

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL
AND HISTORICAL
ASSESSMENT OF THE



FIRST HERMITAGE

1976

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
ASSESSMENT OF THE FIRST HERMITAGE

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

In February of 1974, representatives of the Division of Archaeology, Tennessee Department of Conservation, carried out a brief survey of the Hermitage plantation site and subsequently completed a tentative proposal for a program of archaeological research in several areas where notable artifacts or structural remains were found. Part of the stated goals of this proposal were: 1) To determine the exact nature of the several areas located in the initial survey. 2) To provide an estimated dating of the foundations and other features excavated and to determine their probable relationship to the present Hermitage complex. 3) To recover artifactual materials which would help explain the nature of the features excavated, provide materials for dating the various excavated structures, and for exhibit purposes. 4) To provide an exhibit of archaeological work in progress showing the archaeological methodology as part of the tour of the Hermitage grounds.

In July, 1974, Joseph L. Benthall, Director, and Samuel D. Smith, Historical Archaeologist, of the Division of Archaeology met with Mrs. Cawthon A. Bowen, Jr., Regent, and John J. Cooney, Jr., Resident Director, of the Ladies Hermitage Association to finalize plans for the work, to be funded jointly by the Ladies Hermitage Association and the Tennessee American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. Six areas had been specified for testing over a period of four seasons. While most of these areas were in no immediate danger of being disturbed, a general assessment of their archaeological potential, as well as that of the entire plantation complex, was especially called for at this time. This was due to the impending formulation of a badly needed "Master Plan" to handle the ever expanding

tourist flow to the Hermitage and Tulip Grove complexes. The nature of the overall objectives was thus twofold. While attempting to test several specific areas for the purpose of providing answers to numerous localized problems, it would be necessary to formulate some long range plans concerning how the major complexes might best be maintained with minimal threat to those remains deemed important from an historical and/or archaeological viewpoint.

Given the rather unusual character of the Hermitage properties, it seems incontestable that their research potential is of major import. From the standpoint of historical significance alone, the events which transpired here in the nineteenth century had tremendously far reaching consequences. Added to this, we have what are potentially some rather unique problems which when tested could add substantially to our understanding of plantation archaeology, an important phase of the discipline known in America as Historical Archaeology.

The area of the "first Hermitage" was selected as a starting point for the season of field work beginning in July, 1974. According to the written sources initially available to us, the first Hermitage had consisted of a group of three or four log buildings, in one of which Andrew Jackson had resided from about 1804 until construction of the first brick mansion in 1819. Some limited archival research was carried out before and during the early stages of the field work. And this, combined with the results of our first few archaeological tests, quickly lead to three major conclusions. In order to properly interpret the first Hermitage, we would have to develop an understanding of its relationship to the overall plantation complex during a 50 to 60 year period. And, to make even

a minimal assessment would require at least two seasons of field work. Furthermore, to complete such an assessment, it would be desirable to have as much help as possible from persons skilled in a variety of research techniques.

Of immediate concern was the problem of documentary interpretation. At present, the Andrew Jackson Papers Project is in progress in offices located on the Hermitage grounds. The total volume of materials collected is already enormous and is expected to surpass 60,000 individual items. From the beginning we were almost overwhelmed by the need to know what kinds of sources might exist in this mass of material which could have a direct bearing on the kinds of archaeological interpretations we would try to make. Fortunately, both the Ladies Hermitage Association and the Jackson Papers Project staff were amiable to our needs, and by the early part of September, 1974, approval had been given for Fred W. Brigance, retired Navy dentist and graduate student in history at Middle Tennessee State University, to begin a program of research on the material history of the Hermitage site. His subsequent achievements comprise one section of this report. His effort will, I believe, be recognized as the most comprehensive historical discussion available concerning the early Hermitage.

Within the immediate area of concern in 1974 were three log buildings, all known to have been standing since sometime in the nineteenth century. From the first, it was hoped that some determination of the antiquity of each could be made. While we expected to be able to do this primarily using regular archaeological techniques, one of the most potentially productive techniques considered was tree ring dating. I had previously been of some minor assistance to Lynne Jordan Bowers, of Memphis, Tennessee, in her research on the dendrochronology of bald cypress in eastern Arkansas, and

later she expressed an interest in attempting tree ring dating in the Middle Tennessee area. This was initiated during the first season at the Hermitage, and afterwards we were able to more fully develop a chronological model based on southern red cedar, at Castalian Springs, another regional historic site. That we were originally able to obtain from the Ladies Hermitage Association the necessary support for a research technique completely new to the area is extremely gratifying. A discussion of the results of the work at the Hermitage also composes a separate section within the present report. The section is coauthored by Dinah L. Grashot, a graduate student specializing in statistics at Vanderbilt University.

By the end of the 1974 excavation season, still another area of potential research had become most apparent. The first season had produced over 11,000 pieces of animal bone, mostly discarded food remains, which if properly interpreted could tell much about the daily life of the Hermitage occupants. Identification of non-human skeletal remains comes under the heading of zooarchaeology, and here again we were most fortunate in that the Ladies Hermitage Association was willing to support an important phase of analysis about which they had little previous knowledge. We were also fortunate in obtaining the services of Emanuel Breitburg, a graduate student in anthropology with special training in zooarchaeology from the University of Tennessee. During two periods, in the spring and fall of 1975, he completed a thorough analysis of all faunal materials recovered during both excavation seasons. His findings constitute another section of the first Hermitage report.

Still another contributor to this report originally became involved purely by chance. During October, 1974, Mr. and Mrs. Lee T. Good were making a cross country trip, from their home in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and stopped

for a visit at the Hermitage. This particular day was also the date of the Ladies Hermitage Association's fall outing, and we had prepared a display of artifacts for the event. This included some of the glass beads which had been found. Mary Elizabeth Good, Research Associate of the Museum of the Red River, Oklahoma, is well known for her research on historic Indian trade items and has a special interest in glass trade beads. Following a discussion on the site and an exchange of correspondence, she agreed to examine all of the beads that we had found, or would later recover, and provide a written section about them for the report. I am extremely grateful to her for this voluntary contribution of time and effort.

Though all of the work planned for other parts of the Hermitage site has not been completed, we do not expect to return to the first Hermitage area during the course of the presently funded program. Because it does represent a rather large expenditure of time, it seems best that the work completed in this area be reported separately from any additional excavations which will be made in the future.

It has been my desire for some time that the first Hermitage report should be a true interdisciplinary effort. The interdisciplinary approach has long been touted by archaeologists. But, at least for historic site reports, this seldom goes beyond the point of an occasional appendix, added as a sort of afterthought to what the principal investigator has to say. In this report we have assembled a group of independently authored papers, which in spite of their diversity, should help bring into focus the primary issue, an interpretation of this most significant site. No effort has been made to stifle the diversity of expression present. Historians and archaeologists, for example, have traditionally maintained their own

literary styles, and more than one method of reference citation is used here. Such minor variations hopefully will not detract from the effort which has gone into the development of the report.

The list of persons who have contributed to the first Hermitage project is somewhat lengthy but deserves to be included.

We must first of all reacknowledge our financial sponsors, the Ladies Hermitage Association and the Tennessee American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. The director, regent, and board members of the Ladies Hermitage Association are to be especially thanked for their numerous specific favors and general encouragement. In like manner all of the Hermitage staff, including secretaries, historians, docents and cleaning women, helped in various ways during the course of the project. To a very real extent, the archaeological field work would have been virtually impossible without the help of the various Hermitage staff members, primarily the historians, who served as area guides to explain to the steady flow of tourists what we were doing. Ada Whisenhunt, Supervisor of Interpretation and Research for the Hermitage, provided us with much assistance in solving this particular problem as well as helping with problems of historical interpretation. The Hermitage maintenance crew also provided much direct assistance, and their supervisors, Julius Armstrong in 1974 and Raymond Vantrease in 1975, because of their long association with the site, were able to provide much important information about structural and other changes which they have observed through the years.

Whatever measure of success can be claimed for the two seasons of field work is largely due to the diligence and enthusiasm of the

archaeological crew members, mostly students or recent graduates from several Tennessee universities. Persons who served as regular crew members during 1974 and/or 1975 are: Ira Beckerman, David Brown, Cynthia Cole, Ann Coleman, Stephen Cox, John Hunter, Ruth Krueger, Donna Rothrock, Stanley Sadler, Patrick Smith, Richard Tune, and Steven Williams. Four individuals who worked both seasons and served at varying times in the capacity of archaeological assistants (supervising individual crews and helping with the the laboratory analysis) are: Suzanne Drone, Diane MacIntyre, Dianne Martin, and Mike Martin.

The basic non-expendable laboratory and field equipment used in the archaeological work was provided by the Tennessee Division of Archaeology. We are also indebted to Andy Andrews of Tusculum Pharmacy, Nashville, for donating some expendable items, including a continuous supply of medicine containers, used for collecting and preserving fragile archaeological materials.

Dr. James K. Huhta, Department of History, Middle Tennessee State University, has been of much importance to the overall project by helping to find student personnel for the field work and in providing assistance to the historical research effort. An effective historical research project was also a direct result of the generous cooperation of the Andrew Jackson Papers Project staff: Dr. Sam B. Smith (director), Mrs. Frank L. Owsley, Luke Baker, Carese Parker, and Linda Keeton. Hugh Walker, staff writer for The Tennessean, also provided help on the problems of historical interpretation. And, we are indebted to Mrs. W. Ross Stephens for making available an important map and other sources of historical information.

Laboratory space for the analysis of the 1974 faunal remains was furnished by Dr. Gerald F. Schroedl of the McClung Museum, University of

Tennessee. Advice on matters of faunal identification and the loan of comparative faunal material were provided by Dr. Paul W. Parmalee, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee.

Rod Bowers of Memphis, Tennessee, assisted in collecting the dendrochronology samples. Dr. Neil Miller of Memphis State University provided some of the field equipment used in this phase of the research. Dr. Richard J. Larsen, Department of Mathematics, Vanderbilt University, rendered much help on the problem of developing the right statistical program for use with the tree ring samples.

Assistance with the preparation of this report was provided by my wife, Judith Smith (proofreading), Sue Cardwell, Tennessee Division of Archaeology (typing), Don Rapp, Tennessee Division of Archaeology (redrawing some of the field maps), and Nancy Thornton, 1976 Hermitage project crew member (drawing the back cover design).

INTRODUCTION

If it were possible to interpret the physical remains of the first Hermitage purely in terms of the less than twenty-year period during which it served as the Jackson family residence, our task would be much simpler than the one which we in reality must face. Both historically and archaeologically it has been extremely difficult to determine exactly what occurred in this area after completion of the first mansion in the early 1820s. Not until formation of the Ladies Hermitage Association, in 1889, does the picture again become clear. For the intervening period, the available historical information has been found to consist almost entirely of indirect or secondary references. Archaeologically, however, a majority of the artifacts recovered in the first Hermitage area have been found to date from about 1820 until the late 1850s. The suggestion is clear that at the same time that this area was undergoing a decline in terms of its significance on the Hermitage social scale, it nevertheless continued a kind of assention based on its inclusion in a developing plantation complex. Thus, we have in this one area, a material record which reflects a relatively steady increase in volume of items in use from approximately 1804 until a major occupation disruption in the 1850s. These changes are reflected, not only by the subsurface archaeological remains, but also in the still standing buildings. To attempt to interpret what remains of the early Hermitage, it is also necessary to consider what transpired here in later years.

