. | 50. | | | |
| Fields, Joe, Jennie | 168. | | | | | Pitman, Shednic | | 175. | | | |
| Fields, Maria, Dave | 168. | | | | | Rainey, Bob | | 24. | | | |
| Fields, Warren | | 51. | | | | Randle, Cora | | | 112. | | |
| Fleming, Henry, Louisa | | 123. | | | | Randle, Tom B. | | | | | |
| Fort, Dock | | 1. | | | | Sands, John | | 13. | | | 17. |
| Fort, Nancy | | 218. | | | | Sands, Jack | | | 71. | 55. | |
| Fort, Larkin | | | 492. | | | Sands, Barney | | | | | 202. |
| Fort, Isham | | | | | | Smith, Giles | 75. | | | | |
| Frierson, Pinkney | | 1.75 | 71. | 55. | 52. | Sneed, Washington | | | | | |
| Frierson, Washington | | 55. | | | | Springer, Henry | | | 431. | | 100. |
| Gore, Bill | | | | | 51. | Staggs, Monroe | | 12. | 246. | | |
| Gresson, Susan | | | | 92. | | Stratton, W. J. | | | | | 52. |
| Hamilton, Abram | | 103. | | | | Strong, Mat | | 250. | | | |
| Hamilton, Washington | | 3.75 | | | | Strong, Adam | | 350. | | | |
| Hampton, Washington | 127. | | | | | Strong, Harrison | | | 208. | | |
| Harper, Charles | | 55. | | | | Strong, Charles | | | | 132. | |
| Hartfield, Sam | | | 30. | | 90. | Strong, Dock | 150. | 346. | | | 207. |
| Hartfin, J. L. | | | | | 5.00 | Strong, Curry | | | | | |
| Harris, Margaret | | 14. | | | | Strong, Alfred | | | | | |
| Harris, Alfred | | 125. | | 151. | | Strong, Henry | | 110. | 110. | 101. | |
| Harris, Henry | 200. | 100. | | | | Strong, Frank, Adam | | 110. | | 101. | |
| Henry, Oliver | 126. | 2.40 | | | | Strong, Washington | | 230. | | 112. | 17. |
| Hill, Ausburn | | 7.25 | | | | Strong, Leon | | | | 133. | 205. |
| Hughes, Dennis | | | | | | Taylor, Nancy | 80. | | 112. | | |
| Hughes, Henry | | | 118. | 91. | 116. | Thomas, Henry | | 200. | | 220. | 206. |
| Hughes, Frank | | | | | | Tomlinson, J. F. | | | 5.00 | | |
| Hughes, Jim | | 100. | 118. | 111. | | Troupe, Marion | | | 47. | | |
| Johnson, William | | 44. | | | | Tucker, Joe | 225. | | | | |
| Johnson, Horace | | 15. | | | | Ursery, R. G. | | 10. | 317. | | |
| Jones, Henry | 50. | | | | | Walker, Henry | | 100. | | | |
| Jordan, Kato | | | | | | Washington, George | | | | 92. | 117. |
| Keaton, Henry | | 118. | 90. | 24. | 25. | Whitley, S. H. | | | | 25. | 5.00 |
| Keaton, William | | 38. | | | 17. | Williams, Nancy | | 13. | | | |
| Kennedy, Dan | | | | | | Yates, Litchfield | 350. | 250. | 490. | | |
| Lapone, Henry | | 39. | | | | Young, Beverly | | 140. | | | |
| Larkin, Jack | | 259. | | | | Young, Ike | | | 209. | | |
| Loom, Rash | | 51. | | | | Young, Jerre, Jack | | | | 67. | |
| Loyd, Thomas W. | | | | 137. | 21. | Young, Malinda | | 122. | | | |
| Matthew, Sam | | | | | | | | | | | |
| McIntire, Levi | 200. | 40. | | | | | | | | | |

Source: Clay County Chattel Deed Books.

Trotter's business. Figure 13 displays the numbers of farmers in debt and continuing to do business with Trotter from 1877 until 1881 at various locations, after which time the chattel deeds did not consistently give this geographic information.⁵³ Trotter's field of business seems to have extended during this period about 2.5 miles north or south of the store and about 4 miles west, covering about 20 square miles. The extent of his business east of the river is not known. Residents south of this area probably dealt with the store at Waverly, those farther west with West Point, and those north with the Darracott community. The number of families supplied in the southern section of Figure 13 may be somewhat underestimated; some of the larger landowners, such as J. J. Cox, also supplied by Trotter, in turn probably redistributed some of their purchases to the families working their land.⁵⁴ Figure 13 may also be compared to Figure 10, which gives the number of middle-aged black men living in various sections around the townsites in 1870. As probable heads of households these men serve as a rough estimate of the potential customers for Trotter's business, and the comparison with Figure 10 suggests that most area residents did obtain their goods and supplies from him. Refer also to Figure 11 for the extent of Trotter's land holdings in the area, further indication that most residents would have been supplied by the Vinton store.

As noted above, almost all blacks were involved in farming, and the major crops were cotton and corn. Of those individuals known via the chattel deeds to be dealing with the Vinton store, which means those having debts to the store at the end of the year, 21 black households were located in both the agricultural and population schedules of the 1880 Federal Census. Information on their crops, livestock, household structure, and occupations was linked with that from the chattel deeds, and the results are presented in Table 16.⁵⁵ Only one person owned his own land, and most families rented for shares on the crop. According to the chattel deeds, Trotter legally had rights to all cotton, corn, fodder, and other crops produced, and some deeds specified that no claims would be allowed the family to any of the crops. Most families kept some livestock, mules being much more common than horses, and many kept cows and pigs. The census did not enumerate produce such as beans or squash and apparently listed only those food crops produced in substantial quantities. Many farmers undoubtedly had gardens for their own consumption. Besides corn and cotton, the next likely crop was sweet potatoes; 8 of the 21 families produced at least 10 bushels, and most more.

Cotton remained central in the local economy, as it had been when these blacks or their parents had been slaves, and most devoted more than two-thirds of their tilled acreage to its production. The proportion of corn to cotton was calculated for these 21 black families, and the mean was 2.64 times the acreage in cotton as in corn. The mean for cotton acreage was 25.9 acres, for corn 9.6 acres. Productivity was also calculated for these crops, with cotton varying from .14 to .40 bales per acre; corn was even more variable, from 2.14 to 16.6 bushels per acre.

This sample is necessarily biased toward those who, for whatever reason, did not pay off their accounts at the Vinton store during 1877-1881. To explore further the nature of these debts, they were compared

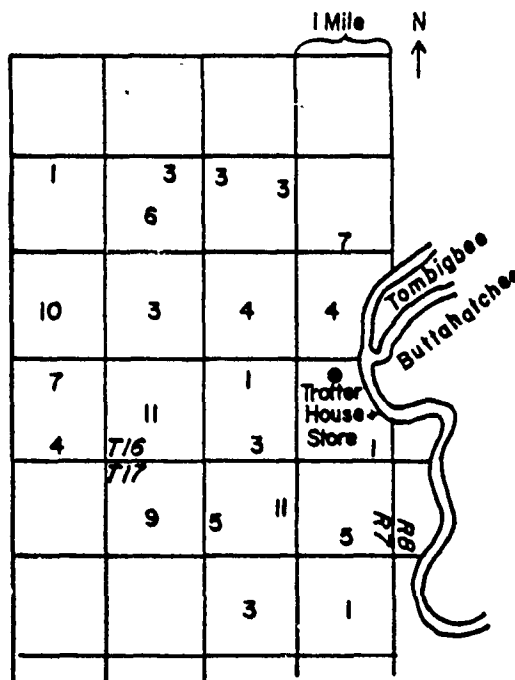


Figure 13. Numbers of Vinton store customers near townsites, 1877- 1881, by residence in sections.

Source: Table 15, Clay County Land Abstracts.

Table 16. Farmers' assets, debts, products, 1900.

| | Own land | Rent for money | Rent by shares | Tilled acres | VALUE OF: | Land | Equipment | Livestock | Value of products sold or consumed | Horses | Mules | Cows | Lbs. butter | Swine | Poultry | Acres sv. potatoes | Bu. sv. potatoes | Acres corn | Bu. corn | Bu. per acre corn | Acres cotton | Bales cotton | Bales per acre | Corn/cotton acreage | Debt to Trotter, in \$ |
|---------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------|--------|-------|------|-------------|-------|---------|--------------------|------------------|------------|----------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Allen, George | 1 | | | 20 | | 15 | 55 | 150 | 400 | 1 | 1 | | | 6 | 19 | 1 | 50 | 6 | 100 | 16.6 | 18 | 6 | .333 | 1:3 | 1877 |
| Brewer, Sue & Frank | 1 | 1 | 15 | 30 | | 55 | 10 | 65 | | | | | | | | | 10 | 4 | 50 | 5.0 | 15 | 5 | .333 | 1:15 | 1877 |
| Brooks, Lumpkin | | 1 | 1 | 30 | | 10 | 20 | | 200 | | | | | | | | | 4 | 50 | 12.5 | 26 | 4 | .333 | 1:15 | 1877 |
| Fields, Joe | | 1 | 1 | 100 | | 20 | 20 | 240 | 600 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 150 | 16 | 15 | 1 | 50 | 25 | 100 | 4.0 | 75 | 11 | .333 | 1:65 | 168 |
| Frierson, Pinkney | | 1 | 1 | 30 | 500? | 20 | 20 | 50 | 211 | | | | | 3 | 10 | | | 5 | 15 | 3.0 | 15 | 4 | .267 | 1:3 | 1877 |
| Frierson, Wash. | | 1 | | 50 | | 12 | 60 | 60 | 500 | | | | | | | | | 10 | 100 | 10.0 | 40 | 9 | .225 | 1:3 | 1877 |
| Harris, Alfred | | 1 | 1 | 80 | | 60 | 350 | 800 | | | | | | 15 | 20 | | | 20 | 300 | 15.0 | 11 | 11 | .275 | 1:2 | 1877 |
| Harris, Henry | | 1 | 1 | 25 | | 10 | 10 | 800 | | | | | | | | | | 6 | 100 | 16.6 | 18 | 4 | .222 | 1:3 | 1877 |
| Hughes, Dennis | | 1 | 1 | 25 | | 6 | 135 | 283 | | | | | | | | | | 8 | 35 | 4.37 | 30 | 5 | .167 | 1:3.7 | 1877 |
| Keaton, Henry | | 1 | | 20 | | 5 | 100 | 277 | | | | | | 25 | 30 | | | 10 | 100 | 10.0 | 10 | 4 | .400 | 1:1 | 1877 |
| Keaton, Bill | 1 | | 20 | | | 4 | 25 | 25 | 290 | | | 2 | 10 | 5 | 30 | | 25 | 5 | 50 | 20.0 | 15 | 5 | .333 | 1:3 | 1877 |
| Kennedy, Dan | | 1 | 60 | | | 25 | 80 | | 800 | | | | | | | | 20 | 400 | 3.75 | 20.0 | 40 | 13 | .325 | 1:2 | 1877 |
| Lloyd, T. W. | | 1 | 50 | 50 | | 40 | 80 | 350 | | | | | | 2 | 20 | 1 | 50 | 8 | 30 | 3.75 | 25 | 6 | .24 | 1:3.1 | 126 |
| Morton, Sam | 1 | | 75 | 75 | 620 | 10 | 100 | 550 | | | | | | 4 | 10 | | | 7 | 15 | 2.14 | 25 | 10 | .40 | 1:3.6 | 175 |
| Sands, John | | | 25 | 25 | | 10 | 60 | 300 | | | | | | | | | | 6 | 100 | 16.6 | 18 | 4 | .222 | 1:3 | 1877 |
| Sands, Jack | | | 25 | 25 | | 3 | 85 | 200 | | | | | | | | | | 5 | 15 | 3.0 | 15 | 3 | .2 | 1:3 | 1877 |
| Speed, Wash. | | | 36 | 36 | | 10 | 1380 | 456 | | | | | | | | | | 9 | 50 | 5.55 | 18 | 4 | .222 | 1:2 | 1877 |
| Strong, Alfred | | 1 | 80 | 80 | | 75 | 1380 | | | | | | | 8 | 20 | | | | | | | | | | 1877 |
| Strong, Henry | | 1 | 30 | 30 | | 10 | | | | | | | | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | 1877 |
| Strong, Wash. | | 1 | 50 | 50 | | 15 | 160 | 690 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1877 |
| Strong, Frank | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1877 |

Source: 1900 Census of Population, Agriculture,

Source: 1900 Census of Population, Agriculture,
and Clay County Chattel Deed Books.

with the proportion of corn to cotton calculated from the agricultural census. The total mean ratio of acres in corn to acres in cotton was 1:2.64. Those farmers with a larger proportion of their land in cotton had a mean annual debt of \$99.95, while those with a larger proportion of their land in corn had a mean annual debt of \$74. From this difference it appears that increased cotton production, likely in attempts to pay off past debts, usually increased the trend or renter's debt to Trotter. Unfortunately, our records do not indicate the extent of control Trotter exercised over his "customers," although in his position as both landowner & furnisher he may have influenced or dictated both the kinds of proportions of crops grown.

Other factors affecting overall production and debt are household size and structure. Household members were divided into two groups, farming or not farming (Table 16), based on occupational listings in the 1880 Federal Population Census. Although more sensitive classifications and analysis is needed to discern clear patterns, factors such as the number of dependents too old or young to contribute significantly to farming, or involved in other activities, may account for part of the variation in both production levels and debts to the Vinton store.

Further information about the economic conditions of Vinton's black farmers comes from the dispute over the lands of Sherod Keaton. Henry Keaton, who had been a slave of Sherod's, lived on the Keaton land from 1868 until at least 1880; he rented about 25 acres in Section 19, Township 16, Range 8. Henry usually paid rent of about \$150. In 1879-1880 his rent was one-third of his corn and fodder and one-fourth of his cotton; this amounted to 1,180 pounds of cotton (worth .1175 per pound), 50 bushels of corn (worth .45 per bushel), and 300 pounds of fodder (worth 1.00 per hundred), for a total rent of \$165.15.⁵⁶

On Henry's farm were two cabins, one 15 ft by 16 ft and one 16 ft by 17 ft, both 8 ft high and of planking. He built one himself for \$14.00. He also bought a smokehouse from a neighbor and moved it there, and with some other farmers farther north he built two cotton houses in the middle of their fields. Both Henry Keaton and Mary Keaton Richardson kept up fences on the farm, and Henry had a well dug for \$37.50; water was not reached until the well was 50 ft deep. Other improvements included a stable and a corn crib. In addition to land he rented, Henry cultivated about 10 acres of sedge or marsh like land in Section 30, just south of his farm, free of charge.⁵⁷

Henry Keaton did much of the upkeep on fences and buildings on the old Sherod Keaton lands; in return he could process his cotton at the Keaton gin for no charge. According to Thomas Cogdell, who was helping his sister Mary Cogdell Keaton Richardson run the farm, Henry averaged 9 bales per year, with ginning charges usually about \$4 per bale. (This estimate could be high, as Henry's cotton was only 4 bales, see Table 16.) Sometimes Thomas Cogdell and other of Mary's brothers contributed their labor to Henry, as when they helped him roof his cabin.⁵⁸

Henry and other sharecroppers were sometimes paid for their labor on specific tasks, such as the construction and repair of fences. Thomas Cogdell estimated that each year about 500,000 rails were either purchased or split and used in fence repair, and he paid Henry Keaton

\$.75 per day for splitting, \$1.00 per day for putting up fences, and \$2.50 per day for hauling rails; Henry and Thomas each supplied one horse. This estimate was for around 1870, and at about the same time their neighbor, R. G. Miller, was paying \$.75 for splitting 100 rails.⁵⁹ There probably were other such tasks paid for by cash or wages of some sort, but most farming was conducted on the sharecropping or rental system. The latter allowed the tenant the most freedom as to what crops to plant, how to cultivate them, and so forth, but it also entailed greater responsibilities and a sharing of the risks of agricultural production.

Compared to blacks, the sample of white customers and tenants associated with W. E. Trotter is much smaller and the linkage with census records was not attempted. However, some undoubtedly went into debt, and the Vinton columns of the 1880s and 1890s detail many of the residents' other concerns. Agricultural interests were always very strong, and few columns fail to mention the weather, the state of the crops, or the anticipation of a planting or harvest. Cotton, corn, peas, sorghum, and fruits were major crops to be watched with interest, but cotton was the most prominent. The high prices immediately after the war (\$.45 per pound) led many to have high hopes for economic recovery through cotton production, but only a year later local residents were talking of hard times and the low price of \$.08 per pound. By 1875 they feared prices might drop to \$.05, and the boll weevil threat added to their anxiety. There were calls for reform, and the farmers around Vinton and Darracott formed a Grange chapter, in which several Vinton residents held office. Agricultural diversification was praised in the local Vinton columns, but cotton remained the major crop for most farmers. Still production for the cash market was supplemented by growing other crops and by other subsistence activities. The Vinton columns also frequently mentioned the luck of residents hunting turkey, quail, or rabbits, or fishing, and expounded the virtues of raising one's own food. The correspondent reported in February 1889:

One younger brother, J. M. Cogdell, says he can make cotton as cheap as any man as long as he can keep his smokehouse and corn crib at home. He killed five pigs last week, netting him 1200 pounds. He claims not to have bought any meat in six years. This is why he can raise such cheap cotton. [Cotton that year was expected to sell for \$.03 or \$.04 per pound.]

Of course, not all food and goods were produced at home, and the arrival of a new shipment or the pace of business at the Vinton store were also eagerly reported.⁶⁰

Trotter owned and operated the Vinton store for most of the second half of the nineteenth century. John Reagh may have been a clerk, partner, or both at different times. In 1860 he was living in the Trotter household. W. E. sold him some Vinton land in 1866, and Reagh bought the Vinton ferry in 1867. He probably ran the ferry until 1872, when he sold out to Trotter. Evidence of a possible partnership with Trotter is the fact that they were taxed jointly for several carriages and animals in 1871.⁶¹ Trotter ran his business mostly with the help of his sons, however, and several continued in the family occupation as merchants.

In 1870 Trotter's son James M. was living in his father's household, listed as a clerk. James later married Mollie Lann, whose father owned a large store in Aberdeen, and himself opened a business in nearby Muldon, Mississippi, where he described himself as a "cash dealer in general merchandise." In 1883 another son, W. T. Trotter, then about 29, was engaged as a salesman in the house of Franks and Brother in West Point. In 1884 John M. Hodo, grandson of W. E. and nephew of W. T., was working for his uncle in West Point, having just graduated from the University of Mississippi, but within a few weeks he had contracted a fatal fever. By 1888 another of Trotter's sons, Ben, had joined W. T.'s operation in West Point.

W. T. had begun his business with about \$4,500, and in 1886 he was taxed for \$7,000 worth of capital in merchandise. But his store did not prosper during the 1880s, and by 1887 he was financially "cramped." In 1888 several suits by his creditors were initiated, and from 1888 to 1892 a series of legal actions charged him and his father with conspiracy and fraud. The major charges were that in an attempt to avoid payment of W. T.'s debts and to secure additional money, the Trotters had conspired to order and receive large amounts of goods for the son's store. After receiving these by rail at West Point, they were said to have taken most to the Vinton store, by wagon at night, where they were intermingled with W. E.'s goods. The charge was that they hoped thereby to confuse the creditors and perhaps claim no knowledge of the goods, having made no entries on the books for such transfers.⁶³ The goods were ordered from wholesalers in such major cities as New York, New Orleans, Mobile, St. Louis, Chicago, and Atlanta. At least \$10,000 worth of goods were supposedly taken to the Vinton store.

In other suits, W. T. Trotter was charged with ordering goods for his store by using W. E.'s superior credit, apparently as some companies would no longer ship to the son. At one point in the court proceedings, W. E. was cleared of any conspiracy charges, but an appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court brought the ruling on 13 May that "the circumstances tending to show confederacy are too strong and too numerous and those supporting his good faith too few and inconclusive to warrant a decree in his favor."⁶⁴ W. E.'s property thus became liable for his son's debts and for the recent orders of goods in question. W. T. Trotter's property was sold at auction in September 1892, by which time W. E. and at least some of the family had moved to Louisville, Mississippi, about 45 miles southwest of Vinton. W. E. and other members of the Trotter family probably moved back to Clay County several years later, for by 1896 the West Point papers were again carrying items about family members. W. E. died in 1899 at the home of his daughter, Fannie Kirk, in Vinton.⁶⁵

Some of the Vinton store goods were likely confiscated during the 1888-1892 suits. For example, a suit by Mississippi Mills charged that at least \$1,500 worth of cloth had been taken to the Vinton store, and the ruling was that it was to be returned to them. In December 1891 W. E. Trotter gave R. C. Beckett and F. M. Beall, presumably his lawyers, a lien on all his mules and goods, as well as his two-story store at Vinton; he owed them \$3,000. Trotter also gave his son J. M. a lien on much of the store furniture for a debt of \$900, including one Lillie safe, three showcases, six counters, and two writing desks, one steam

boiler and engine, one 60-saw gin and feeder, one gin belt, one mill belt, and one Straub grist mill. One checkering piano was also included. The store itself may have been closed periodically in the early 1890s because of the legal proceedings.⁶⁶

Most of Trotter's property was purchased by W. Porter Rankin of Nashville, Tennessee, and this included the Vinton property in Section 36. It is not known whether the store goods and furnishings mentioned above were still there. Rankin visited the Vinton area periodically to hunt with local residents and check on his business interests, but he either employed someone to run the store or leased it out during 1892-1900. Trotter's rating with R. G. Dun and Company was solid in 1890, and agents still listed him with assets in the \$40,000-\$75,000 range. The Vinton store, as a subsidiary of Rankin Manufacturing Co., maker of pants, overalls, and so forth, was listed by Dun in the \$20,000-\$40,000 range, with a credit rating of "good" in 1899. In 1897-1898 and perhaps earlier, the store was run by George Neville, described in the Vinton column as "our popular grocer." He was from Jackson, Tennessee, where he visited frequently, and he may have come to Vinton to run the store for W. P. Rankin.⁶⁷

Rankin kept the Vinton property until January 1900, when he sold it to Henry D. Watson, I. The Watson family had bought part of the Cox land just to the south in 1896 and may have been living in the Trotter house prior to 1900. During that year the Vinton store was run by "Howard and Watson, Jr.," probably Van Howard and Henry Watson, II. (Van Howard may also have been a partner with George Neville previously.) From 1 February to 14 July Howard and Watson made purchases for the store from Watkins and Lowery; Robertson and Co.; Henderson Hd., Co.; A. Ruble and Co.; E. C. Chapman and Co.; Morgan Walker and Co.; Brinker, McVey, and Caruthers; B. H. Strong; T. S. Cunningham; and B. L. Smith. Most if not all of these were local businesses, although the specific purchases are not known. They totalled \$450.49. Howard and Watson also paid out in the first half of 1900 at least \$1.05 for freight and \$5.25 for hauling goods, probably from West Point or Strong, Mississippi.⁶⁸

The Watsons continued to operate a store at Vinton, but it was more of the commissary type for those farmers renting on the Watson land, and account books for 1901 and 1911 show no accounts with landowners. They must have continued to obtain goods from fairly local sources, and they would have been listed in the R. G. Dun and Company reports had they dealt with larger city wholesalers. There are no listings for Vinton in these reports after January 1900, the date of the last entry for Rankin and Co.⁶⁹

The most common charges at the Watson store around 1900 and 1901 were for meat and meal or cash advances. In 1911 they were for meat, meal, molasses, flour, hay, corn and oats, and sacking, although shoes, animals, tools such as hoes, and cotton seed were also common. Clothing was supplied occasionally from the store, as was medicine or tobacco. In addition, some services were financed by the store and charged to the renter's account. These included payment of taxes, fines, ferry fares, and doctor bills.⁷⁰

A ledger from the Watson's farming operation in 1911 provides some insight into the debt and consumption patterns of 20 renters, all of whom are black farmers. At the end of a season an individual's account would be totalled and 20 percent interest and rent added. Against this would be balanced any credits, such as cash payments or labor, or most often a credit for the season's cotton. The store credited these farmers with from 8.5 to 12 cents per pound for cotton, depending on the grade, and cotton production per account (usually per household) ranged from 1,443 to 8,202 pounds (bales were usually 400-500 pounds). In 1911 only three renters came out even or with a balance owed them from the Watsons. The total debt owed the Watsons was \$2,990.46, which, if evenly distributed, would be about \$150 per renter on an average account of about \$350 worth of goods and services for one year.⁷¹ Clearly, unless 1911 was an exceptionally bad year for cotton production, most of these farm families could have little hope of breaking even. The numbers in debt to Trotter during the 1870s and 1880s showed that many could not stay out of debt producing cotton in those days, and the accounts from his successor suggest that little had changed in 30 years.

The material possessions of most residents around Barton and Vinton were probably not extensive, and most surplus cash or credit likely went to the purchase of mules or other livestock. For most landless farmers, the acquisition of a mule might make the difference between sharecropping and renting, and livestock reduced dependence on the Vinton or other local stores. However, as can be seen in Table 16, having a mule, horse, or several animals in no way assured that a farmer would break even.

Livestock and luxury items such as clocks, watches, vehicles, and weapons were taxable, and records provide a look at this form of material wealth. Table 17 is constructed from tax records for Clay County in 1886, by district, and for District 1 of Clay County in 1902. For Vinton, District 1, 56 percent of the families had no taxable property in 1886, compared to 42 percent for the entire county and 27 percent for West Point. Of course, many farmers' wealth was in their land, but before the mid- to late 1890s most blacks in the Barton and Vinton area did not own land. At about this time, however, as some blacks began to acquire small parcels to the west, the distribution of other property also began to change somewhat. According to the 1902 Personal Assessment Roll for District 1 of Clay County, 34 percent, compared to 56 percent in 1886, were without livestock or luxury items. The percentage having up to \$100 worth of property (one mule or horse was usually around \$30) had nearly doubled, from 25 percent in 1886 to 48 percent in 1902. As with land, more farmers were beginning to acquire minimal holdings of livestock or other forms of personal property.

Social Structure

Colfax County was created in 1871 and approved in 1872, out of sections of Lowndes, Monroe, Chickasaw and Oktibbeha counties. West Point was the obvious county seat and in fact had lobbied for the new county. Named after the Republican legislator Robert Colfax, the name was changed to Clay County after Henry Clay in 1876, when the Democratic party regained power.⁷²

Table 17. Distribution of taxable property, 1886 and 1902, Clay County

| total personal assessments, in \$s | Dist. 2 1886 | | | City of West Point 1886 | | | Dist. 3 1886 | | | Dist. 4 1886 | | | Dist. 5 1886 | | | * Dist. 1 1886 | | | * Total 1886 | | | * Dist. 1 1902 | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|----|--|-------------------------------|----|--|-----------------|----|--|-----------------|----|--|-----------------|----|--|----------------------|----|--|--------------------|------|--|----------------------|------|--|
| | N | % | | N | % | | N | % | | N | % | | N | % | | N | % | | N | % | | N | % | |
| \$0 | 215 | 48 | | 65 | 27 | | 177 | 37 | | 275 | 42 | | 176 | 36 | | 286 | 56 | | 1194 | 42 | | 190 | 34 | |
| \$1-100 | 101 | 22 | | 90 | 37 | | 128 | 27 | | 204 | 31 | | 143 | 29 | | 125 | 25 | | 791 | 28 | | 265 | 48 | |
| \$101-200 | 39 | 09 | | 48 | 20 | | 102 | 21 | | 105 | 16 | | 86 | 18 | | 67 | 13 | | 447 | 16 | | 80 | 14 | |
| \$201-1000 | 58 | 13 | | 40 | 13 | | 61 | 13 | | 65 | 10 | | 74 | 15 | | 22 | 04 | | 320 | 11 | | 17 | 03 | |
| \$1001-5000 | 28 | 06 | | 4 | 03 | | 12 | 02 | | 7 | 01 | | 6 | 01 | | 5 | 01 | | 62 | 02 | | 1 | 00.2 | |
| \$over 5000 | 9 | 02 | | - | - | | - | - | | - | - | | - | - | | - | - | | 9 | 00.3 | | - | - | |
| \$total assesement | 189,588 | | | 36,526 | | | 46,889 | | | 59,297 | | | 59,351 | | | 38,982 | | | 430,633 | | | - | - | |
| N | 450 | | | 247 | | | 480 | | | 656 | | | 485 | | | 505 | | | 2823 | | | 553 | | |
| \$mean assessment | 421.31 | | | 147.88 | | | 87.68 | | | 90.39 | | | 122.37 | | | 77.19 | | | 152.54 | | | - | - | |

Sources: Clay County Personal Property Roll, 1886, Mississippi Department of Archives and History;
Clay County Personal Assessment Roll, 1902, Clay County Courthouse.

* District 1 is the Vinton district.

Vinton was in District or Beat 1 of Colfax County, as it is today. The first election precinct headquarters for District 1 was Sykes Shop, but by 1881 it was relocated to Vinton. It was moved back to Sykes Chapel in 1888 because "the voting place at Vinton (was) not a convenient location."⁷³ (In 1891, however, Vinton was still considered a sizable enough community to draw a crowd for a political rally.) Each county district had a representative on the Board of Supervisors, and the District 1 representatives were Ephram Strong from 1872-1878, W. H. Dukeminier from 1878-1879, and N. H. Howard from 1880-1895; T. H. Lawrence replaced Howard.⁷⁴ According to the Vinton column of 8 April 1898, Howard considered running again but either changed his mind or was not reelected.⁷⁵ As before, various residents were appointed to supervise elections and oversee road and bridge work. The names of those performing the latter functions appear in Table 18; both black and white were called upon for this duty. Most other positions, either elected or appointed, were filled by whites only.

After 1859, municipal corporate officials for the town of Barton were not elected, and the residents of Barton and Vinton were then represented by their supervisor, a justice of the peace, and a constable. Few election returns for this area and period have survived, but deed records reveal the names of some of the justices for the northern part of District 1. They include Jesse Dukeminier in 1866, John G. Baptist (mayor of West Point) as acting justice in 1869-1871, Charles H. Moore of Monroe County in 1868, J. W. Walker in 1871, T. C. Cogdell in 1872, F. G. Strong in 1873, Dr. R. G. Miller in 1876, W. H. Smith of Monroe County in 1877, D. Cox in 1878, W. M. Coltrane in 1878, N. H. Howard in 1881, T. C. Cogdell again in 1883-1885, W. R. Richardson in 1887, T. J. Dukeminier in 1896, and Henry Wilson from 1898-1903.⁷⁶ Wilson also acted as mayor of Vinton during this time.⁷⁷ One of the few surviving returns is from 1883, when 37 votes were cast at the Vinton precinct. N. H. Howard was elected supervisor, W. F. Young constable, and T. C. Cogdell justice of the peace, all with no opposition.⁷⁸ Young resigned as constable in 1885.⁷⁹

During the war, W. E. Trotter had tried to keep up postal services at Vinton, but they were discontinued in 1867. Vinton Post Office, in Clay County, was established on 21 December 1877 and discontinued in 1904. Postmaster appointments were William E. Trotter, 21 December 1877; Leuty J. Neville, 18 October 1892; Mary R. Neville, 19 August 1896; Emman E. Neville, 2 June 1898; Van A. Howard, 2 April 1900; Stephen H. Whately, 22 August 1900; Catherine Wilson, who declined, 27 December 1901; William B. Whately, 6 March 1902; and Trannie Wilson, 23 October 1902.⁸⁰ As had been the trend before the war, postmasters were often connected in some way with a store, as the first five listed were with the Vinton store, a part of which was used as the post office. According to the 1877 application for the reestablishment of the Vinton Post Office, the population to be supplied was about 500, and the office was to be located in the northwest quarter of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, presumably in W. E. Trotter's store.⁸¹ By 1902, when Trannie Wilson was postmaster, the location was in Section 25, where the Wilson family lived, just off the Columbus-Aberdeen Road. It was then a special office supplied out of Aberdeen.⁸² After the post office was discontinued in 1904, Rural Route #2 out of West Point handled the mail. This route entered Vinton from the northwest, down the Columbus-Aberdeen

Table 18. Road or Bridge commissioners and overseers, Barton Ferry and West Point, Barton and Palo Alto, Barton and Aberdeen, Barton and Vinton, Waverly and Vinton Roads.

| <u>Race</u> | <u>Person</u> | <u>Date</u> | <u>Race</u> | <u>Person</u> | <u>Date</u> |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|
| ? | Aycock, F. M. | 1893 | ? | Lanier, Wilson | 1889 |
| w | Baxter, D. W. | 1880 | | | 1890 |
| w | Baxter, R. E. | 1882 | | | 1891 |
| w | Beall, G. A. | 1882 | w | Lawrence, T. H. | 1897 |
| w | Benton, C. E. | 1897 | ? | Lindsey, James | 1887 |
| w | Brooks, J. P. | 1881 | ? | Lindsey, Sam E. | 1886 |
| | | 1884 | | | 1887 |
| | | 1886 | ? | McGee, H. T. | 1890 |
| w | Brooks, R. O. | 1890 | b | Matthews, Pascal | 1890 |
| | | 1897 | | | 1901 |
| w | Brooks, Thomas | 1887 | b | Mitchell, Wallace | 1881 |
| ? | Burges, S. H. | 1890 | w | Montford, W. E. | 1886 |
| | | 1891 | w | Moore, W. H. | 1890 |
| w | Burkitt, G. H. | 1890 | ? | Mozely, Van | 1890 |
| ? | Carson, Jesse | 1887 | w | Neville, George | 1897 |
| ? | Castleberry, Jesse | 1887 | w | Richardson, W. R. | 1885 |
| w | Cogdell, J. N. | 1886 | | | 1886 |
| | | 1887 | ? | Robertson, Clark | 1890 |
| | | 1897 | | | 1891 |
| w | Cogdell, Samuel | 1882 | w | Rose, S. E. F. | 1897 |
| w | Cogdell, T. C. | 1884 | b | Sears, John | 1881 |
| w | Collins, J. W. | 1880 | b | Staggs, Monroe | 1887 |
| w | Collins, Robert | 1888 | w | Stanley, R. S. | 1888 |
| w | Coltrane, Leonard | 1889 | b | Strong, Cary | 1890 |
| w | Coltrane, W. M. | 1873 | b | Thomas, Henry | 1887 |
| | | 1880 | | | 1889 |
| w | Cook, John | 1878 | w | Trotter, Ben | 1884 |
| b | Cottrell, Andrew | 1887 | w | Trotter, J. M. | 1878 |
| w | Cox, J. J. | 1881 | | | 1880 |
| | | 1882 | | | 1881 |
| w | Dukeminier, W. H. | 1878 | w | Trotter, W. E. | 1873 |
| | | 1884 | | | 1878 |
| w | Dukiminier, J. W. | 1881 | | | 1880 |
| ? | Gegan, Henry | 1891 | w | Walker, A. A. | 1894 |
| ? | Hampton, John | 1880 | w | Watkins, J. T. | 1897 |
| w | Hartin, Lee | 1882 | ? | Wesley, Steve | 1889 |
| w | Hartin, J. L. | 1881 | w | Whatley, Dick | 1891 |
| | | 1884 | ? | Whitfield, Thomas | 1891 |
| | | 1886 | w | Williams, Benj. | 1888 |
| ? | Haskins, J. O. | 1886 | | | 1889 |
| w | Heard, J. W. | 1893 | | | 1887 |
| w | Hines, S. W. | 1887 | ? | Williford, L. L. | 1887 |
| w | Hodo, W. M. | 1887 | ? | Williford, Mack | 1886 |
| ? | Holliday, Lot | 1878 | w | Yates, N. J. | 1880 |
| w | Howard, N. H. | 1881 | b | Young, Henry | 1889 |
| | | 1888 | | | |
| ? | Hulsey, Will | 1887 | | | |
| | | 1889 | | | |
| b | Keaton, Henry | 1881 | | | |
| b | Lancaster, Charles | 1891 | | | |

Source: Clay County Board of Supervisors
Minutes, information on race from
Federal Censuses or other sources.

Road, and headed back toward the west along the Barton Ferry and West Point Road, along the south border of Section 35, 25, and so forth, in Township 16, Range 7.⁸³

The extent to which Vinton residents were involved in Reconstruction government and activities is difficult to determine. There are records of local complaints to the Freedmen's Bureau concerning copies of leases or contracts, and a number of planters did register contracts with the bureau in 1865, including Jesse Dukeminier with 16 hands and 19 dependents, Joseph Fields with 17 hands and 13 dependents, and F. E. Harris with 15 hands and 13 dependents, all on the Cox plantation land just south of Vinton and in the Colbert area. Sherod Keaton of Vinton registered contracts with 15 hands and 12 dependents, and some of the larger planters, such as Elisha Strong, registered for contracts with up to 75 hands.⁸⁴

There was considerable Ku Klux Klan activity in nearby Monroe County, and although there is little record of any organized clashes in the Vinton neighborhood, residents may have participated around Monroe, Lowndes, and Clay counties. Letters of the Shaw family, just north of Vinton in Darracott, document the difficulties many residents were having adapting to the changed social and economic conditions.⁸⁵ In 1875 a group of eleven of the largest landowners from District 1 in Clay County put out notice that they would refuse to rent to or employ officers of a Negro Club, or anyone who had voted the Republican ticket. They further warned that they considered anyone who refused to cooperate with their action unworthy of public confidence and trust, and that they were prepared to furnish to the local papers the names of those unwilling to comply.⁸⁶ Such efforts of control must have been effective, for the Democrats were back in power in 1876.

Churches

After 1865 we find no reference to the Christian Church that had been at Colbert and Barton. With so many people leaving the area in the 1860s, those who remained probably attended one of the other churches (Figure 8). The Methodist Church at Vinton continued, and although its congregation was probably not large, there was sufficient interest for a two-week revival in August 1867.⁸⁷ The Prairie Chapel Methodist Charge was a traveling circuit out of Aberdeen and included many Monroe County communities, among them Prairie, Muldon, and Strongs. Strongs was the closest to Vinton, about five miles west. No member lists appear for the Vinton community proper, and many Vinton residents attended Paines Chapel at Strongs, which is still active today. Annual conference minutes mention a separate Vinton congregation on only one occasion, noting its contribution in 1888 of \$1.00 to the circuit. In 1887 and 1888, the circuit membership included several Vinton and Barton residents, among them Eva Coltrane, Lucy Natcher, W. E. Trotter, and several of his children. Many other members, such as the Dukeminiers, Thompsons, Williams, and Brooks, lived within or at the borders of the broader Vinton community.⁸⁸

Pilgrims Rest Baptist Church, which had been at the sites since at least 1846, probably became the strongest in the Vinton area during the

period 1865-1900; it is still active today under the name Bethel Baptist (Figure 8). During the late 1860s, revivals were frequent at Pilgrims Rest, and in September 1869 it added 30 new members. Another "protracted meeting" took place in fall 1878, and more new members were added.⁸⁹

In November 1876, William R. McGraw, A. P. Bradley, and J. W. Andrews formed a committee to represent Pilgrims Rest and met with a similar committee from Darracott's Trinity Baptist. They decided to unite the two churches, moving the Pilgrims Rest structure north to a point between the two communities. The united church was named Bethel Baptist and the Articles of Faith of Pilgrims Rest and the Constitution of Rules and Decorum of Trinity were adopted. The new location was a matter of some disagreement, some members preferring the site of the Old Shelter (very near the present location of Free Grace Baptist Church in Section 2, Township 16, Range 7) and others favoring the Andrews schoolhouse site in Section 11 of the same township and range, about one mile south of the Old Shelter and about three miles north of the old Pilgrims Rest church site. Despite some initial confusion over the title to the schoolhouse land, Bethel Church was finally erected there on a two-acre plot. Meetings were held at the Andrews schoolhouse on the first and third Sundays and Saturdays of the month until the Pilgrims Rest structure was moved in spring 1877, probably on 5 March. J. W. Bozeman became the new pastor, with P. C. Bradley assisting. Membership of Bethel Baptist in 1877 totaled 87 and included many of the families who remained in the Vinton community during this period, such as the Dukes, Cogdells, McGraws, and Smiths.⁹⁰

To what extent the churches were formally segregated is unclear, and the membership of the white churches was likely very fluid. Among the 87 members for 1878-1900 at Bethel Baptist were at least two blacks, but most blacks in the area probably attended Free Grace Missionary Baptist Church. Mrs. Sallie Andrews Sadler and Miss Anna Shaw helped organize this church at Darracott in 1869. The first services were held under a "brush arbor," but a building was soon erected. In 1905 this church, using much of the old building, was moved about one mile south to its present location in Section 2, Township 16, Range 7, near the Old Shelter.⁹¹ Other black churches included Concord I and II, located in the prairie about three miles west of Barton and Vinton, nearer the Strongs community. Their origins are unclear, but a black school was apparently held at one of them in 1870, so they are of considerable age.⁹²

A black church even closer to the townsites proper is London Chapel American Methodist Episcopal Church, located in the northwest quarter of Section 1, Township 17, Range 7, and it is still active. The church was originally deeded this land in 1897, although the title appears to have been uncertain until about 1901 because of several mortgages.⁹³ About one mile west of London Chapel is Town Creek Church, but its origins have not been subject to extensive documentary investigations.

Schools

We do not know the condition of the school at Barton during and immediately preceding the Civil War. In fact, after the early 1850s, there are few references to the Barton Academy. However, in 1870 there was still a school designated as "at Barton," although its location was given as Section 36, Township 16, Range 7. This was one of the two white schools in Beat 5 of Lowndes County; the other was located in West Point, according to the Board of School Directors Minutes for that year.⁹⁴ James M. Collins, formerly of Barton and at that time of West Point, was the beat's representative on the school board.⁹⁵ In 1871 Trotter and Reagh of Vinton were paid \$93.00 for lumber for the local school, and Bardine Richardson of Barton was paid \$15.00 for the March 1871 rent of a house at Barton. In 1872 Richardson rented a house to the school board for \$50.00 for six months. The black school for the Barton subdistrict at that time was at Town Creek, with 175 students. In 1870, there were 39 white students in the Barton district.⁹⁶

With the creation of Colfax County in 1872, James M. Collins resigned his position with the Lowndes County School Board.⁹⁷ In settling the affairs between the Lowndes and Colfax county governments, the school board agreed to turn over all the Subdistrict 14 funds, less warrant due, to Colfax County. In calling for outstanding warrants, they received two for \$50.00 from W. H. Coltrane for his services as a teacher at Barton in April and June.⁹⁸

The school building and its location at Barton may not have been satisfactory, for the new county soon sought a new location. In April 1873, W. E. Trotter granted a 50 x 75 yard parcel of land along the east line of the southwest quarter of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, to the Colfax Board of School Commissioners for \$6.00. In June he also granted them a parcel 80 x 40 in the extreme northwest corner of the northeast quarter of that section for \$26.00.⁹⁹ Enrollment at this time is not known, but in July 1878 a petition of T. C. Cogdell, who lived in the northern end of Vinton, for an additional school in District 1 was rejected for lack of sufficient pupils. In June 1879, the board ordered that "the schoolhouse in the Vinton neighborhood be removed to a more central position to wit on the grounds of the Pilgrims Rest Church or in the neighborhood thereof."¹⁰⁰ The same order also established another white school south of Town Creek in the Waverly area.

As noted above, reference to a two-acre block of land in the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of Section 26, Township 16, Range 7, suggests that Pilgrims Rest may have stood there in the 1850s. Information from the Oral History Program informants places the Vinton school more likely in the northeast corner of the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 25, but these two areas are adjacent and so represent a discrepancy of a half-mile at most.¹⁰¹ The northern section of the widely dispersed Vinton community was within the bounds of Monroe County; fortunately, school warrant books remain extant for as early as the 1870s. There were schools at Free Grace Baptist Church, the Concord churches (one had been in Monroe County before the formation of Colfax), and Paines Chapel; there was also the Andrews School, presumably near Bethel Baptist Church.¹⁰²

The Lowndes County Board of School Directors hired W. M. Coltrane to teach the second class at Barton School in 1871 for \$70.00 per month.¹⁰³ During 1873, 1874, and 1875, S. M. Griffin was teaching the second grade (secondary) at Vinton School No. 12, which was the Vinton school for blacks, for \$40.00 per month. At the same time, Miss Carrie Alexander taught the primary classes at Vinton School No. 32, receiving \$60.00 per month. During 1874 and 1875, W. M. Coltrane also taught the primary grade at Vinton School, and J. E. Kennedy filled this position in 1876.¹⁰⁴ In spring 1887, Ida Trotter Dukeminier taught at the Vinton school, and in November of that year Julia Johann of West Point began teaching at Vinton. As did most nonlocal teachers, she resided with one of the Vinton families during the week.¹⁰⁵ Barton resident N. J. Yates taught in March 1877 and May 1877, but it is unclear at which school.¹⁰⁶

In April 1891, the Board of Supervisors approved \$50.00 for the building of a schoolhouse near the Griffin place in District No. 1. S. W. Griffin had been a teacher at the Vinton black school in the mid-1870s, and the Griffin place was located along the southern portion of Section 35, Township 16, Range 7.¹⁰⁷ At this time, the board also approved \$75.00 in repairs by W. E. Trotter et al. for the white school at Vinton.¹⁰⁸ J. C. Morris was paid \$6.20 for repairs for the Vinton school, and J. J. Williams received \$1.60 for a lock and hinges; the West Point Manufacturing Company furnished lumber.¹⁰⁹

Public School Records for Clay County indicate the areas the school served. In 1891 the white school at Vinton was located in Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, and drew pupils from Sections 25-27 and 34-36 of that township and range; Section 31 of Township 16, Range 8 (site of Barton); Sections 1-3 of Township 17, Range 7; and Section 6, Township 17, Range 8 (site of Colbert); about ten square miles in all. The other schools in District 1, Taylor and Waverly, were abolished because of low enrollment. The main black school for the Vinton area was the one at Town Creek, located in Section 34, Township 16, Range 7.¹¹⁰ At the annual meeting of the school board in 1892, the Vinton district was extended north and west, and the most southern section was removed to the Stanley district; the Vinton district now included about 20 square miles, with the schoolhouse cited as on the southeast quarter of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7. The Waverly district seems to have been reestablished that year.

Town Creek was established as the black school for the Vinton area, with the schoolhouse now on Section 25, Township 16, Range 7. The Fields school, located in Section 12, Township 17, Range 7, served the blacks in the southern portion of the sites.¹¹¹ There were no changes in these districts in 1893 or 1894, but the 1892 white Vinton district seems to have been too large, for in 1895 the westernmost nine square miles were combined with another section to create White School District, with a school on the northeast corner of Section 29, Township 16, Range 7.¹¹² In 1910 this territory was returned to the Vinton district.¹¹³ At the 1895 session, the school board heard and granted a petition by S. J. Neville and others, including one of the Cogdells of Vinton, to move the Vinton schoolhouse to a more convenient place, more suitable for the entire district.¹¹⁴ No location is specified, but the removal was probably to the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 25, Township 16, Range 7, where residents who were pupils at

the turn of the century remember it being (this is the same general area in which it may have been located in the 1870s). In July 1911, the school board agreed to furnish the necessary materials and a mechanic to build a new schoolhouse, 18 x 24 feet, on the site of the old Vinton school.¹¹⁵ Reports from 1890 to 1907 all describe the school as a wood or frame structure, the value of the building and lot varying from \$400 in 1890, to \$100 in 1895, to \$150 in 1906, most estimates being around \$100.¹¹⁶

These early records also give us an idea of the kinds of school books in use at the time. In 1890 W. M. Coltrane was the district representative to the textbook committee.¹¹⁷ The books for 1890-1891 were as follows:

1. Reed's Word Lessons
2. McGuffey's 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th revised Readers
3. Butler's Elementary and Complete Geographies
4. Whites' "1st Book" and "new Complete" Arithmetic
5. Eggleston's "1st Book of American History" and "History of the United States"
6. Reed and Kellogg's "Graded Lessons in English" and "History of the United States"
7. "Barne's Language Lessons"
8. Steeles "Natural Philosophy"
9. "Eclectic Guide to Health"
10. Spencerian Copy from no's 1 to 7 inclusive.

A similar set of books in 1895 came to \$16.65.¹¹⁸

There were probably one or two teachers at the Barton and later Vinton schools during this last quarter of the nineteenth century. During the 1890s, several people taught at Vinton, but usually only one during any one year. Most teachers were local residents, but some came from other parts of the country, and some teachers from the Vinton area taught elsewhere as well. From 1890 to 1907, Vinton teachers included W. M. Coltrane, Edith Richardson, Georgia Wilson, Katie Watkins, Annie Tribble, and Berdie Champion. At the Town Creek school, where most of the black children attended, the teachers were Andrew Lenoir, Cary Strong, Carrie E. Miller, Robert Mosely, and Tom Mosely. Because the enrollment was larger, the Town Creek school also had several assistants, including Amanda Dunlap, Mary Morten, Maria Williams, and Mary Robertson.¹¹⁹ There were usually from two to four teachers and assistants at the Town Creek school each year.

These teachers had to pass their annual examination in order to be licensed to teach.¹²⁰ Salaries were paid monthly and probably in relation to years of experience as well as by school, grades taught, and the number of days school was in session. For example, Mary Gosa received \$40.00 for four months at the Vinton school in 1892-1893; the salary for W. M. Coltrane and others in the later years of that decade was usually \$30.00 to \$35.00 per month. At the Town Creek school, the main teacher, Andrew Lenoir, received in the range of \$30.00 per month, while other teachers and assistants there were paid from \$12.00 to \$20.00.¹²¹ We have the records of the county school board's calculations of average

teacher salaries for 1895-1900. These figures may be skewed from lumping teachers and assistants together, the latter having a lower salary, but it seems that white teachers averaged considerably more than blacks and males more than females, as seen in Table 19.

School was in session for 90 days a year from 1887-1890, 100 days from 1891-1892, and 80 days from 1892-1896. The year usually began in November and ended in March. Attendance was quite a bit below enrollment, and the Vinton school went from a low of seven from 1895-1898 to an average of 20 pupils in 1899. Total enrollment ranged from 33 in 1889 to 13 in 1900. At the beginning of the decade, there were many

Table 19. Average monthly salaries of county teachers.

| | Male | Female | |
|-----------|-------|--------|-------|
| 1895-1896 | 22 | 19.19 | black |
| 1896-1897 | 38.71 | 31.62 | white |
| | 22.85 | 17.18 | black |
| 1898-1899 | 41.63 | 29.91 | white |
| | 20.75 | 15.09 | black |
| 1899-1900 | 38.97 | 30.14 | white |
| | 19.55 | 14.70 | black |

Source: Public School Record 1890-1903, Summary of Term Reports, Clay County Courthouse.

more male students, but by the turn of the century the sexes were balanced.¹²² Attendance was undoubtedly affected by the necessity for children to help their parents in agricultural pursuits. Eva Coltrane, the Vinton correspondent to the West Point paper, remarked in March 1887 that "the school will be lessened in number soon, as some of the pupils will have to discontinue. The busy time of the farmers is near at hand."¹²³ At the Town Creek school, average attendance was 137 in 1889 and usually ranged from 85 to 100 during the 1890s. In comparison to Vinton, the male/female ratio at Town Creek was more nearly even, with females often slightly more numerous.¹²⁴ These statistics probably reflect a higher demand for the labor of young black males in the largely sharecropping system and the higher expectations for young white males if they were educated. Similar records have not survived for the earlier years of Colfax-Clay County, but a state census for 1880 lists 30 white children (13 males and 17 females) between the ages of six and 20 attending school in the Vinton district. The corresponding figures for blacks were 76, 29 males and 47 females, in the Town Creek school district.¹²⁵

Some of the Vinton children may have attended private schools in Aberdeen, West Point, or elsewhere. W. E. Trotter's daughter Lucy at age 15 went to such a school in Aberdeen in 1880, and his daughter Fannie attended school in Holly Springs in 1896. John M. Hodo, his grandson, attended school at Vinton, West Point, and Aberdeen before going to the University of Mississippi at Oxford.¹²⁶

Social ties in Vinton remained strong during this period. The Masonic Lodge continued until 1892, although we do not know how active it was.¹²⁷ As mentioned above, there were frequent revivals at the churches, and spiritualism and seances were popular. In 1869 neighbors from Vinton would gather at the Shaw's in Darracott, as Bollie Shaw was said to be the best medium around.¹²⁸ The Vinton and Darracott Grange was organized by February 1876, with the meeting hall opposite the Lebanon Methodist Church of Darracott. Charles H. Moore was chairman and Bolivar Shaw secretary, and a reading club was organized to meet on Saturday nights.¹²⁹ William H. Dukeminier of Vinton was one of the Deputy Lecturers for 1879 and 1880.¹³⁰

Possibly because of optimism over the reinstatement of a Democratic government, 1876 seemed to mark a resurgence of parties and social events in the area. Vinton, Darracott, and Aberdeen residents gathered at the Grange Hall, at Mrs. Smith's, or at Mr. Charlie Moore's for dancing, singing, and visiting.¹³¹ Vinton fielded a baseball team in fall 1878 and challenged the Lebanon club. In August 1882 the Vinton Gun Club challenged the American Field Gun Club of Aberdeen to a match. They invited their Aberdeen and West Point friends and promised barbeque, music, speeches, and 500 birds for the occasion; a prize was offered of "an amount sufficiently interesting to make the boys do their very best."¹³² Political meetings were still held in the area, one in 1878, at which Captain Field and Captain Sykes spoke, and one in 1891.¹³³ On more than one occasion, the Trotter hosted a "jolly crowd" of neighbors and friends.¹³⁴ Often the news from Vinton concerned the visit of a relative or friend from as close as Aberdeen or West Point, but the arrival of less frequent visitors from afar caused even more excitement and was certainly of interest to the whole community. Travelers, salesmen, and drummers were also sources of news and entertainment, as evidenced by Eva Coltrane's report in the Vinton column that "on Tuesday night [in March 1887] two strangers stopped with us, and being good talkers, like drummers generally are, we had a lively time. They were on their way from Columbus to Aberdeen."¹³⁵

The strength of community bonds can be seen in the Vinton column. One resident's illness or accident became the concern of many, or a courtship was occasion for a little humor at the couple's expense. But there may have also been a degree of isolation and loneliness in the Vinton neighborhood as expressed by young Eva Coltrane in 1887.

Vinton is about ten miles from West Point, two and one half miles north of east.

What a great blessing a post office is even without the advantage and privileges of a town or city.

There are so few white people living in our section that living here borders on confinement. It might suit one who does not like to be crowded, but one of my age [then 15 or

16], with a strong desire to see a great deal of the world, suffers a little sometimes, like the inmates of a cage.

Were I qualified to write an interesting letter it would not be a batch of locals.

We have no landings in use, no depots and but little visiting; hence the advantages of these things furnishes no material for a Vinton correspondent. I do not mean to complain, but merely to apologize for having but little in way of local items to write.¹³⁶

Summary

By 1860 Barton was seriously threatened as a viable commercial center and throughout the remainder of the century completed its transformation to an agricultural community. Vinton, perhaps sometimes overshadowed earlier by Barton, now became the commercial and social center for the townsite area. By 1870 most Barton families had left for West Point, Columbus, and beyond, and while some new residents were coming in, migration from other states slowed considerably during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s. By 1900 most residents were native Mississippians. More blacks probably moved into the Barton townsite during this period, although much black settlement was still concentrated in the prairie lands to the west. At Vinton there was perhaps less change, and the Trotter, Keaton, and Duke families remained prominent. Toward the turn of the century, new residents, both relatively local and from other areas, again began to add new faces to the Vinton community.

In terms of transportation, the coming of the railroad to West Point, which had proved fatal for Barton, fulfilled its expectations there, and West Point grew rapidly. Many Barton and Vinton residents were now oriented toward West Point or Aberdeen for nonlocal goods and services, whereas in the past they had dealt more with Columbus. The river remained an important resource, both in terms of food and transportation, but it could no longer justify or support the small commercial center Barton residents had once anticipated. Ferry crossings for the Columbus-Aberdeen road remained important, however, and locally the road systems and access to crossings remained competitive.

While transportation changes had a great effect, especially on Barton, life at all of the townsites was enormously changed by the Civil War and emancipation. The economic and social readjustments that followed were neither small nor easily accomplished for blacks or whites. As far as we can tell, many local blacks remained and farmed by the sharecropping system, although some did rent land.

Production of cotton for the market continued to be the mainstay of the local economy, but the source of purchased goods changed drastically. Prior to 1860 most outside goods came via the river from Mobile, handled by the cotton factors or commission merchants there, or through the Barton and Vinton stores, also largely supplied by Mobile. The decline in river traffic, increase in rail usage, and demise of the factorage system all contributed to the rise of the rural furnishing merchant, supplied often by midwestern or northeastern wholesalers. As the major source of both credit and goods for at least 20 square miles,

W. E. Trotter built up his business at Vinton to rival or surpass most West Point merchants, and his landholdings exceeded those of many antebellum planters. Trotter's holdings passed largely unbroken to an absentee landlord in the 1890s and to Henry D. Watson in 1900.

Most of the Vinton store customers, black and white, clearly were caught in a cycle of crop liens and debts, and it was not until near the turn of the century that some began to own some property, both real and personal. In 1880 most farmers devoted at least 2.5 acres of cotton for every one of corn. However, analysis of their accounts suggests that the greater the proportions of cotton acreage, the greater the debt. In 1886 56 percent of the Vinton precinct population had no taxable property. By 1902 more residents had moved into the category of having up to \$100 of taxable personal property, and some renters and sharecroppers were beginning to acquire parcels ranging from 40 to 80 acres. Even these changes were marked by uncertainty, and many did not hold the land for more than several years due to mortgage defaults.

Despite hard economic times, residents retained a rich sense of community. After the last group of Barton selectmen stepped down in 1859, there were no local governing bodies, but justices of the peace provided some services, and many residents served in the Clay County government. A Post Office was available at Vinton until 1904, mostly at the Vinton store, and both black and white residents had their respective schools and churches. In the early years of settlement, associations with Columbus had been strong, but with the growth of West Point, Vinton shifted its ties there and to Darracott, about six miles north. Activities such as barbeques and political meetings both expressed and reinforced the sense of a Vinton community, and residents felt optimistic that their area was "on the boom" as the century closed. Throughout the nineteenth century the Vinton store served as a physical center for the Vinton community. The store under Henry D. Watson, however, was more of a commissary for his renters, and when rural free mail delivery began in 1906, the Vinton store probably lost many of its former functions and much of its significance. It eventually became a residence. Columns in the West Point paper in the nineteen teens indicate a continuation of the ties of friends and relatives, and up to the present these remain the major substance of the Vinton community.

Looking back over the history of Barton and Vinton, and to some extent Colbert, their differences seem more than temporal and in many ways their history well illustrates the processes of river town formation and decline presented in the regional studies of Doster and Weaver (1981) and Weaver and Doster (1982).

Weaver and Doster (1982:103) stress the speculative nature of many river port towns and the familiar story of "unfulfilled expectations." This is precisely the picture that emerges from both Colbert and Barton. Colbert may have been more of a speculative venture, and 1844 tax sales indicate that the 1847 flood may have finished off a town that was at least going through a reduction and readjustment process, if not a decline. Barton may have been conceived along more realistic lines since more of the platted area was sold, but many merchants there also enjoyed only a brief tenure. Since it was not a county seat, Barton could survive neither the impact of the railroad and subsequent reorientation of

the transportation network nor the economic and other changes associated with the Civil War. The 1857 flood originally thought to have played a large role in Barton's destruction probably damaged the eastern side of town, but it was certainly not the major factor in the town's demise.

Weaver and Doster (1982:168) relate what they call the reduction in the cultural significance of towns to the plantation-factor economy, which often bypassed local merchants to deal directly with large cities such as Mobile. Eventually, detailed analysis of the many surviving accounts from Barton stores will better document the function of the stores for various residents and planters, but initial investigation supports their assessment.

In comparison to Barton, Vinton was never more than what Weaver and Doster (1982:135) call a rural hamlet; unlike Barton, it proved flexible and successful in handling changes in the economic and transportation systems. Clearly, with its main business street parallel to the river, Barton was oriented to river traffic and trade. Vinton also had an important ferry and storage facility near the river, but the store complex itself was oriented farther from the river than were those at Barton, directly on the Columbus-Aberdeen Road. Vinton's store continued to be a center of activity after Barton's decline, and in the post-bellum economy it became a very powerful force in Barton and Vinton residents' lives.

Our view about the differences between Barton and Vinton is somewhat new. Much of the interpretation and analysis found in various Tombigbee River Multi-Resource District documents has focused on the similar, flood-related, and sequential settlement of the communities. Thus the townsites presented encapsulated and separated occupations especially conducive to investigating temporal change. Subsequent developments and research in all aspects of the project have altered some of these original ideas. Some circumstances, such as the lack of comparable archaeological samples from Colbert or of archival material on blacks before the 1860s, are unfortunate. Others, such as the discovery of functional differences between Barton and Vinton and the role of economic and transportation changes in the demise of Barton, actually make the sites of greater interest and potential than some of our original conceptions might have suggested.

It is hoped that these chapters attest to the strength of community studies in general and suggest that future analysis will be fruitful. In addition to providing greater detail and a test for the more general or regional studies that they complement, in-depth studies of communities may present nearly complete samples of many record types. Thus, they offer considerable potential for addressing the nature of variability within a community. For example, we have data on virtually all of the Barton stores and some kinds of economic information on all residents. Such variability is important in understanding the context into which specific sites fit and for making comparisons between or among communities. Another advantage is the perspective that a community study provides when looking at the individual in relation to society or to the often impersonalized forces that characterize many generalizations about change. By linking the various types of records, each

separate piece of information becomes more understandable in the total context of that individual's situation, and we can even begin to understand some of the desires and motivations behind the fragments of action the records--archival, archaeological, and otherwise--may indicate. We can investigate the decisions individuals made and how they both created and reacted to the larger processes of change that stand out more clearly at first glance.

As mentioned above, these chapters present only very preliminary analysis; more topical and theoretical studies should be conducted for much of the archival material. Many types of information, such as store accounts and economic data on many individuals, do not lend themselves to the narrative format and purpose. Analysis of some of this material, in conjunction with specific histories of the mitigated Barton sites, should continue to provide insight into nineteenth century life in the upper Tombigbee Valley.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Tables constructed from Federal Population Censuses, Lowndes County, Mississippi by linking knowledge of land ownership and occupation to the census enumeration sequences; for 1860 see Elliott, Cult. Res., pp. 74-76.
2. McClurken and Anderson, pp. 28 (George Howard), 219, 226, (Homer Tomlinson), 823 (Emmett Lenoir), and 939 (Ethel Watson Wallace).
3. Deed, J. M. Collins to R. J. Conner, 9 November 1867, Clay County Deed Book G:214-215.
4. These are recorded in Clay County Deed Book E:122, 129-130. One is the sale of Section 31, Township 16, Range 8 (Barton) to the State of Mississippi for \$1.62 in 1867 by S. F. Kendrick, Tax Collector of Monroe County. The other is the resale of the same property by the state to Mrs. Bettie Woodmanse, for \$4.84. The state, however, refused to grant a title to Woodmanse, in the case that a paramount title might be claimed within five years. Such must have been the case, for there is no subsequent mention of Mrs. Woodmanse relating to Section 31. She was likely related to J. B. Woodmanse, who was at that time the chancery clerk of Monroe County, as part of the reconstruction government. He was from Indiana, and according to Puckett's Reconstruction in Monroe County (Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Volume XI, p. 115-124) not very popular locally.
5. Monroe County Chancery Case 163, Guardianship of Esther Keaton; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #893; deed, Mrs. E. V. Gaston to J. R. Johnson, 26 January 1866, Clay County Deed Book E:613-614; deed, J. R. Johnson to W. V. Futrell, 20 March 1866, Clay County Deed Book E:615-616; marriage, 14 August 1866, Lowndes County Marriage Book 5:406, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 85; deed, W. V. Futrell to George C. Brown, 3 January 1867, Clay County Deed Book H:115-116; deed, W. V. Futrell to S. A. Richardson, 16 December 1867, Clay County Deed Book G:211-212; The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Mississippi, 1870s (see under Aberdeen).
6. Deed, S. E. and N. J. Yates to A. S. and M. H. McDonald, 26 October 1869, Clay County Deed Book G:514-525; deed, A. S. and M. H. McDonald to Wheeler Watson, 6 December 1870, Clay County Deed Book G:566-567; 1870 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #30/23 and 1/1 of Township 16.
7. Deed, Wheeler Watson to Mary E. Coltrane, 1 January 1875, Clay County Deed Book 4:456; deed, B. Richardson to Mary E. Coltrane, 29 December 1879, Clay County Deed Book 10:425-426.
8. Clay County Personal Property Roll, 1886, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Vinton column, West Point Leader, 1880s.

9. Deed of trust, W. M. Coltrane, et ux. to J. D. Hutchinson, trustee, 11 February 1878, Clay County Deed Book 9:99; deed of trust, W. M. Coltrane to J. D. Hutchinson, 19 January 1880, Clay County Deed Book 10:420; deed, W. M. Coltrane, et ux. to H. D. Hutchinson, 27 February 1886, Clay County Deed Book 16:130.
10. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #890, #902; deed, Richard Harrison to Wm T. Marshall, 27 February 1860, Clay County Deed Book F:557-558; deed, Wm T. Barry to Wm Marshall, 5 January 1869, Clay County Deed Book H:253-254; deed, L. M. Cox and J. J. Cox to M. E. Marshall, 3 March 1860, Clay County Deed Book F:558-559; 1880 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Mississippi, #534; deed, D. A. Marshall to H. Watson, 16 October 1899, Clay County Deed Book 31:405.
11. Deed, L. C. Natcher to Jan Uithoven, 10 November 1915, Clay County Deed Book 45:352; deed, Wm Coltrane, Jr. to Jan Uithoven, 21 November 1913, Clay County Deed Book 43:203.
12. See note 9; deed, Mrs. E. N. Hutchinson, et al. to L. Marx, 13 October 1923, Clay County Deed Book 50:584; deed, L. Marx to J. E. Seitz, 12 September 1928, Clay County Deed Book 53:162; deed, J. E. Seitz to J. B. Walker, 15 February 1932, Clay County Deed Book 55:99; deed, Bertie May Walker to A. D. Simmons, et al., 31 May 1950, Clay County Deed Book 71:324.
13. Deed, F. A. Sharp to Annie L. Cogdell and Daniel Cogdell, 13 August 1906, Clay County Deed Book 39:554; deed, Annie L. Cogdell to Jan Uithoven, 7 November 1913, Clay County Deed Book 43:128; deed, Jan Uithoven to Z. T. Ellis, 8 April 1919, Clay County Deed Book 47:196.
14. Land Abstracts, Section 31, Township 16, Range 8, Clay County Courthouse.
15. Deed, W. A. Smith and W. H. Smith to W. E. Trotter and Wm Moore, 26 June 1855, Clay County Deed Book F:440-441; deed, M. L. Strong et ux. to W. E. Trotter, 1 November 1858; Clay County Deed Book F:234; Land Abstracts for much of Township 16, Range 7, Section 2, Township 17, Range 7, Section 24, Township 16, Range 5, Clay County Courthouse; Sectional Index, Township 16, Range 19, Lowndes County Courthouse.
16. Land Abstract, Section 35, Township 16, Range 7; marriage, Ida E. Trotter and James A. Dukeminier, 20 November 1874, Clay County Marriage Book 1:389; Clay County Chancery Case 569, Jimmie Dukeminier versus Ida Dukeminier; Clay County Chancery Case 754, Guardianship of Jimmie Dukeminier; Clay County Chancery Case 695, Estate of Ida T. Dukeminier.
17. Deed of trust, W. E. Trotter to A. R. Shattuck, trustee, 17 November 1887, Clay County Deed Book 17:349; list of property owned by W. E. Trotter, Clay County Chancery Case 759, Cavanaugh, Banery and Co. versus W. T. and W. E. Trotter, Clay County Courthouse;

Minnerly, Oral Historical..., 1982, Figures 15-17; Rankin's residence and business in Nashville established in The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Mississippi, 1900 and the Vinton column, West Point Leader, 8 January 1897.

18. See Chapter 2 on early Keaton settlement; Clay County Chancery Cases 484, 277, 278, J. H. Keaton versus M. M. Richardson, Clay County Courthouse.
19. See Chapter 2 for personal information on Miller; Militia Roll of Lowndes County, Beat 5, Record Group 33, Volume 14, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Clay County Chancery Case 440, W. E. Trotter versus Dr. R. G. Miller.
20. See Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary...., 1982, Figures 12-18; deed, A. C. Cox to H. D. Watson, 12 June 1894, Clay County Deed Book 25:436.
21. Most information from the Federal Population Censuses, which give birthplaces for residents, see 1900 Federal Population Census, Monroe County, Darracott Precinct, #419, Ben Bradley and #59, Morgan Thraillkill; 1900 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Prairie View Precinct, #52, Nat Howard and #5, Henry Wilson; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, #903, Sarah Cogdell; McClurken and Anderson, pp. 22, 97 (George Howard).
22. Vinton column, 8 January 1897, 19 February 1897, 8 April 1897, 4 June 1897, and 11 June 1897, West Point Leader; 1900 Federal Population Census, Clay County Mississippi, Prairie View Precinct, #325, C. E. Benton.
23. See Land Abstracts, especially for Section 33-35, Township 16, Range 7 and Section 1-4, Township 17, Range 7, where mortgages accompany almost all transactions and turnovers from unsatisfied mortgages are frequent.
24. Deed, Mr. F. L. Watson to Larry Keaton, 26 February 1897, Clay County Deed Book 28:597; deed, W. R. Richardson to Wm Keaton, 6 June 1901, Clay County Deed Book 33:104.
25. McClurken and Anderson, pp. 497-553 (Ethel Smith Watson), 930-970 (Ethel Watson Wallace).
26. Deed, A. C. Cox to H. D. Watson, 6 December 1894, Clay County Deed Book 25:436; deed of trust, H. D. Watson to J. J. McClellan, 6 December 1894, Clay County Deed Book 26:433; Land Abstracts, Section 36, Township 16, Range 7; McClurken and Anderson, pp. 497-533 (Ethel Smith Watson), 930-970 (Ethel Watson Wallace); deed, W. P. Rankin to H. D. Watson, 1 January 1900, Clay County Deed Book 31:617.
27. S. B. and Co. Cotton Receiving Ledgers, Vol. 1878-1879, pp. 44, 356, 358, Vol. 1877-1878, pp. 378, (call #Z, 154v), Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.

28. Depositions of Henry Keaton, 22 November 1879, Clay County Chancery Case 278, James H. Keaton versus M. M. Richardson.
29. Report of operations, July 1897, Record Group 77, Office of the Chief of Engineers, District Office, Mobile, (Entry 1239, Box 426), Federal Archives and Records Center, East Point, Georgia.
30. The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Mississippi, 1866-1877.
31. Clay County Chancery Cases 757, W. H. Lyon et al. versus W. T. Trotter et al.; Tapp Leather and Co. et al. versus W. T. Trotter; 763, Thurber, Whyland and Co. versus W. T. Trotter and G. W. Franks et al.; 775, Memphis Grocery et al. versus W. T. Trotter et al.; 776, G. W. Woodruff and Co. et al. versus W. T. Trotter et al.; 898, Mississippi Mills versus C. W., W. T., and W. E. Trotter, Clay County Courthouse.
32. Deed, J. Y. and M. Hicks to Susan E. Littleton, 6 February 1860, Clay County Deed Book E:508-509; deed, Susan E. Littleton to J. J. Cox, 30 March 1863, Clay County Deed Book E:548; deed, J. J. Cox to Julia A. Cox, 23 March 1865, Clay County Deed Book E:581; marriage, N. J. Yates and Susan Littleton, 12 April 1864, Lowndes County Marriage Book 5:182, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 277.
33. Deed, James B. Bell, Sheriff to Jno. Reagh, 5 February 1867, Clay County Deed Book G:187-188.
34. Deed, James B. Bell, Sheriff to S. E. Yates, 5 February 1867, Clay County Deed Book G:185-186; see also pp.
35. See note 6.
36. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 1 July 1872, Clay County Courthouse.
37. Deed, S. Kline, Sheriff to Jno. Reagh, 6 June 1870, Clay County Deed Book 6:467-468.
38. Deed, Jno. Reagh to W. E. Trotter, 25 May 1872, Clay County Deed Book 1:253-254.
39. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 13 November 1878.
40. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 9 March 1881, 15 March 1881, 17 March 1881.
41. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 5 January 1893, 8 March 1893; deed, S. E. Yates to F. A. Sharp, 7 August 1894, Clay County Deed Book 24:593.
42. 1900 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Mississippi, #32.

43. 1880 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Mississippi, Prairie View Precinct, #524 and #526.
44. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 3 August 1897, 7 September 1897, 9 September 1897.
45. Announcement, 11 September 1912, West Point Leader.
46. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 1 July 1895, 8 November 1898.
47. Deed, W. M. Coltrane, et ux. to Canton, Aberdeen, and Nashville R. R. Co., 25 August 1899, Clay County Deed Book 31:591; deed, Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans R. R. Co. to P. G. Lawley, 9 April 1939, Clay County Deed Book 57:539; deed, Canton, Aberdeen, and Nashville R. R. Co. to P. G. Lawley, 14 December 1937, Clay County Deed Book 58:132.
48. Vinton column, 7 May 1897, West Point Leader.
49. See Chapter 2 for the earlier history of the Trotter family.
50. The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Vinton, Mississippi, 1867-1890.
51. Clay County Chattel Deed Books 1-16, 1877-1909, Clay County Courthouse, a good portion of the earlier volumes are for the liens of W. E. Trotter; Clay County Personal Property Roll, 1886, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
52. All data from Clay County Chattel Deed Books 1-5, 1877-1881, Clay County Courthouse.
53. Ibid.; for locational information see Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary..., 1982, Figures 13-16.
54. Many of the chattel deeds specify that the goods extended are secured by not only the crops that person produced but by all crops produced on his or her land, suggesting this type of middleman function for some of the larger landowners.
55. 1880 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Mississippi; 1880 Federal Census of Agriculture, Clay County, Mississippi, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
56. Depositions of Henry Keaton, 9 July 1880, December 1879 and of Thomas Cogdell, December 1879, Clay County Chancery Case 278, J. H. Keaton versus M. M. Richardson, Clay County Courthouse.
57. Depositions of Henry Keaton, December 1879, Clay County Chancery Case 278, J. H. Keaton versus M. M. Richardson.
58. Depositions of Henry Keaton, December 1879 and of Thomas Cogdell, December 1879, Clay County Chancery Case 278, J. H. Keaton versus M. M. Richardson.

59. Deposition of R. G. Miller, November 1879, Clay County Chancery Case 278, J. H. Keaton versus M. M. Richardson.
60. Vinton columns, 1887, 1888, 1897, 1898, quote from 18 February 1898, West Point Leader; cotton price information also from letters, Anna E. Shaw to Dear Aunt, 15 January 1866; William Henry Shaw to Uncle Moses, 27 December 1867; Anna E. Shaw to Uncle, July 1876, Letters, Volume I and II, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection Notebooks, Evans Memorial Library Aberdeen, Mississippi.
61. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #904/917; deed, S. A. and W. E. Trotter to Jno. Reagh, 17 February 1866, Clay County Deed Book G:84; deed, Jno. Reagh to W. E. Trotter, 25 May 1872, Clay County Deed Book 1:253-254; Monroe County Personal Property Roll, 1871, Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen.
62. 1870 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #904/917; marriage, 6 October 1875, from marriage records, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen; letter, J. M. Trotter to Ida Lambert, Milligan Collection, Evans Memorial Library, the letterhead indicates Trotter's business; personal items regarding the Trotters, 11 January 1883; Obituary of John Marquis Hodo, 16 October 1884; personal item, 10 August 1888, Clay County Leader.
63. Clay County Personal Property Roll, 1886, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Clay County Chancery Cases cited in note 31, see especially original bill, March 1889, Case 775, Memphis Grocery et al. versus W. T. Trotter et al.
64. Ibid., especially Final Decree, 19 February 1890, and Supreme Court Opinion, 13 May 1890, Case 775.
65. For property sales, see below, note 67; the move to Louisville established in personal items, 16 September 1892, Louisville Signal and 14 October 1892, Louisville Journal; personal items, 18 September 1896, 1 January 1897, 7 October 1898, West Point Leader; "W. E. Trotter Dead," 29 March 1899 and "W. E. Trotter," 23 April 1899, West Point Leader.
66. Clay County Chancery Case 898, Mississippi Mills versus C. W., W. T. and W. E. Trotter; chattel deed, W. E. Trotter to R. C. Beckett and F. M. Beall, 17 December 1891, Clay County Chattel Deed Book 13:416; chattel deed, W. E. Trotter to J. M. Trotter, 29 February 1892, Clay County Chattel Deed Book 13:559.
67. Deed, W. L. Cromwell, Sheriff to W. P. Rankin, 5 September 1892, Clay County Deed Book 23:405; deed, J. J. McClellan to W. P. Rankin, 7 June 1893, Clay County Deed Book 25:12; deed, Bamburger, Bloom and Co. to W. P. Rankin, 13 July 1896, Clay County Deed Book 27:387; Vinton column, 8 January 1897, West Point Leader; Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Mississippi, 1890, 1899, 1900; Vinton column, 11 June 1897, 4 June 1897, 8 April 1897, West Point Leader.

68. Deed, W. P. Rankin to H. D. Watson, 1 January 1900, Clay County Deed Book 31:617; deed, A. C. Cox to H. D. Watson, 6 December 1894, Clay County Deed Book 25:436; McClurken and Anderson, p. 938 (Ethel Watson Wallace); Vinton column, 7 May 1897, West Point Leader; ledger, 1900-1901, Watson Collection, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, the first part of this ledger is from a store in West Point in 1874 and 1875 and the Watson entries begin near the end of the volume.
69. Ledger, 1900-1901, Watson Collection; Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key, Mississippi, January 1900 and ff.
70. Ledgers, 1900-1901 and 1911-1914, Watson Collection. The earlier ledger has some general accounts showing store expenses, and the latter is mostly accounts of individual renters and Watson family members; see also Adams, editor, Waverly Plantation, especially Appendix 6; and John R. Kern, Steven F. Miller, Ira Berlin, and Joseph P. Reidy, Sharpley's Bottom Historic Sites: Phase II Historical Investigations Tombigbee River Multiresource District Alabama and Mississippi. Report submitted to U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region under Contract #C-54039(80), Commonwealth Associates, Inc., Jackson, Michigan, 1982, especially Chapter 6.
71. Ibid., This type of personal account book seems to be the only surviving record of these farmers' accounts, as chattel deeds were searched for Clay County up into this decade, with no deeds to H. D. Watson found. A few deeds were found in 1909 and 1910 for local farmers in debt to W. H. Lloyd and T. J. Dukeminier. Interest on these chattel deeds was still at 10 percent, Clay County Chattel Deed Book for 1909 and 1919 (no # extant):19, 119, 626.
72. Laws of Mississippi, Chapter 103, p. 128 of Hutchinson's Code.
73. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 14 October 1872, 15 November 1881, 3 April 1888.
74. Ibid., 5 November 1872, 10 January 1878, 5 May 1880, January 1896.
75. Ibid., 7 November 1898.
76. Clay County Deed Book E:616; G:87; G:565; H:254; I:138; I:237; I:249; 2:226; 6:275; 7:488; 9:384; 9:577; 11:338; 12:273; 18:276; 28:133; 30:504; 33:508; 34:24; 35:15.
77. Vinton column, 8 January 1897, West Point Leader.
78. Election return, 6 November 1883, Record Group 28, Secretary of State, No. 104, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
79. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 8 January 1885.
80. Postal Records, National Archives and Records Service, information supplied by Jerome Finster, Chief of the Social Branch, Civil Archives Division to Jack Elliott, Jr., 6 December 1974.

81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Map of Clay County Rural Free Delivery Routes, circa 1904-1906, map found in the West Point Post Office in 1980, donated to the Clay County Historical Society, West Point, Mississippi.
84. George Smith, Freedman's Bureau to Julia Cox, 1867, Record Group 105, Freedman's Bureau, National Archives and Records Service; contracts between Planters and Freedmen, Lowndes County, Mississippi, 1865, Record Group 105, Freedman's Bureau, National Archives and Records Service; contracts between Planter and Freedmen, Monroe County, 1865, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library.
85. William Henry Clay Shaw to Uncle Moses, 27 December 1867; Jennie Shaw to Sister, 30 March 1870; letter notebooks, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen, Mississippi.
86. Resolutions of Beat No. 1 (circular), 14 November 1875, private collection of Mr. George Howard, West Point, Mississippi; for more detail see Adams, editor, Waverly Plantation...., p. 103.
87. Mary L. Shaw to Anna Shaw, 21 August 1867, letter notebooks, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Evans Memorial Library.
88. Records of the Prairie Chapel Methodist Charge, Aberdeen, Mississippi, 1877-1957, Church Records, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, see especially member lists for Paine's Chapel.
89. Mary L. Shaw to Anna Shaw, 9 September 1869; Ella B. Shaw to Anna Shaw, 4 October 1878, letters notebooks, Volume II, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Evans Memorial Library.
90. Member lists and minutes of Bethel Baptist Church, 1876-1900, Rollins Collection, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library.
91. Records of Free Grace Baptist Church, Colored, Rollins Collection, Special Collections, Mitchell Memorial Library.
92. Lowndes County Board of School Directors Minutes, p. 41, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History.
93. Deed, C. C. Lundy to A. M. E. Church, 24 September 1897, Clay County Deed Book 30:128; deed of trust, A. M. E. Church to Tom Brown, trustee, 25 April 1898, Clay County Deed Book 30:147; deed, J. C. Kimbrough, trustee to Henry Gegan, 12 December 1900, Clay County Deed Book 32:564; deed, Henry Gegan to A. M. E. Church, 15 January 1901, Clay County Deed Book 33:151; deed, J. C. Kimbrough, trustee to Henry Gegan, 13 July 1901, Clay County Deed Book 34:4.
94. Lowndes County Board of School Directors Minutes, p. 18, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History.

