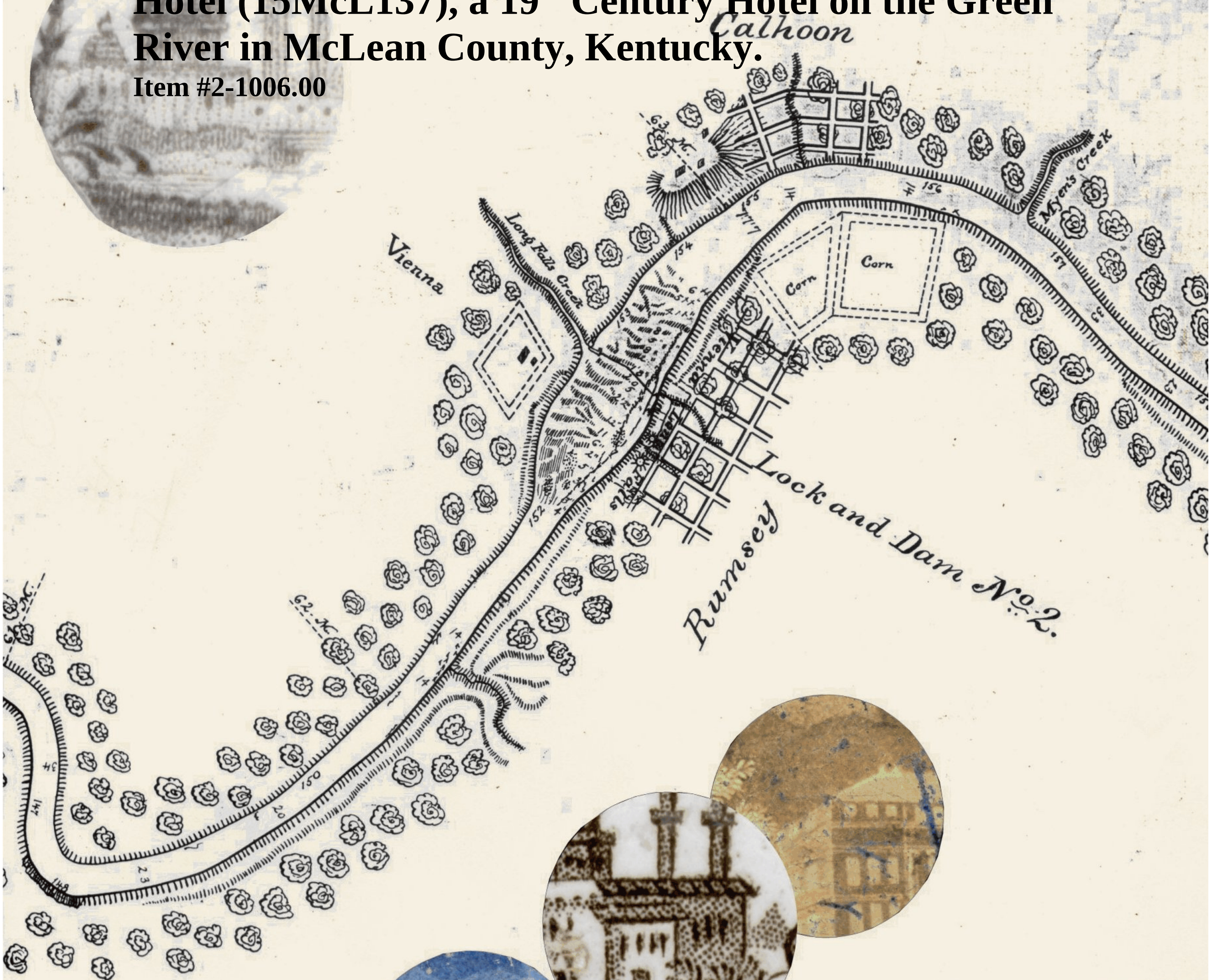
From Tavern to Hotel: Archaeology of the Baber Hotel (15McL137), a 19th Century Hotel on the Green River in McLean County, Kentucky.

Item #2-1006.00



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September, 2008

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Abstract

Between November, 1996 through November, 1997, Wilbur Smith Associates conducted a Phase III mitigation of an early to late nineteenth century hotel/tavern, site 15McL137, also known as the Baber Hotel, in McLean County, Kentucky. This work was conducted under contract to the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, Division of Environmental Analysis in compliance with Section 106 legislation, ahead of the proposed bridge replacement of KY 81, McLean County, Kentucky.

Phase III excavation consisted of shovel probing, unit excavation, and the mechanical removal of the plowzone. As a result of this mitigation, 244 features were discovered and documented, most of which date to the Baber Hotel period. Important feature types documented at the site include 185 post molds/holes, three stone and 10 brick piers, seven robbed pier holes, one brick chimney, two robbed chimney holes, one brick walk, six cellars, one cellar bulkhead, two middens, five refuse pits, eight privy vaults, one well, two possible cisterns, one cement drain, six shallow depressions, and two mortar concentrations. Most of these features were associated with a hotel, a detached kitchen, and several outbuildings that were owned by Charles Baber.

This report presents a study of the life of Charles M. Baber, hotel keeper, who occupied the hotel/tavern in the town of Rumsey, located on the Green River in Western Kentucky. Baber was one of Rumsey's founding fathers and ran the hotel/tavern from ca. 1835 until his death in 1868 with operations continuing after his death for another few years. Archaeological excavation yielded an assemblage of mostly early to middle nineteenth century materials and is consistent with a domestic or residential hotel occupation beginning in the 1830's and continuing to the late nineteenth century. In addition, the presence of certain artifacts recovered (i.e., liquor bottles, tumblers, smoking pipes, billiards and other male game pieces, etc.) provide enough evidence to conclude that Baber had a tap or bar room in his house. The recovery of several artifacts related to female activities, in particular knitting, did reveal that one room of the Baber house may have been used as a female space or parlor. Although small, Baber's hotel appears to have met the needs of both the working and middle classes and strongly suggests that Baber was aspiring for a middle or upper middle class life style.

This study also serves as an example analysis of the economic and social conditions that promoted the growth of towns in Western Kentucky and shows the nature of these towns and how their founding fathers competed for regional prominence. Through a careful analysis of the contents of cultural features combined with archival records, the history of the Baber family and the hotel he owned and operated is examined, as well as the growth and decline of the town of Rumsey.

Acknowledgments

This project was conducted under contract with the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet and could not have been completed without the assistance of their staff. We especially thank Mr. Kurt Fiegel, formerly of the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet, for his help and advice. Mr. Fiegel very kindly provided references and reading material on nineteenth century taverns in Illinois. His interest and support is much appreciated.

Numerous colleagues contributed their efforts to this project. All of them deserve sincere thanks, especially crew members Robert Ball, Bill Huser, Dennis Larson, Madge Smith, Mike Muzio, Emariana Taylor, Tom Stetar, J. Howard Beverly, and Greg Willoughby for their enthusiasm in the field. Historic artifact identification and analysis was undertaken by Robert Ball, Tracey Sandefur, Greg Willoughby, and Bill Huser under the supervision of W. Stephen McBride and Susan Andrews. Ms. Andrews also conducted the detailed ceramic vessel analysis. All fieldwork was supervised by Tracey Sandefur and Madge Smith.

J. Howard Beverly produced the SURFER maps for the report. The various site maps used in this report were prepared by Mr. Brady Johnson. Ms. Ann Wilkinson, Ms. Courtney Stoll, and Mr. Casey Barrier all provided a great amount of support and prepared all of the artifact tabulations.

Lastly, Mr. Tim Sorenson and Mr. John Carr both greatly facilitated the success of this report.

Chapter One

Introduction to the Project

Introduction

Figure 1.1. Location of McLean County, Kentucky

Between November 4, 1996 and November 21, 1997, Wilbur Smith Associates (WSA) conducted a Phase III archaeological excavation of the Baber Hotel Site, site 15McL137, an early to middle nineteenth century hotel, located in McLean County, Kentucky (Figure 1.1). This mitigation study was undertaken in agreement with provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (P.L. 89-665; 80 Stat. 915, 16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.), the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (P.L. 910190; 83 Stat. 852, 42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.), Procedures of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (36CRF800), and Executive Order 11593, Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment (16 U.S.C. 470; Supp. 1, 1971). Figure 1.2 shows the project location on the Calhoun USGS topographic map.

Project Sponsors

The state agency sponsoring this excavation is the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet (KYTC), Division of Environmental Analysis; the lead federal agency is the Federal Highway Administration. The site investigations were supported as part of the KY 80 bridge relocation project in McLean County, Kentucky, contract No. 2-1006.00.

Previous Research and Purpose of the Report

Site 15McL137 was initially located as part of a Phase I survey in 1994 (Fenton et al. 1995). Archaeologists from Wilbur Smith Associates conducted the survey of a 0.93 km long corridor for the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet. The survey was conducted as part of an environmental assessment for the proposed replacement of the KY 81 Bridge over the Green River and resulted in the discovery of two archaeological sites, 15McL137 and 15McL138.

Site 15McL137 was discovered with shovel tests at 20 m intervals, and a small surface collection was made of an exposed garden area. No standing structures or above-ground surface

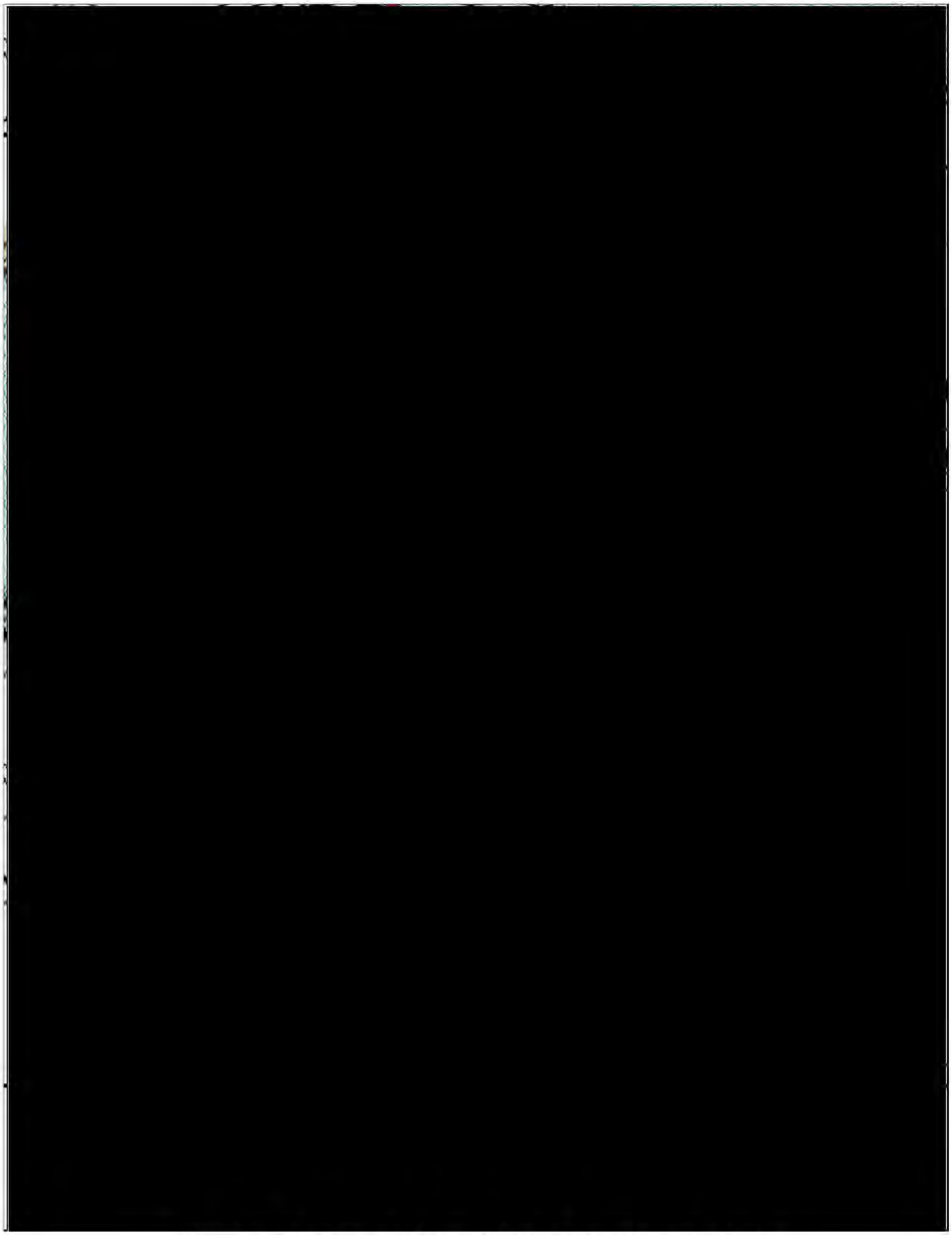


Figure 1.2. Location of Site 15McL137, the Baber Hotel site

features relating to the occupation were discovered by the survey. Site dimensions were estimated to be 3,600 m^2, and the site was found to be located on two town lots (lots 13 and 14). Analysis of stratigraphy and the artifact assemblage suggested that an intact buried midden associated with an antebellum occupation was present at the site. Historical research indicated that this occupation was associated with the Baber Hotel, which was in operation from 1835 to the 1870s. WSA recommended that this site was potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and that additional work should be conducted at the site.

In May 1995, the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet requested that Wilbur Smith Associates conduct Phase II archaeological testing of the site (McBride and Fenton 1996). This was undertaken by WSA from July 31 to August 4 and from September 11-26, 1995. As a result of this testing a number of early to late nineteenth century deposits, including midden and features, were located and examined at site 15McL137. In all, 13 subsurface cultural features were identified. These include two posthole/molds (Features 2 and 13), one midden (Feature 1), three refuse pits or cellars (Features 14, 17, and 18), one well (Feature 10), one brick pier (Feature 16), one possible pit (Feature 12), one pipe trench (Feature 3), and one man-hole/drain. Feature numbers 4 - 9, 15, and 19 were not assigned, and Feature 11 was a natural stain (rodent hole). A total of 17,443 historic and 277 prehistoric artifacts was recovered from site 15McL137.

Surface collection, shovel probing, and unit excavation yielded an assemblage of mostly early to middle nineteenth century materials (pearlware, decorated whiteware, container glass, cut nails, and thin flat glass) and later nineteenth and twentieth century materials (plain ironstone, whiteware, amethyst glass, clear glass, wire nails, thicker window glass). The assemblage was found to be consistent with a domestic occupation beginning in the 1830s and continuing to the late nineteenth century. Archival research indicated that during this time, between about 1835 to the 1870s, lots 13 and 14 were the site of the Charles Baber Hotel. After 1918, the lots on which the hotel was located were referred to as a “house and four lots,” suggesting either that the hotel was converted to a residence, or that it was replaced by a new structure entirely. Late whitewares (decal, etc.) indicative of twentieth century occupation were found to be of limited occurrence in the assemblage. Wire nails did occur in moderate frequency, however, and were thought to be from outbuildings associated with later owners of the property or from adjacent lots during later occupations.

Because of the site’s stratigraphic integrity and abundant features with artifacts from the antebellum era, the site was considered to contain important scientific data that could not be recovered elsewhere, and that would be destroyed by the proposed bridge construction. For these reasons, a Phase III archaeological investigation was recommended.

Site Location and Description

Site 15McL137 was located on the northwestern side of the town of Rumsey, just west of the bridge ramp for KY 81, and 30 feet (9 - 10 m) from the southern bank of the Green River. Physiographically, it is located on the floodplain of the Green River at about 380 feet above mean sea level (Figure 1.2). At the time of our excavations, the site was open and situated in a vacant town lot within a grassy yard and an overgrown garden (Figures 1.3 and 1.4).

McLean County lies within the Western Kentucky Coal Physiography region of Kentucky (Pollack 1990). This portion of Kentucky is characterized by areas of low hills separated by broad, flat valleys. The wide flood plain of the Green River is the lowest elevation in the county and ranges between 380 feet (115.9 m) and 400 feet (122 m) amsl. The elevations of ridge crests and hilltops that rise above the bottom lands are usually no more than 500 feet (152.4 meters) amsl. The highest elevation, Barrett Hill on the McLean-Ohio County line, is 660 feet (201.3 m) amsl. The land is underlain by the Lisman Formation of Upper Pennsylvanian Age bedrock. This consists mainly of sandstone, siltstone, and shale (Cox 1980:2). The relief of McLean County ranges from nearly level to steep. Therefore, both gently sloping to steep soils of the uplands and nearly level soils on flood plains are present (Cox 1980).

Two soil series were identified within the project area: Loring and Nolin silt loam (Cox 1980). Loring soils are formed in loess and are found on hilltops and side slopes. They are moderately well-drained and gently sloping to moderately steep. The land is used mainly for farming, but has potential for urban uses. The hazards of erosion and slow permeability limit urban use. Nolin soils are formed in alluvium along the larger streams. This soil is suitable for agricultural. It is not subject to erosion and can be cultivated intensively. It has poor potential for most urban uses because of the hazard of flooding.

The Green River and its tributaries form the main drainage system of the region. The Green River flows along the northeast boundary of Muhlenberg County, crosses McLean County, and flows along the northwest boundary of McLean County. The Mud River to the east and the Pond River to the west are the major tributaries of the Green River. All three rivers flow to the north.

The Green River Valley is five miles wide, and the major tributaries have valleys about one mile wide. In the late nineteenth century, a system of locks and flood control reservoirs were installed on the Green River in an attempt to prevent catastrophic flooding. The Green River is navigable beyond Calhoun and Rumsey. In the early nineteenth century, steamboats traveled upstream, carrying passengers and freight for the interior and produce for trade downstream. In other words, the river was an important attraction for early Euro-American settlement, exploration, and exploitation in this part of Kentucky. In the nineteenth century it served as a major transport route, until the advent of the railroad.

Environmental

Modern climatic conditions in McLean County are characteristic for mid-continental regions: summers are hot in the valleys and slightly cooler in the hills, and winters are moderately cold. Rains are fairly heavy throughout the year. In winter, the average temperature is 37° F, while the average summer temperature is 77° F. Average seasonal precipitation is 22 inches (April through

Figure 1.3. Site 15McL137, the Baber Hotel site, looking southwest

Figure 1.4. Site 15mcL137, the Baber Hotel site, looking northeast

September; 50% of the annual precipitation), while snowfall is 12 inches. The percentage of possible sunshine days is75 % in summer and 45% in winter (Cox 1980). Less than 25% of the land remains forested in McLean County (Bryant 1992:599). Hardwood trees are the native vegetation of the area. They grow mostly on wet soils and on sloping to steep soils on uplands. Grasses and legumes are domestic perennial grasses and herbaceous legumes. Wild herbaceous plants are native or naturally established grasses. Examples of grasses and legumes are fescue, clover, and alfalfa. Hardwood and softwood trees provide cover for wildlife as well as forage and mast. Such native trees are oak, poplar, cherry, sweetgum, crabapple, hawthorn, dogwood, hickory, and blackberry. Coniferous plants also furnish habitat or supply food; species documented in the region are pine, spruce, fir, cedar, and juniper. Wetland plants are annual and perennial wild herbaceous plants that grow on moist or wet sites. Examples are smartweed, wild millet, wild rice, salt grass, cordgrass, etc. Open land habitat consists of cropland, pasture, meadows, and areas that are overgrown with grasses, herbs, shrubs, and vines. The kinds of wildlife attracted to these areas include bobwhite quail, pheasant, meadowlark, field sparrow, cottontail rabbit, and red fox. Woodland habitat consists of areas of hardwood or conifers, or a mixture of both. Wildlife attracted to these areas include wild turkey, ruffed grouse, woodcock, thrushes, woodpeckers, squirrels, gray fox, raccoon, and deer. Wetland habitat consists of open, marshy, or swampy shallow water with wildlife such as ducks, geese, herons, shore birds, muskrat, mink, and beaver (Cox 1980:44-45).

Personnel: Principal Investigator

The principal investigator for this study was Dr. W. Stephen McBride. Dr. McBride planned and supervised the field and laboratory activities.

Personnel: Field and Laboratory Crew

The Field Directors for this project were Tracey A. Sandefur and Madge Smith. Crew members included Robert W. Ball, J. Howard Beverly, Bill Huser, Dennis Larson, Mike Muzio, Emariana Taylor, and Greg Willoughby. Laboratory analyses of the recovered materials was carried out by staff members of Wilbur Smith Associates under the supervision of Susan C. Andrews. Botanical analysis for both Phase II and III was conducted by Dr. Jack Rossen (Appendix A). Specialized faunal re-analysis was conducted by Dr. Judith A. Sichler for the Phase II and again by Dr. Sichler for the Phase III assemblages (Chapter Eight and Appendix B).

Historic artifact analysis was supervised by Dr. Stephen McBride and Susan Andrews and conducted by Robert Ball, Tracey Sandefur, Greg Willoughby, and Bill Huser. Ms. Andrews conducted the special analysis for the ceramic and glass vessels (Appendix C). Identification of artifacts was conducted using available library references and by comparison with artifact collections at Wilbur Smith Associates.

Report Organization

This report presents the results of this investigation and is organized in the following manner. Chapter One introduces the project area with site location and description and previous excavations undertaken at the site. Chapter Two presents the research design that was implemented during the mitigation. This design was developed at the end of the Phase II study and provided an adequate guide for the fieldwork and the eventual findings of the laboratory analyses. Research questions for the Baber Hotel were directed toward addressing weaknesses in tavern studies, particularly tavern variability, function, spatial organization, and material culture accessibility and consumption. Chapter Three presents the historic context of the Baber Hotel.

Chapters Four and Five are more database-oriented, with Chapter Four describing the materials recovered, and Chapter Five reporting the results of the field work at the site. The laboratory methods and a typology for artifact description and analysis is presented in Chapter Four, as well as representative examples of diagnostic artifacts and tables for each functional artifact category. Lastly, a discussion of the cultural, temporal, and behavioral implications of the assemblage is discussed in Chapter Four. The focus of Chapter Five is the description and preliminary functional interpretation of the archaeological remains of Baber's hotel/residence, detached kitchen, and associated facilities, including a well, two cisterns, several storage cellars, and assorted refuse pits. Maps and planviews of these features, along with photographs of the artifacts recovered from them, illustrate the archaeological component of this study. The different contexts identified at the site are described and evaluated in terms of their integrity and value for further study.

Chapter Six addresses the organization, architectural style, and layout of the hotel and lot using the archaeological discoveries and archival research on the site, as well as a survey of other nineteenth century hotel/taverns. This part of the analysis identifies building locations based on features and surrounding midden. Questions addressed in this chapter include a more in-depth discussion on what functions and activities might have been associated with buildings that are no longer extant and what information can be garnered as to the types and qualities of services provided by the Baber Hotel. Changes in the Baber Hotel from a young, newly established business to the sale of the property after nearly 50 years of occupation by the Baber household is the focus of Chapter Six as seen through archaeological deposits, feature organization and in-filling, structure evolution, and eventual abandonment of the houselot.

Chapter Seven addresses the male and female activities at the Baber Hotel. Through a combination of archaeological analysis of the nineteenth century features and the material recovered from them, we will answer such questions regarding the social functions that the hotel may have served for the community of Rumsey. These questions will also be examined through archival research and through artifact analysis (i.e., pipes, musical instruments, drinking containers, sewing implements, etc.) which will be used for a comparison study with other taverns and hotels.

Chapter Eight addresses the foodways at the Baber Hotel. The majority of the faunal analysis was written by Dr. Judith A. Sichler of the University of Tennessee. Dr. Sichler also reanalyzed the Phase II faunal assemblage and analyzed the Phase III materials recovered. The results of the archaeobotanical analysis conducted by Dr. Jack Rossen of Ithaca College, New York are also addressed in this chapter. Information about subsistence and changes in subsistence activities are revealed through both the faunal and floral analysis. Some of the questions addressed in this chapter include whether Baber was providing meals to regular working men, permanent guests, and/or overnight guests. Another question this chapter addresses is whether Baber was providing a variety of food to these individuals according to their economic status. Foodway comparisons with the Upper South and Ohio Valley will be important to this research. Lastly, how food at meals may have changed over time is examined.

In Chapter Nine consumerism and material culture of the Baber family and guests will be examined by looking at the cultural material, specifically, the kitchen ceramic and glass assemblage. Changes in consumption patterns over time and what might have caused such changes will be a key issue. Several contexts or models will be used to place the ceramics within the appropriate time period of the Baber Hotel. These models or contexts have been used in varying degrees to answer questions about human behavior and ceramic usage. In addition, the nature of the trade accessibility at Rumsey and how this may have changed as modes of transportation changed over time will be examined.

Finally, Chapter Ten summarizes the other chapters and will show how the Baber Hotel fits into the range of variability found in nineteenth century hotels/taverns. This information will be used towards creating a model of hotel functions, layout, and quality of services, particularly in small towns and rural areas. In this way, a broader understanding of nineteenth century hotels/taverns will hopefully be achieved.

Curation

All artifacts or cultural materials collected, as well as field notes, photographs, and other data from the project, will be curated at the Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

Overview and Findings

Phase III excavation at the Baber Hotel consisted of shovel probing, unit excavation, and the mechanical removal of the plowzone. As a result of this mitigation, 244 features were discovered and documented. Important feature types documented at the site include 185 post molds/holes, three stone and 10 brick piers, seven robbed pier holes, one brick chimney, two robbed chimney holes, one brick walk, six cellars, one cellar bulkhead, two middens, five refuse pits, eight privy vaults, one well, two possible cisterns, one cement drain, six shallow depressions, and two mortar concentrations. Most of these features were associated with a hotel structure, a detached kitchen, and several outbuildings that were owned by Charles Baber. Site 15McL137, the Baber Hotel, was established in 1835 by Charles M. Baber and appears to have operated until the 1870s. Through a careful analysis of the contents of cultural features combined with archival records, the history of the Baber family and the hotel he owned and operated is examined in the following chapters.

Summary

In this chapter, information has been presented that introduces activities conducted by WSA staff archaeologists to complete a Phase III mitigation of the Baber Hotel, site 15McL137, for the proposed relocation of bridge KY 80 over the Green River. An outline has been provided of the organization of the report and additional details are presented in the relevant chapters. In the next chapter, Chapter Two, the research design is presented in detail.

Chapter Two

Tavern to Hotel: Phase III Research Design/Questions

But in the states the hotels are so large an institution,
having so much closer and wider a bearing on social life
than they do in any other country.[1]

Introduction

Inns, taverns, ordinaries, grog shops, and hotels were public establishments that went by a variety of names throughout early American history. Often these names were more regional in origin and preference. Lathrop (1937:304) mentions that midwesterners "did not take kindly to the word inn, as being 'too English,' so their hostelries were generally at first called ordinaries, then taverns." The term ordinary was also favored in Virginia. Eighteenth and nineteenth century ordinaries in Virginia were usually furnished with billiard tables and bowling alleys and were known for gambling (Lathrop 1937:217). It was not until after the American Revolutionary War that 'hotel' or 'house' became commonly used to distinguish establishments where meals, drinks, and overnight accommodations were offered (Lathrop 1937), while another author maintains that hotels were a superior type of inn (Williamson 1930). In any case, these establishments appeared early on the landscape and spread rapidly in every community during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. In this chapter we will look at the evolution of the tavern/hotel during the nineteenth century and address a range of important research issues for the Baber Hotel.

Evolution of the Tavern/Hotel

According to one scholar, from the lower Shenandoah Valley to the Savannah River, taverns were among the earliest and most common economic and social institution established in the southern backcountry, which makes them one of "the most promising windows onto the culture of the region" (Thorp 1996:661 and 1998:76). Thorp (1996) goes so far as to suggest that taverns were the initial beginnings of "civil society" in Anglo America, and that taverns, inns, ordinaries, and other public houses provided much more than simply overnight lodging or spirits. Taverns/inns were among the most important social, political, and economic institutions in early American life. For instance, Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence in the Indian Queen Tavern in Philadelphia, and Frankfort was chosen as Kentucky's seat of government in the Brent and Love's Tavern in Lexington (Lathrop 1937:ix). Because they were so important, taverns were plentiful across the backcountry as well as in towns. According to one English traveler, "We can scarcely pass ten or twenty miles without seeing an ordinary. They all resemble each other, having a porch in front, the length of the house.... They take their names from the person who keeps the house, who is often a man of consequence" (Lathrop 1937:217). Yoder found a similar pattern in early nineteenth-century taverns in the Midwest, where he noted that tavern keepers were frequently more

[1] Anthony Trollope in *North America, Vol 2* (1862:215)

than businessmen; they were often leading citizens of their communities, frequently being appointed or elevated to important local positions (Yoder 1969). Wagner and McCorvie's findings in Illinois (1992) support Yoder's observations. We know that Charles Baber served as a county magistrate (Rothert 1984:410).

Multiple activities at taverns or inns included eating, drinking, banquets, tobacco smoking and chewing, gaming, informal information exchange, formal meetings, business dealings, political debates, union halls, post offices, news bureaus, and overnight accommodations (Coleman 1935; Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Thorp 1996; Yoder 1969). To get a license, the tavern keeper had to provide overnight accommodations, normally for four or more people (Wagner and McCorvie 1992; Yoder 1969), although many taverns operated without benefit of license (Thorp 1998; Yoder 1969). In providing overnight accommodations, the tavern, inn, or hotel became a unique institution separated from more lowly saloons and eating houses. These latter establishments offered alcoholic beverages and occasionally some food (see Lathrop 1937; Powers 1998; Williamson 1930; Yoder 1969).

According to Coleman (1935), little variability existed between Kentucky taverns during the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Yoder's review of tavern life and its transformation into hotel society presents some of the major developments involved in this transformation. Taverns as local institutions in the early nineteenth century involved the interaction of at least three types of people: landlord and his family and slaves or employees, local professional or urban patrons who lived in the town or village, and people who were classified in the nineteenth century as 'movers' (i.e., immigrants, a generally despised group). While members of each group were clearly self-defined, social and class differences cross cut these groupings.

Taverns of the period were considered the melting pot (Jordan 1948: 245 cited in Yoder 1969) or "stewing kettles" of society, since every class of person rubbed shoulders within them (Yoder 1969:68). The Baber Tavern likely exhibited these same characteristics during its early days in Rumsey, but it may have changed into a more substantial business, and Baber may have been seeking to attract what were considered "first class" customers of the day. Heading the list of local townsfolk using the taverns were unmarried or recently married businessmen and their wives, who patronized the inn for relaxation and socialization, and probably also to collect information about business opportunities.

A second, perhaps less desirable class of guest at these institutions were stage drivers, river men, wagoners, and drovers, involved in transporting flocks and herds as well as paying passengers across country. Given Baber's location on the Green River, it is quite likely that these kinds of individuals were visitors to the hotel, particularly as live-stock was shipped down river, and stagecoach passengers from areas outside of the immediate area might have traveled to the river to take passage on a paddle steamer.

By the early to mid-nineteenth century, more towns and cities developed and the variability in quality between different establishments increased greatly as entrepreneurs and businessmen began to cater to specific clientele. Fare might consist of a variety of meats (wild and domestic), fish and fowl, breads, vegetables, and fruits. In fancier taverns, food would be prepared and presented according to the latest recipes and fashions (Hooker 1981). Fancy mixed drinks and foreign beverages were also offered at expensive taverns (Coleman 1935; Hooker 1981). A typical tavern might have two to four rooms on the first floor and sleeping accommodations upstairs. Williamson (1930:21) mentions that many of the taverns on the frontier and in undeveloped sections of the country still clung to the multiple use of space and that "the entire upstairs of the inns was usually one room filled with beds." In some improved inns or taverns, small rooms with single beds were also attainable (Williamson 1930). Downstairs rooms often included the taproom or bar, dining room, sitting or newsroom, and an attached (or detached) kitchen (Coleman 1935:65). Some taverns were less elaborate, with one or two multipurpose rooms downstairs, such as a combination kitchen, dining room, and taproom (McBride and Fenton 1996). A pioneer, George David, and his family traveling from New York to Chicago in 1833 provides an excellent description of a tavern at Michigan City, Indiana.

> *The outer door opens into a large, dirty room full of smoke, used as a sitting room for men folks and also as a bar room, for in one corner, generally in the angle, you will see a cupboard, with two or three shelves, on which are arranged in bottles the different colored liquors. I suppose the color is about the only difference you could have found in them; the brandy, gin and whisky generally come from one distillery, in Ohio, with the addition of burnt sugar and juniper berries to suit the taste of their customers.*
>
> *From this room you would enter the family sitting room, also used as a dining room for travelers, and out of that usually a kitchen and small family bedroom. The upper story, although sometimes divided into two rooms, was often left in one, with beds arranged along the sides. Once in awhile you might find a curtain drawn across the further end of the room, affording a little privacy for the female part of the occupants, but not often even that, the beds being occupied promiscuously on the first-com[sic]-first-served principle. As for the table they set---well, I suppose they did the best they could, for certainly there were few dainties to be purchased that winter for love or money, and the appliances for cooking were far from what they are now. In many, a pot hung over the woodfire, a frying pan and a baking pot being about all they had for culinary purposes in those days.*
>
> *Meals usually consisted of bread, butter, potatoes and fried pork; now and then you might get a few eggs, but not as far west as Michigan City. Such were the accommodations travelers had to put up with in those early days. If they could find a tin wash basin and clean towel for the whole party to use, generally used standing on a bench outside the back door, they considered themselves fortunate. Nine times out of ten the beds were all occupied, or at least bespoken, but our travelers were well prepared for such occurrences, as the one-horse wagon was filled with mattresses, blankets, pillows, cloaks and other articles to make a comfortable bed on the floor, which was done according to circumstances, sometimes in the bar room, sometimes in the dining room* (David 1934).

Taverns appear to have typically provided room and board to any and all comers, often squeezing additional guests into every available corner. In reference to the same tavern, David describes what was, according to Yoder (1969), typical of the era:

> *Mrs. B was putting 4 or 5 of her precious noisy little ones to bed on the floor at one end of the room, the landlady's brat was crying across her lap & because it could not make sufficient noise, she sang or endeavored to do so, to it by the fire. In another corner sat a traveler eating supper by the last gasp of a half sweated yellow dip. In the opposite corner were seated, leaning ag'st the wall, 2 travelers, just come in, ill of the ague; lying curled up on a cloak in a chimney corner, was a boy, ill of the same complaint. The governess* [of the George David family] *was washing up our tea equipage, Mr. B and the boys standing up just where they could find a spot to plant their feet amidst the quantity of bedding that strewed the floor, and I, poor I was sitting on a three legged stool writing the description with a piece of paper to the windward of my candle to preserve its light from extinction by the breezes that intruded thro' the chinks of the wall.* (David 1934:56-57)

This dismal scene of crowding, and bedding down wherever space was available appears to epitomize tavern life during the first forty years or so of the nineteenth century. Privacy and the social divisions that went with it were not often provided for in tavern stays. Beds were shared with strangers, often several to a bed and several beds to a room, with more people sleeping on the floors or in the lofts of the building. Often members of the opposite sex shared a room, although apparently not a bed unless they were related or married.

Seating at the dining table usually took no regard for social class either, and offers of more money, as many aristocratic foreigners found, did not always secure the privileges of class that they were used to. Often, all ate together, slept together, and suffered the consequences. Private rooms or private toilet facilities were usually not provided, and in fact tavern keepers seemed to prefer that no private facilities be provided. Water for washing was often provided in the yard of the house, and was usually not made available in bedrooms (Yoder 1969).

Just across the Green River in the town of Calhoun, more evidence for the multiple use of space in taverns and hotels was witnessed by Charles Carleton Coffin in 1862. Coffin, a Civil War correspondent, visited a hotel and left a rare description of the living arrangements in the hotel:

> *Visiting the 'first class' hotel of the place, we sat down in the parlor or reception-room, or whatever room it was, while the cook prepared breakfast. It was also the landlord's bedroom, occupied by himself and wife.*
>
> *Calling upon the landlord for a place for toilet operations, we were invited into the kitchen which was also the dining-room and pantry and Jim's bed-room--Jim being a tall negro, who just now is washing dishes, with a tin pan of hot water, and without*

any soap. Dinah is rolling biscuit, and tending the hoe-cake, which is cooking nicely on the stove...

Then we have breakfast,--beefsteak and porksteak, and buckwheat cakes, all fried in lard, sausages, potatoes, Dinah's hoe-cakes, hot flour biscuit, and a dish of hash, which will not go down at all, and coffee without milk.... (Ward 1974).

The slave, Jim, for example, did not live in separate quarters but was housed in a unit which also served as a kitchen, dining-room, and pantry. Based on Coffin's description, it appears that the kitchen unit was incorporated in the hotel. It may, however, have been a separate structure, as was common. Regardless, it suggests that separating the material culture of different occupants, for example, family members versus tenants or slaves, would be very difficult if not impossible.

Although Coffin's description illustrates the often multi-functional nature of rooms at a hotel, his report might also be a little exaggerated, since he was writing for a northern readership and was a northerner in a southern (if not exactly confederate) state. Clues to the possibly fanciful or exaggerated nature of Coffin's report are the names for the two slaves 'Jim' and 'Dinah', names which bear every stamp of a stereotype rather than factual reporting.

More importantly, however, Coffin's comments reference a more significant change in American society, one that had occurred first in the eastern cities in the 1820s and which reached the younger cities of the Midwest and southeast by the 1840s: the transformation of tavern society to hotel society, and along with it the creation of classes of hotels, each catering to a preferred clientele. Along with changes in society life, formerly conducted in taverns and now being replaced with the more genteel institution of hotels, came changes in the organization of rooms and services, reflecting what Grier has referred to as the development of "commercial parlors" (Grier 1988a:205).

Bushman (1993) states an increasing majority of Americans began displaying a concern for taste and beauty in all types of appearance (i.e., clothing, manners, and houses) as early as the Revolutionary War. Where gentility had been exclusive to the gentry since colonial times, it was now emerging within the middle-class. Houses with parlors became more common and encouraged capitalism to thrive, as shown in many etiquette manuals of the period. By definition, a parlor within a house in the nineteenth century was a room used primarily for conversation, reception, or entertainment of guests. While the parlor was considered to be the best room in the house, it was not necessarily showy, but homey, retaining the identity of a "family sitting room even as it also served more public and formal uses" (Grier 1988b:3). The challenge faced by most ordinary consumers then was how to create and balance the two.

Within an inn or club, the parlor was a room used primarily for conversation or semiprivate uses of the guests or club members. The construction of the Tremont House in Boston in 1829 signaled this nation-wide shift in gentility with a new type of overnight accommodation with parlor, and the hotel in America was born. The word 'hotel' was sparse within the American vocabulary until this time, and its French origin signified "a desire for fashionable patrons" and came to define it as a superior type of inn or tavern (Bushman 1993, Groth 1994). At this time, it was set aside only for the larger cities, where luxurious accommodations could be afforded. The exterior architecture and interior arrangement of rooms at the Tremont House set the standard for hotels in America for the next 50 years, and defined new and more socially restrictive management ideas in America (Groth 1994; Williamson 1930). Charging only one flat rate for rooms, the Tremont offered permanent boarders private parlors and offered up lavish service, which included French cuisine (Groth 1994). In Kentucky, the Galt House in Louisville was favored by travelers like Charles Dickens, who in 1842 referred to the hotel as being "splendid" and likened his stay there to a hotel in Paris (Dickens 1842).

While the Baber Hotel was not as grand as the Tremont House or even the Galt House, most hotel owners aspired to provide the services that the Tremont House offered. These services included a separate bar-room that was elegantly appointed, a reading room stocked with newspapers, multiple dining rooms and rooms for entertainments like dancing where private parties could be held, private parlors, and private bedrooms for permanent guests and travelers. One of the Tremont's distinguishing features was that it specialized in single and double rooms for guests. In older inns and taverns, the traveler would share a bedroom and bed with several overnight guests. Even inn beds during this early period were larger to accommodate multiple inhabitants. The Great Bed of Ware is one of the largest such beds and can accommodate sixty-eight people (Williamson 1930). As late as the 1860s rooms were still shared with strangers in cheaper hotels (Groth 1994). However, changes in attitudes toward privacy that began in the nineteenth century took hold in hotels and inns, making private accommodations more common throughout the nineteenth century. Along with privacy came other innovations catering to the individual. Each room within a hotel would have a bowl and pitcher, with free soap for each room. Although this may seem strange now, soap was a costly luxury in 1830s America. The ingredients to make soap were saved throughout the year, and each family made their own soap two or three times a year, when enough soap-fat had been saved. Having a supply of bowls and pitchers for individual guests was also no small feat. In most inns of the early to mid-nineteenth century, the guest could wash himself before breakfast and at other times in the bar-room, or perhaps in the kitchen or at the backyard well (Williamson 1930). Food and service were of the highest quality in the Tremont House as well. The latest fashion in food and guest services were followed.

The opening of the Tremont House had a profound and almost immediate effect throughout the country. Every city or town of consequence wanted a hotel as good as the Tremont (Williamson 1930), and gradually, country taverns who sought to upgrade their images adopted the term 'hotel'. Whether the economy of the town could afford it or not, a hotel was a must. As the worldly traveler Anthony Trollope (1862:220) noted in comparing American hotels to European hotels he had visited:

> *The American inn differs from all those of which I have made mention, and is altogether an institution apart, and a thing of itself. Hotels in America are very much larger and more numerous than in other countries. They are to be found in all towns, and I may almost say in all villages. In England and on the Continent we find them on the recognized routes of travel and in towns of commercial or social importance. On unfrequented roads and in villages there is usually some small*

house of public entertainment in which the unexpected traveler may obtain food and shelter, and in which the expected boon companions of the neighborhood smoke their nightly pipes and drink their nightly tipple. But in the States of America the first sign of an incipient settlement is a hotel five stories high, with an office, a bar, a cloak room, three gentlemen's parlors, two ladies' parlors, and a ladies' entrance, and two hundred bedrooms.

These of course are all built with a view to profit, and it may be presumed that in each case the originators of the speculation enter into some calculation as to their expected guests. Whence are to come the sleepers in those two hundred bed-rooms, and who is to pay for the gaudy sofas and numerous lounging chairs of the ladies' parlors? In all other countries the expectation would extend itself simply to travelers--to travelers or to strangers sojourning in the land. But this is by no means the case as to these speculations in America. When the new hotel rises up in the wilderness, it is presumed that people will come there with the express object of inhabiting it. The hotel itself will create a population, as the railways do. With us railways run to the towns; but in the States the towns run to the railways. It is the same thing with the hotels.

In the mid 1820s and 1830s, America was a nation on the move, and hotels made travel much easier (Williamson 1930:28). Business expansion, land sales, urban population growth, shipping, canal building, and turnpike construction all contributed to a hotel boom (Groth 1994). No city or town could amount to anything unless it had one or more hotels on which the community could lavish admiration, and which would give visitors a favorable impression of the city's greatness, enterprise, and hospitality (Williamson 1930:29). Hotels are thought to typify the spirit of America. An early historian maintains that "our hotels have been the thermometers and barometers of our national civilization and have wielded a great influence on the manners and tastes of the country" (Williamson 1930:4). The appearance and size of hotels also changed throughout the nineteenth century. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, inns and taverns were often in private homes, where the owner/operator and his family lived and provided bed and board for overnight guests. Between 1790 to 1830, a number of inns built specifically as inns appeared in the large East Coast cities in an effort to meet the needs of increasing numbers of transients (Bushman 1993; Grier 1988a, 1988b). These intentional inns were larger, and expanded the role of social gathering place for which the tavern was known.

After 1830, hotels became grander in style and were referred to as "palaces of the people," increasing in size with individual accommodations for guests rather than group sleeping rooms (Grier 1988a, 1988b). Special services, including "public rooms" that could be rented by individuals in the hotel or be used by the general public, began to be offered by the larger hotels. Nineteenth century hotels were open for the public's perusal, use, and informal instruction in civility. Many men would pass time in hotel public rooms, even though they were not staying in the hotel. This "companionable crowding into public places" was seen as an American characteristic (Grier 1988a:219). Anthony Trollope noted that in the hotels he visited during his travels in America, "not half the crowd are guests at the hotel," and that he almost always found the hotel "... full of men who are idling about, sitting round on stationary seats, talking in a listless manner, and getting through their time as though the place were a public lounging-room" (Trollope 1862:224).

As a palace of the people, hotels during the nineteenth century were publically accessible, associated with social ceremony, power, and a kind of public civility. This social power and apparent refinement was located in the acceptable world of commerce–a sphere of activity open to all men of varying classes. According to Grier (1988a, 1988b), the hotel and its public rooms afforded even the commonest man a brush with civility and gentility–important in the nineteenth century for class and social development. In the 1860s, Trollope remarked that Americans were obsessed with hotels and any "falling off" in them or improvement in the accommodation given would strike the community as forcibly as a change in the constitution or an alteration in the franchise (Trollope 1862). While Charles Baber did not have a first class hotel, he did aspire to have a "palace of the people". Large hotels were built in all sizable cities and communities with aspirations toward commercial greatness between 1830 and 1860.

A reading of local Kentucky newspaper advertisements suggests that even by the 1820s, tavern proprietors were aware of changing demands in their services. Even in relatively small towns such as Russellville and Elkton, Kentucky, newspaper advertisements in the first quarter of the nineteenth century offered private rooms, although the fact that they advertised as such suggests that most people did not expect them. While no advertisements for Baber's Hotel have been identified, the February 17, 1821, issue of *The Weekly Messenger*, published in Russellville, Kentucky, for example carried the following advertisements that convey a sense of a tavern/hotel establishment of the era:

> ***ENTERTAINMENT*** *by* ***JAMES H. DAVIDSON*** *at the sign of* ***OLIVER H. PERRY****. The subscriber wishes to inform his friends and the public that he has lately moved to Mr. Wm Stewart's large and commodious Brick House on Main Cross Street, east of the public square, and nearly opposite the new Jail; his house is well calculated for the accommodation of travellers and others, and his stables are inferior to none. From his long experience he flatters himself that nothing shall be wanting on his part to render a generous public comfortable, and so far as the markets of our country afford, neither his house or his stables shall want for plenty of what is necessary, with his unremitted attention.*
> *James Davidson, Russelville Nov. 20 1820*
>
> ***ENTERTAINMENT*** *by* ***ROBERT HODGES****. The subscriber has removed to a house belonging to Col John [illegible] recently occupied by W.S. [illigible] at the sign of* ***THE INDIAN QUEEN****, the town of Elkton, Ky. His house will be furnished with the best the markets afford and his stable will be supplied and attended by a good ostler. He hopes that from the attention which will be given to those who lately favor him with a call that generous satisfaction will be*

given. Travelers wishing to have private rooms will be furnished. Elkton, Sept. 27th 1821

While taverns offered such services, there also appears to have been boarding houses at this early date. A newspaper advertisement in the same paper in 1820 reads as follows:

> ***PRIVATE BOARDING***. *The subscriber will take fifteen or twenty male Boarders at* ***TWO DOLLARS and FIFTY CENTS*** *per week, to commence on the fifteenth of next month.* ***JOS. R. TERRY***

A decade later, the *Green River Gazette* (1835) published the following notice:

> ***TO RENTERS OR CAPITALISTS.*** *The subscriber wishes to rent, lease or sell his valuable Tavern in the town of Bowling-Green, known by the name of the Washington Hall, and now occupied by Mr. Calvin M. Webb. The extensive and well established reputation of the House, its commanding position in the town as a tavern - being on the Main Street leading to Nashville and Louisville, and in the immediate vicinity of the Bank, its internal conveniences and present fine run of custom (being the permanent stage stand) render it now exceedingly valuable.*

More modest hotels in urban centers and provincial towns also tried to provide their clientele with elegant public rooms for socializing (Grier 1988a:225). Public parlors or even dining rooms in hotels seem to have served as sites for entertainment that had a domestic flavor. Certainly in the Baber Hotel, which also functioned as the primary residence for Charles Baber and his family, the accommodations and entertainments would seem domestic and perhaps akin to a bed and breakfast of today. While only a small percentage of Americans lived in hotels, their numbers were large enough to cause comment from European travelers. Young married couples and bachelors were encouraged to live in hotels because the expense of operating a separate "proper household" would have been impossible. Anthony Trollope noted that young married men were not prepared to start a life together with a spouse, but rather after marrying, lived from week to week on his pay. Trollope also noted that the couples he saw living in the hotels appeared to be quite content. He wrote, "It is to their taste. They are happy, or at any rate contented, at these hotels, and do not wish for household cares." Single men were also living in hotels because "... they know they will be fed and bedded at a moderate cost, and in an easy way, suited to their tastes" (Trollope 1862:286). The cost to monthly boarders was a bargain, generally being not more than half of the cost of a day's stay, and for which a bedroom was given and as many meals provided as the "guest can contrive to eat" (Trollope 1862:227).

As the nineteenth century progressed, it became more common for middle class Americans to live in midpriced hotels. In 1856, Walt Whitman noted that in New York "almost three-fourths of middle and upper class New Yorkers were either boarders or permanent hotel guests" (Groth 1994). While Rumsey never compared to New York, the idea of boarders and permanent hotel guests did carry over into smaller towns and cities across the country, if only on a less grand level. Along with this idea, changing status, function, and organization of hotels continued to evolve. Newspaper advertisements after the Civil War confirm these changes. For example, an advertisement for the Ritter House, built after the Civil War in Bowling Green, describes its large double parlors, pier mirrors, and crystal chandelier (Vertical File, Hotels and Taverns, Western Kentucky University). An advertisement for the Morehead House, also in Bowling Green, in 1876 reports "refitted in the most comfortable and desirable manner. No. 1 ground floors especially adapted to Commercial Travelers" (Kentucky State Gazette, Louisville 1876). Such notices after the Civil War confirm the continuing diversification in hotel accommodations, with Merchants Hotels, and Commercial Traveler Hotels becoming mentioned in notices and newspaper advertisements.

The transformations in town institutions reflect the social processes transforming American society in the middle years of the last century, processes which continued into the decades after the Civil War. The egalitarian and "melting pot" atmosphere of tavern life also was transformed to accommodate the more discerning patrons of hotels, a process that accelerated when the railroads began passenger services. Hotels were organized along different lines, with divisions of their internal spaces into functionally discrete rooms, and the provision of services to patrons that increasingly included private rooms and washing/toilet facilities, as part an parcel of this development. The participation of the Baber Hotel in these changes will be a main focus of research in the following chapters. The 1850 and 1860 censuses, however, do suggest the establishment had expanded into a higher class 'hotel'.

Research Questions

The Phase III investigation mainly focuses on whether the Baber Hotel may have gone from a homogeneous 'tavern' to a multi-functioning 'hotel'. The nature of the hotel services, tavern/hotel conditions and life, particularly quality and clientele variability, function, spatial organization, and consumption patterns all play key roles in understanding this transition. All of these topics are placed into a diachronic context, which will be used to examine how these things may have changed over time, particularly with the decline of the town after 1854 and the hardships brought on by the Civil War between 1862 and 1865. These research questions are discussed below.

1) In general, how does the Baber Hotel fit into the range of variability found in nineteenth century hotels/taverns? Did the hotel function more as a hotel, a boarding house, or a bar, and did it evolve from a tavern to a hotel? Did these functions change over time? What other social or political functions did the hotel serve for the community of Rumsey? The work at the Baber Hotel should be directed toward creating a model of hotel functions, layout, and quality of services, particularly in small towns and rural areas.

Investigating hotel function and change required a combination of archival research, the spatial analysis of artifacts and features, and a functional and quality analysis of artifacts. Archaeological data from the Phase II investigations did not show much variance between this site and house sites, with the exception of a high number of smoking pipes and the high proportion of decorated ceramics from the earliest features. Phase III analysis of ceramic vessels, table glass, bottle types, and activity artifacts should shed light on how this site differs from a house site.

The nature of social or political activities at the Baber Hotel is difficult to identify archaeologically. Evidence of extremely fancy glassware or dishware and very expensive wine bottles may point to lavish entertaining as has been found at upper class house sites (McBride and Esarey 1995). Historical document analysis was also utilized to examine the community social and political functions of the Baber Hotel.

To attain this understanding and create a model of hotel/tavern function, layout, and quality of services, the Baber results were compared to other hotel/tavern sites in the Ohio Valley and in other regions of the United States.

2) What were the nature and layout of the structures and activity areas on the site, and how did these change over time? What do these tell us about the types and qualities of services provided by the Baber Hotel?

The size and architectural quality of a hotel structure, and the size, number, and variety of outbuildings should correlate with the types and quality of services it offered. For instance, a high quality hotel serving travelers would likely be large, two story, well constructed, have one or two sizable privies, a good water supply, and probably a separate kitchen. If the site functioned more as a boarding house, it would likely have had fewer amenities and perhaps be smaller and less well-built. The quality and variety of artifacts recovered are also important in addressing questions of function and quality.

Chapter Six specifically addresses the organization, architectural style, and layout of Baber's hotel, since the built environment is as much an expression of cultural beliefs as any other aspect of social life. From the Phase III excavations and archival research, we have the location and layout of the Baber Hotel. Archival data indicates that the hotel was located in Rumsey lot 13, and may have later included lot 14. The archaeological data indicates it was centered in lot 13 but also extended, at least in terms of refuse, into the western part of lot 14 and the eastern part of lot 12. Evidence of the hotel structure was not found in Phase II, but the heavy concentration of middle nineteenth century artifacts and presence of refuse features in the central part of lot 13 suggested that the main structure sat in the northern part of this lot along Canal Street. This location makes sense given the street pattern, with Canal Street being an important commercial street, and the typical location of refuse disposal areas in the rear yard.

To accomplish these goals a field program involving additional shovel probe and unit excavation as well as site stripping and feature mapping and excavation was used. The excavations of additional systematically placed shovel test probes across the site identified activity areas and differential yard use. The Phase II shovel test probes were few in number (11) and were concentrated in the northern and eastern sectors of the site. Additional test unit excavation in the Phase III excavations refined spatial patterns suggested by the shovel test probes, and increased the artifact recovery in areas of particular interest such as refuse dumps or specialized activity areas.

Site stripping with heavy equipment followed the completion of hand excavation units and shovel test probes, and identified numerous remaining features. Not all of the structural remains from the hotel were extant, but robbed pier holes and chimneys, as well as posts and one chimney base, were defined. Structural features from other outbuildings, including piers, posts, foundations, and cellars, were also present on the site. Other features such as root cellars, trash pits, privies, cisterns, and wells were also present. Examination and identification in the following chapters of these features will illuminate yard organization and use.

3) What were the consumption patterns of the Baber family and their guests or boarders, particularly in beverages and food, in service equipage such as ceramics and glassware, and in other furnishings? How do these compare with other hotels of the period, and what do they tell us about life along the Green river and the wealth and aspirations of the Babers? Were there changes in these consumption patterns over time, and how do they relate to broader economic changes which affected Rumsey and Western Kentucky?

Chapter Nine addresses these issues. The best data source to investigate middle nineteenth century consumption patterns at a household level are archaeological deposits, particularly middens and refuse features. Occasionally inventories and store bills are available, but these generally do not present enough detail on the material goods for analysis.

The yard midden and refuse-filled features found during the Phase II investigations demonstrated that this site has a large quantity of consumer items dating from the 1830s to 1870s, including plain and decorated refined earthenware, porcelain, stoneware, coarse earthenware, serving and drinking table glass, beverage, medicine, and foodstuff containers, faunal remains, clothing, and personal items. There is a twelve year span between Zone 1 and 2 over the whole site, and probably more in some areas of the site. Features 1 and 14 dated to early occupation of the hotel, while Feature 10 dated to its later occupation. The analysis of consumer items from these different features and strata and from the Phase III excavations allowed for the examination of change. Of particular interest were consumption changes associated with the boom (1830s) and decline (post 1854) of Rumsey and transportation curtailments during the Civil War.

Phase III laboratory analysis was designed toward addressing consumption questions. Besides the detailed sherd identification conducted in Phase II, the Phase III analysis also included a detailed vessel analysis. Vessel analysis has been demonstrated to be much more meaningful in status display examination (McBride and Esarey 1995; Miller 1991). This is particularly true with a hotel/tavern, where the quantity and quality of serving vessels would be a good marker of the type and quality of the establishment and the wealth and aspirations of the owners. A detailed faunal analysis, focused on the variety of species and cuts of meat served at the site, was conducted to address consumption questions.

Additional archival research was also completed during the Phase III investigations. This included attaining a better assessment of the wealth of the Baber family through tax and estate records; obtaining a more precise picture of the growth and decline of Rumsey through tax, land,

and census records; and an examination of general consumption patterns in the region through store and newspaper records.

Finally, the Baber analysis was compared to other hotel/tavern sites in the region to better assess the relative position of the Baber Hotel. The most comparable, and best reported, tavern sites are the Young and Landmark taverns located on the Illinois St. Louis - Vincennes Trace (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). Another hotel, the Rose Hotel, was located on the Ohio River in Elizabethtown in southern Illinois (Wagner and Butler 1999). The only published tavern excavations in Kentucky are from the Gower House (Carstens 1989, 1993) and the Eight Mile House (Fenwick 1980), and both of these were preliminary investigations.

4) Did the foodways practiced at the Baber Hotel match the Upland South Model found at domestic sites in the Upper South and Ohio Valley, or are they different?

Both Chapters Eight and a portion of Nine address this question. The concept of the Upland South as a distinctive cultural region has been of interest to social scientists, including archaeologists, for a number of years. One of the most distinctive traits of this region and culture are the foodways, which show an emphasis on pork and wild game and relatively little emphasis on beef. This pattern seems to hold well for house sites in the Ohio Valley (McCorvie 1987). It has not been tested on other types of sites such as hotel/taverns, however. It was of interest to see if this pattern held on hotel/tavern sites, or whether a different foodways pattern consisting of more beef or more exotics was present. This demonstrated whether nineteenth century tavern keepers attempted to mimic domestic foodways or provide something a bit different.

Faunal Analysis

The Baber Hotel faunal assemblage was examined by minimum number of individuals, number of cuts of meat, cost of cuts, and type and proportion of wild to domesticated animals. These results, in combination with the vessel analysis, are used to document the types of meals that were being served at the Baber Hotel. A particular question of interest to the study is whether Baber was providing meals to regular working men on the river and in town, as well as to his permanent and overnight guests. Was Baber providing a variety of meals to his patrons by catering to specific economic classes of individuals? Could he have served nourishing, low-cost meals to working men and provided more elaborate, segmented dining to his permanent, middle class guests?

Archaeobotanical Analysis

Although the Upland South consumption pattern of plant materials is not well developed, most scholars suggest a diverse pattern with emphasis on corn mixed with peas/beans, sweet potatoes, domestic and wild fruits, nuts, greens, and other grains (Hilliard 1972; Newton 1974). Analysis of botanical material recovered from historic farmsteads is useful in revealing several things, including what types of crops the inhabitants grew, what cultigens they used, and what native plants were used. Flotation samples were collected from every feature and from random excavation units in both the Phase II and III.

5) What was the nature of trade accessibility at the Baber Hotel and Rumsey? Was this area dominated by any particular entrepot? How did changes in transportation, such as the closure of Green River traffic during the Civil War and the development of railroads, affect trade in Rumsey?

Chapters Three and Nine answer these questions, which are best addressed by utilizing a combination of archival and archaeological data. Archival data focused on newspaper advertisements and shipping information as well as wholesale and retail store bills, which were found in store books or estate files. These records provided information on what general types of goods were available, data on ports and routes that were supplying Rumsey, and how this trade was changed.

Archaeological data provided important clues in the study of trade through maker's marks and importer's marks on ceramics and maker's marks and filler's marks on bottles. These marks indicated where goods were coming from, whether they were coming from a few dominate sources or from more diffuse locations, and were used to track changes in trade connections over time.

Phase III Scope of Work

WSA recommended additional field and archival research in the Phase III investigations. The additional archival research was directed towards learning more about the social standing and material culture of the Babers and any additional information on the hotel and town of Rumsey, so that the above questions would be addressed more effectively. Particular records were investigated, including court cases (specifically in Daviess County), estate records (to look for bills and inventories), and regional newspapers.

The Phase III field work began with additional hand excavated units. These units were necessary to examine spatial organization of the site as well as to collect a larger sample of artifacts. Phase II units showed that a moderate to dense amount of early to middle nineteenth century material was located within the plowzones and transitional zone of this site, particularly in the central portion. WSA recommended that 50-60 square meters of additional units in the form of 1 m x 2 m and 2 m x 2 m units be scattered across the site to get good coverage.

Once the hand units were completed, the plowzone and transitional zone were stripped off to expose architectural and refuse-filled features. This stripping was done with a backhoe. All nineteenth century features were excavated, with their soils screened and a sample floated so that seeds, small bones, and small artifacts could be examined. The remaining portions of Features 1, 10, and 14, found in Phase II, were also excavated.

Summary

In summary, the Baber Hotel can be used to address a range of important research issues that are currently poorly documented in Kentucky. The fact that the primary occupation of the site was relatively short, 1830s-1870s, that the site has temporally diverse refuse features, and that it was located in an unsuccessful speculative townsite, make the site especially significant and give it great research potential.

Chapter Three

The Historic Context of the Baber Hotel, Rumsey, Kentucky

Introduction

When Richard Wade published his seminal study on the growth of urbanism in western America, he absolutely transformed the subsequent study of the region's history (Wade 1959). Turning previous notions of the growth of American society on their head, he contended that towns and cities came first, not last, and were the economic engines that drove the development of commerce and agriculture throughout the region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This part of what is today the Midwest and Midsouth encompasses parts of southern Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, and northern and western Kentucky. Although expressing regional differences (notably relating to slavery and economic growth), the region saw largely similar processes of frontier development. Entrepreneurs platted hundreds of speculative towns (after the threat of Indian attack had subsided), advertising healthful, fertile, or scenic settings in an effort to draw settlers who were pouring into the trans-Appalachian region with guide book in hand and with money to invest in land, commerce, and manufactures. And there to meet them, in settled towns and still unsettled towns, were tavern keepers, a class of entrepreneur-politician who most accurately fit Wade's depiction of settlers as masters of their own economic fate, and by extension, masters of those they helped settle. These boosters of civic development, more often than not elected or appointed officials, furnished newcomers with both information about available land and manufacturing opportunities, as well as the land itself and sometimes even the necessities for settlement. For those who merely passed through on to greener pastures, they offered food, lodging, information, and advice.

If towns and cities engineered economic development as Wade proposes (see also Pudup 1995), then tavern keepers, like Charles Baber of Rumsey, were their leading light and proponent. In town after town, historians have noted the presence, right at the founding of a settlement, of a tavern. For example, Bigham (1998:25) describes James Young, founder of West Point at the mouth of the Salt River, Kentucky, as:

> *...the village's most prominent landowner, ran both ferries, and Young's Inn from 1799 to 1832. He built the first grand home in the village in 1805 and used some of his town lots to encourage religious, educational and fraternal organizations... Local promoters anticipated overtaking Louisville as the major city of the region.*

Yoder (1969:34) voices a similar perspective in his study *Taverns and Travelers*,

> *A successful taverner in a prosperous village or town was almost certain to be one of the leading citizens of his community. Often he had started the village and in such cases he commonly remained the dominant figure in the community throughout his active life. Other innkeepers...were active in promoting town growth and in speculating in local real estate.*

As tavern keepers were key players in the push to settle the west, their involvement in many aspects of small town life is not unusual. Mahoney, for example, identified tavern keepers and other town founders as major economic and social instigators that shaped the fortunes of river towns (Mahoney 1990). Tavern keeping was one of the key platforms from which settlers successfully influenced town politics and economics, and thus supported the attraction of new settlers for continued community growth. To promote continued growth and prosperity, town founders established either a political or economic power-base from which they could expand their commercial and agrarian enterprises, and thus secure their own, as well as the town's, success. The central role of tavern keepers in this process of settlement and urbanization likely rests on their position as key sources of supplies and information. Some tavern keepers were able to make considerable fortunes on the frontier, as Bigham notes, and as James Young, noted above, exemplifies (Bigham 1998). The rapid influx of settlers after 1810 with money to invest, and concomitant development of supporting institutions, such as improved navigation on the region's rivers, provided a rich source of revenue for those engaged in land speculation, or who simply provided room and board for the many individuals and families who flooded the entire Ohio Valley Basin.

Town developers were assisted in their efforts by guide books and newspaper advertisements that provided would-be settlers with destinations and advice (Bigham 1998: 84). Some books were nothing short of propaganda, and many newspaper articles were more fanciful than accurate. Important guides of the period include Cramer (1802), Dana (1819), Darby (1818), and Conclin (1848), as well as serial periodicals such as DeBow's, among others. Mahoney notes that these books often failed to mention towns that are known to have existed at the time, mentioning instead new settlements–or perhaps those settlements where reviewers had received a warm reception at a local hostelry (Mahoney 1990). In ways such as these, settlers were directed to particular localities where the presence of a tavern, and a helpful and energetic tavern keeper, could factor into their decisions to settle or to push on further west. The Charles M. Baber Hotel (site 15McL137) was just one such tavern.

The Green River Country

Charles M. Baber was a single individual who represents the thousands who participated in the massive westward migration into Kentucky that began in the late eighteenth century and lasted into the early nineteenth. Settlers of every stripe, of very different social and economic statuses, entered the trans-Appalachian West. The reasons behind this migration, what settlers sought to accomplish, and the economic and social systems that they developed are key to understanding this archaeological site.

In this chapter, we explore the world that Baber entered, when, with his family and probably his slaves, he left North Carolina and came to the Green River Country. Through the examination in this chapter of the economic and social factors that shaped the Green River Country in general and the town of Rumsey in particular, we can identify some influences that structured work, home, and family life. The effects of these influences are explored through the archaeology of the Baber Hotel, presented in the chapters following this one.

The land in which Rumsey is situated is today known as the Pennyrile, a large and diverse cultural landscape encompassing 40 counties in Kentucky and more than 18 counties in Tennessee. Martin (1988) has defined the Pennyrile as having about five subregions based on varying soil types, minerals, navigable rivers, and overall terrain. A smaller subarea of the Pennyrile became known as the Black Patch, an agricultural area in southwestern Kentucky and northern Tennessee historically and economically shaped by its dependence on dark-fired tobacco. Before the development of the Pennyrile and the Black Patch, the frontier south of the Green River was known as a poor man's country, suitable for homesteaders and farmers eager to start a new life in the trans-Appalachian West. Our study encompasses that area of Kentucky called the Green River Country, lands in western Kentucky south of the Green River, which opened for settlement in the late eighteenth century (Figure 3.1). Sometimes called "Southside," the land south of the Green River includes southern McLean County where Rumsey once prospered. McLean County was formed out of Muhlenberg County in 1854.

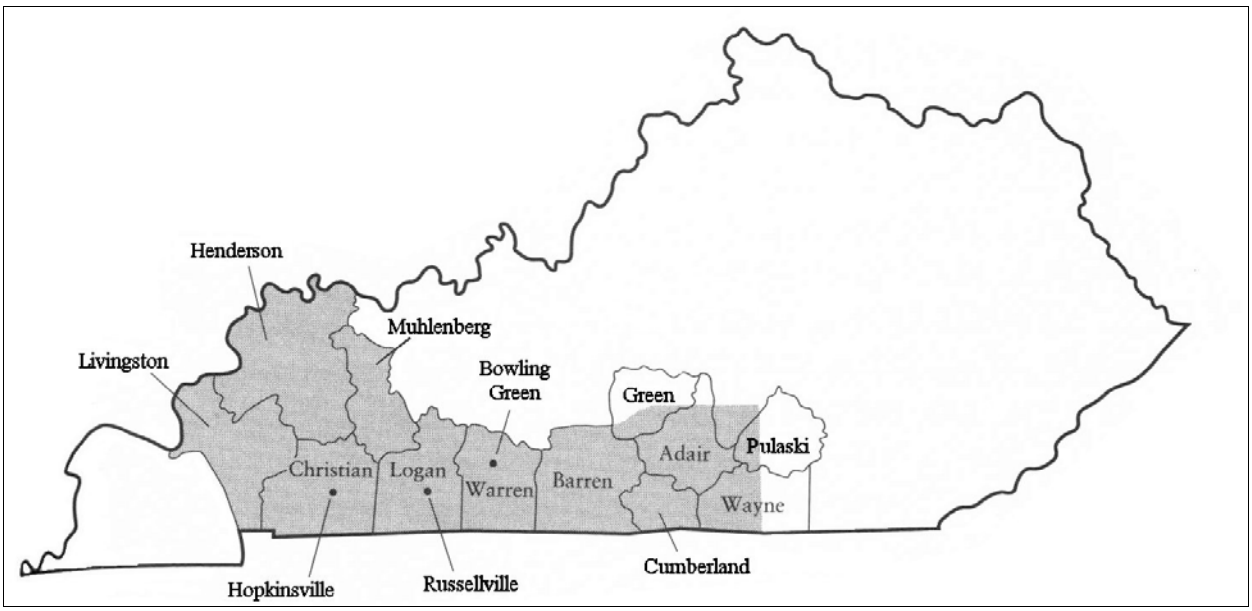


Figure 3.1. Green River Country (Aron 1996)

Exploration and Land Speculation

Speculation and exploration of the Green River Country by Euro-Americans began in the late eighteenth century. In the early 1770s, parties led by James Smith, Kasper Mansker, and Isaac Bledsoe extensively explored this region. The western portion of Kentucky that included the Green River Country was settled more slowly than other parts of the state because of the continued Indian attacks and closure of the Mississippi River by the Spanish that made settlement and commerce impossible. Figure 3.2 shows the land on the Green River had few settlements in 1796 as compared with lands in the central Bluegrass region. Throughout Isaac Shelby's first term as governor (1792-

Figure 3.2. 1796 Map of Kentucky (W. Barker 1796)

1795) he received requests for protection from Indians from all over Kentucky (Teute 1988). A Logan County spokesman reported to Shelby, "I am really afraid our Upper Settlements will be oblig'd to abandon their homes the consequence of which will be the loss of our crops that will in great measure depopulate this part of the county" (cited in Teute 1988: 196). Arthur Hopkins writing in 1795 informed his cousin John Breckinridge that he had been unable to explore the country between the Green and Cumberland Rivers because of the Indian attacks (Teute 1988:196). Some of the earliest settlements in the Green River area consisted of isolated stations, such as Vances's Station near the mouth of the Green River, Fort Vienna near Calhoun, and stations near Brush Creek, Hartford, and Greensburg. After 1795, when the threat of Indian attack had diminished, small villages began to appear and flourish (Beach 1964; Perrin 1884; Teute 1988; Waldrep 1999).

The 'Best Poor Man's Country'

Newcomers to the Green River Country mostly came from the Piedmont of Virginia and North Carolina (Marshall 1994; Winters 1994). Visitors to the south of the Green River disparaged the "barren" land, and bad reports concerning the fertility of soil and suitability for agriculture discouraged the rush of settlers that flocked to the trans-Appalachian West. Yet another factor to slow settlement was the continued rampant land speculation in Kentucky. These practices acted to discourage serious farmers, and much of the land was bought up by speculators, who as absentee owners were primarily concerned with profits and not long-term development of the land. Attempts were made in the 1790s to alleviate this situation, at least in some southern counties in Kentucky. Properties in the Green River territory, near the Red River, and in the "barrens" were denied sale to speculators. Only 200 or 400 acre tracts could be sold at once, and these were sold at a reduced rate to homesteaders.

By the 1790s, the Green River Country became Kentucky's best poor man's country. Settlers came from rural settings in Virginia and North Carolina, where their ancestors had long engaged in agriculture as members of farming households (Winters 1994:13). In December 1800, a new homestead act for further "settling and improving the vacant lands of this Commonwealth" permitted free persons to preempt up to 400 acres. Green River homesteaders who had claimed under the old limits were allowed to appropriate an additional 200 acres (Aron 1996:164). This act led to much migration to the region between 1800 and 1810. For instance, Muhlenberg County, the location of the future town of Rumsey, experienced a 190% increase in population (Table 3.1). Increasing the preemption limits, however presaged the emergence of large landowners-speculators and absentee landowners in the study region (Aron 1996:164). According to Aron (1996:164), by 1810 better than one in ten landowners held more than 1,000 acres, with six landowners having acquired more than 10,000 acres.

Table 3.1. Population of Muhlenberg and McLean Counties, Kentucky

	White	**Free Black**	**Slave**	**Total**	**% Increase**
Muhlenberg Co.					
1800	1313	5	125	1443	-
1810	3698	3	480	4181	189.7
1820	4302	2	476	4979	19.0
1830	4327	15	998	5340	7.3
1840	5755	13	1196	6964	30.4
1850	8250	37	1522	9809	40.0
McLean Co.					
1860	5227	29	888	6144	-
1870	6800	814	--	7614	23.9

Speculators in the Green River Country during the early nineteenth century profited handsomely from their land acquisitions. Those who bought land at the state's price could ask and receive a hefty price per acre after preemption limits increased. Speculators who owned land in the Barrens could make higher profits, especially after the fertility of the Barrens was realized, and land prices soared. According to Aron (1996), landowners in Logan and Christian Counties sought up to eight to ten dollars per acre for barely improved tracts of land in 1817. After 1810 as the population increased in the Green River Country, so did landowners and acreage amounts per landowner.

A combination of factors led to a unique economic history in the counties of the Green River. While early agriculture was dominated by mixed or diversified farming practices and subsistence-oriented agriculture, a reliance on dark-fired tobacco as a leading commodity for export also developed. The tobacco boom not only fueled land prices, but also enabled the growth of a diversified economy in the Green River Country. Small farmsteads and crossroad communities or trading centers developed, as did large retail centers like Russellville, Owensboro, Clarksville, Hopkinsville, and Nashville. Early nineteenth century maps of the region show villages, towns, and roads connecting the region to Nashville, Lexington, and the Ohio River (Figure 3.3). Tobacco and other agricultural products were gathered at large retail centers for export to national and international markets. Farmsteads and plantations tended to occur together on the landscape, forming small commercially-oriented neighborhoods or hamlets where mills, tanneries, distilleries, and blacksmiths were located.

Figure 3.3. 1812 Map of Kentucky (John Melish 1812)

The Green River Country generally lacked the quality of soil needed to raise hemp as successfully as the Bluegrass, but the Southside's soil and climate were ideally suited for the cultivation of tobacco. Green River growers pioneered the development of new strains of burley leaf, which closely resembled that of the James River area. Many counties in the Pennyrile possessed soil with the essential physical and chemical properties that made possible the growth of the dark, rich, heavy leaf so eagerly sought in the European market (Marshall 1994; Winters 1994). At first, tobacco was grown in small patches, providing only for local or family needs. As more lands were cleared, extensive planting occurred. Cultivation was profitable, and virgin soils produced a satisfactory crop with little labor. After the War of 1812, the superior quality tobacco from the Southside sold for three times the price of tobacco grown in the Bluegrass (Aron 1996:166). High tobacco prices also fueled planter-speculators as land values increased throughout the early nineteenth century.

Commercialization of the region's economy occurred with increased agricultural production. These changes in economy stemmed from diversification coupled with the profitable specialization in dark-fired tobacco, increasing diversification in manufacturing and services, the growth of small towns as local trading centers, and improved trade connections with New Orleans, Nashville, Lexington, and cities in the East. Towns that experienced the most growth offered larger, more diverse markets for trade opportunities and were usually on rivers or prominent overland routes. As coastal markets vied for access to inland produce or mineral resources, the state was motivated to improve transportation. Towns grew up at major crossroads, stream crossings, or mill sites. As new counties were formed, county seat towns (Tolbert 1999) were established, providing markets for farm products and nodes for trade networks.

Towns in the tobacco-growing Pennyrile enlarged substantially throughout the early nineteenth century. Glasgow, Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, and, most of all, Russellville emerged as leading mercantile centers. By 1810, Russellville had a population of 532 people, Glasgow had 244, and Elizabethtown, Henderson, Bowling Green, and Greenberg had between 181 and 132 persons (Figure 3.4). The overwhelming prosperity of the early nineteenth century in the Green River Country was to change by the 1820s, however.

Economic Decline

Economic development slowed during the 1820s in Kentucky and Tennessee. By the 1820s, the study area was in the middle of a depression, which affected merchants, agriculturalists, and industrialists. Several towns established in the post-war boom time after 1812 failed from this depression (McBride and McBride 1990). The expansion of the economy that occurred after 1812 was literally cut short by financial collapse. In 1818, the national bank, fearful of the rapid expansion and the concomitant inflation, inaugurated a policy of retrenchment and contraction by calling in loans around the country (Bergeron 1999). The impact was immediate and devastating: businesses collapsed, commodity prices (e.g., cotton) plummeted, and banks ceased specie payments. During the 1820s, there was only slow population growth in the region, including Muhlenberg County (Table 3.1). The Panic of 1819 had begun, and it was not until 1825 that the

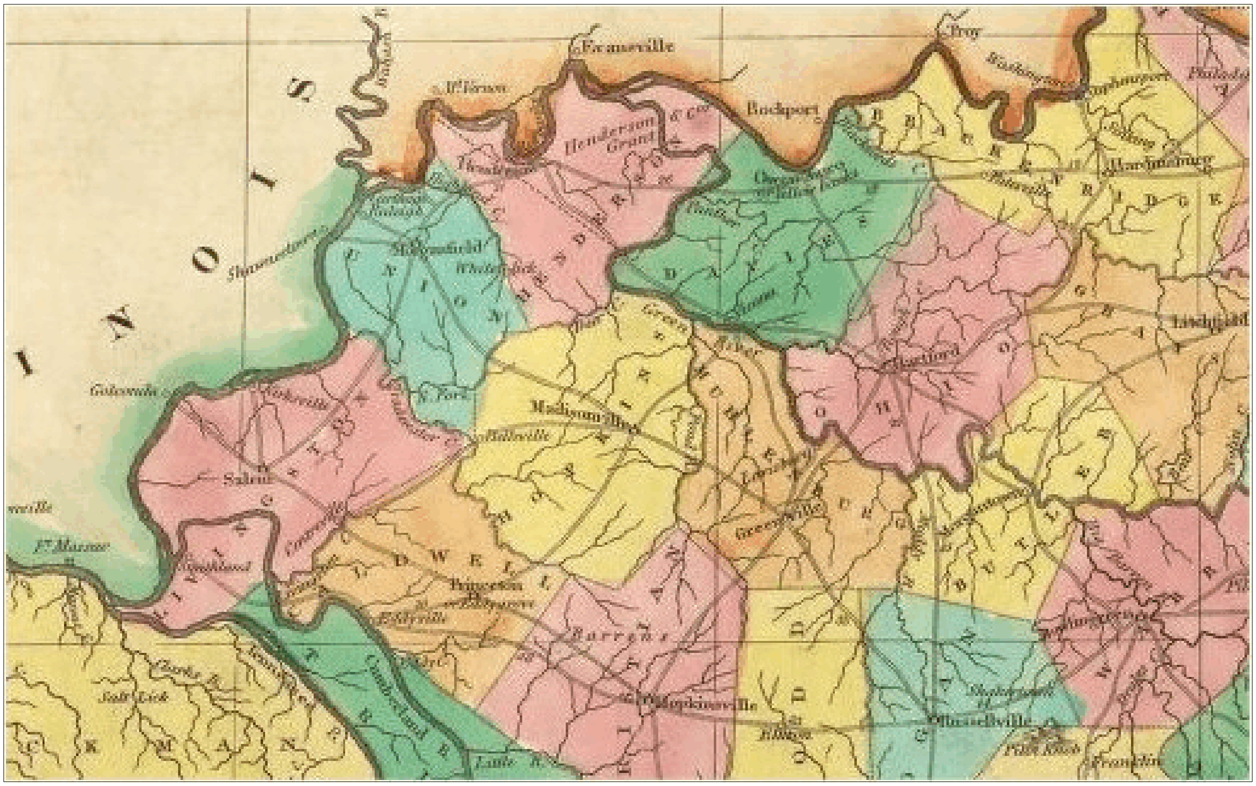


Figure 3.4. 1822 Map of Kentucky (H.C. Carey 1822)

region began to experience the return of prosperity. Developing transportation systems and towns sputtered as the economy faltered during the 1820s. As the nation began to recover, so did economic development and commerce as prices for agricultural and industrial goods increased (McBride and McBride 1990). Although recovery was sure and steady, the rapid growth experienced by the region after 1812 was never duplicated. In fact, Coffman (1962) suggests that the area began to decline again after the Panic of 1837, and it was not until after the Civil War that the region became prosperous again, although there was a significant economic recovery in the early to middle 1840s.

Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century Green River Country

The Pennyrile and its subregion, the Green River Country, remained overwhelmingly agricultural for more than two centuries, despite increased commercialism and population growth within towns and urban centers. The subregional farming patterns that had developed by the 1820s and 1830s remained essentially in place well into the twentieth century. In the western section of the Pennyrile lay the center of the dark-fired tobacco belt (Martin 1988). While tobacco received the most attention, it was rotated with other crops: corn, hay, and especially wheat, to maximize yields. Wheat production was higher in these counties than in other subregions. Small grains contributed to the household's diet. Most farmers planted wheat for household consumption, as wheat cultivation was both riskier and a less efficient use of the soil than corn cultivation. Wheat flour became something of a luxury item and was occasionally used to barter for services or other foodstuffs. Households often reserved some wheat for breads, biscuits, or pastries. Many farmers in the Upland South, in general, raised barley, rye, oats, and buckwheat, but these small grains were less common in the rural diet than wheat (Winters 1994:31). Households would grind the four grains together to form a base for breads, muffins, and pancakes (Winters 1994).

Exaggerating the centrality of corn to the Southside farm family's way of life would be difficult, especially during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Friend (1999:138), the pursuit of profit strongly influenced the production of corn. Its production dominated rudimentary commercial or marketing activity in Kentucky and Tennessee and became imbedded in the state's economy. Although settlers consumed most of their corn crops, money could be made from raising and either bartering or selling corn, grinding corn, marketing cornmeal, or distilling whiskey (Friend 1999; Otto 1989; Winters 1994). Although the success of corn cultivation raised expectations of profit among farmers, household production was important to the total success of the farm. Corn was unequaled in household consumption, appearing in some form or another at every meal on most nineteenth-century dinner tables. Early nutritionists even believed corn to be of higher nutritional value than wheat (Hardeman 1981). Besides household consumption, corn was important as livestock feed. In an endless cycle, horses, mules, and oxen helped produce corn and corn in turn fed horses, mules, and oxen. Nearly half the nutritional value of the corn was in the plant itself (leaves, stalks, husks, and cobs), and fodder was heavily relied upon to feed livestock. Since corn was a labor-intensive crop, tobacco farmers planted it in inverse proportion to the tobacco grown (Martin 1988:6).

Livestock were important to the diversified farmer of Kentucky. Livestock held both premarket and market value. Livestock were important for profit on the open market, served as sustenance to the family, and provided labor. Nearly all farms had domesticated stock. Horses and mules were used for drafting, milk cows for meat and dairy products, hogs for meat, and sheep for wool and meat. Much stock, however, was kept for sale or trade. Kentucky was especially adapted to the production of livestock, with limestone rich soils that helped to develop large and strong bones in animals, fair weather for grazing, and an abundance of pastureland (Martin 1988:15). An added factor was that livestock could transport themselves, while other products needed to be transported by wagon or boat.

Hogs and mules were often transported to out-of-state markets. In 1810 and 1811, between 40,000 and 70,000 hogs were driven east over the mountains, while 27,642 barrels of salted pork were shipped to southern plantations (Martin 1988:15). The Pennyrile was a principle hog-producing area. In 1850, the Pennyrile produced 40% of the state's total hog production, with farms in Logan, Christian, and Warren counties averaging 50 hogs per farm (Martin 1988:15-16). Mules, introduced to the state in 1780, became an important export to southern markets, although by special mule breeders. Most farms, however, had at least two mules used for plowing and other draft work (Martin 1988:16).

Livestock provided yet another source of cash income for Antebellum farmers. They often sold hogs or pork products to local merchants or others in the community. Products ranged from sides of bacon to barrels of lard. Pigs on the hoof offered another avenue for commercial sales. Drovers purchased or received on consignment livestock from farmers, as they moved through the state, late in the year after the swine had been fattened on corn (Martin 1988; Winters 1994). The size of the drives varied from three hundred to more than one thousand animals, and those crossing Middle Tennessee were often destined for markets in the Gulf Coast states.

Sheep were also important to the Green River Country. Between 1840 and 1860, Kentucky ranked first in domestic manufacturing, most of which was the production of fabric (Martin 1988). Even in the early nineteenth century, cloth production was an important activity in Logan, Warren, and Barren Counties in particular. The Pennyrile was an important sheep producing region throughout the nineteenth century, with 408,468 sheep in the Pennyrile alone in 1850, approximately 40% of the state's total (Martin 1988).

The flexibility of mixed or diversified farming enabled farmers to vary the suite of crops in response to price changes and to protect themselves from sudden drops in the price of commodities like tobacco. Market crops were only a part of this farming system, which included other grains, grasses, fruits, vegetables, livestock, and animal products that provided for the household, supported livestock, paid for local services (i.e., grist milling) and labor, and provided income from sales in local markets (Friend 1999; Schlotterbeck 1982; Winters 1994). Purchasing produce and household-produced goods from farmers to sell in their general stores was common for local merchants, and it benefitted both the farmer and the merchant. Such products included apple cider, butter, candles, cloth, honey, distilled whiskey, maple sugar, salted or smoked pork, and tobacco (Martin 1988; Winters 1994). Local processors also bought produce from farmers. Farmers even took advantage of the opportunity to sell produce to people passing through; drovers herding their livestock to market needed feed and pasture (Winters 1994).

Tobacco was the prime commercial crop by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Cultivation of tobacco, however, demanded an enormous amount of physical effort. Small farmers with a commercial orientation elected to cultivate tobacco, providing they had access to an adequate labor supply. Large farmers to be sure cultivated the crop, but small farmers could also profit from growing tobacco. The success of tobacco coupled with the advance of speculator-planters to the Green River Country increased the number of slaveowners and slaves in the region. In Muhlenberg County, the percentage of slaveowners doubled (to 20%) during the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Aron 1996:206). According to Aron (1996:164-165) the number of slaves in the Green River Country was increasing much faster than the region's white population. Census data for the years 1800 through 1850 shows that the number of slaves within Muhlenberg County increased from 125 in 1800 to 1,522 by 1850 (Table 3.1).

As the number of slaves increased in the Pennyrile during the early nineteenth century, the percentage of slave populations grew dramatically in some counties. In Logan County, Kentucky's slave population grew from 9% of its aggregate population in 1800 to 35% by 1840 (Lamon 1981). In Christian County, Kentucky's slave population grew from 28% of the aggregate population in 1820 to 38% in 1840 and 46% in 1860 (Martin 1988:210-212). In Muhlenberg County, Kentucky where farms were smaller, the slave population in 1850 was 16% of the aggregate population (Martin 1988:212). Although slave labor is usually associated with agriculture, bondsmen and bondswomen were used in a variety of activities, such as laborers at iron or salt works, stone fence building, blacksmithing, shoemaking, weaving, and woodworking (Martin 1988).

Hiring slaves out for work was one characteristic of the region's economy. The demand for cheap labor fueled the continued need for slaves. Slaves were also considered wealth and valued higher than land in many areas of Kentucky. According to Waldrep (1999:160) slaveholding made a difference in the calculation of wealth, doubling and even tripling estate inventories. Next to hard cash, slaves were the most valuable commodity in early Kentucky (Teute 1988:195). Residents regularly advised prospective settlers to dispose of all their property back home and invest in slaves and specie (Teute 1988). John Breckinridge advised his brother "to purchase all the negroes you possibly can and bring them here. They are of great value here.... They also sell high" (cited in Teute 1988). While many early landlords rented land to white tenants to improve for them, slaves were used in more lucrative endeavors, particularly in manufacturing and hiring out to manufacturers (Aron 1996). Interestingly, white tenants were invaluable to large landowners in the Green River Country, since they cleared the frontier, increased the productivity of the land, planted the first crops, and freed slave labor for those more lucrative endeavors (Teute 1988:195). In a cash-poor economy, hard cash to pay white laborers was hard to come by. In hiring out slaves for cash and paying white tenants in crops and a place to live, the landowner had the best of both worlds. This strategy of land improvement was practiced in the Green River Country and throughout Kentucky during early settlement. While profitable, slave owning seems to have also enhanced political opportunities. Waldrep (1999:160) found that migrants into Kentucky who achieved any kind of political leadership status usually owned slaves and had brought them with them to the frontier. By 1820, however, most of the original western Kentucky settlers owned slaves.

Transportation Improvements

To permit commodities to flow to distribution and consumption centers, an integrated transportation system was present by 1830, including steamboat travel and overland roads and turnpikes. Throughout most of the early nineteenth century, rivers comprised a dominant medium for accomplishing interregional trade. Along these waterways, many small communities became landings for commercial activity and boat construction. Hundreds of local ferries played a crucial role in the flow of commodities from inland areas to the major river systems. As the staging areas for down-river flatboat movements, ferries were often collection points for agricultural or extractive exports and for the redistribution of goods. Ferry sites, as connectors between wagon roads and water transportation, stimulated the emergence of adjacent inns, warehouses, stores, and manufactories (Dunaway 1996; Schlotterbeck 1982). People chose to site their dwellings and communities near the many creeks and rivers because streams were the chief transportation corridors, and the surrounding, fertile land was used for agriculture. In addition, flowing water provided power for grinding corn or wheat and sawing lumber. Milling operations were important to the inhabitants of the study area due to their ability to convert crops into a marketable form.

Economic growth returned to the Green River Country in the 1830s, but was dependent upon internal improvements to continue. Internal improvements were needed to insure that commodities and produce reached markets and bulking centers on rivers for transport to New Orleans and cities in the East, and that imported goods were available to residents of the region. The early County Court assumed responsibility for authorizing such improvements as roads, bridges, and ferries. To finance these, citizen labor was used and tolls were charged. A commissioner was appointed to have the road cleared between specified terminal points, opened for use, and kept in repair by men of the community served by the road. Later, companies of stockholders financed road construction in preferred locations, but seldom did these companies prove profitable (Beach 1964, 1988; Perrin 1884, 1994).

Turnpikes and wagon roads served to connect the inland with waterways. Waterways were used for rapid transportation of agricultural, extractive, or manufactured commodities out of the study area. Several types of river craft were used on the region's major waterways. For one-way transport of goods down river, local companies or individuals constructed flatboats, tobacco canoes, Kentucky boats, and bateau. For round-trip travel, exporters and travelers relied on keel boats or packet boats and later the more versatile steamboat. Flatboats and horse- or rope-propelled boats carried goods from shallow tributaries and ferries to intermediate sites for transfer to larger packets or steamboats. Export by river was structured, however, and required skilled specialists for movement down-river to the large international trading centers like New Orleans. River wharves, landings, and warehouses were owned and operated by companies that accepted goods on consignment for transport to distant markets. Connecting to these waterways, several networks of state turnpikes and county roads linked the communities of southwestern Kentucky into national commodity chains (Dunaway 1996). Several major thoroughfares transversed the region, carrying livestock droves and trade goods to distant markets in other areas (Figure 3.5).

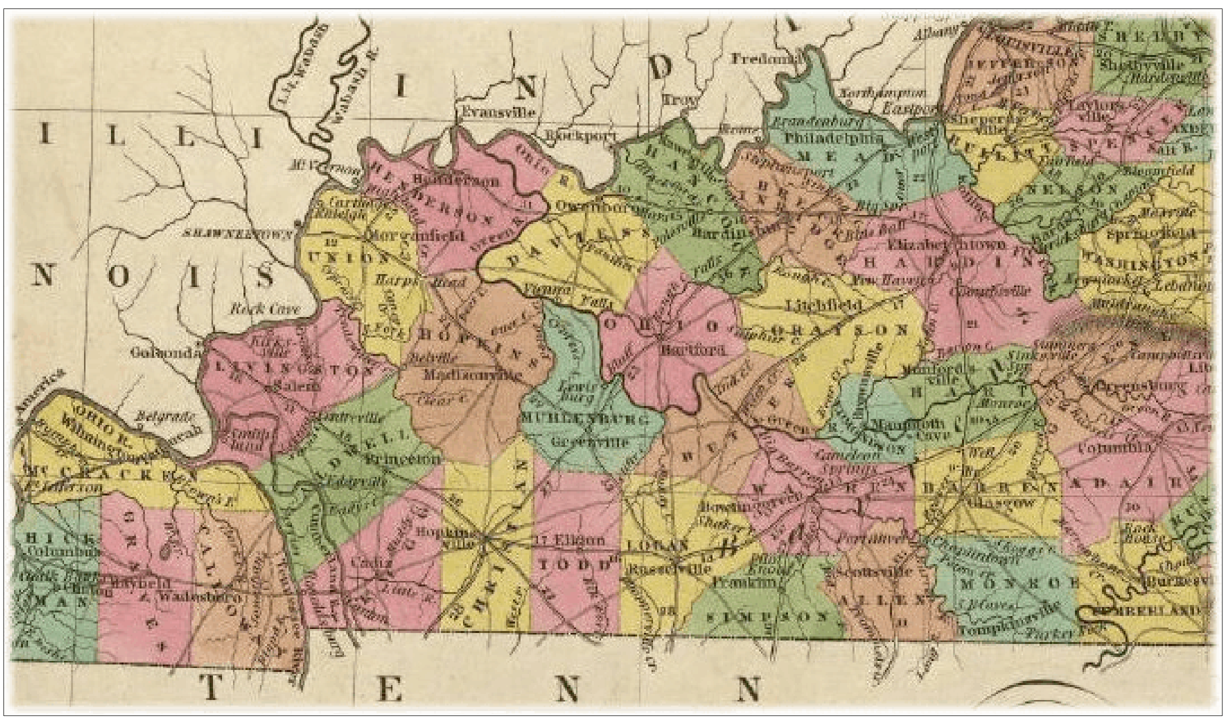


Figure 3.5. 1836 Map of Kentucky (Henry S. Tanner 1836)

Integrated trade centers and commodity routes provide a base for settlement systems and community formation. Linkages with national and global markets suggest that the area's inhabitants had access to all manner of material goods by the early nineteenth century. Access to goods allowed the residents of the region to participate in the consumer revolution and class-based Victorian society prevalent during the nineteenth century. To what extent this participation occurred depended on fashion, purchasing power, economic class, ethnicity, and even gender.

Green River Improvements

The largest internal improvements program of the Green River region, however, was making the Green River itself more navigable. Because of several unique characteristics of the Green River—its unusual depth, its direct access to the Ohio and Mississippi, and the fact that it rarely freezes—James Weir, an early settler of the area, prophesied in 1798 that it would become "a place of great trade in time to come" (Rothert 1913:58). Other characteristics, however, promised to make navigation difficult: it was crooked and narrow, had an unpredictable water flow, and there were numerous rocky obstructions. Despite a growing awareness of the river's potential, the Green River pioneers did little to alter or control the river for their own convenience. Thus, until about 1820, the Green River had limited ability to carry goods to market by flatboat or keelboat.

It was reports of steamboats on the Ohio River that spawned an interest in improving the navigability of the Green River. The first steamboat reached Louisville from Pittsburgh in 1811, and another made it upstream from New Orleans in 1815. These events convinced local leaders that the Green River should be made navigable for steamboats at all seasons of the year. By the end of the 1820s, many Green River Valley residents had "steamboat fever" (Crocker 1976:13).

As early as 1830, Bowling Green businessmen recognized the Green River's commercial potential and led the initial drive to improve it. Their spokesman was James Rumsey Skiles. Skiles, who was born in 1800, was quite fittingly named for his maternal grandfather, steamboat inventor James Rumsey (Crocker 1976:15). James Rumsey Skiles was also one of the founders of the town of Rumsey, Kentucky.

Skiles became an expert in river improvements. His research convinced him that the Green River could be improved by canalization, a method developed by New York and Pennsylvania canal engineers. The series of locks and dams used in canalization conserved adequate water for dry seasons and allowed steamers to bypass rocky shoals safely. While Skiles understood the mechanics of canalization, he had little idea about what it would cost to build and maintain the system. His enthusiasm for slack water navigation, however, was contagious.

In 1833, the inhabitants of the Green River Valley convinced the Kentucky legislature to allocate money for a Green and Barren River survey. Abner Lacock, a Pennsylvania canal engineer, was hired to do the job. Lacock's report was optimistic. He concluded that by building five locks and dams, the state could provide slack water navigation as far as Bowling Green. Skiles was appointed chairman of the Board of Commissioners to oversee the Green River project. In 1834, the legislature allocated money to begin construction on two of the locks and dams. Their decision had a major impact on the development of the valley. By 1842, the entire system was completed. As soon as the locks and dams were functioning, the lower Green River Valley began enjoying fairly regular steamboat service. By 1860, lands bordering the Green River, which were worth only four dollars an acre in 1820, were often worth more than twenty dollars an acre. The improvements encouraged the first commercial mining of coal and iron. Convenient river landings became thriving trading centers, and individuals who owned land in these areas were financially rewarded (Crocker 1976:15).

Lock number 2 was the first of the series to be constructed. The contract was let in 1833, and the specifications called for a lock 140 by 36 feet to be built of masonry, timber, iron, rock, and gravel. While the legislature had allocated the money to build the lock under the stipulation that it be completed in one year, it was not declared operable until 1838. Although Lacock's survey had suggested that lock number 2 be located at Calhoun, the lock was actually built on the opposite side of the river at Rumsey (Crocker 1976:16-19). The decision to relocate the lock and dam appears to be connected with the fact that Rumsey was owned by James Rumsey Skiles and Dillis Dyer. Skiles had been the master mind behind the Green River slackwater canal system, and Dyer was the secretary of the State Board of Commissioners under whose superintendence the locks and dams were built (Rothert 1913:409).

The Lockkeeper's records from the mid-nineteenth century show that tolls for passing the state-owned locks were relatively low and varied little during the period. Table 3.2 is a sampling of charges for passing all five locks (Crocker 1976:23).

Table 3.2. Charges for Passing the Green River Locks (Crocker 1976:23)

ITEM SHIPPED	**1843**	**1847**	**1867**
Adult Passenger	$0.50	$0.88	$1.50
One Ton of Salt	0.50	0.65	0.36
One Horse	0.25	0.52	0.50
One Cow	0.13	0.35	0.20

No matter what the state charged, toll receipts could never pay the $102,000 annual interest on the state's loan for the river's improvement, and it often failed to cover the system's repair bills (Crocker 1976:23-24). The Civil War compounded the financial problems. During the war, McLean County was divided in its loyalties. Several skirmishes took place between 1861 and 1864. A Confederate force under the command of General Nathan Bedford Forrest defeated a Union force at Sacramento in December 1861, and then on August 9, 1862, a guerrilla force captured the towns of Calhoun and Rumsey. While Federal forces soon defeated the Confederates and drove them from the county, both the Union and Confederate forces refused to pay tolls, and the fighting allowed little commercial traffic. As a result, the state collected less than $400 in toll fees during the war years, while damage to the line exceeded $36,000.

During the war, the state allowed the Green River locks and dams to fall into disrepair. When the war ended in 1865, commercial traffic gradually returned to the valley, but rivermen complained that the locks and dams were in a dangerous condition. The state argued, however, that it did not have the money for the repairs. As a result, in 1868, the legislature chartered the Green and Barren River Navigation Company, authorizing it to lease the improvements for the next thirty years. The state's lease to a private navigation company, which sanctioned a near-monopoly of river trade, marked an important turning point in the life of the Green River Valley (Crocker 1976:27).

Company leaders knew they could never profit from tolls alone, so they worded their charter so that they could collect according to passing boats' tonnage, rather than according to freight. They charged a flat toll for each ton a boat weighed, when filled to capacity, of "50 cents at the first lower lock, and 30 cents at the second, and 20 cents at the third, and 10 cents at the upper locks, and the same for returning" (Crocker 1976:32). At these rates, it cost typical Green River steamboats approximately $400 for a round trip through all five locks. These rates were three times higher than those on the Ohio River (Crocker 1976:35). In addition, the Navigation Company had its own fleet of boats which could pass the locks toll-free, making it impossible for private boats to compete.

While many valley residents resented the company's toll-free navigation, its profits increased job opportunities along the river. By 1880, the company had invested more than $250,000 in steamboats, barges, dock equipment, and mining property. The company hired Bowling Green builders to construct boats and used Rumsey mechanics for dry-docking and repairing its fleet. The company also ran stores in isolated settlements (Crocker 1976:36).

While the Navigation Company had little competition on the river, it fought strong competition from the railroad. When it first leased the river, the only railroad in the valley was the original L & N, but during the next two decades four additional lines began siphoning off company business. The fastest-growing towns on the river were those with both river and rail connections, such as Livermore, South Carrollton, Rockport, and Bowling Green. The railroads' threat to Navigation Company business was most apparent in 1876, when an independent packet began running a shuttle service between the two railroads which crossed the river above Rumsey (Crocker 1976:37).

By 1886, when the legislature gave the United States permission to buy the unexpired lease, the Navigation Company was prepared to comply. In 1888, when the United States took over the Green River, the Navigation Company had so badly neglected the rivers that through traffic between Bowling Green and Evansville was impossible. The river wall of Lock Number 3 had fallen into the river and the lock walls at Rumsey were in danger of falling at any time. The remaining locks, as well as the dams, needed repairs, and the river was full of snags and silt (Crocker 1976:46).

By 1890, the Corps of Engineers began repairing dams, building lockkeeper's homes, and clearing the river of debris. The United States Congress appropriated funds for new locks and dams, and in 1893, the Corps of Engineers began reconstructing the Rumsey lock on the opposite side of the river at Calhoun, where it was originally intended to be located (Crocker 1976:48). The moving of the lock and dam undoubtedly served Rumsey its final blow.

Rumsey, Kentucky

Dillis Dyer planned the town of Rumsey in 1834, but given Rumsey's co-owner James Rumsey Skiles' actions in promoting a lock at Rumsey, Dyer and Skiles likely conceived of the town years before. In 1835, Skiles and Dyer petitioned the Muhlenberg County Court to allow them to establish a ferry across the Green River at Rumsey. The court ruled that, having produced satisfactory evidence that they were the owners of the town of Rumsey, Skiles and Dyer could establish their ferry. The rate was established at 12.5 cents per man and horse (Muhlenberg County Court Order Book 4:175). Figure 3.6 shows the town of Rumsey on a map that is an 1891 tracing of an earlier map, an 1829 Green River survey (Graham 1829). The town of Rumsey and Lock and Dam No. 2 were added at the time of the tracing, since neither existed in 1829. Figure 3.7 shows the original Dyer plat of Rumsey in 1837 with the 1838 addition. The town grew with the completion of the lock in 1838 and was incorporated in 1839. In 1838, during Rumsey's heyday, Dyer planned an enlargement of the town, but this expansion never took place.

Dyer and Skiles, using political connections at the state and national level, attempted to establish a competing town on land they owned adjacent to Calhoun, which by 1830 was already a community of 40 years standing with an established economic base and a much better situation on high ground. In doing so, they appear to conform to Mahoney's model of town formation and regional economic processes, when he notes that the development of a regional frontier system did not create uniformity in social or economic life within its area, but forced local communities into competition with each other for sale of crops and attraction of state monies for public projects such as roads and improved navigation (Mahoney 1990:244). Skiles and Dyer must have believed that Rumsey had some characteristics that would support its growth and prosperity (a belief clearly adopted by Rumsey settlers such as Baber). One characteristic that distinguished Rumsey land from Calhoun, which Skiles and Dyer likely promoted as a significant advantage, was that it was located on low ground. The relatively level bank, close to the water line, meant that a canal could be excavated past the shallow water. The construction of a canal on the Rumsey side would have meant the creation of significant business opportunities for merchants and landowners in Rumsey, drawing business away from Calhoun. It is almost certainly this belief that carried their project forward.

In the early to middle 1840s, Rumsey was set to prosper—the Panic of 1837 and the economic downturn that developed from it were in the past, and an increase in settlement and increased export of local products established the wealth of the Green River Country. By 1842, the entire slack water navigation system was complete, so that the lower Green River communities could enjoy regular steamboat service and not be at the mercy of the seasonal rise and fall of water on the river. Business could be conducted at a faster pace, with a greater flow of goods coming into the region, more credit and money available for purchases or for making improvements, and a dramatic increase in land values. Land that in 1820 had been worth $ 4.00 an acre was worth $ 20.00 an acre by 1860, even without improvements. Convenient river landings became thriving trading centers,

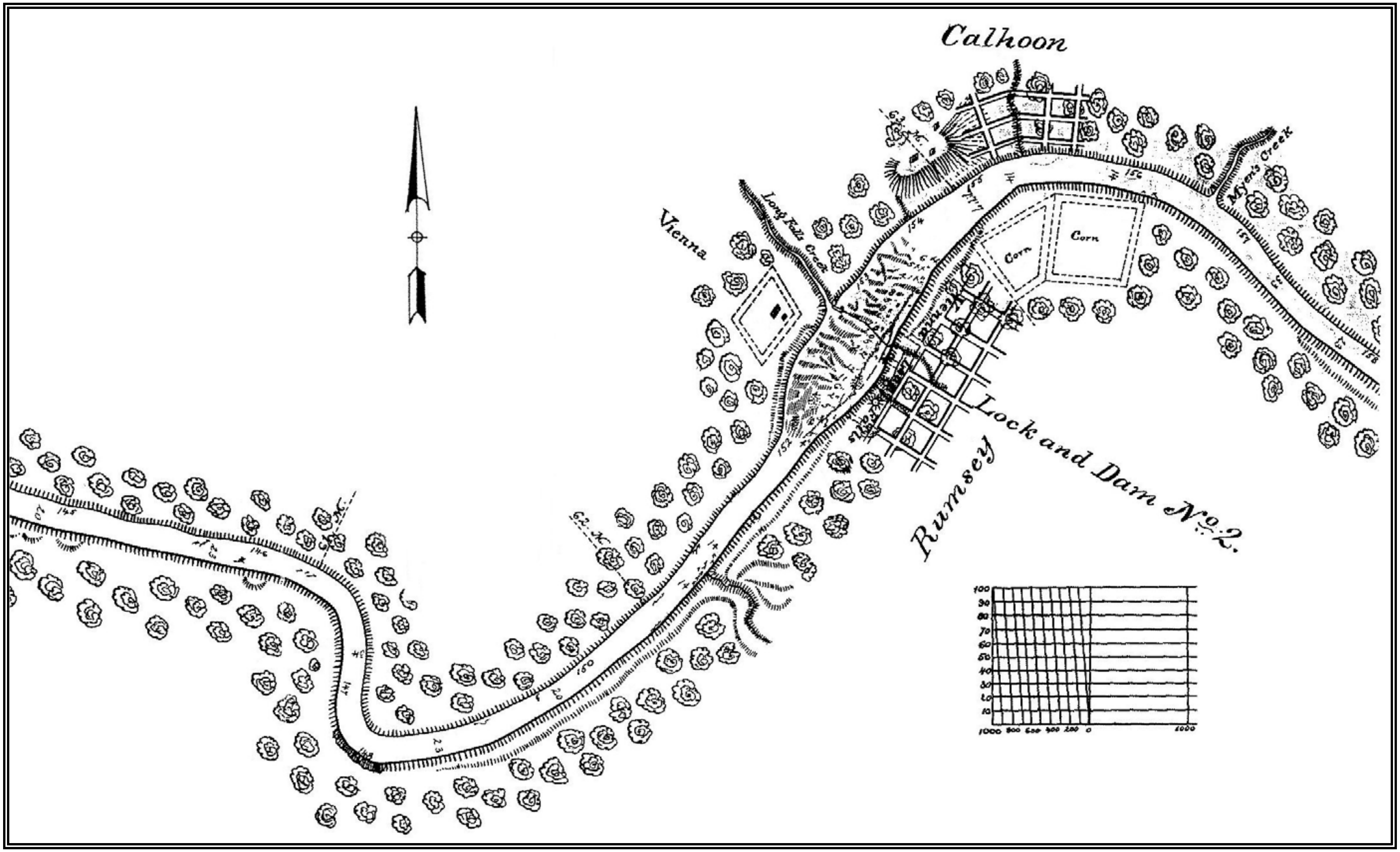


Figure 3.6. Survey of Green River map with Rumsey and Calhoun (An 1891 Tracing of Graham 1829)

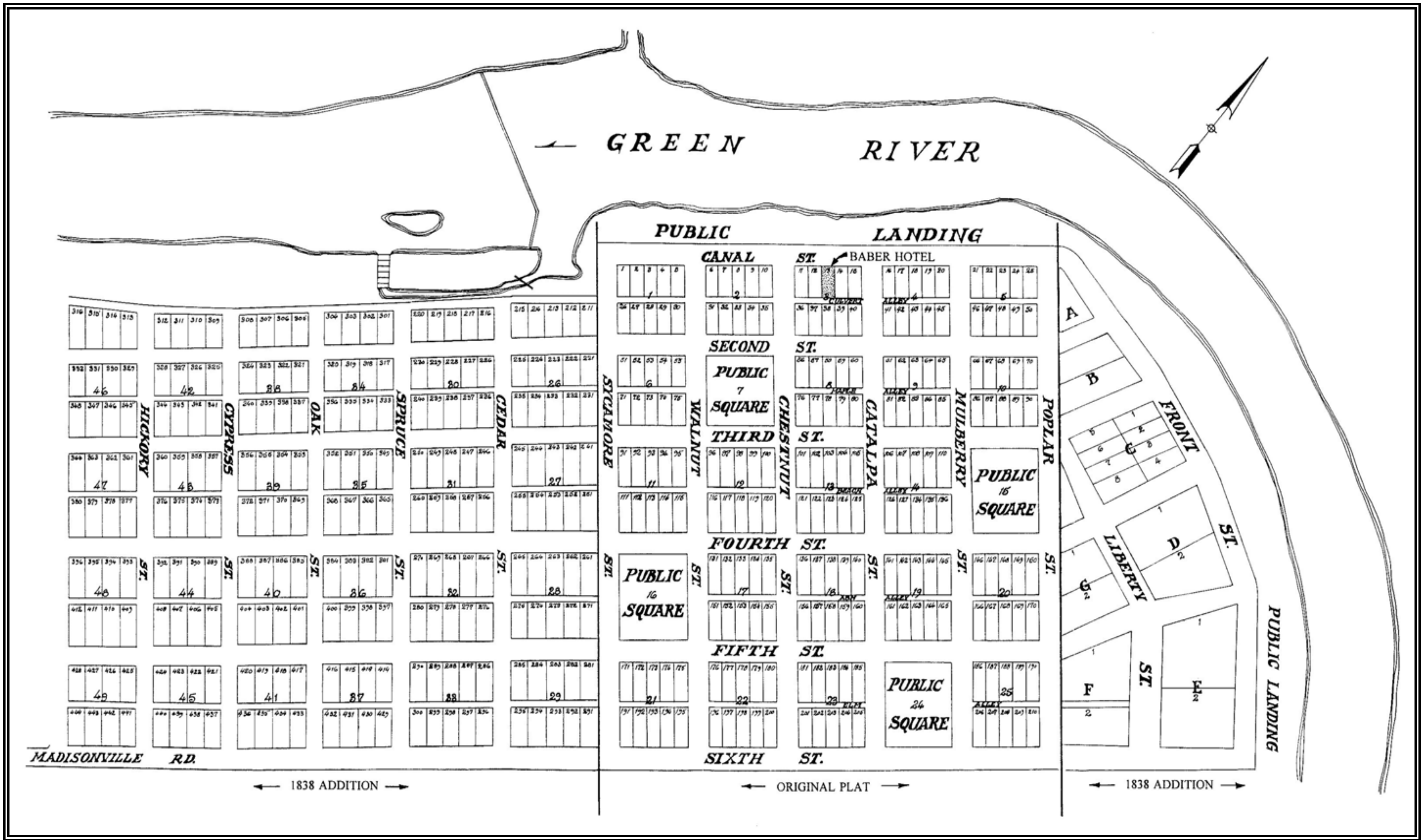


Figure 3.7. Plat of Rumsey with 1838 additions (King 1837)

and individuals who owned land in these areas reaped financial benefits (Crocker 1976:15). The river was plied daily by steamers heading up and down the river to bring travelers and cargo from further south and to take local produce to southern markets. However, Lewis Collins, a visitor to the community around 1847, provides description of Rumsey that probably applies to the earlier years of this decade as well:

> *Rumsey lies on Green river, at lock and dam No. 2, about twenty-five miles north of Greenville—contains one Union church, one lawyer, two physicians, two taverns, five stores, two groceries, one school, two saw-mills, two grist-mills, one carding factory, and six mechanics' shops. Population 300.* (Rothert 1913:407)

Rumsey prospered during the early years of the Green River steamboat era. For example, one of the first steamboats ever built on the Green River was built at Rumsey in 1846 by James and Philip Jones (Rothert 1913:408). Robert S. Howard and William T. Short kept a general store in the town for a number of years, as did Elisha Baker and Samuel M. Wing. Douglass Little made plows and built wagons from 1844 to 1851. His Rumsey shop was in its day the largest in the county (Rothert 1913:409). Tavern license petitions indicate that the town had at least one or two taverns during the 1840s (Muhlenberg County Tavern Rates 1835-1851).

Rothert (1913:410) reported that among the oldest citizens of Rumsey in the 1840s was Charles M. Baber, hotel-keeper and magistrate; William A. Eaves and Leander Mitchell, superintendents of the lock and dam; Woodford Mitchell and Henry Williams, merchants; John Robbins, wool manufacturer; John A. Murray, grocer; and Ephraim Baker, a justice. From 1840 to about 1855, Rumsey was larger than its older cross-river rival, Calhoun (Rothert 1913:408).

Further evidence of businesses flourishing during this period can be derived from the 1850 census (Table 3.3). While the listed professions in the 1850 census include millers, doctors, and lawyers, transportation-related crafts are dominant, probably because of Rumsey's role as a docking point, and the presence of the lock and dam. Associated crafts include: a blacksmith, wagon master, sailor or pilot, tavern keeper, cooper, a saddler, wagoners, and a ferryman. Others town residents were involved in the production of household furnishings or personal items including a gunsmith, a wool carder, blacksmith, engraver, and a shoemaker. These professionals and craftsmen would have been typical of a small town, providing goods and services to the local urban and surrounding rural population. In addition to these professional and crafts persons, Rumsey appears to have had stores and groceries, likely supplying local residents with daily foods and the rural population with any store goods that they required.

In 1854, however, when McLean County was formed, Calhoun and Rumsey competed for the right to serve as the county seat, and Rumsey lost. Archival records indicate that a power struggle occurred between the two communities, as first Rumsey and then Calhoun entertained the commissioners at the best hotel (Baber in Rumsey, and Landrum's in Calhoun) to establish one of them as the county seat, with all the social benefits and business opportunities that this status would bring. The failure of Rumsey to prosper can be linked directly to the competition in commerce and

Table 3.3. 1850 Census Population

Occupation	**# Individuals**	**Percentage**	**Mean Taxable Wealth ($)**
Farmer	38	43	1442
Laborer	11	13	445
Carpenter	10	11	605
Merchant	5	6	1538
Wagon Master	3	3	177
Lawyer	2	2	0
Miller	2	2	1000
Sailor	2	2	750
Cabinet Maker	2	2	25
Tavern Keeper	**2**	**2**	**1400**
Gunsmith	1	1	400
Dr. of Physic	1		0
Carder	1	1	0
Cooper	1	1	0
Blacksmith	1	1	650
Sadder	1	1	1500
Engraver	1	1	0
Shoemaker	1	1	50
Wagoner	1	1	150
Constable	1	1	0
Ferryman	1	1	2000

population growth that occurred across the river in Calhoun. This appears to be the beginning of Rumsey's decline, for by 1860, Calhoun's population was 511 while Rumsey's had dropped to 373 (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4. Rumsey Population

YEAR	WHITE	FREE COLORED	SLAVES	TOTAL
1860	304	3	66	373
1870	187	29	NA	216
1880				204

One reason for Rumsey's defeat appears to have been the fact that it frequently flooded, while Calhoun, located on a bluff, was often spared the damage caused by the waters. Records indicate that 1845 saw the greatest flood then recorded in Kentucky's and Rumsey's history (Crocker 1976). This flood, likely the 100 year flood not repeated until 1937, must have greatly affected Rumsey property owners, forcing some like Baber to consider their position and the reality of living at a lower elevation than their competitors in Calhoun, who did not suffer the inundation directly, although business was certainly affected. Fernander May, the Calhoun correspondent for the *Owensboro Messenger* reported that after the 1884 flood, Rumsey reminded him "of the ruins of the ancient cities spoken of in the Holy Writ—a housetop here and there is all that is visible of that once thriving little place." In contrast, he reported that while Calhoun was "nearly surrounded by water," which was "very materially affecting ... business interests" it had not experienced the devastation which occurred at Rumsey (Ward 1985).

In 1862, Charles Carleton Coffin, a Civil War correspondent, visited both communities (Ward 1974). Though in his opinion both towns were lacking when compared to country villages in his native New England, his observations reveal a stark contrast between the two Kentucky neighbors. He began by describing Calhoun:

> *First we have the McLean House, the first-class hotel of the place—a wooden building two stories high, containing six or eight rooms. There is beyond it one brick building, then a number of smaller buildings containing a couple of rooms each, and forty rods distant a church, respectable in style and proportions. The land is undulating, and on the hillsides there are dwellings, a half dozen of which you might call comfortable. The original forest oaks are still standing. A creek or bayou runs through the town, the receptacle of all the filth generated by ten thousand men, and thousands of mules, horses, and hogs.*

Coffin's description of Rumsey differed greatly from its bustling cross-river rival:

> *Rumsey, on the opposite side of the river, is of smaller dimensions. Years ago it was a 'right smart' town, but business has disappeared. The people have also gone, and now one sees a row of windowless, doorless, deserted houses soaked in every flood waters.*

Besides losing its bid for the county seat, the Civil War, the lease of the river lock to a private navigation company, competition from the railroad and frequent flooding, were factors which contributed to the decline of Rumsey.

The Baber Hotel

In 1793, a law was enacted in Kentucky providing that any person intending to keep a tavern should petition the court and obtain a license for a one year period, giving bond guaranteeing his good conduct. In 1836, 1838, 1839, 1845, and 1851, Charles M. Baber petitioned the Muhlenberg County Court for permission to conduct a tavern at his home in Rumsey (Table 3.5). This petition is the earliest documentary evidence of Baber living in Rumsey. He was not living in Muhlenberg County when the 1830 census was taken. As Skiles and Dyer did not plan the town of Rumsey until 1834, it appears that Baber's arrival in Rumsey probably did not predate his petition by many years.

Table 3.5. Petitions to Keep a Tavern in Rumsey 1835-1851

Year	Charles Baber	Jackson Ham	Isaac Ingram & William Harbert	John Johnson	Thomas Landrum	Douglass Little	Henry Lucas	B.H. Martin	Thomas Martin	Charles Ward	Total
1835				x							1
1836	x										1
1837	x										1
1838	x										1
1839	x	x									2
1840					x			x			2
1841				x					x		2
1842									x		1
1843									x		1
1844											0
1845	x										1
1846			x			x					2
1847											0
1848						x					1
1849										x	1
1850							x				1
1851	x						x				2
TOTAL	6	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	3	1	

His request to operate a tavern at his home, however, suggests that he had constructed a home in Rumsey by 1836. As will be shown below, the archaeological data suggests Baber was living at this site by the early 1830s. In 1841, he officially purchased six Rumsey lots for $317.75 (lots 2, 3, 28, 37, 39, and 40) and received three additional lots (lots 1, 13, and 27) from the Board of Trustees "in consideration of improvements" (Muhlenburg County Deed Book 10:136). It appears, therefore, that his house and hotel were located at either lots 1, 13, or 27. The archaeological record strongly confirmed that the house/hotel was located on lot 13.

In 1842, Baber mortgaged lots 13, 37, 39, and 40 for $600 to Thomas Lendrum, Dillis Dyer, Ephraim Baker, and Elisha Baker (Muhlenburg County Deed Book 11:215). According to the deed, Baber was currently occupying these lots. He also sold "the appurtenances thereon together with all of my household and kitchen furniture of every description." The object and intention of this transaction was to give a lien and mortgage to the buyers who had payed a debt Baber owed to the Crow Brannon Co., a mercantile firm of the city of Louisville. The firm had a judgement against Baber in the Daviess Circuit Court.

The 1842 deed clearly stated that if Baber paid the note he would retain ownership of the property. It appears that he was able to make the payment, for in 1845 he once again mortgaged his property (Muhlenberg County Deed Book 12:76). This time he sold three lots in Rumsey "being the same now occupied by said Baber & also five beds, furniture, 4 tables, 3 presses, 2 bureaus, 18 chairs & all other household & kitchen furniture belonging to said Baber." This mortgage was to William Short, a Rumsey general store owner, whom Baber owed a "note & store account." Interestingly, this document indicates that Baber possessed a very large assemblage of furniture for this period.

The Short mortgage also appears to have been paid, for in the 1850 Kentucky census Baber was listed as a "Tavern Keeper" from North Carolina, and in the 1860 census he was enumerated as a Rumsey "Hotel Keeper" (Table 3.6). By combining the county court orders, tavern licenses, and the U.S. Census, it appears that Baber ran the tavern/hotel from roughly 1836 until at least 1860. Why there were gaps in his license during the early and late 1840s is unclear. He may have simply failed to get a license (Table 3.6).

An investigation of the 1830, 1840, 1850, and 1860 census (Table 3.7) returns revealed important information concerning the composition of the Charles M. Baber household and tax records from five different years revealed information on Baber's wealth (Table 3.8). In 1830, there were eight individuals living in a house in Ohio County, including three slaves—one adult female and two young boys. The other occupants were Baber, his wife Lucy, one other adult male, and two boys. In 1840, there were nine individuals living in the tavern/hotel at Rumsey, including three female slaves—one adult female and two girls. It may be that the 1830 census was incorrectly entered with two boys. The other occupants were Baber, his wife Lucy, and their four children. By 1850, the household had grown to 10 individuals, not including slaves (a record of the number of slaves owned by Baber in 1850 could not be located). One of the occupants, Richard Pain, a doctor, married Baber's daughter Ann in 1850. The other occupants included Finton Thomas, a carpenter; James Wright, a cabinet maker; and Benjamin Potter (Potter's occupation was not legible).

Table 3.6. Evidence of Tavern Operations at the Baber House

DATE	LEGAL INSTRUMENT	LICENSEE	SURETY	DESCRIPTION
1836	Muhlenberg Court Order Book 4, Pg. 315	Charles M. Baber	Dillis Dyer & John Johnson	At his house in the town of Rumsey
1838-39	Muhlenberg County Court Order Book 4, Pg. 231	Charles M. Baber	Jacob Landes	At his house in the town of Rumsey
1845	Muhlenburg Court Order Book 5, Pg. 178	Charles M. Baber	Sanders Eaves	At his house in Rumsey
1850	U.S. Population Census	Charles M. Baber		"Tavern Keeper"
1857	McLean County Tax Records	Charles M. Baber		Tavern Licensee
1860	U.S. Population Census	Charles M. Baber		"Hotel Keeper"
1868	McLean County Tavern Keeper's Bond	James Hinton	Volney Baker	At Rumsey, Ky. Babers Old Stand
1870	McLean County Tavern Keeper's Bond	Thomas W. Shackelford	B.L. Wakely	At Babers Old Stand in Rumsey
1871	McLean County Tavern Keeper's Bond	Thomas W. Shackelford		The Baber House in Rumsey

Tax records for the years 1856, 1857, and 1858 show change in Baber's wealth (Table 3.8). Baber's four town lots appear to have dropped in value in 1857 from the prior year, perhaps attributable to Calhoun's victory as county seat and the continual flooding of the Green River. In 1860, besides Baber, his wife, and one of their daughters, who was a teacher, the household included Julia Dyer, the widow of Dillus Dyer, founder of Rumsey, and Azra Dyer, a lawyer. The relationship of another occupant, Sarah Holton, is not known. Baber owned two female slaves in 1860. According to the 1860 Slave Census, Baber owned no slave houses, which implies that the two slaves, ages 22 and 6, were living in the tavern/hotel. Such a situation was reported in Calhoun by correspondent Charles Carleton Coffin in 1862. In this hotel, a slave named Jim reportedly slept in the kitchen (Ward 1974).

There appears to be a short-term increase in property value for Baber in 1866, but this was short-lived (Table 3.8). Baber may have continued to operate his tavern/hotel until his death in 1868 (McLean County Court Order Book B:527). There is evidence that, even after his death, others continued to operate a tavern in the Baber home until 1871. For example, requests to operate a tavern at "Babers Old Stand" were entered in 1868 and in 1870, and in 1871 an application was made to operate a tavern at the "Baber House" in Rumsey (Table 3.6).

In 1875, when lot 13 was sold by Baber's son, Milton Baber, there was no mention of any standing structures. Thus, this preliminary research indicates that a structure at site 15McL137 was operated as the Charles M. Baber dwelling/tavern/hotel from c. 1836 until 1868, at which time it was

Table 3.7. U.S. Census Returns for Charles M. Baber Household 1830-1860

1830

MALES			FEMALES		SLAVES (female)	SLAVES (male)	TOTAL
Years of Age			Years of Age		Years of Age	Years of Age	
<5 YRS.	<30 YRS	<40 YRS.	5-10 YRS.	<30 YRS	<36 YRS	<10 YRS.	
2	1	1		1	1	2	8

1840

MALES			FEMALES		SLAVES (female)		TOTAL
Years of Age			Years of Age		Years of Age		
<5 YRS.	5-10 YRS.	30-40 YRS.	5-10 YRS.	40-50 YRS.	<10 YRS.	24-36 YRS.	
1	1	1	2	1	2	1	9

1850

NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	OTHER
Charles M. Baber	49	Tavern Keeper	
Lucy Baber	50		
Ann M. Pain	19		married with in year
Milton Baber	12		
Sarah Baber	10		
Russell Baber	8		
Richard A. Pain	32	Doctor	married with in year
Finton Thomas	25	Carpenter	
James Wright	35	Cabinet Maker	
Benjamin Potter	25	?	

1860

NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	OTHER
Charles M. Baber	59	Hotel Keeper	
Lucy Baber	60		
Jennie Baber	20	Teacher	
Julia Dyer	No Age		widow of Dillus Dyer founder of Rumsey
Azra Dyer	No Age	Lawyer	
Sarah Holton	No Age		

Table 3.8. Tax Records for Charles Baber (Muhlenberg and McLean Counties)

Year	Town Lots	Value of Town Lots	Total Value 20cents/$100	Tavern License	Other
1840	4	1200		-	
1850	3	1200		-	
1856	4	1200	2655	-	
1857	4	1000	1800	yes	2 slaves 2 cows
1858	4	100	800	-	1 slave 1 cow
			40 cents/$100		
1866	4	1200	1700	-	piano $450
1867	5	1000	1025	-	gold and silver metal clocks and watches $10 gold and silver plate $15 1 mule

taken over by others who continued to operate it as a tavern until 1871. It appears that by 1875 the structure was no longer in use and was torn down sometime during the late nineteenth century.

Summary

As this chapter reveals, Rumsey was an important town during the early years of the Green River steamboat era, but eventually succumbed to frequent flooding and competition from Calhoun. During Rumsey's growth period, however, the Baber Hotel was one of its important components. Charles Baber became a leading citizen, as magistrate, and also host to the committee that would choose the courthouse town for McLean County. Based on what we know of Charles Baber and his business cohorts, the Baber Hotel must have been the answer to the public demand for such structures and accommodations in the mid-nineteenth century. To what extent Baber contributed to the growth and decline of Rumsey in the nineteenth century will be examined in the following chapters.

Chapter Four

Methodology and Materials Recovered from the Baber Hotel

Introduction

In this chapter, the information on the materials recovered from the Baber Hotel is presented with a description of the laboratory techniques used to analyze and present the data.

Laboratory Methods

Artifacts recovered during field investigations were brought to the WSA Archaeology Laboratory in Lexington, Kentucky, for cataloging and analysis. Materials were washed and sorted by general material type (i.e. Historic vs. Prehistoric). The artifacts were then analyzed according to specific methods. Historic artifacts were washed and sorted into major material categories. These were then cataloged according to the system of artifact-function association modified from South (1977). Since most if not all archaeologists initially classify artifacts with this functional system, results are comparable from state to state and region to region. All artifacts were assigned to the functional groups (e.g., kitchen, architecture), then to a material class (e.g., ceramic, glass, metal), then to a type (e.g., base of bottle, jar lip), and then to a subtype (e.g., color, decoration type). In the following discussion, each of the major categories of historic artifacts is defined. Table 4.1 shows the proportions of these various groups or artifact classes recovered from the mitigation of the Baber Hotel.

Kitchen Group

This group consists of artifacts used in the preparation, consumption, and/or storage of foods and beverages. For the most part, this group comprises container glass and ceramics. As most of these are manufactured, there is significant variation in decorative style and manufacturing techniques over time. Kitchen artifacts were the most recovered of any other functional group, comprising 52.8% of the total artifact assemblage. This chronological variation forms the basis for the assignment of individual sites to historic time periods. A total of 51,428 kitchen artifacts were recovered from the Baber Hotel. Of these, the majority recovered are faunal specimens (n = 25,718), followed by container glass (n = 12,620), then ceramics (n = 10,833), and finally kitchen hardware (n = 2,239).