The full understanding of any historic site also requires knowledge about its relationship to various external factors of contemporary

significance. This is true of the Hermitage, for though both farms and plantations of the nineteenth century were characterized by a measure of self-sufficiency, they were by no means totally independent. We will begin with a consideration of some general geographical and social concepts.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC SETTING

The state of Tennessee is traditionally described in terms of eight topographic divisions, from east to west: The Unakas, Valley and Ridge, Cumberland Plateau, Highland Rim, Central Basin, Western Valley, Coastal Plain, and Mississippi River Valley (Miller 1974: 3-7). The Hermitage is located (Fig. 1) within the northwest quadrant of the Nashville or Central Basin, which is enclosed by the east and west portions of the Highland Rim. The basin is an area 60 miles wide by 120 miles long, underlain by Ordovician period limestone. It is drained by three principal rivers, the Cumberland, Harpeth, and Duck, all of which have cut valleys through the western rim (Reesman and Godfrey 1970: 3). An interesting nineteenth-century description of the Central Basin is presented by Killebrew (1874: 3):

...elliptical in shape, and resembling the bed of a drained lake. It may be compared to the bottom of an oval dish, of which the Highlands form the broad, flat brim. The soil of this basin is highly productive of all the crops suited to the latitude, and it has been well named the Garden of Tennessee. In this basin stands the capital of the State. It is of the first importance as an agricultural region. Its area is 5,450 square miles, and it has an average depression of 300 feet below the Highlands. This whole basin, with the surrounding Highlands, is slightly tilted towards the north-west, and has a less elevation on that side than on any other.

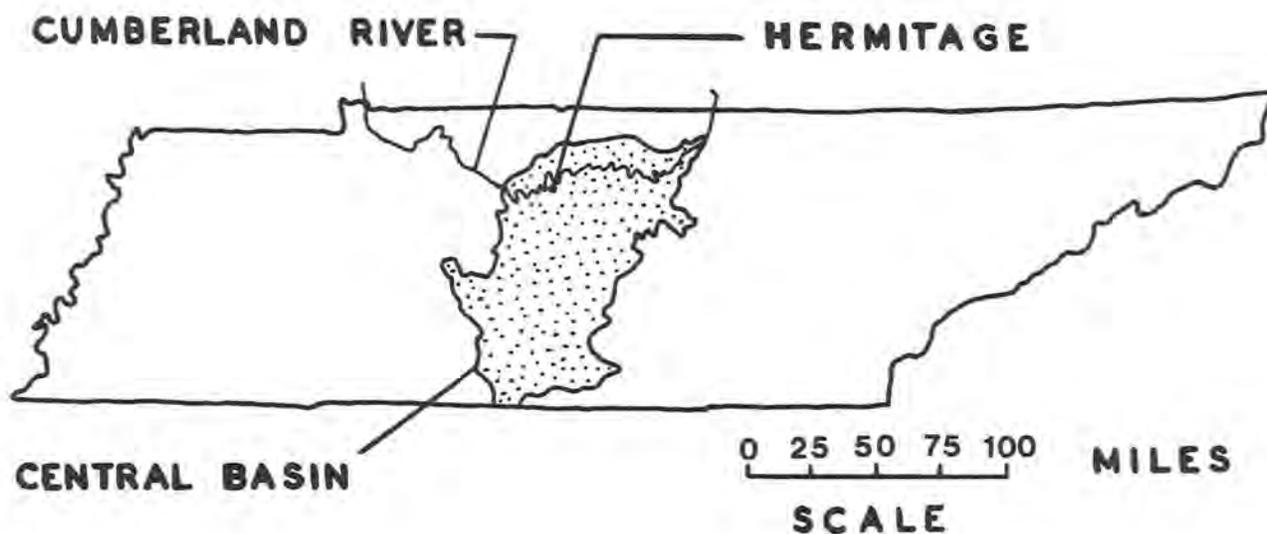


Figure 1. State map showing location of the Hermitage in the Tennessee Central Basin.

Located in northeastern Davidson County, the Hermitage is situated such that it is easily accessible from two points on the Cumberland River, as well as being within two miles of a minor but partially navigable tributary, Stones River (Fig. 2). Above the river flood plains, this section is recognized for its siliceous varieties of a calcareous (derived from limestone) soil type, previously known as the best in the county for growing cotton. These are brownish yellow, moderately clayey soils with intermingling water-worn gravel and underlying sandstone. Originally they supported forests consisting mostly of poplar and oak, with some walnut, chestnut, beech, maple, and cedar (Killebrew 1874: 64, 672, and 675).

Within the northern portion of the Central Basin there are approximately 50 inches of rainfall per year, with an average annual temperature of 60 degrees Fahrenheit. The growing season is almost 200 days long, from

the end to the beginning of the annual frost cycle. These and other factors led to an Anglo-American interest in clearing and cultivation of the land as early as 1778. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, this process was well advanced (Smith 1975: 10; Killebrew 1874: 17-20).

COMMUNITY SETTING: FARMS AND PLANTATIONS

As will be seen in the historical section of this report, white settlement of the Nashville area had taken on a rather stable appearance by the beginning of the nineteenth century. By then, there already existed the outlines of the basic settlement patterns which were to persist within the Central Basin throughout much of the nineteenth century. To understand these and other behavioral patterns, it is helpful to see them in terms of some local or regional framework.

In attempting to describe American culture, both sociologists and anthropologists have traditionally used "local communities as local samples or microcosms of culture" (Arensberg and Kimball 1965: 97). It is felt that this approach can also be used in studying a region's past, with data provided by either history or archaeology, or both. In addition, within the geographical area of concern to us, the "Southern County" community model (Arensberg and Kimball 1965: 106) should have considerable utility.

In one of the few available studies of a Middle Tennessee "community," the author (Matthews 1965) uses as her sample an area containing sixty-four farms near the southeast edge of the Central Basin. This one portion of one county she further defines as an "egalitarian kinship community." Some of her findings could perhaps also be interpreted in terms of Redfield's (1955: 4) "little community" concept, which may have even

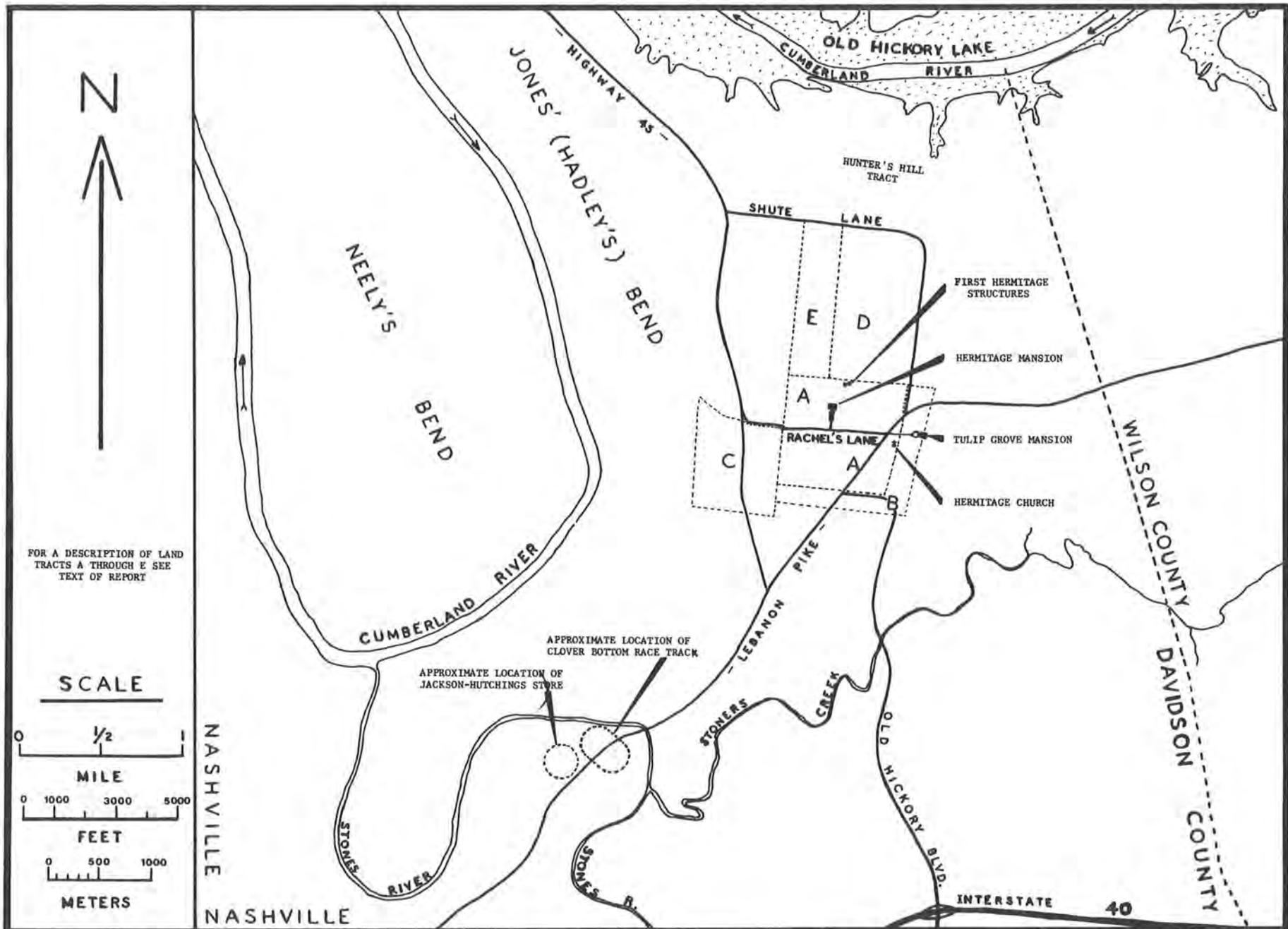


Figure 2. Map of the Hermitage environs, showing some nineteenth-century property lines.

more meaning for studies in the highlands of Tennessee. It is doubtful, however, that this sort of isolation ever existed within most of the counties in the Central Basin. Indeed, Matthews (1965) major thesis is acceptable only if one ignores certain broader economic considerations, which are absent from her study, and which would no doubt prove to be the vital links to a larger world. It is certain that she has not defined the sort of community which contains within it "persons and roles and statuses, or the transmitted and learned awareness of them, for every kind and office of mankind that the culture knows" (Arensburg and Kimball 1965: 21).

The present writer is of the opinion that the community setting of the Tennessee Central Basin can best be found at the level of the county. And this has probably been the case since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century. In discussing their "Southern County" community type, Arensburg and Kimball (1965: 106) note that:

The distinctive community form of the South was and is the county. Dispersed a day's ride in and out around the county seat, that community assembled planter and field- or house-hand from the fat plantations, free poor white or Negro from the lean hills and swamps, for the pagentry and the drama of Saturdays around the courthouse, when the courthouse, the jail, the registry of deeds, and the courthouse square of shops and lawyers' row made a physical center of the far flung community...It is a mistake to treat this county and county seat for its separate parts and to try and find the community of the Old South at any other level.

While Tennessee, as a whole, was never a true plantation state, in some Middle Tennessee counties "the agricultural model approached the plantation system" (Mooney 1957: 86). One of these counties was Davidson (Mooney 1957: 114), which has existed as a political entity since before Tennessee became a state in 1796 (Caldwell 1968: 187). Though distinctive in its own right, the Hermitage was a functioning part of the Davidson

County community, as a farm and later as a plantation. The latter requires some clarification.