95. Ibid., p. 41.
96. Ibid., pp. 44, 88, 131, 135, 26.
97. Ibid., p. 167.
98. Ibid., pp. 205, 583.
99. Deed, W. E. Trotter to Board of School Commissioners, Colfax County, 9 September 1873, Clay County Deed Book 2:335-336; deed, W. E. Trotter to Board of School Commissioners, Colfax County, 6 October 1873, Clay County Deed Book 2:533.
100. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 7 July 1879.
101. Deed, Benj. Williams to Mary F. Braden, 4 March 1867, Clay County Deed Book F:93-94; McClurken and Anderson, p. 517 (Ethel Smith Watson), and p. 571 (James Hendrix).
102. School Warrant Books, 1873-1902, County Discards Collection, Evans Memorial Library.
103. Lowndes County Board of School Directors Minutes, p. 44, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History.
104. Register of Teachers' Pay Certificates Issued for the Year 1875, Clay County Courthouse.
105. Vinton column, 24 February 1887, 18 November 1887, 23 March 1888, West Point Leader.
106. Voucher 324, 20 March 1877; voucher 413, 12 May 1877, Treasurer's Account with School Fund, No. 1, Clay County Courthouse.
107. Land Abstracts, Section 5, Township 16, Range 7, Clay County Courthouse.
108. Clay County Board of Supervisors Minutes, 3 April 1889.
109. Ibid., 2 November 1891.
110. Public School Record, Book 1890:8, Clay County Courthouse.
111. Public School Record, Book 1890-1903:13 and 14.
112. Public School Record, Book 1890-1903:30.
113. Public School Record, Book 1907-1912:16.
114. Public School Record, Book 1890-1903:36 and 38.
115. Public School Record, Book 1907-1912:19.

116. Summary of Term Reports, Public School Record, Book 1890-1903:273-296; Term Reports, Public School Record, Book 1902-1907, see reports for the Vinton School.
117. Public School Record, Book 1890-1903:4.
118. Ibid.:33-34.
119. Public School Record 1895-1903; 1902-1907.
120. List of teachers examined, Public School Record 1890-1902:95 ff.
121. Term reports, Public School Record, Book 1895-1903; 1890-1903.
122. Ibid.
123. Vinton column, 17 March 1887, West Point Leader.
124. Public School Record, Book 1890-1903.
125. 1880 Ennumeration of Males and Females under 21 years of age, District 1, Clay County, Mississippi State Census, Record Group 18, Secretary of State, Volume 197, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
126. Ibid.; announcement, 18 September 1896, West Point Leader; obituary, John Marquis Hodo, 16 October 1884, Clay County Leader.
127. See note 240, Chapter 2.
128. Jennie to Sister, 5 January 1869; Martha J. to Sister, 22 January 1869, letter notebooks, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Evans Memorial Library.
129. William Henry Shaw to Uncle, 9 January 1876; John P. Shaw to Anna Shaw, 26 January 1876, letter notebooks, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Evans Memorial Library.
130. Director of the Grange, 22 November 1879, The Patron of Husbandry (then the official publication of the Grange, published in Columbus, Mississippi). Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
131. Ella B. Shaw to Anna Shaw, 23 February 1876, letter notebooks, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Evans Memorial Library.
132. Letter to the editor, 10 August 1882, Clay County Leader.
133. Vinton, 11 October 1882, Columbus Independent; Our City Correspondent, 14 August 1891, Clay County Leader.
134. Vinton column, 25 November 1887, West Point Leader.
135. Ibid., 17 March 1887.
136. Ibid., 24 February 1887.

Part II

Phase III Data Recovery: Site Summaries

by

W. Stephen McBride and Kim A. McBride

INTRODUCTION

From May to October 1981, seven sites within Barton townsite were excavated as part of the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project. This section of the report describes these excavations, as well as the oral and documentary history of each site. These sites are listed below, and see Figure 14.

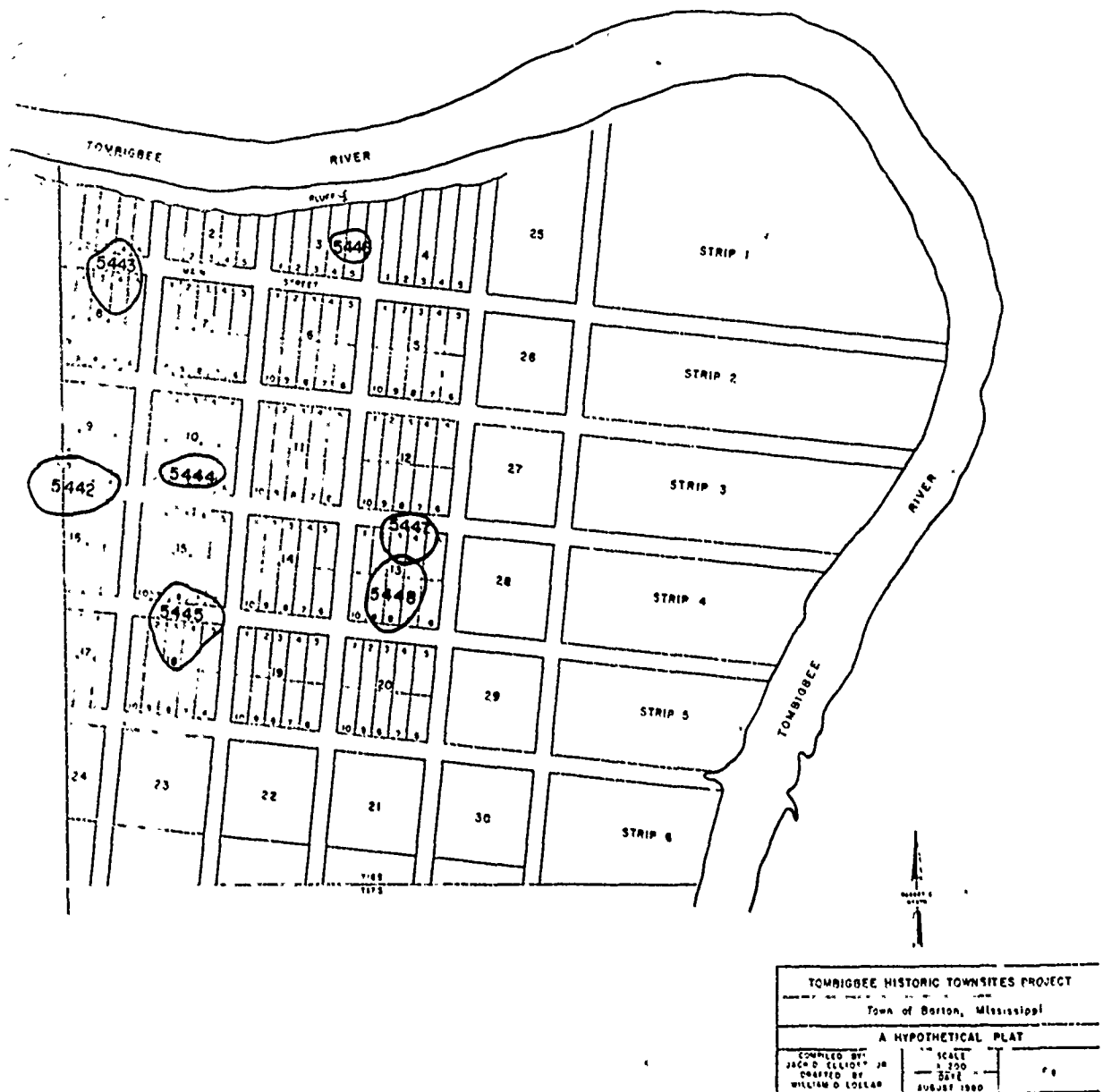
| Site # | Function | Chronology |
|--------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 5442 | Residence | 1850-1935 |
| 5443 | Hotel | 1850-1860s |
| 5444 | Residence | 1852-1860s, 1920s? |
| 5445 | Residence | 1848-1860s |
| 5446 | Blacksmith Shop | 1854-1860s |
| 5447 | Residence | 1852-1860s |
| 5448 | Residence | 1852-1940s |

The selection of these sites from the twenty-one sites found during Phases I and II was a complex process. Factors such as degree of impact from recreational construction, depositional and structural integrity, function, chronology, and degree of oral historical and documentary support were evaluated (Minnerly 1983:227-233). Degree of impact was of primary importance and all of the above sites, with the exception of site 5443, the hotel, were classified under the "Primary" level of impact, which anticipated direct physical disturbance by construction activities. The hotel site was classified under the secondary level of impact. Initially, Phase III excavations were also planned for the Vinton townsite, but these became unnecessary with a change in the anticipated impact for Vinton (Minnerly 1983:227).

Since many other sites within Barton were to be directly impacted also, the other factors mentioned above were crucial in the evaluation. Generally the residences had much greater integrity and were felt to have greater archaeological potential than stores and also had good linkage with the documentary record. The hotel and blacksmith shop were viewed as exceptions and were chosen primarily because of their unique functions and their archival documentation.

Among the residences, the above were chosen for further excavation because of structural integrity (sites 5442, 5444, and 5448), dense refuse areas (sites 5445 and 5448), length of occupation (sites 5442 and 5448), oral historical support (sites 5442, 5444, 5447, and 5448), and documentary support (all).

The excavations performed during Phase III were designed to further uncover structural evidence, refuse features, and general refuse disposal areas. Because of the first concern, many of the Phase III excavation units were placed in a block arrangement in structure locales. The placement of all Phase III excavation units was guided by both earlier excavation and the magnetometer survey results (see Chapter 12). The latter were particularly helpful in locating a number of refuse features and areas.



Excavation methodology continued along lines developed in Phases I and II. Excavation units were generally 2 by 2 m squares, although some trenching was done, particularly on slopes. Units were always excavated by arbitrary 10 cm levels due to the general lack of defined cultural strata. Most soil was removed by shovels and passed through 1/4 inch hardware screens. Detailed descriptions of excavation methodology on a site by site basis are given in the following chapters, which also provide descriptions of soils and features. Artifacts are broken down by type and comparisons are made between sites and some features and refuse areas.

Each chapter begins, however, with a synthesis of the oral historical and archival information for each site. This includes dates of occupation, names and numbers of occupants, their occupations and positions within the community if known, the function of sites, and descriptions of structures. This information was gathered primarily from deeds, censuses, tax records, estate records, and oral history interviews.

At the end of each chapter is a brief summary of the present knowledge of each site. Following Chapters 4-10 is an analysis of the relative socioeconomic position of these sites in the antebellum period. This discussion is the result of integration of documentary and archaeological data and the congruence between the two, independent data sets increases our confidence in the reliability of the results. Further use of the information in Chapters 4-10 may be found in the final section of the report, by Charles E. Cleland.

CHAPTER 4. SITE 5442

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

Site 5442 is one of the Barton house sites with a long sequence of occupations. Other sites probably had nearly as many residents, but we are not always so fortunate in knowing their identity. During the period Barton functioned as a riverport town, this house site was probably the home of three merchants, one of whom was also the Barton mayor. Compared to many other Barton residents, these families were among the more wealthy, and the prices on several transactions dealing with the house site suggest that the structure's value may have been near that of Cedar Oaks.

During the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, for which we rely most heavily on the memories of present area residents, this house site was one of the few within Barton that can clearly be connected with specific individuals and periods of occupation. The relationships between residents and particular structures are difficult to determine because the population was extremely transient, and one family or individual often lived in three to five houses successively. Various members of the Uithoven family, who have remained the major inhabitants of the Barton townsite throughout the twentieth century, also occupied and used this site, and their occupations are documented by oral history informants.

This site is located within the reconstructed plat of Barton (Figure 7) in Block 16. Hendley S. Bennett, trustee for the town of Barton, first sold this block to Agur T. and Grace G. Morse on 3 June 1851. Morse bought other property at this time, later acting as a Barton trustee, and there is no reason to believe he ever occupied this land. The transaction revealed that an M. Lloyd had "bid off" Block 16 and that David Lloyd had bid on other property Morse was buying. At that time, David Lloyd had at least some interest in property at Colbert and owned considerable land west of the townsites. Although David did frequent business at Barton stores, there is no further indication that either David or M. Lloyd ever lived at Barton. Soon after acquiring Block 16, Morse sold it, along with the east half of Lot 5 of Block 7, to Robert McGowan for \$50.00.¹

It is likely that Robert McGowan was the first resident of this town property. He was one of the earliest Barton merchants, and he probably built his house on Block 16, while the east half of Lot 5 of Block 7 was his store property. During McGowan's stay at Barton, his family probably resided on Block 16. In 1850 the McGowan household included Robert, then aged 37 and born in South Carolina; his wife Nancy, aged 30 and born in Tennessee; children Robert, aged eight and born in

Tennessee, and William, aged three and born in Mississippi; and Fletcher Scott, aged 18 and born in Alabama. Scott was listed in the census as a clerk, and numerous receipts from McGowan's business establish him in this capacity, if not as a partner.²

Judging from his business receipts, McGowan had been at Barton at least since 1849 and remained in business until 1853, when he moved to Vinton for a year, thereafter removing himself and his family to Marshall County, Mississippi. During his tenure at Barton, he had done a good business, and his sales of \$8,000 in 1851 were more than the sales of all other Barton merchants combined. He held this level of sales in 1852, although other merchants in town began gaining on him. According to the 1850 census, he had three slaves, and in 1851 he was taxed for one clock and three slaves along with his store sales. In 1852 his taxable property had increased by one slave and the addition of a \$130 clock or watch. His 1853 property was the same as it had been in 1851. In 1850 his real estate was valued at \$4,000.³ Unfortunately, there is no recorded transfer for McGowan's property from which to judge its value upon his departure.

The next inhabitants were almost certainly the family of Dr. William Rainey, who was McGowan's successor in business. Their household in 1850 in Monroe County included William Rainey, a 50-year-old physician born in Virginia; his wife Eliza A., 40 years of age and born in Georgia; and a daughter Sarah L., aged 13 and born in Georgia. William resided next to his brother, James S. Rainey, and James's large household of ten members. All but James's youngest child had been born in Georgia, suggesting a relatively recent arrival in Mississippi. William had married Eliza Ward in 1846 in Monroe County. William's brother James had a son, William E., who in 1850 was 20 years of age and living in his father's household. William E. went into partnership with his uncle in Barton and probably resided with them in the house on Block 16.⁴

Although the Raineys were not particularly successful in the retail business at Barton, R. G. Dun and Company reports indicate that Dr. William Rainey's land and slaves in Monroe County were valued at \$15,000 to \$20,000, and he was considered "a man of fine breeding and character." By 1852 he was living in Lowndes County, where he was taxed for one carriage, one watch, one horse, and one slave. He may already have been living in Barton, but he was definitely there by 1853, when he was taxed for one carriage, watch, and slave. Although many residents were taxed for a watch or clock, the addition of a slave or carriage placed the Raineys in the higher status level at Barton.⁵

The Raineys appear to have been forced out of business in Barton by 1856 by suits brought against them and possibly an overextension of credit. In 1859 William E. was connected with the larger business of his father, James S. Rainey, in West Point. But the removal of William and William E. Rainey may not have completely severed all Rainey ties with the Barton community, for in February 1856 young William E. Rainey married Martha S. Hill. Although we do not know whether she ever lived in Barton, this marriage probably established ties with other Barton residents, such as James M. Capshaw and his wife Jane P. Hill Capshaw.⁶

The next successor to both the store lot in the east half of Lot 5 of Block 7 and the residence in Block 16 was Augustine B. Duling. Rainey sold the property on 15 February 1856 for \$1,000--indicating at least one substantial structure and probably both a house and store building--to Mary R. Duling, Augustine's wife. The Dulings had been in the general area since at least 1845 and had owned considerable property at Colbert. Augustine was elected mayor of Barton (which also meant Justice of the Peace) in 1857 and 1859, and his son, Augustine H., was elected Barton constable in 1857. Although some of the older children may not have been living with their parents by 1856, the household in 1850 consisted of Augustine B., aged 39 and born in Virginia; Mary, aged 39 and born in New York; William, aged 16 and born in Alabama; Augustine H., aged 13 and born in Alabama; Lucreta, aged 11 and born in Mississippi; and Rosa, aged 10 and born in Mississippi. By 1860 the household had contracted and consisted of A. B., his wife Mary, and children A. H. and Mary, the latter aged 17. Rosa had married James Hackworth in 1858, and although we have little information on the Hackworth family, they may well have been residing in or near Barton, as suggested by another 1858 marriage, between Barton resident R. O. Johnson and Kate Hackworth.⁷

A. B.'s occupation was listed in both the 1850 and 1860 censuses as "farmer," although he did have a short and largely unsuccessful turn at business in Barton. R. G. Dun and Company agents reported that Mary R. Duling had considerable capital in her own right, and she did own several other parcels of property in and around Barton. Augustine B. was taxed in 1857 for one slave, and his son A. H. was taxed for his poll only. A. B.'s real estate had been valued at \$4,000 in 1850 and was valued at \$1,000 in 1860, along with \$1,000 in personal property. Duling was listed in the 1850 agricultural census as having 200 acres of land worth \$2,000 and one horse, seven cows, and 10 pigs, all worth \$75.00. He grew 2,000 bu of Indian corn, 600 bu of oats, 75 bu of sweet potatoes, and slaughtered \$60.00 worth of animals. He is not listed as having grown cotton.⁸

It seems likely that the Dulings did not reside long on Block 16, for they sold it in February 1857 to William J. Futrell for \$600 and moved next door to the old Warren house on Block 18. William Futrell had two mortgages on Block 16, the first for the payment of the \$600.00 to Mary Duling, due March 1859, and another in 1860 to John K. Kelley, with Benjamin Ford (then owner of the hotel) as trustee, for a debt of \$375.00. Both were satisfied and cancelled, and shortly after the purchase of Block 16 William also purchased the adjoining Block 9 from E. A. and M. Atkinson.⁹

William Futrell and his wife Mahala were long-time residents of the townsites area; Mahala was related to the Keatons of Vinton and to several of the Williams families who had large farms west of the townsites. The Futrells were living in the area by at least 1845 and had migrated from Georgia via Tuscaloosa, Alabama, along with the Keatons and Williams. William Futrell had owned land in Section 24, Township 16, Range 7, and also much of the southeast quarter of Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, adjoining the western edge of Barton where Blocks 16 and 9

were located. The Futrells were probably living in the southeast quarter of Section 36 before their purchase of Block 16 and the house upon it. Their household in 1860 consisted of W. J. Futrell, aged 40, a farmer, born in Georgia; Mahala, aged 36 and also born in Georgia; and children William, aged 15, and George, aged 9, both born in Mississippi. Also residing with them were L. L. Kelley, a 27-year-old male born in Georgia, and Parthena Kelley, aged 21, female, born in Alabama. L. L. Kelley may well have been a close family friend or relation, as it was to a John K. Kelley that William Futrell had a mortgage in 1860. Both William J. Futrell and L. L. Kelley were listed as farmers, and William J.'s son, William V. was listed as a student.¹⁰

William J.'s real property in 1860 was valued at \$3,000, his personal property at \$1,000, high in comparison to most Barton residents at that time. Throughout the 1850s, however, he was taxed only for his poll and sometimes for one clock. He appears in the 1850 agricultural schedule as having one horse, three cows, seven pigs, and 100 acres of land and as having produced 100 bu of corn, 8 bales of cotton, 50 bu of oats, and 50 lb of butter. His land was valued at \$1,000, his livestock at \$84.00, and his value of animals slaughtered at \$32.00. As he retained his land in the southeast quarter of Section 36 while purchasing Block 16, he probably continued to farm this land throughout the decade. In 1860 his farmland consisted of 50 improved and 10 unimproved acres worth \$300.00. As his total real property in 1860 was valued at \$3,000, this leaves \$2,700 for the value of his property in Barton proper. His livestock in 1860 was comprised of two horses, two cows, and five pigs, collectively worth \$400.00. He raised 100 bu of corn, 15 bales of cotton, 20 bu of peas and beans, 10 bu of Irish potatoes, 50 bu of sweet potatoes, and produced 150 lb of butter and 30 lb of honey. He also slaughtered \$88.00 worth of animals between June 1859 and June 1860. His total farm production was up from 1850, perhaps because of the addition of L. L. Kelley in the household as a farmer.

We do not know how long the Futrell family resided in the house on Block 16, although the deed for the mortgage of the property clearly indicated a house was included. They had also bought Block 9 later in 1857, but other deeds for that property indicated that Robert Givens was living there in 1861, and the title remained somewhat unclear during the late 1850s and early 1860s. By 1866, William J. Futrell was dead and his wife had married E. V. Gaston. She then sold Block 9, where she was then residing, along with some of the land in the southeast quarter of Section 36. Her son, William V. Futrell, recovered all of this property two months later, and the transactions probably represented settlement of taxes or a debt rather than her actual removal from the place. Block 16 was not included in these transactions, so perhaps William V. was living there. Later that year he married Roseline C. Westbrook, and in 1867 he first mortgaged to George C. Brown and then sold to Sarah H. Richardson the property in the southeast quarter of Section 36. Neither Mrs. E. V. Gaston nor her son, W. V. Futrell, appear in the 1870 Federal Census in the vicinity of Barton or Vinton, and by 1872 William V. had definitely established himself in Aberdeen, where he ran a variety store.¹¹

Unfortunately, there are no other recorded deeds for Block 16, and use of the lot and block system, as well as the recording of transfers for Section 31, declines during the late 1860s and 1870s. By pinpointing these few individuals who retained clear title to property at Barton during this period in the 1870 and 1880 censuses, it is clear that Barton was still inhabited, but it is difficult to link specific residents with particular house sites. Tables 5 and 7 list the likely Barton residents for these decades, but it is impossible to say who may have resided in the house on Block 16.

Although there are many gaps in the deed record for this time, Bardine and Sarah A. Richardson emerge during the late 1860s and early 1870s as substantial landowners in and around Barton. Bardine Richardson had been involved in the transfers of the Barton Ferry in 1858 and probably operated it that year. He was living in Barton in 1860 and judging from the birth dates of his children given in the 1860 census, he came to Mississippi sometime between 1854 and 1856. Bardine sold most of Section 31 (including Block 16) and most of the southeast quarter of Section 36 to Mary E. Coltrane in December 1879 for \$2,000. The Coltrane family lived in at least two houses on the Barton townsite, and William Coltrane, Sr., was the Barton and Vinton schoolteacher for many years. He came to Mississippi from North Carolina sometime before 1872 and married Mary E. Vaughn of Lowndes County. Their first purchase in Section 31 was in 1875 from Wheeler Watson for land in the southernmost part of the townsite.

The land purchased from the Richardsons, who in 1879 were living in Coahoma County, Mississippi, included a seven-acre triangle along the western side of Barton, approximately Blocks 8, 9, 16, 17, and 24, although no such description is given. The strip remained in the Coltrane family, descending from Mary's son, William Coltrane, Jr., to her daughter, Evelina Coltrane Edens, in 1907, along with most of the southeast quarter of Section 36. Mrs. Edens held this seven-acre strip and the land in Section 36 until 1919, when she transferred them to M. W. Atkins. Like the Coltranes, Atkins can be connected with several houses in the Barton vicinity, and although there is no reason the Atkins family may not have lived in a house on Block 16, there is no clear indication that they did. Atkins mortgaged the property to Jan Uithoven in 1919, soon after having purchased it, and while there are no further transactions mentioning the seven-acre strip in Barton, Jan Uithoven was leasing oil rights on the southeast quarter of Section 36 in 1920, which suggests that the mortgages had not been satisfied.¹²

The memories of present local residents of the townsite area concerning this house site begin just before the tenure of the Uithoven family. Andrew, Emmett, and Nathaniel Lenoir, brothers who grew up near Barton during the first decades of the twentieth century, all remember Frank C. Andrews lived in the vicinity of this house site; local residents James "Honeybee" Hendrix, George Howard, and Mary Coltrane reinforce this placement. All of these informants place Andrews there around 1900 and into the first and second decades of the twentieth century.¹³ The household at that time included Frank Andrews, his wife Rosie, and at least one son, Bradley. Frank may have died at this site, after which the family moved north toward the Darracott community, where

the extended Andrews family had been located since the middle of the nineteenth century. Whatever the circumstances, they had probably left the Barton townsite by 1918. Frank Andrews was known as an exceptional potato farmer, covering and growing his potatoes all winter and providing seed potatoes for most area residents, as well as keeping chickens and providing eggs. Andrew Lenoir recalled that the Andrews house was a double pen plank house with three or four rooms about 16 x 16 ft each. To date, we have little additional information about Frank Andrews and his family. He does appear in the 1906 Personal Assessment Roll for Clay County, but he was not taxed for any livestock, capital, or luxury items such as clocks and watches.¹⁴

By about 1915, Jan Uithoven was beginning to acquire property in Section 31, and his family remains the major landowners today. Originally from Holland, Jan moved to Barton from across the Tombigbee River. His second wife was Francis Durant Keller, and the next residents of Site 5442 were the Keller family. According to Flora Perkins Keller, Francis Durant Beard had married Thomas Keller of Alabama. In about 1915, their children included David, Thomas, Mary, Nancy, and Sherman Keller, and at least several of these children lived in the house commonly called the Keller house (site 5442). Mary Keller may have lived there by herself toward the late 1910s; she later married Henry Perkins and lived in several other Barton and Vinton structures. Probably the next to reside there was Mary's sister Nancy, who married Sanford Harvell and later Joe Butts. Nancy and Sanford lived in the Keller house in the early 1920s. This house site, especially the southernmost room, was frequently the scene of neighborhood square dances at which Sanford played violin and Nancy's grandfather Beard played the fiddle. Later in the 1920s, after Nancy's marriage to Joe Butts, the dances continued, with Mr. Butts doing the calling. Neighbors remember roasting nuts in the large fireplace in the south room and recall a pet raccoon and a cat that provided additional entertainment.¹⁵

There were extensive kinship ties between the Barton residents at this time. Francis Beard Keller married Jan Uithoven, and they had three children--Guise, Eldridge (Felix), and Francis--along with the children from their first marriages. Francis Beard's sister, Liddie Beard, was living with the Uithovens and shortly after 1918 met and married Joe Harris, who ran the Barton Ferry. Joe also had children by a previous marriage, and one of them, Josie Harris, married Barney Cogdell, who was also connected with the Barton Ferry. Josie and Barney lived in several Barton houses, including Site 5448 and Barney also had children by a previous marriage. These complex step and marital relations characterize Barton during this period. Barney's children, his wife, and Francis and Jan's children, both by their first marriages and their children together, all interacted with one another at events such as these dances. Many of them also lived in various houses around Barton. Figure 15 delineates these relationships as pieced together from the oral history interviews and with the help of Barney Cogdell's daughter, Hattie Box.

Several of the individuals who participated in these social and kin based networks recall the Keller house from their visits there to square dance and to see friends and relations. Josie Harris Kennedy and Bobby

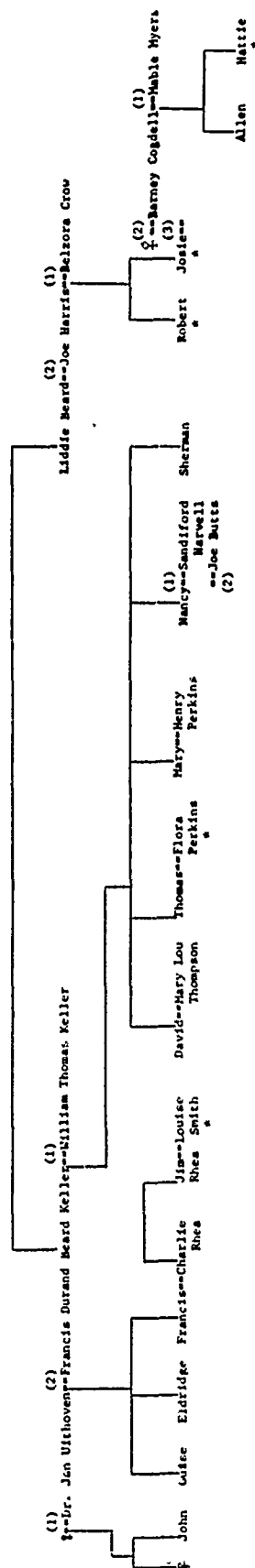


Figure 15. Genealogy for Keller house residents and informants.

oral history informants marked by *, marriages by == and numbered in order of occurrence.

Harris remember a shotgun-style house with one chimney on the south end and an overall north-south orientation. There may also have been a porch on the west side, which direction the house faced, and the kitchen may have been located to the side of one of the major rooms. Josie remembers a huge water oak and row of crepe myrtles at the northeast corner of the house.¹⁶

James "Honeybee" Hendrix, who knew Frank Andrews, the Kellers, and the Uithovens, also provided structural information. He, too, recalls that the house had a north-south orientation with at least one porch on the west side. He remembers two main rooms about 14 x 16 ft or 16 x 18 ft and two smaller rooms on the east side, 10 x 16 ft or 10 x 18 ft. The southeast room was a kitchen with a back door, and the northeast side room was a bedroom. The house sat up off the ground on wooden blocks, and the two windows in each room faced perpendicular directions. He also remembered a double chimney between the two big rooms.¹⁷

Mr. Hendrix provided information concerning later use of the house and house site. Another of Francis Beard Keller Uithoven's children, Francis Uithoven, married Charlie Rhea. They resided at nearby Cedar Oaks during the 1930s, and Charlie Rhea farmed much of the site. No one knows whether there were other occupants in this house after Nancy Keller. Charlie Rhea used the wooden planks from the Keller house to build and repair cribs and barns around the old townsite. Visiting the site in 1980, Mr. Hendrix noted where Charlie Rhea's cattle tromped the hillside near the house in the 1930s and recalled Jan Uithoven's 1913 or 1914 Model T that Tom and David Keller had driven. Parts of the car still remain scattered around the house site. The only other possible resident at this house site is a Mr. Whaley, who may have lived there in the early 1920s while working at Mr. Rhea's sawmill north of the townsite. Nothing more is known of him or his possible occupation of the site.¹⁸

Archaeology

This site is located in the west-central portion of the townsite on a fingerlike extension of the western ridge. It is large, measuring 6,148 m², and occupies the ridgetop as well as the slopes to the east and west. Site elevation ranges between 208 and 217 ft above sea level. Vegetation at the site center consists of two large oak trees, a stand of crepe myrtle, a holly tree, and daffodils. Around the site perimeters, vegetation is somewhat thicker and includes loblolly pines and small hardwoods.

The stratigraphy at this site is not complex. Most of the site contains a soil profile (Type I) very typical of the Barton townsite as a whole, except that it has a somewhat thicker A1 horizon (10YR3/2 sandy loam) and a higher overall sand content. Variations from this most common profile include an 8 cm "midden" below the A1 horizon (Type II) near the chimney, thinner A1 and Ap/A2 horizons on low-lying and eroded areas (Types III, IV, and VI), and obviously differentiated Ap and A2 horizons on the northern periphery of the site (Type V). The six soil profile types are as follows (see Figure 16).

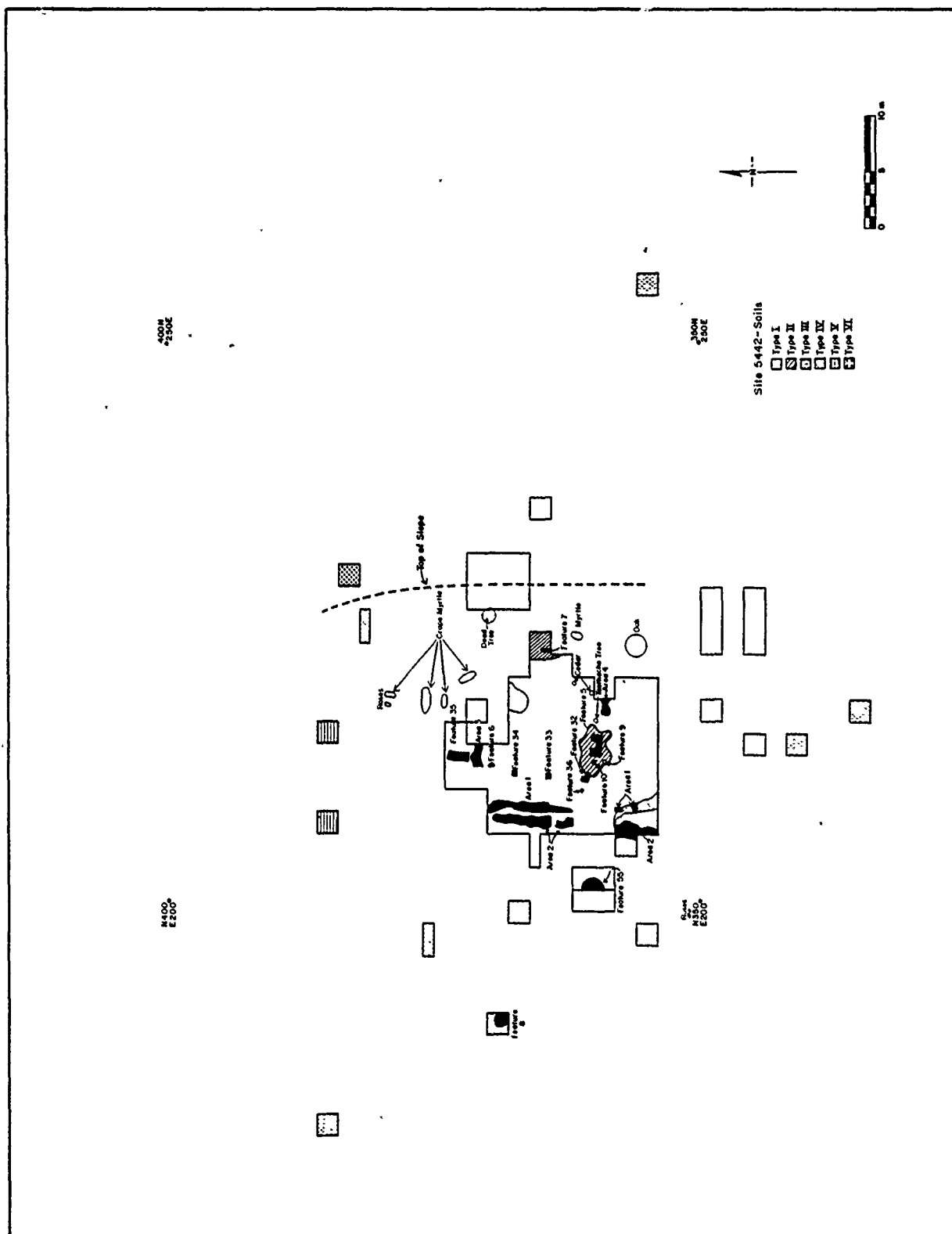


Figure 16. Site 5442, excavation plan and soil types.

Type I

0-8 cm--10YR3/2, 4/2 very dark grayish brown to grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

8-26 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

26-30 cm+--7.5YR5/6 strong brown sandy clay.

This soil profile is found over most of the site, including both at and immediately surrounding the structure location.

Type II

0-8 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

8-16 cm--10YR4/3 to 5/3 dark brown to brown sandy loam;

16-40 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

40 cm+--7.5YR5/6 to 5YR5/6 strong brown to yellowish red sandy clay.

Because of the apparent "midden" zone below the humus/A1 horizon, this profile is unique. It is found adjacent to the chimney and in the flower bed east of the structure locale.

Type III

0-3 cm--10YR4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

3-9 cm--10YR5/4 to 6/4 yellowish brown to light yellowish brown sandy loam;

9-20 cm+--7.5YR5/6 to 5YR5/6 strong brown to yellowish red sandy clay.

This profile is found in the low-lying area in the northwestern quadrant of the site and in a few eroded areas near the structure.

Type IV

0-8 cm--10YR3/2 to 4/2 very dark grayish brown to dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

8-20 cm+--7.5YR5/6 to 5/8 strong brown sandy clay.

Located on the western slope and in a gully area southwest of the structure locale, this profile shows evidence of considerable erosion.

Type V

0-6 cm--10YR3/2 to 4/2 very dark grayish brown to dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

6-15 cm--10YR5/4 yellowish brown sandy loam;

15-28 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

28-34 cm+--7.5YR5/6 strong brown sandy clay. .

This profile is located only on the northern perimeter of the site and shows definite evidence of plowing.

Type VI

0-4 cm--10YR4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

4-10 cm+--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay.

Located on the northeastern edge of the site, this profile shows evidence of heavy erosion. This type is much like Type IV, except that the upper zone is approximately half as thick.

Excavation

During Phase I testing, 14 units (56 m²) were excavated at site 5442. From these we were able to locate the remains of the dwelling (chimney base) and to investigate the surrounding yard. Site limits were also estimated through shovel testing. The Phase III excavations had three main objectives. First, we hoped to uncover all remaining structural features associated with the dwelling. This was particularly important since we had several oral accounts of this structure. The second and third objectives were to locate any trash-filled features and to investigate the general yard area further. During Phase III, 315 m² were excavated, bringing the total sample frame for the site to 371 m², the largest at Barton (Figure 16). The primary objectives were at least partially met since nine more structural features and a trash-filled well were located (see below).

The excavation procedures during the testing and data recovery phases were similar in that units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels during both phases. However, the method of soil removal differed. In Phase I the soil was shoveled out and passed through a quarter-inch mesh wire screen. During Phase III the soil was removed by careful troweling, and not passed through a screen. Some artifacts were piece plotted. Excavators attempted this latter procedure in the hope of obtaining more data on the association of artifacts and features.

Structural Features

The dwelling at site 5442 was represented archaeologically by a brick chimney base, three brick piers, three post holes, and a brick walkway. Also, on the western, northern, and southeastern sides of the chimney base are driplines (Figure 16). The brick chimney base (Feature 5) is 1.8 m wide (E/W) by 1.2 m long (N/S) and possessed only one fire-box, which was on the north side (Figure 17). Most oral testimony related to this dwelling suggests that the chimney was on the southern end of the house. This is supported archaeologically by the location and orientation of the chimney base and the L-shaped corner pier (Feature 32) to the west. This pier undoubtedly supported the southwest corner of the house.

Two other brick piers (Features 33 and 34) were discovered north of Feature 32. These were roughly square, approximately 50 x 50 cm, and undoubtedly supported the western edge of the structure. The three piers were fairly evenly spaced; distances of 3.6 m and 3.4 m separated the centers of the south and central pier and the central and northern pier, respectively. There probably was also one more pier to the north in order to reach the northern dripline (Area 3) and the brick walkway (Feature 35). The depression in Unit 109 (Feature 6) may have been the post location of a brick pier since it is roughly in line with the other three piers and did contain large brick fragments within it. But because this feature is only 2.2 m from the northern pier and well south of the dripline and walkway, its function is unclear at present.

The chimney, corner pier, and northern dripline indicate that the structure was about 36 ft long (11 m). Assuming that the chimney was in the center of the south wall, the structure was about 20 ft wide (6.3 m). Whether there were two or three rooms (or more) in this house is unclear. Oral testimony is inconsistent on this issue. If piers were placed at the corner of each room, as Weaver and Doster (1982:86) suggest, evidence indicates that the structure contained three rooms or two rooms with a dogtrot in the middle, each about 12 x 20 ft. This suggestion is based on the assumption that there was a northeastern pier in the vicinity of the northern dripline. If we assume there were only three piers on the western side (which is unlikely), the structure had probably two 12 x 20 ft rooms.

Other structural features include two driplines (Areas 1 and 2) to the west, one to the north (Area 3), one to the south (Area 4), and three post holes (Features 9, 10, and 36) (Figure 16). The two western driplines (Areas 1 and 2) are each about 8 m in length and average from 50-90 cm in width. The inner dripline (Area 1) consists of compact brown (10YR5/3) sandy loam and contains many large artifacts. The other stain (Area 2) is a brown (10YR5/3) loose sandy loam that does not contain as much cultural material. The looser and darker soil of Area 2, as well as its sparser artifacts and more western position, indicates that it probably postdates Area 1. The locations of Areas 1 and 2 and Feature 36 (postmold) suggest there was a porch on the western side of the house; oral accounts substantiate this (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1107).

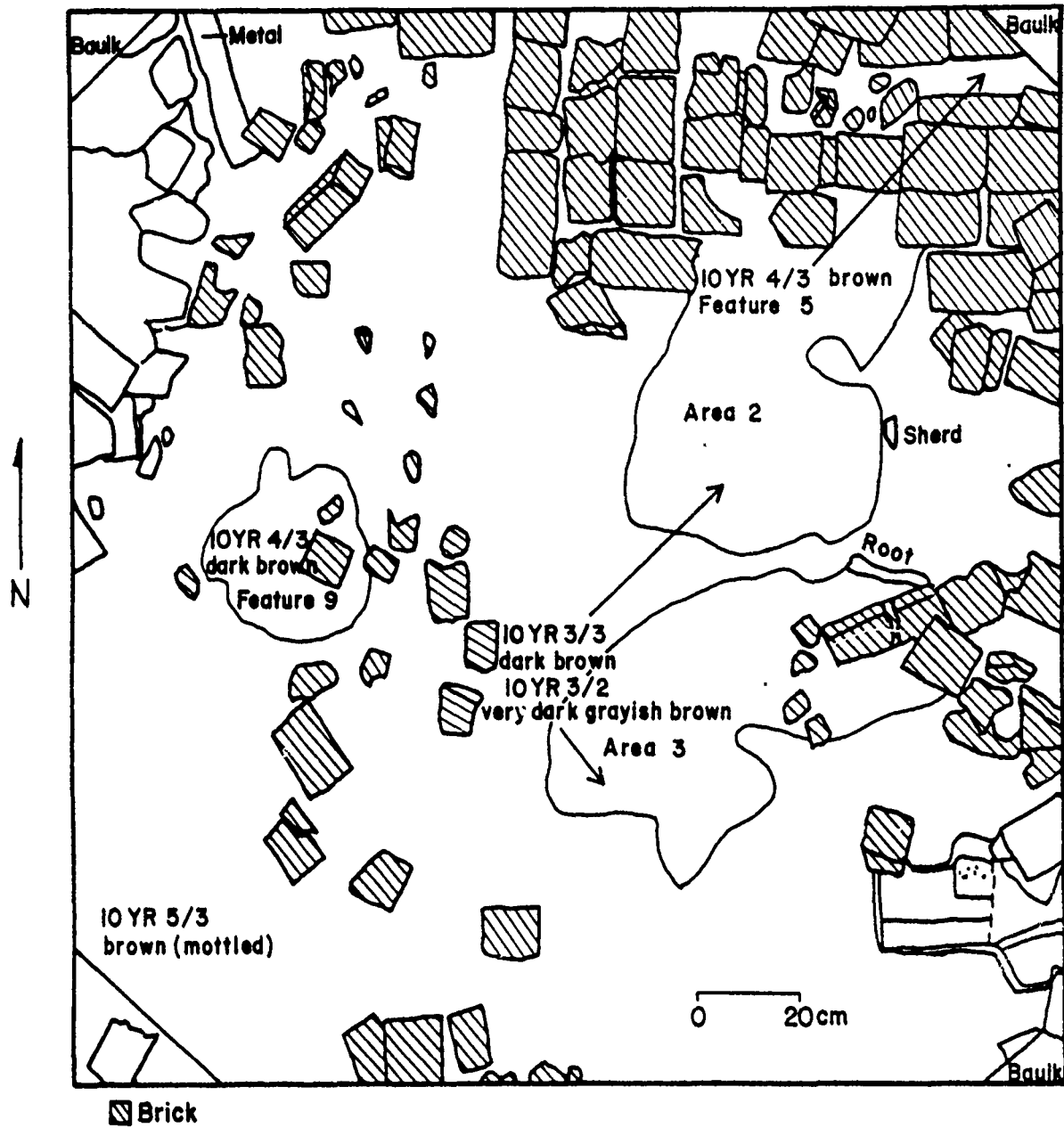


Figure 17. Feature 5 (chimney).

One complication with the driplines is their apparent extension well south of the dwelling. Although there is no evidence that these were connected with Areas 1 and 2, they are of the same composition and seem to be directly in line with them. A possible explanation could be that the water that dripped off the roof did not soak completely into the soil at the dripline proper but drained downhill south of the dwelling. The erosion of the A2 horizon of this area (Figure 16) supports this explanation, as there is no indication that the dwelling extended this far south.

The linear stains to the north and south (Areas 3 and 4) are of roughly the same configuration as the other driplines. They are composed of 10YR5/2 to 5/3 sandy loam and average about 75 cm wide. Unfortunately, each was exposed only in a single 2 x 2 m unit so that their total lengths are unknown.

Two deep post holes (Features 9 and 10) were also encountered in the dwelling area, southwest and west of the chimney base. The post (Feature 10) just west of the chimney probably functioned as an extra support pier for the dwelling. The purpose of the other post (Feature 9) is unclear, but it was possibly associated with a lean-to or a porch. Regretably, oral history is of no aid on this issue. Both posts appear to have been pulled and their holes filled in with rubble.

1. Feature 5--Brick chimney base 1.8 m x 1.2 m in area and five courses high. Single firebox on northern side.
2. Feature 6--Depression 90 cm in diameter and 10 cm deep. Function unknown, but possible base for brick pier.
3. Feature 7--Postmold 20 cm in diameter and 7 cm deep. Contained brick fragments, glass, ceramics, iron, and charcoal. This post is probably the remains of a fence or outbuilding.
4. Feature 9--Post hole 34 cm in diameter and 61 cm deep. Filled with brick rubble, bottle glass, and cut nails.
5. Feature 10--Post hole 40 cm in diameter and 74 cm deep. Filled with brick rubble, bottle glass, and cut nails.
6. Feature 32--Brick pier L-shaped corner pier remnant three courses wide and one course thick. Measured 80 cm (N/S) by 80 cm (E/W).
7. Feature 33--Brick pier. Roughly square (50 x 40 cm) pier remnant one course thick.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 8. Feature 34--Brick pier | Roughly square (55 x 44 cm) pier remnant one course thick. |
| 9. Feature 35--Brick walkway | Linear walkway measuring 2 m (N/S) by 62 cm (E/W). It is one course thick and eight wide. |
| 10. Feature 36--Small postmold | Roughly square post measuring 21 x 29 cm and 4 cm deep. Contained no artifacts. Probably associated with western porch. |
| 11. Area 1--Dripline | Brown (10YR5/3) compact sandy loam band 8 m long and 60 cm wide (possibly much longer, extending up to 14 m). It originated just under the A1 horizon and extended 5 cm deep. Contained large ceramic, bottle glass, and metal in association. |
| 12. Area 2--Dripline | Brown (10YR5/3) sandy loam band 8 m long by 90 cm wide and 5 cm deep (like Area 1, this band was probably much longer, extending up to 16 m). Contained some large ceramics, bottle glass, and metal in association. |
| 13. Area 3--Dripline | Grayish brown (10YR5/2) sandy loam band 75 cm wide and at least 2 m long. It originated under the A1 horizon and extended 5 cm deep. Contained large ceramics, bottle fragments, and metal. |
| 14. Area 4--Dripline | Brown (10YR5/3) sandy loam band extending westward 130 cm. It is 1 m wide (N/S) and 10 cm deep and originated just under the A1 horizon. Contained less artifacts than the other three areas but of similar variety. |

Other Features

Two refuse filled features were also found at this site. One was a deep well and the other a small trash pit. The well (Feature 55) was discovered by the magnetometer survey team late in Phase III (August 1981). It was located at N358/E199, approximately 8 m west of the dwelling (Figure 16). This feature was first encountered at 20 cm below surface (base of level 4), where it was approximately 2.5 m in diameter.

The sides of the feature sloped gently to 4.5 m below surface (limit of excavation), where it was approximately 1.6 m in diameter (Figure 18). Although this was the limit of excavation, it was not the base of the feature. Time constraints prevented excavation beyond this depth.

The stratigraphy within the well was very complex and consisted of medium thick to very thin lenses of sandy loam, charcoal, and ash (Figure 18). These ranged in color from black (10YR2/1) to white (10YR8/2), but the majority ranged from a dark brown (10YR3/3) to pale brown (10YR6/3). The outside wall of the well remained a consistent strong brown (7.5YR5/8) sandy to silty clay to the base of excavation. Unfortunately, wall slumping made it impossible to complete the profile map for the lower 1.6 m of this feature.

The sandy clay wall was probably dense enough to make a lining unnecessary, and several informants have noted that wells were commonly unlined (McClurken and Anderson 1981:604, 1037). The presence of timber remains at the base of excavation and a large number of cut nails at the edge of the feature, however, suggest that there may have been a wood lining in this well. Brick lined wells have been found at Barton and at Waverly (Adams 1980), but these usually differ in construction and configuration (see Chapter 16).

The trash pit (Feature 8) was roughly oval, 100 cm by 80 cm in area, and 25 cm deep (Figure 19). It was located at N368/E188, approximately 22 m northwest of the dwelling (Figure 16). The soils ranged from a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) to a dark brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam. Artifacts are discussed below.

It is interesting that the distances between these two features (well and trash pit) and the dwelling at this site are very close to their respective distances on the farmsteads from the Bay Springs community (Smith et al. 1982). The distance between wells and dwellings at these farmsteads ranged from 5 m to 8 m, with a mean of 6.57 m (Smith et al. 1982:216). This compares nicely with the 8 m distance at site 5442.

The distance between dwelling and dump area at the Bay Springs farmsteads had a much greater range, 15 m to 59 m, with a mean of 32.4 m (Smith et al. 1982:222). The distance at site 5442 is 22 m, which fits in the lower end of this range. The significance of these consistencies in distances is not completely clear at present, but it appears that ideas about spatial patterning for both small town residences and farmsteads remained fairly consistent over a period of 50 to 100 years.

Artifacts

Excluding brick and artifacts of the mineral/composite/miscellaneous category (which were catalogued by weight), 26,111 artifacts were recovered from this site. Appendix 1 gives a complete list of artifacts. The majority were metal (primarily nails) or glass (nearly half window glass). Ceramics made up the only other material found in significant amount.

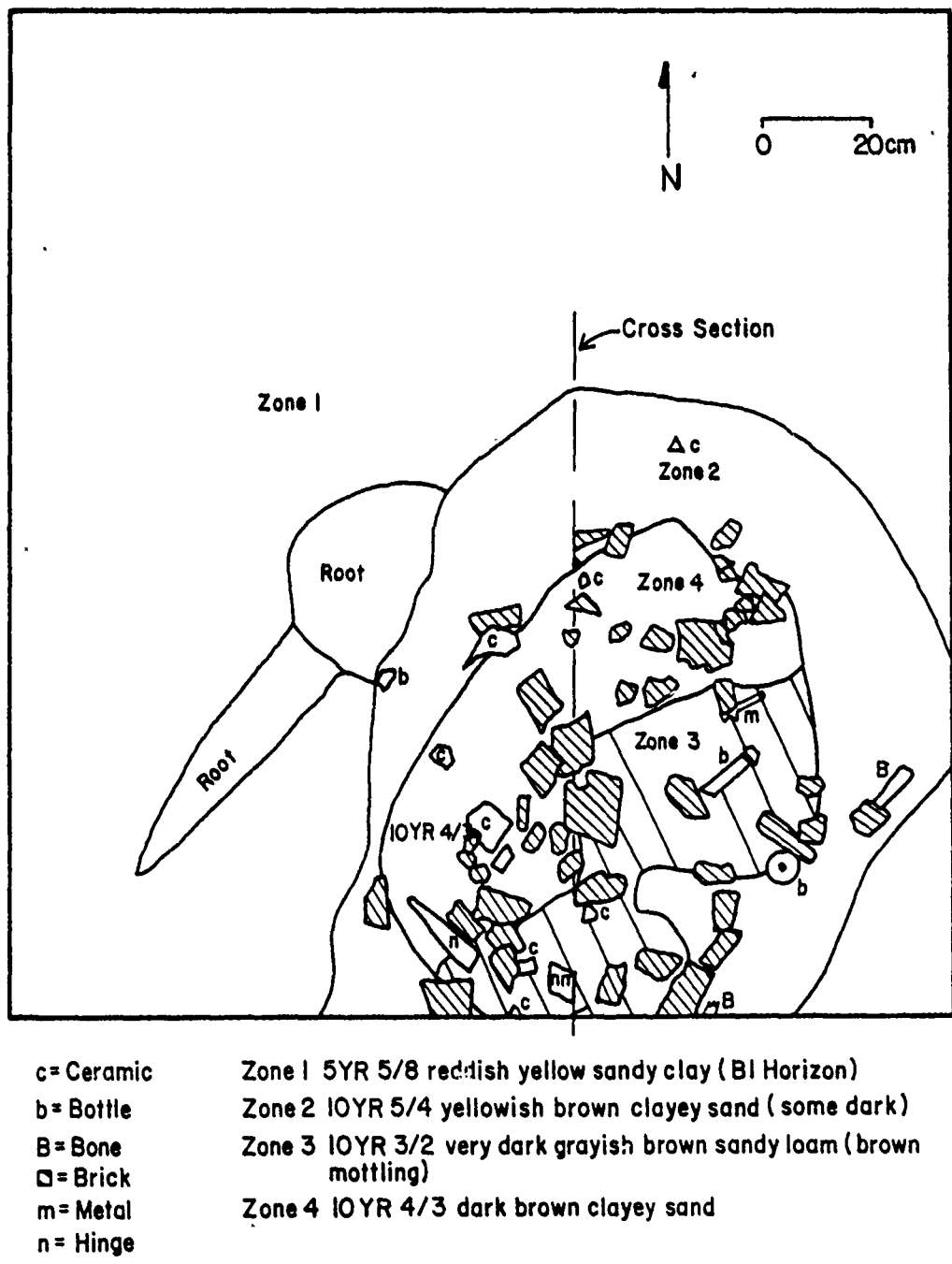


Figure 19. Feature 8 (refuse pit).

Artifact breakdowns by site are given in Tables 20 and 21. In comparison with the other sites, 5442 is striking in its high proportion of window and bottle glass and low proportion of ceramics. The significance of this difference is not clear at present, but it is at least partially related to both length of occupation and sampling bias. The long occupation span, and especially the occupation into the twentieth century is undoubtedly a factor in the high proportion of window and bottle glass. The greater frequency of window glass on the other later sites, 5447 and 5448, can be seen in Tables 20 and 21.

At Site 5442 a large area was excavated both under and adjacent to the dwelling as well as a few units in the nearby yard area. The sparsity of excavation in the far yard, particularly near Feature 8, may be responsible for the low proportion of ceramics.

A view of Table 21 also indicates that there is a somewhat lower proportion of nails than is found at most sites. A possible explanation for this is the fact that the dwelling was dismantled and removed from this site. One site with a high percentage of nails, 5448, definitely burned down and hence left more architectural hardware. Site 5443, like site 5442, was dismantled and also had a low proportion of nails.

Two refuse filled features, Features 8 and 55, were found at this site. The well (Feature 55) contained 7833 artifacts. These are broken down by type and compared with the other two excavated wells (Feature 3 and 12) below (Table 22).

Surprisingly, the three wells have a lower proportion of bottles and ceramics than the general yard (except 5448). This statistic is somewhat misleading, however, due to the great quantity of nails (see below); the frequency of bottles and ceramics is actually quite dense. Our excavations indicate, however, that these "kitchen" type artifacts are most dense, at least during the antebellum period, on slopes and in shallow refuse pits (see below).

The greater number and high percentage of the machine cut nails in Feature 55 are obviously striking. Their location on the outer edges of Feature 55 suggest that the well had a wood lining which has since decomposed. Whether this was the case in Feature 3 is unclear. Although it had a lower proportion of nails overall, their actual number is very high. The percentage figure could be somewhat misleading in this case because of the overall greater quantity of material in Feature 3 (see site 5448).

Chronologically, Feature 55 dates from the second to third quarter of the nineteenth century. Among the diagnostic artifacts are three identifiable ceramic marks dating from 1842-1851, 1842-1882, and 1851-1882, respectively (Godden, 1964:230-231). Other diagnostics include printed, painted, sponged, and slip decorated whiteware, empontilled bottle bases, and bottles with hand applied lip/necks.

The small refuse pit (Feature 8) contained 116 artifacts (excluding brick fragments). As can be seen in Table 23, this feature had a much higher percentage of ceramics than the wells. The proportion of bone is

| | 5442 | | 5443 | | 5444 | | 5445 | | 5446 | | 5447 | | 5448 | |
|-----------------------|--------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|--------|-------|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Window Glass | 4,481 | 17.2 | 402 | 5.0 | 261 | 5.0 | 320 | 2.8 | 93 | 1.9 | 682 | 22.7 | 3,331 | 8.7 |
| Bottles and Tableware | 5,450 | 20.9 | 1,268 | 15.7 | 952 | 18.2 | 1,537 | 13.6 | 516 | 10.5 | 475 | 15.8 | 5,260 | 13.8 |
| Other Glass | 154 | 0.6 | 28 | 0.3 | 35 | 0.7 | 25 | 0.2 | 10 | 0.2 | 17 | 0.6 | 520 | 1.4 |
| Total Glass | 10,085 | 38.7 | 1,698 | 21.0 | 1,248 | 23.9 | 1,882 | 16.6 | 619 | 12.6 | 1,174 | 39.0 | 9,111 | 23.9 |
| Ceramic Containers | 2,528 | 9.7 | 2,157 | 26.7 | 504 | 9.6 | 3,246 | 28.6 | 84 | 1.7 | 939 | 31.2 | 1,987 | 5.2 |
| Other Ceramic | 35 | 0.1 | 27 | 0.3 | 13 | 0.3 | 32 | 0.3 | 11 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.1 | 45 | 0.1 |
| Total Ceramic | 2,563 | 9.8 | 2,184 | 27.0 | 517 | 9.9 | 3,278 | 28.9 | 95 | 1.9 | 941 | 31.3 | 2,032 | 5.3 |
| Nails | 10,491 | 40.2 | 2,435 | 30.1 | 3,061 | 58.5 | 4,999 | 44.1 | 2,139 | 43.5 | 729 | 24.2 | 19,792 | 51.8 |
| Other Structural | 152 | 0.6 | 25 | 0.3 | 19 | 0.4 | 18 | 0.2 | 92 | 1.9 | 12 | 0.4 | 307 | 0.8 |
| Other Metal | 2,002 | 7.7 | 502 | 6.2 | 344 | 6.6 | 386 | 3.4 | 1,908 | 38.8 | 83 | 2.8 | 4,992 | 13.1 |
| Total Metal | 12,645 | 48.5 | 2,962 | 36.6 | 3,424 | 65.5 | 5,403 | 47.7 | 4,139 | 84.2 | 824 | 27.4 | 25,091 | 65.7 |
| Unmodified Bone | 396 | 1.5 | 721 | 8.9 | 25 | 0.5 | 527 | 4.7 | 5 | 0.1 | 2 | 0.1 | 979 | 2.6 |
| Bone Artifacts | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 0.1 |
| Unmodified Shell | 104 | 0.4 | 395 | 4.9 | 8 | 0.2 | 221 | 2.0 | 46 | 0.9 | 64 | 2.1 | 264 | 0.8 |
| Shell Artifacts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 0.1 |
| Other | 317 | 1.2 | 126 | 1.6 | 8 | 0.2 | 17 | 0.2 | 14 | 0.3 | 4 | 0.1 | 637 | 1.7 |
| Total | 26,111 | 100.1 | 8,090 | 100 | 5,230 | 100.2 | 11,329 | 100.1 | 4,918 | 100 | 3,009 | 100 | 38,165 | 100.2 |

Table 20. Total site artifacts.

| | 5442 | | 5443 | | 5444 | | 5445 | | 5446 | | 5447 | | 5448 | |
|----------------------------|--------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|--------|------|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Window Glass | 3,718 | 20.5 | 358 | 5.7 | 261 | 5.0 | 314 | 3.2 | 93 | 1.9 | 682 | 22.7 | 1,883 | 12.3 |
| Bottle Glass and Tableware | 4,821 | 26.5 | 1,084 | 17.2 | 952 | 18.2 | 1,398 | 14.2 | 516 | 10.5 | 475 | 15.8 | 2,733 | 17.9 |
| Other Glass | 109 | 0.6 | 24 | 0.4 | 35 | 0.7 | 25 | 0.3 | 10 | 0.2 | 17 | 0.6 | 138 | 0.9 |
| Total Glass | 8,648 | 47.6 | 1,466 | 23.3 | 1,248 | 23.9 | 1,737 | 17.7 | 619 | 12.6 | 1,174 | 39.0 | 4,754 | 31.1 |
| Ceramic Containers | 2,005 | 11.0 | 2,036 | 32.3 | 504 | 9.6 | 3,055 | 31.0 | 84 | 1.7 | 939 | 31.2 | 735 | 4.8 |
| Other Ceramic | 21 | 0.1 | 22 | 0.4 | 13 | 0.3 | 28 | 0.3 | 11 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.1 | 21 | .1 |
| Total Ceramic | 2,026 | 11.1 | 2,058 | 32.7 | 517 | 9.9 | 3,083 | 31.3 | 95 | 1.9 | 941 | 31.3 | 756 | 4.9 |
| Nails | 5,739 | 31.6 | 2,071 | 32.9 | 3,061 | 58.5 | 4,348 | 44.2 | 2,139 | 43.5 | 729 | 24.2 | 8,288 | 54.3 |
| Other Structural | 141 | 0.8 | 21 | 0.3 | 19 | 0.4 | 18 | 0.2 | 92 | 1.9 | 12 | 0.4 | 172 | 1.1 |
| Other Metal | 1,428 | 7.9 | 195 | 3.1 | 344 | 6.6 | 359 | 3.6 | 1,908 | 38.8 | 83 | 2.8 | 864 | 5.7 |
| Total Metal | 7,308 | 40.3 | 2,287 | 36.3 | 3,424 | 65.5 | 4,725 | 48.0 | 4,139 | 84.2 | 824 | 27.4 | 9,324 | 61.1 |
| Unmodified Bone | 60 | 0.3 | 251 | 4.0 | 25 | 0.5 | 122 | 1.2 | 5 | 0.1 | 2 | 0.1 | 83 | 0.5 |
| Bone Artifacts | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Unmodified Shell | 48 | 0.3 | 211 | 3.4 | 8 | 0.2 | 158 | 1.6 | 46 | 0.9 | 64 | 2.1 | 88 | 0.6 |
| Shell Artifacts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 70 | 0.4 | 19 | 0.3 | 8 | 0.2 | 16 | 0.2 | 14 | 0.3 | 4 | 0.1 | 264 | 1.7 |
| Total | 18,160 | 100 | 6,295 | 100 | 5,230 | 100.2 | 9,841 | 100 | 4,918 | 100 | 3,009 | 100 | 15,269 | 99.9 |

Table 21. Artifacts from outside of the refuse features.

| | Feature 55 (5442) | | Feature 12 (5443) | | Feature 3 (5448) | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------|-------------|
| | Count | % | Count | % | Count | % |
| Window Glass | 760 | 9.7 | 44 | 2.5 | 1,310 | 11.0 |
| Bottles and Tableware | 615 | 7.8 | 184 | 10.2 | 1,338 | 11.3 |
| Other Glass | 45 | 0.6 | 4 | 0.2 | 315 | 2.7 |
| Total Glass | <u>1,420</u> | <u>18.1</u> | <u>232</u> | <u>12.9</u> | <u>2,963</u> | <u>25.0</u> |
| Ceramic Container | 493 | 6.3 | 121 | 6.7 | 642 | 5.4 |
| Other Ceramic | 13 | 0.2 | 5 | 0.3 | 11 | 0.1 |
| Total Ceramic | <u>506</u> | <u>6.5</u> | <u>126</u> | <u>7.0</u> | <u>653</u> | <u>5.5</u> |
| Machine Cut Nails | 4,708 | 60.1 | 358 | 20.0 | 2,605 | 22.0 |
| Wire Nails | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0.3 | 1,223 | 10.3 |
| Total Nails | <u>4,714</u> | <u>60.2</u> | <u>364</u> | <u>20.3</u> | <u>3,828</u> | <u>32.3</u> |
| Other Structural | 11 | 0.1 | 4 | 0.2 | 74 | 0.6 |
| Other Metal | 565 | 7.2 | 307 | 17.1 | 3,651 | 30.8 |
| Total Metal | <u>5,290</u> | <u>67.5</u> | <u>675</u> | <u>37.6</u> | <u>7,553</u> | <u>63.8</u> |
| Unmodified Bone | 315 | 4.0 | 470 | 26.2 | 234 | 2.0 |
| Bone Artifacts | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1 | 5 | 0 |
| Unmodified Shell | 56 | 0.7 | 184 | 10.3 | 90 | 0.8 |
| Shell Artifacts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 246 | 3.1 | 107 | 6.0 | 345 | 2.9 |
| Total | <u>7,833</u> | <u>99.9</u> | <u>1,795</u> | <u>100.1</u> | <u>11,843</u> | <u>100</u> |

Table 22. Artifacts from wells.

| | Feature 8 (5442) | | Feature 21 (5445) | |
|-----------------------|------------------|------|-------------------|------|
| | Count | % | Count | % |
| Window Glass | 3 | 2.6 | 6 | 0.4 |
| Bottles and Tableware | 14 | 12.1 | 139 | 9.3 |
| Other Glass | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Glass | 17 | 14.7 | 145 | 9.7 |
| Ceramic Containers | 30 | 25.9 | 191 | 12.8 |
| Other Ceramic | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0.3 |
| Total Ceramic | 30 | 25.9 | 195 | 13.1 |
| Machine Cut Nails | 38 | 32.6 | 651 | 43.8 |
| Wire Nails | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Nails | 38 | 32.6 | 651 | 43.8 |
| Other Structural | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other Metal | 9 | 7.9 | 27 | 1.8 |
| Total Metal | 47 | 40.5 | 678 | 45.6 |
| Unmodified Bone | 21 | 18.1 | 405 | 27.2 |
| Bone Artifacts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Unmodified Shell | 0 | 0 | 64 | 4.3 |
| Shell Artifacts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 1 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.1 |
| Total | 116 | 100 | 1,488 | 100 |

Table 23. Artifacts from refuse pits.

also higher than the wells, except for Feature 12. The other refuse pit from Barton, Feature 21 (see site 5445), also had a high proportion of ceramics and bone.

Chronologically, Feature 8 dates from the second to third quarter of the nineteenth century. This dating is supported by the presence of early decorated whiteware, applied bottle lip/neck fragments, and empon-tilled bottle bases.

Overall, the artifacts from site 5442 support the historically documented occupation dates. Artifacts such as transfer printed, hand painted, and shell edge decorated ceramics as well as applied lip/necks support the mid-nineteenth-century starting dates for the site. A high number of late artifacts such as machine-made bottles and wire nails support the early-twentieth-century end date. The ratio of cut to wire nails (5/1) is very low and only comparable to site 5448, which was also occupied well into the twentieth century.

Summary

This housesite is one of the better documented Barton sites, from all information sources. Its occupation spans the 1850s to the 1930s, and it is representative of most major types of occupation and use in Barton. It began as the home for a successful and early Barton merchant, then passed to another merchant, perhaps less successful in business at Barton but of considerable means from prairie lands and slaves. Two other mid-century Barton families also occupied the site. Most of the site's occupants also owned and farmed lands outside the Barton townsite, as well as conducting business in Barton. After the decline of the mercantile town of Barton, certainly complete by 1870, the townsite was more heavily used for agricultural purposes and during the twentieth century, occupants are known to have supported themselves by raising and selling produce at this site. This site also became a twentieth century center for much of the social activity that united the early twentieth century residents, most already linked by extensive kin ties. Several local residents recalled the house as oriented north-south, built upon piers, and with two main and two side rooms, a chimney, and a porch.

The archaeological excavations, which were the most extensive of Phase III, produced many features and more than 26,000 artifacts. The latter support the mid-nineteenth to twentieth century occupation span suggested by oral and documentary resources.

Structural features, which include a brick chimney base, three brick pier bases, four driplines, and several postholes, indicate that the house was oriented in a north-south direction, was about 36 ft x 20 ft in size, and with a porch on its western side. The brick piers and driplines indicate that the house probably had either three rooms or two rooms and a large dogtrot.

Two refuse filled features, a dug well and a trash pit, were encountered during excavation. Both of these were filled between the

second and third quarters of the nineteenth century and contained much whiteware, bottle glass, nails, and faunal material. The well appears to have had a wooden lining.

One final observation is an apparent change in refuse patterns. It appears that before the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century there was a conscious effort to place refuse either under the ground or on the slope west of the house. After this period, refuse seems to have been scattered in a more random fashion over most of the site, and this change may correspond with the demise of Barton as a town.

FOOTNOTES

1. Deed, H. S. Bennett to A. T. Morse, 3 June 1851, Clay County Deed Book D:548-549; deed of trust, Peter Warren to David Lloyd and A. Boykin, 15 September 1843, Clay County Deed book C:460; see also Minnerly, Oral Historical, Documentary, and Archaeological Investigations, 1982, Figure 13; deed, A. T. and G. G. Morse to Robert McGowan, 12 September 1851, Clay County Deed Book D:554.
2. 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, Enumeration #628/628.
3. Ibid.; also Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1851, 1852, 1853, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.
4. 1850 Federal Population Census, Monroe County, Mississippi, Western Division, Enumeration #50 and 51 (see Lillian Mann, 1850 Census, Monroe County, Mississippi, Aberdeen, Mississippi: Allmond Printing Co., 1976); marriage, William Rainey and Eliza Ward, 18 August 1846, Monroe County Marriage Book 1834-1850, p. 612, cited from Betty Wood Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History, 1979.
5. Mississippi Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration; Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1851, 1852.
6. Marriage, William E. Rainey and Martha S. Hill, 19 February 1856, Monroe County Marriage Book 1850-1858, p. 519, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 198; marriage, James M. Capshaw and Jane B. Clune, 18 August 1842, Monroe County Marriage Book 1834-1850, cited from Thomas, p. 39.
7. Deed, William Rainey to M. R. Duling, 15 February 1856, Clay County Deed Book F:493; election returns, Record Group 28, Secretary of State, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History; 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, Enumeration #195; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #891/905; 1850 Federal Census of Agriculture, cited from Thomas, 1850 Census; marriage, R.O. Johnson and Kate Hackworth, 1 April 1858, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 129.
8. Mississippi Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 38; Personal Property Rolls, Lowndes County, 1857; for M. R. Duling's property see land abstracts for Barton and Section 31, Township 16, Range 8, Clay County Courthouse, and Sectional Indexes for Section 23 and 25, Township 16, Range 19 W, Lowndes County Courthouse.

9. Deed, A. B. and M. L. Duling to William J. Futrell, 2 February 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:518-519; deed of trust, William J. Futrell to John A. Curtis, use of Mary R. Duling, 20 February 1857, Clay County Deed Book E:464; deed of trust, William J. Futrell to Benj. H. Ford, use of John K. Kelley, 20 September 1860, Clay County Deed Book F:598; deed, E. A. Atkinson to William J. Futrell, 29 December 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:530-531.
10. See Chapter 2 for more detail on the Futrells and their early settlement; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #893/ 907; 1850 Federal Census of Agriculture, cited from Betty Wood Thomas, 1850 Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, Columbus: Blewitt Co., 1978.
11. Deed, E. A. Atkinson to William J. Futrell, 29 December 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:530-531; deed, E. C. Eggleston, sheriff to E. A. Atkinson, 21 October 1861, Clay County Deed Book G:81-82; deed, Mrs. E. V. Gaston to J. R. Johnson, 26 January 1866, Clay County Deed Book E:613-614; deed, J. R. Johnson to W. V. Futrell, 20 March 1866, Clay County Deed Book E:615-616; marriage, William V. Futrell and Roseline C. Westbrook, 14 August 1866, Lowndes County Marriage Book 5:406, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 35; Personal Property Rolls, Lowndes County, 1851, 1852, 1853; 1860 Federal Census of Agriculture, Lowndes County, Mississippi, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
12. See land abstracts for Section 31, Township 16, Range 8, Section 36, Township 16, Range 7, and Barton, Mississippi, Clay County Courthouse; 1860 Federal Population Census, #911/926; deed, Bardine Richardson to Mary E. Coltrane, 29 December 1879, Clay County Deed Book 10:425-426; deed, W. M. Coltrane, Jr. to Eveline C. Edens, 20 October 1907, Clay County Deed Book 40:280; deed, Evelina C. Edens and husband to M. W. Atkins, 14 October 1919, Clay County Deed Book 47:228; deed, W. M. Coltrane to M. W. Atkins, 31 October 1919, Clay County Deed Book 47:228; deed of trust, M. W. Atkins and wife to Jan Uithoven, 8 November 1919, Clay County Mortgage Book 13:281; oil lease, Jan Uithoven to J. F. Caradine, 8 May 1920, Clay County Deed Book 48:262.
13. McClurken, James M. and Peggy U. Anderson, Oral History Interview Transcripts, Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project, Performed under contract with the U. S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, Southwest Region, for the U. S. Army Engineer District, Mobile, Contract C-07026, 1981, pp. 1003 (Andrew Lenoir), 875 (Emmett Lenoir), 1454 (Nathaniel Lenoir), 571-3 (James Hendrix), and 48 (George Howard).
14. Ibid., pp. 1373 (Mary E. Coltrane), 1004-5, 1049 (Andrew Lenoir); Clay County Personal Assessment Roll, 1906, Clay County Courthouse, West Point, Mississippi.
15. McClurken and Anderson, pp. 1257 (Flora Perkins Keller), 613, 623 (James Hendrix), 1353 (Robert Harris), and 1115-1116 (Josie Kennedy); much genealogical information provided by Hattie Box, personal communications to Peggy Uland Anderson, see also Oral History Interview 127.

16. McClurken and Anderson, pp. 1106-1109 (Josie Harris Kennedy), 1338 (Robert Harris).
17. Ibid., pp. 561, 588, 610-612 (James Hendrix).
18. Ibid., pp. 588, 612 (James Hendrix), and 1378 (Robert Harris).

CHAPTER 5. SITE 5443

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

Site 5443 is situated southwest of the intersection of the major east-west and north-south historic roads within the townsite of Barton, and all historical evidence indicates that it was the Barton hotel. On the reconstructed plat of Barton (Figure 7), it is located within Block 8, and an 1864 deed specifies that the hotel and stable were on Block 8 and the southern half of Block 7. This site was probably the locus of much activity since it included a tavern as well as the hotel and stable. The stage stop for Jemison, Ficklan, and Powell, Stage Contractors, was one block down the main street of Barton, and the town must have seen much through traffic from the Columbus-Aberdeen Road, which connected two growing county seats. In addition to accommodating travelers, site 5443 also served as a boarding place for some Barton residents, as a locus of such official activity as notarizing property transfers, and as a place to hold business meetings.¹ After the 1860s, information about most Barton sites is scarce, and toward the turn of the century it is extensive for only a few sites. We know little about the use of the hotel site itself but are fortunate in that the structure was probably moved north toward Darracott by a Vinton-related family. Many members of this family remain in the area today, and they as well as other residents and neighbors provided information and a photograph of what was probably the Barton hotel (Figure 20).²

The first known owner of the Barton hotel was Agrissa G. Hanks. Judging from the 1850 Federal Census, Hanks was already in Barton in 1850 and running the hotel. His household included himself, aged 42 and listed as a gunwright from South Carolina; his wife Mary E., aged 39 and born in North Carolina; and children Francis A., aged seven, and William, aged two, both born in Mississippi. Hanks was not a newcomer to Mississippi, as indicated by the birthplace of his eldest child and by his marriage in 1837 to Mary E. Anderson, which took place in Lowndes County. Three early Barton merchants resided with the Hanks family in 1850: John A. Warren, who was also postmaster; John A. Curtis; and Miles Johnson. Warren, aged 28, was the son of the Barton merchant Peter Warren, whose residence was in Block 18. John A. Curtis, then 24 years old, and his brother James Curtis had moved to Barton from Colbert, and James is thought to have built Cedar Oaks, the only structure remaining today from the mid-nineteenth century occupation. John Curtis owned one parcel of land in Barton, but its location and description suggest it was his store site; he may have resided in the hotel while in business at Barton, which he ended in 1858. Miles Johnson, who was 56 years old in 1850, probably did not reside long in the Barton hotel. R. G. Dun and Company agents reported that in the mid-1850s he had a substantial house in Barton besides his store property.³



Figure 20. The Barton Hotel after removal to Darracott (ca. 1905).
Photo courtesy of Olive Maude Duke Bradley.

As trustee for the stockholders of the town of Barton, Hendley S. Bennett deeded the south half of Block 7 to Hanks in February 1852 for \$10.00. Hendley S. Bennett also transferred Block 8 to Edward W. Bennett in 1852, and it was Edward and his wife Minerva who deeded Block 8 to Hanks in 1853 for \$15.00. This transaction also included Block 9. Many transactions in Barton had been delayed until the town was platted and Bennett and Morse, as trustees, had gained title. Although these transactions are later than some, they do not preclude the hotel, run by Hanks, being on Block 8 by 1850 or before. The county granted Hanks a liquor license in 1854 and 1856.⁴

No records have been found to indicate how much money Hanks took in from the hotel or the cost of room and board there. Hanks was taxed in 1851 for one clock and four slaves, in 1852 for one clock and one slave, and in 1853 for one clock and two slaves. His real estate in the 1850 Federal Census was valued at \$2,500, and at that time he owned little property other than the hotel.⁵ He is listed in the 1850 Federal Census as a gunwright, and the fact that he does not appear in the agricultural schedule for the census suggest that Hanks did not raise crops or keep much livestock for the hotel. Records from the estate of David Moore, owner of a large plantation about four miles west of Barton, indicate that Hanks purchased large quantities of fodder, butter, and corn from the plantation in 1851 and 1852. Table 24 shows these purchases, all made in cash.⁶ The obvious seasonality is probably a result of several factors, including the availability of goods, increased travel (and therefore hotel business) during the summer, and the problems of crossing the muddy prairie to Moore's plantation in the wet winter months.

Other than the 1850 census cited above, there are no indications of the numbers or identities of hotel residents. Hanks's own household may have changed when his daughter, Mary Rebecca, married John Leitch on 3 March 1853. The couple probably resided in a house on adjacent Block 9, which later deeds refer to as the Leitch house.⁷

On 4 June 1853, the following advertisement appeared in the Columbus Southern Standard.⁸

For Sale! The Subscriber now offers for sale the BARTON HOTEL, Stable, Outhouses, and about ten acres of land. The buildings are now in a fine condition for immediate use. Any person wishing to embark in the business will make it to his interest to call and examine, as I am determined to sell a bargain for cash.

A. G. Hanks

Barton, Mississippi

4 June 1853

Hanks was not able to make a quick sale and retained the hotel until October 1857, when he and his wife sold it to E. A. Atkinson for \$1,200. The property consisted of Block 8, Block 9, the south half of Block 7, and the north half of Block 10. The Hanks family had purchased the first three properties from the Bennetts in 1852 and 1853, and the fourth from A. E. and James M. Collins in 1855 for \$32.00. Shortly thereafter, in January 1858, Mary E. Hanks bought from J. H. and A. M. Griswold several parcels on the western side of Barton, including Block

| Month | J | F | M | A | M | J | J | A | S | O | N | D | Total | Unit Price | Total Expenditure |
|-----------------|---|---|----|-----|------|------|------|------|-----|----|---|---|-------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1851 bu corn | | | | | 100 | 50 | 50 | 48.5 | 100 | | | | 248.5 | .625 | 155.31 |
| 1852 bu corn | | | 35 | 252 | | | | | 16 | 17 | | | 320 | .625 | 200.00 |
| 1851 lbs fodder | | | | | 3178 | | | 1456 | | | | | 4634 | .0075 | 34.75 |
| 1852 lbs fodder | | | | | | 2370 | 1222 | 1192 | | | | | 4784 | .0075 | 35.88 |
| 1851 lbs butter | | | | | | | | 98 | 33 | | 8 | 8 | 147 | .10 to .125 | 15.67 |
| 1852 lbs butter | | | | | 16 | 19 | 12 | 36 | | | | | 83 | .125 | 10.37 |
| 1852 lbs lard | | | | | | | | | 284 | | | | 284 | .08 | 22.72 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | <u>\$474.69</u> |

Table 24. Hotel purchases from the David Moore estate.