Ceramics

Ceramics are one of the most important chronologically diagnostic artifact categories on an archaeological site. In addition, these materials offer important clues to functional and social status

Table 4.1 Artifacts by Group, Group Percent, and Percent of Total Assemblage

Functional Group	Type	Frequency	Group %	Total %
Architectural	Asbestos Siding	2	0.01%	
	Asphalt, Shingle	51	0.14%	
	Brick	1616	4.56%	
	Building Stone	4	0.01%	
	Ceramic Doorknob	1	0.00%	
	Chinking/Daub	512	1.45%	
	Concrete	8	0.02%	
	Cut Nail Unspecified	828	2.34%	
	Early Cut Nail	7	0.02%	
	Electrical	7	0.02%	
	Flat Glass	11629	32.84%	
	Hydraulic Cement	1	0.00%	
	Late Cut Nail	1276	3.60%	
	Lighting/Electrical Glass Insulator	2	0.01%	
	Mortar	380	1.07%	
	Other Architectural Stone	71	0.20%	
	Other Lighting/Electrical Glass	2	0.01%	
	Other Metal Fastener	74	0.21%	
	Other Metal Hardware	1088	3.07%	
	Plaster	36	0.10%	
	Roofing Slate	4	0.01%	
	Tile/Ceramic	53	0.15%	
	Unidentified Architectural Stone	4	0.01%	
	Unidentified Nail	17362	49.03%	
	Wire Nail	395	1.12%	
	Wrought Nail	1	0.00%	
	Total	35414	100.00%	36.37%
Clothing	Bone Button	156	16.47%	
	Button, Copper/Brass	51	5.39%	
	Button, Iron/Steel	50	5.28%	
	Button, Plastic	4	0.42%	
	Button, Unidentified Metal	2	0.21%	
	Clothing Glass	193	20.38%	
	Eyelet/Grommet	98	10.35%	
	Hook and Eye	17	1.80%	
	Leather Glove	1	0.11%	
	Leather Shoe Part	248	26.70%	
	Metal Other	9	0.97%	
	Other Bone Button	1	0.11%	
	Other Buckle	4	0.42%	
	Rivet	2	0.21%	
	Rubber Button	13	1.37%	
	Safety Pin	3	0.32%	
	Shell Button	85	8.98%	
	Spur	2	0.21%	
	Suspender Clasp	6	0.63%	

Table 4.1 Artifacts by Group, Group Percent, and Percent of Total Assemblage

Functional Group	Type	Frequency	Group %	Total %
	Umbrella Part	1	0.11%	
	Unidentified	1	0.11%	
	Total	947	100.00%	0.97%
Furniture	Bathroom Porcelain	6	0.58%	
	Castor Wheel	3	0.29%	
	Drawer/Door Pulls	10	0.97%	
	Figurine/Decorative	62	6.04%	
	Glass Door Knob	3	0.29%	
	Glass Drawer/Door Pull	1	0.10%	
	Glass Light Bulb Part	7	0.68%	
	Lamp Chimney	774	75.37%	
	Metal Furniture	40	3.89%	
	Mirror	22	2.14%	
	Other Furniture Ceramic	21	2.04%	
	Other Furniture Glass	2	0.19%	
	Other Lighting/Electrical Glass	42	4.09%	
	Unidentified Furniture Glass	23	2.24%	
	Unidentified Lighting/Electrical Glass	11	1.07%	
	Total	1027	100.00%	1.05%
Job/Activity	Hand Tools	158	93.49%	
	Machinery	5	2.96%	
	Other Activity Biological	1	0.59%	
	Other Activity Glass	1	0.59%	
	Plastic Battery Part	2	1.18%	
	Whetstone	2	1.18%	
	Total	169	100.00%	0.17%
Kitchen	Bone	23260	45.23%	
	Bone Handle	20	0.04%	
	Bottle Cap	26	0.05%	
	Bottle/Jar Base	605	1.18%	
	Bottle/Jar Body	8500	16.53%	
	Bottle/Jar Lip	471	0.92%	
	Burned/Melted Unidentified Glass	995	1.93%	
	Canning Jar Lid	14	0.03%	
	Creamware	296	0.58%	
	Domestic Stoneware	526	1.02%	
	Eggshell	1471	2.86%	
	Enameled Tinware	1	0.00%	
	Hard Paste Porcelain	220	0.43%	
	Hollow Ware (Cast or Wrought)	319	0.62%	
	Ironstone	399	0.78%	
	Kettle	13	0.03%	
	Kitchen Plastic	8	0.02%	
	Large Spoon	4	0.01%	
	Metal Foil	1	0.00%	
	Mollusk Shell	59	0.11%	

Table 4.1 Artifacts by Group, Group Percent, and Percent of Total Assemblage

Functional Group	Type	Frequency	Group %	Total %
	Other Kitchen Faunal	1	0.00%	
	Other Kitchen Floral	1	0.00%	
	Other Kitchen Metal	57	0.11%	
	Pearlware	1751	3.40%	
	Pit	1	0.00%	
	Pot	1	0.00%	
	Pull Tab	7	0.01%	
	Redware	61	0.12%	
	Skillet	4	0.01%	
	Soft Paste Porcelain	187	0.36%	
	Spice Shaker	3	0.01%	
	Table Fork	4	0.01%	
	Table Glass Base	142	0.28%	
	Table Glass Body	331	0.64%	
	Table Glass Lip	302	0.59%	
	Table Knife	8	0.02%	
	Table Spoon	18	0.04%	
	Tin Can Hole-in-Top	2	0.00%	
	Tin Can Unidentified Body	1739	3.38%	
	Tooth	927	1.80%	
	Undetermined Base	10	0.02%	
	Undetermined Body	1238	2.41%	
	Undetermined Lip	26	0.05%	
	Unidentifiable Refined Earthenware	410	0.80%	
	Utensil Handle	6	0.01%	
	Whiteware	6892	13.40%	
	Yellow ware	91	0.18%	
	Total	51428	100.00%	52.82%
Other	Other Biological	12	0.21%	
	Other Ceramic	15	0.26%	
	Other Glass	12	0.21%	
	Other Metal	4669	81.84%	
	Other Plastic	611	10.71%	
	Other Stone	386	6.77%	
	Total	5705	100.00%	5.86%
Personal	Bone	24	3.44%	
	Coin	16	2.30%	
	Eyeglasses Frame	1	0.14%	
	Eyeglasses Lens	4	0.57%	
	Finger Ring	2	0.29%	
	Hair Comb	1	0.14%	
	Jewelry	24	4.59%	
	Key, Iron/Steel	3	0.43%	
	Key, Unidentified Key	1	0.14%	
	Marble	65	9.33%	
	Marble, Handblown	5	0.72%	

Table 4.1 Artifacts by Group, Group Percent, and Percent of Total Assemblage

Functional Group	Type	Frequency	Group %	Total %
	Marble, Machine Made	67	9.61%	
	Mirror	15	2.15%	
	Musical Instrument	6	0.86%	
	Other	1	0.14%	
	Other Ceramic Personal	1	0.14%	
	Other Key or Pin	14	2.01%	
	Other Personal Glass	5	0.72%	
	Other Personal Plastic	5	0.72%	
	Other Personal Stone	3	0.43%	
	Pencil, Lead/Graphite	1	0.14%	
	Pencil/Pen Eraser Ferrule	1	0.14%	
	Plastic	13	1.87%	
	Pocket Knife	13	1.87%	
	Slate Pencil	54	7.75%	
	Smoking Pipe Bowl/Stoneware/Earthenware	67	9.61%	
	Smoking Pipe Bowl/White Clay	1	0.14%	
	Smoking Pipe Stem/Stoneware/Earthenware	18	2.58%	
	Smoking Pipe Stem/White Clay	5	0.72%	
	Straight Pin Flat Head	18	2.58%	
	Straight Pin Spun Head (Round)	42	6.03%	
	Straight Pin Undetermined	40	5.74%	
	Thimble	10	1.43%	
	Toy	3	0.43%	
	Toy Marble	14	2.01%	
	Toy/Gaming Piece	36	5.16%	
	Unidentified Ceramic Personal	1	0.14%	
	Unidentified Key or Pin	5	0.72%	
	Watch Part	3	0.43%	
	Writing Slate	81	11.62%	
	Total	679	100.00%	0.70%
Arms	Bullet	3	6.00%	
	Centerfire Cartridge	8	16.00%	
	French (Honey)	1	2.00%	
	Lead Ball	4	8.00%	
	Rimfire Cartridge .22 Caliber	22	44.00%	
	Rimfire Cartridge Other	5	10.00%	
	Shotgun Shell, Brass	4	8.00%	
	Shotgun Shell, Plastic	3	6.00%	
	Total	50	100.00%	0.05%
Transportation	Other Transportation Plastic	1	2.08%	
	Plastic Battery Part	4	8.33%	
	Transportation Metal	43	89.58%	
	Total	48	100.00%	0.05%

Table 4.1 Artifacts by Group, Group Percent, and Percent of Total Assemblage

Functional Group	Type	Frequency	Group %	Total %
Fuel	Charcoal	28	1.48%	
	Coal	595	31.45%	
	Coal Cinder/Slag	1256	66.38%	
	Other Coal Fuel	3	0.16%	
	Wood	10	0.53%	
	Total	1892	100.00%	1.94%
TOTAL		97359		100.00%

variation among sites and cultural or ethnic components. For this reason, the ceramics are described in detail and utilized in many types of analyses including vessel analysis. Typically, ceramics are divided into two major groups: refined and unrefined earthenware. Refined earthenware was primarily used as serving vessels such as dinner and tea services or toiletry items. Refined wares treated here include porcelain, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, refined redware, ironstone, and refined stoneware. Unrefined or coarse earthenware was used for food preparation and storage, mixing bowls, churns, milk pans, etc. Unrefined wares treated here include coarse redware, domestic stoneware, and yellow ware.

Ceramics recovered from all contexts of the Baber Hotel (15McL137) totaled 10,833 sherds. Various contexts affected sherd size and condition only somewhat, as soils at the site were prone to freezing and thawing of often-water-logged soil layers, damaging ceramic sherds through exfoliation of glaze, potlidding, and staining. These processes, combined with plowing, rendered some sherds unidentifiable as to ware type, decoration type, and sometimes body part. Frequencies of specific ware types and decoration will be discussed in the following pages for all contexts at the Baber Hotel. Total refined wares recovered from the Baber Hotel numbered 10,209 sherds or 94.2% of the total ceramics identified. Coarsewares numbered 623 sherds or 5.8% of the ceramic types defined during cataloguing. In the following text, refined ware ceramics will be discussed first. Table 4.2 shows all of the ceramics recovered from site 15McL137 and categorizes them first by refined or unrefined wares, followed by paste type, and lastly by decoration.

Refined Wares

Porcelains are vitreous white-paste, usually glazed, wares of a variety of compositions. Porcelain was a very expensive ware until the late twentieth century, and therefore is typically rare on sites. Moreover, porcelain on twentieth century sites can include pieces made in North America, Great Britain, continental Europe, China, and Japan. Porcelains are divided into two basic types, hard paste and soft paste, with several varieties of each paste type. The difference between these is body composition and firing temperature. Hard paste porcelains are composed of kaolin and feldspathic clays and are fired at a high temperature. Chinese export porcelain is a hard paste variety that can be readily distinguished from other European and Japanese hard pastes. The major period of Chinese export trade to America was circa 1784 - 1820 and declined sharply after 1830 (Palmer 1983:25). Painted underglaze wares were exported to England until 1840, and painted overglaze enamels were exported into the 1820s (Palmer 1983:16). Bone china is a type of soft paste porcelain

Table 4.2. Kitchen Ceramics, 15McL137

Type			Frequency		Percent
Refined Wares			**10209**		**94.2**
	Refined Redware		55		0.5
		Lustre Ware (Silver and Copper)		16	
		Glossy Black Glaze (Jackfield)		4	
		Clear Glaze, Undecorated		2	
		Unglazed		1	
		Other Refined Redware		32	
	Hard Paste Porcelain		220		2.0
		Embossed/Molded		9	
		Blue Underglaze Painted Chinese		9	
		Overglaze Enamel Monochrome		1	
		Overglaze Enamel Polychrome		4	
		Decal		4	
		Gilded		5	
		Other		13	
		Undecorated CEP*		167	
		Undecorated		8	
	Bone China/Soft Paste Porcelain		187		1.7
		Embossed/Molded		9	
		Guilded		2	
		Decal		4	
		Overglaze Painted Monochrome		8	
		Overglaze Painted Polychrome		49	
		Underglaze Painted Monochrome		2	
		Underglaze Painted Polychrome		2	

Table 4.2. Kitchen Ceramics, 15McL137

Type			**Frequency**		**Percent**
		Transfer Printed		5	
		Other		2	
		Undecorated		104	
	Creamware		296		2.7
		Annular		10	
		Finger-Painted/Common		19	
		Molded/Embossed		22	
		Transfer Printed		1	
		Other		8	
		Undecorated Light Yellow		236	
	Pearlware		1751		16.2
		Annular		58	
		Banded		6	
		Embossed/Impressed Edge		12	
		Mocha		10	
		Finger-Painted/Cable/Wormy		11	
		Shell Edge Scalloped Rim		63	
		Overglaze Painted		1	
		Underglaze Painted		128	
		Underglaze Blue Painted		266	
		Underglaze Transfer Printed		98	
		Other		55	
		Undecorated		1038	
		Unidentified		5	

Table 4.2. Kitchen Ceramics, 15McL137

Type			Frequency		Percent
	Whiteware		6891		63.6
		Annular		126	
		Banded		60	
		Blue Shell Edged Scalloped Rim		54	
		Blue Shell Edge Straight Rim		33	
		Green Shell Edge Scalloped Rim		1	
		Shell Edge Painted Only		2	
		Embossed/Impressed and Painted		100	
		Lustre		3	
		Gilded		9	
		Molded		224	
		Sponged/Spatter/Cut Sponge		13	
		Decal		16	
		Colored Glaze		17	
		Finger-Painted/Cable/Wormy		24	
		Mocha-dendritic		11	
		Overglaze Enamel Painted		98	
		Underglaze Painted		446	
		Underglaze Transfer Printed		1852	
		Overglaze Transfer Printed		2	
		Transfer Printed & Painted		2	
		Flowed (Painted or Printed)		7	
		Other		42	
		Undecorated		3731	
		Unidentified		18	

Table 4.2. Kitchen Ceramics, 15McL137

Type			Frequency		Percent
	Ironstone		399		3.7
		Lustre		1	
		Gilded		5	
		Decal		20	
		Colored Glaze		1	
		Painted		5	
		Sponge/Spatter		1	
		Revival Transfer Print		4	
		Undecorated Blue/Grey		77	
		Molded Blue/Grey		41	
		Undecorated White		194	
		Molded White		31	
		Other Ironstone		19	
	Unidentifiable Refined Earthenware		410		3.8
Coarsewares			**623**		**5.8**
	Coarse Redware		6		0.1
		Lead Glazed Brown Tint		1	
		Lead Glazed Black Tint		1	
		Unglazed		1	
		Unidentified		1	
		Clear Lead Glazed		2	
	Domestic Stoneware		526		4.9
		Albany Slip Exterior and Interior		92	
		Albany Slip Exterior		8	
		Bristol Glazed Interior and Exterior		18	

Table 4.2. Kitchen Ceramics, 15McL137

Type			**Frequency**		**Percent**
		Bristol Exterior w Albany Interior		9	
		Salt Glazed Undecorated		204	
		Salt Glazed with Albany Slip	110		
		Other		59	
		Unidentified		26	
	Yellow Ware		91		0.8
		Annular		14	
		Rockingham/Bennington		37	
		Other		8	
		Undecorated		31	
		Unidentified		1	
Total			**10832**		**100**

*CEP - Chinese Export Porcelain

that has been continuously produced since 1794. This ware is composed of feldspathic clays and calcined cattle bone fired at a lower temperature than hard paste porcelains. It appears with many decorative preparations including underglaze blue painted, overglaze polychrome painted, gilding, transfer printing, lustre, and decals. Because of porcelain's long history of manufacture, it has limited potential as a temporal indicator (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:124-127) but is a good indicator of economic status or wealth. Small quantities of English bone china and French porcelains were imported to the United States throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Miller et al. 1994). According to Miller et al. (1994), these wares represent the upper range of expensive ceramics available at the time. In fact, gold banded French porcelain of the 1830s was fifteen times more expensive than creamware (Miller et al. 1994:228), and Chinese export porcelain was three times more expensive (Wall 1994).

Porcelains represent a relatively small portion of the refined ceramics (n = 407 sherds or 4%). Both hard paste or Chinese export porcelain (n = 220 sherds) and soft paste or bone china (n = 187) were identified in almost equal quantities. Decorative techniques included overglaze enameled (n = 5), overglaze painted (n = 57), molded (n = 18), gilded (n = 7), transfer printed (n = 5), underglaze painted (n = 13), decal (n= 8), undecorated (n = 279), and other/unidentifiable (n = 15). Examples of both pastes are shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. Porcelains of this type and decoration are typical of Antebellum assemblages and are usually parts of tea sets (see Andrews and

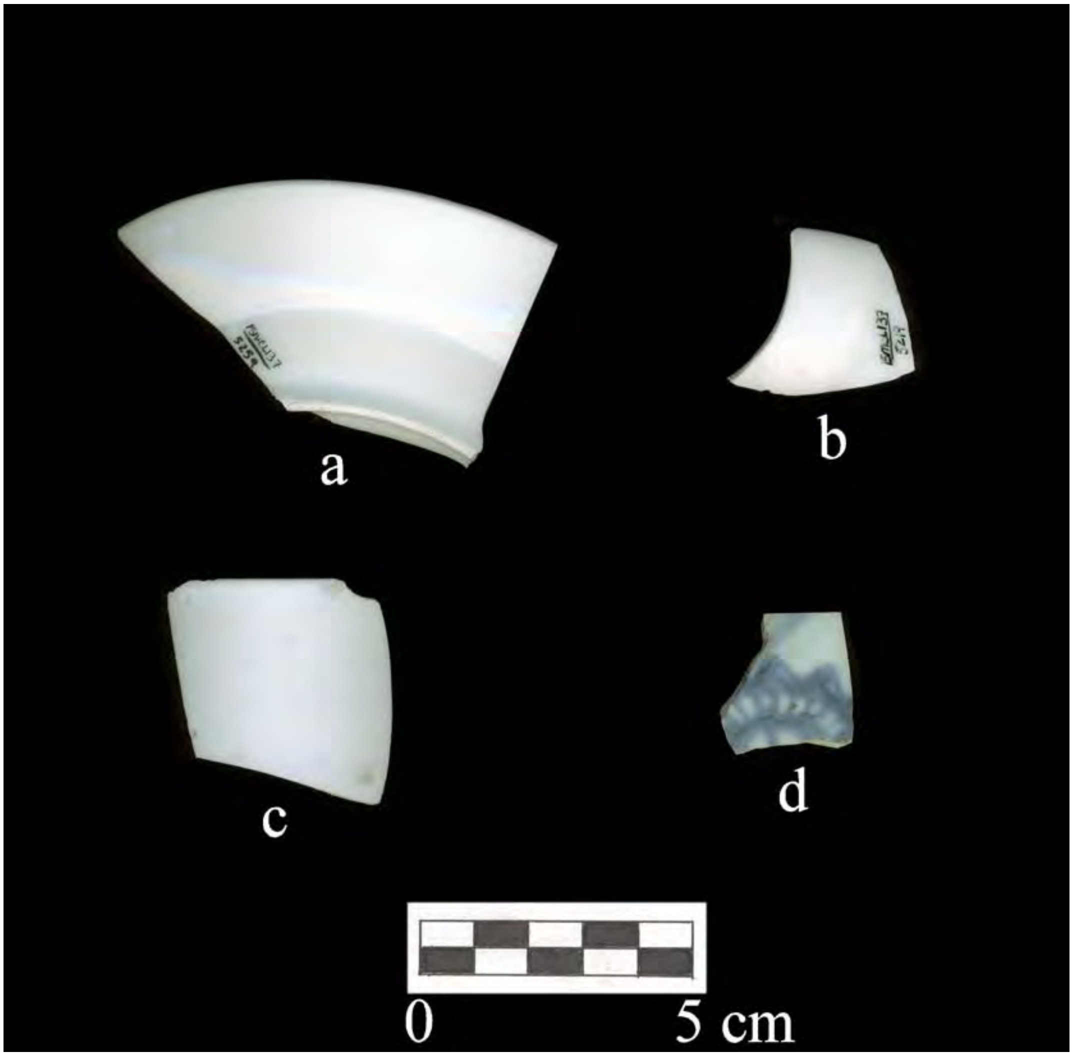


Figure 4.1. Hard paste porcelain: a) undecorated Chinese export rim with footring; b) undecorated and molded rim; c) overglaze enamel polychrome Chinese export hand-painted rim; d) blue underglaze Chinese export

Sandefur 2002; Miller et al. 1994; Wall 1994). Although seemingly low in frequency, even small amounts of porcelain within assemblages have been found to be an indicator of status and class within households (see Fitts 1999; McBride and Sharp 1991).

Creamware is a non-vitreous white-paste earthenware which has a cream colored glaze. Creamware was developed in England circa 1762, and was first exported to the United States in 1769 (Noel-Hume 1969:126). By the end of the eighteenth century, creamware dominated much of the American market, but was replaced by pearlware in popularity by 1810 or 1820 on the East Coast, and by 1830 for the Midwest (see Miller et al. 1994). A variety of decorative techniques can be found on creamware and include over and underglaze transfer printing, annular or dipped preparations, over and underglaze hand painting, and molding.

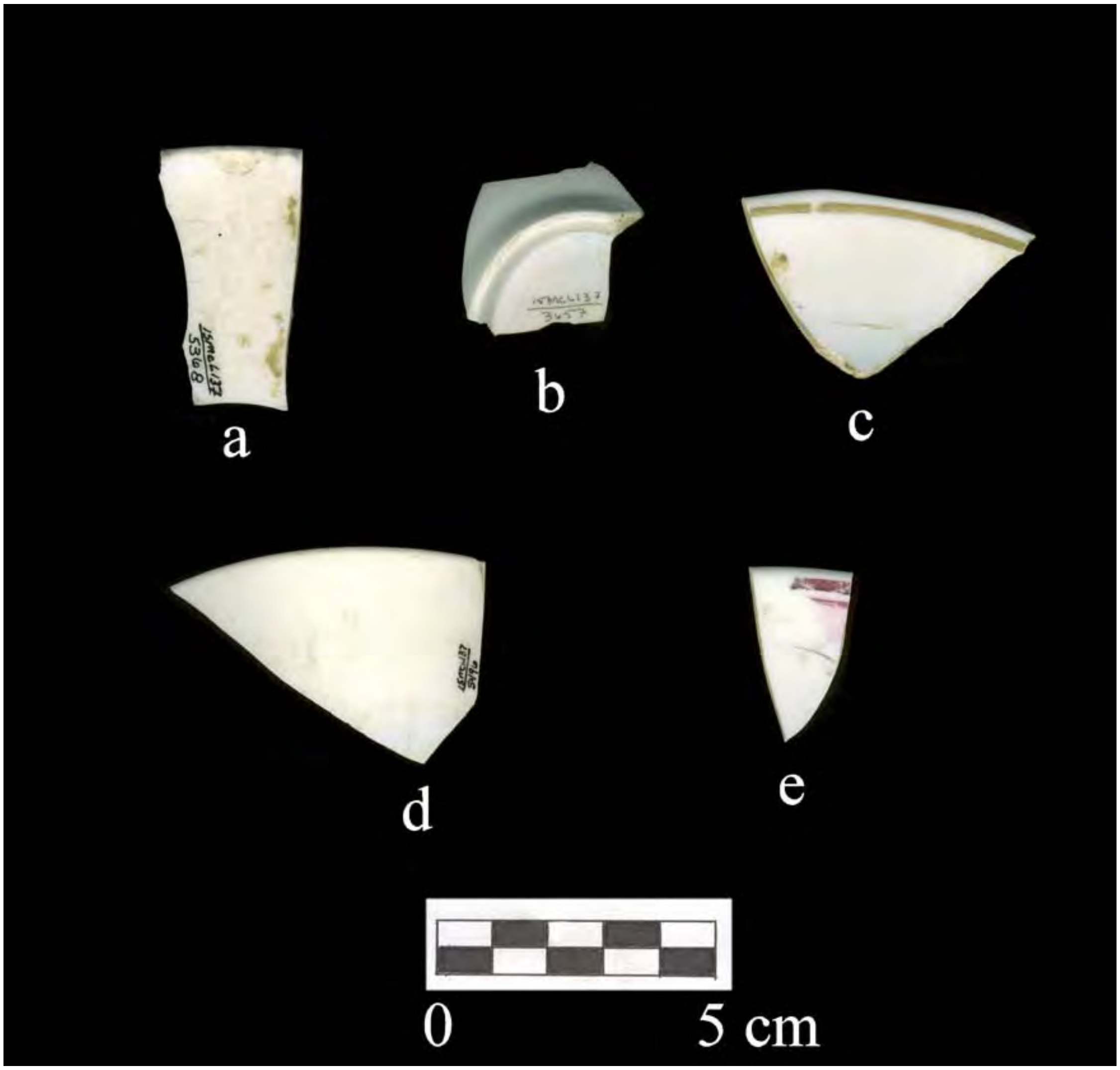


Figure 4.2. Soft paste porcelain: a) undecorated bone china rim; b) molded bone china with footring; c) molded bone china with gold banding rim; d) overglaze polychrome bone china hand-painted rim; e) overglaze polychrome bone china hand-painted with lustre band rim

Creamware within the Baber assemblage totals 296 sherds or 2.9% of the refined wares. Decorative techniques include annular (n = 10), finger-painted or cat's eye (n = 19), molded (n =22), transfer printed (n = 1), undecorated (n = 236), and other/unidentifiable (n = 8). Examples of some creamware recovered from the site are shown in Figure 4.3. Annular and other dipt wares such as the finger-painted or cat's eye decoration were typical for low-cost, utilitarian forms like small bowls, chamber pots, or mixing bowls (see Miller et al. 1994). Creamware decorated with over- and underglaze hand-painted motifs were more costly and probably represent teawares (Miller 1991; Miller et al. 1994). On the whole, the vast majority of creamware was molded or undecorated (see Martin 1994; Miller et al. 1994).

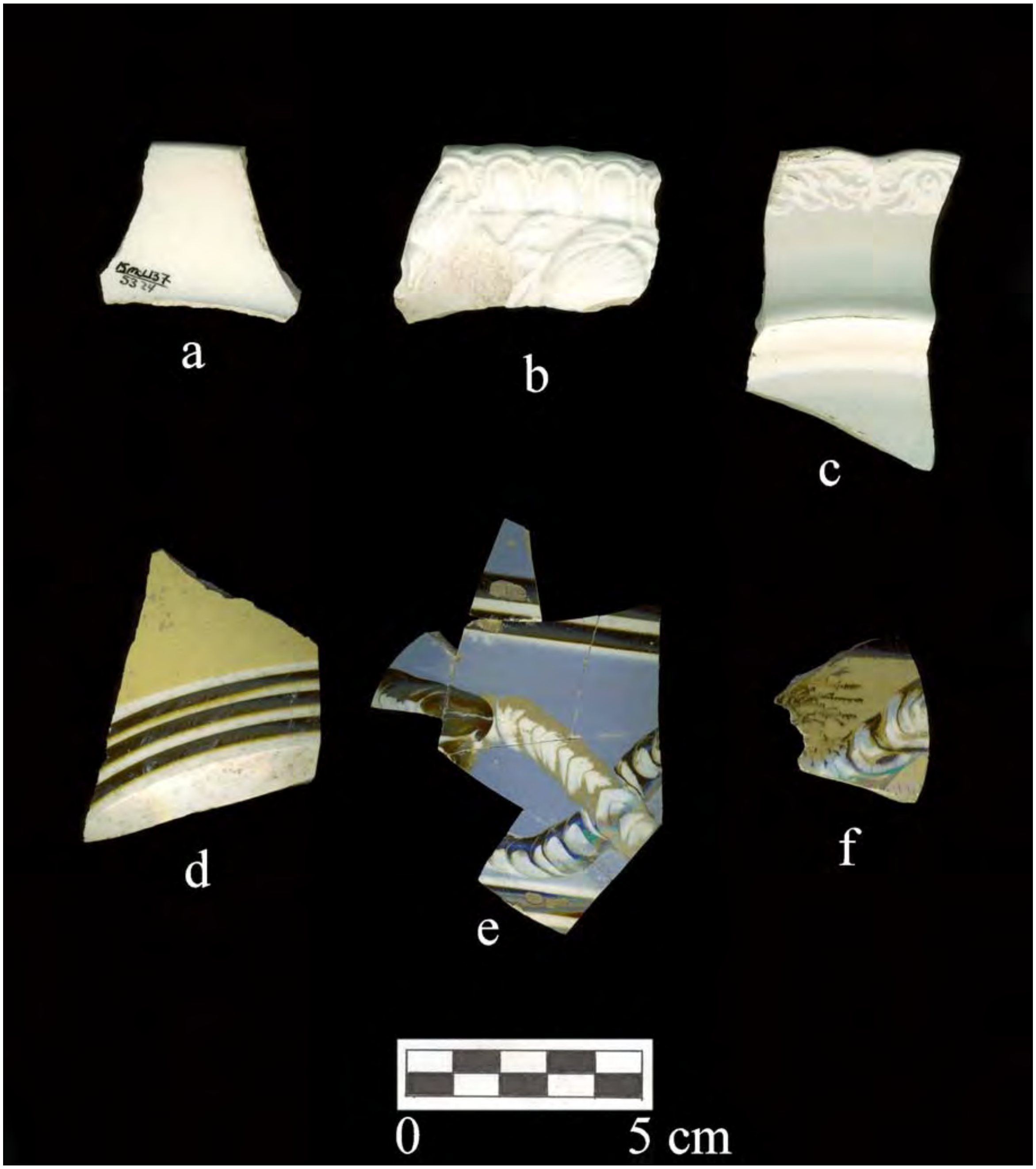


Figure 4.3. Creamware: a) undecorated rim; b) molded rim; c) edge decorated with scalloped rim; d) annular; e) annular with common cable; f) annular with common cable and mocha dendritic

Pearlware are non-vitreous and semi-vitreous, white-pasted earthenwares which have a light blue-green tint created by the addition of cobalt to a clear lead glaze. Pearlware was developed in England circa 1780 and had become the most common tableware in the United States by circa 1810. Although pearlware may have been manufactured until the mid-1800s, its popularity had declined by 1840 (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:118-119; Noel-Hume 1969:128-132; Price 1982:10-11). Pearlware was usually decorated in some way. Decorative types include over and underglaze transfer printing, over and underglaze hand painting, annular or dipped preparations, edge decoration, and molded varieties. Because of the persistence of pearlware over time and its overall similarity to whiteware, it is more reliable to date sherds based on decorative technique and color. Before 1828, potters were unable to use bright colors under the glaze. Consequently, sherds having pink, red, purple, bright green, light blue, and light yellow date after 1828 and are considered whiteware. The pearlware color palette consisted of autumn colors like olive green, dark yellow, bronze, deep blue, black, and brown.

Pearlware sherds within the Baber ceramic assemblage represents 17.2% of the refined wares and total 1,751 sherds. Examples of pearlware recovered from the site are shown in Figure 4.4. Although pearlware is almost always decorated (Miller 1991), the largest decorative type of pearlware within the Baber assemblage is undecorated pearlware sherds totaling 1,038 or 59.3% of pearlware recovered from the site. These sherds are likely from undecorated parts of decorated vessels rather than from undecorated vessels. Underglaze hand-painted pearlware were the second most common decorative type, numbering 394 sherds or 22.5% of the total pearlware assemblage. Within the underglaze hand-painted decorative type, broad line, fine line, and sprig painted varieties were noted. These painted types span the full range of pearlware production from 1780 through 1840 (see above). Underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware sherds were also recovered and number 266 sherds. Underglaze blue hand-painted pearlware typically dates after 1782. The third most common decorative type of pearlware within the Baber assemblage is transfer printed, totaling 98 sherds representing 5.6% of the pearlware assemblage. Manufactured after 1795, transfer printed pearlware was one of the most expensive decorative types (see Miller 1991). Minimum vessel analysis of the transfer printed sherds within the Baber assemblage indicate that transfer printed teawares and tableware were bought and used by the Baber family and hotel guests, suggesting a high social standing or economic status. This, combined with the presence of Chinese export porcelains and bone china, indicate that Charles Baber was a successful hotel owner and was a member of the middle class. Shell edge pearlware was also present within the Baber assemblage and totaled 63 sherds, representing 3.6% of the pearlware assemblage. Only shell edge with scalloped rim was noted. Dipt or annular ware is one of the least expensive decorative types of wares and occurs in all ware types including creamware, pearlware, and whiteware. Dipt wares within the pearlware assemblage number 58 sherds or 3.3% of the pearlware assemblage. These sherds likely represent small bowls and mixing bowls used in food preparation in the household. Other pearlware within the Baber assemblage include embossed or impressed edge sherds with more complicated motifs than simple shell edge, totaling 12 sherds or 0.7% of pearlware. Most other embossed patterns do not appear until 1820 (Sussman 1977). Embossed/Impressed edge (n = 12, 0.7%), finger-painted/Cable/Wormy (n = 11, 0.6%), mocha (n = 10, 0.6%), banded (n = 6, 0.3%), and overglaze painted (n = 1, 0.06%) sherds are also included in the pearlware assemblage. Other pearlware within the Baber assemblage include burned, stained, crazed, and exfoliated sherds that were unidentifiable as to decorative type. Sherds that had another decoration, or that could only be identified as pearlware, numbered 60 sherds.

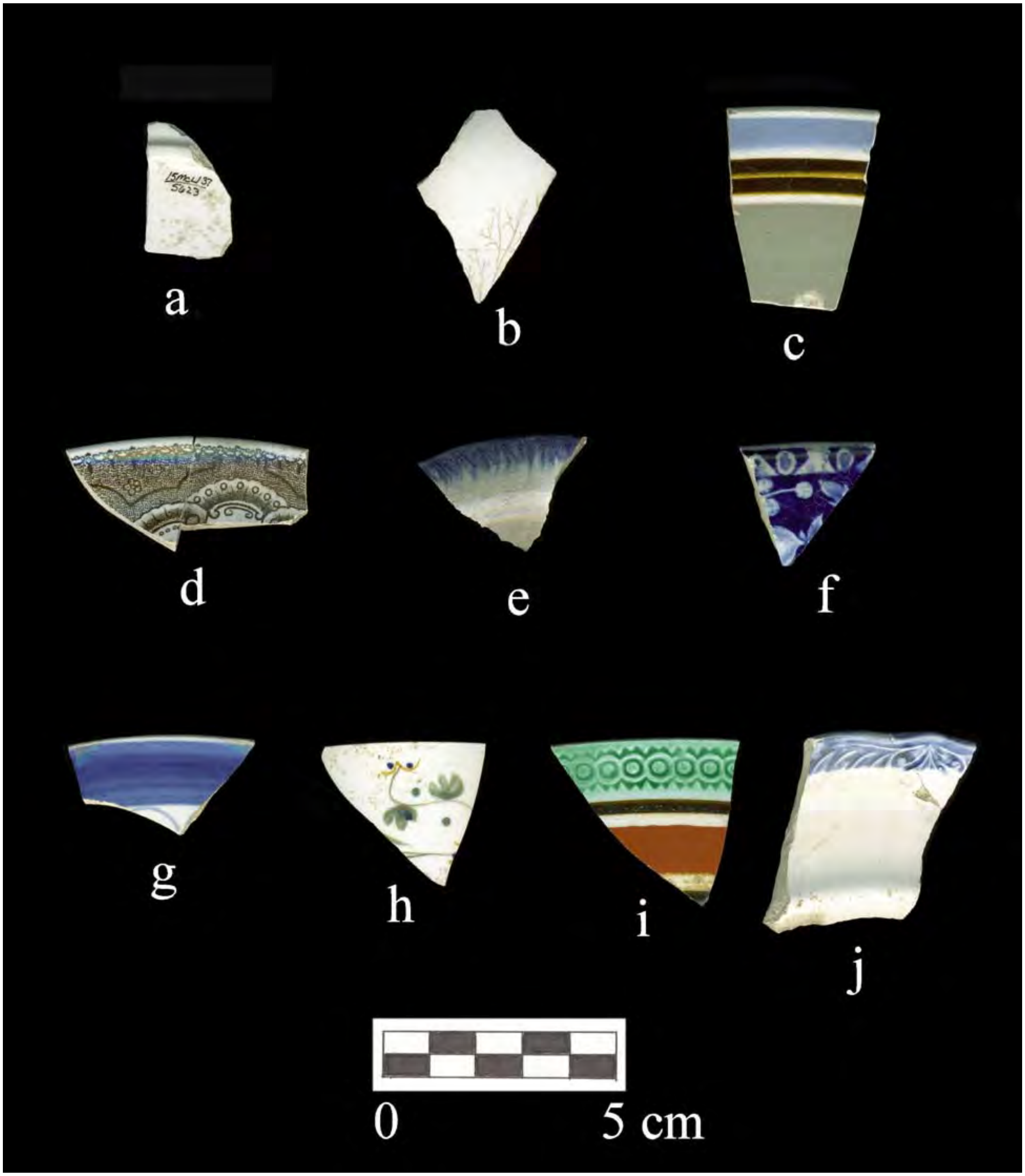


Figure 4.4. Pearlware: a) undecorated with footring; b) brown transfer print; c) annular rim; d) brown/sepia transfer print rim; e) blue shell edge rim; f) dark blue transfer print rim; g) blue underglaze hand-painted rim; h) underglaze polychrome hand-painted rim; i) annular with rouletted rim; j) blue embossed edge decorated rim

Whitewares are non-vitreous and semi-vitreous, white-paste earthenwares which usually have a clear, colorless glaze. Whitewares were first manufactured in England circa 1800, had become popular by the late 1820s, remained common throughout the nineteenth century, and are still being manufactured today. The period of greatest popularity of whiteware was 1830 to 1890 (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:119-125; Miller 1980:16-17; Price 1982). Whiteware occurs in virtually every decorative type that was available in the twentieth century, and decoration type and style can be used as relative temporal indicators. Recent refinements in dating whiteware using decoration and popularity (Fitts 1999; Miller et al. 1994; Wall 1994) enable tighter chronological placement of some whiteware decorative types. Early whiteware defines a decorative group that includes transfer printed, painted, cut sponged, flow-blue, annular banded, shell edge, and embossed edge pattern types. For the most part these decorative types were in limited production and were of limited popularity by 1870 (Lofstrom 1976; Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller and Earls 1997).

Painted and printed whitewares enjoyed considerable popularity. Prior to 1828, blue was the usual color of prints, although black and sepia were available to potters. Pastel colors like red, purple, and green were not employed on prints until 1828; these new colors did not reach America until about 1830 (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980). Some archaeological evidence seems to suggest that brown, green, black, and red all went out of production sometime around the middle of the century, and purple may not have outlived these colors by more than ten years (Lofstrom 1976:11). Prints began to diminish in popularity after the mid-1850s; they continued to be produced after 1860, although in such significantly smaller quantities that they do not often appear in the archaeological record after that time (Miller 1980:4). Likewise, the popularity of painted whitewares diminished by 1860.

Sponged wares became popular between 1830 to 1840, and continued to be produced in the 1880s, typically in blue, red, or green (Robacker and Robacker 1978). Cut-sponged decorated whitewares were popular in the period circa 1840-1860 and are typically floral designs which repeat one or two very simple motifs around the vessel (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). Ray (1974:211-212) describes a variant of spatterware that she classifies as part of the Pennsylvania Dutch style, dating from about 1835 to 1885. Robacker and Robacker (1978:27-50) call this variant "true spatterware," and note that the use of spatter decoration was common from the 1820s until after 1860, but was most popular between 1830 and 1840. Cole (1967:89) suggests somewhat earlier dates (ca. 1820-1860) for this style and describes it as earthenware bordered with stippling in red, blue, and green, similar to those used on hand-painted sprig pattern white-bodied wares. Most vessels also exhibit freehand-painted center designs like peafowl, schoolhouses, or the tulip and rose.

Dipped whitewares are usually simply decorated vessels utilizing annular bands and mocha, or solid color glazes. Mocha was produced in some quantity until circa 1890, but it is not common archaeologically after the 1830s. Annular bands and rouletted decoration were produced until circa 1860, while solid color glazes became popular in the late nineteenth century. Slip preparations like common cable, finger-painted, and cat's eye seem to have ceased mass-production and distribution by the 1830s.

Whitewares within the Baber Hotel assemblage represent the largest group of refined wares used by the Baber family. Examples of whiteware from the site are shown in Figure 4.5. Whiteware totals 6,891 sherds or 67.5% of the refined ware assemblage. Many different decorative types of whiteware were identified. The most common whiteware type on 15McL137 was undecorated whiteware, numbering 3,730 sherds or 54.1% of the entire whiteware assemblage. This large number of undecorated whiteware is derived from large whiteware vessels that exhibited some type of decoration. As the minimum vessel analysis indicates (Chapter 9), most whiteware vessels were decorated in some fashion, although decoration did become sparser on whiteware over time, leaving more "open" spaces on the vessels. Transfer printed whiteware sherds are the second most common decorative type in the Baber assemblage, numbering 1,856 sherds or 26.9% of the whiteware assemblage. The extreme majority of these transfer print sherds were underglaze transfer printed; only two sherds were overglaze transfer printed, and two were transfer printed and painted. Minimum vessel analysis revealed that transfer printing was present on teawares and tablewares, suggesting that the Babers' continued to buy, use, and display expensive ceramics for themselves and for their guests. The underglaze hand-painted decorative type totals 446 sherds or 6.5% of the whiteware assemblage. These sherds include polychrome line and sprig painted varieties typical of the 1820s through the 1850s (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980). Other decorative types found on teawares within the Baber assemblage include sponge/spatter and overglaze enamel painted sherds. Sponge/spatter decorated whiteware sherds totaled 13 and represent 0.2% of the whiteware assemblage. Overglaze enamel painted whiteware specimens were few, numbering 98 sherds or 1.4% of all whitewares. Both types of decorative techniques are often found on teawares, as with the Baber assemblage. The relatively small number of sponge/spatter decorated sherds is indicative of site chronology, as the site was largely abandoned by 1850. It has also been this author's experience that sponge/spatter decoration is not as common on nineteenth century sites in the Midwest and South as other decorative types like underglaze hand-painting (see Andrews and Sandefur 2002; Andrews 1997; McBride 1991). Overglaze painted specimens are so scant (n = 98) as to suggest that their expense was prohibitive, they were not preferred by the inhabitants, or they were not available for purchase from local stores.

Decorative types of whiteware within the Baber assemblage that were used primarily for food preparation and in dining contexts are shell edge, embossed edge, and molded specimens. Shell edge decorated whiteware sherds represent 1.3% of the whiteware assemblage and total 90 sherds. Shell edge decoration includes green shell edge (n = 1), blue shell edge with straight rim (n = 33), blue shell edge with scalloped rim (n = 54), and shell edge painted specimens with no embossing (n = 2). Shell edge decoration is predominantly found on tableware including plates and platters, and are considered the least expensive decorative type after undecorated/plain (see Miller 1980, 1991). Embossed edge decorated sherds total 100 or 1.5% of the whiteware assemblage. This decorative type is more elaborate than simple shell edge, but was still produced on tablewares. Molded specimens of whiteware were also identified and number 224 sherds or 3.3% of the total whiteware. Molding as a decorative type was also relatively inexpensive compared to underglaze hand-painting or transfer printing. The presence of both expensive and inexpensive decorative types within the Baber ceramic assemblage suggests that private family meals, as well as public meals

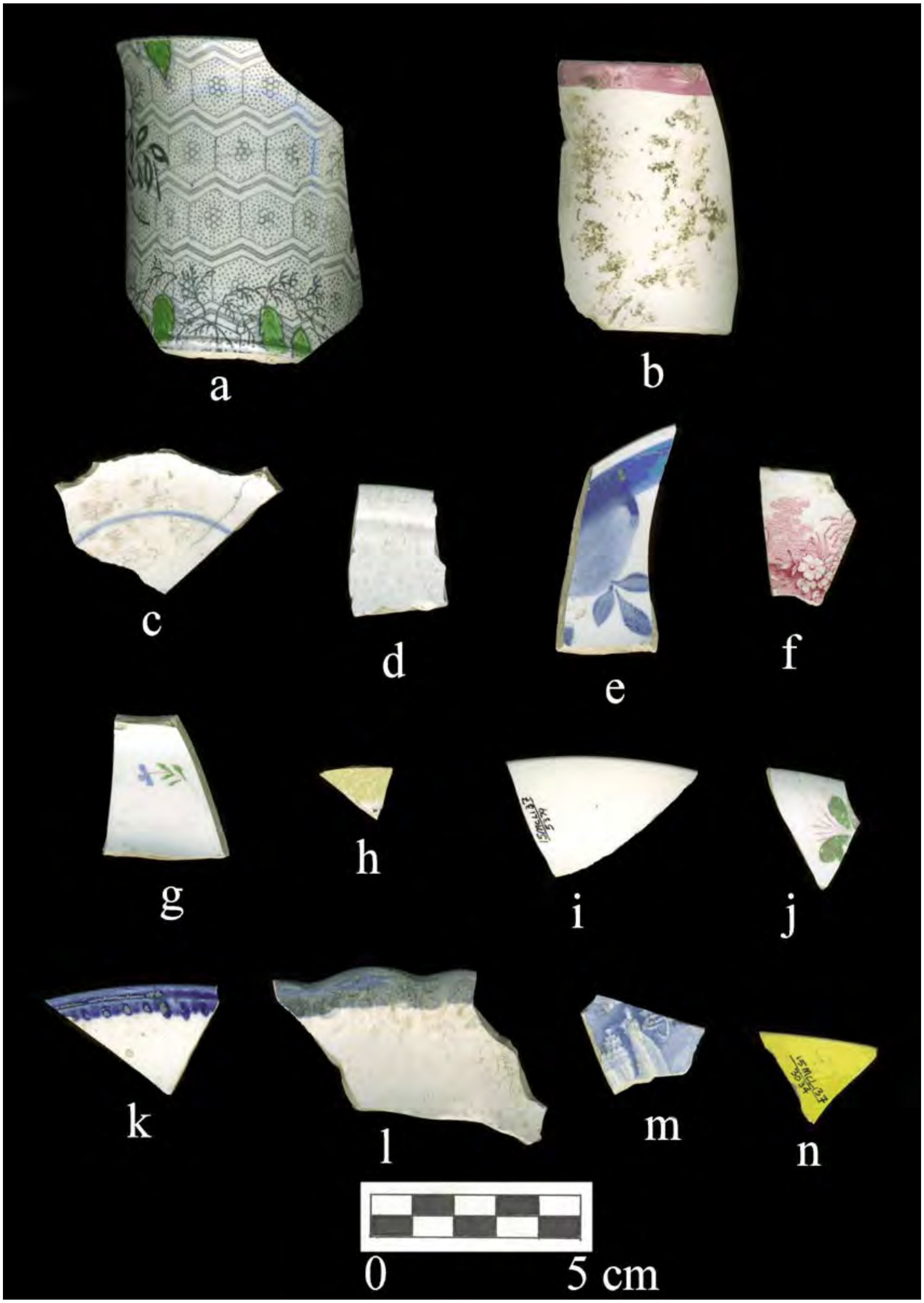


Figure 4.5. Whiteware: a) lustre-banded cup/mug; b) black transfer print polychrome hand-painted cup/mug; c) blue hand-painted banded; d) molded rim; e) blue underglaze hand-painted rim; f) red transfer print rim; g) polychrome hand-painted sprig rim; h) spatter/sponged hand-painted; i) undecorated rim; j) overglaze polychrome hand-painted rim; k) blue shell edge rim; l) blue edge decorated scalloped rim; m) blue transfer print; n) yellow glaze rim

with guests, might have been occurring on site. Inexpensive dishes were likely used for family, oriented meals or were utilized by servants. More expensive teawares and tablewares, like porcelains, transfer printed pearlware, and transfer printed whiteware, were likely used for special suppers or teas where status display was important.

The annular decorative type totals 126 sherds or 1.8% of the whiteware assemblage. The banded decorative type totals 60 sherds or 0.9% of the whiteware assemblage. The lustre decorative type totals 3 sherds or 0.02% of the whiteware assemblage. The gilded decorative type totals 9 sherds or 0.1% of the whiteware assemblage. The decal decorative type totals 16 sherds or 0.2% of the whiteware assemblage. The colored glaze decorative type totals 17 sherds or 0.3% of the whiteware assemblage. The finger-painted/cable/wormy decorative type totals 24 sherds or 0.4% of the whiteware assemblage. The mocha-dendritic decorative type totals 11 sherds or 0.2% of the whiteware assemblage. The transfer printed and painted decorative type totals 2 sherds or 0.03% of the whiteware assemblage. The flowed (painted or printed) decorative type totals 7 sherds or 0.1% of the whiteware assemblage.

Due to site conditions already discussed, a number of whiteware sherds were burned, exfoliated, or stained, rendering them unidentifiable or indiscernible as to decoration type. These unidentifiable/other whiteware sherds numbered 60 sherds or 0.9% of the whiteware assemblage.

Ironstone is a term used to refer to a semivitreous ware intermediate in hardness between earthenware and porcelain, a hardness caused by the addition of china stone or petunse in the paste (Majewski and O’Brien 1987). Ironstone is often grouped together with whiteware in many analyses, since technological improvements in white ceramic bodies began about 1800 (Majewski and O’Brien 1987; South 1974). As a result of these improvements, many variants of nonvitreous- and semivitreous-bodied earthenwares coexisted throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century (Majewski and O’Brien 1987:120). Josiah Spode made a commercial success, circa 1805, of marketing a fine-grained, high-fired earthenware called “Stone China,” which approximated porcelain in terms of hardness. Eight years later, Charles Mason began producing “Mason's Ironstone China” in England in 1813. Mason claimed his ware contained iron slag. John and William Turner had patented a similar ceramic body in 1800 and undoubtedly influenced both Spode’s and Mason’s inventions (Collard 1967:125-126). These early high-quality ironstones are usually not identified on early nineteenth century sites in the United States, however, and may be being missed by archaeologists (Majewski and O’Brien 1987). Two varieties of ironstone are now recognized: blue-bodied and white-bodied. Blue-bodied ironstone was manufactured by British, and perhaps, by American firms. White-bodied ironstone was made by both British and American firms, but primarily by British ones. English heavy-bodied ironstones began appearing on American sites by 1840 to 1885. After 1850, heavy-bodied ironstone predominantly was undecorated, or was decorated with molded geometric, floral, or foliate motifs. There is a problem with dating ironstone because white-bodied ironstone had a long temporal span from 1800 into the twentieth century. At first, ironstone was almost exclusively produced by British firms. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, both British and American potteries were producing large quantities of lighter-weight, variably decorated white-bodied ceramics (Majewski and O’Brien 1987). Majewski and O’Brien (1987) suggest that the period of greatest popularity of embossed ironstone was 1840 to

1907, which is the date range currently used by many archaeologists for analysis. But ironstones were produced much earlier, and discerning the difference between early or late British ironstones and those produced by American potteries continues to be a problem in actually dating the occurrence of heavy- or lighter-bodied ironstones on archaeological sites (see Majewski and O'Brien 1987). As ironstone can be semi-vitreous and was produced in all the decorative types used on whiteware, discerning ironstone from whiteware can be difficult. In fact, South (1974) groups ironstone and whiteware together in many analyses.

In the Baber Hotel assemblage, a total of 399 ironstone sherds were identified. Ironstone represents 3.9% of the refined ware assemblage, significantly small. Undecorated white ironstone numbered 194 sherds or 48.6% of the ironstone assemblage. The second most common decorative type is undecorated blue/grey semivitreous ware sherds, which numbered 77 sherds or 19.3% of the ironstone assemblage. The next most common decorative type is molded blue/grey at 41 sherds or 10.3% of the ironstone assemblage. The molded white decorative type numbered 31 sherds or 0.3% of the ironstone assemblage. The decal decorative type numbered 20 sherds or 5.0% of the ironstone assemblage. Other or unidentified ironstone numbered 19 sherds or 4.8% of the ironstone assemblage. Five gilded sherds were recovered, representing 1.3% of the ironstone assemblage. Five painted sherds were recovered, also representing 1.3% of the ironstone assemblage. The revival transfer print decorative type numbered four sherds or 1.0% of the ironstone assemblage. The lustre, colored glaze, and sponge/spatter decorative types each represent 0.3% of the ironstone assemblage, as one sherd of each type was recovered. Examples of ironstone from the site are shown in Figure 4.6. Ironstone or white granite is often an important component of sites that date after 1840, when the popularity of ironstone solidified in America (Majewski and O'Brien 1987).

Refined redware is a non-vitreous or porous ware with red or buff paste. These wares are difficult to date except through context, as redware teapots continue to be produced and used today. During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in addition to differences between tea- and tableware produced from white-firing clays, there was a continuous production of redware teapots, creamers, sugars, and tea canisters. No corresponding tableware or cups and saucers were produced in refined redware. Consequently, refined redware recovered from eighteenth and nineteenth century sites are derived from vessels associated with tea service.

Refined redware from the Baber assemblage numbered 55 sherds or 0.5% of the total refined ware. Upon further analysis, vessel forms included a creamer/pitcher, a tea pot, and a tea cup. The most common decoration or surface treatment was lustre decoration in silver and copper, and numbered 16 sherds representing 29.1% of the refined redware assemblage. These sherds also exhibited some encrusted decoration sometimes referred to as rusticated (see Miller et al. 1994). Glossy black glaze (Jackfield) sherds numbered 4, or 7.3% of the refined redware assemblage. Clear glaze, undecorated sherds numbered 2, or 3.6% or the refinded redware assemblage. The refined redware assemblage also contains one unglazed sherd, representing 1.8% of the assemblage. Lastly, 32 sherds classified only as 'other' were recovered, representing 58.2% of the total refined redware. Examples of refined redware from the site are shown in Figure 4.7. It appears from further analysis that few actual refined redware vessels were used by the Babers. These refined redware tea serving

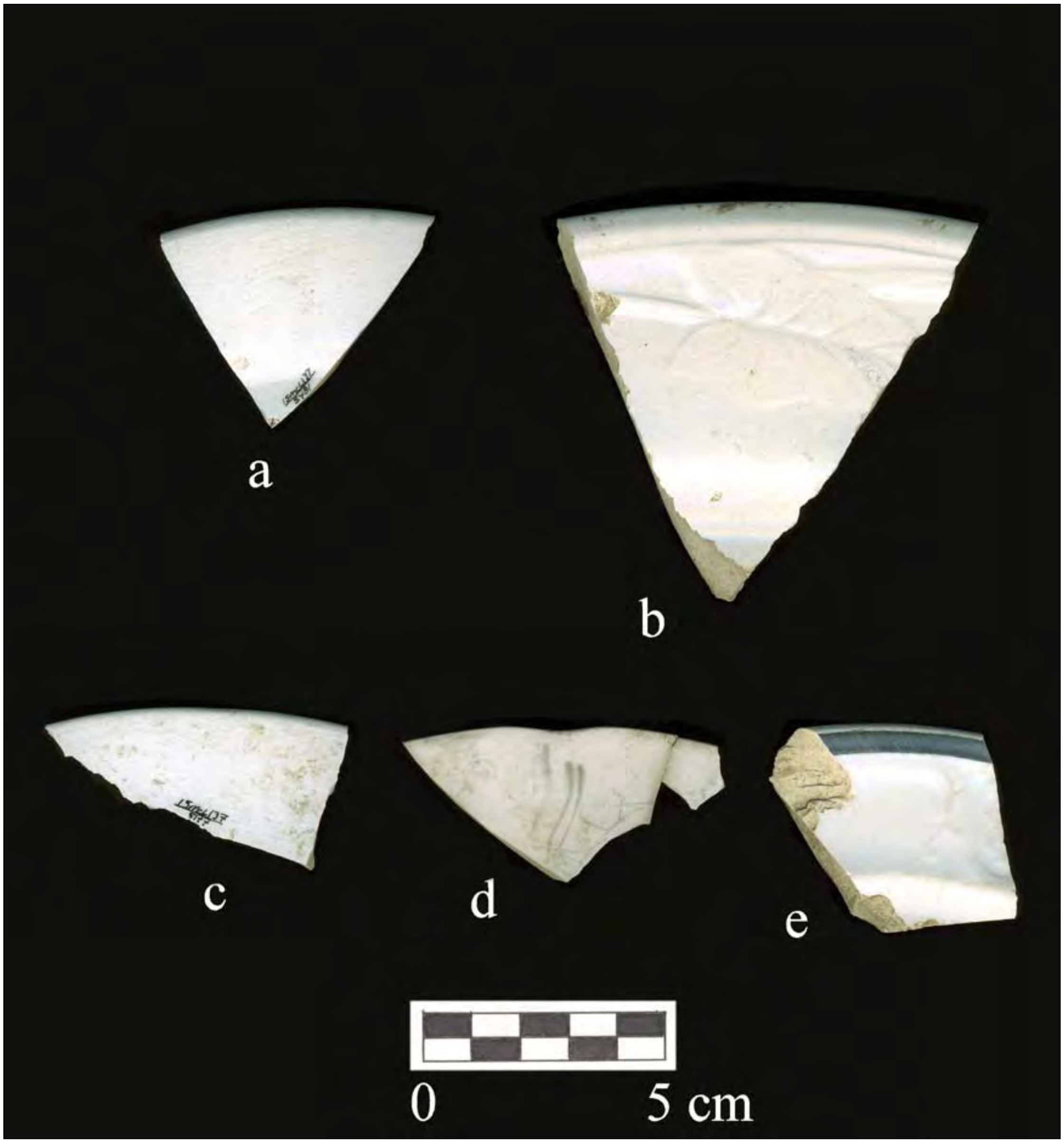


Figure 4.6. Ironstone: a) undecorated white rim; b) molded rim; c) undecorated blue/grey rim; d) white molded rim; e) blue/grey molded/banded rim

vessels would have been very inexpensive and probably used by the family in private situations or by servants for typical everyday breakfasts or dinners (Wall 1994).

Ceramic sherds that could only be identified as refined earthenware were recovered from the Baber Hotel. These unidentifiable refined earthenware sherds numbered 410, or 4.0% of the total refined earthenware assemblage.

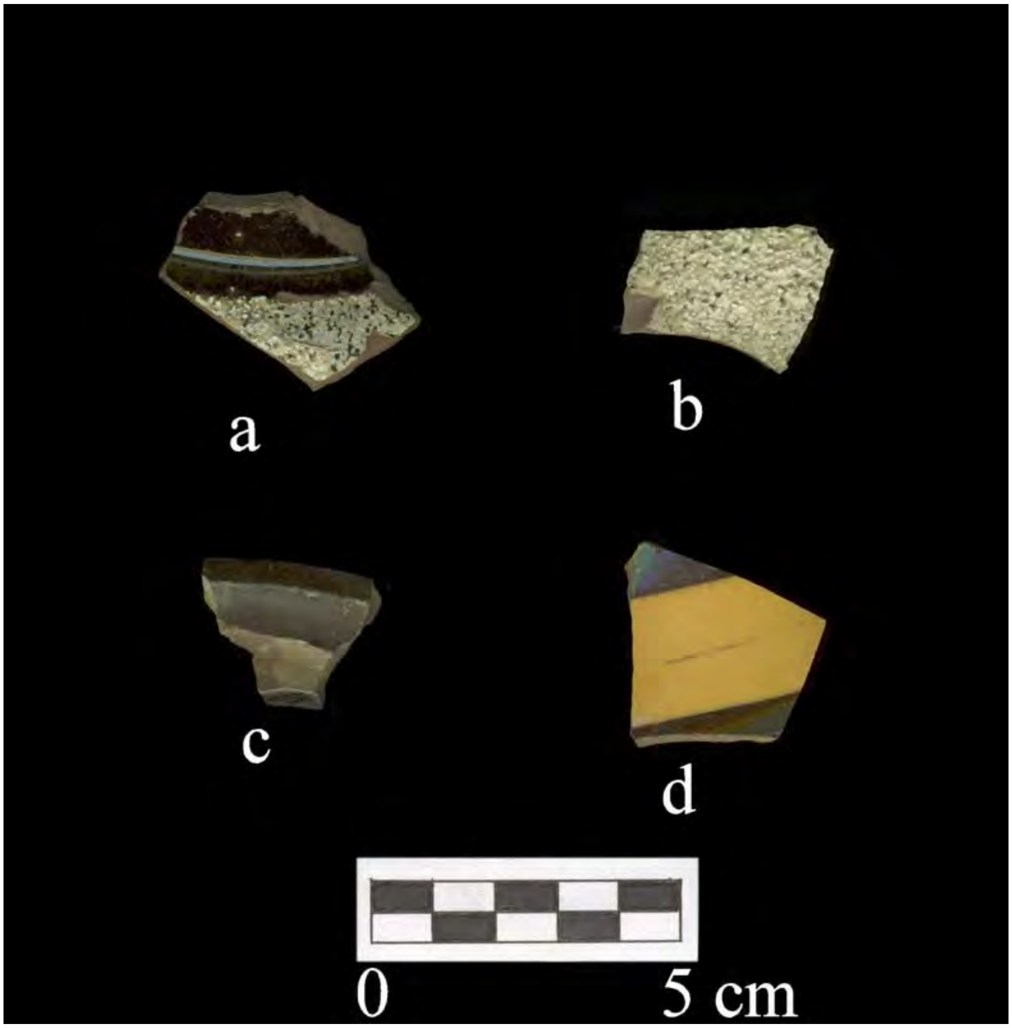


Figure 4.7. Refined redware: a) rusticated/lustre decorated;
b) rusticated/lustre decorated; c) undecorated; d) slipped/lustre decorated

Coarseware

Coarsewares (redware, stoneware, and yellow ware) numbered 623 of the ceramic assemblage from the Baber Hotel or 5.8% of the entire ceramic assemblage.

Redwares are non-vitreous wares with red, buff, or brown paste. Although redwares can occur unglazed (such as flower pots), the vessels may have a clear or mottled lead glaze or a black or brown glaze resulting from iron additions to the lead glaze. Redware was manufactured in Kentucky during the early 1800s and continued to be commonly used until about the mid-1800s, when it was largely replaced by stoneware. Due to the abundance of redware makers and the lack of distinguishing characteristics that would identify the maker, redware is a poor temporal indicator.

Coarse redware represents only a small percentage of the coarseware assemblage recovered from the Baber Hotel site: a total of 6 sherds, representing 1.0% of the entire coarseware assemblage from site excavations. Redware was catalogued by glaze coloration and decoration, which for the most part were clear, black, and brown tinted lead glazes. The most common redware encountered on the site was redware with a clear lead glaze at two sherds or 33.3% of the coarse redware assemblage. Redware glazed with a brown tinted glaze numbered one sherd or 16.7% of the coarse redware assemblage. The black lead glazed redware specimens numbered one or 16.7% of the redware recovered. The most common way to decorate redware is to glaze it in heavy brown or black lead glaze. As such, these wares are very difficult to date with much accuracy because potters over a wide span of time and space used this same technique. Unglazed redware numbered one sherd or 16.7% of coarse redware recovered from the Baber Hotel. Damaged redware that had exfoliated surfaces and were eroded to rounded sherds with no glaze visible or redware with other decoration also numbered one sherd, representing 16.7% of the coarse redware assemblage. Examples of coarse redware from the site are shown in Figure 4.8.

Stonewares are semi-vitreous wares, usually glazed, which were made in a great variety of thick, utilitarian forms. Stoneware paste ranges in color from red to buff to brown, and can turn grey during firing. Stoneware is primarily categorized by exterior surface treatment, the most common category of which is salt glazed. Stonewares were made in Europe by the seventeenth century, in England by the eighteenth century, and were in abundance in the United States, including Kentucky, by the mid-nineteenth century. Although salt-glazing was the most common form of glazing, natural clay glazes, known as slip-glazes, were used in America by 1800. A clay would have water added to it to create a fluid suspension into which a vessel would be dipped. The most famous of the slip glazes was Albany slip produced from superior clays in the New York area during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Albany slip ranges in color from light brown to black, and was ubiquitous in the Midwest from 1830 to 1900 (Phillipe 1990:80). But other clays were used to produce slips almost identical to Albany slip by 1800 (Zug 1986). In the Deep South, salt-glazing and cobalt (blue) decoration was uncommon. Salt was often too expensive and scarce for utilitarian wares in rural areas of the South, making brown slip glazed vessels the most common and economical stoneware (Zug 1986). By the 1820s, southern potters were developing a form of alkaline glazing that used readily available ingredients which were inexpensive and abundant (Burrison 1983; Zug 1986). The alkaline glazes used an alkaline substance like wood-ash or lime in combination with a silica-bearing material like sand. When a clay is added to this substance to bond the suspension and contribute color, the result is an translucent, runny glaze which dripped down the ware in a wide variation of brown and green shades of color (Zug 1986). By the late nineteenth century, another glaze came to be used, often in combination with true Albany slip. Bristol glaze or slip is white and was introduced into the United States from Britain by circa 1884 (Greer 1981). Bristol slip was used in combination with Albany slip by 1920 (Lebo 1987). After 1920, Bristol slip generally occurred alone (Lebo 1987:132).

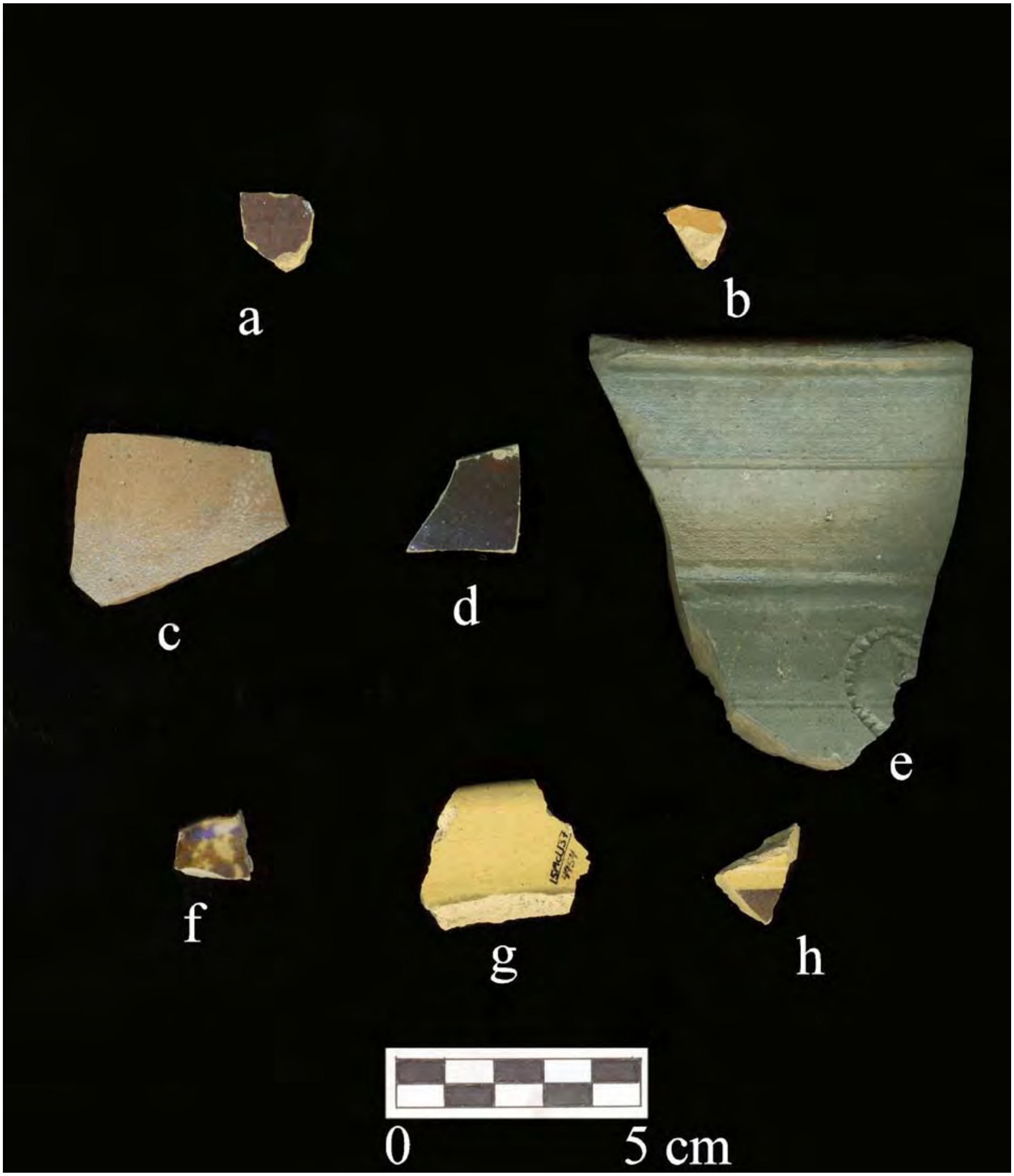


Figure 4.8. Coarse redware, stoneware, and yellowware: a) coarse redware brown glaze; b) coarse redware clear glaze; c) stoneware saltglaze; d) stoneware Albany slipped; e) stoneware saltglaze/Albany slipped stamped rim; f) yellowware Rockingham rim; g) yellowware undecorated rim; h) yellowware annular

Stoneware recovered from the Baber Hotel totaled 526 sherds or 84.4% of the coarseware assemblage. Stoneware types include Albany slip, Bristol glazed, and salt glazed. The most frequent type of stoneware encountered at the Baber Hotel was an undecorated salt glazed ware, totaling 204 or 38.8% of the stoneware assemblage. The second most represented type was a salt glaze ware with an Albany slip, totaling 110 sherds or 20.9% of the stoneware assemblage. This type of stoneware is largely dated by the occurrence of the brown slip around 1800 in the South. Stoneware sherds with both an Albany slip exterior and interior numbered 92 or 17.5% of the stoneware assemblage. These brown slipped wares were probably produced locally and likely date from 1800. Only eight sherds, or 1.5% of the stoneware assemblage, had an Albany slip on the exterior only. Stoneware sherds with both a Bristol glazed exterior and interior numbered 18 or 3.4% of the stoneware assemblage. Only nine sherds, or 1.5% of the stoneware assemblage, had a Bristol exterior and an Albany interior. A total of 85 stoneware sherds are classified as other/unidentified, constituting 16.2% of the stoneware assemblage from the Baber Hotel. Stoneware vessel forms identified in the assemblage consist of jars, crocks, and jugs.

Yellow wares are semi-vitreous or non-vitreous wares of yellow- or cream-colored paste, which usually have a clear or mottled (Rockingham) lead glaze. The Ohio River Valley is well known for its yellow ware potteries (Gates and Omerod 1982). Yellow ware vessels include utilitarian forms similar to stonewares and redwares, as well as specialty items such as inkwells, footwarmers, etc. Yellow wares were popular from about 1830 until the 1920s (Herskovitz 1978:97).

Yellow ware sherds recovered from the Baber Hotel totaled 91 sherds and represent 14.6% of the coarseware assemblage. Yellow ware typically dates from 1830, which confirms the beginning of occupation at the Baber Hotel. The majority of yellow ware sherds exhibited Rockingham or Bennington glaze, totaling 37 or 40.7% of the yellow ware assemblage. The second most abundant yellow ware ceramic type recovered include undecorated specimens, numbering 31 sherds or 34.1% of the yellow ware assemblage. Annular decorated sherds totaled 14 sherds or 15.4% of the yellow ware assemblage. Eight sherds were classified as other, representing 8.8% of the yellow ware assemblage. One yellow ware sherd was damaged, stained, or burned and could not be identified beyond ware type. Examples of yellow ware from the site are shown in Figure 4.8. Yellow ware vessel forms identified in the assemblage consist of bowls, bowls/nappies, and spittoons.

Container Glass

Container glass, like ceramic sherds, constitutes one of the most important components of a historic assemblage. Like domestic ceramics, these artifacts convey significant chronological, functional, and social information. Analysis of these offers an important source of data on the period of occupation at the site, the kinds of activities undertaken there, and potentially the social or ethnic status of the occupants. Studies of bottle glass have isolated the significant chronological characteristics of these vessels. In all, 12,620 container glass specimens were recovered from site 15McL137. Of these specimens, 995 or 7.9% of the assemblage are 'other,' unidentifiable, and melted, 10,850 or 86.0% of the assemblage are bottle/jar glass, and 775 or 6.1% of the assemblage are table glass. Bottle glass is discussed first, followed by table glass.

Bottle Glass

In the Baber Hotel assemblage, a total of 10,850 bottle/jar fragments was identified, which is 86.0% of the entire container glass assemblage. The majority of the bottle/jar group consisted of body fragments, which numbered 8,500 or 71.8% of the bottle/jar glass assemblage. Secondly, bases numbered 605 or 5.1% of the bottle/jar group. Lastly, lips numbered only 471 or 3.9% of the bottle/jar glass assemblage. Like the ceramic sherd analysis, there are many small and fragmented sherds, perhaps more than the ceramics, as glass breaks into smaller pieces easily. It must be stated that such a high number of sherds recovered may represent a small amount of actual vessels. Identifiable bottle types at the site consisted of alcoholic bottles, flasks (figural, whiskey, scroll, and violin), wine bottles, patented medicine, pharmaceutical, vials, condiment and/or food related, toiletry, and snuff. A discussion of the methods of glass manufacture at the Baber Hotel follows. Examples of these different types of bottles recovered from the site are shown in Figure 4.9. Table 4.3 shows all of the bottle/jars recovered from the site, along with their method of manufacture.

European and American bottles were free blown and shaped to the vessel form, or were blown into simple dip molds. Dip molds are single component iron or wooden molds that give the body of the vessel its shape. These molds can only be square or cylindrical with the basal area being smaller or the same width as the shoulder area. Dip molds continued to be used as late as 1860 (Deiss 1981:12-18). Multipart molds having dip molded bodies (Rickett's molds) were produced into the 1920s, however (Jones and Sullivan 1985). To finish the neck of these early bottles, a glass-tipped rod (pontil) was attached to the bottle base to provide a means of holding it. Early types of finishing included fire-polished, flanged, folded, and applied string. All of these finishes persisted until the 1840s-1870s, when they were replaced by improved methods (Deiss 1981:18-24; Jones and Sullivan 1985; Jones 1971).

Only twelve (0.1%) dip molded sherds were recovered from the Baber site bottle/jar assemblage. All twelve of the dip molded sherds consisted of base fragments that were olive green in color, and all had a pontil scar and kick up, most likely representative of a wine bottle. Although there were only twelve dip molded sherds, early types of finishing on lips include blown back (rough) (n = 48), fire polished (n = 5), blown molded (n = 5), broken off and ground (n = 2), unfused finish/early lipping tool (n = 23), fused finish/later lipping tool (n = 160), machine-made (n = 107), lid liner (n = 51), hand formed (n = 51), and other/unidentified (n = 16). The later dating fused finished and machine-manufactured sherds were recovered from lot 14, where there was a later dating structure and post-Baber features like Feature 18. These artifacts were also recovered from Baber features that had not been completely filled in until the late nineteenth and/or twentieth century (Zone I of Features 21/40 and 145).

Figure 4.9. Bottle/jar glass: a) clear leaded lip; b) aqua embossed body with recessed panels, "_.C. MEN_" "_EVA_"; c) aqua embossed body; d) clear embossed body, "3_"; e) amethyst mold blown body; f) blue-green embossed body, "LIVER_" "NO PAY_"; g) aqua lip 2-piece mold.

Table 4.3. Kitchen Bottle/Jar Glass, 15McL137

Type		Frequency		Percent
Bottle/Jar Base		**605**		**5.1**
	Blown Molded		46	
	Dip Mold with Pontil Scar		11	
	Dip Mold with Separate Base Part		1	
	Multipart Mold with Separate Base Part		176	
	Multipart Mold with Snap Case		1	
	Multipart Mold with Improved Iron Pontil		1	
	Multipart Mold with Pontil Scar		16	
	Two Piece Mold		10	
	Two Piece Mold with Pontil Scar		34	
	Two Piece Mold with Improved Pontil		2	
	Undetermined Mold with Pontil Scar		74	
	Embossed Undetermined Manufacture		19	
	Machine-Made, Owen’s Scar		9	
	Machine-Made, Valve Mark		2	
	Machine-Made, Nonspecific		104	
	Other		22	
	Unidentified		77	
Bottle/Jar Body		**8500**		**71.8**
	Blown Molded		1152	
	Rickett's-Like Mold		3	
	Turn/Paste Mold		3	

Table 4.3. Kitchen Bottle/Jar Glass, 15McL137

Type		**Frequency**		**Percent**
	Recessed Panels		108	
	Embossed		213	
	Embossed with Recessed Panels		13	
	Enameled Label		11	
	Machine-Made		460	
	Lid Liner		8	
	Other		85	
	Unidentified		6444	
Bottle/Jar Lip/Finish		**471**		**3.9**
	Blown Back (Rough)		48	
	Blown Molded		5	
	Broken Off & Ground		2	
	Fire Polished		5	
	Hand Formed		51	
	Unfused Finish/Early Lipping Tool		23	
	Fused Finish/Later Lipping Tool		160	
	Machine-Made		107	
	Lid Liner		51	
	Other Manufacture		3	
	Unidentified Manufacture		16	
Bottle/Jar Glass Total		**9576**		**80.8**
Undetermined Body		**1238**		**10.5**
	Blown Molded		23	
	Machine-Made		18	

Table 4.3. Kitchen Bottle/Jar Glass, 15McL137

Type		Frequency		Percent
	Other Manufacture		34	
	Undetermined Manufacture		1163	
Undetermined Base		**10**		**0.1**
	Machine-Made		3	
	Undetermined Manufacture		7	
Undetermined Lip		**26**		**0.2**
	Machine-Made		1	
	Other Manufacture		9	
	Undetermined Manufacture		16	
Undetermined Glass Total		**1274**		**10.8**
Burned/Melted Unidentified Glass		**995**		**8.4**
Total		**11845**		**100**

English bottle manufacturers used simple two-piece molds to make proprietary medicine bottles beginning in the mid-1700s, and by 1800, American bottle makers were also using two-piece molds. These molds were hinged at the base or shoulder and may be referred to as open and shut molds. Bottles could be shaped in any form, square, round or multi-sided. Consequently, polygonal bottle forms were very popular in the mid-nineteenth century (Deiss 1981:62).

These molds enabled embossed lettering to be put on the fronts, backs, sides, and shoulders of the bottles (Jones and Sullivan 1985) and Gothic-style lettering was the most common style used until circa 1850 (Deiss 1981:48-49). Liquor flasks made in two-piece molds were introduced circa 1810 and were very popular by 1830. Embellished with a wide variety of molded or pictorial images, flasks remained popular until after the mid-1800s (Deiss 1981:62-65). Removable plates or panels that could be inserted into the mold were patented in 1867 (Jones and Sullivan 1985). These panels or plates were often embossed with the manufacturer's name, product name, and city of manufacture, and could be used to personalize large shipments of bottles. This became popularly used on pharmaceutical and bitters bottles.

At the Baber Hotel, 46 two-piece mold fragments were recovered. All specimens were bottle/jar bases and 36, or 78.3%, exhibited pontil scars. Of these 36, two pontil scars were identifiable as improved iron pontils. Types of two-piece mold manufactured vessels identified at the 15McL137 include mostly medicine, with some patent medicine, vials, bitters, whiskey flasks, alcoholic, food/condiment, and toiletry.

Two-piece molds were eventually eclipsed by multipart open and shut molds by 1850. These molds are similar to two-piece molds, but have a separate base plate. During the period 1840 to 1860, the two-piece and multi-part open and shut molds were the most popular mold types (Jones and Sullivan 1985). Vessel finishes (lip and necks) could still be hand formed by applying additional glass to the vessel and hand shaping a lip. By the 1820s, lipping shears were being used to shape the inside of the bottle, producing a standardized form known as an applied-tooled finish, which was most common from about 1840 to 1870.

At the Baber Hotel, 177 bottle bases which had multipart molds with separate base parts were recovered or 1.6% of the bottle/jar assemblage. One of these bases showed evidence of an improved iron pontil, which would date its manufacture between about 1840 and the early 1870s (Toulouse 1972:9). Additional pontil marks were found on 15 multipart mold bottle bases made from unknown pontil typesl, representing 0.1% of the bottle/jar assemblage. Six multipart mold base fragments had a pontil mark from a sand pontil. In addition to the multipart bottle molds, 23 unfused finished bottle lips with evidence of early lipping tools, one base with evidence of early lipping tools, and the six sand pontilled fragments mentioned above also had evidence of early lipping tools, for a total of 0.3% of the bottle/jars.

Dip molds and multipart dip molds were popularly used molds in the nineteenth century. Another mold, the turn-mold or turn-paste mold, was developed and used in France on wine bottles as early as 1860 (Jones and Sullivan 1985). This mold type leaves no mold seams. In America, this mold type was most frequently used for wine and other beverages from 1870 to the 1920s (Jones and Sullivan 1985).

The total number of dip molds and multipart dip molds recovered at the Baber Hotel was 12 or 0.1% or the bottle/jar assemblage. A single fragment also had indications of blowpipe empontilling. Bottle fragments with evidence of turn-mold manufacture numbered 3, or less than 0.1% of the total bottle/jar assemblage. Types of multipart molded vessels at the Baber site include whiskey, alcoholic, bitters, medicine, toiletry, food/condiment, and canning jars. Various types of dip molded bottles include medicine, alcoholic beverage, wine, food/condiment, and vials.

Even though molds are the most often-used method to establish the manufacturing date of glass vessels, changes in the glass formula and innovations in overall glass vessel manufacture can aid in establishing chronology. For example, although the soda-lime formula was in use to make moderately clear glass for many centuries, a modified form of the soda-lime formula was developed in 1864 that revolutionized the glass industry, in that it was less brittle and could be molded, cut, and engraved easily (Jones and Sullivan 1985). Because of this new formula, decorated and highly colored glass became cheaper and easier to produce, allowing it to be affordable and subsequently popular after the 1870s (Jones and Sullivan 1985; Innes 1976). By 1880, manganese oxide was used in molten glass as a decolorizer. Glass containers made with manganese oxide turn purple or amethyst when exposed to sunlight. Selenium began replacing manganese oxide as a decolorizer by 1915, and the replacement was complete by 1918 (Deiss 1981:78-83). Selenium glass, when exposed to ultraviolet rays, becomes a straw yellow color.

At the Baber Hotel, 567 bottle/jars made with manganese were recovered, representing 5.2% of the assemblage. These solarized glass specimens likely date to the post-Baber occupation on adjacent lot 14 and associated features like Feature 18. Also, the upper fill layers of Features 21/40 and 145 have numerous late nineteenth and early twentieth century artifacts. It should be noted that although these solarized specimens have been thought to date from 1880 to 1918, bottles made from manganese oxide have been found on sites that date earlier and later than this period, so some of these specimens may date to the Baber occupation. Bottle/jars made with selenium numbered three, or less than 0.1% of the assemblage.

Another turning point in the glass industry occurred between 1850 and 1860, with the development of a device called the snap case. This implement held the vessel while the neck and lip were finished. No longer was a pontil rod attached to the base of a glass vessel. Other innovations occurred to revolutionize glass production. By the 1870s, finishes incorporated in the mold had become common. This type, involving the reheating and tooling of the finish to eradicate mold seams on the lip, is referred to as the improved-tooled finish. Improvements in annealing ovens also helped to totally fuse the lip to the neck. Bottle lips were no longer distinctly separate bits of glass. Molds with incorporated finishes predominated until the early twentieth century, when automated glass vessel manufacture replaced less efficient processes (Deiss 1981:54-59).

At the Baber Hotel, one bottle made from a multipart mold with snap case was recovered. It was made from brown glass. Later-dating bottle lip/necks were also recovered from the site. 160 improved-tooled finished bottle lips were recovered or 1.5% of the bottle/jar assemblage. Twenty of these were made from manganese oxide and also likely post-date the Baber occupation.

Also of note is that a sizeable amount of blown in mold bottle and jar bases, bodies, and lip/necks (n = 1226) was recovered from the site, totaling 11.3% of the bottle/jar assemblage. Most of these are body fragments (n = 1175) followed by bases (n = 46) and finally lip/necks (n = 5). As these are unidentifiable as to mold type, it is difficult to apply a specific chronological date. However, they are most certainly nineteenth century, with some possibly dating to the early twentieth century.

By 1884 and 1892, semi-automatic manufacture of wide and small mouth containers was possible. The only difference between semi-automatic manufacture and automatic manufacture is the way that the melted glass is passed to the machine. In semi-automatic manufacture, the glass is introduced by skilled laborers, and in automatic manufacture the glass is introduced mechanically to the machine. It was not until the perfection of the Owen's machine in 1903 that fully automatic bottle manufacture was possible. This machine leaves a distinct mark on the base of the vessel. By 1917, 50 percent of glass containers were machine-made using this machine (Miller and Sullivan 1984). Vessels made using the Owen's machine are not found in archaeological contexts after 1970 (Miller and Sullivan 1984). Also, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, semi-automatic machines continued to be used and modified for automatic manufacture through the development of glass feeding devises like the Peeler Paddle Gob Feeder (Miller and Sullivan 1984). Vessels made by semi-automatic machines are indistinguishable from vessels made on other machines (except the Owen's machine). The precision of automatic manufacturing enabled the standardization of continuous thread finishes, and screw caps replaced other forms of nonpressurized sealing. At the Baber Hotel, only 693 bottle/jar fragments, or 6.4% of the bottle/jars, were machine manufactured. These again were found in the same contexts as the other later-dating, post-Baber artifacts recovered from the site within lot 14 and within Feature 18 and the upper fill layer of Feature 21/40 and Feature 145.

Table Glass

The manufacture of glass tableware is a somewhat problematic area. In many cases, discerning the manufacture type is not helpful in answering questions concerning chronology. Processes used to make tableware were employed over long periods of time. These processes include free blowing, press molding, optic molding, and pattern molding. Most of these methods are still used to lesser degrees today. In all, 775 table glass sherds or 6.1% of the entire container glass assemblage was recovered from site 15McL137. Examples of tableware glass from the site are shown in Figure 4.10. Table 4.4 shows all of the table glass recovered from the site, as well as method of manufacture and color.

Free blowing is still used today to make tableware. Eighteenth and nineteenth century glass was also formed by hand. Usually these pieces are distinctive to specific glass houses, and their age can be determined if the manufacturing house can be ascertained. For instance, table glass produced at the Stiegle glass house had a distinctive smoky color, and specific stylistic motifs were patented and developed by glass houses for their use.

Although the process of press molding glass had been used to make door knobs and stemware feet, by the late 1820s, press molding hollowware became possible. Pressed glass made in the first few decades of the nineteenth century was often decorated with relief motifs, including classical busts, and a finely stippled or mat background that hid defects in the glass and mold seams. These highly decorated pieces, usually made using leaded glass, reflected light and were aptly referred to as "lacy glass." By the 1850s, improvements in manufacturing eliminated the need to hide defects. By the 1870s, the popularity of pressed glass increased as white, multi-colored, and other new shades of glass became affordable due to improvements in the glass formula (Davis 1949; Deiss 1981:71-76; Innes 1976; McKearin and McKearin 1948). The new glass formula resembled leaded formulas and was used extensively in press-molding after the 1870s. Consequently, press molded, leaded tableware is uncommon on American sites after 1870 (McKearin and McKearin 1948:395).

More elaborate combinations of decoration types and color became popular in press molded table glass after 1870 (Innes 1976). Carnival glass, for example, often given away as prizes at carnivals and fairs, was made by coating pressed glass with metallic paint to simulate more-expensive wares. Carnival glass was produced from the late 1890s to the 1930s (Deiss 1981:86).

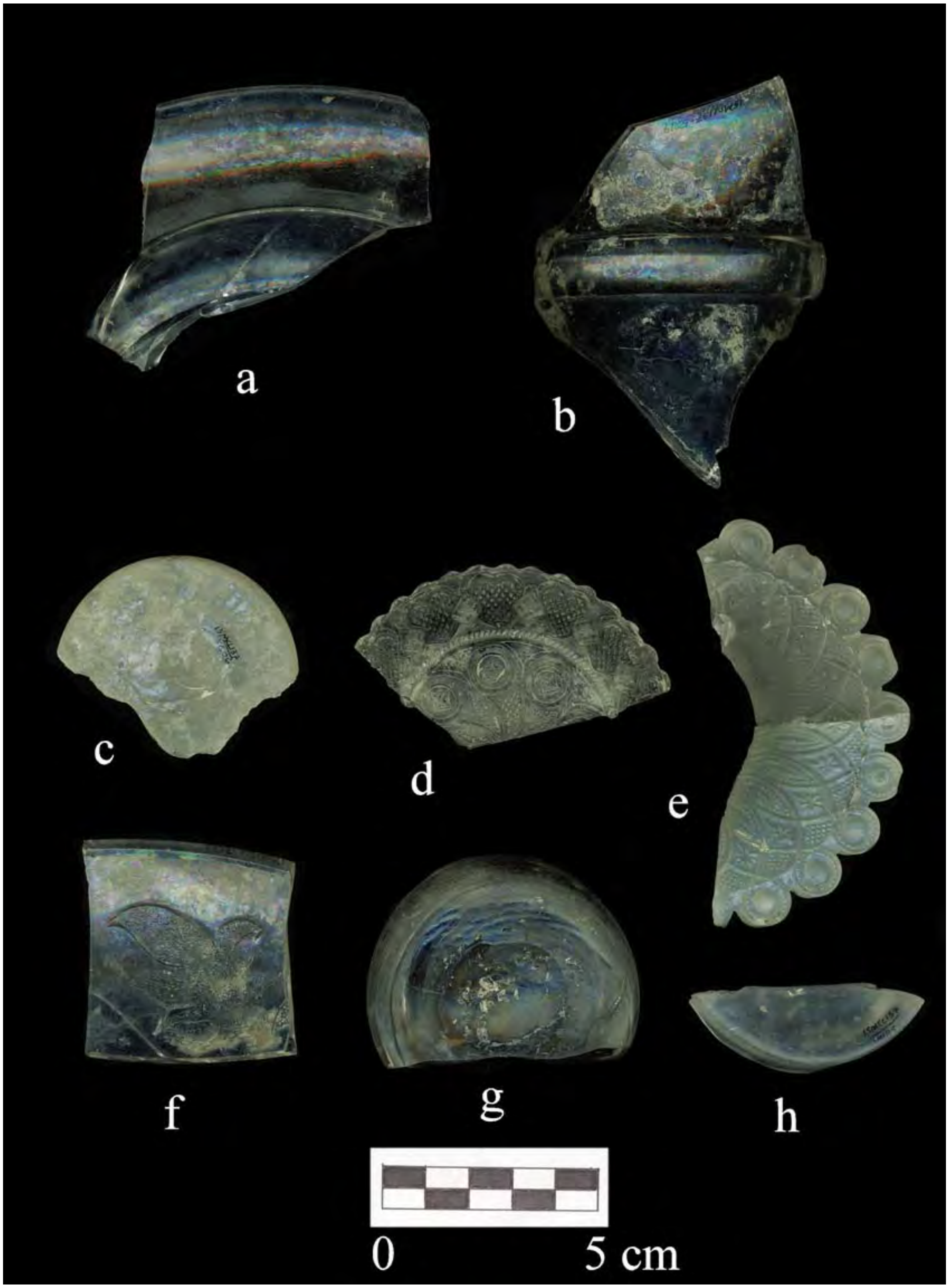


Figure 4.10. Table glass: clear unleaded mold blown lip; b) clear leaded mold blown body; c) clear leaded ground pontil scar base; d) clear leaded pressed lip; e) clear leaded pressed lip; f) clear unleaded pressed lip/body; g) clear leaded pressed tumbler base; h) clear leaded press molded with pontil scar base

Table 4.4. Kitchen Table Glass, 15McL137

Type			**Frequency**		**Percent**
Table Glass Body			**331**		**42.7**
	Press Molded		208		
		Colorless Leaded		109	
		Colorless Unleaded		78	
		Light Green		2	
		White Opaque/Milk		6	
		Peach		2	
		Yellow		1	
		Blue		4	
		Straw Yellow Solarized		1	
		Amethyst Solarized		5	
	Blown Molded		5		
		Colorless Leaded		1	
		Colorless Unleaded		1	
		White Opaque/Milk		3	
	Enameled		2		
		Colorless Leaded		1	
		Colorless Unleaded		1	
	Optic Molded		5		
		Colorless Unleaded		4	
		White Opaque/Milk		1	
	Hand/Free Blown		1		
		Colorless Unleaded		1	
	Stained		1		
		Clear with Red Stain		1	
	Combined Manufacture (Stemware)		5		
		Colorless Leaded		2	

Table 4.4. Kitchen Table Glass, 15McL137

Type			Frequency		Percent
		Colorless Unleaded		1	
		Amethyst Solarized		2	
	Machine-Manufactured		4		
		Colorless Unleaded		2	
		Light Green		1	
		Amethyst Solarized		1	
	Other Table Glass Body		14		
		Colorless Leaded		3	
		Colorless Unleaded		4	
		White Opaque/Milk		6	
		Other, Red & White		1	
	Unidentified Table Glass Body		86		
		Colorless Leaded		37	
		Colorless Unleaded		27	
		Light Green		1	
		White Opaque/Milk		7	
		Blue Opaque		1	
		Amethyst Solarized		13	
Table Glass Lip			**302**		**39.0**
	Fire Polished		55		
		Colorless Leaded		19	
		Colorless Unleaded		27	
		Yellow Amber		1	
		Peach Depression		1	
		Amethyst Solarized		7	
	Press Molded		164		
		Colorless Leaded		104	

Table 4.4. Kitchen Table Glass, 15McL137

Type			Frequency		Percent
		Colorless Unleaded		43	
		Light Green		2	
		White Opaque/Milk		3	
		Amethyst Solarized		12	
	Blown Molded		9		
		Colorless Leaded		3	
		Colorless Unleaded		6	
	Optic Molded		3		
		Colorless Unleaded		3	
	Machine-Manufactured		19		
		Colorless Unleaded		17	
		Light Green		1	
		Opaque Green		1	
	Other Table Glass Lip		5		
		Colorless Unleaded		4	
		Amethyst Solarized		1	
	Unidentified Table Glass Lip		47		
		Colorless Leaded		24	
		Colorless Unleaded		18	
		White Opaque/Milk		2	
		Depression Peach		1	
		Amethyst Solarized		2	
Table Glass Base			**142**		**18.3**
	Empontilled		18		
		Colorless Leaded		16	
		Colorless Unleaded		2	
	Ground Pontil		2		

Table 4.4. Kitchen Table Glass, 15McL137

Type			**Frequency**		**Percent**
		Colorless Leaded		1	
		Light Green		1	
	Press Molded		85		
		Colorless Leaded		54	
		Colorless Unleaded		23	
		Light Green		1	
		White Opaque/Milk		4	
		Amethyst Solarized		3	
	Optic Molded		10		
		Colorless Unleaded		3	
		Clear with Stain		7	
	Combined Manufacture		4		
		Colorless Leaded		1	
		Amethyst Solarized		3	
	Other Manufacture				
		Colorless Leaded	9	2	
		Colorless Unleaded		4	
		Amethyst Solarized		3	
	Unidentified Table Glass Base		14		
		Colorless Leaded		4	
		Colorless Unleaded		7	
		White Opaque/Milk		1	
		Amethyst Solarized		2	
Total			**775**		**100**

At the Baber Hotel, 457 press molded glass sherds, or 59.0% of the entire table glass assemblage, was recovered. More than half of these (58.2%) were colorless and contained lead, suggesting that most of the pressed table glass dates before 1870. Unleaded and colorless glass only accounted for 144 or 31.5% of the pressed molded table glass. Several sherds (n = 20) of press molded amethyst glass were recovered, accounting for only 4.4% of the pressed molded table glass. Much like the amethyst bottle glass found at the site, some of these sherds may also post-date the Baber occupation. One press molded sherd recovered was straw yellow in color, indicating solarized selenium glass.

In the eighteenth century, optic molding was used to make tableware. Optic molding, never a popular form of manufacture, was eclipsed by press molding early in the nineteenth century. By the late nineteenth century, optic molding had a resurgence in popularity. This molding type was used predominantly for tableware, specifically tumblers. It is a distinctive molding style involving a two-stage process. The vessel is formed by blowing glass into a part-size mold. This gives the vessel a rudimentary shape and decoration on the interior of the vessel. The vessel is then placed in another mold that provides the final shape to the vessel. This type of molding is easy to identify as the interior of the vessel will often have a totally different decoration than the exterior of the vessel. Optic molded tableware within the Baber assemblage represents only 2.3% of the total tablewares, with a total of 18 sherds. These were colorless and white opaque/milk in color.

The table glass assemblage from Baber Hotel consists also of blown molded (3.6%, n = 14), enameled, hand/free blown (0.1%, n = 1), stained (0.1%, n = 1), fire polished (7.1%, n = 55), empontilled (2.3%, n = 18), ground pontil (0.3%, n = 2), machine-manufactured (3.0%, n = 23), combined manufacture (1.2%, n = 9), and other/unidentified sherds (22.6%, n = 175).

Besides the above-mentioned manufacturing methods, finishing methods on glass tableware vessel lips can be useful in determining chronology. These methods included fire-polishing. Although fire-polishing became less common after the mid 1850s (Deiss 1981:18-24), it was the most commonly used finishing technique in glass tablewares and appeared on tumblers, bowls, and several other types of tableware (Jones and Sullivan 1985).

All artifacts with evidence of fire-polishing were table glass lip fragments, 55 in number (or 7.1% of the table glass assemblage). Of these, 19 were colorless leaded glass, seven were of solarized amethyst glass, and a single fragment was peach-colored depression glass.

Although these methods of manufacture alone are not useful in determining chronology, decorative style can be used to temporally place a vessel. Decorative styles changed over time in table glass. For instance, after 1870, naturalistic designs featuring animals and flowers became popular, eclipsing the geometric motifs of the earlier part of the nineteenth century (Innes 1976).

Other Kitchen

This category includes all kitchen artifacts not accommodated by the above categories, including utensils, cooking vessels, metal cans, metal can pull-tabs, glass bottle crown caps, metal foil, and other wrapping materials, etc. This category also includes faunal remains. In all, 27,957 artifacts belonging to this category were recovered from the Baber Hotel.

A total of 2,239 kitchen hardware artifacts were recovered from the Baber Hotel. These included artifacts made from mostly iron, such as kettle fragments and eating utensils. Another kitchen artifact group is faunal material. A total of 25,718 faunal specimens were recovered from the site, accounting for 92.0% of the other kitchen artifact group. Table 4.5 shows all of these artifacts. Figure 4.11 shows some of these artifacts.

Table 4.5. Other Kitchen, 15McL137

Type		**Frequency**		**Percent**
Faunal		**25718**		**92.0**
Biological Hardware		**20**		**0.1**
	Bone Handle		20	
Metal Hardware		**2219**		**7.9**
	Kettle		4	
	Skillet		13	
	Pot		1	
	Table Knife		8	
	Table Fork		4	
	Table Spoon		18	
	Large Spoon		4	
	Utensil Handle		6	
	Spice Shaker		3	
	Canning Jar Lid		14	
	Tin Can Unidentified Body		1739	
	Tin Can Hole-in-Top		2	
	Hollow Ware (cast or wrought)		319	
	Enamelled Tinware		1	
	Other		57	
	Bottle Cap		26	
Total		**27957**		**100**

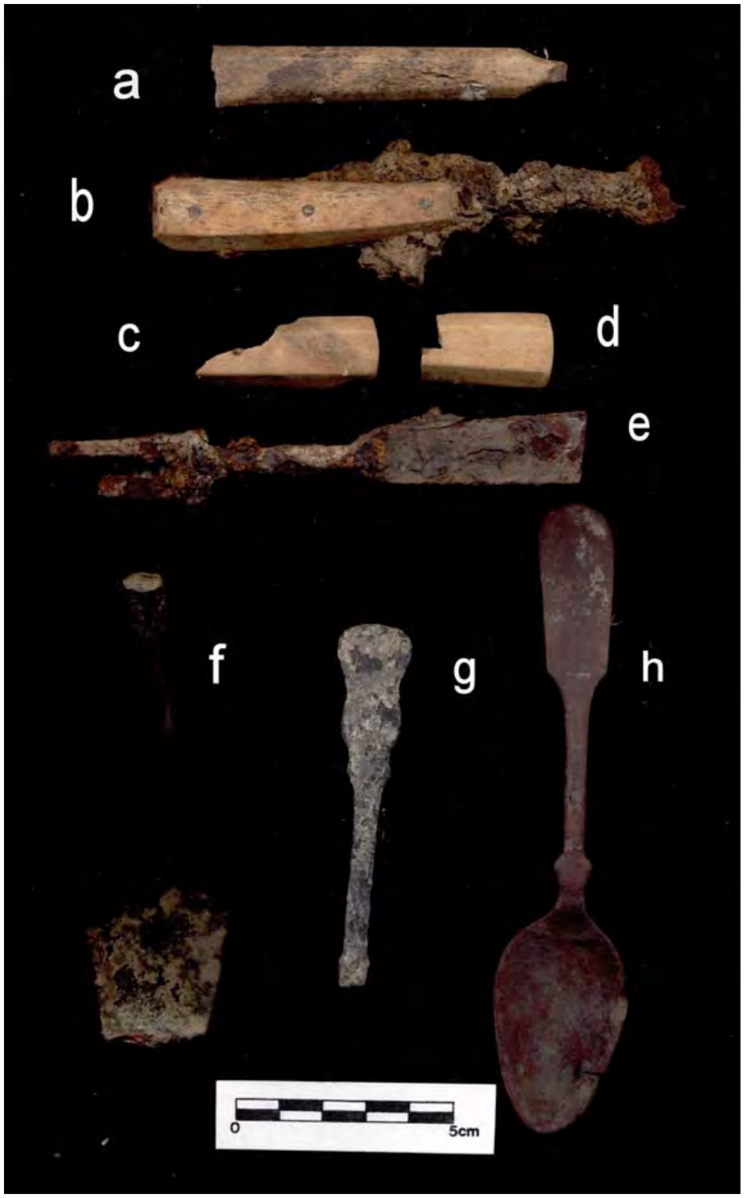


Figure 4.11. Other kitchen: a-d) bone eating utensil handles; e) knife; f-h) spoons

The artifacts include mostly metal artifacts like kettle fragments (n = 4), table knives (n = 8), table forks (n = 4), table spoons (n = 18), hollow ware (n = 319), unknown utensil handles (n = 6), large serving spoons (n = 4), skillets (n = 13), a pot (n = 1), spice shakers (n = 3), canning jar lids (n = 14), hole-in-top tin cans (n = 5), unidentifiable tin can body fragments (n =1,739), enameled tinware (n = 1), bottle caps (n = 26), and other/unidentified metal kitchen hardware (n = 57). In addition, 20 bone handles for eating utensils were recovered.

Architecture Group

Artifacts assigned to this group include all items associated with construction and hardware furnishings. The major categories of this group are described below. A total of 35,413 architectural artifacts were recovered from the Baber Hotel, representing 36.4% of the total artifact assemblage. Examples of some of the architectural artifacts from the site are shown in Figure 4.12. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 show all architectural artifacts recovered.

Nails

Like ceramics and glass, nails form one of the most widespread categories of artifacts recovered from historic sites. As with many other materials, increasing industrialization has had a major impact on the manufacturing of nails and associated hardware. Archaeologists have devoted considerable attention to nails in order to identify their chronologically significant characteristics (Nelson 1968). These are identified by manufacturing process (wrought, cut, wire) and, when possible, their size. Unfortunately, many of the nails and metal from the site were often corroded beyond recognition and could not be chronologically typed. Most of the identifiable nails were also fragmented so that their size could not be determined. The total number of nails recovered from the Baber Hotel totaled 19,942. Table 4.7 shows the nails recovered from the site, broken down by general type. These different types of nails are discussed below.

Wrought nails are the earliest form of iron nails, and were made by hand, usually in a local smithy or forge. Typically these nails are square or rectangular in cross section, and taper on all four sides towards the point. Wrought nails were in common use until approximately the 1830s and 1840s. Only one wrought nail was recovered from the Baber Hotel.

Cut nails are stamped from a sheet of steel, and consequently taper on two sides only. The artifacts show some variation between early and late forms. Early cut nails have a constricted shank just below the head, and were first produced in the late 1790s. Later cut nails are not constricted below the head, and were in general use by the late 1830s. Cut nails are still made and used today for special purposes. A total of seven early cut nails or 0.1% of the total nail assemblage was recovered from the site. Most of the identified nail assemblage is comprised of late cut nails. With a total of 1,276, the late cut assemblage comprises 6.4% of the entire nail assemblage. Many unidentifiable cut nails were also recovered from the site. A total of 828 or 4.2% of the nail assemblage were unidentifiable cut nails. Based on the overwhelmingly higher number of late cut nails to early cut nails, the majority of the unidentifiable cut nails are probably late cut.

Wire nails are made by cutting hardened steel wire and are round in cross-section. Wire nails were first produced in the 1850s, but were not commonly used until the 1880s. These are the dominant type manufactured today (Nelson 1968). A large amount of wire nails were recovered from the site (n = 395) and comprise 1.9% of the nail assemblage. These were recovered mostly from Zone I in lot 14 and from Features 18 and the Zone I of Features 21/40 and 145.

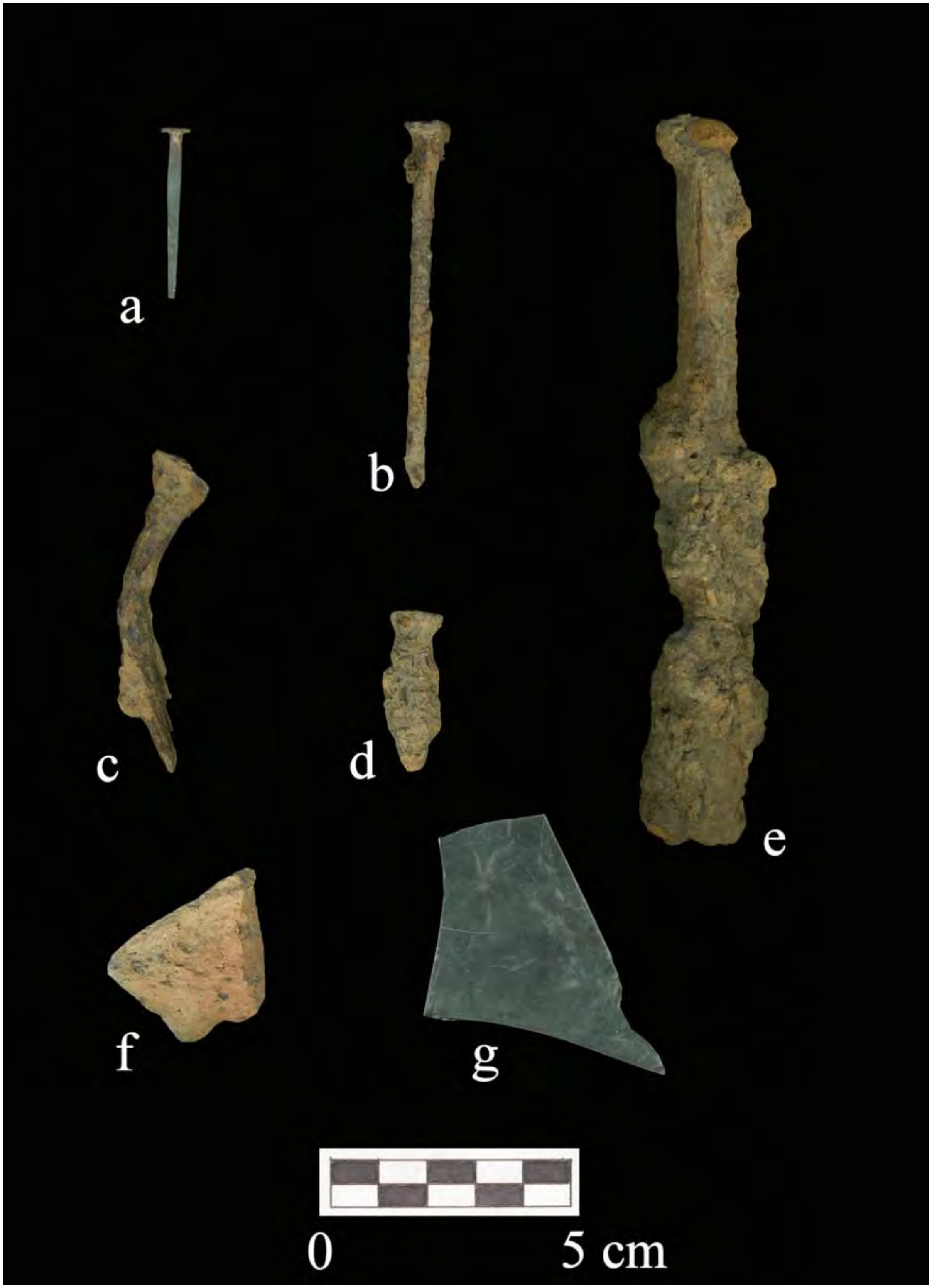


Figure 4.12. Architecture group artifacts: a) early cut nail; b) late cut nail; c) wrought nail; d) screw; e) spike; f) glazed brick fragment; g) blue-green flat window glass

Table 4.6. Architecture Related Artifacts, 15McL137

Type		**Frequency**		**Percent**
Brick		**1616**		**10.4**
	Fire Brick		2	
	Hand Made, Unglazed		63	
	Hand Made, Glazed		5	
	Glazed Fragment		59	
	Machine-Made		8	
	Fragment (Not Identifiable)		1479	
Tile/Ceramic		**53**		**0.3**
Ceramic Doorknob		**1**		**0.1**
Flat (Window) Glass		**11629**		**75.0**
Lighting/Electrical Glass		**11**		**0.1**
	Insulator		7	
	Fuse		3	
	Electric - Unidentified		1	
Architecture Related Stone/Etc.		**1073**		**7.0**
	Roofing Slate		4	
	Mortar		380	
	Chinking/Daub, etc.		512	
	Other Stone/Etc.		79	
	Other (Concrete, Plaster, Shingle)		98	
Other Architectural Hardware		**1088**		**7.0**
	Metal Hinge		6	
	Pintle		2	
	Metal Doorknob/Handle		2	
	Lock		6	

Table 4.6. Architecture Related Artifacts, 15McL137

Type		**Frequency**		**Percent**
	Bolt		17	
	Nut		1	
	Wire		884	
	Metal Brace		5	
	Metal Band		65	
	Metal Bracket		3	
	Plumbing (Pipe)		13	
	Metal Washer		8	
	Other		67	
	Unidentified		9	
Total		**15471**		**99.9**

A total of 17,361 nails that could not be identified as either cut or wire were recovered, representing 87.0% of the total nail assemblage at the Baber Hotel.

Although most of the nails recovered were in poor condition and fragmented, much information still may be garnered by nail typology and distribution of nails across the site. For instance, the chronology of the mostly late cut nails confirmed a post-1830 date of occupation. The presence of the wire nails in lot 14 revealed a post-Baber occupation on that lot. Concentrations of nails, along with other architectural material, were also used to define locations of structures and possible discarding after demolition. Based on the analysis of cut nails, it was considered likely that at least three structures and several outbuildings were once present on the site. Based on the recovery of wire nails from lot 14, it was considered likely that a structure and perhaps a multicomplex was located here.

Besides nail types, nail sizes can be telling as well (Tables 4.8 and 4.9) (Figure 4.13). Numerous studies over the past several years have been used to determine the types of structures at archaeological sites using nail length and type and keying these to nineteenth century building manuals (see Lees 1986; McCorvie et al. 1989; Wagner and McCorvie et al. 1992; Young and Carr 1989). Nineteenth century building manuals provide corroboration of the archaeological findings (e.g. Anon 1855; Peddie 1833). A determination of log or frame structures has been noted by Lees (1986) based on nail size. This theory is that heavy framing nails such as 9 d. to 40 d. or pennyweight

Table 4.7. Nails and Other Fasteners, 15McL137

Type		Frequency		Percent
Wrought Nail		**1**		**0.0**
	Whole		1	
Cut Nail (Unidentifiable Type)		**828**		**4.2**
	Fragment		828	
Early Cut Nail		**7**		**0.1**
	Fragment		7	
Late Cut Nail		**1276**		**6.4**
	Fragment		1027	
	Whole		249	
Wire Nail		**395**		**1.9**
	Fragment		109	
	Whole		286	
Unidentified Nail		**17361**		**87.0**
Other Architectural Fasteners		**74**		**0.4**
	Metal Staple		5	
	Metal Tack		13	
	Metal Spike		14	
	Screw		11	
	Metal Rivet		4	
	Roofing Nail		22	
	Other		2	
	Unidentified		3	
Total		**19942**		**100**

Table 4.8 Nail Sizes and Use (Adapted from Wagner et al. 1992)

Nail Size	Use	Reference
2	Wall and ceiling lathing Lathing	Lees 1986 Young and Carr 1989
3	Shingling, ceiling lath, and thin tongue and groove paneling Lathing	Lees 1986 Young and Carr 1989
4	Shingling and slating Wood shingling, cabinet work, moulding, and other finnish work Clapboard siding and shingling Shingle and shakes	Fontana and Greenleaf 1962 Walker 1971 Lees 1986 Young and Carr 1989
5	Moulding, finish work, and ornamentation Light framing (1-1 3/4" boards) Shake and siding	Walker 1971 Lees 1986 Young and Carr 1989
6	Clapboarding and finnishing Light framing, clapboarding, bevel siding, and wood grounds Clapboard siding, exterior trim (1"), flooring (1") Siding and ceiling	Fontana and Greenleaf 1962 Walker 1971 Lees 1986 Young and Carr 1989
7	Siding and wallboarding	Young and Carr 1989
8	Finishing and flooring Flooring, furring strips, wood grounds, and interior fittings Flooring, sheathing, boarding, and exterior trim (1") Flooring and siding	Fontana and Greenleaf 1962 Walker 1971 Lees 1986 Young and Carr 1989
9	Flooring and boarding Flooring and siding	Fontana and Greenleaf 1962 Young and Carr 1989
10	Boarding Furring strips, flooring, boarding and interior fittings Sheathing and window trim (1") Flooring and siding	Fontana and Greenleaf 1962 Walker 1971 Lees 1986 Young and Carr 1989
10+	Flooring and siding	Young and Carr 1989
12	Wooden studding	Walker 1971
16	Studding rafters and heavy framing	Walker 1971
20	Heavy Framing	Walker 1971
40	Framing	Fontana and Greenleaf 1962

Table 4.9. Nails, 15McL137

Nail Type	Alteration	Size	Frequency
Wrought nail Total	Pulled	9d	**1**
Cut nail unspecified Total			***828***
Early cut nail Total	Fragment/Unidentified	Proximal	7
Late cut nail	Clinched	8d	1
		9d	2
		16d	1
	Clinched Total		*4*
	Pulled	2d	2
		3d	16
		4d	27
		5d	6
		6d	12
		7d	6
		8d	60
		9d	18
		10d	13
		12d	3
		16d	1
		20d	19
		30d	2
		40d	8
		60d	2
		Distal	6
		Proximal	11
	Pulled Total		*212*
	Unaltered	3d	2
		4d	5
		6d	6
		7d	5
		8d	15
		10d	9
		12d	2
		16d	1
		20d	1
		40d	1
		60d	1
		Proximal	2
	Unaltered Total		*50*
	Fragment/Unidentified	20d	2
		Distal	12
		Medial	20
		Proximal	976
	Fragment/Unidentified Total		*1010*
Late cut nail Total			***1276***

Table 4.9. Nails, 15McL137

Wire nail	Clinched	5d	1
		7d	2
		8d	1
		9d	1
		10d	3
		12d	1
		40d	1
	Clinched Total		*10*
	Pulled	2d	12
		3d	8
		4d	4
		5d	14
		6d	17
		7d	34
		8d	20
		9d	19
		10d	4
		12d	13
		16d	7
		20d	12
		30d	3
		40d	1
		50d	1
		Medial	1
	Pulled Total		*170*
	Unaltered	2d	10
		3d	13
		4d	8
		5d	19
		6d	4
		7d	13
		8d	5
		9d	16
		10d	2
		12d	2
		16d	4
		20d	2
		50d	1
	Unaltered Total		*99*
	Fragment/Unidentified	2d	8
		Distal	34
		Medial	5
		Proximal	69
	Fragment/Unidentified Total		*116*
Wire nail Total			**395**
Unidentified Nail			**17361**
Grand Total			**19868**

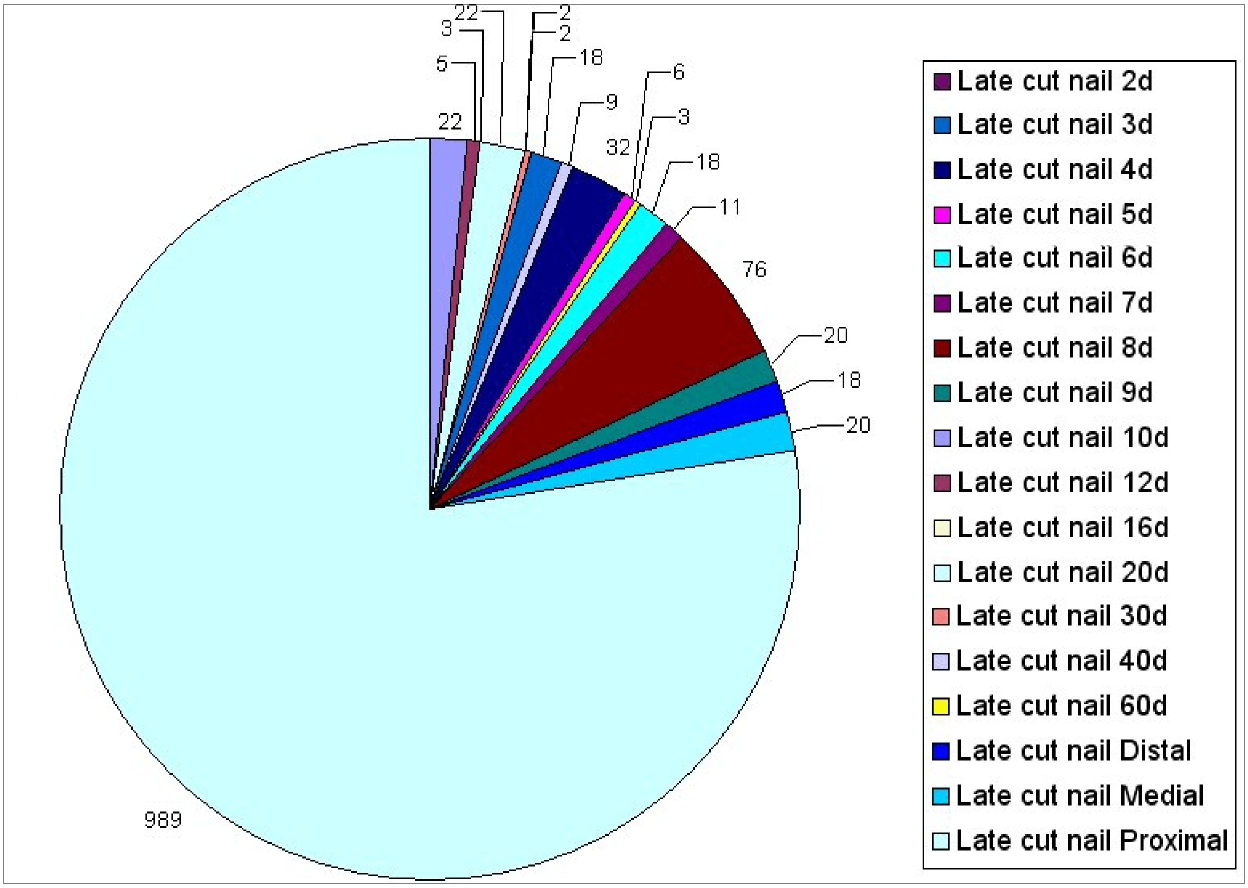


Figure 4.13. Late Cut Nail Size, 15Mcl137

would most likely be used on a frame structure. A log structure would have little use for the large nails since it uses the logs themselves to frame the windows, doors, roof, and possibly a floor.

Similarly, Young and Carr, have defined two additional nail patterns for timber-frame structures and balloon frame structures (Young and Carr 1989). In timber-frame structures, large timbers were mortised and tenoned together forming the framework for the roof and weather boarding. Nails would be needed for weather boarding, roofing, windows, doors, interior woodwork, and floors. Such nails would vary in size from 4 d. to 10 d. Balloon frame structures became common after the mid-nineteenth century. Instead of the mortise and tenons which required no nails, the balloon frame used nails at the joints to form the frame. Larger heavyweight sized nails would therefore be essential for better holding and support. Unlike the log and timber frame structures, a large quantity of nails 10 d. and larger would be more common. However, the same amount of smaller nails would still be needed for weather boarding, roofing, windows, doors, interior woodwork, and floors (Young and Carr 1989). Table 4.8 is a compilation of archaeological findings of nail pattern usage on nineteenth century sites. Using whole, late cut nails only since they date to the Baber occupation, it appears that there are nails that range from small (2 d.) to large (60 d.). While the majority (78%) of the nails are fragmented and unidentifiable as to size, there are a significantly larger quantity of 8 d. size nails than any other type (nearly 5% of all late cut nails and

31 % of whole late cut nails). Furthermore, both 9 d. and 10d. sized nails comprise about 16 % of the whole, late cut nails (Figure 4.14). These nails all of have multiple uses, but the greater number of 8 d. and above seems to suggest that the structure was frame. Also, the frequency of cut nails in varying sizes, in general, is indicative of a frame structure with siding and wooden shingles. What also seems likely is that the dwelling was dismantled based on the number of pulled nails (17% of all late cut nails and nearly 80% of the whole late cut nails) and all nails recovered in the back yard. Although some pulled nails and unaltered nails occur around the structure and may be the result of construction, the sample size suggests complete dismantling at one time. Based on the archaeological and archival information, the dwelling may have been torn down sometime in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century when a new structure was constructed on lot 14.

More discussion on nail types and their distribution can be found along with figures showing patterns in their locations in Chapter Five (results of field investigation) and Chapter Six (Baber Hotel layout).

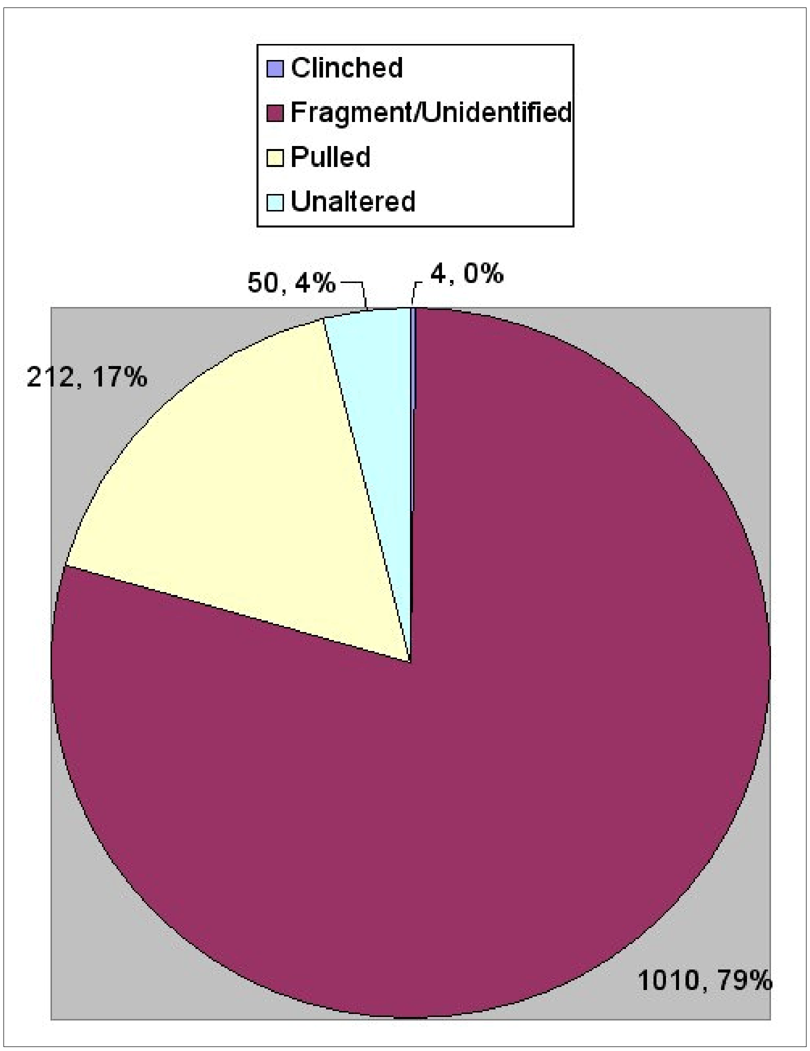


Figure 4.14. Late Cut Nail Alterations, 15Mcl137

Lastly, in all, 74 artifacts were classified as other architectural fasteners. These included roofing nails (n = 22), metal spikes (n = 14), metal tacks (n = 13), screws (n = 11), metal staples (n = 5), metal rivets (n = 4), unidentified (n = 3), and other (n = 2).

Flat Glass

Flat glass fragments numbered 11,629 or 32.8% of the architectural assemblage (Table 4.6). Flat glass is presumed to have been used in window panes if no other function can be determined, such as for mirrors, table tops, picture frames, etc. Flat glass comprises an important, chronologically sensitive artifact. During the eighteenth century, flat glass appropriate for windows was cut from a large disk of glass, which was then cut into panes. By the early nineteenth century, glass manufacturers produced broad glass, which may be distinguished by a slight thickening toward the plate margin, one surface slightly more opaque than the other, and bubbles in the glass usually distorted in straight lines. In the late nineteenth century, machine-made glass, characterized by a uniform thickness, with occasional wavy lines of bubbles, was widely produced. In the early twentieth century, production of sheet pane glass eclipsed other manufacturing processes.

Studies have demonstrated that the measurement of flat glass thickness can be a useful indicator of chronology (Ball 1983, McBride and Sharp 1991, Moir 1987, Roenke 1978). Using Moir's (1987) formula, a mean window glass date was calculated for all of the features containing window glass (Table 4.10). The first 10 cm of each large feature was separated during excavation, as this was considered likely to be contaminated by site plowing; therefore, window glass from this upper layer is not included in Table 4.10. In all, 3,542 window glass specimens from features were used, amounting to nearly 31% of the total window glass assemblage. Surface and plowzone collected flat glass was measured, but not used since there was mixing of the soils and dating was more accurately achieved through ceramic analysis.

However, sample size was too small from some of the feature context to be statistically valid. For those features that did contain a sizable window glass assemblage, the study proved not entirely reliable while ceramics and other more chronologically sensitive artifacts proved more helpful in dating. As these artifacts will reveal in the following chapter (Chapter Five), the features date later than what is shown in Table 4.10. Lastly, it should also be noted that post Baber occupation features like Feature 18, a cellar associated with an early twentieth century structure on lot 14, had to have been filled in post-1903 based on the early machine manufactured bottles recovered from all fill layers. Artifacts dating to the earlier Baber occupation were mixed with later artifacts making the 1830 mean date for Level 3 of the cellar invalid. Further discussion on window glass, in particular, spatial analysis of its distribution across the site can be found in Chapter Six (the Baber Hotel layout).

Table 4.10. Window glass from features.

Feature	**Zone**	**Level**	**Date**	**Frequenc y**
211			1806	50
210			1809	40
14			1810	76
40	N		1810	50
45	B		1810	108
173			1810	35
54			1811	20
60			1811	23
1			1812	116
145	2		1812	155
147			1814	13
22	A		1815	11
22	B		1816	66
25A			1817	15
65			1818	11
145	1		1818	330
139	B		1821	20
79	P HOLE		1823	12
286			1823	29
40	K		1824	250
99	P MOLD		1824	10
40/145	B		1824	40
265			1827	20
40/145	A		1827	14

Table 4.10. Window glass from features.

264			1828	21
18	3		1830	34
139	A		1831	66
40	C		1836	150
64			1837	35
40	1		1841	576
43			1844	110
36			1845	16
77	A		1845	50
139	A		1845	116
224	B		1845	11
101			1852	14
77	B		1853	42
18	2		1855	50
40	2		1855	320
40	3		1855	156
282			1861	27
40	B		1866	47
40	F		1870	19
76			1871	13
18	1		1872	53
113			1872	12

Bricks

Bricks and brick fragments numbered 1,616 and comprised 4.6% of the total architectural assemblage (Tables 4.6 and 4.11). The manufacturing of bricks changed from locally crafted, handmade varieties to machine-produced during the nineteenth century. With this chronological information in mind, bricks are classified according to method of manufacture (Gurke 1987). The nature of most brick fragments often precludes an accurate assessment of age. However, there were many identifiable bricks in the Baber assemblage. A total of 63 hand made, unglazed bricks were recovered from the site, and five hand made, glazed bricks were recovered (together composing 4.4% of the brick assemblage). Also, 59 undetermined manufactured glazed brick fragments were recovered. A total of eight machine-made bricks (or 0.5 % of the brick assemblage) were recovered. A total of 1,479 unidentifiable fragments were also recovered (totaling 91.5 % of the brick assemblage). A good sample was collected of these bricks, but many were weighed and discarded in the field.

Table 4.11. Bricks Types

Brick Type	Comments	Frequency
Fire Brick	FACED	1
	HANDMADE CWS IMPRESSED ON FACE	1
Fire Brick Total		**2**
Fragment (Not Identifiable) Total		1479
Glazed Fragment Total		59
Hand Made/Glazed Total		5
Hand Made/Unglazed	WHOLE	12
	HALF	2
	FRAGMENTS	49
Hand Made/Unglazed Total		**63**
Machine made/Unglazed Total		8
Total		**1616**

Two fire bricks were also recovered from the site. One was handmade and impressed with "CWS" in its face. This brick came from Feature 18, a post Baber filled cellar associated with an early twentieth century structure located on lot 14. As it is handmade, it may be discarded remnants of the Baber occupation. Two robbed chimney holes associated with the Baber occupation (Features

64 and 65) contained only brick rubble. However, some of the brick fragments were identifiable as hand made and each hole contained one glazed fragment. Feature 50, a brick chimney base located within the kitchen and behind the Baber house, contained all hand made bricks. A brick and stone walk, Feature 41/49, was made of hand made bricks as well. Several brick piers associated with the early twentieth century structure on lot 14 were machine made, which helped to determine the structure's post Baber occupation period. Another machine made brick was found in the fill of a privy (Feature 282) associated with the early twentieth century house. Two other machine made bricks were found in the upper portion of Feature 77, a cellar associated with the Baber occupation. Its presence along with other later dating artifacts illustrates how construction and later demolition of the early twentieth century house directly impacted the upper portions of the features associated with the Baber occupation.

Hardware and Other Building Materials

The hardware group includes metal items such as nuts, bolts, hinges, locks, knobs, bands, braces, brackets, pipe, washers, pintle, and wire (Priess 1971, 2000). The other building materials category includes items made of various materials, including mortar, plaster, roofing materials, building stone, etc.

A total of 2,161 hardware and other building type artifacts was recovered from the site, comprising 6.1% of the total architectural assemblage. Of these, 1,073 were stone related artifacts, consisting of mostly chinking and daub (n = 512), mortar (n = 380), other (n = 98), unidentified stone (n = 79), and roofing slate (n = 4).

Metal hardware totaled 1,088 and consisted of mostly wire (n = 884), followed by other (n = 67), bands (n = 65), bolts (n = 17), pipe (n = 13), unidentified (n = 9), washers (n = 8), hinges (n = 6), locks (n = 6), braces (n = 5), brackets (n = 3), pintles (n = 2), doorknobs/handles (n = 2), and nuts (n = 1). Types of doorknobs include one ceramic and one metal.

Lighting/Electrical

In all, eleven artifacts were classified as lighting/electrical glass. Seven of these specimens are insulators, three are fuses, and one unidentified electrical piece. Of the seven insulators, two are made from glass and the remainders from ceramic. All are electrical insulators and post date the Baber occupation.

Furniture Group

A variety of artifacts associated with furnishings and household fixtures are often recovered in small numbers from historic sites. Examples of these include lamp globe or chimney parts, mirror glass, clock parts, drawer pulls, flower pots, and similar items (Thuro 1976). Examples of some of the furniture related artifacts from the site are shown in Figure 4.15. Table 4.12 shows all furniture artifacts.

Figure 4.15. Furnishing group artifacts: a) clock gear wheel; b) clock winding key; c) key hole plate; d) metal doorknob; e) ceramic castor wheel; f) brass candlestick base

Table 4.12. Furnishings, 15McL137

Type		Frequency		Percent
Ceramic Furniture		**102**		**9.9**
	Drawer/Door Pulls		10	
	Castor Wheel		3	
	Bathroom Porcelain		6	
	Figurine/Decorative		62	
	Other Furniture Ceramic (Flower Pot)		21	
Glass Furniture		**51**		**5.0**
	Glass Door Knob		4	
	Mirror		22	
	Other		2	
	Unidentified		23	
Lighting/Electrical		**852**		**83**
	Glass Lamp Chimney		774	
	Glass Light Bulb Part		7	
	Other Glass Lighting/Electrical		42	
	Unidentified Glass Lighting/Electrical		11	
	Metal Kerosene Lamp Part		17	
	Metal Candlestick		1	
Metal Furniture		**21**		**2.0**
	Castor		1	
	Brass Tack		1	
	Clock Part		3	
	Stove Part		5	
	Other		10	
	Unidentified		1	
Total		**1026**		**99.9**

Glass chimney fragments comprised the largest amount (n = 774 or 75.4%) of furniture items, but most of these are very small body fragments, likely representative of a smaller number of lamps. Although the majority of the chimney fragments were from the body of the chimney, some were rim fragments. These rims were mostly fire polished, with very few crimped rims. The presence of the earlier-dating fire polished rims and the few later nineteenth century crimped rims is indicative of a predominantly late eighteenth/early nineteenth century occupation. Many of these specimens also contained lead. The presence of lead also supports the earlier nineteenth century occupation of the site, as leaded glass was most common up until about 1864, when an inexpensive, fine quality soda-lime glass was first produced and became preferred (McKearin and McKearin 1948; Thuro 1976). Further analysis and discussion of Furnishing artifacts at the site are discussed and compared with similar sites in Chapter Six of this report.

Arms Group

This category includes firearm parts, lead balls or bullets, cartridge casings, percussion caps, bullet molds, lead sprue, powder horn parts, and gunflints (Brussard 1993). A total of 50 arms related artifacts, or less than 0.1% of the entire assemblage, was recovered from site 15McL137. These include brass cartridges (n = 4), metal/plastic cartridges (n = 3), lead balls (n = 4), lead bullets (n = 3), gunflints (n = 1), centerfire cartridges (n = 8), .22 caliber rimfire cartridges (n = 22), and other rimfire cartridges (n = 5). Table 4.13 shows all arms related artifacts. Examples of some of the arms related artifacts recovered from the site are shown in Figure 4.16.

The gunflint found at this site was a French "honey" flint. These flints are found on North American sites dating from the early eighteenth century to the middle nineteenth century. English prismatic gunflints are not found on North American sites until about 1790 (Hamilton and Fry 1975; Kenmotsu 1990; and Trubitt and Smith 1993). The plastic and metal shot gun shells most certainly post date the Baber occupation and the short centerfire .38 caliber cartridges as well since they post date 1899 (Barnes and Warner 1989). However, the short .22 caliber rimfire cartridges could date as early as 1857 and therefore could date to the Baber occupation (Barnes and Warner 1989) while long .22 caliber cartridges date after 1875.