Andrew Jackson consistently referred to the Hermitage as a "farm," and this was apparently a semantic point of some significance to other Tennesseans as well. Mooney (1957: 117) notes that in the mid-nineteenth century many Tennesseans were definitely planters, but the 1860 census "applied only the term 'farmer' to the agriculturists in the Volunteer State." Perhaps one reason for this can be seen in the long standing egalitarian norms discussed by Matthews (1965: 106 and 137).

In spite of such sentiments, it is obvious that the Hermitage's transition from 420 acres of land and less than 20 slaves, in 1804, to an average of 1,000 acres of land and over 100 slaves, in the 1820s to 1840s (Walker 1943: 20-30), placed Andrew Jackson in an extremely elite agriculturist class. Figures taken from the 1850 census show that in the Tennessee Central Basin only 9.7 percent of the slave-holding land-owners held more than 500 acres of land, while only 2.4 percent had more than 1,000 acres (Owsley 1965: 224). That Jackson would in fact most accurately be called a member of the planter class is readily apparent.

Various writers have attempted to distinguish between the terms farm (farmer) and plantation (planter), usually by defining the latter. According to Smith (1973: 3) "The slave plantation of the Old South has been defined as 'a capitalistic type of organization in which a considerable number of unfree laborers were employed under unified direction and control in the production of a staple crop.'" Boney (1971: 76) notes that "The vague term planter encompassed a bewildering array of actual people, but basically the planter was an agriculturist with much land and many slaves,

say twenty or, better still, say a large number which included at least twenty able-bodied field hands." Mooney's (1957) study is specifically concerned with the agricultural work force in Tennessee, and he suggests that:

While many factors must be recognized in trying to differentiate between planters and farmers, it seems clear that the basic requirements for a plantation would be a large enough number of slaves to cultivate whatever amount of land was necessary to enable concentration on the growing of a staple crop for market rather than one for home consumption and enough domestics and artisans to maintain a way of life that has come to be traditionally associated with the planter group. It is, of course, impossible to designate an exact number of slaves and/or an exact amount of land as the point of transition from farmer to planter, but in general the operator with fewer than thirty slaves and less than five hundred acres of improved land found it extremely difficult to depend upon the returns from a single crop for a living (Mooney 1957: 124-125).

Though Andrew Jackson died in 1845, the 1850 census is significant for interpreting the local situation towards the end of the period during which the Hermitage was in active production. Figures based on this census show that in Davidson County there were only sixty-one heads of agricultural families operating with more than thirty slaves, and that the average size of their holdings was 481.2 acres. Furthermore, less than one percent of the agriculturists in the Middle Tennessee political division owned more than seventy-five slaves (Mooney 1957: 113 and 125). In view of this, there should be little reason to avoid the term "plantation" in reference to the Hermitage of later years.

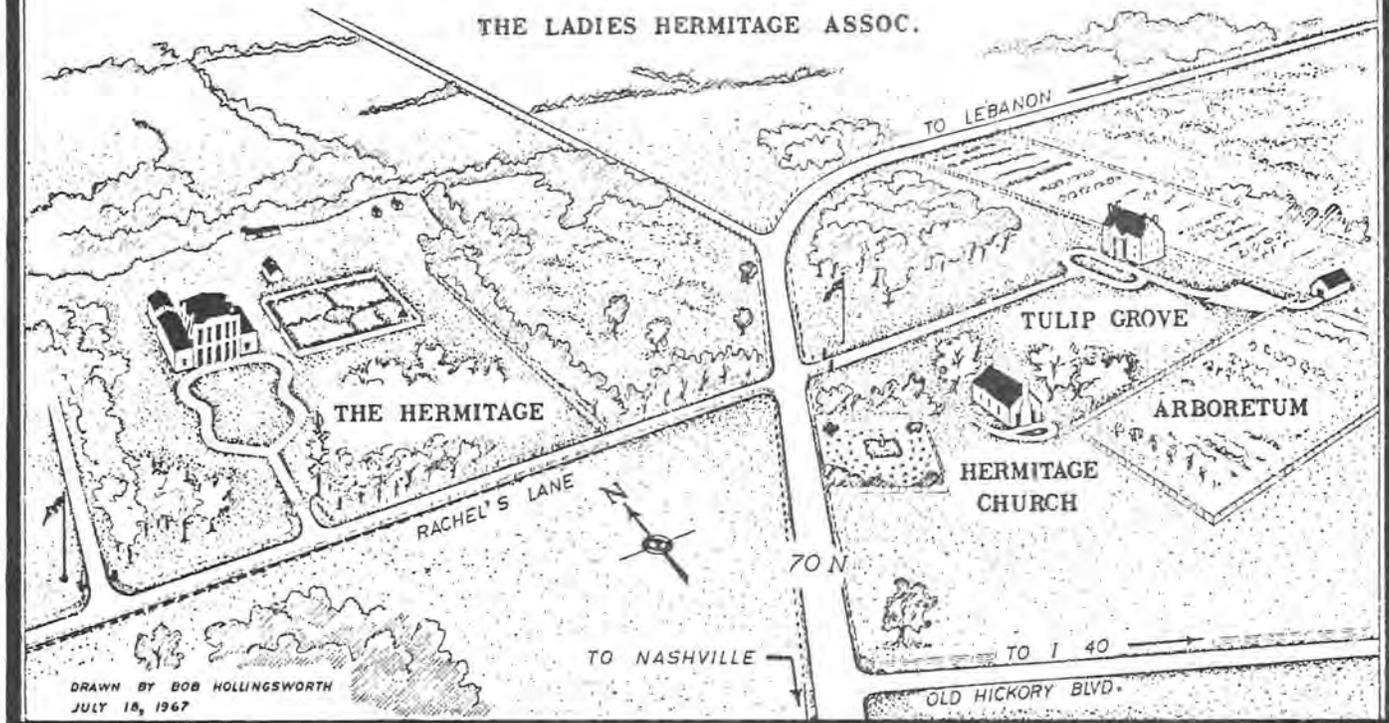
THE FIRST HERMITAGE SITE

The feature of most significance to the location of the first Hermitage is the spring (Fig. 3, No. 12). Actually there are two springs (the other being located 750 feet north), which were later a part of

HISTORIC SITES

MAINTAINED BY

THE LADIES HERMITAGE ASSOC.



THE HERMITAGE

HOME OF ANDREW JACKSON

A PERSPECTIVE VIEW



- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Ticket Office | 6. The Smokehouse | 11. Old Barn and Carriage House
from Hunter's Hill |
| 2. Gift Shop | 7. The Mansion | 12. Stone Spring House |
| 3. LHA Office | 8. The Tomb | 13. Cabin by the Spring |
| 4. The Carriage House | 9. Uncle Alfred's Cabin | 14. The Early Hermitage |
| 5. The Museum | 10. Farm Shop and Greenhouse | |

Figure 3. Maps of the Hermitage and Tulip Grove complexes. Originally drawn in 1967 for the Ladies Hermitage Association.

the plantation. But surviving property maps indicate that, in 1804, only the southernmost of these (which is actually the better of the two) would have been part of the Hermitage. A map of early land grants in the neck of Jones' Bend (used to draw Fig. 6) shows that the dividing line running east-west between the 640-acre land grants of Nathaniel Hays (after 1804 the first Hermitage) and Hugh Hays was located between the springs. Apparently it is this same line which formed the northern boundary of the 500-acre Hermitage tract sold to the state of Tennessee in 1856 (Horn 1950: 10-11). While it is difficult to be sure of the exact boundaries of the first Hermitage, it has been possible to delineate the approximate area on a modern map.

It has also been possible to define various other property lines for the Hermitage of later years. Many of these older lines are still indicated on the 1968 U. S. Geological Survey map of the area (Hermitage Quadrangle) and can be seen on aerial photographs. Both have been used, along with the land grant map mentioned above, a copy of the 1856 deed to the state of Tennessee, an 1870 deed map (Fig. 25), and copies of deeds contained in Caldwell (1949: 2-16). From these, the following conclusions were made concerning the tracts identified as A to E in Figure 2.

Tracts A and B. Together these two tracts define the first Hermitage. This was a 425-acre area taken from the west portion of Nathaniel Hays original land grant. In 1856, the A tract constituted 300 acres of the 500 acres sold to the state of Tennessee. The B tract was relinquished by Jackson before 1841.

Tract C. These 200 acres had once been part of a 640-acre tract that belonged to John Donelson and later Severn Donelson. This portion was acquired by Jackson before 1841, and it completed the 500 acres sold to the state in 1856.

Tract D and E. Tract D, equaling 296 acres, and tract E, 151 acres, are both shown on the 1870 deed map which concerns the transfer of tract D from S. Hatfield to H. Smith. Tract D is further identified as part of the "Old Hermitage Tract." It is also evident from Jackson's description of his property in 1841 (Caldwell 1949: 15-16), that tract E was part of the Hermitage at that time. Both of these tracts had formerly comprised the west end of Hugh Hays' 640-acre grant. The previously mentioned north spring is in the southwest quarter of tract D. Exactly when Jackson acquired this property is of considerable interest to an interpretation of the three standing cabins, as one of them is located on the north side of this north tract boundary line. Though Jackson had control of the west half of Hugh Hays' grant as early as 1806, he appears not to have actually owned it until 1821 (see historical research section of this report).

In describing the Hermitage of 1841, Jackson gave its size as 960 acres (Caldwell 1949: 16). The boundaries he gives are those enclosing tracts A, C, D, and E in Figure 2. However, the size of these individual tracts, taken from more recent sources, totals 947 acres. The missing 13 acres are assumed to be the result of variations in measurement at different times.

For a period in the 1830s Jackson owned both the Hermitage and Hunter's Hill (Fig. 2), the latter having been his home immediately before he bought the first Hermitage in 1804. In addition, he also had, in the 1830s, other tracts adjoining Hunter's Hill, which were largely in Wilson County. With the addition of all of these, his contiguous holdings were at one time around 2,000 acres (see historical research section).

From an original trust of 25 acres, the Ladies Hermitage Association has, since 1935, been responsible for maintaining the 500 acres purchased by the state of Tennessee in 1856 (Walker 1972: 52). The Association also acquired, in 1960, 125 acres adjoining the old north

boundary (the southern portion of tracts D and E in Fig. 2). With the addition of Tulip Grove and an area purchased by the Tennessee Department of Conservation (which includes the northern portions of tracts D and E), practically all of the land ever considered part of the main Hermitage plantation is now secure.

Within these boundaries, and specifically within the area of the first Hermitage, we are concerned with the material record relating to the various nineteenth-century activity patterns. A principal one of these was agriculture.

The main farming activities are difficult to define for the first Hermitage, but they probably did not differ greatly in type from those that are better documented for later periods. Generally speaking, the Hermitage produced cotton as the main staple, with corn being the second most important crop. In addition, at least eighteen other species of plant crops were grown at various times. Pigs were the primary livestock, but cattle, oxen, horses, mules, sheep, chickens, and turkeys were also raised (Walker 1943: 24-27).