20 and the south half of Block 13, and she retained this property through the mid-1860s. By 1860, both Agrissa Hanks and John Leitch are absent from the census, and may have died. A household headed by Mary E. Hanks includes her daughter Mary R. Leitch, daughter Francis Hanks, son William, and daughter Marrietta, aged four. They were probably living near the hotel, if not in it. There is no mention of Agrissa in these deeds, nor does he appear in the 1860 census in her household.⁹

E. A. Atkinson was born in Virginia in 1815. He appears to have arrived in Mississippi no later than 1842 and to have resided near Colbert on the eastern bank of the Tombigbee River in Lowndes County. He was a close relative, probably a brother, to Jerome H. B. Atkinson, who also lived in that vicinity. The Atkinsons were either close friends or relatives of Carson Shinn and his family. Carson and E. A. were immediate neighbors in 1850, and an Elizabeth Atkinson, aged 18 and born in Virginia, was living with the Shinns at that time. E. A.'s household in 1850 included himself, then aged 35; Mary, aged eight; Jerome, aged five; and Marthina, aged two; all the children were born in Mississippi. Both Jerome H. B. and E. A. Atkinson were listed as farmers, Jerome having seven slaves and E. A. two; Jerome also possessed \$900 worth of real estate. Although Jerome appears in the Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls for 1851-1853, 1857, and 1859, being taxed for a carriage, piano, cattle, from seven to 19 slaves, and clocks and watches, E. A. Atkinson does not, even for the years 1857 and 1859, when he was probably running the Barton Hotel.¹⁰

The Atkinsons and Shinns used Barton stores and services, but it seems that only E. A. had any real interest there and was the only one to live in town. By 1857, when he bought the hotel, his household probably included himself, his wife Martha, and his three children, then aged 15, 12, and 9. From 1857-1858, he was also guardian to one of Carson Shinn's children, and his ward, Samuel Shinn, boarded with the Atkinsons at least through fall 1857 and winter 1858. In September 1857, Samuel's expenses included "one hat made" for \$1.00, most likely at the Barton hat manufactory of William Natcher. Samuel Shinn's property from his father's estate included one slave, Nancy, valued at \$1,100. By February 1859, George H. Young of Waverly was the guardian of the minor heirs of Carson Shinn. In late 1859 or 1860 E. A.'s brother Jerome died, aged 46 or 47. It is not known if Samuel Shinn continued to board with Atkinson during this time, and in fact little else is known of the Atkinson family. They do not appear on the 1860 census in Barton and may have been gone by 1859, when Benjamin Ford is thought to have taken possession of the hotel.¹¹

While the Hanks's hotel property was extensive, including two full blocks (each at least 2.5 acres) and two half blocks, the hotel itself was located on Block 8 and the stables probably on the south half of Block 7, these constituting the original parcels. Soon after buying the property in October 1857, Atkinson and his wife sold Block 9 to William J. Futrell for \$100 (Futrell already owned the next block south, Block 16; see site 5442). In 1861 Block 9 reverted back to Atkinson in a suit against one Robert A. Givens, who was said to be residing on Block 9 in the Leitch house, but the Futrells were again in possession

of Block 9 in 1866. According to the 1860 Federal Census, the Givens family was in the vicinity, and they were later to be the last owners of the hotel property.¹²

We do not know at what point E. A. Atkinson quit Barton, and there is no recorded transfer or sale of the hotel by him or his wife. By 1860 there were still residents in Barton, but most of the stores had closed or relocated to West Point. The hotel, or at least a tavern, must have continued to operate for some time, for in May 1859 Benjamin Ford was granted a license to keep a tavern in the house he then occupied in the town of Barton. Ford was the brother-in-law of Barton residents Sarah Liddle Richardson and Bardine Richardson, having married Louisa Liddle in December 1856. In 1858 Benjamin and Louisa were living on the Buttahatchee River not far from Vinton, and by 1859 they were said to be living at the Barton hotel. Although there are no records that Benjamin Ford bought the hotel or any other property in the town, he soon became the principal in several mortgages on the southeast quarter of Section 36 and Block 16 in Barton. In the last municipal election, held in 1859, he was chosen as one of the Barton selectmen.¹³

Benjamin Ford either had been a partner in the tavern before 1859 or was running it occasionally for Atkinson, although references to the tavern in 1858 clearly mark it as Atkinson's property. In 1857, Lowndes County taxed Benjamin Ford for \$1,684 worth of sales, of which \$1,477 was for liquor; this is the only available estimate for sales at the hotel/tavern. Ford was also taxed for one carriage and one watch in 1857 and for one watch in 1859, with no sales listed for that year. Oddly, Benjamin and Sarah L. Ford do not appear in the 1860 Federal Census for the Barton area, although Bardine and Sarah L. Richardson do. They may have left the area, or the census taker may have missed them. Little is known of them thereafter, and in 1864 they sold to Catherine Givens -- through Bardine Richardson, Ford's attorney and agent -- Block 8 and the south half of Block 7, "on which stood the Barton Hotel and Stable." The price of \$400 may have represented postwar inflation, since it seems the hotel structure was gone.¹⁴ This deed indicates that the Barton hotel no longer stood, and an 1861 deed noted that the Givens family was living on adjacent Block 9. When they purchased Lot 8 and the south half of Block 7 in 1864, they may have intended to move there, or they may just have wanted to acquire additional land adjacent to their house on Block 9. In 1860 this family consisted of Robert Givens, aged 49 and from Tennessee; his wife Catherine, aged 49 and from North Carolina; and children Margaret, aged 25; Enoch, aged 21; Burrell, aged 18; Mary, aged 13; and Monah, aged 8, all born in Mississippi. Robert is listed as a carpenter with \$500 of real estate and \$900 of personal estate. His sons, Enoch and Burrell, are listed as a farm laborer and laborer, respectively.¹⁵

Robert does appear in the personal property rolls through the 1850s but was taxed only for his poll and an occasional watch, with no indication of any quantity of livestock or slaves. In 1850 he was living on the east side of the river, close to E. A. Atkinson, where he had a farm of 80 improved and 320 unimproved acres, collectively worth \$100. He had on the farm \$4.0 worth of livestock, and in 1850 his crops were 900 bu of corn, 7 bales of cotton, 50 bu of oats, 75 lb of wool, 10 bu of

peas and bean, 4 bu of Irish potatoes, 200 bu of sweet potatoes, and 50 lb of butter produced from two milch cows. Other livestock included 10 cows, 17 sheep, 4 horses, and 50 pigs. Although Robert's occupation in 1860 is listed as carpenter, the family probably continued some farming at Barton, which may have been their reason for acquiring the old hotel property in 1864.¹⁶

Little else is known of the Givens family other than that Robert's son Burrell married Octavia Barham Keaton Richardson in 1865, indicating some ties, if not continued residence, at Barton. Octavia was the daughter of E. B. and Emmeline Barham, and before her marriage to James Keaton of Vinton, she had resided with them on their farm in the south-east quarter of Section 36, just adjacent to Barton, during most of the 1850s. By 1870 Burrell Givens was "parts unknown" to his wife, and a short time later she was living in Columbus. Robert and Catherine do not appear in the 1870 census for the Barton area. The Givens also may have been related to the Duling family, living in Barton in 1860, as suggested by an 1858 Duling-Givens marriage. In 1850 the Dulings resided in the general vicinity of the Givens and E. A. Atkinson, on the east side of the river. They came to Barton around 1856, and this marriage may have been one reason the Givens family relocated in Barton as well.¹⁷

There are no other recorded transfers for Blocks 7 or 8 in Barton, and the hotel was probably gone by 1864. Local residents and descendants of William Duke remember the William Duke home, about one mile north of the Clay-Monroe County border, as being constructed from a stagecoach inn near Barton's Ferry, either the building itself or the lumber from it having been moved north by J. A. K. Smith, who lived in the structure before the William Duke family. Little is known of Mr. Smith, but by 1870 he had acquired the north half of Section 14, Township 16, Range 7, about four miles north-northwest of Barton, which G. W. Mealor had held in 1860. Mr. Smith lived in the hotel-house until he was killed, the victim of a highway robbery.

William Duke was the son of Reason and Rebecca Duke, both born in Georgia. By 1850 they had moved to Mississippi from Alabama, where most of their children were born. They may have migrated to the Vinton area with the Keatons in the early 1840s, as Rebecca Duke and Harriett Keaton, wife of Sherod, were sisters. The Dukes resided in the northern part of Vinton near the mouth of the Buttahatchee River and may have had some interest in the Warren business in 1854. In 1858 their son William married Frances Gibson, and in 1860 William and Fanny were living near W. E. Trotter and adjacent to the household headed by William's mother, Rebecca.

During the 1870s, William Duke acquired land in Monroe County from J. A. K. Smith, J. D. Tatum, and others, and by 1890, if not earlier, his property included the house which had been moved from Barton. According to Lee Alton Duke, grandson of William, the house originally may have been one story, with the second story added after it was moved to Monroe County. Figure 6 shows the structure in about 1905. The house burned in the mid-twentieth century.¹⁸

Salvaging structures rather than building new ones was predominant throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century at Barton, and it is very unlikely that additional structures, other than small cribs or barns, were constructed in this area. There was also little further deed activity. The hotel site was in the northern end of the seven acre strip of Barton land that William Coltrane, Jr., deeded to his sister Evalina C. Edens in 1907, William and Mary Coltrane having purchased most of Section 31 from Sarah and Bardine Richardson in 1879. Mrs. Edens retained possession until 1919, at which time it went to M. W. Atkins and soon after to Jan Uithoven; it has remained in the Uithoven family since. Several other sites, notably site 5442, were included in this strip. See Chapter 3 for more detail on these later transactions.

Archaeology

The hotel site is located on the northern extremity of the western ridge and includes the ridgetop as well as the moderate western and northern slopes. It encompasses 2944 m², and site elevation ranges from 220 to 228 ft above sea level. Since its abandonment, intensive cultivation has disturbed the southern half of the site, including plow scars penetrating the chimney base. The northern half has been regularly cleared and scraped because it falls within the TVA electrical powerline right-of-way, and this activity has completely removed the original A1 and A2 horizons. Today, the profile contains only an incipient A1 horizon immediately overlying the B1 and/or B2 horizons.

Vegetation over the southern half of the site is fairly dense, consisting mostly of loblolly pines and small hardwoods, although there is also one small stand of crepe myrtle. The powerline clearing contains only grasses and shrubs. In general, the stratigraphy at this site is not very complex. Variations are due primarily to erosion on the slopes and disturbances in the powerline area. The soil profiles are grouped as follows (Figure 21).

Type I

0-18 cm--10YR5/4 yellowish brown sandy clay (disturbed zone--not continuous);

0-20 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown to 10YR3/3 dark brown sandy loam and humus (this zone is either below the above zone or in areas where that zone is absent);

20-25 cm--10YR5/4 yellowish brown to 10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

25 cm+--5YR4/6 yellowish red to 2.5YR4/6 red silty clay.

This profile type is located around the south of the chimney base (Feature 11). Its diagnostic attributes include the disturbed sandy clay surface zone in some localities and the very thick and dark A1/Ao horizon.

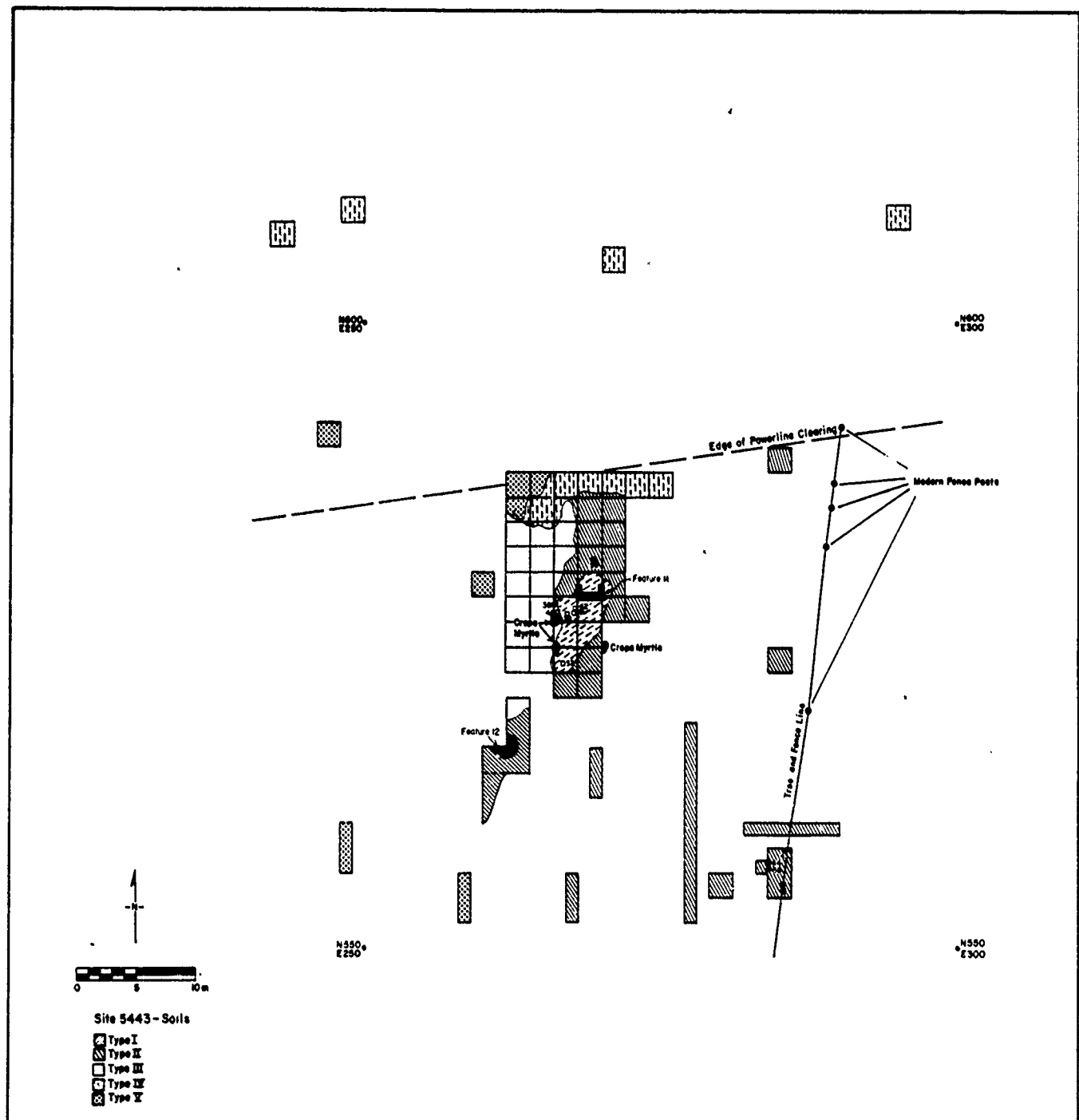


Figure 21. Site 5443, excavation plan and soil types.

Type II

0-8 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown;

8-20 cm--10YR5/4 yellowish brown to 10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

20-30 cm--7.5YR4/6 to 5/6 strong brown sandy clay (not continuous);

20-30 cm+--2.5YR4/6 to 4/8 red silty clay (this zone is either below the above zone or in areas where that zone is absent).

This profile type is typical for the Barton townsite and is found on the ridgetop areas.

Type III

0-15 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown to 7.5YR3/2 dark brown humus and sandy loam to sandy clay;

15-20 cm--7.5YR5/6 strong brown to 10YR5/6 yellowish brown sandy clay (not continuous);

15-20 cm+--2.5YR4/6 to 4/8 red silty clay (this zone is either below the above zone or in areas where that zone is absent).

This profile type is located on the top and middle portions of the western slope. Diagnostic aspects include the thick A1/A0 horizon and the lack of a typical A2 horizon. The thickness of the upper zone could be related to refuse disposal.

Type IV

0-5 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown to 4/3 dark brown sandy loam and humus;

0-10 cm--7.5YR4/6 to 5/6 strong brown to 10YR5/6 yellowish brown sandy clay;

10-20 cm+--2.5YR4/6 to 4/8 red silty clay.

This profile type is located in the powerline clearing in the northern half of the site. As does Type III, it lacks the typical A2 horizon (10YR5/4 to 6/4); this is undoubtedly the result of scraping and erosion. It differs from Type III in having a much thinner A1/A0 horizon (10YR3/2 to 4/3).

Type V

0-5 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown to 10YR4/3 dark brown sandy loam and humus;

5-20 cm--2.5YR4/6 to 4/8 red silty clay.

Undoubtedly the result of heavy erosion, this profile type is located in the lower parts of the western slope both in and out of the powerline clearing.

Excavation

At site 5443, eight units (32 m²) were excavated during Phases I and II testing. From these excavations we located the base of the hotel's southern chimney (Feature 11) and an unlined well (Feature 12). The yard area surrounding the chimney was also investigated, and approximate site limits were determined through the shovel testing program. During Phase III, 241 m² were excavated, mainly around the hotel locale (Figure 21), in the hope of finding more structural features. Units were also placed in the general yard area (primarily to the south) and around the deep well (Feature 12) and slope in order to investigate refuse disposal patterns. As at site 5442, all units at this site were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and during Phases I and II the soil was shoveled out and passed through a quarter-inch mesh wire screen; during Phase III the soil was removed by careful troweling only, with some artifacts piece plotted.

Structural Features

The only feature definitely associated with the hotel is a chimney base 2.1 m (E/W) by 1.1 m (N/S) and two courses thick (see Figures 21 and 22). The firebox was on the northern side. Excavators uncovered 11 post holes at this site, but none were unquestionably associated with the structure. Most, if not all, were probably associated with more recent fenceposts; four of the post holes contained fenceposts or remnants and many are in line with recent fences.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Feature 5--Brick chimney base | 1.8 x 1.3 m and five courses thick. Single firebox on the northern end. |
| 2. Feature 37--Post hole | 24 cm in diameter and 50 cm deep. Contained brick fragments, cut nails, ceramics, and shell. |
| 3. Feature 38--Post hole | 24 cm in diameter and 17 cm deep. Fill consisted of charcoal and ash but no artifacts. |

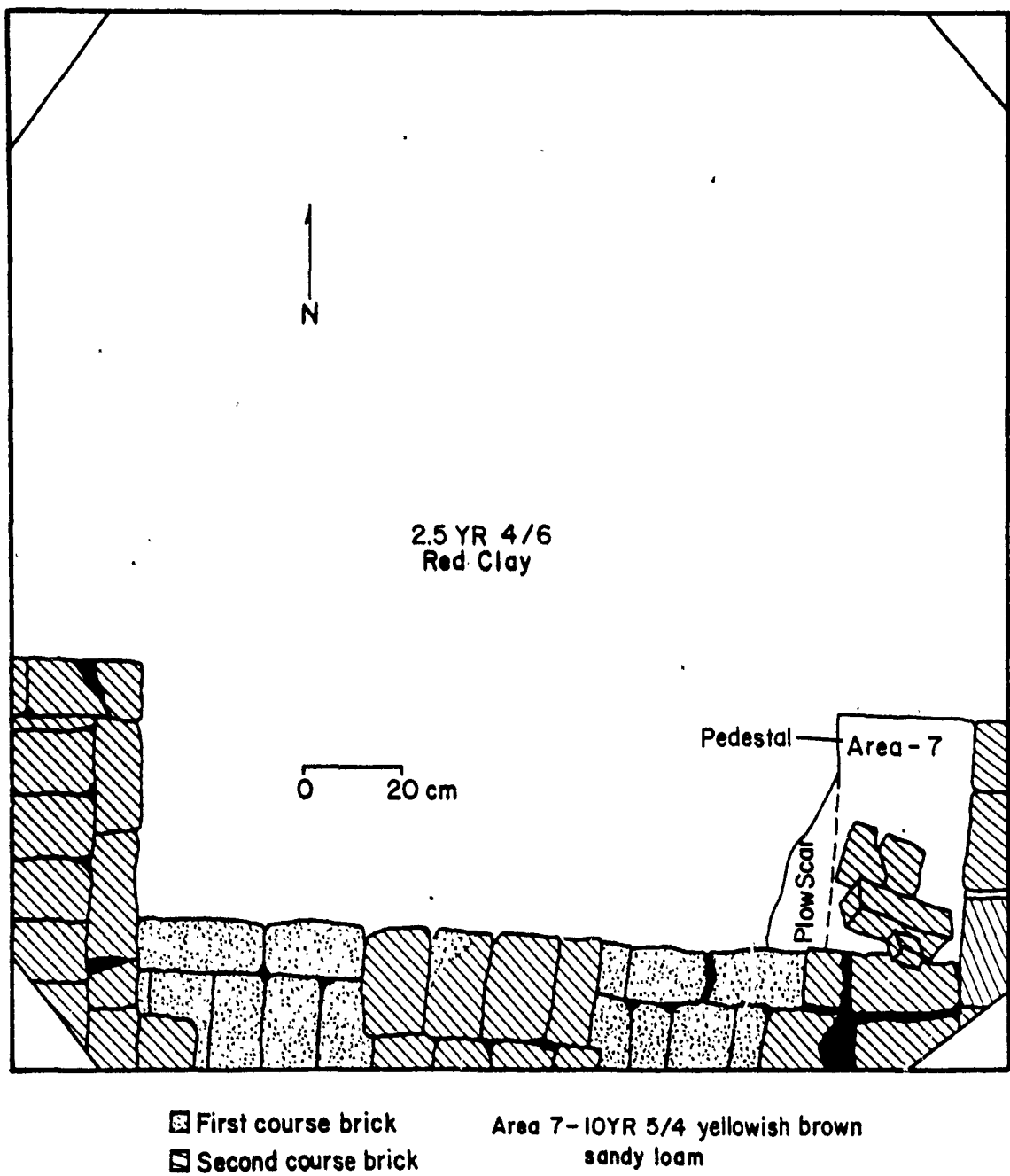


Figure 22. Feature 11 (chimney).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 4. Feature 39--Post hole | 32 cm in diameter and of unknown depth due to time constraints. Contained brick fragments. |
| 5. Feature 40--Post hole | 18 cm in diameter and 14 cm deep. Contained charcoal and brick fragments. |
| 6. Feature 41--Post hole and post | Post hole was 30 cm in diameter and 42 cm deep. Modern wooden fencepost in center of post hole measured 8 cm in diameter and 26 cm below surface. Contained brick, glass, and whiteware. |
| 7. Feature 42--Post hole and post | Post hole measured 26 cm in diameter and 36 cm deep. Wooden fencepost was 6 cm in diameter and extended 36 cm below surface. No artifacts present. |
| 8. Feature 43--Post hole and post | Post hole measured 30 cm in diameter. Depth unknown due to time constraints. Post was 14 cm in diameter. No artifacts present. |
| 9. Feature 44--Post hole | 34 cm in diameter and depth unknown. Contained no artifacts. |
| 10. Feature 45--Wooden post | Recent fencepost remnant measuring 6 cm in diameter. Depth unknown. No artifacts associated. |
| 11. Feature 58--Post hole | 18 cm in diameter and depth unknown. Contained no artifacts. |
| 12. Feature 59--Post hole | 34 cm in diameter and 8 cm deep. No associated artifacts. |

Other Features

One other feature (Feature 12) was encountered at the hotel site (Figure 23). This was a deep unlined well located at N566 E262, approximately 12 m southwest of the hotel chimney base (Figure 21). At its uppermost portion (about 20 cm below surface) this feature is roughly circular and is 2.5 m in diameter. The walls of the feature are straight or are sloped inward slightly. It was excavated to 4.3 m below surface, at which point excavation was discontinued because of wall slumping. This was definitely not the base of the well.

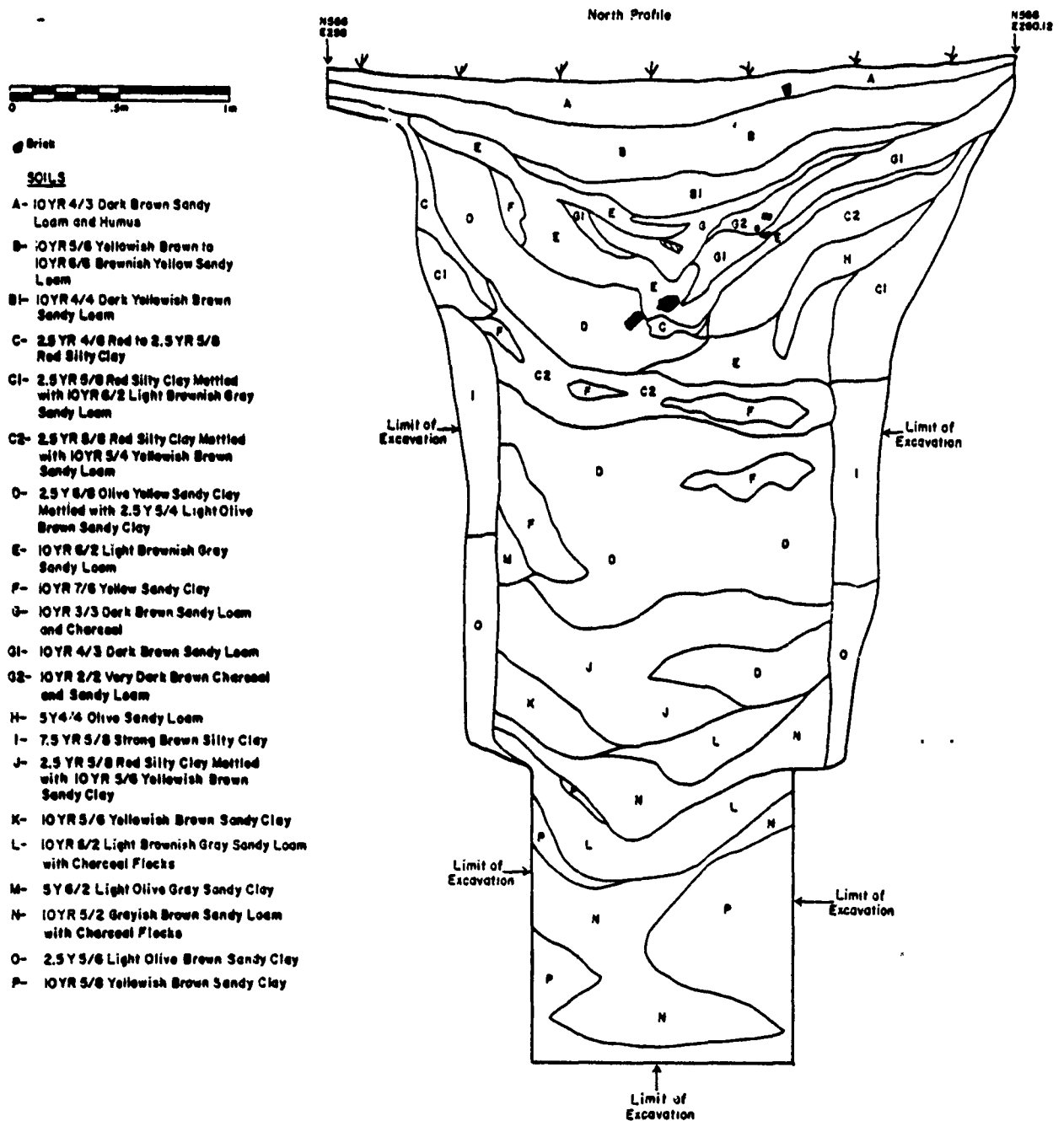


Figure 23. Site 5443, profile of Feature 12 (well).

Feature 12 at site 5443, like Feature 55 at site 5442, had very complex stratigraphy consisting of thick to thin bands of sandy loam to clay (Figure 18 and 23). Soil colors ranged from dark brown (10YR3/3), to pale brown (10YR6/3), to red (2.5YR5/8). Artifact content is discussed below.

It is interesting that in contrast to site 5442 and 5448, the distance between the well and the structure (12 m) does not fall within the range found at the Bay Springs sites. The significance is not well understood at present, but it may be related to the function of this site as a hotel rather than a residence.

Artifacts

A total of 8,090 artifacts (excluding bricks and mineral/composite/miscellaneous items) was recovered from this site, which was much less dense than site 5442. See Appendix 1 for complete artifact lists. This is undoubtedly due to the much shorter occupation at this site and the disturbed nature of its northern half.

Tables 20 and 21 detail artifact materials. In comparison with the other sites, this one falls closer to sites 5445 and 5447 in having a fairly high number and proportion of ceramics and a lower proportion of structural metal. The low metal (nails) is possibly related to the dismantling and removal of the hotel. Also important is the fact that much of the excavation was centered on the slope to the west and southwest of the structure. This area and that surrounding the chimney base appear to have been refuse disposal sites. Refuse pits (such as Features 8 and 21) and refuse areas (site 5445) have consistently demonstrated the presence of a high number and proportion of ceramics. Usually, these refuse areas also have a fairly dense amount of bone, as does this site. By viewing this site excluding Feature 12 (Table 21), one can see that the density of bone (and shell) is not simply a function of the presence of this deep feature.

Feature 12 contained 1,795 artifacts (excluding brick and mineral/composition/miscellaneous items), significantly less than was found in the other two wells (see Table 22). The ratios of artifact categories are also unique. The reason for these differences is not clear, but the lack of a wood lining could be partly responsible for the low number (358) of cut nails. The high frequency and proportion of bone and shell place it closer to the refuse pits, Feature 8 and 21. Also, the site was occupied for a much shorter period. This well may have been filled in much more quickly than the other two.

The artifacts (including Feature 12) support the early and ephemeral occupation of this site. Diagnostic artifacts include early decorated whiteware, applied lip/necks, empontilled bases, and a ceramic registry mark dating to 29 September 1851. Later artifacts, including 18 wire nails and two machine finished lip/neck fragments, undoubtedly postdate the occupation.

At present it is difficult to distinguish this site from a standard house site by archaeology alone. The use of less expensive ceramics (Chapter 11) when compared to the house sites may be an indication of its function.

Summary

The hotel site probably was occupied very intensively but relatively briefly, corresponding with the river port heyday of Barton. The hotel was functioning by 1850, and large orders of butter and hay from a nearby farm in the early 1850s suggest food preparation for more than the usual household level, both human and animal. In addition to being a place to eat and lodge while passing through, the hotel also served as a tavern, a meeting place for official and private business, and as a permanent residence for several Barton townspeople in 1850. The hotel was defunct by the mid-1860s, as were other businesses in Barton, and the structure was salvaged and moved north to Monroe County where it functioned as a private residence. During its mid-century operation the hotel property represented one of the largest parcels in Barton, and was made up of several blocks.

The archaeological data suggest a short mid-century occupation. Unfortunately, the northern half of the site has been highly disturbed by twentieth-century powerline clearing activities; most of the A horizon has been removed, and few artifacts or features remain. In the southern half of the site two important features, a dug well and a brick chimney base, were discovered. The latter was undoubtedly attached to the southern end of the hotel structure, and photographs of the converted hotel suggest that there was a chimney on the northern end of the structure as well. The well was very similar structurally to those found at sites 5442 and 5448, although it contained far fewer artifacts than these wells. This may indicate a much shorter filling episode, which in turn may be indicative of the site's shorter occupation. Overall, the low density of artifacts from site 5443 is primarily the result of the disturbed nature of the site.

FOOTNOTES

1. Deed, Bardine Richardson to Catherine Givens, 28 January 1864, Clay County Deed Book E:574; see Figure 4; testimony of A. B. Duling, September 1859, Lowndes County Chancery Case 63, J. Y. Hicks versus J. H. Griswold, et al., Clay County Courthouse, West Point, Mississippi.
2. McClurken and Anderson, pp. 1405, 1425 (Lee Alton Duke), 24 (George Howard), 242 (Burl Basinger), and 1426 (Burl Basinger and Olive Maude Bradley).
3. 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #630; MS Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 11.
4. Deed, H. S. Bennett to A. G. Hanks, 26 June 1853, Clay County Deed Book F:389-390; deed, H. S. Bennett, to A. G. Hanks, 17 February 1852, Clay County Deed Book D:585-586; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 6 October 1856 and 27 March 1854, Lowndes County Courthouse, Columbus, Mississippi.
5. Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1857, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History; 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #530.
6. 1850 Federal Census of Agriculture, see Thomas, 1850 Census; accounts of Joseph Scott (manager) for the David Moore Estate, 1851, and Money Received by William McCune for the estate of David Moore, 1852, Lowndes County Estate File 602, David Moore, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History, Columbus, Mississippi.
7. Lowndes County Marriage Book 4:35, from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 142; deed, E. C. Eggleston to E. A. Atkinson, 21 October 1861, Clay County Deed Book G:81-82.
8. Advertisement, Columbus Southern Standard, 4 June 1853.
9. Deed, A. G. and M. E. Hanks to E. A. Atkinson, 10 October 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:532; see also note 4 above; deed, A. E. and J. M. Collins to M. E. Hanks, 1 August 1855, Clay County Deed Book F:433; deed, J. H. and A. M. Griswold to M. E. Hanks, 28 January 1858, Clay County Deed Book E:462-463; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County Mississippi, #896/910.
10. 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #140, E. Atkinson, #208, Jerome H. B. Atkinson, and #141, Carson Shinn, cited from Thomas, 1850 Census; Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1858, 1859.
11. Final Report of E. A. Atkinson, 6 March 1858, Lowndes County Estate File 889-890, heirs of Carson Shinn, Lowndes County Estate File 1071, J. H. B. Atkinson, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi.

12. Deed, E. A. Atkinson to W. J. Futrell, 20 December 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:530-531; Deed, E. C. Eggleston, Sheriff to E. A. Atkinson, 21 October 1861, Clay County Deed Book G:81-82.

13. Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 9 May 1859, Lowndes County Courthouse, Columbus, Mississippi; Monroe County Marriage Book 1850-1858, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 203; Lowndes County Department of Archives and History; deed of trust, E. Barham to B. Ford et al., 5 November 1859, Clay County Deed Book E:500-501; Deed of trust, W. J. Futrell to B. Ford, 20 September 1860, Clay County Deed Book F:598; election returns, Lowndes County, 1859, Record Group 28, Secretary of State, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History.

14. Lowndes County Personal Property Roll, 1857, 1859; 1860 Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #911/926; deed, Bardine Richardson for Benj. Ford to Catherine Givens, 28 January 1864, Clay County Deed Book E:574.

15. Deed, E. C. Eggleston, sheriff, to E. A. Atkinson, 21 October 1861, Clay County Deed Book G:81-82; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #895/909.

16. Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1857, 1859; 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #136; 1850 Federal Census of Agriculture, cited from Thomas, 1850 Census, p. 60 and 184.

17. Lowndes County Marriage Book 5:329, from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 12; Clay County Chancery Cases 277 and 278, James H. Keaton, Jr. by Octavia Givens versus M. M. Richardson, Clay County Courthouse; marriage, Thomas Duling and Margaret A. Givens, Lowndes County Marriage Book 4:498, from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 67.

18. see note 2.

CHAPTER 6. SITE 5444

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

Site 5444 was probably the residence of three parties, although its occupation may not have been extensive; two of the parties were single men during most of their respective occupations, and the third, a family, appears to have resided in Barton only briefly. On the reconstructed plat of Barton, this site is in the south half of Block 10, a residential area south of the hotel. In 1851, James Collins bought Block 15, just south of Block 10, and may have lived there until he bought Cedar Oaks in January 1852. In May 1852, Collins bought several lots in Block 10, and these were probably the residence of his clerk and later partner, Benjamin Marion Howarth. Collins sold the northern half of Block 10 to Mary E. Hanks, and it remained associated with the hotel through the 1850s. Site 5444 in the southern half of Block 10 is probably the Howarth residence.¹

Little is known of Benjamin Howarth. In 1850 he was 18 years old and living in his parents' home west of Columbus. His father was a physician born in South Carolina, and his mother was born in Tennessee. The family migrated to Mississippi by way of North Carolina and Georgia and had been in Mississippi since at least 1838. There were eight children in 1850, and the family had a 70-acre farm on which they raised considerable livestock. They also had five slaves.²

James Collins started his business in Barton in 1851, and Benjamin Howarth joined him in 1852. Mrs. Benjamin Howarth, Jr., his son's wife, recalled that her father-in-law had married James Collins's daughter, Mozelle, although it is not known whether this marriage brought Benjamin to Barton and into partnership with James Collins, or was made possible by his move. Mozelle died only a year after the marriage, and Benjamin remained a widower for the rest of his stay at Barton, not remarrying until 1862 when he was living in West Point. The R. G. Dun and Company agents described him as a young man with good qualifications for business sales but of small means and little capital.³ He was taxed in 1853 for only his poll, but he must have accumulated some wealth from his Barton store position; in 1857 he was taxed for one watch, one horse, and four slaves. While at Barton, he was a trustee of the Christian Church and was one of those appointed to appraise the estate of Peter Warren. In 1859 he left Barton and continued in business with Collins at West Point.⁴

Although there were no further sales in Block 10 beyond those mentioned above, it does appear that in 1860 this house site was occupied by the W. J. and Betsy Rodgers family. They had lived in Mississippi since at least 1840 and in 1850 resided about five miles west of Barton.

They had then \$480 of real estate and three slaves. By 1860, when they were living in Barton, William J. was listed as a Negro manager with \$100 of personal estate and no real estate. Their household consisted of William J., aged 50; Betsy, aged 52; their children John, aged nine; Martha, aged seven; Margaret, aged six; and Susan, aged four; and W. R. Siles, aged 20 and listed as a farm laborer.⁵ Nothing more is known of the family, and they seem not to have remained in Barton through the 1860s.

In later years, this house site was part of the larger parcels that went from Bardine Richardson to Mary Coltrane in 1879 and to Jan Uithoven in 1913, remaining since in the Uithoven family. A. E. Wilson, who grew up in Vinton during the 1920s, remembers a little one-room shed in the vicinity of this site occupied during the 1920s by "an old bachelor."⁶

Archaeology

This small house site is located on the wide central ridge of the Barton townsite and covers an area of about 2,304 m²; its elevation ranges between 220 and 227 ft above sea level. The site area slopes gently to the west and more steeply to the northeast and east. Plowing has disturbed most of this site, and it has also been affected by modern or relatively recent dirt roads, such as the present north-south road, which bisects this site. It appears that this road was located 4 or 5 m east of its present location in the recent past. Excavation units in this older roadway indicate erosion into the B2 horizon (red silty clay).

Vegetation is moderate and includes the predominant species, loblolly pine, and numerous young hardwoods. There are no ornamental species within site limits. The stratigraphy is not complex; in fact, the majority of the site is on a ridgetop and has a very typical profile. The greatest variations from this occur on the west and southwest slopes, where less development in the A horizon is found. The profile types are as follows (Figure 24).

Type I

0-6 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown to 10YR4/3 dark brown humus and sandy loam;

6-20 cm--10YR5/4 yellowish brown to 10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

20-25 cm--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay;

25-30 cm--2.5YR4/6 red clay.

This profile is found in the upland area that encompasses most of this site.

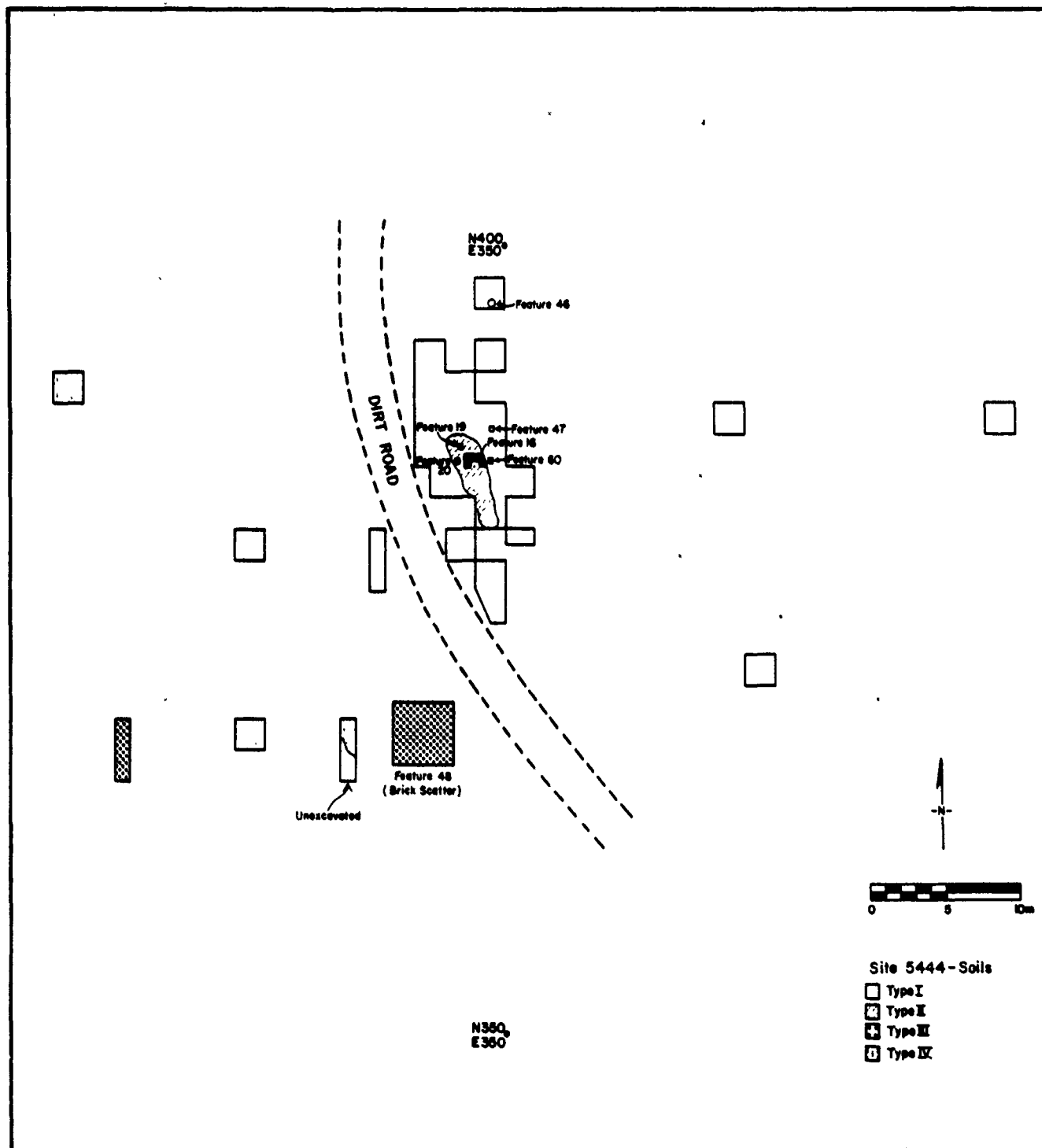


Figure 24. Site 5444, excavation plan and soil types.

Type II

- 0-6 cm--10YR5/6 yellowish brown sandy clay (disturbed zone);
- 6-12 cm--10YR3/3 dark brown sandy loam and humus;
- 12-20 cm--10YR5/4 yellowish brown to 10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;
- 20-25 cm--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay;
- 25-30 cm+-2.5YR4/6 red silty clay.

Because of the disturbed sandy clay zone overlying the humus/A1 horizon, this profile is separated from the Type I profile. The area of this profile type is a diagonal strip across the chimney base (Feature 16), and it is related to recent road use, construction, or plowing.

Type III

- 0-4 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;
- 4-8 cm--10YR5/4 yellowish brown to 10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;
- 8-20 cm--7.5YR5/6 strong brown to 10YR5/6 yellowish brown sandy clay;
- 20-30 cm+-2.5YR4/6 red silty clay.

Located on the gentle slopes in the southwestern portion of the site, this profile differs from Type I only in the thinner and less developed A horizon (A1 and Ap/A2). This is undoubtedly the result of water and earth movement down the slope.

Type IV

- 0-2 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;
- 2-6 cm--7.5YR5/6 strong brown sandy clay;
- 6-20 cm+-2.5YR4/6 red silty clay.

This profile type is found on the slopes in the western and southwestern portions of the site. It has experienced the most erosion and possesses no A2 horizon.

Excavation

Seven units (28 m²) were excavated here during Phases I and II. These were placed in a dispersed fashion over the site, and three features, a chimney base and two post holes, were located. Through shovel testing, approximate site limits were determined. The Phase III sample frame (100 m²) was designed primarily to investigate the area immediately surrounding the chimney base with a goal of locating additional structural features (Figures 24 and 25). Units were also placed in the general yard area to the north, west, and south to investigate refuse disposal patterns and find additional features. All units at this site were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and all of the soil was excavated with shovels and passed through a quarter-inch mesh wire screen. After the excavation of sites 5442 and 5443, the troweling method was abandoned because it was too time consuming.

Structural Features

The only feature definitely associated with the dwelling is a chimney base (Feature 16) one course thick and measuring 1.34 m (E/W) by 90 cm (N/S) (Figures 24 and 25). It has a single firebox at the southern end. Four post holes in fairly close proximity to the chimney are roughly rectangular and approximately the same size (20-24 cm in diameter). Two (Features 20 and 60) are very close to the chimney (approximately 30 cm) but on opposite sides. Their proximity and the fact that a line connecting them would be parallel to the chimney back seem to indicate some relationship with the dwelling. The association between the other two post holes (Features 19 and 47) and the dwelling is less clear, but they seem to be of the same configuration as Features 20 and 60, and Feature 47 is on a line with Feature 60, which is parallel with the north-south orientation of the chimney. If these were support posts for the dwelling, the house was probably a saddlebag.

Another post hole (Feature 46) was located about 9 m north of the chimney base. It was probably not a pier post for the dwelling and is most likely from a fence or an outbuilding. Unlike the other post holes, this one is circular, but it is of an equal size (24 cm in diameter and 22 cm deep).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Feature 16--Brick chimney base | Measured 1.34 m (E/W) by 90 cm (N/S) and was one course thick. Firebox on south end. |
| 2. Feature 19--Post hole | Square and 20 cm in diameter. |
| 3. Feature 20--Post hole | Square and 20 cm in diameter. |
| 4. Feature 46--Post hole | Circular and 24 cm in diameter and 22 cm deep. Contained no artifacts. |

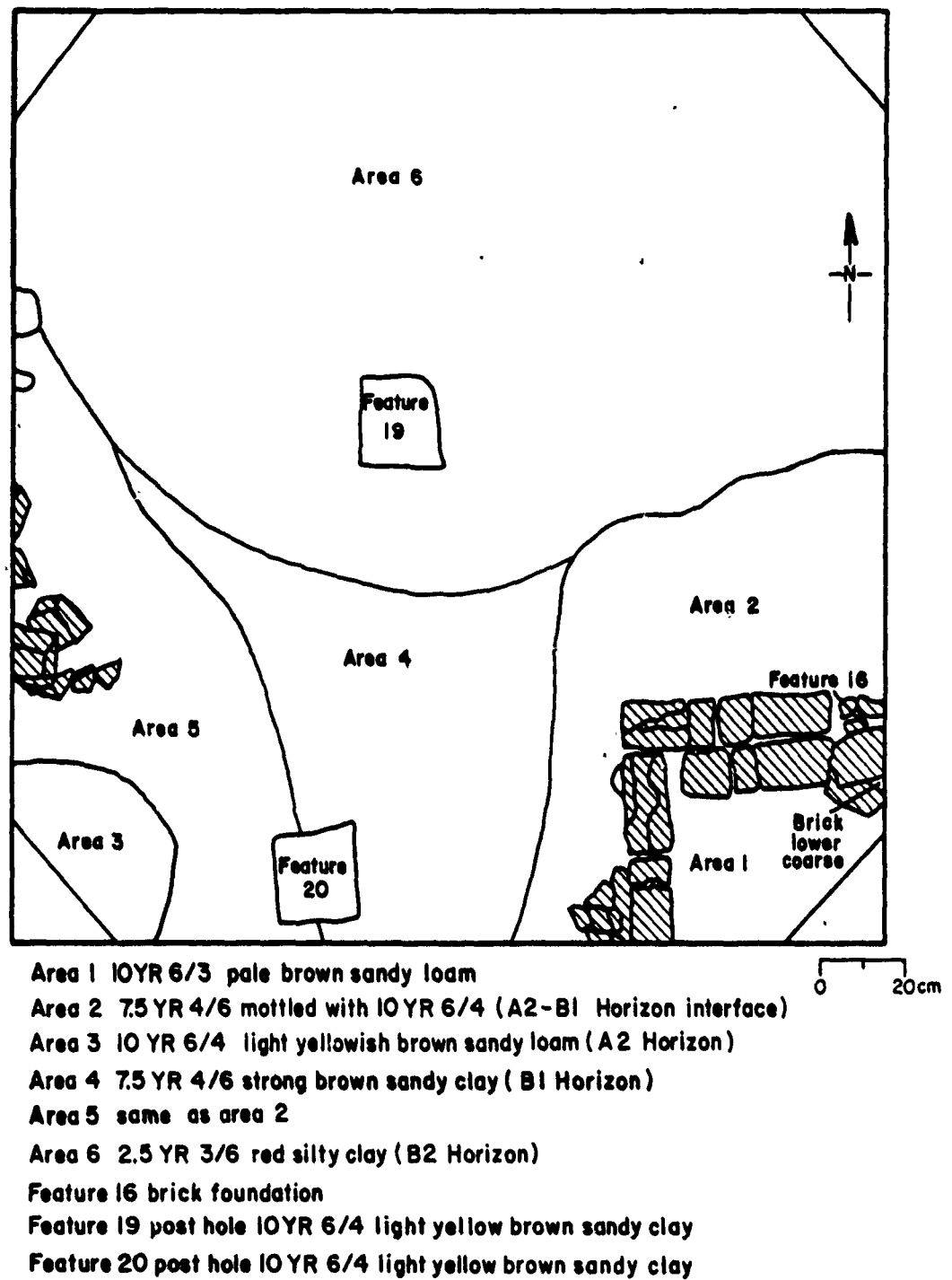


Figure 25. Feature 16 (chimney).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 5. Feature 47--Post hole with postmold | Both square. Post hole measured 24 cm in diameter and 12 cm in depth. Postmold was 13 cm in diameter and 12 cm in depth. Contained no artifacts. |
| 6. Feature 60--Post hole | Squarish and 22 cm in diameter. Brick fragments associated. |

Other Features

One other feature (Feature 48) was discovered at this site. It was located in the south-central portion and consisted of a large (2 m x 2 m) pile of brick rubble (Figure 24). Whether this brick was dumped (or being stored) here during or after the occupation of the site is unclear at present.

Artifacts

A total of 5,230 artifacts (excluding brick and mineral/composition/miscellaneous items) was recovered from this site. The ratio of artifact materials is given in Table 1 above. This site falls closest to 5448 (Tables 20 and 21). Both sites contain a very high number and proportion of metal (primarily nails) and a low percentage of ceramics. The high proportion of nails (58.5 percent of artifacts) at site 5444 is at least partially a function of the sample, which is centered primarily in the structure area (Figure 24). The limited number of inhabitants at one time and low status could also be factors. No trash pits or refuse areas were found at this site.

It is interesting that the great frequency of nails is not paralleled by the other major structural artifact type, window glass. The low window glass content at this site, given the sample, is perhaps related to the low status of the occupants. It may also point to an early occupation date, but this is less clear.

The artifacts suggest initial occupation between the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. The end date is rather problematical. The ratio of cut to wire nails ($3024/4=756$) suggests an early end date. The high proportion of solarized glass (5 percent of bottle glass), however, suggests a somewhat later date for abandonment, perhaps the first or second decade of the twentieth century. At this time, the artifacts do not conclusively support the oral informants' suggestions that this site was occupied during the 1920s.

Summary

Historical documentation for this site is meager and suggests occupation by a widowed Barton merchant during the 1850s, a local rural family during part of the 1860s, and perhaps "an old bachelor" during the 1920s. None of the occupations are thought to have been intensive

in numbers of residents and for length, and occupants probably had fewer material possessions compared to many other Barton residents. However, in its sequence of occupants from merchant to local farming family to a short and largely undocumented twentieth century occupation, this site is representative of much of Barton.

The sparse archaeological remains at this site support less intensive occupation and a fairly low status of residents (Chapter 11). Structural features indicate that the house was oriented on a north-south line and probably was a saddlebag type. The artifacts indicate a mid-nineteenth-century origin, and although an end date is more difficult to determine, there is little evidence of occupation past the late nineteenth century. If the site was occupied during the twentieth century, very few artifacts were deposited.

FOOTNOTES

1. Deed, A. T. Morse to J. M. Collins, 7 September 1851, Clay County Deed Book D:579; deed, H. S. Bennett, to J. M. Collins, 27 May 1852, Clay County Deed Book D:584; deed, A. E. and J. M. Collins to M. E. Hanks, 1 August 1855, Clay County Deed Book F:433.
2. 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #447, also 1850 Federal Census of Agriculture, both cited from Thomas, 1850 Census, pp. 78 and 188.
3. Miss. Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 10, 38; Mrs. B. M. Howarth, 25 July 1955, "Collins Home Built Long Before West Point Grew Into A Town" typescript, Early Family Folder, Vertical Files, Historical Collections, Bryan Memorial Library, West Point, Mississippi.
4. Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1853, 1857; deed, H. Hale to J. M. Collins, 10 January 1859, Clay County Deed Book F:599-600; Estate appraisal, 2 March 1857, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren.
5. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #894/908; 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, \$587, cited from Thomas, 1850 Census.
6. See Chapter 4 for more detail on these transactions; McClurken and Anderson, pp. 1475-1476 (A. E. Wilson).

CHAPTER 7. SITE 5445

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

This house site was the residence of two Barton merchants, Peter Warren and A. B. Duling, and their families. In contrast to some of the other house sites, such as 5442 and 5448, there is no indication of occupation after the mid-1860s. Both families moved to Barton from Colbert, and the Warrens were related to the McBee family that operated a ferry at Colbert in 1834. A. B. Duling was the last mayor of Barton, and he and his family are also associated with site 5442. Estate records for Peter Warren document some of the household furniture and sources of goods, both local and regional.

Peter Warren was born in Rhode Island around 1780 and was living in Colbert by 1837. In 1839 he married Sarah Ann McBee, daughter of Vardry McBee. Sarah's relations, Silas McBee and Micajah Bennett, had been the first settlers to keep a ferry at Colbert, in the 1830s. Both Sarah McBee and Peter Warren had come to Mississippi from South Carolina, where Peter left several grown daughters.¹

Peter had a small mercantile business at Colbert with sales of \$2,000 in 1837, \$3,000 in 1838, \$2,000 in 1839, \$1,500 in 1840, \$600 in 1841, and \$2,000 in 1843. After the Colbert flood, he moved to Barton and continued a moderate business on Lot 1, Block 2, until 1853. His sales were \$2,000 in 1851 and \$1,500 in 1852, but there was nothing listed thereafter. Although R. G. Dun and Company reported that he sold mostly for cash, Peter seems to have been fairly liberal in extending credit. When his estate was settled in 1857-1859, there were 29 accounts still due from 1837 to 1847, most no longer collectible because many people had left Colbert, and six notes from 1848-1854; all 35 totalled \$1,484.47.² Peter carried merchandise of a general nature, such as dry goods and light hardware.

After Peter retired from business, he patronized many of the local stores. Between January 1855 and December 1856, he or members of his household visited the store of Collins and Howarth 51 times, purchasing \$77.57 worth of dry goods on an open account. He also made some purchases from Trotter and Moore of Vinton but of a more limited nature, and he bought large quantities of food from J. W. Duke and Co. or Duke and Adams. Little is known of this last firm except that it operated in the Vinton area. In 1854, 1855, and 1856, Warren bought 1,574 lb of flour at 6¢ per lb, 249 lb of shorts (wheat by-products such as germ or bran) at 1.5¢ per lb, 30 lb of beef at 4¢ per lb, plus some labor plus several other items, for a total of \$90.05. He also purchased food from R. O. Johnson, son of former Barton merchant Miles Johnson. From December 1855 through April 1856, he or his family and servants visited

this store in Barton 26 times, buying mostly staples such as sugar (96 lb at 12.5¢ per lb), coffee (24 lb at 16.6¢ per lb), and sundry items such as candles, soap, or an occasional sack of potatoes. A further source of goods for the Warren household was the commission merchants in Mobile. One firm dealt with was Humphries, Webb, and Company, which shipped goods to Warren on the steamer Ariel in February 1856: 167 lb of coffee, 266 lb of sugar, 172 lb of molasses, and two sacks of salt. The goods totaled \$63.74, but there were also insurance charges of \$5.33 and interest of \$7.43. Both coffee and sugar were purchased cheaper in Mobile than from local Barton merchant R. O. Johnson. Coffee was 13¢ per lb compared to Johnson's 16.6¢, and sugar was 8.5¢ compared to Johnson's 12.5¢. However, adding in the insurance and interest would raise the Mobile prices to 15.6¢ for coffee and 10.2¢ for sugar.³

The Warren household in 1850 consisted of Peter, aged 70, his wife Ann (Sarah Ann), aged 60, and his daughter Sarah, aged 37. His widowed daughter, Martha Angle, lived just east of Block 18 in the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of Section 36, and his son John A. was in the Barton hotel, listed as a merchant. Peter, known as a "very prudent and pious man," had been a trustee for the Colbert Academy and a commissioner for several elections in Colbert. Perhaps because of his age, he did not fill these roles in Barton. At Warren's estate auction in 1857, J. M. Collins purchased his store lot for \$117.25 and gave it to the Barton Christian Church trustees. It may have been in use as a church earlier, as Warren had retired in 1853 and there are no other known church locations. Also, Peter's house and that of his daughter Martha were on either side of the Barton school, although there is no definite connection between the school and the Warren family.⁴

In the 1850 census, Peter's worth was listed at \$800 of real estate and eleven slaves. In 1851 he was taxed for two carriages, one watch, and nine slaves; by 1852 his slaves had increased to ten and in 1853 to eleven. In 1858 his daughter Martha Angle was taxed for three slaves and his daughter Sarah Warren for six. Neither daughter had appeared in these rolls previously. In 1858 Martha Angle was taxed for one watch and six slaves. In 1860 these two daughters were still living in Barton in Martha Angle's house in the southeast quarter of Section 36 and were listed with \$300 of real estate, \$10,000 of personal estate, and nine slaves. Peter's wife Ann is not mentioned in the estate settlement in 1857 and does not appear in Barton in 1860 with her daughters. Estate appraisers valued the Warren house and Block 18 at \$400 in 1857; they were sold to Mary R. Duling, wife of Augustine B., at auction for \$300. Warren had paid \$50.00 for Block 18.⁵

Although Peter Warren also owned some farmland in Lowndes County in 1850, we find no deed record of it, and it is not mentioned in the settlement of his estate. In the agricultural schedule of the 1850 census he is listed as having a farm of ten improved acres and sixty unimproved acres, worth \$100, plus \$20.00 of equipment. He had two horses, five mules, and ten cattle, all worth \$250, and he raised 150 bu of corn, ten bales of cotton, and 100 bu of sweet potatoes. He also produced 300 lb of butter and slaughtered \$60.00 worth of animals.⁶

Peter had willed his property to his wife Sarah Ann, but as the estate was sold after his death, she probably died before him. His property in 1857 was valued at approximately \$11,500 and after all bills and court costs were deducted, \$5,443.35 was left for his heirs. Peter Warren had nine children, some in Mississippi and some in the Carolinas. They included three daughters (Amanda Wheeler, Nancy Wheeler, and Mary W. McGee) of North or South Carolina, and two daughters (Martha C., who married Sidney T. Angle of Colbert, and Sarah Warren) at Barton until the 1860s. Peter also had four sons. Peter T. Warren was a doctor living in Smithville, Mississippi, in 1858, and sons Benjamin Carter Warren and John A. Warren helped run the Barton store at various times. Another son, Joseph Warren, was also a doctor in Mississippi. Both John and Joseph died ca. 1851, Benjamin Carter Warren died in early 1856, and at least one daughter, Mary W. McGee of North Carolina, was dead in 1859. Apart from the remainder of the estate, Peter had willed \$500 in cash to each child or their heirs, and apart from the settlement he also gave his daughter Sarah a female slave named Clara. He had appointed his sons executors, but at his death only Peter T. was living, so he and Martha Angle assisted Harrison Hale, Warren's executor, in settling the estate. It is not known whether some household goods and furniture passed to Martha Angle, Sarah Warren, or the other daughters independent of the estate auction held at the Warren house in June 1857. O. T. Keller of Columbus was paid \$10.00 as auctioneer, and the property was sold to various heirs and neighbors. Several slaves listed in the estate appraisal were not sold, and they probably went to the daughters by special arrangements, as had the girl Clara. Table 25 lists the property of the Warren estate from the appraisal and auction.⁷ Not all of Warren's slaves lived on the family property in Block 18. His daughters already possessed some slaves, and others he rented out to various Barton and Vinton concerns for \$20.00 per month.⁸ As mentioned above, in 1850 he owned 70 acres of farm property, and some slaves may have lived there.

Peter Warren probably died on or just before 10 May 1856. Dr. P. H. Fields visited him frequently during that winter and spring and wrote out many prescriptions for doses of morphine, laudanum, and opium; they end on 10 May. Also on that day, Peter Warren incurred two final bills, one for \$30.00 to the Barton carpenter Jacob Brown for making a coffin and case, hauling the case, and digging a vault, and the other for \$15.00 to Stringer and Winston of Columbus for the hire of a hearse.⁹ As mentioned previously, by the time of Peter Warren's death one daughter, three sons, and his wife had died. Two daughters in South Carolina and two daughters in Barton were still living, and his son Peter T. was in Smithville, Mississippi, in 1859. His daughters Martha Angle and Sarah Warren must have left the Barton area between 1860 and 1870, as they do not appear in the 1870 census or other records for that date.¹⁰

After the settling of the estate, we lose sight of the Warren family. His house and lot, Block 18, went to Mary Duling at the auction. The Dulings had been living next door on Block 16 but sold that property to William J. Futrell in 1857. The Dulings had bought Block 16 and the east half of Lot 5, Block 7, in 1856 from William Rainey and were in business there for several years. Chapter 4 provides more detail on this family, which had been at Colbert also, but it is during

Table 25. Warren estate appraisal and sale.

| <u>Property</u> | <u>Appraisal Value</u> | <u>Auction Price</u> | <u>Purchaser</u> |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Negro boy Robert (blacksmith) | 1800.00 | 1700.00 | W. S. Cox |
| Negro man Newport | 1400.00 | 1605.00 | Amanda Wheeler |
| Negro man Bob (painter) | 600.00 | 420.00 | Martha C. Angle |
| Negro woman Tabby | 200.00 | 175.00 | Sarah T. Warren |
| Negro boy Robert (cook) | 1000.00 | — | — |
| Negro woman Cornelia and 2 children | 1900.00 | 1535.00 | Sarah T. Warren |
| Negro girl Clara | 1500.00 | — | — |
| Negro girl Bell | 1150.00 | — | — |
| Negro girl Ella | 600.00 | — | — |
| Negro girl Fanny | 700.00 | — | — |
| 1 storehouse in Barton | 200.00 | 117.25 | J. M. Collins |
| 1 dwelling and lot | 400.00 | 300.00 | Mary Duling |
| 1 feather bed, bolster, and pillows | 12.00 | 15.50 | Sarah T. Warren |
| 2 mattresses | 6.00 | 6.20 | Sarah T. Warren |
| 1 bolster and 3 pillows | 2.00 | .50 | Peter T. Warren |
| 2 bedsteads | 3.00 | 4.50 | J. Brown |
| 1 straw cutter | 2.00 | 1.20 | Peter T. Warren |
| 1 wagon | 4.00 | 2.25 | J. M. Collins |
| 1 grindstone | 1.75 | 1.30 | Peter T. Warren |
| 1 horse cart and gear | 6.00 | 6.50 | Dr. P. H. Field |
| 1 platform scales | 3.00 | .50 | J. M. Collins |
| 1 set smith's tools | 5.00 | 4.00 | J. R. Hilliard |
| 1 plough | .75 | .55 | J. R. Hilliard |
| 1 corn mill | 1.00 | .15 | J. M. Collins |
| | <u>\$11,496.50</u> | <u>\$5,895.53</u> | |

their occupation of the Warren house that Augustine B. Duling was mayor and his son Augustine H. constable of Barton. In the 1860 census, they were listed as having \$1,000 of real property and \$1,000 of personal property. The Duling household in 1860 consisted of Augustine B., then aged 49, his wife Mary, aged 48, son Augustine, aged 23, and daughter Mary, aged 17. Another daughter, Rosa, had married in 1858.¹¹

There is no sign of a sale of Block 18 during the 1860s, although Mary did sell Block 23, just south of it, in 1864 to J. J. Cox. In 1864 Mary R. Duling owned the land north of Block 23, J. J. Cox the land east, W. T. Barry the land south, and William J. Futrell the land just west. There are no further transactions at the townsite for Mary R. Duling, and she does not appear in the 1870 census as living there. By 1875 Bardine Richardson owned her former holdings, which he sold along with most of Section 31 to Mary Coltrane in 1879. It remained in her family until its sale in 1913 to Jan Uithoven whose family has been the last to own it. We have little information as to its further use, but it was probably included in the Barton lands that various members of that family farmed and for which oil and timber leases were granted.¹²

Archaeology

This house site is located in the southern half of the townsite on the central ridge. With an area of 7,740 m², it is the largest Barton site and is situated primarily on the flat ridgetop, although it also extends onto the northwest and southeast slopes. Site elevation ranges from 210-218 ft above sea level. Vegetation is moderate; loblolly pines and young hardwoods (maple, oak, sweet gum) make up the bulk of flora, although there is an ornamental species, crepe myrtle, in the central portion of the site.

As on site 5444, a modern dirt road bisects site 5445, although disturbance from historic roads is much less severe here than at the former site. There is no definite evidence of plowing, but much of the plot was probably under cultivation at one time or another.

Stratigraphy is much like that at the other sites, although perhaps less complex. The vast majority of the site (ridgetops and slopes) has a rather typical profile. Variations are primarily a thinner A2 horizon (10YR6/4), although there are a few other aberrant profiles in the northern and eastern portions. Soil profile types are as follows (Figure 26).

Type 1

0-8 cm--10YR4/2 dark grayish sandy loam and organic matter;

8-24 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

24-30 cm+--7.5YR5/6 to 5/8 strong brown to 10YR5/8 yellowish brown sandy clay.

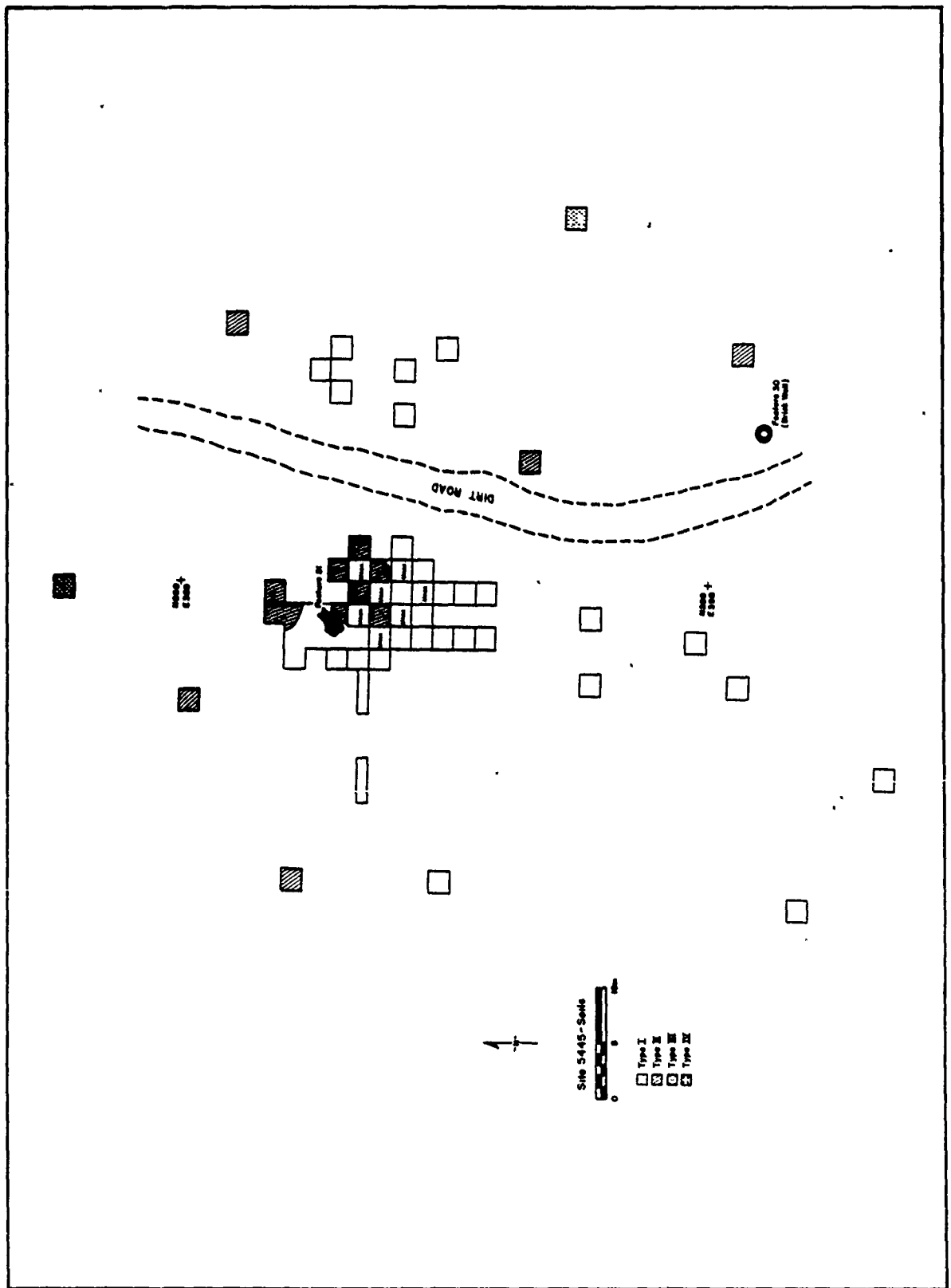


Figure 26. Site 5445, excavation plan and soil types.

This profile is found over most of the site, including the ridgetop and northwest slopes. Except for its slightly thicker A1 horizon, it is typical for the Barton townsite as a whole.

Type II

0-6 cm--10YR4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

6-12 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

12-25 cm--7.5YR5/6 to 5/8 strong brown to 10YR5/8 yellowish brown sandy clay;

25-30 cm+--5YR5/6 yellowish red silty clay.

This profile type, found in units on the central part of the ridgetop and the northwest and southeast slopes, differs from Type I in that the A2 horizon (10YR6/4) is somewhat thinner, hence the clay is closer to the surface.

Type III

0-2 cm--10YR4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

2-4 cm--10YR6/8 yellowish brown sandy clay;

4-10 cm+--2.5YR4/6 red silty clay.

Only one unit on the far eastern edge of the site contains this profile. This is on the southeastern slope, and it shows evidence of heavy erosion.

Type IV

0-8 cm--5YR3/4 dark reddish brown to 5YR4/4 reddish brown silty clay;

8-16 cm--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay;

16-20 cm+--10YR5/6 yellowish brown sandy loam.

This profile is found in only one unit, in a lowlying area on the northern perimeter of the site. It exhibits considerable disturbance (reversed stratigraphy), which may be related to road construction.

Excavation

During Phases I and II, 15 units (60 m²), evenly dispersed over much of the site, were excavated. Unfortunately, only one feature was uncovered, a refuse pit. Since no structural features were found, site limits were estimated through the shovel testing program.

Because of the lack of structural features, Phase III units were more dispersed than usual, although most were in the central portion for two reasons. First, testing of this central area revealed a high density of cultural material, including structural artifacts, so it seemed a likely place for the dwelling. Second, this was the region in which the trash pit was located, and this was to be further investigated. The other, more dispersed, units at the site were excavated to investigate refuse disposal patterns in the general yard area and to search for more features, especially when the central excavation yielded no structural remains. Unfortunately, none were found.

A total of 132 m² was excavated during Phase III, bringing the total to 192 m². Excavation methods for the testing and data recovery phases were basically the same. During both, units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and all excavated soil was passed through quarter-inch mesh wire screens.

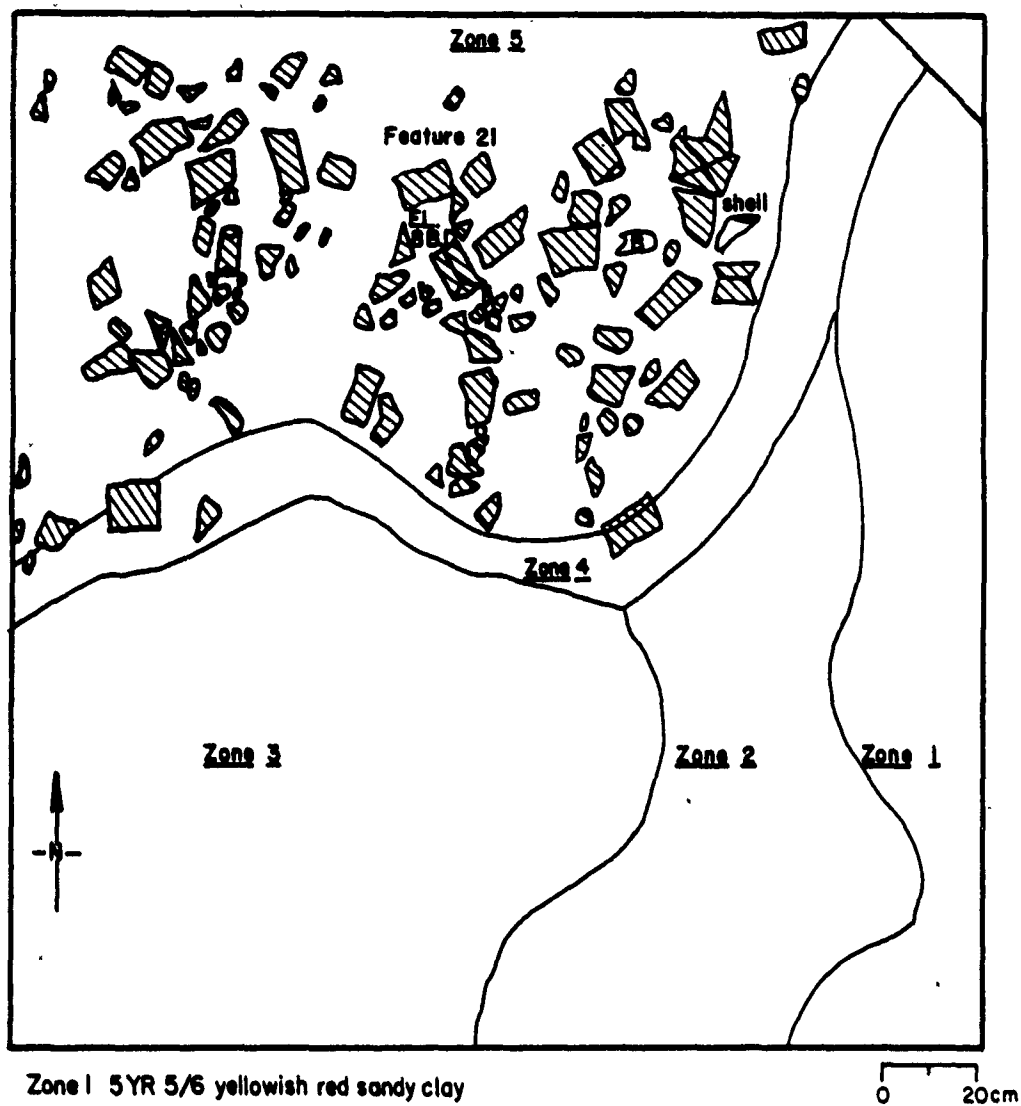
Features

The only features discovered at this site were an irregularly shaped trash pit (Feature 21) located at N236 E346, approximately 2.5 m in diameter and 32 cm in depth (Figure 27) and a bricklined well (Feature 30). The shape of the pit suggests it was a natural depression rather than an excavated pit. Soils in the feature ranged from a dark brown (10YR4/3) to a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam. See below for a discussion of cultural material. The well, which was located southeast of Feature 21, was about 15 ft deep and brick-lined.

Artifacts

This site produced 11,329 artifacts (excluding bricks and mineral/composition/miscellaneous items). These included a large number of cut nails, undecorated and decorated ceramics, and bottle glass. The high frequency and proportion of ceramics, bone, and shell is striking (Table 20). The proportion of unmodified bone and shell is second only to site 5443. When viewed without Feature 21 (Table 21), most artifact proportions at this site do not change drastically. It is interesting, however, that the quantity and percentage of unmodified bone drops drastically when Feature 21 is excluded, while the quantity and percentage of unmodified shell changes little. It seems the inhabitants made a special effort to place the bone within the depression (Feature 21), whereas the shell was scattered more randomly, at least on the slope of the northern half of the site.

The overall high proportion of ceramics, unmodified bone, and unmodified shell at this site is at least partially the result of the sample. Most of the units excavated were located in and around the refuse disposal area. The high proportion of ceramics, especially decorated ceramics, may also be related to the fairly high status of the inhabitants (Chapter 11).



- Zone 1 5YR 5/6 yellowish red sandy clay
 Zone 2 5YR 5/6 mottled with 10YR 5/4 sand
 Zone 3 10YR 5/4 yellow sand
 Zone 4 10YR 5/4 mottled with 10YR 3/3 sand
 Zone 5 10YR 3/3 dark brown sand
 (area of feature 21)

Figure 27. Feature 21 (refuse pit).

As was noted above, no structural features were found, so the exact location of the dwelling is unknown. The distribution of window glass may be of some help. By far the highest quantity from a single 2 m x 2 m square was 77 items found in Unit 59 (N216 E360), approximately 20 m north of the brick-lined well (Figure 26). The next highest quantity of window glass from a single unit was 26 (Unit 549), obviously much less. It seems likely that the dwelling was located near Unit 59 and possibly under the present road.

The refuse pit (Feature 21) (Figure 27) contained 1,488 artifacts: a large quantity of food refuse, including unmodified bone and shell, brick, bottle glass, undecorated and decorated whiteware, and machine cut nails. When compared with the other trash pit (Feature 8), Feature 21 had a lower overall percentage of ceramics but a much higher percentage of bone and shell. Otherwise, these two features are very similar, except that Feature 21 contains many more items.

The overall low number of ceramics and bottle glass in Feature 21, especially in comparison with nails, is somewhat surprising. It could have been that filling up this depression, like filling in the wells, was a major concern of the occupants. Hence bulky items such as boards (with nails) and soil were the major contents. Of course they also used this opportunity to get rid of the odorous bones as well. Interestingly, most of the bones in the pits and wells are located at the base.

The artifacts from Feature 21 and the site in general date from the second to third quarter of the nineteenth century. The diagnostics include many decorated whiteware sherds (the greatest number at Barton), a large number of applied and nonapplied lip/neck fragments (56), and a large quantity of empontilled bottle bases (46). Artifacts postdating this period (machine-made bottle fragments, solarized glass, and wire nails) are not significant (9 items).

Summary

As at site 5444, occupation at 5445 was largely limited to the mid-nineteenth century, but its residents had much greater material wealth and social status, and both had earlier lived in Colbert. Peter Warren was a Barton merchant and a respected elder member of the town's Christian Church. After his death the house was sold to the Duling family, which included the mayor and constable of Barton. Settlement of Peter Warren's estate indicated considerable material possessions, as did R. G. Dun and Company's assessments of the Duling family. No post-1860s occupations have been documented.

The excavated materials also support a mid-nineteenth-century occupation. Especially noticeable is a high proportion of ceramics and a greater variety of decorated ceramics. This statistic should be viewed with caution, however, since a higher proportion of units were excavated in refuse disposal areas at this site than at any other.

One refuse pit was encountered at site 5445, which had a very dense amount of artifacts and faunal remains. A brick-lined well is also

located within the limits of the site, although it is not certain whether this well is associated with site 5445, or with other nearby, later sites. Unfortunately, no structural remains were discovered.