Table 4.13. Arms Related Artifacts, 15McL137

Type		**Frequency**		**Percent**
Metal		**49**		**98.0**
	Centerfire Cartridge .32 Caliber		2	
	Centerfire Cartridge .38 Caliber		6	
	Centerfire Cartridge Total		*8*	
	Rimfire Cartridge .22 Caliber		22	
	Rimfire Cartridge .25 Caliber		1	
	Rimfire Cartridge .32 Caliber		4	

Table 4.13. Arms Related Artifacts, 15McL137

	Rimfire Cartridge Total		*27*	
	Shotgun Shell, Metal/Plastic		3	
	Shotgun Shell, Brass		4	
	Lead Ball		4	
	Lead Bullet .22 Caliber		3	
Chert		**1**		**2.0**
	Gunflint (French Honey)		1	
Total		**50**		**100**

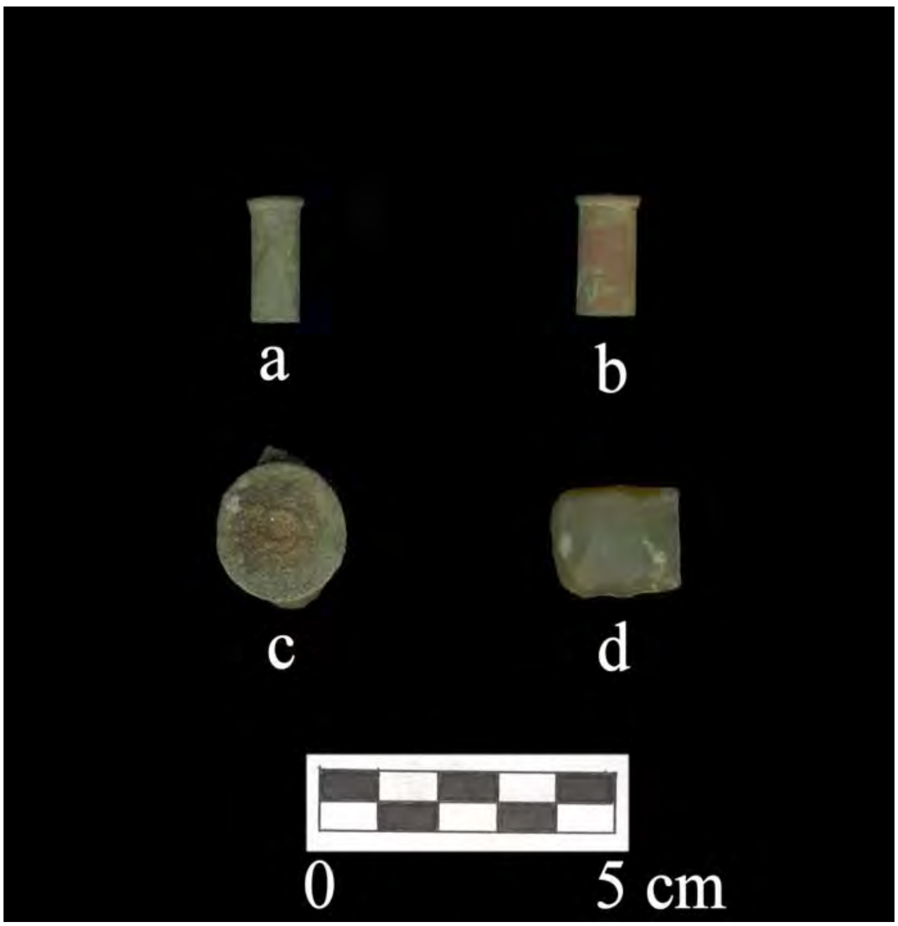


Figure 4.16. Arms group artifacts: a) rimfire cartridge .32 caliber; b) rimfire cartridge .38 caliber; c) shotgun shell; d) gun flint

Clothing Group

This category of artifacts consists of artifacts associated with clothing, such as buttons, collar studs, buckles, shoe leather, eyelets, garter snaps, safety pins, and hooks and eyes (Luscomb 1967). The presence of clothing items in an assemblage can aid in discussing activities that might have occurred at a site, as well as discussions of lifestyle. Clothing at the Baber Hotel totaled 947 artifacts, which is 1.0% of the entire artifact assemblage. Table 4.14 shows all of the clothing artifacts. Examples of clothing related artifacts from the site are shown in Figure 4.17.

Buttons

Excavation of the Baber Hotel (15McL137) yielded an assemblage of 518 buttons. Buttons represent 54.7% of the clothing group artifacts recovered from the Baber Hotel. Bone, shell, rubber, glass, plastic, and metal buttons were identified within the assemblage. Bone (n = 157) and glass (n = 156) buttons are the most frequent type of button in the assemblage. They are followed by shell (n = 85), iron/steel alloy (n = 50), copper/brass alloy (n = 51), rubber (n = 13), plastic (n = 4), and unidentified metal (n = 2) buttons.

Precise dating of different types of buttons is difficult, but generalizations about the buttons within 20-year time intervals are possible. In the period of known occupation and activity at the Baber Hotel site, the decades between 1790 and 1850, there were several changes in manufacturing technology resulting in the introduction of new types of buttons. It is appropriate to state that these buttons would have been available no earlier than a certain approximate date. In general, the advances in button manufacture originated in England, were copied by factories in the United States, and led to increased supplies of buttons at lower prices.

The transition from local manufacture of small quantities of buttons by hand to making large quantities of buttons by machine in specialized factories took place during the early to mid-nineteenth century and is reflected in the assemblage of buttons from this site. The older buttons are represented by unique, individual, varied specimens. The newer buttons are represented by similar, standardized types.

Buttons have limited value as temporal indicators, however, because they are so readily recycled. In particular, the buttons used on everyday garments are likely to persist in a domestic economy for several decades as thrifty homemakers save and re-use them. However, particularly for men's and women's dress clothing and outer wear, styles of buttons change with fashion, and one or another type of button might be associated with a different era (see Martin and Mansberger 1987).

Various types of glass buttons, particularly the faceted glass buttons with metal shank, were introduced for men's vests and women's clothing. Very few examples of this type of button were found at the Baber Hotel, however. Bone and shell served as common raw materials for simple handmade buttons used for everyday clothing and underwear during the Baber occupation period.

Table 4.14. Clothing, 15McL137

Type		Frequency		Percent
Buttons		**518**		**54.7**
	Bone		157	
	Shell		85	
	Rubber		13	
	Glass		156	
	Iron/Steel		50	
	Copper/Brass		51	
	Unidentified Metal Button		2	
	Plastic Button		4	
Shoe Parts		**250**		**26.4**
	Leather Shoe Part		248	
	Metal Spur		2	
Glass Beads		**34**		**3.6**
Shirt Stud		**2**		**0.2**
Hook and/or Eye		**17**		**1.8**
Eyelet Grommet		**98**		**10.4**
Rivet		**2**		**0.2**
Suspender Clasp		**6**		**0.6**
Leather Glove		**1**		**0.1**
Other Buckle		**4**		**0.4**
Metal Safety Pin		**3**		**0.3**
Umbrella Part		**1**		**0.1**
Other		**10**		**1.1**
Unidentified		**1**		**0.1**
Total		**947**		**100.0**

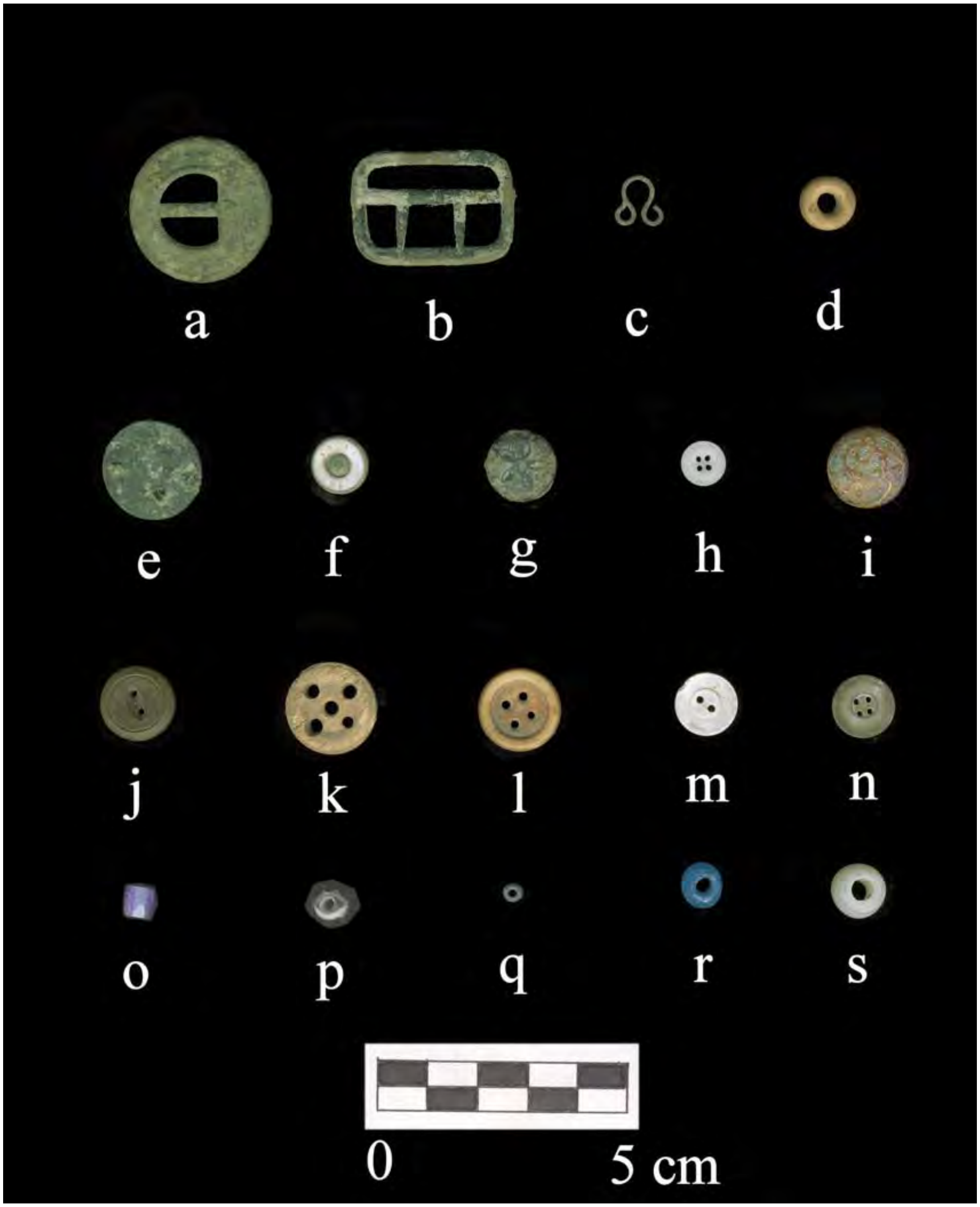


Figure 4.17. Clothing group artifacts: a) copper/brass stamped clothing fastener; b) metal suspender buckle; c) hook/eye; d) bone grommet; e) copper/brass gilded button; f) copper/brass button with shell inlay; g) iron/steel button; h) glass button; i) hand-painted glass button; j) rubber button; k) bone button; l) bone button; m) shell button; n) shell button; o) glass bead; p) glass bead; q) glass bead; r) glass bead; s) glass bead

These were simple disks with two, four, or five drilled holes. These plain bone and shell buttons numbered 157 bone buttons (Figure 4.17k and l) and 85 shell buttons (Figure 4.17m and n), or16.9% and 9.1% of the total button assemblage, respectively.

During the period 1800 through 1820, the larger plain cast metal buttons popular for men's wear, especially coats, at the turn of the century were replaced by smaller gilt buttons (Luscomb 1992:78-79). From 1820 through 1840, plain bone and shell buttons were also available for everyday clothes and underwear. These buttons are made of fresh water mussel shells which were used generally for utilitarian purposes as they never equaled the brilliance of deep-sea shells, dulling much faster (Luscomb 1992:177).

By 1840 to 1860, few handmade buttons were used other than on slave's clothing, as factory-made buttons of all types became widely available and inexpensive. Newly produced glass buttons became very popular by 1840 and bone (most popular during the first part of the nineteenth century) and shell buttons were still used for underwear, nightwear, and everyday clothes, but they were often decorated with simple turned rings or ornamental rim treatments (Luscomb 1992:80-81). Larger colored or fancy glass buttons were also available during this period, used on men's vest and shirts and women's dresses. Eighteen of the four-hole glass buttons from the site are decorated with handpainting with red the most common color. Some were also polychrome painted (Figure 4.17i). The smaller brass gilt buttons found on men's coats (Figure 4.17e) remained popular until about 1865 (Luscomb 1992:78-79).

The cloth-covered, 2-piece iron button with either wire shank or flexible shank became very popular by 1850 (Luscomb 1967). These buttons may have been used on either civilian clothing from this period or on military uniforms after the start of the Civil War. Other kinds of metal buttons, both 1-piece and 2-piece, were used on men's vests and coats and women's coats during this period.

Buttons dating to the late 1850s and possibly into the 1860s were also recovered from the site. Glass buttons were still used for everyday clothes and continued to be popular. Thirteen rubber buttons were recovered, accounting for 1.4% of the button assemblage. Rubber buttons were first manufactured in the late 1850s. These rubber buttons were probably used on men's shirts, trousers, and coats that were sold as ready-to-wear clothing. Although these rubber buttons were fragmented, one specimen from a test unit (Test Unit 66, Zone 1) did have "GOODYEAR" on it. Goodyear produced rubber buttons as early as 1851 and all other hard rubber buttons were patented by this time (Luscomb 1967:91).

Leather Shoe Parts

A total of 248 leather shoe parts were recovered from the Baber Hotel. These specimens were too decayed and fragmented to allow for further detailed analysis. The greatest majority of these shoe specimens (n = 162 or 65 % of the total leather shoe parts assemblage) were also recovered from Feature 18, a cellar that was filled in after the Baber occupation in the early twentieth century.

Beads

A total of 34 beads were recovered from the Baber Hotel (Figure 4.17o-s). One seed bead was recovered. Three blue beads were faceted and one clear glass bead was also faceted, being cut and made of leaded glass. Another was cone shaped. Seed beads were probably sewn onto clothes for adornment and the larger faceted beads were most likely worn as jewelry. More discussion on these beads, including their spatial analysis and context within the site occupation, can be found in Chapter Six of this report.

Shirt Collar Studs

A total of two glass shirt collar studs were identified within the Baber Hotel assemblage. These studs attached the separate collar to the shirt.

Buckles

Four small buckles were recovered from excavation of the Baber Hotel. These buckles were small enough to be considered part of some sort of clothing rather than horse furniture or tack. They could have come from a waist coat (vest), coat, or dress.

Hook and Eye

Another type of clothing closure recovered from the Baber Hotel were 17 small hooks used during the early nineteenth century. The hook is a tongue-shaped and usually made of a looped wire with recurved ends attached to the garment. The second part, the eye, is also made of bent wire and in the shape of the Greek letter omega (Cleland 1983:52). Frequently used on women's dresses, but often on men's coats and waistcoats, hook and eyes were rarely visible. As a result, they underwent little transformation, being mostly simple, multiuse fasteners (White 2005:76).

Small Rivets

Two small rivets were recovered from the Baber Hotel and thought to represent fasteners or reinforcers for clothing rather than horse furniture. The overall size of these rivets suggests that they may have been used as reinforcing devices on heavy work clothes, much as they are used today.

Suspender Clasps

A total of six suspender clasps were identified in the assemblage. These clasps were not identical and likely represent at least two sets of suspenders.

Eyelet Grommets

A total of 98 eyelet grommets were recovered from the Baber Hotel. Most, if not all of the garments were probably from shoes. The greatest number of these (n = 84) were recovered from

Zone A of Feature 139, a cellar likely used for cold storage during the Baber occupation and which contained a mixed deposit of early to late nineteenth century artifacts.

Metal Safety Pins

Three metal safety pins were identified in the assemblage.

Leather Glove

One leather glove was recovered from the Baber Hotel. This glove was recovered from Zone D of Feature 78, a twentieth century privy associated with the post Baber house complex.

Other

A total of eleven clothing other/unidentified objects were observed on 15McL137. These items included a bone artifact that may possibly be grommet related, a glass fastener, a brass loop, a possible metal belt part, a possible metal shoe part, a metal clasp, and five metal artifacts that appear to be clothing related, but are not entirely identifiable.

Personal Group

This category includes objects typically reserved for one person's exclusive use, which often could be carried in a pocket or purse, such as smoking pipes, eyeglasses, clasp knives, gaming pieces, toys, jewelry, combs and brushes, coins, etc. (Bradley 2000). Personal artifacts at the Baber Hotel totaled 676 or 0.7% of the total assemblage. Table 4.15 shows all of the personal artifacts recovered from the site. Some examples of personal artifacts are illustrated in Figure 4.18.

Hair Combs and Brushes

A total of one bone hair brush and four bone hair combs were identified in the assemblage. Eleven hard rubber hair combs and one plastic hair comb were also recovered.

Smoking Artifacts

A total of 91 pipe fragments were recovered from the Baber site, a significantly large amount. The pipes consist of six white clay pipe bowls and pipe stems, one porcelain pipe stem, and 84 molded, clay stub stem or elbow pipes made from stoneware, yellowware and earthenware. Many of the stub stem pipes are made from simple molds, while others have more detail as in a face design. While most of these stub stem pipes may have been manufactured locally, several of the pipes are a pattern that was manufactured at the Point Pleasant Pottery site (33Ct256) in Ohio and date from 1840 to 1890 (Sudbury 1979). Most of the remaining stoneware/earthenware pipes are fragmented but have a general date range from 1820 to 1900 (Noel Hume 1969:303). Smoking pipes will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven, including illustrations (Figure 7.14), spatial analysis, what their presence might indicate at the site, and comparisons with similar sites.

Table 4.15. Personal Artifacts, 15McL137

Type		Frequency		Percent
Hair Combs		**18**		**2.7**
	Bone Hair Brush		1	
	Bone Hair Comb		4	
	Rubber Hair Comb		11	
	Plastic Comb		2	
Smoking Artifacts		**91**		**13.4**
	White Clay Smoking Pipes		6	
	Pipe Bowl Stoneware/Earthenware		84	
	Porcelain Pipe Stem		1	
Jewelry		**11**		**1.6**
	Metal (Brass) Finger Ring		2	
	Other		9	
Sewing		**124**		**18.3**
	Straight Pin Undetermined		40	
	Straight Pin Flat Head		18	
	Straight Pin Spun Head (Round)		42	
	Thimble		10	
	Scissors		4	
	Bone Knitting Guard		2	
	Bone Knitting Needle		2	
	Bone Tambour		1	
	Bone Needle Case		2	
	Other		3	
Toys/Game Pieces		**201**		**29.6**
	Marble Hand Blown Glass		5	

Table 4.15. Personal Artifacts, 15McL137

Type		Frequency		Percent
	Marble Machine-Made		67	
	Marble Ceramic		14	
	Marble Stone		65	
	Bone Domino		3	
	Bone Dice		1	
	Stone Billiard Cue Ball		1	
	Billiard Chalk Cube		1	
	Doll		7	
	Toy Tea Set		23	
	Other		14	
Key Iron/Steel		**4**		**0.6**
Coins		**16**		**2.4**
Eyeglass Part		**5**		**0.7**
Toothbrush, Bone		**3**		**0.4**
Pocket Knife		**13**		**1.9**
Musical Instrument		**6**		**0.9**
Mirror		**15**		**2.2**
Watch Part		**3**		**0.4**
Writing Slate		**81**		**11.9**
Slate/Lead Pencil		**55**		**8.1**
Pencil Eraser Ferrule		**1**		**0.1**
Other		**22**		**3.2**
Unidentified		**10**		**1.5**
Total		**679**		**100.0**

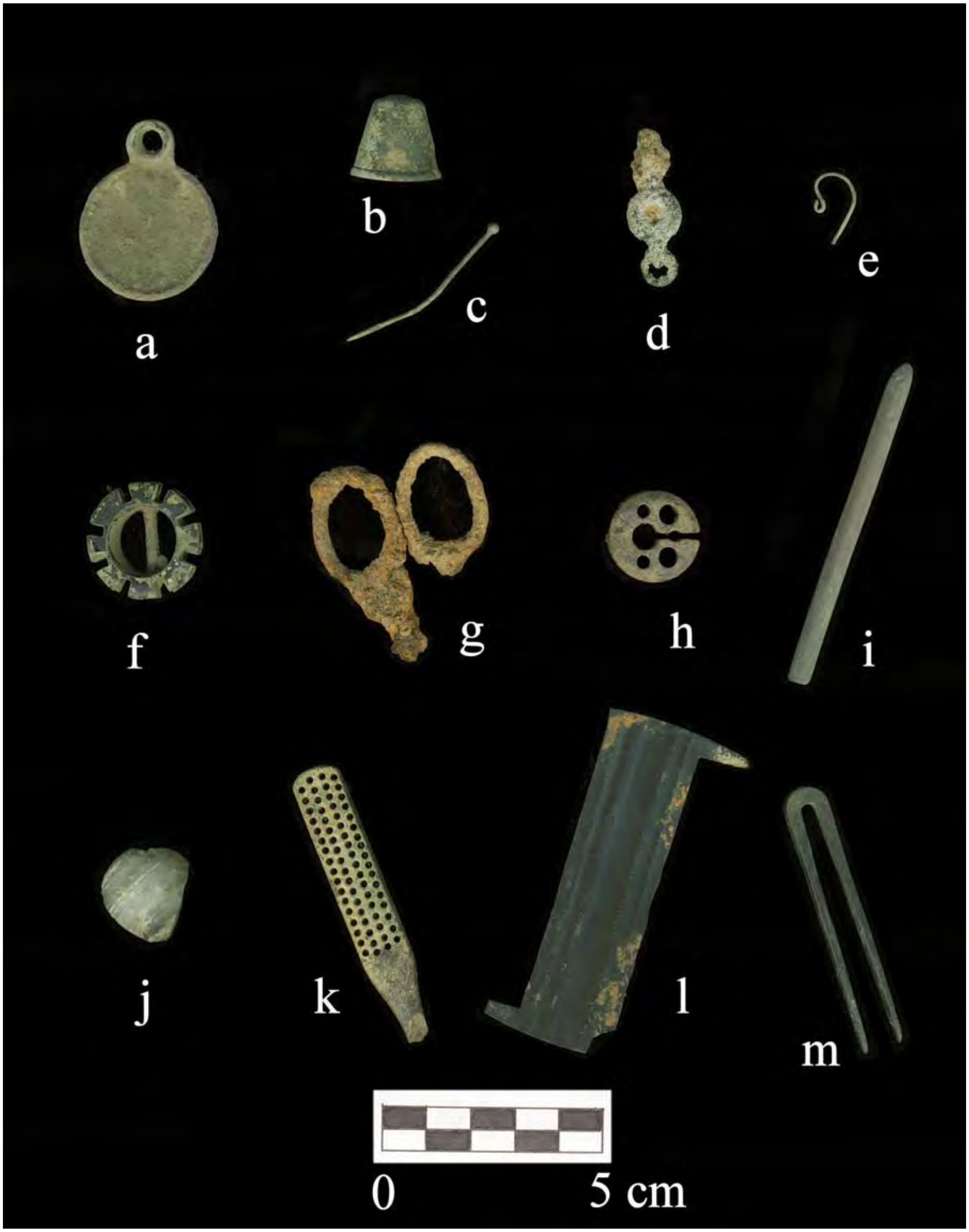


Figure 4.18. Personal group artifacts: a) brass tag; b) thimble; c) spun head straight pin; d) watch pin; e) wire from back of earring; f) umbrella part; g) scissors; h) sewing bobbin; i) slate pencil; j) glass marble; k) bone tooth brush; l) rubber comb; m) rubber hair pin

Jewelry

Only 11 jewelry related artifacts were recovered from the site, representing 1.6% of the personal related artifacts. Of these, two were finger rings, and the remaining nine were classified as other. These included metal artifacts like a brass link to possibly a necklace and a silver object, possibly a trade good.

Sewing

A total of 124 sewing artifacts were recovered from the site, representing 18.3% of the personal related artifacts. The majority of these were straight pins (n = 100). Of the straight pins, 42 had a round spun head, 18 had a flat head, and 40 were undetermined straight pins. A total of ten metal thimbles were also recovered from the Baber Hotel, as well as four scissors. In addition, two bone knitting guards, two bone knitting needles, one bone needle case, one bone tambour, and one bone laying tool were also recovered, suggesting that more than just routine sewing and mending was being conducted at the Baber Hotel site. These artifacts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven, including illustrations (Figures 7.1 and 7.2), location and spatial analysis, what their presence indicates at the site, and comparisons with similar sites.

Toys/Gaming Pieces

A total of 199 toys and gaming pieces were recovered from the site, representing 29.4% of the entire personal related artifacts. Of the toy assemblage, 151 were toy marbles and the remainder were dolls (n = 7), toy tea sets (n = 23), and other (n = 9). Gaming items included bone dominoes (n = 3), bone dice (n = 1), a stone billiard cue ball (n = 1), and a billiard chalk cube (n = 1).

A total of 67 machine-made marbles were recovered, mostly from lot 14 which is the location of the early twentieth century house structure. Of the hand made marbles, a total of 65 stone marbles, 14 ceramic marbles, and five hand blown glass marbles were recovered. Stone or calcareous limestone marbles were present in the assemblage and were popular German imports from the early eighteenth century until about 1915, with a high peak around the mid-nineteenth century (Randall 1971:102). Production of clay marbles was prominent in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Randall 1971:103). Undecorated clay marbles are commonly found on mid to late nineteenth century and early twentieth century farmstead sites in the region (Figure 7.15e). Decorated clay marbles were also present in the assemblage and included 'crockery' marbles (Figure 7.15f and g). The surface of these types of marbles are covered with mottled slips ranging from blue, brown, and white and are often called 'Bennington' after the famous Vermont firm of Norton and Fenton, who produced wares which resembled the mottled brown glaze. This was a common misconception since the company never produced marbles (Randall 1971:103). Another type of marble found at the site is made of porcelain (Figure 7.15a-d). These unglazed or bisque marbles were first produced in the latter part of the eighteenth century in Germany (Randall 1971:104). The hand made glass marbles recovered from the site were clear with swirl or spiral marbles and were irregular in dimensions (Figure 4.18j). These types of marbles can be American or German made, as both types are virtually indistinguishable. German made glass marbles were commercially produced and exported by 1846 (Randall 1971:104). The U.S. governments involvement in World War I would have been a cut-off period for exports. In the U.S., commercial glass marble production did not occur until 1880 and lasted until the early part of the twentieth century (Randall 1971:104). These types of marbles have been found on such sites in southern Illinois and Kentucky as the early to mid-nineteenth century Old Landmark Tavern (Wagner and McCorvie 1992), the Davis Site (McCorvie 1987), the Rose Hotel (Wagner and Butler 1999), and the Enos Hardin Farmstead (Andrews and Sandefur 2002). Further discussion and illustrations of these marbles can be found in Chapter Seven along with spatial analysis, comparisons with other similar sites, and how some of these marbles may be related to tavern game activities.

Doll parts numbered seven and included one glass eye, two glazed and painted feet with shoes, one hand, and three glazed porcelain heads, two of which are painted (Figure 4.19). Porcelain was widely used for the production of toy dolls during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Common forms included head and shoulder segments which were attached to cloth, wood, or animal skin bodies. These “China” heads became popular in the 1840s (Coleman and Coleman 1968:118) and by the 1850s the heads appeared as adults. During the 1860s the heads became more finely made of tinted bisque with wigs on the head. From 1878 and into the 1880s there was another shift to child and baby like dolls known as bisque bebe dolls (Coleman and Coleman 1968:152). Glass eyes became patented in 1855 (Coleman and Coleman 1968:143). The Frozen Charlotte doll was a complete porcelain doll and was popular from the early 1850s on (Miller 1986:14).

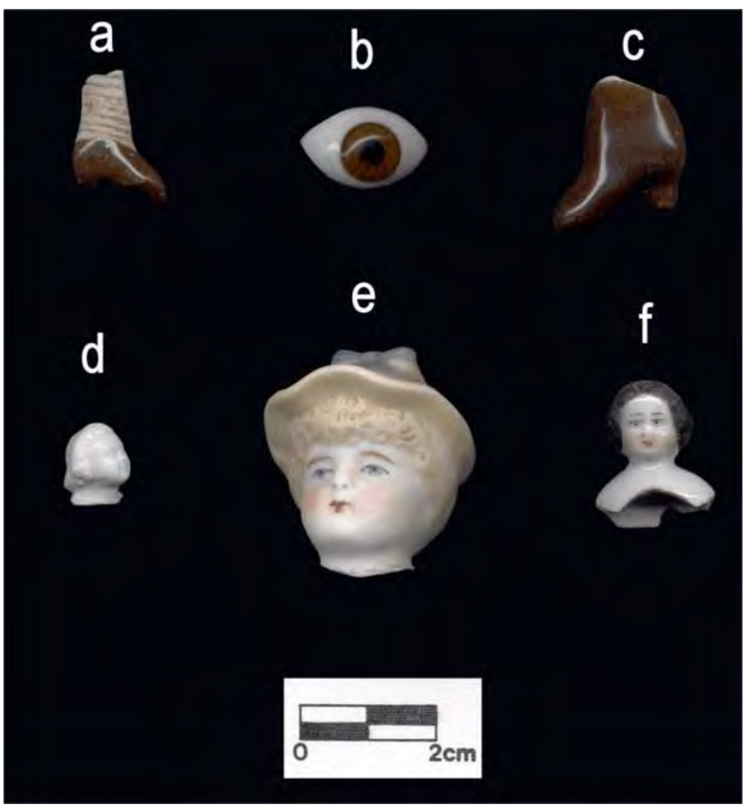


Figure 4.19. Toy doll parts: a and c) porcelain feet and shoes, b) glass eye; d-f) heads

Toy tea set artifacts numbered 23 and consisted of undecorated tea cups, saucers, dishes, and pitchers (Figure 4.20). Although these toy sets are not easily dated, they more than likely date after 1875 when relatively inexpensive porcelain was being imported from Germany and before 1900 when more ornamental decal decorations became more popular (Haskell 1981:123). Some of the other types of toys included later dating items such as plastic and metal toys.

Figure 4.20. Toy tea set pieces: a) pitcher and b) dish

Lastly, gaming pieces consisted of three bone dominoes, a bone dice, a stone billiard cue ball, and a billiard chalk cube (Figure 7.15i). These are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven along with spatial analysis, comparisons with other similar sites, and tavern game activities.

Musical Instruments

Six musical instruments were recovered from the site, representing 0.9% of the personal related artifacts. Three of the instruments are iron mouth harps and three are brass harmonica plates. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven within the music activities section.

Coins

A total of 16 coins were recovered from the site, comprising 1.5% of the total personal related artifacts. The oldest, a Spanish Real, Ferdinand II, had a legible date of 1809. Other coins dated to the Baber occupation and consisted of an 1829 U.S. five cent piece; an 1841 U.S. half dime (Figure 4.21a); and an 1865 U.S. penny. Later coins that post-date the Baber occupation include U.S. pennies dated 1889 (Indian head), 1902, 1923, 1927, 1950, and 1951d; and a 1962 U.S. nickel. A five-cent piece did not have a legible date, but did show the "shield" on the back without rays between the stars (Figure 4.21b). This type of five cent piece was in production from 1866 until 1883 (Yeoman 1961:86). Three other coins were completely unidentifiable.

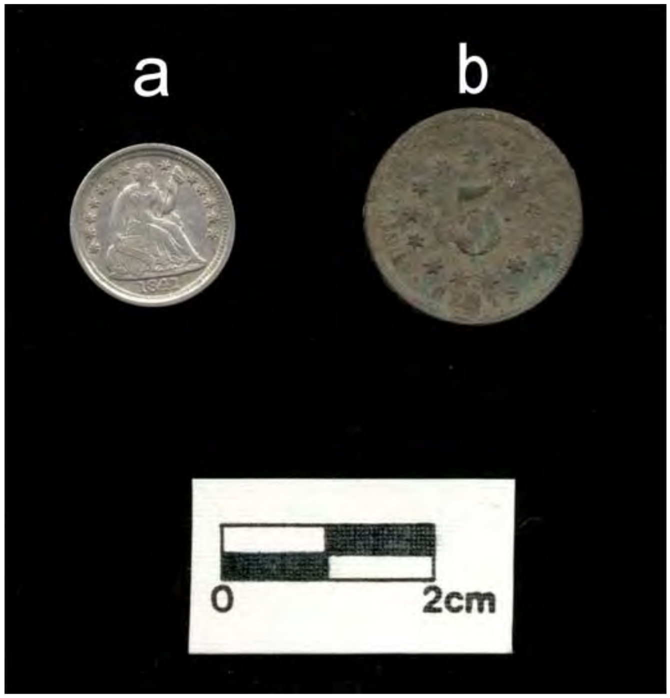


Figure 4.21. Coins: a) 1841 dime and b) Shield five-cent

Keys

Four keys were recovered from the site. All four were made of iron and of the skeleton key variety (Figure 4.22). They were also small, suggesting that they were for access to something other than a door (i.e. desk, storage box, clock, etc.).

Figure 4.22. Small key

Pocket Knife

A total of 13 pocket knives and fragments were recovered from the site, representing 1.9% of the personal artifact assemblage. During the nineteenth century pocket knives were commonly carried as a jewelry item. Pocket knives at this time had bone, pearl, and horn insets. The majority of the ones recovered from the site only had the iron remnants of the knives, but one did have a bone handle and two had pearl handles.

Writing Instruments

A total of 140 artifacts associated with writing were recovered from the site, comprising 20.7% of the total personal related artifact assemblage. Of these, 81 were writing slate board fragments and the remaining 59 were slate pencil fragments. These artifacts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven, including illustrations (Figure 7.5), location and spatial analysis, what their presence indicates at the site, and comparisons with similar sites.

Mirrors

Fifteen mirror fragments were recovered from the site. More discussion on mirror glass at the site and what its presence might indicate, particularly during the Victorian period, can be found in the Furnishings discussion in Chapter Six.

Eyeglasses

A total of five eyeglass parts were recovered from the Baber Hotel. One part was the metal frame while the remaining parts were lens made of blue glass.

Watches

Three watch parts were recovered during excavations at the Baber Hotel. At least two of these are identifiable as a watch ring and a key.

Other and Unidentifiable

Other personal related artifacts numbered 31 and unidentifiable artifacts 28. Identifiable artifacts included a glass thermometer, metal umbrella parts, barrett, dumbbell, and a cigarette lighter piece, ceramic Mickey Mouse figurine head, and a plastic hair clasp or barrett, and hair curler fragment. Many of these identifiable items post-date the Baber occupation. Unidentifiable artifacts were made of the same materials and could not be identified entirely, although they were thought to have been personal related.

Transportation Group

Artifacts assigned to this category include those associated with any form of wheeled transport, and those associated with horse, mule, or ox harnessing and shoeing (Light 2000). Transportation artifacts numbered 48 in all and make up less than 0.1% of the entire site assemblage. The majority of these artifacts were made of iron. Table 4.16 shows all of the transportation related artifacts from the site. Figure 4.23 shows some examples of transportation related artifacts.

Table 4.16 Transportation Related Artifacts, 15McL137

Type		**Frequency**		**Percent**
Metal Parts		**43**		**89.6%**
	Animal Shoe		4	
	Animal Shoe Nail		2	
	Harness Part		26	
	Wagon Part		9	
	Other		2	
Plastic Parts		**5**		**10.4%**
	Plastic Battery Part		4	
	Other		1	
Total		**48**		**100%**

Animal Shoe Parts

A total of four animal shoes was recovered from the site. Only one of the shoes was identifiable as a horse shoe while the remaining ones were too fragmented to determine. In addition, two shoe nails were recovered from the site.

Harness and Tackle Parts

Harness parts made up the most of the transportation artifacts. In all, 26 harness parts were recovered from the site. These included mostly buckles and buckle fragments (n = 24), followed by half of a snaffle bit, and one brass rivet.

Figure 4.23. Transportation group artifacts: a) carriage step/toe hold; b) wagon staple; c) harness part, buckle fragment; d) battery part

Wagon and/or Carriage Parts

Nine wagon and/or carriage parts were recovered from the site. These included two double tree clips, one center clip, one spring, one step or toe hold, one wagon staple, one metal plate, and one ring.

Plastic Parts

Four plastic automobile battery parts were recovered from the site. They all post date the Baber occupation.

Other and Unidentified Transportation

A total of three other and unidentifiable transportation artifacts were recovered from the site. Of these, one was a rubber valve stem cap, one a plastic car battery part, and one metal unknown object that appears to be automobile related.

Tools and Activities Group

This category includes items associated with any type of job or activity that occurs on a site, such as tools associated with agricultural activities, woodworking, iron smithing, and general farm maintenance. A total of 169 artifacts in this group were recovered from the site, representing 0.2% of the entire site assemblage. Table 4.17 shows all of these artifacts by category within the tools group. Figure 4.24 illustrates some examples of artifacts in the activity and job related group.

Metal Tools

Metal tools recovered from the Baber site include files (n = 4), axes (n = 7), drill bits (n = 4), fishing hook/weights (n = 3), bucket/pail parts (n = 23), bar stock for blacksmithing (n = 6), other blacksmithing (n = 1), one hammer, one log chain, and one wedge. A total of 95 pieces of slag from blacksmithing operations was recovered. Other (n = 15) and unidentified (n = 2) tool related artifacts were also recovered. Of the other blacksmithing category, most of these were odd assorted sizes of cut pieces of metal.

Biological Tools

One grinding wheel was recovered.

Glass Tools

One chicken waterer or irrigator was recovered which suggests that chickens may have been kept on site at one time.

Stone Tools

Two whetstones were recovered.

Table 4.17. Activity/Job Associated Artifacts, 15McL137

Type		**Frequency**		**Percent**
Biological Tools		**1**		**0.6**
	Grinding Wheel		1	
Glass Tools		**1**		**0.6**
	Chicken Waterer or Irrigator		1	
Metal Tools		**163**		**96.4**
	Hammer		1	
	Axe		7	
	File		4	
	Drill Bit		4	
	Fishing Hook/Weights		3	
	Log Chain		1	
	Wedge		1	
	Bucket/Pail Part		23	
	Bar Stock (Blacksmithing)		6	
	Other Blacksmithing		1	
	Slag		95	
	Other		10	
	Unidentified		2	
	Other Machinery		5	
Stone Tools		**2**		**1.2**
	Whetstone		2	
Plastic Tools		**2**		**1.2**
	Battery Part		2	
Total		**169**		**100**

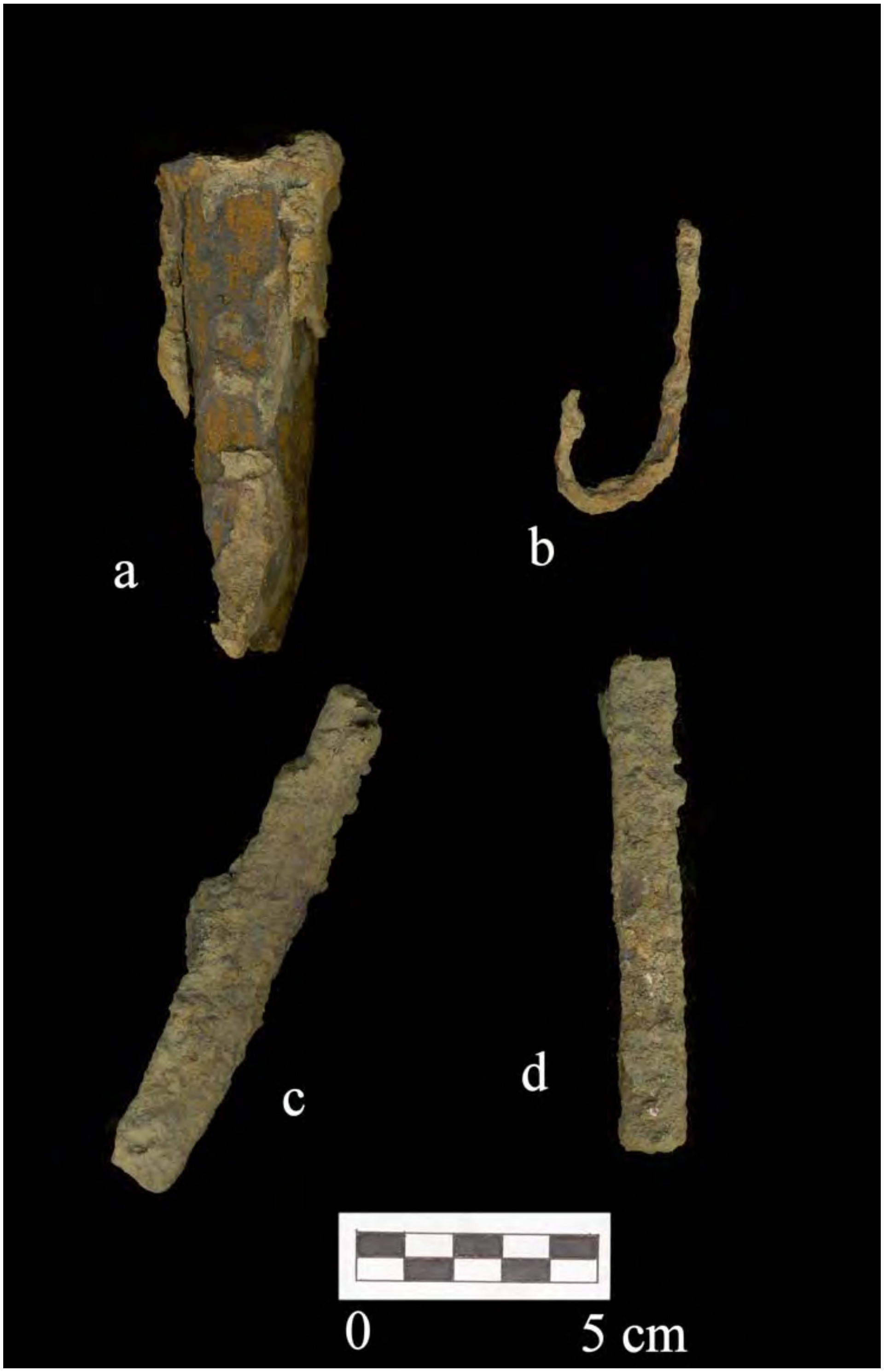


Figure 4.24. Job/Activity group artifacts: a) wedge; b) fish hook; c) metal tool; d) barstock (blacksmithing)

Plastic Tools

Two plastic battery parts were located. Notably, these items are not automobile battery parts, but part of some machinery.

Fuel Group

This category includes items such as coal, coal cinders, ash, and charcoal. Coal was adopted as a primary fuel in the mid- to late nineteenth century, prior to which firewood and charcoal were used both domestically and commercially as an energy source. A total of 1,882 fuel artifacts was recovered from the site, comprising 1.9% of the entire site assemblage. Of these, 1,256 were pieces of coal cinder, and 626 were pieces of coal.

Other Group

This category includes all materials that are not readily assignable to a major group or that are unidentifiable. Items in this category include, for example, unidentified rusted metal artifacts and fragments of synthetic materials such as plastic, etc. Other artifacts amounted to 5,744 or 5.9% of the entire site assemblage. Of these, the majority are metal (n = 4,669) followed by plastic (n = 611) and stone (n = 415), then ceramics (n = 15), biological (n = 22), and glass (n = 12). Most of the metal was irregular fragments of iron, lead, and brass which were beyond recognition and showed no signs of having been cut. Other stone artifacts consisted of mostly small pieces of sandstone and also gizzard stones. Ceramics and glass also consisted mostly of gizzard stones.

Summary

A total of 97,359 historic artifacts was recovered from 15McL137, a significantly large assemblage. The historic artifacts include a wide variety of functional groups. Although the range of goods found at this site does not differ greatly from historic households of the nineteenth century, the inordinate quantity of these artifacts suggests that the Baber Hotel served more than primarily a residential function. In particular, there is a considerably high quantity of selected items such as kitchen/dining items and personal items (i.e., smoking pipes, sewing artifacts, and gaming pieces). A significantly high quantity of glass tumblers, gaming pieces, and smoking pipes suggests that tavern activities did occur at the site. In addition, the large number of tumblers and evidence from both bottles and table glass recovered from the site revealed that whiskey, bitters, wine, cordials, and mixed drinks were all enjoyed by guests, another excellent indicator of tavern function. The large quantity and wide variety of tableware at the Baber Hotel suggests that hotel guests may have enjoyed lavish dining in which meats, vegetables, and condiments were arranged on the table in a prescribed manner according to Victorian ideals of segmented dining. The large variety and quantity of transfer print decorated whiteware also indicates that Baber may have been a member of the rising middle class or at least aspired towards this.

Overall, the diagnostic historic artifacts, particularly the ceramics and bottle glass, suggest that the primary domestic occupation of the site occurred from the early or middle nineteenth century to the late nineteenth century. As the Baber Hotel appears to have been in operation from about 1835 to ca. 1875, the majority of these artifacts fall well within this date range. Later dating artifacts like amethyst bottle glass are low in frequency and the lack of ca. 1890s-1930s ceramics suggests that the lot was not used for domestic purposes during this period. In addition, the presence of wire nails and early twentieth century bottle glass indicate that some twentieth century activities, including the occupation of an early twentieth century house site/complex on adjacent lot 14 and general dumping, took place on the site, but was concentrated more on lot 14.

Chapter Five

Results of the Field Investigations at the Baber Hotel

Introduction

This chapter describes the field methods used for the Phase III mitigation and the archaeological remains of the Baber Hotel. The hotel was located on a flood plain, occupying one complete town lot, lot 13, and a portion of lots 12 and 14 on the south side of Canal Street, and fronting onto the Green River. Figure 5.1 shows this lot area, plus part of lot 12, with the excavated units and shovel probes, and Figure 5.2 shows the features within the lot. Numerous features pertaining to Baber's hotel are described in this chapter. Many features provide either a functional or chronological context for the analysis and interpretation of artifacts presented in the following chapters, but several features were backfilled after their use, so their contents relate less to their function or period of use, but instead date their abandonment. Chronological assignments were based primarily on mean ceramic dates. Other diagnostic artifacts like container glass were used in combination with the mean ceramic dates as well, but ceramics have proven to be most accurate in most archaeological studies. Unfortunately nails were not a helpful method used in chronological assignment as the majority of these were poorly preserved, a result of the frequent flooding that has occurred in Rumsey. This chapter establishes the site structure during different periods of time, and provides a foundation for the analysis of the major cycles in the development of Rumsey, the Baber Hotel, and the life of a key player in its commercial activities—Charles Baber.

Field Methods

Phase III investigations were conducted by WSA intermittently from November 4, 1996, through November 21, 1997. The datum (N1000 E1000) used for the Phase II investigation was re-established and checked for accuracy with a laser transit. Unit and feature numbers were continued from the Phase II investigation. The Phase III fieldwork was a three stage approach which included shovel test probe (STPs) excavation, test unit excavation, and mechanical stripping of the plow zone followed by mapping and hand excavation of the exposed subsurface features.

STPs totaled 51 in number and measured 50 by 50 cm in size. All were excavated stratigraphically and screened with a dry 1/4" mesh. STPs were placed at 5 m intervals across the site and provided additional spatial information which helped direct Phase III test unit placement. Following STPs, 64 test units, mostly 1 by 1 m in size, were excavated where STPs uncovered a feature or where features seemed most likely to be located. Other unit dimensions varied and included: 50 cm by 1 m, 1 by 2 m, and 2 by 2 m. The project scope-of-work recommended 50 to 60 1m by 1 m test units followed by mechanical stripping of the plow zone (Zone 1) (Figure 5.3). This stripping was completed. When a feature was found, it was defined, photographed, and drawn in plan (Figure 5.4). It was then cross-sectioned and the first half removed and screened through a dry 1/4" mesh screen. Excavation of large features included separating the first 10 cm of upper

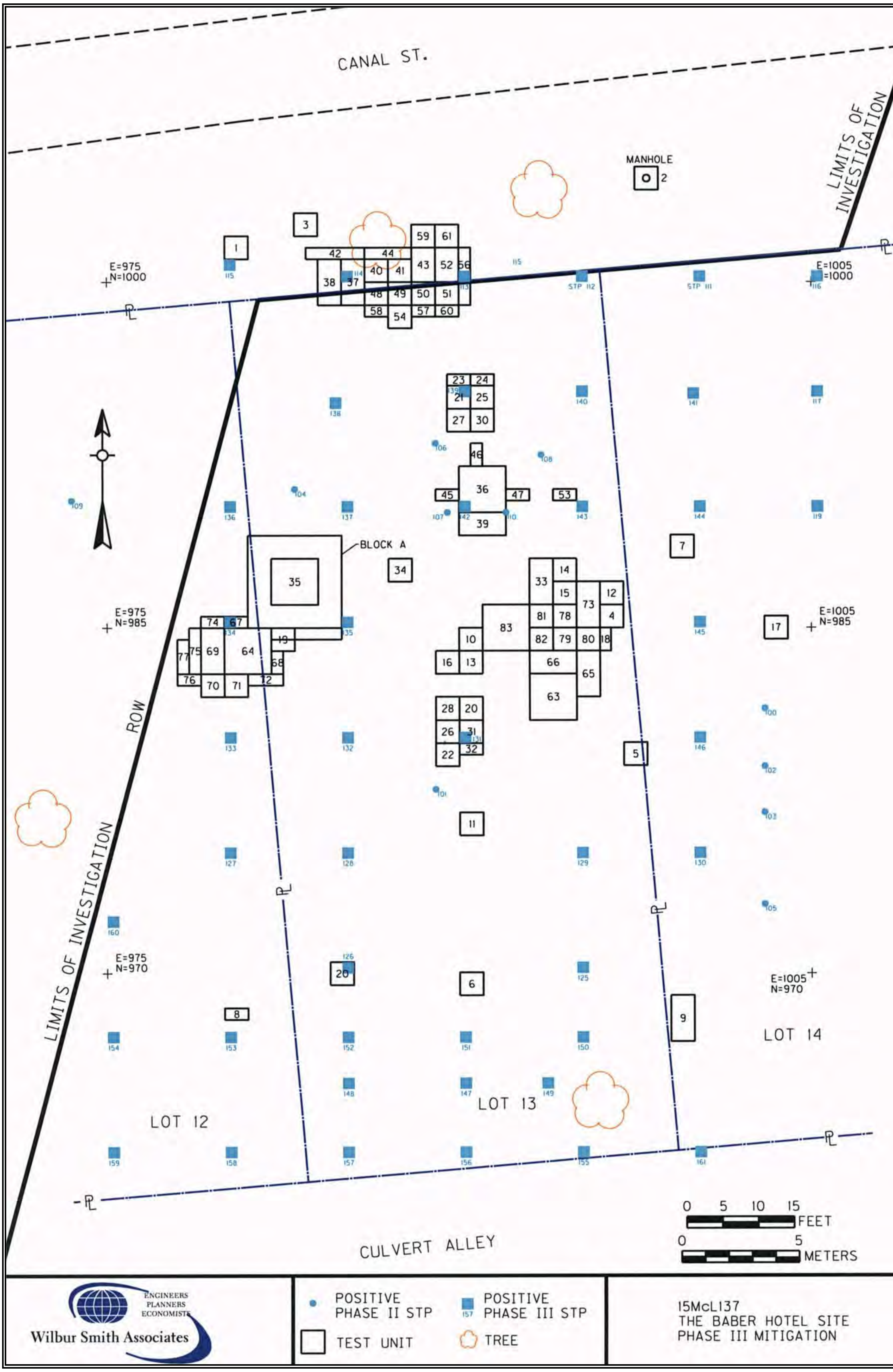


Figure 5.1. Test units and shovel probes at the Baber Hotel site

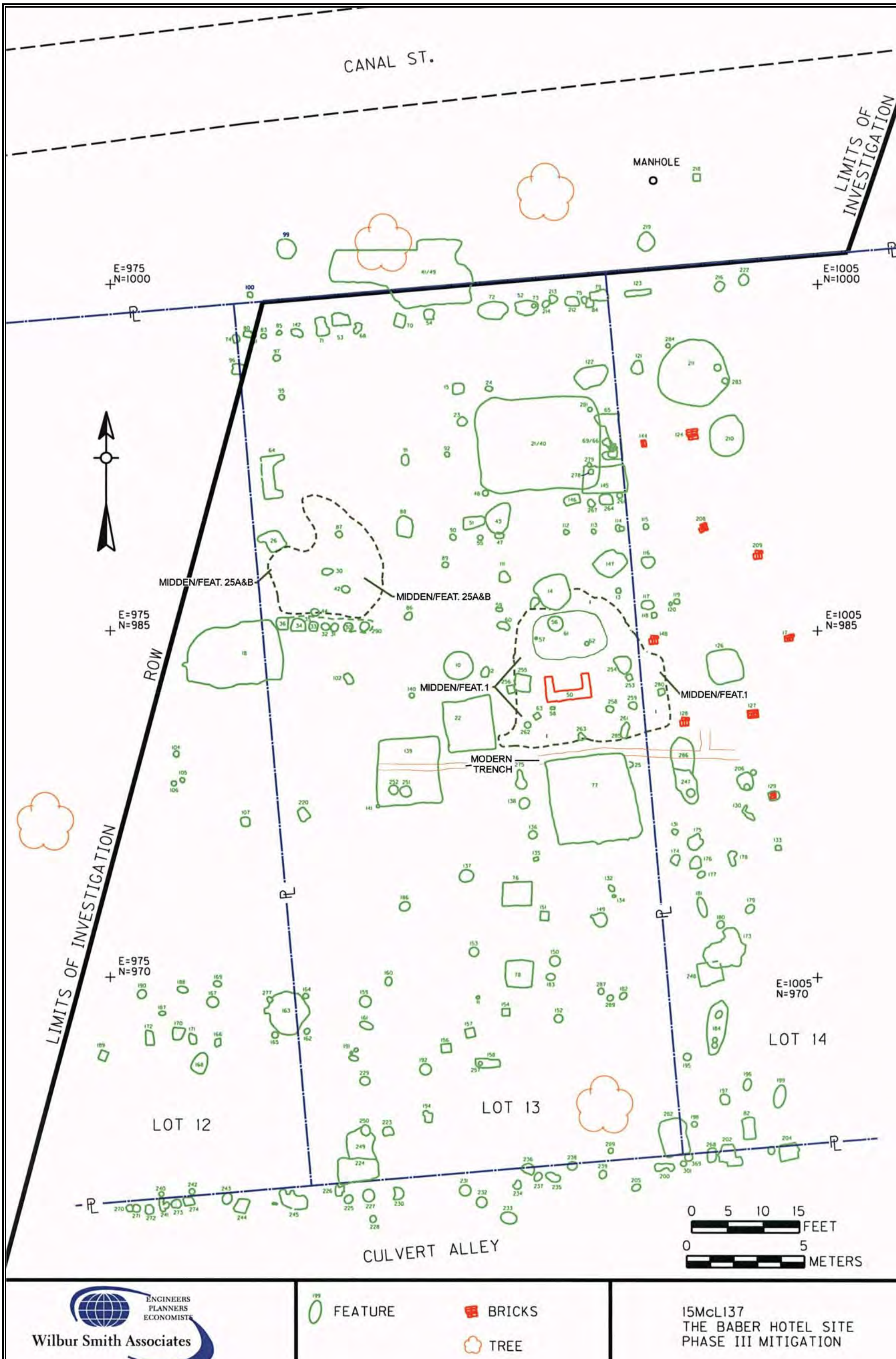


Figure 5.2. Features at the Baber Hotel site

Figure 5.3. Mechanical removal of the plowzone at Site 15McL137, looking southwest

Figure 5.4. Mapping a feature at Site 15McL137, looking north

fill as this was considered likely to be contaminated by site plowing. Notes were kept on all test units, shovel probes, and features, recording artifacts found, features observed and possible interpretations of them, and the general layout of the site. Also, a field diary was kept by the crew chief, documenting the activities each day. Flotation samples were collected in the field and submitted for flotation processing and analysis. Fieldwork was often hindered by frequent flooding, and fieldwork was suspended for over a month during the winter/spring of 1997 (Figures 5.5 and 5.6).

Since the site was excavated in two phases, Phase II and III, and some features were discovered and excavated in Phase II, a brief review of these previous investigations is presented. Complete descriptions are given in McBride and Fenton (1996).

Previous Archaeological Investigations

The Baber Hotel Site was located as part of a Phase I survey of a 0.93 km-long corridor conducted by Wilbur Smith Associates in 1994 for the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet. The survey was conducted as part of an environmental assessment for the proposed replacement of the KY 81 Bridge over the Green River and resulted in the discovery of two archaeological sites, 15McL137 and 15McL138.

Site 15McL137 was shovel tested at 20 m intervals, and a small surface collection was made of an exposed garden area. No standing structures or above ground surface features relating to the occupation were discovered by the survey. Site dimensions were estimated to be 3,600 m^2 and to be focused on two town lots. Analysis of stratigraphy and context for this cultural assemblage suggested that an intact buried midden associated with an antebellum occupation was present at the site. Archaeological research indicated that this occupation was associated with a hotel or tavern, referred to in various documents of the era. WSA recommended that this site was potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and that additional work should be conducted at the site.

Phase II testing was undertaken by WSA from July 31 to August 4 and from September 11 - 26, 1995. A datum (N1000 E1000) was established, with the use of a laser transit, in the northeastern corner of the site, and a 10 m grid was then laid out. The Phase II investigation consisted of hand excavation of nineteen 1 m by 1 m test units and ten .30 m by .30 m shovel test probes (STPs) (Figure 5.1). In all, 11 subsurface cultural features were identified. These include two post hole/molds (Features 2 and 13), one midden (Feature 1), three refuse pits or cellars (Features 14, 17, and 18), one well or privy (Feature 10), one brick pier (Feature 16), one possible pit (Feature 12), one pipe trench (Feature 3), and one man-hole/drain. Features 4 - 9, 15, and 19 were not assigned numbers and Feature 11 was a natural stain (rodent hole). A total of 17,443 historic and 277 prehistoric artifacts was recovered from site 15McL137.


Figure 5.5. Flood approaching Site 15McL137, looking west


Figure 5.6. Flooding over entire site, looking west

The midden (Feature 1) and one of the refuse pits (Feature 14) dated to the antebellum period, and the well or privy (Feature 10) was dated ca. 1850 - 1875. All of the refuse pit features were first visible at the base of the upper or lower plowzone (Zones IA or IB). Feature 1 was a very irregularly shaped midden deposit that extended from the Units 4-12-18 block to the Units 14-15 block, which made it at least two meters long, more than 80 cm wide, and 10 cm to 25 cm thick. The soils consisted of mottled brown to yellowish brown silt, charcoal, rocks, and abundant artifacts. This feature was interpreted initially as a cellar or a backfilled erosional ditch, although it is now considered to be a midden deposit.

Features 14 and 18 were both more typical oval to rectangular pit-cellar features. These features were each only partially exposed in the units during Phase II. Feature 14 was at least 137 cm long, 41 cm wide, and 29 cm deep. Artifacts recovered from this feature dated to the antebellum period. Feature 18 was 1 m long by at least 30 cm wide and at least 40 cm deep. Both of these features had a brown to yellowish brown silt fill with some charcoal flecking. Feature 17 was also only partially exposed and was 68 cm long, at least 1 m wide, and at least 30 cm deep. Feature 17 had a brownish yellow clay cap over the main silt fill. Upon excavation, it became clear that it was a modern disturbance. Modern beer bottle glass and cigarette filters were recovered from a mostly brick- and mortar-filled deposit.

The deepest feature encountered was Feature 10, which was thought to have been used as either a well or a privy and was filled with stratified deposits (McBride and Fenton 1996). This feature was circular, 145 cm in diameter, and was excavated to 195 cm below surface. The base was not reached during Phase II. The feature fill included a 25 cm, very dark grayish brown silt, cinders, and ash zone overlying a mottled dark grayish brown and light brown silt zone, which was overlying a zone of bricks and brown silt. Under the brick zone were three zones of dark brown, to dark grayish brown to mottled gray brown and light gray silt, with the middle dark brown zone being the thickest (85 cm). Artifacts recovered from this feature include creamware, pearlware, and early whiteware.

The post molds/holes included one small (20 by 30 by 25 cm) post mold (Feature 2) and one larger (45 by 40 by 31 cm) square post hole (Feature 13) with a round, softer, possible mold in its center. These posts were both thought to be associated with fences. The only feature located during Phase II which was definitely associated with a building was the brick pier (Feature 16). This feature consisted of two courses of brick, four bricks wide. The bricks were machine-pressed and bonded with mortar and were considered to date to the twentieth century.

Other features identified include the pipe trench (Feature 3) which was 20 cm wide and 35 cm deep, a plow scar originally thought to be a trench or pit (Feature 12) which was 15 cm wide, 52 cm long, and 20 cm deep, and a concrete man hole or drain. All of these features originated at the base of Zone 1 except Feature 3, which began at the base of Zone 1B - Unit 5.

Archival research indicated that the cultural material dating between about 1830 to 1870 were deposited there during the building and occupation of the Baber Hotel. The majority of the artifacts from the plow zone and sub-plow zone deposits, particularly in the central portion of the site, dated from the middle nineteenth century. Later artifacts consisted primarily of bottle glass and wire nails, which were thought to have resulted from refuse disposal from adjacent lots during later occupations. Some of the debris may have come from at least one twentieth century outbuilding that was considered to have been on the site.

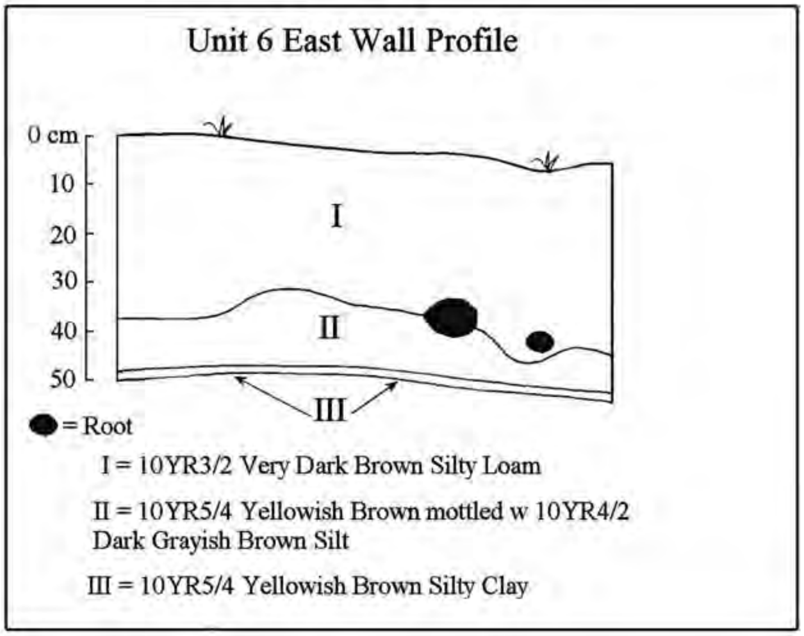
Because of the site's integrity of strata and abundant features with artifacts from the antebellum era, some of which appeared to date to the founding of Rumsey, the site was considered to contain important scientific data that could not be recovered elsewhere, and which would be destroyed by the proposed bridge construction. For these reasons, further research was recommended.

Shovel Test Probe and Unit Excavation

With the exception of the extreme northern portion of the site, cultivation is evident at site 15McL137. Plowscars were noted at the base of Zone 1 in most units. Local informant Andrew Vandiver, whose family owned the property at the time of the Phase III investigation, informed us that the area where site 15McL137 is located had much brick rubble on the surface. In order to create a garden, a bulldozer was used to bury the brick in the eastern portion of lot 14, and the area was plowed up and has been tilled every year. The initial plowing was conducted around 1985 (Personal Communication, A. Vandiver to Tracey Sandefur, November 1996).

With this in mind, one of the key elements of the mitigation plan was to assess if the site had preserved, stratigraphically discrete yard refuse that could be used to address a number of research questions relating to the use of the land, the orientation of the house(s) and the activities that occurred within the surrounding area of an antebellum hotel. Initial shovel probes (50 cm by 50 cm) provided an excellent source of artifact sampling and, with coverage over a 5 m interval grid, allowed for a better understanding of artifact distribution across the site.

Overall, soil strata was continuous across the site with the exception of two midden areas, Feature 1 in the eastern portion of the site and Feature 25 in the west central portion of the site, with both occurring beneath the plow zone. The Phase III study confirmed the stratigraphy identified in Phase II, with the exception of a divided Zone 1 (1a and 1b). Phase II investigations had recorded Zones 1a and 1b in the eastern portion of the site. In the Phase III investigation Zone 1 was generally one deposit. Local environmental conditions during the Phase III investigation differed from the Phase II investigations with water saturation occurring throughout most of the latter excavation period. (The site was flooded in 1998). In general, Zone I was a dark brown (10YR3/3) to very dark brown (10YR3/2) silty loam which originated at surface and extended to between 20 cm and 35 cm below surface (Figures 5.7 and 5.8). In the back of lots 13 and 14, where mid 20th century dumping has occurred, Zone 1 was a black 10YR2/1 silt loam with cinders and coal. In most areas of the site, Zone 1 was a plow zone.



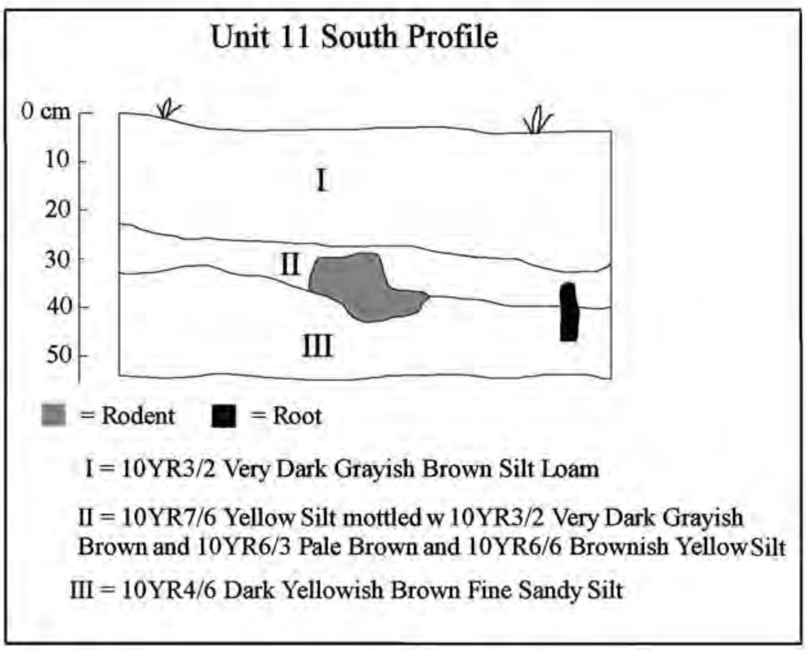
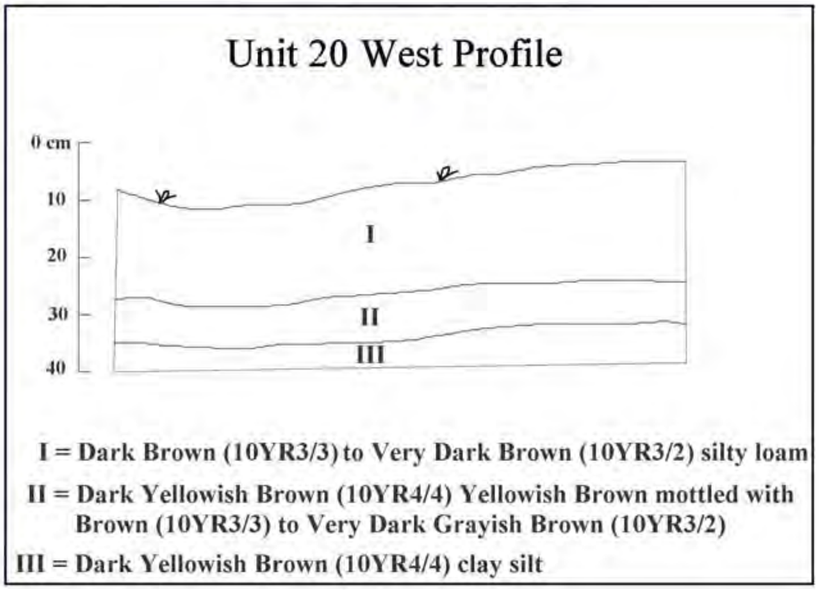


Figure 5.7. Soil profiles from 15McL137, Units 6 and 11



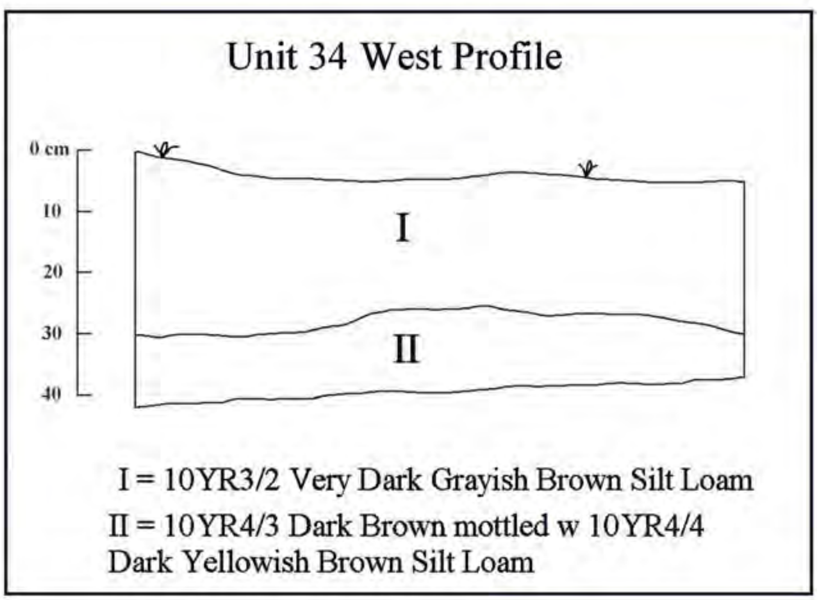


Figure 5.8. Soil profiles from 15McL137, Units 20 and 34

Zone 2 was a transitional lens which extended 10 cm to 20 cm below the base of Zone 1, contained nineteenth century artifacts and was generally a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty loam which was sometimes mottled with a brown (10YR3/3) to very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silty loam. In a portion of the west central area and a portion of the eastern area of the site, where middens were defined, Zone 2 was absent. In the southwestern corner of the site, where elevation begins to drop off, Zone 2 was relatively thin. Zone 3 underlies Zone 2 and was a sterile subsoil which is generally a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) to dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4 to 4/6) clayey silt.

A large assemblage of nineteenth century and some twentieth century artifacts were recovered from Zones 1 and 2 in the shovel test probes across the site, but overwhelmingly more were recovered from Zone 1. A table in Appendix C shows all artifacts recovered from STPs at the site. The presence of a larger number of early to middle nineteenth century artifacts from Zones 1 and 2 (late decorated pearlware and early decorated whiteware and late cut nails) confirmed the possibility of a post 1830 occupation at the site. Figures 5.9 and 5.10 show the architectural and kitchen artifacts recovered from STPs at the site.

Architectural remains (Figure 5.9) in general show an idea of the location of more than one structure and/or possible refuse area that results from the disposal of architectural debris after replacement and/or dismantling of structures. A total of 2,679 architectural artifacts was recovered from STPs (Appendix C). These include flat glass, a wrought nail, late cut nails, mostly unspecified cut nails and unidentifiable nails, wire nails, mortar, and brick. Of these, there were 1,217 nails, most of which (n = 994) were unidentifiable.

The greatest number of late cut nails (Figure 5.11) was recovered from STP 145 (n = 14), located just east of the Baber kitchen (Figure 5.2). STP 131, located just west of the kitchen, also contained a high frequency of late cut nails (n = 11). The heavier concentration of late cut nails continued across the midden area, Feature 1, where the detached kitchen was located. There were also high quantities of late cut nails around the main hotel structure, especially within the east half and the southwestern addition. While the presence of some of the nails in the east half of the main house could be the result of the plowed upper portion of the cellar (Feature 21/40), their presence in the southwestern addition area may be the result of its construction and/or maintenance. Another concentration of late cut nails was located towards the back of lot 14. With no evidence of a structure in this area, these nails may have been redeposited as discard. Not surprisingly, significantly fewer late cut nails were recovered from the front of the main house structure. What few late cut nail fragments are present around the main house structure were probably lost during construction or maintenance.

A figure of the wire nails recovered during the excavation reveals something very different from what the late cut nails reveal. Looking at Figure 5.12, there were three concentrations of wire nails and only one located within lot 13. The largest of the three concentrations was located in lot 14 and encompassed most of the later-dating structure. The second concentration of wire nails was

Architectural Group

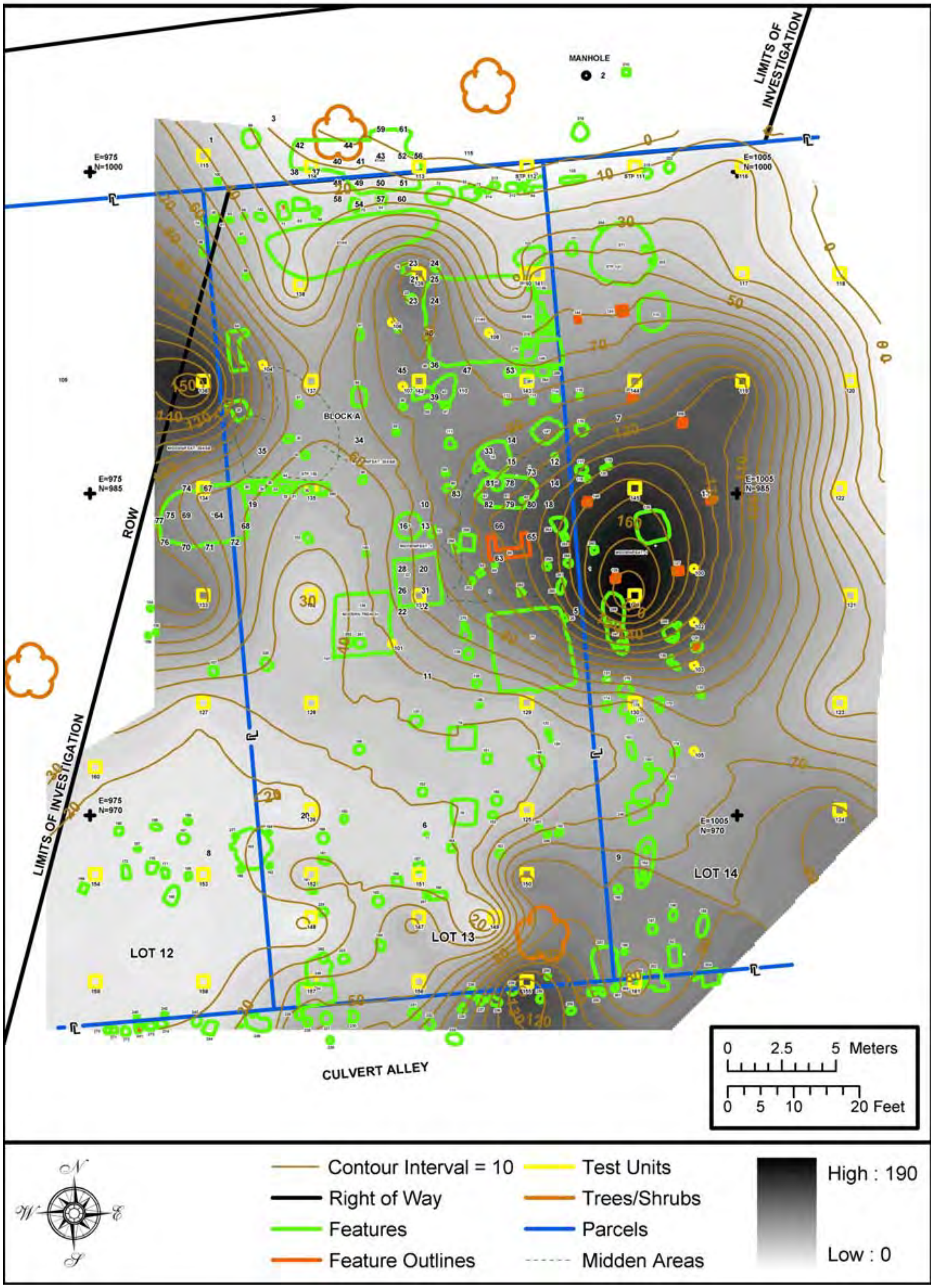


Figure 5.9. Distribution of architectural artifacts from STPs

Kitchen Group

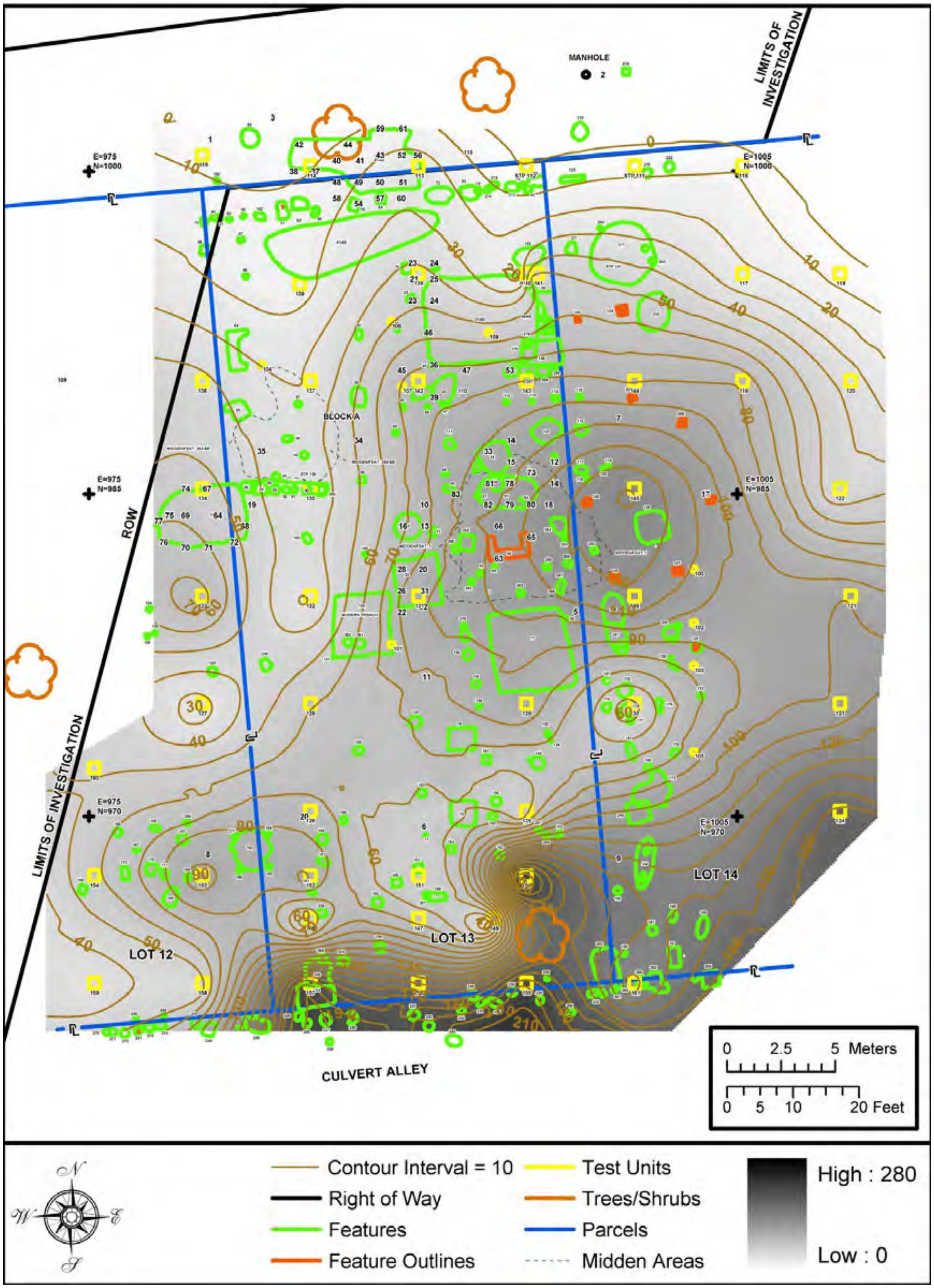


Figure 5.10. Distribution of kitchen artifacts from STPs

Late Cut Nails

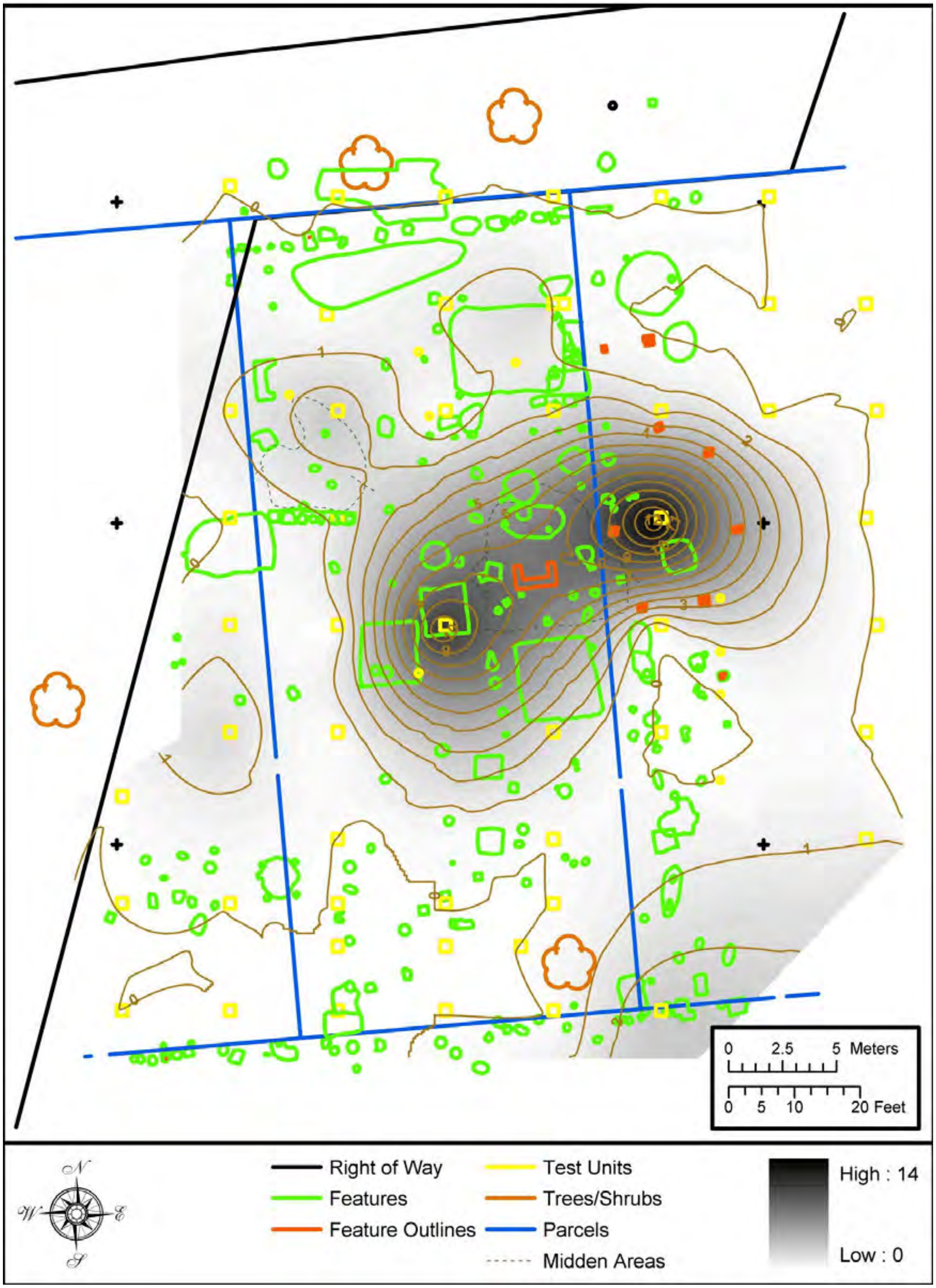


Figure 5.11. Distribution of late cut nails from STPs

Wire Nails

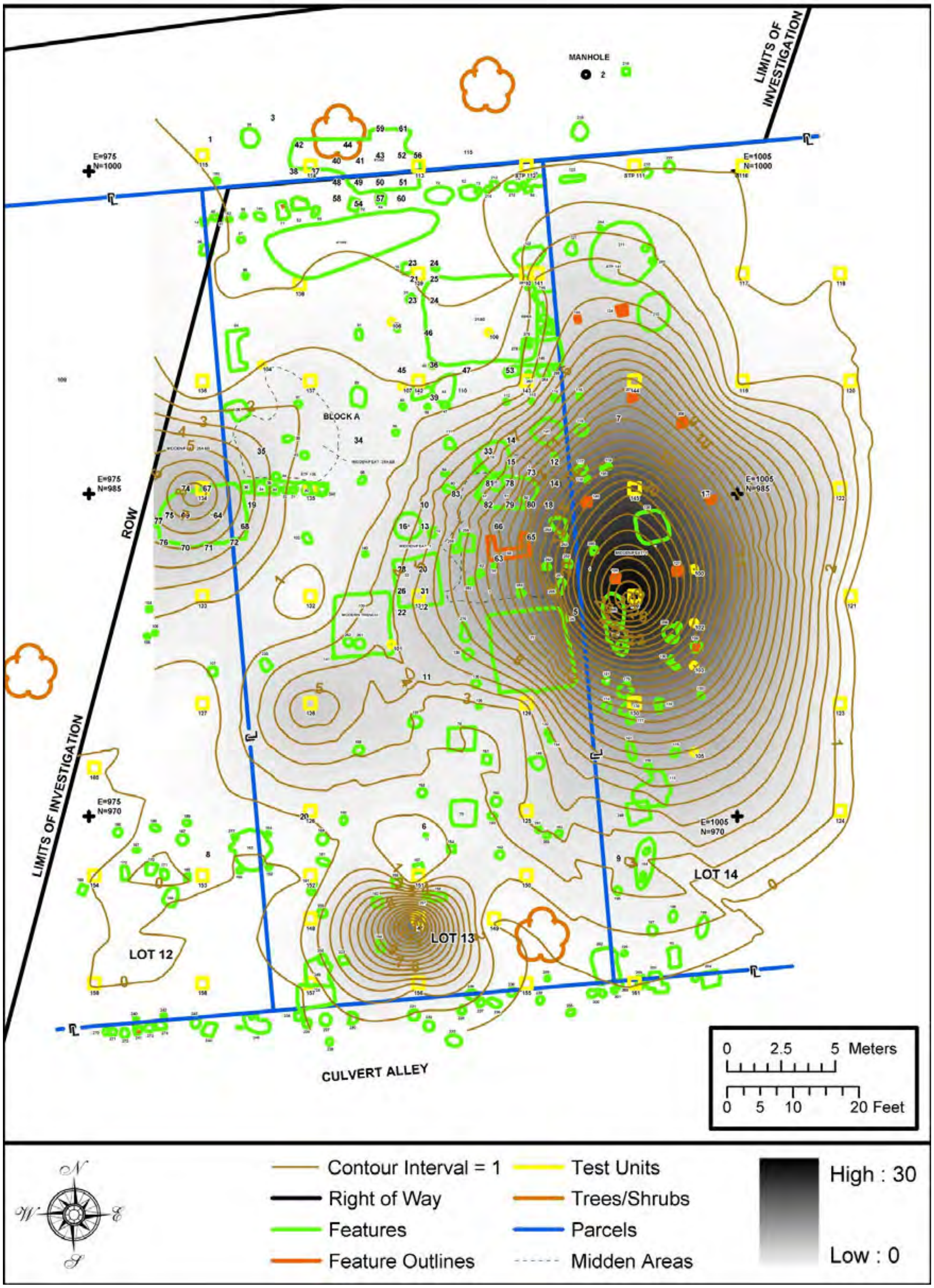


Figure 5.12. Distribution of wire nails from STPs

from an STP in lot 12 and above Feature 18, a cellar that postdates the Baber occupation. These wire nails are likely the result of the top of Feature 18 having been plowed. The last concentration of wire nails was located towards the back of lot 13, where there may have been an outbuilding or refuse disposal area.

Kitchen artifacts were scattered almost evenly across the site, with a concentration across the Feature 1 midden area and a larger concentration towards the back of lots 13 and 14 (Figure 5.10). Upon closer observation, it was found that much of this concentration is due to early twentieth century dumping, particularly machine-made glass (Figure 5.13).

Clearly, the STPs were very useful in separating the early to middle nineteenth century artifacts from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century material. Of the 51 STPs excavated across the right of way, seven probes encountered cultural features, all but one of which dated from the nineteenth century. These features were all located in the northern half of lot 13. The information gleaned from the STPs then provided a guide in the placement of the hand units, which numbered 64 in all. Besides the need to further investigate where features might be located, STPs revealed a nineteenth century concentration of architectural, kitchen, and other functional categories indicative of a residence within the central and northern portion of lot 13. As a result, larger unit excavation was initiated to further explore this pattern. The somewhat high number of units placed within the lot also provided a large enough sample of artifacts to provide evidence of the residence functioning as a hotel. The Baber Hotel was occupied as a domestic residence, so changes in houselot usage, placement of structures associated with a domestic residence (i.e., cellar(s), refuse pit(s), etc.) and activity areas (i.e., dumping areas, food preparation, etc.) associated with the domestic habitation were possible.

To this end, a block of units was placed over both of the midden areas (Feature 1 and Feature 25), three cellars (Features 18, 21/40, and 22), and a brick walk (Feature 41/49). The units located over the midden areas revealed that most of the Feature 1 and Feature 25 middens retained their nineteenth century artifacts with only some disturbance from the plow zone. All historic artifacts recovered from units are listed in Appendix C. This assemblage includes a wide variety of domestic activities and tavern related activities. Architectural artifacts were also recovered in large quantity, particularly in Units 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 35, 36, 39, 63-66, 69, 73, and 83, and suggest the presence of buildings.

The stratigraphy of the site units followed the patterns detailed above for the STPs. The only differences were two utility trenches associated with modern residences on either side of lot 13. These were encountered within the block of units overlying Feature 41/49 and the block of units overlying Feature 22. The soil from the disturbance was excavated and screened separately. The artifacts recovered form these areas were few in number and were mixed with both nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts.

Once hand units were completed, the site was stripped of top soil, and the exposed features mapped and excavated. It became clear during this process that some features associated with a

Machine Manufactured Bottles and Jars

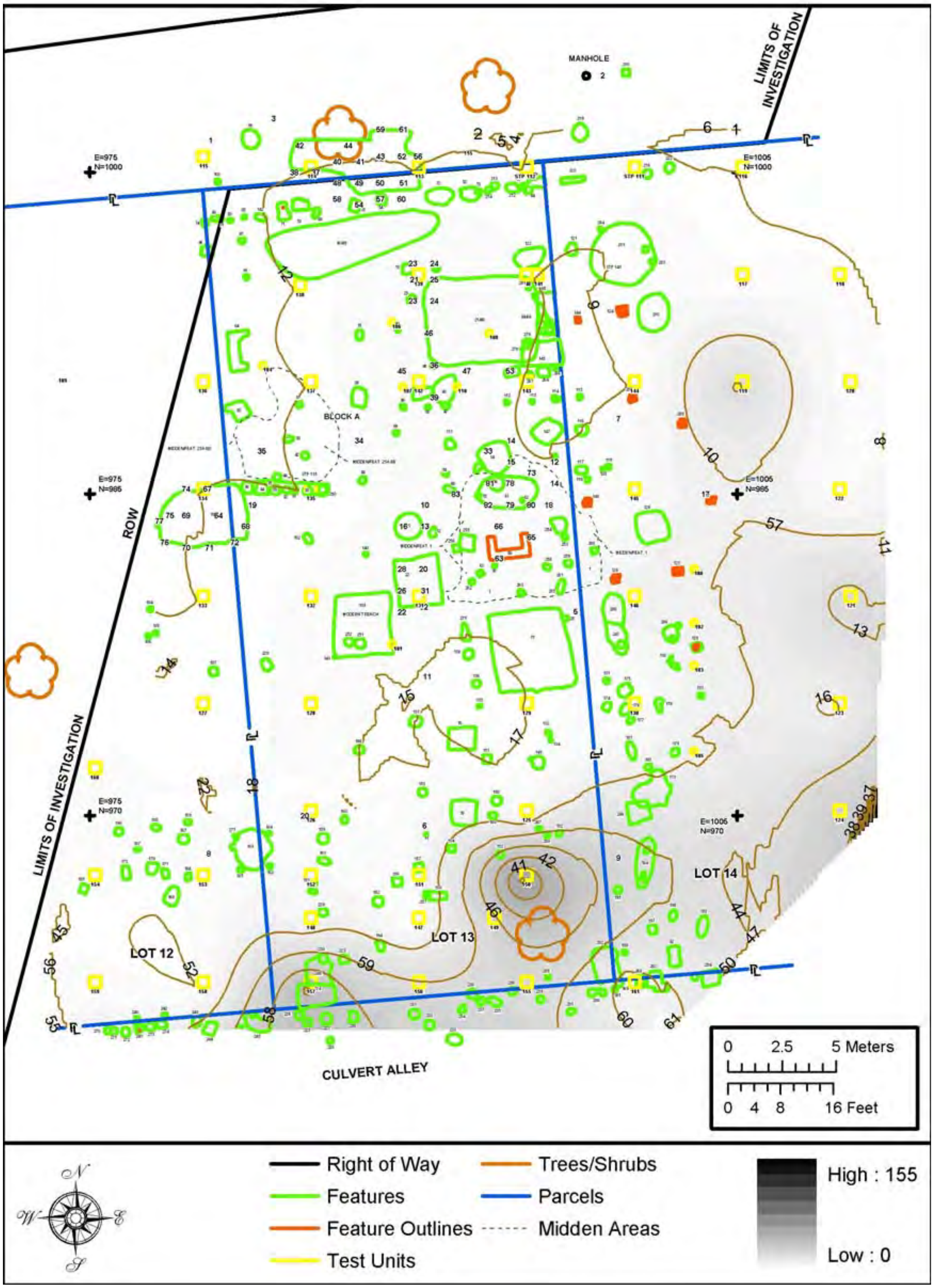


Figure 5.13. Distribution of machine-made bottles

large structure fronting onto the river appeared as a cluster around what was interpreted as the main hotel/house building.

Features at the Baber Hotel

The features identified at the Baber site are the most important source of information about the site's archaeological contexts. While hand-excavated units furnished information to assist the excavation, only features preserve individual contexts relating to their use. Phase II testing resulted in the discovery and documentation of 11 features. Many more features were found during the Phase III study, for a site total of 244 features. Although feature numbers were assigned up to number 290, several features were non-cultural (rodents, roots, etc.) and some numbers were not assigned to a feature. Figure 5.2 shows all of these features from both phases of the study. Fifty new features were discovered during the Phase III hand excavation of test units and STPs. After the site was stripped, the remaining features were exposed. Important feature types documented at the site include 185 post molds/holes, ten brick piers, two partially robbed stone piers, eight robbed pier holes, one brick chimney, two robbed chimney holes, one brick walk or patio, six cellars, one cellar bulkhead, two middens, five refuse pits, eight privy vaults, one well, two possible cisterns, one cement drain, six shallow depressions, and two mortar concentrations. These features are the primary, in situ context for the analysis of the artifact assemblage of the Baber Hotel, and form the focused discussion of the remainder of this chapter.

Site Structure, Organization, and Feature Association

Excavation of post holes/molds, pier holes, piers, and chimneys revealed evidence of at least three buildings and possibly several outbuildings (i.e., privies, cellars). These include the main hotel/house structure, which is demarcated by the two robbed and backfilled chimney holes (Features 64 and 65), a large cellar (Feature 21/40) with a bulkhead (Feature 145), seven probable robbed pier holes (Features 26, 43, 51, 88, 91, 122, and 146), two partially robbed stone piers (Features 15 and 264), and one brick pier (Feature 23). These features suggest that the hotel was 50 ft long and 20 ft wide. Artifacts in the robbed chimney holes, pier holes, and cellars suggest that the hotel was gone by the turn of the century or shortly after.

Four large post molds/holes (Features 111, 147, 254, and 255) and a brick chimney (Feature 50) identify an outbuilding, probable kitchen, to the south of the hotel/house. This structure was about 15 by 15 ft in size. Artifacts in the post molds/holes and chimney builder's trench indicate that this building was built in the 1830s-1840s. A cellar (Feature 61) and a refuse pit (Feature 14) were found within the limits of this structure and may predate the kitchen or may be contemporaneous with the early use period of it.

The large number of refuse-filled cellars, privies, cisterns, and trash pits was unexpected, but exciting because these features provided long-term temporal control and locational information to investigate questions of yard use, consumption patterns, and tavern behavior. Cellars were defined as large, rectangular, deep, straight-sided pits. Only Feature 139 had evidence of a stone lining with a brick floor. Of the six cellars, one (Feature 61) was filled by the 1840s, one (Feature 77) was filled in by the late 1840s or shortly after, one (Feature 22) was filled by the 1860s, one (Feature 139) was filled in by the end of the Baber occupation or shortly after (ca. 1870s), and one (Feature 18) was filled in by the 1910s. Feature 18 appears to date to a later occupation. The main house cellar, Feature 21/40, was filled in two episodes, one in the late nineteenth century and again in the early twentieth century. Its original bulkhead entrance (Feature 145) also appears to have been filled in two episodes, by the late 1840s or early 1850s, and again by the early twentieth century.

One of the refuse pits, Feature 14, was filled in by the 1840s or possibly earlier. The second refuse pit, Feature 126, was filled in during the 1850s or 1860s, and the third pit, Feature 286, was filled in around the mid 1860s. All three of these pits were filled with a dense quantity of kitchen refuse.

Most of the privy vaults, total number eight, were defined as rather deep (50cm+) and usually rectangular pits. These were filled over a wide ranging period of time. Four privy vaults (Features 163, 173, 224, and 249) date to the Baber occupation. The remaining four privy vaults postdate the Baber occupation and consist of Features 76 and 158 that were filled in during the 1920s to 1930s, and Features 78 and 282 that were filled in during the middle twentieth century. All of these privies were filled with a moderate to dense amount of kitchen and architectural refuse. Only one privy, Feature 163, had clear structural evidence of an overlying building with a post at each corner.

The two probable cisterns, Features 210 and 211, were identified by their round shape and location adjacent to the house. Both cisterns appear to have been filled in by the 1840s, suggesting both were used at the same time. These cisterns had a moderate amount of kitchen and architectural refuse.

The well, Feature 10, was about 5 m deep and showed no evidence of lining except for some possible wooden cribbing at its base. The well appears to have been filled in during the 1860s or 1870s. The upper levels of the well contained a moderate amount of refuse, while its middle and lower portions were sterile.

There were two middens (Features 1 and 25). Feature 1 was a widespread ash midden. This midden ranged from 10 to 30 cm thick and was found under and behind the kitchen, spanning the length of the Baber occupation from the 1830s to the 1860s. Feature 25 was a very thin and smaller midden and was located under what appears to be a southwest addition to the back of the main house. It may have been used from the 1830s to the 1850s.

The most enigmatic structure consists of nine brick piers (Features 16, 124, 127, 128, 129, 144, 148, 208, and 209) which are located along the eastern edge of the stripped area. These piers do not create an easily determinable pattern and may relate to multiple buildings. All are of machine-pressed bricks with "Portland Cement" mortar, so they date well into the twentieth century and likely postdate the main occupation of this site. Although this later occupation was not part of the key investigation, the construction of the later-dating house and features and their demolition has affected some of the features at the Baber site.

Finally, an examination of the post molds/holes indicates that there were at least four fence lines. Two were east-west lines across the northern and the southern ends of the site and two were parallel north-south running lines. The two east-west lines appear to be fence lines marking the northern and southern property boundaries and that postdate the Baber occupation. But some of the posts within the two north-south lines may show evidence of outbuildings running behind the kitchen. A more detailed description of the Baber Hotel features with illustrations, their chronology, their association with other features, and their function follows.

Main Baber House

The Baber house fronted onto Canal Street, facing north toward the Green river. The house is demarcated by two robbed chimney holes (Features 64 and 65), a large cellar (Feature 21/40) with a bulkhead (Feature 145), seven probable pier holes (Features 26, 43, 51, 88, 91, 122, and 146), two stone piers (Features 15 and 264), and one small brick pier (Feature 15). In addition, several posts may be associated with both the cellar (Features 24 , 48, and 281) and bulkhead (Features 266, 267, and 279) as well as partition posts for the main structure itself (Features 92 and 95) (Figures 5.2 and 5.14). Table 5.1 shows a list of these features and their function. Table 5.2 shows all of the features associated with the main house building and artifacts recovered from them. Each of these features is described below.

Features 64 and 65 (chimney holes)

Perhaps the most obvious markers for the house structure were the two chimney features (Features 64 and 65). Both chimneys were identical in appearance, opened and faced each other, and were just within the east and west limits of lot 13. Each chimney hole was located on what would have been the gable ends of the main house. The identical size and the nearly opposite location of these chimney holes may suggest that the main house structure was built at one time, but unfortunately we cannot be sure. Interestingly, there are several reasons to suggest that it may have been built at separate periods. More of this theory will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Features 64 and 65 were encountered during the mechanical removal of Zone I and were drawn in plan and bisected into halves. Both chimneys for the hotel/house structure were shallow, C-shaped, and oriented slightly northwest-southeast (Figures 5.2, 5.15 - 5.18). Feature 64 extended only 12 cm deep below the scraped surface, while Feature 65 was slightly deeper, extending to 21 cm below the surface. Dimensions of the two chimney holes were similar, measuring 6 feet (1.85 m) in length by 3 feet (1 m) in width. Both chimney holes were distinctive in that the bases were composed of rubble and soil. Upon excavation, it was found that the chimney bases had probably been robbed, leaving the foundation rubble/soil fill or backfilled with the remnants of rubble (broken bricks, mortar, rocks, and a few artifacts) and soil. Much of the rubble was also used for fill in several other large features like the upper fill layer of Feature 21/40, a large cellar underneath the eastern half of the Baber house. As the date of this matrix is between about 1900 and 1910, it reflects a filling episode well after the property was abandoned (ca. 1875). This early twentieth century material probably is the result of a house built on the adjacent lot to the east (lot 14). Some

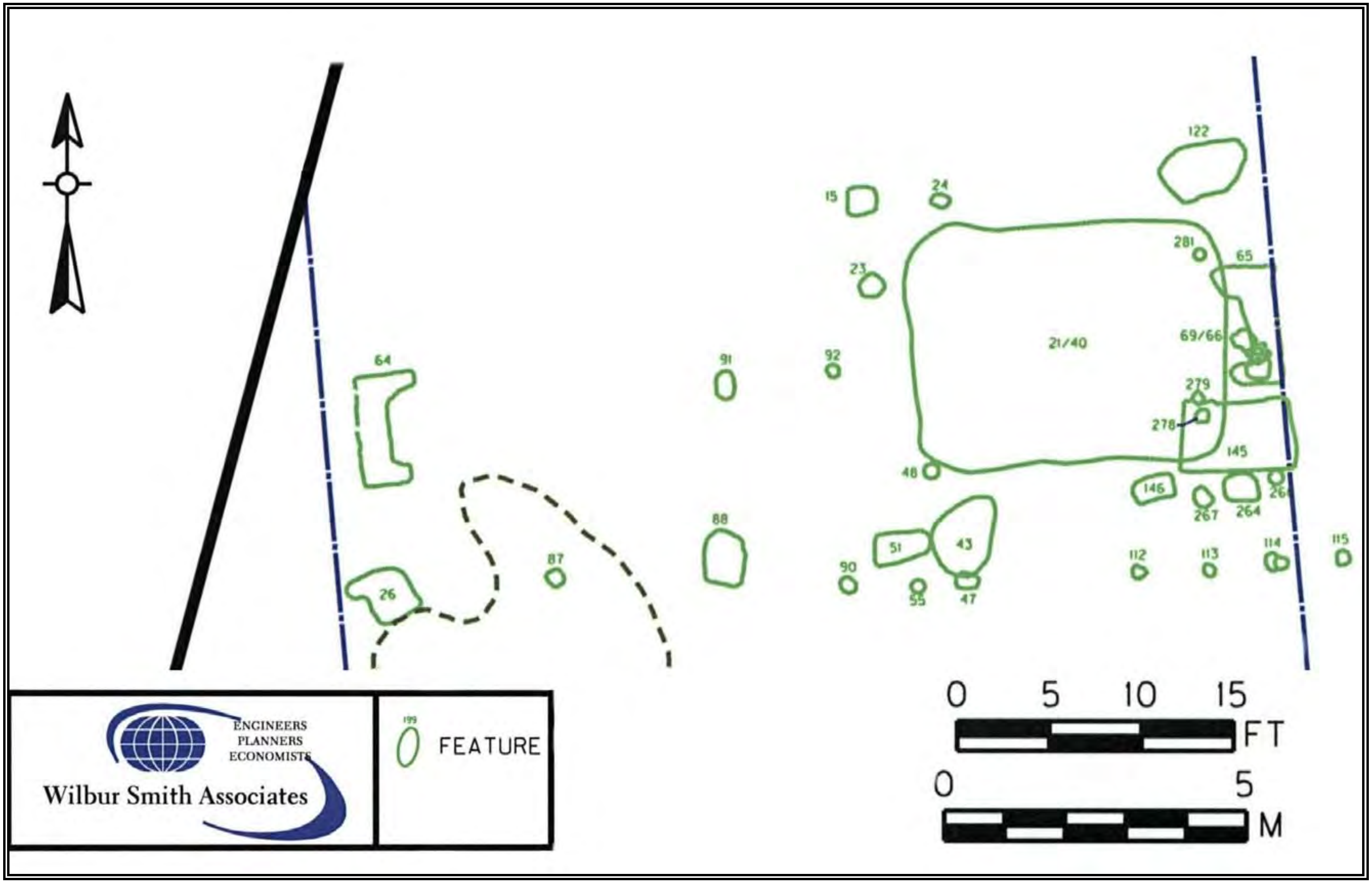


Figure 5.14. Baber house and plan view

Table 5.1. Features Associated with the Main House Structure

Feature	**Type**
64	Robbed Chimney Hole
65	Robbed Chimney Hole
21/40	Cellar
145	Bulkhead to Cellar (Feature 21/40)
15	Partial Stone Pier
264	Partial Stone Pier
23	Brick Pier
26	Robbed Pier Hole
43	Robbed Pier Hole
88	Robbed Pier Hole
91	Robbed Pier Hole
122	Robbed Pier Hole
146	Robbed Pier Hole
24	Post Hole (Post associated w/Feature 21/40)
48	Post Hole (Post associated w/Feature 21/40)
281	Post Hole (Post associated w/Feature 21/40)
87	Post Hole
92	Post Hole
95	Post Hole
266	Post Hole for Feature 145
267	Post Hole for Feature 145
279	Post Hole for Feature 145

Table 5.2. Artifacts from Features that Comprise the Baber House Structure

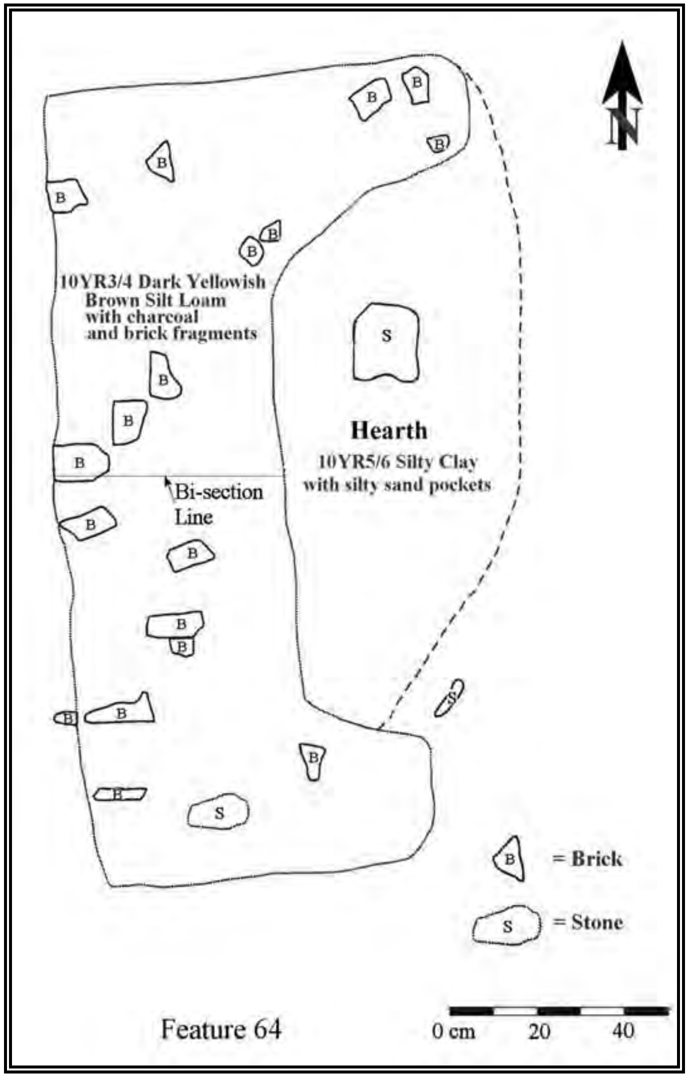
	Chimney		Cellar	Bulk head	Partial Piers		Brick Pier	Robbed Pier Holes						Posts								
Feature	**64**	**65**	**40**	**145**	**15**	**264**	**23**	**26**	**43**	**88**	**91**	**122**	**146**	**24**	**48**	**87**	**92**	**95**	**266**	**267**	**279**	**281**
Kitchen																						
Soft Paste Porcelain			16	6					3													
Hard Paste Porcelain			24	3					2			1							1		1	
Creamware			2																			
Pearlware		1	163	18					9													
Whiteware	8		585	214		8		8	34			19	1	4	2	3				1		
Ironstone			26						4			4										
Refined Redware			6	3																		
Coarse Redware			1																			
Yellow ware			4	8		5			6													
Stoneware			21	4		1			1													
Unidentifiable Refined Earthenware			17	5		1			1			1										
Iron Hollow ware			316						1													
Container Glass	7	7	765	323		7		6	113	4		21	6	1					2	1	1	1
Burned/Melted Unidentifiable Glass	2	2	206	18		1						1										
Table Glass	5		103	40		1		1	6					1								
Unid Glass	2	4	98	27		8			16	1		3										1

Table 5.2. Artifacts from Features that Comprise the Baber House Structure

	Chimney		Cellar	Bulk head	Partial Piers		Brick Pier	Robbed Pier Holes						Posts								
Feature	**64**	**65**	**40**	**145**	**15**	**264**	**23**	**26**	**43**	**88**	**91**	**122**	**146**	**24**	**48**	**87**	**92**	**95**	**266**	**267**	**279**	**281**
Other Kitchen			128	4				1														
Total Kitchen	24	14	2481	673		32		16	196	5		50	7	6	2	3			3	2	2	2
Architecture																						
Brick	146	31	144	12		4		1		2		7	4						3	1	12	1
Flat Glass	51	19	1637	1185		25		25	113	2		8	5	5	1	2			1	1	4	3
Cut Nail Unspecified	12	2	44	7				4	2	5		4				3						
Late Cut Nail	17	1	36	4				9	4	16												
Other Metal Hardware	1		21	3					4			11	4			1						
Unid Nail	59	21	2747	558		40		41	298	2		154	4	7	1	5			2	4		1
Wire Nail	2		3							2	1	2				1						
Building Stone						1						1										
Chinking/Daub		22	5	8																		
Mortar	6	19	37	58				3	9	8		2										
Other			10																			
Total Architecture	294	115	4691	1823		70		83	430	37	1	189	17	12	2	12			6	6	16	5
Clothing	5	2	128	19					3			1	1			1						
Furniture	3		140	50		3			26													
Job/Activity	7		22	6					1													

Table 5.2. Artifacts from Features that Comprise the Baber House Structure

	Chimney		**Cellar**	**Bulk head**	**Partial Piers**		**Brick Pier**	**Robbed Pier Holes**						**Posts**								
Feature	**64**	**65**	**40**	**145**	**15**	**264**	**23**	**26**	**43**	**88**	**91**	**122**	**146**	**24**	**48**	**87**	**92**	**95**	**266**	**267**	**279**	**281**
Other	3		636	262		8		1	99			30	3									1
Personal	4	2	96	32		1			14				1							1		
Arms	2		5						2			1										
Transportation			6	1					1													
Fuel	5		256	16		1			7	3		1										
Total	347	133	8461	2894	0	115	0	100	779	45	1	272	29	18	4	16	0	0	9	9	18	8



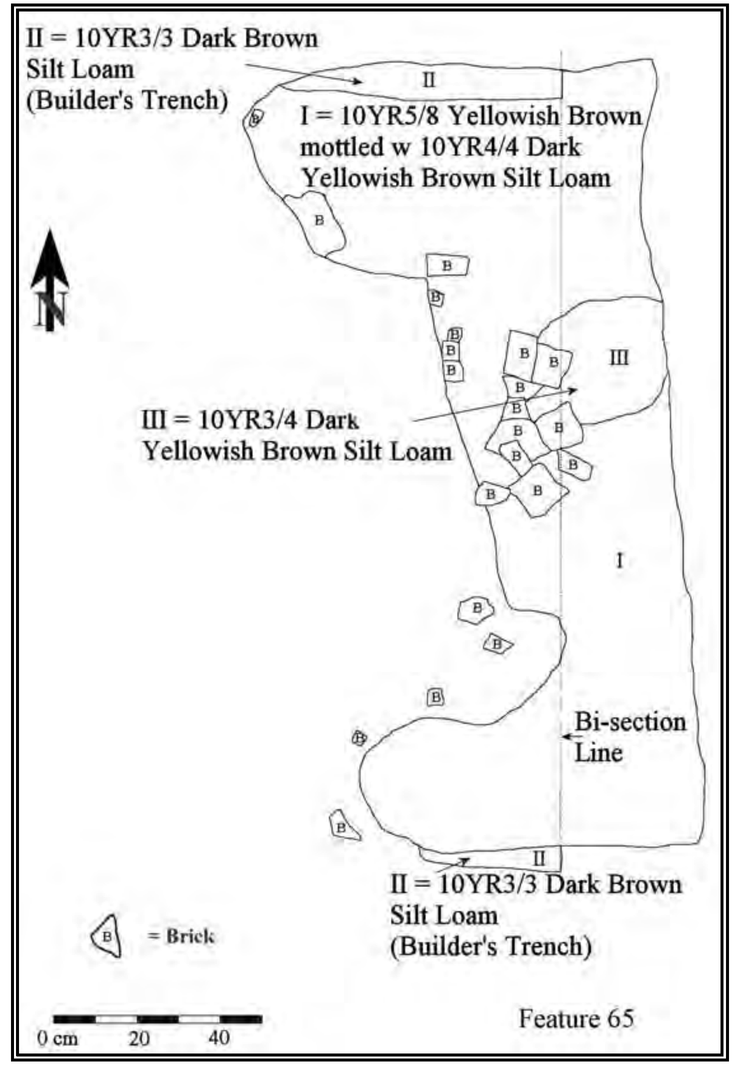


Figure 5.15. Features 64 and 65 plan view

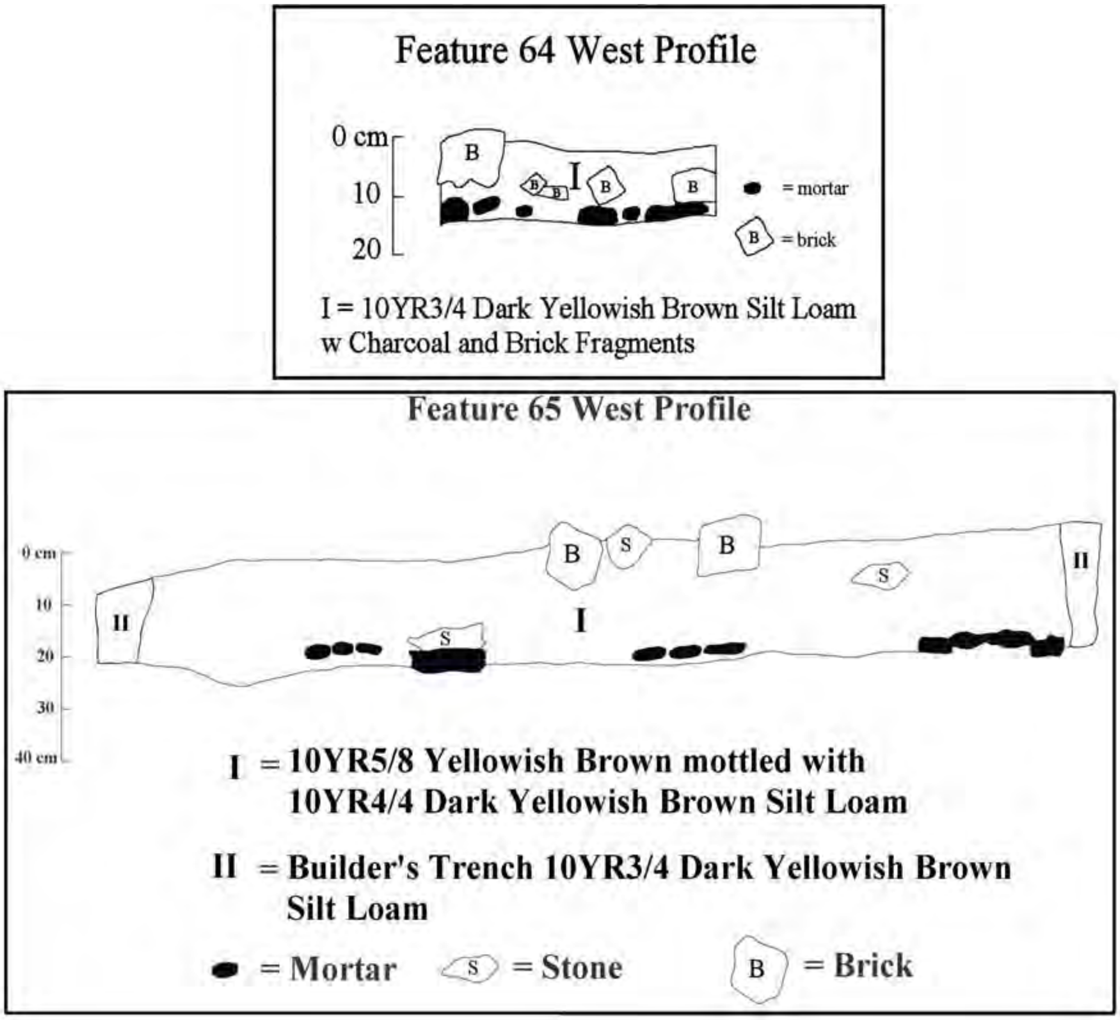


Figure 5.16. Features 64 and 65 west profiles

of this later period of occupation has spilled over into lot 13, and later-dating artifacts have mixed with some of the plowzone. These later inhabitants of lot 14 may have robbed the chimney bases of the hotel structure to clear the area (as it was no doubt dilapidated). Lot 14 and a small portion of eastern lot 13 still have remnants of the later structure in the form of several piers made from machine-pressed bricks. Based on both the large quantity of brick rubble, mortar, and also stone recovered from both chimney features and across the site, both chimney bases could have been comprised of brick and/or stone.

Feature 64 was completely excavated during the Phase III investigations (Figures 5.15 - 5.18). The chimney hole was bisected east-west where it was only 50 cm wide. The fill was mostly a 10YR3/4 dark yellowish brown silt loam with charcoal flecks and some brick fragments. There was a concentration of larger pieces of mortar at its base, but no intact bricks were recovered from the feature, only fragments.

Figure 5.17. Feature 64, looking west

Figure 5.18. Feature 64 cross-section, looking north

After the chimney hole portion of Feature 64 had been excavated, rain soon soaked and eroded much of the soil east of the C-shaped enclosure and exposed a dense cluster of brick rubble with dimensions of 1.3 north-south by 0.55 m east-west (Figure 5.15). The boundaries of this brick rubble concentration were added to the existing plan of the chimney hole and it was determined to be a hearth base based on its shape and location relative to the chimney hole. The hearth was shallow, measuring only 15 cm in depth and contained a mostly 10YR5/6 dark yellowish brown silty clay (similar to the surrounding sterile subsoil) with some pockets of silty sand. The upper part of the hearth contained an abundant amount of large and small brick fragments while the lower part contained fewer fragments. Because of the jumbled appearance, the hearth was also determined to have been robbed and filled like the chimney hole.

Artifacts recovered from Feature 64 include a mix of nineteenth to early twentieth century artifacts that include diagnostic artifacts such as decorated whiteware sherds (transfer print, molded, and cable/wormy), container glass (machine-manufactured), a hard rubber button (post 1851), a .22 caliber rimfire cartridge (post 1866), and a mixture of late cut and wire nails. Wire nails were first produced in the 1850s but were not commonly used until the 1880s (Nelson 1968). Because of the presence of wire nails in this chimney hole as well as a machine-manufactured bottle fragment, and the clearly disturbed nature (unidentifiable brick rubble) of both holes, there is no doubt that this chimney was robbed and backfilled early in the twentieth century.

Feature 65 was similar in dimensions to Feature 64 and was filled with a 10YR4/4 dark yellowish brown silt loam mottled with some 10YR3/3 dark brown silt loam. It was bisected lengthwise (north-south) with the east half removed first. Numerous brick fragments, rocks, and mortar fragments as well as other artifacts were scattered throughout the hole. Like Feature 64, there was a lining of mortar at the base of the hole. The hearth area was slightly mottled with both a loosely consolidated 10YR3/4 dark yellowish brown and 10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown silt loam. No artifacts were recovered from this thin layer in the hearth, however. Portions of a builder's trench were also defined in Feature 65. Situated on both the exterior north and south walls, it varied in width from four to ten cm (Figures 5.15 and 5.16). No material was recovered from this builder's trench, however.

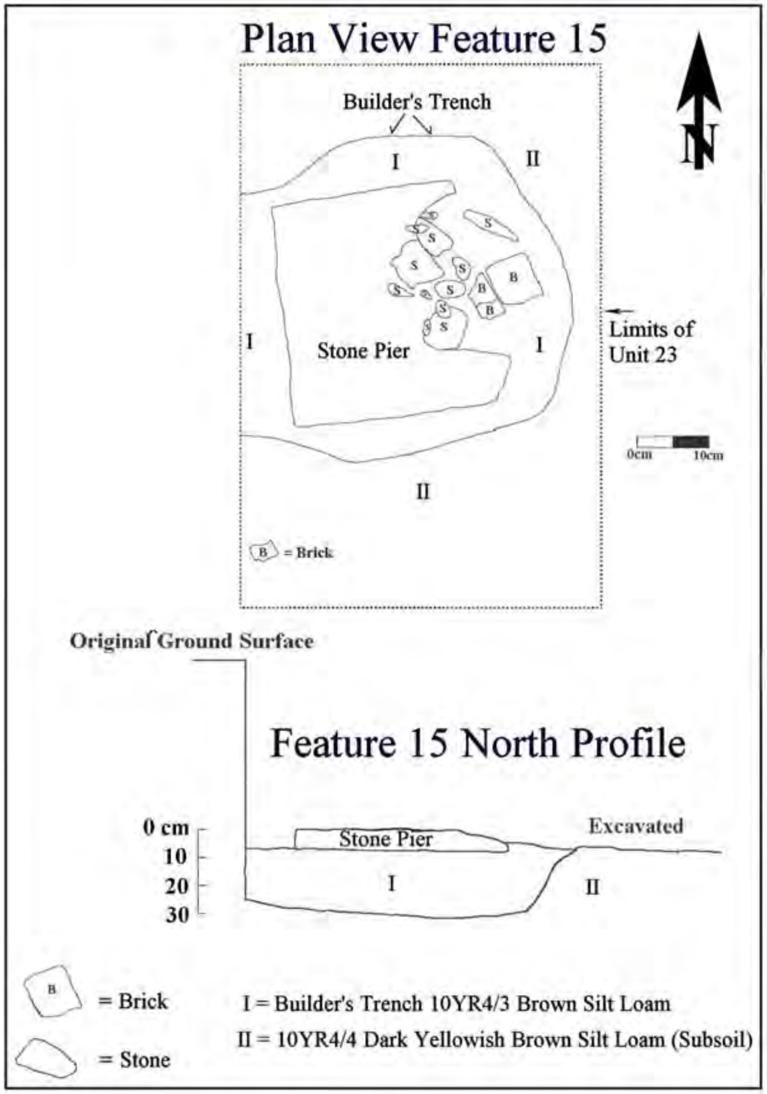
The recovered artifacts give a wide date range for the fill from 1790 to the early part of the twentieth century. In general, the diagnostic artifacts and the jumbled nature of the fill indicate that both chimney bases were robbed and backfilled by at least the early twentieth century, probably from 1900 to 1910. This is based on the recovery of the wire nails and the machine-manufactured bottle fragment. It is likely that when the site was abandoned in ca. 1875, it was left to slowly delapidate until the house on lot 14 was built. The backfilling evident in Features 64 and 65 is consistent with site-cleaning activities associated with changing ownership and site abandonment. Also, robbed and filled end chimneys, filled with jumbled fragments of mortar, brick, and stone suggests that they were constructed either of brick and mortar or both brick/mortar and stone. Since most of the brick and stone fill were fragmented in these features and across the site, some of these unaltered materials are apparently fine enough to have been salvaged later after the hotel fell to disuse and was demolished.

Pier Holes and Partition Posts

Based on the remaining partial piers, pier holes, and posts, the main house can further be defined. However, the northwest portion of the house is lacking in pier holes or posts. A possible reason for this is that this area has been disturbed by demolition or more recently by plowing. Only one post (Feature 95) was present in this area, and it likely was part of this structure in some form (Figure 5.14). The dimensions of the building can be seen, however, with the remaining piers, pier holes, and partition posts. These architectural features, as well as the two chimney holes in plan view (Figure 5.14), would most likely have made the main house a structure with two end chimneys, measuring 50 ft east-west by 20 ft north-south. It is hypothethized that the large size of the pier holes suggests that the hotel had a secondary story or second story loft, but this is uncertain. A partition post (Feature 92) and a pier (Feature 91) on the first floor indicate that the downstairs was divided into two rooms by a central hall. The eastern room measured 25 ft east-west by 20 ft north-south and is demarcated by two pier remnants (Features 15 and 264) and four robbed pier holes (43, 51, 122, and 146). The west room measured slightly smaller than the east room at 20 ft east-west by 20 ft north-south and is demarcated by three pier holes 26, 88, and 91 (Figure 5.14). The hall or passage was five feet wide and extended from the front of the house to the rear.

Figure 5.19. Feature 264 north profile

One of the partial piers is Feature 264, which contained three stones at its base (Figures 5.14, 5.19 and 5.20). On first discovering Feature 264, it appeared to intrude on the bulkhead entrance (Feature 145) to the cellar (Feature 21/40). However, upon further excavation, that was found not to be the case, as it became clearly separate and situated south of Feature 145. Two fill layers (Zones I and II) overlaid the stone piers and the uppermost layer, and both contained mid-nineteenth century artifacts. It appears that Zones I and II are disturbed as there are more artifacts in these layers than in the lower rock layer fill (Zone III). Artifacts from both the upper zones numbered 109 artifacts, compared to only 14 from Zone III. Artifacts from the upper zones consisted of whiteware, ironstone, bone, window glass, unidentifiable nails, brick fragments, stone, and container glass. Zones I and II are probably the result of partial robbing and filling of some of the pier stones from the hole. The few artifacts from Zone III consisted of Rockingham yellow ware, domestic stoneware, and unidentifiable container glass, not enough to date construction of the pier hole. Minimum vessel analysis revealed



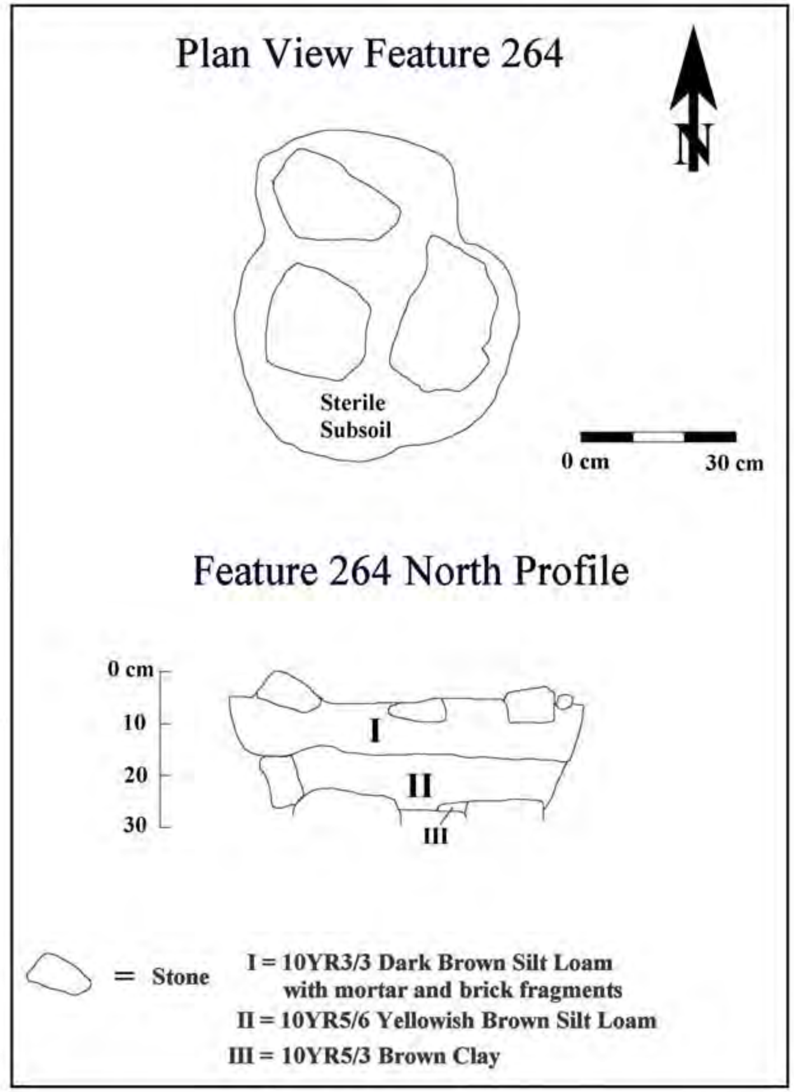


Figure 5.20. Plan view and profile of pier remnants, Features 15 and 264

Figure 5.21. Feature 15, view north

at least one ironstone vessel from the upper robbed part of Feature 264 which dated from 1847 to the 1850s. Feature 264 then could not have been disturbed until sometime after the late 1840s, probably much later around the same time that the other piers were robbed.

The other pier remnant, Feature 15, was located in the northwest corner of the east room of the house (Figures 5.14 and 5.21). Evidence of the pier consisted of a single stone slab overlying a builder's trench (Figures 5.20 and 5.21). Artifacts recovered from the trench were scant and include one nail of unknown manufacture and one glass container fragment.

The completely robbed pier holes were mostly shallow, but distinct in shape, being both large and rectangular in plan view (Figures 5.14, 5.22 and 5.23). Artifacts recovered from the pier holes were generally a mixture of early to late nineteenth century material. Feature 43 in particular contained the greatest amount of mixed artifacts which ranged from early nineteenth century ceramics (bone china, Chinese export porcelain, and pearlware) to middle and late nineteenth century ceramics (whiteware and ironstone), as well as middle to late nineteenth century glass with blown in mold bottles, a later-dating fused glass bottle lip, and a machine-manufactured bottle. Feature 122 also contained hard paste porcelain, whiteware, ironstone, and a fused glass bottle lip. It also contained brick rubble and a metal barrel hoop (Figure 5.22). Features 88, 91, and 122 all contained cut nails and wire nails. It is no surprise that the artifacts would be mixed if these holes were robbed. These were probably robbed sometime during the early twentieth century when occupants constructed the house on lot 14.

Figure 5.22. Feature 122, robbed pier hole with barrel hoop

Other architectural features that comprise the house structure were partition posts. Features 24, 48, 92, 95, and 281 (Figures 5.2 and 5.14) were situated inside and around the edges of the main structure.

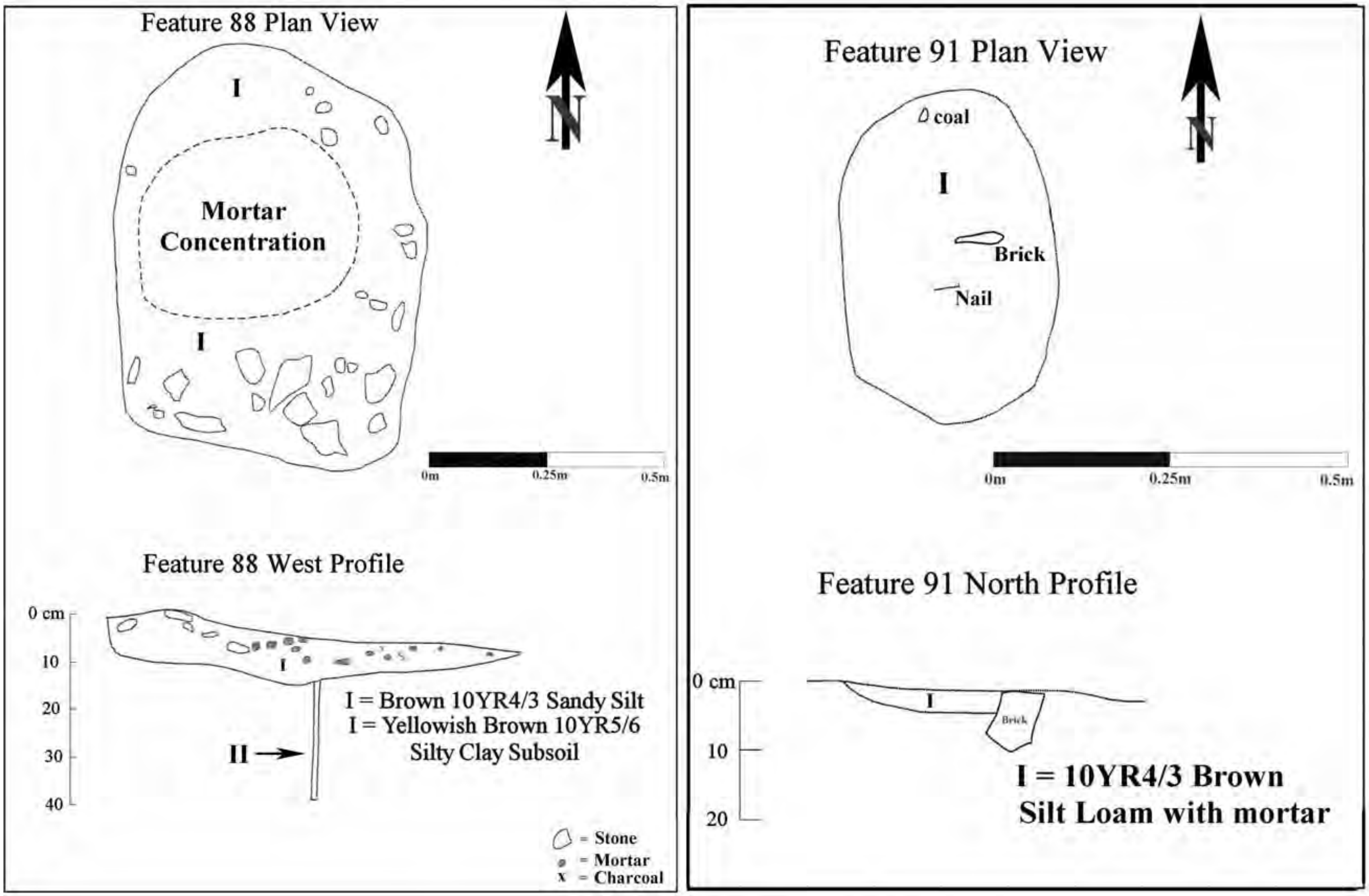


Figure 5.23. Plan view and profile of robbed pier holes, Features 88 and 91

These posts were generally small and circular, measuring only 20 to 35 cm in diameter and 7 to 20 cm in depth. Very little material was recovered from them, mostly a few undecorated whiteware fragments and some unidentifiable nails. A few posts did contain diagnostic material (Features 24, 48, and 87) which consisted of a few whiteware sherds with transfer print and hand-painted decorations. However, Feature 87 also contained a wire nail, suggesting that some of these posts were probably pulled and then filled in when the structures at the site were demolished. Based on their location, it is more than likely that the original posts were put in place when the main structure was built. Features 24, 48, and 281 may actually have been posts for a structure over the cellar (F 21/40) and beneath the house because they were located on the cellar's northwest, southwest, and northeast corners.