The main description of the first Hermitage area will be presented later, but needs to be abbreviated here. It should be noted that the term "first Hermitage area," as used here, denotes an area much more restricted than the entire first Hermitage (425 acres). While it has been possible to complete a significant amount of archaeological testing in the immediate vicinity of the principal first Hermitage buildings, it would require considerably more than two summers to explore all of the areas possibly related to Jackson's early farming operation. For purposes of archaeological identification, the first Hermitage structural area is also identified as "Area A."

Within this area, there are three log buildings which attract our immediate attention. Two of these have been restored, and are included in the tour of the Hermitage grounds (Fig. 3, No. 14). What is here referred to as the "West Cabin" is traditionally said to have been the cabin in which Andrew and Rachel Jackson lived for about eighteen years. The other restored cabin (the "East Cabin") is of disputed origin and function, and even less has been known about the antiquity of a run-down cabin in the woods to the north (the "North Cabin"). This last was not acquired by the Ladies Hermitage Association until 1960, and it had been occupied as late as the 1940s. In addition to these buildings, there is a fourth cabin site (the "South Cabin" site) which was revealed by the archaeological explorations beginning in 1974. A few other structures are indicated to have been located on the farm during the first Hermitage period, but their exact locations remain to be determined.

As previously noted, an understanding of the structural remains in the area of the first Hermitage cannot be attained without an awareness of events which have occurred here since the 1820s. According to the findings of our research project, the highlights of this event sequence are as follows:

- 1) Utilization of the first Hermitage cabins as the principal residence from 1804 until around 1821.
- 2) Utilization of the first Hermitage for unknown purposes for an approximate ten-year period (based on indirect evidence the cabins could have served as guest or overseer's quarters during the 1820s).
- 3) Utilization of the first Hermitage as slave quarters from perhaps as early as 1830 until the late 1850s.
- 4) The entire Hermitage complex was essentially unused from around 1860 until 1889, but there seems to have been a minor restoration of the first Hermitage cabins sometime during this interval.

- 5) The Ladies Hermitage Association was formed in February, 1889, and in April, 1889, the Association was given a deed of trust for 25 acres of land from the state of Tennessee. This included the main house and grounds, the spring house, and the East and West cabins of the first Hermitage area (Dorris 1915: 37-46).
- 6) Shortly after July, 1889, a major restoration of the West Cabin was started, and both it and the East Cabin have since been maintained in good repair by the Ladies Hermitage Association.
- 7) In 1960, the Ladies Hermitage Association purchased the north tract which includes the North Cabin. Its relationship to the first Hermitage was unknown at that time, and it has been given considerable attention during the present research effort.

Part of our understanding of the latter portion of this sequence of events is based on the interpretation of a number of nineteenth-century photographs. Neither historical nor archaeological data in the more usual sense, they nevertheless provide an important adjunct to our general understanding of the area. Several of these old photographs were already contained in a photograph file maintained by the Ladies Hermitage Association. Other photographs and one important painting were located elsewhere. During a period of several months, the writer searched for and made photographic copies of these. The more significant ones, along with essential descriptive information, are presented in Figure 4. Many of the photographs are undated, but an attempt has been made to place them in chronological order from oldest to most recent.

Figure 4. Early views of first Hermitage buildings. All views are facing northeast.

a. This is a copy of one half of a stereoscope card belonging to William Baker of the Tennessee State Museum. It is one of five Hermitage views contained in a collection of cards probably dating to sometime around 1870. These were recently discussed by Walker (1975), who points out that at least part of the collection must be pre-1877. This particular photograph does seem to be the earliest in the series of first Hermitage views presented here. The only other possible alternative is to place it after view "f" (but see discussion of "g").

b. This undated photograph is contained in the Ladies Hermitage Association file. Originally we thought that it showed the cabins when first restored by the LHA, in 1889, but the additional views indicate otherwise. Though the perspective is different, the West Cabin chimney in photo "b" is definitely the same chimney shown in "a." But in "b" the chimney has begun to lean inward and is missing one or two bricks from the top course. Most interesting is that there seems to have been some attempt at "restoration," with the addition of a fence, a new roof (or at least new "tie-downs"), and a windmill (probably added for show). The individual second from left is probably the former slave known as Uncle Alfred. Names of the other persons (1 child with Uncle Alfred, 6 men, and 9 women) or exactly what is implied by their presence is unknown.

c. Also undated, the original of this view is contained in the Tennessee State Archives' Hermitage photograph file. Though similar to "b," the fence and West Cabin roof show some deterioration, and a hole is beginning to appear in the wall near the left side of the brick chimney. The notch in the top of the chimney continues to be present through "e."

d. This is one of a group of scenes appearing in a booklet entitled "Nashville, Tennessee," which was distributed in 1892 by the Passenger Department of the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railway. The photographic copy presented here was made from one of the original booklets belonging to Elder's Book Store, a Nashville firm. While the East Cabin does not appear changed, additional deterioration of the West Cabin is evident. Also of interest is the roof line of the North Cabin which can be seen to the left of the West Cabin. In spite of the 1892 date for the booklet, the photograph was obviously taken before 1889. Another copy of this same photograph is in the State Archives file.



a



b



c



d

Figure 4. Early views of first Hermitage structures.

e. This view of the cabins (and Uncle Alfred) is on the back of a souvenir card printed by the Ladies Hermitage Association, probably around 1889. Little, if any, visible change can be seen in the East Cabin, but the south wall of the West Cabin is on the verge of collapsing. The inward lean of the West Cabin chimney is very pronounced, all but one of the roof "tie-downs" are gone, and the adjoining fence is down more than ever. This may well have been during the early part of 1889. The fact that Uncle Alfred is posing in front of the West Cabin is one of the strongest indications we have that this was the cabin previously occupied by Jackson. The description on the back of the card specifically states that the larger of the cabins (the West Cabin) "stands where it stood when occupied by Gen. Jackson."

f. A copy of this painting once belonged to the Ladies Hermitage Association, but its present location is unknown. This is one of the originals, signed and dated "C. H. Hankins 1889." It is reproduced here with the permission of its owner, Mrs. Russell Campbell, Sr., of Nashville. This was a most important "find" for us, because it shows the condition of the cabins at an exact point in time. According to Dorris (1915: 68-69), Cornelius Hankins planned to paint the Jackson cabin the day after the LHA was given possession of the property (April 6, 1889), but he had to delay until the next morning. During the night "a heavy windstorm blew down the chimney and careened the whole cabin, making it all the more picturesque for the artist's purpose, but causing dismay to the Association." As shown, the chimney appears to have fallen inward, carrying with it much of the previously weakened south wall.

g. Dorris (1915: 68) also explains that restoration of the West Cabin was initiated shortly after July, 1889. Several logs had to be replaced, a new shingle roof was put on, and "the chimney was rebuilt of the same fallen brick and in the same style." The view shown is on a postcard in the LHA file, dated October 19, 1898. This means that if view "a" belongs later in the sequence, it would have to fit the less than ten year interval between "f" and "g." Our interpretation is that the brick chimney in "g," which is still standing, is the only one ever rebuilt by the LHA. Furthermore, the brick and stone chimney in "a" has several features which are identical to "b" through "e," indicating that it is not a rebuilt version but merely an earlier view of the same.

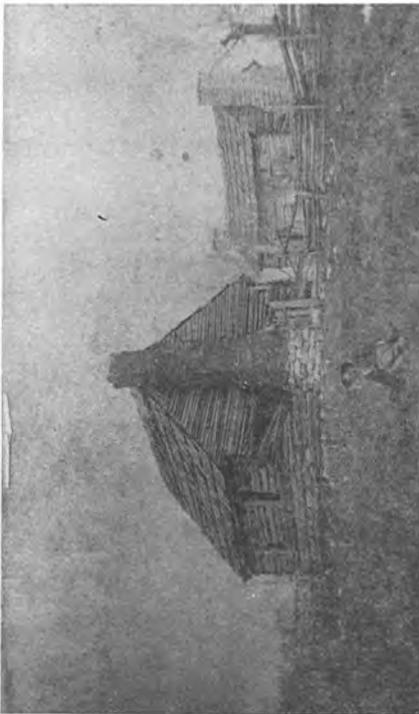
h. A 1975 view of the cabins. An obvious change is that the previously unmodified stone chimneys on the East Cabin are now different. They are shorter and there seem to have been some changes in the type of stone and mortar. This evidently occurred sometime around the beginning of the present century.



f



h



e



g

Figure 4 (continued).

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Much of the problem of site interpretation has been stated above, and some conclusions have already been presented. By further defining our goals and objectives and briefly summarizing the results, this introductory section will contain in abbreviated form the essential points to be more fully elucidated in subsequent sections.

In addition to site interpretation, the archaeological work has been carried out with certain broader objectives in mind. One of these, previously alluded to in this section, and previously stated in problem form elsewhere (Smith 1974b: 5-6 and 1975: 10-11), is the development of a community-study model for regional nineteenth-century culture. In spite of the far reaching potential of the archaeological methodology, any description of nineteenth-century life style in the Tennessee Central Basin would have to be based almost entirely on documentary evidence. But, as has been amply demonstrated, the written record is often of little assistance in defining the more mundane aspects of life. We might note by way of example that, though some accounts exist concerning meals served to guests at the Hermitage, relatively little has been preserved in the written record which concerns the normal daily diet of the Hermitage occupants. Yet, the archaeological record of the first Hermitage clearly indicates a rather striking dependence on pork as a main dietary staple. It also has much more to say about numerous practical and theoretical issues.

Taken in its community setting, the Hermitage provides us with an example of a nineteenth-century farm emerging into the roll of plantation. Unfortunately, though, it is one of the few historic sites in Middle Tennessee that have been archaeologically investigated. Other examples are limited to: the Sam Davis site, a nineteenth-century farm (Fielder 1976);

Sevier Park, the location of a nineteenth to early twentieth-century urban home (Hinshaw 1976); Castalian Springs, a nineteenth-century farm-resort (Smith 1975); Fort Granger, a Civil War earthwork (Dilliplane 1975); Rock Castle, a nineteenth-century mansion (Dickson 1972); and the Brake site, a possible early settler's cabin (Morse and Morse 1964). All but one of these sites are located in the Central Basin portion of Middle Tennessee, and some of the reports are of substantial length. Yet, for an area 5,450 square miles in size, they constitute a very slim data base. The range of sites, both domestic and industrial, which could be investigated is tremendous. The complete construction of a model, or models, of nineteenth-century life would require some investigation of examples of all the types of sites peculiar to a given community (county) setting.

As a site type, the Hermitage is of interest because of the role it played in its region's agricultural economy. It is, of course, also significant, and best known, because of its association with the seventh president of the United States (1829-1837). And, our attempt to interpret the first Hermitage has required a consideration of numerous questions relating to the material aspects of slavery.

Only since the beginning of the present decade has any attention been given to the archaeology of slavery (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971). Yet, because slaves were a part of society much neglected in contemporary documents, this is an area where archaeologists are beginning to contribute much. In like manner, the theoretical base for plantation archaeology is only now beginning to emerge (Otto 1975). Generally speaking, the direction which historical archaeology has recently taken is toward an

increased awareness and recognition of "patterning" in the material remains found on archaeological sites (South 1974: 5). And the existence of such patterning in the archaeological remains of a plantation site has been demonstrated by Otto (1975). At the site investigated by him, the social distinctions between planter, overseer, and slaves were reflected in the distribution of fragments of different types of ceramic containers. This distribution pattern was further hypothesized to be related to the dietary practices of the different social categories.