FOOTNOTES

1. Monroe County Officier's Bond Book 1:80, from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 255; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, 1834, Lowndes County Courthouse; Lowndes County Estate Files 246-251, heirs of Vardry McBee, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History; Last Will and Testament of Peter Warren, 1846 and 1851, Lowndes County Probate Book N:206, Lowndes County Courthouse.
2. Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1837-1842, 1843, 1851-1853, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; list of notes due the Peter Warren Estate, 1837-1854, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History.
3. Peter Warren in account with Duke and Co., Collins and Howarth, H. O. Johnson, E. B. Barham, and Moore and Young, 1854-1856, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren.
4. 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #638; Mississippi Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 137; deed, John Allen to T. L. Rodgers, A. T. Morse, M. Bennett, and P. Warren, 30 March 1838, Clay County Deed Book F:214; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes, April 1839; deed, H. Hale to J. M. Collins, 10 January 1859, Clay County Deed Book F:599-600.
5. 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #638; Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1851-1853, 1857, 1859; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #889/903; appraisal of Estate, March 1857, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren; deed, H. Hale to M. R. Duling, 24 January 1860, Clay County Deed Book F:592-593; deed, E. W. Bennett and M. Bennett to Peter Warren, 15 December 1852, Clay County Deed Book E:490.
6. 1850 Federal Census of Agriculture, Lowndes County Mississippi, cited from Thomas, 1850 Census, p. 202.
7. Last Will and Testament, Peter Warren, 20 August 1856, Lowndes County Probate Book N:206-207; appraisal of Estate, 2 March 1857, and report of sale, 6 June 1857, Annual Report of H. Hale, 1 Feb. 1859, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren.
8. Bills, Duke and Adams to Peter Warren, 1854, Theodore Reid and McGowan and Scott to Peter Warren, 13 January 1853, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren; Last Will and Testament of Peter Warren, Lowndes County Probate Book N:206.
9. Statement of account, Capt. P. Warren to P. H. Fields, January 1853 to 10 May 1856, estate of Peter Warren to J. Brown, 10 May 1856, estate of Peter Warren to Stringer and Winston, 10 May 1856, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren.

10. Report of H. Hale, 1 February 1859, Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren; Last Will and Testament of Peter Warren, amendments in 1851, Lowndes County Probate Book N:206-207; 1860 and 1870 Federal Population Censuses, Lowndes County, Mississippi.
11. Election returns, Record Group 28 Secretary of State, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #891/905; marriage, James Hackworth and Rosa Ann Duling, 21 February 1858, Lowndes County Marriage Book 4:431, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 100.
12. Deed, M. R. Duling to J. J. Cox, 2 January 1864, Clay County Deed Book E:558-559; deed, B. Richardson to Mary E. Coltrane, 20 December 1879, Clay County Deed Book 10:425-426; deed, W. M. Coltrane to Jan Uithoven, 21 November 1913, Clay County Deed Book 43:203; see land abstract for Section 31, Township 16, Range 8 for 1919 to present for the multiple oil and timber leases.

CHAPTER 8. SITE 5446

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

Site 5446 was the blacksmith shop owned by James H. Griswold. He came to the Barton area from Pikesville, Chickasaw County, Mississippi, where he had been in business. He traded his business there for five or six slaves, which he then used to buy the Barton business of Robert McGowan. In 1850 he married Anna M. Young, daughter of Wade Young, a planter to the southwest of town. By 1851 he was in business at Barton, and at various times between 1851 and 1860 he operated a store, a blacksmith shop, a daguerreotype studio with his brother Fedum, a warehouse, possibly a mill, and the Jackson Springs Ferry in Barton.¹ Accounts from the store date from 1851 and 1854 and are for toiletries, sundries, and clothing, and the warehouse and mill are mentioned in the R. G. Dun and Company field reports in 1855 and 1857, respectively. He and his wife were said to have had considerable property, particularly slaves, through her father's estate. In February 1858 R. G. Dun and Company agents reported that James was out of business and doing well planting about five miles from Barton.²

Accounts from the blacksmith shop date from 1854, 1856, 1859, and 1860, which suggests that Griswold may have kept this operation running longer than his store, the principal concern of the Dun agents. The accounts indicate services ranging from mending and repairing parts, to providing new parts, to shoeing horses (Table 26). Several of the customers, Jerome Atkinson, Mrs. Atkinson, and Carson Shinn, probably resided on the eastern side of the Tombigbee River. Apparently, these accounts were kept open for several years and were presented upon the settlement of a customer's estate. Interest of 9 or 10 percent was charged. Griswold did have some competition, at least in the latter part of the 1850s, as other accounts of Jerome Atkinson include several for smithing to John Bennett or Trotter and Bennett of Vinton. They are for similar services and charges.³

During the 1850s, Griswold owned several parcels at Barton in addition to the ferry property. His early purchases included Lots 1 through 3, Block 4; Lot 1, Block 3; the south half of Block 13; Block 20; and Strip 1. By June 1858, the lots in Block 4 were the residence of William Natcher and may have been Griswold's residence earlier. It is more likely Griswold resided on the south half of Block 13, which he and his wife sold in January 1858 to Mary E. Hanks for a sum that suggests the presence of a structure. There is no record of Griswold reselling Lot 1, Block 3.⁴ There are no deeds recorded for the other lots of Block 3, and Griswold also may have been in possession of these as they would have been located between his known holdings. On the reconstructed plat of Barton, site 5446 falls in the eastern lots of Block 3, that is, Lot 4 or 5, for which there are no recorded deeds. Griswold

Table 26. Griswold Accounts

Jerome H. B. Atkinson in account with J. H. Griswold

1859

| | | |
|----------|--|------|
| Feb 15 | to mending 4 Traces | 1.00 |
| Feb 15 | to 2 loggerheads, 1 pr pot hooks | 1.25 |
| Feb 15 | to 3 hooks in frizzens (?) | .38 |
| Feb 20 | to laying 2 bull tongues | 1.50 |
| Feb 25 | to 1 new axle arce in wagon | 2.00 |
| Feb 25 | to 2 new bolsters | .10 |
| Feb 25 | to welding 2 skien and splissing one skien | .30 |
| Feb 25 | to 2 new bands | .50 |
| March 2 | to 4 bull tongues band | 3.00 |
| March 6 | to 3 new links in chain, 1 new hook | .55 |
| March 6 | to 1 new bridle bit, mending loggerhead | .40 |
| March 9 | to 2 cap rings | .40 |
| March 15 | to 1 axle to bx wagon \$2, 2 bolsters | 3.00 |
| March 15 | to 2 skien boards, 2 bolsters | 1.20 |
| March 15 | to 1 skien mended, 1 skien spliced .20 | .30 |
| March 15 | to cutting and welding band on bx tongue | .15 |
| March 15 | to 2 staples, 8 nails .20 | .35 |
| March 21 | to welding 1 rod and sharp screws | .15 |
| March 26 | to repairing a sap .10 | .10 |
| April 5 | to laying 5 shovel ploughs | 3.75 |
| April 12 | to pulling on irons on 2 singletrees, 1 cuff | .88 |
| April 13 | to lap rings 15-30, 2 rivets in ploughs | .55 |

\$22.70

Mrs. Atkinson in account with J. H. Griswold

1860

| | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|------|
| Feb 17 | to 2 lynch pins | .25 |
| Feb 17 | to 1 small bolt | .13 |
| April 6 | to repairing 1 cotton opener | .20 |
| April 12 | to sharpening 3 bull tongues | .37 |
| April 26 | to mending 1 plough rod | .15 |
| April 26 | to ploughrod | .75 |
| May 2 | to sharpening 7 screws | 1.75 |
| May 2 | to laying 2 screws | 1.50 |
| May 18 | to sharpening 4 shovel ploughs | .50 |
| May 18 | to 1 cuff in single tree | .25 |
| June 4 | to laying 5 bull tongues | 3.75 |
| June 4 | to sharpening 2 sweeps | .50 |
| June 4 | to laying 1 bull tongue, 2 lamp (?) | 1.00 |
| June 10 | to 1 rivet in pot hooks | .12 |
| June 23 | to sharp 5 sweeps | 1.25 |
| June 23 | to sharp 4 shovels | .50 |
| Oct 11 | to 1 band walded and cut | .25 |
| Oct 11 | to 6 styruks on Waggon | 3.60 |
| Oct 11 | to 4 rod on wagon | 5.00 |

Table 26 (continued). Griswold Accounts

| | | |
|--------|--|-------------|
| Oct 11 | to 8 largebolts lengthened, repaired | 1.20 |
| Oct 11 | to 12 small bolts lengthened, repaired | 1.20 |
| Oct 11 | to 4 rub irons on Waggon | .50 |
| Oct 11 | to 8 1/2 map nails | <u>2.12</u> |
| | | \$26.84 |

Carson Shinn in account with J. H. Griswold

| | | |
|---------|------------------------------|-------------|
| 1854 | | |
| March 4 | to 4 turning ploughs | 11.95 |
| March 4 | to 1 new keel (?) bolt | .25 |
| May 3 | to repairing 2 harness hooks | .38 |
| May 3 | to 1 new harness hook | .35 |
| May 3 | to sharpening plough | .12 |
| May 6 | to 2 new turning ploughs | 4.50 |
| May 29 | to repairing 2 keel bolts | .30 |
| June 3 | to 3 single tree irons | 3.00 |
| June 11 | to ironing new singletree | <u>1.00</u> |
| June 11 | cr | 22.10 |
| June 11 | by 1 plough returned | <u>3.19</u> |
| | | \$18.91 |

| | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1854 | to subscription to ferry for 1854 | <u>2.50</u> |
| | | \$21.41 |

| | | |
|--------------------|--|------------|
| Morse account | | |
| 2 3/4 waggon boxes | | <u>.35</u> |
| | | \$21.76 |

Received of Jerome H. B. Atkinson, Ad., \$24.00, principal and interest, probated 1 Aug 1856.

Peter Warren in account with J. H. Griswold

| | | |
|--------|--|-------------|
| 1856 | | |
| | to subscription to Barton Ferry for 1856 | 5.00 |
| | shop account | |
| Jan 3 | to 1 new loggerhead in harness | .50 |
| Jan 3 | to 2 new bands on same and 1 ring | |
| Jan 3 | to repairing a saple | .20 |
| Jan 14 | to 4 new shoes on horse | <u>1.50</u> |
| | | 7.20 |
| | Interest | <u>.65</u> |
| | | \$ 7.85 |

Received payment by Hale, Ex., J. H. Griswold, probated 3 Feb 1857.

probably owned this land, and his blacksmith shop was located in either Block 3 or Block 4, although the deed record affords no greater accuracy.

In later years, there were no transactions in parcels small enough to determine how this area was used. It was most likely part of the sale between Bardine and Sarah Richardson to William and Mary Coltrane in 1879, remaining in the Coltrane family until William Coltrane, Jr., sold most of Section 31 to Jan Uithoven in 1913. Survey maps for large-scale clearing and installation of a TVA powerline for the Mississippi Power Company in 1929 show no buildings or cribs in the area of site 5446, and except for some relatively recent dirt roads cutting through the area, it does not appear to have been inhabited or otherwise used.⁵ With the exception of Flora Perkins Keller, local residents do not remember signs of a blacksmith shop at Barton. Flora Keller remembers a smithing area of about 10 x 10 ft located just west of a large cedar tree northwest of Cedar Oaks. In 1922 pump bellows started the necessary fires, although she recalls that there was very little work going on.⁶

Archaeology

Located on the northern extremity of the long eastern ridge, this site is small, measuring only 780 m². The topography consists of a broad, flat, ridgetop and steep slopes to the north and east; elevation ranges from 230-236 ft above sea level. Site vegetation is moderate and consists primarily of medium to large loblolly pines. There are a number of large cedars south of the site. Because the northern half is in the powerline clearing, it contains only grasses.

The stratigraphy is more complex here than at most of the other sites. Soils in the southern perimeter are fairly typical, but those in the central and northern portions are unique, possessing one or two thick midden layers. These zones have a dense amount of metal artifacts, undoubtedly the result of smithing. The soils show definite evidence of plowing to 20 cm b.s. as well as a degree of grading and erosion on the powerline clearing to the north. But since the midden zones are present in this clearing, it is evident that it was not disturbed as much as the northern portion of site 5443. The soil profile types are as follows (Figure 28).

Type I

0-16 cm--10YR3/1 very dark gray to 10YR4/1 dark gray sandy loam with thin humus (this zone was designated Feature 51):

16-25 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown to 10YR4/2 dark grayish brown compact sandy loam (designated Feature 52);

24-40 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown to 10YR7/4 very pale brown sandy loam.

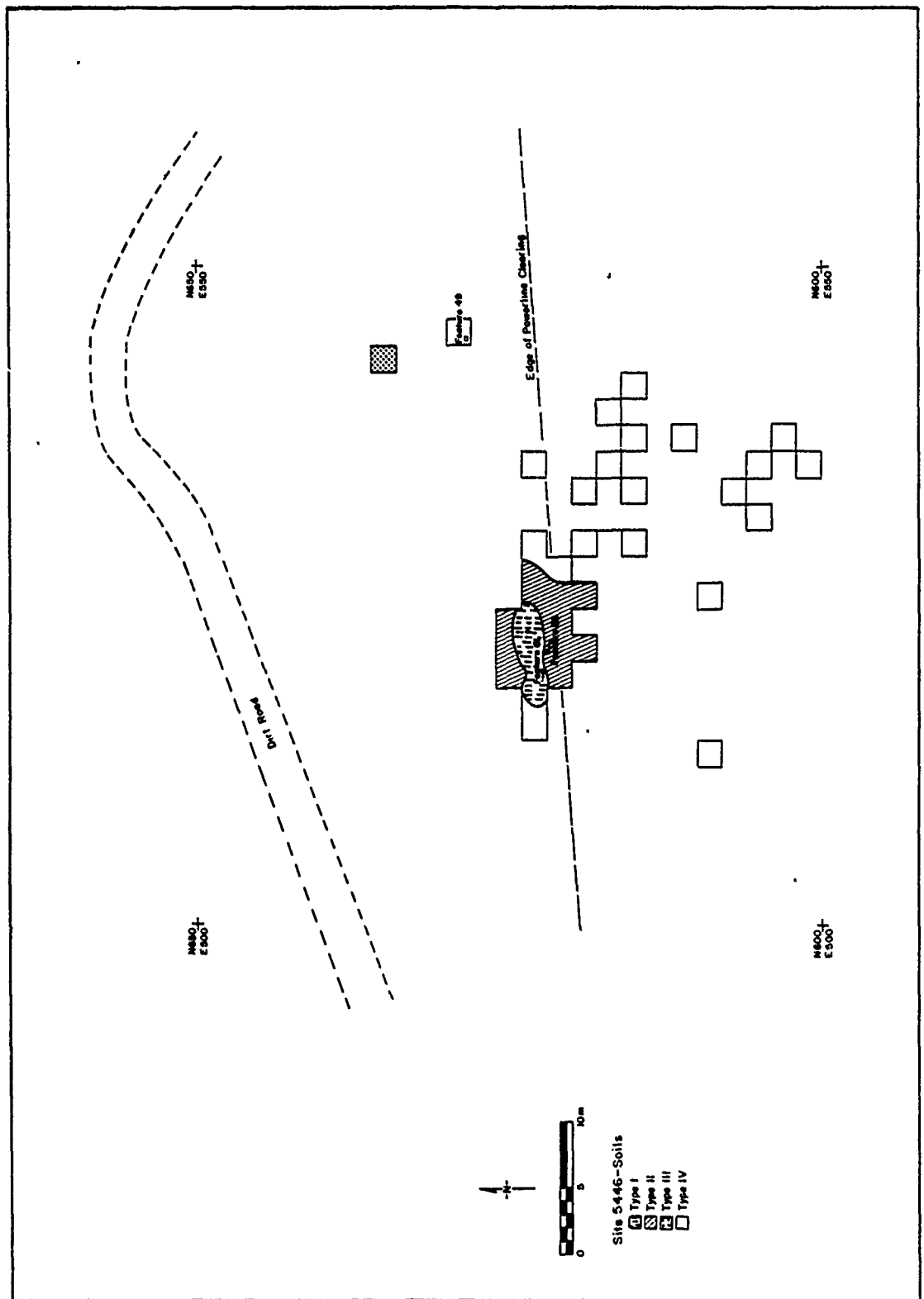


Figure 28. Site 5446, excavation plan and soil types.

This profile is located in the heart of the blacksmith shop, and the darkness of the soil is undoubtedly related to burning. Feature 51 (top zone) has been plowed, whereas the more compact Feature 52 (second zone) has not.

Type II

0-16 cm--10YR3/2 very dark gray to 10YR4/1 dark gray sandy loam with thin humus (Feature 51);

16-30 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown to 10YR7/4 very pale brown sandy loam.

This soil type is adjacent to Type I and also is in close proximity to the smithing activities, as is evident from the depth of the dark sandy loam.

Type III

0-5 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown to 10YR4/3 dark brown sandy loam and humus;

5-20 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown to 10YR7/4 very pale brown sandy loam;

20-30 cm--10YR7/3 to 8/3 very pale brown sandy loam.

All perimeters of the site contained this profile, which is typical of the Barton townsite (separate A₁ and A₂ horizons).

Type IV

0-2 cm--10YR4/2 dark grayish brown humus and sandy loam;

2-10 cm--10YR7/6 yellow sandy clay mottled with 7.5YR6/6 reddish yellow sandy clay.

This profile is found only in a single unit in the northeastern corner of the site. It is well inside the powerline clearing and undoubtedly has been disturbed and eroded by these activities.

Excavation

Five units (20 m²) were excavated during Phase II, and shovel tests were dug to determine site limits. The only significant discovery from the test excavations was a burned midden zone in the most northern unit (232). This area also contained a large number of metal objects, including bar stock, horseshoe fragments, and horseshoe nails, as well as a large quantity of charcoal and slag. The Phase III excavations (128 m²) centered primarily in the area of this burnt midden, which was

thought to have been the center of the blacksmithing activities. We hoped that besides exposing more of this midden, structural features would also be found. Unfortunately, only two post holes of certain function were discovered. Several dispersed units were also placed in the eastern and southeastern portions of the site. Excavation methodology remained consistent throughout the testing and data recovery phases: all units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and all soil was passed through a quarter-inch mesh wire screen.

Structural Features

Structural remains of the blacksmith shop are far from abundant, the only possible evidence being two postmolds (Features 53 and 61) on the southern edge of the Type I soil area (Figure 28). This area contains Feature 52 and is probably where the most intensive smithing occurred. It is possible that the area was within the shop itself, and the two postmolds are the remains of the shop's southern wall. Another postmold (Feature 49) was also located at this site, but at the eastern periphery, well removed from the probable shop location. The close proximity of this postmold to a modern fence suggests that it was the remains of a fencepost.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Feature 49--Postmold | 14 cm in diameter and 3 cm deep. No associated artifacts. |
| 2. Feature 53--Postmold | 20 cm in diameter and 18 cm deep. Contained no artifacts. |
| 3. Feature 61--Post hole and postmold | The post hole was 32 cm in diameter and 28 cm deep; the postmold was 28 cm in diameter and 18 cm deep. One large brick fragment. |

Other Features

Three other features were located at this site. Features 51 and 52 were cultural middens associated with blacksmith activities (see soils above). Feature 51 was at least 8 m north-south by 10 m east-west and consisted of a 16 cm thick, very dark gray (10YR3/1) to dark gray (10YR4/1) sandy loam zone containing much charcoal, ash, iron bar stock, horseshoe nails, hand-wrought iron items, and other miscellaneous metal objects. Feature 52, 3 m x 8 m in area and 9 cm thick, lies under the Feature 51 zone in the center of this site. The feature consists of a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) to dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) compact sandy loam with many metal artifacts like those in Feature 51. Feature 52 evidently had not been plowed whereas Feature 51 had been.

Feature 50 was a small concentration of decomposed wood within Feature 51. Whether it was of cultural or natural origin is unclear, but the former seems more likely due to its placement within Feature 51.

Artifacts

This site contained 4,918 artifacts (excluding brick and mineral/composition/miscellaneous items), the vast majority of which (84.2 percent) were metal (Table 20). Of the 4,139 metal artifacts, 2,111 were machine cut nails (including horseshoe nails), 42 wrought iron nails, 11 wire nails, 7 unidentified nails, and 1,968 other metal items, including bar stock, wrought hinges, and horseshoes. Table 20 demonstrates that it is not the nails, 43.5 percent of the artifacts, which distinguishes this site, but rather the high percentage, 38.8, of other metal items--mostly bar stock. Ceramic and unmodified bone fragments were very sparse, undoubtedly a result of the site's function as a blacksmith shop. Although not quantified here, a large amount of slag and charcoal was also recovered from this site. Appendix 1 gives a complete listing of artifacts by unit.

Other than machine cut nails, very few chronologically diagnostic artifacts were recovered. Three applied lip/neck fragments, six empon-tilled bottle bases, and one historical flask fragment were found, however, and tend to support the documented date for this site. The only late artifacts, 11 wire nails, were probably associated with one or both of the modern fences crossing this site.

Summary

One of the few documented light industries at Barton, the blacksmith shop was part of the expanding economic enterprises of mid-century resident James Griswold. Surviving receipts indicate that this shop, operating during the 1850s and briefly into the 1860s, served both local residents of Barton and prairie farmers living as far away as five or six miles. Service included a variety of repairs as well as production of new materials.

The archaeological data support the documented function of this site as a blacksmith shop. Artifacts include bar stock, slag, horseshoe nails, wrought horseshoes, wrought hardware, glass, and ceramics. Of the 4,918 artifacts recovered, 84.2 percent are metal. A deep burned midden and two postmolds suggest the site center and structure locale were located in excavations, although it is impossible to reconstruct the exact size and form of this structure.

The archaeological remains tend to support the documented mid-century date. Diagnostic artifacts include bottle glass (including eagle flask fragments) and machine cut nails.

FOOTNOTES

1. Miss. Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8, p. 37; Monroe County Marriage Book 1850-1858:10, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 89.
2. Miss. Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8, 37; account, David Moore to J. H. and F. H. Griswold, 1851, Lowndes County Estate File 602, David Moore; John G. Williams in account with F. M. and J. H. Griswold, 1853-54, Monroe County Chancery File 388, John G. Williams, Monroe County Chancery Office, Monroe County Courthouse.
3. Lowndes County Estate File 1071, Jerome H. B. Atkinson; Lowndes County Estate File 913, Peter Warren: Lowndes County Estate File 857, Carson Shinn, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History.
4. Deed, H. L. Bennett, Trustee to Fedum M. and James H. Griswold, 19 November 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:386-387 and 382-388; deed, J. H. and A. M. Griswold to Mary E. Hanks, 28 January 1858, Clay County Deed Book E:462-463; deed of trust, William Natcher and M. H. Natcher to W. J. Futrell, use of E. B. Barham, 23 June 1858, Clay County Deed Book E:461-462.
5. Deed, B. Richardson, et ux. to Mary E. Coltrane, 20 December 1879, Clay County Deed Book 10:425-426; deed, William Coltrane, Jr. to Jan Uithoven, 21 November 1913, Clay County Deed Book 43:203; map of West Point-Alabama State Line Transmission Line, Stations 380+00 to 2330+00 for Section 31, Township 16, Range 8, final revisions, 10 December 1847, Southeastern Engineering Co. for Mississippi Power Company and Tennessee Valley Authority, copy on file, Michigan State University Museum.
6. McClurken and Anderson, p. 1242 (Flora Perkins Keller).

CHAPTER 9. SITE 5447

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

Site 5447 was probably a house site during the mid-century occupation of Barton, first the home of a physician and then of a lawyer. During the early 1870s, it was the site of a school, and in the 1920s and 1930s it was again a residence. Its final use was as a storage house in 1939. Located on the reconstructed plat of Barton in the north half of Block 13, north of site 5448, this block was first sold by H. S. Bennett, trustee, to Martha L. Debrill (also spelled Dibrell) in February 1852. Martha L. Hill had married M. W. Debrill on 21 July 1837 in Lowndes County, and in 1850 they were living at Barton. Matthew W., then aged 36 and born in Virginia, was listed as a physician with \$900 worth of real estate. The other members of the household included his wife Martha L., aged 26 and born in South Carolina, and William Leftwich Capshaw, aged seven and born in Mississippi. The Debrill family had been living in Barton since at least 1850, when they had mortgaged the "lot on which he (M. Debrill) now lives" to J. M. Capshaw for a \$139 debt to Hampton and Hendon of Aberdeen. This debt must have been satisfied because the 1852 deed from Bennett to Debrill mentioned no encumbrances.¹

The Debrill and Capshaw families were closely related, as James Capshaw had married Jane Hill Clune (perhaps Martha's sister) in 1842. Young William L. Capshaw, residing in the Debrill household, was probably their nephew. The two families had been in Lowndes County for some time and were living in or near Colbert during the early 1840s, where James Capshaw had acted as the agent and attorney for the Colbert Ferry owner, Joel Leftwich. William Leftwich Capshaw, who was living with the Debrills in 1850, had been given several lots in Colbert by Joel Leftwich in 1843. After Joel Leftwich's death in the mid-1840s, Matthew Dibrell was one of those appointed to appraise the Leftwich personal estate, and at the sale of these goods he purchased 12 yd of figured satin for \$6.00. Many other area residents who were to relocate at Barton, such as Agur T. Morse, James Capshaw, M. Belk, W. J. Hines, and Robert Givens, also attended the sale.²

As far as we know, Matthew Debrill did not own property other than the north half of Block 13, and it is probably this land that was valued at \$900 in the 1850 census. He is not on the 1851 Lowndes County Personal Property Roll but Mrs. Debrill appears in 1852, being taxed for one poll for the household; neither appears in 1853. It is likely that Matthew Debrill died in the early 1850s, as he was not a party to the 1852 deed mentioned above. The next transaction for the north half of Block 13 was in September 1857, when Martha L. and James M. Capshaw sold it to Caroline S. Gage of Monroe County for \$166.67 in cash and \$338 in notes. This transaction also included Block 28.³

We do not know when Martha L. Hill Debrill married James M. Capshaw, who had previously been married to her relation, Jane B. Hill, nor is the fate of Jane known. She may have died, or been separated from her husband by 1850, as young William L. Capshaw was already living with Martha and Matthew Debrill. After their marriage, Martha and James probably resided in the house on the north half of Block 13; James Capshaw had other property in Barton but no other parcels in the probable residential areas. He was assessed in the property rolls for one watch, one clock, one piano, one slave, and one poll in 1853, and in 1857 for the same property plus the addition of a slave. He is thought to have continued his law business in Barton and may also have acted as a cotton agent. By 1859 Martha and James Capshaw had moved to Texas, and James's partner, Benjamin F. Capshaw, had moved to West Point.⁴

Little is known of the next owners, Caroline S. and George W. Gage. They had been married in Monroe County in August 1857, one month before buying the Capshaw property. The Gages apparently had some difficulty paying the notes, and the case was taken to court. When the property was sold at auction, Caroline Gage was the highest bidder at \$300. By January 1864, when Caroline sold the site, she was again of Monroe County and signed the deed as C. S. Freeman, her married name before her marriage to G. W. Gage. Nothing is known of their household or livelihood while in Barton, or even if they definitely resided there.⁵

In January 1864, Caroline Gage sold her Barton property to Mary E. Hanks for \$50.00 and the hire of a negro woman, Matilda, for one year. Mary Hanks is also associated with sites 5443 and 5448. Mary sold the property to S. E. Yates in October 1866 for \$50.00. These turnovers, however, from C. S. Gage to M. E. Hanks to S. E. Yates, were now for the west half of Block 28, which was immediately east of Block 13, according to the reconstructed plat. The deeds no longer mention the north half of Block 13, although it had originally been sold with Block 28 to the Gages by the Capshaws.⁶ Therefore, it is not at all certain that the house was occupied during the 1860s.

There are no further transactions mentioning the north half of Block 13, and after the 1860s most of Section 31 was sold in larger parcels, often without exact description. It seems, however, that this house site was, unlike the Highwater House south of it, part of the Barton property owned during the 1870s by Bardine Richardson and which he sold to Mary Coltrane in 1879. It stayed in the Coltrane family until 1913, when Jan Uithoven bought it, and it has remained in that family.⁷

James Hendrix recalls 5447 as a house site but was told that it had been used earlier as a school for the Barton Ferry community. The first school in Barton, the Barton Academy, was probably located on the western edge of the site near Peter Warren's house and not far from the old Colbert Academy (see Chapter 2). This school seems to have functioned only during the main period of Barton's influence as a river town, that is, the 1850s. In the early 1870s, however, there was a school at Barton in a house Bardine Richardson rented to the school board for \$15.00 in March 1871 and for \$50.00 for six months in 1872. In 1870 there were 39 white students in the Barton district. In 1873 the school

board bought two parcels at Vinton from W. E. Trotter, and there were probably no more schools in Section 31. In 1871 and 1872, the teacher at the Barton school was William Coltrane. His wife Mary bought much of Barton, including this site, in 1875 and 1879. William Coltrane continued to teach at the Vinton school during the 1870s and 1880s.⁸

Much later, when the house was used as a residence, Mr. Hendrix recalls that it had two 14 x 18 ft rooms separated by a partition which had been put in after the initial construction. It was a weatherboard building with dropsiding outside and a sealed inside. Mr. Hendrix thought it had been built so that a heater sat in the middle of it with a chimney in the center for the heater flue. He last saw it standing in 1939, when Charlie Rhéa was using it for a storehouse. The residents Mr. Hendrix remembers were the Richards, who later moved to Virginia, and Henry and Mary Perkins, who lived there in the mid-1930s. Mary Perkins, Jan Uithoven's stepdaughter, had been Mary Keller before her marriage and had lived at house site 5442 when single.⁹

Archaeology

This small house site, measuring only 2,484 m², is on the southern half of the long eastern ridge. It is centered on the narrow ridgetop but extends down the steep north and east slopes and the gentle west slope. Elevation ranges from 220-225 ft above sea level. Vegetation is moderate and consists primarily of the usual pines and small hardwoods. There are also two ornamental species present, yucca and crepe myrtle.

Site stratigraphy is not complex, the majority being a typical Barton profile. Although variations are primarily related to the thickness of the A2/Ap horizon, there is a considerably different and eroded profile found in the trenches well down the eastern slope. All areas except the slopes portray definite evidence of plowing. The profiles are as follows (Figure 29).

Type I

0-6 cm--10YR4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

6-20 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown to 10YR7/4 very pale brown sandy loam;

20-25 cm--10YR5/8 yellowish brown to 7.5YR5/8 strong brown sandy clay;

25-30 cm--2.5YR4/8 red silty clay.

This is the most common profile, and it is found on the ridgetop in the central and southern portions of the site.

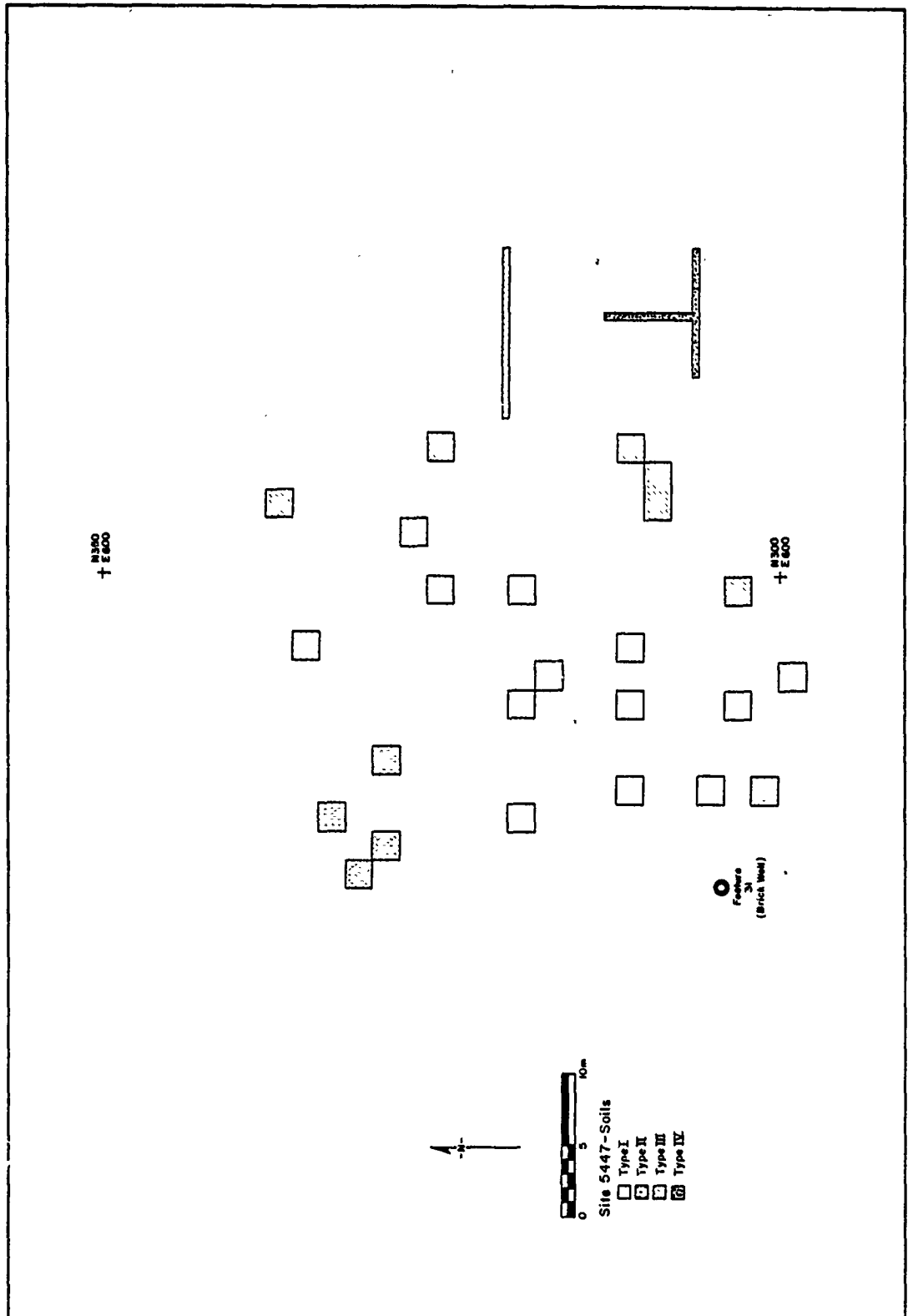


Figure 29. Site 5447, excavation plan and soil types.

Type II

0-8 cm--10YR4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

8-30 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown to 10YR7/4 very pale brown sandy loam.

This profile type is separated from others solely because of the thickness of the second zone (Ap/A2 horizon). It is found on the ridgetop in the northern and southern peripheries of the site.

Type III

0-6 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

6-10 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown to 10YR5/4 yellowish brown sandy loam to sandy clay;

10-18 cm--10YR5/6 yellowish brown to 7.5YR5/6 strong brown sandy clay;

18-30 cm--2.5YR4/8 red silty clay.

This profile is found on or near the northern and eastern edges of the ridge on the upper parts of the slope. These areas are undoubtedly the result of erosion.

Type IV

0-4 cm--10YR4/3 dark brown sandy clay and slight humus;

4-10 cm--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay.

This soil type is found in two trenches located well down the eastern slope. The soil configuration shows considerable evidence of erosion.

Excavation

During Phases I and II, five 2 x 2 m units were excavated. These were dispersed over much of the site area. No features or large concentrations of cultural material were discovered. To correct these deficiencies, Phase II units were dispersed over the ridgetop, the area thought to be the most probable location for the dwelling. In Phase III, three trenches were dug on the eastern slope to test its use as a refuse disposal area. In Phase III a total of 94 m² was excavated (20 2 x 2 m units and three trenches). Unfortunately, no structural or refuse filled features were found through excavations. Excavation methodology remained consistent throughout the testing and mitigation phases; all units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and all soil was passed through a quarter-inch mesh wire screen.

Features

The only feature located at this site, Feature 31, was a brick-lined well. This well is 20 ft deep. Whether it is associated with site 5447, 5448, or was used by a number of sites simultaneously is unclear.

Artifacts

This site produced 3,009 artifacts, which makes it the sparsest at Barton, both absolutely and in terms of the total area excavated. The breakdown in artifacts by materials (Table 20) shows a rather odd pattern. This is the only site with more individual glass and ceramics than metal. Perhaps the dwelling at site 5447 was dismantled and removed (nails and all), which would also partially explain the lack of structural features. However, since such a small sample was recovered from this site it is difficult to make any conclusive statements.

Another interesting statistic at this site is a high proportion of window glass. This is primarily the result of the small sample and a sampling bias; 40% of this glass came from two units. These units are located in the west central side of the site which was the locale of the dwelling.

The small sample and sparsity of artifacts also make it difficult to date this site archaeologically. Diagnostic artifacts of the initial occupations include transfer printed, painted, sponge decorated, and shell-edged whiteware, applied lip/neck fragments, nonapplied lip/neck fragments, and empontilled bottle bases. Later dated artifacts include a few solarized glass fragments and one machine made bottle fragment. The cut nail/wire nail ratio is interesting since it is the lowest ($714/18=39.7$) except for sites 5442 and 5448, but this could be a result of the small sample and/or the removal of the structure. At present we are unable to support or refute the twentieth century end date suggested for this site from the oral history.

Summary

Site 5447 served several functions. As a residence, it was occupied before 1850 by a family from Colbert whose head was a physician. His widow married a Barton lawyer and cotton agent. These occupations lasted through the 1850s. As is true for much Barton property during and just after the Civil War, title and occupation for the 1860s are unclear. An oral history informant believes the site became a schoolhouse during the 1870s on the basis of information passed down to him from older residents. Much later, in the 1920s, an informant remembers it as a residence once again. However, as was common at Barton, these later occupations were brief, and the inhabitants also resided in several other, nearby structures. It was used for storage of farm equipment and materials in the late 1930s. An oral history informant remembers this structure as having one or two rooms.

Excavations were not extensive, and about 3,000 artifacts were recovered. Because of this small sample very few concrete statements can be made; the paucity of artifacts could relate either to the sample or the nature of the occupation. Temporally, the artifacts indicate an occupation from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, as does documentary and oral historical information.

FOOTNOTES

1. Deed of trust, M. W. Dibrell to J. M. Capshaw, use of William Hampton and Pamphlet Hendon, 19 October 1850, Clay County Deed Book E:447; deed, H. S. Bennett to Martha L. Dibrell, 17 February 1852, Clay County Deed Book D:576-577; 1850 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, Enumeration #649; Lowndes County Marriage Book 1834-1850:180, from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 62.
2. Monroe County Officier's Bond Book 1:451 and Monroe County Marriage Book 1834-1850, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 39 and p. 46; deed, Joel Leftwich to William Leftwich Capshaw, 10 June 1843, Clay County Deed Book C:519-520; Lowndes County Estate File 474, Joel Leftwich, most documents establish Capshaw's role as agent and attorney, see also authorization to appraise goods of Joel Leftwich, 22 June 1846, and amounts of sale of personal property, 14 December 1846, in this estate file, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History.
3. Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1851, 1852, 1853, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; deed, M. L. and J. M. Capshaw to Caroline S. Gage, 8 September 1857, Clay County Deed Book F:529.
4. Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1853, 1857; Lowndes County Circuit Court Proceedings, James and Martha Capshaw versus G. W. and C. S. Gage, Lowndes County Circuit Court Files, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History.
5. Marriage of G. W. Gage and Mrs. Caroline S. Freeman, 5 August 1857, Monroe County Marriage Book 1850-1858:696, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 85; deed, George C. Brown, Chancery Clerk, to Caroline S. Gage, 7 January 1860, Clay County Deed Book E:503-504.
6. Deed, Caroline S. Gage to Elizabeth Hanks, 28 January 1864, Clay County Deed Book E:567; deed, M. E. Hanks to S. E. Yates, 30 October 1866, Clay County Deed Book H:88.
7. See Chapter 4 for more detail on these transactions.
8. McClurken and Anderson, p. 560 (James Hendrix); Lowndes County Board of School Directors Minutes, pp. 44, 88, 131, 205, 583, 1871-1872, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History; deed, W. E. Trotter to Board of School Commissioners, 9 April 1873, Clay County Deed Book 2:335 and 336 and 10 June 1873, Clay County Deed Book 2:533.
9. McClurken and Anderson, pp. 560, 587, 588, 621-624 (James Hendrix), 1107 (Josie Kennedy).

CHAPTER 10. SITE 5448

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

Site 5448 is one of the few Barton house sites with a long span of occupation, dating from the 1850s into the 1920s. Originally, it was the home of a wealthy Barton merchant and his wife, then the Barton minister and his family. Because of its proximity and elevation, in later years it was almost always associated with the Barton Ferry, hence it was occupied at a time when most of the Barton houses were abandoned and forgotten.

This site is located in the south half of Block 13 of the Barton plat. During the initial sales of blocks and lots in 1851-1852, trustee Hendley S. Bennett sold this half block to James H. Griswold in November 1852, along with Block 20 and Strip 1. Griswold retained the property until January 1858, when he was known to be "planting" about five miles from Barton, and this site was probably his residence from 1852 to 1858. He had married Anna M. Young, the daughter of nearby planter Wade Young, in 1850, and James and Anna were said to have had considerable property in slaves through Wade's estate. Wade Young died in 1850.¹

Griswold was originally from New England but had come to the Barton area from Pikesville, Chickasaw County, Mississippi, where he had been in business. In Barton he took over the business of Robert McGowan and with his brother, Fedum Griswold, expanded from a single store to a daguerreotype studio, mill, blacksmith shop, and ferry. James owned various parcels in the business district and some land on the east bank of the river across from Barton. The R. G. Dun and Company agent who collected credit information during the 1850s on Barton merchants initially considered him a safe credit risk, but during the latter years of that decade they mentioned several suits against him, and by 1858 he had relinquished most of his business enterprises.² Site 5446 is thought to have been Griswold's blacksmith shop, which he may have operated until 1860.

James Griswold was probably one of the wealthiest Barton residents. In 1851 he was taxed for one carriage, one horse, one piano, and eight slaves; in 1852 he was also taxed for the Barton Ferry, valued at \$750; merchandise sales for that year were about \$6,000. There was little change in 1853, when the personal roll listed his sales at \$5,000. By 1854 R. G. Dun and Company estimated these at \$7,282. In 1857 Griswold was still taxed for one carriage and one piano, his slaves had increased to nine, but he was not listed as having mercantile sales. In 1859, after he had left Barton and was living and farming about five miles into the prairie, he was taxed for one carriage; his slaves then numbered 18, suggesting that he had funneled some of his business capital

into this new enterprise.³ Owing to James's business and Anna's inheritance, their household may have been one of the wealthier in town. It is not known whether the eight slaves also lived in Section 31 up until 1858, nor is the composition of the immediate Griswold household known.

The Griswolds sold the south half of Block 13, along with Strip 1 and Block 20, to Mary E. Hanks in January 1858 for \$400. Mary Hanks had just sold the hotel property to E. A. Atkinson, and she probably moved her family to this residence. Her household in 1860 consisted of herself, aged 45, her daughter Mary R. Leitch, aged 22, her son William, aged 13, and her daughter Marietta, aged 4. She is listed in the 1860 census as having \$200 worth of real estate and \$200 worth of personal property. Agriassa Hanks had been taxed in 1857 for one piano, one clock, and two slaves. In 1859 Mrs. Hanks was taxed for one piano and two slaves.⁴ Typical of the pattern of occupation at Barton, Mary Hanks and her family only lived here for a few years. In January 1860 she sold this site and several other parcels for \$210 to Robert Ussery and seems to have moved back to the western side of town.⁵

Robert Ussery appears in the 1860 census on the eastern side of Barton. In 1860 he was 56 years old, born in Tennessee, and minister of the Christian Church. His wife Betsy was also born in Tennessee, and she was 52 years of age in 1860. Their household included Martha, aged 17, Butler, aged 12, and Robert, aged 10, all born in Mississippi. They were listed in 1860 as having \$100 worth of real estate and \$1,500 of personal estate. Besides being minister at Barton, Robert also preached in the Christian churches of Aberdeen, Cotton Gin Port, Prairie Mount, and Richmond, Mississippi, around mid-century, probably on a traveling circuit. By 1864, when he sold his Barton property, he was living in Monroe County.⁶

Robert Ussery sold the south half of Block 13, along with Block 12, Block 20, Block 29, and Strip 1, to Susan Littleton in February 1864. The price for this land, which must have been about 15 acres, was \$800. Susan Littleton was married to Tatum Littleton, and by 1860 she owned and was running the Barton Ferry, having purchased it from J. Y. Hicks after the dispute and court case of 1858-1859. Tatum Littleton was the son of Reuben, and the family had moved to Mississippi from Tennessee around 1837. Reuben's property was mostly on the eastern side of the Tombigbee River near Colbert, but the family often patronized the Colbert, and later Barton, businesses. In 1850 Tatum and Susan were living next to Reuben and Hannah Littleton, and both Reuben and Tatum were listed as farmers; Reuben owned ten slaves and Tatum four. According to the agricultural schedule of the 1850 census, Tatum had been farming on 45 acres of improved land worth \$225 in 1850 (in comparison to his father's acreage of 155 improved and 285 unimproved acres worth \$2,200); he had one horse, one mule, four milch cows, four other cows, and 15 pigs, collectively worth \$310. He raised 400 bu of corn, 6 bales of cotton, 75 bu of sweet potatoes, produced 150 lb of butter, and slaughtered \$70.00 worth of animals.⁷

In 1857 Reuben died at age 59, his wife Hannah having died in 1853 at age 54. Both were buried in the Vinton cemetery. Not counting

household furniture, Reuben's estate was valued at \$13,543.25, and after settlement Reuben's seven heirs each received about \$1,600. Tatum received two slaves valued at \$650 and \$975, and one horse valued at \$65.00, one common dining table valued at \$3.00, a half dozen common chairs worth \$3.00, one lot kitchen furniture valued at \$5.00, and two cows valued at \$16.00, totaling \$92.00. Most of Reuben and Hannah's furniture had gone to their daughters, and most of the stock and plantation supplies and equipment were purchased by Reuben's son Green.⁸

While Green probably continued the family operation on the east side of the river, in the late 1850s Tatum and Susan moved to Barton where they ran the ferry and continued farming. They owned considerable property in the south of Barton and in adjacent Section 6, Township 17, Range 8, and Section 1, Township 17, Range 7. In 1860 they were living very near Robert Ussery, probably close to the ferry. Susan bought the south half of Block 13, along with the other parcels mentioned above, in 1864, and Tatum and Susan may have moved there that year or used the house during times of high water, living most of the time at the ferry as later operators did. The household in 1860 consisted of Tatum, aged 39, Susan, aged 30, and children Altamont, aged 7, and Ada, aged 4. They had one slave who probably helped run the ferry and \$10,000 worth of personal property, a very high figure.⁹

There are no further transactions for the south half of Block 13. During the 1870s, Bardine and Sarah Richardson and then William and Mary Coltrane owned much of Section 31, but Susan Littleton retained the ferry property and surrounding 44 acres in southeast Section 31. We do not know whether Tatum Littleton died, perhaps killed in the Civil War, or whether Tatum and Susan were divorced, but in April 1864 Susan Littleton married N. J. Yates, and they continued to live near and run the Barton Ferry.¹⁰

Before his marriage to Susan, little is known of Yates. In 1870 N. J. Yates was listed in the federal census as the ferryman and Susan as keeping house. She was listed with \$1,000 of real estate and \$3,000 of personal estate. Her children Montie and Ada, then ages 19 and 16, were living with them and attending school, and Susan and N. J. also had two other children, Mollie, aged 5, and Alice, aged 3. Montie and Ada Littleton had left the household by 1880, and Mollie and Alice had been joined by Inez, aged eight. At this time, the ferry was being run by Lewis Billingsway, a 60-year-old black man who lived alone but near the Yates, presumably right down at the ferry.¹¹ The Yates property then included the northeast quarter of the northeast quarter of Section 6, Township 17, Range 8, and the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter and the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of Section 31, Township 16, Range 8 in Barton. They had sold most of their other property in Section 31, Section 6, and Section 1 between 1867 and 1870 and must have lived somewhere near the ferry in Barton, judging from their holdings listed in the 1880 census. N. J. Yates taught at the Vinton school in 1877, and during the early and mid-1880s he frequently served as a commissioner to help settle local disputes and court claims. He died in 1887 at age 56 and was buried in the Vinton Cemetery. Their daughter Mollie died in 1886 and is also buried there. Susan sold the Barton Ferry and property in 1894, having held it for 34 years. She was then 64 years old.¹²

F. A. Sharp bought the property from Susan for \$480. In 1905 Sharp mortgaged these 44 acres in Section 31 for a debt of \$185 to J. M. Sandifer but held onto the property. He exchanged a small parcel with Mary Coltrane in 1905, but this was probably in the northern part of his holdings and would not have affected site 5448. Little is known of Sharp. He was listed in the 1900 census as a farmer, then aged 51, white, and born in Mississippi. His household consisted of himself, his wife Mary A., aged 42, and also born in Mississippi, and three daughters, Mary E., aged 16, Mattie, aged 13, and Lucy O., aged 10. He owned his own house and farmland free of mortgage.¹³

Sometime around the turn of the century, March Montgomery occupied this house site. March's nephews, Andrew, Nathaniel, and Emmett Lenoir, remember him living there when they were children, and Andrew Lenoir recalls the Montgomery house as having two main rooms and dropsheds on the west side. The house sat north-south, faced east, and was heated by a central chimney, which may have been of the double stack type with a fireplace in each main room. Andrew also remembered a dirt yard, an outhouse in the back (presumably the west at that time), and water being toted up from the river.¹⁴

March Montgomery was born a slave in Mississippi in 1839, and he had lived at many locations in and around the townsite; one area west of Town Creek, March Hill, was named after him. In 1900 he had already raised one family and was married to his second wife, Mary Ella Lucas. Her sister, Louiza, married Andrew Lenoir, Sr., and was the mother of Andrew, Jr., Nathaniel, and Emmett Lenoir. In 1900, about the time March may have been living in the house at site 5448, his household consisted of himself, then 60 years of age, his wife Mary Ella, aged 40, and two children, Charlie and Benjamin, ages 7 and 2. March's son, Peter Montgomery, who still lives in the Vinton area, was born in 1905. He recalls his birthplace as southwest of the Barton Ferry on the "Colbert Place," and March may have left Barton proper, Section 31, by this time. In 1900 March's occupation was farming, and in the 1902 Clay County Assessment Roll he was taxed for \$30.00 worth of property, which consisted of one horse.¹⁵

F. A. Sharp sold the 44-acre Barton Ferry property to Annie L. Bean Cogdell and Daniel Cogdell in 1906. Daniel's father, Thomas, had moved to Mississippi from the Carolinas around 1850 and had settled in the northern part of Vinton. In 1860 Thomas was listed as the ferryman, and although he lived nearer to Vinton, he may have been running the Barton Ferry for Susan Littleton. During the 1880s and 1890s, Thomas and his sons were among the more visible and active Vinton residents. Thomas Cogdell was Justice of the Peace during the 1880s, and another family member carried the mail in the 1890s. They appear frequently in the local Vinton column. Thomas's son James married Annie L. Bean in 1901, and in 1904 was said to be "the popular manager of the Barton ferry." In 1902 he was taxed only for his poll but also had one horse and two cows.¹⁶

Various members of James's generation seem to have been involved with the ferry and may have lived near it. Daniel, who bought the ferry with Annie L. Cogdell, was James's brother. Another brother, Barney,

married Mable Myers, and in 1909 their daughter Hattie was born in what is called the Highwater House, site 5448. Barney was running the Barton Ferry, and this house was used by the ferryman and his family during times of high water; they normally lived on the bluff just north of the ferry. Hattie remembers the Highwater House as a two-room plank structure with a chimney in the middle. Besides running the ferry, the Cogdells farmed, and they owned and rented land in nearby Section 1, Township 17, Range 7, and Section 36, Township 10, Range 7.¹⁷

The Cogdell family mortgaged the ferry in 1910 to the West Point Bank and in 1912 to their aunt, M. M. Richardson, but they later cleared the mortgage, which was for a debt of about \$500. In 1913 they sold the property to Jan Uithoven, who then lived in the ferry house down by the river until he moved to Cedar Oaks, probably around 1919. He and his son John may also have used the Highwater House during floods.

Originally from Holland, Jan Uithoven had moved to Barton from the east side of the Tombigbee River. Many local residents remember he provided veterinary services. Before 1921 he married Francis Beard Keller. Jan had at least one son, John, by a previous marriage, and Francis had several children, but most of the Kellers probably never lived in the Highwater House. Mrs. Keller and her children are, however, associated with a house site on the western side of Barton (see Chapter 4 on site 5442).¹⁸

The next owner of the 44 acres in the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of Section 31 was Zack Ellis, who bought the property from Jan Uithoven in 1919. It passed from Zack to his son Andy Ellis and his wife, and it remained in that family up through the 1970s. Zack Ellis was well known, having been supervisor for the district and having kept a store for the farmhands who worked on his place. In 1922, he was "King Bee" of the area. Local residents also knew Andy Ellis and his wife quite well; she had been a teacher at the Vinton school. Still, none of the Ellises are known to have lived on any of their property near the ferry, as most of their land and homestead was about one mile west of Section 31.¹⁹

During the 1920s, several families occupied the Highwater House. Joe Harris and his family lived in several structures around Barton. In the mid-1920s he was running the Barton Ferry, and his daughter Josie remembers living both down at the ferry house and in the Highwater House. Joe had at least four children, Josie, Bobby, Annie Bell, and Lucille. Josie was in her mid-teens at the time and helped run the ferry. She describes the house as about a quarter mile from the ferry, on a hill, a cotton patch between it and the ferry, and with crepe myrtles and zinnias around it. Water was brought up from the spring near the ferry. The plank house had lath and plaster construction inside, four big rooms, and a brick chimney in the middle. Josie's brother, Robert Harris, noted that they did not spend too many weeks of the year there, using it only during flooding. He remembers a two-room structure.²⁰

Flora Perkins Keller and Tom Keller were also residents. Flora's family had moved to Monroe County in 1918, and she married Tom Keller, son of Francis Keller Uithoven, in 1921. They lived in several structures around the Vinton and Barton townsites, including the Vinton store, and resided briefly at the Highwater House in the 1920s, when the ferry house was not being occupied full time. Apparently, this house site was more or less reserved for the ferry operator's use in high water, if indeed anyone lived right down on the river. Flora Keller describes the house as having three rooms. A double fireplace heated the bedroom and served as ventilation for a cook stove in another room. At this time, Flora and Tom Keller had two girls.²¹ We know of no other occupants for this house site. It was still standing during the 1930s, although Josie Kennedy described it as about ready to fall down in the 1920s.

Archaeology

This house site is located on the southern tip of the long eastern ridge. At this point the ridge is narrow and slopes off gently to the west and steeply to the east. The exact site limits are not determined, but they undoubtedly extend into all of the above areas and probably include between 4,500 and 5,000 m². The elevation ranges from 210-224 ft above sea level. Vegetation is moderate to dense and includes large loblolly pines and small and medium sized hardwoods. There is a bed of daffodils on the eastern edge of the ridgetop, and a large stand of crepe myrtle grows on the western side of the site.

Stratigraphy is somewhat more complex than that found on most other sites. Although most of the units have a rather typical profile (Types I and II), many others, particularly in the eastern half of the site, possess a thick to very thick midden zone (Types III and IV). The Type IV profile, with its very thick (20 cm) midden, marks the area of a small (4.1 x 2.3 m) outbuilding (smokehouse?). The profile types are as follows (Figure 30).

Type I

0-5 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

5-16 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

16-26 cm+--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay.

This soil profile, typical for the Barton townsite, is located on the ridgetop in the center of the site (this includes the area under the west side of the house and the area west and east of the house).

Type II

0-6 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

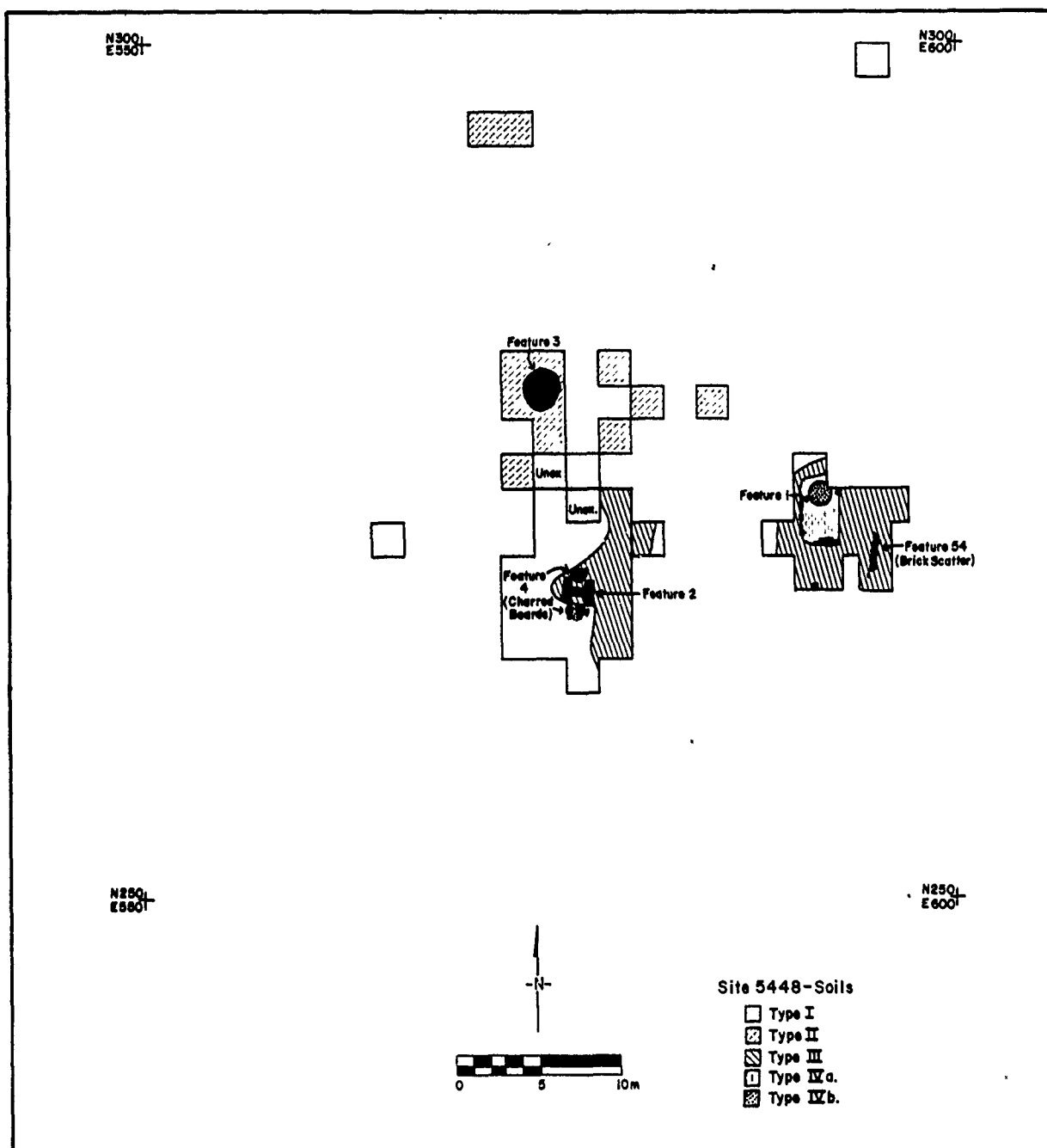


Figure 30. Site 5448, excavation plan and soil types.

6-26 cm--10YR5/4 yellowish brown sandy loam;

25-32 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam;

32-36 cm+--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay.

This profile type is very much like Type I except that the Ap/A2 horizon is much thicker, and there is actually a fairly clear division between them (10YR5/4-Ap, 10YR6/4-A2). It is located north of the dwelling locale, which is the highest part of the site.

Type III

0-6 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

6-13 cm--10YR3/4 very dark yellowish brown to 10YR4/3 dark brown sandy loam (midden);

13-15 cm--10YR6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam mottled with 10YR5/8 yellowish brown sandy clay;

15-20 cm+--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay.

The diagnostic aspect of this profile is the midden zone found under the humus/A1 horizon. The locations of this type are a strip just east of the chimney base (probably just under the eastern edge of the structure) and the ridge edge east of the dwelling locale. In this far eastern area, the midden zone tends to be slightly thicker than that toward the dwelling.

Type IVa

0-4 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

4-26 cm--10YR3/4 very dark yellowish brown to 10YR4/3 brown sandy loam (midden);

26-36 cm--7.5YR4/6 strong brown sandy clay;

36-40 cm+--2.5YR4/8 red silty clay.

This profile is unique because of the midden zone thickness. It is found in a rectangular area measuring 2.3 m (E/W) by 4.1 m (N/S) and appears to be the remains of a semisubterranean structure (smokehouse, kitchen?).

Type IVb

0-4 cm--10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and humus;

4-36 cm--10YR4/3 dark brown sandy loam with large concentration of brick;

36-40 cm+-2.5YR4/8 red silty clay.

This subtype differs from that above in that it has a deeper midden zone and contains a large amount of bricks and brick fragments. It is located in the northern end of this outbuilding and has the form of a gently sloping oval pit. This is probably the remains of a firepit, much like those found at smokehouses in the Bay Springs area (Smith et al. 1982:113, 216).

Excavation

The Highwater House was one of two sites (including Cedar Oaks) chosen for intensive testing during the first two phases of the Townsites Project. A separate crew supervised by Leah Allen completed this work. By the end of Phase II, 108 m², or 29 units (25 2 x 2 m units and four 1 x 2 m units), had been excavated, and three significant discoveries were made. First, a double (firebox) chimney base (Feature 2) was exposed, with charred floorboards adjacent to it on the northern and southern ends. Second, the remains of an outbuilding (Feature 1) were found 14 m east of the chimney base. The function of this structure is unknown at present, but it was most likely a smokehouse. Third, excavators discovered an unlined well (Feature 3) approximately 12 m north of the chimney base which contained artifacts dating from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century. This feature was not excavated to its base during Phase II.

Further investigation of Features 1 and 3 and the house area was the primary objective of the limited Phase III excavations at this site, which included 72 m² (Figure 30). Unfortunately, no additional structural remains were discovered.

Excavation methods at this site were significantly different during the testing and data recovery phases. During Phases I and II, excavation was done by natural or cultural stratigraphic levels. Although this method was used successfully at Cedar Oaks, the stratigraphy at the Highwater House did not have the integrity of the Cedar Oaks stratigraphy because of heavy cultivation. The only remaining cultural middens were located just east of the chimney base and on the eastern ridge edge near Feature 1. Because of the greater effort involved and limited results of this method, it was not continued in Phase III. At this time, excavation was done by arbitrary 10 cm levels. In Phase III, as in the previous two phases, all excavated soil was passed through quarter-inch mesh wire screens.

Structural Features

The only archaeologically visible remnants of the dwelling at this site were a chimney base (Feature 2) (Figure 31) and 18 charred board remains (Feature 4) (Figure 30). The chimney base was fairly large, measuring 1.7 m (E/W) by 1.4 m (N/S) and seven courses in height. It is unique for Barton since it had two fireboxes, one on the north and south ends, respectively. Oral testimony indicates that this chimney was

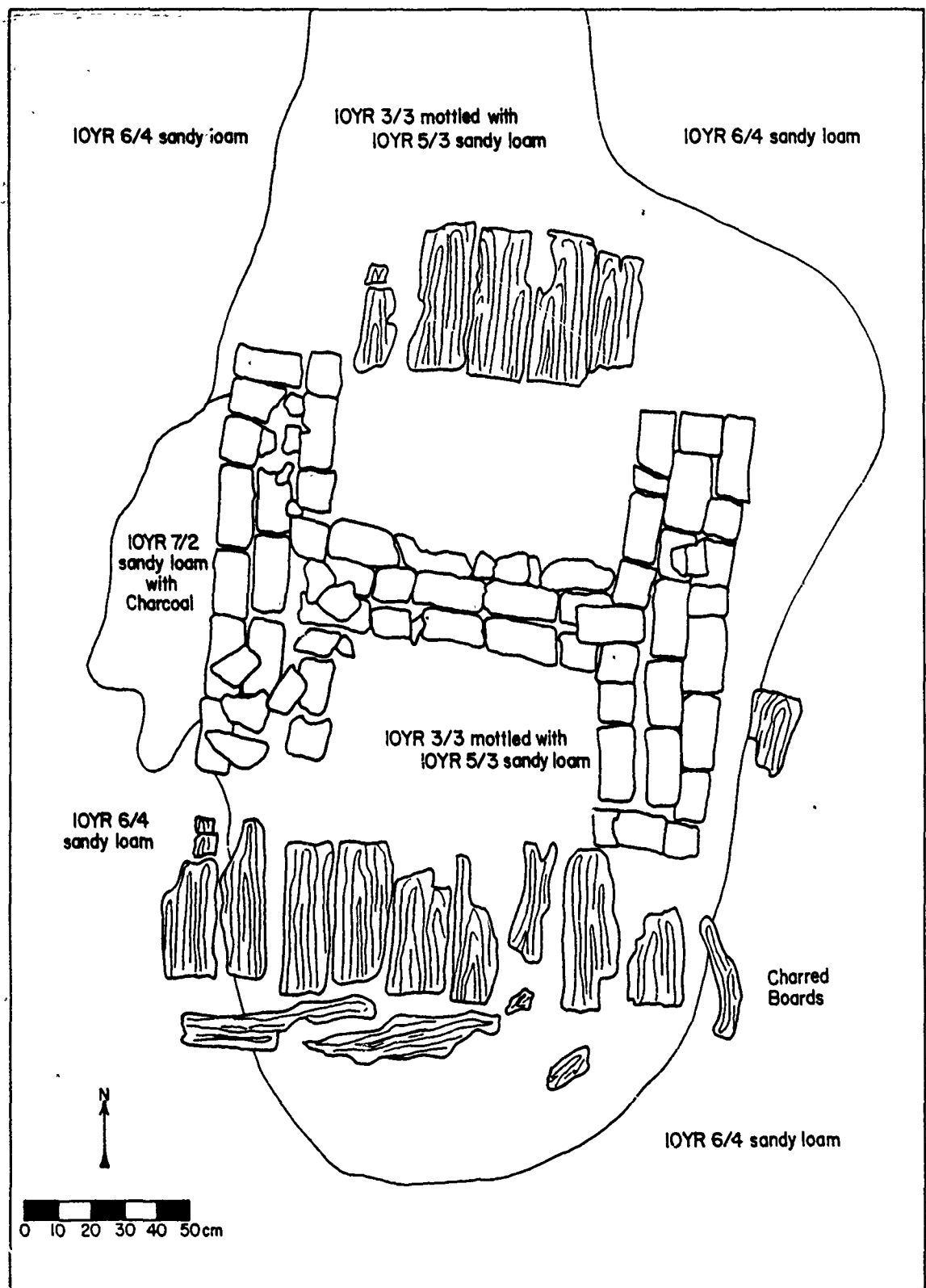


Figure 31. Feature 2 (chimney).

located in the center of the structure, the usual placement for a "double" or "stack" chimney (McClurken and Anderson 1982:1015, 1097, 1249). This type of dwelling is usually referred to as a saddlebag house (Wilson 1975:44). Unfortunately, there were no piers or driplines to aid in the reconstruction of the dwelling size, but the structure does appear on 1937 U.S. Army Air Service aerial photographs. From these it appears that the structure was approximately 36 ft (N/S) by 18 ft (E/W).

Oral testimony does not reveal specific measurements, but informant sketches indicate that the house was about twice as long (N/S) as it was wide (E/W) (McClurken and Anderson 1981:928, 1124). Most informants (see above) state that the house had two rooms, each with a hearth opening into it (McClurken and Anderson 1981:900, 1015, 1336). One person also suggested that there were dropsheds on the back or west (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1015).

The charred board remains are quite interesting because they are the only ones for the Barton townsite. They also demonstrate conclusively that this structure burned down. All of these board remnants were adjacent to the chimney base (ten north and five south). Sixteen of the boards were oriented north-south and ranged up to 16 cm wide and 46 cm long. These are undoubtedly the remains of floorboards. The other two board remnants were oriented east-west and were as great as 12 cm wide by 56 cm long. These were located under the floorboards and are undoubtedly the remains of floor joists.

This site is also unusual in that it is the only one, other than Cedar Oaks, which contained definite archaeological evidence of an outbuilding. This structure (Feature 1), located on the eastern edge of the ridgetop, consisted of a rectangular recessed area (4.1 x 2.3 m and 20 cm deep) with a deep (32 cm) brick-filled depression (Subfeature 10) on its northern end. It was surrounded by four post holes (Subfeatures 4, 5, 7, and 9) and a brick wall remnant. A linear scatter of brick to the east also was associated with this structure (Figure 30).

Feature 1 contained a large quantity of artifacts, among them ceramics, bottle glass, bricks, cut nails, and many bone fragments. The exact function of this structure is unclear, but the artifact assemblage and structure configuration are not inconsistent with a smokehouse. The high quantity of bone is especially suggestive of some kind of food preparation or processing, and the brick-filled depression to the north is probably the remains of a smudge pit for smoking. Of course, it is impossible to state conclusively that this feature was indeed a smokehouse, but its overall configuration (especially the presence of the depression) and its distance from the dwelling (10 m) corresponds nicely with the smokehouses found in the Bay Springs area. At these farmsteads, smokehouses ranged from 6 to 16.5 m (mean=12.8 m) from the dwelling (Smith et al. 1982:113, 216-217).

Feature 1--Outbuilding

Rectangular recessed area (4.1 x 2.3 m) filled with dark sandy loam.

| | |
|---|---|
| Feature 1, Subfeature 4--Post hole | 28 cm in diameter and 26 cm deep. Contained ceramics, bone, brick, metal, and glass. |
| Feature 1, Subfeature 5--Post hole | 24 x 18 cm in area and 48 cm deep. Contained bone, metal, and brick. |
| Feature 1, Subfeature 6--Post hole | 20 cm in diameter and 41 cm deep. Brick associated. Actually located well south of Feature 1 and possibly not associated. |
| Feature 1, Subfeature 7--Post hole | 23 cm in diameter and 42 cm deep. No artifacts. |
| Feature 1, Subfeature 9--Post hole | 21 cm in diameter and 46 cm deep. Contained brick. |
| Feature 1, Subfeature 10--Pit | 1.7 m in diameter and 30 cm deep. Contained a large quantity of brick rubble. |
| Feature 1, Subfeature 11--Brick wall remnant. | 1 m x 40 cm and one course thick. |
| Feature 2--Chimney base | 1.7 x 1.4 and five courses high. Two fireboxes. |
| Feature 4--Charred wooden boards | Eighteen board fragments. Sixteen floorboards and two joists. |
| Feature 54--Brick scatter | Located downhill from Feature 1 and probably associated with it. |

Other Features

A deep unlined well (Feature 3) was discovered approximately 6 m north of the dwelling (12 m north of the chimney) (Figure 30). The coordinates are N280/E574. At its top the feature was roughly oval and measured 2 m by 1.8 m. The walls sloped slightly inward. Excavation continued until 5.5 m below surface, although this was not the base; excavation was stopped due to constricted space and danger of collapse. We did core this well and determined that it extended another 1.04 m, for a total depth of 6.54 m (21.5 ft) below surface.

This well, as did the one at site 5442, had evidence of a wooden timber toward its base (Figure 32). This appears to have been at least 1.5 m in height and could have functioned as support for some kind of lining (brick?), could have been part of a wooden lining, or simply could have been a brace for the more moist soils found at the base of the well. The large quantity of cut nails (2,605) supports the wooden lining hypothesis but is not conclusive.

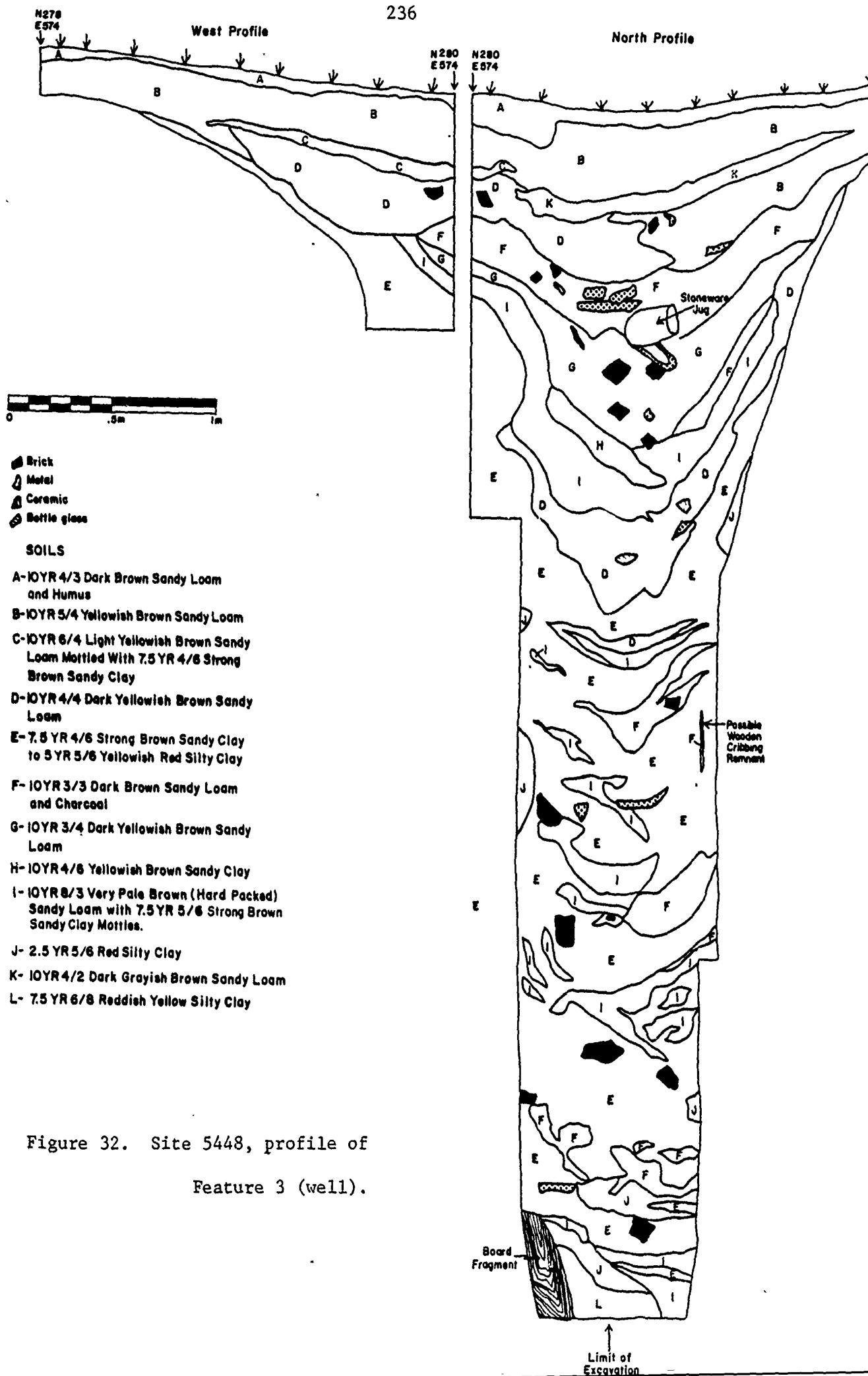


Figure 32. Site 5448, profile of
Feature 3 (well).

The stratigraphy in this feature, as in the other wells, was very complex. It consisted of thick to very thin lenses of dark brown (10YR3/3) to very pale brown (10YR8/3) sandy loam to yellowish red (5YR5/6) silty clay (Figure 32).

Finally, it should be noted that the distance of the well from the dwelling (6 m) is well within the range (5 m to 8 m) found at the Bay Springs community farmsteads (Smith et al. 1982:215). It is also very close to the distance found at the Keller House (site 5442).

Artifacts

A total of 38,165 artifacts was recovered from this site, which makes it the densest site at Barton. Of these 19,792 were nails; 16,087 machine cut, 3,053 wire, and 651 unidentified. This great quantity of nails is undoubtedly related to the fact that this house burned down and that there was an outbuilding located here. The proportion of ceramics is very low. The number and proportion of unmodified bone are surprisingly high, but as can be seen in Tables 21, 22, and 27, the majority was recovered from Feature 3 and the "smokehouse" area.

In Table 28 data on the cultural material recovered from the dwelling and the yard areas to the north and west, respectively, are given. The most striking difference between these two areas is the much greater quantity and overall proportion of nails in the dwelling area. Also striking is the higher percentage of glass and ceramics from the yard area. The amount of bottle glass and tableware is particularly dense, even when compared to the Smokehouse Area and Feature 3. This glass dates primarily from the late nineteenth to the twentieth century and marks both a particular late refuse disposal pattern and the increased mass production of bottles during this period. Earlier bottle fragments tend to be concentrated on the eastern slope, the Smokehouse Area, and in Feature 3.

The high frequency in the yard is somewhat misleading since most of this came from two units just north of the dwelling. These were undoubtedly adjacent to windows. One final interesting fact is the much greater quantity and proportion of unmodified bone in the dwelling area. Most of this was found in close proximity to the chimney base, which parallels the pattern found at the Waverly sites (Adams 1980:177, 195, 223). Appendix 1 provides a complete count and list of artifacts by unit and level.

The dwelling and yard areas date archaeologically from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the early or middle twentieth century, with most diagnostic glass and ceramics being from the later period. Early artifacts include transfer printed, hand painted, sponged, and shell-edged whiteware, applied and nonapplied lip/neck fragments, and empontilled bottle bases. Later artifacts include solarized glass (134 fragments), machine made bottle fragments, and a large number of wire nails (1621). A number of plastic objects and tin beer cans were also recovered.

| Material | Smokehouse Area | | Feature 3 | |
|-----------------------|------------------|------|-----------|------|
| | Count | % | Count | % |
| Window Glass | 138 | 1.2 | 1,310 | 11.0 |
| Bottles and Tableware | 1,189 | 10.8 | 1,338 | 11.3 |
| Other Glass | 67 | .6 | 315 | 2.7 |
| Total Glass | 1,394 | 12.6 | 2,963 | 25.0 |
| Ceramic Containers | 610 | 5.5 | 642 | 5.4 |
| Other Ceramic | 13 | 0.1 | 11 | 0.1 |
| Total Ceramic | 623 | 5.6 | 653 | 5.5 |
| Machine Cut Nails | 7,454 | 67.4 | 2,605 | 22.0 |
| Wire Nails | 210 | 1.9 | 1,223 | 10.3 |
| Total Nails | 7,676 (12 unid.) | 69.4 | 3,828 | 32.3 |
| Other Structural | 61 | .6 | 74 | 0.6 |
| Other Metal | 477 | 4.3 | 3,651 | 30.8 |
| Total Metal | 8,214 | 74.3 | 7,553 | 63.8 |
| Unmodified Bone | 622 | 6.0 | 234 | 2.0 |
| Bone Artifacts | 26 | 0.2 | 5 | 0 |
| Unmodified Shell | 86 | 0.8 | 90 | 0.8 |
| Shell Artifacts | 20 | 0.2 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 28 | 0.3 | 345 | 2.9 |
| Total | 11,053 | 100 | 11,843 | 100 |

Table 27. Artifacts from smokehouse area and Feature 3, site 5448.

| <u>Material</u> | Dwelling | | Yard | |
|-----------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Count | % | Count | % |
| Window Glass | 1,037 | 9.7 | 846 | 18.4 |
| Bottles and Tableware | 1,501 | 14.1 | 1,232 | 26.8 |
| Other Glass | 93 | 0.9 | 45 | 1.0 |
| Total Glass | <u>2,631</u> | <u>24.7</u> | <u>2,123</u> | <u>46.2</u> |
| Ceramic Containers | 406 | 3.8 | 329 | 7.1 |
| Other Ceramic | 17 | 0.2 | 4 | 0.1 |
| Total Ceramic | <u>423</u> | <u>4.0</u> | <u>333</u> | <u>7.2</u> |
| Machine Cut Nails | 4,668 | 43.8 | 1,360 | 29.5 |
| Wire Nails | 1,383 | 13.0 | 238 | 5.2 |
| Total Nails | <u>6,542</u> | <u>61.3</u> | <u>1,746</u> | <u>37.9</u> |
| Other Structural | 135 | 1.3 | 37 | 0.8 |
| Other Metal | 566 | 5.3 | 298 | 6.5 |
| Total Metal | <u>7,243</u> | <u>67.9</u> | <u>2,081</u> | <u>45.2</u> |
| Unmodified Bone | 74 | 0.7 | 9 | 0.2 |
| Bone Artifacts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Unmodified Shell | 51 | 0.5 | 37 | 0.8 |
| Shell Artifacts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 244 | 2.3 | 20 | 0.4 |
| Total | <u>10,666</u> | <u>100.1</u> | <u>4,603</u> | <u>100</u> |

Table 28. Artifacts from dwelling and yard, site 5448.

The materials found in the well (Feature 3) are detailed in Tables 22 and 27. This feature had a great quantity of artifacts (11,843), including a tremendous amount of metal (only 32.3 percent nails) and a moderate amount of ceramics (undecorated and decorated) bottle glass and tableware, window glass, bone, and shell. The great quantity of nails may indicate the presence of wooden cribbing, but this is not certain at this time.

Artifacts from this feature date primarily from the third quarter of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Four identifiable maker's marks were recovered from this feature. Of these one dated from 1840-1868, one from 1850-1882, and two from 1891-1906 (Godden 1964:451, 481, 658). These were found in Levels 51, 45, 13, and 9, respectively, and demonstrate the longer temporal span represented in this well.