Back Porch Posts

There was an additional line of small posts behind the east room of the main structure. Features 47, 55, 89, 90, 112, 113, 114, and possibly 115 (Figures 5.2 and 5.14) formed an east-west line parallel to the main structure and directly behind the east room. All these post features were similar in shape, being small, round, and measuring about 20 cm in diameter and 15 to 20 cm in depth. These posts could very likely have served as a back porch. Very few artifacts were recovered from them (Table 5.3), and what was recovered only says they could have been pulled sometime in the nineteenth or twentieth century. For instance, Feature 47 contained nineteenth century undecorated bone china and undecorated whiteware, both of which were popular throughout most of the nineteenth century. Feature 113 contained transfer-printed whiteware and Feature 115 contained an undecorated yellow ware sherd and an unidentifiable refined earthenware sherd. Like the partition posts for the main structure, however, there was also mixing of artifacts. Feature 113 contained wire nails in its upper portion, and a machine-made marble was found in Feature 47, suggesting that some of these posts were probably pulled and then filled in when the structures at the site were demolished. Based on their location, it is more than likely that the original posts were put in place sometime shortly after the main structure was built.

Feature 21/40 (cellar)

A large cellar (Feature 21/40) with a bulkhead entrance (Feature 145) was located beneath the eastern half of the main house (Figures 5.2 and 5.14). It is interpreted as a cellar based on its contents and its location, which was entirely beneath the eastern half of the hotel structure. The upper portion of this feature was filled in after the site was abandoned when a later occupation on the adjacent lot to the east, lot 14, was established. The lower part of the cellar may have been filled in slightly earlier, however.

Feature 21/40 was rectangular in shape and measured just over 16 feet (5 m) east-west by 12 feet (3.8 m) north-south by almost 2.6 ft (78 cm) deep (Figures 5.14). Based on the numerous artifacts in the upper portion of the cellar, which has been disturbed by plowing, the original top of the cellar appears to have originated closer to the actual surface and would have been closer to 3.3 ft (1 m) in depth. The feature was initially defined in separate test units (Test Units 25, 27, and 30

Table 5.3. Artifacts from Back Porch Posts*

	F47	F90	F113	F114	F115	Total
Kitchen						
Soft Paste Porcelain	1					1
Whiteware	2		2			4
Yellow Ware					1	1
Unidentifiable Refined					1	1
Container Glass	3		3	4	2	12
Table Glass		1	1			2
Tin Can Fragments	88					88
Undetermined Glass		1		2		3
Bone	3		2		2	7
Tooth	1					1
Kitchen Total	98	2	8	6	6	120
Architecture						
Brick	3	14	5	11	11	44
Flat Glass	1		17	2	2	22
Wire Nail			2			2
Unidentified Nail	16		9	8	11	44
Other Hardware	8					8
Chinking/Daub			9		5	14
Architecture Total	28	14	42	21	29	134
Clothing	1					1
Furniture			1			1
Job/Activity			2			2
Other	4	5	1	1		11
Arms			1			1
Fuel	4	8	7	4	5	28
Personal	2				1	3
Total	137	29	62	32	41	301

* (Features 55, 89, and 112 contained no artifacts)

grouped together and Test Unit 36) as two individual features (Features 21 and 40), but further block excavation and stripping of the plowzone revealed these two features to be the same; hence, it became known as Feature 21/40. The cellar had a relatively flat bottom with tapering sides (Figures 5.24-5.26) and contained a large amount of rubble (rock, brick, and mortar). Looking at the planview of the main house structure, it would have been situated beneath the eastern portion of the house with the bulkhead (Feature 145) as the entryway via the southeast exterior.

Feature 21/40 was excavated in quarters or quads with the majority of the northwest and southwest quads excavated first within unit blocks and the rest of the western quads excavated after the plowzone was removed. The southwest limits of the cellar and two pier holes were defined in Test Units 36 and 39 and the northwestern limits were defined in Test Units 21, 23, 24, 27, and 30, along with another pier hole and a brick pier. This quad type of excavation allowed for various cross section profiles (Figures 5.24-26). After the west half was excavated, both the southeast and the northeast quads were excavated separately. Three major fills were present throughout Feature 21/40 while several smaller layers were restricted to the southwest quad, likely a result of rapid filling. Table 5.4 shows the materials recovered from this feature. These are grouped into Zones A, B, C, mixed A/B/C, and the smaller fill layers from the southwestern quad (Zones F, H, K, M, and N).

The first layer, Zone A, was composed primarily of a mortar fragment layer with brick fragments (Figures 5.24-26). Mixed with this was a small amount of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silt. This mortar fragment appeared within the lower layer of the plowzone, but the undisturbed portion extended from the base of the plowzone, albeit mixed, to about 5 to 10 cm beneath it. Besides mortar and brick fragments, other artifacts recovered from this layer include a mix of early to late nineteenth with early twentieth century artifacts. Nearly every type of nineteenth century ceramic ware is represented. Creamware, Chinese export porcelain, pearlware, bone china, whiteware, ironstone, refined redware, yellowware, and domestic stoneware were all recovered of the ceramic assemblage. In addition, a nineteenth and early twentieth century mixture of container glass included blown in mold bottles with applied tooled lips to later-dating blown in mold bottles with fused finish lips to machine-manufactured bottles. Most nails recovered were unidentifiable, but a few nails were identified as late cut (Table 5.4).

Zone B extended to 80 cm below surface. It was a brown (10YR4/3) silt loam with some brick fragments (Figures 5.24-26). Artifacts recovered were similar to the above zone with both early to late nineteenth century manufactured bottle glass and ceramics. Both late cut nails and wire nails were also recovered. An 1865 penny and a .38 caliber rimfire cartridge (post 1866) were also recovered (Table 5.4). As no machine-manufactured bottles nor any other definitive twentieth century material was recovered, this zone was probably filled in during the late nineteenth century. This zone did contain a higher amount of artifacts, with more than twice the amount recovered from Zone A. The high amount of artifacts from this layer (n = 3142) suggests a good deal of site cleaning when this fill layer was deposited in the 1880s or 1890s.

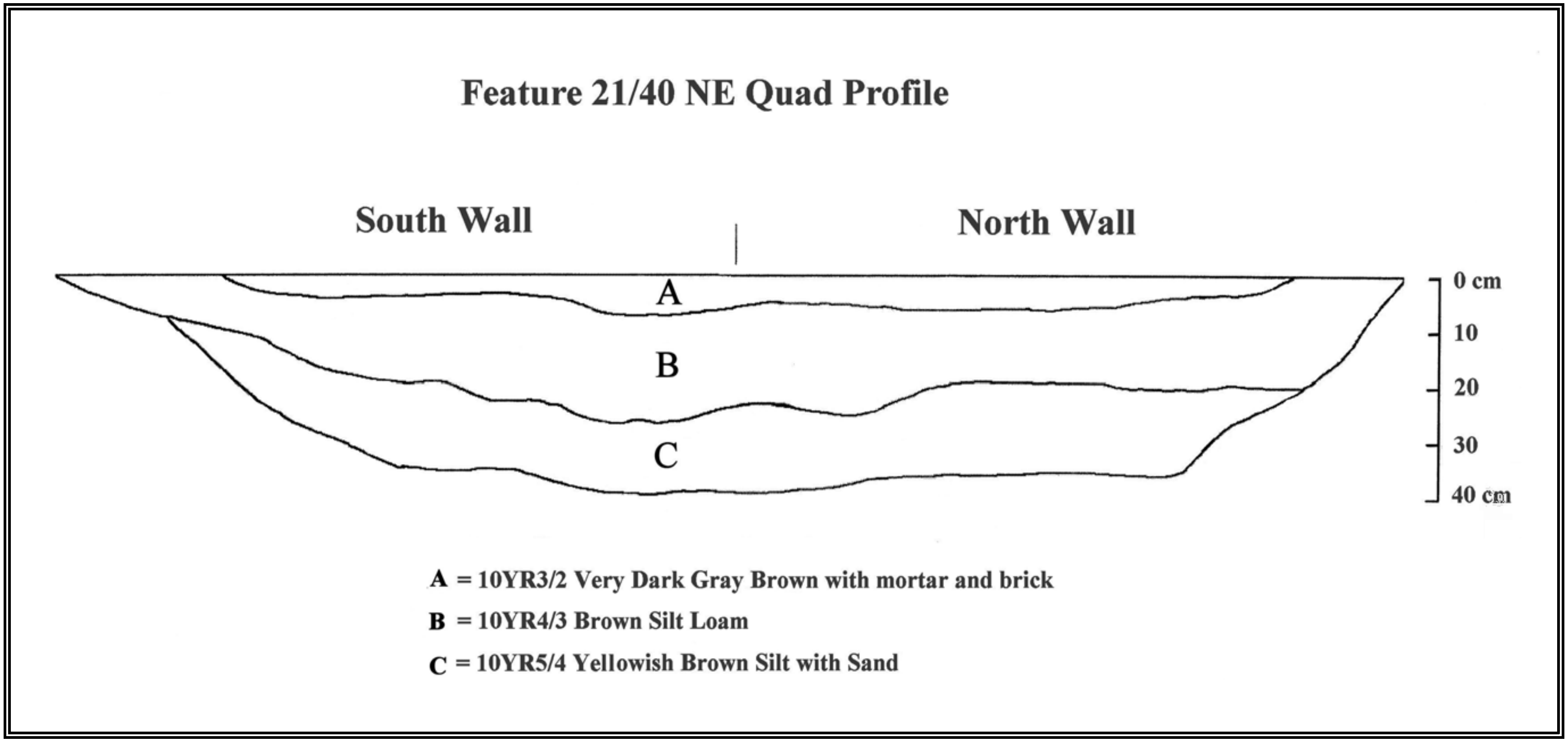


Figure 5.24. Profile of Feature 21/40, northwest quad, south and west walls

Figure 5.25. South profile of northwest quad, Feature 21/40

Figure 5.26. West profile of northwest quad, Feature 21/40

Table 5.4. Feature 21/40 Artifacts by Zones

	Zone A		**Zone B**		**Zone C**		**Mixed A,B,C**		**SW Quad Zone F**		**SW Quad Zone H**		**SW Quad Zone K**		**SW Quad Zone M**		**SW Quad Zone N**		**Total**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Kitchen																				
Soft Paste Porcelain	2	0.1			6	0.4					1	0.3	4	0.4			3	2.0	16	0.2
Hard Paste Porcelain	8	0.6	6	0.2	5	0.3	1	0.2	1	0.3			3	0.3					24	0.3
Creamware	2	0.1																	2	<0.1
Pearlware	17	1.2	31	1.0	52	3.4	17	2.8	11	3.1	2	0.7	16	1.8			17	11.0	163	1.9
Whiteware	71	4.9	191	6.1	130	8.4	69	11.3	19	5.3	5	1.6	89	9.9	1	11.1	10	6.5	585	6.9
Ironstone	1	0.1	7	0.2	10	0.7	5	0.8	1	0.3			2	0.2					26	0.3
Refined Redware	1	0.1			2	0.1	1	0.2					2	0.2					6	0.1
Coarse Redware			1	<0.1															1	<0.1
Yellow Ware	1	0.1			1	0.1	1	0.2					1	0.1					4	0.1
Domestic Stoneware	2	0.1	15	0.5	2	0.1	1	0.2					1	0.1					21	0.3
Unidentifiable Refined Earthenware	6	0.4	2	0.1	2	0.1			1	0.3			5	0.6			1	0.7	17	0.2
Iron Hollow Ware			300	9.5	16	1.0													316	3.7
Container Glass	88	6.1	301	9.6	197	12.8	56	9.2	14	3.9			91	10.1	1	11.1	17	11.0	765	9.0
Melted Unidentifiable Glass	9	0.6	96	3.1	55	3.6	38	6.2					7	0.8			1	0.7	206	2.4

Table 5.4. Feature 21/40 Artifacts by Zones

	Zone A		**Zone B**		**Zone C**		**Mixed A,B,C**		**SW Quad Zone F**		**SW Quad Zone H**		**SW Quad Zone K**		**SW Quad Zone M**		**SW Quad Zone N**		**Total**	
Table Glass	3	0.2	38	1.2	25		9	1.5	6	1.7			14	1.6			8	5.2	103	1.2
Undetermined Glass	11	0.8	74	2.4	3	0.2	2	0.3	1	0.3	1	0.3	4	0.4			2	1.3	98	1.2
Canning Jar Lid			7	0.2															7	0.1
Bottle Cap	1	0.1									1	0.3							2	<0.1
Large Spoon			1	<0.1	2	0.1													3	<0.1
Tin Can			57	1.8	8	0.5			7	2.0			26	2.9					98	1.2
Other Kitchen Metal			10	0.3	2	0.1			1	0.3									13	0.6
Utensil Handle			1	<0.1	2	0.1			1	0.3			1	0.1					5	0.1
Spice Shaker																				
Total Kitchen	223	15.5	1138	36.2	520	33.8	200	32.7	63	17.6	10	3.3	266	29.5	2	22.2	59	38.1	2481	29.3
Architecture																				
Brick			116	3.7	12	0.8	5	0.8	4	1.1			7	0.8					144	1.7
Tile/Ceramic			8	0.3			1	0.2											9	0.1
Flat Glass	312	21.7	593	18.9	311	20.2	94	15.4	19	5.3	5	1.6	252	28.0	2	22.2	49	31.6	1637	19.4
Insulator							1	0.2											1	<0.1
Cut Nail Unspecified	1	0.1	17	0.5	10	0.7	7	1.2			3	1.0	6	0.7					44	0.5
Late Cut Nail	2	0.1	11	0.4	15	1.0	3	0.5			7	2.3	5	0.6					36	0.4
Other Metal Hardware			7	0.2	10	0.7					1	0.3	3	0.3					21	0.3

Table 5.4. Feature 21/40 Artifacts by Zones

	Zone A		**Zone B**		**Zone C**		**Mixed A,B,C**		**SW Quad Zone F**		**SW Quad Zone H**		**SW Quad Zone K**		**SW Quad Zone M**		**SW Quad Zone N**		**Total**	
Unidentified Nail	743	51.6	774	24.6	359	23.3	225	36.8	115	32.0	250	82.2	238	26.4	5	55.6	38	24.5	2747	32.5
Wire Nail			3	0.1															3	<0.1
Chinking/ Daub	2	0.1			3	0.2													5	0.1
Mortar			28	0.9	7	0.5	2	0.3											37	0.4
Total Architecture	1060	73.6	1557	49.6	727	47.2	338	55.3	138	38.4	266	87.5	511	56.7	7	77.8	87	56.1	4691	55.4
Clothing	6	0.4	29	0.9	32	2.1	4	0.7	7	1.9			44	4.9			6	3.9	128	1.5
Furniture	9	0.6	60	1.9	35	2.3	3	0.5					31	3.4			2	1.3	140	1.7
Job/Activity	9	0.6	3	0.1	6	0.4	2	0.3					2	0.2					22	0.3
Other	106	7.4	131	4.2	163	10.6	52	8.5	140	39.0	17	5.6	26	2.9			1	0.7	636	7.5
Personal	4	0.3	23	0.7	39	2.5	7	1.2	3	0.8			20	2.2					96	1.1
Arms	1	0.1	2	0.1			2	0.3											5	0.1
Transportation	1	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.1							1	0.1					6	0.1
Fuel	21	1.5	197	6.3	16	1.0	3	0.5	8	2.2	11	3.6							256	3.0
Total	**1440**	**100.1**	**3142**	**100.1**	**1540**	**100.0**	**611**	**100.2**	**359**	**99.9**	**304**	**100.0**	**901**	**99.9**	**9**	**100**	**155**	**100.1**	**8461**	**100.0**

Zone C underlaid Zone B and extended to 1 m below the scraped surface. It was a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) silt with sand, charcoal and brick fragments (Figures 5.24-26) and contained a moderate amount of artifacts (n = 1540). Artifacts recovered were similar again to the above zones with both middle to late nineteenth century manufactured bottle glass and ceramics (Table 5.4). Interestingly, Zone C contained the highest amount of personal related artifacts (n = 39), nearly half the amount of personal artifacts recovered from the cellar. Sewing and knitting tools, toy marbles, a billiard chalk cube, smoking pipes, and slate writing implements all were recovered, suggesting the different types of social and domestic activities (female, male, and child) that might have occurred in the main house. Based on the similar types of temporally mixed artifacts recovered from this zone and from Zone B, this layer of fill was also probably deposited after the site was abandoned, sometime in the 1880s.

In addition to the three major fill zones, there were several smaller concentrations of fills identified in the southwestern portion of the cellar. Five of these layers, Zones F, H, K, M, and N, contained artifacts (Table 5.4). These layers varied and were composed of dark grayish brown silty sand, dark brown clayey silt, dark brown mottled with dark yellowish brown silt, dark grayish brown silt loam mottled with brownish yellow sand, and dark yellowish brown mottled with dark grayish brown and light yellowish brown compacted clayey silt. Artifacts recovered were similar to the other larger zones. These numerous and random fill layers and the similarity in artifacts recovered from them suggest that a period of rapid filling occurred here.

Feature 21/40 is interpreted as a cellar that was located beneath the eastern half of the main building. The similarity of artifacts recovered from the major fill layers suggests that the cellar was filled in over a short period of time. This filling would have occurred after the site was abandoned, possibly during the very late nineteenth century for the lower zones (Zones B, C, F, H, K, M, and N) and the early twentieth century for the uppermost zone (Zone A). The upper layer (Zone A) may have been disturbed several times over the years as it contains more recent twentieth century material. The construction of the structure(s) on lot 14 during the early part of the twentieth century, the dismantling later in the twentieth century, as well as recent plowing of the garden all appeared to have disturbed Zone A over the years.

Feature 145 (bulkhead)

The bulkhead (Feature 145) was located in the southeastern corner of the house and was attached to the southeastern corner of Feature 21/40 (Figures 5.14 and 5.27). It was defined after plowzone removal and was rectangular-shaped, measuring 8.5 feet (2.6 m) north-south by 8.5 feet (2.6 m) east-west and 19 inches (48 cm) in depth (Figures 5.27-30). The boundary between the bulkhead and the cellar were very diffuse so that some mixing of artifacts during the excavation occurred between the two features. The floor of the bulkhead was level and the sides were tapered until halfway down, where they then became more vertical (Figures 5.28-30). Table 5.5 shows the artifacts recovered from the feature. Two fill episodes were defined within it, Zones I and II.

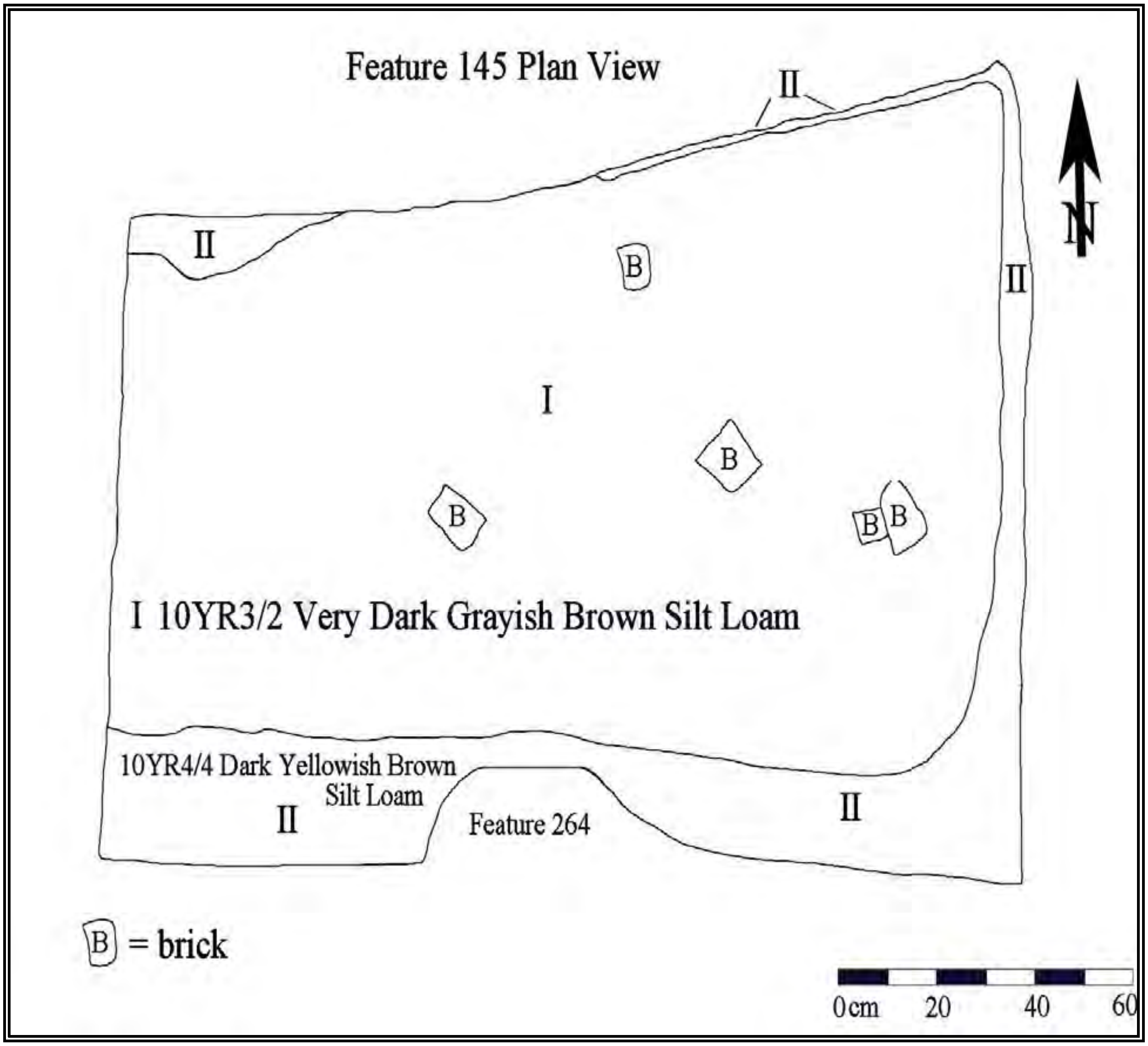


Figure 5.27. Feature 145 plan view

Zone I extended to 37 cm below scraped surface. It was a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silt loam with charcoal, brick, and mortar fragments. Artifacts span the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century with mostly kitchen and architectural related material recovered. Early to mid-nineteenth century artifacts include a significant amount of whiteware (transfer printed and shell edge decorated), as well as pearlware, bone china, Chinese export porcelain, ironstone, several bottles made from two-piece molds with pontiled bases, and smoking pipe fragments. Late nineteenth century bottle lips with a fused neck finish and an early twentieth century machine-made bottle (post 1903) and machine-manufactured glass marble (post 1901) all came from Zone I. These laterdating artifacts suggest that Zone I of the bulkhead was filled in around the same time that Zone A of the cellar (Feature 21/40) was filled in, during the 1910s.

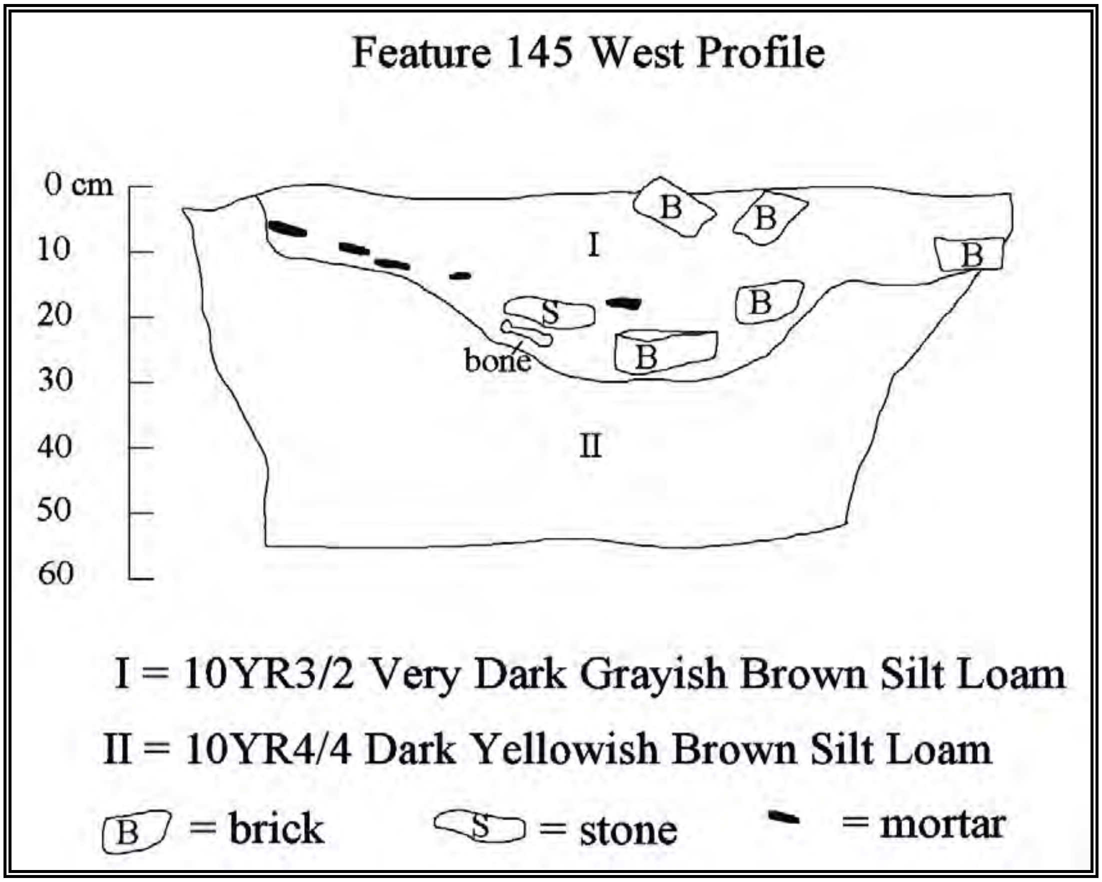


Figure 5.28. Feature 145 west profile

Figure 5.29. Feature 145 west profile

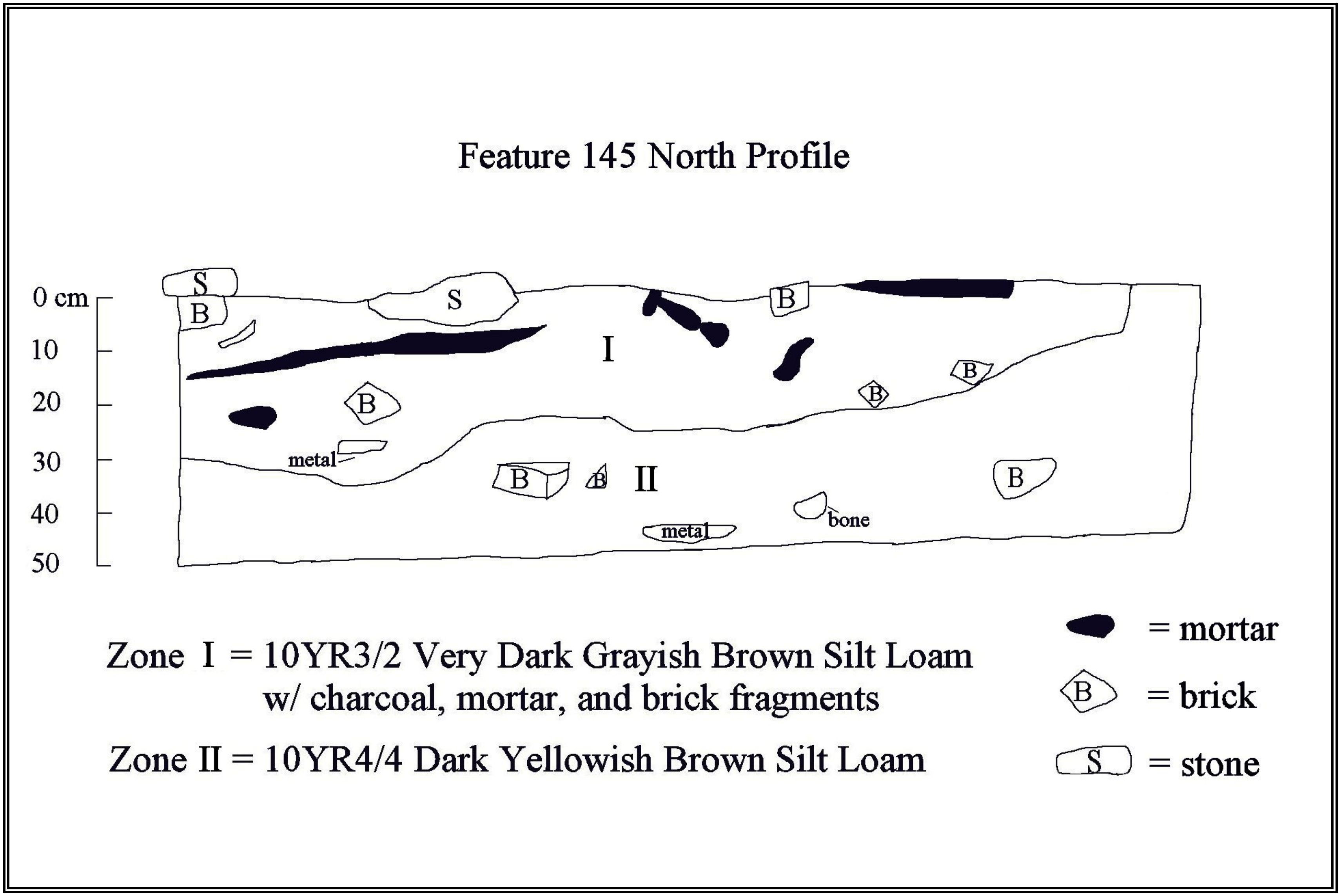


Figure 5.30. Feature 145 north profile

Table 5.5. Artifacts from Feature 145 (Cellar Bulkhead)

	Zone A		Zone B		Zones A/B		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kitchen								
Soft Paste Porcelain	2	0.1	1	0.3	3	0.4	6	0.2
Hard Paste Porcelain	3	0.2					3	0.1
Pearlware	10	0.6	4	1.1	4	0.5	18	0.6
Whiteware	96	5.5	37	9.9	67	8.6	214	7.4
Ironstone	14	0.8						
Refined Redware	3	0.2					3	0.1
Yellow Ware	5	0.3	1	0.3	2	0.3	8	0.3
Stoneware	3	0.2			1	0.1	4	0.1
Unidentifiable Refined	1	0.1			4	0.5	5	0.2
Container Glass	229	13.2	15	4.0	79	10.1	323	11.2
Burned/Melted Unidentified	13	0.7			5	0.6	18	0.6
Table Glass	35	2.0			5	0.6	40	1.4
Undetermined Glass	17	1.0	9	2.4	1	0.1	27	0.9
Kettle			1	0.3			1	0.0
Table Spoon	2	0.1					2	0.1
Other Kitchen Metal	1	0.1					1	0.0
Architecture								
Brick	8	0.5	4	1.1			12	0.4
Flat Glass	697	40.0	155	41.6	333	42.7	1185	40.9
Cut Nail Unspecified	5	0.3	1	0.3	1	0.1	7	0.2
Late Cut Nail	3	0.2			1	0.1	4	0.1
Other Metal Hardware					3	0.4	3	0.1
Unidentified Nail	364	20.9	64	17.2	130	16.7	558	19.3
Mortar	6	0.3	2	0.5	50	6.4	58	2.0
Chinking/Daub	4	0.2			4	0.5	8	0.3

Table 5.5. Artifacts from Feature 145 (Cellar Bulkhead)

	Zone A		Zone B		Zones A/B		Total	
Clothing	10	0.6	4	1.1	5	0.6	19	0.7
Furniture	20	1.2	15	4.0	15	1.9	50	1.7
Job/Activity	5	0.3			1	0.1	6	0.2
Other	152	8.7	50	13.4	60	7.7	262	9.1
Personal	28	1.6			4	0.5	32	1.1
Transportation	1	0.1					1	0.0
Fuel	4	0.2	10	2.7	2	0.3	16	0.6
Total	**1741**	**100.2**	**373**	**100.2**	**780**	**99.8**	**2894**	**99.9**

Zone II contained less brick and mortar and was a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam. Zone II underlaid Zone I, but also extended around some of the edges of the cellar so that Zone I did not encompass the entire length and width of the feature (Figures 5.27-30). Depth ranged from the top of the feature to slightly over 50 cm below the scraped surface. Although Zone II was deeper around the edges of the feature, it was much shallower within the center of the feature, varying from about 10 to 30 cm in thickness.

Zone II contained significantly fewer artifacts (n = 373) than Zone I (n = 1741), especially brick and stones. Although fewer in number, artifacts increased in frequency at the very base and include early to mid-nineteenth century artifacts such as bone china, pearlware, whiteware (transfer print and hand-painted decorated), and two-piece mold manufactured bottles. Interestingly, Zone II did not contain any late nineteenth or early twentieth century artifacts. No ironstone was found in this layer. Both a mean ceramic date utilizing the refined ceramic sherds and the minimum ceramic vessels yielded the same date of 1847. Based on this earlier date and the early to mid-nineteenth century artifacts recovered, Zone II could have been filled in much earlier than Zone I and Feature 21/40, perhaps as early as the late 1840s or sometime during the 1850s. If so, access to the cellar via the bulkhead entrance would have been cut off and some sort of retaining wall must have been put in place in order to keep the fill from the bulkhead separate from the cellar. Another entry to the cellar might have been easily constructed somewhere in the floor of the main house, perhaps towards the back of the central hall.

Five features were also recorded within or very near the bulkhead. These include three small posts (Features 266, 267, and 279), one pier (Feature 264), and a recent intrusion (Feature 278). Feature 264 was located just outside the southern limits of Feature 145, Feature 266 just outside the southeast corner, Feature 267 just outside the southwest corner, and Feature 279 just outside and adjacent to the northwestern edge (Figure 5.14). The three post features are likely supports for a cover for the bulkhead, but the pier feature (Feature 264), as discussed earlier, is likely associated with the main hotel/house structure.

Southwest Addition (Features 31-36 and 290) and Buried Surface Midden (Feature 25)

Located behind the hotel/house on the central western side of the lot was a curious group of features (Features 31-36 and 290) and an associated buried surface midden, Feature 25 (Figures 5.2 and 5.31). All but Feature 290 were discovered and excavated during the unit excavation phase of the mitigation. Initial excavation of a 1 m by 1 m unit (Test Unit 35) first encountered the buried surface midden, and excavation was then expanded to a 2 m by 2 m unit (Figures 5.1 and 5.2). When it was found that the midden continued beyond the unit, a larger block measuring 4 m by 4 m was opened and designated Block A (Figure 5.1). It soon became clear that the midden's south edge ended abruptly at a trench-like feature (Feature 35). Within the upper part of this shallow trench-like feature and also beneath it, a line of five posts and a pier were present. Artifacts recovered from these features were few in number and include creamware, pearlware, Chinese export porcelain, bone china, whiteware, only a few ironstone, domestic stoneware, yellow ware, container glass, bone, window glass, and unidentifiable nails (Table 5.6). Figure 5.28 shows all of these features in plan and Figure 5.32 shows these posts in profile. Figure 5.33 shows a closer look at one of these posts (Feature 290) in plan view and profile and within the trench (Feature 35). Figure 5.34 shows a photograph image of these posts in profile while Figure 5.35 shows Features 31-36 during excavation.

The features that comprise this small addition consist of the trench (Feature 35) with five posts spanning its length (Features 31, 32, 33, 34, and 290) and a stone pier (Feature 36) on its western edge (Figures 5.2 and 5.31). The trench measured just over 13 feet (4 m) (north-south) and 20 feet long (6 m) east-west, but only measured up to 10 cm deep. Its fill consisted of a 10YR4/4 (dark yellowish brown) silt loam mottled with 7.5YR5/8 (strong brown) silt loam and 10YR6/1 (gray) clay with iron concretions (Figures 5.31 and 5.32). The posts were unusually large in size and circular in plan, measuring from 1.6 to almost 2 ft (50 to 60 cm) in diameter and nearly 1 ft (30 cm) deep (Figures 5.31 and 5.32). The fill in all of the posts consisted of a 10YR4/2 (dark grayish brown) silt loam which gradually lightened with depth into a 10YR5/6 (yellowish brown) mottled with 10YR4/2 (dark grayish brown) silt loam (Figure 5.32). Large rocks were found at the base of several of these posts, perhaps functioning as chinking. In plan view, a thin (2 to 3 cm) outer ring, which appeared more mottled than the interior fill of the posts, was noted around the exterior of most of these posts. However, the rings were hard to define in profile on all of the features. An attempt was made to separate the outer ring from the inner fill during excavation of each post, but artifacts were only recovered from the inner fill of each. Since the outer rings could not be defined clearly, it is unknown whether they are post holes and the inner fill post molds. Another puzzling aspect of the features was the shallowness of the trench (Feature 35). All five posts extended well beneath this trench into Zone II. Only a few artifacts, mostly lithics, were recovered from this layer beneath Feature 35 which consisted mostly of a 10YR5/6 (yellowish brown) silt loam mottled with a small amount of 10YR3/2 (very dark grayish brown). The base of each post also extended slightly beneath Zone II and into the underlying Zone III. In addition to the above features, another robbed pier hole (Feature 26) was found in the unit excavation which marks the southwest corner of the main hotel building (Figure 5.31).

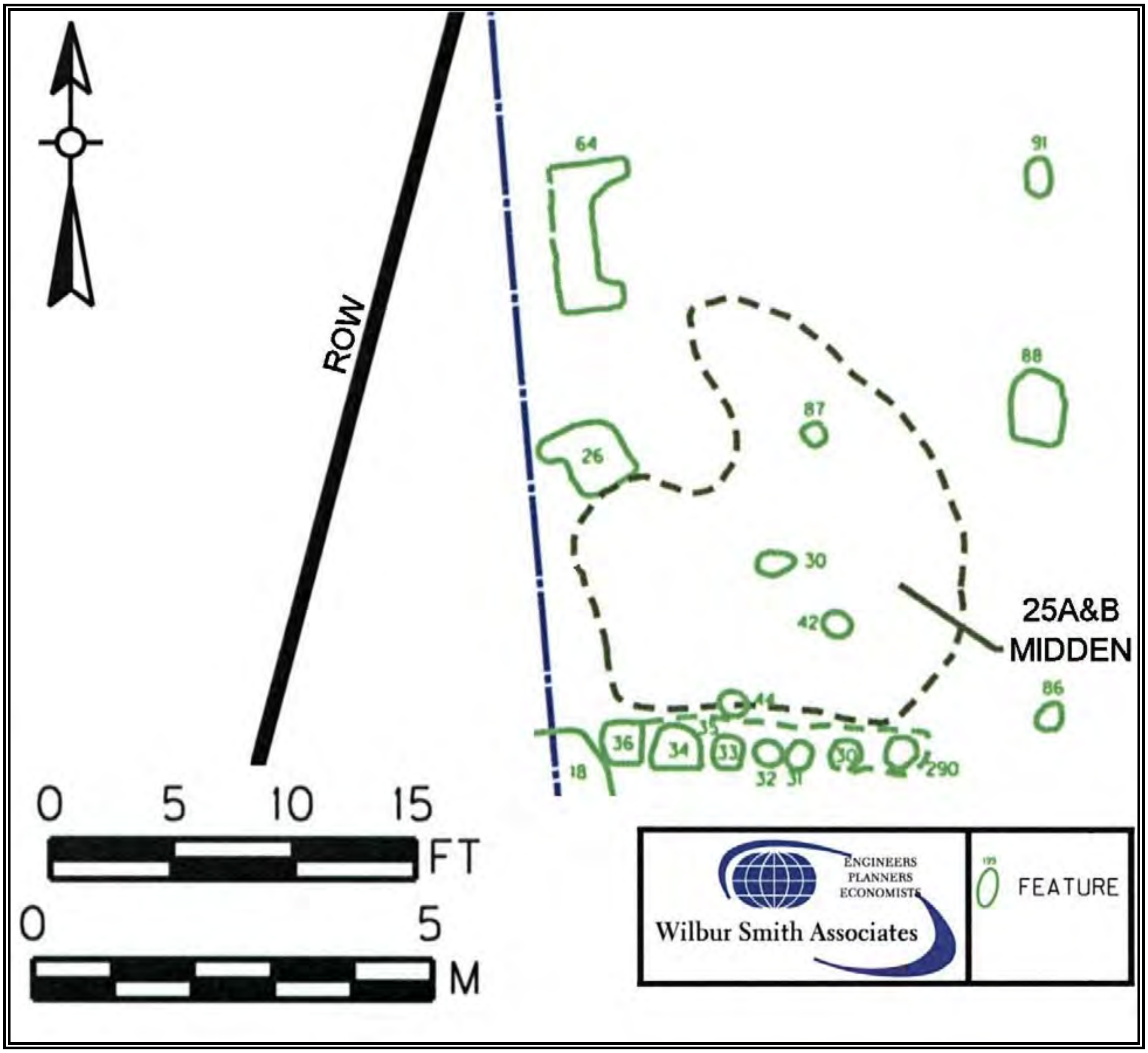


Figure 5.31. Features comprising the southwest addition

Table 5.6. Artifacts from Features Associated with Southwest Addition*

	F 25 ZA		F 25 ZB		F 25 ZA,B		Total F 25		F 30		F 31		F 32		F 33		F 34		F 35		F 36		F 290		F 86		F 87	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kitchen																												
Creamware	11	6 7					11	2 6																				
Pearlware	1	0 6	2	0 9	7	28 0	8	1 9	1	5 0			3	4 2	1	1 4	1	2 6	1	10 0			2	33 3				
Whiteware	18	11 1	27	10 8	10	40 0	59	14 1			3	17 6	4	5 6	4	5 5	3	7 7	2	20 0	1	2 0					3	18 8
Ironstone	1	0 6			1	4 0															2	4 0						
Hard Paste Porcelain																					1	2 0						
Soft Paste Porcelain									1	5 0																		
Yellow Ware					1	4 0	1	0 2																				
Unid Refined Earthen	1	0 6					1	0 2					2	2 8	1	1 4												
Domestic Stoneware													1	1 4	1	1 4					1	2 0						
Container Glass	14	8 6	9	3 9	1	4 0	24	5 7	1	5 0			4	5 6	1	1 4			1	10 0								
Table Glass	1	0 6					1	0 2													4	8 0						
Burned/ Melted Glass													1	1 4											1	33 3		
Unid Glass	3	1 8	2	0 9			5	1 2			2	11 8	3	4 2	1	1 4			1	10 0	1	2 0	1	16 7	1	33 3		
Other Kitchen Metal	3	1 8					3	0 7																				
Bone	6	3 7	123	53 5	5	20 0	134	32 1	6	30			21	29 2	15	20 5												
Tooth	4	2 5	4	1 7			8	1 9																				

Table 5.6. Artifacts from Features Associated with Southwest Addition*

	F 25 ZA		F 25 ZB		F 25 ZA,B		Total F 25		F 30		F 31		F 32		F 33		F 34		F 35		F 36		F 290		F 86		F 87	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Architect																												
Brick	1	0 6					1	0 2							8	11 0	4	10 3										
Flat Glass	35	21 5	6	2 6			41	9 8					12	16 7	5	6 8	2	5 1	2	20 0	16	32 0					2	12 5
Unid Nail	42	25 8	50	21 7			92	22 0	10	50	12	70 6	18	25 0	26	35 6	23	59 0	3	30 0	14	28 0	3	50 0	1	33 3	5	31 3
Cut Nail Unpsecified																											3	18 8
Wire Nail																											1	6 0
Hardware																											1	6 0
Chinking/ Daub	1	0 6	3	1 3			4	1 0									4	10 3										
Furniture															1	1 4												
Clothing									1	5 0																	1	6 0
Transpor-tation													1	1 4														
Fuel													1	1 4														
Other	21	12 9	4	1 7			25	6 0					1	1 4	9	12 3	2	5 1			10	20 0						
Total	163	100	230	99 9	25	100	418	99 8	20	100	17	100	72	100	73	100	39	100	10	100	50	100	6	100	3	99 9	16	100

* No artifacts recovered from Features 42 and 44

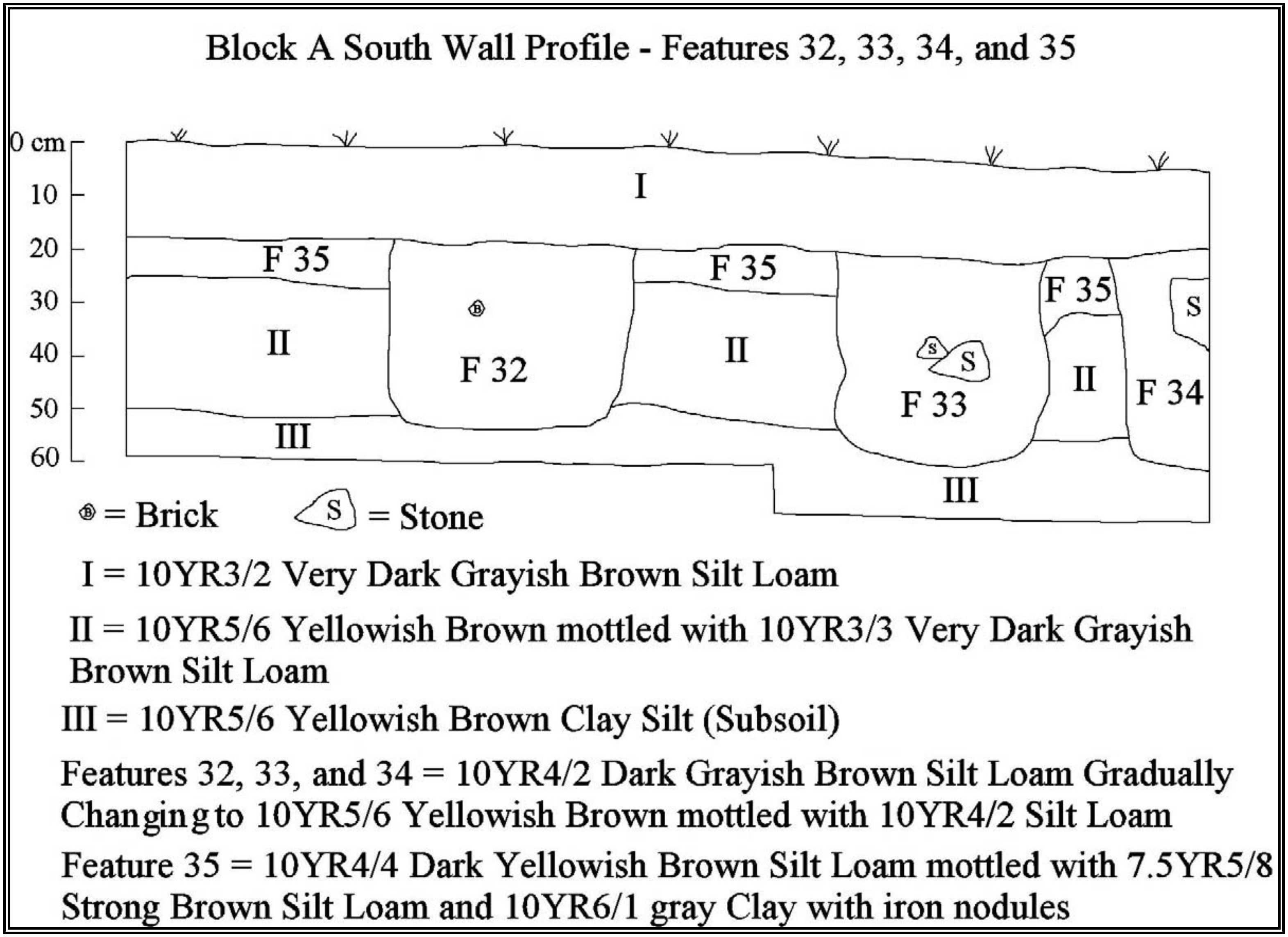


Figure 5.32. Block A south wall profile showing Features 32, 33, 34, and 35

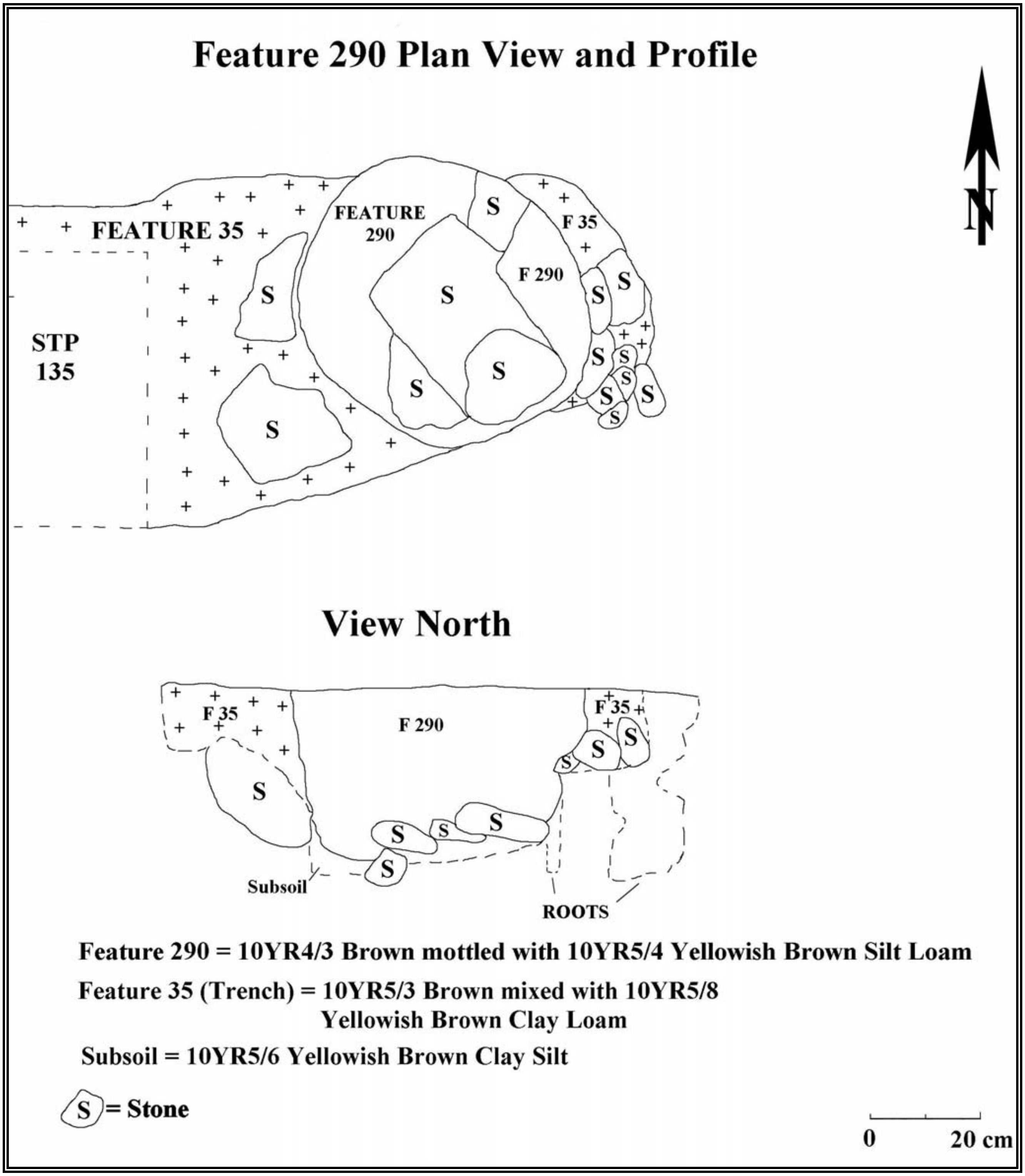


Figure 5.33. Plan view and profile of Feature 290, a post associated with the small addition

Figure 5.34. Feature 33 south profile

Figure 5.35. L to R: Features 31-34 (posts), Feature 36 (pier), Feature 35 (trench)

The function of this grouping of features is unclear, but it may have served as an ornamental wall/screen for a one-story addition. Looking at the layout of these features, this addition may also have been enclosed. Feature 36, the stone pier, was oriented with the southwest corner of the main hotel building. It is possible that there was a connecting wall between these two corners. Another post (Feature 86), located just east of the trench, was also close to an alignment with the trench and was in line with another pier hole from the main building, Feature 88. This would have allowed for three exterior walls to comprise the addition. These walls were: the western wall, which was supported by two piers (Features 26 and 36); the southern wall, which was made up of the trench (Feature 35) and posts (Features 31-34, and 290) and Feature 86, a smaller post; and the eastern wall, which was connected by Features 86 and 88. Because of the unusually large size of the posts along the south wall, the south wall would have been more fortified, but the other walls may have been simple in construction. The northern wall would have been defined by the main hotel/house wall and likely had a doorway present for easy access. If this is the case, the dimensions of the addition would have measured roughly 20 feet by 13 feet. This addition may also have been subdivided, as there are other smaller, possible partitioning posts inside this area (Features 30, 42, and 44). Feature 87, a post in the main building, lines up well with Feature 42, making a perfect bisect line of the structure.

Artifacts recovered from the posts were few in number. Two post features (Features 32 and 87) contained later-dating artifacts in the form of a wire nail from Feature 87 and a few amethyst bottle/jar glass fragments and a plastic battery part from Feature 32. Because of the presence of these later-dating artifacts, both posts were likely pulled sometime in the late nineteenth century or possibly the early twentieth century. The remaining features contained mostly early to mid-nineteenth century artifacts (unidentifiable nails, window glass, bone, ceramics, and container glass). The only good temporal indicators recovered from these features were ceramics such as undecorated pearlware, undecorated Chinese export porcelain, overglaze painted bone china, transfer print decorated whiteware, and two ironstone sherds. The two ironstone sherds were recovered from the stone pier (Feature 36). These were recovered from the top of the pier stone along with several other nineteenth century artifacts (Chinese export porcelain, transfer print decorated whiteware, and leaded glass container fragments), but no artifacts were recovered from beneath the pier.

Based on the artifacts recovered from these features, only Features 32 and 87 appear to have been pulled in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century. Artifacts recovered from the remaining posts suggest that they could have been pulled as early as the mid nineteenth century. A mean ceramic date of 1845 from the minimum vessel count (n = 5) of refined wares from the features supports this mid-nineteenth destruction period. But this is uncertain, as all the posts may have been pulled at one time, which would then date the dismantling of the structure to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Feature 36, the stone pier, may be the only undisturbed feature within the addition. Artifacts collected from the top of the pier may help to date the use period of the structure and the area in general (i.e., refuse disposal) since the top of the pier was likely exposed on the surface. With the presence of ironstone atop the pier, the immediate surface area would then have been exposed for some time after 1845. As for Feature 35, the trench-like feature, very few artifacts (n = 4) were recovered from this thin deposition. Undecorated pearlware and hand-painted whiteware, however, suggest that it was in place as early as the 1830s. Since it was not a real trench in the sense that it did not extend to the depth of the posts' bases, it may be the result of deposition that developed if a barrier, such as a wall, were in place.

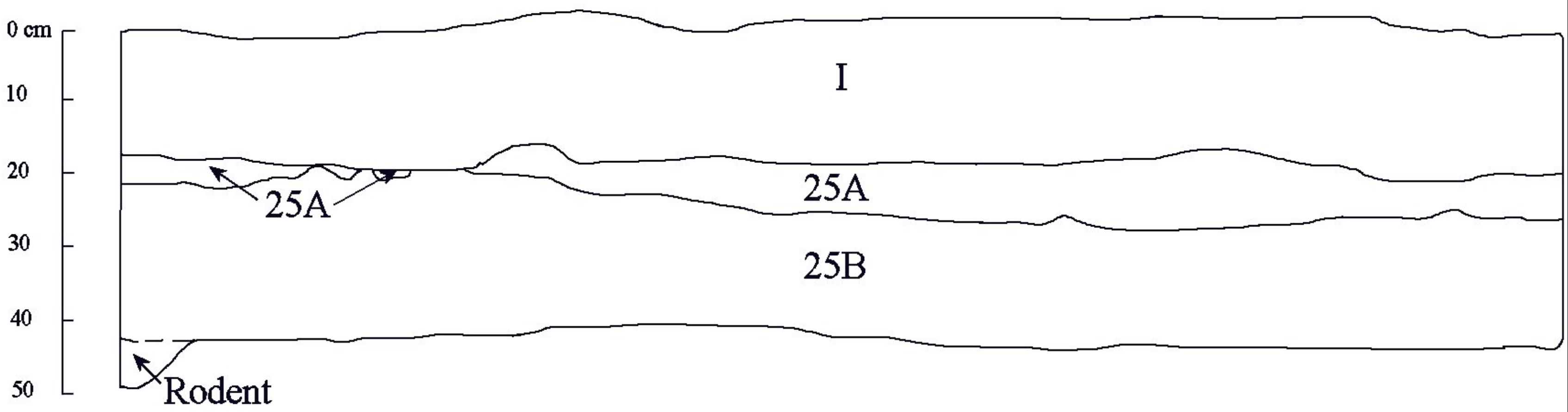
Another helpful indicator of the use period of the structure is the buried surface midden (Feature 25). Feature 25 overlay a large area but did not overlie the trench (Feature 35) and its post molds and pier. In fact, it stopped just north of the trench, suggesting that the midden accumulated while the posts were still standing. Its accumulation was thin and could be the result of tossing and sweeping beneath the addition and also fill that accumulated through the cracks in the structure's floor. Some of the smaller partitioning posts (Features 30, 42, 44, and 87) were not discovered until the midden had been excavated, but they would have been hard to recognize within the midden due to similarity in the soil color. From the trench, the midden extended northward to the main building with a small portion extending beneath it. Split spoon core probes conducted at 1 m intervals showed the midden to be very thin in this area beneath the main house. Feature 25 also extended slightly east of the trench into what would have been the backyard. It did not cross over into the adjacent western lot (#12), but was contained within the yard and beneath the structure.

Unlike Feature 1, the midden consisted of two separate layers. These layers were called 25A and 25B. Layer 25B appears to be the actual buried surface midden, while 25A appears to be intentional fill or overburden that covered much of the slightly depressed midden surface.

Feature 25A, the overburden layer, did not cover the entire surface midden area, but it did cover most of it. It was considerably thinner than Feature 25B and occurred intermittently. It appears to have been used to fill in the low surface areas of the midden, as the top of this lens was relatively level and the bottom was undulating. Thickness varied from only a few centimeters to 10 cm. The reason why it is considered to be overburden is due to its mottled appearance and its mix of nineteenth century artifacts. Its appearance was a 10YR4/6 dark yellowish brown silt loam mottled with a 10YR3/3 dark brown silt loam (Figures 5.31 and 5.36). Excavation of this layer was done by excavating the east half first within the 4 m by 4 m Block A, then drawing a profile of the cross section line followed by the removal of the west half. Interestingly, ceramics recovered from this lens were generally earlier-dating than 25B, with both creamware and pearlware recovered along with whiteware. However, later-dating artifacts like a molded decorated ironstone saucer or muffin which dates ca. 1850s-1860s, a fused finished bottle lip (post-1865), and an amethyst colored glass bottle fragment were also recovered from this layer, suggesting mixing. This layer appears to be a secondary deposit, but it is unknown where the soil came from to fill in this area.

Feature 25B, the buried surface midden, was the largest of the two layers and also the thickest. It consisted of a 10YR4/4 dark yellowish brown silt loam gradually changing with depth to a 10YR4/6 dark yellowish brown silt loam (Figure 5.36). Variations in depth were inconsistent across its area, measuring from 10 to 25 cm thick. It was thickest along its southern boundary, just north of the trench, and thinned out along other edges. Excavation of this lens was conducted with the east half removed first, followed by the west half. Excavation was conducted in two levels, Levels 1 and 2, in order to observe any change in artifact frequency or type. Level 1 was only 5 cm thick and contained the highest frequency of artifacts. Level 2 varied in depth from 5 cm to 20 cm thick and contained very few historic artifacts (only about 16%

Block A East Wall Profile - Feature 25A and 25B



Zone I = Very Dark Grayish Brown (10YR3/2) silt loam w/ coal and brick fragments

Feature 25A = Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/6) silt clay mottled w/ Dark Brown (10YR3/3) silt loam

Feature 25B = Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) silt loam gradually changing with depth to Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/6)

Figure 5.36. East profile of Features 25A and 25B, Block A

of all the historic artifacts recovered from 25B) which led to the conclusion that 25B was a buried surface midden with the old surface being the top of Level 1. The subsoil beneath this layer was similar to Zone II across the site.

Charcoal and small brick fragments occurred throughout the feature, but mostly in Level 1 of Feature 25B. Numerous unidentifiable nail fragments and very few fragments of window glass were recovered, with considerably more nails from Level 1 than from Level 2. Level 1 contained several kitchen ceramics that dated to the mid-nineteenth century and consisted of mostly whiteware (transfer print and hand-painted decorated) with one blue transfer printed pearlware sherd. Two amethyst colored glass container fragments were also recovered from Level 1 of Features 25B. But, as there are no other later dating artifacts from Feature 25B and amethyst glass was recovered from Feature 25A above, they more than likely originated at the base of Feature 25A. A good amount of bone was recovered from Feature 25B, significantly more than from the overburden layer (Feature 25A). Both pig and cow bone were recovered from this midden as well as other unidentifiable medium-sized and small-sized mammals. Another indication that this lens was a buried surface was the size of some of the artifacts at the top of Level 1. Large fragments of whiteware, bone, flat stones, and brick fragments were all embedded into the upper part of this lens. Level 2 of Feature 25B also contained artifacts similar to Level 1, with mostly whiteware comprising the ceramics and one pearlware sherd.

Artifacts recovered from Feature 25A revealed a mixed deposit of artifacts from earlier-dating creamware to late nineteenth century amethyst glass (post-1880). Because of the mixed nature of the artifacts recovered and its appearance which indicates that it was deposited in one episode, this layer could only have been deposited after 1880. No ironstone was recovered from 25B, but printed and hand-painted whiteware (n = 27) with some pearlware (n = 2), indicating that this area was used during the Baber occupation and probably during the earlier period. Since very few artifacts were recovered from this buried surface, it does not appear to have been used extensively.

In summary, the addition located directly behind the western part of the main hotel/house building may have been a one-story addition that was probably built early in the Baber occupation and may have been dismantled as early as 1850 based on artifacts recovered from the architectural posts. However, two of the posts (Features 32 and 87) were pulled much later, probably during the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century. If so, there is a possibility that the entire structure was not dismantled until this time.

The addition appears to have been a walled structure with the southern wall unique in that it was constructed of large posts. This southern wall and its enigmatic group of posts may have served more than simply as a wall, but perhaps as a sort of ornamental screen. Over time, bone and ceramics and other refuse were discarded here on the surface which became a thin midden beneath the structure (Feature 25B). This midden, however, was not as rich in artifacts as the other midden on the site (Feature 1). One reason for this is probably because the southwest addition did not see the same amount of activities (food preparation in particular) that were constantly practiced around the detached kitchen where Feature 1 was located. Attempts were likely made to keep the addition area clean as it most likely was used by the guests of the hotel, and some artifacts may have been swept beneath the addition. Sometime later the surface was filled over with robbed soil (Feature 25A) from elsewhere on the site, probably to level the area which had become slightly depressed. This would have been done when the structure was still standing, however, as the overburden (Feature 25A) did not extend into or overlie the post line, but stopped short of it. The structure could have been dismantled shortly afterwards, however. If this addition was used throughout the Baber occupation, refuse, though limited, would have continued to be swept beneath the addition. Artifacts recovered from the plowzone in this area contained later-dating artifacts, but some identified ceramic vessels from the mixed 25A did cross-mend with artifacts recovered from the plowzone. There wasn't an unusually high amount of artifacts recovered in the plowzone above the midden, but the midden itself did not contain a high amount of artifacts. Of note is that the identified ceramic vessels recovered from 25B did not cross-mend with the above plowzone, but did mend with some of the features on the site that were filled in at an earlier time in the site occupation (Features 14 and 61). Features 14, a refuse pit, and Feature 61, a pit cellar, both appear to have been filled in by the 1840s. In addition, another vessel from 25B cross-mended with the bottom fill zone (Zone C) of a cellar, Feature 77. Zone C appears to have been a thin layer of fill that originated in the cellar during the feature's use. This cross-mending with these features suggests contemporaneity of usage. More discussion of these other features will follow in this chapter.

The Detached Kitchen

Behind the eastern half of the main house along the eastern edge of lot 13 lay the remains of a small, square-shaped, framed building. The location of this area was indicated by several architectural features. Feature 50, a chimney base, and four large corner post holes and molds (Features 111, 147, 254, 255) comprised most of the structure. Table 5.7 shows all of the artifacts recovered from these five features. In addition, several smaller posts running parallel on either side of the kitchen and behind the

Table 5.7. Main Features that Comprise the Detached Kitchen

	F 50 Builder's Trench	F 111 Post Hole/Mold	F 117 Post Hole	F 147 Post Mold	F 254 Post Hole	F 254 Post Mold	F 255 Post Hole/Mold
Kitchen							
Soft Paste	2				1		
Hard Paste		1				2	
Creamware				1			
Pearlware	8		8		3	4	1
Whiteware	9	1	17	2	10	10	1
Refined Redware						1	
Unidentifiable	3				1		
Container Glass	12		13	5	10	13	2
Burned/Melted	8				4		

Table 5.7. Main Features that Comprise the Detached Kitchen

	F 50 Builder's Trench	F 111 Post Hole/Mold	F 117 Post Hole	F 147 Post Mold	F 254 Post Hole	F 254 Post Mold	F 255 Post Hole/Mold
Table Glass			3	1			
Table Spoon					1		
Other Kitchen						20	
Bone Handle					1		
Total Kitchen	49	2	41	9	31	50	4
Architecture							
Brick		2	9	12	1	34	
Flat Glass	10	2	23	13	5	4	1
Cut Nail			1				
Late Cut Nail							
Other Metal			1			1	
Unidentified Nail	57	2	21	12	29	31	1
Wire Nail					1		
Building Stone			3			3	
Chinking/Daub					1		1
Mortar	14	1	7				
Total	81	7	62	37	37	73	3
Clothing	1		2		12		
Furniture	10		2				
Other	2		23		4		
Transportation	1		1				
Personal	8						
Fuel	1	1	2			11	
Total	153	10	133	46	84	134	7

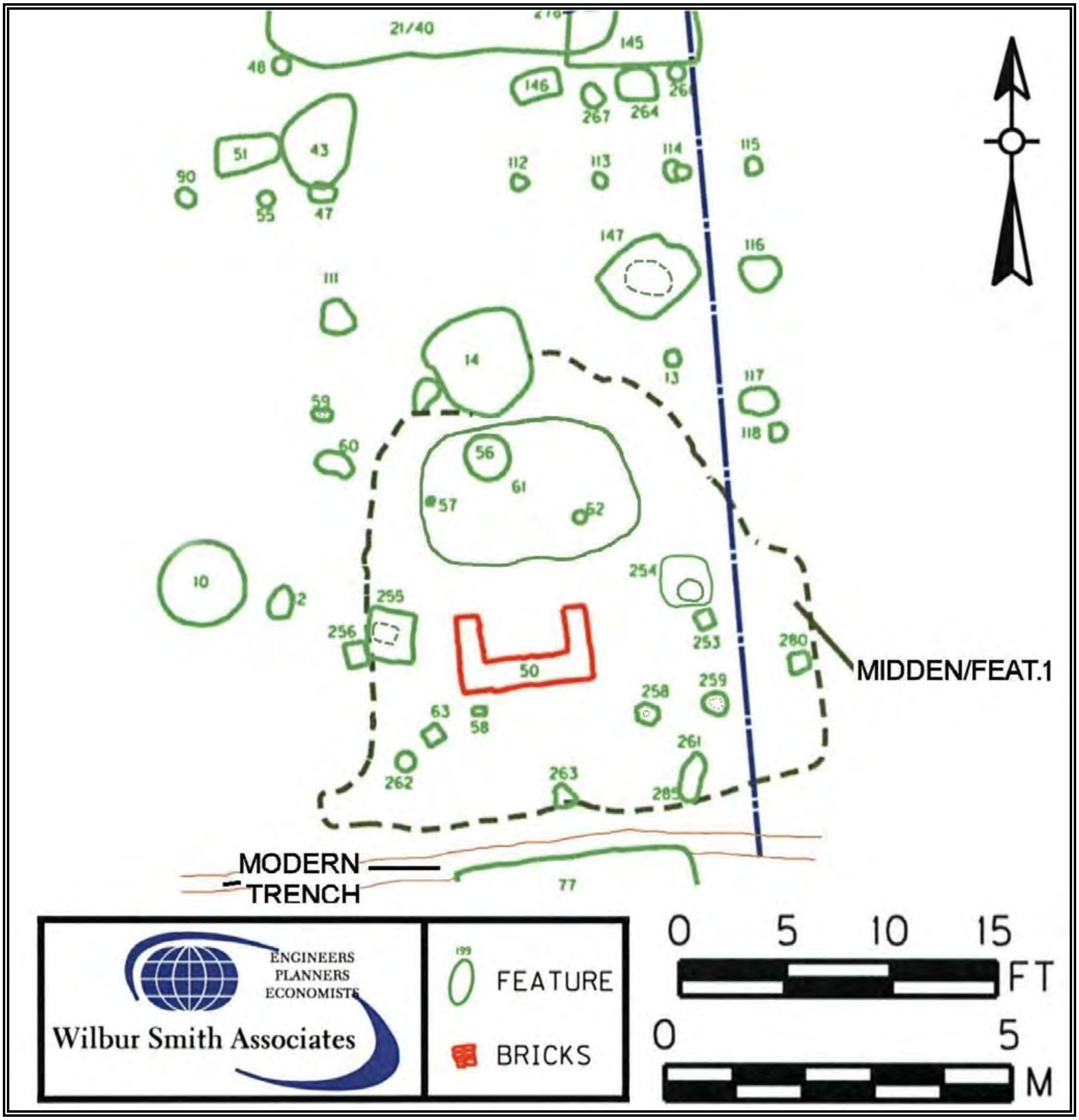


Figure 5.37. Detached kitchen

chimney may also be associated with the structure. Based on the location of these four posts and the chimney, the dimensions of the building were about 15 feet wide by 15 feet long (or 4.3 m by 4.3 m in area). Figure 5.37 shows a plan map of this structure. Besides the architectural features, there were at least three domestic features in this area that appear to be associated with the kitchen, including a small refuse pit (Feature 14), a pit cellar (Feature 61), and a midden (Feature 1) (Figure 5.2). The Feature 1 midden blanketed all of the area under and much of the area surrounding the kitchen. The presence of sandstone, nails, window glass, and other architectural debris from Feature 1 is likely from the kitchen, and along with the structure's associated posts, suggests that the kitchen was a framed structure. Each of these features is described below.

Chimney (Feature 50)

Feature 50 was a brick chimney base and C-shaped (Figures 5.37 through 5.41). It was oriented only slightly off west-east and faced north, which is parallel with the lot. Its location between two of the large posts (Features 254 and 255) suggests that the chimney marked the back or southern wall of the kitchen. Dimensions were 6 feet (1.9 m) east-west by 3.5 feet (1.05 m) north-south. The bricks were hand made and laid with mortar and were stacked seven courses high. Large, thin, stone slabs clustered together comprised an intact hearth. Also present was a builder's trench (Figures 5.37 through 5.41) which encompassed the entire chimney.

The feature was first encountered during the unit excavation phase of the mitigation, and as a result, several units were opened up over this area (Test Units 63, 65, and 66) in order to fully define it. During the unit excavation, the top of the chimney was actually encountered within the upper plowed Zone I and was found to extend into Zone II and the subsoil beneath. Only a selective portion of the chimney was first uncovered, but soon after the mechanical removal of the plow zone, the entire feature was uncovered and excavated. The builder's trench was continuous around the chimney and was also irregular in width, varying from 5 to 30 cm. Soil within the builder's trench was a brown (7.5YR4/3) silty loam with charcoal flecking that went as deep as 51 cm beneath the top of the hearth on the interior of the box and as deep as 35 cm on the outside.

The hearth measured 4.1 ft (1.26 m) east-west by 6.5 ft (2m) north-south with stone slabs that measured as large as 14 by 8 by 4 inches (35 by 20 by 10 cm). Soil between the slabs and immediately beneath them was a yellowish brown (10YR5/4), loosely textured, silty loam with some wood ash and charcoal flecking. It varied from 5 to 15 cm deep. Beneath the hearth layer was a brown (10YR5/3) mottled with dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silty clay subsoil turning to yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clay with depth. The brown coloration was the bleeding into the subsoil from the hearth layer. Very few artifacts were recovered from the hearth layer.

Although most of the artifacts recovered from the builder's trench includes sandstone and brick fragments, other artifacts that dated from the early to the mid-nineteenth century were also recovered. Of the kitchen related artifacts, ceramics were present and include bone china, creamware, pearlware and whiteware. Ironstone, a later-dating artifact, was not found in the trench. Other kitchen related artifacts recovered include container glass, table glass, egg shell, and bone. Architectural artifacts (late cut nails,

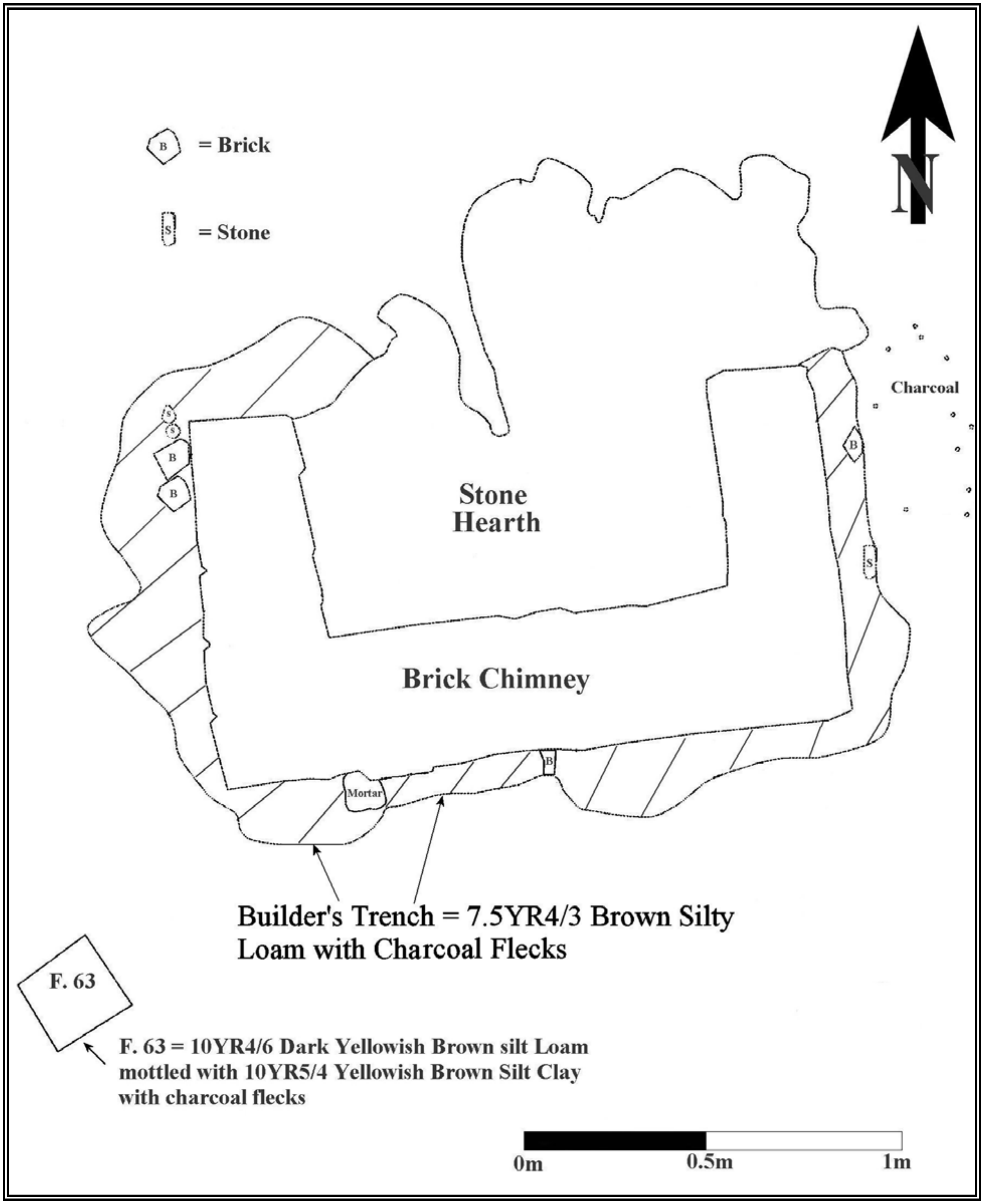


Figure 5.38. Feature 50 plan view

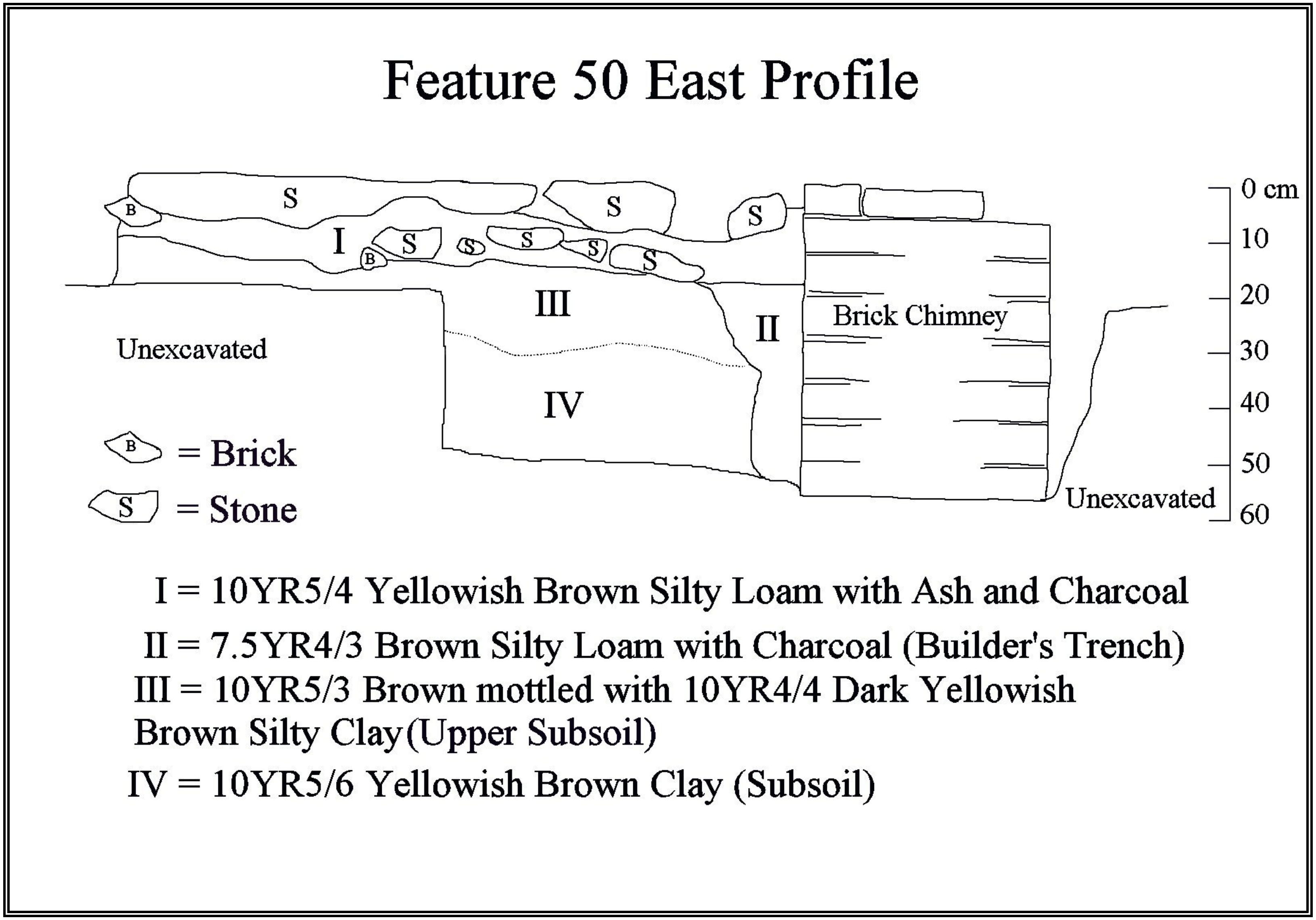


Figure 5.39. Feature 50 east profile

Figure 5.40. Feature 50, the chimney

Figure 5.41. Feature 50 and builder's trench

mortar, and window glass); clothing (shell and brass buttons); furnishings (lamp chimney glass); and personal (jewelry, marble, and straight pins with both spun and flat heads) artifacts were some of the other artifacts recovered from the builder's trench in Feature 50.

The intact builder's trench provided enough artifacts to help establish a rough date for the construction of the chimney. Based on the refined ware ceramic sherd count (n = 19), a mean ceramic date of 1832 was established for the builder's trench while a mean ceramic date based on the minimum refined ware vessel count (n = 6) from the trench was established at 1831. The identified ceramic vessels recovered from the trench were all early dating and consisted of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware. Those vessels that could be dated for their decoration extended into the 1840s. With no ironstone recovered from the trench, it seems likely that the chimney was in place sometime in the 1830s or early 1840s. One of the most striking aspects of the builder's trench was the large quantity of artifacts recovered from it. This quantity and type (kitchen, personal, furnishing, and clothing) certainly suggests that the chimney was constructed after some significant occupation (at least a few years) had occurred on the site. The chimney was therefore probably constructed in the late 1830s or early 1840s. This does not really contradict the mean ceramic dates since they date the manufacture of the ceramics, not their deposition.

Four Large Post Hole/Molds (Features 111, 147, 254, and 255)

Besides the chimney feature, four large post holes/molds (111, 147, 254, and 255) outlined the dimensions of the detached kitchen (Figure 5.42 - 5.44). Features 111 and 147 appeared roughly circular in plan view, while both Features 254 and 255 were distinctly square in shape. Dimensions between all of the posts/molds were similar with the exception of Feature 111, varying only slightly from 70 to 80 cm in diameter. Feature 111 was smaller and only about 50 cm in diameter. Depth was also similar in the other three features, measuring 30 to 47 cm. Feature 111 was shallow, however, measuring only 15 cm deep. The upper portion of this feature appears to have been destroyed. While no separate post mold was found within Feature 111, separate post molds were visible within the remaining three post features, although often hard to define. For instance, Feature 147's post mold was not detected until well into its excavation (approximately 29 cm bs) where a smaller, darker stain was noticed (a post mold). Most of the artifacts from the feature were recovered from the upper 20 cm, where it appears to have been mixed since no clear post mold was defined at this upper level. Feature 255 was also similar, with a deeper section defined well into excavation in the second half (western) that was probably where the post had been placed, but no clear mold was visible. Only Feature 254 clearly had a post mold that originated at the top of the defined feature (Figure 5.43). Clearly, Features 147 and 255 were both heavily disturbed when their posts were pulled.

Interestingly, these four posts appeared to align well with two pier holes (Features 43 and 264) which are part of the main hotel/house building, suggesting a possible ell extension (Figure 5.37). In this part of the main hotel/house, the southeast back wall, there were four piers clustered closely together (Features 43, 51, 146, and 264). Nowhere else in the main hotel were there as many pier holes concentrated in such a small area. It could be that both Feature 264 and 43 were deliberately placed for added support and alignment with the kitchen so that an ell extension might have been constructed later in the occupation. Unfortunately, Feature 43 was robbed and Feature 264 partially robbed so that a date of placement for these two piers is impossible to establish.

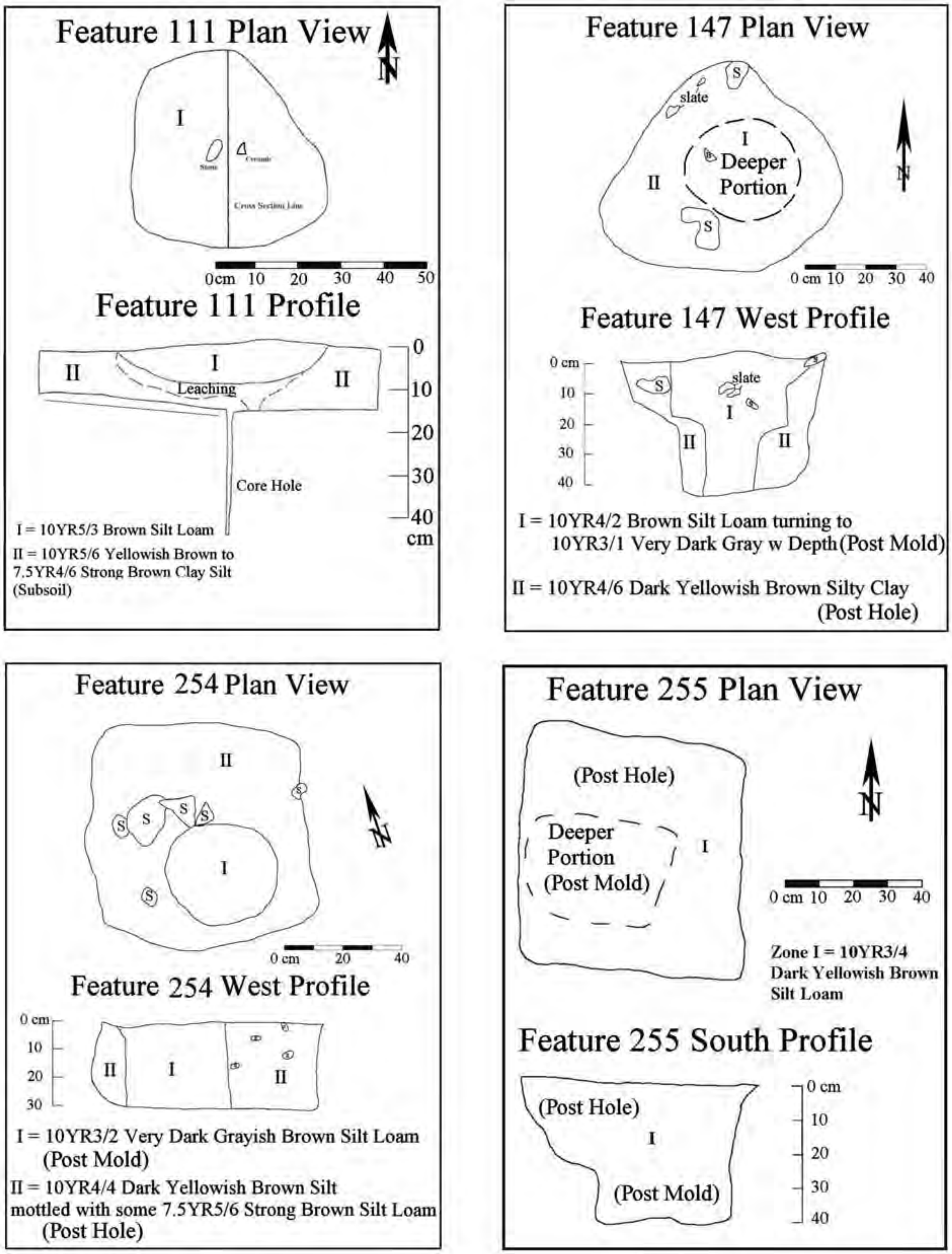


Figure 5.42. Detached kitchen main posts

Figure 5.43. Feature 254 with post hole and mold, west

The artifacts recovered from these four posts are listed in Table 5.7. Artifacts recovered from these posts include early to mid-nineteenth century ceramics (bone china, Chinese export porcelain, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and refined redware). In addition, early, middle, and late nineteenth century container glass (hand-formed lips, two-piece mold with a pontil mark, leaded table glass, a late tooled/fused finished bottle lip, etc.) was also recovered from these posts. Two of the features, Features 111 and 255, contained a very small quantity of artifacts (10 or less), while Features 147 and 254 contained considerably more artifacts (Table 5.7).

Feature 254 clearly had a post mold and post hole (Figure 5.43) so its artifacts could easily be separated. Artifacts recovered from the post hole of Feature 254 were mostly early to middle nineteenth century (creamware, hand-painted and transfer print decorated whiteware) (Table 5.7). However, a late nineteenth or early twentieth century artifact, a wire nail, was also recovered from the hole suggesting disturbance from the pulling of the post (Table 5.7). With the presence of a nail, the TPQ for the hole would be 1880. The post mold of Feature 254 contained only nineteenth century artifacts, and the latest-dating artifact recovered from it is a whiteware saucer (Vessel #489) with a "Fluted Pearl" molded pattern that postdates 1846 (Wetherbee 1981). Due to the presence of the wire nail, however, it is likely that the post was pulled in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Feature 147 contained the second highest quantity of artifacts of the four post molds/holes (n = 179). As mentioned above, separation of the post mold from the post hole was difficult, and all of the upper 26 cm beneath scraped surface appeared to be heavily disturbed from demolition. Below 26 cm, however, a distinction between mold and post was evident. Both were separated during the remaining excavation, but no artifacts were recovered from the mold. Artifacts recovered from the hole, however, were numerous, but mostly recovered in the upper 26 cm where it was disturbed. A TPQ for the upper 26 cm of the hole is 1870 based on the recovery of a bottle with a fused, improved-tooled finish lip (Deiss 1981). The lower part of the hole beneath 26 cm was also separated from the upper hole. Considerably fewer artifacts were recovered from the lower part of the hole, and the only temporally sensitive ones consisted of one creamware sherd, one hand-painted whiteware sherd, one transfer print decorated whiteware sherd, and one blown in mold leaded table glass fragment (Table 5.7). A fill date for this seemingly undisturbed lower post hole could date early then, suggesting the post placement was also early.

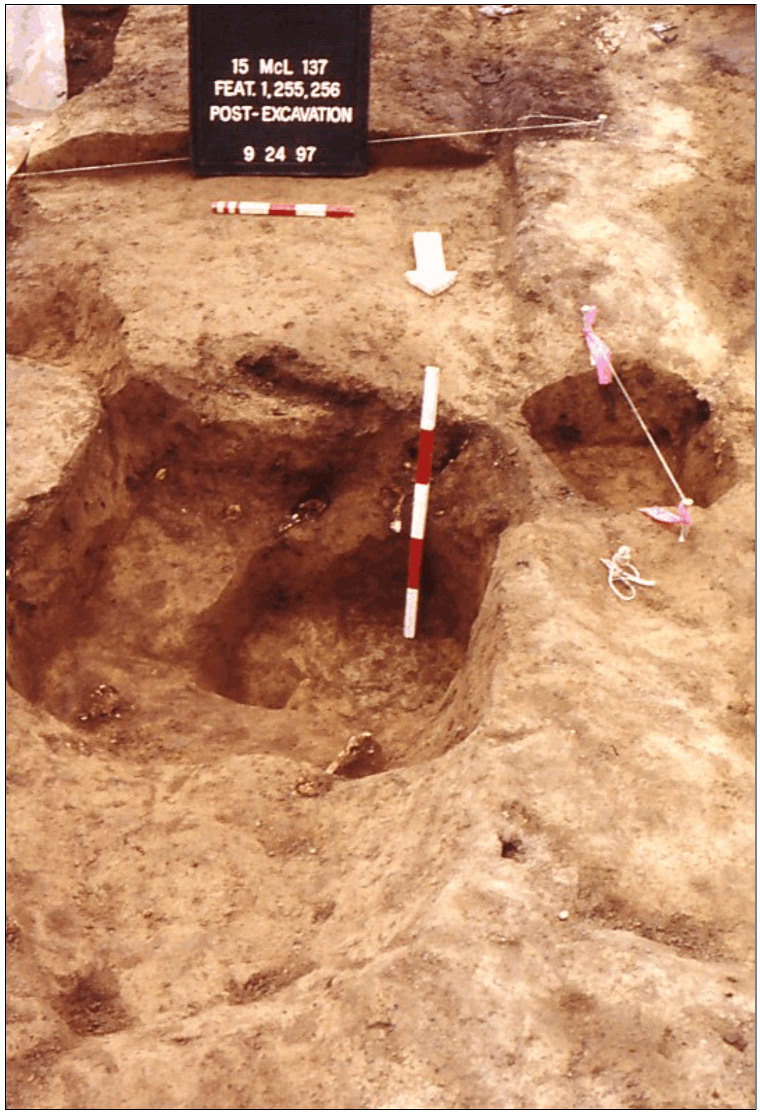


Figure 5.44. Post-excavation of Features 255 (left) and 256 (right) with Feature 1 in background, looking south (F. 255 post mold located in deep area at base of scale)

Very few artifacts were recovered from Features 111 and 255, but what was recovered consisted of nineteenth century artifacts (pearlware, whiteware, Chinese export porcelain, etc.). All artifacts from Feature 255 were recovered from the disturbed post hole, with nothing recovered from the post mold which was defined at a lower depth. Since no later-dating artifacts like those found in Features 147 and 254 were recovered from Features 111 and 255, it is difficult to say if these two posts were demolished at the same time as the others. One puzzling aspect of the four features was the smaller dimension of Feature 111 in comparison with the other three post mold/holes. No actual mold was defined in Feature 111. A theory for the reason that Feature 111 is so much smaller than the other three posts may be that what was defined as Feature 111 was actually the mold. If so, the hole was too diffuse to define during excavation. Looking at the plan of all four features, Feature 111 appears to be similar in size to the other post molds. This theory is uncertain, however. Another possibility is that Feature 111 was actually a robbed pier hole. Feature 111 may also simply have been a demolished and shallow post hole.

As with Feature 50, it seems that for the large amount of ceramics and glass to have been found in Features 147 and 254, an occupation must have occurred for a short time on the site prior to building the kitchen. If so, then the detached kitchen may have been built a few years after the main structure.

Figure 5.45. Feature 59 mid-excavation north profile (note stones at base)

Perhaps a temporary kitchen was located inside the main hotel/house until the detached kitchen was in place.

Posts

There were 12 small posts (Features 13, 58, 59, 60, 63, 253B, 256, 258, 259, 262, 263, and 285) present near the detached kitchen that may have served the purpose of scaffolding posts and/or posts for an addition of the kitchen structure. A particularly large cluster of posts was present near the chimney (Features 58, 63, 258, 259, 261-263, and 285). Some of these posts were located along the outer edges of the detached kitchen (Features 13, 59 and 60). Some were located to the rear of the chimney (Features 258, 259, and 262) and may also have been posts for an addition. Two of these posts (259 and 262) were in alignment with the four larger posts for the kitchen and could be considered corner posts for a larger, expanded structure. If so, then the chimney would have been located inside, making the dimensions of the kitchen slightly larger than the original dimensions. With the amount of people living at the hotel increasing during its initial success, the added working space may have been a necessity, especially if the kitchen provided some sort of dining area to the workers or other guests.

These posts varied in shape from square to round in plan view and varied from 16 to 36 cm in length and from 13 to 31 cm in width. Depth ranged from 7 to 43 cm with all tops originating at sub-plowzone. Table 5.8 summarizes all of the dimensions and morphological shapes of these post features. Of these posts, three (Features 59, 258, and 259) were post holes with molds still present. The remaining ones were post holes with no discernable molds or post molds with no visible post hole. Some also contained small stones for chinking. Most of the posts had tapering walls and flat bottoms. Figures 5.45 and 5.46 illustrate some of these posts. Features 13, 59, 60, 256, and 285 were located outside the midden limits of Feature 1, while most of the remaining posts were not discovered until the midden was removed. If these posts did originate at the top of the midden, they may have been hard to define as most of the post

Table 5.8. Small Post Features in Kitchen Area

Feature	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Depth (cm)	Morphology Form	With Post Mold
13	31	28	38	square plan, straight walls, flat base	
58	18	18	12	square plan, straight walls, flat base	
59	16	13	43	circular plan, straight walls, round base	yes
60	34	20	21	oval plan, tapering walls, flat base	
63	26	26	17	square plan, straight walls, flat base	
253B	28	28	16	square plan, tapered walls, flat base	
256	33	30	15	square plan, tapered walls, flat base	
258	28	28	15	square plan, tapered walls, flat base	yes
259	36	31	17	circular plan, tapered walls, flat base	yes
262	25	25	7	circular plan, tapered walls, round base	
263	32	25	11	irregular plan, tapered walls, round base	
285	25	23	14	square plan, straight walls, flat base	

fill was similar to the midden. Only one post (Feature 262) was defined during the excavation of Feature 1 and clearly intruded into Feature 1.

Although artifacts recovered from these features were generally few in number, most did contain some diagnostics that helped to calculate a date for the placement or removal of many of the posts. Most of the artifacts recovered from Feature 59 were from the post mold with only a few artifacts (three unidentifiable nails and one undecorated pearlware sherd) from the post hole. For only pearlware to have been recovered from the post hole suggests that the post may have been in place early in the site history. The only temporally sensitive artifacts recovered from the post mold of Feature 59 include a creamware

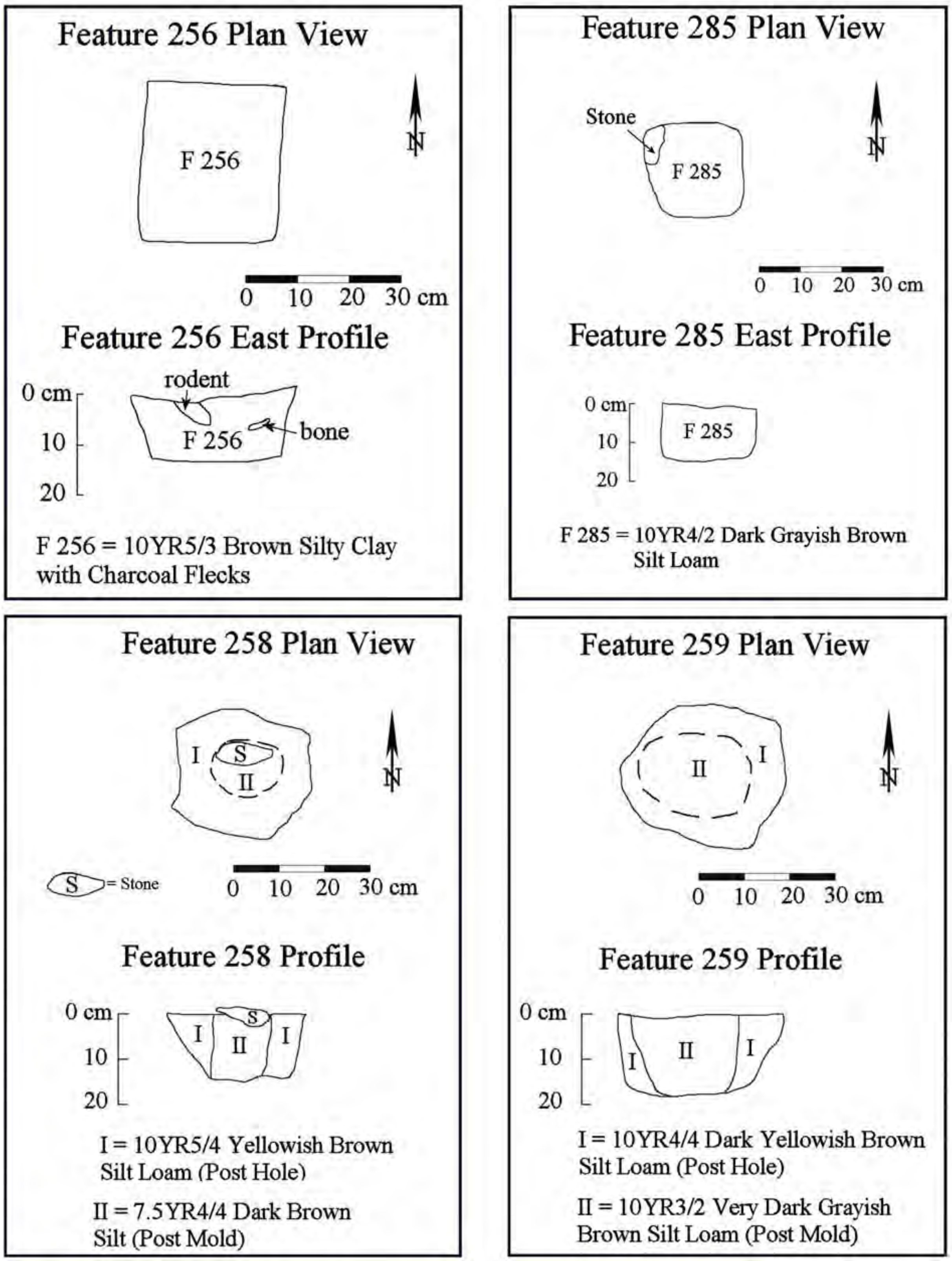


Figure 5.46. Smaller posts associated with the detached kitchen

sherd and a pearlware sherd. Because of the mold, the post appears to have been pulled early as well. Feature 258, which also had a post hole and mold, contained a small amount of artifacts. A Chinese export sherd, a pearlware sherd, and a salt glazed domestic stoneware sherd were both recovered from the hole and, like Feature 59, may again suggest an early placement of the post. Early artifacts were also recovered from the mold of Feature 258 and include an undecorated pearlware sherd, which also suggests an early removal of the post. Something else to consider for both Features 59 and 258 is that although artifacts were early from both of these features, they were so few in number that their dates may be erroneous. The third feature that contained both a post hole and mold was Feature 259, and it did contain more artifacts than Features 59 and 258, but very few diagnostic ones. Unfortunately, the majority of the material recovered from the hole was architectural and consisted mostly of unidentified nails. Diagnostic artifacts from the mold include hand-painted whiteware and a cut nail, which only shows that the post was probably pulled after 1830.

The remaining posts could be post holes and molds or simply molds for the smaller features like Feature 58, which measured only 18 cm in diameter. No distinction between hole or mold could be defined in any of these posts. All are considered to have been pulled as there was no evidence of decay or wood in place. Therefore, dating the construction of them is impossible.

Feature 58 contained a pearlware sherd, but also a late cut nail, indicating only that it was pulled sometime after 1830. Feature 253 B, which had a comparatively higher amount of artifacts than the other posts, contained a mixture of pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone. The presence of ironstone indicates that it likely was pulled after 1840. Another post, Feature 60, contained a mix of early to late nineteenth century artifacts.

Ceramics in the remaining posts include Chinese export porcelain, creamware, pearlware, and whiteware. Other material recovered from some of the posts include small to moderate amounts of bone, eggshell, some window glass, unspecified cut nails, unidentified nails, mortar, and brick fragments.

Something important to consider about the destruction of these posts is that except for Features 13, 59, 60, and 256, all of these posts were defined beneath the midden (Feature 1). Since the fill for the posts was very similar to the midden and contains bone and eggshell, most or all of these posts may have originated much higher than originally defined. The midden then may have developed around each post, and it was only when they were pulled that they were filled with some of the midden. As a result, it would have been hard to see the posts until either beneath or near the base of the midden. Also, some of the material found in these post holes/molds would have originated from the midden. If so, these smaller posts could only have been pulled after the midden had time to develop, suggesting that it was later in the nineteenth century when they were dismantled.

Feature 61 (Pit Cellar)

Feature 61 was an oval, shallow pit cellar located between Features 14 (a refuse pit) and the chimney, Feature 50 (Figures 5.2, 5.37 and 5.47 - 5.49). Feature 61 was identified while excavating Feature 1 (midden) which appears to overlie Feature 61. The feature was defined within unit excavation (Test Units 73, and 78 through 82) and cross sectioned lengthwise with the north half removed first. Dimensions were 5 and ½ feet (1.7 m) north-south by 9 feet (2.7 m) east-west (Figure 5.48). Given its location within the kitchen, it may have been in association with it and constructed at the same time.

Feature 61 appears to have been filled in one episode. The fill was a loosely consolidated, dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) silt loam mixed with a dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) silt loam and a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silt loam with charcoal flecking (Figure 5.48). The feature was shallow with gently sloping walls and a slightly flat bottom (Figure 5.48). Depth is 42 cm below surface. There were two intrusive features, Feature 56 (a burned area) and 57 (a small post). Feature 57 certainly postdates Feature 61, but the artifacts recovered from Feature 56 were contemporaneous with Feature 61. Given the diffuse boundary between the two features, what is most likely is that Feature 56 is a burning episode which either occurred during the filling of Feature 61 or occurred elsewhere on the site and which was then used for fill.

Figure 5.47. Features 50 (foreground) and 61 (background), looking north

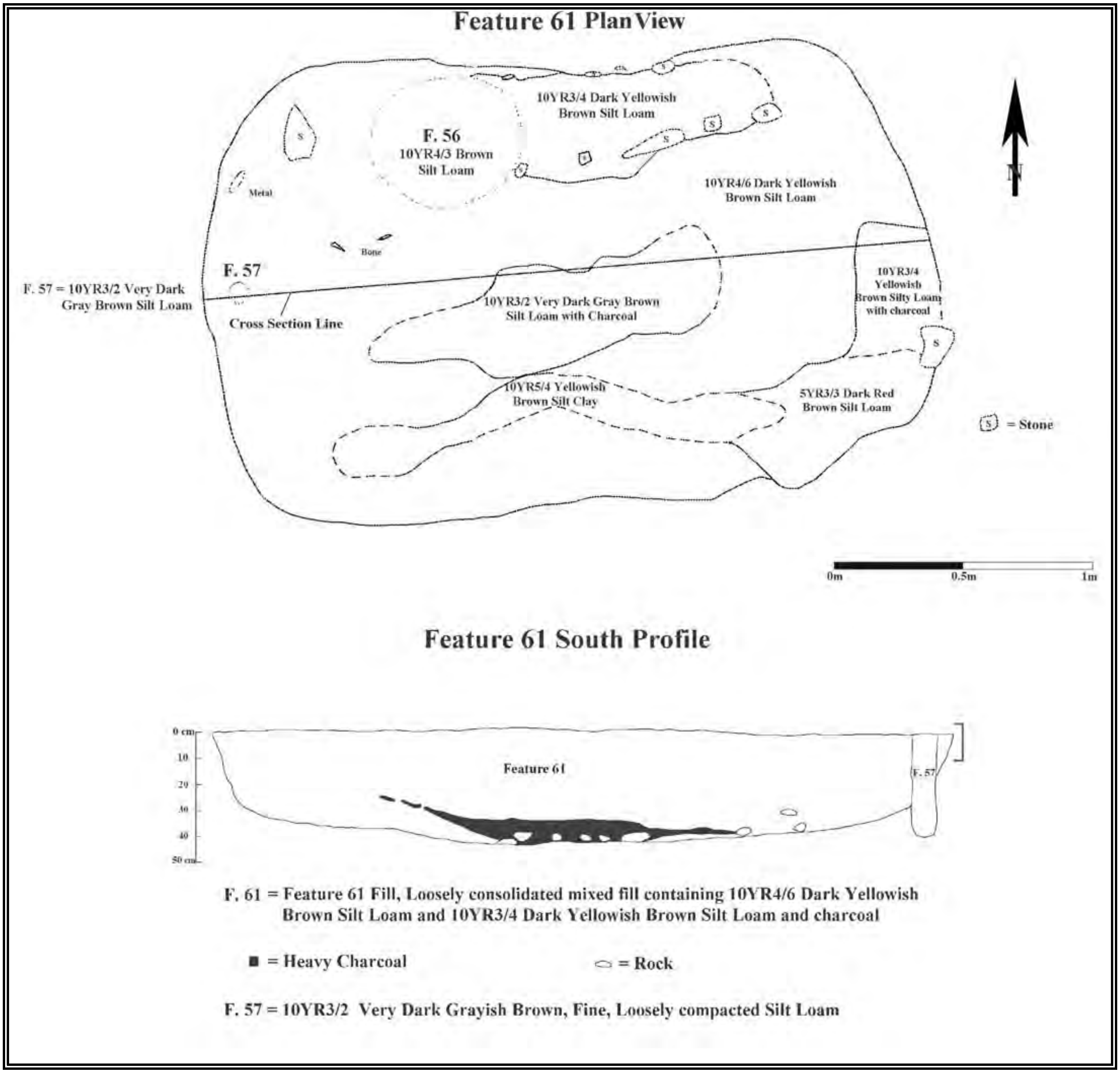


Figure 5.48. Feature 61 plan view and profile

Figure 5.49. Feature 61, looking south

Artifacts recovered from Feature 61 include mostly stone. Other material recovered from the feature fill include early to middle nineteenth century kitchen debris, including a large quantity of bone, ceramics (Chinese export porcelain, creamware, pearlware, and whiteware), table glass, container glass, eating utensils, and egg shell. Table 5.9 shows the artifacts recovered from Feature 61, as well as artifacts recovered from Feature 14, the nearby refuse pit. Architectural refuse from Feature 61 include late cut nails, window glass, and brick fragments. Personal related artifacts include both straight pins with spun and flat heads and a slate pencil. Clothing related items include bone buttons, shell buttons, and a brass button.

A mean ceramic date was calculated using the refined ware sherds from Feature 61, yielding a date of 1833. The presence of late cut nails from Feature 61 also provides a post-1830 date for deposit. Minimum vessel analysis was completed for Feature 61 after the Phase III mitigation, and a mean ceramic date derived from these vessels yielded a date of 1832. Perhaps the most telling artifacts were two whiteware vessels with identifiable importer's marks on them. One serving dish (Vessel #341, see Appendix C) contained "Henderson, Walton, and Co." that dates from 1834 to 1836 (Black and Brandimarte 1987). Another serving dish vessel (Vessel #325) contained a portion of the "Davenport" mark and could only have been imported beginning in 1832. With the lack of ironstone recovered from

Table 5.9. Artifacts from Features 14 and 61

	F 14	F 61
Kitchen		
Soft Paste Porcelain	1	
Hard Paste Porcelain	1	1
Creamware	11	1
Pearlware	16	45
Whiteware	87	64
Unrefined Redware	3	
Stoneware	2	
Unidentifiable Refined Earthenware	6	7
Container Glass	154	145
Burned/Melted Unidentified Glass	1	25
Table Glass	8	7
Undetermined Glass	5	10
Other Kitchen Metal	19	1
Bone Handle		1
Total Kitchen	314	307
Architecture		
Brick	36	5
Flat Glass	77	24
Cut Nail Unspecified	4	9
Late Cut Nail	6	23
Other Metal Hardware	7	
Unidentified Nail	197	327
Chinking/Daub		12
Mortar	1	
Total Architecture	328	400
Clothing	48	9
Furniture	13	

Table 5.9. Artifacts from Features 14 and 61

	F 14	F 61
Job/Activity	2	1
Other	102	33
Transportation	1	
Personal	25	14
Fuel	1	3
Total	834	767

this cellar, Feature 61 may have been filled in around 1840 or shortly afterwards. If so, the feature's use may have been short-lived. However, it appears to have been filled in before the midden (Feature 1) developed, since the midden was overlying it. Some of the refined ceramic vessels recovered from Feature 61 did cross-mend with other features, mostly Feature 1 (midden) and nearby Feature 14 (refuse pit). Ceramic vessels from Feature 61 also cross-mend with the other midden (Feature 25B) and the bottom (Zone C) of a cellar, Feature 77. Although three vessels from Feature 61 cross-mended with one of the large corner posts for the kitchen, Feature 254, the context of the artifacts is a disturbed upper portion of the post hole. Still, Feature 61 must have been filled in early in the Baber occupation, based on the type of artifacts recovered from it and its contemporaneous usage along with other early features like Features 14, 25B, and 77. Feature 61 could possibly pre-date the kitchen or at least was filled in early in the kitchen's history.

Feature 14 (Refuse Pit)

Feature 14 was a roughly circular, shallow pit located only 10 cm north of Feature 61 (Figures 5.2, 5.37, and 5.50 - 5.51). Based on artifact recovery and feature location, Feature 14 appeared to be associated with Feature 61 and probably the detached kitchen. Feature 14 was identified initially through unit excavation during the Phase II testing. The east half was excavated during the testing and was then fully excavated for the Phase III investigation. Dimensions of this pit were 4.9 feet by 4.9 feet (or 1.5 m by 1.5 m). The feature was shallow and basin-shaped. Depth was 30 cm from the base of the plowzone or 54 cm below surface (Figures 5.50 and 5.51) A concentration of artifacts was visible in the plowzone, which indicates that the feature originated at a level closer to the present surface. Feature 1 did not overlie this feature, but was located adjacent to the south and east of Feature 14 (Figure 5.50).

There were two fills present in Feature 14. Zone A was a brown to dark yellowish brown (10YR4/3 to 4/4) silt with heavy charcoal flecking (Figure 5.51). Artifacts were heavy within this zone and include mostly kitchen debris (Table 5.9). These artifacts were similar to those recovered in Feature 61 except that Feature 14 contained more artifacts. Ceramics were prominent in Feature 14 and include creamware, pearlware, bone china, early whiteware, Lustre Ware redware, and domestic stoneware. The number of ceramics, especially whiteware, was significantly greater than those recovered from Feature

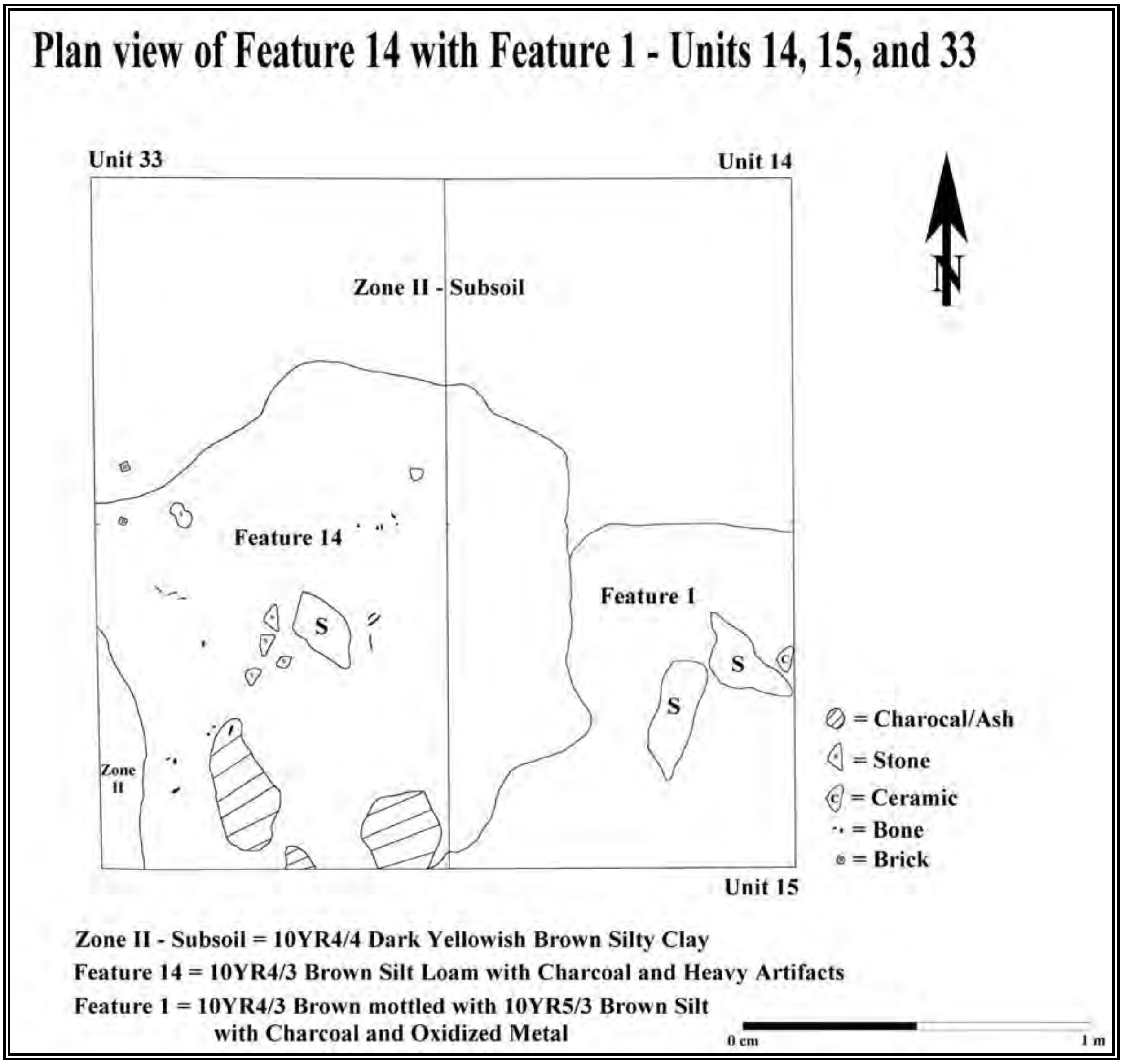


Figure 5.50. Feature 14 plan view

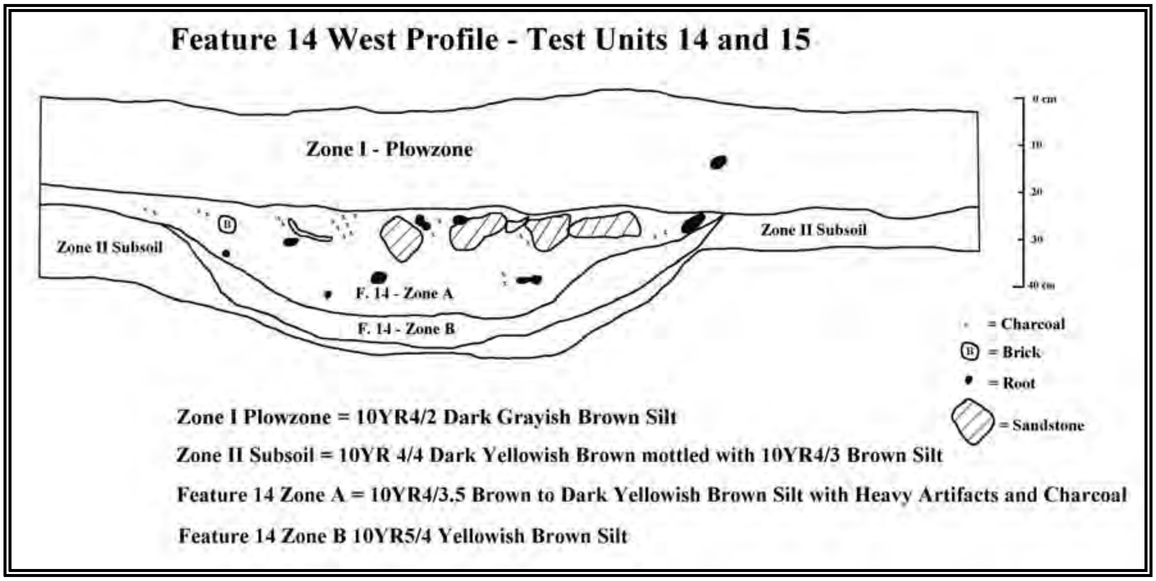


Figure 5.51. West profile of Feature 14, Units 14 and 15

Figure 5.52. West profile of Feature 14, Units 14 and 15

61, but the amount of container glass recovered was similar in both features. Feature 61, however, contained significantly more pearlware sherds (Table 5.9). In addition, other kitchen material recovered from Feature 14 includes table glass, eating utensils, tin can fragments, egg shell, mollusk shell, and bone. Architectural related artifacts include brick fragments, mortar, late cut nails, and window glass. Personal artifacts were also recovered and include an eyeglass lens, marbles, several straight pins with both spun head and flat head, and a thimble (Table 5.9).

Zone B was void of artifacts and was a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) silt (Figure 5.51). It appears to be a natural flood deposit, since very few artifacts were recovered, and it was a thin lens lining the edges of the feature.

A mean ceramic date was calculated using the refined ware sherds from Feature 14, yielding a date of 1835, very similar to Feature 61. The presence of late cut nails from Feature 14 also provides a post-1830 date for this deposit. A mean ceramic date derived from the minimum number of ceramic vessels revealed a date of 1836. Importer's marks and maker's marks were found on a pearlware vessel and three whiteware vessels and indicate that Feature 14 had to have been filled in after 1836. The pearlware vessel (Vessel #262) was a saucer that contained a "Davenport" maker's mark from 1836 (Godden 1964:189). A whiteware plate (Vessel #329) with a "Henderson and Gaines, New Orleans" import mark dates from 1836 to 1866 (Pollan et al. 1996) while its pattern, Legend of Montrose, was identified as only manufactured until 1860 (Williams 1978:519), making the date range for this particular vessel from 1836 to 1860. Another whiteware serving dish (Vessel #341) with a Swiss Lake pattern (Williams and Weber 1986:249-251) contained a "Henderson Walton and Co./ Importers/ New Orleans" importer's mark and could only have been imported from 1834 to 1836 (Pollan et al. 1996). Finally, a fourth whiteware twiffler (Vessel #342) had "Enock Wood and Sons" maker's mark which would have dated no later than 1846 (Williams 1978:260). Like Feature 61, the lack of ironstone recovered from this refuse pit suggests that it may have been filled in around 1840 or shortly afterwards. Also like Feature 61, the feature's use may have been short-lived, and it appears to have been filled in before the kitchen fell to disuse or possibly even before it was built.

Ceramic vessels recovered from this feature cross-mend with vessels mostly from the midden (Feature 1) and nearby Feature 61, suggesting contemporaneity of usage with Feature 61 and perhaps the earliest beginnings of the midden. Two other vessels from Feature 14 cross-mend with the bottom layer (Zone C) of Feature 77, a cellar located behind the kitchen. Since Zone C of Feature 77 is considered to be the result of site usage, contemporaneity of usage for both Features 14 and 77 is likely. A ceramic recovered from the builder's trench of Feature 50 (kitchen chimney) cross-mended with Feature 14, suggesting that the pit could have been in use prior to the construction of the kitchen or that it was filled when the kitchen was constructed. Although two sherds from Feature 14 cross-mended with the post hole and the post mold from one of the large corner kitchen posts, Feature 254, both the post mold and upper hole are disturbed. As mentioned earlier, another vessel from Feature 14 also cross-mended with the other midden on the site, Feature 25B.

Feature 14 is interpreted as a small trash pit used contemporaneously with Feature 61, the pit cellar. Like Feature 61, Feature 14 also lay within the area of the detached kitchen and may have been initially used prior to its construction or during the earlier use of the kitchen and the initial midden deposition

(Feature 1). Both features appear to have been filled in by 1840 or shortly after and represent the earliest period of the Baber occupation.

Feature 1 (Midden)

Feature 1 is an early to mid-nineteenth century midden that occurred in the area of the kitchen (Figures 5.2, 5.37, 5.44, 5.50, and 5.53 - 5.55). It was first encountered during Phase II testing and then later excavated with units in the Phase III mitigation. Due to its extensive size, much of it was defined after the mechanical removal of the plowzone. Figure 5.53 shows most of this midden after the removal of the plowzone, with the exception of the immediate area surrounding Feature 50 to the south and previously excavated Feature 61 to the north. Although the boundaries of this midden were diffuse and the variations in depth occurred across its area, Feature 61 appeared to lie beneath Feature 1, suggesting that Feature 61 was filled in earlier. The midden did not cover Feature 50, but it did surround the chimney (Figure 5.37). Feature 1 appears to have covered all other features within its boundaries, although this is not entirely certain as many of the pulled posts had Feature 1 fill within them and were hard to define until the midden layer was removed. Feature 1 varied in depth from 5 to 10 cm with undulating pockets throughout (Figure 5.55). It was generally a 10YR3/4 dark brown silt loam and contained a large quantity of artifacts and charcoal. A significant amount of bone was recovered from this midden, along with other kitchen debris.

Feature 77, a rock-filled cellar just to the south of the chimney (Feature 50), had a midden-like layer overlying it which may be part of Feature 1. Although the excavation of Feature 1 within units north of Feature 77 found the midden to end at Feature 50 (Figure 5.2), Feature 77 was only located a short distance south of this fireplace, and its upper layer (Zone A) appears to resemble the Feature 1 midden. Unfortunately, a modern waterline trench cutting between Features 50 and 77 has destroyed any chance of physically linking the two middens (Figures 5.2 and 5.37). A comparison of artifacts recovered from both features showed that several refined ceramic vessels cross-mended. However, most of these vessels were recovered from the lowest level of Feature 77 (Zone C), which appears to be a thin layer that accumulated during the period of use for the cellar. Therefore, Feature 77's Zone A was probably a midden that accumulated after the cellar was filled in.

Artifacts were numerous in Feature 1 and include mostly kitchen related material. Table 5.10 shows the artifacts recovered. Ceramics include a broad range of early to middle nineteenth century sherds including bone china, Chinese export porcelain, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, redware, and domestic stoneware. Very little redware and stoneware was recovered, which is interesting in that it seems that this area would have served for numerous types of food preparation activities. Also, very little ironstone was recovered. Whiteware was the most represented refined ceramic recovered, followed by pearlware, then creamware. Bone was especially large in quantity. Other kitchen artifacts include egg shell, mollusk shell, table glass, container glass, kettle fragments, and metal eating utensils. Architectural material was also abundant and includes late cut nails, window glass, mortar, and brick fragments. No wire nails were recovered from the midden, although several later nineteenth century glass containers and

Figure 5.53. Feature 1 surrounding Feature 50, the detached kitchen chimney. The portion around Feature 50 and overlying Feature 61 has been excavated, looking west.

Figure 5.54. Feature 1, Units 73, 78, 79, and 80

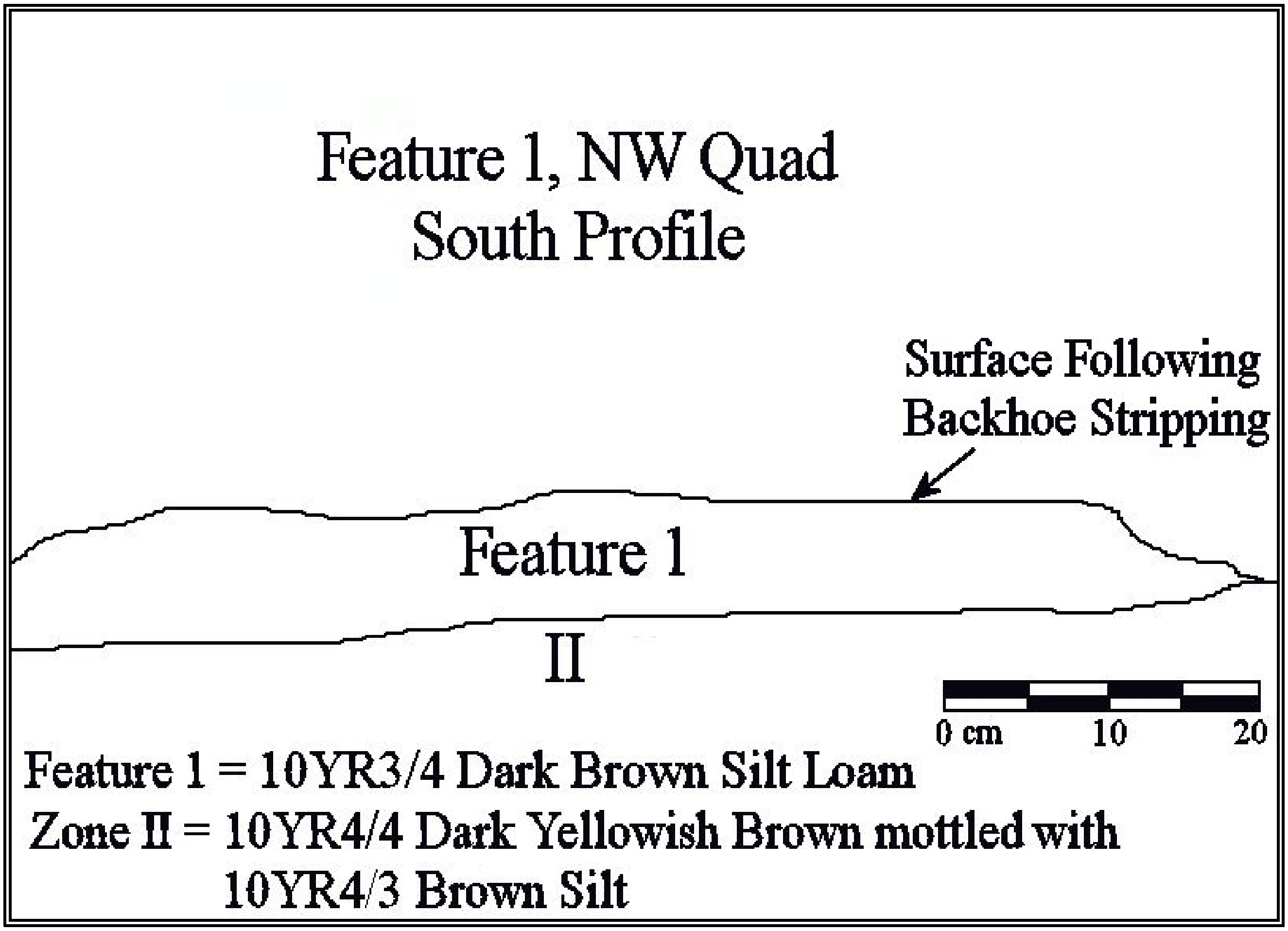


Figure 5.55. Feature 1, NW quad, south profile

ceramic vessels were recovered. The significantly higher number of unidentified nails (n = 820) in comparison to identifiable late cut nails (n = 7) and cut nails (n = 9) illustrates the poor preservation of most of the nails here due to constant flooding. Other artifact groups represented from the midden include personal items (jewelry, marbles, smoking pipes, flat-headed and spun round-headed straight pins, and a writing slate), and clothing items (bone buttons, metal buttons, and shell buttons).

Minimum vessel analysis revealed several vessels from Feature 1 cross-mended with other features on the site, including Features 10, 14, 22, 40, 61, 77, 145, and 210. Cross-mends with earlier-dating Features 14 and 61 are likely the result of the features being filled in around the time that the midden was being formed. Cross-mends with structural posts from the detached kitchen (Features 63 and 254) suggest that the midden was in place around the same time construction of the detached kitchen occurred.

Table 5.10. Artifacts from Feature 1, the Midden

	N	%
Kitchen		
Soft Paste Porcelain	8	0.3
Hard Paste Porcelain	2	0.1
Creamware	32	1.2
Pearlware	258	9.8
Whiteware	492	19.0
Ironstone	6	0.1
Unrefined Redware	1	0.0
Domestic Stoneware	37	1.4
Unidentifiable Refined Earthenware	35	1.3
Container Glass	294	11.1
Burned/Melted Unidentified Glass	91	3.5
Table Glass	33	1.3
Undetermined Glass	18	0.7
Bottle Cap	2	0.1
Kettle	3	0.1
Table Spoon	5	0.2
Other Kitchen Metal	1	0.0
Bone Handle	1	0.0
Architecture		
Brick	16	0.6
Flat Glass	224	8.5
Cut Nail Unspecified	9	0.3

Table 5.10. Artifacts from Feature 1, the Midden

	N	%
Late Cut Nail	7	0.3
Other Metal Hardware	2	0.1
Unidentified Nail	820	31.1
Mortar	30	1.1
Clothing	27	1.0
Furniture	19	0.7
Job/Activity	1	0.0
Other	125	4.7
Personal	33	1.3
Arms	1	0.0
Total	**2637**	**99.9**

A mean ceramic date utilizing the ceramic sherds from the Feature 1 midden yielded a date of 1838. A mean ceramic date derived from ceramic vessels recovered from the midden (n = 163) is 1836. However, the presence of ironstone and later dating glass vessels (a bottle that dates from 1851 to 1861 and a canning jar lid or seal that dates from the 1850s to 1860s) suggests that the midden had a longer life span than the pit/cellar features and was used from the late 1830s to the 1860s. The mean ceramic dates suggest that the bulk of this deposition occurred in the first half of the Baber occupation.