Probably nowhere on the Hermitage site is the record of total occupation more intense than in the area of the first Hermitage. This, however, is not without its disadvantages. Because of this continuous occupation (ca. 1804-1860), it has been difficult to find distinct points of transition in the archaeological record. Few discrete, or short term, features were found during the two seasons of field work. And this makes it difficult to relate the items found to particular social categories. Many of our conclusions are, by necessity, based on the total assemblage of artifacts from the various subareas investigated. While the overall outline of events in the area has been considerably clarified, many of the finer points will remain obscure until a much larger excavation can someday be completed.

In discussing the artifacts from the first Hermitage, some emphasis is placed on correlating them with surviving lists of Hermitage tools and equipment. The Hermitage must have had during much of its existence a rather high percentage of contemporary material objects. And this provides an opportunity to identify and date certain artifacts

which might occur in only fragmentary form elsewhere. This point was well illustrated in the one previous excavation carried out at the site (Brown 1972). Many of the artifacts found beneath the Hermitage mansion were unusually well preserved, and some of them (e.g., several bone toothbrushes) could be considered rare finds.

The volume of artifacts recovered in 1974 and 1975 is quite large. Three categories alone, ceramic and glass container fragments and nails, are composed of 4,766, 5,495, and 9,187 items respectively. Other artifacts (some recorded by number and some by weight) are categorized under: metal containers; cutlery and flatware; toys, games, and amusements; writing equipment; tobacco pipes; firearms material; coins; buttons; buckles; worked bone and shell; miscellaneous personal adornment; farm and livestock tools and equipment; structural and furniture hardware; heating and lighting; structural debris; floral remains; miscellaneous historical items; and aboriginal artifacts. These represent a substantial cross section of items which might be found on other plantation and contemporary domestic sites.

Beyond the problem of developing a regional chronology, the Hermitage artifacts can also help in the construction and testing of trade network hypotheses similar to those suggested by Klein (1973: 75-76). One example concerns two types of marked ceramic containers. The written sources state that Jackson had commercial dealings in both New Orleans and Philadelphia, and some items of trade are named. But, it is from the archaeologically retrieved ceramic fragments that we can infer the importation of a particular style of British china, by way of Philadelphia, and the importation of French beef marrow, probably by way of New Orleans.

In addition to their utility for interpreting past activity patterns, artifacts can also be used to provide dates for archaeologically revealed events. The artifacts recovered from the first Hermitage area suggest a major occupation from the early 1800s to the 1850s. Ceramics are especially good time indicators, and these suggest that the two restored cabins and the former South Cabin were occupied during roughly the same period. The North Cabin, however, appears to have come into existence somewhat later.

Other kinds of information about the buildings and their use have been derived. Especially for the South Cabin, the artifacts, soil stratigraphy, and features excavated have indicated much about its former appearance. We believe that the South Cabin was also a log building. In addition, it has been concluded that the South Cabin was probably removed from its site, sometime in the 1850s, and apparently became what is now known as Uncle Alfred's Cabin (Fig. 3, No. 9). This interpretation is based on both archaeological and historical information.

Two categories of items recovered from the area are described in separate sections within this report. Fifty-two glass beads were found, and they are discussed in terms of what is known of styles and uses of beads in the early nineteenth century. Many of them seem to be related to the presence of slaves in the area.

Almost 18,000 pieces of animal bone were found in 1974 and 1975. Analysis of this material has yielded information on quantity of species represented, the age and at what time of year pigs were slaughtered, projected weights and lengths of drum fish, and food procurement patterns suggested by the faunal remains. Most common are pig remains, followed by

the remains of brown rats. Elements of cow, sheep, and chicken were found with some frequency, and an additional 33 species of domestic and non-domestic animals are represented.

A preliminary report on the dendrochronology samples was completed at the end of the first season (Bowers 1974). As a side project, it was determined that a large sugarberry tree growing partially within the South Cabin foundation is between 50 and 60 years old. Numerous problems were encountered in attempting to extract usable samples from the East and West cabins, but several good samples were obtained from the North Cabin. Especially important are two cross sections of southern red cedar, from different structural parts of the North Cabin, which show a high degree of correlation in their ring patterns. Conclusions concerning their probable date and what this indicates about the age of the North Cabin are discussed in a subsequent section.

The initial section of the text of this report is the historical assessment. To some extent the written assessment belies the amount of time which has been required to examine an extremely large volume of selected materials. While this examination yielded only a few conclusions that could actually be called "new," these bits of additional information have proven most significant. Perhaps even more significant is that the total effect of assembling together, for the first time, so much of the relevant historical data has proven to be both dramatic and instructive. By carefully comparing what the numerous writers have said about the first Hermitage, it has been possible to make a much more rational interpretation of the actual facts involved.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FIRST HERMITAGE

In seeking historical materials relating to the first Hermitage, a portion of the documents, correspondence, and accounts located in the Andrew Jackson Papers Project were examined in detail. From among the approximately 60,000 items collected by the Project to April, 1976, the search was concentrated in selected areas and time periods which seemed the most likely to contain references to the early Hermitage. These periods covered all the Jackson correspondence, store accounts, and personal accounts from 1788 through 1814, the years 1818 through 1820, plus the individual years of 1831, 1834, and 1837. These intervals were selected because they included: (1) Jackson's arrival in Tennessee and his store operations and account books; (2) Jackson's purchase of the Hermitage property and move to the first Hermitage dwelling; (3) correspondence touching on Hermitage affairs during Jackson's absence in the Creek war and the war of 1812; (4) the period during which the second Hermitage dwelling was constructed; (5) the repair and remodeling of the second Hermitage in 1831; (6) the reconstruction of the second Hermitage after the 1834 fire had destroyed its interior; and (7) the year (1837) that the slaves Alfred and Gracey were married. In addition, a random sampling of other papers in the Andrew Jackson Papers Project and a thorough search of the Jackson correspondence previously published¹ was undertaken.

To complement these sources, the views of previous historians and Jackson biographers were taken into account to weigh their conclusions and determine what source materials, now available, were not available in the past, or perhaps overlooked. The history of the early Cumberland

settlements, particularly Nashville and the Donelson area, was explored to determine, insofar as possible, conditions and structures on the Hermitage property that existed prior to Jackson's acquisition of it. Eyewitness accounts, given in various histories, memoirs, biographies, and reminiscences referring to the Hermitage, were other sources used in this study. Tennessee State Legislative Journals and other materials in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, that give information about the Hermitage property from the time it was purchased by the State of Tennessee until it was turned over to the Ladies Hermitage Association, were also considered.

A study of deeds of purchase and the sale and trade of land relating to the Hermitage property was made. From the documents that are still available, together with the oftentimes cryptic references to Hermitage land transactions in the Jackson correspondence, reconstruction of the varying acreage, from the original purchase to the time of Jackson's death, was attempted.

In view of the fact that any assessment of the first Hermitage must take into consideration what occurred subsequent to the time it was originally purchased and occupied by Jackson as well as prior to his ownership, this study has included those periods. A knowledge of the physical changes and usage may aid in isolating the Jackson era buildings and artifacts.

CUMBERLAND COMPACT TO JACKSON'S DEATH

Permanent white settlement on the Cumberland River dates from December of 1779. James Robertson and his party of settlers came overland from the Watauga settlement in East Tennessee to French Lick

(present-day Nashville) in 1779. John Donelson and his party came by river in the good boat "Adventure," and other boats, arriving in 1780. One of Donelson's passengers was his daughter, Rachel, later to be intimately connected with the Hermitage.² Among others who arrived at the settlement in 1780 was Nathaniel Hays. He was not one of Donelson's party but came overland either with James Robertson or shortly thereafter for he was a signer of the Cumberland Compact on May 13, 1780.³ This compact was drawn up by the Cumberland settlers for self-government and mutual protection, and the various stations or forts of these early settlers were allotted representatives to make up a committee of twelve judges, or Triers, to enforce the regulations adopted by the signers. This was necessary due to the remoteness of the settlement from the North Carolina center of government and the failure of that state to furnish protection and services to the Cumberland.

From 1780 to 1795, the Cumberland settlements experienced almost continuous Indian attacks, and there was an apparent determination on the part of the Indians to drive the white settlers out. None of the Indian tribes had permanent settlements in the area, and it was regarded as a mutual hunting ground by all the neighboring Indian nations. There were many blockhouses, stations, and forts built by the white settlers to gain such protection as they could from these attacks. Ramsey explained the term, "station", in the following manner:

...at first each of these stations was a single cabin in the midst of a clearing. When Indian disturbances broke out, the inhabitants clustered together in the strongest one near them, and it then became a station.⁴

The buildings on the Nashville area bluff were constructed in a definite pattern:

...they built blockhouses in lines and stockaded the intervals; two lines were parallel to each other and so were the other two lines the whole forming a square within.⁵

In April of 1786 a 640 acre tract, a portion of which was later to be known as the Hermitage, was conveyed to Nathaniel Hays by a preemption grant from the state of North Carolina.⁶ This grant was made to Nathaniel Hays, as one of the settlers who had arrived prior to the first day of June, 1780.⁷ Situated in Jones Bend on the south side of the Cumberland River, with a spring inside its boundaries, it was one of the choice parcels of land in the region. The property was probably occupied by Nathaniel Hays from the time of his arrival in the settlement and most likely, due to the time and circumstances, included a blockhouse. The term blockhouse was used in some instances to distinguish the squared-log style house from the cruder logs-left-in-the-round style, but it was also used much more widely for the kind of fortification that was somewhat bullet proof and sometimes standing alone as an isolated strongpoint.⁸

There were several persons by the name of Hays among the early Cumberland settlers, and mere coincidence probably would not cause so many by the same surname to settle so closely together. It is likely that they were related, as indeed some writers have assumed, though relying largely on tradition and offering no documentary evidence. There are descriptions and locations given in the early histories of Davidson County of the stations and blockhouses belonging to various ones by the name of Hays. Samuel Hays, also a signer of the Cumberland Compact, had a station on Stones River.⁹ This same Samuel Hays was killed by the Indians near the door of John Donelson's house in 1793. "Granny Hays," described as the "mother of Colonel Robert Hays," had a station a short

distance south of the Hermitage Church.¹⁰ Hugh Hays had a preemption grant adjacent to that of Nathaniel Hays (the Hermitage property), and a deed indenture dated March 15, 1811, lists Hugh Hays as a son and heir of Samuel Hays, deceased.¹¹ Hugh Hays preemption, which is covered more fully in the chapter on Hermitage land transactions, eventually became part of the Hermitage property and the Tulip Grove estate of Andrew Jackson Donelson. One of the original stations listed in the Cumberland Compact was Fort Union (where Haysborough was), and this is generally associated with Colonel Robert Hays though he arrived in Tennessee about the same time as John Overton and Andrew Jackson.¹²

There does not seem to have been a "station" designated as such on Nathaniel Hays' property. His property adjoined Captain John Donelson's property where there was a picketed station,¹³ and with this protection close by there was probably no need for other than a blockhouse to give moderate protection against minor raids.