The ratio of machine cut to wire nails also seems to support the longer temporal span. The nails indicate that there were at least two major filling episodes. The first, represented by Level 15 through Level 52, has a cut to wire ratio of 24:1 while the second episode (Levels 2-14) has a ratio of 2:1. The break between these two episodes (Levels 14 and 15) is very sharp.

Artifacts from Feature 1 and the surrounding area are given in Table 27. The most striking aspect is the extremely high percentage of nails. This seems to confirm that this area was not simply a refuse area, but the location of an outbuilding. Although the unmodified bone remains do not make up a great proportion of the artifacts, there are a great many which tend to support the smokehouse hypothesis. If nails are excluded bone would constitute 20 percent of the artifacts, second only to glass.

The high frequency of glass and ceramics in the smokehouse area should not be seen as unusual since smokehouses were often used for storage (McClurken and Anderson 1981:124, 756, 882, 1135). It is also probable, however, that some of this refuse was deposited after this structure ceased to serve its original purpose.

This "smokehouse" area seems to date primarily from the second to third quarter of the nineteenth century. Diagnostics of this period include transfer printed, painted, and shell edged whiteware, applied and non-applied lip/neck fragments and empontilled bottle bases, later artifacts are represented, however, and consist primarily of wire nails (210) which are generally in the upper levels of this area.

The well at this site is particularly important because of its long filling episode. Artifacts dating from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century were recovered. Future analysis of this material should give insights into socioeconomic changes occurring through this period.

Overall, the archaeological data support the documented mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century occupation of this site. The distribution of chronologically sensitive artifacts indicates a change in

the refuse disposal pattern much like that noted at site 5442, with household artifacts dating from the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century concentrated in the western edge of the site or backyard, particularly on the steep slope, and artifacts dating from the later occupation scattered randomly over the site.

Summary

As was site 5442, this house site was occupied over a long span, from the 1850s to the 1920s. The most intensive period was probably the 1850s, when the Griswold family lived there. Other mid-century occupants include the Barton minister and his family. Although the occupation of many residences ceased with the decline of Barton during the 1860s, the high elevation of this site and its proximity to the ferry seem to have contributed to its continued use. It became known as the Highwater House for its use during flood times, and from 1864 at least through the 1920s it was associated with a series of ferry owners and operators. These later occupations were less intensive and more sporadic, however, compared to the mid-nineteenth-century occupation. This site was also occupied around the turn of the century by a black family. While census records suggest that an increasing number of blacks occupied the Barton townsite during the last decades of the nineteenth century, specific occupations during this period, especially for blacks, are hard to document, hence this site is valuable in this regard.

Archaeologically this is the richest site at Barton except for Cedar Oaks. More than 38,000 artifacts were recovered, and significant features include a double hearth chimney base, a well, and a small outbuilding. The chimney base suggests that the house was a "saddlebag" type, and a 1937 aerial photograph indicates that this structure was oriented north-south and was approximately 36 ft x 18 ft.

The outbuilding was small and located 10 m east of the house. Its location indicates a desire for very efficient use of the narrow ridgetop, and a smudge pit in the northern half of this structure and the high frequency of faunal remains (mostly pig) supports a smokehouse function. Chronologically, this structure was associated with the earlier mid-nineteenth century occupation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Deed, H. S. Bennett to James M. Collins, 27 May 1852, Clay County Deed Book D:584; deed, H. S. Bennett to J. H. Griswold, 10 November 1852, Clay County Deed Book F:387-388; marriage, J. H. Griswold to A. M. Young, Monroe County Marriage Book 1850-1858:10, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 99; 1850 Federal Census, Mortality Schedule, cited from Thomas, 1850 Census, p. 172.
2. Mississippi Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8, 37; Land Abstract, Barton (town of), Clay County Courthouse; Sectional Indexes, Township 16, Range 19 E, Lowndes County Courthouse; see also Chapter 2.
3. Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1857, 1859; Mississippi Vol. 14, R. G. Dun and Co. Collection, p. 8, 37.
4. Deed, J. H. and A. M. Griswold to M. E. Hanks, 28 January 1858, Clay County Deed Book E:462-463; 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #896/910; Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls, 1857, 1859.
5. Deed, M. E. Hanks to Robert Ussery, 24 January 1860, Clay County Deed Book E:510.
6. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #913/928 and #914/929; B. F. Manire to Dr. D. B. Hill, 5 February 1902, letter on the history of the Christian Church in Mississippi, copy in possession of Mr. Jack Elliott, Jr., Palo Alto, Mississippi; deed, Robert Ussery and Elizabeth Ussery to Susan Littleton, 1 February 1864, Clay County Deed Book E:578.
7. 1850 Federal Population Census and Agricultural Census, Lowndes County Mississippi, cited from Thomas, 1850 Census, p. 92, 190.
8. Vinton Cemetery markers, Vinton, Mississippi; estate appraisal, 20 November 1857, statement of Tatum Littleton, 9 January 1858, division of slaves and other property, 28 January 1858, report of sale of perishable property, 2 December 1857, Lowndes County Estate File 959, Reuben Littleton, Lowndes County Department of Archives and History, Columbus, Mississippi.
9. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #914/929; Land abstracts for Section 6, Township 17, Range 8, Section 1, Township 17, Range 7, Section 31, Township 16, Range 8, Clay County Courthouse.
10. Lowndes County Marriage Book 5:182, cited from Thomas, Mississippi Marriages, p. 277.
11. 1870 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #7/7 of Township 16; 1880 Federal Population Census, Clay County, #524, #526.

12. See Land abstracts cited in note 9 for most of this property going to Bardine Richardson or A. M. and A. H. McDonald and then to Richardson; voucher 413, 12 May 1887, Treasurer's Account with the School Fund, No. 1, Clay County Courthouse; Yates is seen as a commissioner in Clay County Chancery File 512, Sallie T. Williams versus Mrs. Annie E. Brooks, and Clay County Chancery File 277, James H. Keaton versus M. M. Richardson, Clay County Courthouse; Vinton Cemetery, Vinton, Mississippi.
13. Deed, S. E. Yates to F. A. Sharp, 7 August 1894, Clay County Deed Book 24:593; deed of trust, F. A. Sharp to J. M. Sandifer, 11 December 1895, Clay County Deed Book 25:593; F. A. Sharp to Mrs. M. E. Coltrane, 20 November 1905, Clay County Deed Book 39:156; M. E. Coltrane to F. A. Sharp, 20 November 1905, Clay County Deed Book 39:556; 1900 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Mississippi, #32 of Prairie View Precinct.
14. Deed, F. A. Sharp to A. L. and D. Cogdale, 13 August 1906, Clay County Deed Book 39:556; McClurken and Anderson, pp. 1003, 1015, 1054, 1055-1057 (Andrew Lenoir), 1494-1495 (Nathaniel Lenoir).
15. McClurken and Anderson, p. 1262-1264 (Peter Montgomery); 1900 Federal Population Census, Clay County, Mississippi, #23 of Prairie View Precinct; 1902 Personal Assessment Roll, Clay County, Prairie View Election Precinct, Clay County Courthouse.
16. 1860 Federal Population Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, #903/917; various deed and court cases establish Thomas as J. P., for example, see Clay County Chancery Case 569, Jimmie Dukeminier, Clay County Courthouse; Vinton column, West Point Leader, 18 February 1898; marriage records, Bertie Shaw Rollins Collection, Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen, Mississippi; 1902 Personal Assessment Roll, Prairie View Election Precinct, Clay County, Mississippi, Clay County Courthouse.
17. Deed, F. A. Sharp to Annie L. and Daniel Cogsdale, 13 August 1906, Clay County Deed Book 39:389; deed, D. T. Cogdale to Annie Cogdale, 20 October 1907, Clay County Deed Book 42:232; McClurken and Anderson, pp. 900-902 (Hattie Box). Hattie Box also provided much genealogical information in personal communication to Peggy Uland Anderson, 1981.
18. Genealogical information provided by Hattie Box, Josie Kennedy, and Flora Perkins Keller, see Chapter 4 for more detail on the Keller and Uithoven families; deed of trust, D. T. Cogdell to Bank of West Point, 2 October 1910, Clay County Mortgage Book 1:422; deed of trust, D. T. Cogdell to Bank of West Point, 1 November 1910, Clay County Mortgage Book 1:468; deed of trust, J. N. Cogdell to M. M. Richardson, 1 February 1912, Clay County Mortgage Book 2:455; deed, Annie L. Cogdell to Jan Uithoven, 7 November 1913, Clay County Deed Book 43:128.

19. Deed, Jan Uithoven to Z. T. Ellis, 8 April 1919, Clay County Deed Book 47:196; see Land abstracts for Section 31, Township 16, Range 8 and Section 1, Township 17, Range 7, Clay County Courthouse; McClurken and Anderson, pp. 1413 (Lee Alton Duke), 92 (George Howard), and 355 (Thomas J. Tubb).
20. McClurken and Anderson, pp. 1094-1109 (Josie Kennedy), 1336, 1340 (Robert Harris), and 1248 (Flora Perkins Keller).
21. Ibid., pp. 1248-1251 (Flora Perkins Keller).

CHAPTER 11. AN EXAMINATION OF STATUS FROM TWO PERSPECTIVES

The determination of socioeconomic status has long been a concern of historical archaeologists, but until recently this type of analysis has rarely been performed on sites dating from the nineteenth century. Recent exceptions to this include Otto's (1977) comparison of slave, overseer, and planter sites and Miller's (1980) price scaling of refined ceramics. The artifact analysis below will utilize Miller's contribution, with a few alterations. Findings from this exercise will then be compared to a similar analysis from archival sources. This provides an opportunity to compare the two record sources, as well as to arrive at a more complete picture of the socioeconomic scaling of mid nineteenth century Barton, at least as can be gathered from those domestic sites subjected to complete data recovery during Phase III.

In his study Miller investigated status by measuring expenditures made on ceramics. After determining that the costs of ceramics were largely dependent on how they were decorated, he defined four main decorated groups by price (Miller 1980:3-4). These are, from lowest to highest, as follows:

1. Undecorated Cream Colored Ware. (In the case of Barton this is undecorated whiteware.)
2. Minimal Decoration. Shell Edged, banded, stamped, sponged, slipped.
3. Hand Painted Floral Motif.
4. Transfer Printed. With Willow pattern being the least expensive and Flowed the most expensive.

The price differentials here are considerable, with transfer printed being up to five times as expensive as undecorated (Miller 1980:30). For sites dating from the 1850s or later a fifth category should be added. This is white ironstone or white granite, which was generally undecorated and at a price equal to that of transfer printed whiteware (Miller 1980:48,29,32).

The reader may be surprised at the exclusion of porcelain from this analysis since it is often the basis for archaeological status studies on sites from the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the cost of porcelain relative to other nineteenth century ceramics is not well understood at present (Miller 1980:4). Hopefully, this deficiency will be corrected in the future and porcelain can be incorporated into status studies.

In order to avoid inaccuracies due to price changes over time, Miller (1980:30) indexed prices for over a dozen separate years between 1770 and 1881. His index sets undecorated (category 1.) equal to 1.00,

with the other categories being multiples of this depending on their price differences. For the Barton sites the scale for 1855 was used since this is near the mid occupation date of the site and because it is the latest date which includes prices for the majority of decorative types. One variation in our analysis is the use of sherd counts rather than vessel counts as used by Miller. To analyze these sherds, with form unknown, the prices for plates, cups, and bowls were averaged. This is believed to be a reasonable application of Miller's analysis as long as index values derived from sherd counts are not compared with those from vessel counts.

At Barton townsite ceramic price analysis was conducted for the five excavated housesites and the hotel. Due to the occupation time differentials at these sites and the limited knowledge of late nineteenth and early twentieth century ceramics and occupants, this analysis is restricted to the antebellum, or at least pre-1870 occupations. For this reason at sites 5442 and 5448 only those features and areas which dated from this period were included. These included Features 8 and 55 at site 5442 and the smokehouse area and the lower fifteen levels of Feature 3 at site 5448. At the other sites the entire samples were used. This includes sites 5444 and 5447, which were documented through oral history as having later occupations, but contained artifacts dating almost exclusively from the antebellum period.

The determination and results of the ceramic price indexing analysis is given below. Table 29 shows the counts of various categories of ceramics and the calculation of an average value for each site. Table 30 shows the sites arranged in order of highest to lowest average value, or highest to lowest status.

Given that Miller's scale for 1855 ranges from 1.00 to 2.50, these sites do not represent a tremendous amount of variation, although the Griswold site does seem to be much higher than any of the others. Given their average values these sites may equate to a roughly "middle class" or slightly lower socioeconomic level. More comparisons are needed at this point, but at present the only study we know of which also used sherd counts is of the Sites Homestead, a 19th century farmstead in northeastern West Virginia (Brashler 1983). The Sites family owned a moderate sized farm and the ceramics from this site represented an average value of 1.19. Miller's study (1980) used vessel counts.

As a further analysis of status differences at the Barton townsite during its occupation in the 1850s, a similar exercise was conducted using documentary records. Two sources of records were used, Lowndes County Personal Property Rolls for 1852, 1853, 1857 and 1859, and the 1860 Federal Census of Population. The choice of materials was governed by the somewhat erratic survival of nineteenth century records and the need to locate information on at least most site occupants in each record source. The 1850 Census was not used as it gave information only on real, not personal property. Other potential sources would be probate or estate records, although the short lifespan of Barton meant that relatively few occupants died and created estate records while at the townsite.

Table 29. Determination of average value based on ceramic price indexing.

| Site | Type | Count | 1855 | | Sum of Counts X Index Value | Total Count | Average Value (Total Count/Sum of Counts X Value) |
|------|-----------------|-------|-------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------------|---|
| | | | Index Value | Value | | | |
| 5442 | 1. Undec. | 341 | 1.00 | | | | |
| | 2. Minimal dec. | 52 | 1.16 | | | | |
| | 3. Painted | 4 | 1.30 | | | | |
| | 4. Printed | 29 | 2.50 | | 536.52 | 449 | 1.20 |
| | 5. Ironstone | 23 | 2.50 | | | | |
| 5443 | 1. | 1,459 | 1.00 | | | | |
| | 2. | 216 | 1.16 | | | | |
| | 3. | 106 | 1.30 | | 2,164.86 | 1,908 | 1.14 |
| | 4. | 72 | 2.50 | | | | |
| | 5. | 55 | 2.50 | | | | |
| 5444 | 1. | 291 | 1.00 | | | | |
| | 2. | 17 | 1.16 | | | | |
| | 3. | 19 | 1.30 | | 437.92 | 368 | 1.19 |
| | 4. | 29 | 2.50 | | | | |
| | 5. | 12 | 2.50 | | | | |
| 5445 | 1. | 1,869 | 1.00 | | | | |
| | 2. | 456 | 1.16 | | | | |
| | 3. | 102 | 1.30 | | 3,488.06 | 2,810 | 1.24 |
| | 4. | 298 | 2.50 | | | | |
| | 5. | 85 | 2.50 | | | | |
| 5447 | 1. | 315 | 1.00 | | | | |
| | 2. | 43 | 1.16 | | | | |
| | 3. | 10 | 1.30 | | 585.38 | 451 | 1.30 |
| | 4. | 52 | 2.50 | | | | |
| | 5. | 31 | 2.50 | | | | |
| 5448 | 1. | 408 | 1.00 | | | | |
| | 2. | 72 | 1.16 | | | | |
| | 3. | 26 | 1.30 | | 977.82 | 687 | 1.42 |
| | 4. | 83 | 2.50 | | | | |
| | 5. | 98 | 2.50 | | | | |

Table 30. Ranking of sites by ceramics analysis and personal property.

| <u>Ceramic Ranking & Average value</u> | | <u>Personal Property Ranking</u> |
|--|------|----------------------------------|
| 5448-Griswold | 1.42 | 5448-Griswold |
| 5447-Debrill/Capshaw | 1.30 | 5447-Debrill Capshaw |
| 5445-Warren | 1.24 | 5442-McGowen |
| 5442-McGowen | 1.20 | 5445-Warren |
| 5444-Howarth | 1.19 | 5443-Hanks (hotel) |
| 5443-Hanks (hotel) | 1.14 | 5444-Howarth |

The personal property rolls, kept for tax purposes, list slaves, some livestock or business assets, and some "luxury" items for heads of households. For some items, such as pianos, carriages, clocks or watches, or gold or silver plate, values were recorded. These were totaled for each resident by year. A total personal property assessment was also recorded for 1860 from the Federal Census. Then for each year in question, the occupants were ranked from highest (1) to lowest (6) based on this total of taxable personal property. For those years in which data were not available for all residents, a scale of 6 was retained, with intermediate values adjusted (i.e. 1.5, 3.0, 4.5, 6.0 for four sites, 1.2, 2.4, 3.6, 4.8, 6 for five, etc.). Equal values were averaged. Table 31 presents the occupants of each site and their ranking for each year examined.

Table 31. Ranking of sites by personal property.

| | <u>1852</u> | <u>1853</u> | <u>1857</u> | <u>1859</u> | <u>1860</u> | <u>Mean Rank</u> |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| Site 5442 | McGowen 2.4 | Rainey 2 | Futrell 4.8 | Futrell 6 | Futrell 3 | 3.64 |
| Site 5443 | Hanks 4.8 | Hanks 5 | Atkinson ? | Atkinson ? | Hanks 4.8 | 4.16 |
| Site 5444 | Howarth ? | Howarth ? | Howarth 3.6 | ? ? | Rodgers 6 | 5.2 |
| Site 5445 | Warren 3.6 | Warren 4 | Duling 6 | Duling 3 | Duling 3 | 3.92 |
| Site 5447 | Debrill 6 | Deb./Capshaw 3 | Deb./Capsahw 1.2 | Gage ? | Gage ? | 3.4 |
| Site 5448 | Griswold 1.2 | Griswold 1 | Griswold 2.4 | Hanks 2 | Ussery 1.2 | 1.53 |

Ordering the sites from highest to lowest by their mean rank yields the following order: site 5448, 5447, 5442, 5445, and 5444 (see Table 30). Because of uncertainties in the data, such as how "value" was determined or the variations from year to year, the fact that only certain material items were included, and some wealth likely was underestimated for tax purposes, it is believed that a reliance on absolute differences in personal property is not warranted. However, it is hoped that these annual relative rankings overcome many of these problems and capture something of the nature of differences in material wealth at Barton. Attention should probably be focused on the ordering or ranks rather than the absolute differences between them since the scale employed is somewhat arbitrary, although it might be noted that site 5448 is higher than others in all but one year, and then being second highest.

A comparison between the archaeological and archival results is very encouraging, especially given the untested nature of the ceramic analysis, the incomplete nature of the archival record, and the less than simple occupational histories for each site. The rankings derived from each method are very similar and in both site 5448, the home of James Griswold, is far and away the highest. At various times Griswold owned a store, a blacksmith shop, the Barton Ferry, and perhaps a cotton gin (Hambacher 1983). Also in both rankings the home of the lawyer James Capshaw and his wife M. Debrill Capshaw is the next highest. Below this, however, there are slight discrepancies.

The position of the two middle sites, sites 5442 and 5445, are reversed. This is probably not significant since the differences between these two sites were not great in either analysis. It is possible that Feature 55, the source of most of the ceramics in the analysis of site 5442, was associated with one of the slightly lower status occupants, such as William Futrell. Both of these sites were occupied by store owners.

The other discrepancy is the reversal of the two lowest sites. This is undoubtedly the result of site 5443 being a hotel and local a boarding house. In this case the ceramics are not a good indicator of the owner's status since they were bought primarily for use by boarders or customers. As one might expect in a hotel of this type, expensive types of ceramics were not heavily used.

The lower socioeconomic position of site 5444 relative to the other housesites is consistent with our knowledge of the residents' occupations while at the site. The first occupant, Benjamin Howarth, was a young store clerk and later partner with James Collins, but was likely just starting out when he resided in Barton. The other known occupant, William Rodgers, was an overseer.

Again, it should be stated that the archaeological and documentary data sets support each other remarkably well. This is especially striking given the multiple occupations at each site. Generally there was not a great deal of variation in ranking within each site, which may be related to site location, type of dwelling, and presence of other structures.

To conclude, from an integration of archaeological and documentary evidence there does not appear to have been a great degree of socioeconomic stratification among the residents of those Barton sites excavated during Phase III during the 1850s. From other excavation and testing at Barton it is likely that the majority of other housesites fall within the range of those given here. A possible exception might be Cedar Oaks, since resident James Collins was undoubtedly of a higher status than average and along with James Griswold probably made up the upper tier of Barton society through the antebellum occupation (see Chapter 2 for more detail on Barton businessmen).

The general lack of marked stratification in Barton is not surprising given its small size, function, and short history. Most if not all residents (excluding slaves, of course) were involved in one or more

service functions, such as general stores, warehouses, or blacksmith shops, directed towards the agricultural hinterland. Again, it should be noted that the socioeconomic levels discussed here are relative to the townsite of Barton. More comparisons are needed, both archaeological and documentary, to assess the position of these residents in the overall Southern society.

Part III

Continuing Studies of the
Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project

by

Leah Allen
Charles E. Cleland
Terrance J. Martin
Randall J. Mason

CHAPTER 12.

INTERPRETATION, FIELD INVESTIGATION, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL
RESULTS OF MAGNETIC SURVEY DATA AT BARTON TOWNSITE.

by

Randall J. Mason

Introduction

In 1981, Phase III of the Townsites Project brought to fruition the tedious, difficult, and unrewarding data gathering steps of Phases I and II conducted in 1980. The first substantial evaluative information on the adequacy of the survey parameters was produced through the investigation of anomalies in this third phase, and this work ultimately provided input into the final data recovery efforts. The following sections discuss the magnetometer work during Phase III and the specialized methodology used to interpret the magnetic contour maps and to investigate in the field the magnetic anomalies so identified. These are important to an understanding of our results and to any attempt to reproduce our survey in the future. Several unique aspects of the survey required procedures for interpretation and anomaly investigation atypical of those often used.

Chronology

The Phase III magnetic survey began with a conference in June 1981 between consultant Bruce W. Bevan of Geosight, in Pitman, New Jersey, Co-Principal investigator W. Lee Minnerly, and research assistant Randall J. Mason. The procedures to be used in analyzing the magnetic contour maps were established, and interpretation of the first four structure sites to be excavated at Barton townsite during Phase III were completed.

Similar work on the remaining sites was completed by 25 June 1981. In addition, interpretation was begun on the first individual cells outside these sites at Barton and on cells from Vinton which had been designated as being of interest in the Phase II proposal. Interpretation of these last two categories was completed on 17 July 1981.

From 20 July to 21 August, Mason initiated field investigation of magnetic anomalies indicated by the interpreted maps. He spent one week apiece with four of the five project crew members selected for participation. During this time, all anomalies on five sites in Barton were

examined and another was partially completed: the blacksmith shop (5446), the Keller house (5442), the Barton hotel (5443), site 5444, the Warren house (5445), and site 5449.

Mason met briefly with consultant Bevan on 3 September to review work as of 21 August. Available results indicated the correctness of the system established, as anomalies producing sources of archaeological interest were among those highest ranked. Anomalies of extremely small magnitude, and usually of small area, which had proven difficult and sometimes impossible to relocate in the field were judged possibly insignificant.

After Mason returned to Michigan, investigation was continued by the five crew members. They worked in overlapping two-week shifts, and at any one time two people made up the crew. When not on the magnetometer crew, they resumed positions on the excavation or laboratory teams. At the end of fieldwork in October, interpretation had been completed on 12 sites, and the anomalies on all had been investigated by the crew.

Interpretation Procedures

The procedure discussed below follows that outlined by consultant Bevan during the June conference and in other communications. Many of the minor points are adaptations of his suggestions or were originated by Mason to meet particular needs.

Magnetic contour maps were produced through a GEOSYS program (Wittick 1975) and drawn by the Cal Comp plotter under the direction of Randy Donahue, Museum and Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University. Unless otherwise noted, all further steps were performed by Mason as research assistant for the magnetic survey.

Two full-size (12.5 x 12.5 in.) photocopies were made of each cell map. One copy was left with project collaborator William A. Lovis of Michigan State University, and one copy was taken, with the original, to the project magnetic survey office at the university. Interpretation was performed on this second copy. Figure 33 is an example of an interpreted map, all of which appear in the appendix on microfiche.

The first step was to transfer cell notes from typed lists onto the map in pencil. These notes were produced by the original magnetic survey crew during Phases I and II in 1980. Although at times virtually all notes were copied onto the map, usually some were omitted. Only those notes were included which were deemed relevant to the interpretation of the maps and the resulting investigation.

Notes placed on the map were of three types. The first were those which would help the crew generally orient itself in the field and/or precisely locate an anomaly (for example, through archaeological test pits and large area grids). The second type were those which would aid the research assistant in interpreting anomalies. These included such things as "nearby surface trash" or "collapsed fence" which might

MAGNETOMETER DATA FROM SITE 4942. CELL N35G/E200.

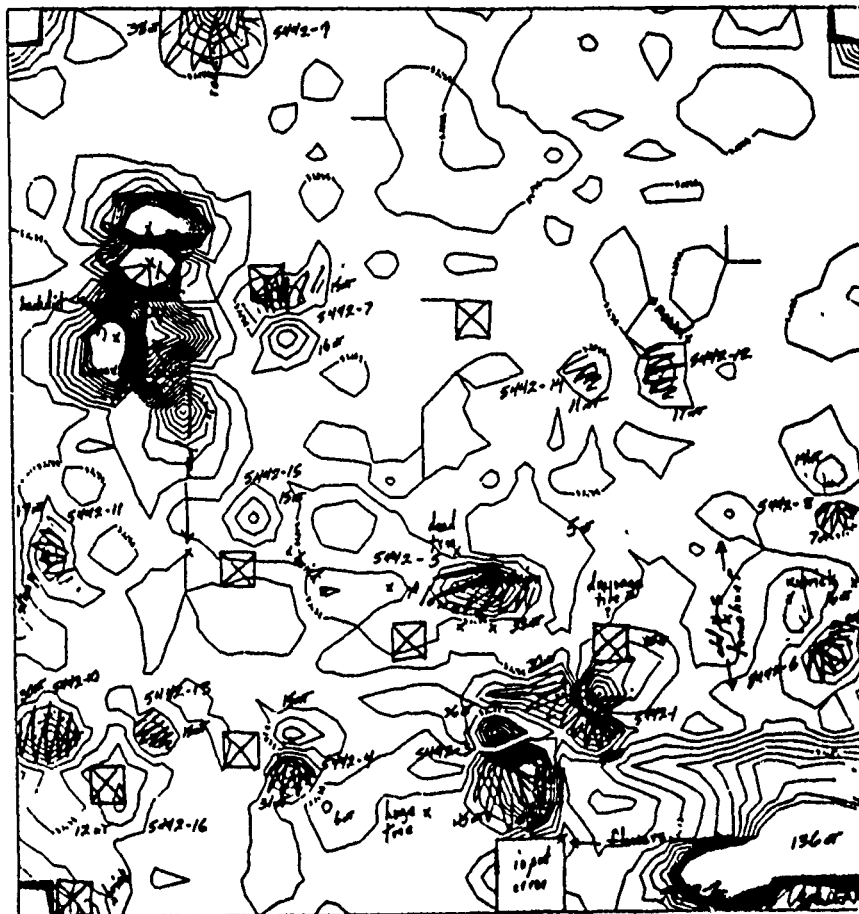


Figure 33. Example of an interpreted magnetic contour map.

account for the magnetic reading. The third sort were those relating to surviving ornamental vegetation or other observations which might be of help to the crew.

After the transcription of cell notes, potentially anomalous areas not explained by the notes were selected and grid coordinates identified for the center of a pole, whether it be single, paired with another pole, or part of a larger group, representing a monopolar, dipolar, or complex anomaly, respectively. This point was then found on the original transect forms upon which the readings were recorded in the field during Phases I and II. The pole was identified as positive or negative depending on whether the reading at this central grid point was higher or lower than those surrounding it.

The individual poles of all anomalies (excepting those attributable to sources of nonarchaeological interest) were marked with colored pencils. Red designated positive poles (or high readings), and blue designated negative poles (or low readings). This caused the anomalies to stand out visually in the cell and communicated information about them. The pole was also labeled on the map with its numerical value in nanotesla. This value was the difference between the most extreme reading of the pole and of a rough nonanomalous average estimated for the general magnetic field as represented by the transect on which the reading was located. This was admittedly subjective, but hard copy averages for transects were not printed during initial data adjustment prior to mapping, and calculation of such precise averages was not possible at this point. This operation was performed for every major extreme point of an anomaly. These points were usually recognizable by a series of roughly concentric contour lines focused on the reading.

Monopolar anomalies were expressed quantitatively through their single central extreme reading. The numerical expression for dipolar anomalies was in terms of the value of its positive and negative added together as positive numbers to arrive at total magnitude. For example, a 27 nT low and a 45 nT high would equal a 70 nT total value. Complex anomalies were considered in the same manner as dipoles, using the most extreme of their positive and negative poles to arrive at a total magnitude. At this point, anomalies were ranked in terms of projected archaeological importance. A qualitative judgment was made in terms of anomaly type: complex, dipole, monopole high, and monopole low.

A complex anomaly is a conglomerate of high and low poles (although not necessarily the plural of both) which cannot be separated into, or which are only weakly justifiable as, individual dipolar and monopolar anomalies. These complex anomalies can indicate a structural elaboration beyond that of a simple geometric form, for example, or superimposed features. They may also indicate artifactual or structural disarray, that is, the cultural remains have been disturbed from their original systemic context. Because of the complicated circumstances which may produce complex anomalies, these are potentially the most significant archaeologically.

Dipolar anomalies usually indicate some structural integrity. Those oriented north-south, with the low pole north and the high pole south, typically indicate major undisturbed features, such as hearths and trash pits.

For features like trash pits, a dipolar north-south anomaly results from induced magnetism. The material making up the feature is susceptible to the magnetizing force of the surrounding field. Over time, the feature is continually and increasingly enhanced magnetically by the earth's magnetic field. In the case of a feature like a hearth, this orientation is a result of remanent magnetism. The continuous, successive firing of the hearth bricks produces an alignment with the earth's magnetic poles as they existed during the period of the hearth's use. This alignment is so strong that the original orientation is retained long afterward, even when the magnetic poles have shifted. The archaeomagnetic dating of prehistoric sites is based on these considerations.

Dipolar anomalies at an angle to a north-south axis can be produced by strongly magnetized individual objects whose positive and negative poles express their own orientation, not that of the earth's magnetic field. This remanent magnetism is produced during the object's manufacture and remains with the object regardless of its position. In this sense, it cannot be considered ever to have been in situ in the same way as a major feature which has been fired in place.

Monopolar anomalies occur both in the positive (or high) and negative (or low) form, although the latter is rare. These may be considered limited magnetic expressions of sources that have a positive and negative aspect (as does any mass) but which are not always detected or detectable by a magnetometer. This may be the result of, among others, the sensitivity of the magnetometer, its sensor height and/or orientation, the strength of the "missing" pole, or the influences of other nearby anomalies. A monopole low indicates a lack of magnetism, or drop from the surrounding field's level. These can stem, for example, from weakly magnetic building stone or from a gas or liquid-filled void, such as the wells on the townsites. A monopole high, in contrast, is more likely to indicate a magnetic source, such as humic or organically rich soil.

Within each of these categories, anomalies were then ranked quantitatively according to magnitude. The greater the magnitude, the higher was the priority of the anomaly within each of the previously listed types. After identifying the highest ranked anomaly type or category present, the highest ranked anomaly becomes the one of that type with the greatest magnitude. The ranking process continues through types of lower priority and anomalies of decreasing magnitude until all are accounted for. Anomalies within the same category with equivalent nT values are ranked according to the largest area, if this is apparent. The greater the anomaly magnitude and area, the greater is the likelihood of its source being a feature of archaeological significance.

Although this was the ideal, it was very difficult to adhere strictly to the system. Deviations from the set priority of anomaly

types and magnitudes were made to meet site-specific situations, as is evident from an examination of the tables for the 12 sites (Tables 32-44).

When the final rankings for a site or single cell were decided upon, they were labeled on the map in order, starting with #1 for the highest priority anomaly.

The procedure just described is for a single cell. Interpretation was done, step by step, for an entire batch of cells at one time. Initial interpretation was completed first on sites to be excavated in Phase III. Anomaly ranking for these was done by site, beyond any single cell. For example, the Keller house site (5442) occupied parts of six 50 m cells, and the anomalies of all six were considered as a single group for the purpose of assigning priorities. Anomalies were given numbers using the four-digit site accession number, followed by a dash and the number representing the place of the anomaly in the sequence for that site (for example, 5442-6). For single cells not part of any structure site designated for Phase III excavations, anomalies were identified by a circled number (for example, ③).

When all map work was completed, anomaly descriptions were written on a separate sheet for each site or cell with information on priority, type of anomaly, orientation (if dipolar), extreme high and/or low values, and center point. Figure 34 contains a sample of entries.

A carbon copy of these anomaly descriptions was kept at Michigan State University, along with full-sized photocopies of each interpreted cell map. The originals were sent to consultant Bruce Bevan for his review and additional comment and/or correction. They were then sent by him to the field laboratory in West Point, Mississippi, for use on the townsites.

Anomaly Investigation Procedure

Procedures for investigating anomalies also followed general guidelines set out by consultant Bevan, although again with some adaptations for expediency and effectiveness. Upon beginning work on a site, the crew first oriented itself by identifying landmarks indicated on the map, finding previous excavations, and locating the general areas of anomalies. This reconnaissance helped the crew decide the best plan of attack, and they considered such things as the distribution of anomalies and their pattern (whether clustered or scattered around a central point), or whether to deal first with the easiest or most difficult. Any number of variables entered into these decisions, which differed from site to site.

Once an anomaly was selected, the area at and around it was examined for clues as to its cause which may have been missed by the original survey crew and not recorded in the cell notes. If no certain explanation was found, the location of the anomaly as shown on the interpreted magnetic contour map was reached by meter tape from the nearest test excavation with labeled provenience. Once the presumed

Highwater house

5449 (B-12)

21 June 80

- 5449-1 complex, probably a central dipole with low associated with it to ~~SW~~ SW, low band SW, high 20ut, low 95ut and 20ut, center N254 E590.
- 5449-2 dipole, part of larger N-S complex, low N, high 220ut, low 60ut, center N275 E597.
- 5449-3 dipole, low N, high but, low 6ut, center N304 E580 probably is well that was found in this area.
- 5449-4 dipole, (E-W), high 40ut, low 39ut, center N282 E599.
- 5449-5 monopole high, 40ut, center N578 E598.
- 5449-6 monopole high, 15ut, center N362 E576
S edge of Highwater house structure, probably already excavated.
- 5449-7 monopole high, 14ut, center N272 E592
probably lobe of extreme high to E, 5449-2.

Only anomaly 5449-3 was marked in all N300 E580, as all anomalies to the N of it more properly fall within site 5448.

page 1 of 1.

Figure 34. Example of anomaly descriptions.

location was determined, hoes were used to clear the area of forest litter (or duff) down to solid ground. This was generally done from the supposed center of the anomaly outward to the edge of the indicated region of influence, and then 2 m beyond in all directions. This last extension provided a margin of error in the event that, due to variance in pacing off the original stations at which readings were taken, the actual position of the anomaly differed from the idealized plotting of the magnetometer readings on the map by the computer. Frequently, sources were found within the leaf layer, just under it, or only a few centimeters down. The clink of metal (hoe on source) was the most common means by which anomalies were identified. Most sources were obscured from the sight of the original survey crew but had not been deposited long enough to become a bona fide part of the archaeological record.

Less frequently, ground clearing produced no source, requiring the disturbance of the soil to locate it. To determine more precisely where to test, a short transect was marked by tape across the mapped center of the anomaly. This was either in a north-south or east-west direction if a monopole, or if a dipolar anomaly at an orientation off from either of these. However, if a dipole lay along either orientation, the tape was run directly along the axis, bisecting both poles. The magnetometer was then used to take readings at one-meter intervals along the tape in hope of replicating the original rise and fall of the anomaly at the position indicated on the map.

This operation was performed by a two-person crew; one cycled the magnetometer at the console and recorded the readings, and the other positioned the sensor at the proper point along the tape. The sensor was placed atop a collapsible four foot (122 cm) aluminum staff because this most closely approximated the height of the sensors carried in backpacks by the original survey team. It also was within the 2-4 foot height range suggested by consultant Bevan for obtaining precise, controlled, high quality readings desirable for anomaly investigations. The person positioning the sensor grasped either the sensor or the staff and stood one-half to one full meter away from the point at which the reading was taken. The sensor was attached to the console by a long coiled cable, and the console and its operator were at least 2 m from the sensor and the point at which it was positioned. Nonmetallic jacketed Union Carbide Hercules batteries were used as the power source, further minimizing outside interference. Magnetic metallic objects were removed from the person holding the sensor, and the surrounding area was cleared of metal equipment.

After completing this first traverse, either the high or low reading was selected, and a second traverse was marked by tape perpendicular to the first. To locate the true center of the anomaly, where testing would begin, it was necessary to identify the pole or poles, as the source usually lies between the high and low readings. The initial traverse only gave a one-dimensional fix. By running a series of perpendicular lines at closer and closer intervals (crossing each previous line at the point of highest or lowest reading), it was possible to pinpoint the true center of the poles. The locations on the computer-produced maps were less accurate, having been roughly paced

out. Inaccuracies in the desired position of any simple reading could have been caused by lateral wandering during the traverse or by pacing off too long or short a distance between stations.

After making the initial two traverses, perpendicular to each other, it was usually possible to estimate the position of the staff-mounted sensor in any desired direction, at any distance; this was usually a maximum of one meter from the tape. The closest spacing of any readings was 50 cm, as this was a tight enough grid to locate the extreme of a pole for our testing purposes. Shovel tests inevitably opened up an area at least half a meter in diameter, so a 25 cm spacing, for example, would serve no purpose. A sequence of estimated 50 cm readings producing a small area grid was usually sufficient.

At least one pole of a dipolar or complex anomaly was found by such means. The location of the second pole was roughly extrapolated from the first, and a shovel test was begun at an appropriate distance between the two. An example can be seen in Figure 35.

Problem anomalies required more than the standard procedures. Sometimes it was necessary to excavate an area of greater width and/or depth; at other times, failure to find the source required more detailed magnetometer readings. In some instances no source was found; this usually involved anomalies of small area and low magnitude, which were among the lowest ranked for any cell or site. Normally, they appeared on the map as a single contour line encircling a single reading. Many of these anomalies may be attributable to differing by only one or two nanoteslas from the surrounding field, just enough to be set off by a contour line. If breaks between five-nanotesla sequences of readings had occurred at other places in the overall range of readings, such minuscule pseudoanomalies would have appeared in other places on the map as the physical position of the contour lines changed.

When the supposed source was located, it was completely excavated, mapped, removed, and placed in a bag or tagged, with provenience information recorded. Large sources, especially extremely long stretches of downed fencing, were not retrieved, and actual archaeological features were merely identified and left for excavation by the field crew. At the end of each day, the sources were brought into the laboratory.

When the source was removed, a traverse was run to see whether any material remained. If so, further excavation was performed. Sometimes the oxidation from a badly decomposed piece of metal leached heavily into the surrounding soil, leaving a hint of the former anomaly. In such cases the magnetometer readings would rise or fall a couple of nanotesla even after all solid fragments had been removed.

The rate of work varied considerably, from one day to a full week on a site. Work progressed fastest when metal objects in the leaf layer were the sources. These were not part of the nineteenth-century deposits which were our main focus. Trash pits were the most frequent features, and much time was spent determining the age and cultural origin of each. Some features on the computer maps had been excavated by the field archaeology crew at Barton before anomaly investigation was

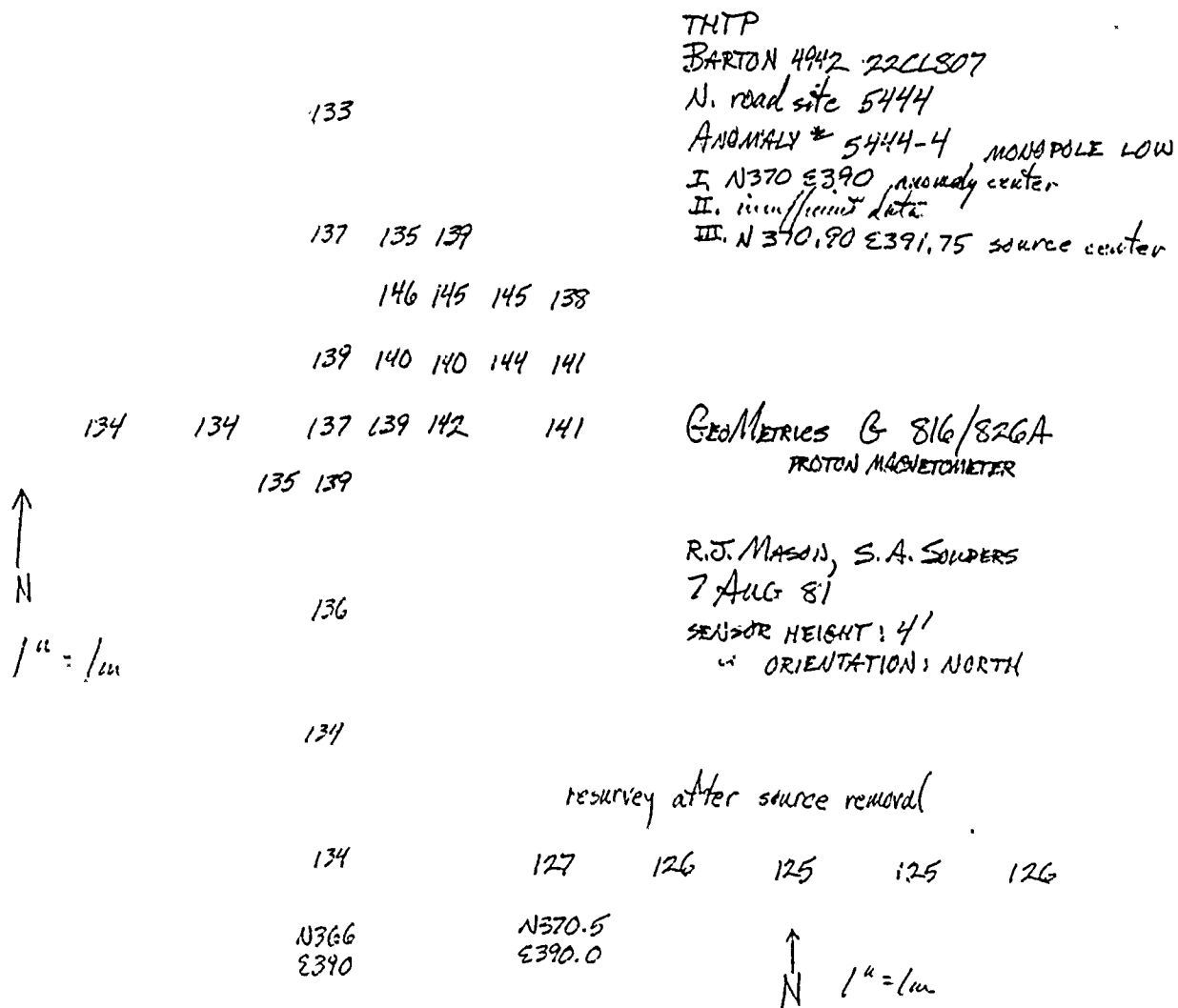


Figure 35. Example of anomaly relocation map for Phase III testing.

initiated or completed. Surface indications sometimes were adequate to locate a pit, and sometimes features were uncovered in the course of large area excavations. In such instances, the progress of the magnetometer crew was unexpectedly accelerated.

RESULTS

This section discusses the results of the magnetic survey. Site-specific information is given through a narrative magnetic summary of each site, accompanied by a table with detailed anomaly and source information, listed in the priority sequence for that site. Preliminary Phase II Barton site numbers are included on tables to aid readers of the Phase II report. This information is then summarized for the town-site in narrative and tabular form. Figure 36 locates these sites.

Detailed discussion of anomalies, especially those produced by features, is not given here. One of the significant and unique aspects of this survey, the pacing out of readings along transverses, introduced the potential for error in the mapping of an anomaly through a series of readings. Thus, special attention to precisely quantified information (such as anomaly magnitude and shape, and source size, shape, depth, orientation, and weight), which normally would be important for comparative purposes, is not appropriate for our survey. Grid points precisely located by tape or transit rather than pacing would be necessary to eliminate any question of spatial inaccuracies in anomaly signatures. Information on anomalies and sources is of a more general nature in this report.

Site 5442, Keller House

The Keller house was the most productive of the 12 sites investigated magnetically and also the second largest in area (6148 m²). All anomalies but one were within the site boundary. A single cell contained most of these and can be considered a model cell magnetically, being packed with anomalies representing all three types and an almost equally broad range of sources.

Among a total of seven major features, only three--a brick walkway or floor, a hearth, and a deep feature--had corresponding magnetic anomalies. Shovel testing tentatively identified another, but follow-up excavation was never performed. This latter feature was also unusual in that it was located well off the north-south ridge on which the site was situated and lay 15 m west in a low area.

A mass of complex anomalies on the eastern slope was resurveyed on a one-meter grid spacing in an area 10 m north-south by 12 m east-west. Four separate sources were identified, all metal and all found within the leaf layer or under only a few centimeters of soil. The general mix of other artifact types recovered and the large number of wagon parts among the metal sources indicate that this material may have been deposited on the slope as a result of the demolition of the structures, or other discard, in the twentieth century.

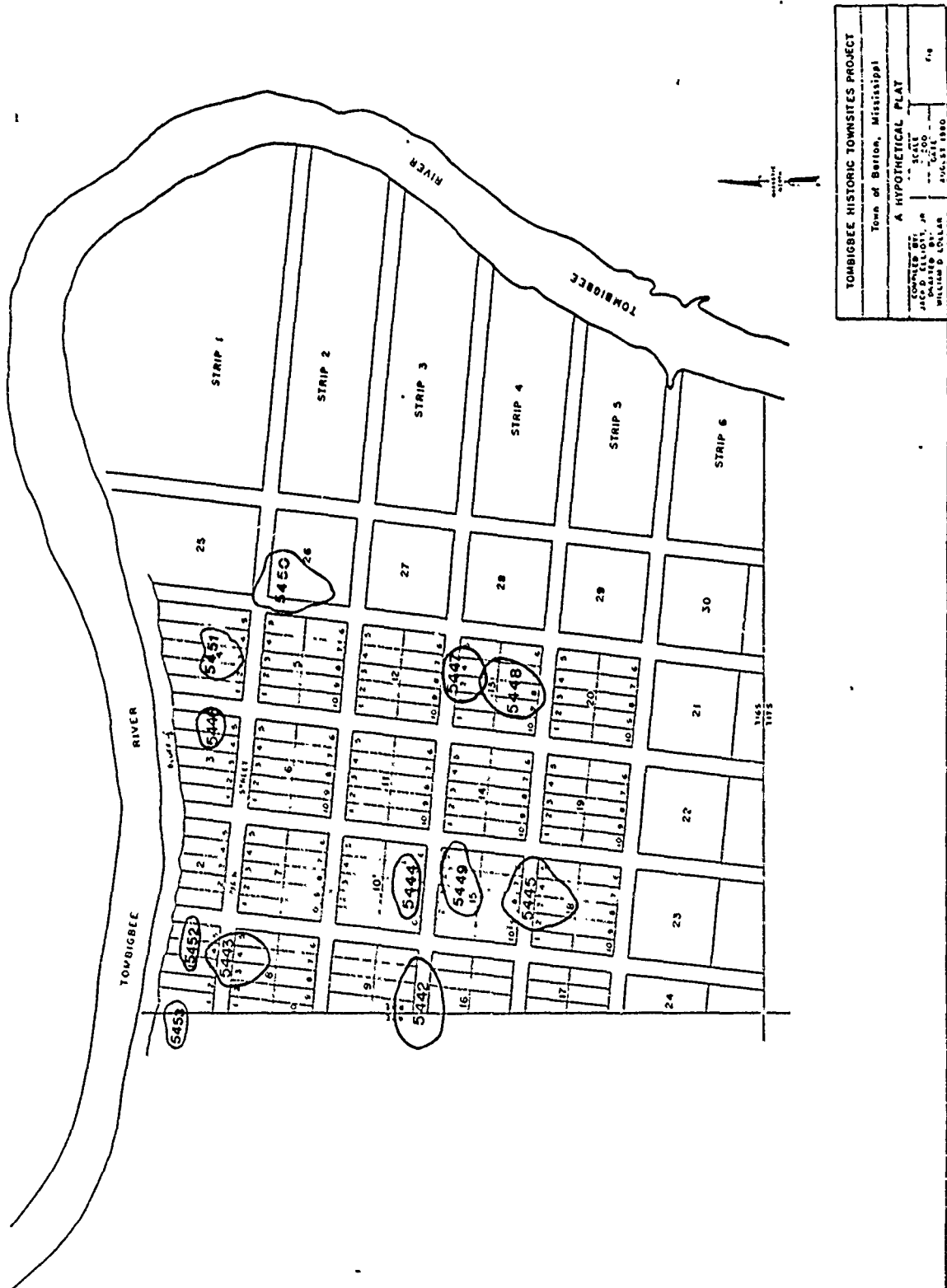


Figure 36. Sites receiving intensive magnetometer interpretation.

Two nonarchaeological ground disturbances, including a treefall and recent excavation and mounding activity, accounted for two anomalies. Although 64 percent of these anomalies had metal for their source, wire accounted for only one-third, less than at most sites. All sources were identified for these 15 anomalies, and all but one were located within the site boundary (see Table 32).

Table 32. Site 5442 (B-3), Keller House.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|----------------|----------------------------|------------------------|--|----------------|
| 1 | dipole, low N | 735 | pipe and buried tank | |
| 2 | dipole, off axis | 40 | treefall | |
| 3a | complex | 65 | metal bar (buggy canopy support?) | |
| 3b | complex (dipole, off axis) | 28 | wire and long thin heavy metal bar | |
| 3c | complex (dipole, off axis) | 54 | springs and one thin and one heavy metal strap | |
| 3d | complex (dipole, off axis) | 45 | long heavy bolt with fifth wheel from wagon | |
| 4 | dipole, low N | 43 | hearth and chimney fall | 5 |
| 5 | dipole, high N | 31 | metal bar | |
| 6 | dipole, off axis | 40 | metal strap and bucket bottom | |
| 7 | dipole, low N | 24 | barbed wire | |
| 8 | monopole high | 30 | undetermined deep feature | 55 |
| 9 | monopole high | 17 | wire | |
| 10 | monopole high | 16 | unknown pit feature with refuse | |
| 11 | monopole high | 46 | major recent ground disturbance | |
| no anomaly # | monopole low | 12 | brick walkway or floor | 35 |

Site 5443, Barton Hotel

Despite having the largest number of major archaeological features for any one site, the hotel is one of the two sites with the smallest number of anomalies. The single feature--a hearth--for which a magnetic correspondence was noted is questionable because a north-south barbed wire fence passes over it. Confirmation would have required uprooting and cutting the collapsed fence in order to achieve accurate reading, and this was not done. A small area containing two historic graves also might have yielded an anomaly, but another north-south barbed wire fence passed over it. Four of the seven anomalies at this site had metal sources, two from barbed wire. These last two were also interpreted as part of the brick kiln and are included in the counts and totals in other tables.

One anomaly was not investigated because of its proximity to the high-voltage powerline on the north border of the site. The anomaly lies within the powerline corridor; construction and maintenance have produced heavy ground disturbance and erosion, with the resulting obliteration of most archaeological information. A second anomaly, near the first, was successfully investigated earlier but yielded only cans. Five anomalies were located inside the hotel site's 2,944 m² boundary, two outside. The cell in which the hotel's southwest portion was contained was not interpreted. It was not possible to relocate one monopole high (see Table 33).

Table 33. Site 5443 (B-4), Barton Hotel.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1 | monopole high | 20 | not done because of erratic readings caused by over- head powerline | |
| 2 | dipole, low N | 26 | cans* | |
| 3 | monopole high | 50 | barbed wire | |
| 4 | monopole low | 110 | barbed wire | |
| 5 | monopole high | 25 | hearth and barbed wire | 11 |
| 6 | monopole high | 10 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 7 | monopole high | 7 | enameled metal basin | |

*Also interpreted as part of Warren store, but included here for purposes of count and percentages.

Site 5444

This site is unremarkable magnetically and was the other site with the fewest anomalies. All seven had metal sources, including the single feature detected by the magnetometer, which had metal artifacts distributed throughout a brick scatter. Four other major features on the site were not detected magnetically. Four anomalies were within the 2,304 m² site, three outside (see Table 34).

Site 5445, Warren House

This site is the largest in area, covering 7,740 m², but is among two with the second smallest number of anomalies (see Table 35). Two of its three features had magnetic correspondences; one was a chimney fall and the other was one of the three open wells on the townsite. The third feature--a pit--was not picked up by the magnetometers. Seven of its eight anomalies were within its boundaries; the exception lies

Table 34. Site 5444 (B-6).

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | dipole, off axis | 50 | barbed wire | |
| 2 | monopole high | 25 | heavy metal strap, wire | |
| 3 | monopole low | 12 | large square metal can fragment | |
| 4 | monopole low | 10 | long thin wide metal strap | |
| 5 | dipole, low N | 14 | wire | |
| 6 | monopole high | 10 | wire | |
| 7 | complex | 15 | brick scatter with metal artifacts | 48 |

Table 35. Site 5445 (B-8), Warren House.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | dipole, low off axis | 33 | wire | |
| 2 | monopole high | 13 | brick-lined well, open at surface | 30 |
| 3 | dipole, low N | 34 | metal bar (wagon part?) | |
| 4 | dipole, low N | 11 | metal hoop with screen | |
| 5 | dipole, high N | 21 | wire | |
| 6 | monopole high | 16 | brick scatter and dirt around | |
| 7 | dipole, low N | 14 | could not relocate anomaly | * |
| 8 | dipole, off axis | 16 | could not relocate anomaly | * |
| 9 | monopole low | 15 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 10 | monopole low | 155 | not done, probably input error | |

*Also listed under Site 5449. Included there and excluded from Warren House (5445) counts and totals on other tables.

within the boundaries of B-9, a site not investigated during Phase III. However, because both sites are within the same cell, the anomaly was investigated as part of the Warren house magnetometer work.

Half of the anomalies had metal sources. Three could not be relocated; two were of marginal magnitude (11 nT), and the third was near a metal survey mark and may be an extreme of it, although it also was not of large magnitude (15 nT). Two anomalies not relocated here were interpreted as part of site 5449 and are included in that count.

Site 5446, Blacksmith Shop

A single cell contains this site, the smallest area investigated magnetically on the townsite (780 m²); it was one of the two with the second smallest number of anomalies. The archaeologically productive area was small because of the site's location on the southern edge of the east-west powerline and the ground disturbance accompanying it (see Table 36).

Table 36. Site 5446 (B-10), Blacksmith Shop.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1 | dipole, off axis | 130 | sheet metal | |
| 2 | dipole, low N | 27 | barbed wire | |
| 3 | monopole high | 10 | barbed wire | |
| 4 | dipole, off axis | 126 | barbed wire | |
| 5 | complex | 26 | burnt forging area with metal slag and artifacts | 50-52 |
| 6 | monopole high | 23 | barbed wire | |
| 7 | dipole, low N | 11 | no source found | |
| 8 | monopole low | 22 | barbed wire | |

Within the undisturbed portion, a complex anomaly of double monopole highs corresponded with a burnt forging area containing metal slag and artifacts; it was comprised of three features, the only ones on the site. This was the greatest number of features marked by a single anomaly for the entire townsite. Although several of the site's anomalies were within the site limits defined before excavation, only anomaly 5446-5 was associated with archaeological remains.

A small barbed wire enclosure standing immediately to the south of this anomaly prevented magnetic interpretation of the rest of the site. A north-south barbed wire fence at the northwest corner, in the

powerline corridor, accounted for five of the eight anomalies on the site, a piece of sheet metal in the powerline for another. One marginal low magnitude anomaly (11 nT) to the southwest produced no sources.

Site 5447, Barton Academy

This site of 2,484 m² had the third highest number of anomalies but no major features. Thus, it was one of two with the lowest number of features (zero) with corresponding anomalies. Fourteen of the anomalies were dipoles. About one-third of these were caused by barbed wire, an additional two by other metal sources. Five other anomalies were attributed to nonarchaeological sources, including a ditch, a tree, a stump, and surface artifact scatter (see Table 37).

Table 37. Site 5447 (B-11), Barton Academy.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| 1 | complex | 403 | barbed wire | |
| 2 | complex | 33 | barbed wire | |
| 3 | complex | 17 | no source found | |
| 4 | dipole, E-W | 76 | ditch | |
| 5 | dipole, low N | 65 | barbed and plain wire | |
| 6 | dipole, off axis | 55 | metal hoop | |
| 7 | dipole, low N | 48 | survey mark | |
| 8 | dipole, low N | 46 | surface artifact scatter on slope | |
| 9 | dipole, off axis | 41 | stump | |
| 10 | dipole, off axis | 30 | barbed wire | |
| 11 | dipole, low N | 34 | stump | |
| 12 | dipole, low N | 20 | chain and barbed wire | |
| 13 | dipole, high N | 16 | no source found | |
| 14 | dipole, low N | 16 | not done | |
| 15 | dipole, high N | 14 | no source found, anomaly in- distinct | |
| 16 | dipole, low N | 13 | not done | |
| 17 | dipole, low N | 12 | lined well, open at surface* | |
| 18 | dipole, low N | 8 | barbed wire | |
| 19 | monopole high | 40 | oak tree | |

*Also listed under Highwater House (5448). Included there and excluded from Barton Academy (5447) counts and totals on other tables.

Our initial interest was in a series of four anomalies along the north boundary, in an area of low linear earth mounds. One anomaly, somewhat apart from the others, was caused by a survey mark. The remaining three turned up no sources. The two southernmost were resurveyed in small area grids; shovel testing produced artifacts throughout, but no concentration or other source. The northernmost of the three also had no source, although its location in a north-south road may be involved.

A normal dipole in the southwest corner of the site at the top of the eastern facing slope was "T" trenched because of its proximity to a previously productive excavation unit, but the anomaly here was caused by a chain and wire.

Eight anomalies cover a large area on the steep eastern slope southeast of the Barton Academy site boundary. These are probably more directly associated with the Highwater House in the cell directly to the west but lie outside the area interpreted for the Highwater House. Two of these anomalies were attributed to a stump and a tree. The rest, including two of the three complex anomalies for the site, all had metal sources.

Two normal dipoles outside the site and to the east were not done. These were low priority anomalies, of small area and magnitude.

The well at the southern edge of the site is included with the Highwater House for the purpose of feature and anomaly counts and totals for the magnetic survey. One-third of the 18 anomalies were within the Barton Academy site boundaries.

Site 5448, Highwater House

Except for one anomaly just into the next cell to the north, the Highwater House site is confined to a single cell. Of its nine anomalies, eight occur inside its boundaries, which enclose 2,024 m². Material discarded down the slope in the cell to the east is probably associated with the site but was interpreted as part of the Barton Academy, the boundaries of which extended into that cell (see Table 38).

Of the seven major features at Highwater House, four had magnetic correspondences. Prominent anomalies were associated with major features having equally prominent surface indications of their existence. Both a depression and a complex anomaly marked the deep feature; a one-meter high mound of bricks which was a chimney fall (a feature itself) and a large normal dipole marked the central hearth; and an opening and a smaller normal dipole marked the brick-lined well. The first three of these four features were not assigned an anomaly number because they were excavated in Phase II, prior to magnetic interpretation. A large monopolar anomaly within the southern half of the house constituted the fourth of this central group and is the only anomaly without a noticeable surface correlate. This was excavated in Phase III; it produced a nail concentration but was not a feature.

Table 38. Site 5448 (B-12), Highwater House.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| 1 | complex | 115 | portable Coleman-style two- burner stove, and can | |
| 2 | dipole, off axis | 280 | barbed wire and iron kettle fragment | |
| 3 | dipole, low N | 12 | brick-lined well, open at surface | 31 |
| 4 | dipole, E-W | 79 | barbed wire | |
| 5 | monopole high | 40 | barbed wire | |
| 6 | monopole high | 15 | nail concentration | |
| 7 | nonopole high | 14 | brick scatter | |
| no #* | complex | 45 | undetermined deep feature | HW3 |
| no #* | dipole, low N | 55 | hearth/chimney fall/charred boards | HW2&4 |

*Excavated prior to magnetic interpretation, not given an anomaly number.

All five remaining anomalies occurred within a north-south line 35 m long on the eastern edge of the site, at the top of the steep slope to the east. One resulted from a brick scatter and the other four from metal sources. Nothing of archaeological significance was found in this group.

There were no anomalies in the western part of the site. The well on the northern border with the Barton Academy was included as part of the Highwater House for purposes of counts and totals for the magnetic survey.

Site 5449

This large site (4,800 m²) had a high number of anomalies. It also had the highest number of those which could not be relocated, and several which were not done (see Table 39). The single major feature on this site, an unlined well, was located by magnetometer. Its anomaly, of large area and magnitude, was a normal dipole on the western edge of the present north-south road passing through the townsite at the center of the structure site.

Of the nine anomalies that could not be relocated, three monopolar anomalies (two lows and one high) occurred in an east-west line; two additional monopole lows were not investigated. These five lie in the

Table 39. Site 5449 (B-7).

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | dipole, low N | 72 | unlined well/privy | 57 |
| 2 | complex | 20 | no source found | |
| 3 | dipole, off axis | 16 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 4 | complex | 16 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 5 | dipole, low NE | 17 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 6 | dipole, low N | 14 | not done | |
| 7 | dipole, E-W | 13 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 8 | dipole, high N | 12 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 9 | dipole, E-W | 7 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 10 | monopole high | 25 | not done | |
| 11 | monopole high | 19 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 12 | monopole low | 18 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 13 | monopole low | 16 | not done | |
| 14 | monopole low | 14 | could not relocate anomaly | |
| 15 | monopole low | 11 | not done | |
| 16 | monopole low | 16 | large stump | |

northwestern cell of the site along two adjacent traverses of the original, done by the same magnetometer. The limited area, focused, monopolar nature of these anomalies, done by the same machine, suggests that they may be a series of single reading malfunctions by the magnetometer along these two traverses. This is the only instance of a string of monopolar anomalies for which no source could be found. As these two traverses were the first in this cell done by this magnetometer, the problem may have been an imperfectly reconnected plug, which was corrected after this set of traverses. There may be other explanations, but the important point is that this was a unique, nonrecurrent phenomenon. Only three of these five anomalies were investigated, and they yielded no sources. Since there were no distinguishable differences between these and the remaining two monopolar anomalies along this line, either magnetically or in terms of surface appearance in the field, it was not deemed worthwhile to continue their investigation.

The remaining six anomalies that could not be relocated are widely scattered across the four cells containing the site. These have little in common in terms of size, type, and orientation. None is of major magnitude, ranging only from 7 to 17 nanotesla. Some are small area anomalies marked by a single contour line. If the five anomalies discussed above are eliminated, these remaining six anomalies fall at the end of the priority sequence identified for this site. What were interpreted here as anomalies may have appeared by chance because of the sequencing of contour lines drawn by the computer. That is, given the same readings but the drawing of contours at different intervals, the

anomalies we were unable to relocate might disappear from the map. Another possible explanation is an undetected magnetic storm during the original survey. None of these is verifiable at this time.

Of the remaining anomalies on the site, one had no detectable source, and two other than those discussed above were not done. One of these was a low magnitude dipole, another a high monopole adjacent to the preceding anomaly for which no source was found. Two anomalies at the southern edge of the site were also interpreted as part of site 5445 to the south, but are included with site 5449 for magnetic survey totals and counts. A final monopole low was attributed to a stump. Ten anomalies were located within the site, six without.

Site 5450

This large site, covering 5,740 m², had numerous anomalies, but less than one-third were investigated. Four produced heavy artifact concentrations in contexts tentatively identified as features, but this was never confirmed because of time limitations. Three of these run in a north-south line 10-15 m long in the west-central part of the site; the fourth lies at the distant southwest corner. None of these or any other corresponded with numbered or excavated features (see Table 40).

Table 40. Site 5450 (B-22).

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | dipole, off axis | 30 | not done |
| 2 | dipole, low N | 38 | not done |
| 3 | dipole, E-W | 35 | artifact concentration |
| 4 | dipole, low N | 19 | not done |
| 5 | complex | 18 | not done |
| 6 | complex | 17 | not done |
| 7 | dipole, E-W | 16 | not done |
| 8 | dipole, low N | 15 | not done |
| 9 | complex | 20 | two metal straps, wire, cans |
| 10 | monopole high | 45 | not done |
| 11 | complex | 30 | not done |
| 12 | monopole high | 20 | not done |
| 13 | monopole high | 15 | artifact concentration |
| 14 | monopole high | 13 | artifact concentration |
| 15 | monopole low | 20 | not done |
| 16 | monopole low | 10 | artifact concentration |
| 17 | dipole, high N | 10 | not done |

Only one anomaly had a metal source. Of the 12 not investigated, five lay beyond the site boundaries on or at the foot of the slopes of the small ridge on which the site is located. The other seven not investigated were located on top of the ridge within the site boundaries. Only two additional anomalies were located outside the boundary.

An entire cell, including the northwest corner of the site, contributed no anomalies for field investigation because of a standing camp with a metal roof and a large amount of metal material abandoned around it. A smaller metal-roofed shack in the west-central portion of the cell was just to the west of the three possible features identified by the magnetometers. Its position on the west-central edge also eliminated from consideration an area about 25 m in diameter. The eastern half of the site consists of the ridge slope and is virtually devoid of anomalies.

Site 5451, Natcher House

This site equalled one other in the large number of anomalies, although only two occurred within the site area of 2,024 m². Despite their low rank (two out of the last three of 19), they both produced brick concentrations: one sparse and one heavy. The latter is possibly the remnants of a chimney base and comprises the only major feature on the site.

A series of six anomalies, all having barbed wire as their source, formed an arc along the bottom of the slope to the south of the site. Other anomalies occurred to the south and west of the site area. Three of these had metal sources, and one was attributed to a natural disturbance. Of the six anomalies not investigated, one was caused by recent debris from a razed structure, and the remaining five by metal sources. One dipole produced no source (see Table 41).

Site 5452, Warren Store

This is a small site of only 1,160 m² and equals one other in the fewest number of excavated and/or numbered features (none). The only anomaly inside the boundaries was the lowest ranked for the site, but it turned up one of two possible features identified by magnetometer. The other anomaly of these two is north of the site on the bluff edge. A north-south barbed wire fence running through its center and a metal-roofed shed on the eastern edge of the site obliterated almost half of it magnetically (see Table 42).

Except for the one anomaly to the north, all others occurred to the south and southwest of the site. Five had metal sources, with four clustered in an east-west line approximately 30 m long, lying about 40 m south of the site. The two anomalies that were not done had field indications of buried survey markers.

Table 41. Site 5451 (B-26), Natcher House.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1 | complex | 94 | barbed wire | |
| 2 | dipole, low N | 133 | not done | |
| 3 | dipole, off axis | 84 | subsurface disturbance (roots and burrows) | |
| 4 | dipole, low N | 80 | can | |
| 5 | dipole, off axis | 50 | barbed wire | |
| 6 | dipole, off axis | 38 | barbed wire | |
| 7 | dipole, off axis | 30 | barbed wire | |
| 8 | dipole, off axis | 27 | barbed wire | |
| 9 | dipole, off axis | 24 | not done | |
| 10 | dipole, off axis | 23 | no source found | |
| 11 | dipole, off axis | 17 | metal pail fragments | |
| 12 | dipole, high N | 12 | not done | |
| 13 | dipole, off axis | 8 | not done | |
| 14 | dipole, high N | 9 | not done | |
| 15 | monopole high | 28 | barbed wire | |
| 16 | monopole high | 20 | brick scatter | |
| 17 | monopole high | 18 | brick concentration | 56 |
| 18 | monopole low | 40 | not done | |
| 19 | monopole low | 35 | barbed wire | |

Table 42. Site 5452 (B-27), Warren Store.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1 | complex | 140 | 30 gal. steel drum and survey mark | |
| 2 | complex | 75 | pipe | |
| 3 | dipole, off axis | 51 | not done, possible survey mark | |
| 4 | dipole, E-W | 29 | barbed wire | |
| 5 | dipole, low N | 27 | cans* | |
| 6 | dipole, low N | 14 | not done, possible survey mark in road | |
| 7 | monopole high | 15 | nails, rebar | |
| 8 | monopole high | 14 | modern galvanized cable | |
| 9 | monopole high | 13 | nail concentration | |
| 10 | monopole high | 10 | artifact concentration | |

Site 5453, Brick Kiln

This site had the second smallest area (880 m²) but equalled another in the highest number of anomalies on one site. Only two lay within the boundaries, but numerous anomalies are listed under this site because of the large four-cell area surrounding it.

This site was identified almost at the beginning of the project by a test pit in an unlikely swampy area. The known extent of the kiln was expanded to the southwest by a large normal dipolar anomaly. The kiln was the only feature on this site.

More than two-thirds of the anomalies had metal sources; almost half barbed wire. A line of anomalies marking a barbed wire fence running southwest-northeast, through two cells partially containing the site, was predicted from notes on surface wire made during the original survey. Loose soil from root disturbances was given as the source for three, with two others also attributed to natural sources. The sources of all anomalies were identified (see Table 43).

Table 43. Site 5453 (B-29), Brick Kiln.

| Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude (nT) | Source | Feature number |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| 1 | dipole, off axis | 120 | galvanized corrugated metal roofing | |
| 2 | dipole, off axis | 60 | barbed wire | |
| 3 | dipole, off axis | 48 | loose soil from root distur- bance | |
| 4 | dipole, low N | 40 | brick kiln | 2 |
| 5 | dipole, off axis | 35 | barbed wire | |
| 6 | dipole, low N | 35 | screen | |
| 7 | dipole, off axis | 31 | barbed wire | |
| 8 | dipole, high N | 30 | gully or barbed wire | |
| 9 | dipole, off axis | 19 | barbed wire | |
| 10 | dipole, low N | 20 | loose soil from root distur- bance | |
| 11 | dipole, off axis | 17 | barbed wire | |
| 12 | monopole high | 66 | can | |
| 13 | monopole high | 61 | barbed wire | |
| 14 | monopole high | 33 | barbed wire | |
| 15 | monopole high | 20 | flat scrap metal | |
| 16 | monopole high | 14 | loose soil from root distur- bance | |
| 17 | monopole low | 20 | barbed wire | |
| 18 | monopole low | 18 | rotted tree stump | |
| 19 | monopole low | 15 | thick wire | |

Site 4940, Cedar Oaks

No magnetometer work was done at this site during Phase III, as all field archaeological work was completed in Phase II. The site is described magnetically here, as this has not been done elsewhere.

Two cells contain the main area of the site, including the front and back yards. Not surprisingly, because of the large metal roof on the house and other large metal sources of magnetic interference, none of the 27 major features produced any discernible anomalies.

The metal roof exempted a major portion of the site. This eliminated most features, since most were associated directly with the house, or were positioned next to or near it.

In the front yard a barbed wire fence exempted much of this area. In the back yard, metal roofs on an outbuilding and outhouse plus metal debris from abandoned cars magnetically masked much of that area. Other features found by excavation beyond the area of influence of these metal sources also did not appear, probably because of their small mass and/or dispersed nature. No separate site anomaly table is listed for Cedar Oaks, and it is not represented elsewhere in the text or tables of this report.

Townsite Magnetic Summary

The detailed information on each site is summarized in Table 44. Barton townsite totals for the 12 sites subject to data recovery excavation are given at the bottom. Information is broken down by structure site or by type of anomaly source, allowing comparison among sites. Reading across for any site, the top line gives actual counts, the bottom line percentages. Totalling all anomaly categories and the two feature categories for which percentages are given yields the number of anomalies for a site. Exceptions are the blacksmith shop, for which one anomaly marks three features, and the Highwater House, for which one anomaly marks two features. Although three and two features are indicated in the counts for these sites, the percentages are figured as if there were only one feature per anomaly.

The three columns on the right under features consist of two which relate directly to the total number of anomalies for a site and one which merely provides additional information. The first column gives the total number of major features for a site, ranging from large post holes on up, whether or not they produced anomalies. A subcategory is the next column, features with corresponding anomalies. Thus, if a site had a total of eight features (first column), five marked by anomalies (second column), three features had no magnetic indications. This last group is not listed in the table. The third and last column lists anomalies whose sources were tentatively identified as features through limited investigation in Phase III, but which were never confirmed by excavation and which were never given feature numbers. This column and the one giving features with anomalies, when added to the various anomaly source categories, give the total number of anomalies for the site.

Table 44. Summary of Anomaly Sources.

| | | Total | Anomalies | | | | | Features | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|---|
| | | | Caused by metal in non-arch. context | Caused by other non-feature source | Could not find source | Could not relocate anomaly | Not done | Total | With corresponding anomalies | Unnumbered and unexcavated found by mags. |
| Site 5442 (Keller) | # | 15 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 3 | 1 |
| | % | 100 | 60 | 13.3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 20 | 6.7 |
| Site 5443 (Hotel) | # | 7 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 57.25 | 0 | 0 | 14.25 | 14.25 | | 14.25 | 0 |
| Site 5444 | # | 7 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 86 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 14 | 0 |
| Site 5445 (Warren House) | # | 8 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 50 | 0 | 0 | 12.5 | 12.5 | | 25 | 0 |
| Site 5446 (Blacksmith Shop) | # | 8 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 75 | 0 | 12.5 | 0 | 0 | | 12.5 | 0 |
| Site 5447 (Academy) | # | 18 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 44.4 | 27.8 | 16.7 | 0 | 11.1 | | 0 | 0 |
| Site 5448 (Highwater House) | # | 9 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 4 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 55.56 | 11.11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 33.33 | 0 |
| Site 5449 | # | 16 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 0 | 6.25 | 6.25 | 56.25 | 25 | | 6.25 | 0 |
| Site 5450 | # | 17 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| | % | 100 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 70.5 | | 0 | 23.5 |
| Site 5451 (Natcher) | # | 19 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 47.4 | 10.5 | 5.25 | 0 | 31.6 | | 5.25 | 0 |
| Site 5452 (Warren Store) | # | 9 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | % | 100 | 56 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22 | | 0 | 22 |
| Site 5453 (Brick Kiln) | # | 19 | 13 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | % | 100 | 68.5 | 26.25 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 5.25 | 0 |
| Totals | # | 152 | 70 | 16 | 6 | 11 | 28 | 39 | 17 | 7 |
| | % | 100 | 46 | 10.5 | 4.0 | 7.2 | 18.5 | | 9.2 | 4.6 |

Of the 152 total anomalies among the 12 structures discussed here, 46 percent were caused by metal sources of a nonarchaeological sort. This is significant because it represents almost half the effort of the magnetic survey in the third phase. Even after Barton ceased to exist as a town, use of the site has continued as has deposition of major metallic debris. Barbed wire fencing, in ubiquitous agricultural use earlier in this century, was the largest single source of metal disturbance. The various types of metal on the site were a major hindrance, not only because of the attention which had to be devoted to their elimination, but also because of the large areas they masked magnetically; these otherwise might have yielded archaeologically productive anomalies. This condition was not anticipated. Future magnetic survey planning should include an assessment of nonarchaeological metallic interference, and an effort should be made to identify the sources, with metal detectors if necessary, and remove them, even if this should be a major operation. Given the amount of interference we encountered, these steps are necessary to acquire worthwhile results for a magnetic survey of so large an area and such a long term.

Removal of metal sources also would make a large difference in anomaly rankings. When the metal sources are included, as they are here, features do not appear mostly with higher ranked anomalies. They are just as likely to be found in the middle or lower range of the series--even last in one case. Highly magnetic large metal sources almost always take the highest priority; when they are removed from the tables, features advance to a higher status. No competing category of substantive anomaly source is more major than metal.

More than 10 percent of the anomalies were attributed to other non-metallic, nonfeature sources. For the most part, anomalies in this category had such sources as stumps, trees, gullies, recent human ground disturbances, or recent surface cultural debris. Anomalies usually were relegated to this category based on visual surface inspection only, without subsurface investigation or retraversing. In this sense, this category is the most subject to question in terms of the adequacy of investigative procedures.

Anomalies for which no source was found and those which it was not possible to relocate accounted for 11 percent. The first group, for the most part, remains a mystery. In some or all cases these may have been caused by local pockets of soil more highly magnetized than normal. Testing by magnet can sometimes detect such soils, but this was not done here. Also, the depth of shovel testing may not have been adequate to reach underlying soil layers which may have been the cause.

Anomalies which could not be relocated may have been caused by undetected magnetic storms or micropulsations during the Phase I survey. Or, as was discussed more completely in the site 5449 section, some anomalies of small magnitude and area may have been produced by chance through the positioning of contour lines, and others may have been produced by magnetometer malfunction. Nine of the eleven anomalies which were not relocated came from one site. If these are eliminated from the sample, as was done for site 5449, the remaining two are insignificant

statistically and should not affect the overall evaluation of the magnetic survey. These two were also ranked last and next to last for their respective sites and were of low magnitude (16 and 10 nT).

For about 20 percent of the total, no anomaly investigation of any kind was conducted. However, two-thirds of these are from two sites; if they are removed, the total is more reasonable. Investigations were begun on these two sites but never completed. Elsewhere, some anomalies not investigated were in close proximity to previously identified metal or other sources; some resembled other anomalies which had produced no archaeological source of interest and hence were not deemed worth the time; some were among the lowest in priority and were eliminated by a decision in the field when all others on a site had been completed.

There is some overlap of this category with nonarchaeological sources. Many anomalies listed under metal and natural categories were "not done" after surface observation attributed their source. However, when specific visual identification was made, they were listed under a category rather than as not investigated.

Tables 45 and 46 list all major numbered features (from large post holes on up) for the 12 sites excavated in Phase III. These are divided into soil and brick features, and magnetic survey information is given by feature type. The notation "nd" refers to features not detected magnetically.

Table 47 presents in simple form a comparison of anomaly and feature types. Through this one may examine the distribution of feature types within anomaly types, and vice versa. The results are to be expected. No sources exhibited remanent magnetism in arbitrary configurations of discard. Such anomalies would occur as reversed dipoles or as dipoles with an east-west orientation or otherwise off axis, and they would indicate strongly magnetized metal sources that would retain their magnetic polarity regardless of the orientation in which they were deposited. Except for a possible feature identified by magnetometer, none fell in these categories. Instead, the features occurred as a north-south dipole, or some greater or lesser aspect of this (complex or monopolar). These can be either remanent in form, such as a brick hearth, or induced, as with a soil feature. Significantly, the multiple metal sources in the soil features detected by magnetometer did not cause the dipolar anomaly produced to diverge from a north-south orientation. The jumbled orientations of the miscellaneous metal sources within a feature may have cancelled one another out so that the normal dipolar induced magnetism of the actual soil content of the feature dominated, with reinforcement from the metal in terms of absolute magnitude.

Conclusion

This section evaluates the configuration in which the magnetometers were used in an abstract sense, without regard for actual project conditions. A major aspect of our application--total community coverage--will not be discussed here. Entire towns have been completely and

Table 45. Soil Features, Barton Townsite.

| Feature type | Feature number | Site | Anomaly number | Anomaly type | Anomaly magnitude | Large amount of metal in feature |
|--------------------|----------------|------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Large posthole | 37-45 | 5443 | | nd | | no |
| | 46-47 | 5444 | | nd | | no |
| Pit | 1 | 5448 | | nd | | no |
| | 8 | 5442 | | nd | | no |
| Unlined well | 21 | 5445 | | nd | | yes |
| | 12 | 5443 | | nd | | no |
| | 57 | 5449 | 5449-1 | dipole, low N | 72nT | yes |
| | 55 | 5442 | 5442-8 | monopole high | 30nT | yes |
| | HW3 | 5448 | no ano.* | complex | 45nT | yes |
| Burnt forging area | 50-52 | 5446 | 5446-5 | complex | 26nT | yes |

*Excavated prior to magnetometer interpretation, not given number.

Table 46. Brick Features, Barton Townsite.

| Feature | | Site | | Anomaly | |
|---|---------|-----------|------------------|---------|-----------|
| Type | Number | Number | Type | Type | Magnitude |
| Lined well | 30 | 5448-3 | dipole, low N | | 12nT |
| | 31 | 5445-2 | monopole high | | 13nT |
| Hearth/chimney base | 11 | 5443-5 | monopole high | | 25nT |
| | 16-17 | | nd | | |
| Hearth/chimney base and chimney fall | 5 | 5442-4 | dipole, low N | | 43nT |
| Hearth/chimney base and chimney fall and charred boards | HW2 & 4 | no. ano.* | dipole, low N | | 55nT |
| Brick concentration | 48 | 5444-7 | complex | | 15nT |
| | 54 | 5448 | nd | | |
| | 56 | 5451-17 | monopole high | | 18nT |
| | ? | 5445-6 | chimney fall (?) | | 16nT |
| Brick kiln | 2 | 5453-4 | dipole, low N | | 35nT |
| Walkway/floor | 13 | | nd | | |
| | 35 | no. ano.* | monopole low | | 12nT |
| Outbuilding foundation | HW1 | | nd | | |
| Pier base | 32-34 | | nd | | |

*Excavated prior to magnetometer interpretation, not given number.