Feature 1 is interpreted as a large ash midden that extended under and beyond the detached kitchen. The midden would have undergone gradual refuse deposition under the structure and beyond it to the south, west, and east. The midden appears to have been deposited over many years with mostly early to middle nineteenth century artifacts, but also some late nineteenth century items.

The Yard Features

The back lot of the Baber Hotel would have served as the location for a variety of job activities and also would have served as the location for several outbuildings. These outbuildings would have been built for specific functions. The Phase III archaeological investigation resulted in the finding of several types of features within the yard of the Baber Hotel which dated to its occupation. These features included a well (Feature 10), three cellars (Features 22, 77, and 139), two cisterns actually in the side yard of the main building (Features 210 and 211), four privies (Features 163, 173, 224, and 249), and three refuse pits (Features 12, 126, and 286) (Figure 5.2). Table 5.11 shows artifacts from these features.

Well (Feature 10)

As a water source, the construction of a well or cistern would have been as important a first task as building shelter for the family, although the nearby river would have also acted as a temporary water source until a well or cistern could be built. But it is not surprising that the cisterns were located close to the dwelling, nor surprising to find the well close to the dwelling, especially the kitchen. Easy access to water would have been considered most important for the inhabitants of the house, and water would have been essential for numerous tasks such as food preparation, cleaning, bathing, etc.

Feature 10 was located in the immediate back yard and just west of the detached kitchen. Figures 5.2, 5.56 - 5.59 show illustrations of the feature, and Table 5.11 shows the artifacts recovered from it. Feature 10 was first encountered in the Phase II investigation, where it was thought to be either a well or a privy. Initially, a 1 by 1 m test unit (Unit 10) was placed on the northeastern edge of the feature. When the feature was discovered, another 1 by 1 m unit (Unit 13) was placed adjacent to the south and defined about a third of the eastern portion of the feature. In order to define and excavate more of the well, another 1 by 1 m unit (Unit 16) was placed adjacent and west of Unit 13. This unit contained most of the feature. It was round in plan view, measuring 145 cm in diameter, and was originally excavated to 195 cm below surface during the Phase II unit excavation (Figure 5.57). The base was not reached at that time. Feature fill identified during the Phase II was stratified with six layers identified (Zones A though F) (Figure 5.57). Zone A was a 25 cm very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silt with cinders and ash overlying Zone B, a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) silt mottled with a light brownish gray ash (10YR6/2) and a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt. Zone C was thin and underlaid this and was consisted of a layer of bricks and brick fragments with a brown (10YR4/3) silt with charcoal. Zone D was a thick (up to 110 cm at its maximum thickness) brown (10YR4/3) silt and contained a high amount of bones, charcoal, brick fragments, and sandstone and a high amount of artifacts in general in comparison to the other layers. Next, Zone E was a grayish brown (10YR5/2) silt mixed with a high amount of limestone, charcoal, and brick fragments. Zone F was a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) silt with coal fragments.

Feature 10 contained a tremendous quantity and variety of artifacts including ceramics, personal items, clothing items, bottle glass, table glass, architectural items, and faunal material.

Table 5.11. Artifacts from the Yard Features

	Well		Cellars						Cisterns				Privies								Refuse Pits					
	10		22		77		139		210		211		163		173		224		249		12		126		286	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kitchen																										
Soft Paste Porcelain	1	0 0	5	0 4	9	0 2	7	0 1	5	0 7	15	3 5			5	1 0	1	0 1					1	0 1		
Hard Paste Porcelain	6	0 2	3	0 2	2	0 0	10	0 2							6	1 2	2	0 3					2	0 2		
Creamware	4	0 1			11	0 2	1	0 0	3	0 4	4	0 9			5	1 0										
Pearlware	19	0 6	49	4 0	105	0 8	37	0 6	8	1 2	8	1 9	2	1 4	22	4 4	4	0 5					11	1 0	16	4 8
Whiteware	98	2 9	159	12 9	306	5 4	187	3 0	30	4 4	39	9 1	4	2 9	54	10 9	21	2 6	10	4 1			27	2 5	7	2 1
Ironstone	6	0 2	1	0 1	4	0 1	23	0 4									3	0 4								
Refined Redware							3	0 0							5	1 0										
Unrefined Redware			1	0 1	1	0 0									1	0 2			1	0 4						
Yellow Ware	1	0 0	1	0 1	3	0 1	3	0 0																		
Stoneware	2	0 1	5	0 4	25	0 4	23	0 4			2	0 5	2	1 4	1	0 2	3	0 4					2	0 2		
Unidentifiable Refined Earthenware	2	0 1	17	1 4	36	0 6	15	0 2	3	0 4					3	0 6										
Container Glass	31	0 9	80	6 5	177	3 1	141	2 3	16	2 3	7	1 6	9	6 5	11	2 2	29	3 7	5	2 1			45	4 1	9	2 7
Burned/ Melted Unidentified Glass	17	0 5	12	1 0	50	0 9	44	0 7	22	3 2	47	11 0					7	0 9					8	0 7	2	0 6
Table Glass	7	0 2	19	1 5	28	0 5	42	0 7	12	1 8	14	3 3			3	0 6	3	0 4	6	2 5			1	0 1	23	6 9
Undetermined Glass	23	0 7	4	0 3	24	0 4	16	0 3			22	5 2			3	0 6	3	0 4	1	0 4			1	0 1	1	0 3

Table 5.11. Artifacts from the Yard Features

	Well		Cellars						Cisterns				Privies								Refuse Pits					
	10		**22**		**77**		**139**		**210**		**211**		**163**		**173**		**224**		**249**		**12**		**126**		**286**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bottle Cap																										
Kettle					2	0 0	1	0 0																		
Table Spoon							1	0 0					1	0 7			1	0 1								
Tin Can Metal	74	2 2					1280	20 8																	12	3 6
Utensil Handle							2	0 0																		
Skillet	2	0 1																								
Other Kitchen Metal							1	0 0																		
Bone	1970	57 9	283	23 0	3584	63 0	752	12 2	243	35 6	74	17 3	71	51 4	36	7 2	460	58 0	187	77 0			520	47 8	23	6 9
Bone Handle	1	0 0			1	0 0	2	0 0																		
Eggshell	280	8 2	4	0 3			635	10 3																		
Molusk Shell							1	0 0																		
Tooth	367	10 8	8	0 6	206	3 6	13	0 2	16	2 3	4	0 9			6	1 2	2	0 3					8	0 7		
Architecture																										
Brick	4	0 1	29	2 4	29	0 5	58	0 9	2	0 3	1	0 2	3	2 2	137	27 6	16	2 0	9	3 7			64	5 9	1	0 3
Flat Glass	52	1 5	77	6 3	170	3 0	424	6 9	135	19 8	110	25 8	4	2 9	60	12 1	21	2 6	3	1 2			32	2 9	33	9 9
Cut Nail Unspecified	13	0 4	18	1 5	13		131	2 1	5	0 7	3	0 7			2	0 4	3	0 4	1	0 4	1	5 9			4	1 2
Early Cut Nail																									6	1 8
Late Cut Nail	27	0 8	13	1 1	10	0 2	147	2 4	3	0 4									1	0 4	1	5 9			53	16 0
Other Metal Fastener	1	0 0					3	0 0																		

Table 5.11. Artifacts from the Yard Features

	Well		Cellars						Cisterns				Privies								Refuse Pits					
	10		22		77		139		210		211		163		173		224		249		12		126		286	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Other Metal Hardware	10	0 3			3	0 1	70	1 1							4	0 8					2	11 8			7	2 1
Unidentified Nail	142	4 2	207	16 8	617	10 8	1424	23 2	137	20 1	64	15 0	36	26 1	72	14 5	122	15 4	15	6 2			100	9 2	103	31 0
Wire Nail					12	0 8	1	0 0							3	0 6										
Mortar					7	0 1	7	0 1			4	0 9					2	0 3					1	0 1		
Chinking/ Daub	1	0 0	2	0 2			1	0 0	5	0 7					6	1 2	1	0 1					232	21 3	2	0 6
Other Architectural Stone							9	0 1									8	1 0								
Plaster							27	0 4																		
Clothing	19	0 6	4	0 3	17	0 2	124	2 0	23	3 4	1	0 2			1	0 2	3	0 4					4	0 4	1	0 3
Furniture	5	0 2	2	0 2	10	0 2	19	0 3							2	0 4							8	0 7	1	0 3
Job/Activity	9	0 3	2	0 2	3	0 1	13	0 2			1	0 2			1	0 2										
Other	187	5 5	171	13 9	126	2 2	246	4 0	12	1 8	2	0 5	5	3 6	34	6 8	14	1 8					11	1 0	26	7 8
Personal	11	0 3	10	0 8	24	0 4	27	0 4	2	0 3					4	0 8			1	0 4	13	76 5	9	0 8	1	0 3
Arms					2	0 0																				
Transportation					2	0 0	4	0 1			1	0 2					2	0 3					2	0 2	1	0 3
Fuel	9	0 3	46	3 7	22	0 4	171	2 8	1	0 1	4	0 9	1	0 7	10	2 0	62	7 8	3	1 2						
Total	3401	100 2	1232	100 2	5687	99 7	6146	99 4	683	99 9	427	99 8	138	99 8	497	99 9	793	100 2	243	100	17	100 1	1089	100	332	99 8

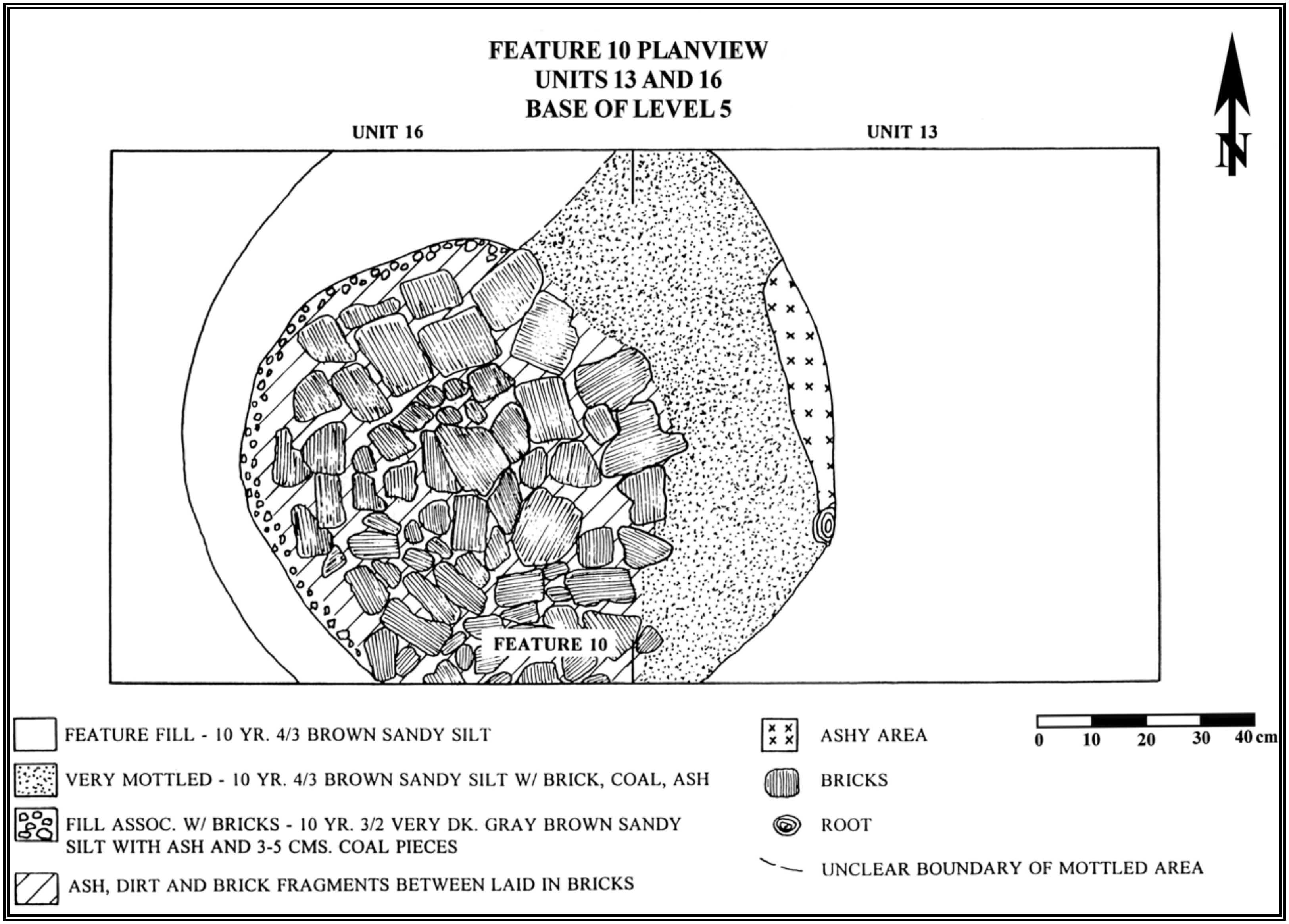


Figure 5.56. Feature 10 plan view

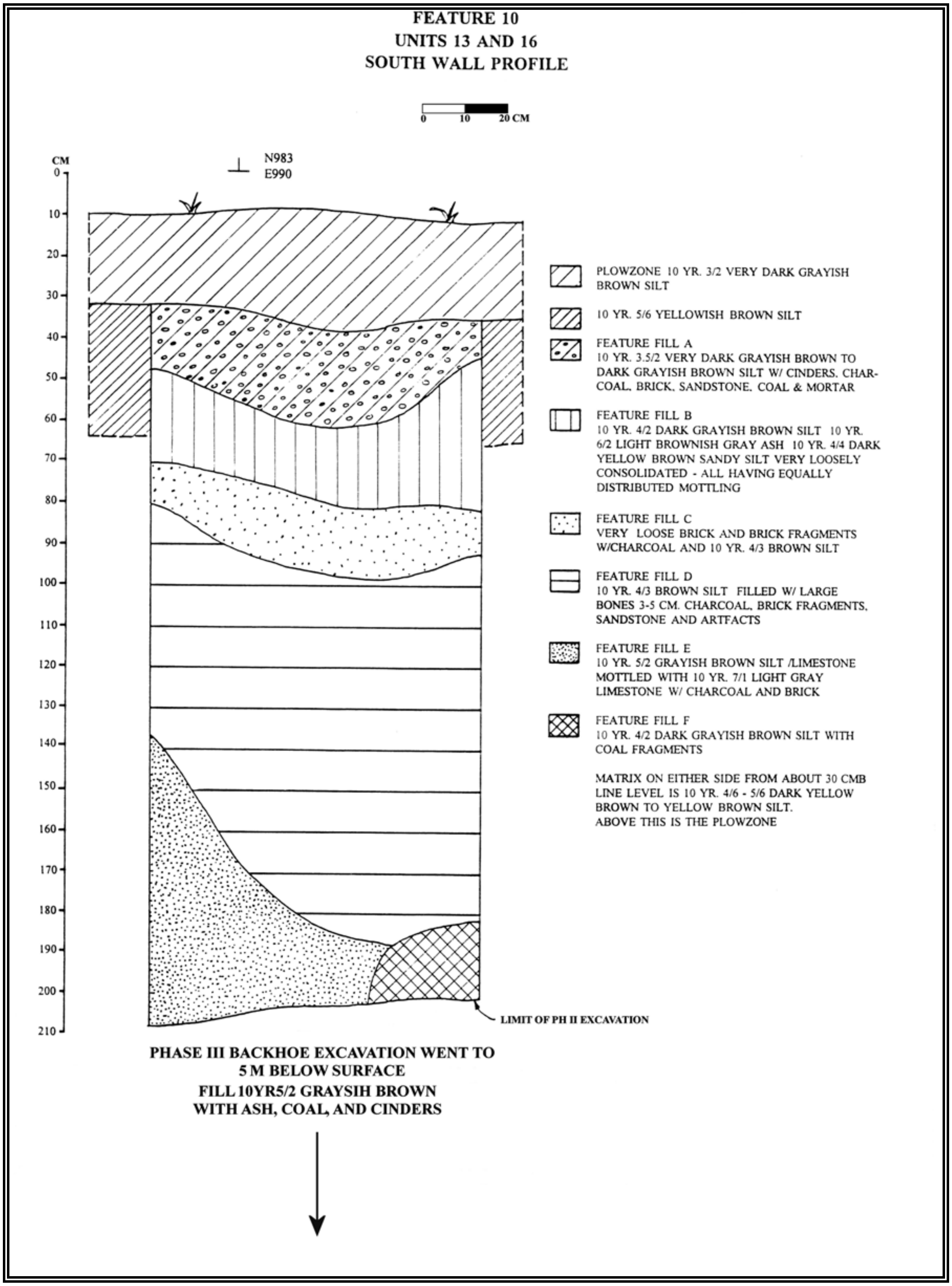


Figure 5.57. Feature 10 south profile

Figure 5.58. Feature 10 during Phase II testing, Unit 16, base of Zone 2, Level 2, looking east

Figure 5.59. Phase III backhoe excavation of Feature 10, the well, looking west

Diagnostic artifacts from Feature 10 indicate that it was filled in at least two and possibly three separate episodes. The top two levels contained wire nails and plastic indicating a twentieth century filling episode. The top three levels of this feature were overlying a tightly packed brick layer, but the remainder of Feature 10 appears to have been filled in during the middle to late nineteenth century. This appears to be true even for levels 4 and 5, which were over a second packed brick layer. One late artifact, a wire nail, was assigned to level 12, but this is certainly a contaminate (a result of falling out of the excavated unit wall). Mean ceramic dates support this (Feature 10, levels 1-3 a MCD is 1861; levels 4-5 MCD is 1859; and levels 6-14 MCD is 1861) and suggest that Feature 10 was probably filled at the end of the Baber occupation. Wells are commonly filled after a property turnover, and a date ca. 1875, a few years after the last known occupant left, would not be unreasonable for this feature.

For the Phase III investigation, a backhoe was used to find the base of this feature (Figure 5.59). Unfortunately, a water table was encountered at 5 m below surface so the base was never found, but it was estimated to be close. The well was excavated in 20 cm levels and artifacts separated by these levels. Fill was predominantly a water saturated 10YR5/2 grayish brown silt loam mottled with ash, coal and cinders (Figure 5.57). This appears to be a continuation of the lowest layer excavated in the Phase II investigation. Surrounding subsoil was a wet gray (10YR6/1) sandy clay mottled with a strong brown (7.5YR5/8) coarse sand with eroding rock. All levels contained artifacts, but considerably fewer than recovered from the upper layers. Artifacts were similar throughout and included bone china, Chinese export porcelain, pearlware, whiteware, yellow ware, late cut nails, window glass, and bottle and jar fragments.

Cisterns (Features 210 and 211)

Features 210 and 211 were two cisterns located on the eastern side of the main building (Figure 5.2). They were identified as cisterns by their round shape and location very close to the northeastern corner of the main building. Feature 211 was the larger of the two and was located closer to the northeastern corner, while Feature 210 was located less than one meter southeast of it. Both features were shallow, basin-shaped, and soil-lined. One small post (Feature 284) was located near Feature 211, and it may be associated with the cistern as a post for a possible structure over the cistern.

Feature 210

Dimensions of Feature 210 were 5.6 feet (1.7 m) east-west by 4.7 feet (1.44 m) north-south. Depth was 49 cm below scraped surface (Figures 5.2, 5.60 and 5.61). There were two fill layers within the feature, Zones A and B (Figure 5.61). Zone A was a 10YR4/4 dark yellowish brown silt loam with charcoal and contained the most artifacts of the two layers (n = 572). It contained creamware, pearlware, bone china, and whiteware; bottle glass and table glass; sandstone, cut nails and late cut nails; and two smoking pipes. Bone was present in large quantities.

Zone B was the thickest lens and consisted of a 10YR4/6 dark yellowish brown silty clay mottled with a 10YR6/4 light yellowish brown silty clay and also a 10YR5/6 yellowish brown clay

Figure 5.60. Feature 210 post excavation, looking west

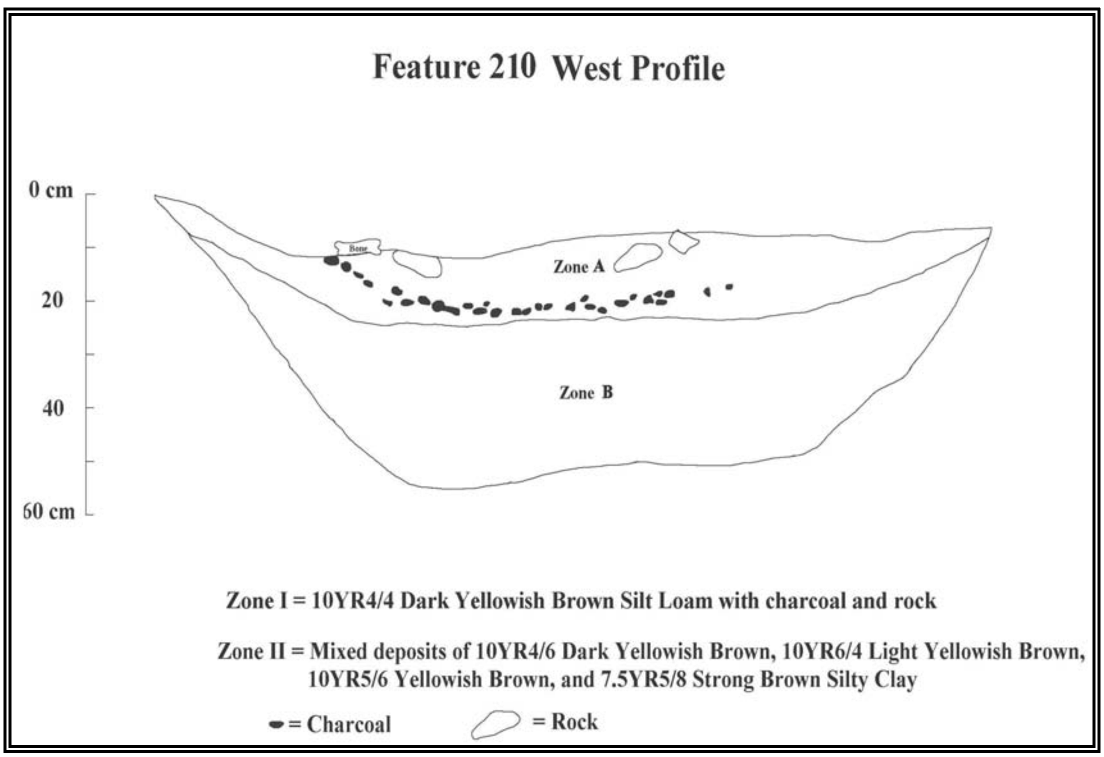


Figure 5.61. Feature 210 west profile

(Figure 5.61). Although the largest by volume, this zone contained considerably fewer artifacts than Zone A (n = 111). Most of these artifacts consisted of architectural material such as window glass and unidentifiable nails. In addition, leather shoe parts and a metal button were recovered. Bone frequency was considerably less in this feature also. Because of the significantly smaller amount of artifacts and the appearance of the soil in Zone B (mixed deposits of clay), it is possible that this lens may be a natural deposit. Another possibility is that the cistern could have been filled in partially with mixed subsoil when another feature was constructed on the site. With the large number of features at the Baber site and the different periods of construction for them, this is a distinct possibility.

Minimum vessel analysis was completed for Feature 210 during the Phase III mitigation. While no ceramics were recovered from Zone B, several were recovered from Zone A. A mean ceramic date derived from ceramic vessels (n = 13) for Zone A was 1832, but a mean date derived from all ceramic sherds was later, 1840. Six glass vessels were identified and all were from Zone A. Three bottles (two vials and one medicine bottle) were identified and three table glass vessels (a cup plate and two wine glasses). Of the bottles, one was a vial that was datable as to manufacture. Manufactured from a dip-bottom mold, the vial dates from the 1830s to the 1850s (Davis 1949; McKearin and Wilson 1978). The other vial and the one medicine bottle consisted only of the lips and necks of the containers, both of which were hand-formed and probably date from the early to middle nineteenth century (Davis 1949). Of the table glass, the cup plate was pressed "Lacy" glass which dates from the late 1820s to about 1850 (Deiss 1981; Lorrain 1968; and McKearin and McKearin 1948). The two wine glasses were both hand-formed and can date in manufacture as early as the late eighteenth century and into the 1840s. With these dates in mind, as well as no ironstone recovered from the feature, whiteware being the predominant ceramic ware recovered, and the presence of late cut nails (post 1830), this cistern may have been filled in early in the Baber occupation, perhaps during the 1840s.

Feature 211

Dimensions of Feature 211 were considerably larger than Feature 210, measuring 9.5 feet (2.92 m) north-south by 6.6 feet (2 m) east-west (Figures 5.2 and 5.62-5.64). Depth was actually 54 cm below scraped surface, although the profiles below only show it to be 35 cm below the scraped surface (Figures 5.62 and 5.63). This was because the feature turned out to be much larger than originally defined prior to excavation, so that the eastern portion of the cistern was profiled and not the center. The true size of the feature was not realized until the removal of the other half. There were two fills within Feature 211, Zones A and B, as well as a charcoal lens. Although this cistern was larger than the other cistern, it contained fewer artifacts (n = 427).

Zone A consisted of a 10YR4/4 dark yellowish brown silt loam with a heavy amount of sandstone and brick fragments (Figure 5.63). Kitchen ceramics recovered from Zone A included bone china, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and domestic stoneware. In addition, bone, bottle glass, and table glass were recovered. Architectural artifacts included window glass, unidentifiable nails, unidentifiable cut nails, and mortar. No personal, clothing, or furnishing items were recovered, but a hand tool and a possible wagon spring were.

Figure 5.62. Feature 211 west profile

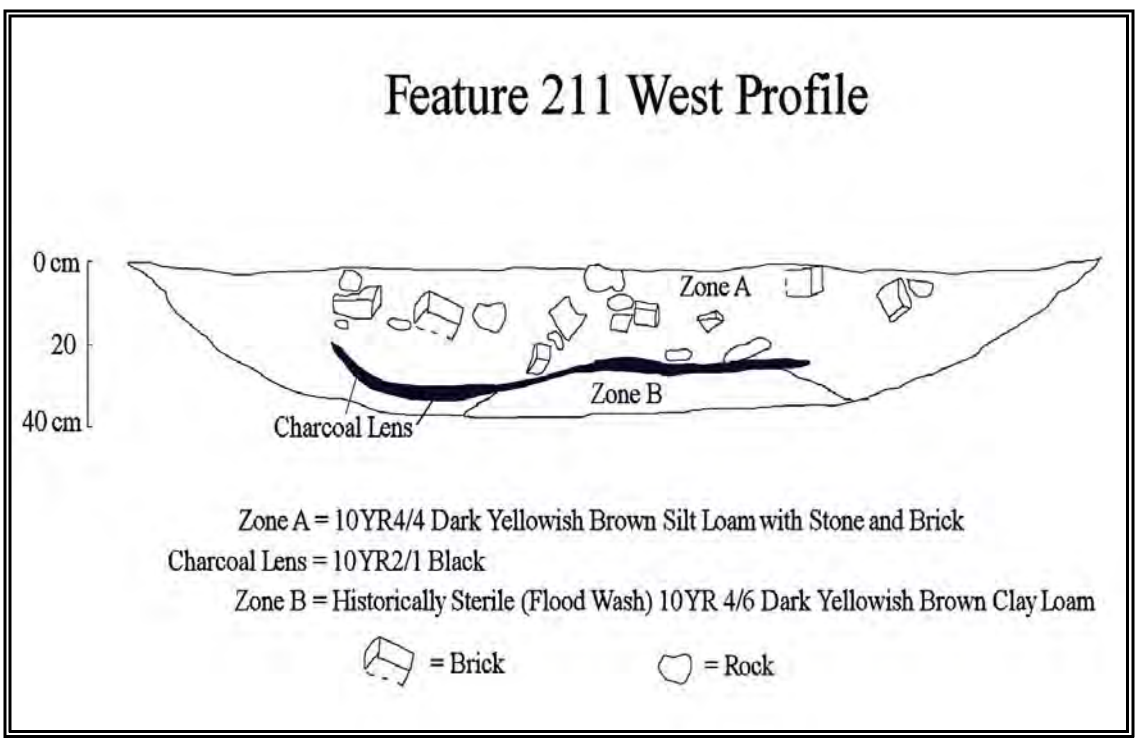


Figure 5.63. Feature 211 west profile

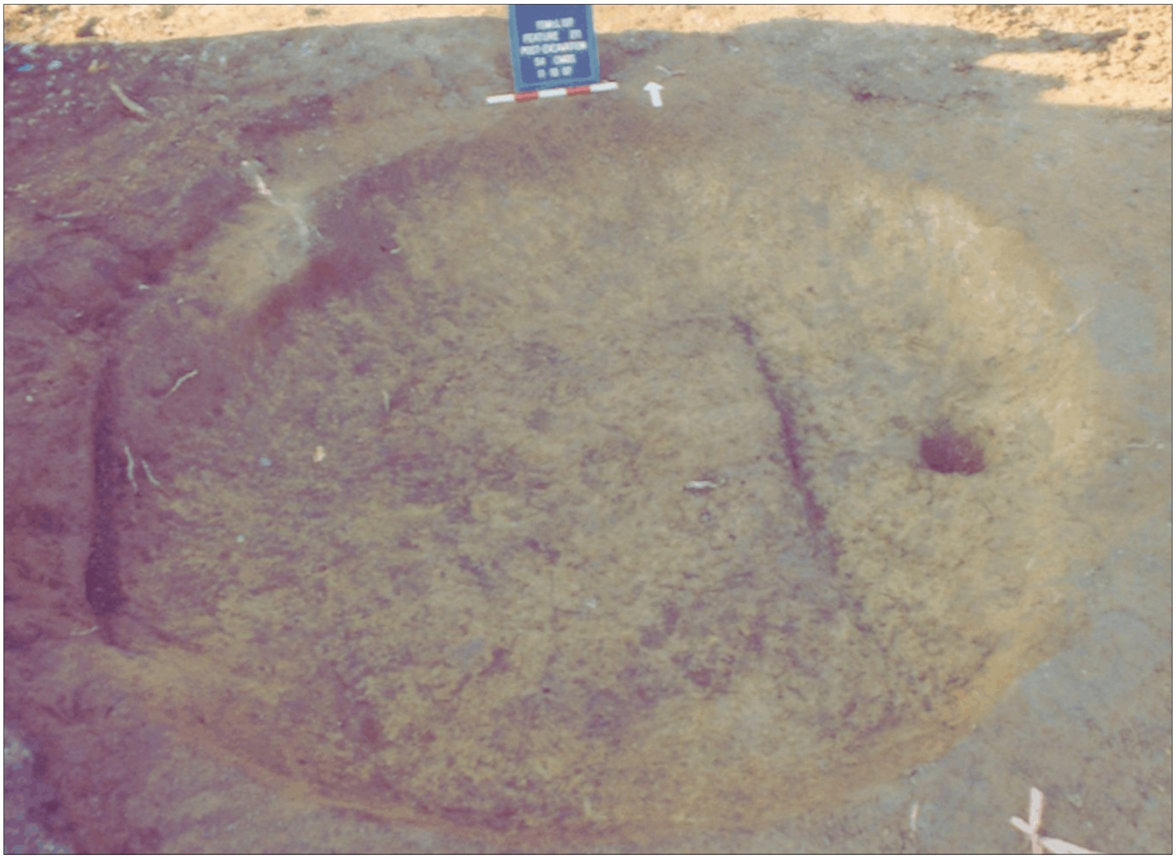


Figure 5.64. Feature 211 post excavation, looking north

Beneath Zone A was Zone B, a 10YR4/6 dark yellowish brown clayey loam. It did not line the entire base of the feature, only the central portion of the bottom, and was very similar to the surrounding matrix except that it was looser. No historic artifacts were recovered from this lens so it is likely a flood deposit or the result of slumping.

There was a thin charcoal lens present between Zones A and B that was a 10YR2/1 black. Evidence of burning was present in the bottom Zone B where it was slightly oxidized. Burning must have occurred within the cistern then and most likely when the cistern was being filled in. No artifacts were found within this lens.

Minimum vessel analysis was completed for Feature 211 during the Phase III mitigation. All artifacts were recovered from Zone A. Interestingly, the dates were similar to Feature 210. A mean ceramic date derived from ceramic vessels for Zone A was 1833, only one year later than Feature 210. But a mean date derived from all ceramic sherds was 1840, the same as Feature 210. The reason why the mean ceramic date for the sherds is considerably later for both Features 210 and 211 is likely due to the higher amount of undecorated whiteware sherds recovered from both features, many of which are part of the decorated whiteware vessels. Of the ceramic vessels, three contained a maker’s mark, but only one had a tight date range. Vessel #346, a blue transfer print decorated plate, was manufactured by Enock Wood and Sons from 1830 to 1846 (Kovel and Kovel 1986:24c). Glass container vessels (n = 3) dated from the 1820s to the 1850s and consisted of a plain tumbler, a candle stick, and a figural whiskey flask. Again, the absence of ironstone and the predominant whiteware recovered from Zone A suggests that this cistern may also have been filled in early in the Baber occupation, perhaps during the 1840s which is the same as Feature 210. If so, both cisterns may have been used at the same time. Construction of the well (Feature 10) may have ended the need for the cisterns. Although the date of construction for the well is unknown, artifacts recovered from the lower layers show a fill date around the end of the Baber occupation, indicating that the well was important and used throughout nearly all of the occupation. This switch from cisterns to a backyard well also suggests that perhaps Baber may have desired a beautification of the side yard in order to present a better appearance to guests.

Cellars (Features 22, 77, and 139)

Feature 22

Feature 22 was a square-shaped, filled cellar located in the central portion of the site between Features 139 (cellar) and 50 (chimney) and south of Feature 10 (well) (Figure 5.2, 5.65 - 5.67). It was first encountered during the Phase III excavation of Unit 22. When it became apparent that the feature was extensive, four other 1m by 1m units (Units 20, 26, 28, and 31) and one 1m by .5m unit (Unit 32) were established, and all but a small portion of the eastern edge of the feature was defined and excavated. The remaining portion was defined and excavated later in the Phase III excavation after the removal of the plowzone with the backhoe. Dimensions were 7 feet (2.1 m) north-south by 7.7 feet (2.3 m) (Figure 5.65). The top originated at the base of the plowzone and continued to 80 cm below surface. Walls were slightly belled at the top, but soon changed to vertically straight-sided with a relatively flat bottom floor (Figure 5.67). Considerable root disturbance was present in most of the feature.

Three fill zones were present within the cellar. Two of these layers (Zones A and B) were intentional fill layers, while the third layer (Zone C) appears to be a natural deposit. Both Zones A and B may have been deposited at the same time based on excavation and artifacts recovered from them. Both zones originated at the bottom of the plowzone and extended to 80 cm below surface.

Zone A was a 10YR4/3 dark brown silt with a large quantity of 10YR6/1 gray ash and charcoal. Zone A was deeper in the eastern portion of the cellar and extended to the base of the cellar here. It did not extend to the base in the western edge, but instead overlaid Zone B so that there was some mixing as each fill must have been deposited at the same time. Artifacts recovered from this zone date to the middle nineteenth century and include mostly kitchen items followed by architectural items. Kitchen items include mostly whiteware and pearlware. Some bone, table glass, and container glass were also recovered. Late cut nails and window glass were also recovered and a personal related artifact, a domino, made of bone.

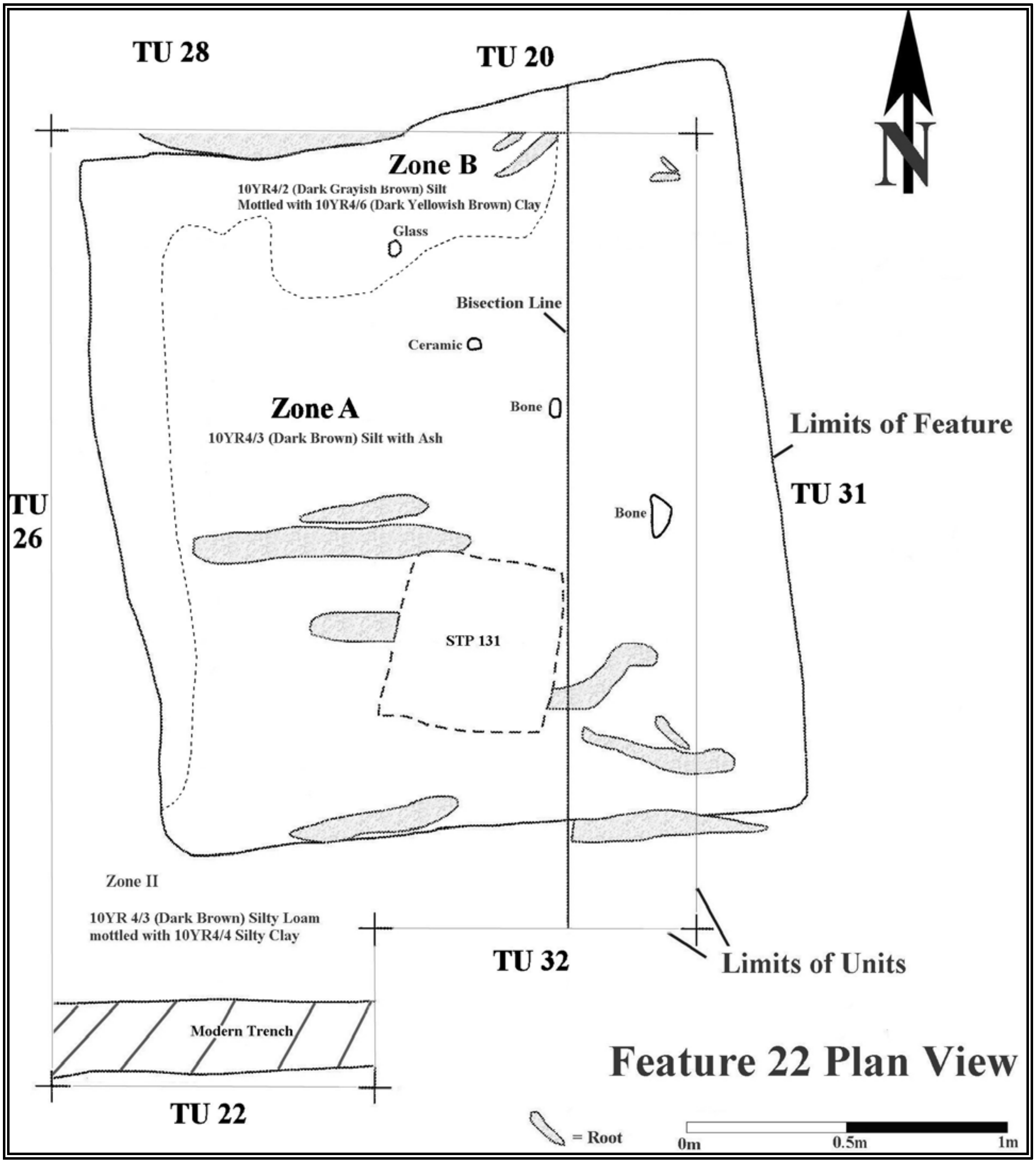


Figure 5.65. Feature 22 plan view

Figure 5.66. Feature 22 east profile

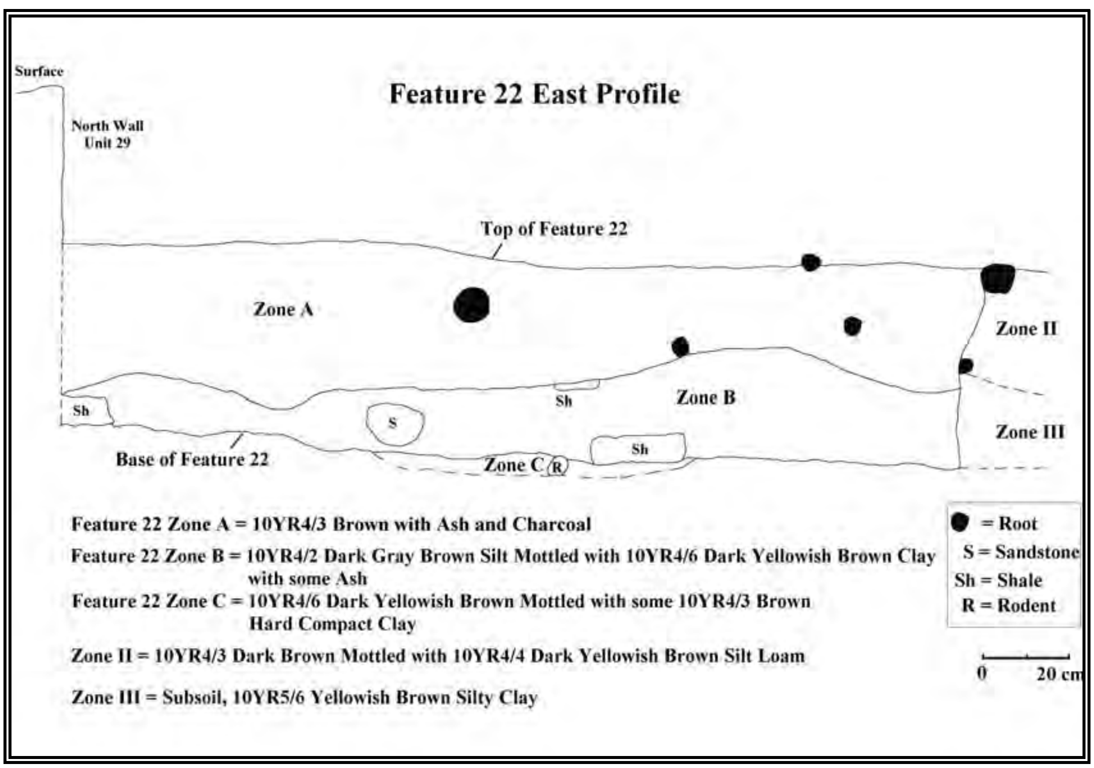


Figure 5.67. Feature 22 east profile

Zone B was a 10YR4/2 dark gray brown silt mottled with a 10YR4/6 dark yellowish brown clay and a 10YR6/1 gray ash. It was very similar to Zone A except for the mottling of the clay which occurred throughout. Zone B was deeper in the western portion of the feature and extended to the base here. Artifacts recovered from this fill were significantly more in number than from Zone A. They were similar, however. Again, kitchen artifacts dominated the artifact assemblage, with both pearlware and whiteware being the ceramics most recovered. In addition to these, smaller quantities of other ceramics recovered included bone china, Chinese export porcelain, ironstone, yellow ware, and domestic stoneware. Bone, egg shell, and container glass made up the remaining kitchen related artifacts. Unspecified cut nails, late cut nails, window glass, and brick fragments made up the architectural assemblage. Besides kitchen and architectural items, a small amount of other artifacts were recovered. Furnishing (a chimney lamp fragment), clothing (a shell button), personal (a spit harp, two skeleton keys, a slate pencil, and two marbles), job/activity (two hand tools), fuel (coal), and a large quantity of unidentifiable metal were represented of the other artifact group categories.

Zone C occurred at the base of the cellar and varied in thickness from only 2 to 5 cm. It was well-compacted, very thin, hard, and contained no cultural material. This fill was the oldest within the feature and most likely a natural deposit. It was a 10YR4/6 dark yellowish brown clay mottled with some 10YR4/3 brown silt clay and most likely the result of flood deposition. Its appearance as a thin and well-compacted layer can be attributed to having been deposited while the cellar was still in use. With the constant storage of food products and the act of walking on the floor, a hard, compact floor would have been created. The cellar would have continued in-use for some time before being filled.

No post holes were identified within or near Feature 22; however, there were three possible stone piers at the base: one in the northwest corner, another close to the northeast corner, and a third more centrally placed. The stones were made of shale and very flat. If these were piers, then others which may have been present were probably robbed.

Minimum vessel analysis was completed for Feature 22 during the Phase III mitigation and resulted in a similar mean date for both Zones A (1839) and B (1840). Both zones could have been deposited as early as 1840 according the to the mean date. However, one later-dating vessel, a bluish grey ironstone muffin which dates from the 1840s to the 1860s, indicates a post-1840 fill date. Furthermore, a table glass vessel recovered from Zone B appears similar to a manufacturing technique used during the 1850s and 1860s, making a fill date more likely by the 1860s. Several vessels also cross-mended with Zone 2 of Feature 10, the well, further indicating a later fill period, probably at the end of occupation. Minimum vessel analysis also provided further evidence that both Zones A and B were deposited at around the same time, as many of the vessels from both zones cross-mended.

Feature 77

Feature 77 was a square-shaped, filled cellar located in the east central portion of lot 13 just south of Feature 50 (Figures 5.2, 5.68 - 5.73). It was discovered during the Phase III excavation during the mechanical removal of the plow zone with a backhoe. Dimensions were 12.5 ft (3.8 m) north-south by 12 feet (3.7 m) (Figure 5.68). It extended 95 cm below the scraped surface (Figure 5.69). Walls tapered inward to a slightly basin-like floor; yet the cellar did retain a subtle square shape. Figures 5.66 through 5.68 show different views and stages of excavation of this feature. Two possible stone piers, one located at the base of the cellar in the northwest corner and the other in the southwest corner, were also present. There were three fills contained within the cellar, Zones A, B, and C (Figure 5.69). Artifacts recovered from these zones are shown in Table 5.11.

Zone A was a thin ashy layer overlying Zone B, which was predominantly a rock layer. After the backhoe removed most of the upper topsoil and the feature was identified, it was then troweled to define its entire limits (Figure 5.70). Some pockets of Zone A were contained between the upper rock of Zone B and were carefully removed. Zone A is only 5 cm thick and is a 10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown silt loam with heavy ash and charcoal (Figures 5.68 - 5.70). After Feature 77 was defined in plan, it was subdivided into quads, and Zone A was removed (Figure 5.70). Zone A resembled a midden, and it was suspected at the time that it was a continuation of Feature 1. Unfortunately, a modern trench cuts between Features 50 and 77, making a clear connection impossible to define. However, artifacts recovered from Zone A of Feature 77 were similar in type and quantity to the artifacts recovered from Feature 1, numbering the highest of all three zones from the cellar (n = 2635). These artifacts from Zone A included the highest quantity of bone in the feature and a high amount of other kitchen related artifacts, all indicative of a midden. Artifacts were a mixture of early to late nineteenth century refuse (Table 5.11). Ceramics include Chinese export porcelain, bone china, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, yellow ware, redware, and domestic stoneware. Glass containers include a "Lacy" glass pressed cup, several blown in mold bottles and jars, hand-formed bottle lips, an amethyst solarized colored bottle, and machine-manufactured bottles and jar. Architectural nails were also mixed, with both late cut nails and wire nails recovered. Some contamination from the plowzone may be occurring here with plastic and machine-manufactured containers, as well as wire nails which likely originated from the twentieth century house on the adjacent lot (14). After the removal of Zone A, the feature was then removed in quads, with the northeast quad removed first (Figure 5.71).

Zone B was comprised mostly of sandstone and extended from 5 to 85 cm below scraped surface (Figure 5.69). The small amount of soil in the fill was a light yellowish brown 10YR6/4 mottled with a very dark grayish brown 10YR3/2 clayey silt. Where this large amount of rock originated from is a puzzle. Artifacts within Zone B were high in number (n = 2055), second to Zone A, and included numerous ceramics (bone china, pearlware, whiteware, and domestic stoneware). Only one ironstone sherd was found. A large amount of bone was also recovered as well as container glass and table glass fragments. Nails were mostly late cut manufactured or of unidentifiable cut. One wire nail was found, but this was in the upper layer of the zone and could have worked its way down from the upper layer through the rocks which had large enough gaps between them.

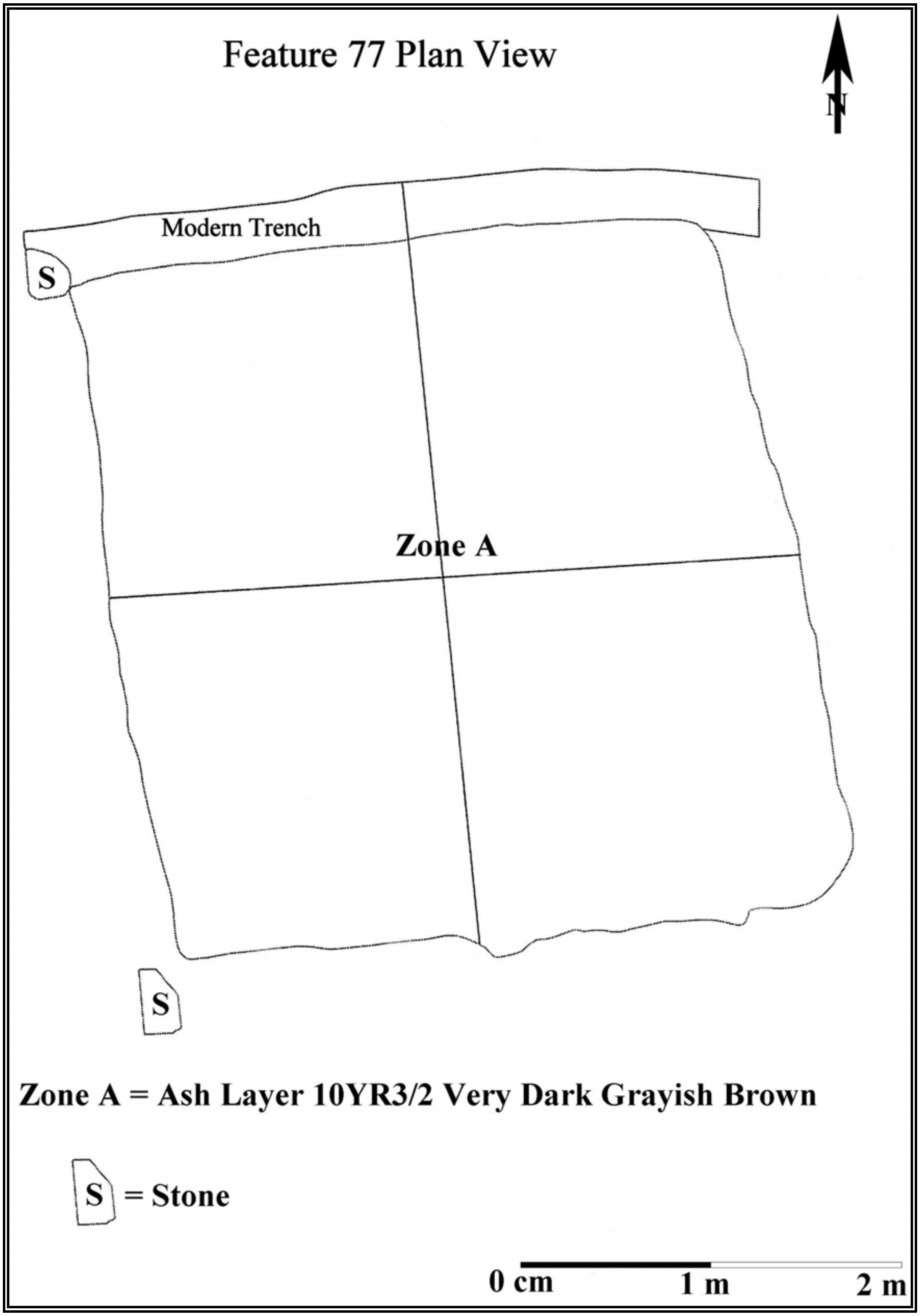


Figure 5.68. Plan view of Feature 77

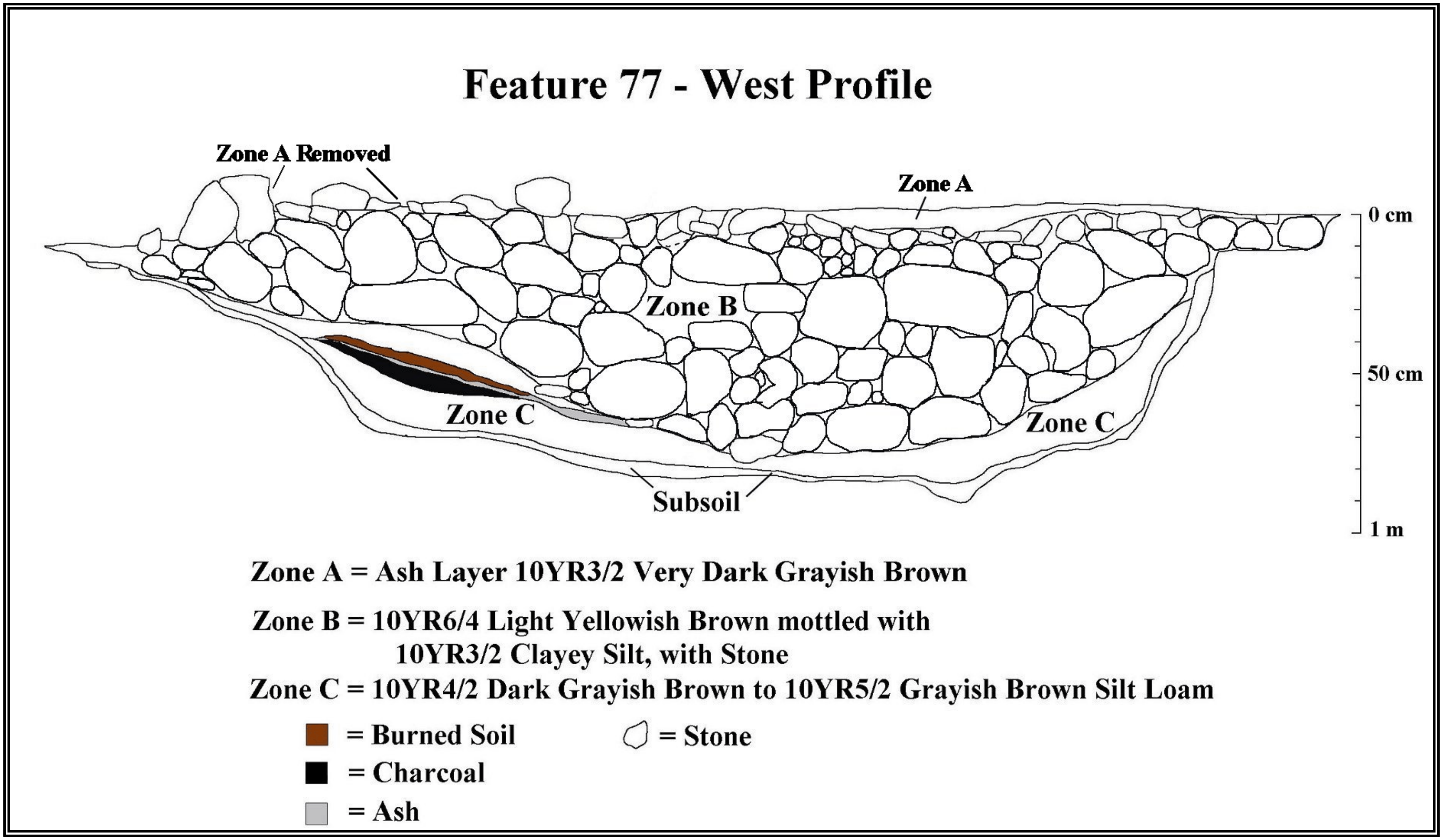


Figure 5.69. Feature 77 west profile

Figure 5.70. Feature 77 rock fill (Zone B) in foreground with unremoved midden (Zone A) in background beneath photo board, view west

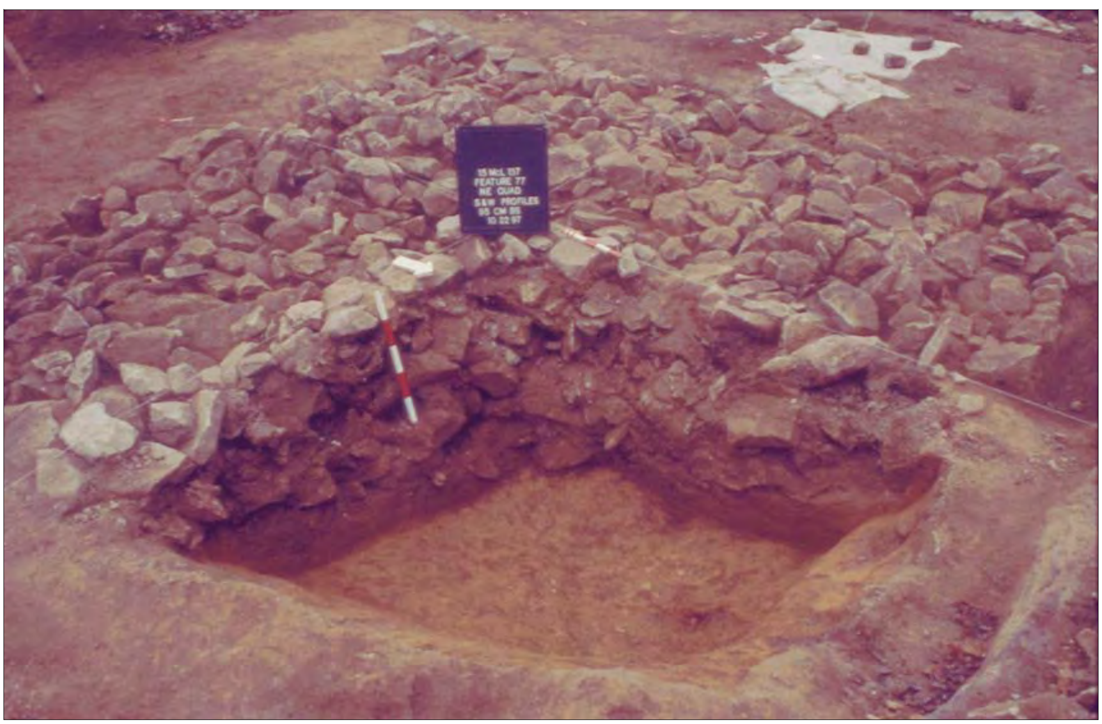


Figure 5.71. Feature 77, after removal of northeast quad and Zone A, view southwest


Figure 5.72. Feature 77 cross-section, west profile


Figure 5.73. Feature 77 post excavation, looking north

Zone C was a fill lens which lined most of the walls and floor (Figure 5.69). This dark grayish brown 10YR4/2 to grayish brown 10YR5/2 silt loam extended from 30 to 95 cm below surface and varied in thickness from 3 to 30 cm. Burning was present in the form of a thin lens of charcoal and ash within the southwest corner of the feature, where Zone C was thickest (Figures 5.69 and 5.72). Artifacts recovered from here (n = 1005) dated from the early to middle nineteenth century and include creamware, pearlware, and whiteware. Other kitchen artifacts included bone and container glass, while window glass, cut nails, and brick were also recovered. Only a few clothing and personal items were recovered.

Minimum vessel analysis was completed for Feature 77 during the Phase III mitigation. A mean ceramic date derived from ceramic vessels (n = 18) for Zone C was as early as 1831. A mean date derived from all ceramic sherds (n = 115) was comparable with a date of 1836. Several vessels from Zone B and C also cross-mended with vessels found in some of the earlier-dating features and midden (Features 25B, 14, 50, and 61). Because Zone C was so thin and contained earlier ceramics, it is likely the result of site usage. As for Zone B, it may have been filled in early in the Baber occupation. A mean date of 1840 was derived from ceramic vessels (n = 36) and from the ceramic sherds (n = 120) and revealed that Zone B was deposited as early as 1840, but probably sometime during the 1840s based on the ironstone recovered. Such an early fill date is puzzling for the amount of sandstone present in this layer. So much rock would seem to indicate an earlier stone structure at the site, but perhaps the rock was brought in for fill. A mean ceramic date derived from ceramic vessels (n = 5) for Zone A was as early as 1840. A mean date derived from all refined ceramic sherds (n = 100) was comparable with a date of 1841. However, the presence of ironstone and several other middle to late nineteenth century artifacts suggests that the midden had a longer life span and accumulated from the time that Zone B was filled until the end of the Baber occupation.

Feature 139

Feature 139 was a square-shaped filled cellar located in the central portion of lot 13 just southwest of Feature 22 (Figure 5.2, Figures 5.74 - 5.77). Dimensions were 2.9 m (9.5 ft) north-south by 2.6 m (8.5 ft) (Figure 5.74). It extended 45 cm below the scraped surface (Figure 5.76). Walls were very straight-sided and the floor was level. This feature was unique in comparison with the other cellars at the Baber site in that it had an inner brick floor and an outer walled lining of filled stone (Figures 5.74 - 5.76). The outer stone lining completely surrounded the feature and varied in width from 20 to 30 cm. More specifically, the lining was generally 30 cm wide except for the south side where it varied from 20-22 cm wide, reason being unknown. The stone lining originated at 25 cm below the scraped surface and extended to the base of the feature at 45 cm. It was overlaid by a clay fill, Zone B. The stones were jumbled, not stacked, but were packed tightly with only a small amount of clay between the rocks and appeared to be intentional fill. The brick within the inner cellar was laid out as one course and relatively level floor (Figures 5.74 and 5.75). Unfortunately, a modern trench cuts completely through the feature in an east-west direction (Figures 5.74 and 5.76), and although the rock lining was slightly disturbed because of this, the inner brick floor was left mostly undisturbed.

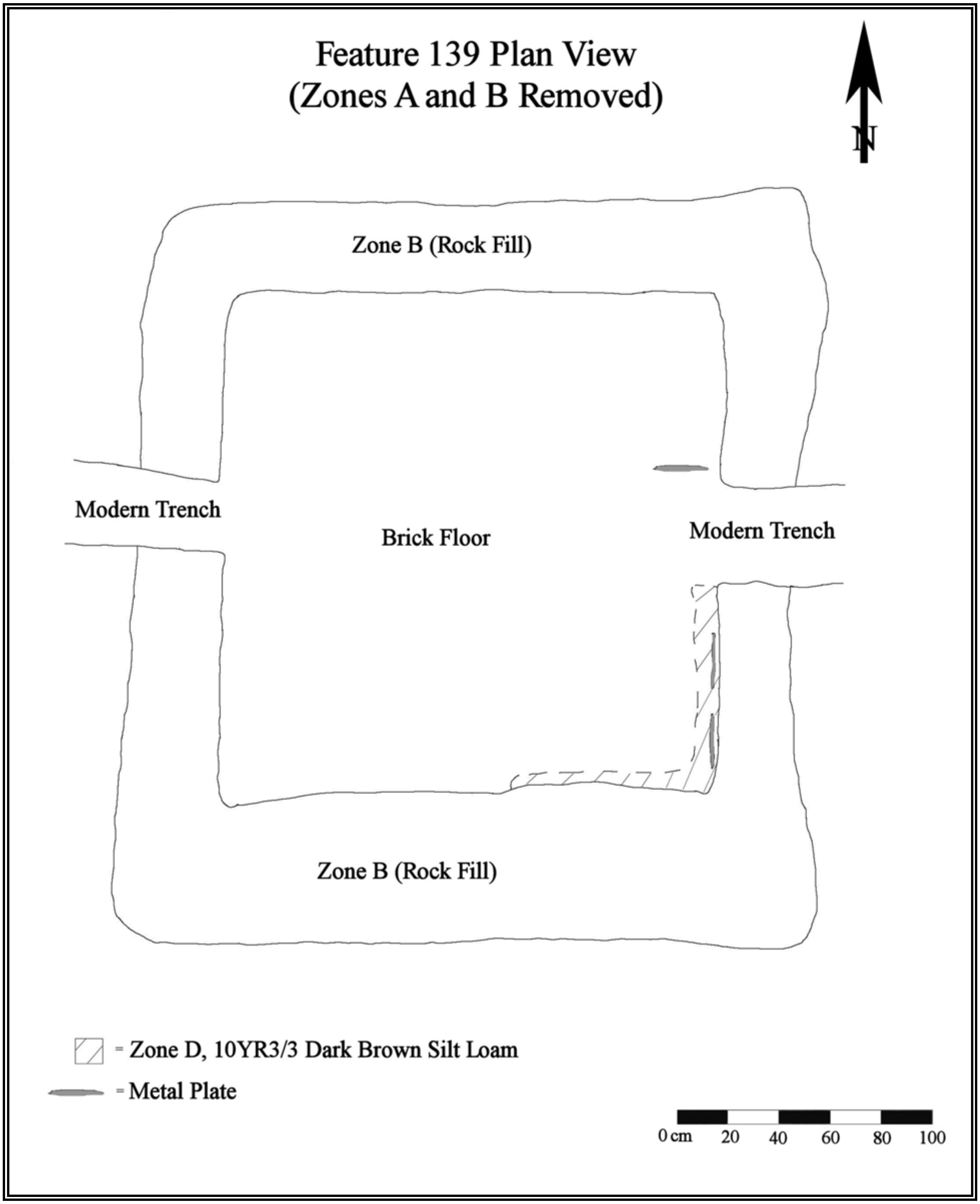


Figure 5.74. Feature 139 plan view, Zones A and B removed

Figure 5.75. Feature 139, plan view after removal of upper fill layers, looking east

Besides the rock lining and the brick floor, there appeared to be five fill zones, Zones A, B, C, D, and E (Figures 5.74 - 5.77). Zone A was a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) mixed with a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) silt loam with some light gray (10YR7/1) ash. It was discovered after the removal of the plowzone and extended to the top of the brick floor. Zone A overlaid the inner brick floor of the feature and not the outer rock lining (Zone B). The most artifacts from this feature were recovered from Zone A (n = 5188), which was a mixture of early to late nineteenth century material. Bone china, Chinese export porcelain, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, rusticated redware, Rockingham decorated yellow ware, and domestic stoneware were all recovered from Zone A. Container glass included bottles for whiskey, medicine (bottles and vials), food/condiments, and toiletries that dated in manufacture from the early to late nineteenth century. Other kitchen material recovered from here included eating utensils, bone, and egg shell. An unusually high number of tin can fragments was recovered from this zone also. Architectural artifacts were also numerous and included mostly unidentifiable nails and cut nails, late cut nails and wire nails, brick fragments, hardware, and window glass. In addition, furnishings (glass and metal door knobs and chimney lamp glass), clothing (several eyelets and grommets, leather shoe parts, buckles, bone buttons, shell buttons, and metal buttons), personal (thimbles, straight pins, writing slates and pencils, marbles, and smoking pipes), job/activity (hand tools and machinery parts), and fuel (coal) related artifacts were all recovered.

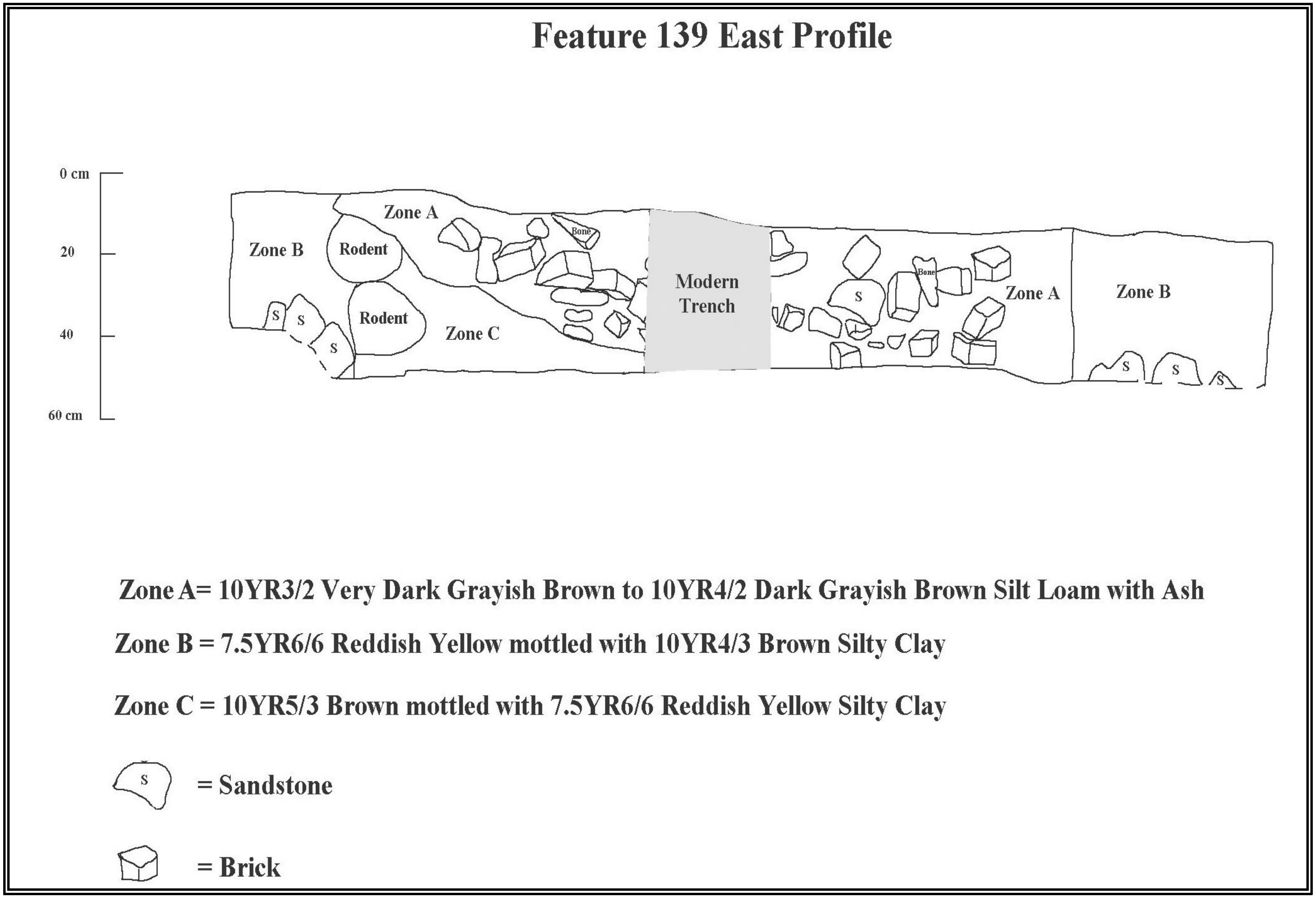


Figure 5.76. Feature 139 east profile

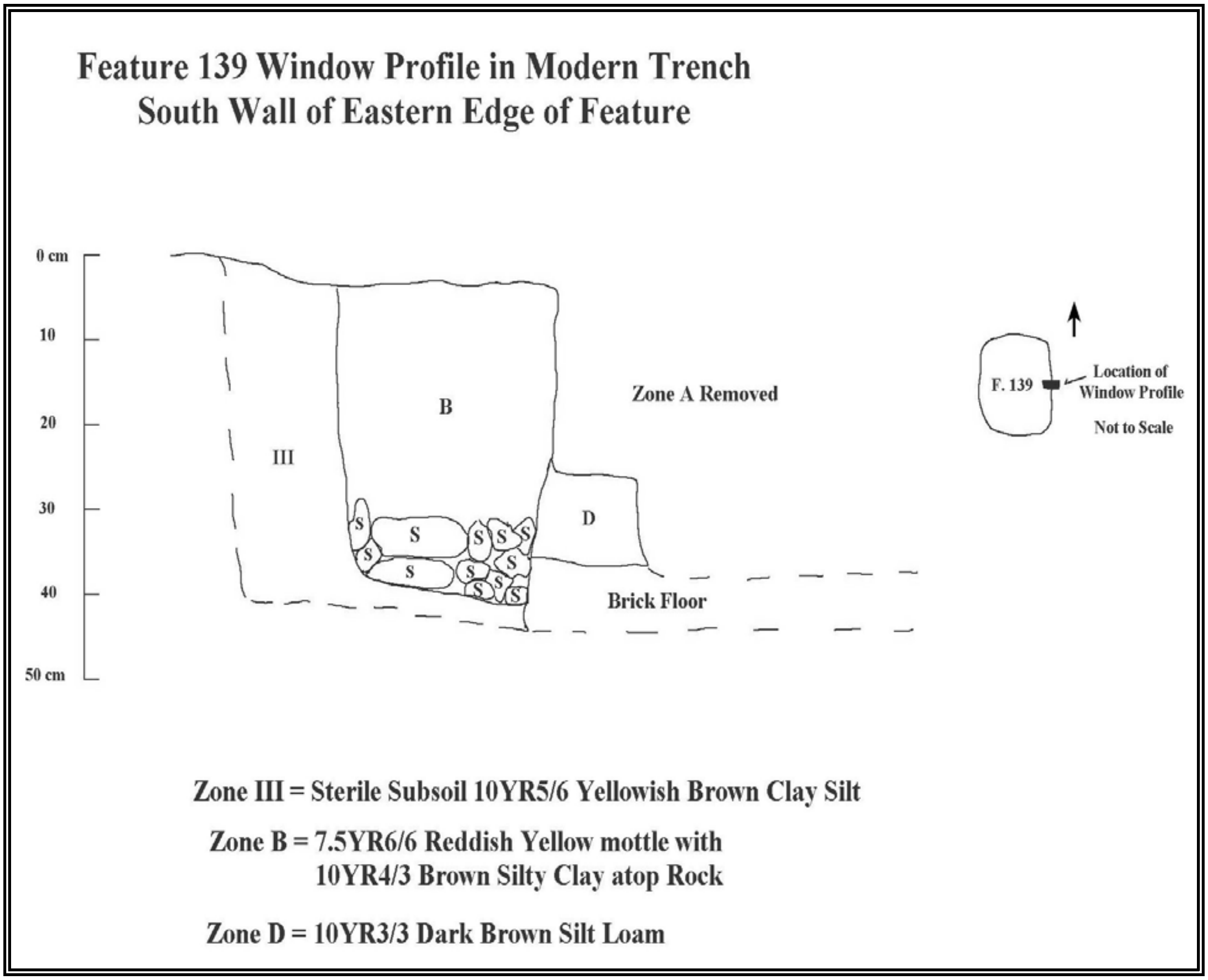


Figure 5.77. Feature 139 modern trench window profile showing Zone D

Zone B overlaid the outer rock trench lining, originating at scraped surface and ending at the top of the rocks (Figure 5.74 - 5.77). Only a slight amount of the fill was found between the rocks, as they were packed tightly. Zone B extended only about 20 cm from the scraped surface and was a well-compacted clay that contained considerably fewer artifacts compared with Zone A, but more than the remaining zones (n = 413). It consists mostly of a reddish yellow (7.5YR6/6) silty clay mottled with a small amount of brown (10YR4/3) silt. Zone B is a result of either of two possibilities. It may represent a fill if the portion above the stone lining was robbed, or it could be fill directly related to construction of the cellar, acting as insulation for the outer wall. The fact that it contained very few artifacts and was deposited exclusively above the rocks suggests that there was a wall or divider of some sort between the brick floor and the outer stone lining when the clay was deposited. The significantly fewer artifacts suggests that the latter possibility is probably more accurate and that Zone B was part of the construction. Artifacts recovered from Zone B included earlier nineteenth century artifacts rather than the early to late mixture recovered from Zone A. Ceramics were mostly pearlware and whiteware with early rusticated decorated redware, bone china, and domestic stoneware. Other kitchen related artifacts included container glass, bone, and a kettle piece. Architectural material included mostly unidentifiable nails, unspecified cut nails, late cut nails, and window glass. Finally, a few buttons, one writing slate, one smoking pipe, one undatable coin, one straight pin, and coal were also present.

Zone C, like Zone A, was used to fill in the cellar after its use ended. It underlaid Zone A and overlaid the brick floor, but did not span the entire cellar. Instead it was contained mostly within the northeast quad and consisted of a brown (10YR5/3) silt mottled with a reddish yellow (7.5YR6/6) silty clay (Figure 5.77). Artifacts recovered from this fill layer were also considerably fewer (n = 357) than those recovered from Zone A and consisted mostly of unidentifiable nails and unidentifiable metal fragments. Some of these fragments might be tin can fragments, but they were too small to be certain. Ceramics included only a few pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone fragments, and a small amount of bone and container glass.

Lining the southeastern inner edge of the cellar was Zone D (Figures 5.74 and 5.77). It was not discovered until 22 cm below surface and was only located within the southeastern quad of the cellar. The northern limit of this zone was disturbed by the modern trench, but it did not continue beyond the disturbance. Zone D overlaid the brick floor and was situated against the rock lining in a narrow lens pocket. The fill appeared to have been cut into and then later filled with Zone A. A window in the modern trench allowed for a profile of Zone D that shows this (Figure 5.77). Interestingly, two vertically oriented metal plates were located along the inner southeastern wall and separate Zone D and the rock lining from the interior of the cellar (Figure 5.74). These metal plates could possibly be remnants of where a dividing wall was located. The plates were pressed up against Zone B on one side with Zone D fill on the other side. If Zone D was a natural sediment deposit then perhaps the area where Zone D appeared to be cut away may be the result of cleaning activities during the cellar's period of use. Unfortunately, very few artifacts were recovered from this fill (n = 102). Two undecorated whiteware sherds, a small amount of bone, a straight pin, unidentifiable nails, and late cut nails were all present.

Upon removal of the brick floor, a very thin fill lens (Zone E) of only 1 to 3 cm thickness was defined beneath. It was not contained between the bricks, but beneath them. This thin cover underlaid the entire brick floor and was a dark brown (10YR3/3) silt loam. Only a few artifacts were recovered (n = 3), one brown transfer print decorated whiteware sherd and two unidentifiable nails. Beneath these bricks was a depression near the center of the floor. It was excavated as a feature (Feature 276), but it appeared to be a low area in the floor where the brick sank into the subsoil, probably the result of a root or rodent disturbance. Artifacts were recovered from this, however, and included a red transfer print decorated whiteware sherd, two undecorated whiteware sherds, two Chinese export porcelain sherds, one bone china sherd, bone, brick, and coal.

Minimum vessel analysis was completed for Feature 139 for the Phase III mitigation. A mean ceramic date derived from ceramic vessels was 1847 for Zone A. However, with the recovery of a wire nail, two bottle lips with a later fused finish, and several ironstone vessels (many of which date after 1860), this zone likely dates towards the end of the Baber occupation or even later in the nineteenth century. An explanation why the mean ceramic date for Zone A is considerably earlier than the period of deposition is because of the high number of earlier-dating ceramics whiteware, pearlware, and some creamware which were included with the deposit. Zone C also appears to have been deposited after the cellar fell to disuse. Although very few artifacts were recovered from Zone C, it did contain ironstone.

Zone B had a mean ceramic vessel date of 1843 and a mean ceramic sherd date of 1838. With the artifacts recovered from this zone dating from the early to mid nineteenth century (pearlware and whiteware, leaded container glass, and late cut nails), the fill date for Zone B most likely dates to the late 1830s or early 1840s. Zone B, with its clayey fill unlike the silty fill layers in the rest of the feature (and other features on the site) and its low quantity of artifacts, likely was filled intentionally for the outer wall of the cellar and therefore dates to the construction period. Another zone that dates to the construction of the cellar, Zone E, supports this period. The only ceramic artifact from Zone E, a brown transfer print decorated plate fragment, dates from about 1830 to 1835. Construction of the cellar would then have occurred sometime after 1835. This vessel also cross-mends with Feature 14, one of the earliest dating features on the site. Zone D, a fill that dates to the site's usage, only had one temporally sensitive artifact recovered from it, a late cut nail, which gives a post-1830 date for filling, but the zone likely dates to the site usage as it appears to be a natural deposit.

Feature 139 is interpreted as a cellar that was likely used for cold storage. The presence of the stone lining and brick floor suggests a necessity for insulation and drainage of water. If Zones B and E are intact fill deposits from the construction of the cellar, then the cellar appears to have been constructed sometime during the late 1830s or early 1840s. It appears to have been used until the Babers abandoned the site or the occupation on lot 14 began, as the uppermost fill (Zone A) is a mix of early to late nineteenth century artifacts.

***Privies (Features 163, 173, 224, and 249*)**

Features 163, 173, 224, and 249 were privy vaults associated with the Baber occupation (Figure 5.2). They were located the furthest away from the main building and some (Features 163, 224, and 249) just inside the back lot. They were identified as privies by their location and their large size. These privies were filled over a wide ranging period of time. All of them were filled with very little to a moderate amount of kitchen and architectural refuse.

Feature 163

Feature 163 was a large privy located in the southwestern portion of the far back yard, straddling the property line (Figure 5.2). It was initially defined as oval in shape, with a flared upper level measuring 6.2 feet (1.9 cm) north-south by 6 feet (1.8 m). It tapered down in only 10 cm to a more rectangular shape with straight sides and a flat base, measuring 4.5 feet (1.36 m) north-south by 3.2 feet (1 m) east-west. It measured 60 cm deep (Figures 5.78 and 5.79).

Figure 5.78. Feature 163 post-excavation, looking north

The fill consisted of a 10YR5/3 brown silt loam mottled with some 10YR5/6 yellowish brown silt loam. Rodent disturbance occurred in the eastern portion of the privy and continued down to the base. Beneath this fill and along the lower edges of the privy was slump wash, as indicated by a thin layer of lamina, appearing as bands of 10YR5/3 and 10YR5/6. These bands were only 4 to 6 cm thick (Figure 5.78). No artifacts were recovered from this slump wash.

Artifacts recovered from the rest of the fill consisted mainly of middle nineteenth century kitchen refuse and included pearlware, whiteware and stoneware, container glass, a metal spoon, bone, window glass, and unidentifiable nails (Table 5.11).

Four posts are present in each of the privy's corners, no doubt the supports for a simple structure over the privy (Figures 5.2, 5.78 and 5.79). Features 162, 164, 167, and 277 all were small, round posts that contained only a small amount of mid-nineteenth century refuse. These posts varied in depth from 20 cm to 65 cm below scraped surface. Sides on all four posts were vertical and the base for each was generally flat. Only one post had a clear post hole with a mold, Feature 164. Unfortunately, the only artifacts from Feature 164 were recovered from its mold and none were temporally diagnostic to help date when the post might have been pulled. Whiteware, ironstone,

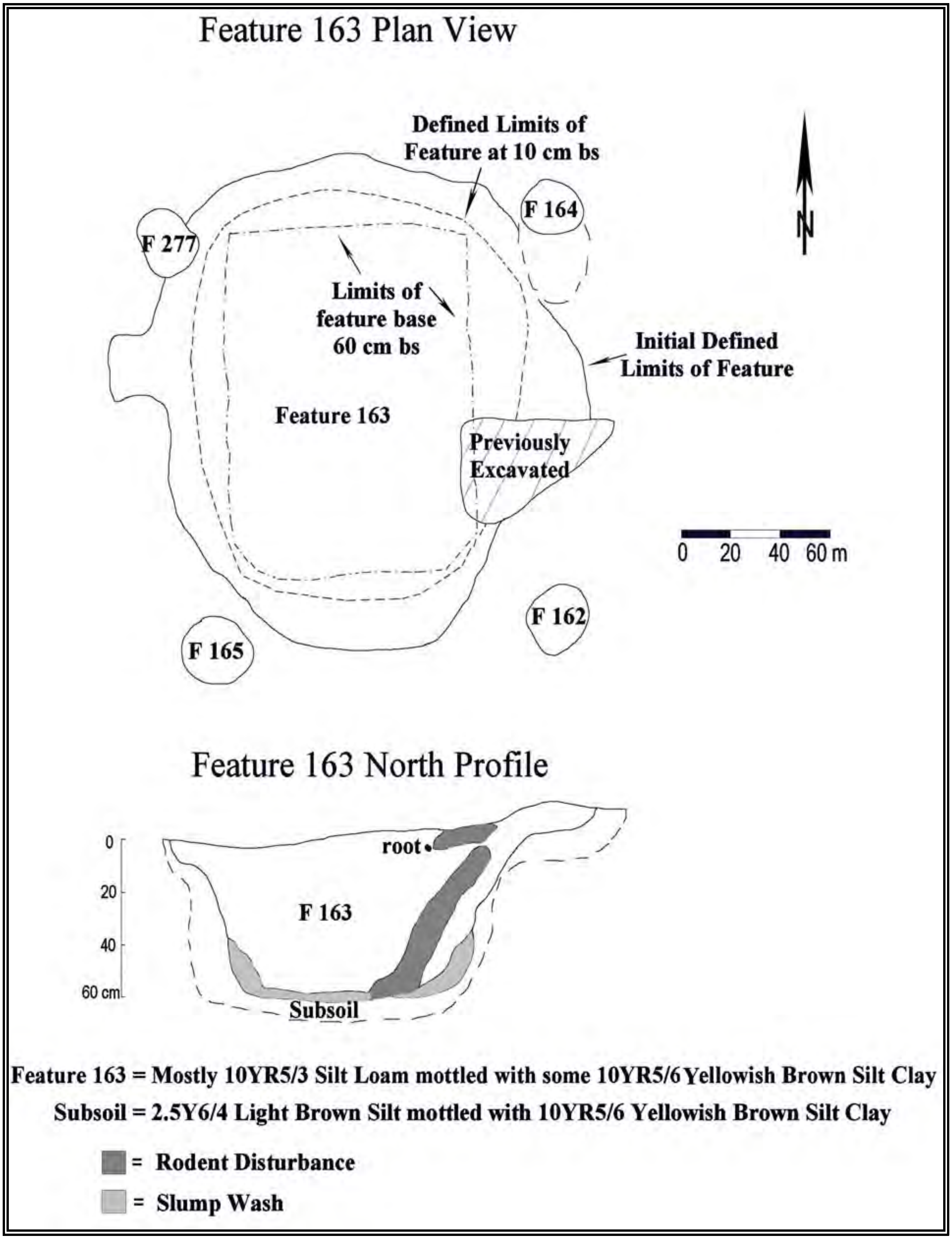


Figure 5.79. Plan view and profile of Feature 163

bone china, and Chinese export porcelain were all recovered in limited quantities from these posts. Also, bone, container glass, cut nails, and window glass were recovered. Feature 277 contained no artifacts.

A mean ceramic date derived from ceramic vessels from Feature 163 was 1839 and a mean date derived from ceramic sherds was similar at 1838. However, since only two vessels were identified and only six refined ceramic sherds were recovered from this feature, these dates are not entirely reliable. Both vessels can span as early in manufacture from ca. 1830 to the 1840s and 1850s, so the feature may have been filled in as late as the 1860s. Also, the scant amount of artifacts and flora recovered from the privy (n = 138) suggests that it was probably kept clean throughout its use. Construction of the privy is equally hard in determining since no artifacts were recovered from the only defined post hole (Feature 164). All four posts contained very few artifacts and appear to have been pulled. However, the presence of ironstone in Feature 165 dates the privy’s destruction after 1840.

Feature 173

Feature 173 was a large privy located in the eastern portion of the far back yard, just inside lot 14 and in line with the eastern line of posts (Figure 5.2). It was irregular in shape, measuring 5.7 feet (1.75 cm) north-south by 6 feet (1.8 m) east-west (Figure 5.2). It was basin-shaped with a relatively level bottom, measuring 36 cm deep (Figures 5.80 and 5.81).

The fill consisted of a three layers of fill, Zones I, II, and III. The first layer (Zone I) was a mixed brown (7.5YR5/4), dark brown (7.5YR3/2), and light gray (10YR7/2) silt loam with an abundant amount of ash and charcoal. This was mixed with a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silt loam. It extended from the surface to 20 cm. Artifacts recovered from this layer included a mixture of middle to late nineteenth century refuse. Creamware, pearlware, whiteware, Chinese export porcelain, rusticated redware, stoneware, table glass, both wire and cut nails, as well as one machine-manufactured bottle fragment were all recovered. The wire nails and machine bottle indicate that this layer was probably deposited in the early part of the twentieth century. However, these later-dating artifacts were recovered from the upper few centimeters of this lens which has doubtless been disturbed by the twentieth century occupation. Other refuse included window glass, a bone button, a straight pin, thimble, and slate pencil. Several large bits of stone and brick were also present.

Zone II was a thin clay lens that only filled a portion of the privy. It appeared as a yellow (10YR7/6) silt clay and contained very few artifacts. Only one undecorated whiteware sherd, a small bone fragment, some brick fragments, and several unidentifiable nails were recovered from this lens. This lens may have been naturally deposited here by flooding.

Zone III was a thick layer of brown (10YR5/3) silt loam containing a large amount of stone and shale. It lined the bottom of the privy and contained creamware, bone china, pearlware, whiteware, rusticated redware, table glass, bottle glass, window glass, brick, a glass doorknob, a lamp chimney fragment, and a straight pin (Figures 5.80 and 5.81).

Figure 5.80. Feature 173, excavation in progress, north

A mean date derived from ceramic vessels from Feature 173 for Zone I was 1829, while a mean date based on ceramic sherds was a bit later at 1834. A mean ceramic date derived from vessels for Zone III was earlier than Zone I at 1827, while a mean date from sherds was much later at 1838. Unlike Feature 163, there was a good amount of artifacts (n = 497) recovered from this feature, although very little flora suggests that it was probably kept clean throughout its use. Construction of the privy is also hard to determine, as there are no structural features that might indicate such a date. But the presence of artifacts dating from the 1840s and the lack of ironstone suggests that backfilling for at least Zone III may have occurred as early as the 1840s. Zone II appears to be a natural deposition, judging by its appearance, and most likely the result of flood deposits. With a significant flood recorded for Rumsey and the Green River in 1845, Zone II may be directly attributed to the historic flood, which would make Zone III a pre-1845 deposit. The wire nails and machine-made container glass within Zone I also suggests that there may have been some time between the filling of Zone III and the filling of Zone I. Also, like the presence of the rock in Zone B of Feature 77 (the cellar located behind the detached kitchen), the presence of a large quantity of rock debris within Zone III is puzzling. Since Zone B of Feature 77 appears to have been filled in sometime during the 1840s, both features were likely filled in at the same time.

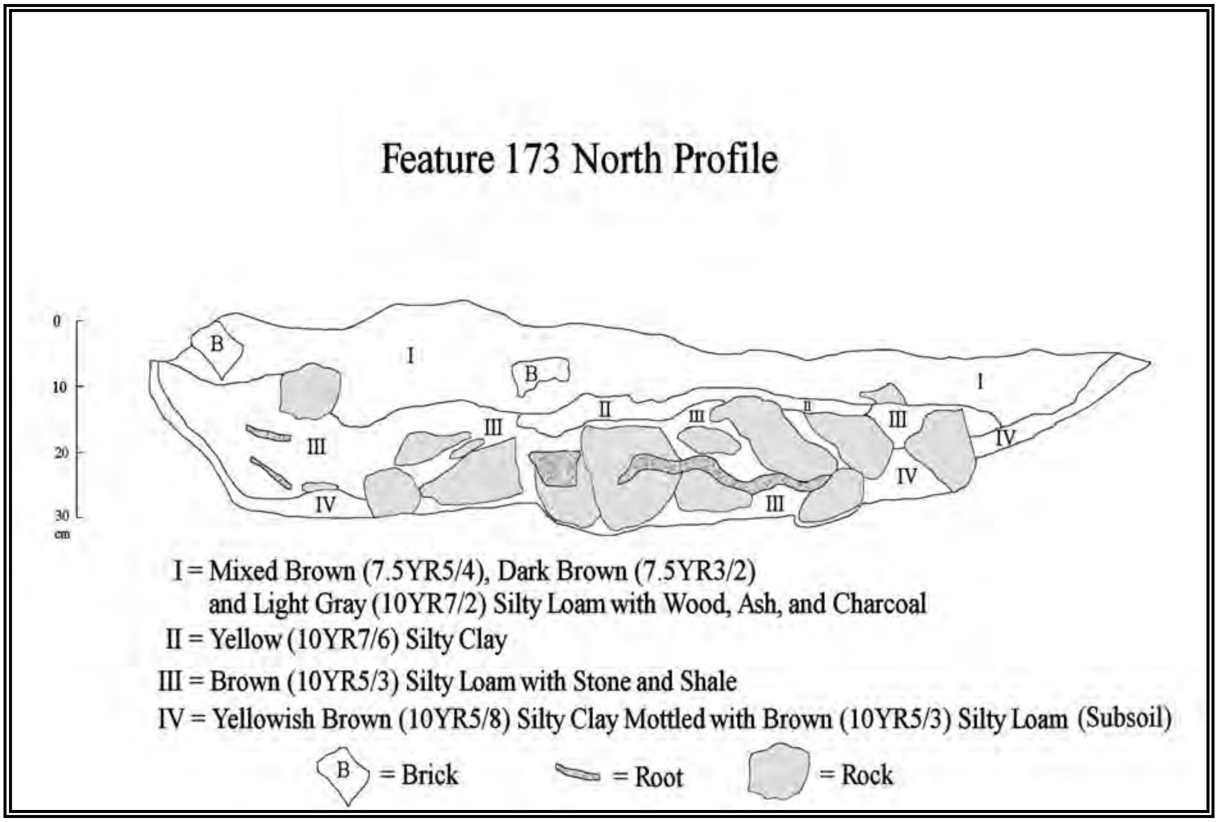


Figure 5.81. Feature 173 north profile

Features 224 and 249

Feature 224 and 249 are two large privies located in the southwestern corner and the edge of the lot 13 boundary (Figure 5.2, 5.82 and 5.83). They were both rectangular in shape, with Feature 224 being the more recent in age. Both features were discovered during the backhoe removal of the topsoil, and they were initially defined as one feature that was L-shaped (Figure 5.2). The feature was drawn in plan view and bisected north-south with the west half removed first. Upon excavation of the west half, it became clear that these were two separate privies and that Feature 224 was the most recent, as it intruded into Feature 249 (Figures 5.82 and 5.83). Prior to this distinction, however, some mixing of the features occurred during the excavation. Most of the artifacts recovered from the mixed area of excavation were from Feature 224, however, as it contained the most artifacts of the two features (Feature 224 = 793; Feature 249 = 243). Artifacts from this mix did contain some machine-manufactured glass. A great amount of rodent and root disturbance was found throughout both features, and great care was taken to separate the disturbance from the fill, but some of the upper twentieth century refuse may have found its way into both features. This disturbance is visible in Figure 5.82 and also Figure 5.83.

Figure 5.82. Features 249 (left) and 224 (right), looking east

The dimensions of Feature 224 were clear, measuring 3.4 feet (1.04 cm) north-south by 5.8 feet (1.78 m) east-west (Figure 5.83). It was rectangular in plan view and was situated lengthwise, parallel, and adjacent to the southern lot boundary. Its sides were straight and the bottom was fairly level, measuring 56 cm below the surface. There were two fill episodes, represented by Zones A and B (Figure 5.83). Zone A was mostly a 7.5YR5/2 brown silt with an abundant quantity of coal and cinders. Artifacts (n = 115) recovered from this feature included undecorated pearlware and whiteware, bone, container glass, window glass, and unidentifiable nails.

Zone B of Feature 224 filled most of the privy and consisted of a 10YR5/3 brown silt loam with some coal and brick fragments (Figure 5.83). Significant rodent and root disturbance occurred in most of the privy and continued down to the base. There were several ash lenses and a seed lens in this zone. Zone B contained more artifacts (n = 678) than Zone A, and these include bone china, Chinese export porcelain, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, domestic stoneware, bone, bottle glass, table glass, an eating utensil, window glass, and unidentifiable nails. The latest-dating artifact recovered from this zone was a post-1858 canning jar (Deiss 1981). Several pockets of blackberry

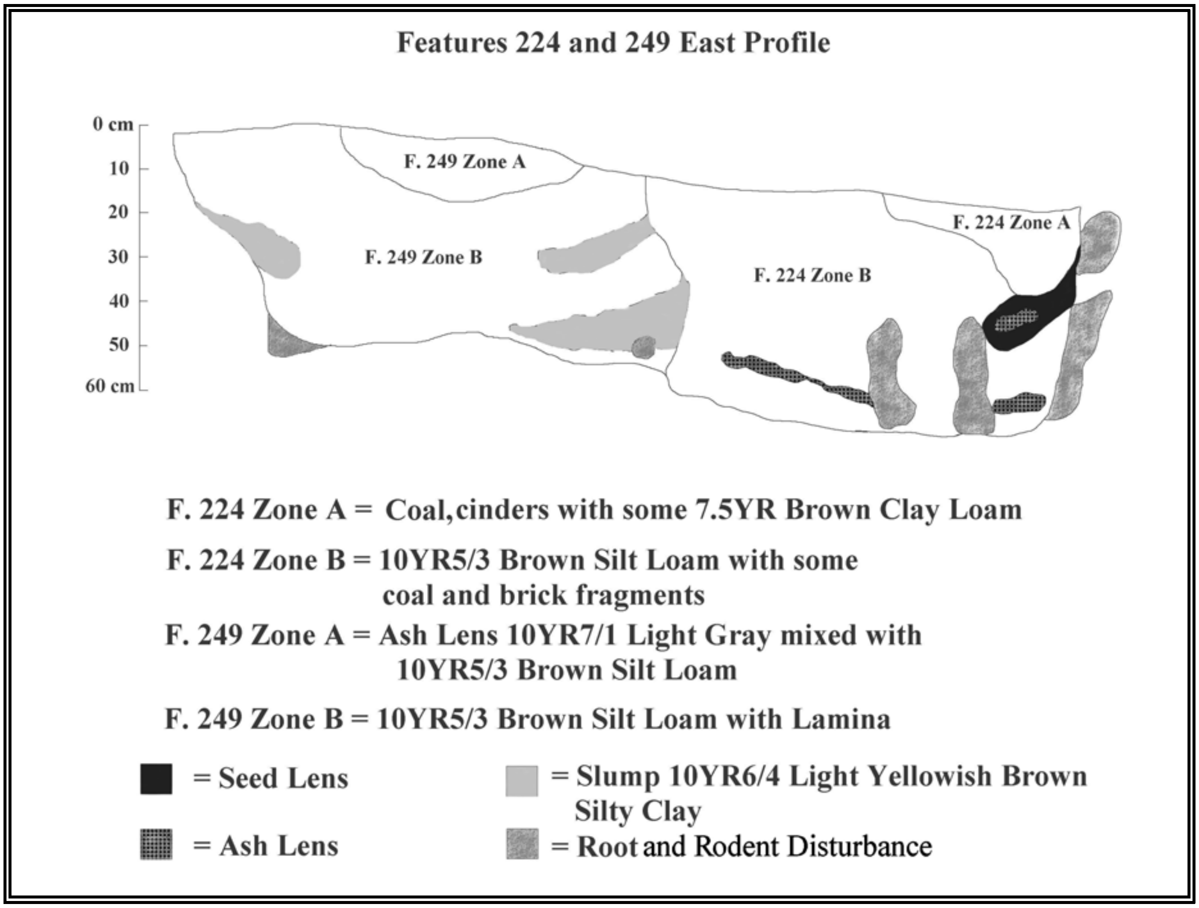


Figure 5.83. Features 249 (left) and 224 (right) east profile

seeds were also found within this zone. In addition, remains of elderberry, tomato, corn, and gourd were recovered from Zone B of Feature 224 (see Appendix A).

The dimensions of Feature 249 were incomplete because Feature 224 intruded into its southern half (Figures 5.2 and 5.83). What remained of the privy, however, measured 3.5 feet (1.06 cm) north-south by 3.8 feet (1.16 m) east-west. No doubt this privy originally measured longer north-south, but the width remained the same. It was rectangular in plan view and was oriented north-south. Its sides were more basin-shaped with a relatively level bottom, measuring 54 cm below the surface. There were two fill episodes for Feature 249, represented by Zones A and B (Figure 5.83). Zone A was mostly an ash lens that appeared as a 7.1YR5/2 light gray mixed with a 10YR5/3 brown silt loam. It was only 14 cm deep. Artifacts recovered from this feature (n = 173) include one late cut nail, unspecified cut nails, unidentified nails, a few brick fragments, whiteware (molded, hand-painted, and transfer print decorated), table glass, and bone.

Zone B of Feature 249 filled most of the privy and consisted of mostly lamina with bands of a 10YR5/3 brown silt loam and 2.5Y5/4 light olive brown silt (Figure 5.83). Evidence of slumping was also present along the edges, and significant rodent and root disturbance were present.

Although Zone B was greater in volume than Zone A, Zone B contained considerably fewer artifacts than Zone A (n = 70). Whiteware (undecorated and annular decorated) and coarse redware, bone, machine-manufactured bottle glass, table glass, window glass, and unidentifiable nails were all that was recovered. Some of the glass was amethyst-colored, indicative of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. It is uncertain if the machine-made bottle glass fragments (n = 3) were recovered from the disturbed root and rodent pockets or were part of the fill. However, both the amethyst and machine glass were both recovered from the upper portion of Zone B, so the upper portion of the feature may have been filled in late. In addition, blackberry seed was recovered, but not nearly the large amount that was recovered from Feature 224 (Appendix A). The presence of the lamina suggests that Feature 249 was gradually filled in.

Based on the obvious intrusion of Feature 224 into Feature 249 and the slumping episodes within Feature 249, Feature 249 appears to have been constructed first and filled in gradually, probably during the Baber occupation and afterwards. With both amethyst colored glass and machine-manufactured glass recovered from the upper portion of Zone B of Feature 249, this upper portion and Zone A must have been filled in during the late nineteenth century and/or early twentieth century. When Feature 249 was constructed, however, is uncertain. Because of its intrusiveness into Feature 249, Feature 224 must have been constructed after the majority of Feature 249 was filled in, either towards the end of the Baber occupation or after. Feature 224 was probably filled in during the early twentieth century.

Refuse Pits (Features 12, 126, and 286)

In addition to Feature 14, three other features were classified as refuse pits for the Baber site. These included Features 12, 126, and 286 (Figure 5.2). All three features were located around the kitchen area, on both sides and behind the kitchen. They were identified as refuse pits by their location and their size.

Feature 12

Feature 12 was excavated during the Phase II testing. It was identified as a possible pit which was 15 cm wide, 52 cm long, and 20 cm deep. Originating at the base of Zone I, it contained very few artifacts and the only temporally diagnostic one was a late cut nail. This possible pit might have dated from the middle or late nineteenth century.

Feature 126

Feature 126 was a large pit located close to the southwest corner of lot 14 (Figure 5.2, 5.84 and 5.85). It was excavated during the Phase III investigation and was bisected north-south with the east half removed first. Dimensions of the feature measure 5 feet (1.5 m) by 5 feet (1.5 m) and 0.9 feet (27 cm) deep. There only appeared to have been one fill episode, and it was a 10YR5/3 brown to 10YR5/2 grayish brown silt loam with mottling of 7.5YR5/4 brown and 10YR6/6 brownish yellow silt loam with scattered charcoal and shale.

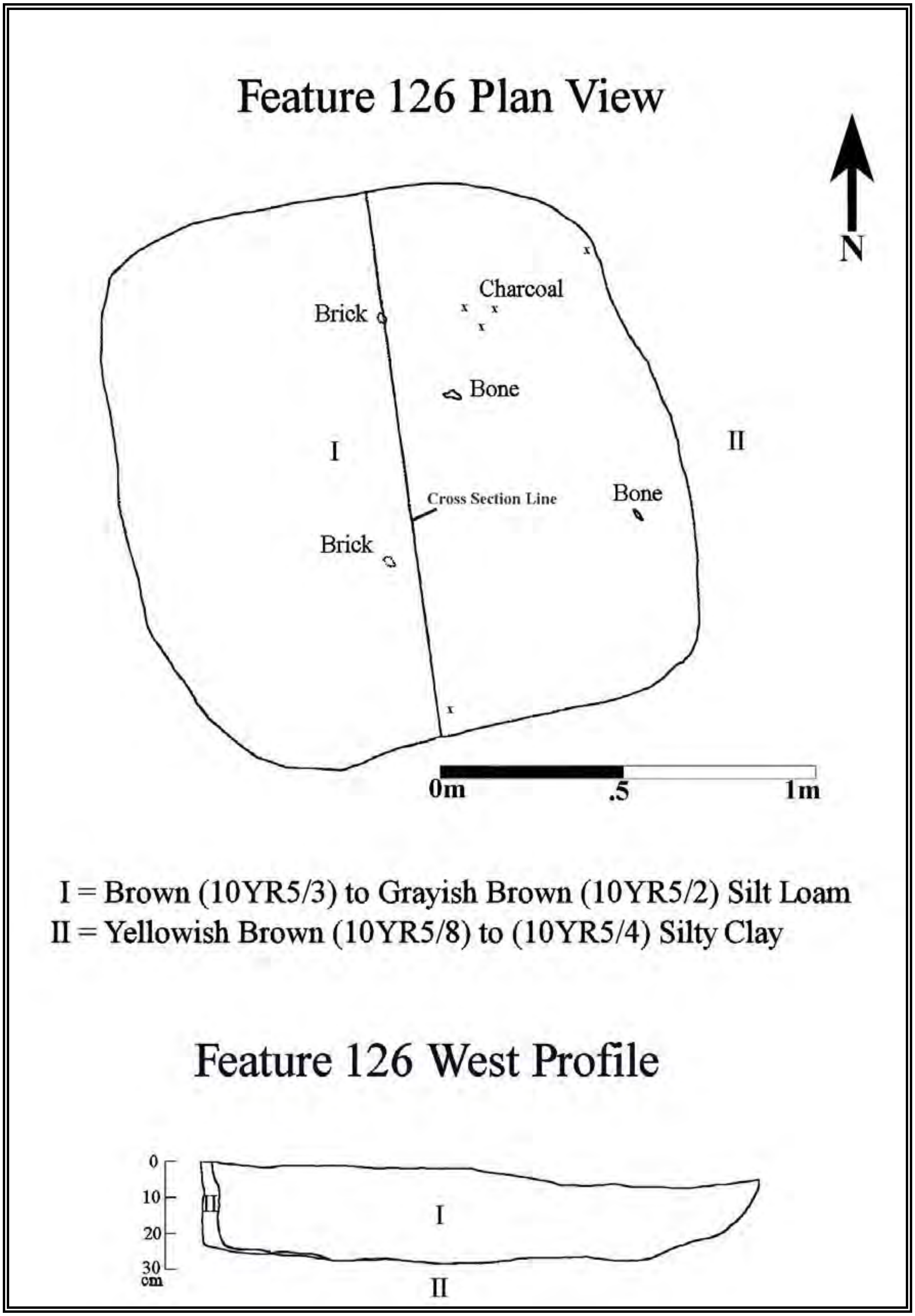


Figure 5.84. Feature 126 plan view and west profile

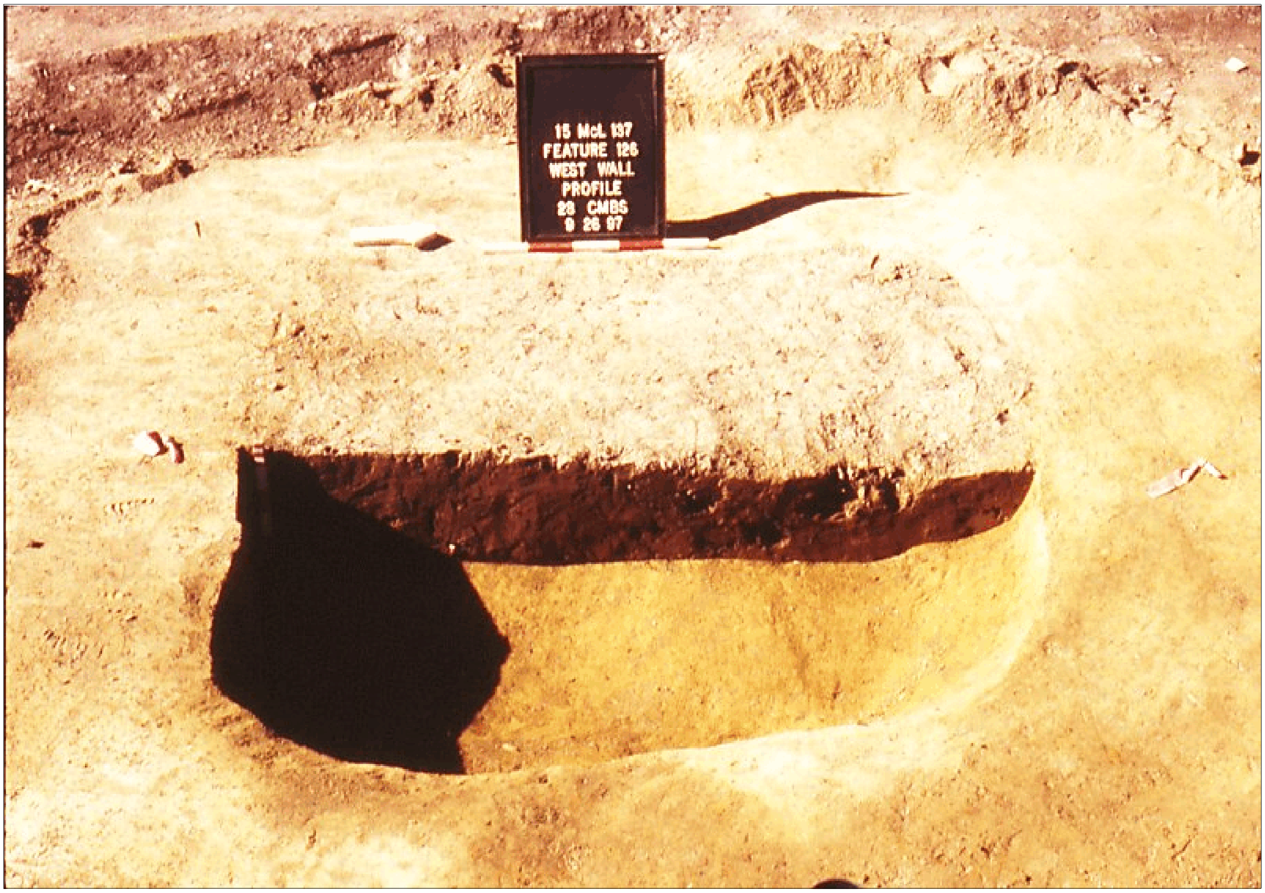


Figure 5.85. Feature 126 west profile

Artifacts recovered from the fill were nearly entirely a mixture from the early to middle nineteenth century and consisted mostly of kitchen refuse (bone china, Chinese export porcelain, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, hand-formed bottle lip/necks, two-piece mold bottles, and bone), architectural material (brick fragments, window glass, unidentifiable nails, and some mortar and chinking/daub), and a small amount of personal, furnishing, and clothing artifacts.

Feature 126 contained considerably more artifacts (n = 1,089) then the other refuse pits at the site (Table 5.11) with a high amount of both bone and shale fragments. However, with the exception of a good amount of carbonized wood, very little flora was recovered from this feature. Of the ceramics, Feature 126 contained mostly whiteware (n = 27) followed by pearlware (n = 11), and the latest-dating ceramic vessel identified was made of whiteware with a mold decoration that dates to about 1850. Although nearly all of the artifacts recovered from Feature 126 date from the early to middle nineteenth century, one artifact, a fused finished and improved tooled bottle lip/neck that post-dates 1870 (Deiss 1981) was also recovered. This later-dating artifact was recovered from the first 10 cm of the feature and may be mixed with the upper plowzone, however. Construction of the pit is hard to determine as there are no structural features to help establish a date. But the presence of early to middle nineteenth century artifacts and the uniform stratigraphy suggests that filling occurred in one episode ca. 1850 or after. If so, perhaps the feature was constructed early in the Baber occupation.

Feature 286

Feature 286 was a large pit feature located east of the ell extension or complex, and was situated within the line of north-south running posts along the eastern edge of the site (Figure 5.2, 5.86 and 5.87). It was discovered during the backhoe scraping and was initially defined as one large feature. Further excavation revealed it to be two features, Feature 286 to the north and Feature 247 (a large post hole with mold) to the south. A modern trench for a waterline also cuts through part of this feature in an east-west line and disturbed a good portion of the upper part of 286. What is uncertain is which feature intrudes on which. It appears in profile that Feature 286 intrudes into Feature 247 (Figure 5.87).

Dimensions of Feature 286 measured 5.1 feet (1.56 m) north-south by 3.7 feet (1.14 m) east-west. The base was level 46 cm below scraped surface. This pit was filled in one episode with a 5YR3/3 dark reddish brown ash mixed with cinders and was mottled with a 10YR4/4 dark yellowish brown silt clay and 10YR3/3 dark brown silt loam. There was a lens of solid cinder and ash present within the southern part of the feature as well.

Figure 5.86. Features 286 (left) and 247 (right) east profiles

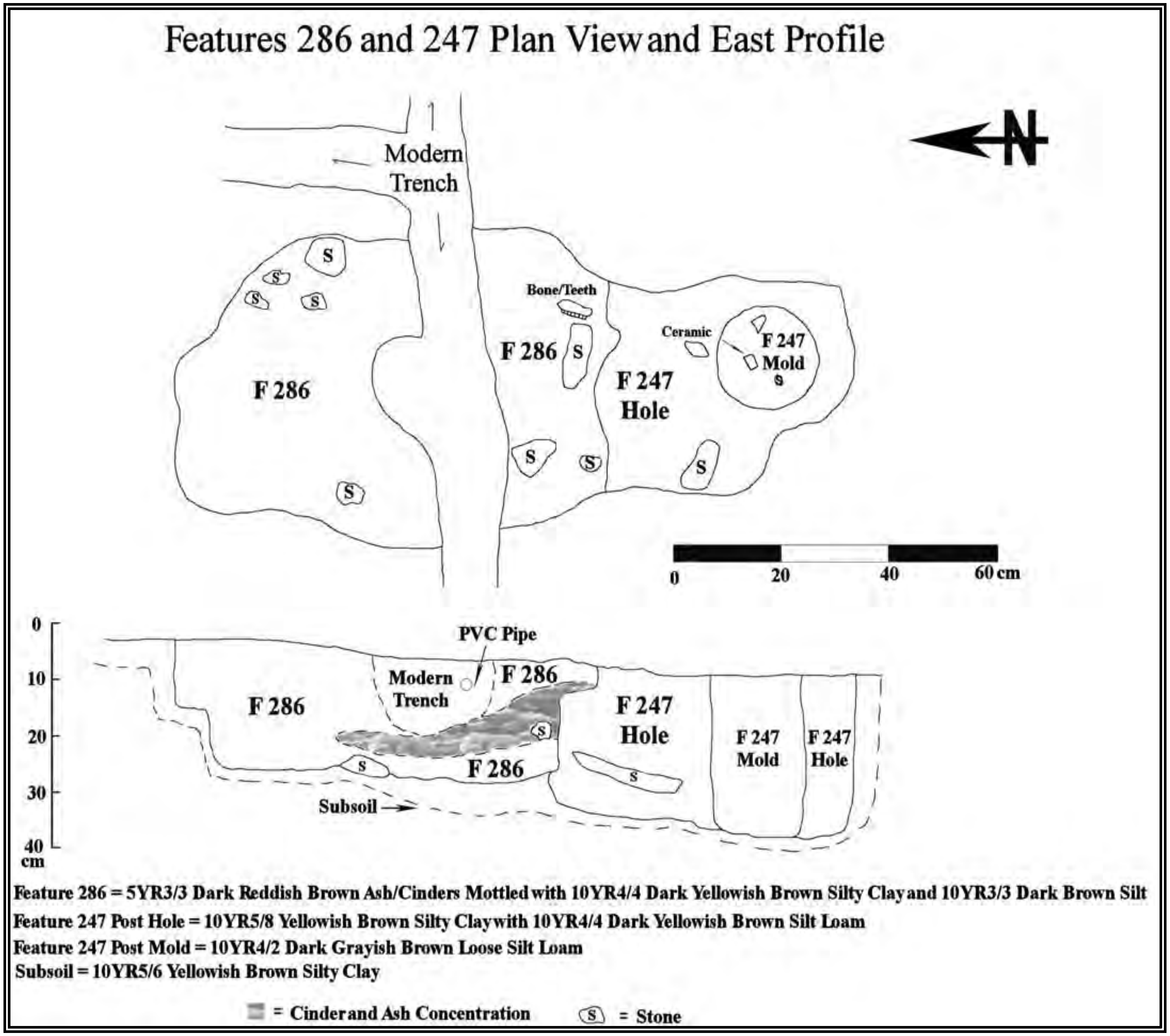


Figure 5.87. Features 286 and 247 plan and east profiles

Artifacts recovered from this pit date from the early to the middle nineteenth century. Large sections of whiteware and pearlware vessels with both hand-painted and transfer print decorations were recovered. Other kitchen artifacts recovered include table glass and bottle glass (hand-formed lips and Rickett's-like mold), bone, and tin can fragments. Architectural refuse consisted of early cut (n = 6), late cut (n = 53), and unspecified cut nails (n = 4), and window glass. A few other items (i.e., watch part, metal harness part, and a metal button) were also recovered.

Although pearlware sherds (n = 16) outnumbered whiteware sherds (n = 7) by twice the number, there were equal numbers of both wares identified in minimum vessel analysis (8 vessels each). A mean date derived from ceramic vessels (1831) from Feature 286 was very early because of the pearlware, but a later-dating whiteware vessel (Vessel #53) with both a molding and hand-painted decoration suggests a post-1840 or possibly 1850 date. Also, a large table glass vessel, a tumbler which resembles a "Battery" tumbler (T # 82—see Appendix C) dates even later, ca. 1863-1865 (Innes and Spillman 1981:59). Based on the mix of early to middle nineteenth century artifacts recovered from this pit, Feature 286 likely was filled in sometime after the mid-1860s, near the end of the Baber occupation.

Possible Back Yard Feature

Within the back yard towards the southern edge of lot 13 was a curious group of posts. Features 153, 154, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161, 191, 192, and 229 were these posts, and together they formed what could have been an oval-shaped structure (Figure 5.2). All of these posts were small in dimension, varying from 20 cm to 30 cm in diameter with some round and some square in plan. With the exception of one deep post that measured 60 cm, the depth of the remaining posts varied from 10 to 30 cm. Although there was no clear differentiation between hole and mold, the smaller posts are likely post molds.

Artifacts recovered from this structure were few in number, with only six posts containing artifacts. Of these six posts, all but two contained less than 10 artifacts. Of the two posts containing more than 10 artifacts, Feature 153 contained only 16 artifacts, and Feature 192 contained 139 artifacts. This high artifact quantity for Feature 139 is based on 121 fragments of unidentifiable metal, however. Artifacts from the posts consisted of nineteenth century material which included transfer print decorated whiteware and Rockingham yellowware from Feature 153, and undecorated whiteware, Albany and salt glazed stoneware, a few table glass, bottle glass, and unspecified cut nails from the other features. The latest temporally sensitive artifact recovered was from Feature 156 and was an amethyst solarized table glass fragment.

With the odd oval shape of the post formation, it is unlikely that this was a building. A couple possibilities are that it might have served as a livestock pen for Baber's livestock (Baber may have had pigs on site—see Chapter Eight) or it may have served for guests' horses. Although it can not be determined when the post structure was constructed, solarized glass recovered from Feature 156 helped to determine that the post must have been pulled after 1880. If the others posts were pulled at the same time, then the structure was probably destroyed after 1880.

Feature 41/49 (Brick and Stone Walk)

Figure 5.88. Feature 41/49, brick walk

In front of the main hotel structure and overlapping the northern boundary of lot 13 were the remains of a brick and stone walk (Figures 5.2 and 5.88). It was uncovered through test unit excavation (Test Units 37, 38, 40-44, 48-52, 54, and 56-61) after it was discovered from a shovel probe, STP 114. Feature 41/49 was an east-west oriented walk. The walkway was composed of numerous bricks, many of which were broken, and small pieces of stone. This walkway varied in width from 5 ft (1.5 m) to 10.5 ft (3.2 m). Variance appears to have been caused in part by plowing, as there appeared to be at least two plow scars running east-west through the feature, but most prominently in the southwestern portion of the feature where most of the bricks and stones are absent. Numerous bricks and stone fragments were recovered from the plowed zone above the feature. Also, a modern trench with pipe extended east-west through the northern portion of the walk, destroying everything in its way. Tree roots were also prominent throughout the feature and may have displaced some of the brick and stone. The original walk may have been 6.5 ft wide. It is possible that Feature 41/49 may have once functioned as a town walkway in front of the lots on the south side of Canal Street. According to local informant Gene Austin, who grew up here in the twentieth century, Canal Street was the main business district with a post office, a general store, a restaurant, etc. (Personal Communication from Gene Austin to Tracey Sandefur, December 11, 1996). According to historic records, it was the same in the nineteenth century. If the walk did continue to the east and west, there is no evidence of it. Artifacts collected from the removal of the bricks and stone were few (n = 59). All but two of these artifacts (a decalcomania decorated whiteware sherd and a machine-made marble) dated from the early to middle nineteenth century and consisted mostly of ceramics like pearlware (undecorated, hand-painted, and annular decorated) and whiteware (undecorated, transfer print and hand-painted decorated). In addition, both salt glazed and Albany slipped stoneware were recovered. An unfused finished, early lipping tooled lip/neck was recovered which dates from the middle nineteenth century. A transportation related artifact, a double tree clip, was also recovered. As the number of early to middle nineteenth century artifacts is far greater than the two later-dating artifacts, it is possible that both of these later artifacts were discarded after the construction of the walk. If so, the walk may have been constructed sometime during the middle nineteenth century. A date of ca. 1850 is not unreasonable, as Rumsey was prospering around this time, and its growth might have contributed to the need for improvement.

Post/Fence Lines (n = 4)

Examination of the 185 post molds/holes indicated that there were at least four post lines. One line was an east-west line across the northern edge of lot 13, and another line was an east-west line across the southern edge of the lot (Figure 5.2). Both post lines appeared to be fence lines marking the northern and southern boundaries of lot 13 and also the adjacent lots, as they continued across them. The remaining two lines were north-south running post lines. The longest of these two lines appeared to mark the eastern edge of lot 13. Although it was not located on the actual boundary line for the two lots, it did run parallel with the boundary line and just within lot 14, suggesting that it was intended as the boundary line between lots 13 and 14. The fourth line ran west of and parallel with the third line, but did not span the entire length of the property. Rather, it spanned from west of Feature 77 and extended another 26 ft (8 m) south beyond Feature 77.

Northern Fence Line

Twenty-five of these post molds/holes comprised the northern fence line (Figure 5.2). The line of posts continued beyond the lot into both adjacent lots (12 and 14). Generally, the molds were both circular and square in planview with dimensions varying from 15 cm to 40 cm. Profiles were straight-sided with a flat bottom extending to a depth between 50 and 80 cm below scraped surface. Only one post, Feature 72a, extended deeper at 104 cm below scraped surface. Several of the larger holes contained more than one mold. Artifacts recovered from the holes and molds included mostly brick fragments, followed by stone, coal, cinders, mortar, whiteware, and both flat and container glass. Wire nails and machine-made bottles were found in many of these holes, which means that construction of the posts post-dates the Baber occupation.

Southern Fence Line

In the southern fence line, 37 post molds/holes were defined (Figure 5.2). This line of posts also continued into both adjacent lots 12 and 14. The molds/holes were similar in plan view and profile to the ones in the northern fence line. Since artifacts recovered from these were also similar to the northern line of posts, it is assumed that it was also constructed after the Baber occupation. Because of this, only a few (Features 203, 206, and 225) posts/molds were sampled, while the rest were drawn in plan view and plotted in (Figure 5.2).

Based on both location and placement, as well as artifact recovery from both the north and south post lines, both lines appear to be fence lines constructed sometime after 1903, as there were machine-manufactured bottles recovered from the post holes. No evidence of an earlier fence line associated with the Baber Hotel occupation was found in either of these two areas.

Eastern Post Line

The eastern line of posts was not as clearly marked as the northern and southern lines were. Many of these post holes/molds may have been associated with a fence line or possibly with structures like the Baber kitchen. There were also small clusters of posts located in the southwestern corner of lot 14 which may indicate possible outbuildings, although no discernable structure could be defined. However, just inside the western boundary of lot 14 and running the length of the property, there did appear to be a relatively straight line of posts running north-south. This line of posts was likely a fence line. Posts in the eastern line were generally round, irregular or square in plan and varied in dimension from small (20 cm) to large (55 cm). In profile, they were straight-sided and varied in depth from shallow (7 cm) to deep (65 cm), although the majority varied from 20 to 40 cm in depth.

Only four posts had a distinct mold within a hole (Features 175, 184, 247, and 280). Feature 175 was a small, rectangular-shaped post hole and mold. The post mold was not immediately discovered, but at 25 cm into the excavation of the feature, the mold became clear. The reason why the mold was not defined initially was due to upper disturbance in the feature, a result from the post being pulled (Figure 5.2). While the post mold contained only one unidentified nail fragment, the hole contained 65 artifacts, several of which were diagnostic of the nineteenth century (pearlware, hand-painted and transfer print decorated whiteware, and a glass vial made from a dip mold). Unfortunately, the hole could not be distinguished around the mold, but only at the top of the feature where it was completely disturbed. Time of placement for this post is impossible to establish, although the presence of the nineteenth century artifacts does suggest it was destroyed during the nineteenth century and is therefore associated with the Baber occupation.

Figure 5.89. Feature 184, a post hole with two molds

Feature 184 was a large (1.6 m long by 0.7 m wide) oval-shaped post hole that contained two molds (Figures 5.2 and 5.89). The hole contained a mix of nineteenth and early twentieth century artifacts suggesting that it may be associated with the later-dating house in lot 14. Feature 184, with its large post hole and two molds, was also similar to some of the large post holes with molds within the northern fence line (i.e., Features 52 and 72).

Feature 247 was the third post hole with a mold and was large in size (96 cm long by 76 cm wide by 56 cm deep) (see Figures 5.2, 5.86, and 5.87). The northern edge of Feature 247 was intruded on by a refuse pit, Feature 286 (Figure 5.87). The post hole and mold were not clear within Feature 247 during the initial excavation of the west half. As a result, artifacts from this half of the feature were mixed. All artifacts dated from the early to middle nineteenth century and included such temporally sensitive artifacts as annular and blue shell edge decorated pearlware, transfer print and undecorated whiteware, and an early cut nail. The post hole and mold in the east half of Feature 247 were carefully separated, but only two artifacts were recovered from the mold, an unidentifiable nail and unidentifiable glass fragment. The east half of the post hole in Feature 247 contained several artifacts (n = 48), though, all dating from the early to middle nineteenth century. These artifacts included hand-painted pearlware and transfer print decorated whiteware. Because of the higher amount of artifacts recovered from the post hole in comparison to the post mold in the east half of Feature 247, the majority of the artifacts recovered in the west half, although mixed, are probably associated with the post hole.

Feature 280 was the fourth post hole with mold. The hole was small in comparison to Features 184 and 247, measuring only 35 cm in diameter and 35 cm in depth. Very few artifacts were recovered from the hole and mold of Feature 280, but did include only nineteenth century artifacts (transfer print decorated whiteware and Chinese export porcelain). Feature 280 was in line with the eastern post line, but it may also have been associated with the kitchen, as it was located just east of the kitchen and near associated kitchen posts.

The remaining posts in the eastern post line (Features 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 176, 177, 181, and 181) showed no distinction between post hole or post mold. Artifacts recovered from these posts included all nineteenth century material (pearlware, Chinese export porcelain, whiteware, ironstone, and blown in mold bottles/jars). Because of the presence of these nineteenth century artifacts, the posts must have been destroyed during the nineteenth century and were likely constructed as part of the Baber occupation.

Fourth Post Line

The fourth post line ran parallel with the west side of Feature 77, the cellar located south of the kitchen, and consisted of Features 135, 136, 138 and 275. It then continued south of Feature 77 with Features 150, 151, 152, and 183. Artifacts were few in number from Features 135, 136, 150, and 153, consisting of one unidentifiable container glass from Feature 135, two unidentifiable glass fragments and 12 unidentifiable nails from Feature 136, mostly unidentifiable nails from Feature 151, and one undecorated whiteware from Feature 183. Features 150 and 152 contained no artifacts. But Features 138 and 275 contained a higher number of artifacts. Mostly transfer print decorated whiteware, Chinese export porcelain, a blown back (rough) bottle lip/neck, and a few late cut nails were recovered from Feature 138. Feature 275 contained similar artifacts. All features were shallow, measuring from 9 cm to 25 cm in depth. The fill was similar also, consisting generally of a 10YR4/3 brown silt loam with some 10YR6/2 ash in most of the posts. No molds or holes were defined in any of the posts, and given the small size of some, most of the posts may be molds. Because of their location parallel with Feature 77, a question arises if some of the posts, specifically Features 135, 136, 138, and 275, might have been associated with a structure over Feature 77. Features 175 and 247 in the eastern post line both contained artifacts similar to those found in the fourth line of posts. Given the location of the cellar and its location directly behind the chimney and kitchen, Feature 77 may have served as both a cellar and a meat house. While there were posts in the eastern post line that may support this theory, there did not appear to be any clear posts between the eastern post line and the fourth post line that might connect them together. If there was a structure over Feature 77, it was a simple one.

If not a structure, the fourth line of posts may simply have been a fence line. Looking further at the north-south running line of posts to the west and east of Feature 77, both lines continued southward in a straight line for another 25 feet (Figure 5.2). These posts, Features 150, 151, 152, and 183 to the west and Features 176, 177, 181, and 184 to the east, may have been part of a continuation of a fence line, perhaps a livestock pen, an outbuilding, or a stable or shed.

Post-Baber Features

Seven other structures were present that post-date the Baber occupation. One structure, a house or house complex, was located in lot 14; the second structure, an outbuilding, was located in the southeastern corner of lot 14; and the third structure, a cellar, was located within the central eastern portion of lot 12, with a small portion crossing over into lot 13 (Figure 5.2). The remaining four structures were all privy vaults that date to the twentieth century. Features 76, 78, 158, and 282 were all located in the back of lot 13 (Figure 5.2).

Twentieth Century House Complex

The first structure, the house located in lot 14 (Figure 5.2), was composed of nine brick piers (Features 16, 124, 127, 128, 129, 144, 148, 208, and 209). Combined, they formed the support for at least one structure, possibly more. These piers did not create an easily determinable pattern and may relate to multiple buildings. All bricks that made up the piers were machine-pressed bricks with "Portland Cement" mortar, so they date well into the twentieth century and likely post-date the main occupation of the site. Local informant Gene Austin recalled a large, white, two-story frame house in this location. It was inhabited by a family named Hendricks and burned down in the late 1950s or early 1960s (Personal Communication from Austin to Sandefur, December 11, 1996). According to another local source, Charles "Buck" Schindler, about 10 years ago, he cleaned up remaining debris from the house, which included a brick chimney fall, by mechanically dozing and burying most of the brick in the northern portion of lot 13 (Personal Communication from Schindler to Sandefur, November 8, 1996). This brick was noted in Zone I within units and STPs in this portion of the site. The earliest written record of this house was listed on a 1918 deed that lists the "Baker Hotel Property, 1 house and four lots: 12, 13, 14, and 39" (McLean County Deed Book 34:539). The house was listed on other, later transactions up to 1945. Although there is no deed that lists the

Hendricks family as property owners, the Hendricks may have rented the house rather than lived there. This house was plotted on the 1952 USGS topographic map (see Figure 1.2 in Chapter One).

Outbuilding Structure

Another possible post-Baber structure was located near the southeastern corner of lot 12. A small group of posts forming a rectangular shape appeared to have been an outbuilding. These posts were Features 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 187, 188, and 190 (Figure 5.2). Most of these posts were small in dimension, but varied from 14 cm to 50 cm in diameter with some round and some square. Depth varied from 10 to 48 cm in depth. Although there was no clear differentiation between hole and mold, the smaller posts were likely post molds and the larger posts may have been holes with collapsed molds.

Artifacts recovered from the posts of this structure were few in number, with all but three of the posts containing fewer than 10 artifacts. Of the other three posts, Feature 168 contained 29 artifacts, Feature 170 contained 18 artifacts, and Feature 190 contained 70 artifacts. This high artifact quantity for Feature 139 is based mostly on 34 small brick fragments and 12 unidentifiable metal fragments, however. Artifacts from the posts consisted of nineteenth century material which included undecorated pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone, several container glass fragments, and several unidentified nail fragments. Several amethyst solarized glass container fragments were recovered from Features 168, 170, and 190, indicating that these posts must have been pulled after 1880. More important information from a local resident, Gene Austin, revealed that a small framed garage was in this area and belonged to the Hendricks family who lived in the house on lot 14. A small dirt driveway crossed over lot 12 and provided access to Canal St. The garage fell to disuse sometime around the middle of the twentieth century after the Hendricks' house burned down (Personal Communication from Austin to Sandefur, December 11, 1996).