David Allison, a prominent Philadelphia agent and speculator, experienced financial difficulties in 1794 or 1795 and failed. This event had a direct effect on Andrew Jackson that eventually brought about the establishment of the first Hermitage (the term "first" Hermitage is used to differentiate the earliest dwelling on the Hermitage property occupied by Jackson from the subsequent dwelling occupied, or the "second" Hermitage; the term Hermitage is also used in the larger context to indicate the farm as a whole including the dwelling). Jackson had taken Allison's notes for land he had sold him, and placing his own endorsement on the notes he had used them to purchase supplies to stock his first store. The Allison notes were several in number, and their maturity dates were staggered over an interval of three to four years. The sudden financial collapse of Allison first brought

about the necessity for Jackson to sell his store to meet the initial obligation.¹⁴ This store was one he operated in partnership with Samuel Donelson and should not be confused with the Hunter's Hill store nor the Clover Bottom store of later times. Account ledgers from this store, although illegible in some parts, indicate that it was in Nashville in 1795.¹⁵ Customers known to reside in Nashville, such as an apparently free Negro called "Black Bob," who ran a tavern there, appear in the ledger.¹⁶

Subsequent notes posed equally difficult problems for Jackson as they fell due. The poor handling of cotton sales by his partner in the Hunter's Hill store, John Hutchings, and the general depression that followed the panic of 1798 finally forced Jackson's hand. On July 6, 1804, to meet his obligations, he sold his Hunter's Hill property and began to retrench.¹⁷ As part of his retrenchment he moved to the Nathaniel Hays property.

The actual deed of purchase for the Hermitage property from Nathaniel Hays is dated August 23, 1804, but it is possible that Jackson and Hays had an understanding about it sometime earlier because of an October 30, 1804, entry in the Jackson accounts which refers to a private account between Jackson and Hays.¹⁸ It seems that, in accord with this private account and understanding, Jackson had begun to improve the place many months before he moved there. For example, a receipt for 500 apple and 500 peach trees for "the Hermitage orchard" is dated March 2, 1803.¹⁹ In another instance, a letter from Nathaniel Hays to Jackson on August 20, 1804, instructs Jackson to pay a bill Hays owed "...for which you shall be credited on your bond given me for Security the payment of the amount due me for my place Sold you..."²⁰

In August of 1804, there was an account of Deadrick & Sittler with Andrew Jackson for making him a 125 gallon still.²¹ And, in September 1804, Jackson engaged Thomas Taylor to clear ground, split rails and make a fence for him.²² The timing of these accounts coincides with the move to the Hermitage and appears to have been work done on that property. Previously, most historians (including Bassett), who have given an opinion on the matter, have concluded that Jackson most likely moved from Hunter's Hill to the Hermitage property in April 1805. At least this was the first time that such a move could, in their opinion, be documented. However, there are letters to Jackson indicating that the move was as early as September of 1804. Jackson's close friend, William Preston Anderson, addressed a letter to him at "Hermitage" on September 18, 1804.²³ It seems unlikely that a close friend would not know where to reach him especially when considering that Anderson and his family had planned to visit the Jacksons earlier in the year at Hunter's Hill.²⁴ Robert Purdy also addressed him at the Hermitage on January 6, 1804.²⁵ Finally, Andrew Jackson signed a letter as from the "Hermitage" on February 17, 1805,²⁶ which positively places him at the Hermitage earlier than previously proven or accepted.

It is logical to assume that Jackson moved to the Hermitage as early as September of 1804 and certainly no later than February of 1805. Jackson's store at Hunter's Hill was not moved to Clover Bottom until between April 5, 1805, and April 9, 1805, as the account books of Hunter's Hill and Clover Bottom stores bear out.²⁷

When the Nathaniel Hays property was transferred to Jackson the deed called for the transfer of 425 acres of land with "appurtenances"

(a detailed explanation of this transaction and its acreage is given in the description of Hermitage Land Transactions). An examination of other deeds of this period and a legal opinion indicate that this was a common term applied to all property transfers to include all things, part and parcel of the property, unless specifically excluded.²⁸ Thus the term "appurtenances" in the deed is insufficient evidence to prove that a building or buildings were present when the property was sold. However, most writers accept the tradition and circumstantial evidence that there was a "blockhouse" and perhaps some adjacent buildings constructed on the property during its ownership and occupancy by Nathaniel Hays. No evidence to the contrary has been found.

Prominent biographers of Jackson have divergent views as to just what existed on the Hermitage tract at the time Jackson purchased it and what was done about a dwelling. The "authorized" biographies of Jackson that Jackson himself assisted in preparing, either by furnishing material or proofreading, are those of John Reid, John H. Eaton, and Amos Kendall, plus the fragmentary work of Henry Lee. Major John Reid's manuscript, written in 1815, merely refers to the Hermitage as "an elegant farm 10 miles above Nashville..."²⁹ John H. Eaton's completion of this work, published in 1817, after Major Reid's death, makes no further mention of the early Hermitage.³⁰ Amos Kendall's biography simply says "...he retired to a plantation on the banks of the Cumberland..."³¹ Henry Lee says only "...[to] a farm on the Cumberland ...on which he now resides he then retired."³² Several letters passed between Kendall and Jackson, in 1843, in which Kendall sought Jackson's confirmation of events Kendall was writing about as well as the material in Eaton's book and Henry Lee's notes.³³ The lack of detailed descriptions may be

explained to some degree by Jackson's attitude about speaking on matters concerning himself, as he explained to the historian George Bancroft.

I have always had a great dislike to speak of myself... unless...necessary to defend my character.... In all other cases I leave to my contemporaries to speak and give the narrative of facts....³⁴

Parton's Life of Andrew Jackson probably offers the most reliable account of the first Hermitage because he came to Nashville in the 1850s, while writing the biography, and personally visited the Hermitage. He also got information for his book from Major William B. Lewis, Jackson's close friend and associate who was intimately acquainted with the Hermitage and its affairs.³⁵ This work was published in 1860 and is the earliest account containing a detailed description of the first Hermitage. It was described as:

A square, two story block house was General Jackson's first dwelling-place on the Hermitage farm. This house, like many others of its class, contained three rooms; one on the ground floor, and two up stairs. To this house was soon added a smaller one, which stood about twenty feet from the principal structure, and was connected with it by a covered passage. This was General Jackson's establishment from 1804 to 1819. These houses are still standing at the Hermitage, though not so close together as they were formerly. The larger block house stands where it stood when occupied by General Jackson; but has been cut down into a one story house, and used for the last thirty years as a negro cabin. It does not differ, in any respect, from the ordinary block negro cabins of the South. The interior, never ceiled, is now as black as ebony with the smoke of sixty years. There is the usual trap door in the middle of the floor for the convenience of stowage under the house, for the cellar there is none. There is the usual vast fire-place capable of a cord of wood; from which Jackson went forth to the wars, haggard and anxious; to which he returned, still haggard, but with the light of victory in his face. The smaller house has been drawn up near the present Hermitage; where it also serves as a negro cabin, and shows its ring of little ebony faces round the generous fire as the stranger peeps in. The building which formerly connected these two stands near by, and is used as a store house. 'There is nothing but plunder in it,' explained one of the negro women.³⁶

Additional statements by Parton about the first Hermitage dwelling and the farm and out buildings are found in the subsection dealing with the Hermitage after General Jackson's death.

Buell's History of Andrew Jackson, published in 1904, contains an interview with Mrs. James K. Polk made in the early 1870s when Mrs. Polk was in her seventy-first year. Her acquaintance with the Jacksons from her early childhood gave her memories of the first Hermitage an authentic ring of truth gathered from personal experience. Buell's abstract of Mrs. Polk's reminiscences of the first Hermitage noted that:

It was a group of log-houses in close proximity to each other. The principal one had been built for a block-house in the days of Indian alarms, afterward used as a store and, about 1804, converted into a dwelling. It, like all blockhouses, was two stories high. Near it were three smaller log-houses, one story high with low attics. These were used as lodgings for members of the family or guests. The main building--the former block-house--had on the first floor one very large room with a huge fireplace capable of taking in a good-sized load of wood at a time. A lean-to had been built on at the back containing two rooms, one of which was used as the family sleeping apartment, the other as a pantry--or 'buttery,' as the phrase was then. But the great room, about twenty-four feet by twenty-six, was at once kitchen, diningroom, sitting-room and parlor, and the large table that stood in the middle of it, capable of seating twelve to fourteen people comfortably, was always set. In this house, or group of houses, the Jacksons lived from 1804 to 1820, when the present Hermitage was finished and they occupied it.³⁷

It may be noted that both of these descriptions refer to the first Hermitage as a blockhouse, or a group of log houses with the principal one having originally been a blockhouse. Mrs. Polk further stated that it was built in the days of Indian alarms which would have been prior to 1795, when Indian raids on the Cumberland settlements subsided. She also indicated that "The main building--the former blockhouse" had been altered and additions had been made to it, but did not comment on changes

made to it after the Jacksons moved to the second Hermitage. Not to be overlooked is her comment that the blockhouse had been used as a store prior to its conversion (apparently by Jackson) to a dwelling house in 1804.

Parton stated that the larger blockhouse was standing where it stood when occupied by General Jackson but had been cut down into a one story house and used for the preceeding thirty years as a Negro cabin. This could well fit the larger structure as it stands today. Parton's additional comment that the smaller house had been "drawn up near the present Hermitage; where it also serves as a negro cabin..." has apparently been verified by comparing the foundation measurements of the South Cabin with those of "Uncle Alfred's Cabin," now standing close to the house (see discussion of the South Cabin in the next section).

An early souvenir card (Fig. 4e) printed by the Ladies Hermitage Association (undated, but thought to be about 1889) makes the statement that after the "...new Hermitage building was erected the (log) house was cut down into a one-story structure, the upper stories forming the smaller of the two cabins."³⁸ Mary C. Dorris comments that while the work of renovation of the old historic cabin was in progress in 1889, "...the carpenters doing the work called the attention of the Regent and Secretary to the beaded joists forming the ceiling of the first floor room, but which are now supporting the ground floor and which can be seen only by looking up under the house as it now stands."³⁹

Jefferson Davis, who visited the Hermitage at age seven, gave little information about the physical appearance of the first Hermitage, in 1815, except to say that it was a roomy log house with a grove of

trees in front and cotton and grain fields behind.⁴⁰ Later historians were frequently less informative and largely dependent on secondary sources. Colyar's Biography of Andrew Jackson, published in 1904, has only a picture of the presently standing West Cabin with the caption "the old cabin, home of Andrew Jackson prior to the second Hermitage construction."⁴¹

Mary C. Dorris, in her book, Preservation of the Hermitage, makes several statements that are contrary to previous accounts about the early Hermitage and offers no documentary evidence to support her conclusions. She says Jackson "...built the log house..." and that it "...was a two-story building, one large room below and two above, with several other log houses surrounding it...." She states that Uncle Alfred, the surviving ex-slave living at the Hermitage when the Ladies' Hermitage Association was formed, was "born a slave on the Hermitage farm, in the smaller of the two cabins forming the kitchen of General Jackson's frontier house. Uncle Alfred had never lived anywhere but at the Hermitage." In addition she says that Betty, Alfred's mother "...moved to the Hermitage farm, prior to 1804."⁴² These conclusions and the stated birthdate of Uncle Alfred (1803) would indicate that Jackson had possession of the first Hermitage buildings sometime before he occupied them. While this could possibly be true, it is far more likely that Uncle Alfred's birthdate is in error and that he was born around 1813. The Farm Journal of the Hermitage giving "The names and ages of the Negroes on Andrew Jackson's farm, Hermitage this 5th day of Jan. 1829," lists "Alfred, Bettys son, aged about 16."⁴³ This runs counter to traditional beliefs and to the date on Alfred's gravestone in the Hermitage garden giving his birthdate as 1803. But in the unlikely event there was another Jackson slave named

Betty with a son named Alfred not listed in 1829, this is a reasonable deduction.