Table 47. Comparison of anomaly and feature types.

| Features | Complex | Dipole, low N | dipole, high N | dipole, E-W | dipole, off axis | monopole, high | monopole low |
|---|---------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Soil features | | | | | | | |
| large post hole | | | | | | | |
| pit | | | | | | | |
| unlined well | A | A | | | | A | |
| burnt forging area | AAA | | | | | BBBBB | |
| unknown | | | | B | | | B |
| Brick features | | | | | | | |
| lined well | | A | | | | A | |
| hearth/chimney base | | | | | | A | |
| hearth/chimney base and chimney fall | | A | | | | | |
| hearth/chimney base and chimney fall and charred boards | | AA | | | | | |
| brick concentration | A | | | | | AA | |
| brick kiln | | | | | | | |
| walkway/floor | | A | | | | | A |
| outbuilding foundation | | | | | | | |
| pier base | | | | | | | |

Key:

A. Feature with corresponding anomalies.

B. Possible features discovered by magnetometers, but not given feature numbers or verified by excavation.

successfully surveyed by magnetometer in the past. However, selective use of the total volume of magnetic data, resulting from the dispersed, intermittent distribution of archaeological remains on the townsite meant that our results are not suitable for direct comparison with other surveys accomplishing total community coverage. Our simultaneous use of four magnetometers to cover the large project also is not considered here, although we were able to do so with no difficulty. A data adjustment program erased any differences occurring in readings taken at different times, as well as any minor variations among instruments in reading the total magnetic field.

Here we evaluate the use configuration of the magnetometers, specifically, the survey of a forested site with grid intervals paced out rather than precisely located, and with a sensor positioned in a backpack harness at shoulder height on the operator rather than on a staff of constant height and orientation at a distance from the operator.

The results of the survey should be considered separately in terms of the two main divisions of features, soil and brick.

Soil features divide into two main groups according to whether they were detected by magnetometer, primarily on the basis of the amount of metal present. Those soil features detected were among the largest, of great extent either vertically or horizontally, and contained significant amounts of metal. Those that were not detected ranged in size from the largest to the smallest, with amounts of metal ranging from a fraction of that in the first group to virtually nonexistent.

The soil features detected by magnetometer consisted of three separate deep features (unlined wells, approximately 2 m in diameter and 5 m in depth), and a second group of three features occurring together as a broad shallow deposit (approximately 7 m in diameter and 0,3 m in depth). Two of the deep features contained several thousand nails each. The third had a large cast iron kettle, a large metal plate from a wagon or machinery, and other numerous metal artifacts of large size. The second group of three soil features made up a burnt forging area at the blacksmith shop and contained slag and other metal fragments.

All of these features produced magnetic anomalies detectable by the survey, but many other soil features did not. A fourth deep feature matched the previous three structurally, but its nail content only numbered in the hundreds. Three pit features, of the same general diameter as the deep features, were only centimeters rather than meters deep. The most metal in any one of these was again several hundred nails, a fraction of the metal from any of the deep features detected. The other two pits had negligible amounts of metal.

Thus, the great sensitivity the magnetometers exhibited toward metal in the results presented earlier is also true in an archaeological context. Only large soil features with large amounts of metal were detected by magnetometer; those smaller and/or without large amounts of metal were not. The magnetometers did not respond to soil changes alone from features nor to masses of metal artifacts that were not in the context of a large feature. Of the 21 total major soil features considered

here, 15 were not detected by magnetometer, six were. However, if one excludes the 11 large post holes from this total, six of the ten soil features produced anomalies, four did not.

For brick features, metal presence or absence was not a consideration in their detection by magnetometer. Here the division seems to have been more general in terms of overall mass. The magnetometers picked up such larger brick features as the kiln, hearths, chimney falls, and other concentrations, but did not respond to lesser features such as pier bases or outbuilding foundations. However, the division in detectability of types of brick features is not perfect; for example, one chimney base was detected and one was not, one walkway/floor was detected and one was not.

Without calculating exact masses and compactness/dispersion of these features, it is not possible to arrive at a precise judgment as to why some produced anomalies and some did not. The overall numerical split between these categories was fairly even. Of the 18 major brick features, eight were not detected, ten were.

Although the survey was a compromise which sacrificed some resolution in order to meet objectives, the degree and type of reduced detection of features was not anticipated. The incomplete recovery of both soil and brick features underscores the generally reduced capability of the magnetometers when used in the configuration described. Especially extreme in the case of soil features was the unsuspected significance of metal in their detection.

The partial recovery of features suggests that the method employed here is most successful when combined with other procedures. At Barton the field strategy included magnetometers and extensive test and area excavations. This allowed a more complete recovery of features than would have been possible with either method alone. In this complementary configuration, our magnetic survey was indeed viable in a practical sense and successful in an archaeological one.

The survey results also contributed toward major conclusions concerning Barton in its former systemic state. The general lack of structural remains was not expected. The evidence produced by the field archaeology, in combination with information from oral history and documentary research, has shown that despite its significance to the area in the last century, Barton never attained the level of success, measured by structures of great size and substance, of other nearby towns. People, goods, and money moved through Barton, bound for other destinations, far more often than they remained. Constructed primarily of wood, buildings here do not seem to have been abandoned, but rather moved or dismantled, often down to the last brick of the piers supporting the structures. The dominance of pier-elevated wooden buildings in nineteenth-century Mississippi (Wilson 1975) and the scavenging during the town's gradual demise helped diminish the archaeological evidence of Barton's existence.

CHAPTER 13.

ANIMAL REMAINS FROM THE CEDAR OAKS HOUSE SITE (22Cl809),
CLAY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

by

Terrance J. Martin

Introduction

An examination of 1,824 animal remains from the Cedar Oaks house site, 22Cl809, was carried out at the Michigan State University Museum in order to discern animal exploitation and subsistence practices represented in the archaeological deposits. The habitation site is located in the northeastern portion of the nineteenth century townsite of Barton in Clay County, Mississippi, near a bluff above the Tombigbee River. Excavations were concentrated in several areas around and adjacent to a standing four-room frame structure supported by brick piers that was constructed in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The property is believed to have been occupied almost continuously until the 1940s (see Minnerly 1982; 1983; and Chapter 15 in this volume).

This report describes the faunal assemblage from 22Cl809, the spatial distribution of the animal remains in relation to the various provenience units excavated, and the butchering patterns indicated for the economically most significant animal species.

Species Composition

A large proportion of the 22Cl809 faunal assemblage submitted for analysis was identified. In terms of frequency counts, 54.8 percent of all animal remains were identified below the level of class (that is, family, genus, or species). Excluding shells, identified vertebrate remains made up 36.1 percent of the assemblage (Table 48). Rather than indicating exceptional preservation, the large proportion of identified elements is owing to the removal of small bone splinters considered unidentifiable prior to submitting the assemblage to the faunal analyst.

The major subdivisions of the 22Cl809 faunal assemblage are presented in Tables 48 and 49. By class, mammals and bivalve mollusks are most conspicuous. Shells are nearly 40 percent of the assemblage by count and more than 74 percent by weight. Exclusive of mollusks, mammals represent nearly 94 percent of the vertebrate remains by count and 98 percent by weight. Birds, reptiles, and fish are present, but in much smaller numbers.

TABLE 48. 22CL809 FAUNAL ASSEMBLAGE: COMPOSITION BY CLASS,
BY FREQUENCY COUNTS.

| Class | Identified | Unidentified | Totals | % |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Mammalia | 339 | 687 | 1026 | 56.3 |
| Aves (Birds) | 42 | 8 | 50 | 2.7 |
| Reptilia | 4 | 0 | 4 | .2 |
| Osteichthyes (Fish) | 11 | 5 | 16 | .9 |
| Pelecypoda (Bivalves) | 604 | 121 | 725 | 39.7 |
| Indeterminate | - | 3 | 3 | .2 |
| Totals | 1000 | 824 | 1824 | 100.0 |
| % | 54.8 | 45.2 | 100.0 | |

TABLE 49. 22CL809 FAUNAL ASSEMBLAGE: COMPOSITION BY CLASS,
BY WEIGHT (IN GRAMS).

| Class | Identified | Unidentified | Totals | % |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|--------|-------|
| Mammalia | 1284.9 | 863.2 | 2148.1 | 25.1 |
| Aves (Birds) | 35.3 | 3.3 | 38.6 | .5 |
| Reptilia | 2.8 | 0 | 2.8 | - |
| Osteichthyes (Fish) | 5.0 | .8 | 5.8 | .1 |
| Pelecypoda (Bivalves) | 5991.7 | 357.6 | 6349.3 | 74.3 |
| Indeterminate | - | .3 | .3 | - |
| Totals | 7319.7 | 1225.2 | 8544.9 | 100.0 |
| % | 85.7 | 14.3 | 100.0 | |

Composition of the faunal assemblage by species is listed in Table 50. The mammal remains are predominantly from domestic animals; cattle (Bos tarus), pig (Sus scrofa), and sheep/goat (Ovis/Capra) together contributed 85.8 percent of all identified mammal remains (96.7 percent by weight). Domestic pig was the most significant mammal and vertebrate species in the 22C1809 assemblage; 73.2 percent of all identified mammals and 62.6 percent of all identified vertebrate remains were from this species. An additional 537 unidentified medium-sized mammal bone fragments may be from pigs as well. On the basis of left upper second molars present, at least 15 individuals are represented.

The sequence of epiphyseal closure in pig longbones provides one means of assessing age (Sisson and Grossman 1975:1222 and 1227), as does the eruption of teeth (Sisson and Grossman 1975:1272). The postcranial pig elements in the 22C1809 collection indicate that most individuals were less than two years of age and none was older than 3.5 years. Of the 21 third molars recovered, four were unerupted. Although the eruption time of third molars is said to be 18 to 20 months (Sisson and Grossman 1975:1272), reference to Sus scrofa crania in the Michigan State University Museum research collections indicates eruption at about 10 months. Therefore, the presence of erupted and only moderately worn third molars at 22C1809 does not necessarily contradict an assessment of relatively young age (under 3 years) for most of the pigs represented.

Domestic cattle remains are mostly saw-cut bones, and except for an occipital fragment and a portion of a humerus that were obviously from immature animals, there is no basis for assessing ages of individuals represented nor for determining the number of individuals present. Twenty-five bones identified only as large-sized mammal are probably also from cattle, there being no horse (Equus caballus) elements observed in the assemblage.

The most numerous nondomestic mammalian species in the archaeological sample are rabbit (Sylvilagus floridanus), eastern cottontail, or S. aquaticus, swamp rabbit), squirrel (Sciurus niger, fox squirrel, or S. carolinensis, grey squirrel), and Old World rat (Rattus norvegicus, Norway rat, or R. rattus, roof rat). Each of these taxa are represented by a minimum of three individuals. White-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus), opossum (Didelphis virginiana), and raccoon (Procyon lotor) were also identified, but each in minimum numbers. A heavily worn human canine tooth was also recovered at the site.

Gallinaceous birds dominated the rather sparse avian remains. Domestic chicken (Gallus gallus) contributed more than three-quarters of the identified bird bones and accounted for five of nine bird individuals. Turkey (Meleagria gallopavo), bobwhite (Colinus virginianus), and an unidentified species of small-sized duck (family Anatidae) were also present.

The remaining vertebrates represented at 22C1809 were from aquatic habitats. Three species of fish were identified, including freshwater drum (Aplocheilichthys grunniens), catfish or bullhead (Ictalurus sp.), and black bass (Micropterus sp.). Eight of the eleven identified fish remains were drum, a bottom-dwelling species common in large rivers in

TABLE 50. SPECIES COMPOSITION OF 22CL809 FAUNAL ASSEMBLAGE.

| Common Name/Scientific Name | Number of Elements | Weight (g) of Elements | MNI | Criteria for MNI |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| Domestic pig (<u>Sus scrofa</u>) | 248 | 672.3 | 15 | Left M ² |
| Domestic cattle (<u>Bos taurus</u>) | 32 | 492.3 | ? | -- |
| Domestic sheep/goat (<u>Ovis aries/Capra hircus</u>) | 11 | 78.2 | 1 | Presence |
| White-tailed deer (<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>) | 3 | 23.3 | 1 | Presence |
| Unidentified Artiodactyl | 3 | 5.6 | -- | -- |
| Opossum (<u>Didelphis virginiana</u>) | 2 | 1.3 | 1 | Presence |
| Raccoon (<u>Procyon lotor</u>) | 2 | .9 | 1 | Presence |
| Eastern cottontail/Swamp rabbit (<u>Sylvilagus</u> sp.) | 20 | 10.2 | 3 | Left ischium |
| Fox or Grey squirrel (<u>Sciurus</u> sp.) | 14 | 4.3 | 3 | Left prox. tibia |
| Old World rat (<u>Rattus</u> sp.) | 6 | 1.1 | 3 | Left mandible |
| Human (<u>Homo sapiens</u>) | 1 | 1.0 | -- | -- |
| Unidentified large mammal | 25 | 192.3 | -- | -- |
| Unidentified medium to large mammal | 99 | 174.4 | -- | -- |
| Unidentified medium-sized mammal | 537 | 485.6 | -- | -- |
| Unidentified small mammal | 4 | 3.3 | -- | -- |
| Unidentified mammal (size unknown) | 4 | 2.0 | -- | -- |
| Total Mammals | 1026 | 2148.1 | 28+ | |
| Domestic chicken (<u>Callus gallus</u>) | 33 | 17.4 | 5 | Left coracoid |
| Turkey (<u>Meleagris gallopavo</u>) | 6 | 17.3 | 2 | Left femur |
| Bobwhite (<u>Colinus virginianus</u>) | 1 | .1 | 1 | Presence |
| Unidentified duck (Family: Anatidae) | 2 | .5 | 1 | Presence |
| Unidentified bird | 8 | 3.3 | -- | -- |
| Total Birds | 50 | 38.6 | 9 | |
| Freshwater drum (<u>Aplodinotus grunniens</u>) | 8 | 4.2 | 2 | Otoliths |
| Catfish or Bullhead (<u>Ictalurus</u> sp.) | 2 | .6 | 1 | Presence |
| Smallmouth or largemouth bass (<u>Micropterus</u> sp.) | 1 | .2 | 1 | Presence |
| Unidentified fish | 5 | .8 | -- | -- |
| Total Fish | 16 | 5.8 | 4 | |

TABLE 50. continued.

| Common Name/Scientific Name | Number of Elements | Weight (g) of Elements | MNI | Criteria for MNI |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| Softshell turtle (<u>Trionyx</u> sp.) | 4 | 2.8 | 1 | Presence |
| Unidentified bone | 3 | .3 | -- | -- |
| American oyster (<u>Crassostrea virginica</u>) | 576 | 5329.7 | 80-141 | Left valves-all valves |
| <u>Lampsilis ovata</u> | 12 | 12.9 | 2 | |
| <u>Elliptio crassidens</u> | 7 | 205.3 | 5 | |
| <u>Elliptio</u> sp. | 1 | 2.8 | 1 | |
| <u>Megalonias gigantea</u> | 8 | 441.0 | 5 | |
| Unidentified freshwater mussels | 119 | 357.1 | 13 | |
| Unidentified mollusk | 2 | .5 | -- | |
| Total Pelecypods | 725 | 6349.3 | 106-167 | |
| ASSEMBLAGE TOTALS | 1824 | 8544.9 | 43 vert brates, 106-167 bivalves | |

turbid water. Four carapace and plastron fragments from a species of softshell turtle (Trionyx sp.) are the only reptile elements in the assemblage. Softshell turtles are fast swimmers, extremely cautious, and seldom leave water. They prefer large slow rivers and backwater sloughs.

Shell fragments were very numerous and represent two sources. The American or Virginia oyster (Crassostrea virginica) is indigenous to coastal bays and estuaries along the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Coast and has been commercially exploited and marketed as a popular seafood in the Southeast, especially in coastal urban areas such as Mobile and New Orleans. Prior to the advent of canning in the mid-nineteenth century, oysters were often imported by urban centers in the Midwest in large pickle barrels, packed virtually in an unprocessed state (Demeter and Lowery 1977:104). The frequencies of oyster shells at various historic sites examined during the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project indicate that unprocessed oysters were regularly transported from the Gulf coastal ports to the vicinity of Barton, Colbert, and Vinton. The Cedar Oaks housesite yielded 576 oyster shell fragments, and these make up 79.5 percent of the bivalve sample. A minimum of 80 oysters are represented by left valve pieces, and an additional 48 right valve fragments and 13 indetermined valves also were recorded. If oysters were packed in barrels on the half shell for shipment to the Tombigbee townsites, this estimate can be increased to 141 individual oysters.

A second source for bivalves at 22Cl809 is the Tombigbee River and its local tributary streams and backwater sloughs. Freshwater mussels are represented by 147 shells. Although at present only 28 of these have been identified, at least several others could be assigned to specific taxonomic categories if a synoptic collection of local Tombigbee River mussel shells dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were available for reference.

Spatial Distribution

Animal remains were not distributed uniformly across the site, but were found concentrated in several areas. The intrasite distribution of several animal groups and species also exhibits distinctive patterns. These can best be described by referring to the seven block excavation units that were investigated. Because these blocks were of unequal size, attention is given to square meters of area excavated in each block in addition to the percentages of various animal remains recovered from the various units. Table 51 presents (1) the weight of animal remains by class, (2) the area in square meters of each excavation block, and (3) the weight of all animal remains per square meter of area excavated in each block. Table 52 shows the distribution of all identified and unidentified animal remains by element count from across the site. Refer to Figures 39 and 41 for unit and block locations.

The major feature in Block 1 was the remains of a smokehouse in which foodstuffs were stored and processed. Artifacts associated with this feature span the years 1830 to 1900. This area yielded 40.1 percent of all animal remains from the site. This block also exhibited the

TABLE 51. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ANIMAL REMAINS BY WEIGHT.

| Class | BLOCK NUMBERS | | | | | | | Totals |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|--------|--------|------|-------|-----|-------|--------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| Mammalia | 496.1 | 170.7 | 1179.8 | 22.6 | 75.1 | 0 | 107.1 | 2148.1 |
| Aves | 1.3 | .7 | 21.5 | 1.3 | 12.2 | 0 | 1.3 | 38.6 |
| Reptilia | 0 | 1.0 | 1.8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.8 |
| Osteichthyes | 3.3 | 0 | 1.1 | 0 | 0 | .1 | 1.3 | 5.8 |
| Pelecypoda | 3262.5 | 845.1 | 1528.7 | 8.7 | 88.3 | 0 | 463.0 | 6349.3 |
| Unidentified bones | 0 | 0 | .2 | 0 | .1 | 0 | 0 | .3 |
| Totals | 3763.2 | 1017.5 | 2733.1 | 32.6 | 175.7 | .1 | 572.7 | 8544.9 |
| Excavated Area (m ²) | 96 | 24 | 92 | 22 | 68 | 10 | 12 | 360 |
| Animal remains (g) per m ² | 39.2 | 42.4 | 29.7 | 1.5 | 2.6 | .01 | 47.7 | 23.7 |

TABLE 52. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ALL ANIMAL REMAINS FROM 22CL809.

| Species/Group | BLOCK NUMBERS | | | | | | | Totals |
|------------------------------|---------------|-----|-----|----|----|---|----|--------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| Domestic pig: bone fragments | 40 | 1 | 37 | 1 | | | 2 | 1 |
| tooth fragments | 72 | 13 | 62 | | 4 | | 12 | 3 |
| Domestic cattle | 3 | 1 | 21 | | 4 | | 2 | 1 |
| Sheep/goat | | | 5 | | | | 4 | 2 |
| White-tailed deer | | | 2 | | 1 | | | |
| Unidentified Artiodactyl | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Opossum | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Raccoon | | | 2 | | | | | 2 |
| <u>Sylvilagus</u> sp. | 2 | | 15 | 2 | | | 1 | 20 |
| <u>Sciurus</u> sp. | 1 | | 9 | | 3 | | | 14 |
| <u>Rattus</u> sp. | 1 | | 4 | | | | 1 | 6 |
| Human | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Unidentified large mammal | 5 | 7 | 12 | | | | | 25 |
| Unident. med.-lg. mammal | 8 | 4 | 83 | 1 | 1 | | | 99 |
| Unident. med.-sized mammal | 141 | 22 | 272 | 6 | 31 | | 25 | 537 |
| Unidentified small mammal | 3 | | 4 | | 9 | | | 19 |
| Unidentified mammal (size ?) | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 4 |
| Chicken | 5 | 1 | 21 | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 33 |
| Turkey | | | 5 | | 1 | | 1 | 6 |
| Bobwhite | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Duck sp. | | | 2 | | | | | 2 |
| Unidentified bird | 2 | | 4 | | | | 2 | 8 |
| Freshwater drum | 4 | | 1 | | | | 2 | 8 |
| Catfish or bullhead | | | 2 | | | | | 2 |
| <u>Micropterus</u> sp. | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Unidentified fish | 4 | | 1 | | | 1 | | 5 |
| Softshell turtle | | 1 | 3 | | | | | 4 |
| Unidentified bones | | | 1 | | | | | 3 |
| Oyster | 403 | 46 | 72 | | 2 | | 12 | 576 |
| Freshwater mussels | 33 | 11 | 68 | 6 | 11 | | 23 | 147 |
| Unidentified mollusks | 1 | | 1 | | 4 | | | 2 |
| BLOCK TOTALS | 731 | 108 | 712 | 17 | 73 | 1 | 89 | 1824 |

third highest concentration of bone and shell at 39.2 g per m². The greatest numbers of pig elements (45 percent), oyster shells (70 percent), and fish remains (38 percent), and the second highest number of freshwater mussel shells (22 percent) were recovered from the vicinity of the smokehouse foundations.

Block 2 includes a structure which once functioned as a kitchen. Artifacts associated with this feature, as in Block 1, date from 1830 to 1900. Although only 5.9 percent of the total faunal assemblage was obtained from Block 2, the density of 42.4 g of shell and bone per m² of excavated area was the second highest at the site. Oyster shell was the predominant animal remain in this area and occurred along with pig teeth, mussel shells, a turtle element, one chicken bone, one cattle bone, and several unidentified mammal bones.

The area immediately east of the Cedar Oaks house was once the backyard. Excavation of Block 3 in this area revealed evidence of a porch which was attached to the ell. Most of the artifacts recovered from the backyard units date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and lend insight into changing refuse disposal patterns at the site. Prior to 1860 domestic refuse was disposed away from the house. During the last half of the nineteenth century the backyard was kept clean, but refuse was swept under the house and porch attachment. After the turn of the century domestic refuse was scattered throughout the backyard. If animal remains were discarded in a manner consistent with the treatment of other domestic refuse, the faunal assemblage in Block 3 should be primarily the result of twentieth century subsistence practices. At 29.7 g per m², the concentration of animal remains in this area is the fourth highest of the seven blocks; 39 percent of the site's faunal assemblage was recovered from Block 3. The area contained the largest number of animal remains for several species: cattle (66 percent of all cattle bones from the site), ovicaprids (five of eleven elements), white-tailed deer (two of three elements), raccoon (all elements from the site), freshwater mussels (46 percent of all mussel shell), and chicken (64 percent; 66 percent of all bird bones originated from Block 3). In addition, 44 percent of all pig elements, 25 percent of all fish remains, and 12.5 percent of all oyster shells were recovered from the backyard area adjacent to the house.

Block 4 was excavated in order to investigate the southeast and southwest chimney falls. Artifacts were sparse in these units and are late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century materials. Only 17 animal remains were recovered from the six units on the south side of the house.

Block 5 was located in the front yard where animal remains occurred in an overall concentration of only 2.6 g per m². Despite being the third largest block in area excavated, only four percent of the 22C1809 faunal assemblage was obtained from the west side of the house. Species represented in Block 5 include pig, cattle, white-tailed deer, squirrel, chicken, turkey, oyster, and freshwater mussels. A single human tooth

was also recovered from this area. Artifacts were recovered in low frequencies in Block 5 and were from the early twentieth century. The presence of a garden and small ornamental flowerbeds in the front yard is consistent with the impression that the west side of the house was conscientiously kept clean.

Chimney falls on the north side of the house were investigated in the three units that make up Block 6. Artifacts were rare, and only one unidentified fish bone was obtained.

A refuse mound north of the house was the location of Block 7. Although just under five percent of the site's animal remains were found in this area, the 47.7 g per m² concentration of bone and shell fragments there was the site's highest. Most of the artifacts in the midden dated from 1860 to the early 1900s, but there were several items manufactured before 1860. A wide diversity of animal species were represented in Block 7.

Ten isolated units were excavated in various areas of the site and are not included in the block excavations. Inventories of animal remains from each of these units are presented in Table 53. Unit 89 was excavated in order to investigate a circular depression in the northwest part of the property. The late-nineteenth century trash pit yielded 45 animal remains from a number of species. The other nine units contained much less bone and shell debris.

Butchering Patterns

An important thesis of zooarchaeological studies of historic sites is that animal remains can be used to reveal the socioeconomic status of a site's inhabitants (Lyman 1977, Mudar 1978). Level of income influences choices in meat consumption, that is, whether domestic animals are bought or raised for food or animals in the natural environment are exploited (see Otto 1980:9-10). Socioeconomic factors are also reflected in purchasing practices and in the parts of an animal consumed; for example, the ham and shoulder are more expensive cuts of pork than the shanks and feet; beef loin and round are valued more highly than cuts of rump and chuck. Differential access to animal resources is also an important factor which may affect the archaeological record of a specific site; for example, the extent to which people living in a rural environment during the nineteenth century adapted to the market system for acquiring foodstuffs in a manner different from people who resided in urban centers. The assemblage of cattle, pig, and sheep/goat bones recovered from 22C1809 is of a size sufficient to investigate possible preferences in consumption of meat parts by the inhabitants of the site.

One way to comprehend food preferences and meat consumption from an archaeological assemblage is to analyze skeletal remains in terms of skeletal portions and butchering units (Lyman 1979). Tables 54 through 56 give a detailed listing and description of all cattle remains, Tables 57 through 59 present information on all pig remains except teeth, and Table 60 is a listing of ovicaprid remains and butchering units

TABLE 53. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ANIMAL REMAINS FROM ISOLATED UNITS.

| Species/Group | UNIT NUMBERS | | | | | | | | | | Totals |
|----------------------------|--------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|
| | 85 | 86 | 87 | 89 | 90 | 91 | 95 | 96 | 98 | 99 | |
| Domestic pig | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | 4 |
| Domestic cattle | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Sheep/goat | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Artiodactyl | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Opossum | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Sciurus sp. | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Unident. large mammal | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Unident. med.-lg. mammal | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | 2 |
| Unident. med.-sized mammal | 3 | | | 31 | | | 3 | 3 | | | 40 |
| Unident. small mammal | | | | 3 | | | | | | | 3 |
| Chicken | 2 | | | 1 | | | | | | | 3 |
| Oyster | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 32 |
| Freshwater mussels | | | | | | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| UNIT TOTALS | 8 | 4 | 2 | 45 | 4 | 2 | 13 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 93 |

TABLE 54. SKELETAL PORTIONS OF DOMESTIC CATTLE REPRESENTED AT 22CL809.

| Element | Number | Skeletal Portion | Number | % |
|---|--------|----------------------|--------|-------|
| Teeth | 3 | Head Portion | 4 | 12.5 |
| Cranium | 1 | | | |
| Scapula | 0 | Proximal Forequarter | 14 | 43.8 |
| Humerus | 7 | | | |
| Radius/ulna | 7 | | | |
| Carpals | 2 | Distal Forequarter | 2 | 6.3 |
| Metacarpals | 0 | | | |
| Sternum | 0 | Trunk Portion | 3 | 9.4 |
| Vertebrae | 3 | | | |
| Ribs | 0 | | | |
| Innominate | 2 | Proximal Hindquarter | 8 | 25.0 |
| Femur | 4 | | | |
| Tibia | 2 | | | |
| Patella | 0 | | | |
| Calcaneus | 0 | | | |
| Astragalus | 0 | Distal Hindquarters | 0 | 0 |
| Tarsals | 0 | | | |
| Metatarsals | 0 | | | |
| Unidentified saw-cut femur or humerus shaft | 1 | | | |
| | | Proximal Appendage | 1 | 3.1 |
| TOTALS | 32 | | 32 | 100.1 |

Table 55. DOMESTIC CATTLE BUTCHERING UNITS REPRESENTED AT 22CL809.

| Skeletal Portion | Block No. | Catalog Number | Element | Butchering Unit | Description |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Head Portion | 1 | 4940.21.1 | Tooth | -- | Molar or premolar fragment |
| | 3 | 4940.16.2 | Tooth | -- | Premolar fragment |
| | 3 | 4940.54.7.21 | Occipital fragment | -- | Immature individual |
| | 3 | 4940.54.7.21 | Tooth | -- | Molar or premolar fragment |
| Proximal Forequarter | 3 | 4940.42.2 | Humerus | Foreshank | Left distal shaft, cranial portion; no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Humerus | Foreshank | Left distal shaft, medial portion; saw-cut on proximal margin. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.7.21 | Humerus | Shoulder (veal) | Right proximal half of shaft; immature individual; no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.56.5.04 | cf. Humerus | Chuck (arm steak) | Shaft fragment, saw-cut on prox. and distal margins (ca. 3/8 in. thick). |
| | 3 | 4940.61.2.01 | Humerus | Chuck (arm steak) | Right shaft, cranial crest portion; saw-cut on both margins (1/2 in. thick). |
| | 3 | 4940.64.2 | Humerus | Chuck (arm steak) | Shaft fragment; saw-cut on both margins (ca. 3/8 in. thick). |
| | 7 | 4940.92.1 | Humerus | Chuck | Right prox. shaft, cranial portion; no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.16.2 | Ulna | Foreshank | Right prox., portion of semilunar notch; saw-cut on both margins. |
| | 2 | 4940.33.1 | Radius | Foreshank | Right prox. end with remnant of saw-cut surface on medial-dorsal portion of shaft. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.1 | Radius/ulna | Foreshank | Lateral-palmer portion of shaft; saw-cut on both margins (3/4 in. thick). |
| | 3 | 4940.50.4.06 | Radius/ulna | Foreshank | Left lateral shaft; burned, no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.4.06 | Radius/ulna | Foreshank | Left lateral shaft; no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.7.21 | Radius/ulna | Foreshank | Left shaft; saw-cut on both margins (ca. 2 in. thick). |
| | 3 | 4940.54.7.21 | Radius | Foreshank | Left shaft, palmer-lateral portion; saw-cut on proximal margin. |
| Distal Forequarter | 3 | 4940.50.5.21 | Cuneiform (ulnar carpal) | Foreshank | Left side |
| | 3 | 4940.78.1 | Cuneiform (ulnar carpal) | Foreshank | Right side; cut marks present; surfaces weathered smooth. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.5.02 | Thoracic vertebra | Chuck or ribs | Portion of spinous process with cleaver-cut mark. |
| | - | 4940.89.1.02 | Cervical vertebra | Neck | Caudal articular process (right); no cut marks. |
| Trunk Portion | 7 | 4940.94.4.53 | Lumbar vertebra | Loin | transverse process (left); no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.9.1 | Femur | Round (round steak) | Shaft fragment; saw-cut on proximal and distal margins (1/2 in. thick). |
| | 1 | 4940.16.2 | Femur | Round (round steak) | Mid-shaft fragment; saw-cut on prox. and distal margins (7/8 in. thick). |
| | 3 | 4940.31.2.02 | Femur | Round (round steak) | Right distal shaft; saw-cut on both margins (1/2 to 7/8 in. thick). |
| Proximal Hindquarter | 3 | 4940.39.1 | Innominate | Loin | Left ilium; saw-cut on cranial and caudal margins (1 1/2 to 2 in. thick). |
| | 3 | 4940.53.3.04 | Tibia | Hind shank | Left shaft, lateral-palmer portion; no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.53.4.04 | Innominate | Rump | Left ischium, acetabular branch; no cut marks. |
| | 5 | 4940.61.2.01 | Femur | Round (round steak) | Caudal portion of shaft with remnant of supracondyloid fossa; saw-cut on both margins (3/8 in. thick). |
| Prox. or Distal Hindquarter | 1 | 4940.15.1.01 | Tibia | Hind shank | Left unfused distal epiphysis, dorsal portion; no cut marks. |
| Proximal Appendage | 1 | 4940.19.1 | Femur or humerus | Round or Arm steak | Shaft fragment; saw-cut on both margins (1/2 to 3/4 in. thick). |

TABLE 56. SUMMARY OF BEEF BUTCHERING UNITS REPRESENTED AT 22CL809.

| Butchering Units | Number | % |
|--------------------|--------|------|
| Loin | 2 | 6.9 |
| Round | 5 | 17.2 |
| Rump | 1 | 3.4 |
| Chuck | 4 | 13.8 |
| Shoulder (veal) | 1 | 3.4 |
| Neck | 1 | 3.4 |
| Foreshank | 11 | 37.9 |
| Hindshank | 2 | 6.9 |
| Chuck or Ribs | 1 | 3.4 |
| Round or Arm steak | 1 | 3.4 |
| TOTALS | 29 | 99.7 |

TABLE 57. SKELETAL PORTIONS OF DOMESTIC PIG REPRESENTED AT 22CL809.

| Element | Number | Skeletal Portion | Number | % |
|-------------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|------|
| Teeth | 166 | Head Portion | 168 | 67.7 |
| Cranium | 2 | | | |
| Scapula | 2 | Proximal Forequarter | 10 | 4.0 |
| Humerus | 2 | | | |
| Radius | 2 | | | |
| Ulna | 2 | | | |
| Carpals | 4 | Distal Forequarter | 14 | 5.6 |
| Metacarpals | 10 | | | |
| Sternum | 0 | Trunk Portion | 4 | 1.6 |
| Vertebrae | 1 | | | |
| Ribs | 3 | | | |
| Innominate | 0 | Proximal Hindquarter | 7 | 2.8 |
| Femur | 1 | | | |
| Tibia | 4 | | | |
| Fibula | 1 | | | |
| Patella | 1 | | | |
| Calcaneus | 5 | Distal Hindquarter | 17 | 6.9 |
| Astragalus | 2 | | | |
| Tarsals | 3 | | | |
| Metatarsals | 7 | | | |
| Metapodials | 5 | Distal Appendage | 28 | 11.3 |
| Phalanges | 22 | | | |
| Sesamoids/carpals/ tarsals | 1 | | | |
| TOTALS | 248 | | 248 | 99.9 |

Table 58. DOMESTIC PIG BUTCHERING UNITS REPRESENTED AT 22CL809.

| Skeletal Portion | Block No. | Catalog Number | Element | Butchering Unit | Description |
|----------------------|-----------|----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Head | 1 | 4940.18.2.1 | Frontal bone of cranium | Jowl? | Small fragment |
| Portion | 1 | 4940.25.2 | Squamosal | Jowl? | Fragment from left side. |
| | 4 | 4940.80.1 | Scapula | Shoulder butt | Neck portion, left side; exfoliated, lateral surface bleached from exposure to weather. |
| | - | 4940.95.2 | Scapula | Shoulder butt | Neck portion, right side; exfoliated. |
| | 1 | 4940.5.3 | Humerus | Picnic shoulder | Right distal 3/4 shaft. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Humerus | Picnic shoulder | Left distal half of shaft. |
| | 1 | 4940.20.1 | Ulna | Fore foot or hock | Left distal unfused epiphysis (styloid process). Age: under 3 yr. |
| Proximal Forequarter | 3 | 4940.31.1 | Ulna | Hock | Left proximal, dorsal portion of olecranon process with open epiphysis; Age: under 3 yr. |
| | 3 | 4940.40.1 | Ulna | Hock | Left distal shaft. |
| | 7 | 4940.83.2.53 | Ulna | Hock | Left prox. half; olecranon process gnawed away by carnivore; bone is pitted, scared, and channeled by extensive gnawing. |
| | 1 | 4940.20.1 | Radius | Fore foot or hock | Open left distal epiphysis, palmer portion. Age: under 3½ yr. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Radius | Hock | Left prox. 7/8. Pitting suggestive of carnivore-gnawing. |
| | 3 | 4940.8.1 | Metacarpal, 3rd | Fore foot | Open distal epiphysis, right side. Age: under 2 yr. |
| | 1 | 4940.13.1 | Metacarpal, 2nd or 5th | Fore foot | Open at distal epiphysis. |
| | 1 | 4940.14.1 | Metacarpal, 2nd or 5th | Fore foot | Open at distal epiphysis; calcined. |
| Distal Forequarter | 1 | 4940.15.1 | Metacarpal, 3rd | Fore foot | prox. 2/3, right side. |
| | 1 | 4940.19.1 | Metacarpal, 3rd | Fore foot | Open distal ep., left side. |
| | 1 | 4940.19.1 | Metacarpal, 2nd or 5th | Fore foot | Open at distal ep. |
| | 1 | 4940.21.1 | Metacarpal, 2nd or 5th | Fore foot | Prox. half. |
| | 1 | 4940.21.1 | Metacarpal, 3rd | Fore foot | Prox. ¾, right side. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Metacarpal, 3rd | Fore foot | Proximal 1/3, left side. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.4.06 | Metacarpal, 3rd | Fore foot | Open distal ep., right side; calcined. |
| Distal Forequarter | 2 | 4940.30.2.02 | Carpal, radial (scaphoid) | Fore foot | Left side. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Carpal, third (magnum) | Fore foot | Right side. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.5.02 | Carpal, intermediate (lunate) | Fore foot | Left side. |
| | 3 | 4940.58.3 | Carpal, fourth (unciform) | Fore foot | Left side. |
| | 1 | 4940.74.1.1 | Lumbar vertebra | Pork loin | Body and lamina |
| Trunk Portion | 3 | 4940.40.2 | Rib | Pork loin | Dorsal portion, right side; saw-cut on ventral margin; rodent-gnawed. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.5.21 | Rib | Pork loin | Dorsal portion of body, side undetermined. |
| | 7 | 4940.92.1 | Rib | Pork loin | Right side, dorsal 1/3; saw-cut on ventral margin. |
| | 3 | 4940.48.1 | Femur | Ham | Caudal portion of shaft, right side. |
| | 1 | 4940.19.1.1 | Tibia | Ham or hind foot | Left distal 1/3; partially closed ep. Age: ca. 2 yr. |
| Proximal Hindquarter | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Tibia | Ham | Mid-shaft, right side. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.5.02 | Tibia | Ham | Left distal shaft; pitted near distal end. |
| | 1 | 4940.25.1 | Patella | Ham | Left side. |
| | 1 | 4940.11.1 | Fibula | Hind foot | Open distal ep., right side. Age: under 2½ yr. |
| | 1 | 4940.19.1 | Tibia, calcaneus, astragalus | Hind foot | Articulated right foot; open distal ep. of tibia. Age: under 2 yr. |
| Distal Hindquarter | 1 | 4940.1.1 | Calcaneus | Hind foot | Left open <u>tuber calcis</u> ; knife-cuts on antero-medial surface. Age: under 2½ yr. |
| | 1 | 4940.18.2.1 | Calcaneus | Hind foot | Right open <u>tuber calcis</u> . |

Table 58. continued.

| Skeletal Portion | Block No. | Catalog Number | Element | Butchering Unit | Description |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|--|-----------------|--|
| Distal Hindquarter | 1 | 4940.19.1 | Calcaneus | Hind foot | Left side; <u>tuber calcis</u> and distal 1/3 broken off. |
| | 1 | 4940.54.4 | Calcaneus | Hind foot | Right open <u>tuber calcis</u> . |
| | 1 | 4940.1.1 | Astragalus | Hind foot | Right side. |
| | 1 | 4940.15.1.01 | Tarsal, third (lateral cuneiform) | Hind foot | Left side. |
| | 1 | 4940.18.2.1 | Tarsal, second (central cuneiform) | Hind foot | Right side. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.4 | Tarsal, third (lateral cuneiform) | Hind foot | Right side. |
| | 1 | 4940.1.1 | Metatarsal, 2nd or 5th | Hind foot | Open distal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Metatarsal, 4th | Hind foot | Open distal ep., left side. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Metatarsal, 2nd or 5th | Hind foot | Proximal half, side undetermined. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.4.06 | Metatarsal, 3rd | Hind foot | Proximal 3/4, left side. |
| | 3 | 4940.38.2.04 | Metatarsal, 2nd or 5th | Hind foot | Open at distal epiphysis, side undetermined. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.4 | Metatarsal, 2nd or 5th | Hind foot | Proximal half, side undetermined. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Carpal or tarsal | Foot | Distal half of shaft. |
| | 1 | 4940.13.1 | Metapodial, 2nd or 5th | Foot | Proximal 3/4 |
| Distal Appendage | 1 | 4940.19.1 | Metapodial, 2nd or 5th | Foot | Distal half; open distal epiphysis. |
| | 1 | 4940.20.1 | Metapodial, 2nd or 5th | Foot | Proximal 7/8. |
| | 3 | 4940.45.3 | Metapodial, 2nd or 5th | Foot | Open distal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Metapodial, 2nd or 5th | Foot | Proximal, lateral or medial half; open proximal ep. Age: under 2 yr. |
| | 1 | 4940.1.1 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th proximal | Foot | Prox. phalanx. Open at prox. ep. |
| | 1 | 4940.1.1 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th proximal | Foot | Two prox. phal; both open at prox. ep. |
| | 1 | 4940.11.1 | Phalanx, 2nd or 5th proximal | Foot | |
| | 1 | 4940.13.1 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th cloven bone proximal | Foot | Open at proximal epiphysis. |
| | 1 | 4940.13.1 | Phalanx, 2nd or 5th proximal | Foot | |
| | 1 | 4940.13.1.02 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th cloven bone proximal | Foot | |
| | 1 | 4940.18.1.1 | Phalanx, 2nd or 5th proximal | Foot | Closed proximal epiphysis. Age: over 2 yr. |
| | 1 | 4940.20.1 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th middle | Foot | Closed proximal epiphysis. |
| | 1 | 4940.21.1 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th cloven bone middle | Foot | |
| | 3 | 4940.38.3 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th middle | Foot | Closed proximal epiphysis. |
| Distal Appendage | 3 | 4940.48.2 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th middle | Foot | Open proximal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th proximal | Foot | Complete; open proximal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th proximal | Foot | Open proximal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th middle | Foot | Complete; prox. ep. partially closed. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.3 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th distal | Foot | |
| | 3 | 4940.50.4.06 | Phalanx, 2nd or 5th middle | Foot | Open at proximal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.5.02 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th proximal | Foot | Open proximal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.5.02 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th cloven bone proximal | Foot | |
| | 3 | 4940.54.6.02 | Phalanx, 2nd or 5th proximal | Foot | Open at proximal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.56.3 | Phalanx, 3rd or 4th proximal | Foot | Open proximal epiphysis. |
| | 3 | 4940.74.1.1 | Phalanx, cloven bone | Foot | Burned. |

TABLE 59: SUMMARY OF PORK BUTCHERING UNITS REPRESENTED AT 22CL809.

| Butchering Units | Number | % |
|-------------------|--------|------|
| Jowl | 2 | 2.5 |
| Shoulder butt | 2 | 2.5 |
| Picnic shoulder | 2 | 2.5 |
| Hock | 4 | 5.1 |
| Hock or Fore foot | 2 | 2.5 |
| Pork loin ... | 4 | 5.1 |
| Ham | 5 | 6.3 |
| Fore foot | 14 | |
| Hind foot | 17 | 73.4 |
| Foot | 27 | |
| TOTALS | 79 | 99.9 |

TABLE 60. DOMESTIC SHEEP/GOAT BUTCHERING UNITS REPRESENTED AT 22CL809.

| Skeletal Portion | Block No. | Catalog Number | Element | Butchering Unit | Description |
|----------------------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------------|--|
| Head | 7 | 4940.93.2.53 | Tooth | -- | Left M ¹ ₃ |
| Portion | 7 | 4940.93.4.53 | Tooth | -- | Left P ³ |
| Proximal Forequarter | - | 4940.89.2.57 | Humerus | Shoulder | Right, complete except for open prox. epiphysis; immature individual (distal epiphysis only partially closed); no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.54.7.21 | Radius | Shank | Left, complete except for open distal epiphysis; no cut marks. |
| | 3 | 4940.16.2 | Vertebra | Neck | Cervical; no cut marks. |
| Trunk Portion | 3 | 4940.44.4.03 | Femur | Leg | Right shaft, caudal portion; no cut marks. |
| Proximal Hindquarter | 3 | 4940.16.2 | Tibia | Leg | Right mid-shaft; saw-cut on distal margin. |
| Distal Hindquarter | 7 | 4940.83.2.53 | Astragalus | Leg | Right side; carnivore-gnawed. |
| | 7 | 4940.83.2.53 | Calcaneus | Leg | Left side; <u>tuber calcis</u> missing; carnivore-gnawed. |
| Distal Appendage | - | 4940.89.3.57 | Metatarsal | Leg | Left proximal half; exfoliated. |
| | 3 | 4940.50.5.06 | Metapodial | Leg or shank | Shaft fragment. |

represented. There is a striking contrast between consumption units of pigs and cattle. Whereas 68.8 percent of the cattle elements are from the proximal forequarter and proximal hindquarter (Table 54), only 6.8 percent of the pig elements are from the corresponding high meat yielding skeletal portions (Table 57). Teeth and cranial elements make up 67.7 percent of the pig assemblage, and foot bones comprise 23.8 percent. When these data are seen as butchering units, the inventory of beef cuts presents a rather balanced profile of beef consumption, with greatest preference shown to foreshanks, round, and chuck (Table 56). Cuts like the loin may be underrepresented archaeologically due to the small amount of bone inherent in the butchering unit. A strong trend away from choice consumption is evident from the butchering units represented by the pig remains (Table 59). Almost 75 percent of the suid meat cuts present are feet, with a significant scarcity of elements from the ham, loins, and shoulder. Butchering unit patterns of the ovicaprid remains are similar to those for beef in that the leg and shoulder are high meat yield cuts.

How can we account for the different patterns observed in the domestic mammal assemblage? If the predominance of low value pork cuts is attributed to low socioeconomic status of the site's inhabitants, why is there not a corresponding pattern of low quality beef and ovicaprid butchering units? An explanation might be found in the site's relationship to the market for domestic animal production and consumption. The abundance of teeth and foot bones among the pig remains may indicate that the highest meat yield parts were being processed at 22Cl809 and sold and consumed elsewhere. In contrast, beef and mutton (or goat meat) were produced at other locations and acquired by the Cedar Oaks occupants for their own consumption.

From a broader archaeological perspective, the distinctive pattern in the 22Cl809 skeletal portions and butchering units represents an index against which other sites in the project area could be compared and contrasted. Kitchen refuse from the Barton Hotel, for example, would be expected to have high proportions of expensive high meat yield parts for both beef and pork. Habitation sites known to be associated with residents of professional status (doctor, lawyer, and so forth) should have not only faunal assemblages dominated by high meat yield beef, pork, and mutton parts, but also conspicuous assemblages of imported foodstuffs such as oysters. Sites associated with slaves and tenant farmers might be expected to reflect a greater reliance on fish and wild game.

Modified Bones

In addition to the faunal assemblage already described, two small modified bone fragments from large or medium-sized mammal species were recovered from Block 1. An element from Unit 26 is 5.7 mm thick and is calcined; the internal surface is unmodified; the external surface has been carved and smoothed to have a decorative raised rounded dot. The function of the piece is unknown, but it may have been part of a bone handle. A calcinated fragment from Unit 2 is part of a bone-plated cutlery handle that was riveted to a flattened tang. The interior flat

surface has a series of fine longitudinal incisions. The external convex surface has a series of longitudinal grooves and incisions. Maximum thickness of the handle fragment is 4.2 mm.

Conclusion

The faunal assemblage obtained by the three phases of archaeological investigations at 22Cl809 may not necessarily be representative of subsistence practices carried out at the site; the excavation strategy was mainly concerned with architectural questions, and no large deposits of kitchen refuse were encountered. The temporal range of diagnostic artifacts from the site is also great, extending from 1830 to the early 1900s. Despite the possibility of sample bias, the animal remains recovered reveal a general pattern of greater reliance on pork than on any other domestic, wild, or imported animal food. This is consistent with the antebellum growth and expansion of the Mobile pork trade and Hilliard's (1972:223-224) observation that northern Mississippi constituted a minor market for domestic cattle.

Although pig elements were prevalent at 22Cl809, they were mostly from low meat yield parts. Bones from cattle and ovicaprids, in contrast, were from high meat yield parts. This suggests that at some time during the site's occupation pork was processed on the property, sold to purchasers, and consumed elsewhere, whereas beef and sheep or goat meat was consumed, but not initially processed, at the Cedar Oaks house site. Other animals represented at the site were six species of mammal, four kinds of bird including chicken, three varieties of fish, one reptile, the Virginia oyster, and several species of freshwater mussel. Most of the faunal assemblage was recovered in the area of the smokehouse foundation and in the backyard adjacent to the house, but the largest concentrations of bone and shell debris occurred in the trash mound north of the house and around the kitchen area.

The faunal assemblage from 22Cl809 provides an important index against which large collections of animal remains from other sites investigated during the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project can be compared and contrasted. If the hypothesis that the butchering pattern observed for suid remains at 22Cl809 is the result of pig processing and not consumption, the pig bones contained in the refuse deposits at the site such as the Barton Hotel should clearly indicate a contrasting pattern with a predominance of high meat yield pork parts. The abundance of documentary, oral historical, and archaeological information from the Tombigbee research area could in this way be used to address our ability to interpret accurately zooarchaeological data from historic sites.

CHAPTER 14.

THE BARTON ROAD SYSTEM

by

Charles E. Cleland

Introduction

Much has been said of the importance of the Tombigbee River and the railroad as major aspects of the transportation system which moved goods to and away from the Barton and Vinton communities. In final analysis, however, it is the network of roadways on which the goods moved to and from the docks and depots that tells the transportation story of a community. Roads, existing and abandoned, are in this sense a primary resource for reconstructing and interpreting historic relationships at the intra- and intercommunity level. The rich network of roads in and around the Barton townsite is thus of great interest in the investigation of the inhabitants and their relationships with neighbors in adjacent towns.

As part of the mitigation plan for the Barton townsite, a field research effort was undertaken to locate and map roads and to trace the interconnections which linked Barton to the ferry crossing of the Tombigbee to the south and the Vinton ferry and community to the north.

Finding and tracing old roads is not an easy task, and it requires the combined use of several methods. Chief among these is simply walking the still visible linear depressions left by modification of the landscape as the result of wagon traffic or construction of grade and drainage features of roads. In many cases, late nineteenth and twentieth century plowing and new road construction obliterated sections of earlier roadways. Erosion cuts formed by surface water run-off along old roads, where they went up and down hills, provide evidence for the road course even though the features of construction have been obliterated by rushing water.

Remote sensing by means of low altitude aerial photographs produced in 1939 by the U. S. Department of Agriculture was helpful in locating old roads. In this imagery roads often appear as dark linear discolorations across plowed fields or pastures. Configuration of vegetation provided another clue. Both aerial photographs and on-site inspection provide evidence of cedars, incidental species in hedgerows which survive to advanced age, and red oaks left standing at road intersections, all of which can be valuable in determining the alignment of old roadways.

A combination of these field techniques plus reference to contemporary maps has produced a clear picture of Barton's road system. This is shown in Figures 37 and 38 as accurately as it could be reconstructed from available evidence.

The Barton Road System

The width and depth of road beds permitted the classification of roads into three main types (Figures 37 and 38). The most prominent are primary roads which passed through Barton linking the town to regional trade and population centers. This class is analogous to the "early transectional" and "market" roads defined by Weaver and Doster (1982:33). The primary road passing through Barton by several routes was the Columbus-Aberdeen Road, which predates the town by a decade. Regionally, this road was established as a link between Columbus, Mississippi, a major town on the east side of the river, and Aberdeen, a major regional town on the west side of the Tombigbee to the north of Barton. The Colbert, Vinton, and Barton ferries all serviced this route through the nineteenth century (Minnerly 1982).

The next important class were local roads integrating the Barton townsite. These have no analogy in Newton's (1970) system but were very important in providing interconnection between businesses and domiciles, imparting organization to the Barton community. This can be seen when the network of secondary roads is compared with the hypothetical town plat of Barton worked out by Jack Elliott on the basis of property records (Figure 37). This plat and its relation to the Barton road system will be discussed in detail.

Finally, there was a class of very ephemeral thoroughfares called access roads. These are basically for convenience, linking domiciles and work sites with the primary and secondary road network.

The primary Barton road was constructed in 1838 in order to link Columbus and Aberdeen (Minnerly 1982:119-120). It remained in service until the mid-1840s. From the Colbert Ferry, this road ran north and west through the western portion of what was to become the Barton townsite (Minnerly 1982:Figure 23). It is likely that its route went north to the modern Barton Ferry Road, turned west following this road to the vicinity of grid coordinates N100/E400, and then turned north following the modern Cedar Oaks access road to grid coordinates N500/E250. From here, the route swings due west along the N500 grid line, eventually turning north again along the course of the modern Aberdeen Road.

With the establishment and growing importance of the Vinton Ferry and the later establishment of Barton and the Barton Ferry in 1848, it is likely that the main route of the Columbus-Aberdeen Road shifted to the east, paralleling the Tombigbee in such a way that it passed through the Barton business district. This route takes the road from the Barton Ferry northwestward, climbing a small grade to higher bottom lands between grid coordinates N200/E800 and N350/E700 on the Barton grid. The road then turned north and slightly east, paralleling the base of the bluff line east of the townsite. In the vicinity of grid coordinates

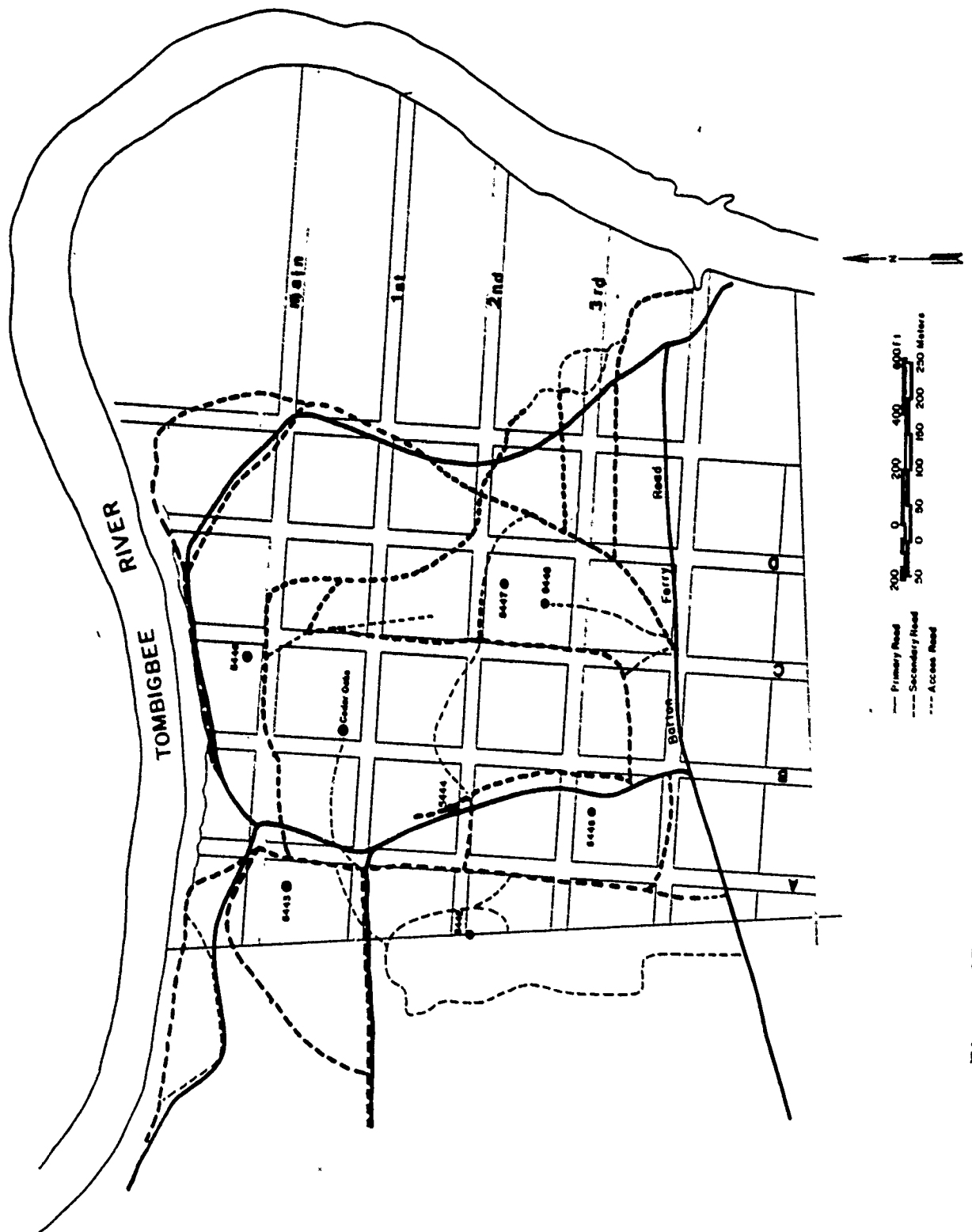


Figure 37. Barton road system in relation to Elliott's plat.

Figure 38. Barton road system in relation to topography.

N500/E80 it turns north and west, climbing a very steep grade to arrive on the bluff top at the east end of Barton's business district. North of Main Street, it then heads west leaving Barton near grid coordinates N650/E200. From here the road parallels the river as far as the Vinton Ferry Road, where it swings west to join the old Columbus-Aberdeen Road at the Vinton Ferry crossroads. Although the older route was more direct and avoided steep grades, the new route passed through Barton and lead to the Vinton Ferry.

During the height of competition between the Barton and Vinton ferries, the route of the Columbus-Aberdeen Road through the townsite was a matter of controversy. In 1881, with the Vinton Ferry in business but Barton defunct as a viable community, Trotter and Coltrane petitioned to change the Barton-Vinton Road such that the Vinton Ferry was a more advantageous crossing place on the Tombigbee. This change presumably reopened the old Barton-Vinton Road, which passed down the old Barton main street. Travelers who used the Barton Ferry instead of the Vinton Ferry would not only have to traverse the rough terrain between the Barton Ferry and Vinton but also would have to pass through Vinton at any rate! When the Vinton Ferry closed in 1892, this route was soon abandoned in favor of the old Barton-West Point Road, which cut more directly across the western boundary of the old Barton townsite (Minnerly 1983:34).

A large series of secondary roads, most showing lighter use, connect with the primary road; in some cases they seem to duplicate its function but provide shorter routes across the townsite. The secondary road leading from the east end of Main Street (see below) to the Barton Ferry is an example (Figure 37). More important, the secondary roads also functioned as "streets" within the town, giving it political and social organization. For this reason, we see the close correspondence between the streets shown on Elliott's plat and the secondary road network.

Essentially, the system of secondary roads follows the natural ridge lines which give Barton its north-south axis. The exception is a secondary road which follows a shallow bottom between the two westernmost ridge tops of the townsite. This road follows a general north-south course, meeting the Barton Ferry Road to the south and terminating at the main road junction of the town to the north.

Two east-west secondary roads provide access to the Barton Ferry on the eastern margin of the town. These may have been more convenient local substitutes for the Columbus-Aberdeen Road or may in fact have been alternate routes. In any case, these two secondary roads start from a major road junction near grid coordinates N350/E700, marked by a huge southern red oak, where it splits into two branches. The first parallels the Columbus-Aberdeen Road, climbing the same steep grade to emerge on the high bluff on the east end of the business district. Another branch climbs the bluff to the northwest, ascending a long erosional gully and emerging on higher ground near grid coordinates N600/E600. From here it turns ultimately due west and becomes Main Street.

Main Street is a well-marked secondary road characterized by both grading and filling. Its southern edge is defined by an intermittent line of ancient cedars. This road terminates in the vicinity of grid coordinates N550/E30, which is undoubtedly the major intersection of Barton.

In the center of Barton, a large secondary road runs north-south, exactly paralleling the major north-south road on the western side of the townsite. As does that road, it connects with the Barton Ferry Road on the south and Main Street on the north. The grid coordinates of this road are N100/E500 on the Barton Ferry Road to N550/E550 on the east end of Main Street.

Both of these north-south thoroughfares have a set of secondary roads which intercept them at right angles, forming a rectilinear grid. In the northwest corner of Barton are two secondary roads of note. One heads directly west along the N500 grid line and was probably part of the original Columbus-Aberdeen Road. The other is apparently a shortcut from this road to the main Barton intersection. It extends north and east from near grid coordinate N500/E00 to join the Columbus-Aberdeen Road just north of the main intersection and just west of the business district. This junction is marked by a large road cut and associated cedars.

Other segments of secondary roads are known from the Barton townsite, and these will be discussed in the context of the town plan.

It is difficult to establish the antiquity of the numerous access roads crisscrossing the Barton townsite. Some are obviously quite modern and relate to cultivation during the twentieth century; others are more closely associated with Barton sites and may relate to its occupancy (Figures 37 and 38). Oral history informants indicate that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century access across the property of others was traditional and informal (McClurken and Anderson 1981:635, 1492).

One major access road follows the high ground on the western-most Barton ridgetop. Originating on the Barton Ferry Road, this lightly used route eventually ends at the Keller house (site 5442). Another access road connects this house site with the neighboring secondary road in grid N300/E250. The Cedar Oaks site is also connected to this road by an access which may have followed the modern drive. Although no surface indications survive as proof, a row of cedars suggests that the original Cedar Oaks access road was probably located south of the modern access road along grid line N500.

On the east ridge access, lanes lead both south from the Columbus-Aberdeen Road east of the business district and north from the Barton Ferry Road to house sites along this ridge.

The bottomlands along the Tombigbee north of the Barton Ferry landing are laced with access roads which descend from the Columbus-Aberdeen Road. Presumably, these were used to transport farm machinery to fields in these areas.

The Relationship to Elliott's Barton Plat

Unfortunately, no contemporary plat of Barton has been found in the archival records relating to the townsite. It is known from property records, however, that the town was indeed platted and that many parcels bearing lot and block description repeatedly exchanged hands during the second half of the nineteenth century. Using this information, Jack Elliott, an historian of the middle Tombigbee Valley, developed a hypothetical plat for the townsite. Although it describes the relationship of lots, blocks, and streets, the plat has only two references on the site itself, namely, the Cedar Oaks house and the ferry landing. The location of other properties through archaeological excavation and the mapping of the road system provided a multitude of references so that Elliott's plat could be oriented to these features. As may be seen in Figure 37, there is an excellent correspondence between the hypothetical plat, the location of properties, and the reconstructed road system. In fact, the correspondence between these independently collected data sets is sufficiently accurate to provide a great deal of confidence in our understanding of the community plan of Barton.

For convenience of description, the streets on the Elliott plat have been designated numerically south of Main Street and alphabetically from west to east.

It is immediately apparent that most primary roads show little correspondence to the plat. The probable reasons are that this road system predates the platting of Barton, it transects unplatted or unused lands, or both. Access roads as a class do not correspond to the plat any better than do primary roads for the very reason that they are primarily shortcuts across platted holdings.

Weaver and Doster (1982:104) note that towns in the region were often platted in a stylized fashion. That is, the gridiron pattern of streets was located at right angles to the river bank, with the main street paralleling the river. Another main street led away from the river at right angles to the first, and the commercial district was located around this junction. According to Weaver and Doster, there is also a tendency for the long axis of the town to be toward the interior. The Barton town plan corresponds to this model in almost every respect. Clearly, the major junction of Barton was located near grid coordinates N600/E300, where Main Street and A Street joined. Here also there is a merger of the town plan with the Columbus-Aberdeen Road. Early in the development of this major intersectional road it passed north, roughly following A Street, and later it seems to have been routed from east to west along the bluff paralleling Main Street. In either case, the town plat was oriented so that the two major streets coincided with the nearest approach of the Columbus-Aberdeen Road to the river. It was at this major road and street intersection that the Barton hotel was located.

Because of earth moving associated with the TVA transmission line which parallels the Barton bluff, it is impossible to establish the exact relationship among the street plan, the road system, and the Barton business district. It is logical to assume that it was located along the north side of Main Street and between Main Street and the

Columbus-Aberdeen Road, which paralleled the edge of the Barton bluff. The location of the blacksmith shop (5446) provides some support for this proposition.

The two largest secondary roads--those of greatest width and depth and which show, therefore, greatest use and improvement--are associated with Main and A Street on the plat. Both these roads and their intersection are intermittently lined with very old cedars or oaks.

From these two major thoroughfares run a number of other roadways which indicate the street grid of Barton. On the east central ridge is a very large secondary road exactly parallel to A Street and which, as does A Street, ultimately connects Main Street with the Barton Ferry Road. This road corresponds closely to C Street of the Elliott plat.

The two north-south streets are joined at right angles by other secondary roads which align with streets on the plat. Most notable are those segments of 2nd Street, which connects with both A and C Street. Today these are not joined in straight alignment but are connected by a road which wanders across the intervening bottomland. Two large cedars located in grid N350/E450 are in direct alignment with these two segments of 2nd Street and probably indicate its former route.

On the southern part of A Street, a secondary connector runs east along what was probably 4th Street. From the north end, running at right angles to the west, is a secondary road corresponding to 1st Street. It was previously mentioned that this road is likely a segment of the original Columbus-Aberdeen Road. Several other secondary roads running east-west, on the N150 and N250 grids in central and eastern Barton, basically correspond to the Elliott plat but not to specific streets. It is probable that these ran between lots within blocks, much in the manner of alleys or lanes.

Given the correspondence of the secondary roads to streets on the Elliott plat, it is possible to see the rationale for the location of many of the sites identified archaeologically. It has been mentioned that the Barton hotel was located at the junction of Main and A Street with the Columbus-Aberdeen Road. The blacksmith shop was located at the corner of Main and C Street. Most of the home sites also have corner locations; Cedar Oaks is on the northeast corner of 1st and B Street, and site 5447 on the southwestern corner of 2nd and D Street. The latter street certainly never existed in at least the southern part of Barton, since its course would have had to run along an extremely sharp slope.

There is also the suggestion that since the major routes to and from the business district were along A and C Street, houses would have been oriented toward these streets, and the properties nearer these major access routes would have been more desirable. Certainly, the property records and census enumerations for the period 1850 through 1860 support this contention, especially the popularity of property along A Street (Chapter 2).

The Evolution of the Barton Road System

The configuration of the Barton road system and the way it was constructed can be viewed from two quite different perspectives. The first is a temporal-functional one, dealing with the sequence for the appearance of different classes of roads and their use related to one another and to the landscape. The other is a temporal-structural perspective which deals with the way different classes of roads were engineered relative to the landscape and to environmental and cultural variables.

Viewed from the temporal-functional perspective, the Barton road system is the result of the superposition of three functional classes of roads built from 1838 to about 1850. The earliest, the Columbus-Aberdeen Road, predates the town's occupation and therefore bears little correspondence to the political boundaries added when the townsite was platted. The Columbus-Aberdeen Road crosses property boundaries.

In 1847 Barton was platted, and there was obviously some attempt to lay out the street and lot plan to take advantage of the existing road as well as topography (see Figure 38). Thus the business district was located along the level bluff line parallel to the river, and the long axis of the town was designed to take advantage of the high flat ridges running perpendicular to the river. The principal town function was placed near the point at which the Columbus-Aberdeen Road most closely approached the river and therefore would join the west end of the business district.

While the dissected slopes and bottomlands within the townsite probably were platted, only those properties geographically suited for domiciles or businesses were functionally important. As a result, the placement of streets must have conformed as nearly as possible to the functional realities of the Barton landscape. In fact, the Barton plat accomplished this in most areas.

Given these two superimposed road systems in which there was only a small amount of initial accommodation, the functional aspects of daily life soon led to the extension of the secondary road system to expedite the purposes served by the primary road, such as transporting goods to and from the ferry. There was also a tendency for location as well as function of primary and secondary roads to merge; the development of the Barton junction is an example of this phenomenon.

The third superimposed network was the access roads; these also cut across property lines or provided access into properties. In most cases, these roads of convenience were travelled by mutual consent and provided shorter routes to homes and work place. It is unfortunate that these systems are so ephemeral, since they would reveal a good deal about the social and political relations of Barton inhabitants.

The temporal-structural perspective involves a more regional view and a longer time frame. Comparing the routes and structures of Barton roads to those found at the neighboring communities of Colbert (1830-1847) and Vinton (1846-1930) reveals that the Barton road system is transitional in structure.

It is hypothesized here that the changing structure of road systems reflects the experience of road builders with terrain, climate, and the functional problems of road use and construction. This view differs from that reflected by Newton (1970) and adopted by Weaver and Doster (1982), who reduce the growing complexity or abandonment of roads to a measure of the volume of commerce between neighboring communities.

The town of Colbert antedated Barton and provided Barton with many of its citizens after Colbert was inundated by the flood of 1847. It was a platted town built on the floodplain of the Tombigbee. Presumably, Colbert was founded by speculators and populated by immigrants attracted by advertisements in eastern newspapers (Minnerly 1982). Both the building of Colbert and its occupation reflect a high degree of naivety about local climate, topography, and particularly flooding. The Colbert road system reflects the same lack of knowledge of conditions in the Tombigbee Valley. Colbert roads run directly across swampy ground in a straight line. It takes little imagination to envision the problems of pulling heavily laden wagons over such terrain with animal power.

The flood of 1847 seems to have taught the importance of high ground in the central Tombigbee Valley, and this awareness is apparent in the routing and engineering of Barton roads. For the most part, these take as much advantage as possible of high ground, the vast majority of roads being either on ridge tops or on the low slopes at the edges of bottoms. The way Barton roads were laid out and built certainly shows improvement over Colbert roads, but they are still not in total harmony with the local terrain and climate. In order to attain high ground, Barton roads were often brought directly up steep slopes by means of cuts or by using natural erosion gulleys. These grades as well as erosion from run-off must have posed considerable difficulty for Barton residents in moving loads with animal-drawn vehicles and road maintenance.

The use of the plat concept for community development required the even spacing of lots and blocks over an uneven landscape. The resulting layout of streets, therefore, does not usually conform to the geological realities. This is true in the case of Barton despite some attempt to reconcile the two. One discrepancy is illustrated by the placement of A Street. When other north-south streets are laid out with a best fit to the ridges running perpendicular to the river, the even spacing which is a constraint of the plat causes A Street to run down the middle of an erosion cut on the west side of the site. This meant not only that one of the town's main streets required considerable maintenance but also that east-west streets leading from it had to climb the sides of the erosion cut to reach domiciles on adjacent ridge tops.

Further evolution of the road building system can be observed at Vinton. This town, whose main occupation post-dates Barton, was not platted and could be described as a purely functional crossroads service community. In contrast to Colbert and to some degree Barton, Vinton residents had excellent knowledge of the terrain and transport problem.

This is evident in the way they laid out and constructed their roads. While primarily located on high ground, Vinton roads were not exclusively sited on these contours. With the exception of the steep road leading from the Vinton Ferry to the crest of the bluff, all primary and secondary Vinton roads had a gentle slope. This is true despite the fact that the topography in and around the townsite is much more dissected than in the Barton vicinity. Vinton residents used neither natural erosion cuts nor excavated cuts to reach ridge tops. Grades were cut into hillsides, winding up hills to reduce grade and presumably retard road bed erosion.

The Barton road system, with its complex network of several classes of roads placed on the landscape at different times, represents the functional and structural needs of its residents. It also reflects a stage in an adaptive process in which the residents were beginning to reach an equilibrium with the environment of the central Tombigbee Valley.

CHAPTER 15.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS OF INVESTIGATIONS
AT CEDAR OAKS HOUSESITE

by

Leah Allen

Introduction

The Cedar Oaks (22C1809) housesite was investigated in detail in the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project as this house represents the last remaining standing structure from the nineteenth century townsite of Barton. This town, the middle town chronologically of the three townsites in this study area, dates from ca. 1848-1970; and it occupies the south-central portion of the proposed recreation area (Minnerly 1983:111).

The housesite, which functioned as a residence and farmstead, is located in the northeast portion of Barton, on a high knoll approximately 175 m from a blufftop ridge on the south side of the Tombigbee River (Figure 37 or 38). Cedar Oaks was occupied almost continuously from the 1840s up to the 1940s. The house is oriented west, with a dirt road leading from this side down a slope and connecting with a more-or-less north-south dirt road which runs from the present day main entrance of the Barton site area up to the bluff above the Tombigbee River (Figures 37 and 38).

The structure is situated on a relatively flat knoll in a cleared area approximately 70 x 40 m in dimension. The land slopes gently away from the house, with the steepest slopes on the southern and western sides. Presently the vegetation of the site shows purposeful placement and cultivation. The front of the house is framed by two large cedar trees placed on each side of an opening in the front fenceline. Two more large cedar trees are located on the north-western portion of the fenceline with one actually serving as the corner fencepost. A very large southern red oak dominates the backyard area and is situated approximately 16 m east of the house; a young walnut tree is situated close to the southeast corner of the house. Fruit trees, predominantly peach, were planted along the southern edge of the site. A flower garden recently occupied the extreme north west corner of the front yard (Figure 39). The surrounding land now shows secondary hardwood forest dominating land once cleared for cultivation but generally abandoned in the early 1940s.

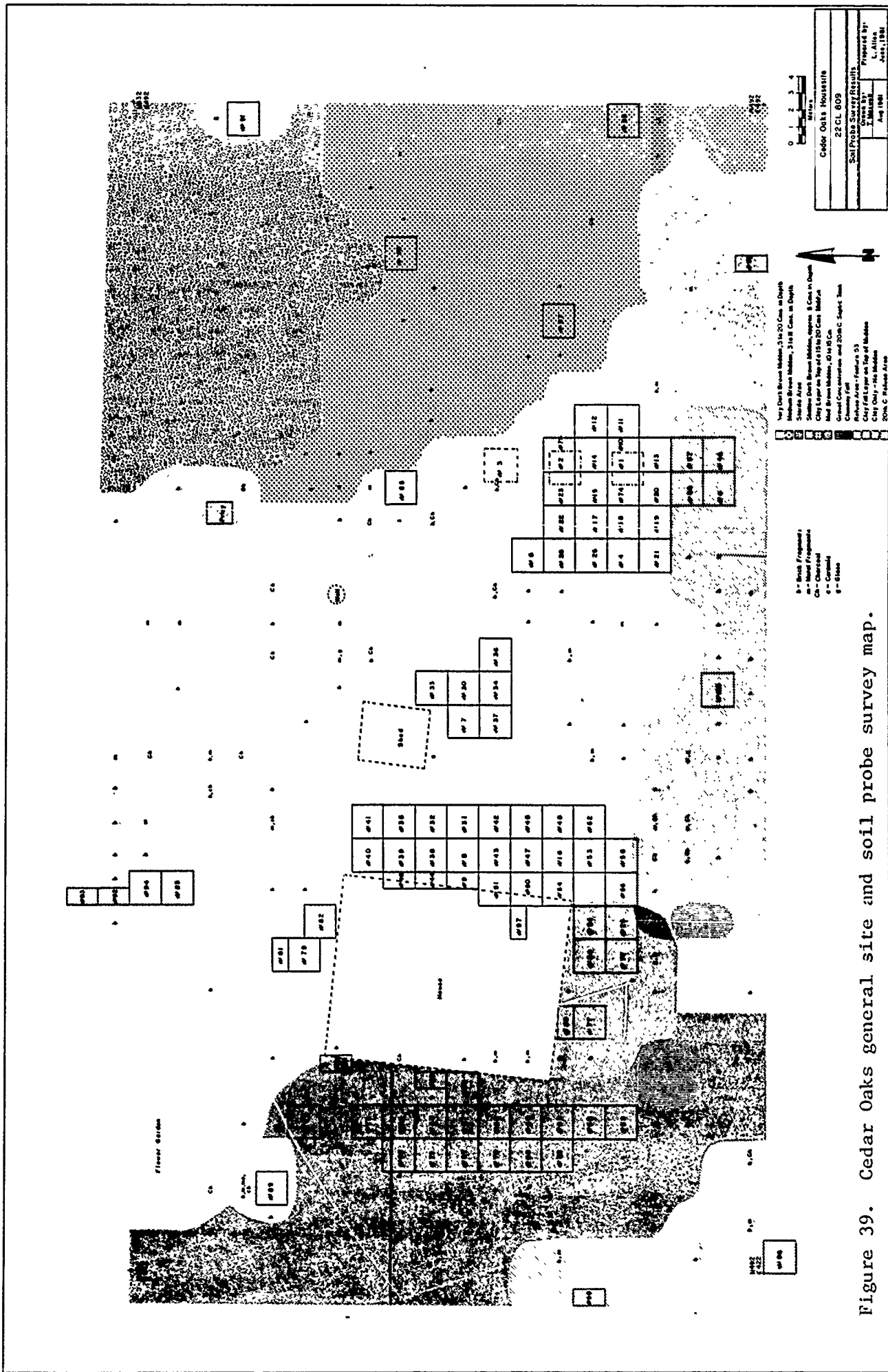


Figure 39. Cedar Oaks general site and soil probe survey map.

Cedar Oaks is a 48 x 36 ft vernacular Greek Revival building. It is one-story, with four rooms symmetrically placed on opposite sides of a central, closed-in hallway (Howard 1978). It stands on brick piers with an open gallery spanning the front (west side) of the house. The two front rooms are larger than the back and each room originally had separate fireplaces located on the south and north ends respectively. Only one chimney remains standing and this was built in the 1940s to replace the southwest chimney (Figure 40).

The front facade has a central doorway which is flanked by single windows in the north and south front rooms. Wooden risers now serve as the front porch steps. The northern facade shows three windows with two in the front room and one in the back room while the southern side only shows two windows flanking the chimney in the front room. The back facade (east side) shows two doors, one opening in the northeast rear room and the other a folding door that opens from the central hallway. No steps exist at present for either door. The roof is covered with sheet metal which replaced a storm damaged roof in the 1970s (Howard 1978).

Existing outbuildings associated with this house include a small shed, a privy and two small barns. The shed is 3 x 4 m in size with the long axis running north-south. Its doorway faces west and is situated 7 m east of the northeast corner of the house. This shed is a twentieth century structure constructed of material salvaged from an earlier building (Howard 1978). The only other standing outbuilding located in the immediate yard area of this housesite is a twentieth century privy located in the northeast corner of the backyard, 27 m off the northeast corner of the house (Figure 39).

Between the shed and the privy and near the large oak tree is an open brick-lined well approximately 16 m deep. According to oral historical information this well was not used as a water source during the twentieth century occupation of this site. During this time period, occupants used an artesian well located to the west of the house (McClurken and Anderson 1981:562, 619, 883-884). It is therefore concluded that this well represents a late nineteenth century water source. After it was no longer used it was merely abandoned and like other late nineteenth century-brick lined wells on the Barton site was not used as a trash receptacle (see Chapter 16).

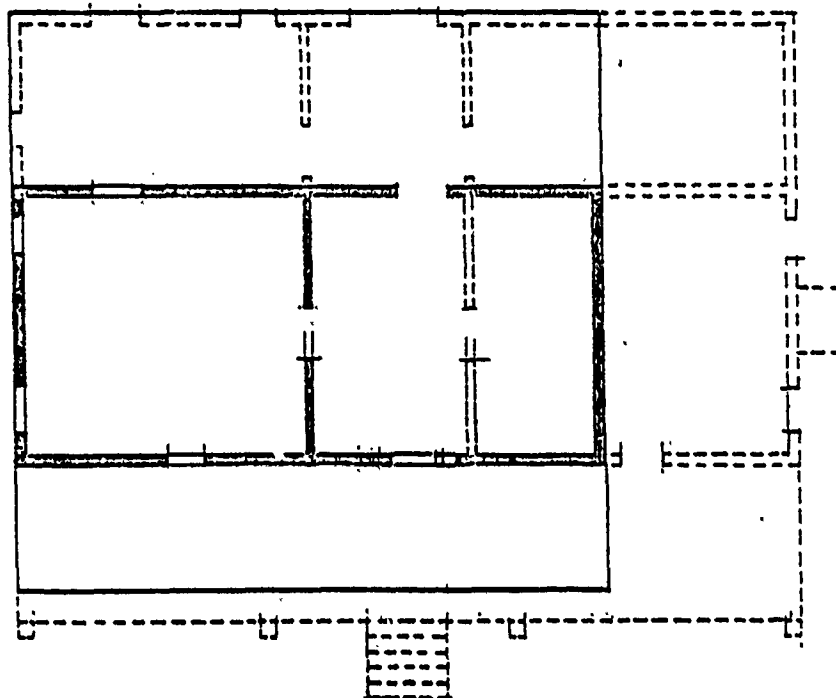
Two other standing outbuildings appear to have an association with the twentieth century occupation of Cedar Oaks. These two small barns are located 130 m northwest of the house (Minnerly 1983:32). One of these barns is of log construction and the other is plank.