Figure 5.90. South half Feature 18, west

Feature 18 (cellar)

The third structure that probably post-dates the Baber occupation was a cellar, Feature 18, located just inside the western right of way within lot 12 (Figures 5.2, 5.90, and 5.91). Feature 18 was a roughly rectangular-shaped, filled cellar and was first encountered during the Phase II excavation of Unit 19. When it became

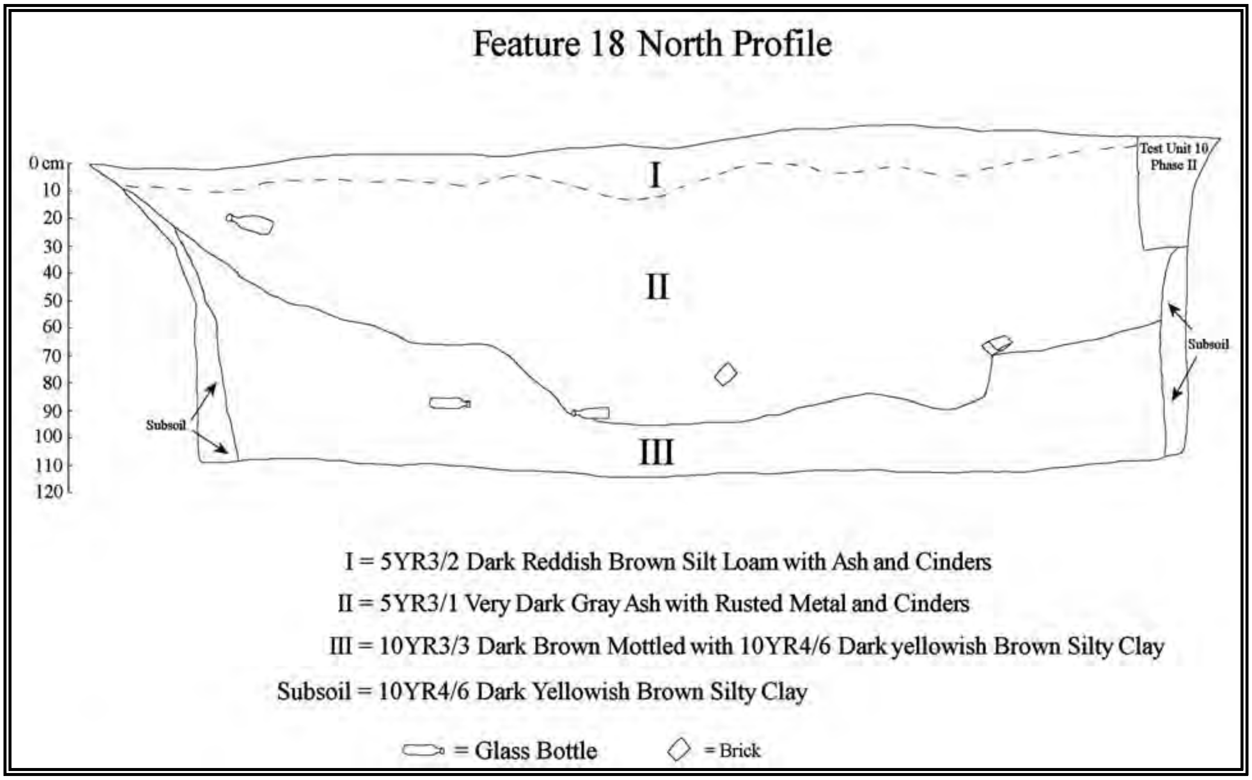


Figure 5.91. Feature 18 north profile

apparent that the feature was extensive, during the Phase III mitigation, several other units of various dimensions (Units 64, 69-72, and 74-77) were laid out to establish the entirety of its boundaries. Dimensions of Feature 18 were 13.1 feet (4 m) east-west by 9.8 feet (3 m) (Figure 5.91). The top originated at the base of the plowzone and continued to 4.2 ft (1.27 m) below surface. Walls were slightly flared outwards at the top, but soon changed to vertically straight-sided with a flat bottom floor (Figure 5.91).

Three fill zones were present within the cellar, all of which were intentional fill layers. Zone I originated at the bottom of the plowzone and extended to 15 cm below surface. Zone I was a 5YR3/2 dark reddish brown silt loam with ash and cinders. Artifacts recovered from this zone (n = 1521) date from the early nineteenth century and span the entire nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Most artifacts were kitchen items which include Chinese export porcelain, pearlware (annular and blue shell edge), whiteware (hand-painted, transfer print, gilded, molded, and annular), ironstone (painted and decalcomania), refined rusticated redware, stoneware, and blown in mold and early machine-manufactured container glass. Both wire and late cut nails were represented from the architectural group.

Zone II was a 5YR3/1 very dark gray ash with rusted metal and a high concentration of cinders. Zone II extended from beneath Zone I to 90 cm below surface. Artifacts recovered from this fill included significantly more than from Zone A (n = 4072). They were similar, however. Again, kitchen artifacts dominated the artifact assemblage (Chinese export porcelain, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, refined redware, and stoneware), as well as both nineteenth and early twentieth century container glass. Wire nails were the only temporally sensitive artifact of the architectural group. A large quantity of tin can fragments and unidentifiable metal fragments (which may be from tin cans, but are too fragmented to say for certain) and cinders were also recovered from Zone II.

Zone III occurred at the base of the cellar and varied in thickness from 20 to 50 cm. It consisted of a 10YR3/3 dark brown mottled with 10YR4/6 dark yellowish brown silty clay. Artifacts (n = 1335) recovered from this layer are fewer in number, but still similar to the artifacts recovered from the above layers.

The presence of similar artifacts in all three layers suggests that Feature 18 was filled in one episode. Although the ceramics recovered span the nineteenth century from early (pearlware and Chinese export porcelain) to middle (transfer print and hand-painted decorated whiteware) to late (decalcomania and gilded decorated whiteware and ironstone and Bristol glazed stoneware), and although there is considerable container glass that spans the nineteenth century from early (hand-formed bottle lip) to middle (blown back lip, two-piece molded, optic molded, and dip molded) to late (fused finish/later lipping tool and amethyst solarized colored), the presence of machine-made container glass in each level suggests a post-1903 date for filling.

Privy Vaults (Features 76, 78, 158, and 282)

Four privy vaults were located in the back of lot 13 and date to the twentieth century. Features 76 and 158 (Figure 5.2) appeared to have been filled in during the 1920s to 1930s, and Features 78 and 282 (Figure 5.2) were filled in during the middle twentieth century. All of these privies were filled with a moderate to dense amount of kitchen and architectural refuse.

Figure 5.92. Feature 78 mid-excavation

Features 76 and 78, located towards the central back of lot 13, were situated close together and were comparable in shape and size, being both square (Figures 5.2, 5.92 and 5.93). Feature 76 measured 1 m by 1.2 m and Feature 78 measured 1.25 m east-west by 1.35 m north-south (Figure 5.2). Depth was also similar between the two features with the depth of Feature 76 being 0.95 m deep and the depth of Feature 78 being 1 m. Feature 282, located in the southeastern corner of lot 14, was similar in size to the other two features, but was more rectangular in shape, measuring 1.2 m east-west by 1.55 m north-south by

75 cm deep. Feature 158 was located south of Features 76 and 78 and was considerably smaller than the other three privies, measuring only 0.4 m east-west by 1 m north-south and 28 cm deep. Based on its location towards the back of the yard and close to Features 76 and 78, Feature 158 may have been the base of a shallow privy vault. Feature 282 still had the remains of wooden cribbing (Figure 5.94).

Figure 5.93. Feature 76, plan view

Fill in all of the privies varied, but all four privies contained considerable amounts of coal and cinders. Staining beyond the limits of the privies and into the surrounding subsoil was also noted in three of the four privies. All four privies also contained more than one fill layer.

Artifacts recovered from these privies suggest that they were filled in during the twentieth century. Cinders were common in the fill of all of these features, along with such twentieth century material as machine-manufactured glass, plastic, wire nails, decalcomania decorated ceramics, aluminum foil, and machine-made marbles. Some of the machine-manufactured glass recovered from Feature 76 contained the embossed "FEDERAL LAW PROHIBITS SALE OR REUSE OF THIS BOTTLE" which dates from 1933 to 1964 (Deiss 1981) and the embossed "Duraglass" in script which dates from 1940 to 1963 (Moir et al. 1987). In addition, a ceramic figure head was recovered from Feature 78 that was clearly in the form of Mickey Mouse, and depression glass was also recovered. Also, a 1902 penny was recovered from Feature 158.

Figure 5.94. Feature 282 east profile

Summary

From what we have discussed in this chapter, we know that the Baber hotel/house structure fronted on to Canal Street, facing north toward the Green River. Features associated with the construction of the main hotel structure (two robbed chimneys, a cellar with bulkhead, stone and brick piers, and several post hole/molds) suggest that the house was 50 ft long and 20 ft wide. The main hotel structure would have had gable end chimneys, and was a two-room, likely double-storied structure. Based on the large size of the piers and pier holes, it is possible that there was a third-story loft. The east room was slightly larger than the west room, measuring 25 ft (7.6 m) east-west by 20 ft (6 m) north-south. The west room measured 20 ft by 20 ft (6 m by 6 m) in size. The alignment of the pier holes also revealed that a central hallway divided the two rooms. The bottom rooms would have consisted of the hall and parlor while the upstairs would have served for the bedrooms. There likely was a smaller addition behind the western section that may have functioned as a porch or veranda, measuring 20 ft (6 m) north-south by 13 ft (4 m) east-west. A thin midden was also located in this area.

Artifacts recovered from the features that compose the hotel helped to reconstruct the main structure. Nails, though poorly preserved, were numerous and served to show that the hotel was probably a frame structure. Several early cut nails were found in addition to the late cut nails, which strongly suggests that construction of the main hotel began in the early 1830s, as the use of early cut nails was replaced by late cut nails by the mid 1830s (Nelson 1968). Other artifacts recovered from these features support the historical information gathered concerning when the hotel was likely built (sometime in the middle 1830s) and when it was dismantled (sometime after 1875). It is hypothethized that the house structure might have been built in separate sections. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The area directly behind the eastern half of the main house once likely housed a detached kitchen. The detached kitchen is defined by a robbed chimney base, four large corner post holes, and possibly nine smaller posts, which could be either posts for partitioning, additions, or scaffolding. An extensive midden deposit also covered this area. Based on the amount of artifacts recovered from the four large post holes that demarcate the kitchen, it was likely built a few years after the main building was constructed. Originally, a kitchen may have been located within the hotel itself, probably in the eastern section. From here, just outside a back door, the back lot would have been easy to access for discarding kitchen refuse. A few years later perhaps, as the need increased, a detached kitchen was likely built and larger cellars and pits were built in the back lot. No doubt there also would have been constant renovation to maintain these structures.

Numerous yard features were also identified. Six cellars were located either under the main house (Features 21/40 and 145) or within the back yard and very near the kitchen (Features 22, 61, and 139). Two were filled in early in the occupation, during the 1840s (Features 61 and 77); one was filled in towards the end of the Baber occupation in the 1860s (Feature 22); one was filled in by the end of the Baber occupation or shortly after (ca. 1870s) (Feature 139); and one (Feature 18) was filled in by the 1910s. This last feature appears to date to a later occupation. The main house cellar, Feature 21/40, was filled in two episodes, once in the late nineteenth century and again in the early twentieth century. Its original bulkhead entrance (Feature 145) also appears to have been filled in two episodes, by the late 1840s or early 1850s, and again by the early twentieth century.

The refuse pits were located around the detached kitchen and were filled with kitchen refuse. One of the refuse pits, Feature 14, was filled in early in the Baber occupation, in the 1840s; one was filled in much later, during the 1850s or 1860s (Feature 126); and the third was filled in around the mid 1860s, or close to the end of the Baber occupation (Feature 286).

Most of the privy vaults, total number eight, were located towards the back of the lots and were filled over a wide ranging period of time. All of these privies were filled with a moderate to dense amount of kitchen and architectural refuse. Four privy vaults (Features 163, 173, 224, and 249) date to the Baber occupation. The remaining four privy vaults postdate the Baber occupation: Features 76 and 158 were filled in during the 1920s to 1930s, and Features 78 and 282 were filled in during the middle twentieth century.

The two probable cisterns, Features 210 and 211, were identified by their round shape and location adjacent to the east side of the house. Both cisterns appeared to have been filled in early in the Baber occupation, by the 1840s, suggesting both were used at the same time and their need was replaced by another water source—Feature 10, the well. The well, Feature 10, was about 5 m deep and located directly east of the detached kitchen. The well appears to have been filled in during the 1860s or 1870s.

There are two middens (Features 1 and 25). Feature 1 was a widespread ash midden located under and behind the kitchen, spanning the length of the Baber occupation. Feature 25 was a very thin and smaller midden and was located under what appears to be a southwest addition to the back of the main house. It may have been used from the 1830s to the 1850s.

Finally, an examination of the post molds/holes indicated that there were at least four fence lines. Two were east-west lines across the northern and the southern ends of the site and two were parallel north-south running lines. The two east-west lines appeared to be fence lines marking the northern and southern property boundaries and to postdate the Baber occupation. But some of the posts within the two north-south lines may show evidence of outbuildings running behind the kitchen.

Analysis of temporally diagnostic artifacts from the lot revealed an occupation period spanning from ca. 1835 to the 1870s. The majority of the artifacts from the features dated from this period. Temporally sensitive ceramics recovered from the feature fill indicated various use dates, and the number of features within the lot indicated that the Babers made the most of their property lot. The large number of refuse-filled cellars, privies, cisterns, and trash pits was unexpected, but also exciting, considering that this could be an indication of tavern behavior. These features provided long-term temporal control and locational information to investigate questions of yard use, consumption patterns, and tavern behavior. The following chapters will discuss these research issues in more depth.

Chapter Six

The Baber Hotel Layout

At dusk we reached Woodlands, a capacious tavern,
seated behind a lawn covered with ornamental shrubbery–
a very cheerful, home-like place. Everything in and
about the house gave tokens of neatness and comfort.[1]

Introduction

Extensive information concerning the spatial arrangement of mid-nineteenth century tavern/hotels in an urban or small town setting is very rare. Since the Baber Hotel was also a domestic residence, it is likely that the house and house lot resembled other town lots to some degree. Archaeological evidence as well as travelers' accounts and probate inventories can be used to reconstruct the spatial layout of the Baber Hotel and what furnishings were likely present. As Rumsey was a speculative town, the hotel would have acted as an advertisement for the town. The Baber Hotel would have presented a genteel and somewhat refined appearance, suggesting the refined and successful demeanor of the town to potential settlers and businessman. Charles Baber was a founding member of the town, and his hotel projected the hopeful success of the town. As a hotel, however, lodging, food, drink, and socializing would have also been a priority of service.

With this in mind and the notion that the built environment is as much an expression of cultural beliefs as any other aspect of social life, this chapter addresses the organization, architectural style, and layout of the Baber Hotel.

Nature and Layout of Structures at the Baber Hotel

Archival data indicates that the hotel was located in Rumsey lot 13, and may have later included lot 14. The archaeological data indicates it was centered in lot 13 but also extended, at least in terms of refuse and a few features, into the western part of lot 14 and the eastern part of lot 12. Evidence of the hotel structure was not found in Phase II, but the heavy concentration of middle nineteenth century artifacts and presence of refuse features in the central part of lot 13 suggested that the main structure sat in the northern part of this lot along Canal Street. This location makes sense given the street pattern, with Canal Street being an important commercial street, and the typical location of refuse disposal areas in the rear yard.

The Phase III archaeological field work was directed towards identifying functional and chronological variability in artifacts and features across the site and locating subsurface features. Questions related to building location, size, and function, and the location of other activity areas in

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[1] Taylor Bayard describing a Kentucky tavern in *At Home and Abroad: A Sketch-book of Life, Scenery, and Men* (1860:188)

the yard and how all of these changed over time were important topics of these investigations. Features found in the excavation include 185 post molds/holes, ten brick piers, two stone piers, eight pier holes, one brick chimney, two robbed chimney holes, one brick walk, six cellars, one cellar bulkhead, two middens, five refuse pits, eight privy vaults, one well, two possible cisterns, one cement drain, six shallow depressions, and two mortar concentrations (Figure 6.1). Most of these features were found to be associated with a nineteenth century hotel, detached kitchen, and several outbuildings.

The Hotel

The archaeological evidence indicates that the Baber Hotel was a frame structure with two end chimneys, measuring 50 feet east/west and 20 feet north/south. The large size of pier holes and general information on nineteenth century hotels of this type suggests that the main house had a second story, with possibly a third story loft. Although the end chimneys and most piers were robbed, they were certainly constructed of brick or stone. The large amounts of brick and mortar found over the site suggests that these features were more likely built of brick.

Nails from the site were in very poor condition due to the frequent flooding of the Green River. Only nails that had been burned could be identified as to age and type. The majority of identifiable nails at the Baber Hotel were cut nails, both early and late cut varieties, consistent with the habitation of the site from the early 1830s to ca. 1875. The presence of several early cut nails suggests that building may have been underway before 1835, when early cut nails were replaced rather rapidly by late cut nails (Nelson 1968). An abundance of nails in the vicinity of the hotel suggests that it was of frame construction rather than log. Window glass was present in abundance, indicating that the structure had numerous windows. The windows in early nineteenth century domestic structures were generally of the six or nine pane double-hung sash type (Moir 1988). These windows would have allowed cross ventilation and provided guests a view of the Green River and the up-and-coming town of Rumsey.

Partition posts (Figure 6.1) that are evident archaeologically indicate that the downstairs was divided into two rooms by a central hall or passage, which probably had doors at either end. The size and configuration of this structure suggests that it was an I-house type. I-houses have a central hall divided by two rooms and are of single room depth (Figure 6.2). They are generally two stories in height (Figure 6.3) and may often have an ell attached at the back (Glassie 1968 and Macintire 1998). According to Glassie (1968) the two-story I-house is one of the most common types "in the source area of the Chesapeake Tidewater, running from Baltimore down the coast to North Carolina's Albemarle Sound and rising inland to the foot of the Blue Ridge in Virginia" (Glassie 1968:65). An I-house having two stories and possibly a third story loft would most certainly have accommodated Baber's family, slaves, lodgers, and guests. Figure 6.1 shows a reconstructed plan of the hotel and associated structures.

Figure 6.1. Main hotel and detached kitchen at the Baber site

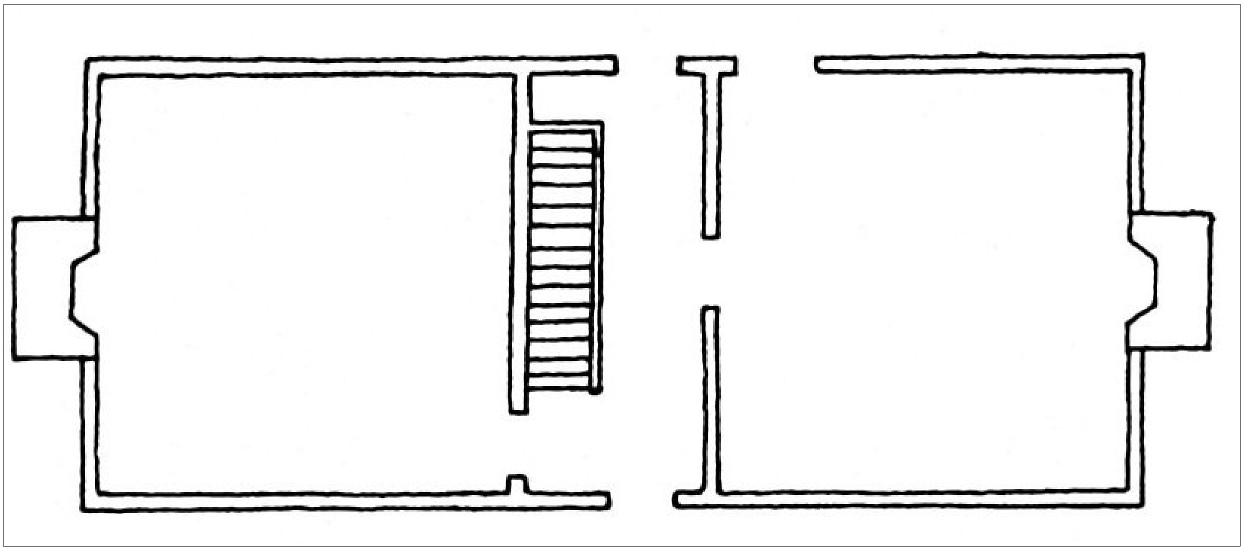


Figure 6.2. I-house plan with central hall (Glassie 1968:68)

Figure 6.3. I-house, frame with external brick chimneys (Glassie 1968:65)

Other examples of this type of structure were found during a search at the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER), housed on the world wide web at the Library of Congress (http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer/). Research here resulted in the finding of several taverns of the I-house plan. The following figures show some of these taverns in plan and elevation. These taverns include the D.S. Tavern in Albemarle County, Virginia (not far from Charlottesville) (HABS No. VA-1019) (Figure 6.4), the Orringh Stone House in Monroe County, New York (HABS No. NY 5-R-8) (Figures 6.5 and 6.6), and the Chisholm Tavern in Knoxville, Tennessee (HABS No. TN 19-111) (Figure 6.7). Most of these structures were built at the end of the eighteenth century, with some going through several stages of construction and additions. For instance, the Orringh Stone House's I-house was constructed later, before 1820 and the D.S. Tavern was constructed in several stages. Likewise, the Baber house may have undergone more than one stage of construction. Other taverns included in this study are the Old Miller Tavern, located in Fayette County, West Virginia (HABS No. W.VA 21-11), the Dunham Tavern, located in Cleveland, Ohio (HABS No. OH 22-19), the Stage Coach Inn, located in Chapel Hill, Texas (HABS No. TEX-24), and the Tavern at Cedar Bridge, located in Cedar Bridge, New Jersey (HABS No. NJ-41). On a grander scale, but born of modest construction, is the Cross Keys Tavern in Shelby County, Kentucky (HABS No. KY 20-21). Lastly, archaeological tavern studies like the Higbee Tavern, located southwest of Lexington, Kentucky (Day 2004), the Rose Hotel, located in Elizabethtown, Illinois on the Ohio River (Wagner and Butler 1999), and the Old Landmark Tavern in southern Illinois (Wagner and McCorvie 1992) were also included.

Within the Baber house, the first floor East room measured 25 ft east/west by 20 ft north/south. The hall or passage was five feet wide and extended from the front of the hotel to the rear. This was likely where the steps to the second floor were located (Figure 6.1). The West room was slightly smaller than the East room and measured 20 ft east/west by 20 ft north/south. This room size variability can also be seen in the D.S. Tavern (Figure 6.4), where the dining room is slightly larger than the parlor. Post molds/holes and a pier suggest that a small half-porch was present on the south side of the East room and extended toward the back lot, where a detached kitchen was present. The kitchen measured 20 ft by 20 ft with a large brick end chimney on the south wall. Sometime after the initial opening of the hotel, the detached kitchen may have been attached to the main house by a roofed passage. Under the East room of the hotel was a large cellar with exterior bulkhead entrance. Interestingly, the small porch might have provided some protection for the bulkhead entrance on the southeast corner of the hotel. A similar case can be found again with the D.S. Tavern (Figure 6.4), where the basement was located under the southeast portion of the dining room and access was from the connection between the main house and what was the detached kitchen.

East Room

The first level of the house was divided by two rooms and a central hallway. The functions of both the East and West rooms are unknown. However, the position of the East room, relative to the detached kitchen, and size of the East room suggests that the room functioned as a dining room.

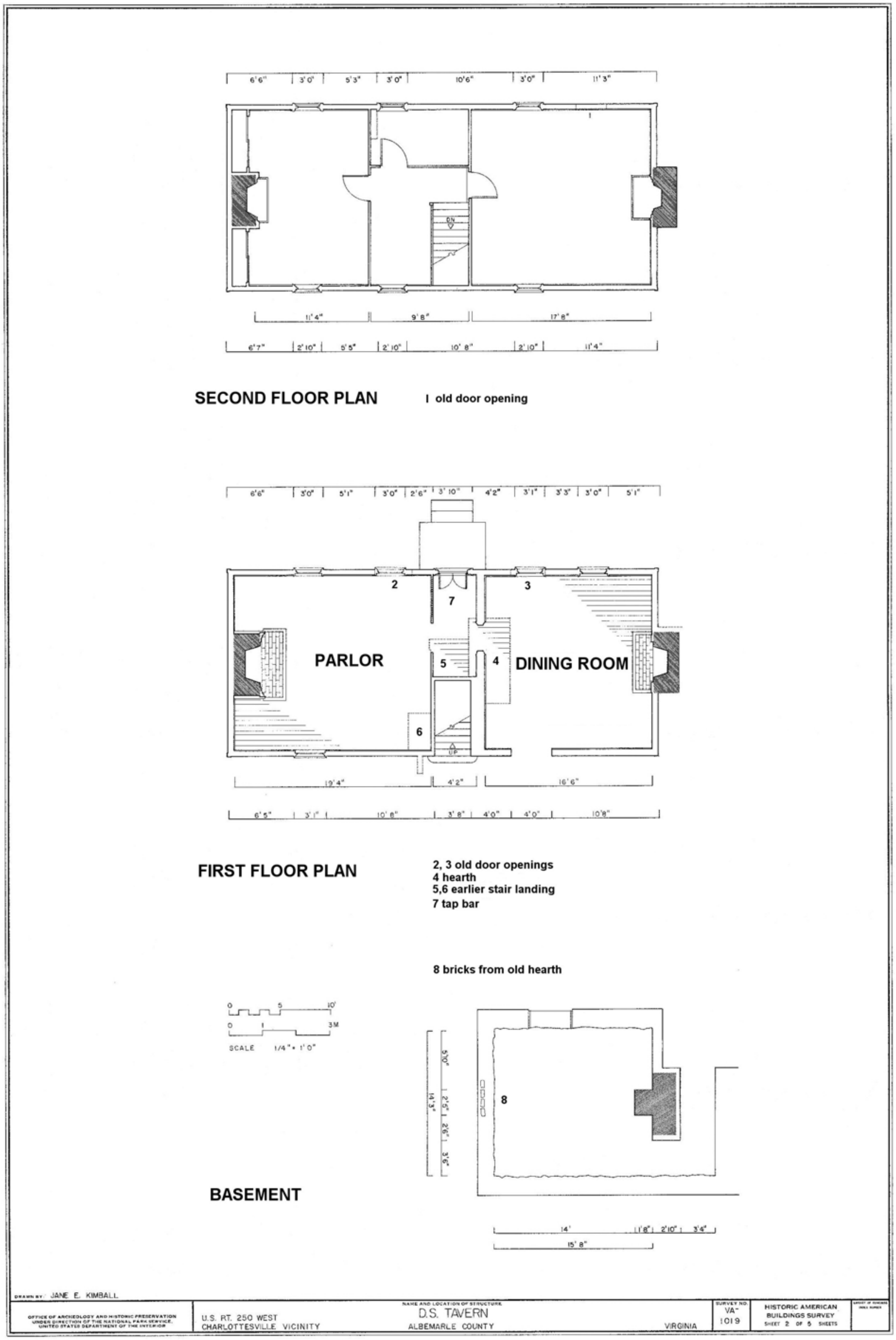


Figure 6.4. D.S. Tavern, Virginia, plan of 1st, 2nd, and basement floors (HABS)

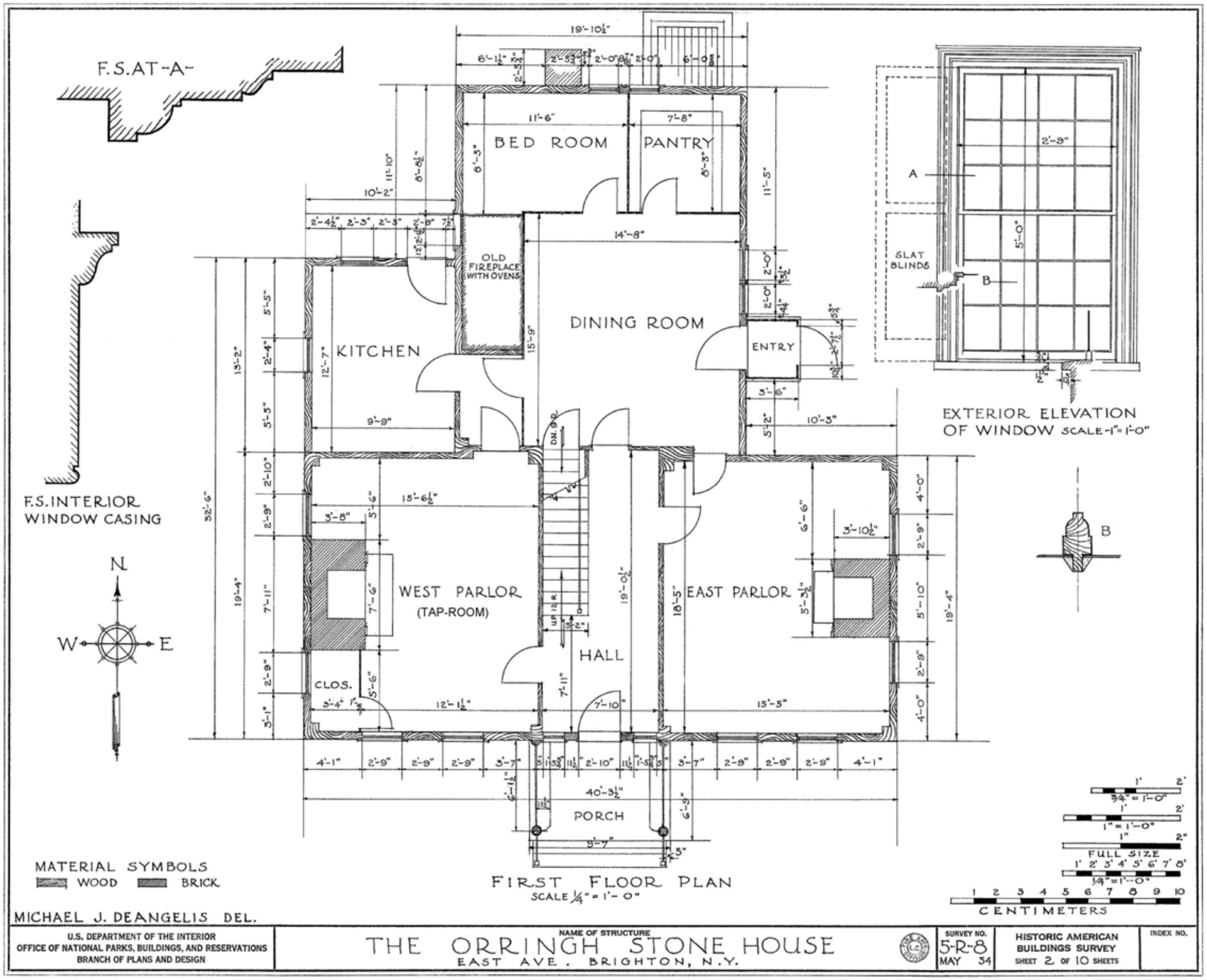


Figure 6.5. Orringh Stone House, New York, 1st floor plan (HABS), original structure is dining room

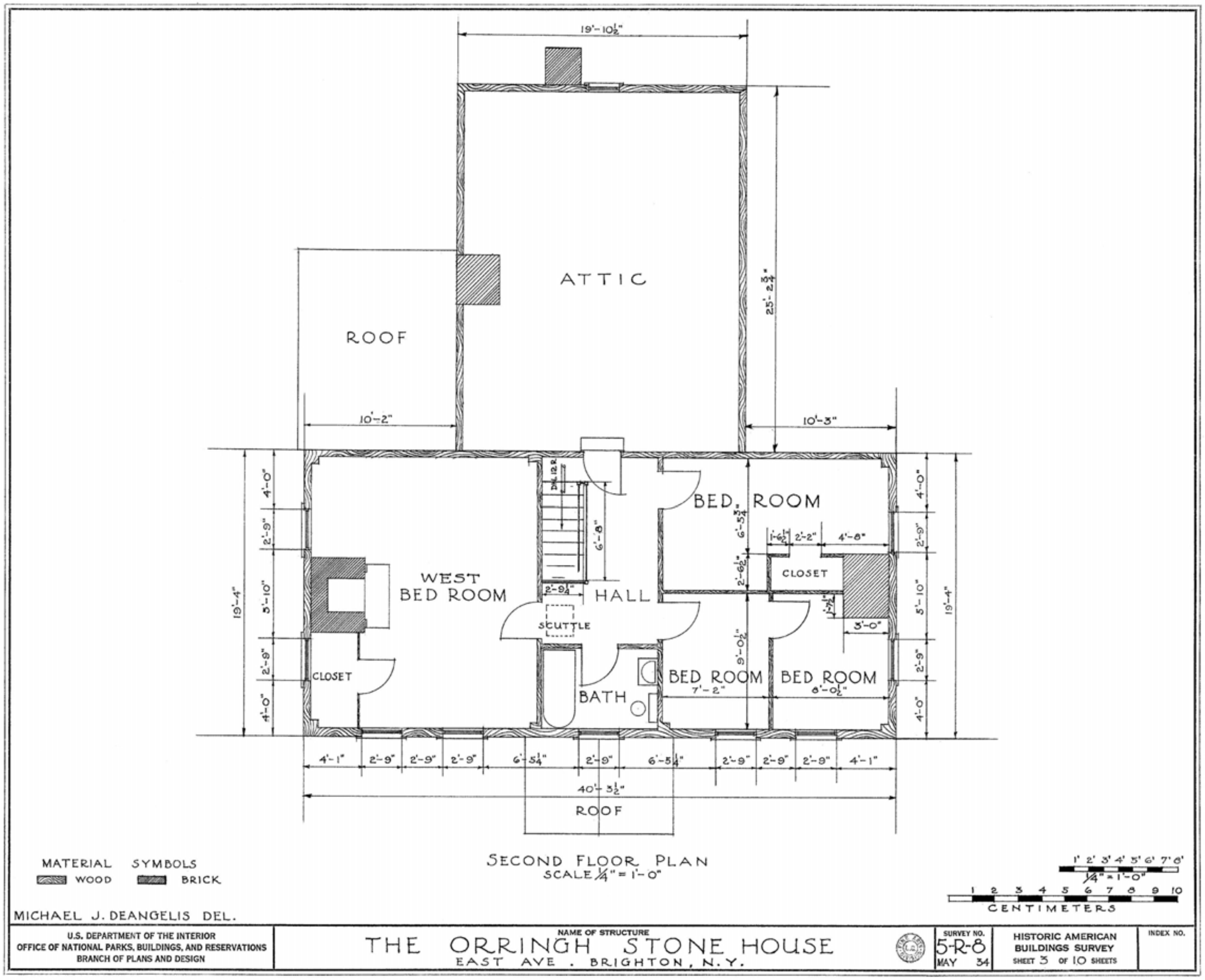


Figure 6.6. Orringh Stone House, New York, 2nd floor plan (HABS)

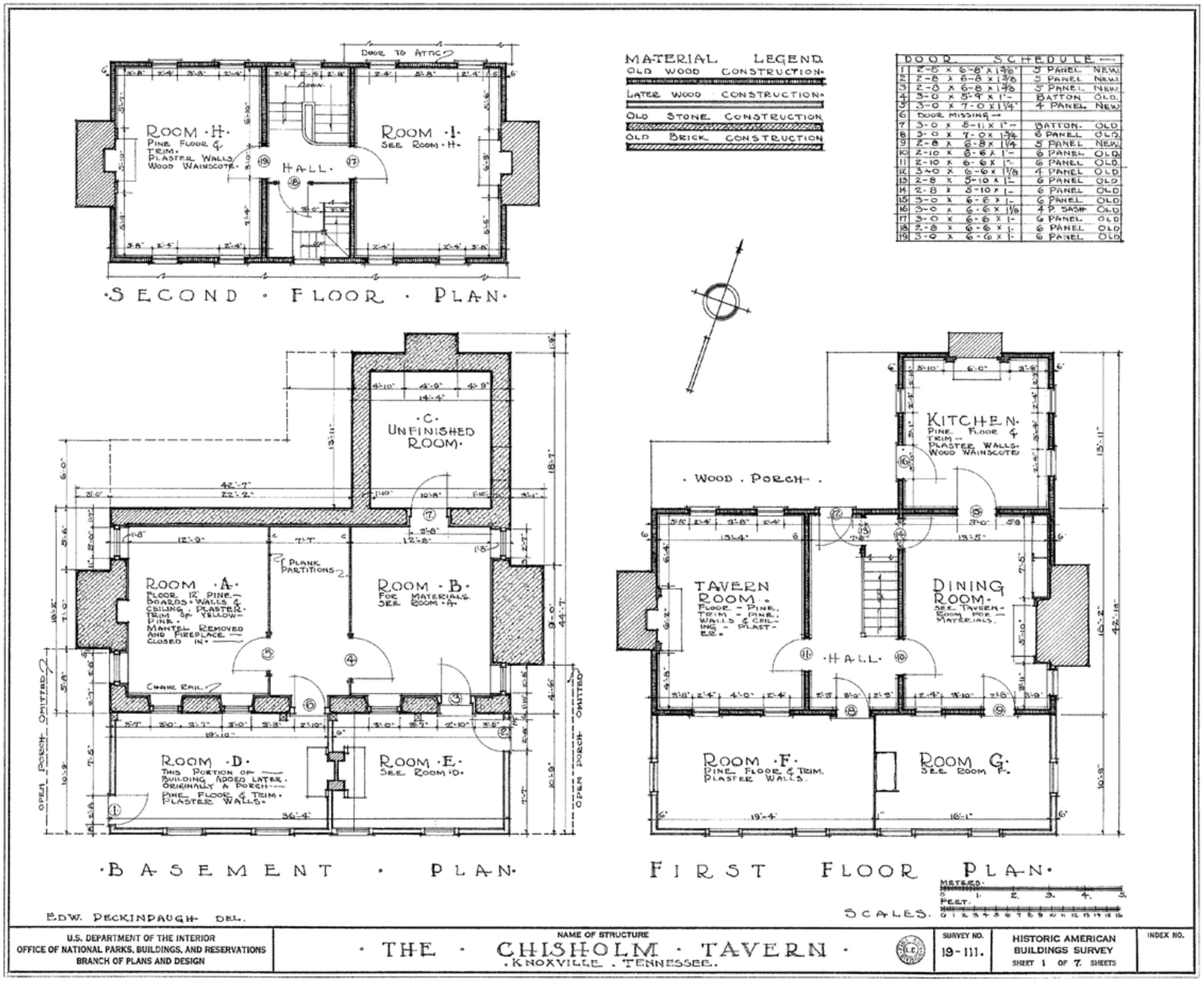


Figure 6.7. Floor plans, Chisholm Tavern, Knoxville, Tennessee (HABS)

The other taverns studied in the HABS/HAER also show the dining room adjacent to the kitchen (Figures 6.4, 6.5, and 6.7). It should be noted that although the kitchen is not shown on the plan for the D.S. Tavern (Figure 6.4), what can be seen is an open doorway leading to the kitchen from the dining room. Prepared food from the detached kitchen could be easily transported and served in this room. The cellar under the East room of the Baber house supports the function of the room being a kitchen and could have been easily accessed by the cook from the exterior bulkhead entry near the kitchen. A similar kitchen/cellar layout is found at the Old Landmark Tavern (Wagner and McCorvie 1992) and the D.S. Tavern (Figure 6.4). The small porch probably served as a staging area and extra work area for food preparation and meal service. By having a detached kitchen with an exterior porch as a staging area, the heat produced by food preparation would not have disturbed the dining area or lodgings of the guests.

The attention to detail suggests that the Baber Hotel was catering to a particular type of clientele, specifically those seeking lodging and a dining experience. Mealtime during the nineteenth century was considered the “centerpiece of an evening’s entertainment and provided the best configuration for social interaction” (Mace 1991). As dining was an important function of nineteenth century hotels, the room would have been large enough to accommodate many diners, including the permanent and visiting guests of the hotel.

Based on the numbers, decorations, and types of ceramic vessels identified from the excavations, Charles Baber provided a variety of dining opportunities to his clients and family. Elaborate, segmented dining would have been available in the East room. Town leaders, businessmen, and Baber’s permanent guests (a doctor, a lawyer, and the widow of the town founder) could partake of a civilized, well-served meal in the dining room. Ceramic vessel forms and decoration suggest that Charles Baber and his wife could set a formal table with a variety of serving vessels, glassware, and variously sized plates. Not only did these ceramics match in pattern and color, but they were some of the most expensive wares that could be bought at the time—transfer printed whitewares and pearlwares. Several matched sets of various teawares also indicate the importance of the tea ceremony to patrons of the hotel. Cheaper wares were also present in the assemblage. Plain and simply painted teas and tablewares would have been used by the family and servants in private situations. They were likely also used by patrons of the hotel that wanted simpler and cheaper fare, perhaps served in the kitchen. Urban hotels and taverns of the period offered noon meals to working men, and Rumsey was a thriving river town in the mid-nineteenth century. The hotel’s location near the river and lock would have made the hotel easily accessible to river men, roustabouts, or other working men.

Dining rooms were commonly multipurpose rooms during the nineteenth century. When dining was not occurring in the room, it was essentially a working room (Mace 1991). Since there were permanent guests at the hotel, a newly married couple, a well-to-do widow, and several professional unmarried men, the dining room may have functioned also as a temporary parlor or gathering area for women and family members. Entertainment in the form of parties or tea and that included both gentlemen and ladies would likely have been conducted in the parlor. Such a room may have also served as a meeting room for business related activities. One of the permanent guests of the hotel was a doctor, Dr. Richard Pain, the husband of Charles Baber’s daughter. The amount of pharmaceutical vials (n = 27) and bottles (n = 43) and syringe fragments (n = 3) suggests that the doctor did see patients at the hotel during his tenure there. Distribution of these artifacts, however, does not help locate where he may have conducted his practice, as most of the artifacts are scattered within several features (mostly cellars) that were filled towards the end of the occupation. It is possible that he saw patients in the hotel or possibly the kitchen.

The notion that one of the first floor rooms may have also functioned as a ladies' parlor is an important one. As hotels were thought of as civilizing influences in town and communities, so too were women. Women, especially proper ones, were separated from men's activities, particularly partaking of alcohol and engaging in games. A separate ladies parlor where women could gather to enjoy civilized entertainment would have been a necessity for a prominent hotel in a newly formed town. Perhaps the most telling evidence that a ladies' parlor did exist at the Baber Hotel is the presence of a piano in tax assessment records for the years 1840-1850. Pianos were expensive items, hence their tax assessment. The piano at the Baber Hotel was assessed at $450.00, no small sum. This piano was probably placed in the room when it functioned as a ladies' parlor and could be rolled aside during other activities in the East room, such as dining. There is no way to tell what size or type of piano the Babers had in their possession, but by the mid-nineteenth century, a new type of piano, the boudoir piano, became very popular in smaller households and would have suited the Baber Hotel. It maintained elegance and occupied half the space of the more cumbrous grand piano (Godey's Lady's Book 1850). For Baber, this would have been most practical. In fact, dining room furniture of the nineteenth century often had castors, as dining rooms were often multi-purpose rooms where furniture needed to be moved about frequently. Rather than a large dining table, a drop-leaf or an extension table might have served a smaller dining room (Mace 1991). This patent type of furniture had to be movable or collapsible out of necessity for much of the middle class in the nineteenth century (Sutherland 1989). According to Sutherland, "A sofa or lounge that converted into a bed (a double bed at that), a bed or bathtub that became a wardrobe, a bench that doubled as a table, all of these fit middle-class tastes and needs." On the other hand, the wealthy class would not have required this type of furniture (Sutherland 1989).

West Room and Southwest Addition

The West room (20 ft by 20 ft) was five feet smaller than the East room and also had an end chimney. Post molds/holes suggest that a small addition extended from the south side of the West room into the back lot. This addition measured 13 feet north/south and 20 feet east/west. Post size and placement suggest that the addition was a light structure more substantial than a porch, but only one story. Partition posts within the addition indicate that this structure was divided into two rooms, each 10 feet by 13 feet. Small rooms of this type were present in other hotels of the nineteenth century and were probably multifunctional (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). These rooms may have been used as extra sleeping quarters for permanent or visiting guests. The Old Landmark Tavern in Illinois had two small baggage rooms for storing travelers' belongings (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). These baggage rooms appear to have been attached to a frame addition of the tavern and measured 15 feet by 7.5 feet (Wagner and McCorvie 1992).

It was originally thought that the West room served as the bar area or possibly a reading room where gentlemen gathered to smoke and chew tobacco, drink alcoholic beverages, and discuss politics and other business. Research into the tavern layouts from HABS, from excavated nineteenth century taverns, and from literature revealed that most taverns had a separate tap or bar room. Most importantly, the layout of the nineteenth century HABS taverns often showed that the dining room was situated closest to the kitchen, and the bar room was located furthest away from the kitchen. Taverns that showed a distinct separation from the dining room and/or parlor to the bar room include Cedar Bridge Tavern in New Jersey, Chisholm Tavern in Tennessee, Old Miller Tavern in West Virginia, Orringh Stone House in New York, and Dunham Tavern in Ohio. Often the parlor was located in the front room with the dining room between it and the kitchen (Dunham Tavern). Another variation is the D.S. Tavern in Virginia, where a smaller tap-bar "cage" was located at what later became the front entry hall of the building. The tap-bar had a small partition dividing it from the west parlor (Figure 6.4). In this way, it did not occupy one of the larger rooms and was easily accessible to either parlor (West room) or dining room (East room). This tap-bar was eventually covered over with wall paneling. If the bar in the Baber Hotel was located in the West room, then perhaps the Orringh House and the Chisholm Tavern are the most similar in comparison. The Orringh House contained both a west and east parlor, with the tap room located in the west parlor (Figure 6.5). The Chisholm Tavern (Figure 6.7) contained in the original structure the tavern room in the West room and the dining room in the East room, with the kitchen attached to the back of the East room.

Although historic research showed sufficient reason to believe the West room may have functioned as a bar, the artifacts recovered from the site did not. With the exception of architectural and furnishing related artifacts, very few artifacts were recovered from the smaller West room area and, unfortunately, no significant amount of tavern related artifacts (smoking pipes, gaming pieces, liquor bottles, etc.) were recovered from this area. Most of these artifacts were concentrated behind the house or were discarded in features behind the house, making it unclear if the tavern activities were conducted behind the tavern or were conducted in the house and the artifacts discarded after their use had ended. If the main tavern activities occurred behind the house, then perhaps the West room functioned as a parlor while the East room functioned solely as a dining room. The West room may also have functioned as extra bedroom space when needed. Still, the presence of gaming pieces like dominoes, a die, a billiard ball, a chalk block for billiards, and numerous small and large marbles suggest that games popular among gentlemen during the nineteenth century were engaged on the premises. A more detailed discussion of these gaming artifacts and male leisure activities at a tavern/hotel and how they compare with other hotels of the day is included in the next chapter (Chapter Seven).

Second Story

The upstairs area of the Baber Hotel likely functioned as the sleeping quarters for permanent and visiting guests and the Baber family. Dr. Charles Johnson (1918:52) described a tavern in Illinois as having a "number of sleeping rooms upstairs." Long-term lodgers that lived at the Baber Hotel during the mid-nineteenth century included Baber's married daughter Ann and her husband, who was a doctor, and the widow of the town-founder, Mrs. Julia Dyer. Several unmarried professional men also lodged at the hotel, including Azra Dyer, a lawyer; James Wright, a cabinet maker; and Finton Thomas, a carpenter. These individuals would have required sleeping quarters, and Baber had the beds for them, at least five beds in 1845 according a mortgage deed (Muhlenberg County Deed Book 12:76). It is also likely that several of them had private or nearly private sleeping quarters, given their class and status. The Orringh Stone House's second story had one large west bedroom while the east half was subdivided into several small bedrooms (Figure 6.7). It is possible that Baber divided his second level in such a way, allowing for larger rooms for the permanent guests and his family and smaller rooms for overnight guests. If there was a third story loft, this would have provided even more space.

Hotel guests were classified into two types, the transient or visitor and the permanent guest. These permanent guests were usually local people who for a variety of reasons preferred to live in a hotel. Most hotels of the eighteenth and nineteenth century thrived on providing accommodations to permanent residents. Living in a hotel was perfectly acceptable and even desirable (Williamson 1930; Grier 1988b). Many hotels offered parlor and bedroom suites to its permanent guests, usually young married couples, widows, or bachelors. Permanent guests were the "bread and butter" of the hotel and provided a steady income for the owner/operator. The fact that the Baber Hotel had several permanent guests, including some fairly well-to-do ones, suggests that there were some special accommodations for them on the second floor.

Ventilation would have been important as well to the guests for added comfort. Traveler Bayard Taylor observed at a hotel near Mammoth Cave in May of 1855 that "[t]he main body of the hotel, with this wing, furnishes at least six hundred feet of portico, forming one of the most delightful promenades imaginable for summer weather" (Bayard 1860:190). Although the Baber lot would not have been large enough to provide such comfort, a porch that provided a breezeway may have been present between the detached kitchen and the main house, but covered for protection. Several posts (Features 47, 55, 90, and 112 -115) form such a line behind the East room of the house that suggests there was a porch. Another practice for added comfort was leaving doors open for cross ventilation. Bayard noted that although rooms were sufficiently large and comfortable, their doors would never close shut; a trait, he said, that was characteristic of Kentucky architecture. He noted at another hotel in Kentucky in 1855:

> *We found a wood fire in the wide chimney very agreeable, for the evening air was unexpectedly cool. I am told that fires are frequently kindled in the evenings as late as the beginning of June. With this custom, however, is connected that leaving the doors open, which insures ventilation. It belongs perhaps to the out-door life of the Kentuckians, for I found few doors that would shut closely. We were greatly amused by the impossibility of keeping our doors closed. In almost all cases every one who enters, master or servant, leaves them wide behind him. I rather like the habit, but it takes a little time to get used to it* (Bayard 1860:185).

House Construction History

It is hypothesized that the main house may have been built in at least two episodes. Most dwellings in the early nineteenth century were initially very simple, consisting of one large room, with additions generally later. The D.S. Tavern in Virginia (HABS No. VA-1019) was originally a one-room, story-and-a-half log structure (Figure 6.4). The location of the dining room in Figure 6.4 is the original structure. Although not seen in Figure 6.4, a detached kitchen, later attached to the D.S. Tavern main house, was built at the same time as the one-room house, and a smokehouse was built directly behind the kitchen. An open doorway from the dining room leading to the kitchen can be seen in the figure. The Orringh Stone House, originally built in 1790, was built in two periods, with the dining room the initial structure (Figure 6.5). Orringh also was a story-and-a-half structure with a large fireplace. Its later additions were likely in place prior to 1820 (HABS No. 5-R-8). Old Miller Tavern, located in West Virginia, was originally a one-room log structure built in 1824 (HABS No. W.VA 21-11). Also, the Rose Hotel (initial construction ca. 1835) in Elizabethtown, Illinois, originally consisted of a 20 by 20 ft two-story structure (Wagner and Butler 1999).

In order to pursue the validity of the two-episode construction theory, this investigation first began by looking at the artifacts. Attempts were made to show the distribution of window glass across both sections of the main house with the hopes of finding that the thinner, earlier glass would be located more within the area of the East section. Unfortunately, twentieth century window glass was mixed within the plowzone in this area which skewed any valid result. Figure 6.8 shows the distribution of window glass across the site. There is clearly a concentration of glass in the area of the house site, but there is also window glass from the twentieth century structure on lot 14 which has been distributed across a portion of lot 13. The distribution of cut nails across both house sections was also observed, but the nails seemed evenly distributed across both sections (Figure 6.9). Interestingly, the greater late cut nail concentration (Figure 5.11) and unspecified cut nail concentration is located behind the main house. Similarly, the majority of the cut nails that exhibit signs of being pulled, unaltered, and clinched were all concentrated behind the house. However, with the exception of the detached kitchen and a few outbuildings, there does not appear to be any structure of substantial size located in this area behind the house. An interesting note about these three types of nails, however, is that there are a higher number of pulled nails which suggests that the main house was torn down and the nails discarded towards the back of the structure. Further more, these nails were not very high in quantity in relation to the amount of nails recovered from the features in the area of the main house. In particular, a larger quantity of nails was recovered from Feature 21/40, the main house cellar, which contained nearly 3,000 nails and nail fragments (Table 5.4).

Although the artifacts failed to support this construction theory, the features within the Baber lot tell another story. First, the two sections are not equal in size. The West room (20 ft by 20 ft) of the Baber house is smaller than the East room (20 ft north-south by 25 ft east-west). Although it was not uncommon to build a house asymmetrically, asymmetrical houses did not usually contain a central hall (Glassie 1968). Instead, access to the second floor was by steps located in one of the

Flat Glass

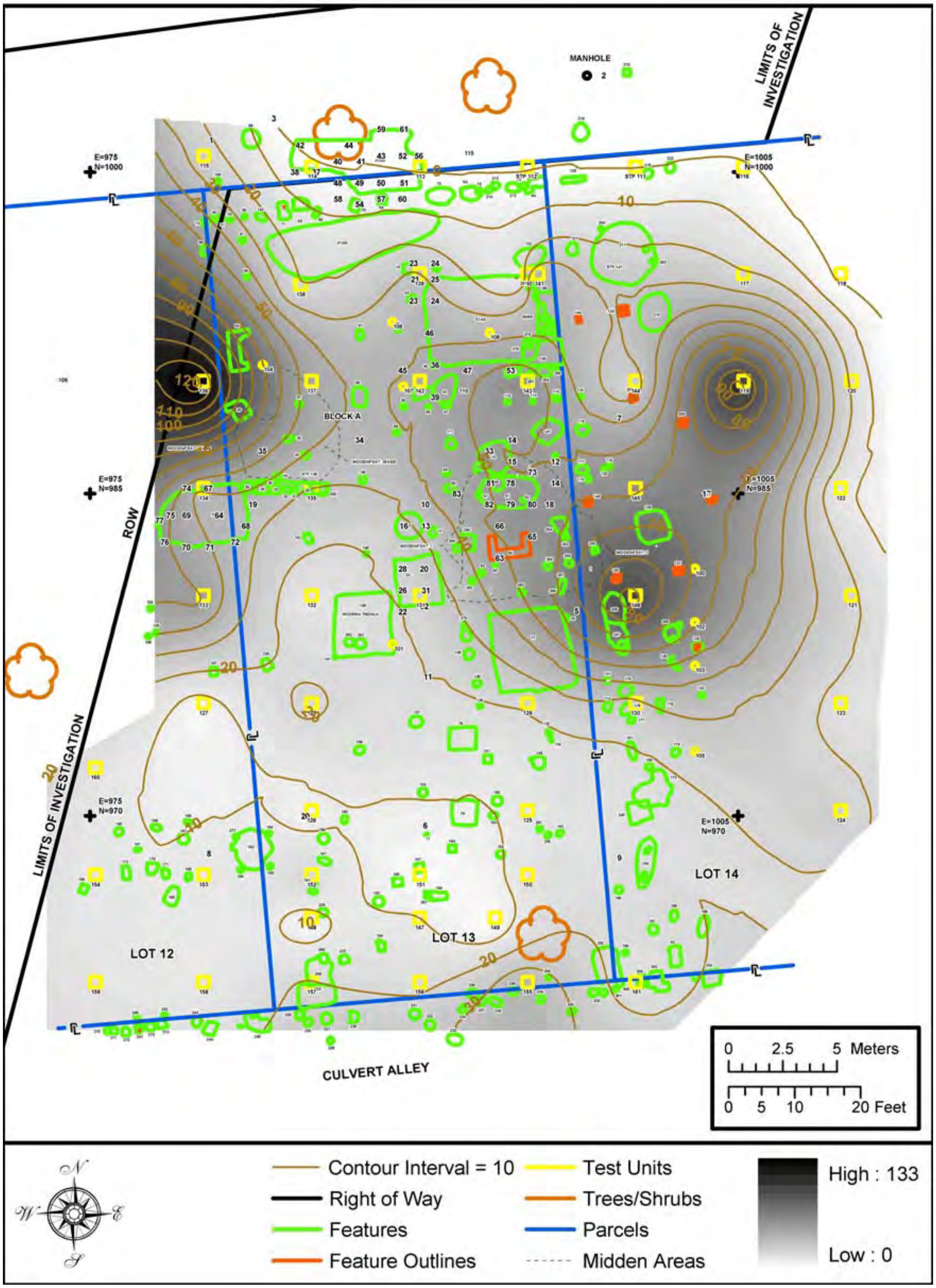


Figure 6.8. Distribution of window glass across the lots.

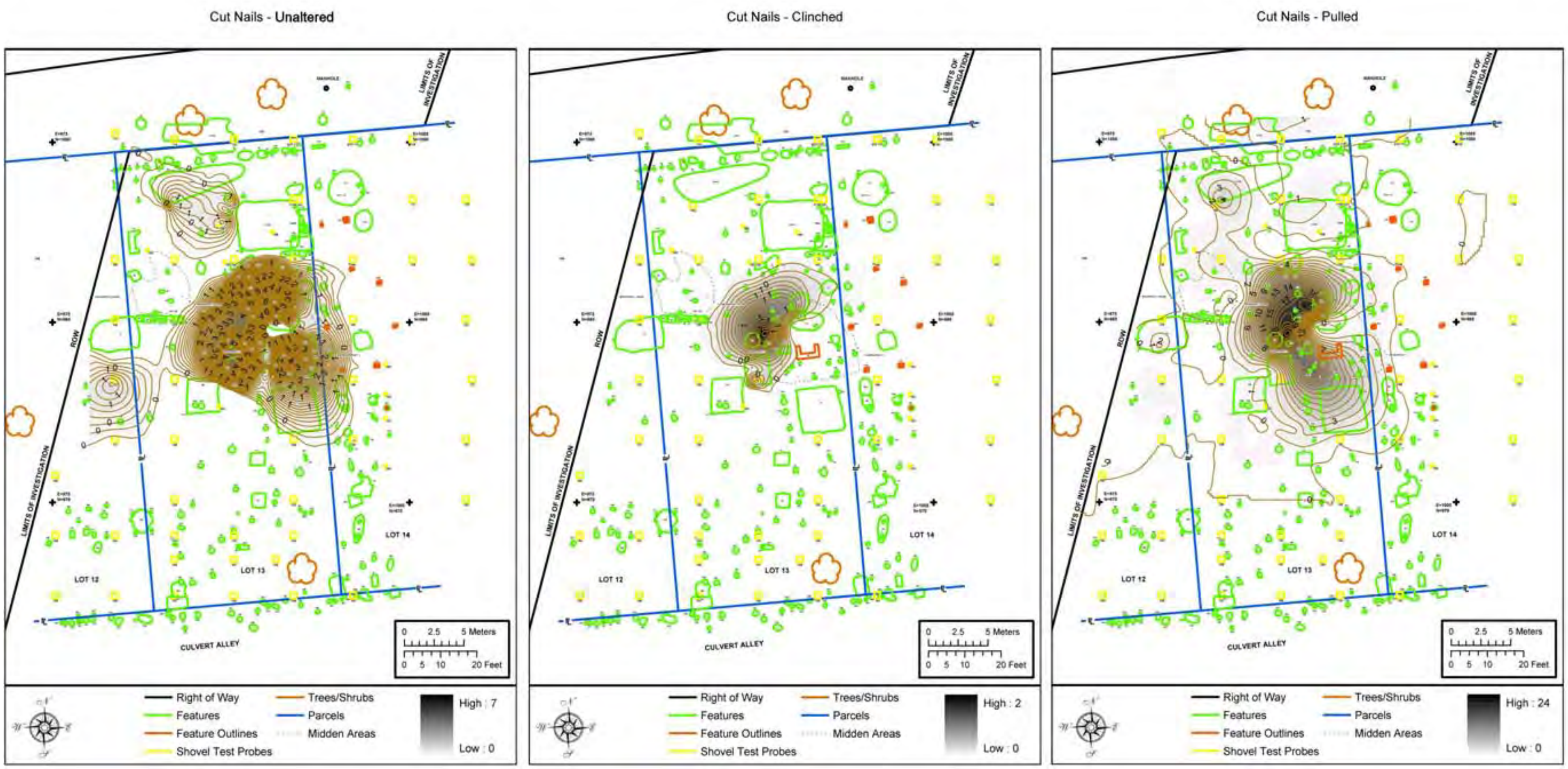


Figure 6.9. Distribution of different types of cut nails across the lots.

eastern portion, this may be an indication that the East section was built first. Other examples of this type of construction where the original structure contained a cellar of similar size beneath it include the Rose Hotel (Wagner and Butler 1999) and the Cedar Bridge Tavern (HABS No. NJ-41). Thirdly, the two chimneys in the main hotel structure are similar in size and shape, but their placement is diverse from each other. Due to pier alignment, the east chimney (Feature 65) is situated externally on the eastern gable end of the house while the west chimney (Feature 64) is clearly situated on the internal gable end of the west wall. These chimneys and the house outline can be seen in Figure 6.1. If the house had been built in one episode, it seems logical that both chimneys would have been placed in a similar way. Interestingly, the D.S. Tavern had a similar chimney configuration on its original section and later addition (Figure 6.4).

Lastly, the two cisterns (Features 210 and 211) are both located off the East section of the house. Baber owned adjacent lots 12 and 14, but chose to place both cisterns on the eastern edge of the house. In general, cisterns would have been located near the kitchen, suggesting that the East room served as such for a brief period. The Rose Hotel also contained a cistern located off the northeast corner of the original structure (Wagner and Butler 1999). A well (Feature 10), located just off the west side of the detached kitchen, would eventually replace the cisterns. If the East room was built first, which seems likely, then its first floor probably served as both the kitchen and dining room until the detached kitchen was in place.

Furnishings

Although no inventory of the Baber Hotel exists, some of the furnishings of the Baber Hotel are known through mortgage deeds and tax records. Furnishings mentioned in tax records are from 1866 and 1867 and include "gold and silver metal clocks and watches" valued at $10, a "gold and silver plate" valued at $15, and a piano valued at $450 (Table 3.8). In 1845, Charles Baber mortgaged some of his property in order to satisfy a note he owed the general store in Rumsey. As part of this mortgage he sold three lots in Rumsey "being the same now occupied by said Baber and also five beds furniture, four tables, three presses, two bureaus, 18 chairs and all other household and kitchen furniture belonging to said Baber" (Muhlenberg County Deed Book 12:76). This note was paid, and Baber was able to keep his furniture and his town lots. Contemporary accounts of other nineteenth century hotels and taverns indicate that large amounts of certain types of furniture, including chairs to seat large numbers of tavern patrons during meals and beds to accommodate numerous overnight guests, were characteristic of licensed taverns (Birkbeck 1818). The numbers of beds and chairs is consistent with tavern/hotel furnishings. Baber was providing lodging and dining, after all.

What was interesting were the archaeological furnishings recovered from the Baber site. These furnishing artifacts were concentrated within the main house (Figure 6.10) and include numerous figurines, mostly made from porcelain and some made from opaque-white glass. While a few of these items were recovered from the later occupation on lot 14, most appear to be from the Baber occupation. These decorative objects served no other purpose during the Victorian period than to impress visitors by displaying the owner's wealth, good taste, and breeding (Mace 1991).

Furniture Group

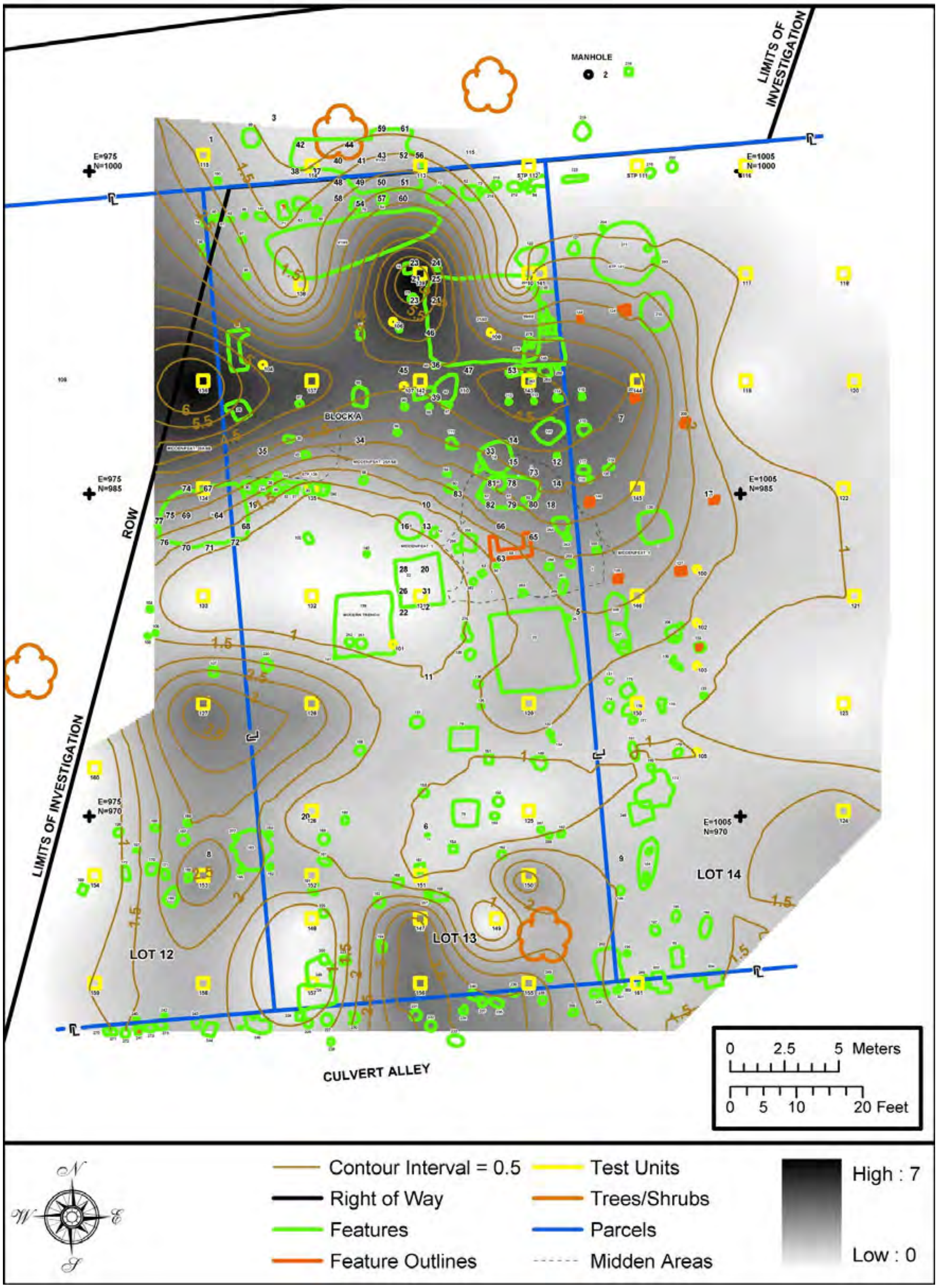


Figure 6.10. Distribution of furnishings at the Baber site

Many of these objects were probably on display in the dining room/east room, where both male and female visitors would be frequenting, as well as throughout the house.

Several artifacts found at the Baber Hotel also revealed an abundance of lighting implements. Numerous brass and glass kerosene lamp parts, a brass candlestick base, and a brass candle snuffer were recovered. While generally considered functional, other more ornate, glass lighting items were recovered. These included “Lacy glass” candle sticks (n = 3), one lamp base, and two lamp globes (Figure 6.11). The ornate glass candle sticks show a hairpin motif with scrolled eye and peacock feather, and date from the 1820s to 1840s. Most of the identifiable glass artifacts date in manufacture from the 1820s to the 1850s. It seems likely that since candles along with whale oil were used greatly during the first part of the nineteenth century, they would have been purchased earlier on and used by Baber for both display and providing light. Kerosene would eventually replace candles and whale oil in the nineteenth century as it appeared and made a huge impact between the years 1857 and 1863 (Thuro 1976), and artifacts recovered show that Baber invested in the new oil. However, candles would have remained in use for decorative display after they were no longer of functional use.

Several mirror fragments were also recovered from the site (n = 22). Nearly every room in the Victorian period had a mirror of some sort, and in particular the parlor or the hall (Sutherland 1989). According to Sutherland (1989:35), “mirrors reflected light to expand and illuminate a space, and they suited the Victorian mania for personal appearance.” While not a significant amount of mirror fragments were recovered, nor ornamental frames for wall hanging or handles for more personal related mirrors, the idea of “personal appearance” is still made clear by their presence at the site. Lastly, in addition to several ceramic door and furniture knobs recovered, several “ornate” glass door and furniture knobs were recovered from the Baber Hotel (Figure 6.11). While the majority of these artifacts are plain, the ornate glass door knobs and furniture knobs do show again the desire to display wealth. The glass furniture knobs may indicate a more expensive piece of furniture as well.

Comparable tavern/hotels like the Old Landmark, Joshua Piles Tavern, and Rose Hotel (also known as McFarln’s[sic] Tavern and Hotel) in Illinois and the Higbee Tavern in Kentucky provide some information on furnishings. The estate inventory of Joshua Piles (an Illinois tavern owner/operator) provides a listing of the variety of furniture that could be found in a nineteenth century tavern. Joshua Piles died in 1829, and his probated estate inventory lists one wash stand, one chest, one brass candlestick, one bureau, one dressing table, one miscellaneous table, one dining table, one cupboard, one candle stand, 15 chairs, seven beds, one trunk, two looms, one big spinning wheel, one little spinning wheel, and one flax spinning wheel (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). Other household items also listed include three bed covers, four featherbeds, and two quilts. These items were probably used for overnight guests. Archaeological furnishing artifacts recovered from the Joshua Piles excavation was limited, but the study was only a Phase II archaeological investigation. These few artifacts include two brass wick and fed lamp/lantern parts and one brass drawer knob.

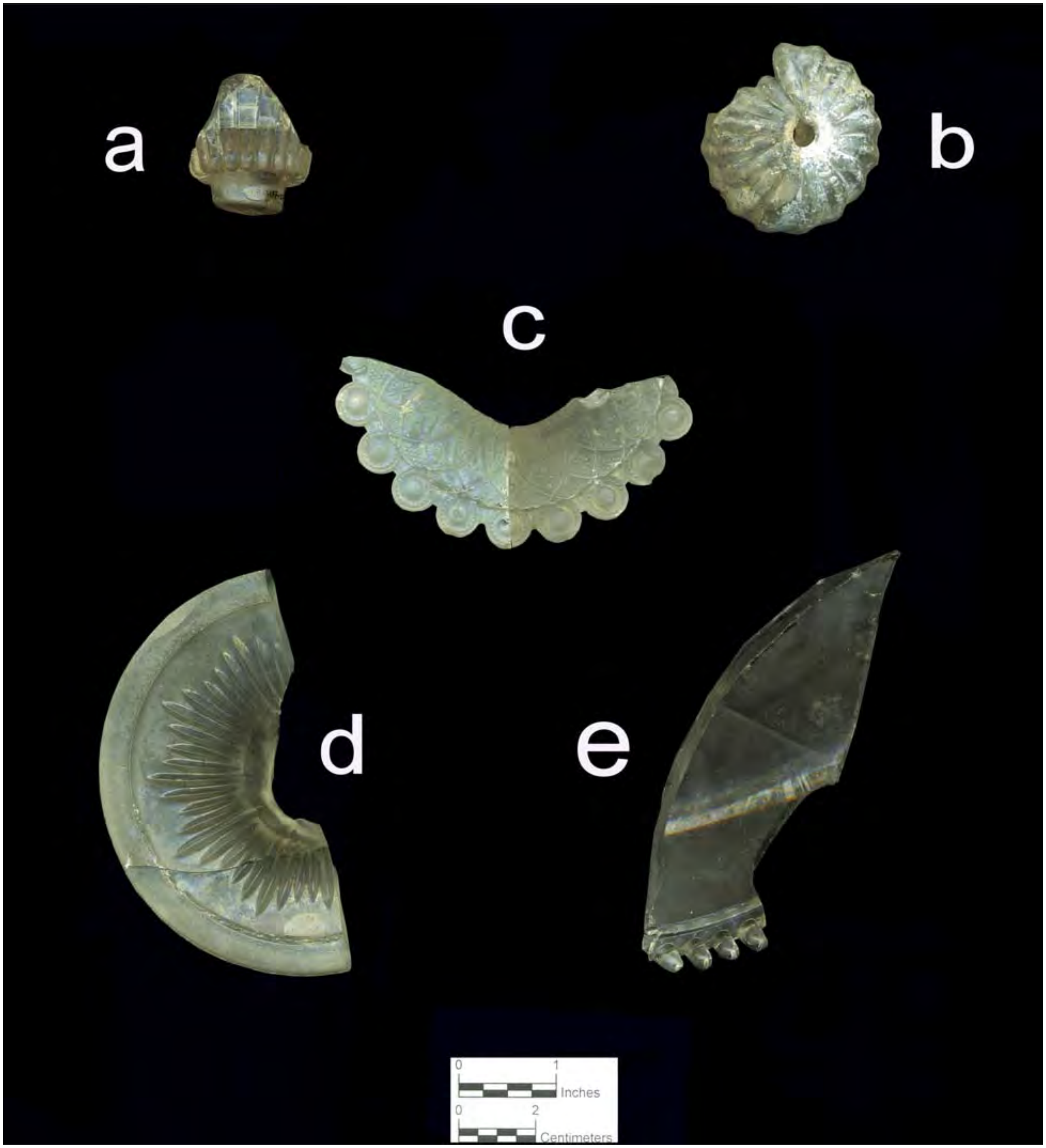


Figure 6.11. Glass furnishings from the Baber Hotel: a) lighting lamp or candle stick pedestal; b) furniture knob; c) candle stick base; d) lamp base; and e) lamp chimney

Although no records have been found that can provide information on furnishings at the Old Landmark, the archaeological excavations did result in the recovery of numerous items. These include two metal clock parts that may represent the remains of a small mantle clock, two drawer pulls (one made of brass and the other iron), an iron caster, and 51 glass lantern fragments (Wagner and McCorvie 1992).

The Rose Hotel did not have any records either regarding furniture, but the archaeological investigation, although not complete since only a portion of the site was looked at, shows that several furnishings were recovered. The majority of the furnishing artifacts were lamp glass (n = 986), iron tacks for upholstery and rugs (n = 417), a burning fluid lamp wick extinguisher, two kerosene lamp burners, a kerosene lamp thumbwheel, a kerosene lamp burner part, a glass lamp pendant, a small brass knob pull, an iron key hole escutcheon, a small skeleton key, and a 10-toothed brass clock cog (Wagner and Butler 1999).

At the Higbee Tavern, John Higbee's estate inventory after his death in 1823 revealed that he possessed within his household an eight-day clock, 13 fancy chairs, a desk, and several beds (Day 2004). The archaeological record revealed numerous artifacts associated with the tavern occupation (ca. 1796 to 1855) which include a candle snuffer, several cast iron stove parts, decorative brass furniture elements, several mirror fragments, both metal and glass furniture knobs, two escutcheon plates, and two porcelain figurine fragments. Only two glass chimney fragments for lighting were recovered, however.

Most of these furnishings would have been present in any domestic residence of the period and would not be indicative of a tavern function. However, the amount of furniture listed in the inventories, including the numbers of chairs and beds, is certainly a reflection of overnight patrons and dinner guests. In order to accommodate travelers, permanent guests and individuals or families dining out, the hotel or tavern owner/operator would have needed many beds and many chairs to seat guests at the table. Furnishings associated with food service and preparation, like skillets, dutch ovens, iron kettles, coffee mills, etc., might also be expected at an establishment that prepared and served meals to travelers and overnight guests. Again, it is the quantity of these items that seems to signal the tavern/hotel function, just as the quantity of smoking pipes, slate pencils, gaming accouterments, and liquor related artifacts also signal a tavern/hotel function. If the quantity of such items is characteristic of a tavern/hotel function, the quality of such items should reveal the economic class and social status of the clientele of such an establishment. Baber appears to have had some wealth to own so many furnishing items, some of which are ornamental and appear to be an intentional display of wealth.

The Detached Kitchen and Possible Slave Quarters

The detached kitchen (Figure 6.1) appears to have been built a few years after the main house (at least the East room) was built and remained in use until the site was abandoned. It would not be surprising if the kitchen was built later than the main house, perhaps only a few years apart. As discussed above, the kitchen could have temporarily been located in one of the main house's rooms, probably the East room. With no ironstone recovered from the kitchen chimney or the four main posts, the kitchen was likely constructed either before 1840 or by the early 1840s.

In most of southern Kentucky, kitchens were generally detached and for at least two reasons. Obviously, the desire to keep heat out of the main house played a major role in this decision, but another reason included keeping the family apart from the enslaved African Americans. No conclusive evidence was found to show that slaves were living in the kitchen, but it is a possibility. Detached kitchens were often called slave kitchens because slaves worked and lived in them, but this was found to be mostly in farming and plantation advertisements (Groover 1992, 1994). They were certainly working in the Baber kitchen. As Figure 6.12 shows, a concentration of metal sewing pins was located around the kitchen area. Several studies (Andrews et al. 2004; Kelso 1984; Klingelhoffer 1987) have shown that straight pins have been associated with enslaved African Americans. Baber had up to three female slaves, and there can be no doubt that these women were completing the essential mending and sewing tasks for Baber's family and guests.

Several studies by archaeologists suggest that glass beads have been associated with African American activity and habitation areas (Handler and Lange 1978; Russell 1997:63-80; Stine et al. 1996:49-75; Yentsch 1994:190-195). Some suggest that beads were worn primarily by African American women (Russell 1997:63-80; Smith 1977:159-161; Yentch 1994:190-195) and Stine et al. (1996:49-75) found in their study of several African American sites that blue beads were the most frequently found. At the Baber site, several glass beads of various colors were heavily concentrated in the kitchen area and between the kitchen and house, with smaller concentrations recovered from the house cellar and bulkhead, and towards the back of the lots (Figure 6.12). Three blue faceted beads were recovered from the lower part of Feature 21/40, the house cellar, and one blue faceted bead was recovered from the plowzone of Unit 15, located within the detached kitchen and above Feature 61, a cellar used during the initial occupation of the site. The presence of other glass beads in some of the features like the kitchen chimney (Feature 50), Features 47, 56, and 262 (kitchen and porch posts) may also reveal that slaves built or utilized these structures as well. Some of these beads were surely the property of Baber's female slaves, as well as African American workers who may have built the kitchen. The recovery of these beads suggests that these enslaved African Americans continued a practice by Africans of body adornment similar to what has been found at other Kentucky slave sites and the South (Andrews et al. 2004; Handler and Lange 1978; Russell 1997; Stine et al. 1996; Yentsch 1994; White 2005). Although the beads can not clearly define where Baber's slaves were living, when combined with the straight pins, they seem to define where slaves were working.

For the most part, slaveholders in Tennessee and Kentucky owned only one to two slaves, or perhaps a slave family (Lamon 1981). Compared to slaves in the Lower South, slaves in the Upland South were also considerably fewer in number and expected to perform multiple jobs (Kolchin 1993; Lucas 1992). Within the house, however, women often did more specific chores than men, usually working in the house as a cook, house cleaner, laundress or dressmaker. With Baber owning only female slaves, these tasks would have been essential. Baber's wife and daughter

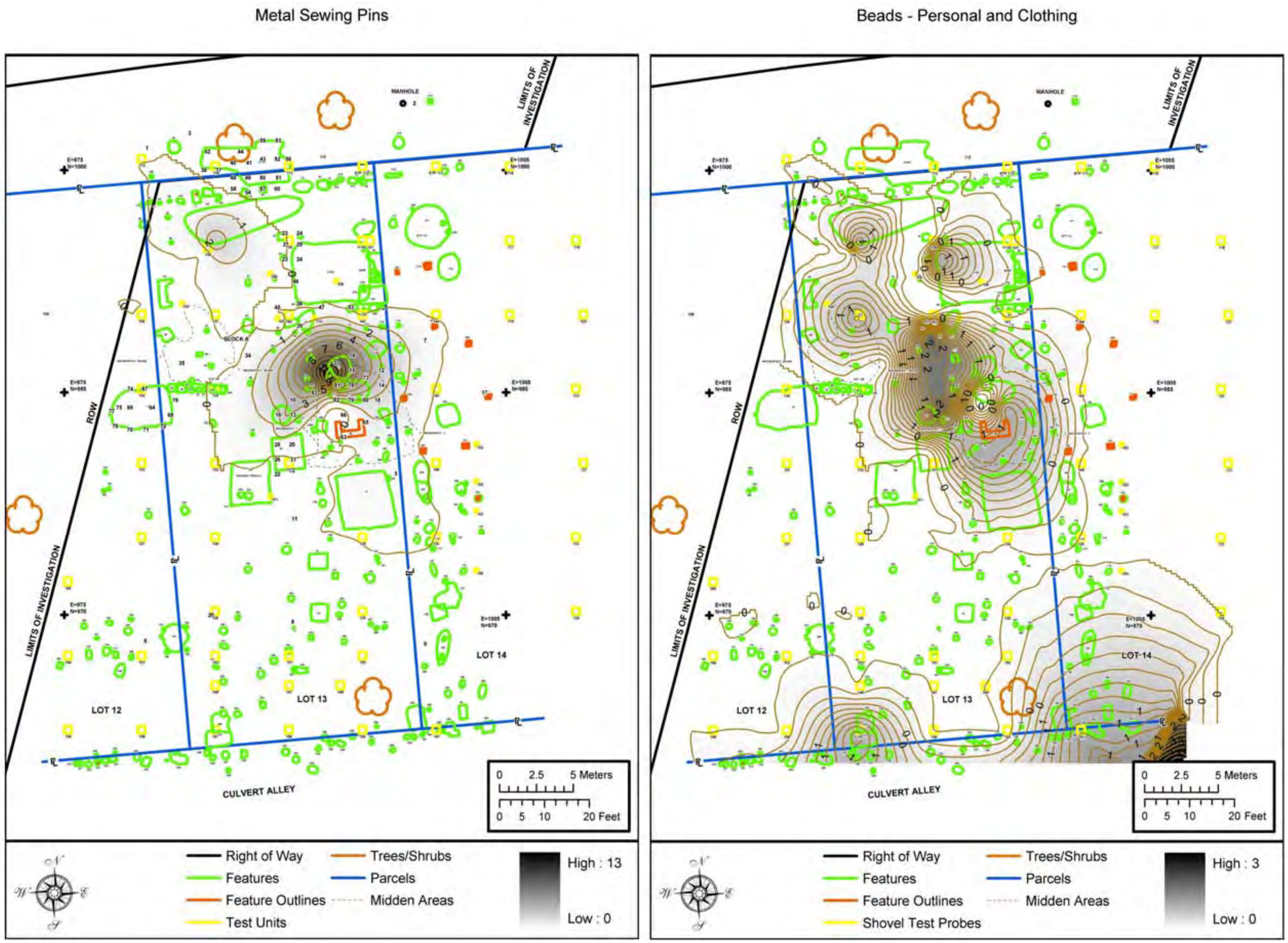


Figure 6.12. Distribution of metal straight pins and glass beads at the Baber site

may have participated in many of these tasks as well. Combined with the confined space of the lot and dwelling, Baber and his family must have had considerable interaction with their slaves.

As a general rule, houses for domestic slaves were usually found in the house yard, often facing or adjacent to the main dwelling (Andrews 1992b; Andrews et al. 2004; Kennedy and Macintire 1999; Pogue 1988). Domestic slaves, housekeepers, and skilled workers were considered valuable and were often afforded descent housing in comparison to field slaves that worked on farms and plantations. Because of the small size of the Baber town lot and no evidence of a nineteenth century structure in adjacent lot 14, the slaves may have lived in the kitchen or the main house, perhaps in the third story loft if one existed.

By the 1860s in Kentucky, many detached kitchens were attached to the main house. This entailed joining the two structures through an open breezeway or enclosed passage (Kennedy and Macintire 1999). This appears to have happened at the Baber house and probably earlier. Two additional pier holes (Features 46 and 146) along the south wall of the eastern section of the Baber house and the posts between the house and kitchen (Features 13, 59, 60, and 267) seem to support that the two structures may have been connected (Figure 6.1). Most detached kitchens in southern Kentucky were located “behind or to the side of the main house” and “commonly a rectangular or square shaped, one-to-one-and-a-half story log, frame, or masonry structure with a large cooking fireplace and masonry chimney on the gable end” (Kennedy and Macintire 1999). Kitchens were generally a single room and had only one entry and perhaps one window. In fact, small kitchens made from a single room with a fireplace and chimney at one end were common from Virginia to Texas throughout the nineteenth century (Vlach 1993). The D.S. Tavern (Figure 6.4) in Albemarle County, Virginia (HABS No. VA-1019), and the Stage Coach Inn, located in Texas (HABS No. TEX-24), both had a detached kitchen that was eventually attached. A small root cellar (for fruit and vegetable storage) was sometimes located at the foot of the hearth and under the floor with a hatch for access (Kennedy and Macintire 1999). At the Baber site, several small and large cellars and refuse pits were within the limits of the kitchen. Having a porch between the house and detached kitchen was not uncommon either. Chisholm Tavern (Figure 6.13), in Knoxville, Tennessee, had a kitchen in the back with a small covered porch on its side and uncovered porch directly behind the main house.

The close proximity of a midden (Feature 1) to the kitchen, both under and around it, suggests that this area was used as a working area and disposal area from the 1830s until the site was abandoned (Figure 6.1). The midden was concentrated with kitchen debris, suggesting mostly food processing and preparation activities occurred in this area. Figures 6.14 and 6.15 show a distribution of temporally sensitive refined wares in this area and elsewhere on the site. Looking at these figures, a slight change in the yard usage pattern is visible over time. Creamware is concentrated more within lot 14, while both the pearlware and whiteware are showing usage of both lots 13 and 14. The pearlware, however, is concentrated more in lot 13, particularly west of the kitchen and behind the house. Ironstone is nearly restricted to lot 14, however. The deposition of the earlier dating creamware in lot 14 and the majority of the later dating pearlware and

Figure 6.13. Back porch of the Chisholm Tavern, Tennessee (HABs)

whiteware within both lots reflects a major shift in lot usage that occurred in the early occupation of the site (late 1830s/early 1840s). While some of the ironstone is certainly associated with the Baber occupation (the latter part), some may also be associated with the early twentieth century occupation on lot 14.

Although the midden was concentrated with kitchen debris, many other functional types of artifacts were recovered from the midden, suggesting that other domestic activities such as cleaning and laundering might have occurred near the kitchen and the well (Feature 10). In addition, maintenance of structures, hearths, and tools may have been important, as the artifacts recovered suggest (Gibb and King 1991). The detached kitchen probably functioned as an extra dining area for slaves and perhaps guests. A kitchen measuring 15 feet by 15 feet would have been large enough to accommodate a table for many guests. Since Baber had four tables and 18 chairs listed among the household furnishings that he mortgaged in 1845, one of these tables and some of the chairs could have easily been placed within the kitchen. Late arrivals to the hotel, overnight guests that did not want more formal dining in the East room, or local workmen wanting a mid-day meal might be served in the kitchen. Servants and slaves of those traveling individuals staying in the hotel might also have taken their meals in the kitchen with Baber's slaves, who likely did the cooking.

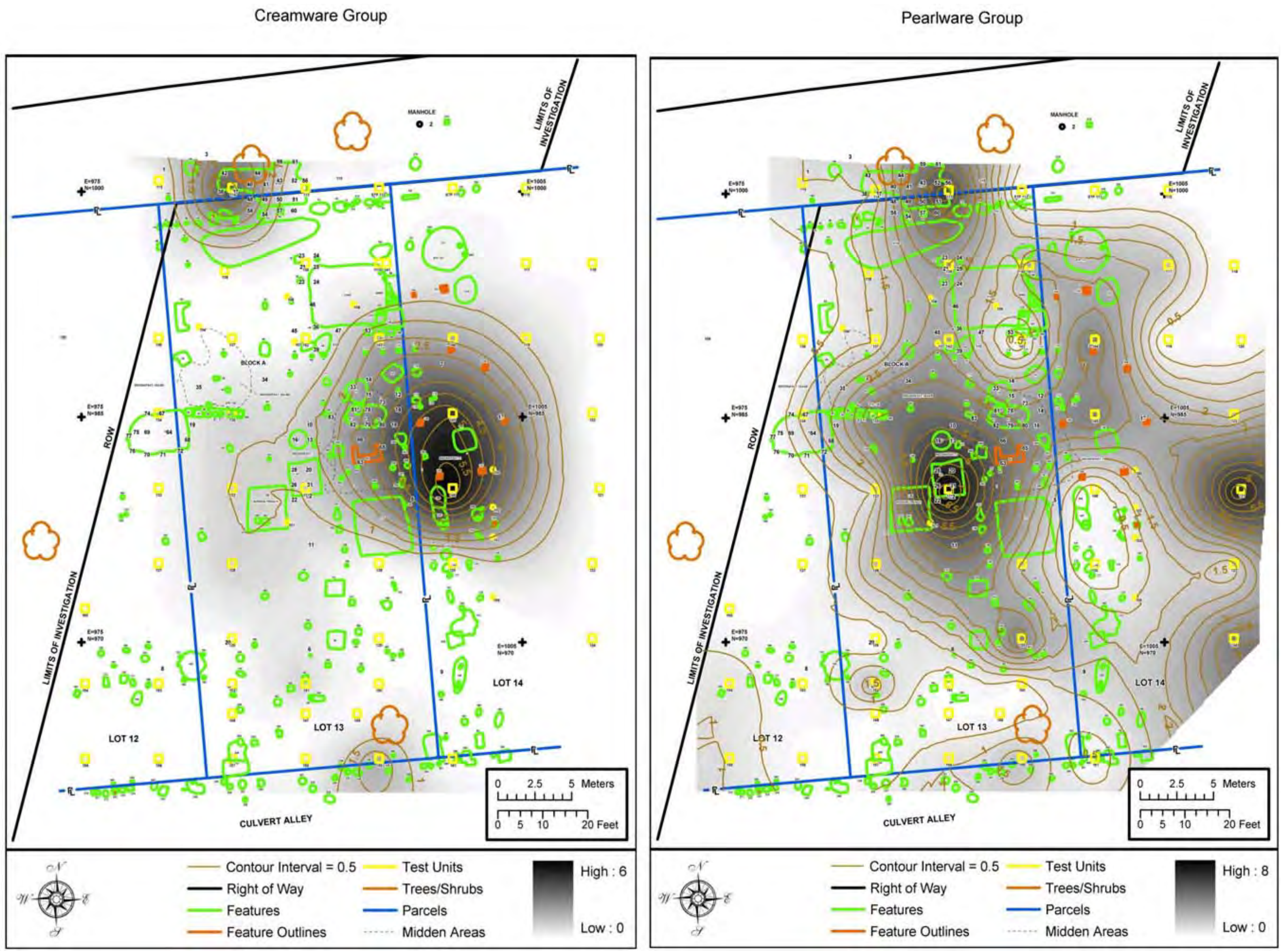


Figure 6.14. Distribution of creamware and pearlware at the Baber site

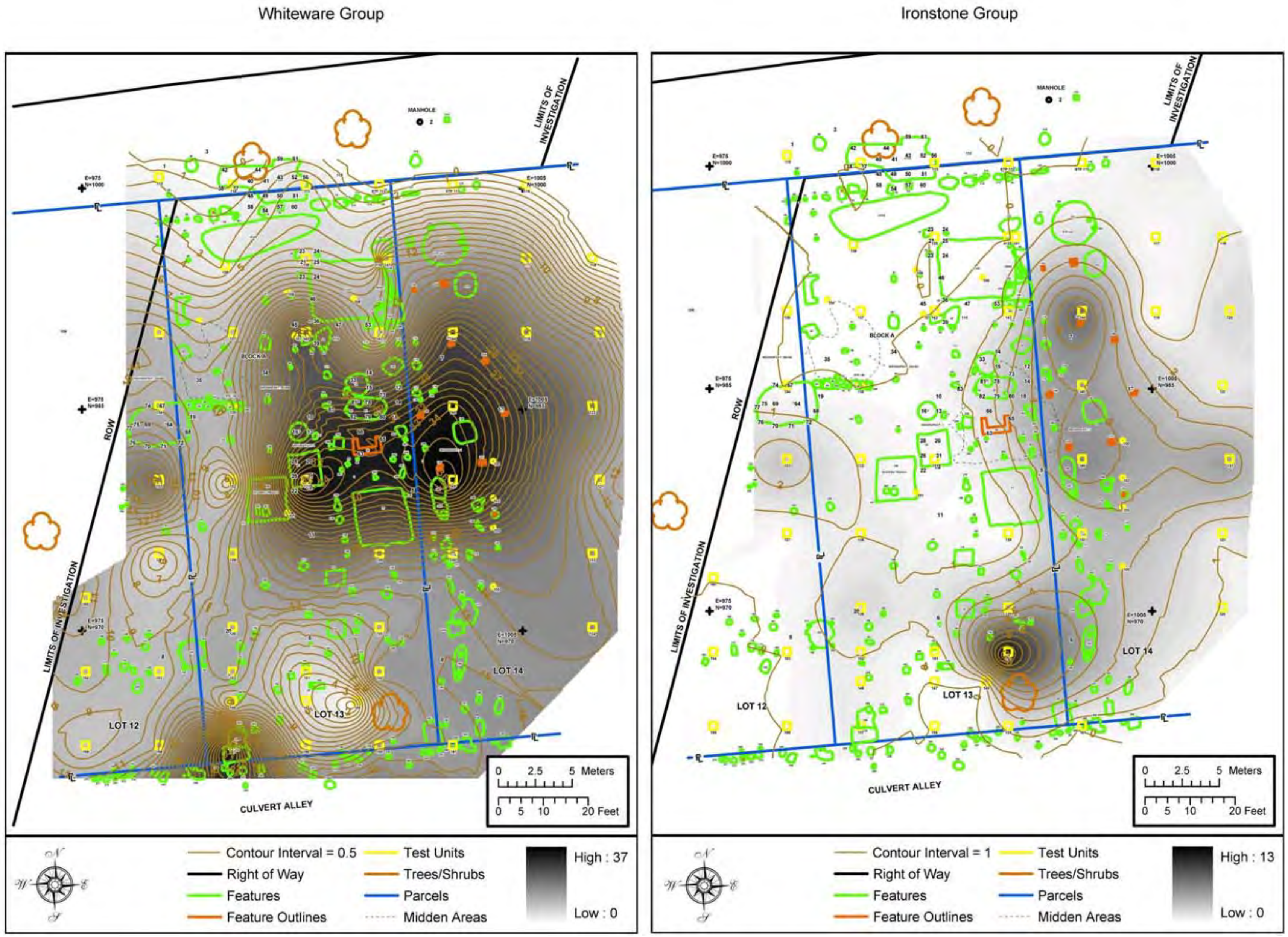


Figure 6.15. Distribution of whiteware and ironstone at the Baber site

A particularly large cluster of posts is present near Feature 50, the kitchen chimney (Features 58, 63, 258, 259, 261-263, and 285). Two of these posts (259 and 262) are in alignment with the four larger posts for the kitchen and could be considered corner posts for a larger, expanded structure. If so, then the chimney would have been situated entirely within the remodeled structure, making the dimensions of the kitchen slightly larger than the original dimensions. With the amount of people living at the hotel increasing during its initial success, the added working space may have been a necessity, especially if the kitchen provided some sort of dining area to the workers or other guests. Another possibility is that several of these posts behind the chimney served as scaffolding posts for the construction of the chimney. Similar scaffolding posts have been noted in Illinois at the Rose Hotel (Wagner and Butler 1999) and in Kentucky at the Arnold Farm site (Andrews et al. 2004).

The Back Lot

The Baber back lot would have served as the location for a variety of job activities and also would have served as the location for several outbuildings and features. These outbuildings and features would have been built for specific functions and included a well, three cellars, four privies, and three refuse pits. The two cisterns (Features 210 and 211) appear to have both been used at the same time and to have been used early in the Baber occupation, ca. 1835 to the 1840s. Construction of the well likely ended their usefulness. Also, the location of the well in the back lot and the early filling of the cisterns in the eastern side yard, just inside lot 14, reveals that Baber may have consciously made an effort to shift lots and improve on the physical setting of lot 13.

The cellars, privies, and refuse pits were constructed at different times, perhaps as their needs demanded, and no doubt overlapped in their periods of use. These features were then back-filled at different times as they fell into disuse. Archaeological research on Upland South sites has shown that pit cellars may be located either under the dwelling or very close to the dwelling in the side yards and back yard (e.g., Andrews et al. 2004; Andrews and Sandefur 2002; Rotenizer 1992; Wagner and McCorvie 1992). At the Baber Hotel site, cellars were found in both locations and four of these were located in the back lot (Features 22, 61, 77, and 139). Produce such as fruits, vegetables, etc., were ensured year round preservation in this way. Smaller root cellars were often found in kitchens or other domestic work buildings and were accessed via a hatch in the floor boards of the building (Macintire 1998). At the Baber site, Feature 21/40, a cellar located beneath the East room of the main house, was probably used for such purpose, especially if the original kitchen was located in the East room of the house. Feature 21/40 appears to have been constructed at the beginning of the site occupation and not filled in completely until afterwards. Most of the cellar bulkhead (Feature 145, Zone 2), however, was filled in by the late 1840s or early 1850s (Figures 5.28-30). This may support the idea that Baber was making improvements to the eastern side of the house and lot again around 1850 since the bulkhead extends to the eastern edge of lot 13. In the back lot though, Feature 14, a refuse pit, and Feature 61, a small cellar, may have been located within the detached kitchen and used for a short time during the early site period (Figure 6.1). However, they may both predate the detached kitchen, and would have been just as convenient and accessible located just behind the East room of the house.

Feature 77 (the cellar located behind the kitchen) may have been used during the early part of the Baber occupation and filled in before 1850, while other cellars, Features 22 and 139, appear to have been used until the end of occupation. Feature 77 may have served as both cold storage cellar, given its considerable depth (95 cm or just over 3 ft below the scraped plow zone) and meat house, given its location at the rear of the kitchen. It was not uncommon for a cellar to be present within such a structure. Meat and smoke houses were often located very close to the main dwelling or kitchen (Macintire 1998 and Sizemore 1994). At the D.S. Tavern in Virginia, a smokehouse was one of the original outbuildings and was located directly behind the detached kitchen. Baber likely owned pigs, which he appears to have slaughtered on-site, as evidenced by the bones recovered (see Chapter Eight). Because of its close proximity to the kitchen or domestic structure, both meat and smoke houses functioned much like an outdoor pantry (flour, meal, onions and other vegetables could also be stored) where the household cook was able to slice off enough ham as needed (Sizemore 1994). Slabs of pork were generally rubbed down with salt and stored either on lined benches or on a large wooden table. After the pork was cured over several weeks, it was generally washed off and peppered in order to keep the insects out (Sizemore 1994). Finally, the slabs of pork were hung on hooks from the rafters of the meat or smoke house. Because the meat was already salt-cured, smoking was not really essential. If it was desired, however, this process could take several days. There is evidence of a fire at the base of Feature 77 (Zone C), where a concentration of ash and charcoal were found (Figures 5.69 and 5.72). This was not a very thick layer, however, so if Baber smoked his pork, it was not a regular practice.

A typical meat house in nineteenth century Kentucky would have been a one to one-and-a-half story log, masonry, or frame structure (Macintire 1998). With several post molds on both sides of this structure (Features 135, 136, 138, 275, and possibly 175 and 247) that contained nineteenth century artifacts (transfer print decorated whiteware, Chinese export porcelain, and late cut nails), there may have been a simple structure over the cellar which might support the theory of a multifunctional cold cellar and meat house. Based on artifacts recovered from the post molds and the cellar's early fill date in the 1840s, Feature 77 was likely one of the first structures on the lot. As meat houses on Kentucky farms were often one of the earliest structures erected (Macintire 1998), the same might be said for a tavern/hotel within a small, developing town. Having his own pigs, an inexpensive part of the diet in the nineteenth century, and a meat house would have been very beneficial commodities for Baber.

Baber also had another cold storage cellar or possible ice house, Feature 139. According to Kennedy and Macintire (1999) ice houses were common only on wealthy farms in Kentucky. In Baber's case, an ice house would have been very important in attracting his tavern/hotel clientele. While perhaps not as grand, nor the typical round shape as many ice houses recorded in Kentucky, it would have served its purpose. Inexpensive ice houses were made during the nineteenth century and were built either on surface or partially underground. Ice houses that were partially underground were generally dug about eighteen inches to two feet deep (Halsted 1994). Feature 139 was partially underground and measured 46 cm or 1.5 ft deep, but with the upper portion disturbed by plowing, the original surface of the feature may have been more like 75 cm or 2.5 ft deep. In Baber's case, it may have made more sense to only have a small portion of the ice house below ground surface. The reason for this is due to the chance that flooding could occur (Halsted 1994).

With the Baber site located on floodplain where occasional flooding has been known to occur, the presence of water would surely have damaged the ice, making it logical to assume that Feature 139 need not be very deep. Two structural features in the cellar's construction also contributed to the theory that Feature 139 is an ice house. First, the brick floor in Feature 139 would have served as both a level floor for stacking the ice and provided adequate drainage (Figures 5.74, 5.75, and 5.77). A stone or brick floor for drainage was common and essential in most ice houses of the nineteenth century (Halsted 1994). Secondly, the unusually thick walls with stones at the base and clay above them (Zone B) would have ensured added insulation in the summer heat (Figures 5.74-5.77).

Feature 22, another cellar located very near and east of Feature 139 (Figure 6.1), and Feature 139 may have replaced Feature 77 for meat and other storage. Feature 139 was constructed sometime in the late 1830s or 1840s, and, although it is unknown when Feature 22 was constructed, it likely was in place by ca. 1850. Both Feature 22 and Feature 139 were used until the end of the Baber occupation. All three cellars may have been used at the same time for a short period during the 1840s, but the filling of Feature 77 sometime in the 1840s again suggests a shift in lot usage early in the Baber occupation. With Rumsey economically sound in 1850, in order to meet the needs of the potentially increasing clientele, Baber may have needed additional work space in and near the kitchen, and additional (and perhaps improved – Feature 139) storage space. If so, the likelihood of Baber expanding his kitchen sounds plausible. The area above the backfilled cellar, Feature 77, appears to have been chosen for an expanded work area since Feature 1 midden overlays Feature 77 (Zone A). The two additional cellars, Features 22 and 139, appear to have been deliberately placed out of the way and southwest of the kitchen, but still close enough for easy access.

The number of cellars at the Baber site is high, which is not surprising considering the amount of food and spirits that Baber would have had to keep on hand in order to accommodate his guests, his family, and his servants. Research revealed that other taverns in Kentucky and elsewhere also had more than one cellar. Johnson's Inn, located in Bourbon County on U.S. 227, had three cellars (Coleman 1968) and the Higbee Tavern, located in Fayette County, Kentucky, had up to four possible cellars (Day 2004). At the Higbee Tavern site, two possible cellars were located beneath what was interpreted as the original tavern, a third cellar was located beneath what was interpreted as a later, second tavern, and a fourth cellar was located beneath what was interpreted as the slave cabin (Day 2004).

In addition to Feature 14, a refuse pit within the kitchen, there were three other refuse pits in the back lot of the Baber Hotel. Features 12, 126, and 286 are all located near the kitchen, on both the east and west sides as well as the south. An abundant amount of kitchen refuse and some architectural material was recovered from Features 14, 126, and 286, but very few artifacts were recovered from Feature 12. Also, no temporally diagnostic artifacts were recovered from Feature 12 that would have helped establish a fill date. Based on its basin shape and its location so near the kitchen, Feature 12 was considered to be a possible pit, perhaps even the base of a shallow pit. The remaining three refuse pits (Features 14, 126, and 286) appear to have been used primarily at different periods of the hotel occupation, but may have overlapped. Based on artifacts recovered from Feature 14, it appears to have been used during the earliest period of the occupation. Artifacts recovered also suggest that Feature 126 was used shortly afterwards and filled in by 1850 or shortly after. Feature 286 appears to have been constructed after 1850 because it intrudes into Feature 247, an early to middle nineteenth-century-dating post hole with mold. If so, Feature 286 was initially used sometime after Feature 126 was filled in and continued to be used until about the end of the Baber occupation.

The filling of Feature 126 again suggests a second attempt around 1850 in which Baber was cleaning up more of lot 14. Like the cisterns (Features 210 and 211), the location of Feature 126, east of the kitchen and in the side yard of lot 14, may have been all too visible from Canal Street. If so, this may further suggest that Baber was consciously attempting to beautify his lots again. Perhaps Feature 286 was intentionally placed behind the kitchen in order to keep the refuse pit out of the clientele's sight. At this time Canal Street was likely becoming the main business thoroughfare, so that passersby might have taken notice as well. It's not known how lot 14 might have appeared or how it was used during the nineteenth century, since most of the features excavated on it are associated with the later, early twentieth century occupation. But since there is no other evidence of nineteenth century structures (i.e., stable) or any indication of activities in this area, perhaps it was used as a garden or kept as a lawn for greenery. This is pure conjecture, however.

Privies at the Baber Hotel were also numerous and were used at different periods of the occupation. Interestingly, no nineteenth century privies were located at the Higbee Tavern (Day 2004), but perhaps if they did exist, they were located outside the project right-of-way. Although it was a common practice to go off into the bushes or go down by a creek or use a chicken house as a sort of privy on nineteenth century farmsteads (McCorvie et al. 1989 and Stewart-Abernathy 1986), this would have been unacceptable for the clientele of an establishment that provided food, drink, and lodging. Situated on a town lot, this would have been impossible. Charles Baber, being a successful tavern/hotel owner and having a large household and clientele, had several privies. With evidence of a minimum number of ten (n = 10) chamber pot vessels (see Appendix C) recovered from feature context, the southeastern portion of the midden (Feature 1), and the southeastern part of the lot, Baber and his family certainly used these inside the house. As most of these chamber pots (six of the ten) are made from creamware, however, it seems likely that chamber pots were used more during the early occupation of the site and that Baber's reliance on them eventually declined. Higbee Tavern did have four (n = 4) chamber pots, considerably fewer than the Baber Hotel (Day 2004).

Of the eight privy vaults excavated at the Baber Hotel site, four of them (Features 163, 173, 224, and 249) appear to date to the Baber occupation. As should be expected, they are located furthest away from the main building in comparison with the other back lot features. These features were identified as privies by their location and their depth. They were filled over a wide ranging period of time, suggesting that they were used separately and/or overlapped in time. All of them were filled with very little to a moderate amount of kitchen and architectural refuse. They also appear to have been kept mostly clean until their use ended.

Artifacts recovered from Feature 173 (Figure 6.1) suggest that this privy was used during the early occupation of the site and filled in partially by the 1840s. Its lower fill layer, Zone 3, contained numerous large rocks like Zone B in Feature 77 which was also filled in during the 1840s.

The remaining portion of Feature 173 appears to have been abandoned and a small portion left open, as its second fill layer, Zone 2, was a natural fill that appears to have resulted from flooding. Given the extensive size of the 1845 flood, Zone 2 may be a deposition from this occurrence. If so perhaps, Features 77 and 173 were filled in prior to 1845. The other three privies that followed Feature 173 were located in the southwestern corner of lot 13, the furthest distance from the kitchen and main activity area. Once again, it seems that Baber made a deliberate and dramatic change in the use of his back lot around 1850 or before.

The remaining four privy vaults post-date the Baber occupation and consist of Features 76 and 158 that were filled in during the 1920s to 1930s, and Features 78 and 282 that were filled in during the middle twentieth century. All of these privies were filled with a moderate to dense amount of kitchen and architectural refuse.

The Front Lot

While the back lot was littered with post molds/holes and the remains of outbuildings typical of a domestic house lot, the front lot of the Baber Hotel was relatively devoid of posts or refuse. Evidence of a front porch at the Baber Hotel was not identified through archaeology. While back porches and lean-to passageways were identified in the back lot, no porch posts were identified in the front lot. Archaeology suggests that there was a brick walk in the front, adjacent to the street. A later-dating fence line can be seen on the map (Figure 6.1). These fence post holes with some molds contained wire nails suggesting that no fence existed across the front when the building functioned as the Baber Hotel. Looking at Figure 6.1, the brick walk was likely still in use when the fence was constructed because the fence line does not intrude on the walk, but borders it.

What is present, however, is a large, stand-alone, substantial post, Feature 99 (Figure 6.1). This post is located in the northwest corner of the lot and is situated near (5 m or 16.4 ft) Canal Street (Figure 6.1). Feature 99 consists of both a post hole and post mold, but very few artifacts were recovered from either. What few dateable artifacts were recovered from the feature were from the mold. These artifacts include undecorated whiteware and blown in mold bottle glass, both indicative of the post likely being pulled during the nineteenth century. Although the brick walk was destroyed in this area, had it still been intact, the post likely would have been located just north of it. Based on its location and size, Feature 99 could be evidence of a sign post for the hotel. Such signs were a common feature at all taverns and hotels throughout the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Yoder 1969). An 1841 account of tavern signs in Illinois and Indiana was cited in Wagner and McCorvie (1992:337) and shows the importance and prominence of these signs. "The houses standing back from the line of the road, of course, cannot be seen until one is close upon them, but the owners of the inns take care to advertise their whereabouts, by erecting within view, huge signs, which can be discerned a long way" (Oliver 1843:107). It is likely that Charles Baber had a prominent sign for his hotel. As his establishment was an advertisement for the town and he was a prominent man in Rumsey, a sign would have proclaimed this to travelers on the river and potential guests. The competition for patrons between hotels and taverns within Rumsey and those in Calhoun would have made such a sign a business necessity (Yoder 1969).

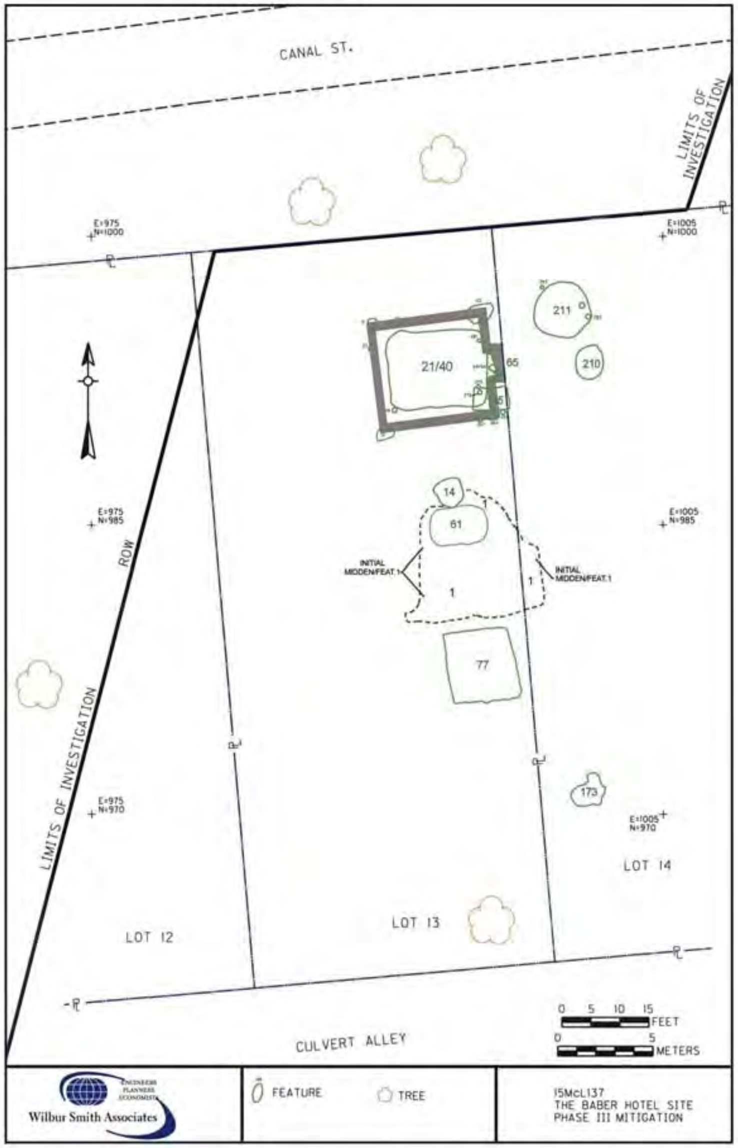
Discussion and Summary

Given the information above regarding the site layout, it is hypothesized that lot 13 changed over time. Figures 6.16 and 6.17 illustrate how lot usage appears to have changed during Baber's occupation and after. Based on the information garnered from the placement and chronology of the site features, it appears that the initial structure in lot 13 was a one-room, one-and-a-half-story structure or possibly a one-room, two-story structure. As discussed above, there are several reasons for this thinking (difference in the two room sizes, difference in placement of house chimneys, etc.). This initial one-room structure served as the kitchen and dining room on the main floor, with bedrooms located on the second floor. A cellar (Feature 21/40), nearly the same size as the original structure, was constructed beneath the house and was used throughout the occupation. Another small cellar (Feature 61), a refuse pit (Feature 14), two cisterns (Features 210 and 211), and a privy (Feature 173) all appear to have been constructed at the beginning of the occupation. Not long afterwards, a west addition and central hall were added to the main house. A detached kitchen was also constructed behind the East room of the house, and a meathouse/cellar (Feature 77) was located directly behind the kitchen (Figure 6.14). Another larger refuse pit, Feature 126, also appears to have been in place early, but perhaps after the initial ca. 1835 occupation.

During the early to mid-1840s, Baber appears to have made a deliberate effort to improve on the physical appearance of his lots (Figure 6.14). Baber backfilled his two cisterns, privy, small cellar, and a refuse pit. Many of these earlier features were located in lot 14, which shows that Baber was consciously clearing this lot and consolidating his structures on to lot 13, mostly behind the house and around the kitchen. The two cisterns in lot 14 were replaced by a well (Feature 10) located behind the house, yet still near the kitchen. Two privies (Features 163 and 249) were constructed around this time as well, and rather than place them near the old one in lot 14, Baber built them in the far southwest corner of lot 13. A refuse pit (Feature 126) was also filled in by 1850 and another one (Feature 286) was constructed further back on the lot. The detached kitchen was likely expanded to the south and finally attached to the main house on its north end.

Two new cellars (Features 22 and 139) were constructed very near the well. Feature 77 was filled in, and eventually the area above it became added work space as midden formed over the top, a continuation of Feature 1. The large amount of rock used to fill in Feature 77 is still a puzzle, especially as the cellar was filled in so early in the occupation. Feature 173, a privy filled in about the same time as Feature 77, also contained large rock as part of its fill. Perhaps this rock, which consisted of large rounded cobbles, was simply brought in as fill. Also, perhaps Baber deliberately chose rock rather than soil in order to create a type of French drain, as the area was prone to flooding.

ca. 1835



ca. 1840s - 1850

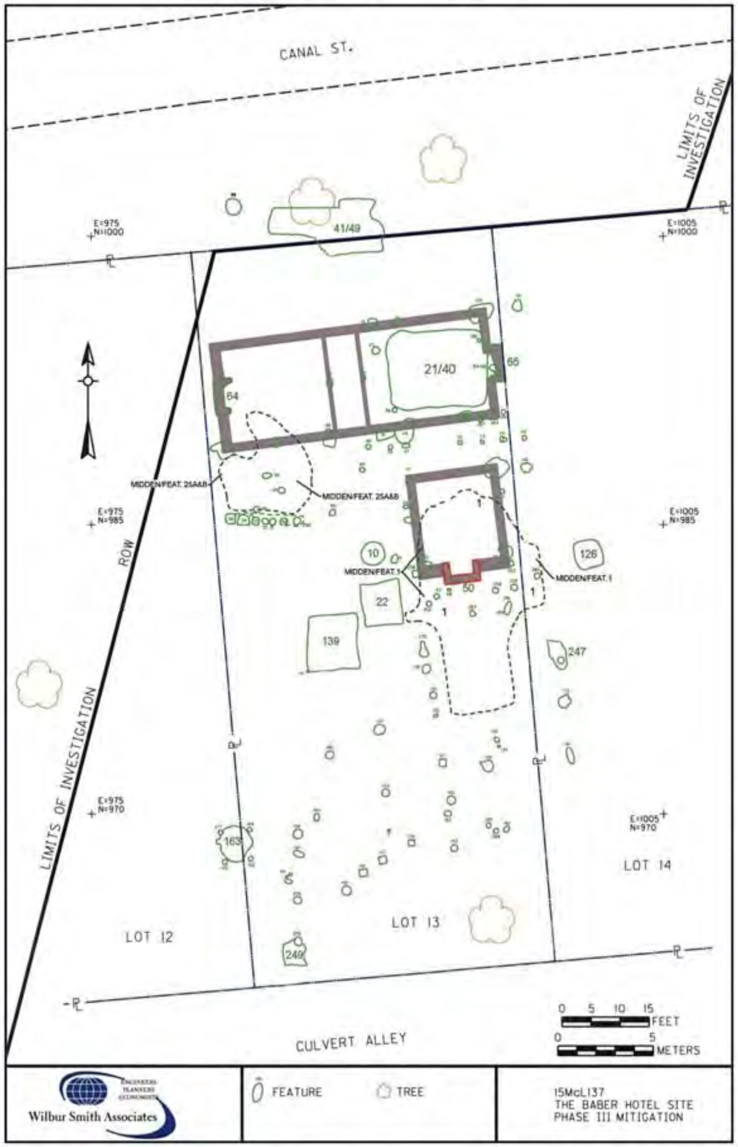


Figure 6.16. The Baber Hotel Site ca. 1835 and ca. 1840s to 1850

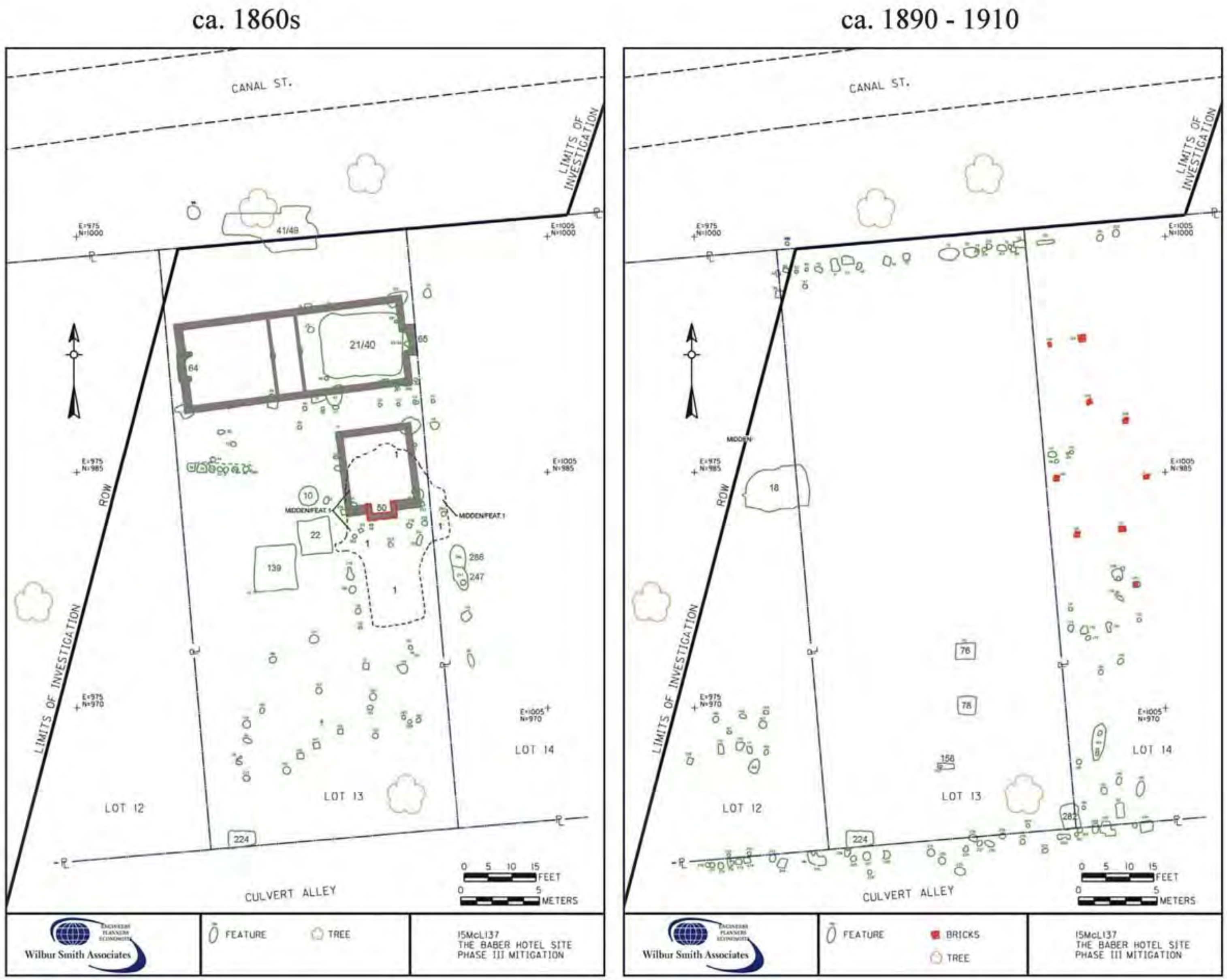


Figure 6.17. The Baber Hotel Site ca. 1860s and ca. 1890 to 1910

Construction of the detached kitchen and house additions also changed the function of the house. Dining in the East room may have become a more grand type of experience. Less decorative types of tableware also suggest more simple dining occurred, perhaps in the kitchen for the slaves and river men. With expansion of the house, the addition of the West room provided either a parlor or bar and/or perhaps additional bedroom accommodations. Having a two-story house also allowed Baber the opportunity to utilize space in a better way. The second story could be used solely for lodgers and sleeping, although every room of the house may have been slept in during the early part of the occupation, as it was commonly practiced early in the nineteenth century, but later disdained by the middle nineteenth century (Larkin 1989). Such space would have satisfactorily accommodated a large clientele.

The house furnishings in Baber's possession were numerous, and most of these items were doubtless essential to accommodate a large clientele. Some of the furnishings, however, were not necessarily functional in the practical sense, but rather more ornamental. They appear to be have served no other purpose than as an intentional display of Baber's wealth. The presence of such types of dust-collecting items could also suggest the presence of a parlor.

Around 1850 another attempt was made to improve on the physical appearance of the lots, but to a lesser degree. In the main house, the bulkhead (Feature 145) to the house cellar was closed off and mostly filled. An opening from the inside of the house, probably towards the back of the central hall, was created to access the cellar. Another refuse pit (Feature 126), which had been located on lot 14, was also filled in. In addition to the to the house and lots, a brick walk was constructed along Canal Street in front of the hotel around 1850. With Rumsey thriving at this time and competing with Calhoun for the county seat in the early 1850s, such improvements would have certainly benefitted the town. Canal Street in Rumsey ca. 1850 must have been somewhat of a bustling street, with all the main town businesses located here and between the levee.

Something else to consider during the 1840s while Baber was making such significant improvements to his house is his financial situation. According to records, Baber mortgaged several of his lots (13, 37, 39, and 40) for $600 in 1842 (Muhlenburg County Deed Book 11:215) and again in 1845 (Muhlenberg County Deed Book 12:76). Baber successfully paid off both loans and his intention here is made clear. Baber was no doubt securing money for these alterations and perhaps other investments, and he was apparently successful.

By the time of Baber's death in 1868, the town of Rumsey and its population were in decline, however. There were several contributing factors for this decline. Across the river, Calhoun had clearly won the competition as a successful town. Frequent flooding and Calhoun's more stable location, plus its winning bid as the county seat in 1854 secured its leading position. Most certainly, the Civil War played a part by compounding the financial problems for Rumsey, Calhoun, and transportation on the Green River, as it resulted in divided loyalties and a dramatic decrease in commercial traffic. While Calhoun recovered after the war, Rumsey did not. By the 1860s, all of Rumsey had become a series of abandoned, dilapidated houses and businesses (Ward 1974). Perhaps the final blow was the loss of the lock and dam to the Calhoun side of the river in 1898. Still, there were at least two attempts to keep the hotel operating. At this time, tavern licenses for the Baber House referred to the Baber site as “Baber’s Old Stand,” indicating that it was still extant, but perhaps beginning to show signs of age and neglect. The site may have been abandoned sometime after 1871, the last time a tavern license was applied for. Although present, very few artifacts from this period were recovered from the Feature 1 midden. Several of the larger features were filled in or partially filled in at this time (Figure 6.15). Feature 22 appears to have been filled in during the 1860s and Feature 139 appears to have been filled in shortly after (Figure 6.15). The well was filled in during the late 1860s to 1870s, most certainly a sign of site abandonment. By the early twentieth century, whatever was left of the Baber house was demolished, with much of the brick from the chimneys and stones from the large pier holes robbed (Figure 6.15).

Charles Baber was listed as a “Tavern Keeper” in the 1850 Federal Census. But by 1860, he referred to himself in the new census as a more respectable “Hotel Keeper.” The transformation from tavern to hotel for Baber could be a reflection of what many of the emerging middle class were aspiring to in the mid-nineteenth century, a more civilized appearance. In Baber’s case, he may have been trying to create a more sophisticated tavern like the ones being created in the Eastern United States (Bushman 1993). Granted the town of Rumsey was never a large, thriving metropolis, but Baber and the other founders of the town had similar aspirations as those in larger cities, to see their town succeed and eventually lead in the development of commerce and agriculture in the region. It was a risky gamble, and in order to ensure the success of the town of Rumsey and remain competitive, Baber and others like him would have had to make some changes to succeed. In Baber’s case, improvement to his house and lots would have been very important. When Rumsey was thriving during its peak years (late 1830s to early 1850s), Baber appears to have secured the funding to modify his house and lot to a large, well-constructed and well-furnished house. In order to attract visitors, the two-story Baber Hotel, with its large sign and its excellent location close to the river, would have stood out to travelers on the water.

Chapter Seven

Male and Female Activities at the Baber Hotel

Taverns were the rendevous of the 'Dreggs of the people,' the scenes of rowdy parties, frequently resulting in drunkenness, gambling, and bloodshed, until the keepers installed long rooms and opened them to polite assemblies. Then once debased activities assumed an aura of brilliance and complaisance.[1]

Introduction

As a palace of the people and an important element of the town of Rumsey, the Baber Hotel personified the potential commercial success and overall desirability of Rumsey as suitable for a genteel life. Not only were refined surroundings necessary for presentation of self, but the appearance of refined furniture and elaborate or segmented dining served to discipline and civilize the hotel's clientele. A well-managed and outfitted hotel served as an advertisement for the community as well as a civilizing influence for the roughest travelers. George Pullman, in describing his use of furnishings in sleeping cars for the railroad, found that even the roughest man was uplifted by his surroundings. Pullman found that people are more careful in a beautifully decorated, upholstered sleeping car than in poor surroundings. In other words, civilized surroundings had a civilizing influence on travelers. Because anyone with money and desire could attempt to create a commercial parlor, anyone could attempt to imply membership in the world of refinement and cultivation. The proliferation of ladies' parlors during the nineteenth century is tied to the Victorian notion of separating the household as the lady's domain. Ladies' parlors provided a domestic haven which buffered their interactions with the broader public in commercial spaces, as well as offering an interim solution for a young society still looking for a place for women in the public sphere (Grier 1988a and 1988b).

In nineteenth century America, men and women to a large extent occupied separate spaces, "distinct worlds permeated with masculine and feminine values" (Murdock 1998). A material component supported this thinking as well. In order to meet the requirements for success and refinement in the community, a separate space for both female and male activities within the hotel would have benefitted Baber. Research into other tavern layouts and historic literature directed this investigation towards the belief that the Baber house contained a room that functioned more as a parlor and was separate from a bar. Furthermore, it was hypothethized that such a parlor might be located in the same room as the dining room, most likely the East room, while the West room might have functioned as a bar. Although research did reveal such a separation of space for male and female activities, the archaeological material from the site was not as conclusive. However, the material record clearly showed that both female (domestic) and male (tavern) activities did occur on the site.

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[1] Frederick Gleason (1852), quoted in *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* Bushman (1992:185)

Ladies' Activities

They [commercial parlors] were model interiors
that allowed people to try on the idea of having a parlor;
they were settings in which people could picture themselves[2]

The advent of public parlors in hotels and other public buildings during the nineteenth century enabled all classes of people a taste of gentility and civility. As traveling became more important to Americans, even steamboats and railroad cars began to offer parlors. Ladies' parlors often doubled as sleeping quarters on steamboats, where settees would become sleeping couches. Thus a mixture of cultural attitudes, commercial pressures, and commercial or social aspirations led to the creation of quasi-public spaces that partook of the material vocabulary of gentility (the artifacts of the parlor) to attract and keep an audience (Grier 1988a:235).

The notion that one of the first floor rooms of the Baber Hotel functioned as a ladies' parlor is an important one. As hotels were thought of as civilizing influences in town and communities, so too were women. Although women were involved to some degree in tavern activities, as employees for example, respectable women were separated from men's activities, particularly activities which involved the consumption of alcohol and games. A separate space where women could gather to enjoy civilized entertainment would have been important for a prominent hotel in a newly formed town. We know from the tax assessment record that Charles Baber owned a piano, something of great expense in the mid-nineteenth century. The piano was considered to be the instrument of choice by most nineteenth century Americans, and if a household could afford one, it would certainly have one in its possession. Most young ladies of the day were expected to learn to play the piano and have at least one song in their repertoire. In this way, a young woman was guaranteed a place in certain social circles (Mace 1991). Artifacts recovered from the Baber site also provide clues to ladies' activities at the site.

Sewing, Embroidery, and Knitting

Besides the piano, other evidence for female activities is suggested by the numerous sewing related artifacts recovered from excavations (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). Without a doubt, sewing would have been an essential skill for the women of the Baber household, as they could have provided guests and family members with needed clothing repairs. However, prowess in sewing and embroidery was also a mark of the genteel women from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, the nineteenth century being perhaps the most popular period. Embroidery and sewing gave full expression to the ideal of femininity. Furthermore, this ideal of femininity was supported and promoted generously by the journals, magazines, and etiquette books of the day. In order to achieve this feminine ideal, sewing and embroidery were required to maintain certain fashion trends of the upwardly mobile and to appear feminine (Ogden 1986).

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[2] Katherine Grier in *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930* (1988b:23)

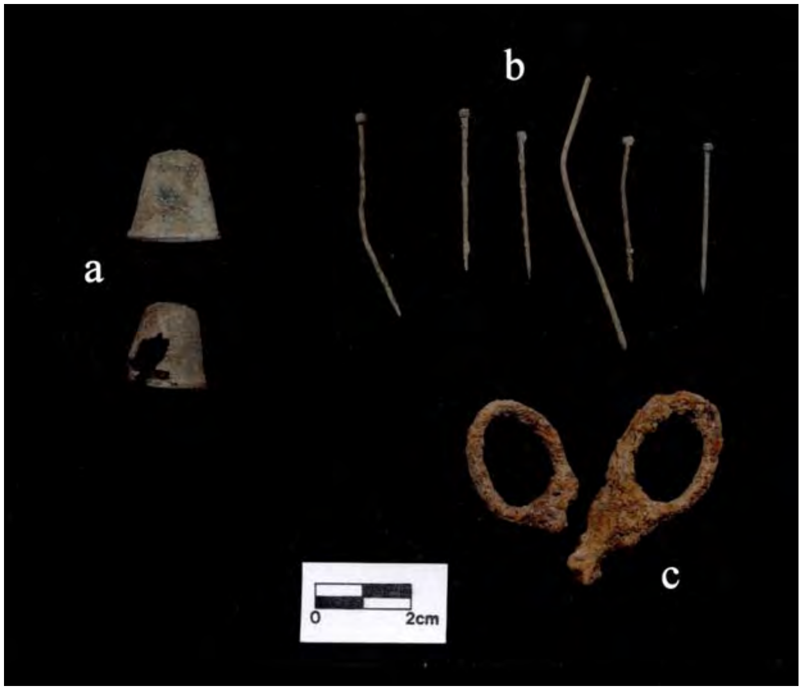

Figure 7.1. Metal sewing artifacts: a) thimbles (lower one possibly child's); b) straight pins (flat head and spun head "round"); and c) scissor handles

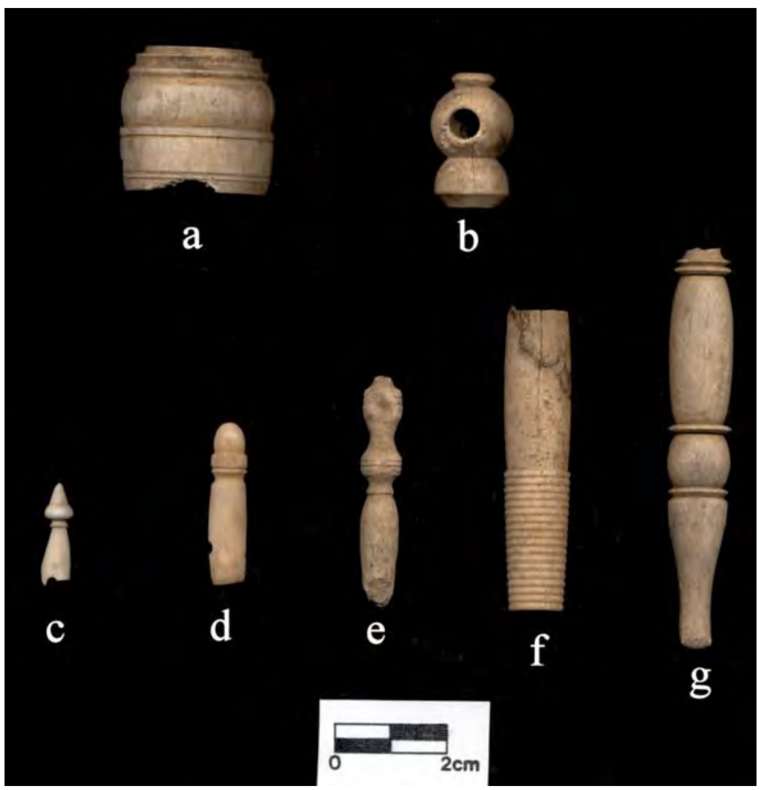

Figure 7.2. Bone sewing and knitting tools: a) possible needle case end or umbrella part; b) possible thimble case; c and d) knitting needle guards; e) knitting needle end; f) needle case; and g) tambour

At the Baber Hotel numerous thimbles and straight pins (Figure 7.1) were recovered from across the site, particularly in several of the cellars (Features 22, 77, and 139) and well (Feature 10). However, a large quantity of these artifacts were concentrated in the features within the detached kitchen area (the midden Feature 1, as well as Features 14 and 61) and from Feature 40, the main house cellar. The recovery of numerous metal sewing pins, especially concentrated in the detached kitchen, suggests that Baber's female slaves were likely conducting sewing activities in this area (see Chapter 6, Figure 6.11).