Another biographer, in 1918, says, as did Mrs. Dorris, that "... Jackson built a two story log house, and called it the Hermitage."⁴⁴ James described the blockhouse essentially as did Parton but does not speculate about who built it.⁴⁵ Stanley Horn's book on the Hermitage has an interesting account of the first Hermitage and an intriguing explanation of the buildings and remnants still present in the area:

When Jackson moved to the Hermitage tract from Hunter's Hill...he set himself up in a comfortable but crude establishment made up of a group of log houses--a large central building, two stories high, which constituted the principal living quarters, with three adjacent log houses which were used as sleeping quarters for guests or members of the family. The main building, which according to tradition, had in earlier days been used as a block house for defense against the Indians, was 24 by 26 feet and on the first floor had only one large room, with a huge fireplace. At the back was a lean-to containing two rooms, a pantry and a bed-room. This big room on the first floor was a combination of parlor, living room, dining room and kitchen, with all the meals cooked at the big open fireplace.

Horn then goes on to observe:

Today there is still standing only one of the small log cabins of the original group. Alongside it is a larger log house, with a steeply sloping roof, built at a later date out of the logs taken from the original two-storied log house which had been permitted to fall into decay. These are located in the meadow a few hundred yards to the rear of the present Hermitage, on the original site, and are in a fair state of preservation. Although the original two storied house no longer stands, the remains of its stone foundation are still faintly to be seen.⁴⁶

No documents have been found in the material examined during the present study which would indicate that the larger log house, the West Cabin, was constructed from the logs of the original blockhouse removed to a different location.

In the book Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Mary French Caldwell gives Mrs. Polk's reminiscences taken from Buell, and offers the Hays tradition that the first Hermitage was a blockhouse built by one of the Hays family. She also cites one of Jackson's store accounts which indicates that alterations were made to the blockhouse.⁴⁷

The variety of opinions expressed by these various writers and historians point up the fact that there were no records available to them to prove unquestionably what structures were on the property originally and what alterations and/or new construction was carried out by Jackson when he acquired it. Without question, Jackson's personal accounts around the time of the move to the first Hermitage do have several entries that strongly indicate that alteration, addition, and perhaps some new construction was taking place on the farm.

A July 14, 1804, account between General Jackson and Charles F. Lorumier (a mutilated fragment) is for "...painting and papering Madam(?) room in different color and graining paint...painting Dining(?) room... painting the passes and the bannister...."⁴⁸ This account obviously deals with work being done on a dwelling but doesn't seem to be in character with the Hermitage log cabins. It is work more apt to have been done to the Hunter's Hill house to make it more attractive to a buyer.

The Hunter's Hill store account books (giving entries charged to General Andrew Jackson in August, September, October, and November of 1804) contain many items seemingly related to alteration and repair to a building or buildings. In the month of August there are several purchases of nails, "forty window glass," and "1 pr. hinges and screws." There is also an entry charging merchandise to Jackson and delivered to a "pair" for carpentry. September accounts contain "1 stock lock," and

"7 lbs. nails." October accounts have entries of small amounts of nails, while the November charges to Jackson's personal account contain screws, nails, "17 lights window glass," "1 knob latch," and "1 bolt."⁴⁹ These items seem more related to repair and putting windows in existing buildings, rather than new cabins being built, as some writers have assumed was indicated.

There are three interesting accounts in 1805, two of which seem to be directly related to the Hermitage and one to the Clover Bottom store, boatyard, and race track. A May/June account of General Andrew Jackson with John Thomas suggests that windows were being sawed out and cased and floors properly laid in the old log house. The amount of flooring specified could indicate that the additional rooms described by Mrs. James K. Polk were also being floored. The account shows stable and smokehouse doors were made, and also three plain doors were made and hung. There was work done on a plow, and two shelves were erected.⁵⁰ A second account, between Andrew Jackson and William Edwards, dated about 1805, is an agreement calling for the construction of a horse mill (no doubt on the Hermitage property though the contract does not so state). There is a statement in the agreement to the effect that Mr. Edwards did certain parts of the construction when "I [Andrew Jackson] was not at home," thus inferring it was being built on the "home" (Hermitage) property.⁵¹

The third account is dated February 16, 1805, and is between Andrew Jackson and William Preston Anderson on the one hand and John Hoggatt on the other. It contains lists of charges for sawing plank and timber of varying thickness and charges for "holling" of timber to the "House and Stage."⁵² From the amounts and sizes specified it can be assumed that this was for the Clover Bottom boatyard and the construction of boats

for Aaron Burr. A subsequent account, dated April 10, 1805, with John Hoggatt for provisions, specifically mentions Burr and the boats.

The inclusion of the above account of Andrew Jackson and William Preston Anderson with John Hoggatt is for the purpose of showing that the Clover Bottom activities were in progress at the same time that alteration or construction was taking place at the first Hermitage. It is sometimes difficult to determine which accounts referred to what activities, the farm, store, or dwelling house. The dates of the John Thomas account and the John Hoggatt account are about the same time, but the content of the accounts makes it proper to conclude that the Thomas account relates to the Hermitage. Further complicating the accounts are the frequent barter arrangements and assumptions of accounts by Jackson for services performed by the debtor. Thomas Taylor, who cleared the ground and built fences on the early Hermitage property, was paid by barter.⁵³ There was an additional assumption for Thomas Taylor in February, 1805, but the record is silent about what services he performed. There is an assumption for Saml. Davis in November, 1804, that does not state what services he rendered; however, we can determine from a similar entry in the Clover Bottom account of October 9, 1806, that he was a stone mason. This offers the thought that he performed some masonry work for Jackson at the Hermitage in the fall of 1804, perhaps new chimneys, foundations and the like. Sometimes the assumptions told what services were performed as to William Jackson for 'mending wheel and reel,' and to Clendenin "for work done at the old fields, \$6."⁵⁴

These early accounts and the Clover Bottom store account books give a general idea of how the Jacksons lived in the first Hermitage. It can be determined from the accounts that some surplus materials

produced on the Hermitage farm were sold to the Clover Bottom store. These materials included flour, perhaps milled at the Hermitage horse mill that Edwards constructed for Jackson. Turkeys and fowls were sold to the store by Rachel Jackson as well as soap, hogslard, candles, and "Home Linnen." These items were credited to Mrs. Andrew Jackson and seem similar to "butter and egg money" of farm wives of more recent times. The General's 125 gallon still, built in 1804, produced sufficient whiskey for him to send 71 gallons to the store on March 7, 1806, and 30 gallons on January 19, 1807. General Andrew Jackson received credit for 20 bottles brought to the store at sundry times.⁵⁵

The purchases by the Jacksons during the period from September 1803 to 1808 list many interesting items and give a fairly accurate measure of how self-sufficient the early Hermitage farm was. These purchases were, on the whole, items that could not readily be produced by farm slave industry in either the quality or quantity desired. In examining the artifacts recovered from the first Hermitage dwelling area, it might be useful to compare items or fragments found with items listed in the Jackson accounts and purchases.

After 1805, through 1810, there is little Jackson correspondence that gives information on the buildings of the first Hermitage. There is an interesting letter in December of 1808 from Jackson to John Coffee that describes the river (apparently Stones River) as being up and tells of the damage at Clover Bottom. He said the flood had damaged the abutment to his mill dam and surrounded his corn at Pain's place.⁵⁶ It cannot be determined if this mill dam of Jackson's was at Clover Bottom, at the Hermitage, or at some other property Jackson owned. The same can be said for the reference to his corn at Pain's place. Whether this was

farmland he was leasing from Pain or was land he had purchased, that retained its former owner's name, is not clear.

There were several slave purchases recorded during the 1805 to 1810 period including Jackson's famous groom, Dinwiddie (Dunwoodie).⁵⁷ One historian (Buell) states that the slaves were some sixty in number at this period and "lived in cabins scattered about the plantation instead of having a compact little row of 'negro quarters' which was the customary mode of housing them."⁵⁸ However, "Recollections of the Hermitage," a memoir written by William R. Galt of his visit to the Hermitage in 1828, noted that:

Back of the "Great House," and running North was a road, along which on the Western side were ranged the negro cottages in a long row. In company with the General several of us visited these 'Quarters.' All the cottages were built alike, and each had its garden. We entered several, all of which were well whitewashed inside and out, and as neat and as comfortable as any houses I ever saw. The cottages at the North end of the range were occupied by spinners and weavers, and though too young myself to pass an opinion upon the merits of the machines employed, I remember that some of the company said that these were of the newest and most efficient patents. In these cottages were made from materials produced on the estate, not only the clothes for the slaves, but those for the ordinary wear of the occupants of the mansion.⁵⁹

He also stated that the gin was at no great distance behind the spring and was run by horsepower.

It is entirely possible that the two descriptions of the arrangement of the slave cabins, although seemingly contradictory, could both be correct. The arrangement described by the historian, Buell, referred to the time prior to 1812, while the Galt description in 1828 was after Jackson had acquired a larger number of slaves. He might well have had an arrangement like that described as "negro cottages in a long

row," in addition to those scattered about. Galt admittedly did not see the field hands nor go about in the fields so he could not describe their housing.

It is not the intent of the present study to determine the number of slaves Jackson held at varying times except as it relates to buildings constructed and their usage that might have a bearing on the first Hermitage property. In that connection several letters should be mentioned. Writing to Rachel from Natchez December 17, 1811, Jackson said he was bringing home from twelve to twenty blacks, mostly female, some of which he hoped to sell along the way and "...I leave you to point out to Mr. Fields [overseer] where to have the house built for them."⁶⁰

Rachel, a compassionate woman, was obviously disturbed by the sickness among the slaves and the number they had (though Jackson apparently disagreed). She wrote Jackson that "...Dr. May has attended our sick slaves and if I live we will own fewer of them...Bleeding and Callomel the only medson."⁶¹

Somewhat later, writing to Rachel from Huntsville, Jackson said:

...Say to Fields that I have a number of Fort Mims negroes, that will be necessarily on my hand for a short time...and with them he can regain in his crop what he had lost by Sickness of his hands and to have every foot of ground planted that he can. I wish houses or shelters prepared for them. A family of three...can remain in some of the cabbins, as I intend putting the wives in the citchen, the husband in the field....⁶²

Obviously housing was built to care for these people, and we are given some idea of what was done of this nature during the time the Jacksons occupied the first Hermitage.

Two other letters are of interest and related to housing though not for slaves. Jackson wrote to Rachel from Dittoes Landing November 21, 1813, and said in part: "...for the distress of Mrs. Caffery [Rachel's sister], have a house put up for her on any part of the tract where she will be convenient to us and where you choose, or let her live in the house with us as you please..."⁶³ Again on August 10, 1814 he wrote to Rachel: "...Let a house be built for your Sister Caffery, or perhaps she can better remain in those built until our return. She will preserve our furniture and everything that is left in her care...but the arrangement in this respect is for you & her to make...all I ask is that she is made comfortable..."⁶⁴ It might be well to note Jackson's use of the term "those [houses] built" in the second letter. He seems to be referring to his own dwellings, the first Hermitage.