Only a portion of the fenceline remains standing and this runs along the western edge of the front yard and part of the northern and southern edges (Figure 39). It is a wire fence with an opening between two cedar trees that serves as an entranceway into the site. A photograph taken in front of Cedar Oaks ca. 1909 shows a front fence in approximately the same location but of a wooden picket construction (Minnerly 1983:30, Fig. 3).

ORIGINAL PLAN

EXISTING PLAN

FIGURE 1



CEDAR OAKS

SCALE 1/8"=1'-0"

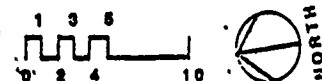


Figure 40. Cedar Oaks floorplan.

(from Brito 1983)

This housesite was the subject of intensive excavations during Phases I and II of the Tombigbee Historic Townsite Project from 15 November 1979 through 14 July 1980. Research was designed to investigate several problems. The primary focus was to investigate the integrity of the location of the house. Excavation strategy was designed to collect data on the existence of earlier structures on this site, to determine if the house had been moved or structurally modified, and to elucidate the evolutionary architectural history of this structure.

Oral historical information proved very useful in conjunction with archaeological data in providing clues and answers concerning the architectural history of Cedar Oaks. The best example of this is evidence for an ell which was once attached to the northeast corner of the house, extending eastward. Oral information placed the ell in, at least, the early twentieth century and indicated that it functioned as a kitchen and dining room. Coupled with archaeological information (see below) this helped illuminate a portion of the house's architectural history.

Besides oral historical and archaeological investigations three on-site studies of the house were undertaken by experts in folk housing construction and architectural history. These studies were conducted by James M. Howard in 1978; Dr. M. B. Newton, Jr. in 1980; and Heriberto J. Brito in 1983. Their conclusions will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

A second research problem concerned defining the role of this site in relation to the town of Barton. In order to achieve this goal the entire site was investigated in order to determine site utilization. This included the definition of specific activity areas and the placement of outbuildings through time with the idea that this information would assist in effective and efficient excavation of other housesites at Barton and Vinton. Archival and oral information also aided this aspect of research as both studies provided data on the changing occupations of Cedar Oaks.

The third research problem was the determination of refuse disposal patterns and how they changed through time. It was felt that such information would also assist in effective data recovery of Barton and Vinton housesites and could help explain changing patterns in the material culture and human activity in this area during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Methodology

The intensive excavations at Cedar Oaks were confined to an arbitrary 70 x 40 m boundary delineated on the Barton archaeological survey grid, including the majority of the cleared area around the housesite. A total of 99 units was excavated, 12 of which were 1 x 2 m in dimension and the remainder 2 x 2 m (Figure 39). A judgemental research strategy was used for the placement of units. Levels were excavated according to natural stratigraphy and soil was both dry screened and water screened through 1/4 in mesh.

Phase I lasted from November 1979 through April 1980. During this time excavations were concentrated around the house, as a major goal of Phase I research was to determine its integrity. Out of the 76 units excavated during Phase I, 44 were in close proximity to the east, south and west sides of the house. For the most part these units were excavated in blocks consisting of large sections of contiguous 2 x 2 m units (Figure 41 and Table 61). The rationale behind this method was that block excavations would enable crew members to follow out and expose features as they were discovered. For example, the block of units encompassing Feature 1 (a brick foundation) was excavated to expose the entire feature and its immediate surroundings in the hope of discovering associated features (Figure 41).

Another Phase I research goal was to investigate the entire site to determine spatial utilization through time. To this end, six units were located near the standing shed to determine if there were an earlier structure that perhaps served as a kitchen. A block of units also was excavated around Feature 1, discovered during the excavation of Unit 1. This feature is believed to be a smokehouse and is approximately 22 m southeast of the house (Figure 41).

As an additional means of fulfilling these goals, a systematic soil probe survey was conducted over the entire site during the interim between Phases I and II (Figure 39). A probe sample was taken every 2 m on the site grid and cultural deposits were easily distinguished because of the site's distinctive stratigraphic pattern. Through this survey, the stratigraphy of the entire site was quickly determined and areas of potential archaeological interest were pinpointed. This survey was instrumental in effectively testing the entire site and was helpful in placing Phase II excavation units. Furthermore, two features not previously discovered were found through this procedure.

During Phase II, which lasted from June through mid-July 1980, nine more units were excavated around and underneath the house to complete the objectives begun in Phase I. Besides completion of investigations on the east, south and west sides of the house, the northern side was also excavated during this second phase.

Delimiting areas of differential refuse disposal was a major research goal of Phase II and to this end a block of units was excavated in the vicinity of a trash deposit (Feature 53) (Figure 41) along the northern slope that had been located during the soil probe survey. Also during this phase ten test units were excavated where surface or soil probe data indicated possible refuse disposal areas. In all, seven blocks of units and ten separate units were excavated (Figure 39). A total of 65 features and 7 subfeatures (i.e., small features such as postholes found within larger features) were discovered during the excavations at Cedar Oaks; 45 of these were postmolds.

Phase III was undertaken between June and December 1981. During this time the artifacts retrieved during the first two phases were analyzed in order to ascertain their date range and function. Oral historical and archival information was also collated and these data

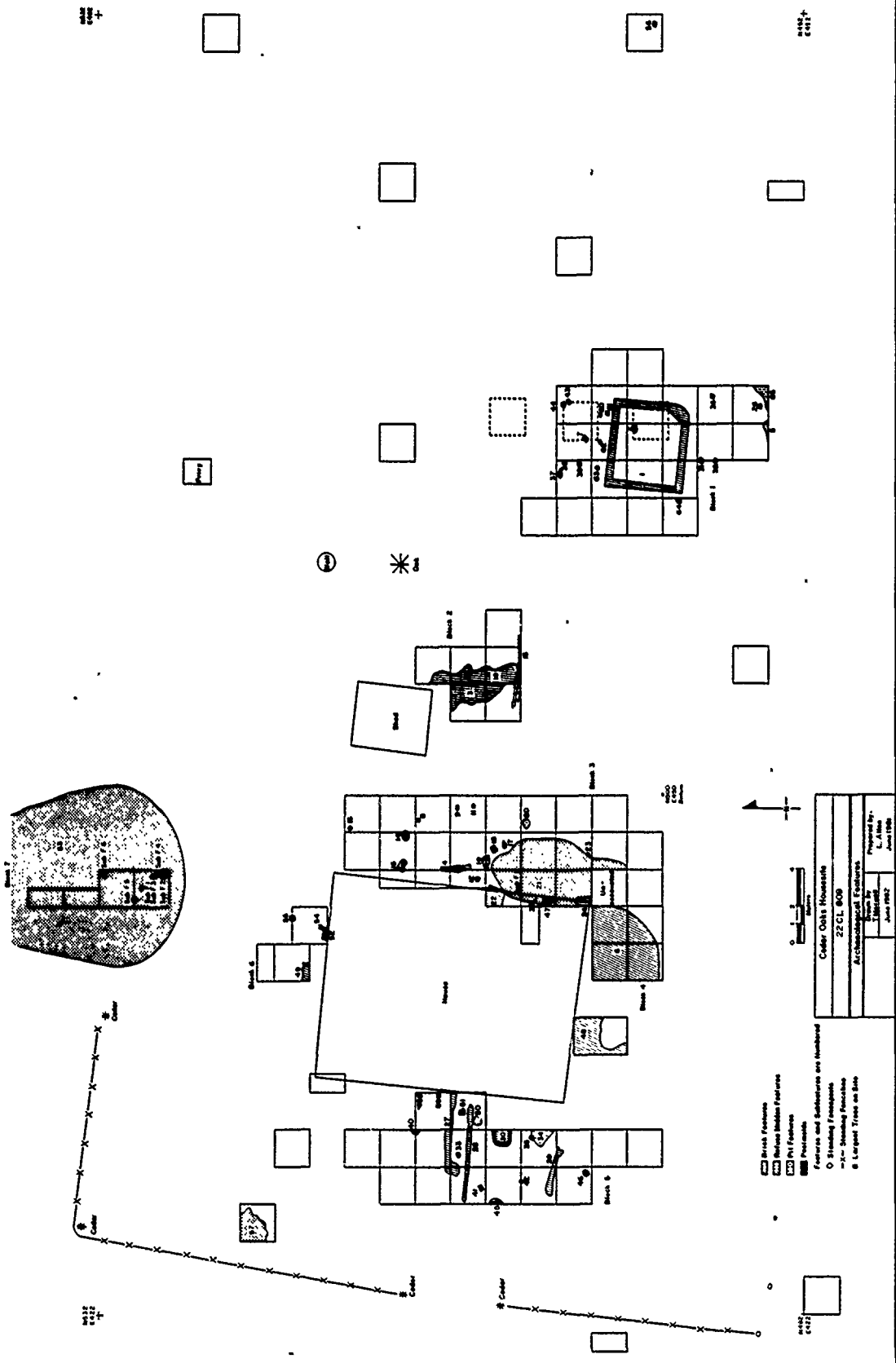


Figure 41. Cedar Oaks, map of features.

Table 61. Units listed by blocks, Cedar Oaks Housesite.

| Block | Units |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. | 1-6, 10-15, 17-23, 25, 28, 46, 55, 57, 74, 75 |
| 2. | 7, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37 |
| 3. | 8, 9, 16, 31, 32, 35, 38-45, 47-54, 56, 58, 97 |
| 4. | 24, 26, 27, 29, 77, 80 |
| 5. | 59-73, 76, 78, 84, 88 |
| 6. | 79, 81, 82 |
| 7. | 83, 92-94 |
| Non-block units | 85-87, 89-91, 95, 96, 98, 99 |

played an important part in the interpretation of the archaeological record.

The Phase I and Phase II interim reports on the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project include detailed discussions of the excavation, by blocks, and archaeological features (Minnerly 1982, 1983). This chapter presents results of the Phase III investigation and provides a general summary of findings. Following a brief description of the general site stratigraphy, the structural integrity of the house will be discussed in detail. This is followed by information pertaining to outbuildings and activity areas and a discussion of the refuse disposal patterns revealed during this investigation. More detailed unit descriptions are provided in the appendices.

Stratigraphy

Although certain areas of the site exhibit slightly different profiles, general site stratigraphy consists of three basic levels of various thicknesses. At its simplest, the stratigraphy is as follows:

Level 1: Soils of level 1 may be identified by Munsell reference as very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) to brown (10YR5/3), depending upon the development of this level. This is an organic midden, resulting from the lengthy cultural occupation of this site and is not a natural undisturbed A1 or Ap soil horizon development (Murphree and Miller 1976:20-22). It contains more artifactual material than lower levels (excluding features) and is loamy in texture and slightly sandy in some areas. The break between this midden and lower levels is abrupt and very distinct. It was thickest in the backyard area, where it was 10 to 30 cm.

Level 2: In some areas this is the A2 soil horizon, which is yellowish brown (10YR5/6) to pale brown (10YR6/3) sandy loam. This horizon shows a clear, smooth boundary with the B horizon (Murphree and Miller 1976:20-22). Over much of the site, this level is either greatly disturbed, leaving shallow discontinuous remnants, or is entirely gone. The outer perimeters of the site do, however, generally show a continuous, well-developed A2 horizon.

Level 3: This is the natural B soil horizon, the upper part of which is silty to sandy clay loam or clay and would be referenced by Munsell color code as strong brown (7.5YR5/8 to 7.5YR4/6) (Murphree and Miller 1976:20-22). A number of features were found to extend into this level.

Architectural History and Integrity of Cedar Oaks

Several independent data sets were collected and compared to address the architectural history and integrity of Cedar Oaks. These include oral historical, archival, architectural, and archaeological records, and the interpretations of the various authors are presented below.

Three separate architectural studies were done at Cedar Oaks and, although all agree on certain points, there are also important differences. The first study was completed in 1978 for the Historic American Buildings Survey (Howard 1978). In this report a construction date was postulated as sometime during the 1840s to 1850s (Howard 1978:1), and was arrived at through physical evidence and a cursory examination of the deed records and other legal documents. An analysis of the structure of the house led to speculation that the original floor plan may have consisted of only the two northern rooms. It was felt that the northwestern mantle piece, a board and batten door in the same room and the fact that the front door is slightly off center gave credence to this original plan, especially as the mantle piece and door are older in appearance than those found in the southern portion of the house (Howard 1978:3).

Noted alterations and additions included the fact that this house, in its present form, once had four end chimneys (one in each room and an ell addition on the northeast corner, removed around 1920 with the material used to build the standing shed). The roof, most of the siding on the east side, flooring of the front porch, and two of the front porch pillars are all recent replacements (Howard 1978:4).

Dr. M. B. Newton, Jr. made a study of Cedar Oaks in 1980 in which he concluded that this house was built sometime between 1835 and 1850. In particular, because of the "earliness of the feel of some of the elements (mantel, joinery, chair rail)" and allowing for "the navigability of the Tombigbee, plus the dynamism of frontier regions," he emphasized the earlier date, ca. 1835 (Newton 1980:7). Furthermore, he concluded that the house was built "where it now stands in the form that it now has" (Newton 1980:1). Newton felt that the house was built as a single, integral unit owing to the principal sill supports which he saw as "fashioned in such a way that (its) lap joints fall at points that do not match any of the room divisions" (Newton 1980:2). Therefore, he claimed that any renovation would have "required disassembly of the entire house so as to enable reassembly of the mortise-and-tenon joints of the studs where they join the sill" (Newton 1980:2-3).

Newton (1980:6) also made suggestions which proved very helpful in the interpretation of Phase I and II archaeological data. In particular, he suspected that the central back door would not have opened to the exterior, but instead onto a rear gallery or less-than-full length porch. Features 14, 16, 17 and 23 are all postmolds that are in a north-south line parallel to the house, suggesting a rear full-length gallery. Feature 21, a refuse deposit on the southeast portion of the house, represents refuse swept and/or dumped underneath such a structure (Figure 41).

The most recent architectural study was undertaken by an historical architect, Heriberto J. Brito, in 1983. He takes exception to both Howard's and Newton's conclusions concerning the original configuration of the house and argues that the present floor plan of Cedar Oaks evolved from a simple two-room plan that consisted of two equal size rooms, one north and one south, that may have had porches on the eastern and western sides (Brito 1983:4) (Figure 40). Brito (1983:4) reaches

this conclusion because of a cutline in the floor of the southwest room, 12 in from the south wall. This, coupled with differences in the placement of the chair rail throughout the house, the fact that the floorbeams are spliced near the cutline, and the differences in placement of the brick piers on the southern versus northern part of the house, led him to argue strongly for such an evolution.

Unfortunately no definite archaeological evidence was found to corroborate this theory. Those units that extended underneath the house on the east side revealed only recent disturbances and features related to the house in its present state. This includes the two driplines (one corresponding to the present roof and another 10 cm in and corresponding to the shingle roof), the older brick pier bases (Features 22, 24, and 25) that have more recently constructed brick piers on top of them, and Feature 47, a wooden pier found next to and in line with the second brick pier off the southeast corner of the house (Figure 41). It is highly probable that evidence of an earlier house form was destroyed in this area by later additions and improvements to the present house.

In summary, these three studies placed the construction between 1835 and 1850, with Newton (1980) leaning towards the earlier date and others to the later one. Two of the studies (Brito 1983; Howard 1978) concluded that this present house had evolved from a simpler two room plan although they did not agree on its orientation. Newton (1980) believed the house to be in its more-or-less original state. All agreed that the house dated from the Barton period and was historically significant as the last remaining standing structure from this town. Brito (1983) especially recommended that the building possessed architectural and historic significance and should be preserved.

Archival data revealed that this "residence was probably built for Dr. James H. Curtis, a physician in the earlier town of Colbert who moved to Barton shortly after the great flood of December 1847 'inundated Colbert' (Minnerly 1983:21). Records indicate that there were no structures on this property when Curtis purchased it in 1848 or 49; however, by 1851 when he sold it to Miles Johnson the price was "high enough to suggest that the house was already built..." (Minnerly 1983:21). Furthermore, "the orientations of the house and yard axes,... generally correspond to the grid of Elliott's hypothetical plat (Minnerly 1983:6), suggesting that Cedar Oaks was not built before the platting of Barton in 1848" (Minnerly 1983:21).

The original owner, James Curtis, had attempted a business venture in Barton in 1848 or 1849 which failed, prompting him to sell Cedar Oaks in 1851 and move to Columbus. The second owner, Miles Johnson, only retained this property for a month before he sold it to James M. Collins in January 1852. Mr. Collins was the main resident of Cedar Oaks during Barton's existence as a town. He and his family occupied the house from 1852 to 1859, during which time he operated the "principal mercantile operation in the Barton and Vinton area" (Minnerly 1983:21).

After Collins left Cedar Oaks, at which time Barton was in a rapid decline, its history is difficult to trace. It is likely that the house

was "leased out for much of the time and was perhaps vacant for varying periods as well" (Minnerly 1983:23).

James Collins sold Cedar Oaks in 1867 to R. J. Conner, who may have resided in the house for a time. Sarah and Bardine Richardson probably owned this property in the 1870s and sold it to Mary E. Coltrane in 1879. Wheeler Watson had also owned a portion of this site which he sold to the Coltranes in 1875. The Coltrane family occupied the house for many years although the exact dates are unknown. Jan Uithoven bought Cedar Oaks from the Coltranes in 1913 but he may not have moved there until 1919 or 1920 (Minnerly 1983:23). The Uithoven family retained possession of this property until its purchase by the Corps of Engineers for the construction of the Barton Ferry Recreation Area.

Oral historical sources not only helped fill in gaps in the archival data but also provided valuable information as to the location and function of former outbuildings, the material culture and customs of the former occupants, and general insights into the lifeways of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Oral informants held memories of this house that dated back to the Coltrane family. Information also indicates that William Foote rented Cedar Oaks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A photograph taken of this family ca. 1909 shows them posing in front of this house (Minnerly 1983:28-30, Figure 3).

Dr. Jan Uithoven bought Cedar Oaks in 1913 but probably did not reside there until 1919 or 1920. While he lived in the house he made his living in part by farming the valley on the Barton townsite. Previously he had been operating the Barton Ferry.

He also kept livestock on the townsite, mostly sheep and goats. During the Depression years, the doctor supplemented his income with the proceeds of his home brew beer and illicit whiskey. But apart from these economic activities, Dr. Uithoven is primarily known as a physician who had clients living as far south as Waverly (Minnerly 1983:31).

Jan Uithoven died sometime in the late 1920s or early 1930s and his daughter and her husband occupied the house from the mid 1930s through 1939. The couple farmed the Uithoven property around Cedar Oaks during this time. The two small standing barns to the west of the house along with a trench silo nearby are associated with the Uithoven occupation of Cedar Oaks. One informant had boarded with Uithoven's daughter and husband during their occupancy and when he returned to the house in the 1940s he found it abandoned and in disrepair. It has not been lived in since the early 1940s (Minnerly 1983:31).

Oral informants provided important information as to certain changes in the architecture of Cedar Oaks. Most remembered an ell on the northeast corner of the house that functioned as a kitchen, although none could recall when it was built. Earliest recollections state that there was no inside access to this ell, although a connecting door was added later on and still survives. Some informants remember the house

as having been one and a half stories high with the upper story housing bedrooms. Access was provided by a stairway in the central hall (Minnerly 1983:31). However, no mention was made of this structural possibility in the architectural surveys. Informants also recalled fireplaces in each of the four main rooms with the ell kitchen having a flue for a woodstove. The chimneys were described as handmade brick with lime and sand mortar. The last original chimney fell off the house in the 1940s and is evidenced archaeologically by Feature 6, which was the remains of this fall. This chimney fall was not salvaged as were the original chimneys on the northern side of the house (Minnerly 1983:31, 68, 94 and 95).

Oral history informants also remembered two porches, one running the entire length of the house front and one on the southern side of the kitchen ell. The latter was removed in the 1940s when the ell was remodeled. This porch corresponds to Features 9, 11, and 12, which are all postmolds located in the central portion of Block 3 (Figure 41). They would have supported an east-west running porch that could have been attached to the kitchen ell (Minnerly 1983:71-73).

Informants also recalled the smokehouse which was located archaeologically as Feature 1 (Figure 41) (Minnerly 1983:61-65). It was remembered as a log structure with cedar shingles which functioned as a smokehouse and food storage shed. It was dismantled or fell down sometime in the early twentieth century and virtually all of the construction material was removed or salvaged. All that remains archaeologically is the bottom one to two courses of the brick foundation (Minnerly 1983:63; McClurken and Anderson 1981:561, 617, 619, 877, 882).

Informants also reported the existence of the artesian well to the west of the house which was used as the primary water source. They also recalled a small animal pen for lambs and kids near the smokehouse in the early twentieth century. Such a pen may be evidenced by Features 7, 37-39, 43, 44, and 60-63 and/or by Features 26, 31, 32 and 36 (Figure 41). All of these represent patterns of postmolds surrounding but not overlapping the smokehouse, Feature 1. The first group shows a somewhat squared configuration on the north side of the brick foundation, and the second group a more irregular configuration on the south side (Minnerly 1983:32, 65).

In summary, the archival and oral information for Cedar Oaks suggests a construction date in the late 1840s by occupants involved in Barton business ventures during the 1850s. Occupancy became more sporadic in the 1860s with the house possibly vacant for periods of time. It was occupied off and on after that with the Uithovens living there from the 1920s to the 1940s, when it functioned as a farmstead. It has been vacant ever since. Oral information filled in the written record with personal recollections of the house and its environs. All informants remembered the house in its present four-room and central hallway plan.

The archaeological results provided more detail on the architectural evolution and integrity of this house as the last remaining structure from the extinct town of Barton. Since no archaeological evidence

of the postulated original two-room plan of Cedar Oaks, was found, the following discussion will refer to the house in its four-room configuration.

The front of the house (west side) has changed only superficially, although the gallery has been refurbished in recent years with new flooring and two new replacement columns flanking the front door. Archaeological and oral information show that the present wooden steps onto the front gallery were recent replacements (Howard 1978:4; McClurkin and Anderson 1981:554-637). Postholes (Features 40, 58, and 59) for a previous front steps were uncovered underneath the present steps (Figure 41).

Excavations in the front yard (Block 5) revealed a brick walkway (Feature 27) in line with the front steps and extending westward to an opening in the western fenceline (Figure 41). It had been partially removed and had become almost completely overgrown. This feature was also parallel to a formal garden enclosure (Features 28-30 and 45, Figure 41) which consisted of two parallel one-course high brick walls around two circular brick flower beds. The manner and materials of construction and associated artifacts show that the walkway and garden enclosure were contemporaneous and in existence possibly in the mid-nineteenth century but definitely in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Table 62 shows that the majority of datable artifacts from these combined features date from 1860 to 1900.

The general date range breakdowns utilized in this table (and in Table 64 below) are based upon specific dates and ranges assigned to the broader categories of 1800-30, 1830-60, 1860-1900, and 1900-1940s. These specific dates and their assigned categories are presented in Table 63. Many of these artifacts (such as modern machine cut nails, wire nails and plain whiteware) have much longer date ranges than the category to which they were assigned. Plain Whiteware, a common artifact, overlaps both the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century categories. It was placed in the late nineteenth century range because its mid-range date falls into this period and most of the maker's marks identified at Cedar Oaks date from the late nineteenth century. These general date ranges (Table 63) were selected because they appear to best reflect periods associated with the rise and fall of Barton. The 1800-30 period is pre-Barton; artifacts from this time period may reflect reuse of curated or salvaged materials and/or a time lag in the arrival of new innovations into this area of Mississippi. The mid-range dates, 1830-60, include the heyday of Barton as a town; and the late period, 1860-1900, encompasses its decline and demise. The twentieth century range represents the Uithoven's ownership and occupation of Cedar Oaks.

Also uncovered in the vicinity of the garden enclosure were four postholes (Features 33, 35, 41 and 42). None of these was large enough to have supported a structure of any size and they most likely represent fenced areas related to the front garden. Features 34 and 50 in the front yard are consistent with this area having been used as a formal garden. Feature 34 is a round-bottomed circular pit located in the

Table 62. General date range breakdowns for features.

| Feature Number & Level # | Function of feature | Description of Stratigraphy | Percentage Early 19th century 1800-50 | Percentage Mid 19th century 1850-60 | Percentage Late 19th century 1860-1900 | Percentage 20th century 1900-1940's | Percentage of total feature assemblage | Percentage of previous column datable |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| <u>Feature 1</u> Level 1 | Smokehouse | 10YR3/2 to 5/1 loamy midden | | 62 | 36 | 2 | 73 | 29 |
| Level 2 | Smokehouse | 10YR5/4 very sandy loam feature midden | | 76 | 21 | 3 | 24 | 21 |
| Level 3 | Smokehouse | 7.5YR5/8 clay | | 100 | | | 3 | 14 |
| <u>Feature 3</u> Level 2 | Detached kitchen/shed | 10YR3/2 to 5/3 sandy clay loam w/charcoal & ash | 2 | 98 | | | 44 | 63 |
| Level 3 | Detached kitchen/shed | 10YR5/4 loose sand w/mortar throughout | | 91 | 9 | | 56 | 77 |
| <u>Feature 10</u> Level 1 | Detached kitchen/shed | 10YR3/2 slightly clayey sand w/ charcoal & mortar frags | 21 | 27 | 52 | | 83 | 8 |
| Level 3 | Detached kitchen/shed | 10YR3/2 slightly clayey sand w/mortar frags | 13 | 83 | 4 | | 27 | 49 |
| <u>Feature 4</u> | Brick stoop for back-door? | 10YR6/2 slightly clayey sand mottled w/charcoal | | 9 | 83 | 8 | 100 | 21 |
| <u>Feature 6</u> Level 1 | SW chimney fall | 10YR3/2 sandy loam w/ brick frags & mortar | | 33 | 46 | 21 | 47 | 18 |
| Level 2 | SW chimney fall | 10YR5/3 sandy loam w/ brick frags & mortar | | 30 | 30 | 20 | 33 | 13 |
| <u>Feature 21</u> Level 3 | Refuse midden under rear gallery | 10YR3/3 sandy loam | 1 | 85 | 14 | | 3 | 69 |
| Level 4 | Refuse midden under rear gallery | 10YR5/3 sandy loam w/ash, sand, charcoal & mortar concentrations | 1 | 68 | 27 | 4 | 40 | 40 |
| Level 5 | Refuse midden under rear gallery | | < 1 | 60 | 37 | 3 | 57 | 21 |
| <u>Feature 27-30 & 43</u> | Brick walkway & garden enclosure | 10YR3/2 to 5/3 sandy loam, some areas mottled | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Level 1 | Brick walkway & garden enclosure | W/clay (see Feat. descriptions - Phase II report) | | 35 | 52 | 13 | 23 | 25 |
| Level 2 | Brick walkway & garden enclosure | W/clay (see Feat. descriptions - Phase II report) | | 24 | 70 | 6 | 77 | 39 |
| <u>Feature 48</u> Level 1 | SW chimney fall | 10YR5/3 clayey sand | 2 | 49 | 38 | 11 | 57 | 42 |
| Level 2 | SW chimney fall | Mixed w/brick & mortar | | 53 | 37 | 10 | 43 | 40 |
| <u>Feature 49</u> | NW chimney remnant | 10YR3/2 sand w/brick & mortar concentrations | | 71 | 29 | | 100 | 34 |
| <u>Feature 53</u> Level 1 | Refuse area on northern slope | 10YR3/2 sandy loam w/large concentrations of brick & mortar | < 1 | 24 | 65 | 11 | 65 | 32 |
| Level 2 | Refuse area on northern slope | 10YR6/2 sandy loam w/fever bricks | | 56 | 43 | 1 | 29 | 48 |
| Level 3 | Refuse area on northern slope | 10YR6/3 A ₂ horizon | | 68 | 32 | | 6 | 43 |
| <u>Feature 57</u> Level 1 | Trash pit in NW corner of front yard | 10YR3/1 sandy loam w/thin layer of ash & charcoal | < 1 | 17 | 77 | 5 | 39 | 41 |
| Level 2 | Trash pit in NW corner of front yard | 10YR6/3 sandy loam | | 15 | 70 | 15 | 61 | 32 |

Table 63. Date ranges and references.

| General Date Range | Artifact | Date | Reference |
|---|--|------------------------|--|
| Early 19th century (1800-30) | Early machine cut nails | 1815-30 | Nelson 1968:6 |
| | Handwrought nails | Pre 1830 | Nelson 1968:6 |
| Mid 19th century (1830- 1860) | <u>Ceramics:</u> | | |
| | Transfer print whiteware | 1830-70 | Lofstrom 1976:34 Price 1979:31 Minnerly 1980 |
| | Flow blue whiteware | 1840-70 | Lofstrom 1976:9 Price 1979:31 Minnerly 1980 |
| | Annular decorated whiteware | 1830-70s | Lofstrom 1976:10 Price 1979:31 |
| | Shell-edged whiteware: | | |
| | "Arrow" | Ca. 1850-60s | Miller n.d. |
| | "Standard," scalloped | 1st 1/2 19th c. | |
| | Sponged/spattered whiteware | 1840s-60s | Price 1979:31 Lofstrom 1976:9 |
| | <u>Glass: Bottles</u> | | |
| | 2 pc. mold | Post 1840s | Lorraine 1968:43 |
| | Blowpipe pontil mark | Pre 1857 | Minnerly 1980 |
| | Sand-tipped pontil mark | Pre 1857 | Jones 1971:68-70 |
| | Applied lip (hand finished) | Pre 1860 | Minnerly 1980 |
| | Press-molded ("Lacy" pattern) | 1827-50 | Lorraine 1968:43 |
| | Pre-chilled iron mold | Pre 1870 | Lorraine 1968:44 |
| | <u>General:</u> | | |
| | Modern machine cut nails | Post 1830 | Nelson 1968:6 |
| Late 19th century (1860- 1900) | <u>Ceramics:</u> | | |
| | Plain whiteware | 1840s-early 20th c. | South 1977:211 Lofstrom 1976:10 Price 1979:22 |
| | Shell-edged whiteware: | | |
| | Painted-not impressed | ca. 1850-80s | Miller n.d. |
| | "Standard"-unscalloped | 2nd 1/2 19th c. | |
| | Sponge stamped whiteware | 1850-70s | Price 1979:31 |
| | Decalcomania ("Decal Ware") whiteware | Late 19th- 20th c. | Wegars & Carley 1982:6-8 |
| | <u>Glass: Bottles</u> | | |
| | Applied lip (lipping tool finished) | 1850-1903 | Lorraine 1968:43 |
| | Snapcase | Post 1857 | Lorraine 1968:44 |
| | Mason jar w/zinc cap | Post 1858 | Lorraine 1968:44 Lief 1965:12 |
| | "Mason" jar distributed by Ball Bros. | Post 1880 | Reher 1977:237 |
| | Panel bottles w/embossed lettering | Post 1867 | Lorraine 1968:44 |
| | <u>Glass:</u> | | |
| | Press-molded, fire polished | Post 1850 | Lorraine 1968:43 |
| | Kerosene lamps appear | 1860s | Lorraine 1968:44 Scoville 1948:47 |
| | Jar lid liner for screw-on lids | Post 1869 | Munsey 1970:146 |
| | Light bulb patented | 1879 | Lorraine 1968:44 |
| | Lightning fastener patented | 1882 | Lief 1965:13 |
| | Solarized (Manganese) bottle glass | 1880-1915 | Munsey 1970:55 |
| | <u>General:</u> | | |
| | Wire nails | Post 1850 | Nelson 1968:6 |
| | Barbed wire patented | 1867 | Munsey 1970:292 McCallum and McCallum 1965:244 |
| 20th century (1900-40s) | <u>Glass:</u> | | |
| | Machine-made bottles | Post 1903 | Lorraine 1968:44 |
| | "Coca-Cola," hobble- skirt design | 1915 | Munsey 1970:105-6 |
| | Applied color labeling | Post 1930s | Munsey 1970:52 |
| | "Federal Law Forbids sale or reuse of this bottle" embossing | 1933-64 | Munsey 1970:126 |
| | Glass bus candy container embossed w/"Victory Lines/Special" | 1940-45 | Munsey 1970:189 |
| | <u>General:</u> | | |
| | Crown caps | Post 1892 | Lorraine 1968:44 Lief 1965:17 |
| | Tin can w/locked double seam | Post 1897 | Busch 1981:103 |
| | Beverage can pull tab | Post 1962 | Busch 1981:103 |
| | Automobile parts | Post 1908 | Smith 1957:32 |
| | Plastic | 20th century | Kaufman 1963:74 |

southeast corner of the garden enclosure (Figure 41) and Feature 50 is a smaller pit in the north-east corner. Both show heavy root disturbance and appear to be holes dug for shrubs or small trees.

The sides of the house (north and south) revealed structural evidence of the original chimneys. Features 6, 48, and 49 were the south-east, southwest, and northwest chimneys, respectively (Figure 41). The first two are large chimney falls and rubble on the southern side of the house. The southwest chimney base has been obliterated by the concrete pad of the standing chimney, but the southeast chimney has remained as it fell on its original base. The northwest chimney was evidenced only by a rectangular stain where its base had been set. The bricks had been entirely removed. No clear indication was found of the northeast chimney, although its existence is attested to by the architectural features within the house (Howard 1978:3; Newton 1980:9). Since no evidence of previous chimneys or structures was uncovered in these areas, Features 6, 48, and 49 must represent the original chimneys. The bricks and mortar of Features 6 and 48 are identical, further proof of their contemporaneity. Brick rubble recovered from a refuse dump on the northern slope (Feature 53), also identical in composition, is believed to be the bricks from the northern chimneys.

Excavations at the back of the house (Block 3) revealed numerous features indicating greater architectural changes in this area. All, however, appear to be evolutionary changes related to this particular structure and not indications of earlier houses.

Perhaps most significant to the integrity of this structure is Feature 47, which was a wooden pier uncovered next to, and in line with, a standing brick pier on the southeast portion of the house (Figure 41). It suggests that the house was once supported (in part, or wholly) by large wooden piers which were replaced by brick ones once they decayed. The use of a variety of different pier materials on the same structure is not an unheard-of practice and a 1913 double pen house with a rear ell found in the Bay Springs study area "sat upon various types of piers including log stumps, brick and concrete" (Smith et al. 1982:66).

This particular pier was replaced sometime in the mid to late nineteenth century but no later, as the refuse of Feature 21 entirely covered this wooden pier remnant. Table 62 shows that the majority of datable material from Feature 21 comes from the mid-nineteenth century with a smaller proportion dating from the late nineteenth century. The mixture of dates from early nineteenth to the twentieth century indicates a great deal of disturbance in this area. In fact, the majority of artifacts are architectural in function (see Table 65 below), indicating remodeling of one sort or another in this area.

Three structural additions to the back of the house were evidenced by Features 8, 9, 11, 12, 14-19, and 23 (Figure 41). Features 14, 16, 17, and 23 were all in a north-south line parallel to the house and appear to indicate a rear full-length gallery, the presence of which was speculated upon by Newton (1980:6). Feature 21 represents refuse swept and/or dumped underneath such a structure.

Features 8, 15, and possibly 14 and 16 may have supported the ell that was known to have been attached to the northeast corner of the house during the very late nineteenth or early twentieth century (McClurken and Anderson 1981:561-562, 877, 880). Features 9, 11, and 12 represent a porch running east-west that would have been attached to this ell. The porch extended out from the central folding doors of the house. Its existence was also indicated in oral accounts (McClurken and Anderson 1981:562, 880). The archaeological and oral information indicate that the ell and east-west porch postdate the rear gallery, which may have been original to the house construction.

Feature 4, also located behind the house, is evidence of a brick stoop in front of the central doorway. This was also confirmed by oral information (Howard 1978:3) and was probably in existence at the turn of the century after the rear gallery had been removed and before the ell and porch were built.

The relatively shallow midden in the vicinity of this ell, which averaged 10.7 cm, compared to 14 to 26 cm elsewhere in the backyard area, further indicates the long-term presence of structures and/or an area kept clean of refuse. This midden also dates primarily from the late nineteenth century with a smaller proportion of mid-nineteenth century material (Table 64). This would most likely have been deposited before this ell addition was built, with the ell then inhibiting further deposition until its removal in the twentieth century.

The only driplines uncovered were related to the present house. Two were found in the area behind the house, one corresponding to the present metal roofline and the other 10 cm closer to the house and corresponding to the earlier shingled roof.

All in all, the combined oral, archival, architectural and archaeological information strongly suggests that this house is indeed original to this site. Even though it may have undergone a transformation from a two room to a four room plan, it retains its historic significance and integrity as the last remaining standing structure from Barton. Artifacts recovered (Tables 62 and 64) do cover the mid-nineteenth century when Barton was first platted, and a construction date around this same time period is very feasible. The low amount of early nineteenth century material would argue against an earlier construction date, as would archival data and some architectural opinions.

Activity Areas and Site Use

Results concerning activity areas and site use through time utilize data from sources that were primarily oral and archaeological. Two former outbuildings were located during Phases I and II. These were a smokehouse (Feature 1) and a detached kitchen/shed (Features 3 and 10) (Figure 41). These buildings, along with the standing shed, privy, and well, constitute the major structural features closely associated with this house site, and all are located in the backyard area. No structural evidence was detected in the front or side areas of the house other than that connected with the house itself. Two small barns

Table 64. General date range breakdowns for non-features.

| Block or Unit Number w/Level No. | Comments & Associations | Description of Stratigraphy | Percentage Early 19th century (1800-30) | Percentage Mid-19th century (1830-60) | Percentage Late 19th century (1860-1900) | Percentage 20th century (1900-40s) | Percentage of total block or unit artifact assemblage | Percentage of previous column datable |
|----------------------------------|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Block 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Level 1 | Contained Feat. 1. (Smokehouse) | Sandy loam midden | 1 | 64 | 34 | 1 | 74 | 37 |
| Level 2 | Level 2 & 3 more closely assoc. with Feat. 1 | Shallow A ₂ horizon remnants | 1 | 82 | 16 | 1 | 18 | 36 |
| Level 3 | Level 2 & 3 more closely assoc. with Feat. 1 | Anomalous areas persisting into B horizon clay | | 70 | 28 | 2 | 8 | 24 |
| Block 2 | | | | | | | | |
| Level 1 | Contained Feats. 3 & 10 (detached kitchen or shed) | Sandy loam midden | 1 | 47 | 49 | 3 | 72 | 43 |
| Level 2 | Lower levels more closely assoc. with this structure | A ₂ horizon remnant w/anomalous areas | 2 | 55 | 42 | 1 | 26 | 25 |
| Level 3 | Lower levels more closely assoc. with this structure | Anomalous areas which persist into the B horizon clay | 18 | 27 | 55 | | 2 | 9 |
| Block 3 - Northern units | | | | | | | | |
| Level 1 | Relatively shallow midden, area over which kitchen ell once stood | Shallow, sandy loam midden | < 1 | 16 | 75 | 9 | 37 | 47 |
| Level 2 | Relatively shallow midden, area over which kitchen ell once stood | Shallow A ₂ horizon remnants & anomalous areas | - | 21 | 77 | 2 | 51 | 41 |
| Level 3 | Relatively shallow midden, area over which kitchen ell once stood | Anomalous areas persisting into B horizon clay | - | 14 | 86 | < 1 | 12 | 37 |
| Block 3 - Southern units | | | | | | | | |
| Level 1 | Deep midden, area, contains rear gallery & Feature 21 (refuse midden) | Sandy loam midden | 1 | 39 | 57 | 3 | 36 | 30 |
| Level 2 | Deep midden, area, contains rear gallery & Feature 21 (refuse midden) | A ₂ horizon remnants & anomalous areas & lighter brown midden | 1 | 46 | 51 | 2 | 27 | 35 |
| Level 3 | Deep midden, area, contains rear gallery & Feature 21 (refuse midden) | Anomalous areas persisting into B horizon clay | 1 | 60 | 38 | 1 | 37 | 31 |
| Block 4 | | | | | | | | |
| Level 1 | Contains Feats. 6 & 48 (southern chimney falls) | Sandy loam midden w/ tremendous concentrations of brick & mortar | - | 51 | 45 | 4 | 67 | 18 |
| Level 2 | Contains Feats. 6 & 48 (southern chimney falls) | Anomalous areas into B horizon clay | - | 14 | 84 | 2 | 33 | 22 |
| Block 5 | | | | | | | | |
| Level 1 | Shallow midden, contains front yard walkway & garden enclosure | Shallow, sandy loam midden | - | 23 | 64 | 13 | 37 | 31 |
| Level 2 | Shallow midden, contains front yard walkway & garden enclosure | Shallow remnants of A ₂ horizon and anomalous areas | < 1 | 24 | 68 | 8 | 43 | 18 |

Table 44: General date range breakdowns for non-features. (con't.)

| Block or Unit Number w/Level No. | Comments & Associations | Description of Stratigraphy | Percentage Early 19th century (1800-30) | Percentage Mid-19th century (1830-60) | Percentage Late 19th century (1860-1900) | Percentage 20th century (1900-60s) | Percentage of total block or unit artifact assemblage | Percentage of previous column datable |
|----------------------------------|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Level 3 | Shallow midden, contains front yard walkway & garden enclosure | Anomalous areas persisting into B horizon clay | - | 24 | 68 | 8 | 20 | 18 |
| <u>Block 4</u> Level 1 | Contains remains of Feat. 49 (NW chimney) | Shallow sandy loam midden | | 37 | 49 | 14 | 47 | 26 |
| Level 2 | Contains remains of Feat. 49 (NW chimney) | A ₁ horizon remnant & anomalous areas | | 38 | 34 | 8 | 33 | 28 |
| <u>Block 7</u> Level 1 | Contains Feat. 53 (refuse midden on northern slope) | Sandy loam midden & elsewhere concentrations of brick & mortar | | 14 | 80 | 6 | 37 | 28 |
| Level 2 | Contains Feat. 53 (refuse midden on northern slope) This second level is actually the level below Feat. 53 | A ₂ horizon (relatively thick underneath Feat. 53) | | 37 | 42 | 1 | 63 | 41 |
| <u>Unit 85</u> Level 1 | North of Block 1 in backyard area | Sandy loam midden | | 48 | 50 | 2 | 42 | 43 |
| Level 2 | North of Block 1 in backyard area | Shallow A ₂ horizon & anomalous areas | | 81 | 19 | < 1 | 58 | 62 |
| <u>Unit 86</u> Level 1 | Extreme SE corner of site, contains post-molds of eastern fence-line | Sandy loam midden | - | 35 | 39 | 6 | 35 | 26 |
| Level 2 | Extreme SE corner of site, contains post-molds of eastern fence-line | A ₂ horizon remnant & anomalous areas | - | 75 | 25 | - | 65 | 41 |
| <u>Unit 87</u> Level 1 | 4 m east of Block 1 in SE corner of site | Sandy loam midden | - | 74 | 17 | 9 | 13 | 32 |
| Level 2 | 4 m east of Block 1 in SE corner of site | Clayey sand (no A ₂ horizon) | - | 69 | 30 | 1 | 87 | 41 |
| <u>Unit 89</u> Level 1 | Extreme NW corner of site contains Feat. 57 | Sandy loam midden | < 1 | 31 | 63 | 6 | 85 | 46 |
| Level 2 | Extreme NW corner of site contains Feat. 57 | Clay backfill from Feat. 57 (trash pit) | - | 68 | 32 | - | 13 | 19 |
| Level 3 | Extreme NW corner of site contains Feat. 57 | Well developed A ₂ horizon | - | - | 100 | - | 2 | 11 |
| <u>Unit 90</u> Level 1 | NE portion of yard in plowed area | Shallow sandy loam midden | - | 67 | 33 | | 5 | 16 |
| Level 2 | NE portion of yard in plowed area | Well-developed A ₂ horizon | - | 77 | 22 | < 1 | 95 | 56 |
| <u>Unit 91</u> Level 1 | NE slope (20th c. refuse dump) | Sandy loam midden | - | 27 | 65 | 8 | 12 | 29 |
| Level 2 | NE slope (20th c. refuse dump) | A ₂ horizon + anomalous areas | - | 60 | 27 | 13 | 88 | 24 |

Table 64. General date range breakdowns for non-features. (con't.)

| Block or Unit Number or Level No. | Comments & Associations | Description of Stratigraphy | Percentage Early 19th century (1800-30) | Percentage Mid-19th century (1830-60) | Percentage Late 19th century (1860-1900) | Percentage 20th century (1900-40s) | Percentage of total block or unit artifact assemblage | Percentage of previous column datable |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| <u>Unit 95</u> Level 1 | 6 m west of Block 1 (backyard area) | Clay fill overburden | - | 30 | 42 | 8 | 4 | 37 |
| Level 2 | 6 m west of Block 1 (backyard area) | Sandy loam midden | 1 | 38 | 41 | < 1 | 87 | 46 |
| Level 3 | 6 m west of Block 1 (backyard area) | A ₂ horizon + anomalous areas | - | 78 | 22 | | 9 | 65 |
| <u>Unit 96</u> Level 1 | Extreme SW corner of site next to southern fence line | Sandy loam midden | - | 39 | 35 | 6 | 82 | 29 |
| Level 2 | Southern repeat | A ₂ horizon remnant | - | 13 | 87 | | 18 | 14 |
| <u>Unit 98</u> Level 1 | 1 x 2 m unit on western side | Sandy loam midden | - | 14 | 77 | 9 | 39 | 37 |
| Level 2 | Front fence line | A ₂ horizon remnant | - | 40 | 60 | | 41 | 26 |
| <u>Unit 99</u> Level 1 | SE corner of site - 1 x 2 m unit | Midden on top of B horizon clay | | 23 | 30 | 23 | 100 | 22 |

located 130 m northwest of Cedar Oaks were used as outbuildings of the house during the twentieth century (Minnerly 1983:32).

The standing shed, located approximately 7 m east of the northeast corner of the house (Figure 39), was constructed in the twentieth century out of materials salvaged from the rear ell (Howard 1978). The privy, approximately 22 m east-northeast of the house, was also of twentieth century construction. No previous privies were found on this house site and may either be nonexistent or located off the site grid. It may be, in the case of Cedar Oaks, that occupants did not have specially dug facilities. Oral history in the study of the Bay Springs farmsteads suggests general use of woods for toilet facilities, resulting in a paucity of privy features (Smith, et al. 1982:57, 222). A septic tank was put in on the south side of the house (Figure 39) but this was a very recent improvement and is not related to any of the occupations of Cedar Oaks.

The open brick-lined well was nineteenth century in construction, and is situated 16 m east of the house between the shed and privy. Oral sources indicate that this was not the major water source in the twentieth century; rather, an artesian well west of the house served as the primary water source (McClurken and Anderson 1981:562, 619, 883-884).

The smokehouse uncovered was a rectangular brick foundation oriented on the same axis as the house (Figure 42). This outbuilding is located 20 m east and slightly south of the house (Figure 41) and functioned as a smokehouse and shed until it was destroyed and salvaged. Oral and archaeological information indicate that this building was in existence in the mid-to late nineteenth century but was destroyed in the very late nineteenth or early twentieth century. It was completely covered over by a shallow midden layer. It was a log structure set upon a solid brick foundation that may have been several feet high in order to keep animals out. The foundation was also partially destroyed by plowing along its southern half (McClurken and Anderson 1981:561, 617, 619, 877, 882).

Table 62 shows that the majority of datable artifacts from Feature 1 are within the mid-nineteenth century range. This is especially clear in the lower levels where they are more closely associated with this feature as a functioning structure. The mixture of materials in the upper levels can be related to disturbances from plowing in the southern half of Block 1 and animal rooting.

Table 65 presents artifact breakdowns by function from major structural or refuse feature assemblages. The nine categories used were as follows: 1) ceramic and glass tableware--this included all whitewares, fine stonewares and porcelain dishes (i.e., cups, plates, saucers, bowls, pitchers) as well as glass table items such as tumblers, bowls, goblets, containers, etc. (many of these glass items were press-molded); 2) utilitarian ceramics--consisted of coarse earthenwares and stonewares in the form of crocks, jugs, mixing bowls, churns, etc.; 3) bottle glass--all glass fragments and whole vessels that could be identified as bottle pieces of any function (i.e., unidentified,

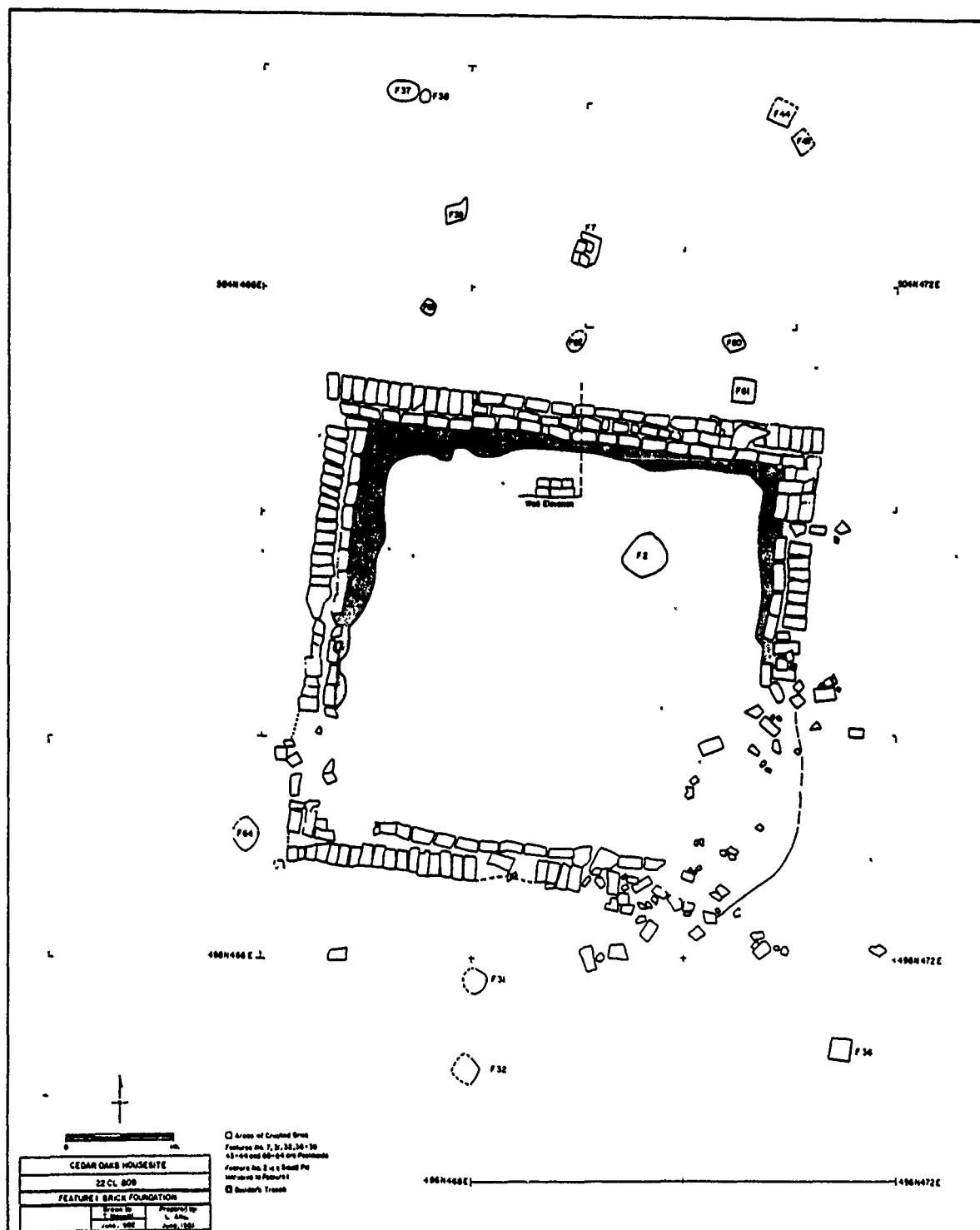


Figure 42. Feature 1 (brick foundation).

| Feature Number | Description | Area excavated in m ² | Ceramic & glass tableware | Utilitarian ceramics | Bottle glass | Foodstuff related material | Clothing & personal items | Architectural-nails, window glass, brick, etc | Hardware-metal | Faunal-bone & shell | Misc. glass, ceramic & metal | Total number of artifacts |
|----------------|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---|----------------|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Brick foundation (smokehouse) | < 25m ² | 7 | 2 | 23 | . | | 44 | 1 | 10 | 13 | 1,198 |
| 3 | Brick concentrations w/assoc. middens (Pier supports for detached kitchen or shed) | approx. 7m ² | 9 | | 7 | | 2 | 78 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 160 |
| 10 | (Pier supports for detached kitchen or shed) | approx. 7m ² | 4 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 73 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 412 |
| 4 | Double row of brick near central back doorway | < 1m ² | 5 | 1 | 11 | | 1 | 68 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 359 |
| 6 | SE chimney fall | approx. 13m ² | 2 | 4 | 25 | 4 | 1 | 50 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 285 |
| 21 | Refuse midden, possibly once under a veranda | approx. 12m ² | 4 | 1 | 13 | 4 | 1 | 59 | 3 | 2 | 13 | 4,568 |
| 27-30 45 | Brick front walk, & adjacent brick garden enclosure | < 7m ² | 3 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 64 | 3 | 6 | 14 | 453 |
| 48 | SW chimney fall | approx. 4m ² | 2 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 4 | 61 | 2 | 1 | 15 | 345 |
| 49 | NW chimney remnant | < 1m ² | 2 | | 16 | | | 74 | | | 8 | 62 |
| 53 | Refuse area on northern slope | 12m ² | 13 | 1 | 25 | 12 | 1 | 35 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 6,382 |
| 57 | Refuse pit in front yard | approx. 2m ² | 3 | 1 | 17 | 13 | 1 | 36 | 4 | 2 | 23 | 2,137 |

Table 65. Functional breakdown of artifacts for selected features by percentages.

perfume, ink, etc.); 4) foodstuff related material--this consisted of all items, regardless of materials that were positively related to food storage, preparation, consumption (e.g.) Mason jars, jar lid liners, milk bottles, identifiable tin cans, spoons, forks, knives, butcher-cut bones, seeds and pits); 5) clothing and personal items--all clothing attachments and personal artifacts such as buttons, snaps, rivets, eyelets, shoes, fabric, combs, watches, eyeglasses, jewelry, buckles, thimbles, smoking pipes, mirrors, scissors, etc.; 6) architectural--includes nails, window glass, brick and mortar samples; 7) metal hardware--braces, tools, machinery parts, vehicle parts, etc; 8) faunal--all non-modified material; and 9) miscellaneous glass, ceramic and metal--all those items that were for the most part, unidentifiable as to function. Any artifact could only be assigned to one category, although ceramic and glass tableware, utilitarian wares, and some bottles were also used in foodstuff related activities. They were placed in separate categories because the large numbers of tablewares, utilitarian wares and bottles that were recovered might be more significant than if they were considered in separate categories.

In examining Table 65 for Feature 1 one can see that a sizeable percentage (44 percent) is architectural in function. This is to be expected since this structure was torn or fell down. The next highest percentage consists of bottle glass (23 percent) and this too is expected as the smokehouse also functioned as a storage shed. The most telling percentage is that of faunal remains (10 percent) especially when compared to faunal remains in the other features. If this feature were a smokehouse then higher proportions of bone and shell remains could be expected.

Chapter 13 of this report by Terrance J. Martin is a detailed faunal analysis of the Cedar Oaks assemblage. Martin noted that Feature 1 yielded 40.1 percent of all animal remains from the site, and exhibited the third highest concentration of bone and shell at 39.2 g per m². It also yielded the greatest number of pig elements (45 percent), oyster shells (70 percent), and fish remains (38 percent) and the second highest number of freshwater mussel shells (22 percent).

The presence of a small proportion of tablewares (7 percent) and utilitarian wares (2 percent) can also be related to this feature having functioned as a smokehouse/storage shed. The presence of utilitarian wares is to be expected as crocks and jugs were food storage containers. However, the presence of tablewares may be related either to dishes being transported out to the smokehouse to bring in food items for consumption, some of which may have been broken in the process, or items deposited after the structure no longer existed and which were mixed with the feature assemblage through plowing and animal disturbances.

The total absence of items in the foodstuff-related category has more to do with the high proportion of unidentifiable items (13 percent) than with the total lack of this material in Feature 1. No clothing or personal items were found in this feature, adding to the conclusion that it functioned as a smokehouse/food storage shed and was not the locus of domestic living related activity.

The area immediately surrounding the brick foundation showed patterns of postholes indicating an addition to the smokehouse or fenced areas on its north and south sides (Figure 42). None of these postholes intrudes into Feature 1 nor appears to have been contemporaneous with it. Oral accounts do indicate that small animals were penned next to this structure during the early years of this century and some or all of the postholes on the northern side are likely to have supported this fencing (Minnerly 1983:32).

The other outbuilding discovered during this investigation was a kitchen and/or shed located next to and slightly underneath the standing shed (Figure 41). This structure was evidenced by two collapsed brick piers (Features 3 and 10) and an associated midden. Table 62 shows that the majority of datable material from these two features is mid-nineteenth century with a sizeable proportion of earlier material in Feature 10. No twentieth century material was found in the feature fill. This suggests that the structure was in existence from the mid to the late nineteenth century and probably was built when the house was first constructed. It was torn or fell down in the late nineteenth century. None of the oral informants have any recollection of a structure in this area.

The early date range component of artifacts consists of early type machine cut nails. These may indicate either that this structure was built of materials salvaged from an earlier building or that there was still access to early machine cut nails even though a more modern type had been invented by the time this structure was built. Newton (1980:5) does note that the machine cut nails used to construct the house are also of this earlier type. This further supports the theory that both of these structures were built at the same time.

Functionally, this structure may have been a detached kitchen. The presence of such structures is fairly common in warmer climes such as the southern United States, due in part to the lesser need for the extra warmth a kitchen inside a house provided. It would have been far more comfortable for a kitchen to be apart from the house yet close enough for easy access. Detached kitchens have been identified at higher status homes such as Limerick Plantation (Lees 1980:119) and the Kershaw home (Lewis 1977:64) in South Carolina as well as at lower status homes such as that found at the Maria de la Cruz Site in St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 1983:111). Ken Lewis (1977:64) noted that "comparative archaeological evidence indicates that separate kitchen structures were generally situated just to the rear of larger dwellings" and that many of them are located "nearest the left rear corner of the house." This holds true for the location of this structure at Cedar Oaks. As this structure appears to have been contemporaneous with the original construction of the house, it would have been somewhat further away from it, had the original configuration of the house corresponded to Brito's (1983) floor plan (Figure 40). If so, it would still have been to the rear but more centrally located in relation to the house.

Table 65 shows that once again the largest proportion of artifacts is related to architectural functions. This too is in keeping with the fact that this structure (Features 3 and 10) was destroyed. The next

highest proportions consist of tablewares (9 percent and 4 percent, respectively for Features 3 and 10) and bottle glass (7 percent and 8 percent, respectively). Smaller proportions of all the remaining categories are also present. The higher percentages of tablewares and bottles lends credence to the theory that this functioned as a kitchen as both categories would have been common items related to kitchen activities (i.e., food preparation, cooking, consumption, and storage). Martin's faunal analysis (Chapter 13) revealed that

Although only 5.9 percent of the total faunal assemblage was obtained from (Block 2 and Features 3 and 10), the density of 42.4 g of shell and bone per square meter of excavated area was the second highest at the site. Oyster shell was the predominant animal remain in this area of the site and occurred along with pig teeth, mussel shells, a turtle element, one chicken bone, one cattle bone and several unidentified mammal bones.

Added to this is the presence of charcoal and ash concentrations in the feature fill. These deposits are likely the result of cooking activity and either dropped through the floor or were purposefully thrown out around and underneath the kitchen. All of these data are consistent with this structure having functioned at one time as a kitchen.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the ell attached to the rear of the northeast corner of the house functioned as the kitchen (McClurken and Anderson 1981:561-562, 877, 880). This structure is possibly evidenced by Features 8, and 14-16 although 14 and 16 appear more closely associated with 17 and 23 as evidence of a rear full-length gallery. It is best evidenced, however, by the shallow midden found in the northern half of Block 3 (the large block immediately behind the house (see Figure 39). This midden is on the average much thinner than that found in the southern half of this same block and elsewhere in the backyard up to and slightly beyond Feature 1 (Figure 39). This indicates an area that was either kept much cleaner than the rest of the backyard or had a structure over it for a period of time inhibiting midden development.

Block 3 was analyzed in two separate listings (see Table 64) with northern units comprising one and southern units the other. This was done because there appeared to be major differences in midden depth between these two areas. The majority of datable artifacts from all levels are from the late nineteenth century. This may indicate that the rear ell was not built until the very late nineteenth or, more likely, early twentieth century. The smaller proportions of mid-nineteenth century artifacts indicates that this area was kept relatively clean during this time period. The sweeping or hoeing of yards to keep them clear of refuse was a common practice in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Oral accounts of this practice surrounding the house have been noted by Adams (1980:216, 225) and Smith et al. (1982:53, 57, 217). This clearing was done in the area around the house as it was often "the scene of many outdoor activities" (Adams 1980:225).

Besides the evidence of outbuildings as loci for certain activities, other data obtained during this investigation can be related to other activity areas. Tables 65 and 66 will be referred to along with an artifact density scale devised specifically for this site. It is as follows:

Sterile = 0 artifacts/per unit excavated
 Sparse = 1 to 400 artifacts/per unit
 Moderate = 400-1500 artifacts/per unit
 Dense = 1500-4600+ artifacts/per unit

This scale does not include feature assemblages and was based upon gaps that were perceived visually by the author between certain ranges of artifact totals as they occurred in considering all the units excavated.

In general, the backyard area appears to have been the main area of activity for the entire occupation span of Cedar Oaks. The deepest sheet midden (10-30 cm in depth) is found in this area (Figure 39), as well as the major outbuildings (i.e., shed, kitchen, privy, and smokehouse). In all of the excavated areas of this portion of the site (i.e. Blocks 1-3, and Units 85, 87 and 95) the functional breakdowns (Table 66) show architectural items and bottle glass in the largest proportions. This can, however, be said for most of the site and is due to the preservability of nails over other items and the disposable nature of bottles over tablewares, which would have been more carefully curated. Certain functional breakdowns can, however, be noted in th's backyard area.

Block 1 which surrounds the smokehouse, has a moderate artifact density and shows relatively high proportions of tableware, utilitarian wares, foodstuff material, and faunal remains, all of which are in keeping with this area as a locus for food preparation and storage activities. The sheet midden here is an average of 15.8 cm in depth and all stratigraphic levels show a higher proportion of mid-nineteenth century artifacts (Table 64). The same holds true for Unit 87 which is located 4 m east of this block. A garden area was noted along the southern portion of this block running east-west. This was evidenced by plow scars and onion bulbs still growing in concentrations in this area. This garden postdates the smokehouse and is twentieth century in date.

Block 2, which contains the detached kitchen, has a moderate artifact density and shows relatively high proportions of tableware and foodstuff related items (Table 66). This also is in keeping with this area having been a kitchen activity area. The sheet midden here is an average of 18.2 cm and has a higher proportion of mid to late nineteenth material. Lower levels show relatively similar proportions, with Level 3 having a sizeable percentage of early nineteenth century material (Table 64). A fenceline along the southern wall of this block (Feature 13) indicates the presence of an animal pen or separated garden area in the vicinity. As it was just beneath the sod it is most likely twentieth century in date.

The northern half of Block 3 has been discussed previously and has a moderate artifact density with higher proportions of bottle glass and

| Block or Unit Number | Location & associations | Area excavated in m ² | Ceramic & glass tableware | Utilitarian ceramics | Bottle glass | Foodstuff related material | Clothing & personal items | Architectural-nails, windowglass, brick, mortar, etc. | Hardware-metal | Faunal-bone & shell | Misc. glass, ceramic & metal | Total number of artifacts |
|----------------------|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---|----------------|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Block 1 | SE portion of site, contains Feature 1 (smokehouse) | 104m ² | 6 | 2 | 22 | 3 | 1 | 46 | 4 | 4 | 12 | 18,913 |
| Block 2 | Off SE corner of standing shed, contains Feature 3 & 10 (detached kitchen/shed) | 24m ² | 11 | 1 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 57 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 5,800 |
| Block 3 | Northern units behind house, contains evidence of ell kitchen | 38m ² | 5 | 1 | 16 | 2 | 1 | 52 | 3 | 2 | 18 | 13,745 |
| Block 3 | Southern units behind house, contains Feat. 21 (refuse midden) | 54m ² | 4 | 1 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 57 | 2 | 2 | 17 | 31,982 |
| Block 4 | South side of house, contains Feat. 6 and 48 (chimney falls) | 22m ² | 2 | < 1 | 21 | 6 | 2 | 54 | 2 | 3 | 10 | 698 |
| Block 5 | Front yard, contains brick wall & garden enclosure | 68m ² | 2 | < 1 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 66 | 4 | 1 | 16 | 9,490 |
| Block 6 | Northern side of house, contains Feat. 49 (chimney) | 10m ² | 3 | < 1 | 13 | 1 | 1 | 70 | 4 | < 1 | 7 | 607 |
| Block 7 | Northern slope-large refuse area | 12m ² | 15 | < 1 | 26 | 8 | 1 | 37 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 958 |

Table 66. Functional breakdown of non-feature artifacts by percentages.

Table 66. Functional breakdown of non-feature artifacts by percentages. (con't.)

| Block or Unit Number | Location & associations | Area excavated in m ² | Ceramic & glass tableware | Utilitarian ceramics | Bottle glass | Foodstuff related material | Clothing & personal items | Architectural-nails, windowglass, brick, mortar, etc. | Hardware-metal | Faunal-bone & shell | Misc. glass, ceramic & metal | Total number of artifacts |
|----------------------|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---|----------------|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Unit 86 | 16 m east of Block 1 in extreme SE corner of site (Feat. 56, pm) | 4m ² | 13 | 3 | 15 | . | 1 | 49 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 184 |
| Unit 87 | 4 m east of Block 1 in SE corner of site | 4m ² | 12 | 5 | 26 | 1 | < 1 | 41 | 2 | < 1 | 14 | 548 |
| Unit 89 | 6-8 m NW of house in extreme NW corner of site (contains Feat. 57, a trash pit) | 4m ² | 2 | < 1 | 28 | 4 | < 1 | 46 | 5 | < 1 | 14 | 679 |
| Unit 89 | 6-8 m NW of house in extreme NW corner of site (contains Feat. 57, a trash pit) | 4m ² | 2 | < 1 | 28 | 4 | < 1 | 46 | 5 | < 1 | 14 | 679 |
| Unit 90 | NE portion of site, near plowed area | 4m ² | 11 | 2 | 23 | < 1 | < 1 | 52 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 403 |
| Unit 91 | Northeastern slope, contains 20th century trash dump | 4m ² | 8 | < 1 | 6 | 16 | 22 | 30 | 3 | < 1 | 15 | 648 |
| Unit 95 | 6 m west of Block 1, backyard area | 4m ² | 8 | 3 | 19 | < 1 | < 1 | 56 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 900 |
| Unit 96 | Extreme SW corner of site, next to southern fenceline | 4m ² | 5 | 1 | 28 | < 1 | 1 | 49 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 1,186 |
| Unit 98 | Western side of front yard, fenceline | 2m ² | 3 | 4 | 18 | 12 | < 1 | 41 | 6 | 2 | 14 | 446 |
| Unit 99 | Southeast corner of site, no midden layer | 2m ² | 11 | | 17 | 22 | 6 | 28 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 18 |

tableware (Table 66). The sheet midden is an average of 10.7 cm deep and predominantly late nineteenth century in date (Table 64). This was the locus for kitchen activities in the twentieth century and was probably swept clean before that.

The southern half of Block 3, on the other hand, has a dense amount of artifacts and a midden that is 14.2 cm in average depth. Functional breakdowns are virtually the same for both parts of Block 3, indicating the same general activities, with the southern half collecting greater numbers of artifacts. This can be related to Feature 21 (Figure 41) which is a large refuse deposit in the Southwest portion of this block. Table 64 shows a date of mid- to late nineteenth century with the lower levels showing a higher proportion of mid-nineteenth century material. A garden area, running east-west, was also evidenced in the extreme southern portion of this block. This showed as plow scars below the midden and may be mid-to late nineteenth century in date.

Units 85 and 95 (Figure 39) also show relatively deep middens (10 to 26 cm), moderate artifact densities and a mid- to late nineteenth century date (Table 64). Neither area shows any indication of specific activities.

The perimeters of the backyard area of this housesite revealed several activity areas and the sheet midden is much lighter in color and on the average shallower (8 to 12 cm). Artifact densities range from moderate to sparse with dates from the mid- to late nineteenth century for Units 86 and 90 and mid-nineteenth to twentieth century for Unit 91 (Table 64). The latter is the locus of a twentieth century refuse dumping area along the eastern slope. Functional breakdowns show unexpectedly high proportions of tableware in both Units 86 and 90 (Table 66). Their distance from the house would lead one to expect lower proportions in this category. For Unit 91, Table 66 shows high proportions of clothing and personal items and foodstuff related materials because of the large number of rubber boots, leather shoes, and canning jars discarded in the twentieth century dump.

A plow zone in the extreme northeast and eastern portions of this site indicate that the fields, at least in the twentieth century, reached up to the house's edges. A posthole (Feature 56) found in Unit 86 may be evidence of a fenceline separating the yard from these fields. Its direction, however, is unknown.

Along the southern edge of the backyard a layer of clay was found overlying the midden (Figure 39). This cap of clay appears to be a twentieth century attempt to level the slope in this area to prevent erosion.

The sides of the house, Blocks 4 and 6, exhibit shallow middens (approximately 6 cm), sparse artifact densities, and mid- to late nineteenth century dates, with Block 6 showing a relatively high proportion of twentieth century items (Table 64). The mixing of artifacts dating from these three ranges throughout all levels indicates disturbances from the construction and destruction of the chimneys. No specific activity areas can be discerned.

Block 5, located in the front of the house, contains the front walkway and formal garden features (Figure 41). The sheet midden here is extremely shallow (5.9 cm) and the entire block has a sparse to moderate artifact density. The date for all levels is late nineteenth to twentieth century with a small proportion of mid-nineteenth century material (Table 64). Functional breakdowns show highest proportions of architecture and bottle glass with low proportions in all other categories. All of this would seem to indicate an area consciously kept clean throughout the occupation of this site, perhaps as a formal ornamental presentation for visitors to the house.

The extreme northwest corner of the front yard was used as a flower and shrubbery garden and trash disposal area in the late nineteenth to twentieth century. The latter is a trash pit (Feature 57) found in Unit 89 (Figure 41).

Block 7 is the loci of a refuse disposal area over the northern slope which was used during the mid- to late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Table 62). Postholes found in this refuse deposit (Subfeatures 1-6, Figure 41) appear to be former fenceline posts of possibly varying ages.

Units 96 and 98 were placed next to the western and southern fence-lines and both revealed refuse areas of moderate artifact densities. The midden found in these areas was lighter in color than that found in the backyard but is of comparable depth (approximately 19 cm). Dates are mid- to late nineteenth century for Unit 96 and mainly late nineteenth century for Unit 98 (Table 64).

In summary, the activity areas revealed at Cedar Oaks include two kitchens, a shed, smokehouse and privy and well in the backyard, with the detached kitchen, smokehouse and well dating primarily from the mid- to late nineteenth century occupation. The kitchen may in fact date back to the construction of the house. The smokehouse survived into the early twentieth century when it was known to have had an animal pen next to it. Another fenced area dates from the twentieth century and is near the standing shed. Two small garden areas were discerned, one to the southeast of the house and the other in the southeast portion of the site. The latter is definitely twentieth century in date while the former may date from the nineteenth century occupation.

The area off the northeast corner of the house, as well as the surrounding sides and front area, show indications of having been swept clean throughout the site's occupation. Only shallow middens were found in these areas. The eastern perimeter shows evidence of twentieth century plowing and refuse disposal while the southern edge exhibits a twentieth century leveling activity.

The front yard of the house was used in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a formal presentation and ornamental area. The perimeters of the northern, western and southern portions of the site were used to varying degrees as refuse disposal areas primarily during the later occupation of this site.

Refuse Disposal Patterns

The final problem considered during this study was the possible refuse disposal patterns of this site. They were investigated in order to better understand the evolutionary history of its occupation. A changing pattern through time was discerned which helps illuminate certain sociocultural patterns. Excavations were geared not only to test for the presence of outbuildings but also to test areas where refuse was thought or known to have been discarded. To this end, the soil probe survey conducted between Phases I and II provided invaluable and time-saving information, giving a relatively clear and accurate picture of the soils and possible features over the entire site. Most of the units excavated during Phase II were placed in areas of probable refuse disposal.

The usefulness of subsurface testing for pattern recognition, be it by probe or auger, has been demonstrated before on similar historic sites and should always be considered when setting up a research design. It would, however, have been of greater and more efficient use on 22C1809 had it been done at the beginning of Phase I. Judgmental placement of excavation units would then have been more easily and effectively accomplished (Smith and Widmer 1977:147-148).

Two types of disposal patterns can be seen at Cedar Oaks, specific purposeful dumping areas and an overall refuse-laden sheet midden. The former consists of Features 21, 53, and 57 and areas indicated by Units 91, 96 and 98. Specifically, Feature 21 is a refuse dump underneath the once existing rear gallery evidenced by Features 14, 16, 17, and 23.

It is concentrated on the southeast corner of the house and extends eastward from it approximately 4 m (Figure 41). The date for this feature is primarily mid- to late nineteenth century with a small proportion of twentieth century material (Table 62). Artifact function covers the full range, with higher percentages of architectural items, bottle glass, unidentified items, and tableware (Table 65). Its proximity to the house would make it a convenient trash receptacle for all manner of domestic refuse. Its functional makeup is not unique, however, and other general areas have similar compositions (Table 66).

Feature 53 (Figure 41) is a refuse dump on the northern slope approximately 9 m off the northeast corner of the house. Besides the material tabulated in Table 65 it also contained a large concentration of brick and mortar that may have come from the northern chimneys. This dump is actually 18 by 23 m in extent although only 12 square m were excavated.

The functional breakdowns for Feature 53 (Table 65) show the majority as architectural in nature with sizeable percentages of bottle glass, tableware and foodstuff related items. Martin's faunal analysis (Chapter 13) revealed that despite the fact that less than five percent of the site's faunal remains were found in this area, the concentration of bone and shell fragments there was the site's highest at 47.7 g per m². Such high proportions of kitchen-related and domestic refuse can perhaps be explained by the proximity of this refuse area to

the two kitchens and the house itself. It would have been the closest, most sanitary and relatively out-of-sight refuse dumping area to these structures.

The artifacts (Table 62) date primarily from the mid- to late nineteenth century with a sizeable proportion of twentieth century material. Modern machine cut nails account for the majority of mid- to late nineteenth dates in this feature and were probably deposited here in the late nineteenth to twentieth century when extensive remodeling was done on the house and outbuildings. Therefore, the feature itself represents late occupation deposition.

Feature 57 is a circular trash pit that was found in the northwest corner of the front yard (Figure 41). This was an excavated hole that was used as a trash receptacle primarily during the late nineteenth century (Table 62). It was also used as an area for burning refuse in the twentieth century as the top layer was comprised of charcoal and burned artifacts. The artifacts in this trash pit also cover the full range of functional categories with an emphasis on architectural, bottle glass, and foodstuff items (Table 65). This too appears to have been a handy receptacle for domestic refuse, although its placement in the front yard in full view of all visitors is somewhat unexplainable given that such care was taken at the same time to construct such esthetically pleasing features as a formal garden and walkway.

Unit 91 (Figure 39) was placed in the vicinity of a twentieth century refuse dumping area on the eastern slope of the site. This area is located over 40 m to the northeast of the house and was the receptacle for discarded boots, shoes, canning jars, paint cans and other items. The general dates of artifacts recovered were late nineteenth to early twentieth century, with the lower level showing a majority of mid-nineteenth century material (Table 64). Its function as a domestic refuse dumping area is, however, very late nineteenth to twentieth century in date (Table 66).

Units 96 and 98 were located along the southwestern and western fencelines, respectively. Both revealed that the areas to the "outside" of these fences were also used, to a lesser extent than the northern and eastern slopes, as refuse disposal areas. Refuse, with an emphasis on architectural, bottle glass, and foodstuff related items, was disposed of over these fences (Table 66) during the mid- to late nineteenth century (Table 64).

Besides these specific refuse areas there was a sheet midden that covered much of this site to varying degrees and which represented both by-products of activity areas (i.e., those items discarded where they were used) and those items lost or casually discarded anywhere they might fall on the site area. This midden is deepest (10-30 cm) and contains the highest density of artifacts (moderate to dense) in the area of the site directly behind the house and extending approximately 6 m beyond Block 1, which contains the smokehouse. Therefore, the densest portion of this sheet midden is surrounded by the house on the west side, the two kitchens to the north, and the smokehouse to the east. It is logical to assume that this midden resulted from the heavy day-to-day traffic and activities that occurred in this area.

This midden thins out in both depth and artifact density to the front and sides of the house, indicating areas little used and/or kept clear of refuse (Figure 39). A similar area was noted just off the northeast corner of the house although, this may have more to do with the rear ell. The perimeters of the site (Figure 39) show a lighter midden that is 8-11 cm in depth. This midden indicates that these areas were not used for specific activity areas and received less refuse overall.

The artifacts found in this sheet midden cover the full range of function (Level 1 in Table 66) with architectural items and bottle glass predominating over the entire site. As for dates, the dense midden in the backyard is primarily mid- to late nineteenth century with the front yard having more late nineteenth and twentieth century material. In fact, the highest proportions of twentieth century items were found in Blocks 5 and 6, which are directly in front of the house and on its north side, respectively. The perimeters of the site exhibit a general mid- to late nineteenth century date range (Table 64).

In summary, the mid- to late nineteenth century occupants disposed of refuse further away from the house than the later occupants except in the case of Feature 21, which contained a high proportion of mid-nineteenth century material and was located against the southeast corner of the house (Table 62). However, this high proportion is probably skewed due to the presence of a high number of machine cut nails, which probably were deposited when the gallery was dismantled. Specific dumping areas on the northern slope (Feature 53), the front yard (Feature 57) and the western and southern fencelines were used primarily during the late nineteenth century occupations (Table 62). Refuse may have been removed from the site and dumped elsewhere on the Barton townsite during the earliest occupation of Cedar Oaks (i.e. mid-nineteenth century). Such a practice has been noted in oral accounts from other nineteenth and twentieth century sites (Adams 1980:187; Smith et al. 1982:32).

The sheet midden shows that refuse, which was the by-product of activities (particularly related to the kitchen and smokehouse) and lost items, was densest in the area behind the house and encompassed by the detached kitchen and smokehouse during the mid- to late nineteenth century occupation. This shows a focal area of domestic activity throughout the occupation span of the house.

The sheet midden directly behind the house (i.e., adjacent to it and extending 4 to 6 m east of it) is primarily late nineteenth century in origin (Block 3, Table 64-Level 1).

The late nineteenth to twentieth century occupations saw refuse deposited purposefully on the northern (Feature 53) and eastern slopes and generally over much of the site area. The front and side yards in particular saw more discard in this time period than before. A trash pit (Feature 57) in the front yard also saw heavy use at this time. The sheet midden has a twentieth century component over the entire site with higher proportions in those blocks of units closest to the house (i.e., Block 3, 4, 5, and 6). The refuse dump on the northern slope (Feature 53) also was used during this later occupation period (Table 64).

Discussion

The intensive study of this housesite has focused on three aspects, the architectural history, the activity areas and the refuse disposal patterns. The first aspect has been discussed in detail using corroboratory data from archival, oral, architectural historical and archaeological sources and the benefits of such a multi-disciplinary approach have been many.

Activity areas were investigated in order to better understand changes through time in the organization and use of space. Many studies of historic sites have been done with this same intent. Robert Keeler (1978:10) notes that the "homelot is important because it was a center of human domestic activity" and further that,

People create functional divisions of space.
Areas are bounded conceptually and physically
in an effort to specify spaces for particular
activities. (Keeler 1978:7)

This aspect of human behavior can be manifested archaeologically by structural remains such as walls, fences and outbuildings, which can serve as spatial dividers, and by less tangible remains such as the presence of a midden in one area and not in another (Keeler 1978:7). Sheet middens can contain primary, secondary and de-facto deposited material; with primary deposits being those items discarded at their place of use (i.e., by-products of activity areas), secondary deposits being those items discarded as refuse somewhere other than at the location of use; and de-facto being lost or abandoned items (Smith et al. 1982:224 after Schiffer 1972:161-163; South 1977:296-299).