Recovery of some of the thimbles at the site may also suggest the presence of children. Following the study on different uses for children by Hill (1995), the thimbles recovered from the Baber Hotel were measured to discern if any were child-size thimbles for young girls. Of the 10 thimbles recovered, half were too fragmented, but two of these are smaller than the others and would be best suited for a child. The two smaller thimbles measured only 1.5 cm in length, while the remaining thimbles measured 2 cm or more. Diameter of the two smaller thimbles was also smaller than the others, approximately 1.2 cm compared to the larger 1.7 cm thimbles. One of these is shown in Figure 7.1a along with a larger thimble for comparison.

More specialized bone or ivory embroidery, knitting, and sewing tools were also recovered (Figure 7.2). The greater majority (n = 7) of these tools came from the kitchen area, in particular the plowzone overlying Feature 61 and just west of it (Figure 7.3). Four (n = 4) knitting tools were recovered from the house area as well, three from the cellar beneath the house (Feature 40) and one from the bulkhead to the cellar (Feature 145) (Figure 7.3). The remaining two knitting tools were recovered from Feature 139, no doubt as discard, as the cellar was back filled at the end of the tavern/hotel occupation. Clearly, knitting did occur in the kitchen area. However, if some of these tools were part of Feature 61, which is possible given the upper portion of the feature was plowed, then the knitting artifacts would have been disposed of early in the site occupation (late 1830s to early 1840s since Feature 61 was filled in around this time). Perhaps knitting was conducted here out of necessity early in the occupation, and if these tools were discarded early, a parlor may not have been present yet in the main house, as space was limited in the original house. As the additions occurred to the main house, this activity may have been relocated to a room of the main house, perhaps the East room. Most certainly, the women living at the Baber Hotel engaged in decorative sewing as well as mending and/or clothes making.

Thimbles and pin holders of bone were also recovered from excavations (Figure 7.2). These implements were delicately carved and simply decorated. Also present were two bone/ivory knitting needle guards or protectors. Embroidery tools included at least one tambour. Tambours were bone or wood handles into which a special embroidery needle could be inserted. This type of embroidery was popular during the nineteenth century and resembles crewel embroidery. A tambour was identified in the Five Points archaeological assemblage in New York city for the same period (Griggs 2001). Other bone/ivory handles and finials in the assemblage suggest that even more tools were present, but are not all identifiable. One handle resembles a laying tool used in the separation of embroidery floss and would be consistent with the other sewing related artifacts identified.

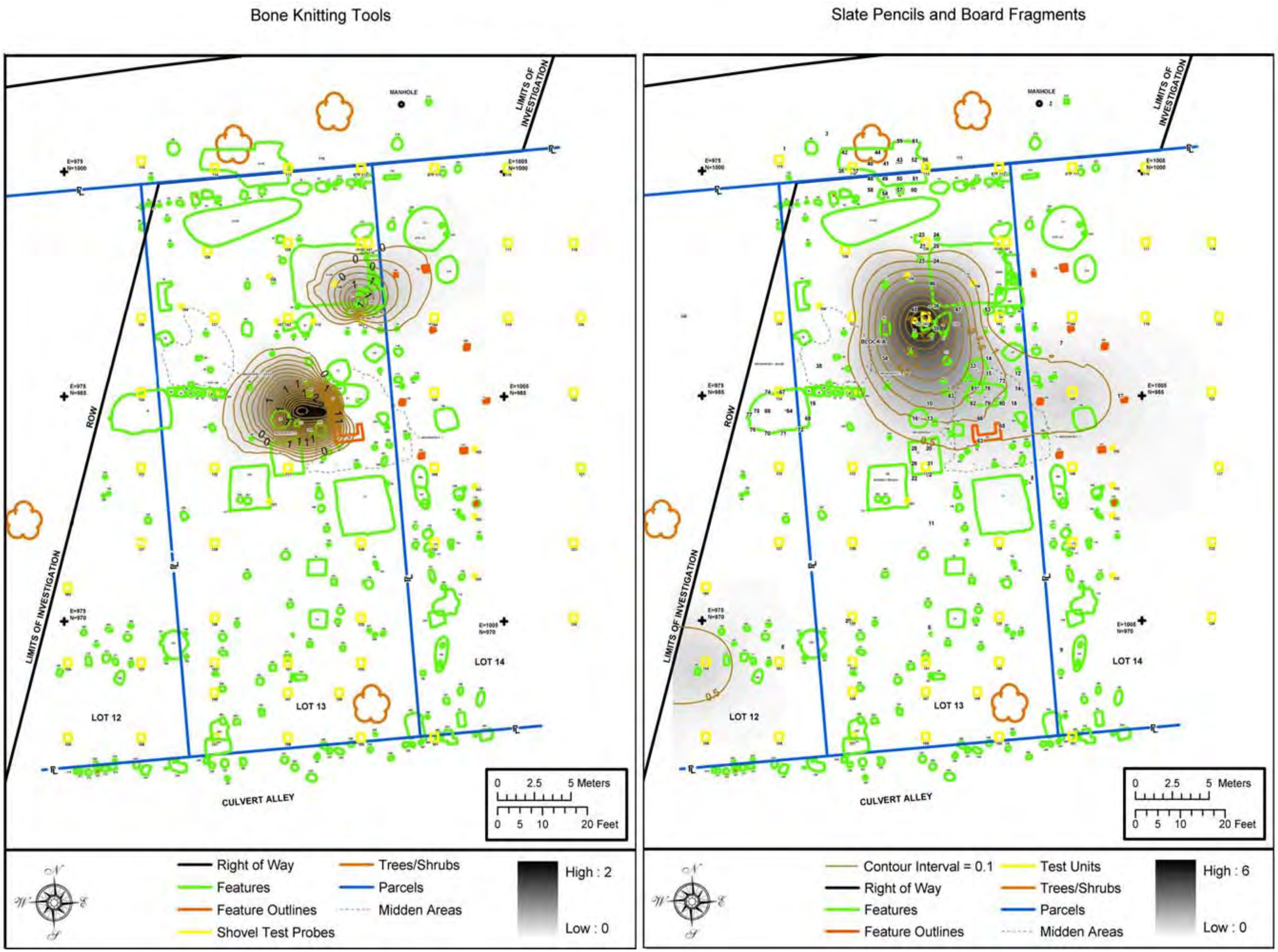

Figure 7.3. Distribution of specialized knitting tools and writing tools

Similar types of sewing notions (Table 7.1) were recovered from the Rose Hotel in southern Illinois (Wagner and Butler 1999). Sewing pins, thimbles, and scissors were recovered from the Old Landmark Tavern in south central Illinois (Wagner and McCorvie 1992), Joshua Piles site in south central Illinois (Wagner et al. 1990), and the Higbee Tavern in southern Fayette County, Kentucky (Day 2004). The Rose Hotel functioned as a hotel from about 1842 into the twentieth century, but the majority of the artifacts recovered from excavations did not date past 1890. The Old Landmark dates from 1819 until ca. 1850s, Joshua Piles site dates from 1820 to 1829, and the Higbee Tavern

Table 7.1. Comparison of Sewing Related Artifacts from Hotel/Taverns

	Thimbles	Pins	Scissors	Bone Tool	Total
Duncan Tavern, KY*					0
Bell's Tavern, KY*					0
Gower House, KY*					0
Landmark Tavern, IL	1		3		4
Young Tavern, IL*					0
Joshua Piles, IL			1	1	2
Rose Hotel, IL*	2	20		6	28
Higbee Tavern, KY	3	50	5		58
Frankfort Hotel, KY					0
Meriwether Hotel, KY	X	X			X
Baber Hotel, KY	10	99	4	9	122

X = Denotes presence of artifact, but unknown quantity

* Denotes limited archaeological investigation

was occupied from ca. 1796 until 1855 when it burned. Another house was built at the site of the Higbee Tavern during the late nineteenth century, but the majority of the sewing artifacts were recovered from the tavern context (Day 2004). At the Rose Hotel, brass thimbles, bone bobbins, a needle case, and brass and steel straight pins were all recovered from both feature and test unit context, while only three scissors and a thimble were recovered from the Old Landmark Tavern. However, Wagner and Butler recovered considerably fewer artifacts (n = 28) from the Rose Hotel than what was recovered from the Baber Hotel (n = 122). At the Baber Hotel, at least nine identifiable bone tools, considerably more metal thimbles (n = 10), straight pins with spun head (n = 41), straight pins with flat head (n = 18), undetermined straight pins (n = 40), and scissors (n = 4) were recovered. The higher number of sewing notions recovered from the Baber Hotel when compared to the Old Landmark is most likely due to the geographic locations of both hotel/taverns. While the Old Landmark is located in an interior and rural location, the Baber Hotel is located in a major river valley and urban setting, where more traffic on the river was common during the nineteenth century. The significantly fewer artifacts recovered from the Rose Hotel is not so puzzling. The Rose Hotel historic artifact sample (n = 47,517) is nearly half the size of the Baber Hotel (n = 97,359), and of that, only 20,270 historic artifacts from the Rose Hotel were identifiable compared with the 91,630 historic artifacts identified from the Baber Hotel. Also, excavations at the Rose Hotel were limited to the area around the foundations and underneath some portions of the building, since the investigation only included the areas where extensive renovation and rehabilitation work was to be conducted. With the exception of a cistern, the only features discovered and documented at the Rose Hotel were architectural (posts, postholes, piers, and builder's trenches).

At the Higbee Tavern in Kentucky (Day 2004), several metal thimbles, scissors, and pins were recovered, but no bone or metal tools were present that might indicate specialized knitting or embroidery had occurred there. Most of the sewing implements were recovered from the hearth area of the kitchen at the Higbee Tavern, where some of Higbee's 17 enslaved African Americans likely worked and perhaps lived. Other indicators of slaves working and perhaps living in the kitchen area at the tavern were several faceted glass beads and a silver coin with a hole drilled into it (Day 2004). This pattern of metal sewing tools is very similar to the pattern at the Baber Hotel. As discussed earlier in Chapter 6, Baber's female slaves appear to have done the bulk of the essential sewing and mending within the kitchen.

Yet another hotel site that was mitigated is the Frankfort Hotel (1852-1860) and later Meriwether Hotel (1860-1885) which occupied the same site and was located in Frankfort, Kentucky. Although artifact tables are not available for this site, a draft version of the materials recovered chapter is available and provides some artifact counts; however, complete counts for some types of artifacts are not available yet (Jay Stottman, personal communication 2005). Several pins and thimbles were recovered from the Meriwether period, but no bone knitting artifacts appear to have been recovered from either period. The Owens' House, located in Jessamine County, Kentucky, was also used as a tavern from about 1840 until the Civil War. Although several sewing notions were recovered from features at the site, their context predated the tavern occupation (McBride et al. 2003). No sewing notions were recovered from other tavern sites in Kentucky (Gower House in Livingston County, Bell's Tavern in Barren County, and the Duncan Tavern in Bourbon County), but excavation at all of these sites was limited (Carstens 1989; Miller 2001; Stottman 1999).

Based on the recovery of the sewing artifacts at the Baber Hotel, most of the mending occurred in the kitchen area, suggesting that Baber's female slaves did conduct the bulk of this task. But specialized knitting and embroidery appears to have occurred in two areas of the site with Baber's wife and girls and perhaps their guests, initially in the kitchen and perhaps later in the East room of the house. The fact that the women at the Baber Hotel were engaged in such specialized sewing activities, like tambour embroidery, strongly suggests the class and gentility of the women. Only wealthy middle class women would have been able to afford the tools and floss necessary for such endeavors. These women also took exceptional care of their tools, as the pins and thimbles did have protective holders and the knitting needles protective points. Although the Higbee Tavern also had numerous sewing implements, it appears that there was a significant difference between the women of the Higbee Tavern and women of the Baber and Rose hotels. It is clear that Lucy Baber most certainly was aspiring for the mark of gentility and must have impressed this on her daughters. The same must be said for the women of the Rose Hotel.

Interestingly, conjecture suggested that perhaps Charles Baber's daughter, Jennie, conducted classes at the hotel. Jennie was listed as a teacher in the 1860 census records and could have been teaching a small class at the hotel. With the upheavals of the Civil War and restrictions on travel, the Baber Hotel would have been fairly empty and able to provide space for a small school. The town of Rumsey and the hotel were in an economic decline by 1860. Charles Baber and his wife would have been 60 years old and possibly in ill health, as Baber died in 1868. Perhaps Jennie Baber was operating a small school to help supplement the household income. One school existed in Rumsey in 1847 (Rothert 1984:407), but it is not known if it was still in operation by 1860.

Figure 7.4. *The Knitting Lesson*, Jean F. Millet, ca. 1900 - 1912, Library of Congress

It is possible that if Jenny was teaching a class at the hotel, she may have offered sewing lessons to young girls. Skills such as sewing would have been a must for any daughter of a household, and, generally, this was a skill that a mother taught her daughter (Figure 7.4). Her domestic education would be essential in future household production (Hill 1995:90), but lessons outside the home would be expensive. Books and journals of the time reveal how important these skills are and carefully instructed young women on the art of sewing and embroidery. An entire chapter of the 1856 book *The Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility* by Emily Thornwell gives detailed instructions on embroidery, fancy needlework, millinery, and dressmaking. The poem on the following page best reflects this genteel thinking. The poem, titled "The Busy Knitter" by William Oland Bourne, is taken from *Woodworth's Youth's Cabinet* (1851:245) and illustrates well the author's admiration and perhaps the public's general expectations of young girls. The specialized nature of some of the sewing tools already discussed suggests that decorative sewing like embroidery and tambour embroidery was practiced by the Baber women and perhaps female guests. These skills may even have been taught to young pupils for a fee.

The Busy Knitter
By William Oland Bourne (1851)
from Woodsworth's Youth Cabinet

Little Helen on her chair--
Patiently at work was she,
And in ringlets fell her hair--
Lovely did she seem to me.
She was sitting,
Knitting, knitting.

Busy little girl! thought I,
How I love to see your skill!
I am half inclined to try,
And I almost think I will!
See her sitting,
Knitting, knitting.

In a whirl the fingers fly
First one needle, then the next!
She might with her mother vie;
But for me, I am perplexed.
She was sitting,
Knitting, knitting.

Then a zig-zag cross this way,
Then a curious whirl again--
How she makes the fingers play;
It's no business for the men,
To be sitting,
Knitting, knitting.

Now the curious seam is made;
How to do it I can't tell,
But the skill she has displayed
Makes me think she does it well[.]
She was sitting
Knitting, knitting.

Now the toe is closed and done--
What a pretty sock is this!
It is knitting number one!
Go and get your mother's kiss!
She was sitting,
Knitting, knitting.

Busy little girl! thought I,
How I love to see your skill!
And the pleasure in her eye
Made my heart with pleasure fill--
Helen sitting,
At her knitting.

Writing and Schooling

The recovery of numerous slate pencils, writing slate board fragments, and graphite (Figure 7.5) at the Baber Hotel may provide evidence for both tavern activity and a school.

Figure 7.5. Slate Pencils from Baber Hotel

At the Baber Hotel, 54 slate pencils, 81 writing slate board fragments, five graphite lead pencils, and one eraser ferrule were recovered, the majority from the area around and behind the house and in Features 21/40 (house cellar), Feature 43 (a robbed pier hole south of the East room), and Feature 145 (bulkhead to house cellar) (Table 7.2). Approximately 36 writing boards and 14 pencils were recovered from these features and the plow zone above and near them (Figure 7.3). The rest of the writing tools are concentrated across the kitchen area (Figure 7.3). Although few in comparison, some of the other hotels did contain writing implements. Bell's Tavern, the Rose Hotel, Higbee Tavern, and the Meriwether Hotel all contained some writing artifacts (Table 7.2). The Higbee Tavern contained the third largest quantity of writing implements (n = 13), while the Meriwether Hotel only had five writing tools, and Bell's Tavern only had one (Table 7.2).

Both the Rose and Baber hotels contained the highest amount of writing tools (Table 7.2), but the Baber significantly more. During excavations of the Rose Hotel, Wagner and Butler (1999) recovered slate pencils (n = 27), graphite lead pencils (n = 6), an eraser ferrule of a graphite lead wooden pencil (n = 1), iron pen nibs (n = 18), and paper clips (n = 2) (Table 7.2). They attributed this large number to the structure's function as a hotel. If so, perhaps a high frequency of slate pencils is part of the "pattern of a hotel", much like a high frequency of smoking pipes and cuspidor fragments (Rochman and Rothschild 1984). But why, then, would the other taverns and hotels not have a significant amount of writing tools? Both "river" hotels have significantly more writing tools than what has been found at the other tavern/hotel sites. Again, the sample may have been skewed at the Rose Hotel because of the limitations in sampling, and there may be more writing tools unrecovered at the Rose, but there is a substantial difference in quantity even between these two hotels, with Baber having significantly more. Most certainly, many of these writing tools were used at all the hotels for business purposes (i.e., registering guests, records, announcements, daily food menus, etc.), but such a larger quantity from the Baber Hotel (nearly three times that of the Rose Hotel) may support the school theory. While learning to read and write was important for both men

Table 7.2. Comparison of Writing Implements from Hotel/Taverns

	Slate Pencils	Lead/ Graphite Pencils	Slate Board	Pin Nib	Paper Clip	Eraser Ferrule	Total
Duncan Tavern, KY*							0
Bell's Tavern, KY*	1						1
Gower House, KY*							0
Landmark Tavern, IL							0
Young Tavern, IL							0
Joshua Piles, IL*							0
Rose Hotel, IL*	27	6		18	2	1	54
Higbee Tavern, KY	9		4				13
Frankfort Hotel, KY							0
Meriwether Hotel, KY	5						5
Baber Hotel, KY	54	5	81			1	141

* Denotes limited archaeological investigation

and women, it was considered to be essential as a past time for a proper lady. Another entire chapter of Thornwell's (1856) gentility guide book is a reflection of this belief as it expresses the importance of literacy and writing skills for ladies by giving detailed instructions on letter-writing.

Based on both the quantity of writing tools and types of sewing notions, there is a possibility of Charles's daughter Jennie teaching at the hotel, possibly within the East room or directly behind the hotel, based on the concentration of writing tools directly behind the house. Jennie was only 20 in 1860 when she was listed in the U.S. census as a teacher still living with her family. If true, she seems to have made good use of her education and talents in order to contribute to the income of the hotel.

Music and Dancing

Taverns and hotels also provided guests with parties where dancing and music were enjoyed by all. During the opening of the Racine Hotel in Wisconsin, someone noted that "[a] celebration was had, and in the dancing room, which had been particularly prepared, from close of day until early morn a happy crowd danced away the night under the inspiration of music furnished by a hod-carrier on a three-stringed fiddle" (Cole 1930). A resort hotel such as Drennon Springs in northern

Kentucky offered up "brilliant balls", while another hotel near Harrodsburg (Graham Springs) provided cotillion or cotillion parties with special dance instructors for guests (Wrobel 1999). Dances like the cotillion were very popular during the nineteenth century and would have been found at a large ball gathering or a small tavern party. Other than rare business or social occasions, this was one of the few instances in which local women might attend a tavern legitimately.

Figure 7.6. Dancing Couple (from Cellarius 1847)

By the 1830s, the development of an upwardly mobile middle class contributed to more elegant balls or at least aspirations for such elegance (Bushman 1992; Yoder 1969). In order to meet this demand for refinement, instruction on proper etiquette and dances became popular throughout the country. Numerous "how-to" manuals were published to accommodate this need. Figure 7.6 is taken from one of these books that dates from 1847 and shows a couple dancing to a cotillion. The cotillion was a group dance that consisted of a series of party games. Also known as the quadrille (most commonly referred to by Europeans), it was the forerunner of the square dance (McCutcheon 2001:193). Other dances that might have been enjoyed at the Baber Hotel include various types of waltzes and polkas. Yoder (1969:106-107) also notes that many of these dances were attended by all sorts of classes. She cited two sources in 1835 at a dance at the Mansion House in Chicago, where an array of such assorted classes enjoyed the same entertainment:

> *There were well-dressed army officers and a surgeon, as well as those in homespun lindsey-woolsey and oversized home-produced boots. There were young girls still in short dresses and fiftyish women with scrawny necks. There were delicate, southern-bred girls as well as those who betrayed by their complexion and hair a trace or more of Indian ancestry.*

Music to accompany these dances and by itself was always popular in taverns, homes, and many public places throughout the nineteenth century. Numerous printed songs were available for only a few pennies (McCutcheon 2001:196). The fiddle and the violin were the most frequently played of all instruments, a banjo sometimes, but much lighter and easier to carry was the harmonica and mouth harp. If a tavern landlord had enough money, he might even invest in a piano, a costly item. Figure 7.7 shows a fiddler and two couples dancing at a tavern in Pennsylvania sometime during the 1810s. Note the act of smoking inside and in the presence of the ladies, something that some genteel Americans and Europeans considered to be in bad taste.

The presence of six musical instrument fragments from the Baber Hotel does not seem surprising. These instruments were recovered mostly from cellars that date early in the occupation of the site (Feature 77) and date through the end of the occupation (Features 22 and 40). In addition,

Figure 7.7. *Merrymaking at a Wayside Inn* by John Krimmel, 1811-1813 (www.metmuseum.org)

one instrument was recovered from the plow zone within the kitchen area, and two were recovered from a later-dating post mold (Feature 70) located within the northern fence line. Three mouth harps and three harmonica fragments were recovered, both popular instruments during the nineteenth century. A mouth harp is a small musical instrument which is held against the teeth or lips, and plucked with the fingers. These small instruments could have been easily carried by river men plying the Green River. In fact, it was the river men who often supplied the music at river taverns (Yoder 1969:107).

But the presence of the piano at the Baber Hotel, owned by few in the middle class during the nineteenth century and a high status symbol for Baber, suggests that it may have been used for dances and parties and dinners within the Baber Hotel. It also may have served as entertainment within the bar room and could have been easily moved about the main floor of the house. Almost every tavern had a hall where dances were given. A hall might be a separate room in a larger tavern/hotel, while a bar room or parlor might act as a temporary hall in a smaller tavern (Larkin 1998:10). Since room was limited at the Baber Hotel, it is more than likely that furniture was moved around to accommodate a large dance or party. While the number of musical instruments recovered from the Baber Hotel might not distinguish it as a tavern/hotel function, none of the other hotels researched contained a high number of musical instruments. In fact, the Baber Hotel contained the highest number of musical instruments.

Tavern Activities

Whatever the class of tavern, however, its one indisputable feature was the bar, which provided liquid refreshments not only for the jaded travelers but also for the inhabitants of the countryside.[3]

Although we cannot say conclusively where a bar may have been located at the Baber Hotel, it is believed that one of the rooms may have functioned as a bar room. We know that Baber applied for a tavern license several times between the years 1836 and 1860. The bar room of the Baber Hotel would have served as the center of the male clientele's socializing. Here they regaled their fellows with hunting or fishing stories, argued politics, and discussed community affairs. Taverns and inns were havens where local men or visitors could indulge in reading, drinking, talking, and enjoying a variety of leisure activities and entertainments (Figure 7.8). As a general rule, women were not allowed in bars in the middle nineteenth century. The only exceptions to this rule were female employees working in the bar (note Figure 7.8 to right) and female tavern keepers. Although unusual, tavern keeping was an acceptable avenue to an enterprising woman in the South prior to the Civil War (Wells 2004). Also, it was not uncommon for a tavern owner's wife to cross the gender boundary to help run the business (Wells 2004).

Figure 7.8. *Interior of an American Inn* by Krimmel, 1813 (witf.org/taverns/index.html)

The bar room offered its predominantly male clientele a variety of diversions– from billiards, cards, and cock-fighting to live music and collections of reading material (Martin 1995). While men's interaction with other men was casual and unritulaized, men's interaction with women was the opposite, that is, formally dictated (Hemphill 1999:179). In a bar room, a man could be at ease and not concerned about proper etiquette. Nineteenth century taverns offered many types of entertainment to guests, and those entertainments were quite variable from one establishment to another and dependent upon what economic class frequented the establishment. One traveler describes a scene at a popular Wisconsin tavern in 1837 as:

[3] Dr. Wayland F. Dunway in *The Golden Age of Taverns* (Smith 2000)

... such a sight as presented itself to our view, we never saw before or since. It seemed that the miners were in the habit of assembling there on Saturday nights, to drink, gamble and frolic until Monday morning.... The bar room contained a large bar, well supplied with all kinds of liquors. In one corner of the bar was a Faro Bank, discounting to a crowd around it; in another corner a Roulette; and in another, sat a party engaged in playing at cards. One man sat back in a corner, playing a fiddle, to whose music two others were dancing in the middle of the room. Hundreds of dollars were lying upon the tables; and among the crowd were the principle men of the Territory—men who held high and responsible offices (Pratt 1855:144-145).

This description illustrates the variety of social functions, "both wholesome and degrading," provided by the inns and taverns of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not only was the tavern a communications and civic center, but it was also a recreational and entertainment center particularly catering to men. McCutcheon (2001:189) noted that "[t]he tavern for men was what church was for women: the center of social life and a home away from home." According to one nineteenth century observer, Francis Trollope, with the exception of dancing, "all the enjoyments of the men are found in the absence of women. They dine, they play cards, they have musical meetings, they have suppers, all in large parties, but all without women" (Trollope 1949:156). In addition, Trollope noted that "they generally prefer drinking and gaming in their absence" (1949:184). Yoder (1969:106) also mentioned that theatricals and traveling exhibits stopped at taverns, and horse racing and sleigh-riding parties as well as corn huskings and hunting parties were sometimes ended with a stint at the local tavern. These gatherings were evidently attended by women. In Lexington, a grand celebration in honor of Thomas Jefferson's election as president ended at sunset "when part of the company repaired to Captain Postlethwaite's Tavern, where the evening was concluded with an elegant ball" (Lathrop 1937:291). Conversely, a hotel near Olympian Springs in 1822 promised its guest the best food the country could produce, a bar with choice liquors, and "as fine a Pack as ever went in chase"(Lathrop 1937:294). Games with a more European flavor were also available. A traveler through Missouri mentioned a "little French inn, with a small bowling green, skittle ground and garden" (Lathrop 1937:304).

While leisure once served the establishment and maintenance of communal solidarity, it could also be divisive. People could and did use leisure to consciously direct social differentiation (Martin 1995). Socioeconomic groups like the newly formed middle class, eager to establish social boundaries and display cultural authority, used leisure activities to promote solidarity and middle class identity and to differentiate themselves from other social formations (Martin 1995). Though wealth certainly influenced the ascription of upper class status, cultural factors like refinement, manners, education, and hospitality also played major roles in demarcating social boundaries. Conversely, individuals could claim membership in a particular class through participation in and exhibition of refined behaviors. Exhibiting the correct behaviors was only the first step, however. More important were the props that one must use correctly. These props include many of the material culture remains examined on archaeological sites. In the case of the Baber hotel, ceramics, buttons and jewelry, furnishings, embroidery tools, and gaming pieces are among some of the material remains that strongly suggest class formation and differentiation. As one author explains,

> *...financial prosperity elevated the middle class to a respectable status, but newcomers could seldom match the cultural attainments, social prestige, or professional reputation of their patrician counterparts. Though middle class lawyers, politicians, and civic functionaries were not patricians, they, like the upper class, constituted an elite of sorts. Here, elite refers to an overlapping upper and middle class group with some form of social distinction, political authority, or cultural prestige* (Martin 1995:104).

Consequently, members of the middle class might share elite status with patricians, based on education or occupation, without being a member of the upper class. Charles Baber was a member of the middle class, a prominent member of the town of Rumsey, and a minor politician. These positions enabled him to share an elite status with men of greater wealth and education. His hotel/tavern would have reflected this elite status even in the types of leisure activities that were offered to patrons, many of which were town founders and businessmen.

In terms of structural features, tavern bar rooms bore a striking resemblance to one another. This similarity was due to longstanding traditions in the tavern trade, but also became more standardized as breweries began to offer bar fixtures and decorations in addition to liquor after the Civil War (Powers 1998). Yet while bar room interiors exhibited a sameness, this did not mean their facilities were necessarily mediocre. Competition between taverns with bar rooms necessitated that the interiors be upgraded when possible to attract larger and steadier clientele. For the hotel bar room, this was also the case. Hotels during the nineteenth century offered bed, board, and leisure entertainment including liquor consumption. Meals were often included in the price of an overnight stay, and meals were large. Consequently, the hotel could not make a profit from the service of meals alone. Profit was made in the bar room and from the permanent guests that provided steady income (Williamson 1930; Powers 1998). The Baber Hotel would have been little different. Permanent guests or borders would have provided steady income while bar room receipts provided the real profit.

Most bar rooms featured a hardwood bar and storage cupboard where liquor could be served (Powers 1998; Yoder 1969). Behind the bar, an array of bottles and glasses would have been prominently displayed for the customer with "... masses of pure crystal ice, large bunches of mint, decanters of every sort of wine, every variety of spirits, lemons, sugar, bitters, cigars and tobacco ..." (Marryat 1962:388). While bar stools were rare during the nineteenth century, many chairs and small tables would have been available for patrons in the Continental care-style tradition (Powers 1998). An 1845 mortgage deed of Charles Baber lists four tables and 18 chairs as part of the household furnishings (Muhlenberg County Deed Book 12:76). Some of these tables and chairs were probably used in the bar room and in the adjacent dining room. Brass or ceramic cuspidors were usually situated at intervals along the floor for tobacco chewers. Chewing tobacco was very popular in the nineteenth century among American men. European travelers during the nineteenth century lamented the American male's habit of chewing and spitting tobacco (Trollope 1949). Gaming tables for billiards, snooker, or bagetelle were often present. Food, available for the price of a drink, was spread out on a separate serving table (Powers 1998). Many establishments also offered a back room equipped with tables and chairs to provide meeting space for more organized groups. A bar room was a place for drinking, smoking, spitting, eating, talking, reading, political and social meetings, games, music, and dancing, a place to celebrate the holidays and a general place for gathering. Indeed, bar rooms were multi-purpose rooms. Drinking, however, was the main pastime.

Alcohol Consumption

Frederick Marryat (1962:389), the famous nineteenth century novelist, traveler, and English naval officer, perhaps best summed up the American philosophy of drinking during his travels (1837-1839) in the United States:

> *I am sure the Americans can fix nothing without a drink. If you meet, you drink; if you part, you drink; if you make acquaintance, you drink; if you close a bargain, you drink; they quarrel in their drink, and they make it up with a drink. They drink because it is hot; they drink because it is cold. If successful in election, they drink and rejoice; if not, they drink and swear; they begin to drink early in the morning, they leave off late at night; they commence it early in life, and they continue it, until they soon drop into a grave. To use their expression, the way they drink, is 'quite a caution.' As for water, what the man said, when asked to belong to the Temperance Society, appears to be the general opinion: "It's very good for navigation."*

For the most part, drinking itself during the nineteenth century was "a public, male activity conducted in public, male spaces." The only time a respectable woman might use or partake of alcohol were with her alcoholic medications, as a cooking ingredient, and in eating and special social spaces (Murdock 1998). Communal drinking of alcoholic beverages and toasting was a dominant theme in the tavern bar room. Men gathered together to discuss business and politics, and loosened their tongues with a variety of alcoholic beverages. This was certainly not a well-suited place for a respectable woman. On a trip through the Alleghany mountains, Frances Trollope described a less than desirable atmosphere:

> *Arrived at the inn, a forlorn parlour, filled with the blended fumes of tobacco and whiskey, received us; and chilled, as we began to feel ourselves with the mountain air, we preferred going to our cold bed-rooms rather than sup in such an atmosphere* (Trollope 1949:196).

This vivid scene appears to have been common in American taverns throughout the nineteenth century. Whiskey was unquestionably the desired "poison." Trollope also noted that "Whiskey ... flows every where at the same fatally cheap rate of twenty cents (about one shilling) the gallon, and its hideous effects are visible on the countenance of every man you meet" (1949:241). From the 1790s to the 1830s, Americans increasingly found themselves "up to their breeches in inexpensive, plentiful, good-quality whiskey" (Powers 1998:80). The first American whiskey was rye, which was distilled from a combination of rye, corn, and barley malt with at least 51 % of the mixture rye. Although rum had been the preferred drink in the eastern states, whiskey was better suited to the frontier. Grains were readily available for whiskey, while rum and its main ingredient, molasses, were both awkward and expensive to ship overland (Lender and Martin 1982:32). The arrival of the whiskey-loving Scotch-Irish and their distilling skills in the early part of the nineteenth century also improved on the taste of whiskey, and even the American Revolution with a demand for army rations contributed to the shift in its increasing popularity (Lender and Martin 1982:32). The favorite whiskey in Kentucky and the rest of the country would soon become bourbon, however. First produced in Bourbon County, Kentucky, in 1789, bourbon whiskey became an important regional industry by the early nineteenth century (Lender and Martin 1982:33). Bourbon was lighter in body and sweeter in taste than rye since it was made mostly from corn. Another form of whiskey, corn whiskey, was also popular in Kentucky. With 80 % corn and the remaining ingredients rye and barley malt, it was easily made. Unlike rye or bourbon, however, it did not require aging within new charred oak barrels and hence was regarded as a crude beverage that was better suited to rural settings or among the poorer populations in urban areas (Root and de Rochemont 1976:380). However, corn liquor was considerably cheaper than other whiskeys, as can be seen in the 1803 tavern rates for the newly organized Blount County in Tennessee (Table 7.3). "good whiskey" was most likely rye or bourbon and "county-made whiskey" was most likely corn. Later rates from Burnt Tavern in Garrard County, Kentucky, and from both Muhlenberg and McLean counties, gathered from county court order books, are also listed in Tables 7.4 and 7.5. As the popularity of whiskey rose to 9.5 gallons per person 15 years old and older per year, consumption of hard cider gradually declined (Powers 1998:81). Powers (1998:81) reveals that whiskey consumption during the early years of Andrew Jackson's presidency was at a "level never equaled before or since."

In addition to whiskey, cider and other fermented fruit juices, sherry, and brandy from distilled fermented fruits were also popular (Tables 7.3 - 7.5) during the early part of the nineteenth century. As for wine and beer, consumption of these remained relatively low through the 1830s, although it was not unusual to find a homemade wine from some fermented fruit.

After 1830, American drinking habits underwent still more significant changes, not the least of which was the temperance movement founded in 1826. Reformers' arguments and denunciations were especially effective among middle and upper class drinkers, who began mixing their alcohol with water, soda, or other "mixers," foreshadowing the so-called "cocktail culture" of the late nineteenth century (Powers 1998:81). In fact, mixed drinks (with sweeteners, bitters, spices, fruits, herbs, and liqueurs) were as popular as straight drinks by the early to middle nineteenth century (Johnson and Johnson 1992:1). Bitters are, as the name suggests, a highly concentrated, bittersweet type of spirit made from herbs and spices. They are used to flavor cocktails and often cooking, and their original function was as a digestive aid and appetite stimulant, hence "before and after" dinner cocktails such as aperitifs and digestifs. Bitters also generally have a high alcohol content on their own. As Table 7.6 shows, there were many types of mixed drinks during the nineteenth century in America. Numerous names were given to the various mixtures of liquors and wines that were served up in fashionable bar rooms in the United States. For Kentuckians, the mint julip was very popular, and bourbon was the key ingredient. Even women partook of these concoctions at social events such as dances and parties, which were often held in taverns, one of the few times that women and men gathered together at such a place. On describing the mint julip, Frances Trollope fondly wrote:

Table 7.3. 1803 Tavern Rates from Blount County, Tennessee (Jean and Outterson 1999)

Half pint of good whiskey	.12 ½
Pint of county-made whiskey	.12 ½
Good beer per quart	.12 ½
Breakfast with coffee and tea	.25
Dinner or supper with coffee and tea	.25
Half pint of rum	.25
Half pint French brandy	.33 ½
Bottle of wine	.33 ½
Horse at hay or fodder per night	.16 ½
Oats per gallon	.09
Corn per gallon	.09
Cider per quart	.12 ½

Table 7.4. 1830s-40s Tavern Rates for Burnt Tavern, Kentucky (Coleman 1968)

Breakfast	.25
Dinner	.37 ½
Supper	.25
Night’s lodging	12 ½
Whiskey per half pint	12 ½
Cider per quart	6 1/4
Peach brandy per quart	12 ½
Wine, rum or cognac brandy per half pint	.25
Maderia wine per quart	2.00
Beer per quart	12 ½
Hay, grain, and stable for horse overnight	37 ½

Table 7.5. McLean County Tavern Rates

	Muhlenburg County			McLean County		
Item	**1854**	**1849**	**1850**	**1854**	**1864**	**1869**
Quart of whiskey half pint Drink	.15	.05			 .10	
Quart of apple brandy half pint	.25	.05				
Quart of peach brandy Half pint Drink	.25	 .10 .05				
Quart of Bourbon whiskey Half pint Drink	.25	 .05 .05				 .15
Half pint French brandy Drink		.20 .05		 .10		
One drink of all kinds	.05		.05	.05		
Half pint of all kinds of wine Drink		.10 .05				
Horse feed Horse to hay	.25	.20 .10	.25	.25 .15	.25	.15
Horse all night	.37					.35
Lodging	.25	.10	.12	.25	.30	.40
Night's lodging man & horse, supper & breakfast		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.55	
One meal	.25	.20	.25	.25	.40	.50

> *... it would, I truly believe, be utterly impossible for the art of man to administer anything so likely to restore them from the overwhelming effects of heat and fatigue, as a large glass filled to the brim with the fragrant leaves of nerve-restoring mint, as many solid lumps of delicately pellucid, crystal-looking ice, as it can conveniently contain, a proper proportion of fine white sugar, (not beet-root), and then - I would whisper it gently, if I knew how - a whole wine-glass full of whiskey poured upon it, to find its insinuating way among the crystal rocks, and the verdant leaves, till by gentle degrees, a beverage is produced, that must create a delicious sensation of coolness, under a tropical sun, and a revival of strength, where strength seemed gone for ever* (Trollope 1949:329).

Punch was also enjoyed in taverns, in the home, and outside at various social affairs. These mixes could include up to ten or more liquors, cordials, syrups, bitters, and fruits. Table 7.6, taken from an 1848 advertisement, shows many of these specialty drinks. There were hundreds of these drinks, and they were served at special occasions such as group meetings in taverns, parties, and holiday celebrations (Johnson and Johnson 1992:92).

While the temperance movement appeared to be successful in America, as consumption of whiskey and hard cider dropped dramatically in the 1840s and hard liquor consumption dropped throughout the nineteenth century, not all the credit can be taken by the temperance movement. It was also during the 1840s that large numbers of German immigrants arrived in America and with them brought their fondness for beer. Germans also introduced sophisticated brewing techniques that revolutionized beer making and opened new taverns in urban areas that promoted beer drinking (Powers 1998). The new beer was a much lighter lager which contained less alcohol, from 3 to 3.8 percent of alcohol by weight compared to 5 % or more in the earlier beer (Root and de Rochemont 1976:394). Its effect was a less intoxicating brew.

Immigrants from southern and eastern Europe continued to drink wine and were influential in promulgating wine consumption in America. It was also costly and sometimes not of the best quality, as Anthony Trollope noted in his travels in America in 1862:

> *Wine also at these houses is very costly, and very bad. The usual price is two dollars (or eight shillings) a bottle. The people of the country rarely drink wine at dinner in the hotels. When they do so, they drink champagne; but their normal drinking is done separately, at the bar, chiefly before dinner, and at a cheap rate. "A drink," let it be what it may, invariably costs a dime, or five pence. But if you must have a glass of sherry with your dinner, it costs two dollars; for sherry does not grow into pint bottles in the States. But the guest who remains for two days can have his wine kept for him* (Trollope 1862:290).

Table 7.6. Mixed Drinks and Punches from the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Bartlett 1848:208)

Plain mint julep	I. O. U.	Milk punch
Fancy julep	Tippe na Pecco	Cherry punch
Mixed julep	Moral suasion	Peach punch
Peach julep	Vox populi	Jewett’s fancy
Pineapple julep	Ne plus ultra	Deacon
Claret julep	Shambro	Exchange
Capped julep	Virginia fancy	Stone wall
Strawberry julep	Knickerbocker	Sifter
Arrack julep	Smasher	Soda punch
Racehorse julep	Floater	Slingflip
Sherry cobbler	Pig and whistle	Cocktail
Rochelle cobbler	Citronella jam	Apple-jack
Arrack cobbler	Egg nog	Chain-lightning
Peach cobbler	Sargent	Phlegm-cutter
Claret cobbler	Silver top	Switchel-flip
Tip and Ty	Poor man’s punch	Ching-ching
Fiscal agent	Arrack punch	Tog
Veto	Iced punch	Ropee
Slip ticket	Spiced punch	Porteree
Polk and Dallas	Epicure’s punch	&c. &c.

As stated by Trollope, wine consumption in the mid-nineteenth century was relatively low. It was also usually engaged in by the middle and upper class drinkers (Powers 1998). For the vast majority of drinkers during the nineteenth century, whiskey and later beer were the drinks of choice, despite the variety of liquor bottles adorning the bar room shelves of many taverns. Taverns and bar rooms that catered to working men would offer these popular drinks in abundance. However, bar rooms catering to more middle class clientele would have on hand those liquors, wines, and mixes most preferred by the elite of the community or town.

Glass vessel analysis helped us understand liquor consumption at the Baber Hotel. Analysis suggests that wine and whiskey as well as bitters were consumed in Baber's bar. Bottles for these and other alcoholic beverages numbered 19 in all. Of the alcoholic bottles, two were wine bottles, three were figural flasks for whiskey, three were scroll or violin flasks for whiskey, one was a plain whiskey bottle, three were bitters bottles, and seven were for unknown alcohol. Some of these bottles are shown in Figure 7.9, while some flasks are shown in Figure 7.10. Figural, scroll, and violin flasks, being more ornate in appearance, contained more expensive whiskey generally. They were also designed to be refilled with whiskey or other spirits so their appearance was intended more for show. Baber probably had these permanently displayed behind his bar and would likely have served his finer stock from these containers. Baber also had a moderate amount of other alcoholic bottles that were discarded at the end of the site occupation in several of the features. Such a small amount of alcoholic bottles, particularly plain types, from the Baber Hotel/Tavern suggests two possibilities. One possibility is that, like the flasks, Baber recycled the bottles and filled them from stored alcoholic beverages in casks, leaving few archaeological remains. The large number of cellars, including the ice house, would have been ample room to store these beverages and more. However, a second and more likely theory is that Baber may have preferred the use of casks earlier in the site occupation and began purchasing alcohol in bottles much later in the occupation.

More evidence of alcohol consumption was provided by the vessel analysis of table glass fragments, which indicated that several stemware and tumblers were present (Figure 7.11). In all, a total of 59 identified table glass vessels were identified. Tumbler vessels were recovered from numerous features at the Baber Hotel/Tavern (Figure 7.11e-h). Most were common, inexpensive plain bar tumblers (n = 20) and some were paneled (n = 16). Other varieties included two shot glass tumblers, one of which is a Gill Minnie Bar Tumbler or Gill Jigger Tumbler (Figure 7.11d). At least one of the tumblers was heavy-handled, similar to glass beer mugs used in today's bars. Based on the high number of tumblers, it is most likely that whiskey was being tapped from a barrel at the Baber Hotel/Tavern and served in these. Tumblers would also have served for a variety of popular mixed drinks that Baber might have offered. Tumblers were also used for non-alcoholic drinks so it is important to keep in mind that while tumblers were certainly used in the bar, they were also likely used at the dining table and for refreshment beverages to be served to guests or for Baber's family. Tumblers were sometimes even referred to as a "water glass" (Murdock 1998; Shotwell 2002).

Cordials and wines were also enjoyed by the clientele, as the collection of stemware shows. Stemware included a variety of forms including two large goblet or wine glasses, four small wine or cordial glasses, and two medium-sized wine glasses (Figure 7.11a-c). The varied glass ware and alcohol bottles recovered from the site indicates that Charles Baber, a shrewd businessman, was serving all classes of clientele.

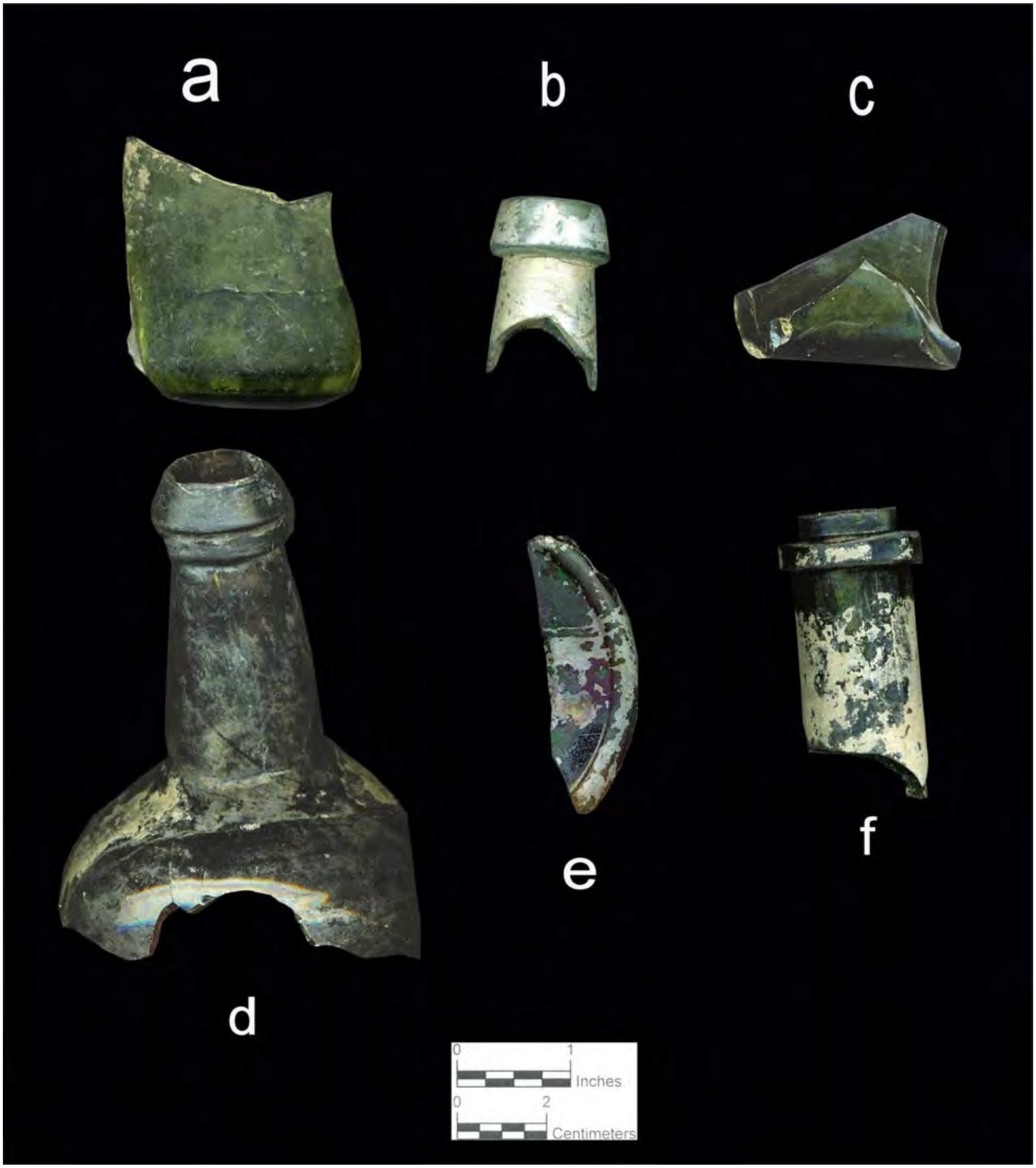

Figure 7.9. Liquor bottles from the Baber Hotel: a) unknown alcohol bottle; b) unknown alcohol or bitters bottle; c) wine bottle base; d) unknown alcohol; e) plain whiskey; f) wine with champaign collar

Figure 7.10. Flasks from the Baber hotel: a) Scroll or Violin; b and c) Figural; d) Scroll; e) Scroll or Violin

Figure 7.11. Alcoholic drinking vessels from the Baber Hotel: a) wine stemware; b) cordial or small wine stemware; c) stemware; d) tumbler or shot glass (Gill Minnie Bar or Gill Jigger); e - h) tumblers

A comparison of alcohol bottles with other hotels and taverns in Kentucky proved interesting. Table 7.7 shows other taverns and the number and types of liquor bottles recovered from each. With the exception of the Meriwether Hotel, which contained the most bottles (n = 34+), and the Higbee Tavern, which contained the third highest amount (n = 18), the Baber Hotel had considerably more bottles than the other taverns/hotels (n = 19). Variation in types of alcoholic bottles revealed additional information. Decorative flasks from the Baber Hotel compared equally in number (n = 6) to those recovered from the Rose Hotel, the Landmark Tavern, and Higbee Tavern. With only a portion of the Rose Hotel sampled, it could easily have more alcohol bottles. The Meriwether Hotel did contain numerous alcohol bottles, but none are identified as to type in the draft report. This information is unavailable at present, but there may be flasks in the assemblage. The Young Tavern contained the smallest number of flasks. Since the Young Tavern was in operation for considerably less time than the other taverns and hotels (1813-1819) and because it was a small private home, the small number of flasks would be a reasonable number to expect from there.

Table 7.7. Comparison of Alcoholic Bottles from Hotel/Taverns

	Flask	Wine	Bitters	Ale/ Beer	Plain Whiskey	Unknown Alcohol	Total
Duncan Tavern, KY*							0
Bell’s Tavern, KY*				1		1	2
Gower House, KY*		X				X	X
Landmark Tavern, IL	6	6					12
Young Tavern, IL	2	3				1	6
Joshua Piles, IL*							0
Rose Hotel, IL*	6	2					8
Higbee Tavern, KY	6	7			5		18
Frankfort Hotel, KY		7		1		1	9
Meriwether Hotel, KY	?	5	?	?	?	29+	34+
Baber Hotel, KY	6	2	3		1	7	19

X = Denotes presence, but unknown quantity

* Denotes limited archaeological investigation

There were more wine bottles recovered from the Frankfort Hotel and the Higbee Tavern than the other hotel/taverns. With seven wine bottles, both establishments produced more than three times the number recovered from the Baber and Rose Hotels (both n = 2) and slightly more than were recovered from the Frankfort Hotel's successor, the Meriwether Hotel (n = 5) and the Landmark Tavern (n = 6). While it is not surprising to find more wine bottles in a larger urban area where the Frankfort and Meriwether were located, it is surprising that both the Rose and Baber hotels contained fewer wine bottles than were found at the Landmark and Higbee Taverns. Wine was expensive and usually considered to be associated with the middle and higher classes of the nineteenth century. For both the Higbee and the Landmark taverns and even the Young Tavern to have a higher proportion of wine bottles than the likely more frequented river hotels is curious. This suggests refinement of taste and perhaps some higher-status guests at these three taverns.

Still, the Baber Hotel had considerably more alcohol bottles than most of the other taverns/hotels. With the exception of wine bottles, it was very similar to the Higbee Tavern. Although the Rose Hotel contained far fewer bottles, it was not entirely excavated so there may still be unrecovered bottles there. The Landmark Tavern contained fewer bottles than the Higbee and Baber sites, but it did contain types of bottles (flasks and wine) that suggest that more expensive alcohol was possibly being served to a higher-paying clientele.

Analysis of drinking vessels also proved useful and informative (Table 7.8). Not surprisingly, again the Meriwether Hotel contained the highest number of vessels with both a large amount of tumblers (n = 130+) and stemware (n = 10+). Considerably fewer drinking vessels were recovered from its predecessor, the Frankfort Hotel, with only a small number of tumblers (n = 10) and no stemware. The Higbee Tavern and Rose Hotel both contained a high number of drinking vessels, as did the Baber Hotel. Again, the Baber Hotel was most similar in comparison with the Higbee Tavern, while the Rose Hotel contained a significantly higher count. Although very few wine bottles were recovered from the Baber and Rose Hotels and Higbee Tavern, the amount of stemware from these three sites suggests that there must have been other storage facilities for the wines served, perhaps wooden barrels. Interestingly, the Landmark Tavern, which contained more wine bottles than these three sites, did not contain any stemware, which suggests that wine may have been served in simpler tumblers. Baber and Higbee also appear to have served alcohol with a greater variety of drinking vessels. While a glass beer mug was only found at the Baber Hotel, both the Baber and Higbee sites contained a similar quantity of ceramic mugs or tankards. The ceramic mugs appear to have been used earlier in the Baber site occupation, as two of the four vessels were made of creamware, one from pearlware, with the remaining one from whiteware. Futhermore, all four mugs from the Baber site were discarded in very early filled features (Features 14, 77, 173, and 211). Likewise, the majority of seven mugs recovered from the Higbee site were made of creamware (n = 2) and pearlware (n = 3). It appears that the cheaper glass tumblers, which were found throughout the Baber occupation, quickly eliminated the use of the more costly ceramic mugs. Perhaps the same preference change occurred at the Higbee Tavern as well.

Table 7.8. Comparison of Drinking Glasses from Hotel/Taverns

	Tumbler	Beer Mug	Stemware (Wine)	Ceramic Mug/ Tankard	Drinking Glass (Unknown)	Total
Duncan Tavern, KY*						0
Bell's Tavern, KY*	X					X
Gower House, KY*	X					X
Landmark Tavern, IL	11					11
Young Tavern, IL	3		1			4
Joshua Piles, IL*						0
Rose Hotel, IL*	68		20		8	96
Higbee Tavern, KY	51		6	7	7	71
Frankfort Hotel, KY	10					10
Meriwether Hotel, KY	130+		10+			140+
Baber Hotel, KY	39	1	8	4	2	54

X = Denotes presence, but unknown quantity

* Denotes limited archaeological investigation

The sparsity of ale and beer glasses in comparison to the high quantity of tumblers at the Baber Hotel site leads to the question of whether the clientele preferred whiskey over beer. Tavern rates from Muhlenburg County from 1846, 1849, and 1850, and from McLean County in 1854, 1864, and 1869 suggest little preference for beer since the beverage is not listed (Table 7.5). However, tavern rates from Burnt Tavern in Kentucky (Table 7.4) and from Blount County, Tennessee (Table 7.3) not only listed beer, but it was equal in cost to whisky. Hooker (1981) found that ale glasses were generally associated with beer drinking and the working class during the nineteenth century, while tumblers were often more suited for whiskey and mixed drinks. Tumblers appear to have been very popular throughout all five of the M'kee and Brothers glass catalogs which span from 1859/60 to 1871 (M'Kee and Brothers 1981), and archaeologically, they were present throughout the Baber occupation. Ale and beer glasses were also popular in the catalogs, but only seven ale and beer glasses appear in the 1860 catalog while there are 21 glasses listed in the 1864 catalog. This significant increase in the quantity of the beer mugs suggests an increasing popularity of beer at this time. Perhaps most important, tumblers were the cheapest items in all five of the

M'Kee and Brothers glass catalogs (1981) so it is not surprising to find that Baber chose to purchase more for less. Also, tumblers were found at nearly all of the other tavern/hotels in the comparison study, but no ale glasses were recovered from any of them. In addition, beer bottles were absent from all but two sites in the study, Bell's Tavern (n = 1) and Frankfort Hotel (n = 1). The cheaper tumblers probably served as containers for the majority of beverages (alcoholic and non-alcoholic) that were served at the Baber Hotel and the other taverns/hotels in the study.

But did Baber use these tumblers for beer? With only one glass beer mug, four ceramic steins/tankers, and no beer or ale bottles recovered, it seems unlikely that Baber was serving much beer in his bar. However, beer, although commonly associated with the working class, was far too popular by the mid-nineteenth century for Baber not to have taken advantage of its profits, so he may have served some beer from tumblers. That the four ceramic steins date to the earlier occupation of the site is interesting in that it suggests an early preference for ale or beer. The glass beer mug, however, may date to the mid-nineteenth century or after, as it was recovered from Feature 139, a cellar filled at the end of the site occupation. As for whiskey, it was enjoyed by everyone in the nineteenth century and therefore not restricted to class. With the tumblers' overwhelming quantity at the Baber site and the other sites in the study, whiskey appears to have been the beverage of choice for the bar patrons at the Baber Hotel, as well as the choice at all of the other tavern/hotels in the study. Beer may have been a secondary choice for some patrons, however.

The small number of alcohol bottles and large number of drinking vessels recovered from the Baber Hotel and most of the other tavern/hotels suggests that alcoholic beverages were probably stored in casks. Most of these sites had enough cellars to have acted as storage for these beverages. Hotels like the Meriwether likely had casks, but kept special types of alcohol in bottles. More evidence of the use of casks over bottles was present at the Rose Hotel and the Landmark Tavern. A brass-plated liquor barrel spigot key was recovered from both of these sites. Although no such item was found at the Baber Hotel, the low quantity of bottles and their type, the large number of drinking vessels, and the numerous cellars suggest that casks were used at the Baber Hotel.

In addition, Baber appears to have had the luxury of iced drinks and cold storage for perishables because of his ice house (Feature 139). Beer was usually served at room temperature in the mid-nineteenth century, as ice production was very expensive for common use and storage was problematical (Johnson and Johnson 1992:20). Construction of one's own ice house would have been very beneficial. Fresh liquor, wine, and perhaps beer could be kept cool and secure within this cellar, enabling Baber to provide for all his clientele. With a deep subsurface construction and stone lining and brick floor for insulation and drainage of water, the ice house would have kept ice for much of the summer.

With numerous cellars at the Baber site, Charles Baber was likely serving large amounts of alcohol in his bar. He also appears to have offered a variety of alcoholic beverages for general consumption by river men, merchants, and their employees, while also keeping in stock those liquors preferred by more well-to-do patrons.

Tobacco Use

Tobacco smoking and chewing have been identified as hallmarks of the tavern/hotel/bar room function (Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Wagner and McCorvie 1992) (Figure 7.12). Many Europeans complained about this habit. While pipe smoking had always been popular in America, cigar smoking became very popular after the Mexican War, and a new practice, rolled cigarettes, became popular during the Civil War era (Burton and Kamerling 1993:1597-1599). Chewing was distinctly American and predominantly southern in practice and became popular on the expanding frontier (Burton and Kamerling 1993:1597-1599). This preoccupation with chewing tobacco was noted by early travelers in America and caused great disgust. As Trollope (1949:133) described a man chewing tobacco in a Cincinnati theater in 1830:

Figure 7.12. Bar Room scene
(Cranstone Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University)

> *The theatre was really not a bad one, though the very poor receipts rendered it impossible to keep it in high order; but an annoyance infinitely greater than decorations indifferently clean, was the style and manner of the audience. Men came into the lower tier boxes without their coats; and I have seen shirt sleeves tucked up to the shoulder; the spitting was incessant, and the mixed smell of onions and whiskey was enough to make one feel even the Drakes' acting dearly bought by the obligation of enduring its accompaniments.*

By the early nineteenth century, chewing had become prevalent in the South and a common occurrence everywhere else. Many accounts noted the floors of taverns, theaters, government buildings, and public buildings covered in a sea of tobacco spit. Even with the presence of spittoons, the "amber streams seemed frequently to miss whatever cuspidor was available" (Hemphill 1991:2). As one account by a traveling minister in Kentucky described the situation:

> *The habit [of spitting] was well-nigh universal. An English itinerant minister traveling in Kentucky in the late 1830s records seriously that in a sudden moment*

of quiet during one of his meetings he was made to think that rain was dripping from the eaves, when in reality there was dripping of another kind (Yoder 1969:126).

Europeans noted that chewing was common to all social classes in America and virtually unknown in Europe with the exception of sailors and the "lowest and poorest inhabitants of maritime cities" (Gurowski 1857:374). In the South, in general, however, the low frequency of smoking pipes has led some researchers to conclude that smoking tobacco was not as popular an activity in the South as it was in Virginia and on the East Coast (Andrews 1996; Andrews and Sandefur 2001; Faulkner and Andrews 1992; McBride and Sharp 1991). But would this prove true in a tavern setting?

In the Baber Hotel assemblage, the practice of both tobacco spitting and smoking was indicated by two spittoons and 91 smoking pipes and pipe stems. The high number of pipes suggests that perhaps southern taverns, which saw a clientele from a broader geographic range, were one of the few exceptions to the low popularity of smoking tobacco in the South. These pipes from the Baber Hotel were mostly concentrated directly behind the house and the western portion of adjacent lot 14 (Figure 7.13). A few other pipe concentrations were located within the southwestern addition and in front of the house (Figure 7.13), basically everywhere but the house. The number of spittoons is probably what we should expect. As the quote above suggests, more than often, these were missed or ignored. The pipes consist of white clay pipe bowls and pipe stems, as well as porcelain, yellow ware, earthenware, and stoneware pipes. Many pipe bowls have molded, simple designs while a few are "face pipes" (Figure 7.14). Both of the stoneware pipes in Figure 7.14 (g and i) appear similar to those manufactured at the Point Pleasant Pottery site (33Ct256) in Ohio and date from 1840-1890 (Sudbury 1979). However, the main period of operation for Point Pleasant was between 1849 and 1854 (Greer 1981:131). One of these stoneware pipes (Figure 7.14g) has an x-shaped raised pattern between two raised lines near the stem lip while the other pipe (Figure 7.14i) has angled raised lines or "hashmarks" between two raised lines near the stem lip. Both pipes are very similar to pipes recovered from the Rose Hotel (Wagner and Butler 1999:359, Figure 9-1d and 9-1e). It is no surprise that these particular pipes would be found at both hotels, as distribution by river boat would have made them easily accessible. Point Pleasant was also known for manufacturing numerous types of pipes that were widely distributed for purchasing. Other potteries like Anna in southern Illinois were also large producers of smoking pipes (Mathis n.d.). This was unusual, as most pipe manufacturers of the nineteenth century were small-scale and produced only a few types of pipes to be sold on a local basis.

Although the types of pipes recovered from the Baber Hotel are not unusual, what is interesting is the inordinate number of pipes in this assemblage. Certainly, the location of the Baber Hotel on a travel route would have brought many people to the hotel from all regions of the United States. Another possibility is that Baber himself purchased some of the pipes and sold them to his guests for a small profit. Having a ready supply of pipes would have been convenient for his tavern guests.

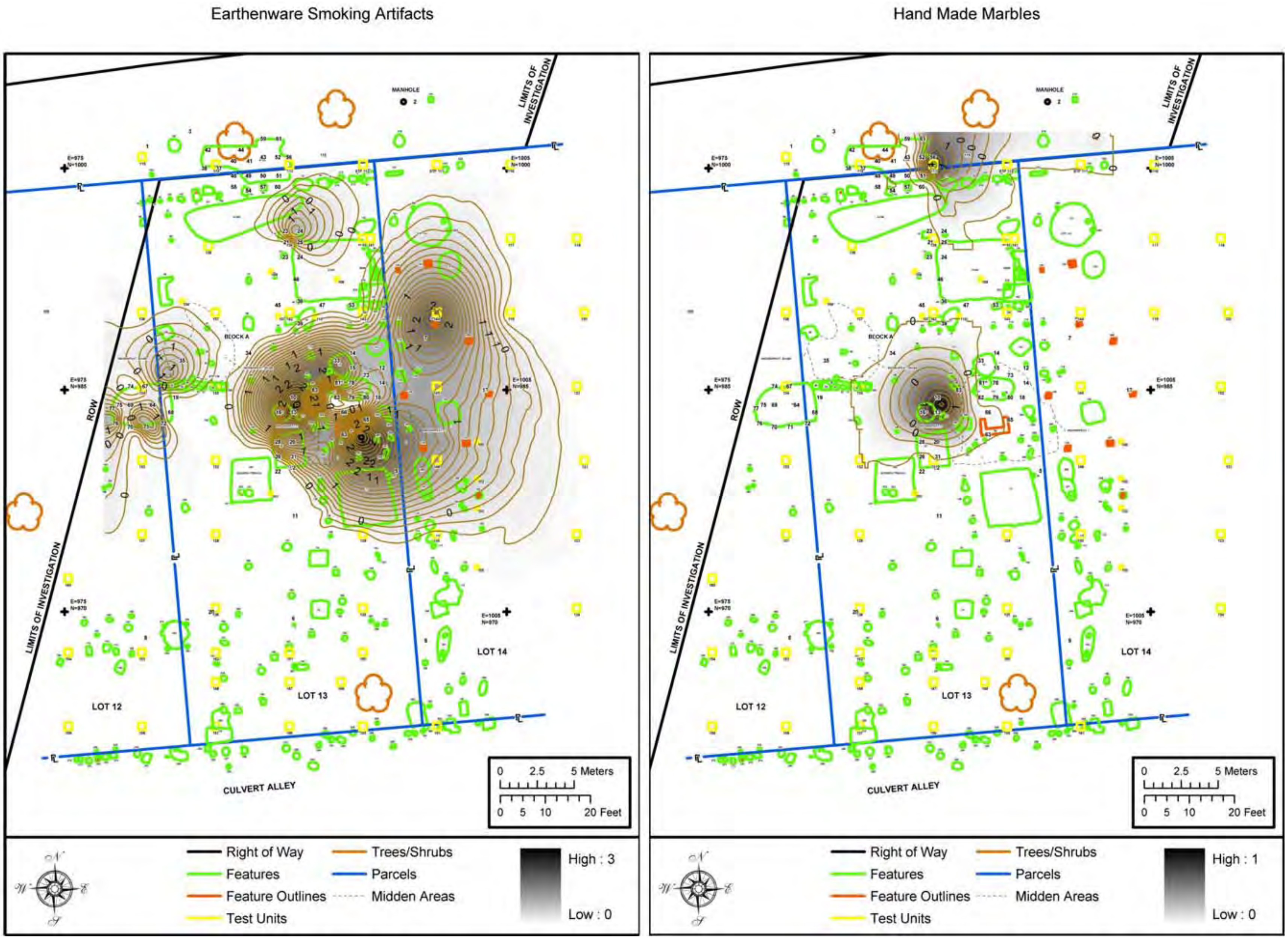

Figure 7.13. Distribution of smoking pipes and hand-made marbles at the Baber site

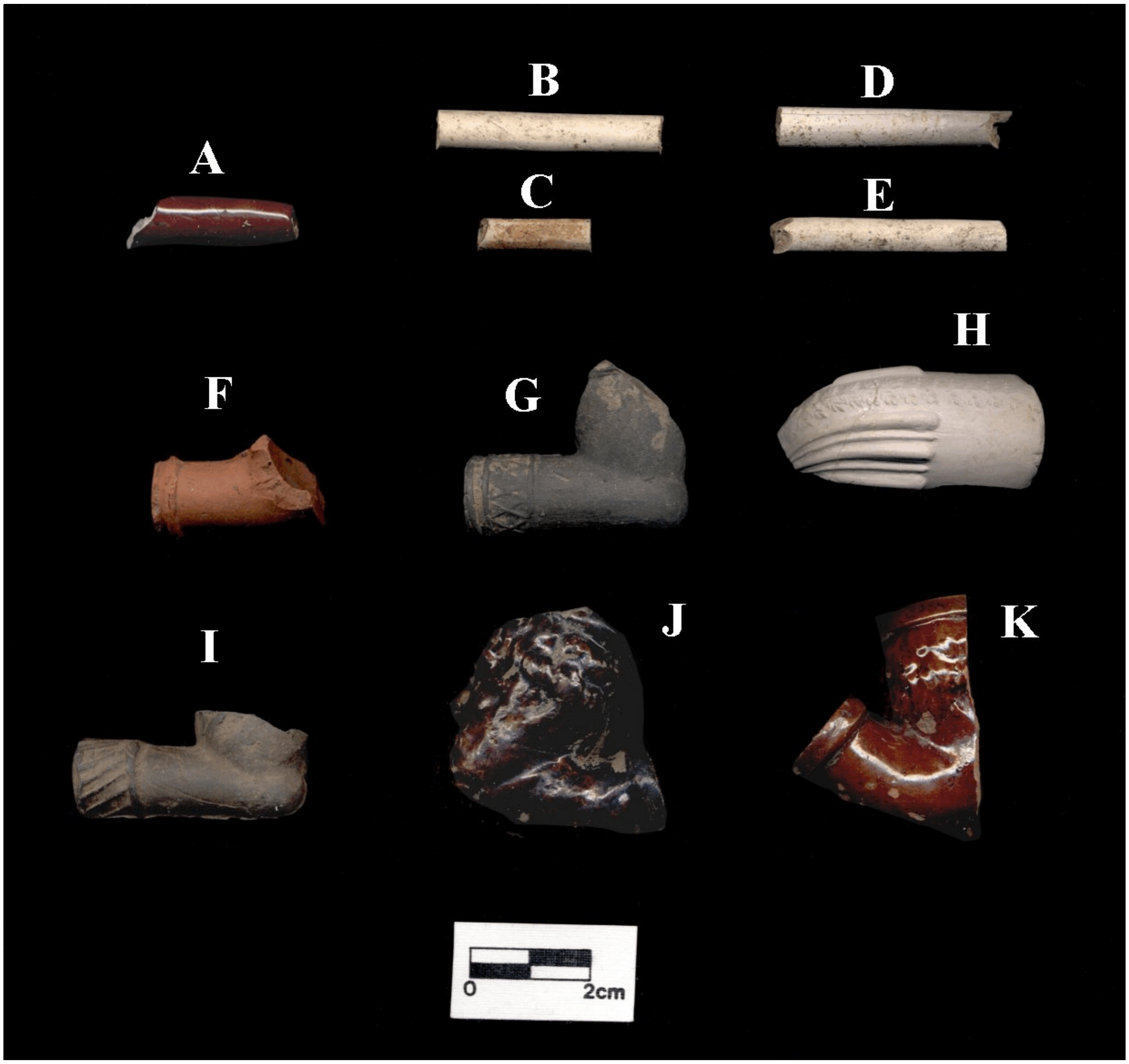

Figure 7.14. Smoking pipes, bowls, and stems from the Baber Hotel. Left to right: a) porcelain pipe stem with brown slip; b-e) white clay stems; f) redware stem; g) stoneware stem and bowl; h) white clay bowl; i) stoneware stem and bowl base; j) redware bowl/stem with face; and k) redware bowl/stem with face

Other information may also be gained from studying the types of smoking pipes from the Baber Hotel. The actual habit of smoking pipes may help distinguish class association in the mid-nineteenth century. Some archaeological studies have suggested a decline in the usage of smoking pipes among the middle and upper classes during the mid-nineteenth century. Zierden's (1999:79) study of the Nathaniel Russell house in Charleston, South Carolina, which was inhabited by the wealthy Russell family from 1803-1857 and another wealthy family, the Allston family, from 1857 to 1870, showed a significant decline in pipe usage after 1830. Zierden also found this to be true in a comparison of several sites occupied by wealthy families in Charleston during the same period (Zierden 1999:77). During the nineteenth century, the middle class disparaged smoking in public.

However, middle class men were allowed to smoke in private settings, such as a male-dominated tavern. Both male and female sexes of the working classes did smoke in public, however (Beaudry 1993:93). Working class people preferred smoking pipes since they were cheap. Cigars, on the other hand, were more expensive and preferred by both the middle and upper class smokers. If the middle and upper classes did smoke pipes, they preferred the long-stemmed type of pipe (Beaudry 1993:93). The large number of pipes recovered from the Baber Hotel could be representative of both the working and middle classes' (albeit men) presence at the Baber Hotel. Unfortunately, there is no physical evidence from the Baber Hotel that would indicate the use of cigars or cigarettes, but it is likely that both habits were practiced there.

A comparison with other hotel/taverns showed a startling difference. The taverns that proved to be more like the Baber Hotel, which had 91 pipes, were the Higbee Tavern (n = 93) and the Rose Hotel (n = 65). However, the Landmark Tavern (n = 4), the Young Tavern (n = 5), and Joshua Piles Tavern (n = 6) had significantly fewer pipes (Table 7.9). This higher frequency from the Baber and Rose hotels and the Higbee Tavern assemblage is interesting. The location of both the Baber and Rose hotels on well-traveled river routes with a likely greater number of guests may be a reason for such a difference. In comparison, both the Landmark and Young taverns were on a well-traveled road, the St. Louis-Vincennes Trace, but their traffic probably did not compare with the amount of visitors to the river hotels. However, the Higbee Tavern was on a land-locked road and contained slightly more pipes than the Baber Hotel. Higbee Tavern was located on the historic Harrodsburg-Lexington Road (US Highway 68), which linked Lexington to Harrodsburg and the Kentucky River, and ultimately to Nashville, Tennessee, via a link with another major road (Crutchfield 1985). Combine this factor with the tavern's location on the south side of well-populated Lexington, and the likelihood of a large clientele (both local and transient) must have been strong. Although the Landmark, Young, and Piles taverns were located on a land-locked road, none of these were located within or near a large populated city. Perhaps the greatest discrepancy of smoking pipes is between the Meriwether (n = 2) and Frankfort hotels, the latter of which contained no smoking pipes. Being located in Frankfort, both hotels would have likely seen a larger clientele of local residents and travelers. It is hard to explain why there is such a large gap between these hotel sites and the Baber Hotel.

Both Baber and the owners of the Rose Hotel and Higbee Tavern could also have been selling pipes to their clientele. As owner of the Baber Hotel, Charles Baber would certainly have benefitted and his guests would also have benefitted from having a ready supply of tobacco and tobacco related products on hand. Both of the owners of the river hotels (Baber and Rose) would have had an easier task than the owners of the more rural, land-locked taverns (Landmark, Young, and Piles) of keeping their supplies replenished. Owning a hotel located on a major river would have been advantageous in more ways than one. However, because of the large quantity of pipes recovered from the Higbee Tavern, having a tavern located within a major city and on a well-trafficked road would also seem to have been equally advantageous.

Table 7.9. Comparison of Tobacco Related Artifacts from Other Taverns and Hotels

	Stoneware/ earthenware pipe	White clay pipe	Porcelain pipe	Spitoons	Total
Duncan Tavern, KY*					0
Bell's Tavern, KY*					0
Gower House, KY*					0
Landmark Tavern, IL	4				4
Young Tavern, IL	4	1			5
Joshua Piles, IL*	6				6
Rose Hotel, IL*	41	23	1		65
Higbee Tavern, KY	90	3			93
Frankfort Hotel, KY					0
Meriwether Hotel, KY	2				2
Baber Hotel, KY	84	6	1	2	93

X = Denotes presence, but unknown quantity

* Denotes limited archaeological investigation

Gaming

A number of games were popular within the tavern/hotels of the nineteenth century. American Billiards, various card games, board games, table games, and dart board games, usually accompanied with gambling, were enjoyed by men every day, including Sundays. While most women's lives revolved around the church, this was generally not the case with men. While a man may have attended church on Sunday, his time afterwards was usually spent in a tavern or fishing or hunting. Many hotels, particularly the larger ones and resort types, often offered a variety of outside games in addition to those played inside (i.e., croquet, lawn bowling, horseshoes, and shooting competitions).

Billiards in America was very popular in the nineteenth century and was usually bet on. Both One-Pocket and Four-Ball were popular billiard games of this era. The earliest of these two forms was One-Pocket, but most Americans played Four-Ball Billiards up until the 1870s (Masters 2002). In this game, four pockets and four balls (two usually white and two red) were used. Games like Pyramids, Shell-out, Snooker, and Cannon were all popular billiard-table games.

Board games popular during the nineteenth century included dominoes, chess, checkers, and backgammon. Card games were probably the most numerous of all the games, and some of the most popular included poker, euchre, faro, seven-up, monte, and loo. Table games included bagatelle, in which marbles were used to shoot onto a board; chuck-a-luck, where players bet on which numbers would come up on three thrown dice; craps, which was introduced in New Orleans at the beginning of the century and quickly spread; and keno, which was similar to bingo and was played throughout much of the nineteenth century (Dawson 1991; McCutcheon 2001). Keno was so popular that establishments just for playing the game, Keno houses, were common in larger cities. Most of these games were played by both middle and lower classes throughout the nineteenth century (Dawson 1991; McCutcheon 2001).

There were also an array of animal fighting games that were often associated with tavern life. Such games were betting games and not always legal. One game of ratting was popular in the cellars of taverns. In this game live rats were placed within a ring, and dogs or sometimes a weasel set upon them. The idea was to place bets on how long it would take for the dogs to kill all of the rats. Another game was called bear- or bull-baiting and was usually played behind a tavern. In this game dogs again were used and set loose on a tethered bear or bull. Betting was placed on who would remain standing afterwards. Even though it was banned, matches were conducted illegally undercover or publicly in districts where ordinances were rarely enforced, or nonexistent. Another game was cock fighting. Although illegal in the North, it was still practiced in discreet locations such as behind taverns. In the South, however, it was practiced out in the open. Although illegal in some places, the laws surrounding this sport were poorly enforced to the point that matches were advertised in newspapers. Finally, gander-pulling was practiced throughout much of the nineteenth century. In this sport, a duck or a goose was hung upside down by its feet while a man on horseback rode under it and tried to twist its head off (McCutcheon 2001).

Gaming pieces recovered from the Baber Hotel occupation number 83 marbles, one billiard ball made of stone, one billiard chalk, one die, and three dominoes (Table 7.10). The presence of so many marbles suggests that marbles may have been played by both the adults and children. As Figure 7.15 shows, the concentrations of the hand-made marbles recovered from the site were located directly behind the house and in front near the brick sidewalk, suggesting that perhaps children were playing in the front of the Baber house while men were engaged in games behind the house. All of the later-dating machine-made marbles recovered were located within lot 14 and no doubt associated with the twentieth century house. Some of these earlier hand-made marbles are shown in Figure 7.15 (a-g) and were made from stone, clay, and hand-made glass. Games like the above-mentioned bagatelle used small, marble-sized balls. This game could be played on a billiard table or a small, portable table (the predecessor of pin ball) so it is likely that adult games like these were played in the bar and were also very popular.

Table 7.10. Tavern Game Related Artifacts Recovered from Other Tavern/Hotels

	Marbles	Billiard Related	Domino	Dice	Total
Duncan Tavern, KY*	2				2
Bell's Tavern, KY*	1				1
Gower House, KY*					0
Landmark Tavern, IL	4				4
Young Tavern, IL	2				2
Joshua Piles, IL*					0
Rose Hotel, IL*	47				47
Higbee Tavern, KY	18				18
Frankfort Hotel, KY					0
Meriwether Hotel, KY	1				1
Baber Hotel, KY	83	2	3	1	89

X = Denotes presence, but unknown quantity

* Denotes limited archaeological investigation

A bone die (Figure 7.15h) and three bone domino pieces (Figure 7.15i) were recovered from the Baber assemblage. This die could have been used in numerous table games such as chuck-a-luck or craps. The bone die was recovered from a robbed pier hole, Feature 43, located on the south wall of the main house, which is within the area of the marble and smoking pipe concentrations. Dominoes was a very popular table game in taverns during the nineteenth century, and children and adults played dominoes in home settings also (McCutcheon 2001). One domino was discarded near the end of the occupation in Feature 22, a cellar. The other two domino pieces were recovered from the plow zone of Test Unit 73, located in the kitchen area (Figure 5.1).

Perhaps the most interesting gaming pieces recovered from the Baber occupation involved billiards. Billiard balls of the early nineteenth century were very small, measuring 1 7/8 inches. It was not until 1830 that a larger 2 inch ball began to replace the smaller version (Masters 2002). The billiard ball identified in the Baber assemblage is a ball measuring 1 7/8 inches in diameter (Figure 7.15k). A billiard chalk was also identified in the assemblage (Figure 7.15j) and was recovered from the western portion of Feature 40, the house cellar.

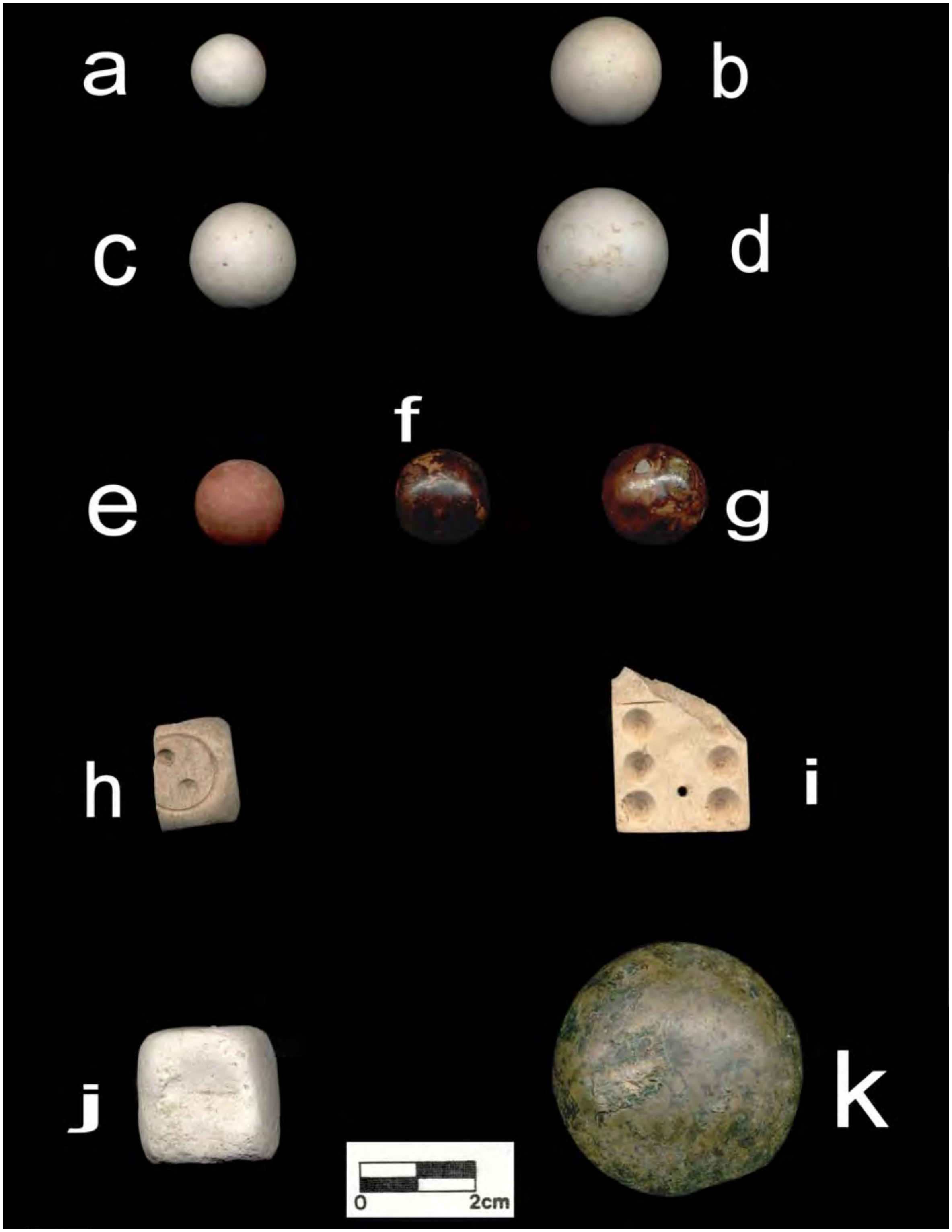

Figure 7.15. Gaming pieces from the Baber Hotel: a-d) porcelain marbles; e) undecorated clay marble; f-g) Bennington "Crockery" marbles; h) bone die; i) bone domino; j) billiard chalk; k) stone billiard ball

Comparisons of these game pieces with other tavern/hotels proved interesting (Table 7.10). Although most sites used in the comparison study contained marbles, the Baber Hotel contained the most marbles (n = 83) and was the only site that contained artifacts for other tavern related games like billiards and dice. Interestingly, the marbles from the Baber Hotel far outnumbered the other sites. Very few marbles were recovered from the Landmark and Young taverns, but a more comparable amount was recovered from the Rose Hotel (n = 47). Still, this amount is only a little more than half (57%) of the marbles recovered from the Baber site. Marbles from the Higbee Tavern were surprisingly low, considering that nearly all other male activity artifacts have been similar between the two sites. What is most surprising is the small quantity and even lack of gaming pieces from the Frankfort (n = 0) and Meriwether (n = 1 marble) hotels. Both the Frankfort and Meriwether hotels probably had more guests in their bar than the Baber Hotel and also the Rose Hotel, leaving one to expect more gaming pieces from the larger urban hotels. This lack of evidence for games at these hotels is puzzling. What is also interesting is the number of game pieces that were recovered from the Baber Hotel in comparison with the other hotels and taverns. Perhaps part of the function of the Baber Hotel was oriented more towards male related recreation than the other taverns and hotels. While Baber's male guests socialized with drinking, smoking, and playing games, the guests at the other hotels and taverns mostly socialized with drinking and smoking.

Discussion and Summary

In order to be a successful hotel proprietor, Charles Baber would have been someone who presented himself as a sociable person. Usually, the hotel/tavern owner was one of the first to settle and lead in a newly formed community, making such a person outgoing and driven by nature. A hotel was only successful if the owner compelled a customer, both traveler and local resident, to return. If a traveler's stay was a pleasant one, he would seek out the same place again on his return or he might tell others about his favorable stay. As a landlord of a hotel/tavern, Baber would have seen to the needs of his male and female guests in more ways than providing them with board, overnight lodging and food. Entertainment and a fine appearance for his guests would have been additional necessities for a hotel owner's success.

We know through archaeology that Baber was accommodating a large male clientele at his hotel bar through a variety of entertainments. Most of the games played at the hotel that were identified by artifacts (billiards, dice games like craps, etc.) were common games practiced by all classes of men in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most intriguing discovery of this investigation is that, unlike the other taverns in this study, Baber also appeared to have provided a greater variety of tavern games at his bar.

Through the analysis of the alcohol bottle and glass vessels from the Baber Hotel and its comparison to other taverns and hotels in Kentucky, we can reach some important conclusions. Patrons of the bar at the Baber Hotel, as well as at the Higbee Tavern and the Rose Hotel, do not compare in numbers to the volume that the Meriwether Hotel catered to. A larger city hotel with a bar is certainly going to have more patrons. But all three of these tavern/hotels did cater to a significantly large number of drinking customers. Charles Baber and the owners of the other tavern/hotels were also shrewd in that they realized that accommodating more than one social class leads to greater bar profits.

Where Baber's bar was located is a problematic question. Most of the male tavern related artifacts are concentrated behind the house. Most certainly, some of the male related activities may have occurred behind the house, especially with the local working class of boatmen, river men, etc. However, with the exception of architectural, kitchen, and furnishing items, the main house area is somewhat scant of other functional types of artifacts (see Chapter Six). Also, the majority of all categories of artifacts, including the architectural and kitchen related artifacts, were concentrated behind the house, suggesting many of these artifacts may have been discarded in this area and not necessarily used there. Most of the alcohol related bottles were also discarded in features at the end of the Baber occupation. Baber may have kept many of these bottles, especially the flasks, on display behind his bar and refilled them from his larger containers or casks stored in his cellars or Baber may have relied more heavily on casks for the first half of the occupation and purchased more alcohol in bottles towards the end. Although the information gleaned from other tavern layouts and from literature (see Chapter Six) showed that most taverns and hotels contained a separate bar, the materials recovered from the Baber Hotel were not entirely sufficient to say where the bar was located. However, the presence of certain artifacts recovered (i.e., liquor bottles, smoking pipes, spittoons, billiards and other male game pieces, etc.) provide enough evidence to conclude that Baber had a tap or bar room in his house.

The recovery of several artifacts related to female activities, in particular knitting, did reveal that the East room of the Baber house may have been used as a female space or parlor. If so, then the West room of the house may have functioned as a bar room or male parlor. The presence of a parlor separated from the bar room and reserved exclusively for wealthier patrons and women would have been an asset to Baber. Although the small size of the Baber house suggests that such class separation might have been difficult, according to Larkin (1998:10-11), parlors in nineteenth century taverns were common and designed for the use of "genteel travelers, particularly women." If there was a parlor in the Baber Hotel, the women at the Baber Hotel would have had time and space apart from their male counterparts and could practice their sewing skills, reading, letter writing, and piano playing, as well as take rest or tea.

With the bar separate from the parlor, the Baber hotel would have served the needs of both male and female clients. Also, working class needs may have been met with boatmen and other travelers who may have had food and drinks served to them off the back of the house. Men of both social classes may even have mixed as some historic accounts have shown (Smith 2000; Yoder 1969). The presence of a piano in the Baber household revealed that Baber was also entertaining in a grander fashion for a middle class audience. Although small, Baber's hotel appears to have met the needs of both the working and middle classes and strongly suggests that Baber was aspiring for a middle or upper middle class life style. For all of these reasons, the Baber Hotel must have been an important component of Rumsey during its growth.

Chapter Eight

Foodways at the Baber Hotel

"... Cornbread and Common Doings"...
and "Wheatbread and Chicken Fixings"[1]

Introduction

Travelers in nineteenth century America provide a good deal of information on hotel and tavern fair. In particular, foreign travelers in America had mixed feelings about hotel food and dining in the country. English traveler Anthony Trollope (1862) did enjoy the food served at house dinner parties, but detested the food served at most American hotels. Trollope despised the grease he encountered all too frequently and was dumbfounded by most Americans' love of such food. He noted the following:

> *How I did learn to hate those little dishes and their greasy contents! At a London eating-house things are often not very nice, but your meat is put on a plate and comes before you in an edible shape. At these hotels it is brought to you in horrid little oval dishes, and swims in grease; gravy is not an institution in American hotels, but grease has taken its place. It is palpable, undisguised grease, floating in rivers--not grease caused by accidental bad cookery, but grease on purpose. A beef-steak is not a beef-steak unless a quarter of a pound of butter be added to it. Those horrid little dishes! If one thinks of it, how could they have been made to contain Christian food? Every article in that long list is liable to the call of any number of guests for four hours. Under such circumstances how can food be made eatable? Your roast mutton is brought to you raw; if you object to that, you are supplied with meat that has been four times brought before the public. At hotels on the Continent of Europe different dinners are cooked at different hours; but here the same dinner is kept always going. The house breakfast is maintained on a similar footing. Huge boilers of tea and coffee are stewed down and kept hot. To me those meals were odious. It is of course open to any one to have separate dinners and separate breakfasts in his own rooms; but by this little is gained and much is lost. He or she who is so exclusive pays twice over for such meals--as they are charged as extras on the bill--and, after all, receives the advantage of no exclusive cooking. Particles from the public dinners are brought to the private room, and the same odious little dishes make their appearance* (Trollope 1862:563).

Other foreigners were more kind. Charles Dickens, who found great fault with Americans during his travels, was complementary towards a Louisville hotel he visited, the Galt House, which he compared to a hotel in Paris (Dickens 1842:211). However, travelers generally agreed that west

[1] Richard J. Hooker in *Food and Drink in America, a History* (1981:148-9)

of the Appalachians, meals in taverns and hotels were generally simple, but plentiful (Hooker 1981:148).

Although no menus or day books for the Baber Hotel were found, there are historic accounts that may shed light on what types of foods were available to the traveler. Contemporary traveler's accounts and reminiscences of early to mid-nineteenth century tavern fare in southern Illinois indicate that two types of meals—"cornbread and common doings" and "wheat bread and chicken fixings"—were available at taverns operated by settlers of Upland South origin. A social distinction existed between these two types of meals. "Cornbread and common doings" was composed of fat pork, corn, and clabber and represented the everyday fare of the Upland South settler. "Wheatbread and chicken fixings," on the other hand, consisted of a variety of meat (ham, veal cutlets, sausages, steaks) to accompany fried chicken, as well as other dishes, and was served for Sunday dinner, special occasions, or important guests (Hooker 1981:148-9; Wagner and McCorvie 1992:353; Wagner and Butler 1999). In addition, local game such as deer or squirrel might also be found on the table along with vegetables when they were available and preserved fruits (Hooker 1981:148).

Frederick Law Olmstead traveled through Kentucky in the mid-1850s and commented about a "small and unattractive inn" where he dined on corn bread and bacon. He found to his great dismay that for the rest of his six months of travel from Kentucky to Texas, he saw nothing else (Hooker 1981:149). Other travelers echoed these sentiments, and one traveler went on to note that all meats, vegetables, and breads were generally fried. In areas of the South, pork was synonymous with "meat," and Kentucky became known as the "land of pork and whiskey" (Hooker 1981:112). However, by the mid to late nineteenth century one would expect to find more sophisticated tavern fare offered by competitive taverns and hotels in larger cities and on well-traveled roads and waterways. Another English traveler, J. Richard Beste, described the fare at a "backwoods hotel" in Terre Haute, Indiana, the Prairie House, as being plentiful with a great variety of meats, vegetables, and fruits.

> *There were ranged down the table and cut into slices, hot and cold bread of different sorts, including cornbread (a little of which was rather nice with plenty of molasses and butter), little seed cakes, pancakes and fritters, butter buried in large clumps of ice, molasses, preserves and blackberry syrup in large soup tureens. Besides these things, there were hot beefsteaks, roast and boiled chickens, and various sorts of cold meat. To drink, we had tea, coffee, and, occasionally, chocolate, with hot, cold, and iced milk, and white and brown sugar ...*
>
> *At dinner, there was roast beef always, and, in general, the following dishes: chicken pie, veal pie, beefsteaks, roast lamb, veal and mutton cutlets, boiled ham, pigeons, roast veal or roast pork. As vegetables, we had generally elderly peas and beans, hominy (a sort of dry bean resembling haricots [sic]), and potatoes. Once, we had sweet potatoes, which were red and tasted like common potatoes diseased; and, at another time, we had a vegetable called squash; and always boiled ears of green Indian corn. Several times, we had soup made of land turtles, which was good. Our sweets were generally custard pie (there are not tarts in the United States, everything there is "pie"), or sometimes cherry pie, squash pie, apple pie, and occasionally*

blackberry pie. Sometimes, too, we had stewed pears or roast apples. Then followed cheese and dessert; at which, latterly, there were large bowls of iced cream and watermelons, which they called "cholera bombshells"; and, in spite of their terrific name, they were eaten with avidity. Nuts and almonds were, also, always at the table (Beste 1855:68-70).

The lodgers at the Prairie Hotel were both Americans and foreigners and were members of the middle and upper classes (widowers, businessmen, professionals, etc.) who, at five dollars a week, were provided with food, lodging, and attendance. In addition to the lodgers, meals were often attended by local businessmen who came from their offices in town (Beste 1855:71-72). Meals then prepared for high-status individuals might contain expensive cuts of meat or types of meat, and more variety in vegetable dishes and sauces. If these different meals were served at the Baber Hotel, they would leave distinctive and identifiable archaeological remains.

Faunal Analysis

A significant aspect of the research design for the Baber Hotel site concerns the ability to discern distinct Upland South foodways and whether a subsistence pattern unique to taverns or hotels can be identified. A growing body of zooarchaeological literature concerning Upland South foodways, hotel, and tavern contexts (Breitburg 1999, Lev-Tov 1994, Martin and Richmond 1992, Patterson 1998, Price 1985) allows the faunal assemblage from the Baber Hotel to be evaluated in light of this Upland South pattern and, alternately, to evaluate whether the trend expressed in this literature, toward less reliance on wild game, holds true (Martin and Richmond 1992:268). Because the site functioned as a hotel, a topic of interest is whether the Baber Hotel faunal assemblage is distinguishable from rural farmstead assemblages in the Upland South. This report presents a detailed account of the species composition, cultural modifications observed in the assemblage, distributions of skeletal portions for the most significant meat-providing mammalian species occurring in the assemblage, and comparisons to faunal assemblages recovered from several other nineteenth-century Upland South contexts.

Methods

The vertebrate faunal remains from the Baber Hotel were identified using the Vertebrate Comparative Collection in the Zooarchaeology Laboratory at the University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology. Bones were identified to the lowest possible taxonomic category. All unidentifiable bones were assigned to size categories ranging from very small to large. Passerine birds, such as robins and sparrows, have been classified as "very small." Small rodents, such as voles and mice, were also included in the very small category. Bones representative of birds and mammals such as chickens, raccoons, and squirrels were placed in the "small" category. Remains classified as "medium-sized" were based on pig-, sheep-, and goat-sized bones. The large mammal category consisted of cattle- and horse-sized remains. A category also exists for unknown size and class. The Baber site remains are shown in Appendix B.

Minimum Numbers of Individuals (MNI) and Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) were calculated as a basic method of quantifying the assemblage. As stated by others, both MNI and

NISP have their shortcomings (Breitburg 1991; Grayson 1979, 1984; Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984; Ringrose 1993). MNI is calculated by looking at paired skeletal elements. First introduced by White (1953), it is done by separating the most abundant elements into their left and right sides and using the largest number as the unit of calculation. The measure can be further refined by assessing age and size variables (Grayson 1979). With MNI, the greatest problem deals with aggregation. The criteria used to aggregate a site affect the calculation of MNI. The more divisive the contexts, such as strata, arbitrary levels, time periods, or features, the closer the MNI values will approach NISP values (Grayson 1979, 1984; Reitz and Scarry 1985). However, if the contexts are not mixed and the aggregation units can not be further divided, the MNI values may actually be more representative of actual individuals brought back to the site (Grayson 1984:67). Other problems with MNI include the assumption that the entire animal was consumed at the site, with the animal being represented by the identified element. This may or may not be the case, as indicated by butchery, exchange behaviors, or market evidence. By examining element distribution from the assemblage, the evidence can be evaluated. Another problem concerns the importance of smaller species in the diet. While smaller species, such as fish, may be identified at a site, their relative importance in the diet when compared to one identified deer is considerably less (Reitz and Scarry 1985).

NISP is obtained by an actual count of bone or tooth fragments assigned to a particular taxon. Criticisms exist for this measurement of taxonomic abundance in a faunal assemblage as well. First, the measure is affected by butchery and subsequent patterns thereof, and the subjective nature of species identification. Collection and taphonomic agents also affect the validity of the measurement. The greatest criticism deals with element interdependence (Grayson 1979, 1984). How do we know which elements and fragments come from different animals in the assemblage?

Despite the criticisms, MNI and NISP values were calculated for the Baber Hotel faunal materials. However, only NISP measures are used here when considering taxonomic abundance. While it is acknowledged that there is the problem of element interdependence, it is assumed to be less of a problem than site aggregation.

Other characteristics of the bones were noted as well. Taphonomic alteration of the bone in the form of burning, weathering, and carnivore or rodent gnawing was also recorded for the assemblage.

Butchery marks were recorded as to their type, location, and cut represented. However, more information can be learned by examining the meat cuts and the potential meat yield of these cuts. Meat cuts have been used by researchers as a means to infer some measure of socioeconomic status (Lyman 1987; Schulz and Gust 1983a). Lyman and Schulz and Gust discuss cost per pound of meat, edible meat yield per cut, and cost-efficiency as measures potentially indicating status by ultimately assigning an “economic rank” to each cut. What these measures perhaps are recording is purchasing power, and may or may not reflect status. Other factors may be affecting consumer choice and must be considered (see Schmitt and Zeier 1993 for a discussion) such as the relationship between the community and the markets, food preparation location, ethnicity, and time investment.

However, an attempt was made to compare the different cuts represented by classifying them as to high, medium, or low meat-yielding cuts. This method is similar to that used by Eakins (1924), Lyman (1979), and O'Steen (1986). High meat-yield portions and the bones included are the loin and rump (lumbar and sacral vertebrae, front of pelvis), pelvis or aitchbone (pelvis and head of femur), upper hind leg (femur), upper fore leg (humerus), shoulder (scapula, humerus), rib cage, and thoracic vertebrae. Meat portions considered medium-yield include the neck (cervical vertebrae), fore and hind shanks (radius, ulna, tibia, and fibula), and head and jaw (cranium and mandible). Low-yield meat cuts are represented by foot elements (carpals, tarsals, metapodials, and phalanges). This division into relative meat yield of different areas of the carcass generally follows values found in Aldrich (1922) and Levie (1970) and they are the same for beef and pork. Therefore, further division into sub-categories for each species is not necessary. All the butchered remains from the Baber Hotel domestic mammal (pig and cow) assemblage were classified as to high, medium, or low meat yield. Table 8.1 lists the meat cuts and the corresponding skeletal elements included within.

Another method used to discuss butchering practices and consumption is element distribution. The presence of elements representing the entire carcass leads one to the conclusion that "home" butchering and consumption was occurring. However, attempting to differentiate between butchering refuse or offal and consumption refuse is difficult. While we consider cow or pig's heads and feet as offal, others consider them as delicacies. DeVoe, writing in the mid nineteenth century, notes that both could be considered consumption refuse: "Pig's heads … are sold either for roasting, head-cheese, etc., or corned, for plain boil; others have their chops or cheeks taken off, salted and smoked, with or without the tongue…" (DeVoe 1867:96).

We must also consider what is included in a barrel of salt pork. If we count all that is included in a barrel of salt pork as "consumption refuse," and that which is left out as offal, the distinction is further complicated when we examine the contents of different grades of barreled pork.

In the early nineteenth century, packing centers on the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers were shipping salt pork, as well as salt beef, to the southern plantations (Berry 1943:217, Clemen 1923:117, Gray 1958:841, Walsh 1982:35). Transported in approximately 200 pound barrels, there were three grades recognized in the New Orleans inspection rules of 1821: "mess," "prime," and "cargo" in descending order. As early as 1829, a fourth "clear" grade came into use (Clemen 1923:233). Walsh (1982:122) describes "cargo" pork as "… consisting of sides, four shoulders, and not more than 30 pounds of heads." In describing the various grades, Walsh goes on to state:

> *Mess pork consisted of the sides of corn-fattened hogs weighing at least 250 pounds. If the ribs and backbone were removed, the barrel could be stamped a superior marking of "clear" or "clear mess." Prime pork was composed of meat from lighter hogs weighing at least 150 pounds net [dressed], and had a maximum of inferior cuts like legs, necks, and heads, with sides filling the remainder of the barrel* (Walsh 1982:122).

From these descriptions of the various grades of what constitutes a barrel of salt pork, we see that the means of classifying pig remains as butchering or consumption refuse can be somewhat

Table 8.1. Beef and Pork Cuts and the Corresponding Skeletal Elements

Beef		
Meat Cut	Skeletal Elements Included	Meat Yield
Short Loin	Lumbar vertebrae	High
Sirloin	Illium, sacrum	High
Round	Femur shaft, distal femur	High
Rump	Proximal femur, ischium, pubis, acetabulum	High
Chuck	Thoracic vertebrae 1-5, dorsal and medial ribs 1-5, scapula,	High
	proximal humerus, humerus shaft	
Ribs	Thoracic vertebrae 6-23, dorsal ribs 6-12	High
Short Ribs	Medial ribs 1-12	High
Full Plate	Ventral ribs 1-12	High
Crania	Crania	Moderate
Neck	Cervical vertebrae	Moderate
Foreshank	Radius, ulna, distal humerus, carpals	Moderate
Hindshank	Tibia, patella, tarsals	Moderate
Feet	Metapodials, phalanges	Low
Pork		
Meat Cut	Skeletal Elements Included	Meat Yield
Short Cut Ham	Acetabulum, pubis, ischium, femur, proximal tibia, tibia shaft	High
Loin	Thoracic vertebrae, lumbar vertebrae, dorsal ribs, illium, sacrum	High
Picnic Shoulder	Distal scapula, humerus, radius, ulna	High
Shoulder Butt	Cervical vertebrae, scapula blade	High
Rib	Medial and ventral ribs	High
Crania	Crania	Moderate
Feet	Distal tibia, carpals, tarsals, metapodials, phalanges	Low
Source: Eakins 1924; Lyman 1979, Table 8.3; O'Steen 1986		

subjective. It seems that nearly all parts of the pig were consumed or were perhaps shipped to other locales (markets of the South or to the West Indies) for consumption there. The content of barreled beef is less frequently reported in the literature. However, research indicates that heads and lower limbs (carpals, tarsals, metapodials, and phalanges) were not included in barreled beef (English 1990, Klippel 2001, Van Wyngaarden-Bakker 1984). The distinction between butchering refuse (feet) and consumption refuse (everything but feet) and the implications as to what activities took place on site to produce the assemblage is not as clear-cut as one would like.

The use of estimates of epiphyseal fusion and tooth eruption sequences gives further insight into meat production and consumption issues. In the case of hogs, they mature quickly and reach their optimum finishing weight of 150 to 250 pounds in roughly one year (Aldrich 1922, Bull 1951). An abundance of unfused elements indicates that these animals were taken at their prime weight while still young. In the case where elements were identified from older age categories, it is likely these represent breeding stock. These methods were used to evaluate the Baber Hotel assemblage.

Results

The Baber assemblage is composed of 12,805 pieces of bone and 41 pieces of shell weighing 42,937.1 grams and 565.9 grams respectively (Table 8.2). Of these, 3,886 (30.3 percent) were identifiable to species, genus, family, or order. Class determinations could be made on 8,947 (69.9 percent), while 1,949 (15.2 percent) were too fragmented to categorize to even that level. A total of 1,492 pieces of bone exhibited some form of thermal alteration. Table 8.3 shows the percentages of bone that were burned, calcined, or both. Additionally, 85 bones had evidence of rodent gnawing, and 33 bones showed some degree of gnawing by carnivore species (Table 8.4).

The majority of bones identifiable to class were those of mammals (76.3 percent). Figure 8.1 shows the distribution of remains by class. About 79.1 percent (n = 2,898) of the bones that could be identified to genus and species (n = 3,663) were those of domestic animals. Of those 3,663, domestic pig bones and teeth (n = 2,103) accounted for 57.4 percent.

Of the 2,103 pig bones and teeth from the assemblage, 541 were attributable to an age class as designated by Silver (1969), using epiphyseal fusion, tooth eruption, and wear data. The majority of the bones fall into an age category of two years or younger. While some elements were identified from older age categories, it is likely these represent breeding stock. Figure 8.2 shows the representation of age groups in the pig bone assemblage. A minimum of twenty-five pigs are represented based on left astragali.

The remains of domestic cattle were also identified. Cow bones and teeth (n = 344) comprised 9.4% of the elements identified to genus or species and roughly 12% of the domestic species identified. Of the 344 cow bones and teeth identified from the Baber Hotel assemblage, 42 were attributable to an age class delineated by Silver (1969) based on epiphyseal fusion and tooth eruption and wear (see Figure 8.3 for the representation of age classes). The majority of the bones fall into an age category of 3.5 years or older. There are a minimum of seven individuals represented based on left calcanea.

Table 8.2. Baber Hotel Species List

Taxa	Common Name	NISP	%	MNI	%	Wt. (g)
Mammals						
Sus scrofa	Domestic Pig	2103	16.4	25	11.8	14631.7
Bos taurus	Domestic Cow	344	2.7	7	3.3	12946.6
Ovis aries	Domestic Sheep	2	<0.1	2	0.9	43.9
Caprine	Domestic Sheep/Goat	9	0.1	1	0.5	147.7
Artiodactyl		20	0.2	1	0.5	398.2
Didelphis marsupialis	Opossum	7	0.1	1	0.5	5.2
Carnivore		1	<0.1	1	0.5	6.6
Procyon lotor	Raccoon	2	<0.1	1	0.5	5.0
Canis sp.	Dogs, Wolves, and Foxes	2	<0.1	1	0.5	6.4
Sciuridae	Squirrels	15	0.1	1	0.5	2.5
Sciurus sp.	Squirrels	43	0.3	7	3.3	16.9
Cricetidae	Mice/Rats/Voles	151	1.2	17	8.1	30.6
Neotoma floridana	Eastern Woodrat	5	<0.1	12	5.7	2.5
Rattus sp.	Norway or Black Rat	274	2.1	29	13.7	99.8
Sylvilagus sp.	Rabbits	1	<0.1	1	0.5	3.1
Sylvilagus floridanus	Eastern Cottontail	8	0.1	2	0.9	9.7
Cervidae	Deer and Elk	1	<0.1	1	0.5	55.4
Odocoileus virginianus	White-tailed Deer	24	0.2	3	1.4	628.0
Unidentified Very Small-Sized		95	0.7	--	--	12.5
Unidentified Small-Sized		91	0.7	--	--	38.1
Unidentified Medium-Sized		1507	11.8	--	--	4343.8
Unidentified Large-Sized		239	1.9	--	--	2330.9
Unidentified Indeterminate-Sized		4135	32.3	--	--	2289.6
Unidentified Very Small-Sized Mammal/Aves		34	0.3	--	--	2.9
Unidentified Small-Sized Mammal/Aves		338	2.6	--	--	166.1
Unidentified Indeterminate-Sized Mammal/Aves		322	2.5	--	--	96.9
		9773	**76.3**	**113**	**53.6**	**38320.6**
Birds						
Gallus gallus	Domestic Chicken	440	3.4	37	17.5	524.1
Meleagris gallopavo	Turkey	62	0.5	7	3.3	222.6
Phasianidae	Fowl-Like Birds	12	0.1	2	0.9	8.6
Anatidae	Ducks and Geese	2	<0.1	1	0.5	3.2
Anas platyrhynchos	Mallard	1	<0.1	1	0.5	1.0
Ardea sp.	Herons	1	<0.1	1	0.5	1.2
Passeriformes	Perching Birds	5	<0.1	1	0.5	0.5
Unidentified Indeterminate-Sized		1108	8.7	--	--	538.9
Aves Eggshell		[1635]	--	--	--	[43.4]
		1631	**12.7**	**50**	**23.7**	**1300.1**
Fish						
Lepisosteus sp.	Gar	1	<0.1	1	0.5	0.4
Esox masquinongy	Muskellunge	2	<0.1	1	0.5	7.6
Cyprinidae	Minnows	3	<0.1	1	0.5	3.5

Table 8.2. Baber Hotel Species List

Taxa	Common Name	NISP	%	MNI	%	Wt. (g)
Catostomidae	Suckers	58	0.5	2	0.9	66.4
Ictiobus bubalus	Smallmouth Buffalo	2	<0.1	1	0.5	10.2
Ictiobus niger	Black Buffalo	1	<0.1	1	0.5	1.7
Ictiobus sp.	Buffalo	22	0.2	1	0.5	38.7
Carpiodes carpio	River Carpsucker	1	<0.1	1	0.5	0.7
Moxostoma sp.	Redhorse	6	<0.1	1	0.5	8.8
Ictaluridae	Catfish	6	<0.1	2	0.9	6.0
Ictalurus punctatus	Channel Catfish	54	0.4	5	2.4	25.0
Ictalurus furcatus	Blue Catfish	4	<0.1	1	0.5	7.6
Ictalurus sp.	Catfish	34	0.3	2	0.9	18.9
Pylodictis olivaris	Flathead Catfish	4	<0.1	1	0.5	2.7
Perciformes		2	<0.1	1	0.5	0.4
Morone chrysops	White Bass	1	<0.1	1	0.5	0.2
Morone sp.	Temperate Basses	1	<0.1	1	0.5	0.3
Centrarchidae	Sunfishes and Basses	7	0.1	3	1.4	2.4
Pomoxis annularis	White Crappie	1	<0.1	1	0.5	0.3
Micropterus salmoides	Largemouth Bass	9	0.1	2	0.9	4.0
Micropterus sp.	Bass	26	0.2	5	2.4	4.9
Aplodinotus grunniens	Freshwater Drum	87	0.7	8	3.8	53.3
Unidentified Indeterminate-sized		1050	8.2	--	--	300.9
Osteichthyes Scales		[401]	--	--	--	[4.8]
Lepisosteus sp. Scales		[4]	--	--	--	[0.3]
		1382	**10.8**	**43**	**20.4**	**564.9**
Reptiles						
Emydidae	Box or Water Turtles	2	<0.1	1	0.5	7.6
Testudines	Turtles	12	0.1	1	0.5	19.7
Lacertilia	Lizards	1	<0.1	1	0.5	0.1
Colubridae	Non-poisonous Snakes	1	<0.1	1	0.5	0.1
		16	**0.1**	**4**	**1.9**	**27.5**
Amphibians						
Rana/Bufo sp.	Frogs and Toads	3	<0.1	1	0.5	0.3
		3	**<0.1**	**1**	**0.5**	**0.3**
Mollusk						
Indeterminate Mollusk		[28]	--	--	--	[87.6]
Pleurobema sp.	Pigtoe	[13]	--	--	--	[478.3]
		[41]	**--**	**--**	**--**	**[565.9]**
Indeterminate Bone		**1949**	**15.2**	**--**	**--**	**2723.7**
	Totals	**12805**	**100.0**	**211**	**100.0**	**42937.1**

Table 8.3. Thermally Altered Bone

	N	%	Weight (g)
Burned	190	12.7	600.1
Calcined	1207	80.9	672.8
Burned/Calcined	95	6.4	48.3
Total	**1492**	**100.0**	**1321.2**

Table 8.4. Chewed or Gnawed Bone

	N	%	Weight (g)
Rodent	85	66.9	1146.6
Carnivore	33	26.0	1168.7
Rodent/Carnivore	9	7.0	266.8
Total	127	100.0	2582.1

Figure 8.1. Taxa identified by class

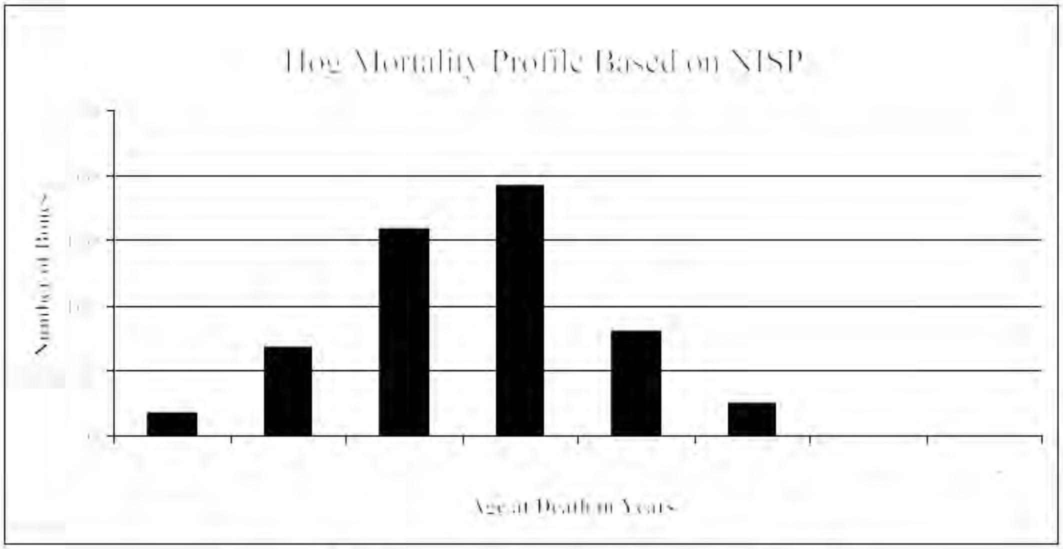

Figure 8.2. Hog mortality profile based on NISP

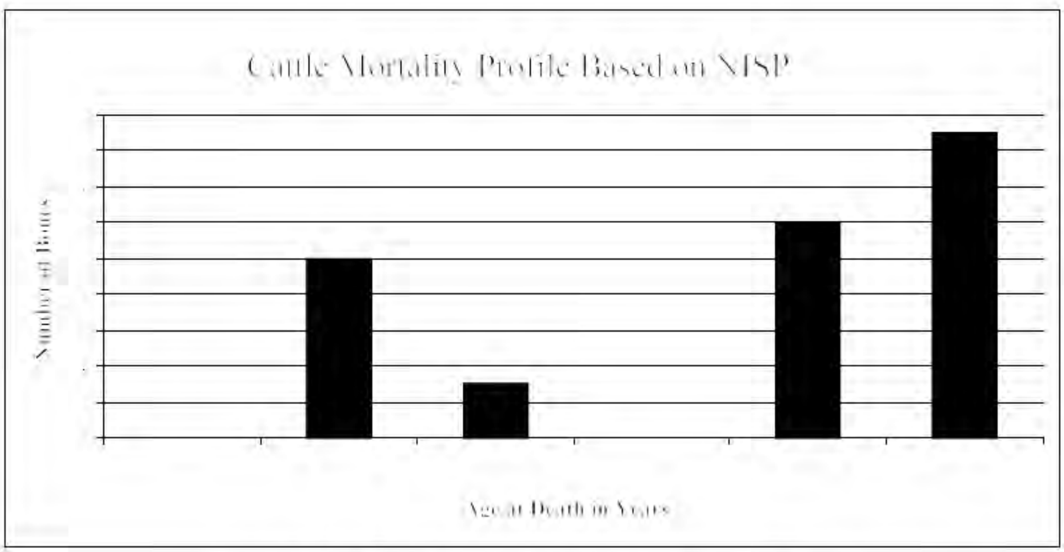

Figure 8.3. Cattle mortality profile based on NISP

Among the bones identified to genus or species, elements from native mammals (n = 366) accounted for 10%. These included remains of opossum (n = 7), raccoon (n = 2), dogs, wolves, or foxes (n = 2), squirrels (n = 43), woodrat (n = 5), black or Norway rat (n = 274), rabbits (n = 9), and white-tailed deer (n = 24). There were also fifteen bones belonging to the family Sciuridae (squirrels), 151 bones from the family Cricetidae (i.e., mice, rats, or voles), twenty bones representing Artiodactyls, and one bone each from family Cervidae and order Carnivora. It is likely the rat, Cricetidae, and Canidae bones (n = 428), 11.7% of the bone identifiable to genus and species, represent commensal taxa and were not consumed as part of the diet. A minimum of 29 individual rats are represented by left femora. Seventeen cricetids are present based on left femora, and seven squirrels are present based on right distal humeri. Three white-tailed deer are represented by left distal tibiae.

Bird bones (n = 1,631) represent 12.7 % of the elements identifiable to class. Of those, 523 (32.1%) could be identified at least to the level of order. Domestic chicken was represented by 440 bones (26.9% of all bird bone). Element distribution for chicken (Table 8.5) indicates leg, wing, and meaty breast portions were consumed. A minimum of thirty-seven individuals is represented by the presence of the manubrium (anterior sternum). Turkey is represented by 62 bones. It is impossible to say whether these represent wild or domestic birds. Additionally, twelve bones were identified as Phasianidae or fowl-like birds. Five bones belonged to Passeriformes (perching birds). Other species identified include mallard, ducks and/or geese, and herons. The remainder could not be identified beyond the level of class. Eggshell fragments (n = 1,635) were also present. The identification of eggshell to species is difficult and beyond the scope of this report; however, the large presence of chickens perhaps is a good indicator of the producer.

There were 1,382 fish bones in the Baber Hotel assemblage, which represent 10.8% of the elements identifiable to class. These include the remains of gar (n = 1, bone n = 4, scales), muskellunge (n = 2), buffalo (n = 25), river carpsucker (n = 1), redhorse (n = 6), channel catfish (n = 54), blue catfish (n = 4), flathead catfish (n = 4), catfish (n = 34), largemouth bass or basses (n = 38), and freshwater drum (n = 87). Additional bones were identified to the family Catostomidae (suckers), Cyprinidae (minnows), and Ictaluridae (catfish). Fish scales were also identified.

The remains of reptiles (n = 16) accounted for less than 1% of the elements identified to class. Fourteen bones were identified as turtle, with twelve being identified as box or water turtle specifically. The remaining two bones were identified as non-poisonous snake and lizard.

The remains of amphibians were also present (n = 3). The species identified was frog or toad.

The mollusk species identified was *Pleurobema* species, more commonly called a pigtoe. Numerous fragments of unidentifiable shell were also counted.

Table 8.5. Chicken Element Distribution

Element	N
Cranial	9
Vertebra	19
Sternum	43
Scapula	29
Furculum	1
Coracoid	56
Humerus	59
Radius	1
Ulna	14
Carpometacarpus	37
Pelvis	11
Femur	37
Tibiotarsus	48
Fibula	3
Tarsometatarsus	67
Phalanges/Carpals	6
Total	**440**

Agricultural Practices

One cultural marker defined by historians and others is the distinct culinary choices made by southerners in historic times. When we think of historic southern agriculture before the Civil War, invariably we think of the large coastal plantations. To run these plantations effectively, adequate food resources were required. Inland farmers met these needs with diversified farming techniques (Hilliard 1972:22-25).

The interior regions of the South were important in the agricultural system as suppliers for the larger non-food producers on the coastal plains in the nineteenth century. Particularly in the uplands region of the South, diversity in crop planting was the key to success (Gray 1958:866-867; Otto 1989). Otto states that Kentucky and other trans-Appalachian southern states were the major suppliers of foodstuffs, livestock, and to a lesser extent tobacco and cotton, to American and European markets by way of overland trade as well as river traffic by the 1820’s (1989:90). By the 1830s the Upland South region was a major producer and supporter of large livestock herds, focusing on hogs, cattle, horses, and mules (Clark 1977:35-36; Otto 1989:93-94; see also Burnett 1946).

The early settlers in the Upland South region started small and were limited by the environment and their technological skills (Hilliard 1972:38). Historically, frontier settlement is seen as a rugged, isolated event that required reliance on wild foods for sustenance (Hilliard 1972:70). Taylor (1982) mentions several species utilized by early settlers in the region: black bear, white-tailed deer, wild turkey, any number of small mammals (opossum, squirrel, raccoon, and rabbit), alligators, wild hogs, turtles, fish, and numerous birds (Taylor 1982:5-9).

Domestic Animals

Settlers brought enough cattle and hogs with them to get started in a new region. Pork was the most common domestic meat consumed in these early years, and brood stock was relied upon for its high reproductive capabilities, especially after wild game started to become scarce (Taylor 1982:21). Southern farmers relied intensively on corn and pork that were resources requiring the least amount of intensive labor for the high return demanded (Hilliard 1988:311). The importance of pork continued, while beef and dairy products only came into play some years later. A surplus of livestock and food products took approximately five or six years to develop in newly settled rural areas (Clark 1977:25; Hilliard 1972:40).

Pigs continued to be heavily relied upon as the mainstay of the southern meat diet well beyond the Antebellum period. Reasons for this are numerous. For example, pigs were often allowed to roam freely on the landscape and were prolific reproducers (Jordan and Kaups 1989:120). In the early 1810s, Kentucky, in particular, was heavily breeding blooded stock and showing them at stock fairs (Clark 1977:38-40).

Pork was thought to be the ideal diet for hard-working people such as slaves and poor whites. In reality, however, pork cuts with a high fat content are protein- and vitamin-deficient and were sometimes considered not suitable for “delicate Southern women” (Hilliard 1988:311).

Slaughtering and curing was relatively simple for hogs, and most of these activities were concentrated on the farms and plantations (Hilliard 1988:314; Wigginton 1972:189-198). The most common curing methods involved dry salting, smoking, and pickling. After slaughtering, the pig carcass was divided into six or more pieces, covered with salt, and placed in a meat box for several weeks. Later, it was removed, washed, and hung in the smokehouse over a low fire. With pickling, the portions were covered with brine solution in casks and left until needed. Because of the saltiness, the meat had to be soaked in water before it was palatable. The salt-smoke method of curing was preferred over pickling, even though pickling allowed for warmer weather slaughtering (Hilliard 1988:314; Wigginton 1972:199-201).

Additionally, most of the entire pig carcass was useful for subsistence (Hilliard 1972:43; Jordan and Kaups 1989:119-120; Taylor 1982:22-26). Hams, shoulders, “middlin” (side meat), and jowls were the major areas where meat was derived. Lard was rendered for cooking and other purposes. A residue from the rendering process, “cracklin’s,” was reserved for baking bread. The leaner pieces of the pig were used for sausage, souse, or headcheese, and the large intestines were utilized for the prized and traditional “chitlin supper” (Hilliard 1972:43). Other organs, such as the kidneys, liver, lungs, and brains, were cleaned, then cooked, and consumed fresh (Hilliard 1972; Wigginton 1972:202-207). Several recipes called for the use of the head, tail, or backbone for stews, the making of scrapple, or for use in headcheese. The consumption of pickled pigs’ feet or roasted pigs’ feet and fried pork skins is still common in the South today (Wigginton 1972).

The overwhelming importance of pork in the southern diet is referenced in many travelers’ accounts into the area (Hilliard 1972:92, Taylor 1982:13-14). This is also reinforced by census documents from 1840, 1850, and 1860 which show Tennessee and Kentucky as the leading producers of pork in each of these years (Hilliard 1969, 1972).

Even though pork was the dietary mainstay of the South, other domestic animals were also used. Other researchers have stated that beef was the preferred meat in the South (Reitz and Honerkamp 1983). Beef was consumed, but not nearly on such a large scale as pork. More often, beef was consumed fresh in the colder months, as a respite from salt pork. Beef consumption was also low because it was more difficult to preserve. There is evidence, however, that beef was sometimes pickled or dried, or came in the form of barreled beef (Hilliard 1988:315; Taylor 1982:27-28). Physically, cattle are more suited for open field grazing, thus requiring more tending. In the backwoods of early settlements, they were often vulnerable to attack by carnivores. Cows didn't reproduce as fast as pigs, thus lengthening the period until surplus stock was realized (Jordan and Kaups 1989:120).

Other domestic species sometimes utilized were sheep and goats. Mutton and lamb were minor foods in the South and weren't the mainstay of any regional diet in the United States prior to the Civil War (Hilliard 1988:315). Sheep and goats were possibly overlooked as a major food source because of the greater availability of pork and beef, not because of dislike. Others believe that sheep and goats were more inclined to disease and environmental conditions, especially in the South, and were thus avoided (Reitz and Honerkamp 1983:21). Their need for herders, slow reproductive capabilities compared to pigs, and vulnerability in forests also contributed to the unfavorable status of sheep and goats among early settlers (Jordan and Kaups 1989:121, Taylor 1982:10). Gray (1933:832) cites a general dislike for mutton in the region based on historical accounts and the ease of predation by other species. Little quantitative data exist on the numbers of sheep and goats raised in the South during the late nineteenth century (Hilliard 1972:141). If and when it was consumed, mutton was more common among higher status individuals than poorer whites and slaves.

Poultry, such as chickens and turkeys, were utilized as well (Jordan and Kaups 1989). Fowl were raised for their eggs and meat and were seen as a periodic diversion from pork (Hilliard 1972:145). They were used throughout the year and possibly were more important than beef or mutton. The long history of fowl usage and the traditional Sunday chicken dinner almost implies that fowl was seen as a semi-luxury item. The continued usage more likely had to do with several factors. First, chickens, in particular, could be kept on less feed than other animals, reinforcing the frontier goal of more return for the least amount of intensive labor. Second, there is a high reproductive potential, and the species provides eggs as well as meat. Finally, the chicken could be killed on short notice for consumption, and therefore spoilage wasn't as much a concern (Hilliard 1972:145; Taylor 1982:30-32). Other birds sometimes raised included ducks, geese, and guinea fowl (Taylor 1982:31-32).

Native Species

As farms began to prosper, the reliance on wild food supplements decreased. However, the amount of reliance on native species in general remains in question. Some New World historic sites, particularly in the Southeast, do show a heavy reliance on native wild mammals as a main portion of the diet (Reitz and Honerkamp 1983).

Hunting for native resources took place mainly in the fall and winter. Native species utilized included wild turkey, rabbit, squirrel, opossum, white-tailed deer, and bear. Some venison and bear was smoked if not eaten fresh (Hilliard 1988:121). Other wild species caught and used for food were groundhog, raccoon, turtle, frog, and numerous fish species (Taylor 1982; Wigginton 1972:249-273).

Fish and shellfish were very popular in the diet in the coastal regions of the South, as well as in the interior (Taylor 1982:34). Interior species mentioned as favorites of southerners include four varieties of the catfish. Any number of freshwater fish, basses, freshwater drum, gar, and suckers, were available in local rivers and streams.

Other Tavern/Hotels

Because of the isolated nature of the interior regions in the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, travel between locations was difficult. Most often, traveling was by stagecoach. Along the way, stops were made to deliver mail and supplies as well as people. These stops were often made at taverns or hotels. These businesses were important places in the urban landscape as well (Coleman 1935; Earle 1900; Rice 1983). Historical accounts indicate that the hosts of such establishments were preparing menus that included choices of venison, bear, wild turkey, and other small game. Undoubtedly, the hogs, cattle, and sheep being driven to market that the travelers passed on the roads and turnpikes were also frequent additions to the fare offered (Coleman 1935:63; 162). In order to address the research questions regarding an identifiable tavern/hotel subsistence pattern at the Baber Hotel and whether it can be distinguished from a generalized Upland South farmstead pattern, relevant data useful for comparisons is presented. Table 8.6 presents a summary of faunal assemblages from sites in the Upland South and hotel/tavern contexts: a late eighteenth to early nineteenth century Upland South farmstead in Knoxville, Tennessee (Lev-Tov 1994), the mid to late nineteenth century Widow Harris farmstead in southeastern Missouri (Price 1985), the mid to late nineteenth century Rose Hotel site located in southern Illinois (Breitburg 1999), and the nineteenth century Young and Landmark taverns in southern Illinois (Martin and Richmond 1992). Estimates of relative species abundance are presented for each site as a percentage of NISP.

Previous faunal research in the Upland South region has indicated pork and various wild mammals were the staples of the diet (Lev-Tov 1994; Martin and Richmond 1992; Patterson 1998; Price 1985). It is therefore expected that in some ways the Baber Hotel assemblage would exhibit these characteristics as well and may also indicate a pattern similar to other "public eateries." Based on the percentage of NISP (Table 8.6), pig (57.8%) is the most common taxa identified, with chicken (12.1%) and cattle (9.5%) the next most common species identified at the Baber Hotel. When compared to the other sites, it is evident that pig is a common dietary component for Upland sites. Only the Rose Hotel has a significantly lower percentage of pig remains. We also see the

Table 8.6. Summary of Comparison Faunal Assemblages (%)

Site	Pig	Cattle	Sheep/ Goat	Deer	Small Mammals	Chicken	Other Birds	Other Taxa
Baber Hotel (n = 3,633)	57.8	9.5	0.3	0.7	1.7	12.1	1.8	16.1
Rose Hotel (n = 3,220)	20.7	10.8	0.0	<0.1	5.3	31.4	2.7	29.0
Old Landmark Tavern (n = 352)	51.1	9.7	2.1	20.1	4.6	5.9	3.4	3.1
Young Tavern (n = 563)	28.8	22.4	0.2	17.9	0.0	0.2	0.9	30.0
Widow Harris (n = 1,669)	72.3	1.1	0.1	5.4	6.7	8.7	2.8	2.9
Gibbs House (n = 749)	53.1	11.7	0.1	3.7	8.7	10.9	4.7	7.1

preference for pork over beef in comparing the sites. Looking at other taxa, the Baber Hotel assemblage differs from the tavern sites in the percentage of deer remains. Both the Landmark and Young taverns contained roughly 20% remains identifiable to deer, while the Baber Hotel, Rose Hotel, and the farmstead sites all contained significantly fewer deer remains. In all sites, small mammals contributed less than 10% of the identifiable NISP. The category classified as other taxa represents a wide range of fish species and commensal animals for the Baber Hotel site, while the high percentage for the Rose Hotel is also commensals, and the Young Tavern is dominated by the remains of one horse. Fish were a significant addition to the diet at the Baber Hotel, likely due to its proximity to the Green River.

When available meat is considered instead of bone counts, percentages change regarding importance of species (Table 8.7). Available meat estimates are calculated from the MNI for various taxa given and the figures used in calculating weights are cited in Price (1985) and Breitburg (1999). In looking at these percentages of available meat, we see a more even distribution regarding the utilization of pork versus beef. A reversal is seen in the Gibbs House assemblage, with beef providing a majority of the meat diet.

The butchering evidence from the Baber site is telling as well. Butchering evidence for pig consists of numerous cut, saw, and chop marks; however, more information can be learned by examining the meat cuts represented and the potential meat yield of these cuts. A total of ninety-three meat cuts were represented in the pig bone assemblage. All the butchered remains from pig assemblage were classified as to high, medium, or low meat yield. Table 8.8 shows the relative proportions of each meat yield category and the cuts represented. The Baber Hotel patrons enjoyed a variety of meat cuts, with most of them classified as high meat-yielding cuts. If we choose to equate high meat yield with higher status of individuals or the ability to purchase or acquire these cuts, it could be stated these cuts represent choices on the higher end of affordability.