From research at Michlimackinac Heldman and Grange (1981:215, 219) noted that activity areas were defined by fence and wall features and that such boundaries served to restrict the movement of people and "defined areas within which different behavior took place." They inferred behavior through a comparative study of artifact function and gardens in particular were found to be the locus of most domestic activities (Heldman and Grange 1981:215, 236).

There were fenced areas at Cedar Oaks, with the major fenceline defining the open houselot boundaries on the northern, western and southern sides (Figure 39). The present wire fence is of twentieth century in origin, although an earlier picket fence was located in the same place at least during the early twentieth century and most probably was earlier in origin (Minnerly 1983:30, Figure 3). The opening in this fence serves as an entranceway to the site, funneling traffic towards the front door of the house. This was further reinforced during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century occupations by a brick walkway (Feature 27, Figure 41) which extended out from this door towards the opening in the fence.

The shallow midden (average 5.9 cm) in the front yard indicates an area kept clean throughout the occupation of this house. It contained a sparse to moderate density of artifacts which showed a general range of

function, with an emphasis upon architectural and domestic remains (i.e., bottle glass, tableware and clothing and personal items) (Table 66).

Other fenced areas at Cedar Oaks functioned as pens for animals or perhaps protected gardens. There was an animal pen next to the smoke-house during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figure 41) and a twentieth century fence (Feature 13) was found near the standing shed. The latter may have served as a poultry pen or garden fence. The only other evidence of a possible fenceline was found in the extreme southeast portion of the site (Feature 56, Figure 41) which probably served to divide the houselot from the adjacent fields.

A study of the Maria de la Cruz Site in St. Augustine, Florida, Deagan (1983) investigated activity areas by looking at structural remains as well as sheet deposits. One aspect of social behavior under investigation was sex-role activities and how these were manifested within the archaeological record. This housesite had several definable activity areas and these included two house structures, a detached kitchen, and several wells. These areas were further delineated by a garden wall and six areas of sheet midden. The latter were concentrated for the most part around the structures (Deagan 1983:99, 106, 107).

A study which revealed similar patterns to those found at Cedar Oaks concerns a seventeenth century homelot in the Chesapeake tidewater region of Maryland. Robert Keeler (1978) investigated the ground plan, architecture, and activity areas of a homelot with the idea that these would reflect "three primary characteristics of frontier societies: 1) adaptation, 2) opportunity and 3) impermanence" (Keeler 1978:10).

The St. Johns housesite had a 75 year occupation during which time the homelot saw numerous reorganizations of space and use (Keeler 1978:21). Using structural evidence of outbuildings and fencelines as well as artifact distributions and soil chemical analysis, Keeler was able to illuminate these changing patterns (1978:45, 65, 71, 72). The general trend at St. Johns was initially for early fences and few outbuildings, all of which were not well constructed nor meant to last, with later replacement by more durable fences and more outbuildings as the settlement in the area took on a more permanent nature (Keeler 1978:136).

The major parallel between this study and that of Cedar Oaks is Keeler's (1978:45, 72, 135) conclusions concerning a major two-part division of space on this site, where the front yard is clearly divisible in use and function from the backyard. He notes that "the division of the yard into front and back is partly a matter of convenience, but also seems to have been a culturally meaningful distinction" (Keeler 1978:45), and further that "this two yard division of space was part of English cultural tradition in the seventeenth century and is still apparent today" (Keeler 1978:135). The front yard would serve as a "forecourt" and was kept relatively clear of refuse and was often more formalized in plan, whereas, the backyard functioned as a "service area," and contained the majority of outbuildings, activity areas, and sheet middens (Keeler 1978:49, 72, 135). At St. John's the front yard

is relatively clean and enclosed by fences. It was clearly distinct from the "cluttered" backyard which contained fenced areas, numerous outbuildings, trash pits, a privy, and a sheet midden (Keeler 1978:49). A comparable housesite in the Tidewater region shows a pattern wherein the outbuildings are grouped around the backside of the house to the effect that a service area is formed by this 'enclosure' (Keeler 1978:134-135).

At Cedar Oaks this front and back distinction is also clearly defined. The front yard, as discussed previously, exhibits a shallow midden and low density of artifacts. It is enclosed by a fenceline which defines the homelot boundaries and serves to funnel traffic towards the front door. A brick garden enclosure (Features 27-30, 45, Figure 41) further serves to define and formalize space and functioned as an esthetic area or presentation. The sides of the house should also be seen as part of this general front yard area in that they too exhibit a shallow midden (6 cm) and sparse artifact densities. Features found in these areas are related to the chimneys that were once attached to the house (Features 6, 48 and 49, Figure 41).

The backyard exhibits a deeper midden (10-30 cm) and a moderate to dense amount of artifacts. This area is further enclosed by the smokehouse to the east, the kitchen structures to the north, and the house to the west. The area of greatest intensity is that enclosed by the smokehouse, detached kitchen and southeast corner of the house. The midden just off the northeast corner is relatively shallow and was kept clear of refuse. This may represent an avenue for traffic from the central back door out to the detached kitchen (Features 3 and 10, Figure 41), before the kitchen ell was built in this area.

The perimeters of the backyard outside this intense area of activity show a shallower (8 to 11 cm) and lighter colored midden (Figure 39), with moderate to sparse artifact density. This indicates an area of minimal use compared to that directly behind the house, but not kept clear of refuse as in front of the house.

Table 67 further illustrates the front and backyard division by presenting a breakdown of artifacts by function, first in actual numbers and then in percentages. Only Blocks 1, 3, and 4-6 were considered as they were nearly equal in extent of excavation. Blocks 4-6 were combined as they all represented front yard areas, and exhibited a shallow midden, low artifact density, and few, if any, activity areas. Blocks 1 and 3 were chosen to represent the backyard area. Blocks 2 and 7 were not considered in this table as both comprised much smaller excavation areas (24m² and 12m² respectively).

In general, Table 67 clearly shows the density distinctions between front and back, as the majority of all artifacts were found behind the house, and there are several interesting percentages that should be highlighted. Over half of the tableware recovered from these blocks came from Block 3 directly behind the house. This perhaps indicates that broken tableware was not transported far from its main locus of use (i.e., the house) before it was discarded. Utilitarian wares show an almost even split between Blocks 1 and 3, with only 1% being found in

Table 67. Total non-feature artifacts by function.

| Function | Artifact numbers | | | Percentages <u>within</u> each functional category | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|--|----|---------|
| | Block Numbers | | | Block Numbers | | |
| | 1 | 3 | 4, 5, 6 | 1 | 3 | 4, 5, 6 |
| Tableware | 1,135 | 1,966 | 222 | 34 | 59 | 7 |
| Utilitarian wares | 378 | 458 | 6 | 45 | 54 | 1 |
| Bottles | 4,161 | 6,676 | 1,080 | 35 | 56 | 9 |
| Foodstuff | 567 | 915 | 142 | 35 | 56 | 9 |
| Clothing & Personal | 188 | 458 | 114 | 25 | 60 | 15 |
| Architectural | 8,700 | 25,376 | 7,062 | 21 | 62 | 17 |
| Hardware | 757 | 1,052 | 418 | 34 | 47 | 19 |
| Faunal | 757 | 915 | 121 | 42 | 51 | 7 |
| Misc. | 2,270 | 7,911 | 1,630 | 19 | 67 | 14 |
| Total | 18,913 | 45,725 | 10,795 | | | |
| Area excavated | 104m ² | 92m ² | 100m ² | | | |

the front yard. The even split in the backyard indicates that these wares were used both around the smokehouse (Block 1) and around the house and kitchens (Block 3). This is to be expected as a primary function of a smokehouse is food storage. The paucity of this ware type in the front yard indicates a lack of food preparation and storage in this area.

Over one half of the bottle glass was deposited in Block 3 and this reflects the presence of a refuse disposal area on the southeast corner of the house (Feature 21, Figure 41) that was once covered over by a gallery. This appears to be the best explanation for this phenomenon as one would expect glass to be an unusual discard item in an area where there would be a lot of foot traffic. It has been noted that the large numbers of bottles and bottle fragments found on late nineteenth and twentieth century housesites is, in large part, due to an increase in the automation of glass production between 1895 and 1906 which reduced costs and the need to reuse glass containers. Therefore, more bottles were being discarded after initial use than in previous times (Moir 1982:148, 152).

The clothing and personal items category shows 60 percent in Block 3. This is in keeping with these items being closely associated with the day-to-day activities inside the house. A sizeable proportion (15 percent) was recovered from the front yard, also due to this close proximity to the house.

The architectural category shows the majority occurring in the backyard area with 62 percent coming from Block 3. This is to be expected owing to the numerous building changes connected with the house in this area (i.e., porches and the ell). Twenty-one percent was also found in Block 1, not surprising since the smokehouse structure was destroyed. The 17 percent in the front yard area may reflect the front gallery remodeling and former front steps.

The hardware category shows the majority coming from the backyard with an almost even split between Blocks 1 and 3. It is expected that more hardware items would be associated with the activity areas in the backyard than in the front yard, whose major function was to serve as an entranceway and esthetic presentation area to the site.

The final significant category is faunal remains and Table 67 shows the majority (93 percent) found in the backyard with an almost even split between Blocks 1 and 3. This is also in keeping with the activity areas and expectations associated with the backyard (i.e., kitchen, food storage, food preparation and consumption, and smokehouse related activities), with the front yard being an area kept clean of refuse and little used for any specific activity.

It should be noted here that the faunal remains do provide evidence that pork was actually being processed at Cedar Oaks. This inference is made from the abundance of teeth and foot bones and the lack of high meat yield parts which would have been sold and consumed elsewhere. Martin (Chapter 13) further notes that beef, mutton, or goat meat was probably produced at other locations and then acquired by the Cedar Oaks occupants.

Studies at some historic sites have also looked at activity areas in relation to the organization of space and general layout of the site. Ken Lewis (1977) used a three model breakdown to determine the function of the Kershaw house in Camden, South Carolina. This late eighteenth to early nineteenth century housesite was investigated according to criteria defined for plantation, farm, and town residence models. Lewis (1977:40) felt that the function of a site would be reflected in the nature and arrangement of structures and activity areas associated with its function.

Of Lewis' three models, only the farm and town residence models could be comparable to Cedar Oaks. The defining criteria for the farm model includes a compact, square arrangement of outbuildings to the rear of the house, with the outbuildings facing inward and the house facing away from this hollow square. The area within this square should be subdivided into smaller parts and the house is likely to be situated adjacent to and facing a major road (Lewis 1977:52).

The town residence on the other hand should exhibit a simpler layout where the house is located in front of all outbuildings and facing away from them. The outbuildings will be to the rear or side of the house and may often be arranged in a contiguous row. The house should face a major road and the borders of the property should be demarcated by fences or walls. Furthermore, evidence of a formal garden may be present behind the house (Lewis 1977:52).

Cedar Oaks fits neither model for all defining criteria, although it most closely resembles the farm model. It is known from oral sources that this site functioned as a farmstead in the twentieth century (Minnerly 1983:31), and it is likely that this was also its primary function in the late nineteenth century, especially after Barton began its decline as a town in the 1860s. Archival data indicate that the first two occupants, Curtis (1848-1851) and Collins (1852-59) were merchants in Barton. It may be that Cedar Oaks' original function was as a town residence, from which it evolved toward a farmstead.

The layout of Cedar Oaks through time is as follows. During the mid-nineteenth century the site appears to have consisted of the house, a detached kitchen off the northeast corner, possibly a well to the northeast, and a smokehouse located 20 m to the southeast. No other structures are known to have been associated with this site at that time. The presence of the smokehouse during this period may indicate a farmstead function as "the presence of...agricultural processing structures (such as smokehouses) are not normally associated with a town residence" (Lewis 1977:67).

In the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries the detached kitchen and smokehouse were torn down and an ell was built on the northeast corner of the house to function as the kitchen. Two small barns 130 m northwest of the house served as the only known farm-related outbuildings during the twentieth century. The standing shed was built after the ell was removed from the house, and the privy was also twentieth century in origin.

In comparison with Lewis' farm model, Cedar Oaks never appeared to contain the complex arrangement of buildings that he described. It is likely that the smokehouse and detached kitchen did enclose a somewhat rectangular area that was used as the focal point for many activities and that both probably faced in towards the house and that the latter faced away from them. Furthermore, the house did, and still does, face a through road (Figures 37 and 38).

As for the town residence model, the housesite, in its Barton period occupation, did exhibit a simple layout wherein the outbuildings were to the rear of the house which faced a through road. The borders of the property may have been marked by a fence, although this is only known positively for the later occupations. A formal garden was present but this was a late nineteenth and early twentieth century feature and was in front of the house.

Some reasons why Cedar Oaks does not fit closely with either model may be suggested. It is likely that the earliest occupants used Cedar Oaks as a town residence, but Barton never really succeeded in establishing itself as a full-fledged town in a formal, permanent sense. Roads were never paved and it is likely that the original plat was not adhered to strictly as the town began to grow. Cedar Oaks may have been more a combination of a town residence and small farmstead, as suggested by the presence of the smokehouse during this time.

As Barton declined and changed function in the late nineteenth century, Cedar Oaks was most likely used as a farmstead. However, during much of this time it was leased out and transient tenants may not have needed or been able to demand or willing to construct permanent outbuildings. That Cedar Oaks functioned as a farmstead in the twentieth century there is no doubt; however, its small size and scope may have lessened the need for the complex layout described by Lewis (1977:41-42).

Perhaps a closer parallel can be drawn to the study of eight late nineteenth and twentieth century farmsteads in the Bay Springs area of Mississippi. These sites were also investigated for activity areas, organization of space, and refuse disposal patterns. A general pattern of farm layout was noticed wherein the outbuildings formed both an inner and an outer circle in relation to the house.

Outbuildings were arranged in a pattern around the house based on the primary function of the outbuildings. (They) noted a general inner circle of outbuildings including the well, smokehouse, and chicken house, and an outer circle of barns, vehicle sheds, and animal pens (Smith et al. 1982: 240).

It was further noted that,

the outer circle of outbuildings...was oriented towards the production and storage of income

related activities like cash crops and animal husbandry (barns, animal pens, cotton houses, corn cribs) with lesser amounts going to the household. The inner circle of outbuildings was mainly oriented toward the production and storage of subsistence products (smokehouse, chicken house, garden, storm cellars, orchards, well) for household consumption (Smith et al. 1982:240-241).

The inner circle of outbuildings tended to range only 35 to 40 m out from the house, while the outer circle covered a much wider area (Smith et al. 1982:241-2).

At Cedar Oaks the inner circle of outbuildings and activity areas has been evidenced (i.e., the kitchens, smokehouse, well, gardens, and small animal pens). The detached kitchen, smokehouse, well and the garden off the southeast corner of the house most likely represent the organization of space and primary activity areas from the mid- to late nineteenth century. A pen for small animals was next to the smokehouse in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. The outer circle of outbuildings for this earlier occupation period is not known and was not thoroughly investigated as part of the Cedar Oaks project, as these buildings would have been well off the 70 x 40 m grid delineated around the house.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century period saw an inner circle comprised of the well behind the house, the artesian well to the west of the house, a privy and shed which still survive, as well as a garden along the southeastern portion of the site and an orchard of fruit trees along the southern edge. Fencelines defined the open house-lot area and another small poultry or garden fence was located near the standing shed. The outer circle consisted of the two small barns approximately 130 m northwest.

Besides studies of organization of space and activity areas, many historical archaeological studies have also investigated refuse patterns, with the idea that changes through time in these practices may reflect changes in the cultural system in general. Questions that have been investigated through disposal patterns include whether or not status, ethnicity and other aspects of past lifeways are reflected in these practices (Drucker 1981:58-67; Moir 1982:139; South 1977:31).

As discussed previously, refuse can be deposited in three ways: primary, secondary and de-facto. Trash pits and dumps are deposits of a secondary nature in that they contain refuse discarded somewhere other than the location of use. Sheet middens, on the other hand, are a combination of all three in that they consist of refuse discarded at place of use (primary), at places away from the location of use (secondary) and refuse lost or abandoned (de-facto) (Moir 1982:139; Schiffer 1972: 161-163; Smith et al. 1982:224; South 1977:296-299).

At the St. John's housesite and others of this same period in the Chesapeake tidewater region of Maryland, trash was disposed of "with as little bother as possible" and "borrow pits, post holes, and ditches

frequently were filled with trash and garbage" (Keeler 1978:135). Furthermore,

naturally occurring cavities such as tree blowdowns and ravines also were used for waste disposal. No archaeological features on the sites examined can be clearly identified as having been intentionally dug as trash pits (Keeler 1978:135).

It was also noted in Keeler's (1978:45, 65, 71) study that the majority of refuse disposal occurred, in the backyard area of the site. This area at St. John's contained pits and a privy filled with trash as well as a sheet midden that shifted from one doorway to another over time and which extended out approximately 18 ft (Keeler 1978:65). The front yard received only moderate refuse deposition with the main area of disposal being outside of the western fence (Keeler 1978:72).

There are some similarities here to the refuse disposal practices at Cedar Oaks. At this housesite the backyard contained the deepest midden and the majority of artifacts. Trash dumps included areas on the eastern and northern (Feature 53) slopes, as well as a dense deposit up against the southeast corner of the house (Figure 41) (Feature 21). The front yard saw little use as a refuse disposal area and exhibits a shallow sheet midden dating from the late nineteenth to twentieth centuries (Table 64). The western and southern fencelines were used somewhat as refuse disposal areas primarily during the late nineteenth century and to a lesser extent in the mid-nineteenth century.

There is one major difference between the practices at St. John's and Cedar Oaks and this is the presence at the latter, of a purposefully dug trash pit (Feature 57, Figure 41), which was located in the front yard.

The Mott Farm, located in Massachusetts, is comparable in that researchers not only were investigating structural features but also were actively searching, through both archaeological and oral historical means, for an understanding of the changing usage of the houselot. Refuse disposal patterns were one indication of changing usage, economics and ethnicity at this site. The use of oral sources to help locate refuse disposal areas proved highly successful in pinpointing several discrete refuse locations. Mott Farm was occupied for a much longer period than Cedar Oaks and its occupation did reach into the twentieth century. During its later years it was rented out to tenants, as was Cedar Oaks during the late nineteenth century, during which time the main refuse disposal areas were on the other side of a nearby stone wall (Brown 1978:281). The fence lines at Cedar Oaks, as discussed above, were used for a similar purpose in the mid- to late nineteenth century.

The sheet midden found at Cedar Oaks is a phenomenon that has been shown to occur, to varying degrees, at most historic housesites that were occupied for a number of years. Randall Moir (1982:139-152), in a study of historic sites in the Richland Creek area of Texas, found that "sheet refuse deposits...have considerable behavioral integrity," and

can provide fairly accurate information concerning the chronology of a site's occupation, patterning of yard usage, and associated socioeconomic information.

Specifically, Moir (1982:143) notes that:

indicators suggest that sheet refuse is a sensitive gauge of the period of occupation. For this effect to occur, one might suspect that sheet refuse was deposited in some systematic way.

In order to test this supposition, Moir investigated artifact spatial distribution, possible socioeconomic change traced through glass and ceramic storagewares, and artifact deposition rates, all in the hope of illuminating past lifeways. His success in demonstrating this at the Richland Creek sites points to the possible avenues of behavioral information that can be followed by investigating sheet middens to a greater depth.

At the Richland Creek sites, sheet middens contained artifact densities that:

were often moderate in magnitude from immediately adjacent to a dwelling to distances of between 6 and 8 meters away. After that point densities frequently increased by 3 to five-fold and then dropped back down reaching zero about 15 meters away from the house. This pattern was most often observed in the back or side yards of a dwelling, the size of the area covered by sheet refuse deposits is frequently greater than 1500 square meters...consequently, sheet refuse forms a substantial deposit. Estimates of sheet refuse at 20 other sites range from 20,000 to over 150,000 artifacts (Moir 1982:147).

Moir (1982:147) goes on to state that:

The tremendous size and regular configuration of sheet refuse require that we refine our models about their formation. Although counts are slightly higher off major entranceways of dwellings, these concentrations frequently occur at least 8 to 12 meters away from the structure. This is much farther than one could throw most refuse. Investigations conducted to date, suggest that sheet refuse has definable small scale spatial integrity directly related to structures and major features that obviate such soil disturbances.

Moir (1982:147) further saw the need to explore the possibilities that certain types of artifacts might end up in sheet deposits because they were frequently used or stored in the yard. The usage of yard space for the storage of certain items has been noted by investigators at the Bay Springs farmsteads (Smith et al. 1982:226) and they concluded

that "some of the accumulations of cans, jars and scrap metal which (they) called trash dumps might in fact have been convenient storage areas instead" (Smith et al. 1982:226). Such an area was evidenced at Cedar Oaks where several old cars had been stored by the Uithovens in the southeast portion of the yard over and around Unit 86 (Figure 39). These cars had rusted and partially fallen apart and an accumulation of metal and car parts were found scattered over this area when the cars were removed during Phase I. Because we had prior knowledge as to the origin of this scatter it was not collected as a refuse dump.

In general, the sheet midden present at Cedar Oaks is comparable to those found at Richland Creek sites in that it is located primarily to the back of the house, covers a large area of the site, and contains majority of the 120,000+ artifacts found on this site. The density is moderate to dense adjacent to the back of the house, with a refuse dump and architectural changes accounting for the dense magnitude on the southeast corner. However, its greatest depth, showing a moderate artifact density, is 6 to 20 m away from the house. Beyond this area the density and depth drop off going towards the eastern slope. The area encompassed by the 6 to 20 m distance from the house has also been shown to be the area of greatest activity, connected, for the most part, with the outbuildings (smokehouse and kitchen) located here.

This seems to indicate that the sheet midden at Cedar Oaks involves far more than simple discard out of a doorway. Rather, it appears to be the accumulation of refuse discarded as the by-product of activities, with items deposited away from the location of use as well as lost or abandoned items. Unfortunately, such specific behaviors cannot be further demonstrated at this time as artifact distribution maps of Cedar Oaks are not available.

The Bay Springs farmstead study (Smith et al. 1982:225) also noted that all of the housesites had sheet middens associated with them. However, unlike Cedar Oaks, these deposits were not very thick (i.e., less than 5 cm) although the Butler site did have a fairly well developed or preserved midden that was 10 to 20 cm thick. Furthermore, it was found that:

Midden areas around the house were often noticed but they did not usually extend more than about 5 ms. from the house. Also, (we) noticed that these middens did not contiguously surround the house but tended to concentrate in backyard areas near the kitchen...There were few artifacts and midden-like dark soils noted in the front yards (Smith et al. 1982:217).

The shallower and smaller middens found on these sites may be the result, in part, of shorter occupations than Cedar Oaks, especially as most are twentieth century sites. Another factor, perhaps more influential, may have to do with income levels, and differential access to material goods. As stated by an oral informant who lived in the area around the Waverly Plantation in Mississippi, "really then we didn't buy any groceries or anything. We didn't have much cash" (Adams 1980:185).

Refuse at the Bay Springs farmsteads was also deposited in specific dump areas, where it was often burned, as well as being transported to other areas away from the housesites (Smith et al. 1982:225). This pattern may also have occurred at Cedar Oaks.

Drayton Hall is another comparable housesite study wherein refuse disposal patterns were investigated. This is a plantation located in South Carolina, occupied from the eighteenth through the twentieth century. One of the research goals for this site was to understand the lifestyle of the occupants and determination of refuse disposal patterns was expected to contribute to this understanding (Lewis 1978:10).

Through a distributional artifact analysis a changing pattern of refuse disposal was discerned whereby the earliest material was found closer to the main house; the areas farther from the house contained material from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Lewis 1978:57-60).

"The garbage disposal pattern is similar to that found in other Anglo-American sites, with holes and, later, ditches being used to contain the trash when convenient, with the backyard receiving its share of debris.... It is of interest to note that the later the date of the garbage, the farther it is found from a building. The homes of the poorer class and slaves, where most sophisticated concepts of sanitation did not occur until later, might prove to be an exception to this pattern" (Lewis 1978:110).

Lewis (1978:110) goes on to state that "even in the case of early deposits, the organic debris is more likely to be found at a greater distance from the main house...(while ceramic, glass and other non-organic debris was common around the house itself."

This patterning is contrary to the changing refuse disposal pattern found at Cedar Oaks where, in general, the earlier material is farther from the house and the later material deposited over the entire yard area, in three specific dump areas (Features 53, 57, and an area over the eastern slope) and up against the house itself (Feature 21) (Figure 41). Such a pattern indicates that different variables affecting human behavior were at work at Cedar Oaks than at Drayton Hall. One answer might be that the shorter and more transient later occupations of Cedar Oaks involved less attachment to the property and less upkeep of the lot itself. However, like Drayton Hall the backyard at Cedar Oaks received more debris regardless of age than did the rest of the yard area.

During the mid-nineteenth century occupation of Cedar Oaks, refuse was deposited away from the house itself and primarily in the backyard as a sheet midden. This material was concentrated in an area encompassed by the detached kitchen (Feature 3 and 10) and the smokehouse (Feature 1) and began approximately 4 to 6 m from the back of the house. Mid-nineteenth century material was found in varying proportions though in lesser quantities, than in the above mentioned area, throughout the perimeters of both the back and front yards (Tables 62 and 64).

house. The extreme northeastern and eastern portions of the site were plowed during the twentieth century occupations.

Conclusions

Cedar Oaks represents the last remaining standing structure from the extinct townsite of Barton. From archival, architectural and archaeological data it appears to have been constructed in the late 1840s around the time that Barton was platted as a town. Its original configuration may have consisted of a two room floor plan although no archaeological evidence was found that could be related to this structure. During the investigation of this housesite several changes to the present four room floor plan structure were found, including a one-time rear gallery, an ell that functioned as a kitchen, and four end chimneys on the north and south sides.

Excavation strategy was geared to investigate three research problems: 1) the architectural history and integrity of the house; 2) the use and organization of space over time; and 3) the changes in refuse disposal throughout the occupation of this site.

Information was obtained concerning former outbuildings, activity areas and the general layout through time of Cedar Oaks. This included the discovery of a former smokehouse and a detached kitchen behind the house as well as an area in between that functioned as the focal point for domestic activities. A general front and backyard distinction was noted wherein the front yard evidenced little use and served as an ornamental presentation area and the backyard functioned as the main "service" area of the site, containing the deepest midden, the majority of artifacts, the main refuse disposal areas, and most of the outbuildings.

Changing refuse disposal patterns were also brought to light, consisting, in general, of the earlier deposits comprising a sheet midden 4 to 6 m away from the back of the house and enclosed by the smokehouse and detached kitchen. The later material was disposed of closer to the house and in specific dumping areas.

All of this information, combined with archival and oral data, served to illuminate the past occupations of this structure and the possible behavioral patterns that created this site.

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Part IV

Interpreting the Extinct River Towns of
Barton and Vinton, Mississippi,
in Cultural Perspective: Some Direction for Further Study

by Charles E. Cleland

CHAPTER 16. SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATIONS

Introduction

The various historical studies associated with the construction of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway have resulted in an extraordinary volume of excellent archival, archaeological, and oral historical data bearing on the settlement and development of the upper Tombigbee Valley during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Site studies under the auspices of the National Park Service and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers show broad variability in type as well as in the socioeconomic condition of the valley's inhabitants. Study of the Waverly Plantation (Adams 1980) provides insight into the world of a riverside plantation, as does work on the Sharpley's Bottom tenant community (Kern et al. 1982b). Both reports trace these systems following the Civil War and the rise of tenant and sharecropping agriculture. The Sharpley's Bottom study is notable for its exhaustive treatment of blacks and their role. Work at Bay Springs gives us insight into a nineteenth century manufacturing center and detailed background on late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century farmsteads (Adams et al. 1981; Smith et al. 1982). Other reports on such sites and settlements as Martins Bluff (Rafferty et al. 1980), 22Lo741 (Hambacher 1983), Vienna (Sonderman et al. 1981), and Colbert, Barton, and Vinton (Minnerly 1982;1983) help increase our knowledge of nineteenth century life along the Tombigbee.

Study of the Barton and Vinton townsites adds an important new dimension to our knowledge of the culture and history of the region. Here we are speaking not only of the information provided on specific geographical locations and historical personalities, but also of a type of site not covered in the studies cited. They were not the scene of important historical events, and they did not contain the homes of any famous personages. Indeed, their importance derives from the fact that they were ordinary and typical. These were the kinds of towns occupied by the great majority of merchants and farmers who, throughout the middle and deep South, forged the beginnings of the cultural landscape and way of life found in the region today. Barton and Vinton, the plantations, the manufacturing centers, isolated farmsteads, and the larger communities were part of a single system linked by the Tombigbee River and an emerging road network. Barton and Vinton, small struggling mercantile centers, were an important part of this system, and knowledge of them adds a unique dimension to our understanding of the culture of which they were a part.

This chapter attempts to summarize the descriptive work accomplished to date by Michigan State University on the Tombigbee Historic

Townsites Project. It does not purport to be a definitive statement since it contains very little analysis of data. Even at this preliminary stage, however, we are able to draw conclusions about the history and organization of these communities and their relationships to other aspects of the developing settlement system in the upper Tombigbee Valley and beyond.

After discussing specific sites in the Barton area and information relating to their structural and spatial dimensions, the chapter describes the organization of the communities as social and political entities and their role in the region. Finally, an assessment is made of the Barton-Vinton data base, and topics for future study are suggested.

Specific Sites and Their Organization

Archaeological data recovery led to the intensive excavation of eight sites associated with the Barton townsite. These were selected on the basis of possible destruction or disturbance due to the construction of the Barton Ferry Recreation Area as well as for their potential for yielding data important to an understanding of the cultural dynamics of the townsite (Minnerly 1983).

Unfortunately, these excavations produced very little information of a structural nature, that is, data permitting a detailed analysis of building methods and styles or the organization of space in and around the sites. Aside from the extant Cedar Oaks house, which is the subject of a report by Newton (1980), few structural details are available from the Barton site. Those which were revealed by excavation include a series of brick piers from the Keller house (site 5442) and part of the floor structure at the Highwater house (site 5448). Although meager, this information, when combined with oral testimony, permits some observations about two major architectural styles which undoubtedly typify most domiciles built at Barton during the last half of the nineteenth century.

Excavation at the Keller house (see Chapter 4) revealed a chimney base located on the south end of a long rectangular structure, the western margin or front of which was marked by a partial series of three brick piers. Extrapolating from the placement of these piers, the driplines, and the chimney base indicates a house 36 ft (11 m) long by 20 ft (6.3 m) wide. This size is significantly larger than measurements for nineteenth century single-pen folk houses recorded in Alabama, some of which were as long as 25 ft, although 20 ft x 16 ft was the average (Wilson 1970:25). In contrast, the Keller house corresponds very closely to Wilson's (1975:32) measurements for first-generation double-pen or dogtrot houses, which averaged 48 ft in length and 17 ft in width. The Keller house dimensions also correspond well with the James Butler dogtrot reported by Smith et al. (1982:64) from Bay Springs, which measures 40.8 ft (13.4 m) in length and 25.6 ft (8.4 m) in width. It is suggested that the Keller house was of the separated double-pen type and therefore had at least two rooms, perhaps as many as four. Oral history testimony was collected for the Keller house, but it is

inconsistent on the number or placement of rooms (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1107). We do know from this account and from postmolds encountered in excavation that a porch was built on the west side of the house.

The Cedar Oaks house (22C1809), which is still extant on the Barton site, was presumably built between 1835 and 1850 (Newton 1980:8). On the basis of archival data relating to the founding of Barton and the major building episode at the site, a date late within this range is probably most accurate (Minnerly 1983:Chapter 2). Cedar Oaks, a basic double-pen open hallway type, is undoubtedly typical in general plan, if not in specific detail, of most domiciles at the Barton site during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Excluding the porch, which extends the length of the west or the front, the house measures 48 ft in length by 26 ft in width (Howard 1978). These measurements correspond well in proportion to first-generation dogtrot houses in the area but are significantly larger than those on the Barton site, including the Keller house. Oral testimony by former residents of Cedar Oaks (McClurken and Anderson 1981:616), and information supplied by Felix Uithoven, the current owner (Howard 1978:3), suggest that the ell at the back of the structure was a kitchen. Archaeological excavations (Minnerly 1983) also indicate that a detached kitchen once stood at the northeast corner of the structure. The extent to which this type of kitchen arrangement was used at other Barton structures is unknown. Commonly, double-pen and separated double-pen houses had a chimney at one end, and sometimes both ends, of the house. In four-room houses, as in the case of Cedar Oaks, chimneys were sometimes constructed in all four rooms. Typically, a window opening was placed on either side of the chimney. The Cedar Oaks house shows a transitional construction type from log to frame, which Wilson (1975:25) calls a second-generation dogtrot. Some characteristics, such as the oblong shape of the rooms, reflect first-generation design, but the frame construction of the walls and the greater use of hardware and nails suggest a mid-century transitional type.

Excavations at the Highwater house (site 5448) revealed a single chimney base with two opposite facing fire boxes. Eighteen charred floor boards also indicate the orientation of the structure. Aerial photographs taken when the house was still standing in 1939 enable us to calculate its approximate dimensions as 36 ft long by 18 ft wide. Oral testimony from former residents and sketch plans (McClurken and Anderson 1982:928, 1124) indicate that the Highwater house was of the saddlebag type: two rooms with a central chimney opening into both. The dimensions of the Highwater house are somewhat larger than those given by Wilson (1975:44) for similar houses in central Alabama. Like those, however, the dimensions of the Highwater house indicate the length was twice the width. This proportion is typical of double-pen and saddlebag vernacular buildings in the region during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century.

It is almost certain that houses of these two types, but particularly the double-pen and separated double-pen or dogtrot types constructed with a combination of timber and sawn lumber framing, were typical of those built at Barton. During the late third quarter of the century, the use of dimension lumber and balloon construction undoubtedly became

more popular. In all types of construction in the nineteenth century it was the practice to build the structure on sills set on piers or pillars which rested directly on the ground. These were of rock, brick, or far more commonly sawn cross-sections of tree trunks, especially cypress. Even at Cedar Oaks, where the original piers have been replaced with brick, in one instance a large piece of wood forms the foundation for the replacement pier. While brick piers seem to be associated with the last part of the nineteenth century, particularly with the last quarter, the use of wood piers was the common mode, and the technique lasted well into the twentieth century.

There is some scholarly disagreement concerning the origin of the vernacular house types which characterized the Barton community. Glassie believes that double-pen and dogtrot construction originated in the lower Tennessee Valley around 1825, yet there is a clear description of a dogtrot house in Adams County, Mississippi, as early as 1789-1790 (Black 1976:5). Kniffen (1965) believes the dogtrot house type had its origins in the lower Chesapeake Bay area and spread west through the highland South. While the meager data from Barton will not add significantly to the debate, we at least know that houses of this type were built in the hilly uplands of northeastern Mississippi by the late second quarter of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, we have ample demographic data suggesting that many Barton settlers originated in the lower Chesapeake Bay area and reached the townsite after immigration across Georgia and Alabama (Chapter 2).

The paucity of structural remains at Barton is perhaps to be expected, given the materials from which structures were built, the manner of their construction, and known post-occupation practices in the region. As has been mentioned, most of the building construction at Barton probably used the sill on pier method, the pier being a cut section of log. McClurken and Anderson (1981:222, 596, 610, 832, 859, 885, 1029, 1335, 1433) collected a great deal of oral testimony indicating this was the case even by the turn of the twentieth century. Furthermore, buildings were constructed almost entirely or exclusively of wood. In most cases, however, some hardware was employed, especially hinges. Glass windows were apparently a rarity in mid-century homes; window openings were more often shuttered. This practice was still common at the turn of the century, especially in the homes of less affluent individuals (McClurken and Anderson 1981:754, 812, 997, 1144, 1152, 1220, 1244, 1770). Even the use of nails for securing flooring, siding, and roofing was not common until late in the nineteenth century. Chimneys were sometimes constructed of brick, as is the case at several Barton sites, but oral testimony indicates this was probably not common, particularly among poorer families. Stacked chimneys made of sticks plastered with daub were reported in numerous instances by project informants (McClurken and Anderson 1981:35, 602, 710, 1000, 1054, 1144, 1226).

Given these building practices, sizable structures could decay or burn leaving very little archaeological evidence. The Highwater house, which is known to have been destroyed by fire within the last 30 or 40 years, is an excellent illustration. Had Barton buildings been constructed with balloon framing, glass windows, and liberal quantities of

nails, hardware, and brick, substantial archaeological evidence would undoubtedly have been found. This is not to say that glass, brick, and iron hardware were not used at all during the main building episode at Barton; archaeological evidence indicates that all of these materials were used. It is suggested, however, that the predominant construction modes did not require these materials, and they were luxuries in construction, not necessities.

In addition to the lack of durable material remains, the difficulty of determining building construction methods is increased by post-occupation events.

Construction of the TVA transmission line through the business district of Barton in 1929 was particularly destructive. It is believed that grading for this line destroyed any evidence of commercial buildings in the town. Some confirmation is found at the Barton Hotel (site 5443), where the northern half of the site was destroyed by grading and at the Blacksmith shop (site 5446). Plowing along the Barton ridge tops in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century also disrupted the archaeological record, especially since plowing of these light sandy soils also resulted in considerable erosion (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1380).

Perhaps the most troublesome post-occupation disturbance was the age-old practice in the region of salvaging material from derelict buildings. This pervasive habit led to the removal of a great deal of material from the Barton and Vinton sites, particularly lumber and bricks (McClurken and Anderson 1981:230, 510, 612, 960, 1072, 1488). Recycling extended to the moving and adaptive reuse of entire buildings (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1405; Chapter 10). We know, for example, that the Barton Hotel was moved from the original site in Barton north to Monroe County (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1424). Archaeological excavations at the original hotel site (5443) revealed a chimney base and no other structural remains. When cash and credit are scarce, recycling becomes a dominant practice, and it is reasonable to assume that many Barton-Vinton structures were either heavily salvaged or removed entirely.

Clearly, the paucity of structural remains on the townsites is not wholly attributable to construction practices or post-occupation disturbances; together, however, these two forces have severely depleted the archaeological record and robbed us of an opportunity for better insight into the vernacular architecture of the mid-nineteenth century.

The next higher order in the built environment is the organization of the home site, that is, the way domiciles and their structural dependencies are organized in space. Weaver and Doster (1982:64) correctly assert that such organization is a matter of tradition in the upland south and is passed down in much the same sense as architecture or cropping systems are inherited. Within this tradition there is considerable variation dictated by the local terrain and the needs of individual families. In addition, it is clear that the traditional organization of space around domiciles underwent some evolution in response to considerable economic changes during the late-nineteenth and twentieth

century. Caution is therefore advised in drawing analogies between the layout of antebellum farmsteads or home places and those constructed later. In Barton, the townlike atmosphere and large population of merchants would be expected to produce modification of the traditional upland south farmstead pattern.

In an archaeological context, proximity and structures are the two pertinent factors in examining space utilization. Excavations at Barton permit some observations concerning yards, out buildings, and wells in relation to domiciles. Cedar Oaks provides the best reference, particularly if one considers the abundance of oral testimony relating to the use of space at this site.

In general, oral history makes it apparent that the yard, the area in front of the domicile, represents a distinct and important category of space. A "clean" yard, informants agree, was a source of pride to the family (McClurken and Anderson 1981:128, 345, 507, 842, 1074, 1181). This meant that the area in front of the house not only was kept free of vegetation but also of trash. Archaeological evidence at Cedar Oaks indicates that although the area to the back and side of the house contains a moderate amount of refuse, the space was kept relatively clean. All yards probably were enclosed by a fence built of sharpened pickets or pilings to protect ornamental vegetation from browsing animals. Archaeological evidence and old photographs indicate the presence of yard fences at Cedar Oaks, Highwater, and the Keller house.

Oral testimony and excavations at Cedar Oaks indicate that the area immediately in front of the house was often used as a flower garden, which was sometimes edged with brick to create a formal configuration. Brick walkways leading from gate openings to the house steps were also important features at Cedar Oaks and were also found at the Keller house (site 5442) and site 5450. Ornamental shrubbery, such a crepe myrtle and honeysuckle, was often planted on the peripheries of the yard and house (McClurken and Anderson 1981:345, 507, 842). Large shade trees, especially southern red and water oaks, were frequently left standing adjacent to the house to provide shade, and these are a recognized component of most yards.

From evidence at Cedar Oaks and other Barton sites it is apparent that six structures or use areas are consistently associated with household maintenance: detached kitchens, wells, smokehouses, privies, kitchen gardens, and storage sheds. Kitchens were occasionally separated from homes and were located at the back of the house. Excavations at Cedar Oaks produced the only evidence of a detached kitchen at the Barton site. It is probable that structures of this type were more closely associated with late-nineteenth and twentieth century households or with more affluent households of earlier times. It is doubtful that detached kitchens were a common feature during the main building episode at Barton.

Wells were a constant feature at Barton homes, and archaeological investigation indicates a clear pattern for their placement and evolution. A well was located closely adjacent to almost every Barton house-site or cluster. Magnetometer data and block excavation revealed the

presence of buried wells at the Barton Hotel (5443), the Highwater house (5448), the Keller house (5442), and site 5449. In addition, three open brick-lined wells were recorded in association with Cedar Oaks, the Barton Academy (5447), and the Warren and Natcher houses (5445 and 5455).

Material excavated from the unlined wells indicates that these were contemporaneous with the major mid-century building phase and occupation of Barton. They are all located within 8 to 12 m of the chimney base of residential structures. These figures compare closely to the placement of wells at the individual Bay Springs farmsteads, where they were located within 6 to 8 m of domiciles (Smith et al. 1982:219). Clearly, the common pattern was to dig a well close to each house. These wells all exhibit a squarish shaft which tends to constrict toward the bottom. In at least two cases (sites 5442 and 5448), wooden cribbing was encountered near the bottom. In the single instance in which excavation reached the bottom, the well was 6.5 m (21.5 ft) deep. This again corresponds to a depth of 25 ft reported by Orvedal and Fowlkes in 1944 for Tishomingo County (cited by Smith et al. 1982:214). It is believed that this general depth is typical of the Barton wells. The associated material clearly indicates that these wells were all dug, used, and at least partially filled during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century.

It was probably during the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century that at least three other wells were dug on the Barton townsite, and each was lined with brick. These averaged 5.3 m (17.5 ft) in depth and are round and straight-sided in form. Test boring at the site 5447 well indicated wood cribbing at the bottom. This cribbing contained wire nails indicating a late-nineteenth century date. None of these three brick-lined wells contained an appreciable amount of cultural debris. It is probable that, unlike earlier wells adjacent to domiciles, the brick-lined wells were centrally placed and served several households; the Cedar Oaks well is a possible exception. McClurken and Anderson (1981: 603) talked with an informant who reported the use of one well by several households along the Barton Ferry Road. At the least we know that wells of this later period were constructed differently, were fewer in number, and were less directly associated with specific domiciles. No unlined wells were located farther than 12 m from domiciles, whereas the lined well Feature 30 is located approximately 20 m from site 5445 (Warren) and 48 m from site 5455 (Natcher). Lined well Feature 31 is approximately 30 m from site 5447 and 36 m from site 5448.

Oral history indicates that in addition to overflow and drilled wells, springs were used as sources of water by Barton residents in the twentieth century, especially Jackson's Spring near the present Barton Ferry. People travelled considerable distances to get water from springs and overflow wells. As will be discussed in the portion of this chapter dealing with refuse disposal, it seems there were definite changes in the water table at the Barton townsite through time, and these may explain the changing patterns of well placement and use of alternative water sources.

The next class of domestic outbuildings were privies. No evidence for such structures was found in archaeological excavations, and there are only scant references to privies in the oral testimony. Although a privy dating from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century is present at Cedar Oaks and others were occasionally reported by some oral history informants, it is probable that permanent pit privies were rare. Privies probably were extremely primitive or nonexistent. In rural settings, it seems clear from the lack of positive evidence that permanent pit privies were not used until the late nineteenth century. This conclusion is in part sustained by the rarity of privies at the Bay Springs farmsteads and the fact that oral testimony associated with these sites often indicates the lack of privies (Smith et al. 1982:222).

Domestic storage buildings were occasional features near domiciles, and one such is still extant two meters to the rear of the Cedar Oaks house. No archaeological evidence for this type of structure resulted from excavations. At the farmsteads around Bay Springs in Tishomingo County, Smith et al. (1982:226) found that household items were actually stored in yard areas and along yard fence lines. Although the practice is common today and undoubtedly was in earlier decades of the century, it is doubtful that this was the case in the nineteenth century. In fact, as we have already mentioned, both oral testimony and archaeological excavations at Barton and Vinton indicate that clean tidy yards and carefully partitioned domestic space were the rule.

Another feature of domestic space near domiciles was the kitchen garden. This was located to the side or rear of the house within the fenced yard. Kitchen gardens were probably a standard feature of every household and supplied an important part of family sustenance.

Beyond the immediate area around the domicile used communally, Weaver and Doster (1982:64) have argued that space was strongly partitioned by gender, reflecting a sharp sexual division of labor. To the extent that male activities relating to agriculture and large animal husbandry tended to be located much farther from the house than were the home maintenance and food production activities performed by women, this is true.

Females apparently had purview over the kitchen garden and chicken coops, located in or near the house. In this same area were storage sheds, small animal pens primarily the responsibility of men, and smokehouses used by both sexes. Barns, large animal pens, and storage sheds for farm equipment were farther from the house. The Cedar Oaks layout and the ethnohistorical study of the Bay Springs farmsteads support this general spatial organization (Smith et al. 1982).

An additional comment is necessary regarding the importance and use of smokehouses. Oral testimony strongly indicates that these were constant features of southern hill country farmsteads, no doubt because salting and smoking were the only plausible means of preserving meat in the southern climate. It is also apparent that meat was important to the diet (Chapter 13). The Watson Furnishing Store as well as oral testimony (McClurken and Anderson 1981:888, 1087) indicate meat was important in the diet irrespective of status or income level. It is also

clear from the oral testimony that the male-oriented tasks of meat preservation were by no means the only task associated with smokehouses. Since these structures were relatively free of rodents and insects, they were used extensively for foodstuff storage. Barrels of flour, meal, and particularly preserved fruits and vegetables which were subject to freezing were stored in smokehouses (McClurken and Anderson 1981:124, 756, 882, 1135, 1210, 1433). The smokehouse was therefore also a storage facility associated as much with women as with men. In this sense, the structures should be considered part of the domestic complex in space utilization.

In addition to the large (21.6 m²) Cedar Oaks smokehouse with its brick foundation, located 22 m (72 ft) behind the southeast corner of the house, there may have been a smokehouse at the Highwater house. Feature 1, 10 m east of the house, has several characteristics which seem to indicate that this small structure functioned in this capacity. These include a partial brick base, a central depression which may have been a smudge pit, and a very high frequency of animal bone. If it was a smokehouse, its size (9.4 m²), central depression, and distance from the house compare favorably with similar characteristics reported by Smith et al. (1982:221) for Bay Springs farmsteads. Smokehouse sizes there ranged from 13.4 to 23.8 m² and varied in distance from 6 m to 16.5 m from domiciles. The Cedar Oaks smokehouse is at the large end of this range, and the possible Highwater smokehouse would be smaller than any reported among the Bay Springs farmsteads.

The most distant class of domestic space is buildings used in animal care and agriculture. These are represented at Barton only by structures at Cedar Oaks, which are probably turn-of-the-century hog pens and storage buildings. They are about 130 m from the house, a pattern consistent with Weaver and Doster's (1982:64) observation that these activities were located far from the house to avoid associated insects and odors.

No barns or agricultural outbuildings were located in archaeological testing at Barton. Their apparent absence may be the result of two factors. First, many of the Barton sites were not farmsteads but housed merchants and tradesmen who presumably would have had few large livestock. Many of these Barton property owners also owned agricultural land away from the townsite. It may be concluded that stock, agricultural equipment, and storage facilities were located elsewhere. Second, it seems that barns were not common in the area until well after the Civil War, when laws were enacted to curb the open range practices which predominated in the earlier nineteenth century (Crow 1978:165).

A final matter regarding the use of space and of particular concern to archaeologists is the disposition of waste. Researchers working at Barton and Vinton have demonstrated that the amount of lost or discarded material preserved in the archaeological record of these towns is very slight. In fact, there are probably few nineteenth century sites excavated in the United States which have produced less refuse! Why this is so is perplexing, but it is now thought that the combined archaeological, archival, and oral historical record from the townsites provides a satisfactory answer.

One primary cause for the paucity of recovered material goods is poverty. The people who occupied Barton and Vinton during the nineteenth century simply did not possess a large number or variety of material goods. Records for taxes assessed on luxuries, for example, indicate occasional watches, clocks, buggies, and livestock but little fine china, tableware, or other expensive consumer goods (Chapter 3). It is suggested that the possessions of Barton and Vinton residents were few and simple. This observation is consistent with oral history accounts which indicate that townsites residents led a spartan existence even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (McClurken and Anderson 1981). The situation was probably the worst at mid-century, when 68 percent of Barton's residents were newly arrived immigrants from the east who transported all of their material possessions by wagon (Chapter 2).

Some of these immigrants arrived with sufficient cash resources to buy land and open businesses, but most were impoverished or soon became so. Barton residents who formerly had lived at nearby Colbert may have lost material goods in the 1847 flood. In addition, area residents suffered much hardship during the Civil War, which not only disrupted the local economy but to a great extent shut down the major sources of consumer goods: Mobile and New York, New England, and the Midwest. Residents who remained after the war had to contend with Reconstruction and a depressed cotton market which severely limited the cash economy.

On the whole, historical factors and the back country location of the townsites deprived residents of the means to acquire quantities of durable consumer goods. Before the war, their survival depended upon their ability to feed, cloth, and shelter themselves, with minimal participation in the cash economy. After the war, the crop-lien system severely restricted the flow of consumer goods because their circulation was controlled by merchants who advanced goods against future crops. It was not to the advantage of the merchant or the "customer" to advance more than the most necessary commodities through the furnishing system.

This does not mean that townsites residents did not attempt to acquire durable and luxury consumer goods; in fact, Barton is best characterized as a mercantile town. Archival sources indicate that in 1850 the town was populated by people with 13 different occupations, at least six being merchants or clerks. It could also be said that the town's commercial ventures were not remarkably successful. Even though Barton was not occupied to any extent before 1847, there is good evidence that it peaked as early as 1855, was dying by 1858, and was dead by 1862 (Chapter 2). The numerous business failures and frequent property transfers are good evidence of the depressed economy and difficulty of building Barton into a merchandising center.

Table 68 is a summary of the antebellum and postbellum occupations of the six sites subject to archaeological data recovery. This information is instructive in understanding the paucity of associated material remains. Looking first at the more accurate antebellum record, we see that the six sites were characterized by frequent short occupations. On the average, each site was occupied by almost three occupants over a period of less than five years. After the war and over a much longer

| Site No. | Name | Ante-Bellum (1848-1865) | | | Post-Bellum* (1965-1930) | | | Total | |
|--|-----------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | | No. of Occupations | Total Years Occupied | Mean Length Occupation In Years | No. of Occupations | Total Years Occupied | Mean Length Occupation In Years | No. of Occupations | Total Years occupied |
| 5442 | Keller | 4 | 10 | 2.5 | 4 | 14 | 3.0 | 8 | 24 |
| 5443 | Hotel | 3 | 13 | 4.3 | none | none | none | 3 | 13 |
| 5444 | unnamed | 3 | 11 | 3.6 | 1 | 1 | 1.0 | 4 | 12 |
| 5445 | Warren | 2 | 15 | 7.5 | none | none | none | 2 | 15 |
| 5447 | Academy | 2 | 14 | 7.0 | 2 | 2 | 1.0 | 4 | 16 |
| 5448 | Highwater | 3 | 12 | 4.0 | 5 | 10 | 2.0 | 8 | 22 |
| Total | | 17 | 75 | 28.9 | 12 | 27 | 7.0 | 29 | 102 |
| Mean Numbers and Length of Occupations | | 2.8 | | 4.4 | 3.0 | | 2.2 | 4.8 | 3.5 |

* The number, length and duration of Post-Bellum occupations is based on incomplete oral testimony rather than property records and is therefore less precise than the data from the Ante-Bellum period.

Table 68. Summary of number, length, and duration of occupations.

span, the number of occupancies remain about the same but were of even shorter duration. Not only were the occupants impoverished, but also occupation was brief and transitory.

Another factor contributing to the paucity of material culture involves modes of merchandising and packaging used during the height of Barton's existence, modes which persisted throughout the nineteenth century. Residents were not dependent on stores for their basic needs but for the few items which could not be grown or manufactured by themselves or obtained from neighbors. Foodstuffs and luxury consumer goods were not the main business of Barton stores. Such commodities as pots, pans, needles, yard goods, cookeryware, ammunition, tools, traps, specialized hardware, small mechanical devices, medicines, and tobacco were the major merchandise of mid-century stores (Chapter 2). This inventory had not changed dramatically even by the end of the century, except that storekeepers involved in furnishing tenants and sharecroppers dealt extensively in foodstuffs, particularly meal, meat, and molasses, and agricultural tool parts (Chapter 3).

Merchandising practices in the nineteenth century differed greatly from those of today. Goods were mainly packaged in bulk and sold in the same fashion or in bags or other containers supplied by the customers. This is particularly true of staple foodstuffs such as flour, salt, sugar, tea, and coffee. Paper wrap was usually the only packaging supplied by the retailer. People shopping in Barton stores undoubtedly brought along their own containers. Oral history indicates that this was still the practice, especially among black customers, even in the twentieth century (McClurken and Anderson 1981:146, 1208).

Most goods were not packaged at all. Major exceptions were canned foods and patent medicines, but neither of these were important parts of Barton store inventories. Canned foods were luxuries in the nineteenth century and were not widely available until after the Civil War (Clark 1977:17), and bottled medicines were not widely available until after the invention of improved finishing machines in the 1860s (Deiss 1981:56). Bottles and cans became an important consideration in trash accumulation only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Two other categories of goods, metal and ceramics, also must be considered. Metal is a significant commodity in trash accumulation since it is common and durable. Expended tools, hardware, implements, and machine parts would be expected on nineteenth-century sites. There are two mitigating factors, however. First, local blacksmiths could refurbish worn metal tools and parts; second, many metal implements were expensive and could be functionally duplicated in wood. Pegs substituted for nails, wooden buckets for metal ones, and wooden bowls and spoons for iron counterparts. Ceramics were durable and did accumulate in trash deposits, but these were considered valuable possessions and were probably used only on special occasions in Barton and Vinton households. Oral history informants report, for example, that children were given plates and cups of tin instead of ceramics because of the fear of breakage (McClurken and Anderson 1981:146, 746, 846). Ceramics were highly curated during the nineteenth century and were regarded as heirlooms, along with furniture (McClurken and Anderson 1981:704, 956, 1215, 1514).

If there is one thing about which oral history informants agree, it is that townsites residents of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century simply did not have much trash to throw away (McClurken and Anderson 1981:294, 580, 1056). Informants noted that the scant trash was burned, spread on gardens, or dumped in old wells; the most common site was gullies or hollows away from the house sites. Several said disposal of glass was especially important since many people went barefoot during the warm months (McClurken and Anderson 1981:294, 746, 889, 1075, 1150, 1181, 1390). Several informants indicated that trash was never buried. In fact, during excavation one informant observed the trash accumulated in the unlined well at the Highwater house and was clearly confounded and amazed to observe this refuse disposal practice first-hand (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1053).

Excavations in the upper Tombigbee Valley and at the sites of Barton and Vinton support two conclusions. First, there is very little trash accumulated on nineteenth century sites in general. Second, there is a very marked change in refuse disposal patterns over time. At the early end of the continuum, excavations on sites dating from the second quarter of the nineteenth century at Colbert (Minnerly 1982) and Vienna (Sonderman et al. 1981) indicate that large deep trash pits were dug and filled with abundant refuse. It is thought that the large amount of material is related to the concentration of trash in disposal pits, to a high volume supply from Mobile via the river, and to the fact that the population of the period was generally concentrated in a few river port towns. Excavations at Barton and especially Cedar Oaks indicate that, by mid-century, very little trash was being deposited, and the common mode was to throw it into abandoned wells, small trash pits, or on slopes. This observation is also confirmed by excavations at several mid-century house sites associated with Bay Springs Mill (Adams et al. 1981:215-216).

On sites occupied in the postbellum period, particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, trash was more abundant and was disposed of to the rear and sides of domiciles, along adjacent fence rows, or in dumps some distance from the house. As in the case of Cedar Oaks, sheet middens of trash accumulated around domiciles. This pattern was also observed at Waverly Plantation (Adams 1980) and Sharpley's Bottom (Kern et al. 1982a).

Archaeological testing and a magnetometer survey of the Vinton and Barton townsites were not notably successful in locating refuse deposits in gullies or other off-site locations. Presumably this is because such deposits were light -- composed primarily of glass, a nonmagnetic substance -- and because during the main townsite occupation there was a preferable alternative -- dumping trash in abandoned wells.

It has been mentioned that unlined dug wells were a feature of each mid-century domicile at Barton. Excavations of several of these indicate that they were filled, partly with household trash. In the case of wells at the Keller house (5442), the Barton Hotel (5443), and at site 5449, the fill was almost exclusively from the third quarter of the nineteenth century; they were filled by the same population which constructed them. This is largely true of the well at the Highwater house

(5448), which was primarily filled in the third quarter of the century but was capped by a second filling episode in the fourth quarter or slightly later. The fact that trash was discarded in these wells while the domiciles were occupied probably indicates that they were either an ineffective water source or had become inoperable because of changes in the water table. The first suggestion seems the most plausible. Several oral history informants described unlined wells as cistern wells and explained that water seeped into them like a spring (McClurken and Anderson 1981:694, 839). It is doubtful that they would have received much water during the dry summer months.

Later occupants of Barton relied on other water sources. Principally, these were three brick-lined wells, probably dug in the late 1870s or early 1880s. Interestingly, they contain no refuse. The absence of debris may be in part the result of the shift in disposal pattern which seems to have occurred at this time.

In summary, wells dug by the original inhabitants of Barton were in use during the 1850s and 1860s. As house sites were abandoned or changed hands, these wells went out of use and were filled with refuse. By the late 1870s, the few remaining Barton residents dug new, more centrally located wells. These were never used for refuse disposal; instead, trash was dumped in out-of-the-way places or spread out in gardens or adjacent to homes.

Even though these open wells were visible and in one case adjacent to a major access road, they were unknown to informants who were otherwise thoroughly familiar with the sites at the turn of the century (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1049). This perhaps reflects the fact that late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century residents depended upon drilled wells or springs for water sources.

Barton: Community Organization

The cultural life of a town consists of much more than a collection of domiciles and businesses. Barton's location, structure, and function are the result of the complex interaction of historical, geographical, economic, and social variables. Important among these is the set of historical precedents established in the founding and occupation of Colbert, Barton's neighboring and predecessor community.

Colbert was founded in 1836, immediately following the first sales of Chickasaw lands west of the Tombigbee (Chapter 2). It was a platted town on the bottomlands along the west bank of the Tombigbee, at the point of a ferry crossing on the Columbus-Starkville Road. Widely advertised in eastern newspapers as an idyllic community, Colbert's lots sold rapidly. The town briefly prospered as a mercantile and shipping center for cotton produced on the newly founded plantations in the rich black prairies to the west.

There is some evidence that a few Colbert residents began to move to the higher ground in the area, which was to become the Barton townsite, in the 1840s. Certainly, this was true in the Vinton area, where

a ferry was established in competition with Colbert as early as 1843 (Chapter 2). It was not until the disastrous flood of 1847 that Colbert residents came to appreciate the power of the Tombigbee and the vulnerability of the bottomland for settlement.

Archival data indicate that there was a substantial movement of Colbert residents to the higher bluffs and ridges following the 1847 flood (Chapter 2). In the pattern of Colbert, a plat was drawn and imposed on the dissected landscape of the new townsite. The best fit was sought with the existing topography and an extant road system linking Columbus with Aberdeen. Both of these emergent cities were expanding rapidly as manufacturing, political, and banking centers (Doster and Weaver 1981:78-83). It is apparent from the placement of house sites and sales records for various Barton lots that many whole blocks and streets were never developed; Barton could therefore best be characterized as a semi-platted town. While convenient for land transfer and community organization, the plat concept was ultimately inappropriate for a small community lacking the means for capital growth or population expansion.

Perhaps the best model for community growth and configuration already existed in the contemporaneous settlement to the north. Vinton was in some way a predecessor and certainly a successor to Barton, especially in community type. In Vinton we see the rise and development of a small river landing and service center, the type of community which grew up at crossroads, ferries, landings, and rail stations throughout the country. Vinton had no structure in the formal sense; it was founded and remained a purely functional community defined on a social and economic basis by relatives and customers.

It is not strictly true that Vinton was a successor to Barton in the same way Barton was a successor to Colbert. While true in the sense of function and structure, it is not true in terms of people. Archival records, especially census records, indicate that the postwar demise of Barton was accompanied by a period of substantial out-migration (Chapters 2 and 3). Many Barton residents left the area in the 1870s, and those who remained became part of the Vinton community. By the turn of the twentieth century, Vinton and the hamlet of Darracott a few miles to the north were sharing several services, among them a cotton gin, store, church, and physician. Both Vinton and Darracott died as communities as a result of the Great Depression.

From the perspective of community patterning, Barton as a viable community lasted only two decades, yet it illustrates an important adaptive phase in the settlement of the upper Tombigbee Valley. The river was both a major transportation route in cotton marketing and a barrier to east-west travel. The businesses and warehouses on the north side of the town and the ferry on the south thus gave Barton its orientation. Structurally, the town was platted to take advantage of high ground; the business district was located on a bluff near the river, and the major residential streets ran perpendicular to the bluff line along high flat ridges suitable for dwellings. The short axis of the town was the commercial district, and the long axis was residential and perpendicular to the river; this plan was typical for port and landing towns in the valley (Weaver and Doster 1982:104).

As we might expect of a platted town, there is a major dichotomy between business and residential areas. In the mid-nineteenth century, this dichotomy was not complete, as some tradesmen and professionals such as doctors and lawyers practiced from their homes. Furthermore, since each domicile was relatively self-sufficient as an economic unit, the home was also the site of a good deal of manufacturing. Wood, cloth, leather, and frequently iron objects were made at the house sites.

After the late 1860s, the structure and function of Barton changed rather radically. We find property transfers described in terms of the township range system rather than lots and blocks (Chapter 3). The businesses were gone, and what had been a town of merchants and tradesmen became a small, loosely structured community of truck and cotton farmers. The townsite was extensively cultivated by people with 40 to 60 acres of holdings who suffered from lack of capital and depressed economic conditions. Black tenant farmers began to take up residence on the townsite. In 1860, blacks accounted for 20 percent of the Barton population; in 1870, 54 percent; in 1900, 74 percent (Chapter 3). Cultivation of the ridge tops and adjacent bottoms led to extensive soil depletion and erosion of the ridges which earlier had been the home sites of Barton's residents.

The shift from private ownership by large landholders before the Civil War, to systems of wage, and then to the credit or crop-lien system has been well described by Adams (1980) and Smith et al. (1982). The sequence in the Barton-Vinton area was essentially similar but less severe because of a greater emphasis on subsistence crops. Nonetheless, farmers on the townsites were largely locked into cotton production. The single cash crop economy, low production because of soil depletion in the sandy hills, and increasingly depressed cotton prices forced independent farmers toward crop liens and resulted in the loss of many small landholdings by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. One informant recalled a local saying which appropriately expressed the realities of farming along the Tombigbee River as opposed to the black prairies: "sift the meal and save the bran, you can't make a living on the sandy land" (McClurken and Anderson 1981:518).

Eventually, large landholders and furnishing merchants acquired most small properties in repayment of debt. By the turn of the twentieth century, residents of the Barton-Vinton area included a few large landowners and a multitude of farmers, mostly black, who farmed on shares. The oral history of black residents contains bitter memories of this system in which debt bondage restricted freedom of movement, condemned families to a life of endless poverty, and worst of all provided few means of escape (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1162). Thus we find that poverty became the organizing theme for life in and around the townsites. Mutual cooperation became the mechanism which held the community together as a functioning whole. Among the poor, blacks helped blacks, whites helped whites, and not infrequently they helped each other.

The nineteenth century rural economy of the sand hills region was based on the family as the minimal producing economic unit of society.

At mid-century, economic duties and prerogatives of males and females were clear and separate. This division of labor was reflected in the layout of domiciles and the usual separation of residential and business areas within the community. Males were in charge of farming and commerce, females the maintenance of homes and rearing of children. Women made clothes, cooked meals, and provided subsistence from gardens and small livestock, particularly chickens. Males built homes, outbuildings, and furniture; to the extent possible, they participated in the cash economy which supplied some foodstuffs and the means of farm production. Men also hunted, fished, and trapped to supply the family table. Children apparently entered the work force early and only occasionally attended school.

After the demise of Barton as a community in the late 1860s, there is a clear change in this pattern. The small farm system and later the tenant farmer and sharecropper family required the labor of women as well as men in production of cash crops. Domestic tasks formerly undertaken by women were taken over by older children and the elderly, especially in black families. The labor force was augmented by larger and larger families and younger and younger children. This tendency is seen in the age structure of the townsites population, which tended to get younger as the century wore on and the economy became more strictly agricultural (Chapter 3). The increasing participation of all family members in agricultural labor is also seen in the changing occupations given in the federal censuses (Chapter 3). The larger the family, the easier it became to obtain and hold a sharecropper position with a large landholder (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1160).

Cooperation did not stop at the level of the nuclear family. As had been the case since mid-century, extended kindred were important, especially in the postbellum period. As we have seen, many of the original Barton-Vinton residents emigrated to the area at the recommendation and with the support of family members who already resided there (Chapter 2). Examples are the Keaton-Futrell-Williams and Harrison families. These sets of relatives helped one another acquire property and businesses in and near the townsites. The Griswold, Collins, Curtis, Duling, Trotter, Rainey, and Warren businesses were all family partnerships or involved participation by several family members. Most of these immigrants to Barton were young, had young children, and soon intermarried, creating an extensive kin network.

Kinfolk aided one another in economic pursuits, cooperated in the care of aged family members and orphans, and temporarily boarded relatives. The responsibilities of kinship were very strong, and bonds were closely traced and maintained. In one case, these obligations extended to the killing of an errant husband by the wife's father (Chapter 3).

Among blacks, this general situation also prevailed. With the demise of slavery, marriage as an institution took on great meaning, and the black family became the main economic and social unit of black society (Kern et al. 1982b). As in the white community, kin relations were very well maintained and could commonly be traced for at least three generations. Unlike white families, black families were often

disrupted by economic hardship and short life expectancies. Households often contained both affinal and collateral relatives, and multigeneration households were the rule rather than the exception. Fictive kinship also seems to have played an important role in increasing social cohesion. Black children were often bonded to an adult woman who was their "play mama." This was a functional relationship analogous to the godparent relationship (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1026). In addition, black children often addressed black adults as "aunt" or "uncle," which was a respectful term.

A good deal of the mutual aid which flowed from the white to the black community was through friendship and servile relationships which were marked by the use of fictive kin terms. White children often addressed black adults who filled such positions as "aunt" or "uncle." These terms entailed a protective relationship between that individual and the white family, whereas in the black community they were merely respectful or affectionate terms (McClurken and Anderson 1981).

Blacks and lower status white adults frequently addressed higher status whites with whom they had dependent relationships by an honorific title such as "captain" for males and "missie" for females. Adult whites addressed adult blacks by first names only and frequently by nicknames.

Beyond family obligations, Barton-Vinton residents felt a strong sense of neighborhood. In fact, the boundaries of Barton and particularly Vinton were determined by this concept. Those who interacted socially, that is, attended the same churches and schools and who shopped or obtained services in these towns on a regular basis, regarded themselves as neighbors. In the black and white segments of the population these neighborhoods were defined quite differently. White residents in the late nineteenth century would have belonged to the Vinton community, but black residents in the same area would have belonged to Concob, London Chapel, or Town Creek. Within these communities, there was a strong sense of obligation for mutual help, "acting like a good country neighbor should" (McClurken and Anderson 1981:635, 1393). Helping neighbors was not an ideal but a viable, functioning lifeway in the Barton-Vinton community. Women cooperated in making clothing, delivering babies, and treating and nursing the sick. Food was shared among families, and men cooperated extensively in butchering, building, and supplying and repairing tools and implements (McClurken and Anderson 1981:80, 398, 744, 888, 1087, 1194, 1276, 1299). To some degree, the ethic of neighborliness extended between the black and white community, particularly in times of dire economic stress.

It is clear from the archival and oral history records that emancipation produced important changes within the black community and in the relationship between the races. Before and during the Civil War, the labor of blacks in the production of goods and services was a fixed cost. That is, the cost of supporting the black labor force upon which the cash economy depended was constant irrespective of level of production or fluctuation in return. The obligation of support was thus an investment toward maintaining the ability to produce labor at a particular level at given periods of the year. When the wage labor and

later tenant and crop-lien systems became predominant in the postbellum period, the labor of blacks became a variable cost for white producers. That is, the amount of expenditures spent on supporting the labor force was a function of the return on investment. As production or price decreased, the amount of food, clothing, or cash advances flowing to labor decreased. Since the cotton market became progressively less profitable in the postwar era, the obligation whites felt toward blacks was based less on fictive kinship or neighborliness and more on an economic obligation to support "hands" associated with a particular work force. This attitude led to heightened disrespect for blacks in general, if not for specific individuals, and marked skepticism between the races. This division was so complete that whites and blacks had little common knowledge of the other's lifeways. Even the landscape, both natural and social, took on different forms, and separate sets of place names were applied to the same locations.

Underlying the social and economic organization of the townsites was an important network of institutions -- social, religious, educational, and political. Vinton had a Masonic Hall which housed the Masons, Odd Fellows, and the Friendship Lodge which provided an important social nexus for the late-nineteenth century white Vinton community. Dances and other social events were held quite regularly, for the most part in private homes (McClurken and Anderson 1981:942).

In both the black and white communities, churches of various denominations were important. In mid-century, membership seems to have been quite fluid, and families commonly attended Methodist and Baptist services, depending on the availability of a minister (McClurken and Anderson 1981:1170, Chapter 2).

At the heart of the several black communities in the townsites area were churches at London Chapel, Concob, and Town Creek. These, unlike the white churches, were the center of all social and political activity and played an important function in mutual aid. Not only did the congregation raise funds to help needy families, but also the self-help programs started through the influence of Booker T. Washington and agricultural improvement projects were centered in the black churches.

During the last several decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was a tremendous emphasis on education, particularly in the black community. When not engaged in agricultural production, children attended school at Vinton or Concob. Of all the members of the black community, the one person known and respected by all informants on the oral history project was Andrew Lenoir, Sr., who was an extremely able teacher in the black school system (McClurken and Anderson 1981).

The communities of Barton and Vinton were different in type and function, but throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, they both underwent traumatic evolution. Both were by and large communities of impoverished people who depended upon the bonds of kinship and a sense of neighborhood to provide the mutual aid necessary for survival.

Barton in Regional Context

If Barton and its successor communities took their structure from the traditions of southern uplands, their functions as communities must be found in the changing economic and sociopolitical environments of the region and nation of which they were a part.

As we have seen, Barton's location was the result partially of its propinquity to Colbert and partially of its orientation to the river, ferry, and preexisting roadways. The importance of all these transportation routes and connectors is in turn a function of the need to link the cotton production on the black prairie lands west of Barton with both the river and larger commercial centers such as Aberdeen and Columbus. Barton's major regional function was as a landing site where cotton could be stored, loaded on steamboats, and taken downriver to market. As a secondary (and much less important) function, Barton also served as a source of mercantile goods sold through stores. The importance of this function was limited by the fact many of the largest consumers, that is, the cotton producers, obtained supplies directly from factors who also handled the sale of their cotton in Mobile. The third principal function of the town was in supplying services. Here, too, town-based tradesmen were disadvantaged because most of their services were duplicated on the plantations or could be obtained in many other localities. It was ultimately only the Tombigbee River as a transportation route which provided a real function for Barton. The coming of the Mobile and Ohio railroad to nearby West Point in 1857 was the death knell for Barton, particularly because the upper Tombigbee was never a good means of transport. It could only be navigated during the two or three months of highest water, and in some years it was not navigable at all. Perhaps the low water conditions during the winters of 1855 and 1856 which prohibited any movement of cotton down the Tombigbee contributed to the rush of growers to the railroads when they became established in the area the next year (Chapter 2).

The coming of the railroads not only meant that Barton's functions as a storage and shipping point were obsolete but also that these new rail ports would become mercantile centers. Columbus and Aberdeen, which had been growing in rapid proportion during the 1840s and 1850s, and now also West Point, became the focus of regional manufacturing and wholesale and retail sales. Merchants in Barton found it difficult to compete, and the high failure and turnover rate of Barton businesses reflects this economic fact of life. Barton, teetering on the verge of economic ruin, was certainly pushed to complete collapse by the Civil War, although its final demise was delayed by the confusion and economic stagnation of the war years.

Following the war, its functions superceded and subsumed, Barton was no longer a small riverport town, and the few postwar residents clung to farming for their livelihood and became attached to the Vinton community. As had Barton, Vinton offered several services -- a ferry, grist mill, cotton gin, and blacksmithing. It also had several stores, the major one being the Trotter-Watson store (Chapter 3). It became a furnishing store for tenant farmers and sharecroppers attached to the larger Trotter and Watson landholdings of the postwar era. In fact,

Trotter's mercantile business covered 20 square miles, and between 1877 and 1881 at least 116 people were in debt to the Trotter store (Chapter 3). Its success is not to be measured in sold merchandise but in land and cotton returned on lien.

The Trotter-Watson and other small furnishing stores as well as a few services kept the Vinton community alive until the boll weevil and finally the Great Depression brought its ruin. From that point, the towns of Barton and Vinton, Mississippi, live only as memories in the minds of aging residents. Despite the hardships of poverty and the social and economic injustices shared by many residents, there exists a reality about these towns, and the way of life they represented is irreplaceable. Those facts which we can learn from the archaeology, from the written records, and from first-hand accounts are imperfect, and time diminishes our ability to interpret them. Perhaps the reality of Barton and Vinton has escaped us long ago. As Douglas Ivy put it, "I give some history of it (the older world). I could enlarge on it, but I can't tell it all. It's kind of like a old story. You can't tell it all; you just tell so much and so much" (McClurken and Anderson 1981: 732).

CHAPTER 17. AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The research organization originally proposed for the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project was oriented toward a number of general areas of concern, such as "subsistence" or "transportation." Within these problem domains, several specific hypotheses were suggested which preliminary but very incomplete knowledge of the townsites suggested would be both reasonable and testable. In some cases, data which were assumed to be present were not; in others, unforeseen data were collected permitting modification of the original hypothesis. Based on an evaluation of the quantity and quality of information pertaining to specific problem domains as well as the work of other researchers in the upper Tombigbee Valley, it is now possible to suggest avenues for future research.

Material Culture

The most apparent and immediate subject of further study of the townsite data is one centered on the description and analysis of excavated material culture. Although this record is far from rich on a site by site basis the collection in its entirety is substantial and important for our understanding of several more inclusive problem domains. For example, the study of Barton material culture would be crucial to analysis of economic and regional transportation systems. It would also contribute strongly to the understanding of ethnic, status and occupational differences among Barton residents as well as comparative studies involving Colbert, Vinton and other sites of the Multi-Resource District.

Subsistence and Foodways

Archaeological excavations at Barton and Vinton produced very little direct evidence of subsistence activities in terms of either faunal or floral remains. Therefore, virtually nothing can be said of mid-century foodways. The archival or oral historical records on this subject, however, are excellent and should add significantly to information which appears in the Sharpley's Bottom (Kern et al. 1982b), Bay Springs (Adams et al. 1981, Smith et al. 1982), and Waverly Plantation reports (Adams 1980). Account books from the Watson store at Vinton as well as the Long account book from Waverly provide excellent data for the study of tenant and sharecropper food allocation and consumption rates. This is particularly the case when the account book data are combined with the excellent genealogical and occupational information in the oral accounts. In addition, agricultural schedules from the federal census as well as production figures from the account books should give

an excellent picture of changes in subsistence strategies related to cycles of cotton production and price. At both Sharpley's Bottom (Kern et al. 1982b:120) and Waverly (Adams 1980:320), we have examples of corresponding cycles of production and purchases, and the same kind of data are available for at least a dozen sharecroppers attached to the Watson family at Vinton in the early twentieth century.

Transportation

Overall information on transportation is one of the weaker data sets. This subject is only superficially treated in the Bay Springs, Sharpley's Bottom, and Waverly reports. Little further analysis seems possible for the Barton-Vinton area beyond documenting Barton's decline relative to the demise of river traffic and in terms of local competition over ferry rights. Ultimately, it would be possible to compare similarities and differences among the Colbert, Barton, and Vinton road systems.

In the broadest sense, supply sources of material goods are related to the development, use, and demise of transportation routes. Given the archival lists of suppliers for Barton and Vinton stores as well as manufacturers' marks on recovered material remains, it is possible to add to our knowledge of national and regional transport and supply systems.

Economy

Economic records from the townsites provide an excellent data resource for further analytic study. Of particular interest are the store accounts for several Barton businesses. These are largely unanalyzed and would add significantly to the late-nineteenth century data from Waverly Plantation, Bay Springs, and Sharpley's Bottom. The Watson store ledgers and information from numerous chattel deeds provide excellent data sets for studying the economics of production, expenditures, and debt of tenants and the operation of the furnishing system in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Vinton.

Beyond the background for the plantation economies of Waverly and Sharpley's Bottom, detailed decade-by-decade changes in land transfers for the sandy lands and prairies adjacent to Barton and Vinton can be interfaced with data about economic and agricultural cycles affecting smaller scale landholders in the region. The excellent epilogue of the Sharpley's Bottom report (Kern et al. 1982b:97) concerning the decline of cotton tenancy as well as the sections of the Waverly report (Adams 1980:335) which treat the declining agricultural base in the late nineteenth century would serve as excellent background for the rich oral history collected from the Barton-Vinton area. This record is replete with information on diets, lifeways, agricultural strategies, and movements of tenants and sharecroppers which could be correlated with archival records of economic change.

Settlement

Kern et al. (1982b) provide a good background for the early settlement of and land speculation in the black prairies of eastern Mississippi, especially regarding the Whitfield family. At Waverly Plantation, we see a similar pattern of immigration for the Young family and other Georgia planters. At Barton and Vinton, the Harrison family provides a similar example of the chain-like pattern whereby early residents encouraged and supported later immigration of relatives. Such familial relations can be traced through time at Barton-Vinton; for example, the Keaton-Williams-Futrell-Duke families show continued social interrelation and mutual interdependence through time.

The Sharpley's Bottom report deals heavily with black settlement in the prairies and bottoms as opposed to towns such as Aberdeen. A similar pattern is seen in comparing Barton-Vinton and Bay Spring Mill.

Settlement is the focus of the Bay Spring farmstead study, and the incipient patterns identified there could be further refined with the inclusion of similar material from Barton-Vinton, Sharpley's Bottom, and Waverly.

In total, the consideration of different community types, riverside plantations, industrial centers, upland towns, and scattered farmsteads indicates that the settlement model of upland southern farmstead and lowland plantation is a vast oversimplification of an extremely complex system. Given the substantial settlement information now available and the potential the Barton-Vinton data hold for filling in the relationship between the prairies and the sandy uplands, much future research should be devoted to this topic.

Patterns of land tenure have been researched to a considerable degree, especially by Adams (1980:75) at Waverly Plantation. However, tracing the continuity of land has been complicated by the difficulty of identifying affinal relationships, for example, land passing to sons-in-law. The quality of both written and oral genealogical information in the Barton-Vinton area would permit a detailed examination of these patterns.

Community boundaries have been analyzed in most reports for the upper Tombigbee. In the case of Bay Springs, such factors as topography and post office designations were less important than kin or church affiliation in this regard. At Sharpley's Bottom, topography and the geographical isolation of the bottom itself were important factors. The rich oral tradition about community and personal relationships in the Barton-Vinton area points out the importance of social dynamics in defining community boundaries for blacks and whites which overlap in space at any given point in time. Analysis of the oral historical record undoubtedly would result in a very complete understanding of the mechanisms which create and preserve community boundaries.

Social System

The Waverly, Sharpley's Bottom, and Bay Spring Mill reports do not extensively treat social relationships. When this is done, it is in terms of social groups, that is, planters versus tenants or blacks versus whites. At Waverly, there is more consideration of occupational groups than at Sharpley's Bottom, a fascinating examination of race relations in the late nineteenth century. In the case of Barton and Vinton, the archival record and especially oral history would permit a much fuller treatment of the social system of this period. Such a study would require a detailed analysis of the genealogical relationships of families residing on or near the sites. Kin terms, action typical of various kin relationships, and other sociological data from these records are capable of producing an excellent understanding of the social fabric of both the black and white communities at the turn of the twentieth century.

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