Element distribution for the pig assemblage, however, (Table 8.9) shows it is likely that butchering and consumption of the entire carcass on site occurred. High numbers of isolated teeth, cranial fragments, and lower leg elements, the more moderate to low meat, yielding elements, indicate that the entire carcass supplied important additions to the diet. Axial elements, such as

Table 8.7. Available Meat Percentages for Comparison Sites

Site	Pig	Cattle	Sheep Goat	Deer	Small Mammal	Chicken	Other Birds	Other Taxa
AVAILABLE MEAT %								
Baber Hotel (n = 7,512.6 lbs.)	46.6	46.6	1.1	4.0	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.6
Rose Hotel (n = 1,573.2 lbs.)	53.4	31.8	0.0	4.2	1.8	5.9	1.2	1.7
Old Landmark Tavern (n=3,021.9 lbs.)	40.2	34.7	2.6	19.9	0.6	0.6	1.3	0.1
Young Tavern (n = 2,879.5 lbs.)	32.8	44.3	1.4	20.8	0.0	0.1	0.6	0.0
Widow Harris (n = 4,436.6 lbs.)	79.0	7.0	1.0	11.0	1.0	<1.0	<1.0	<1.0
Gibbs House (n = 3,510.1 lbs.)	31.9	57.0	1.1	8.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	<1.0

Table 8.8. Pork Meat Cuts Represented in Baber Hotel Features

Sus scrofa- Domestic Pig			
Meat Cut	**N**		**Relative Meat Yield of Cut**
Short Cut Ham	39		High
Picnic Shoulder	18		High
Shoulder Butt	4		High
Loin	4		High
Rib or Short Rib	5		High
Crania	5		Moderate
Feet	18		Low
Total	**93**		

Table 8.9. Pig Element Distribution

Element	**N**
Cranial	268
Teeth	477
Vertebra- Cervical	21
Vertebra- Thoracic	64
Vertebra- Lumbar	17
Vertebra- General	128
Ribs	236
Scapula	10
Humerus	43
Radius	39
Ulna	38
Pelvis	56
Femur	92
Tibia	75
Fibula	33
Metapodial	145
Carpals/Tarsals	151
Phalanges	204
Patella	5
Hyoid	1
Total	**2,103**

ribs, vertebrae, pelves, and scapulae are more numerous than the high meat-yielding elements of the upper leg and fore/hind shanks. This makes the question of high meat yield equaling higher status more complicated to sort out.

Butchering evidence for cattle consists of numerous cut, chop, and saw marks. Cuts of beef were also examined by using a meat yield classification, with each cut classified as high-, medium-, or low-yielding cuts (Table 8.10). The Baber Hotel assemblage is dominated by higher-yielding cuts, mainly roasts (round, rump, and chuck) and rib cuts comprising 81% of the cuts consumed.

Table 8.10. Cattle Meat Cuts Represented in Baber Hotel Assemblage

Bos taurus- Domestic Cow			
Meat Cut	**N**		**Relative Meat Yield of Cut**
Round or Rump Roast	30		High
Sirloin	2		High
Chuck	16		High
Rib or Short Rib	20		High
Foreshank	9		Moderate
Hindshank	1		Moderate
Neck	1		Moderate
Feet	2		Low
Total	**81**		

Element distribution for cattle (Table 8.11) shows the majority of the elements coming from the axial portion of the skeleton (cranial, vertebrae, ribs, or scapula)during this occupation. This differs from the pig in the assemblage, as lower leg and foot elements are relatively absent, and very few cranial or teeth portions were identified. It is likely that consumption focused on prepared cuts of meat, as evidenced from the cuts identified and also the predominance of higher-yielding meat cuts, perhaps purchased from a butcher.

Table 8.11. Cow Element Distribution

Element	**N**
Cranial	6
Teeth	3
Vertebra- Cervical	7
Vertebra- Thoracic	14
Vertebra- Lumbar	1
Vertebra- General	9
Ribs	184
Scapula	17
Humerus	5
Radius	11
Ulna	5
Radius/Ulna	1
Pelvis	19
Femur	33
Tibia	8

Table 8.11. Cow Element Distribution

Element	N
Metapodial	1
Carpals/Tarsals	14
Phalanges	5
Hoof	1
Total	**344**

When compared to the historical documentation, the assemblage of the Baber Hotel is very similar to the dietary preferences recorded for the southern diet. In comparing this site to other hotel, tavern, and farmstead contexts, there are more similarities than differences, with pig, and to a lesser degree cattle, providing the majority of available meat for the diet. Other species such as chicken and fish also provided a portion of the diet. As more of a variety of Upland South habitation sites are investigated, perhaps a distinction can be made between farmstead and tavern/hotel faunal assemblages. As stated by Martin and Richmond (1992:286), of concern is an overlap in the use of farmsteads as taverns as well. At this time, there are no discernible differences in faunal remains as evidenced by the Baber Hotel assemblage and the comparisons to other sites regarding a tavern/hotel pattern versus a rural farmstead subsistence pattern.

Periods at the Baber Site

An important question arises whether the quantity and types of meat consumed at the Baber Hotel changed over time. In order to answer this question, two tables were generated that show the faunal assemblage recovered from the four major periods of discard at the site, Period 1, the early Baber occupation (1830s to 1840s), Period 2, middle Baber period (1850s), Period 3, late Baber period (1860s), and Period 4, post-Baber period (1890 to 1910). Table 8.12 shows the types and quantities of meat consumed at the site according to these four major periods of discard, and Table 8.13 shows the number of bones from meat cuts consumed at the site during these major periods.

Based on the faunal material recovered, both "common doings" and "chicken fixings" appear to have been served to guests and residents at the Baber Hotel site during all of the periods. While all periods had a dominance of pork and beef over other species, Period 1 (1830s to 1840s) produced a significantly greater amount and variety of all other species. In particular, there is a greater reliance on supplemental wild game in the early period. While deer meat from the earlier period was similar to Period 3 discard, more squirrel meat was consumed during Period 1 as well as a small amount of raccoon and opossum. The higher quantity of squirrel in the early period is not surprising, as there was such an overpopulation of squirrels in the region during the early nineteenth century that they were regularly hunted and eaten in soups and as a meat, either fried or broiled (Bryan 1839:137; Hooker 1981). Squirrel, as well as opossum and raccoon, could be eaten by either slaves or whites. Opossum was easy to obtain without guns and was generally favored over the more "stringy" raccoon (Hilliard 1972:80). There was also a higher number and greater variety of fish recovered from the early discard period than any of the other periods. In particular, there was a significantly higher proportion of catfish. Catfish was and still is the most popular inland fish in the South, and there were many recipes for it listed in Bryan's 1839 *The Kentucky Housewife* (i.e.,

Table 8.12. Identified Faunal Elements and Individuals by Period, Baber Hotel

	Period 1 - 1830s-1840s			Period 2 - 1850s			Period 3 - 1860s			Period 4 - 1890s-1910		
Taxa	NISP	MNI	%	NISP	MNI	%	NISP	MNI	%	NISP	MNI	%
Mammals												
Pig	668	18	26.1	51	2	22.2	291	10	30.3	189	7	18.4
Cow	78	8	11.6	12	1	11.1	120	5	15.2	23	3	7.9
Sheep	1	1	1.4				1	1	3.0			
Sheep/Goat	2	1	1.4				6	1	3.0			
Unknown Hoofed Mammal	8	2	2.9				8	1	3.0	3	1	2.6
Opossum	1	1	1.4									
Raccoon	1	1	1.4							1	1	2.6
Dog or Wolf										1	1	2.6
Squirrel	23	8	11.6	3	1	11.1	4	1	3.0	15	4	10.5
Mice/Rats/Voles	39	5	7.2	1	1	11.1	20	2	6.1	63	10	26.3
Rat	64	17	24.6	6	3	33.3	47	6	18.2	42	10	26.3
Rabbit	1	1	1.4				1	1	3.0	1	1	2.6
Deer	4	4	5.8	1	1	11.1	12	5	15.2			
Unidentified Very Small-Sized	14			1			1			3		
Unidentified Small-Sized	31			1			8			3		
Unidentified Medium-Sized	381			88		0.0	243			119		
Unidentified Large-Sized	52			13		0.0	64			32		
Unidentified Indeterminate-Sized	1261	2	2.9	31		0.0	585			339		
Unidentified Very Small-Sized Mammal/Aves	17											
Unidentified Small-Sized Mammal/Aves	83						12			39		
Unidentified Indeterminate-Sized Mammal/Aves	83						124			79		
	2812	**69**	**100**	**208**	**9**	**100**	**1547**	**33**	**100**	**952**	**38**	**100**
Birds												
Perching Birds	2	1	3.6									
Domestic Chicken	131	20	71.4	12	3	75.0	86	11	73.3	69	9	60.0
Turkey	22	5	17.9	1	1	25.0	6	1	6.7	17	3	20.0
Fowl-Like Birds	3	2	7.1				2	1	6.7	4	2	13.3
Ducks and Geese							1	1	6.7	1	1	6.7
Heron							1	1	6.7			
Unidentified Indeterminate-Sized	142			29			118			37		
Aves Eggshell	[298]											
	300	**28**	**100**	**42**	**4**	**100**	**214**	**15**	**100**	**128**	**15**	**100**
Fish												
Muskellunge	1	1	3.3									
Suckers	24	4	13.3				5	2	20.0	2	1	12.5
Carpsucker	1	1	3.3									
Buffalo	11	2	6.7				3	2	20.0			
Redhorse	3	1	3.3									
Minnows	3	1	3.3									
Catfish	24	10	33.3				9	3	30.0	3	3	37.5
Perciformes	1	1	3.3									
Bass	4	4	13.3				1	1	10.0	1	1	12.5
Drum	21	5	16.7	2	1	100.0	5	2	20.0	13	3	37.5
Unidentified Indeterminate-Sized	334			3			164			17		
Osteicthyes Scales	[103]									[16]		
	427	**30**	**100**	**5**	**1**	**100**	**187**	**10**	**100**	**36**	**8**	**100**

Table 8.12. Identified Faunal Elements and Individuals by Period, Baber Hotel

	Period 1 - 1830s-1840s			Period 2 - 1850s			Period 3 - 1860s			Period 4 - 1890s-1910		
Taxa	NISP	MNI	%	NISP	MNI	%	NISP	MNI	%	NISP	MNI	%
Reptiles												
Frog or Toad	1	1	100.0									
Lizard										1	1	50
Turtle										1	1	50
	1	**1**	**100**							**2**	**2**	**100**
Indeterminate Mollusc	[5]		[1.4]							5		100
Unidentified Freshwater				8		100						
				8		**100**				**5**		**100**
Unidentifiable Bone	**593**						**591**			**225**		
Total	**4133**	**128**		**263**	**14**		**2539**	**58**		**1348**	**63**	

NISP = Number of Identified Specimens
MNI = Minimum Number of Individuals

Table 8.13. Number of Bones* from Meat Cuts by Period, Baber Hotel

	Period 1 - 1830s-1840s		**Period 2 - 1850s**		**Period 3 - 1860s**		**Period 4 - 1890-1910**	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Beef								
Round or Rump (high)	5	29.4			20	20.0	3	33.3
Sirloin (high)					1	2.6	1	11.1
Chuck (high)	8	47.1			4	10.3	1	11.1
Rib or Short Rib (high)	4	23.5			4	10.3	1	11.1
Foreshank (moderate)					6	15.4	3	33.3
Hindshank (moderate)					1	2.6		
Neck (moderate)					1	2.6		
Feet (low)					2	5.1		
Total Beef	**17**	**100**			**39**	**100**	**9**	**100**
Pork								
Short Cut Ham (high)	23	50.0	1	50.0	7	43.8	1	25.0
Picnic Shoulder (high)	9	19.6			6	37.5	1	25.0
Rib or Short Rib (high)	2	4.3					1	25.0
Shoulder Butt (high)					1	6.2	1	25.0
Loin (high)					2	12.5		
Crania (moderate)	1	2.2						
Feet (low)	11	23.9	1	50.0				
Total Pork	**46**	**100**	**2**	**100**	**16**	**100**	**4**	**100**
Grand Total	**63**		**2**		**55**		**13**	

* Only 133 cut bones were from non-mixed feature context.

catfish stew, boiled catfish, catfish cutlass, catfish steaks, grilled catfish, and caveach catfish). Given the close proximity to the Green River and the popularity of catfish and other fish, it is somewhat puzzling that fewer catfish were recovered from the other periods of occupation at the site. Overall, the variety of species found within the earlier discard period at the Baber site may reflect conditions in the early nineteenth century in western Kentucky, where a more varied means of food acquisition such as foraging, hunting, and fishing occurred.

Although Period 3 resembles Period 1 more than any of the other periods at the site, the specimens recovered were considerably fewer than what was recovered from the earlier discard period. However, the Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) of beef is considerably higher than those recovered from the early period, suggesting an increased preference for beef sometime in the 1860s or possibly earlier. Another contrast between these two periods is an increased variety of birds consumed during the 1860s. In addition to the domesticated chicken and always popularly hunted wild turkey recovered from all of the periods at the site, both duck/geese and heron were recovered only from the 1860s discard period. Ducks and other water fowl would have been seasonally accessible for the people of Rumsey with the town's location on the Green River, and Baber took advantage of this resource with fowl-like birds recovered from both Period 1 and Period 3. Duck/geese and heron were identified only with the 1860s discard period, however. Duck and wild fowl comprised several dishes (pies, roasted, boiled, baked, stewed, and hashed) in nineteenth century cookbooks (Bryan 1839; Hale 1841) and were popular in fine hotels and restaurants during the mid-nineteenth century. In addition, ducks and other water fowl were considered to be "delicate and delicious" and "generally healthful," and travelers like Dickens, Marryat, and Francis Trollope raved about the canvass back duck in particular as being one of the greatest "delicacies" in America and a "luxury" of the well-to-do (Hale 1841:49; Hilliard 1972:224; Root and Rochemont 1976:70-71; Trollope 1949:298). With this in mind, it is possible that Baber did more than simply take advantage of the seasonal availability of the ducks and other water fowl by attempting to emulate the finer hotels and restaurants. Duck and other waterfowl may have been reserved only for special dinners at the Baber Hotel.

Perhaps the most striking difference between Period 1 and Period 3 is the variability in beef and pork meat cuts, which is presented in Table 8.13. The pig assemblage revealed the likelihood that butchering and consumption of the entire carcass occurred on-site during Period 1. During this period, high numbers of isolated teeth, cranial fragments, and lower leg elements, the more moderate to low meat-yielding elements, indicate that the entire carcass supplied important additions to the diet. Pig may have been kept on site in the back lot or on another lot of Baber's and then butchered on-site when needed. By the 1860s or perhaps earlier, this reliance of on-site pig produce appears to have changed, however, with less pig and only high-yielding cuts (i.e., loin, shoulder butt, picnic shoulder, and short cut ham) recovered, suggestive that Baber purchased the high-yielding cuts to serve a higher class of clientele. The large number of eggshell fragments and large number of chicken bones recovered during Period 1 also is an indication that chickens may have been kept by Baber and could have been freshly and readily prepared for dinner when needed.

Beef appears to have been purchased during all of the periods of the site occupation since its consumption focused on prepared cuts of meat, as evidenced from the cuts identified and the predominance of higher-yielding meat cuts, perhaps purchased from a local butcher. This preference for beef appears to have increased significantly, because by the 1860s there were more beef cuts than pork cuts. These higher-yielding cuts of beef were enjoyed by the Baber Hotel patrons and likely indicate a higher end of affordability as well. As a result, several of Baber's guests may have been higher-status individuals who paid for a more elaborate assortment of beef steak or roast, generally more expensive than pork. At the same time, there was a small amount of moderate- to low-yielding beef cuts from the 1860s features (i.e., foreshank, hindshank, neck, and feet), best for stews and soups, indicating that Baber showed some business savvy by serving more than one type of patron.

Floral Analysis

Although the Upland South consumption pattern of plant materials is not well developed, most scholars suggest a diverse pattern with emphasis on corn mixed with peas/beans, sweet potatoes, domestic and wild fruits, nuts, greens, and other grains (Hilliard 1972; Hooker 1981; Newton 1974). The Baber site remains are shown in Appendix A and were analyzed by Dr. Jack Rossen. The recovery of preserved food plant remains from different parts of the site provided insight into the diets of Baber's family and his guests over time. Samples were taken of all the cellars, refuse pits, privies, middens, some of the larger post holes/molds, the kitchen chimney, and the well, with most samples ranging between 10 and 30 liters. In all, a total of 1,270.5 liters of soil was sampled from analysis, 279.5 liters from the Phase II testing and 991 liters from the Phase III mitigation.

A comparison of the plant materials with other tavern/hotels proved difficult, as some of the data is not available for some sites and the sample size from the sites used were considerably smaller than what was sampled at the Baber Hotel. Sites used in the comparison study are the Higbee Tavern (1796-1855), the Landmark Tavern (1819-ca. 1850), and the Young Tavern (1813-1819). Several features were sampled from both the Landmark (119 liters of soil) and Young (80 liters) taverns. However, the light fraction contents of only three cultural features were analyzed for the Higbee Tavern, with a total of only 49 liters sampled. These were a cellar, Feature 11, located beneath a slave cabin, and two other cellars, Features 12 and 14, located beneath the tavern kitchen. Although a comparison of the Baber Hotel with the other three sites did show an inordinate amount of plant remains recovered from the Baber site, most likely due to the significantly higher sampling volume, the percentages of the general plant remain categories from these sites were found to be somewhat helpful. Table 8.14 shows these four tavern/hotels and is divided into general categories of edible plant remains. Frequencies for each category are given along with a percentage. Overall, there were some similarities between the Baber Hotel and the other sites.

Fruits and Berries

In the nineteenth century, fruits provided variations on an otherwise monotonous diet (Hilliard 1972:51, 89) and were easily preserved for winter use, either as preserves or dried. Only a few types of berries were found at most or half of the sites in the study (blackberry, elderberry, and ground-cherry), but what was most unique was that the fruits and berries recovered from the Baber Hotel were significantly more varied than the other sites. There were several types of fruits (grape, peach, cherry, and plum) and, in addition to blackberry, elderberry, and ground-cherry, there were

Table 8.14. Plant Remains from the Baber Hotel and other Tavern/Hotels

Category	Baber Hotel (PH II 279.5 liters & PH III 991 liters)				Higbee Tavern (49 liters)		Young Tavern (80 liters)		Landmark Tavern (119 liters)	
	Phase II #	Phase III #	Total	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Fruits and Berries										
Blackberry	7	4126	4133	50.0			2	1.0	9	15.8
Elderberry	6	111	117	1.4	5	4.7				
Ground-Cherry		82	82	1.0	7	6.6				
Grape	4	7	11	0.1						
Peach	3	6	9	0.1						
Cherry	2	4	6	0.0						
Bayberry		3	3	0.0						
Plum	2	2	4	0.0						
Persimmon		1	1	0.0						
Huckleberry		1	1	0.0						
Hackberry							3	1.5		
Unidentifiable							3	1.5	2	3.5
Total	**24**	**4343**	**4367**	**52.6**	**12**	**11.3**	**8**	**4.0**	**11**	**19.3**
Cultigens										
Barley	2	12	14	0.2	7	6.6				
Wheat	1	2	3	0.0	5	4.7				
Oat		1	1	0.0						
Lintel	1		1	0.0						
Rye	1		1	0.0						
Tomato		296	296	3.6						
Gourd Rind	10	86	96	1.2	33	31.1				
Corn	14	100	114	1.4	7	6.6	24	12.1	25	43.9
Squash/Pumpkin	6	78	84	1.0	12	11.3				

Table 8.14. Plant Remains from the Baber Hotel and other Tavern/Hotels

Category	**Baber Hotel (PH II 279.5 liters & PH III 991 liters)**				**Higbee Tavern (49 liters)**		**Young Tavern (80 liters)**		**Landmark Tavern (119 liters)**	
	Phase II #	Phase III #	Total	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Bean	15	15	30	0.4						
Unidentified Rind		8	8	0.1						
Coffee Bean		3	3	0.0						
Watermelon				0.0	1	0.1				
Tobacco	1		1	0.0						
Total	**51**	**601**	**652**	**7.9**	**65**	**61.4**	**24**	**12.1**	**25**	**43.9**
Nutshell										
Hickory	33	35	68	0.8	2	1.9	147	73.9	7	12.3
Black Walnut	25	16	41	0.5			2	1.0	2	3.5
Butternut		7	7	0.1						
Hazelnut	1	7	8	0.1			3	1.5	3	5.3
Juglandaceae		7	7	0.1						
Acorn		1	1	0.0			1	0.5	1	1.8
Pecan Hickory							1	0.5		
Hickory/Walnut							7	3.5	3	5.3
Unidentifiable							5	2.5	2	3.5
Beech									1	1.8
Pecan	1		1	0.0						
Total	**60**	**73**	**133**	**1.6**	**2**	**1.9**	**166**	**83.4**	**19**	**33.5**
Weedy Plants	**7**	**2954**	**2961**	**35.8**	**10**	**9.4**	**1**	**0.5**		
Unidentified	**30**	**131**	**161**	**1.9**	**17**	**16.0**			**2**	**3.5**
Total Plant Remains	**172**	**8102**	**8274**	**99.9**	**106**	**100**	**199**	**100**	**57**	**100**

bayberry and huckleberry (Table 8.14). However, fruits and berries at the Baber site do not appear to have varied greatly until the 1860s. As Table 8.15 shows, additional types of fruits and berries like cherries, plums, peaches, and huckleberries were only enjoyed by Baber's family and guests at this time, suggesting a change in diet preference and perhaps even dining experience.

Baber may have also benefitted from the local fruits in another way, as they were also popular for making wines and brandies. Whether he was making or purchasing these types of spirits, they would have been enjoyed both in the bar and as part of the dining experience. Muhlenburg County tavern rates show that in 1849, locally made peach brandies were popular and considerably less expensive than imported French brandy (see Table 7.5, Chapter Seven).

Also, according to Hilliard (1972:60), fruits were generally consumed by both slaves and slave owners. At the Baber Hotel, both blackberries and elderberries were likely consumed by Baber, his family and guests, and his enslaved African Americans, as both berries were not confined to any specific area on the site. The same cannot be said of the ground-cherry, however, which was often found in association with African American areas. Interestingly, the greater majority of ground-cherries (n = 49 of the total 82) were recovered in the Feature 1 midden area surrounding the detached kitchen, but fewer blackberries and elderberries were recovered there. Although Baber's family and his slaves all appear to have worked in this domestic yard area, the presence of the higher quantity of ground-cherries might be indicative of an African American presence.

Cultigens

There was also a greater variation in types of cultigens at the Baber site, both New World and Old World. New World cultigens comprised nearly all of the cultigens botanical assemblage at the Baber site and the other sites in the study. Not surprisingly, corn was the only cultigen found at all of the sites in the study (Table 8.14). To say that corn was a major food staple in Kentucky during the nineteenth century is an understatement. Corn was unequaled in household consumption, appearing in some form or another at every meal on most nineteenth century dinner tables (i.e., Johnny cake, dodgers, hoecake, pone, ashcake, fritters, hominy, spoonbread, Indian pudding, and hasty pudding). Early nutritionists even believed corn to be of higher nutritional value than wheat (Hardemen 1981; Hilliard 1972). Corn was most likely bought by Baber, since he probably did not have much to offer for trading and archaeological evidence suggests that it was stored in the cellars at the site and consumed from the beginning of the occupation until the end, although it appears to have been overwhelmingly more popular during Period 1. Although corn was not recovered from Period 2 features (Table 8.15), this is likely due to the same reason fewer glass vessels were recovered at this time. That is, features filled in the 1850s were fewer in number and smaller in size compared to the earlier filled features and appear to be the result of the last improvements to the lot by Baber. Based on its popularity, Baber's household, slaves, guests, possibly boarded horses, and perhaps even pig and chicken livestock all likely consumed this product. The presence of significantly more corn recovered during Period 1 from the Baber site indicates that "cornbread" was the popular bread to accompany all types of meat during this time. Also, the larger amount of corn compared with the other sites in the study may indicate that Baber had a larger clientele to serve initially.

Table 8.15. Plant Remains from the Baber Hotel - by Period of Discard

Category	Period 1 - 1830s-1840s	%	Period 2 1850s	%	Period 3 1860s	%	Period 4 - 1890-1910	%	Feature 1 1835-75	%
Frutis and Berries										
Blackberry	65	4.5			1130	41.3	30671	99.5	163	34.8
Elderberry	8	0.6			35	1.3	22	0.1	1	0.2
Ground-Cherry	15	1.0			16	0.6			38	8.1
Grape	2	0.1			7	0.3	1	0.0	1	0.2
Peach			1	25.0	4	0.1			1	0.2
Cherry					4	0.1	1	0.0		
Bayberry							1	0.0		
Plum					1	0.0	2	0.0		
Peach					4	0.1			1	0.2
Persimmon									1	0.2
Huckleberry					1	0.0				
Total	**90**	**6.3**	**1**	**25.0**	**1202**	**44.0**	**30698**	**99.6**	**206**	**44.0**
Cultigens										
Barley	5	0.3			4	0.1			3	0.6
Wheat							2	0.0	1	0.2
Oats					1	0.0				
Lintel							1	0.0		
Rye									1	0.2
Tomato	4	0.3							2	0.4
Gourd Rind	24	1.7	1	25.0	10	0.4	14	0.0	25	5.3
Corn	73	5.1			11	0.4	3	0.0	16	3.4
Squash/Pumpkin	20	1.4			2	0.1			46	9.8
Bean	11	0.8			5	0.2	10	0.0	1	0.2
Coffee Bean					3	0.1				
Tobacco					1	0.0				
Total	**137**	**9.6**	**1**	**25.0**	**37**	**1.4**	**30**	**0.1**	**95**	**20.3**
Nutshell										
Hickory	38	2.6			8	0.3	6	0.0		
Black Walnut	7	0.5			10	0.4			22	4.7
Hazelnut	3	0.2			4	0.1				
Pecan					9	0.3				
Total	**48**	3.3			**31**	**1.1**	**6**	**0.0**	**22**	**4.7**
Weedy Plants	1130	78.8	2	50.0	1204	44.0	83	0.3	117	25.0
Unidentified	29	2.0			264	9.7	19	0.1	29	6.2
Total Plant Remains	**1434**	**100.0**	**4**	**100.0**	**2738**	**100.1**	**30836**	**100.0**	**469**	**100.2**

Wheat in the Green River Country of nineteenth century Kentucky was an important cash crop, but likely considered too expensive to eat at home (Koons 2000; Martin 1988). However, for a nineteenth century tavern/hotel setting, it could have been an important item to offer special guests. Only Baber and Higbee appear to have been serving wheat in some form at their establishments. Three wheat specimens were recovered from the Baber site, and only one (from the Feature 1 midden) is likely associated with the Baber occupation while the other two specimens probably are associated with the post-Baber occupation. “Wheatbread,” wheat biscuits, or wheat pastries were probably served to Baber’s higher-class clientele or saved for special dinners, but wheat does not appear to have been a frequently used grain like corn.

Other grains recovered from the Baber site were Old World grains of barley, oats, and rye. Barley and oats were grown to a lesser degree in the South compared with corn and wheat (Hilliard 1972:168), and barley had the advantages of drying well and along with buckwheat was used for flour and bread or pancake making. Barley could also be brewed into beer or whiskey with a relatively low level of investment. It's unknown whether Baber was making his own beer on-site; however, it certainly would have been economical for him to have practiced such production. Barley appears to have been consumed in some form for most of the Baber occupation at the site. The same may be said of barley found at the Higbee Tavern, as some specimens were found there. Only one oat specimen was recovered from a cellar filled during the 1860s at the Baber site and no other specimens were recovered from the other sites in the study, suggesting very little reliance on the grain. Oats were generally not used for human consumption, but were used instead to feed livestock and for winter grazing (Hilliard 1972:168). By the antebellum period, both oats and corn fodder generally comprised the good "horse feed" at tavern and town stables, with "hay" being the cheaper of the two. In 1849, the tavern rates for Muhlenburg County (see Table 7.5, Chapter Seven of this report) showed "horse feed" to run 20 cents while "horse to hay" cost only 10 cents. If Baber had a stable, it is possible that he may have used oats for the feeding of his guest's horses, but where he may have kept such a stable is unknown, as no archaeological evidence or historic documentation is present. However, there may have been enough room for such a stable on the southernmost edge of the hotel lot or on one of Baber's adjacent or nearby lots. Rye appears to have been as unpopular as oats at the Baber site and the other sites in the study. Rye was even less popular in the South for growing than barley and oats and was not especially common in the southern diet (Hilliard 1972:162, 168). Rye, however, was a key ingredient to the first whiskey made in America and was still used in bourbon, with at least 51 % corn (often 80 % for the better blends) and the rest of the grain generally rye and barley. Some distillers even preferred wheat for the remaining grains (Root and de Rochemont 1976:380). If Baber was making his own whiskey on-site, it most certainly would have been economically beneficial for him, but there is no conclusive evidence that suggests he might have done this. However, if it did occur, it could have been around the kitchen area, as many of the barley and corn specimens and the single rye specimen were all recovered from features within and near this area. Of course their close proximity to the kitchen may also mean that all these types of grains, although not very common in the southern diet, were simply consumed as non-alcoholic types of food. Though not popular, barley, rye, oats, and buckwheat were sometimes ground together to form a base in breads, muffins, and pancakes (Winters 1994).

An overwhelming majority of the tomato specimens (n = 290 of a total 296) were recovered from Feature 224, a privy that dated to the post-tavern occupation (ca. 1890 to 1910). According to Hilliard (1972), the tomato was not very popular during the antebellum period, was generally thought of as ornamental, and more often found among flowers than a vegetable garden. It's preference as a food was not until later in the nineteenth century, with its greatest popularity not occurring until the twentieth century. With this said, the dramatic increase in tomato frequency after the Baber occupation appears to reflect this change in preference. The lack of tomatoes recovered from the other tavern/hotel sites used in this study appears to support this view.

Gourds and squash/pumpkins appear to have been used and consumed for most of the Baber occupation and after. As the gourds were found across the site, they were most likely used by both Baber's family and his slaves in various ways. Gourds at the Baber site may have served as containers or utilitarian devices (i.e., water bottles, ladles, small bowls, etc.), and some may have served as ornamental pieces as well. Again, the Baber and Higbee taverns are similar with a goodly amount of gourds from both sites, most of which were concentrated around the kitchen areas. Squash/pumpkin seeds and field pumpkin were also recovered from both sites. Squashes were first popular in America at an early period, appearing in a recipe for "pompkin" pie that was in the first truly American recipe book in 1796 (Simmons 1984). In particular, summer squash was the most favored type of squash among southerners during the nineteenth century and was plentiful all summer long. Squash and pumpkin were also part of the slave diet, although it was consumed more as a supplement (Ferguson 1992:94; Hilliard 1972:60). There is no absolute evidence of squash being a part of the slave diet at the Baber Hotel; however, five squash/pumpkin specimens were recovered from Feature 14, a refuse pit that may be associated with Baber's female enslaved African American and her two daughters. The majority of the squash/pumpkin from the site was from the midden behind the detached kitchen and overlying Feature 77, where Baber's family and slaves probably interacted in domestic work activity. Squash was also recovered from two of the Higbee Tavern features, a cellar (Feature 11) located beneath the slave cabin (n = 5), and another cellar (Feature 14) located beneath the tavern (n = 7) (Day 2004), which suggests that squash was part of the diets of the Higbee family, their guests, and slaves.

Of all the sites in the study, beans appear to only have been popular at the Baber site and were consumed throughout the Baber occupation and after. That no beans were recovered from the Higbee Tavern is interesting as beans are considered to be part of a southern diet (e.g., Hardeman 1981; Hilliard 1972; Root and de Rochemont 1976). Yarnell (1985) suggests that beans are generally scarce from archaeological assemblages due to their more involved preparation of boiling water rather than parching or roasting. However, much like grains, dry beans would have stored well, would have kept for long periods of time, and were also inexpensive; hence, beans were a cheap meal at the Baber Hotel. Also, beans are a legume, considered to have been a low status food and common among rural white families and African American families (Ferguson 1992:94; Hilliard 1972:173, 182). A high quantity of beans came from some of the earlier filled features, in particular Feature 14 (n = 9). Since other artifacts associated with African Americans were recovered from both Features 14 and 61 (straight pins and faceted blue beads), beans may also have been consumed by Baber's three enslaved African Americans in this area earlier in the occupation. Other studies that have shown beans to be associated with African Americans in Kentucky include the archaeology of Camp Nelson, located in Jessamine County, Kentucky, by McBride et al. (2003), and the Arnold Farmstead, located in western Kentucky and dating from the 1790s to 1838 (Andrews et al. 2004).

Nutshell

Nutshell was the least represented plant remain of the botanical assemblage for the Baber Hotel, with surprisingly more specimens recovered from the Young Tavern (Table 8.14). Still, it appears to have been enjoyed by Baber's family and guests throughout the different periods of occupation. There was a wide variety of types from the Baber hotel assemblage, but both the Young and Landmark taverns contained a wide variety as well (Table 8.14). Hickory was overwhelmingly the most popular at all sites in the study, and to a lesser degree black walnut and hazelnut. Nineteenth century cookbooks show recipes with nuts as an ingredient for both dishes and condiments. Walnut catsup, pickled walnuts and/or butternuts, as well as various nuts in custards, soups, pies, and other deserts were all popular (Williams 1985). Also, like fruit, unaltered nuts were often enjoyed as desert. Nuts in the South, particularly pecans, hickory nuts, chestnuts, and some fruits like blackberries, persimmons, and grapes, all were sought out by early settlers and enjoyed by both slave owner and slave for sustenance and later became more of a supplement to the diet (Hilliard 1972). Hickory and the other nuts recovered were common nuts locally for most of these sites and appear to have been popular and easily gathered. However, both the Young and Landmark taverns, as well as the Baber Hotel site, did contain a wide variety of nutshell types, indicating a diverse taste for nuts by the residents and guests at these sites.

Summary

A substantial and varied plant and faunal assemblage were also recovered from the Baber Hotel site. The Charles Baber household and his guests consumed a wide variety of meats, grains, vegetables, fruits, and nuts during all periods of occupation. Most of these foods, in particular corn and hog meat, appear to have been popular throughout the occupation. However, both the faunal and floral material recovered revealed that a notable change occurred between the early and ending periods of the Baber occupation. Baber went from a reliance on possibly on-site raised pig and chickens and varied other meats in Period 1 to a greater reliance on purchased beef and some pork by Period 3. Also, although Period 1 had more pork, Period 3 had more expensive cuts of pork. But although Period 1 contained less cuts of beef than Period 3, it had a greater proportion of high quality cuts of beef and a greater variety of wild game. Baber also offered a greater variety of fruits, berries, and nuts to his guests during Period 3. Corn appears to have been preferred over other grains. In essence, Baber appears to have served both “common doings” and “chicken fixings” throughout his occupation of the site, with greater emphasis on quantity of pork in Period 1 and quantity of beef in Period 3. Baber appears to have shown some solid business sense by still accommodating the local working class and river boat men with stews and soups made from moderate- to low-yielding beef cuts and pork. Unless Baber had a garden, much of the food items, particularly the Old World grains and corn, must have been commercially purchased. Most of the grains were likely purchased by Baber from a local farmer or one of the two grist mills in Rumsey that were present in 1847 (Rothert 1984:407). These businesses also played a key role in Rumsey’s success.

Chapter Nine

Consumption Patterns at the Baber Hotel

The cookery in the United States is exactly
what it must be everywhere else—in ratio
with the degree of refinement in the population.[1]

Introduction

As more documentary information has been discovered concerning the Baber hotel, it has been used in combination with archaeological data to draw a more complete picture of the tavern/hotel, its clientele, and its role within the town of Rumsey. As discussed in the previous chapters, nineteenth century tavern/hotels provided numerous social and political activities for guests and eating and drinking accompanied many of these as well as served on their own as activities. What type of client was served and consumption patterns may be inferred from the glass and ceramic vessel analysis recovered during archaeological excavations.

Dining at Nineteenth Century Taverns/Hotels

The great test of a hotel or tavern in America throughout most of the nineteenth century was its table. The fame and fortune of the establishment depended upon the quality, abundance, and variety of its food. While architectural style and accommodation were important to business, the lure of good and plentiful food was even more important. The average American wanted style and good food, but if a choice had to be made, the guest "went where he could gratify his palate to the greatest extent" (Williamson 1930:192). The nineteenth century was the era of the American Plan of hotel operation. The American Plan consisted of overnight accommodations with "four whacking big meals" for one flat rate (Williamson 1930:192). In the days before the Civil War, the flat rate for four meals plus an overnight stay was at most a dollar and a half or two dollars a day in the best hotels, and in Postbellum days ranged from about two to five dollars a day (Williamson 1930:192). These were very low prices even for the period, and European visitors marveled at the amount of food included in the flat rate. Every meal was almost banquet-like, with multiple dishes. While the American Plan dates back to the early colonial period, food service did undergo an evolution. Early inns served three meals a day, and guests ate whatever the landlord and his family were having for breakfast, dinner, or supper. The quality and quantity of meals depended upon how well the host kept his larder stocked or the ability of his wife or cook to prepare meals.

Except for remote regions, more primitive inns and taverns did not survive the frontier era. Rapidly rising standards of the culinary art, of physical comfort and privacy, and of refinement and civility required that the taverner turn businessman and find ways to make the improvements necessary to keep pace with the times. Part of this transformation concerned the function and

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[1] Frederick Marryat (1848) in Root and de Rochemont's *Eating in America*, 1976:313.

expansion of rooms within the hotel to accommodate dining and female patrons, particularly the dining room and the ladies' parlor.

The large dining room with its large common table, called the table d'hote, appeared in the East in the late 1700s (Yoder 1969). The table was basically an enlarged version of the farmhouse dining table. From there, the concept of a large dining room able to provide for large groups of people spread rapidly. By the 1820s the Eagle Hotel in Buffalo, New York, boasted a dining room one hundred feet long, with table that could seat eighty to one hundred people (Yoder 1969:136). The phenomena of the table d'hote required a regimentation if food was to be served to such large numbers. Charges were made on the American Plan, and if meals were missed, there was no reduction of the bill. Food was put on the table all at one time, with large tureens of soup, huge platters of meat, dishes of vegetables, and great bowls of pudding. During the latter half of the eighteenth century the inns provided about a half dozen sorts of meat at each meal, together with vegetables and puddings or deserts. By the middle of the nineteenth century prominent city hotels would set from twelve to sixteen dishes each day, which may have included venison, bear steaks, wild turkey, wild ducks, lobster, terrapin, oysters, wild pigeons, and other game, besides general butcher shop provisions (Williamson 1930). Boarders were summoned to meals by a gong or bell. According to Yoder (1969), it was common for a bell to be mounted in a belfry on the roof of the tavern. This served to summon the clerks and professional men of the town and lodgers to meals (Yoder 1969). With the ringing of the bell for meals there was a general rush to be seated and served before the choicest dishes were eaten. One observer writing in the nineteenth century compared the rush of the crowd to a "pack of hounds or a drove of swine ... to their feed" (Yoder 1969:137). Foreign travelers also remarked on the speed of dining, as well as the lack of conversation between diners. This habit was not confined to just one region of the country, but was witnessed by many from the Midwest to the East (Hooker 1981:147). One traveler called it a "dumb show" in three acts (Yoder 1969:137). Another traveler from England gave a description of rudeness and competitiveness at an inn in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1831:

> *The door was unlocked, and we all rushed into a long hall, like a squadron . . . charging the enemy, and found tables covered with meat, vegetables, preserved fruit, tea, coffee, and bread, both of maize and wheat, and soft hoe and waffel cakes. Down the company sat in a hurry—noses were blown to one side—cotton handkerchiefs were spread on the knees—cuffs were turned back, and then commenced "the crash of the crockery and the clash of the steel." No ceremony was used; each man helped himself with his own knife and fork, and reached across his neighbor to secure a fancied morceau. Bones were picked with both hands; knives were drawn through the teeth with the edge to the lips; the scalding mocha and souchong were poured into saucers to expedite the cooling, and cup deposited in a saucerette on the right. Beefsteaks, apple tart, and fish were seen on the same plate the one moment, and had disappeared the next. . . .*
>
> *I was rather bewildered, and could not eat for some minutes, when I saw first one man get up, and then another, and walk out of the room wiping their mouths with the heel of their hand. . . The rest continued to eat as if it was their last meal, or as if they intended to choke themselves, and finished by eating one another; but on*

going into the bar I found them alive and well, lounging about with their hands in their pockets, balancing themselves on the chairs, taking a quid from their "bacco-box," or receiving a stiff glass of sling from the bar-keeper (Alexander 1833:269).

Apparently, "gross feeding was a popular indoor sport" (Williamson 1930:194), especially within tavern and hotel walls.

Dining was to change as the nineteenth century continued, however. The English or family style, similar to the family style we know today in which all of the food is placed on the table at once, continued to be popular in households and hotels. This style, in which meats, vegetables, and condiments were arranged on the table in a prescribed manner, was according to Victorian ideals of segmented dining. However, some of the larger, upper class hotels like the Tremont in Boston adopted the medieval rooted French style of service (*a la Francais*), in which many plates of food were brought in all at once. The food was spread out on a large table and carved and served from it, allowing diners to serve themselves, much like a modern banquet or buffet (Hooker 1981:144; Mennell 1985:150); Tannahill 1973:340-342; Williamson 1930:196-197). Another style, *a la Russe* or in the Russian style, became more popular during the mid-nineteenth century. In this style, courses were brought to the table sequentially in a set order. The result of *a la Russe* service was the reduction of the total number of dishes offered at dinner, forcing more food on the diner, but allowing less choice at the same time (Mennell 1985:150; Tannahill 1973:340-342). This style would eventually replace the French style and lead to today's modern restaurants and diners.

This chapter will try to answer several questions involving the dining experience at the Baber Hotel. Consumerism and material culture of the Baber family and guests will be examined by looking at the cultural material, specifically the kitchen ceramic and glass assemblage. Changes in consumption patterns over time and what might have caused such changes will be a key issue. Several contexts or models will be used to place the ceramics with the appropriate time period of the Baber Hotel. These models or contexts have been used in varying degrees to answer questions about human behavior and ceramic usage.

Consumer Behavior - Artifact Analysis

By 1842, the 175-mile lock and dam project on the Green River was completed, and the Green River Country had become the natural avenue of access into western Kentucky. This would continue throughout the remainder of the century and into the third decade of the 20th century. As a result, the river became the principal avenue of commerce for that area, which resulted in great economic benefits from the steamboat trade. Such trade included commercial canning and commercial convenience foods, which had become popular by the mid-nineteenth century (Busch 1981; Jones 1993). According to Jones, many elements of consumerism in the commercial foods were already well-established by 1820. International trade, prepared foods, proprietary and brand name products, unit packages, stated prices, and targeted markets were all important elements. Taverns and eating establishments would have specialized in prepared foods and used convenience foods like canned meats, vegetables, pickles, and condiments to supplement them. Types of containers that would have held commercial foods include glass bottles and jars, wooden barrels with metal staves, tin cans, and ceramics (Jones 1993). Improvements in the canning process enabled evaporated milk and canned vegetables and meats to be available to the army and the general public (Busch 1981). Commercial sauces and pickles packaged in glass bottles saved hours of time in preparation for cooking (Jones 1993). Some commercial food products were even packaged and sold locally. Public eating establishments like taverns had always offered prepared hot foods, and Baber was no exception. The Baber Hotel likely offered large meals to permanent guests and visiting guests, as well as to local working men on the river or within the town. Taverns and groceries during the nineteenth century also served prepared foods as well as liquor by the glass.

Physical evidence for the trade in prepared foods was possible to find archaeologically, especially if the food produced material remains (Jones 1993). Equipment or ceramics used in the storage and preparation of more complex recipes like sauces or desserts would be expected. More stoneware and yellow ware bowls, jars, and crocks should also be evident in the archaeological assemblage. On the other hand, at an eating establishment such as a tavern, hotel, or restaurant, one may expect a higher incidence of commercially packaged food containers like tin cans, and fewer service-oriented ceramics. One would also expect to find fewer stoneware and yellow ware vessels, as extensive preparation using stored convenience foods would be unnecessary. Through an examination of various glass, metal, and ceramic containers discarded at the site, evidence of commercially prepared foods as opposed to on-site food preparation, as well as the status of the hotel's clientele, can be recovered. In the following study, the consumption patterns of the Baber family, and their guests and boarders is examined; in particular, beverages and food, and ceramics and glassware will be examined. Comparison with other hotels of the period and examination of changes in consumption patterns over time are key to this analysis, as is discussion of what these findings reveal about the wealth and aspirations of Charles Baber and his family.

Ceramics

Ceramics are one of the most informative artifacts recovered from historic sites. This is because they come in such a variety of vessel forms, paste, and glaze, and decorative types, and also because this variability is well described in historical documents and the secondary literature. The work of archaeologist George Miller has provided detailed price information on refined ceramics from the late eighteenth century through late nineteenth centuries (Miller 1980, 1991). This level of documentation and variability, coupled with the fact that refined ceramics were very susceptible to fast-changing popular tastes, makes them an ideal artifact from which to study consumption patterns. They are particularly useful in studying the level of expenditures on consumer goods and whether popular trends are being followed by individual households. These studies have recently been placed within the broader study of "gentility," meaning whether households are living up to genteel middle or upper-middle class norms of behavior, decorating, and consumption (Andrews and Sandefur 2002; Fitts 1999; Kasson 1987; Wall 1999). Gentility studies tend to focus on whether a household site attempts to or can afford to follow or approach this expectation. Factors such as transportation, ethnicity, and other cultural values can also affect one's ability or interest in keeping up with the expected consumption patterns.

Some scholars have also examined ceramic consumption as part of the nineteenth century "cult of domesticity" (Fitts 1999; Wall 1999). This concept relates to the idea that in middle class contexts women became more and more in charge of the house and the purchasing of goods to furnish the house. How common this "cult of domesticity" was in lower class and rural sites has been a topic of study within archaeology (Andrews and Sandefur 2002; Fitts 1999; Wall 1999).

At the Baber Hotel refined ceramics were utilized to study consumerism and gentility, but because the site is a hotel rather than a pure residence, the real question is how genteel or "fancy" this hotel was compared to others and over time. This question required examination of the variety of vessels purchased, the ratio of wares purchased, and the expenditures on refined ceramics over time at the Baber Hotel site. The expenditure analysis will utilize George Miller's ceramic price indexing system (Miller 1991). Miller's index places the relative price of the cheapest plain refined earthenware at a value of 1.00, and all others at a ratio to this value. An accurate use of Miller's ceramic indexing system involves identifying vessel forms and minimum counts.

A minimum vessel count is a count of the minimum number of ceramic vessels represented by the specimens recovered archaeologically. The protocol for vessel determination was based on unique rims, bases, and in a few instances bodies. Vessel form, function, ware, decoration, diameter, provenance, and number of cross-mends were recorded for each vessel. Minimum vessel counts were established for each feature analyzed and a total vessel list created. The vessel lists were then used to compare frequencies of vessel forms and functions and ware types from archaeological sites of a similar time period, as well as to calculate price indices utilizing George Miller's (1991) analysis.

Ceramic Vessel Forms

The variety of vessel forms present on a site, particularly a commercial site like the Baber Hotel should reflect the quality of that establishment. In Table 9.1 the variety of vessel forms present at the Baber Hotel site are compared to similarly dated hotel or tavern sites. The comparative sites include the Higbee Tavern, Kentucky (Day 2004), the Old Landmark Tavern, Illinois (Wagner and McCorvie 1992), and the Young Tavern, Illinois (Wagner and McCorvie 1992). As can be seen in Table 9.1, the Baber Hotel assemblage contains a much greater variety of vessel forms than the other sites. The presence of specialized teaware, a greater variety of flatware, condiment serving vessels, and children's vessels separates the Baber Hotel from the other taverns and indicates that more formal dining customs were practiced at the Baber Hotel. These results suggest that the Baber Hotel was a higher quality establishment. Charles Baber's desire to create a high class hotel, as his ceramic purchasing behavior demonstrates, was inextricably linked to his plan and desire to create an economically successful town, the town of Rumsey.

The greater number and proportion of serving vessels (including hollowware and platters) at the Baber Hotel could support both the French or English (family) style of meal service and again suggests rather formal dining. The large number and variety of personal flatware, however, including plates, muffins, twifflers, and soup plates, tends to more strongly support the English style of service, since it would require more individual vessels.

Table 9.1. Comparison of Ceramic Vessels by Form

Form	Baber	%	Higbee	%	Old Landmark	%	Young	%
Tankard/Mug/Stein	6	0.9	7	1.3				
Mug - child	3	0.5						
Cup	114	17.5	54	9.8	50	18.9	19	20.9
Saucer	107	16.4	92	16.8	47	17.8	18	19.8
Tea Pot	8	1.2			1	0.4	2	2.2
Tea Service Hollowware	4	0.6						
Sugar Server	2	0.3						
Creamer	4	0.6						
Strainer			1	0.2				
Bowl	35	5.4	36	6.6	28	10.6	9	9.9
Muffin	9	1.4						
Twiffler	15	2.3						
Plate	148	22.7	188	34.2	78	29.5	28	30.8
Soup Plate	6	0.9	3	0.5				
Platter	20	3.1	6	1.1	6	2.3		
Pitcher	8	1.2			11	4.2	2	2.2
Mustard Pot	1	0.2						
Nappy	2	0.3						
Sauce Boat							1	1.1
Tureen	5	0.8						
Waste Bowl	1	0.2						
Serving	45	6.9	31	5.6				
Unidentifiable Flatware	22	3.4						
Unidentifiable Hollow ware	41	6.3			13	4.9	3	3.3
Unidentified Vessel	2	0.3	93	16.9	2	0.8		
Baker	1	0.2						
Bean Pot					1	0.4	1	1.1
Galley Pot							1	1.1
Jug	3	0.5	4	0.7	2	0.8		
Jug/Pitcher					1	0.4	3	3.3
Storage - Bottle	3	0.5	5	0.9	1	0.4		
Storage - Crock	31	4.8	3	0.5	4	1.5		
Storage - Crock/Jar/Jug	1	0.2						
Storage - Jar	1	0.2	5	0.9	7	2.7	1	1.1
Storage - Pot					10	3.8	3	3.3
Storage - Unid Vessel			17	3.1				
Wash Basin	2	0.3						
Spitoon	2	0.3						
Chamber Pot			4	0.7	2	0.8		
Grand Total	**652**	**100.0**	**549**	**100.0**	**264**	**100.0**	**91**	**100.0**

To examine whether the variety of ceramic vessels found at the Baber Hotel changed over time, ceramic vessels from dated features are presented in Table 9.2. As can be seen, the greatest variety of vessel forms is found in the Period 1 (1830s-1840s) features. This is particularly true of the tea service vessels. This pattern probably reflects Charles Baber's initial attempt to establish his hotel (and the town) as a genteel, quality establishment.

Table 9.2. Refined Ceramic Vessels by Period

	Period 1 - 1830s - 1840s	**%**	**Period 2 - 1850s**	**%**	**Period 3 - 1860s**	**%**	**Period 4 - 1890 - 1910**	**%**	**Feature 1 - 1835-1875**	**%**
Mug	5	2.7			1	0.9	1	1.4		
Mug-child	1	0.5							1	1.4
Tea cup	36	19.4	3	12.5	19	16.8	10	14.1	17	23.0
Saucer	29	15.6	8	33.3	15	13.3	13	18.3	18	24.3
Tea pot	8	4.3							1	1.4
Tea service	1	0.5								
Sugar	3	1.6								
Creamer	3	1.6								
Plate	42	22.6	5	20.8	36	31.9	15	21.1	11	14.9
Muffin	5	2.7	1	4.2	1	0.9	1	1.4	2	2.7
Twiffler	4	2.2			5	4.4	4	5.6	2	2.7
Soup plate	4	2.2			1	0.9			1	1.4
Platter	2	1.1	2	8.3	4	3.5	9	12.7	2	2.7
Bowl	19	10.2	1	4.2	6	5.3	2	2.8	4	5.4
Pitcher	3	1.6			2	1.8	1	1.4	1	1.4
Tureen	1	0.5					1	1.4	2	2.7
Serving dish/bowl	13	7.0	1	4.2	10	8.8	6	8.5	4	5.4
Mustard pot					1	0.9				
Wash basin					1	0.9			1	1.4
Unid flatware	4	2.2	2	8.3	1	0.9	4	5.6	3	4.1
Unid Hollowware	3	1.6	1	4.2	10	8.8	4	5.6	3	4.1
Unid vessel									1	1.4
Total	186	100.0	24	100.0	113	100.0	71	100.0	74	100.0

Period 2 (1850s) has less features and ceramics, but this may reflect the hardships of that era, as the town was losing its battle with Calhoun for the county seat. The tea service vessels are absent and the number and variety of flatware and serving vessels has greatly diminished from the first period of settlement, suggesting less fancy or formal dining.

In Period 3 (1860s) the variety of ceramic vessel forms suggest an upswing in dining behavior and perhaps economic prosperity. This probably reflects both the end of the Baber period and the post-Baber occupation of the hotel. As the tax record showed (see Table 3.8, Chapter Three), the value of the property had improved in 1866. The ceramics of this period show a good variety of flatware and serving vessels, but they still lack the tea service vessels of Period 1, indicating a decline in the tea ceremony.

Period 4 (ca. 1890 to 1910) and Feature 1 (1835 to 1875) ceramics are more difficult to interpret because they include ceramics purchased and used over a long period of time. As noted above, Feature 1 is the midden around and under the kitchen that received refuse during the entire occupation of the hotel. The Period 4 features are post-hotel in their filling date, but they include many earlier nineteenth century ceramics that were either curated or more likely deposited or re-deposited as part of a cleaning episode on the Baber lot.

Ceramic Ware Types

Another way to examine ceramic consumption and dining formality is through ware type. It is well known certain ware types, particularly porcelain (including bone china and hard porcelain) was much more expensive than others, especially basic refined earthernware (Miller 1991). Ironstone, which became popular during and after the 1840s, was also moderately expensive. Coarse earthenware, such as lead glazed redware, was the least expensive ceramic and although it was most common in preparation and storage vessels, it did also come in serving/eating vessels.

Table 9.3 compares the quantity and variety of ceramic ware types found at the Baber Hotel with other similarly dated hotel/tavern sites. As can be seen, the Baber Hotel has a much greater number and proportion of bone china and hard past porcelain than the other sites. It also has more ironstone. The absence of coarse redware at the Baber site is interesting. This may be somewhat temporal, since its beginning date is later than the other sites, but redware was certainly still available from the 1830s to 1850s. Perhaps Baber chose the somewhat more expensive yellowware and stoneware for utilitarian vessels. These results, particularly with porcelain and ironstone, again suggest that the Baber Hotel was fairly high quality establishment.

Table 9.3. Comparison of Vessels by Ware

Ware	Baber	%	Higbee	%	Old Landmark	%	Young	%	Grand Total	%
Bone China	14	2.1							14	0.9
Soft Paste Porcelain					3	1.1			3	0.2
Hard Paste Porcelain	6	0.9							6	0.4
Creamware	42	6.4	41	7.5	7	2.7	11	12.1	101	6.5
Pearlware	168	25.8	166	30.2	134	50.8	68	74.7	536	34.4
Whiteware	300	46.0	165	30.1	88	33.3			553	35.5
Ironstone	11	1.7	22	4.0					33	2.1
Blue/gray Ironstone	57	8.7							57	3.7
Redware (Refined)	5	0.8	3	0.5					8	0.5
Unidentified Refined Earthernware			1	0.2					1	0.1
Yellowware	9	1.4	17	3.1	6	2.3			32	2.1
Redware (Coarse)			104	18.9	8	3.0	11	12.1	123	7.9
Stoneware	40	6.1	30	5.5	18	6.8	1	1.1	89	5.7
Grand Total	652	100.0	549	100.0	264	100.0	91	100.0	1556	100.0

Table 9.4 presents the breakdown of ceramic ware types by Periods 1 to 3 at the Baber Hotel. Period 4 and Feature 1 were not utilized because of their temporally mixed nature. This gives a rough idea of ceramic purchasing behavior at the site. At first examination these results are somewhat surprising since Period 3 has a higher percentage of both porcelain and ironstone than Period 1. The porcelain is only slightly higher, but the ironstone is much higher. Much of the explanation for the ironstone is temporal, however. It did not become widely available until the 1840s, toward the end of Period 1 (Miller 1991:10). Another factor is that over time, particularly by the early 1870s, the price differential between plain whiteware and ironstone was less than it had been earlier (Miller 1991).

Table 9.4. Ceramic Ware Types at Baber Hotel

	Period 1 - 1830s/1840s		**Period 2 - 1850s**		**Period 3 - 1860s**	
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Bone china	5	2.7			3	2.5
Hard paste porcelain					3	2.5
Ironstone	4	2.2	1	4.0	24	20.4
Refined earthenware	173	95.1	24	96.0	88	74.6
Total	**182**	**100.0**	**25**	**100.0**	**118**	**100.0**

What is missing in the above analysis is more precise control of the price differentials between different wares and the other major expense variable with ceramics, namely decoration. To examine these issues George Miller's (1980, 1991) ceramic price indexing analysis will be used.

Ceramic Price Index Analysis

The teaware, flatware, and bowl ceramic price indices were calculated using Miller's price index values (1991). This method involved selecting a price index by year for each decorative and vessel type, then multiplying the price index by the number of vessels of that type to create a product number. Finally, all of the index products are divided by the total number of vessels of that form, such as teas. Since Miller only gives index values for teas (cups and saucers), flatware (muffins, twifflers, plates and platters), and bowls, only these vessel types were utilized in the calculations.

Baber features were grouped chronologically into three groups, Periods 1, 2, and 3, that span the 1830s to the 1860s. Period 1 features date from the 1830s and 1840s and include Features 14, 25 (Zone B), 50, 61, 77 (Zones B and C), 139 (Zones B, D, and E), 173 (Zones 2 and 4), 210, and 211. Period 2 features date from the 1850s and include Features 41/49, 145 (Zone B), 126, and 247. Period 3 features include Features 10, 22, 139 (Zones A and C), 163, 224, 249 (Zone B), and 286, and date in deposition from the 1860s and which was the last period of the Baber occupation, as Charles Baber died in 1868 and the family sold the hotel. The hotel appears to have been occupied for only a few short years after Baber's death. Ceramic indices were not calculated for the late nineteenth and twentieth century features since Miller (1991) does not give consistent index values after 1871. Also, the post-tavern use of the site is not the focus of this report.

The results of the Miller ceramic index value analysis were quite striking (Tables 9.5, 9.6, 9.7, 9.8). As Table 9.5 illustrates, the index values for the first period were much higher, except for bowls, than those calculated for Periods 2 and 3. The Period 1 average ceramic index value is also somewhat high relative to other sites and suggests a level of consumption similar to southern

Table 9.5. Baber Hotel Ceramic Index Values

	Period 1		Period 2		Period 3	
	Index Value	**Number**	**Index Value**	**Number**	**Index Value**	**Number**
Teas	2.27	64	1.64	11	1.93	34
Flatware	2.18	61	1.68	10	1.53	47
Bowls	1.31	19	1.14	1	1.28	6
Total	**2.10**	**144**	**1.64**	**22**	**1.67**	**87**

planters and merchants (Table 9.9). The much higher level of ceramic consumption in Period 1 at the Baber Hotel is probably related to a number of factors, one of which includes the economic boom of the late 1820s and 1830s, when many of these ceramics were likely purchased. During the early speculative period for Rumsey, economic expectations may have been high. Although there was an economic decline after the Panic of 1837, there was a return to prosperity by the early or middle 1840s that continued until the early 1850s. The completion of the lock and dam system in 1842 likely sped up the recovery locally.

A greater consumption pattern during this early economic boom period has also been found at other speculative towns (McBride 1991; O'Malley 1990). Both the Peter Warren (1838-1847) and the John Allen sites (1835-1847), located in Colbert, Mississippi, had greater consumption of expensive ceramics during this time (Table 9.9). McBride (1991) used the years 1838 and 1846 to determine the ceramic indices for both sites and found a significant drop in value in the later year. He suggests that a decline in the ceramic index value may have been caused by a change in economic conditions as in a depression or recession. This may be to some degree what occurred at the Baber Hotel site. In Kentucky, the inhabitants of the DeRossitt-Johns site (O'Malley 1990) also practiced great consumption during the 1820s (Table 9.9). Solomon DeRossitt was a ferry man at the town of Prestonsburg from 1822 to 1830, when river boat trading was beginning to thrive. Like Rumsey, these other speculative towns may have had similarly high economic expectations.

Similar to Rumsey, both sites in Mississippi underwent a damaging flood in 1847. Unlike Rumsey, this ended the occupations of both sites as the town of Colbert was destroyed. Rumsey experienced a severe flood in 1845, the worst recorded at that time, which certainly impacted the community, but not to the extent of the devastating flood at Colbert. Rumsey thrived for many years after the flood and was considered a flourishing river town in 1850. Its population was greater than Calhoun, located across the Green River, from 1840 to 1855. However, there would be more floods to come and by 1854, Calhoun had won the selection for county seat of the newly formed McLean County. Soon after, Rumsey's population and real estate value declined. Although not completely devastating, the flood in 1845 was likely a warning sign for Baber and the rest of Rumsey. Perhaps the most important observation when comparing these sites is that the occupants were purchasing greater amounts of expensive ceramics during the economic boom period of the 1820s and 1830s.

Table 9.6. Baber Hotel Ceramics, Period 1

	n	1838 Index Value	Product
Teas			
Plain/Molded Earthenware	3	1.0	3.0
Painted Earthenware	27	1.5	40.5
Enameled Earthenware	3	2.0	6.0
Transfer Printed Earthenware	27	3.0	8.1
Ironstone	-	-	-
Bone China	4	3.7	14.8
Total	**64**		**145.3**
		Tea Index Value = 2.27	
Flatware			
Plates			
Plain Earthenware	5	1.0	5.0
Edged Earthenware	10	1.33	10.33
Transfer Printed Earthenware	22	2.67	58.74
Ironstone	4	1.93	7.72
Bone China	1	7.14	7.14
Twiffler			
Edged Earthenware	1	1.29	1.29
Muffin			
Molded Earthenware	1	1.0	1.0
Enameled Earthenware	1	2.7	2.7
Transfer Printed Earthenware	3	3.0	9.0
Twiffler/Muffin			
Plain Earthenware	2	1.0	2.0
Transfer Printed Earthenware	1	3.0	3.0

Table 9.6. Baber Hotel Ceramics, Period 1

	n	**1838 Index Value**	**Product**
Soup Plate			
Edged Earthenware	2	1.57	3.14
Transfer Printed Earthenware	2	4.29	8.58
Platter			
Edged Earthenware	2	1.57	3.14
Unknown Flatware			
Painted Earthenware	1	2.17	2.17
Transfer Printed Earthenware	3	2.67	8.01
Total	**61**		**132.96**
Flatware Index Value = 2.18			
Bowls			
Plain/Molded Earthenware	7	1.0	7.0
Annular Earthenware	8	1.2	9.6
Painted Earthenware	3	1.8	5.4
Transfer Printed Earthenware	1	2.8	2.8
Total	**19**		**24.8**
Bowl Index Value = 1.31			
Vessels not used in calculation Mugs - 6 Tureen - 1 Serving Dishes/Holloware - 13 Pitchers - 3 Sugar Bowls - 3 Teapots - 7 Creamers - 2			

Table 9.7. Baber Hotel Ceramics, Period 2

	n	1853/54	Product
Teas			
Plain Earthenware	2	1.0	2.0
Painted Earthenware	6	1.23	7.38
Transfer Printed Earthenware	3	2.89	8.67
Total	**11**		**18.05**
		Tea Index Value = 1.64	
Flatware			
Plates			
Plain/Molded Earthenware	2	1.0	2.0
Edged Earthenware	1	1.12	1.12
Transfer Printed Earthenware	1	1.86	1.86
Painted	1	1.68	1.68
Muffin			
Edged Earthenware	1	1.16	1.16
Platter			
Dark Blue Transfer Print Earthenware	1	2.2	2.2
Ironstone	1	3.27	3.27
Unknown Flatware			
Painted Earthenware	1	1.68	1.68
Transfer Printed Earthenware	1	1.86	1.86
Total	**10**		**16.83**
		Flatware Index Value = 1.68	
Bowls			
Annular Earthenware	1	1.14	1.14
Total	**1**		**1.14**
		Bowl Index Value = 1.14	
Vessels not used in calculation Serving Bowls/Hollowware - 3			

Table 9.8. Baber Hotel Ceramics, Period 3

	n	1858/66/71 Index Value	Product
Teas			
Plain/Molded Earthenware	7	1.0	7.0
Painted Earthenware	7	1.17	8.19
Enameled Earthenware	1	2.0	2.0
Transfer Printed Earthenware	10	2.89	28.90
Ironstone	4	2.15	8.6
Bone China	3	2.20	6.6
Hard Porcelain	2	2.20	4.4
Total	**34**		**65.69**
Tea Index Value = 1.93			
Flatware			
Plates			
Plain/Molded Earthenware	10	1.0	10.0
Edged Earthenware	3	1.12	3.36
Painted Earthenware	1	1.75	1.75
Transfer Printed Earthenware	9	1.6	14.4
Dark Blue Transfer Print Earthenware	1	2.29	2.29
Ironstone	12	2.0	24.0
Twiffler			
Edged Earthenware	1	1.11	1.11
Twiffler/Muffin			
Plain Earthenware	2	1.0	2.0
Transfer Printed Earthenware	2	1.8	3.6
Muffin			

Table 9.8. Baber Hotel Ceramics, Period 3

	n	**1858/66/71 Index Value**	**Product**
Ironstone	1	1.98	1.98
Platter			
Plain/Molded	2	1.0	2.0
Edged Earthenware	2	1.13	2.26
Ironstone	1	3.27	3.27
Total	**47**		**72.02**
Flatware Index Value = 1.53			
Bowls			
Annular Earthenware	4	1.17	4.68
Painted Earthenware	1	1.5	1.5
Transfer Printed Earthenware	1	1.5	1.5
Total	**6**		**7.68**
Bowl Index Value = 1.28			
Vessels not used in calculation			
Soup Plate, Applique - 1			
Mug - 1			
Serving Dishes/Hollowware - 21			
Pitchers - 2			
Tea Service - 1			
Mustard Pot - 1			
Utilitarian Hollowware - 3			

Table 9.9. Average Ceramic Index Rank Order

Site, Occupation, State	Ceramic Index	Total Vessels	Index Year
Diaz, merchant, CA	2.69	74	1846
Cannon's Pt., planter, GA	2.63	211	1824
J. Allen, planter, MS	2.59	132	1838
Enos Hardin, farmer, KY	2.40	125	1838
Walker Tavern, MI	2.37	35	1846
Green, merchant, VT	2.29	94	1833
P. Warren, merchant, MS	2.16	225	1838
J. Allen, planter, MS	2.12	21	1846
Baber Hotel, Period 1, KY	**2.10**	**144**	**1838**
Young Tavern, IL	2.10	72	1814
S. DeRossitt, ferry operator, KY	2.10	45	1826
Higbee's Tavern, KY	1.99	340	1814
Cannon's Pt., overseer, GA	1.94	105	1824
Old Landmark Tavern, IL	1.93	171	1823/38
Franklin Glass, glass worker, OH	1.90	94	1824
P. Warren, merchant, MS	1.89	177	1846
J. Arnold, farmer, KY	1.85	69	1836
Higbee's Tavern, KY	1.82	340	1838
Baber Hotel, Period 3, KY	**1.67**	**87**	**1858/66/71**
Franklin Glass, laborer, OH	1.67	62	1824
L. Drake, farmer, IL	1.67	62	1824
Baber Hotel, Period 2, KY	**1.64**	**22**	**1853/54**
Black Lucy, freed slave, MA	1.53	58	1833
M. Tabbs, tenant farmer, MD	1.42	16	1846
J. Hale, farmer, OH	1.34	45	1824

Secondly, with the exception of the DeRossitt household, which dates only to 1830, the three remaining households did not consume nearly as much material goods in the 1840s as they did in the earlier period. Because of the Colbert flood, we can never know for certain if the Warren and Allen households would have practiced consumption in such large proportions again if the economy had improved in the region.

Another contributing factor to the higher level of ceramic consumption in Period 1 at the Baber Hotel is probably high expectations held for Rumsey and its businesses following its founding, the wealth of the Baber family, and their desire to make the Baber Hotel a fairly high class establishment. The Babers were likely using their hotel as an illustration of the potential gentility and economic prosperity of the town. The vessel, decorative, and paste types purchased by the Babers, especially transfer-printed earthenware and English bone china, during this period certainly indicate that the family was keeping up with popular styles and presenting a genteel lifestyle.

The high ceramic index value for the Period 1 teas and flatware comes primarily from the large number of transfer printed earthenware (Figures 9.1 through 9.6), although enameled earthenware, ironstone, and bone china were also recovered in small numbers (Figures 9.7 through 9.10). What is most striking about the Period 1 index values is the high flatware value. Typically, teas are significantly higher than flatware because of the importance of the tea/coffee ceremony form of entertaining. Expensive wares were purchased to impress guests and demonstrate one's gentility. Also, Miller et al. (1994) found that tea cups and saucers were usually sold in sets of six while plates were sold individually. The nearly equal index value for flatware indicates fancy supper table settings and a level of consumption approaching fairly wealthy individuals. Another significant pattern from Period 1 was the purchasing of matching tea and flatware sets. Period 1 had evidence of numerous sets that were represented by five to eight separate vessels, while in the other periods the greatest number was four, and this occurred with only one set in Period 3 and none in Period 2. Given the hotel function of this site, the high proportion of expensive transfer printed flatware and serving vessels suggests a concerted effort to create a high class hotel.

The lower index values for Period 2 and 3 likely reflect the changing conditions of Rumsey, the Baber Hotel, and the Baber family. Again, the failure to win the McLean County seat in 1854 were blows to the town and its merchants. The residue of the 1840s depression may have also affected consumer purchases in the 1850s (North 1966). The aging of Charles Baber and his family may have been another factor, since older families tend to be more conservative consumers (Henry 1987). Given all of these factors, it is probable that the economic expectations of the Babers were much less in the 1850s and 1860s than they were in the 1830s and 1840s when Rumsey was in its speculative and growth periods. During the 1850s-1860s the Baber Hotel ceramic purchasing patterns were more middle to lower-middle class.

The slightly increased ceramic index values, particularly with teas, between the 1850s and 1860s was interesting and suggests some slight economic improvement, or at least an attempt to entertain at a slightly higher level. The increased county tax assessment for the Baber property in 1866 supports this improvement (see Table 3.8, Chapter 3). The increased index value for teas in

Figure 9.1. Pearlware teaware from Period 1, blue transfer print: a) saucer; b) cup

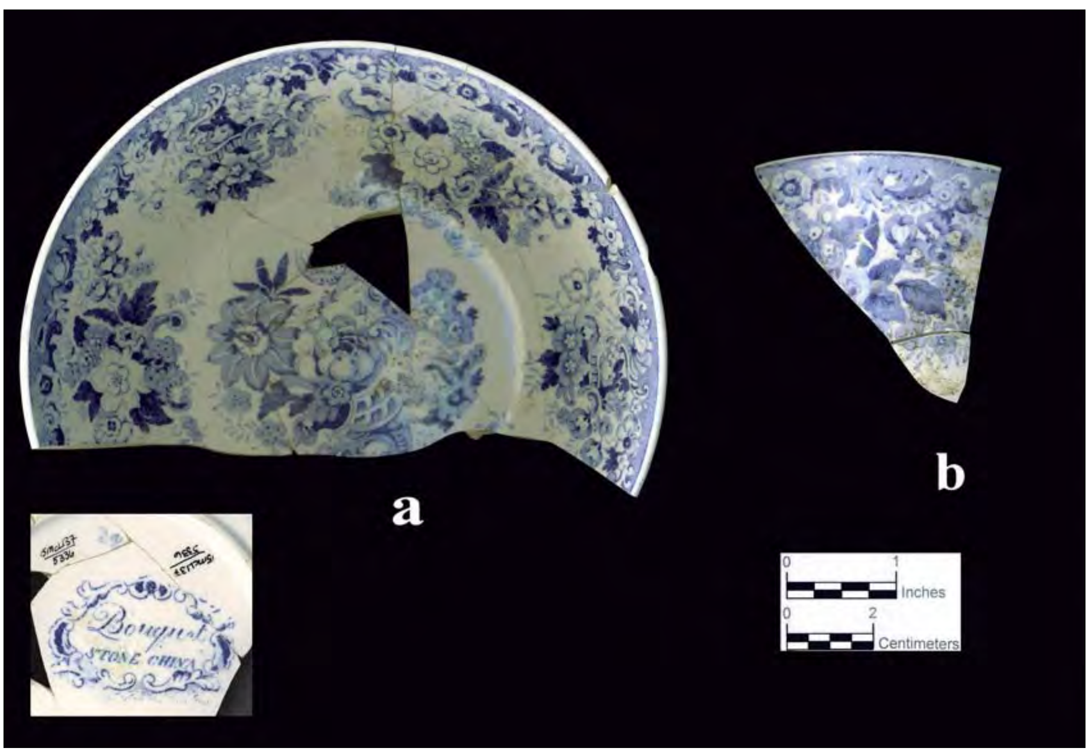

Figure 9.2. Whiteware teaware from Period 1, blue transfer print with the "Bouquet" pattern: a) saucer; b) cup

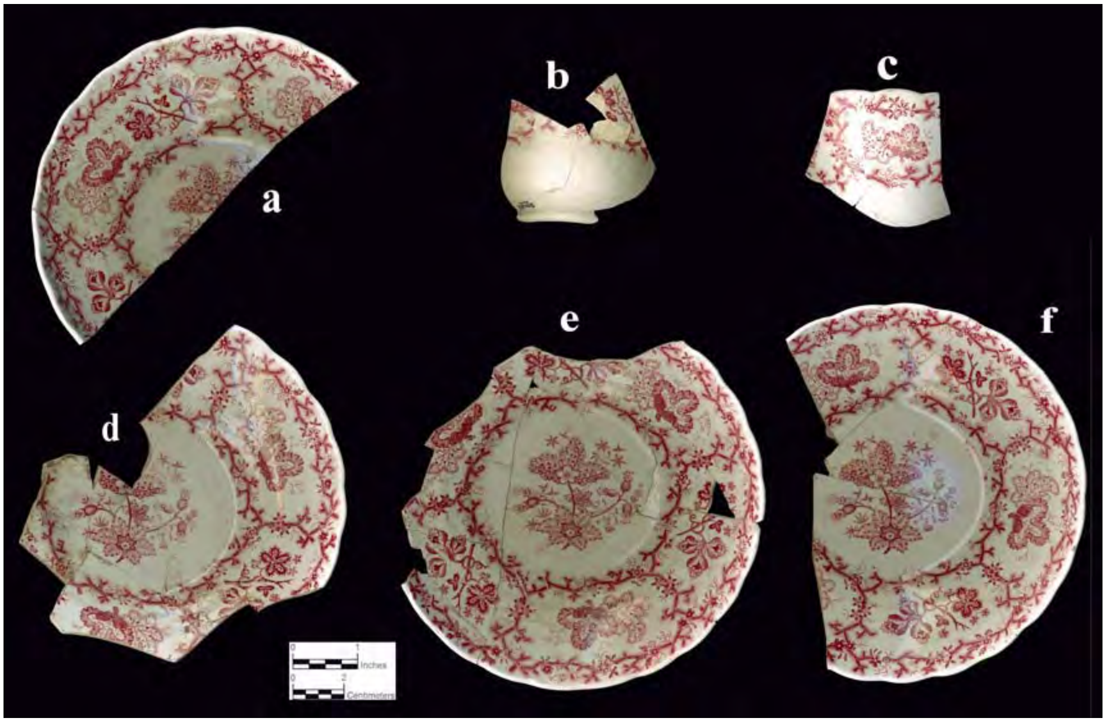

Figure 9.3. Whiteware teaware mostly from Period 1, red transfer print decorated, "Coral" pattern: a, d-f) saucers; b and c) cups

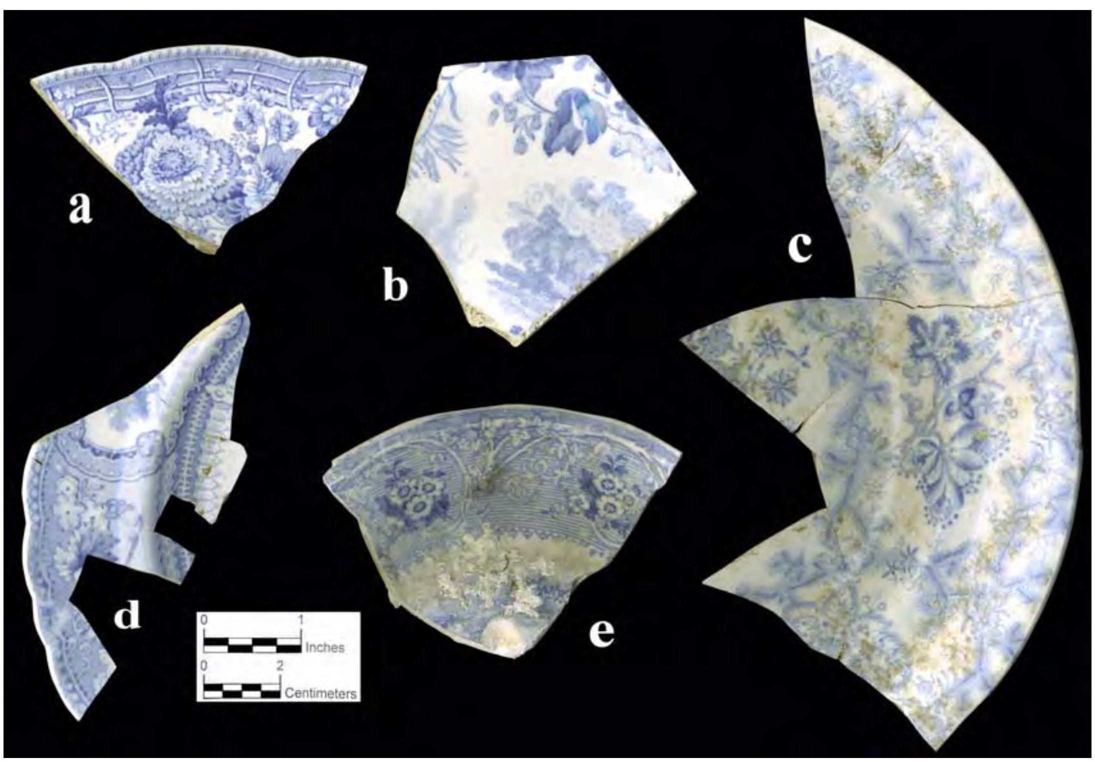

Figure 9.4. Whiteware tableware and teaware from Periods 1 and 3, blue transfer print: a) plate; b) twiffler; c) plate; d) plate; and e) saucer

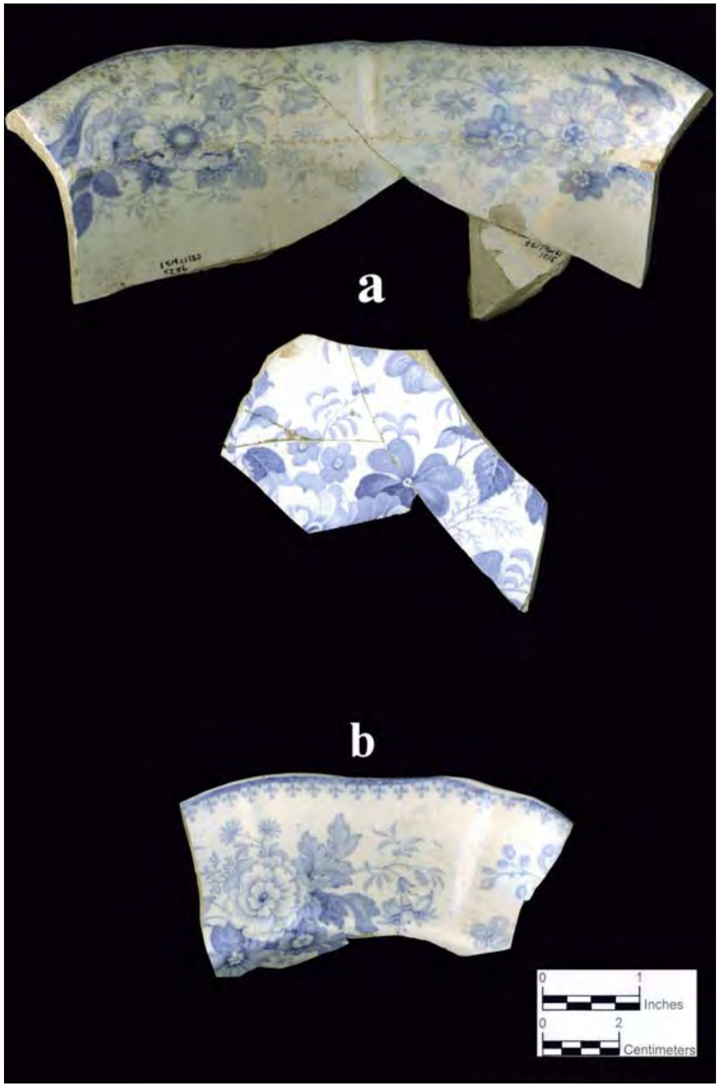

Figure 9.5. Whiteware tableware from Period 1, blue transfer print: a) serving dish; b) soup plate

Figure 9.6. Whiteware plate from Period 1 and mixed, brown transfer print, "Chinese Birds" pattern

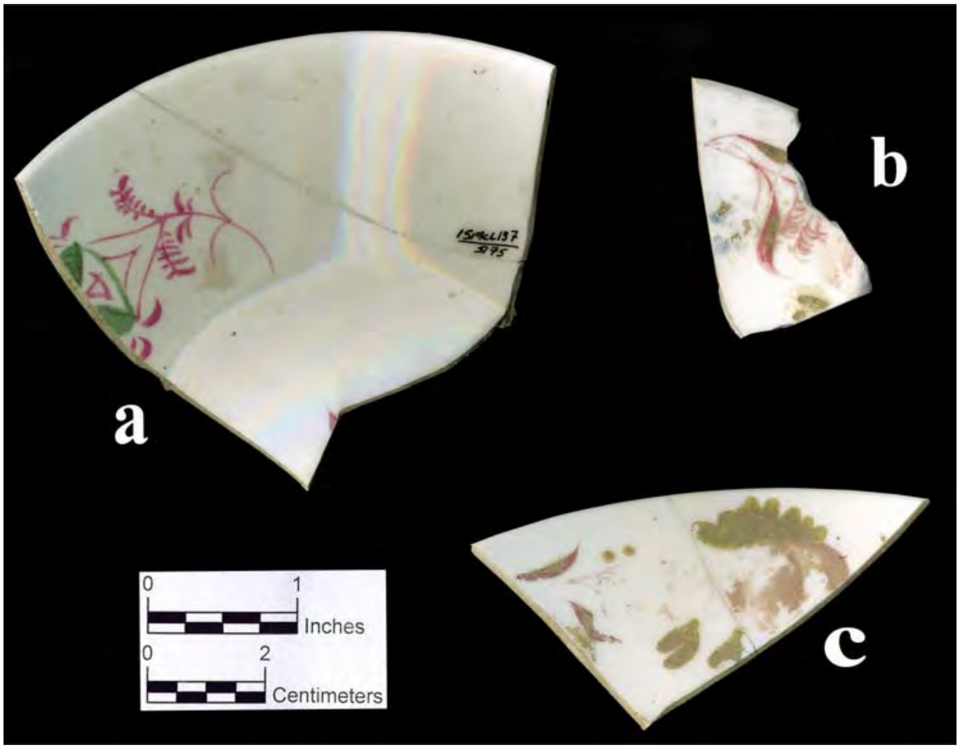

Figure 9.7. Bone china teaware saucers from Period 1, polychrome overglazed hand-painted

Figure 9.8. Pearlware teaware from Periods 1 and 3, polychrome underglaze hand-painted: a) cup; and b) saucer

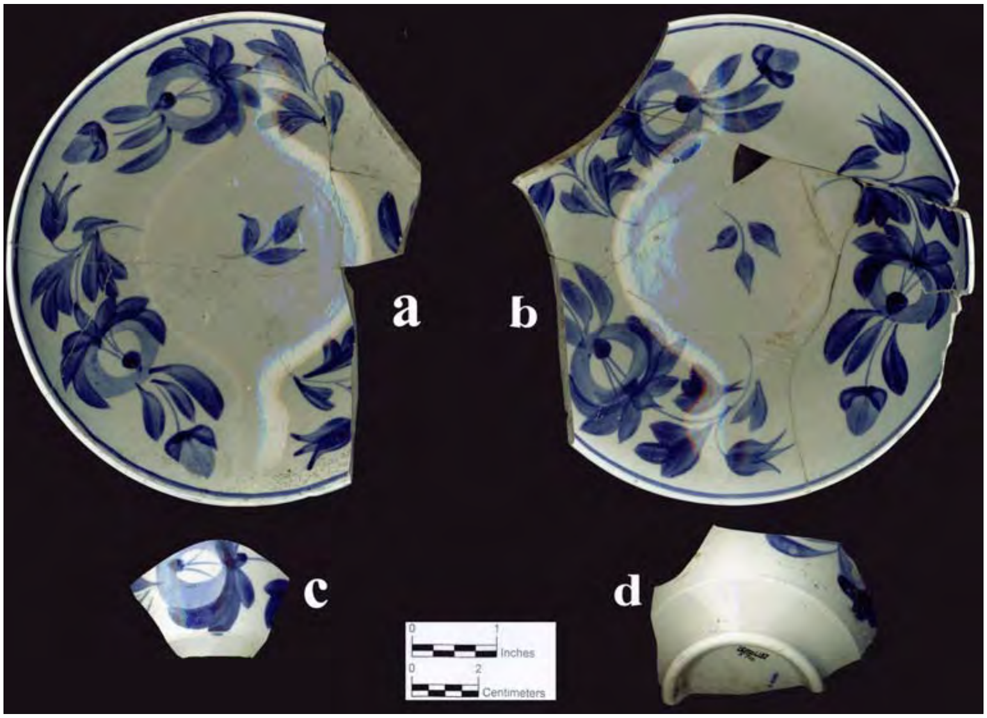

Figure 9.9. Pearlware teaware from Period 1, blue underglaze hand-painted: a and b) saucers; and c and d) cups

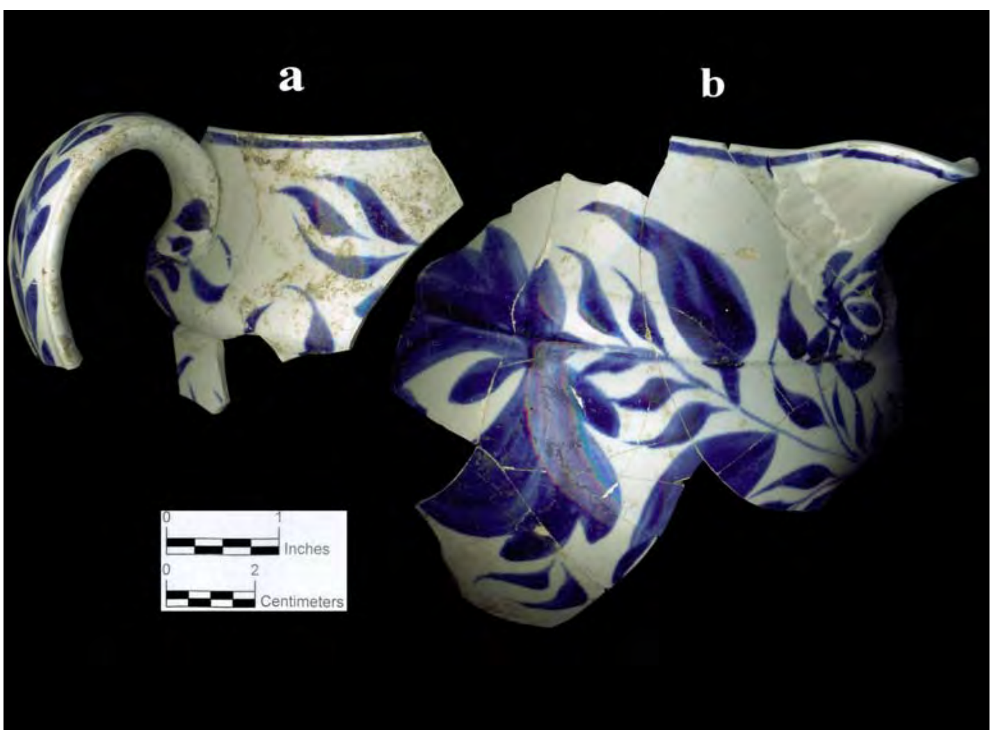

Figure 9.10. Pearlware creamer pitcher, blue underglaze hand-painted

the 1860s was due to increased purchase of both ironstone and porcelain and suggests that the Babers and perhaps later residents were still attempting to present a genteel establishment. An increase in serving vessels (25 %) of total vessels also supports this. However, it should be noted that Period 3 includes mostly the end of the Baber occupation in the 1860s. While attempts to keep a tavern going by two separate individuals were made from this time until 1871 or perhaps even a few years later, this occupation can not be separated from the late Baber period.

Lastly, while the presence of the expensive printed ceramic tableware indicates more specialized dining, the presence in all periods of the less expensive plain/molded and painted teas and the plain/molded and edged decorated flatware indicates less elaborate dining at the same time. The less expensive teas were likely used by the family in a more private setting. Likewise, the more plain and less expensive flatware indicates that a less elaborate dining style was also practiced at the hotel during all periods, possibly by the family in private or by the local working class in the bar.

Glassware

At a hotel or tavern site one may expect to find a greater diversity of glass vessels, as a variety of alcohol would have been served such as beer, whiskey, or wine, and various popular drinks concocted and served such as "flips," a popular eighteenth century drink. These drinks would have been lingered over as news of the day was discussed. Hotels and taverns served lavish meals, but their profits were made in the bar room and through the steady income of permanent guests (Williamson 1930; Powers 1998). Inexpensive common tablewares like tumblers and heavy glass vessels used in saloons, such as ale glasses, would be more dominant in an assemblage from a saloon or bar, where controlling drink portion and frequency were important. Within a middle class hotel, more varied glassware and alcohol might be expected.

Table Glass

The table glass from the Baber Hotel totals 71 vessels, including 50 drinking glasses (Table 9.10). In addition, several serving vessels were recovered, including one decanter, one pitcher, four cup plates, one plate or dish, one small plate, five compotes, one bowl, one serving dish (possibly for candy, sugar, or cheese), one small "Happy" dish, one salt shaker, one spice shaker or cruet, one tooth pickholder, and two hollowware serving vessels (Table 9.10). The drinking glasses consist of 39 tumblers, one beer mug, four small stemmed wine or cordial glasses, two medium stemmed wine glasses, two large stemmed wine or goblet glasses, and two unknown drinking glasses (Figure 7.11). Half of the tumblers are paneled with eight to ten panels while the remaining tumblers are common, plain, and round. As discussed previously in Chapter Seven, these types of drinking vessels, especially tumblers, are consistent with a tavern, where a variety of alcoholic beverages and mixed drinks would have been served. Evidence from table glass recovered from the site revealed that whiskey, wine, cordials, and mixed drinks were all enjoyed by guests (Table 9.10).

A comparison with other tavern/hotels revealed some important information about dining at the Baber Hotel and the other tavern/hotels in the study. Looking at Table 9.10, tumblers are the only table glass item that are present at all of the taverns and hotels in the comparative study. As

Table 9.10. Table Glass Vessels from Baber Hotel and Other Tavern/Hotels

Vessel Type	**Baber Hotel**	**Higbee Tavern**	**Rose Hotel**	**Landmark Tavern**	**Meriwether Hotel**	**Total**
Tumbler	39	51	68	11	130+	299
Beer Mug	1					1
Stemware (large) for Wine	2		20			22
Stemware (medium) for Wine	2					2
Stemware (small) for Wine or Cordial	4					4
Stemware, unknown size		6			10+	16
Drinking Glass (unknown)	2		8			10
Decanter	1			1		2
Pitcher	1					1
Cup Plate	4		1			5
Plate or Dish	1				2	3
Plate (small)	1					1
Compote	5		1			6
Bowl	1		4	3		8
Bowl/Dish			16			16
Serving Dish (possibly for candy, sugar, cheese)	1		1			2
Cruet		1				1
Small "Happy" Dish	1					1
Salt Shaker	1					1
Spice Shaker or Cruet	1					1
Tooth Pick Holder	1					1
Hollowware (unknown)	2			1		3
Other, Unknown		6				6
Total	**71**	**64**	**119**	**16**	**142**	**412**

discussed previously in Chapter Seven, tumblers in the nineteenth century were inexpensive and often functioned for numerous types of drinks, both alcoholic and non-alcoholic (i.e., soda, punch, water, tea, lemonade, etc.). They were sometimes even referred to as a "water glass" (Murdock 1998; Shotwell 2002). Tumblers at the Baber Hotel and the other comparative tavern/hotels in the study most likely served as containers for the majority of beverages served. While the quantity of tumblers recovered from the Baber Hotel is significantly fewer than the number recovered from the Meriwether Hotel, it is more comparable to and only slightly less than the number recovered from the Rose Hotel and Higbee Tavern.

After tumblers, stemware was the most common table glass item found, being present at all but one of the sites in the study, the Landmark Tavern. Like the tumbler, stemware is associated with bar room drinking activities and also with dining activities. Although few in number, the presence of the stemware in comparison with other higher status assemblages from the middle to late nineteenth century (Andrews and Mullins 1989; McBride et al. 2003; Scott 1989) also suggests that Baber was serving a higher status clientele who enjoyed wine, sherry, or cordials. According to Hooker (1981), wine during the nineteenth century had a limited following, consisting mostly of the wealthy and very few average Americans. Whether or not wine and these other types of alcoholic beverages were served in the Baber bar or were enjoyed in a more elaborate dining atmosphere is a mystery, however. Perhaps it was a little of both. According to food and dining historians (Fordyce 1987; Murdock 1998; Williams 1985), manuals and cookbooks published in the second half of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century revealed that both the middle and upper class dining experience was elaborate. Dining during this period entailed more than one type of drink and generally one type of drink for each dinner course (wine, champagne, or sherry). This would not have been realistic for the Baber Hotel, but for smaller, more informal dinners, the host or hostess could make do with fewer courses, and either claret and/or champagne would have been suitable for beverages (Murdock 1998). Also, dining and special social events like dances were probably one of the few times that women actually drank in front of men.

Additional information regarding the glass serving dishes provided further information on dining preferences at the tavern/hotel sites in the study. While some of these hotels (both the Rose and Meriwether hotels) have a higher quantity of table glass than the Baber Hotel, the Baber site contains the most table glass serving items associated with dining. Most importantly, these items consist of the greatest variety of vessel types in comparison with the other sites. The numerous additional glass serving vessels (compotes, various serving dishes, etc.), their broad varietal range, along with the stemware recovered from the site certainly suggest that dining at the Baber Hotel, while not as grand as a larger hotel, was still a major event. Second to Baber, the Rose Hotel also appears to have been serving more elaborate types of dinners, as it has the second highest quantity of glass serving vessels and the highest number of stemware. Although the presence of some glass serving dishes indicates that an effort for grander dining certainly occurred at the Meriwether Hotel and the Higbee and Landmark taverns, it appears that this level of dining was not as important as it was the Baber and Rose hotels. The Meriwether Hotel had a startlingly high quantity of tumblers (n = 130+), but only two glass plates or dishes were recovered. Obviously, drinking in the bar was a major event at the Meriwether Hotel. Still, ceramics may have been easily substituted for glass in regards to some serving vessels at this hotel and the other tavern/hotels in the study.

Some information on mannerisms of the Baber household is also revealed through the presence of a glass toothpick holder. In her travels in America during the early nineteenth century, Frances Trollope noted while dining on the steamboat *Belvidere*, where 200 flatboat crewmen from Kentucky were returning home, that the men had a "frightful manner" of eating with their knives and an even "more frightful manner" of cleaning their teeth afterwards with their pocket knives (Trollope 1949:18-19). Having toothpicks on hand and served in an actual toothpick holder would have been a great improvement over the use of pocket knives and may reflect some refinement as well. On a side note, Trollope (1949:18) found these Kentuckians to be "noble-looking and extremely handsome," yet she also found them "a most disorderly set of persons, constantly gambling and wrangling, very seldom sober".

Interestingly, most of these vessels were recovered from feature context, that provided important information on the chronology of the glass use at the site. Table 9.11 shows all of the table glass vessels recovered from the Baber Hotel and the period in which they were discarded. Looking at the table, the most table glass vessels discarded are recorded within Period 3, the 1860s (n = 27). This is not surprising, considering that much of the artifact assemblage was discarded mostly towards the end of the occupation, the late 1860s. At this time, large features like the well (Feature 10) and back yard cellars (Features 22 and Zones A and C of Feature 139) were filled. Less than ten of all the identified table glass vessels recovered from the site appear to have been manufactured after 1860, while the remaining vessels could have been manufactured prior to 1860 (see Appendix C, Vessels). Therefore, many of the table glass vessels could have been manufactured and purchased earlier and maintained by the Baber family throughout much, if not most, of the occupation. If so, it is not surprising that so few table glass were discarded during Period 2, 1850s (n = 6). Most of the major changes that occurred to the Baber Hotel (i.e., construction of the detached kitchen, southwest addition, new cellars, privies, and well) and the shift in lot use occurred before 1850 during Period 1, the 1830s and 1840s. Features constructed and filled in Period 2 or the 1850s were fewer in number and smaller in size compared to the earlier filled features and appear to be the last improvements to the lot by Baber.

Therefore, the table glass vessels recovered from the earlier filled features (1830s and 1840s) are not surprising since this was a period of major alteration to the house and yard. What is unusual is that there does not appear to be a great difference in the quantity of table glass vessels when comparing the earlier discard period to the end of the occupation period (1830s/40s = 22 and 1860s = 27). Tumblers are nearly equal in quantity, as are stemware, although the 1860s discard period did have slightly more drinking glasses discarded (Table 9.11). For such a high amount of table glass and other artifacts to be discarded so early at the site suggests that Baber must have purchased much glassware in the early period of occupation and perhaps before he came to Rumsey. Like the ceramics recovered in the earlier filled features, the economic expansion of the early and late 1830s and the high expectations for the Rumsey community was likely a factor in this high consumption period. Baber undoubtedly had some level of wealth to initiate his hotel business venture.

Perhaps most notable of the 1860s period, however, is that there was a slightly higher variety of table glass discarded in the 1860s in comparison with the other periods (i.e., plates, dishes). This shows some slight change in dining pattern at the Baber Hotel during this time; however, there does

Table 9.11. Table Glass Vessels from Baber Hotel - by Period of Discard

Vessel Type	**Period 1 1830s -1840s**	**Period 2 1850s**	**Period 3 1860s**	**Period 4 ca. 1890 - 1910**	**Feature 1 (1835-75)**	**Total**
Tumbler	11	5	14	6	3	39
Beer Mug			1			1
Stemware (large) Wine			1	1		2
Stemware (medium) Wine	1				1	2
Stemware (small) for Wine or Cordial	1		2		1	4
Drinking Glass			2			2
Decanter	1					1
Pitcher			1			1
Cup Plate	3		1			4
Plate or Dish			1			1
Plate (small)				1		1
Compote	2		1	2		5
Bowl				1		1
Serving Dish (possibly for candy, sugar, cheese)			1			1
Small “Happy”			1			1
Salt Shaker	1					1
Spice Shaker or	1					1
Tooth Pick		1				1
Hollowware	1		1			2
Total	**22**	**6**	**27**	**11**	**5**	**71**

not appear to be a great difference in quantity or variety between the early and ending occupation periods. Again, the real difference is with the Period 2 (1850s) features and glassware. As noted above, the fact that there were so fewer features (and artifacts) filled at this period is of critical importance and illustrates that this was not a period of household expansion architecturally or in consumption.

Bottles

An examination of the beverage bottles from the site confirms the wide variety of alcohol served at the Baber Hotel (Table 9.12). The Baber Hotel assemblage includes 19 alcoholic beverage bottles (Figures 7.9 and 7.10), including bitters and one Chestnut bottle (Figure 9.11). The Chestnut bottle was a utilitarian type of bottle that dated in popularity from about 1750 to 1850 and would have served as a container for almost any kind of beverage. It was usually covered with a wicker or straw lattice for stability and was generally used by all social classes in the nineteenth century (Ketchum 1975; McKearin and Wilson 1978; Shotwell 2002). This type of bottle was always recycled. Many of the alcohol bottles may have been recycled as well, or a trend towards consumption of alcoholic bottles did not occur until later in the occupation, as most were recovered from the features that were backfilled at the end of the Baber occupation. If Baber was recycling these bottles, he probably kept them filled with liquor from wooden casks, which were likely stored in one of his many cellars. However, if Baber purchased these bottles towards the end of the occupation, he may have relied more on the use of casks as storage during the first part of the occupation. Also, there is no evidence of Baber purchasing beer in bottles. With only one glass beer mug recovered from the site and four ceramic tankards/steins, Baber may not have served a great deal of beer at his bar, probably relying more on whiskey and mixed drinks. Muhlenburg County tavern rates from the 1840s and 1850s do not show beer or ale, but tavern rates for Burnt Tavern in Kentucky from the 1830s and 1840s do show inexpensive beer being served (Tables 7.4 and 7.5, Chapter Seven). If Baber was serving beer, it would have been purchased by him in large kegs and served to his customers from a tap. No beer mugs were recovered from any of the other sites in the study, and beer bottles were absent from all but two sites in the study in Chapter Seven. Both Bell's Tavern and the earlier Frankfort Hotel each had one beer or ale bottle recovered from them. Perhaps most of these taverns preferred whisky and mixed drinks over beer or preferred beer served from kegs into tumblers. Although discussed in Chapter Seven, it is important to note that the high quantity of alcoholic bottles and tumblers recovered from the Meriwether Hotel in comparison with the other sites certainly emphasizes that drinking was a major event at the hotel in Frankfort.

Other bottles from the site provide further insight into the type of functions and activities that occurred at the hotel. There was a moderate number of food/condiment bottles and large number of medicine bottles as well as smaller numbers of toiletry bottles (Table 9.12 and Figure 9.11). Food containers from the Baber Hotel include five general condiment/food bottles, two olive oil bottles, one "Cathedral" pickle bottle, one pepper sauce bottle, one mustard bottle, ten canning jars, and one wide mouth (foodstuff) bottle (Table 9.12). Such a high number and wide variety of food related bottles supports the idea that dining at the Baber Hotel was a major event.

Table 9.12. Glass Bottles from the Baber Hotel and Other Tavern/Hotels

Vessel Type	Baber Hotel	Higbee Tavern	Rose Hotel	Landmark Tavern	Meriwether Hotel	Total
Condiment/Food	5	3	1		3	12
Olive Oil	2					2
Pickle	1	1				2
Sauce	1	7	1			9
Mustard	1					1
Food Canning Jar	10	1	29	1	3	44
Wide Mouth Bottle (foodstuff)	1					1
Chestnut Bottle (utilitarian beverage)	1					1
Whiskey Flask	6	6	6	6		24
Whiskey Plain	1	5				6
Wine	2	7	2	6	5	22
Unknown Alcohol	7				29+	36
Soda			3			3
Bitters	3					3
Medicine	43	17	9		5	74
Vial/Medicine	27		8	8		43
Toiletry	3		1	1		5
Snuff	1					1
Ink		1				1
Undetermined	14	1		6		21
Total	**129**	**49**	**60**	**28**	**45**	**311**

Figure 9.11. Foodstuff, beverage, and snuff bottles from the Baber Hotel: a) mustard, b) pepper sauce, c) "Cathedral" pickle, d) snuff, e) "Chestnut" bottle (base and neck)

A comparison of the food related glass bottles recovered from other sites revealed that canning jars were the only bottle present at all sites (Table 9.12). Both the Baber and the Rose hotels contained the highest quantity, but the Rose Hotel had slightly more. However, like the glass serving vessels, there are more types of food bottles recovered from the Baber Hotel than from the Rose Hotel or any of the other tavern/hotels. Baber appears to have offered his guests a greater variety of condiments to choose from during their dining experience at the hotel or at least presented his condiments on the dinner table in a more elaborate display.

Medicine bottles (n = 41) and vials (n = 27) make up over half of the bottle glass assemblage for the Baber Hotel (Table 9.12 and Figure 9.12). The other tavern/hotels in the comparative study contained considerably fewer medicine bottles and vials than those recovered from the Baber Hotel. This high quantity of medicine bottles and vials recovered from the site is interesting. Some of these medicinal items may have been brought and used by the guests staying at the hotel, but we know from the U.S. census that a doctor was married to Charles Baber's daughter and lived at the hotel. Many of the vials were probably used by him and some of the patent medicine bottles, too. However, partaking of patent medicines was often a way to enjoy the benefits of alcohol without the appearance of drinking in public. According to Hooker (1981), it was thought to aid the body with digestion and sleep, as well as acting as a strengthening agent. Some American women in the nineteenth century appear to have taken advantage of this idea. Besides drinking at dinner and social events, alcohol was also consumed by women in the form of medication, some of which was designed specifically for women. This type of drinking for women was generally overlooked and viewed as respectable in the nineteenth century (Murdock 1998).

In addition to the drinking and medicinal bottles, there were still other types of bottles that shed some light on function and activities at the site. Three toiletry bottles and one snuff bottle were recovered. Only two other sites in the comparative study contained toiletry bottles (the Rose Hotel and the Landmark Tavern), but no other sites contained a snuff bottle (Table 9.12). The contents of the toiletry bottles may have been used by Baber, his family, or any one of his guests. Supplies of snuff carried on a person were generally in boxes made of metal, ceramic, or stone, but a bottle containing snuff would have been used as a commercial container for either sale or transfer of the substance (Ketchum 1975). For such a bottle to be found at the Baber Hotel suggests that Charles Baber was either selling snuff to his guests or one of his lodgers or family members kept such a bottle on hand to refill when needed. In Chapter Seven it was suggested that, because of the high number of smoking pipes recovered from the site, Baber might have been selling the pipes to his clientele. It's possible that he may have been selling snuff as well. Snuff, after all, is a powdered tobacco, often with added aromatic flavors, and could be dipped or chewed like regular tobacco. It was popular among all social classes throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but started to decline by the 1830s in England and later America, except for rural parts of the country and among lower class women in urban areas (McCutcheon 2001). Snuff was also considered by some to have medicinal properties (i.e., a cure for headaches, sleeplessness, toothaches, coughs, and colds) so it is possible that the resident doctor at the hotel might have been using it for his patients (Ketchum 1975).

Figure 9.12. Medicine and toiletry bottles from the Baber Hotel: a-c) medicine, d-e) vials, f) medicine, and g) toiletry

Like the table glass, most of the bottle glass vessels were recovered from feature context from the Baber site, which provided further information on the chronology of the glass use at the site. Table 9.13 shows all of the bottle glass vessels recovered from the Baber Hotel and the period in which they were discarded. Not surprisingly, as with the table glass the most glass bottles discarded are recorded within Period 3, the 1860s (n = 37). Interestingly, the post-Baber period, Period 4, from ca. 1890 to 1910, was the second highest bottle discard period. However, while there are bottles from these deposits that were certainly manufactured during this period, there were more bottles that date in manufacture from the early and middle nineteenth century that are probably the result of mixing and secondary deposition. Features like the robbed pier holes and the upper fill layer (Zone I) of both the house cellar (Feature 21/40) and its bulkhead (Feature 145) were all disturbed during the early twentieth century and the upper layer filled with a mix of early nineteenth century to early twentieth century artifacts. The actual amount of post-1875 manufactured bottle glass from later filled features at the site only amounted to five of the 32 bottle vessels recovered from the site.

As with the table glass, there were several bottles (n = 24) recovered from Period 1 features (1830s and 1840s) at the site. However, there does not appear to be the variety of bottles found in the periods that followed. Instead, there is a large quantity of medicine related bottles, significantly more than the other periods and accounting for nearly 80 % of the minimum identified bottles from this period. Period 2, 1850s, had the least quantity of bottles of all the periods, which is again similar to the table glass, but this period also maintained a higher ratio of medicine related bottles (nearly 78 %). As mentioned in previous chapters, one of the permanent guests of the hotel was a doctor. Dr. Richard Pain married Charles Baber's daughter, Ann, and is listed in the 1850 census as a boarder at the Baber Hotel. Richard Pain was 32 in 1850 and may have been living or practicing medicine at the hotel earlier. The amount of pharmaceutical vials (n = 27) and bottles (n = 43) and syringe fragments (n = 3) suggests that the doctor did see patients at the hotel during his tenure there. Distribution of these artifacts, however, does not help locate where he may have conducted his practice, as most of the artifacts are scattered within several features (mostly cellars) that were filled towards the end of the occupation. It is possible that he saw patients in the hotel or possibly the kitchen.

Not only did the 1860s see the greatest amount of bottles discarded at the site, but there were a greater variety of bottle types discarded at this time as well, in particular, more whiskey flasks and alcohol bottles. In addition, slightly more food related bottles, (e.g., condiment and pepper sauce), are present, suggesting that Baber may have been offering his clients more variety of condiments in their dining experience and more variety of alcoholic beverages throughout the 1860s and perhaps earlier. However, it is also likely that some of this difference relates to the growth in the bottling industry in the 1850s (McKearin and McKearin 1948:136). Lastly, something important to consider for both the table glass and the bottle glass is that while it is not necessarily surprising to have a higher amount of table and bottle glass vessels discarded in the earlier period of change (1830s and 1840s), it is interesting that Baber had such a high amount of glass vessels and other artifacts (i.e., ceramics, etc.) to dispose of. Again, Baber must have had some wealth from the start in undertaking his business venture in Rumsey.

Table 9.13. Bottle Glass Vessels from the Baber Hotel - by Period of Discard

Vessel Type	**Period 1 - 1830s - 1840s**	**Period 2 - 1850s**	**Period 3 - 1860s**	**Period 4 - ca. 1890-1910**	**Feature 1 (1835-75)**	**Total**
Condiment/Food			2	3		5
Olive Oil	1				1	2
Pickle		1				1
Pepper Sauce			1			1
Mustard					1	1
Food Canning Jar		1	3	4	2	10
Wide Mouth Bottle (foodstuff)		1				1
Chestnut Bottle (utilitarian beverage)					1	1
Whiskey Flask	2		4			6
Whiskey Plain			1			1
Wine				2		2
Unknown Alcohol		1	3		3	7
Bitters			1	1	1	3
Medicine	7	8	11	13	4	43
Vial/Medicine	12	6	2	3	4	27
Toiletry	1		1	1		3
Snuff			1			1
Undetermined	1		7	5	1	14
Total	24	18	37	32	18	**129**

Metal (Tin Cans, etc.)

Evidence for commercial foods and perhaps some change in foodways at the site is provided by the tin cans. As Table 9.14 reveals, complete tin cans were found only at the Baber and Rose hotels, but a significantly higher amount of tin can fragments (n = 1739) were recovered from the Baber Hotel. Granted, because these specimens are fragments, they may be representative of considerably fewer complete tin cans, but their provenience provides interesting information on changing patterns of food packaging and perhaps consumption at the site. Most of these tin can fragments (n = 1200 of 1739) were recovered from Feature 139, a back yard cellar that was filled at the end of the occupation and probably reflect the tremendous growth in the American canning industry after the Civil War. If these cans were discarded at the end of the occupation, perhaps they were the product of the two short-term attempts to continue operation of the hotel afterwards. As discussed in Chapter Three, James Hinton continued to operate a tavern on the site from 1868 to 1870, and from 1870 to 1871, Thomas Shackelford operated a tavern.

Table 9.14 also shows several other types of containers and container fragments recovered from the site that relate to food storage and food preparation. Again, because most of these specimens are fragments, very little information can be retrieved regarding actual quantities of complete vessels, but their presence may provide additional information on function and activities at the site. Food serving items included two metal spice shakers and one spice shaker cover. In addition, several artifacts that aided in the preparation of food include nine kettle body fragments, four kettle lid fragments, one pot lid fragment, and four skillet fragments. Some of these items may be associated with post-tavern activities, as two of the skillets and some of the kettle fragments were recovered from a later-dating cellar, Feature 18. However, like the tin cans, most of these items appear to have been discarded towards the end of the Baber occupation, within the large cellars and well. Only a few items were recovered from earlier filled features. Two kettle body fragments and two kettle lid fragments, all probably part of the same vessel, were recovered from Feature 14, the refuse pit located behind the house and in the area of the kitchen. In addition, 12 tin can fragments were recovered from this feature. Only one earlier-dating feature, Zone B of Feature 139, the cold storage cellar located behind the main house, contained one kettle body fragment. Zone B of Feature 139 dates to the cellar’s construction period (late 1830s to early 1840s). However, no other earlier filled features contained any metal food containers or fragments. Period 2, 1850s, saw no metal food containers discarded. The great expansion of the American canning industry during and after the Civil War is certainly the main cause of this pattern.

In addition to the tin cans and other food containers and fragments, there were 319 hollow ware fragments recovered from the Baber site. Of these, 316 were recovered from the house cellar, Feature 21/40, and were probably fragments of kettles, pots, and/or skillets. However, since some of these fragments may not be food related, they were not included in the table. Also, the majority of these hollow ware fragments were recovered from Zone B of the house cellar, which dates after the Baber hotel occupation. Some of these fragments may be the result of further site clearance and therefore probably date from the tavern occupation, but it is impossible to say for certain.

Table 9.14. Metal Food Containers/Fragments from the Baber Hotel and Other Tavern/Hotels

Vessel Type	Baber Hotel	Higbee Tavern	Rose Hotel	Landmark Tavern	Meriwether Hotel	Total
Tin Can (hole-in-top), Whole	2		3			5
Tin Can Fragments	1739	2	364	11	85	2201
Sardine Can Openers				2		2
Plate Fragment				1		1
Canning Jar Lid Fragments	14	20		3		37
Spice Shaker/Cover	3					3
Kettle Body Fragments	9	4		2		15
Kettle Lid Fragments	4					4
Pot Lid Fragment	1			1		2
Pan Fragment		4				4
Skillet Fragment	4					4
Colander Fragment		2				2
Cookware (unknown) Fragments		13				13
Spigot Key				1		1
Total	**1776**	**45**	**367**	**21**	**85**	**2294**

Discussion and Summary

In a nineteenth century tavern/hotel within a small town setting, one would expect to find an unusually large number of serving dishes. Unlike the finer hotels in larger cities, a hotel or tavern would have sold simply prepared foods or convenience foods that would not have needed service pieces or elaborate vessels of any kind. One may even go so far as to expect simply decorated or plain, inexpensive ceramics to be used by the establishment, as well. That is why it is surprising to find that at the Baber Hotel, while there was an unusually large number of serving dishes recovered, the idea of dining with only inexpensive ceramics was not entirely the case. Baber's material culture has shown that he actively participated in the consumer and domestic revolutions during the 1830s and maintained a position as a solid member of the middle class. In particular, ceramics and table glass strongly suggest Baber's participation. At the same time, Baber was also purchasing less expensive ceramics that he likely used as everyday ware, for his family in private meal settings and perhaps for the river boat men and the local working class clientele.

Changes in consumption patterns over time during the Baber occupation did occur and suggest that Baber was considerably wealthy at the beginning of the occupation. During Period 1 of the Baber occupation, Baber consumed the largest amount of expensive ceramics of any period and also purchased a large amount of table glass. For such a large amount of expensive ceramics to be discarded so early at the site suggests that Baber may have not just purchased these materials during Period 1, but also before he came to Rumsey. Baber was purchasing matching tea and flatware sets, and the presence of printed teaware and tableware in the same color likely served as complimentary sets. Perhaps even more telling of a higher-class dinner table at the hotel was the high quantity of expensive transfer printed flatware and serving vessels. Baber's intentions are made clear here. His intent was to create a higher-class hotel and in so doing also present the town of Rumsey as on up and coming community.

However, the decline of Rumsey in the mid-1850s had an affect on the hotel business. Both documentation and the material culture tell us that while Baber is far from poor during Periods 2 and 3, he was not purchasing the expensive ceramics like at the beginning of the occupation. Perhaps the most significant difference between Periods 1 and 3 ceramics was not with the teaware or bowls, but with the flatware. Both periods had relatively high tea consumption, although Period 1 was higher, and low bowl consumption. But Period 1 had much higher spending on flatware. While dinner was a grander experience during the early period, dinner in Period 3 Baber focused more on expensive teas and let the dinner be relatively less grand in appearance.

Both periods 1 and 3 are also similar in that they both have a high quantity of bottles and table glass recovered, but interestingly Period 3 seems to have greater quantity and variety. While the quantity of bottles is likely attributed to the growing bottle industry, the greater variety of table glass during this time (pitcher, cup plate, plate, compote, serving dish, and small "Happy" dish) may be an attempt on Baber's part to compensate for less expensive ceramics. These additional items along with glass tumblers would have been important in setting a complete table.

In sum, the material recovered during Period 1 echoes the success of Rumsey. At this time, Baber and the town were thriving, and Baber's success is reflected in the large proportion of expensive ceramics recovered. Segmented dining and a more ritualized dinner with multiple courses and perhaps even specialized etiquette for household members and guests were present during Period 1. The dining experience during Period 3 may not have been as grand in appearance as in Period 1, but was still fairly elaborate with slightly more variety in table glass, and, as discussed in Chapter 8, a larger quantity of expensive cuts of meat, and more variety of vegetables and fruits. With the beginning of Rumsey's decline in the mid-1850s, Baber became more reserved with ceramic purchases, but he may have tried to compensate for this in other less expensive, yet impressive ways with these food items and an elegant display of table glass. Lastly, the complexity of the meal and service at the Baber Hotel likely varied according to what the customer was willing to pay. After all, Baber was accommodating more than one class of people at his hotel/tavern.

Chapter Ten

Summary and Conclusions

Hotels are linked to
"the advancements of civilization and refinement
in our growing country."[1]

When Charles Baber first came to Rumsey in ca. 1835 and established his tavern, the country was experiencing a period of growth which saw steady and continued prosperity throughout most of the 1830s until the Panic of 1837. The Green River Country, like much of the undeveloped parts of the country, saw land sales, business expansion, urban population growth, shipping, canal building, and turnpike construction flourish. At this time, the Green River, which had undergone improvements for navigation, was a major transportation route into Western Kentucky and towns like Rumsey were established at points on the river where the waters could be traversed by ferries, soon becoming thriving centers for commercial activity that catered to the needs of the growing population. Also with the river improvements, the Green River began enjoying fairly regular steamboat traffic, and with additional road improvements that connected the surrounding area to the river, a solid link with both the national and international markets insured access to all manner of material goods. Although located in a rural part of Kentucky, this access allowed the local residents to participate in the consumer revolution and eventually the class-based Victorian society that saw the emergence of the middle class during the nineteenth century. Rumsey was initially successful in its early years because its politically influential founders, James Rumsey Skiles and Dillis Dyer, had secured the first lock and dam on the Rumsey side of the Green River. The construction of a canal with the lock and dam generated significant business opportunities for merchants and landowners in Rumsey which in turn drew business away from Calhoun, located across the Green River and established many years before Rumsey. For businessmen like Baber, Rumsey was a promising speculative town and therefore an ideal location to establish a tavern. Taverns played a key role in the success of a prospective town like Rumsey and other towns like it located on riverways and roads because they provided much more than simply overnight lodging or spirits. Taverns were among the most important social, political, and economic institutions in early American life and their keepers were often men of "consequence".

Charles Baber must have had some wealth before coming to Rumsey in the mid 1830s for he was able to purchase several town lots and also expensive ceramic tableware and teaware. Many of his possessions appear to have been brought with him and also purchased early upon his arrival. Not long after arriving, Baber made a deliberate effort to improve on the physical appearance and function of his house and lots. In order to attract and accommodate more clientele, Baber first made significant alterations to his house by doubling its size, with the addition of a west room. He also added more space to the house by constructing a small addition behind the new west room and

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[1]"The Girard House, Philadelphia," in Frederick Gleason's *Gleason's,* February 21, 1852,113.

constructing a detached kitchen directly behind the east room of the house, the original kitchen and dining room. Baber also replaced several outbuildings and yard features and constructed newer ones closer to the new kitchen and behind the house. New privies were located further away from the house within the far southwestern corner of lot 13, well out of sight from passers by on Canal Street. Similarly, two cisterns, located near the East room of the house, were replaced by a more efficient source, a well, located directly behind the house and just west of the new kitchen. This shift in lot usage shows that Baber was intentionally clearing lot 14 and consolidating his new outbuildings in more secluded yet efficient areas, directly behind the house and near the detached kitchen for domestic related outbuilding/features and the furthest away from the house for privies. Without a doubt, Baber was consciously attempting to improve and beautify his property in order to entice local and transient clientele to his establishment.

Construction of the detached kitchen and west house addition also expanded the uses of the hotel and presented Rumsey as a sophisticated up and coming town. With the new kitchen removed from the main house, dining in the East room appears to have taken on a grander level of experience. Town leaders, businessmen, and Baber's permanent guests could partake of a civilized, well-served meal in the dining room. Simple dining also occurred at the hotel, perhaps in the kitchen or bar or behind the house for both the local working men and the river men, and in the kitchen for the slaves. Baber's apparent success was in turn a part of Rumsey's success for in 1850 Rumsey was thriving and bustling with numerous businesses along Canal Street. To accommodate access to them, a brick sidewalk was placed in front of the hotel and possibly along Canal Street which would have made the town even more attractive to locals and travelers. From 1840 to about 1855, Rumsey was larger than its older cross-river rival, Calhoun.

Other evidence recovered from the detached kitchen area suggests enslaved African American activities at the site. Metal sewing pins and blue faceted beads, often associated with African American activity, were recovered in the detached kitchen area. Baber had up to three female slaves and there can be no doubt that these women were completing the essential mending and sewing tasks for Baber's family and guests. Although these beads and pins can not clearly define where Baber's slaves were living, they do define where slaves were working.

In addition to the East room functioning as a dining room, it may also have functioned as a female parlor separate from a bar room or male parlor and reserved exclusively for wealthier patrons and women. Several expensive, matched sets of teawares indicate the importance of the tea ceremony to patrons of the hotel in this room. Evidence for female activities is also suggested by the numerous sewing related artifacts (i.e. thimbles and straight pins) and sewing tools that suggest more specialized embroidery and knitting activities (i.e. bone/ivory knitting needle guards or protectors, carved bone pin holders, a tambour, a possible laying tool, and other bone/ivory tools). Evidence of female children participating in sewing activities was also present in the form of child size thimbles. The recovery of numerous slate pencils and writing slate board fragments at the Baber Hotel also provided evidence for school activities that Baber's daughter, who was a school teacher, may have participated in. Among the hotel sites used for comparison research, only the Rose Hotel, located on the Ohio River in southern Illinois, contained similar artifacts. Although the small size of the Baber house suggests that such class separation might have been difficult, according to Larkin (1998), parlors in nineteenth century taverns were common and designed for the use of "genteel travelers, particularly women." If there was a parlor in the Baber Hotel, the women would have had time and space apart from their male counterparts and could practice their sewing, embroidery, and knitting skills, as well as reading, letter writing, piano playing, and taking rest and tea.

With the construction of the West room in the main house, the addition provided a separate space for either a male parlor or bar. We know through the archaeology of the site that Baber was accommodating a large male clientele at his hotel bar through a variety of activities (i.e. drinking, smoking, and tobacco chewing) and game entertainments (i.e. billiards, dice games like craps, etc.), all of which were practiced by all classes of men in the nineteenth century. The high number of smoking pipes suggests that perhaps southern tavern/hotels, which saw a clientele from a broader geographic range, were one of the few exceptions to the low popularity of smoking tobacco in the South. A similar number of pipes was also found at the Rose Hotel and Higbee Tavern, suggesting that the location of these hotels on a travel route would have brought many people to the hotel from all regions of the United States. Another possibility is that the hotel keepers purchased some of the pipes and sold them to their guests for a small profit. Artifacts also revealed that while the bar patrons at the Baber Hotel, Higbee Tavern, and Rose Hotel do not compare in numbers to the volume that the larger Meriwether Hotel in Frankfort catered to, all three of these tavern/hotels did cater to a significantly large number of drinking customers. Charles Baber and the owners of the other tavern/hotels were also shrewd in that they realized that accommodating more than one social class leads to greater bar profits. But perhaps most interesting is that archaeology revealed Baber provided a greater variety of tavern games at his bar than other taverns and hotels in the comparison study. Where Baber's bar was located is still a problematic question and yet, the information gleaned from other tavern layouts and from literature showed that most taverns and hotels contained a separate bar. Although the materials recovered from the Baber Hotel were not entirely sufficient to say where the bar was located, their presence provide enough evidence to conclude that Baber had a tap or bar room in his house.

With the bar separate from the parlor, the Baber hotel would have served the needs of both male and female clients, and different classes of society. Men of both social classes may even have mixed as some historic accounts have shown. The presence of a piano in the Baber household revealed that Baber was also entertaining in a grander fashion for a middle class audience. Although small, Baber's hotel appears to have met the needs of both the working and middle classes and strongly suggests that Baber was aspiring for a middle or upper middle class life style. For all of these reasons, the Baber Hotel must have been an important component of Rumsey during its prospering years.

From 1855 to the time of Baber's death in 1868, the town of Rumsey and its population were in decline. Several contributing factors were instrumental for this decline. On the other side of the Green River, Calhoun had endured and become a success, its town founders having chosen a more stable location from the frequently flooding river and securing the county seat in 1854. Divided loyalties and a dramatic decrease in commercial traffic resulting from the Civil War most certainly compounded financial woes and transportation for all towns on the Green River during the first half of the 1860s. While Calhoun made a successful recovery afterwards, Rumsey did not. Instead, Rumsey had become mostly abandoned with failed businesses. Baber's house, now referred to as Baber's "Old Stand", was no doubt showing signs of neglect. During Rumsey's hey day, however, Baber's tavern/hotel was the community social center for Rumsey and much more. His tavern was created not only for the convenience of the travelers passing through in need of food and lodging, but also for the townspeople and outlying neighbors. Here in Baber's tavern, locals could dine, drink, and linger at their leisure, while playing games, enjoying music, gathering the latest news from travelers, and exchanging ideas, opinions and jokes with friends. Also, women might gather to enjoy music on the piano, take tea, and enjoy conversation while knitting.

The documentary research has shown that Baber was a successful businessman and leading citizen of Rumsey. During the 1830s, Rumsey was the promise of success. As Rumsey thrived, the town served as a primary center of commerce and trade for the region. Baber's tavern/hotel in turn served as the center for Rumsey. Also, Baber's permanent lodgers were an important source of steady profits and may have added some respectability to his establishment based on the type of people who lodged there (i.e. the widow of Rumsey's founder, a doctor, and a lawyer). If Baber's daughter taught school at the hotel, then all the more respectability for Baber and his hotel. In essence, steady income from neighbors and permanent lodgers probably played a more important role to the success of Baber's hotel. Documentary research also tells us that as Rumsey declined in the mid-1850s, so too did the property value of Baber. Still, throughout his life, Baber remained a prominent citizen of Rumsey, serving as a leading citizen and a magistrate.

What the documentary research could not tell us, however, was the extent in which Baber participated in the consumer and domestic revolutions during the 1830s and his position as a solid member of the middle class. Only the material culture, particularly ceramics and some table glass, can tell us this and they strongly suggest Baber's participation. The material recovered during the early Baber period also echoes the success of Rumsey. At this time, Baber and the town were thriving, and Baber's success is reflected in the large proportion of expensive ceramics recovered. At the same time, Baber was also purchasing less expensive ceramics that he likely used as everyday ware, for his family in private meal settings and perhaps for the river boat men and the local working class clientele. But the more expensive ceramics were used for segmented dining and a more ritualized dinner with multiple courses and perhaps even specialized etiquette for household members and guests during the early Baber period. The dining experience during the last period in the 1860s may not have been as grand in appearance as in the 1830s and 1840s, but was still fairly elaborate with ironstone and porcelain ceramics and slightly more variety in table glass. With the beginning of Rumsey's decline in the mid-1850s, Baber became more reserved with ceramic purchases, but he may have tried to compensate for this in other less expensive, yet impressive ways with an elegant display of table glass and a variety of food items.

Food items consumed by the Charles Baber household and his guests consisted of a wide variety of meats, grains, vegetables, fruits, and nuts during all periods of occupation. Most of these foods, in particular corn and hog meat, appear to have been popular throughout the occupation. However, both the faunal and floral material recovered revealed that a notable change occurred between the earliest period (1830s and 1840s) and ending period (1860s) of the Baber occupation.

Baber went from a reliance on possibly on-site raised pig and chickens and varied other meats during the earliest period at the site to a greater reliance on purchased beef and some pork during the last period. Also, more pork was consumed during the early period while more expensive cuts of pork were consumed in the last period. Although less cuts of beef was consumed during the 1830s and 1840s, a greater proportion of high quality cuts of beef and a greater variety of wild game were consumed during the 1860s. Baber also offered a greater variety of fruits, berries, and nuts to his guests during the 1860s. Corn appears to have been preferred over other grains. In essence, Baber appears to have served both “common doings” and “chicken fixings” throughout his occupation of the site, with greater emphasis on quantity of pork in the early period and quantity of beef in the last. Baber appears to have shown some solid business sense by still accommodating the local working class and river boat men with stews and soups made from moderate- to low-yielding beef cuts and pork. Unless Baber had a garden, much of the food items, particularly the Old World grains and corn, must have been commercially purchased. Most of the grains were likely purchased by Baber from a local farmer or one of the two grist mills in Rumsey that were present in 1847. These businesses also played a key role in Rumsey’s success. Based on the ceramics, table glass, and food items recovered from the site, the complexity of the meal and service at the Baber Hotel must have varied according to what the customer was willing to pay.

In addition, the archaeological material recovered from the Baber Hotel site and other sites has revealed that it is not necessarily the type of artifact recovered from the site that signals the tavern/hotel function. Most of the artifacts recovered from the Baber Hotel site can be found on other domestic sites. What does seem to signal the tavern/hotel function is the inordinate quantity of material recovered. If the quantity of such items is characteristic of a tavern/hotel function, the variety of such items should reveal the economic class and social status of the clientele of such an establishment. For such a high amount of expensive ceramics, table glass, and other artifacts to be discarded so early at the site suggests that Baber must have consumed much in the early period of occupation and probably before he came to Rumsey. Also, assuming the greater the variety of food and serving vessels displayed at the table, the higher the class of clientele, and assuming the income scale decreases as variety decreases, then variety is the key word that best describe Baber’s possessions. With the exception of the Rose Hotel, variety is what sets Baber apart from the other tavern/hotels in the study. Baber served a greater variety of food and possessed a greater variety of ceramic and glass vessels to serve the food to his guests. He even provided a diverse variety of male related games. Towards the end of the Baber occupation, although Baber was not buying tableware and teaware to the same degree that he had when he first came to Rumsey, he was still purchasing these items, as well as the most current types of tableware and teaware in ironstone. The variety of table glass, meats, fruits, vegetables consumed at this time all suggest that he was still attempting to set a fine table and was still a part of the middle class, but to a lesser degree lower or middle level.

Lastly, Charles Baber’s transformation from proprietor of a ‘tavern’ to ‘hotel’ was well thought out. By the mid-nineteenth century, a tavern had become synonymous with lowly and distasteful and was thought of as a place that provided merely food and liquor. Hotels were a higher class of tavern and their emergence and fruition appears to be a reflection of what many of the emerging middle class were aspiring to in the mid-nineteenth century, a more civilized appearance. In Baber’s case, he appears to have attempted to emulate these more sophisticated establishments like the ones in the Eastern United States. Baber appears to be following the rise in refinement not only by improving on the physical appearance of his hotel and its offerings, but by changing his establishment from a 'tavern' to 'hotel'. Granted the town of Rumsey was never a large metropolis, but Baber and the other founders of the town had similar aspirations as those in larger cities, to succeed. In order to accomplish this, towns like Rumsey sought to upgrade their image. With Baber and the other businessmen of Rumsey, there was some initial success, but it would not last.

In essence, the story of Charles Baber and his hotel is not just one story; rather, it is a story within a story. On one level there is Baber and his aspirations to create a high class hotel and maintain a middle class way of life which inspired him to make significant improvements to his tavern investment. On another level it is a story of Rumsey and its rise and decline. Baber played a key role in the town's initial success, as did others like him, all founding fathers and entrepreneurs who had similar aspirations for a better life. There were numerous towns like Rumsey in western Kentucky and the Ohio Valley during the early nineteenth century and the success of each town was driven by businessmen like Baber. These businessmen all wanted the same thing, to see themselves and their burgeoning town prosper and grow. In order to succeed, they had to entice speculative settlers and businessmen to their town and locale by presenting an image of success. Tavern/hotels played a key role in this success, being a respectable establishment and often the center of a growing town or village. Baber's tavern/hotel was no different. Some of these successful towns maintained their prosperity, some did not. As Rumsey began to decline, so did Baber's business. But while Rumsey and Baber were prospering, the tavern/hotel benefitted the local economy and provided a place that served a multifunction purpose. Based on what we know of Charles Baber and his business cohorts, the Baber Hotel must have been the answer to the public demand for accommodating various social, business, and political needs and for providing them to more than one class of clientele. Charles Baber, like other tavern keepers of his day, was also more than a businessmen. He was a leading citizen of Rumsey, a man of "consequence".

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Appendix A - Archaeobotancial Analysis Tables by Dr. Jack Rossen

Appendix B - Faunal Analysis Tables by Dr. Judith Sichler

Appendix C - Artifact and Vessel Catalog

Appendix D - Prehistoric Artifact Catalog

(See Attached CD)