Jackson considered selling the Hermitage farm in September of 1814 and gave his measure of its activities and worth at that time: "I think I have 40 negroes I can spare...that is worth from twelve to 14,000 dollars, the land \$20,000. The flock of horses, sheep, cattle, hogs, household furniture and farming and plantation tools in all, worth \$35,000..." His agent, James Jackson, did not think he should sell and agreed with Rachel that they had "too great a quantity of Negroe Property" and should sell all not necessary for support of the farm.⁶⁵

Jackson abandoned the notion to sell the farm, and a year later (1815) he wrote Colo. Robert Butler from Lynchburg, Virginia, to have the overseer prepare Jackson's houses to prevent the "northern blast" from entering. This seems to indicate that a repair or refurbishing of the log cabins was needed at that time. In the same letter he mentions the cotton gin on the property, thus confirming its continued presence.⁶⁶

An interesting account is that of General Andrew Jackson with J. R. Bedford dated September 29, 1812, covering the period from October 26, 1809, to September 29, 1812. Bedford was a physician and veterinarian who attended the Jackson household and livestock. The medications prescribed could possibly furnish clues to some of the artifacts found at the first Hermitage site. Of passing interest is the means that Jackson used to settle the account by furnishing the good Doctor with a barrel of whiskey and Truxton's service for his grey mare.⁶⁷ Bedford's services were apparently much more satisfactory than the earlier ministrations of Thomas G. Watkins whose "...Extraordinary and unjust account..." was paid by John Coffee after Watkins was "...called to take dinner and a glass of grog on the 9th of July 1804; bled Mrs. J. & charged \$8, no medicine was given."⁶⁸

The correspondence and account ledgers, during the period of 1818-1820 when the second Hermitage was constructed, were examined closely to determine what use and disposition was made of the first Hermitage dwellings. The Hermitage Farm Journal, 1817-1832,⁶⁹ has been overlooked by previous historians in their efforts to pinpoint construction details of the second Hermitage. This journal sheds little light on the first Hermitage dwellings but gives considerable information on the building of the second Hermitage. It also confirms the arrival of William Frost, the gardener engaged for General Jackson by John Jackson in Philadelphia. Although John Jackson is erroneously referred to as "Sir John Jackson" by Bassett,⁷⁰ he was not an English nobleman but was merely a merchant Jackson had dealt with previously. The farm journal includes a receipt stating that William Frost was paid \$110 in cash "being the balance of my wages as gardner," plus advances to merchants and cash of \$84.25 for total wages of \$194.25 to September 1, 1820.

The major contractors of the second Hermitage were Benjamin Decker and John H. Coffman, and there are receipts and settlements with both. Jackson's letter to William B. Lewis⁷¹ indicates that Mr. Decker had engaged a Mr. Wilson to paint the house and from this it might be concluded that he had overall charge of the construction. It is more likely that Jackson had direct supervision of the project and contracted with various individuals for specific portions of the work. The dates of the accounts range from August 21, 1819, to April 9, 1821. The entries are informative, with payments recorded to Benjamin Decker for "work done in dwellings...and other houses: and to Mr. Coffman for "work done on garden and other little jobs."⁷²

The journal details the brickmaking and bricklaying, the construction of five fireplaces below and four upper fireplaces, the quarrying work, and the construction of the foundation of the smokehouse. In addition the hewing and sawing of the scantlings, shingles, and garden paling by Samuel Scott is shown by the receipts. The stonework and construction of the springhouse and chimney are similarly receipted in the journal.

These accounts date the construction of the second Hermitage as well as other buildings on the property, such as a smokehouse and springhouse, and work done on unspecified houses and on the garden. They also establish the general time frame during which the Jacksons moved from the first Hermitage into the new second Hermitage. A receipt from Mather Wilson, who did the stone work on the house and kitchen is dated April 26, 1820, and stated that it included "the painting of same which he is to do as soon as the brick work is done."⁷³ This indicates that the new dwelling was not complete at that time. Additional evidence that the new main house was not complete is a receipt from Samuel Scott for getting

shingles, dated September 12, 1820. A final receipt from Mather Wilson dated April 9, 1821,⁷⁴ is persuasive evidence that the second Hermitage was not finished and occupied until 1821. This could have been about the time Jackson left to become Governor of Florida.

The information about the second Hermitage's construction in 1819-1821 warrants additional investigation and may add heretofore unknown or overlooked details regarding the work. As the Hermitage in its final form was a rebuilding of this structure after the 1834 fire (with additions and remodeling done in 1831), portions of the 1819 work are in the present dwelling.

The reference in the Farm Journal to the stone mason work done on the spring house by Mather Wilson in 1821 is in accord with Parton's comment about Mrs. Jackson and may well have been the original construction of the dairy, though a reconstruction is possible.

Unlearned, however she was in the lore of the schools, though not so in that of the woods, the dairy, the kitchen and the cabin. The negro women at the Hermitage, who remember her ways and tastes, say that there was nothing on the estate that she was so proud of as the remarkably fine spring that gushed behind the old block house, and which was inclosed, when the General could afford the expense to form her dairy.⁷⁵

When the Jacksons returned to the Hermitage on November 5, 1821, after the General's stint as Governor of Florida, he described the condition of the place and the need for his furniture in a letter to Captain Richard K. Call:

Mrs. Jackson begs me to remind you of our furniture to have it forwarded to Orleans as soon as possible with instructions to Cap Scallen to have it forwarded to Nashville by the first Steam Boat--our place looks like it had been deserted for a season, But we have a cheirfull fire for our friends, and a prospect of living at it for the [mutilated] ballance of our lives.⁷⁶

Unfortunately, there is a frustrating lack of specific and detailed information found in the Andrew Jackson Papers about the number, location, and type of construction of the many buildings that certainly existed on the Hermitage property in the 1820s. Such a large farming operation required extensive housing for slaves, quarters for their overseer, barns, stables, cribs, toolsheds, and auxillary buildings of varied types. An occasional account such as the one following, dated March 4, 1823, gives some indication of what was being built of this nature:

Recd. from Andrew Jackson, the following sum in payment for work done for the said Andrew Hewing, sawing, for the barn & negro house of the said Andrew which sums are as follows viz twelve dollars 25/100 in cash and a check for fifteen dollars here to fore in all \$27.25--on this day in cash two hundred & sixty five Dollars. Now is John Peck house carpenter of Nashville upon inspection and measurement of what work was done by me for the said Andrew Jackson, says it worth more than the two hundred and ninety one dollars & ninety two cents as above recd. then the said Andrew is to pay the same--If Mr. Peck says it is enough then this is to be receipt in full for said cabin done & work performed by me this 4th of March 1823.

Samuel Scott⁷⁷

It is probable that this Samuel Scott was the same Samuel Scott who made the shingles and pales for the second Hermitage and garden in 1820.

A Natchez newspaper of 1827, quoting a Nashville letter, bears out the existence of many buildings on the farm:

You will be gratified to hear something about General Jackson. I visited him at his farm, (the Hermitage) and found him busily engaged with his cotton crop, which this year is valued at \$5,000: it is most carefully ginned and packed;...Everything about the place bears the marks of method and good management. A well built and commodius dwelling house, handsomely though plainly furnished with an extensive garden, comfortable outhouses, good and well stocked barns and stables, and the whole farm, about five hundred acres, in complete fencig, proclaim him the best farmer in the neighborhood.⁷⁸

The Farm Journal (1817-1832) gives the number and kind of livestock on the farm, as well as the corn, pork, and farming implements. An inventory dated January 5, 1829, apparently done jointly by Jackson and his overseer Mr. Steele as Jackson was departing to assume the presidency, contained the following:

A List of the stock of horses, mules, cattle Hoggs and Farming utensils Left on this farm, under the superintendance of Mr. Steele. and in the above statement shewing the number of Negroes (95) belonging to the said Farm of Andrew Jackson

Left four Brood mares, Six young colts two studs 3 young mules and 15 work horses, with one mule which makes 16 in all= And in the 1828 the number of Horned Cattle stood thus=102. Sheep= 145 Stock of hoggs= 250= Corn cribbed 288= waggon loads. 5 barrels pr load= which makes 1440 barrels, Pork Killed to the amount of 18,900 Pounds. The number of Ploughs stand thus, 14 single Ploughs 8 Double ones. 10 Bull Tongue Ploughs 6 scrapers 3 coulter. Axes 22. weeding hoes 30 Grubbing hoes 11, Iron wedges 7. Mechanics & Plantation tools. one Cross cut Saw 2 frows. 4 sithe cradles & one blade 4 waggons. 3 spades 19 Pieces of Leather in Tan Vat 10 Dry Hides 15 pair of gears 15 single trees 8 pair stretchers 13 clivises 4 Log chains 5 Cotton Wheels, 2 fan wheels 1 loom & gears 1 Spinning machine. 1 Water Wagon 2 pair of stilyards 1 pair of ballances 1 glass Lantern

Andrew Jackson⁷⁹

Although this inventory has no obvious connection with the first Hermitage, the inventory of materials could prove useful in the identification of artifacts uncovered in the area. Also found in the Farm Journal is a list of training equipment, dated 1832, that was doubtless used to train Jackson's horses. It included saddles, spurs, bridles, muzzles, halters and girts. A recapitulation of accounts at the end of the journal confirms the presence on the farm of a spinning machine as evidenced by a bill paid March 3, 1830, for its repair. Other receipts show repairs to a "Gin Brush" and the horse mill as well as construction of a winter shay and a key for the front door.

In 1831, repairs and additions to the Hermitage were undertaken. The first reference to this project was on April 28, 1831, in a letter from General John Coffee at Nashville to Jackson at Washington, wherein he stated that he had visited the Hermitage and "Your mechanics were at work on the improvement making on the mansion house."⁸⁰ In May of 1831, Jackson wrote to Andrew Jackson, Jr., enclosing some "Hickory Nutts...to hand...to the overseer with a letter directing Steele to plant them around your mothers tomb."⁸¹ Another letter written by President Jackson to Andrew, Jr., admonishes him to "Be sure to write me what condition the garden is in, what attention if any is paid to the tomb of your dear mother-- How Mr. Morrison progresses with the addition and repair of my house & fully of all my concerns...."⁸²

In replying to General Coffee's letter Jackson offered him an interesting piece of equipment. "When I wrote you last I intended saying to you if you will take my Hulling machine and set it up on your creek you are welcome to it. It will be much more profitable than your sawmill. The oil will be used in our Light Houses and Lamps and be of immense value."⁸³ This appears to have been a machine for hulling cottonseed that was similar in function to one patented by Francis Follet of Petersburg, Virginia, in 1829. The cottonseed oil was expressed from the seed kernels after they were hulled. In past centuries the Chinese used cottonseed oil as lamp oil. No other reference to this machine has been found, either indicating that Jackson was using it or that Coffee accepted it as a gift.

The existing correspondence, records and accounts for the year 1831 in the Andrew Jackson Papers contain two other entries pertaining to the repair and remodeling of the second Hermitage and the construction

of the tomb in the garden. A letter from Josiah Nichol to Jackson, dated October 19, 1831, shows that as Jackson's agent he "paid Mr. D. Morrison on account of work or repairs done at the Hermitage \$500."⁸⁴ A long detailed letter to Jackson from D. Morrison, dated December 6, 1831, spells out in considerable detail the appearance and materials used in the new projects. Of most interest was the removal of the kitchen and replacing it with a new one and the building of a "commodeus" smokehouse from the old kitchen materials on a line with the new kitchen.⁸⁵

No mention of the first Hermitage or its usage appears in the Andrew Jackson papers dated 1831. During the year there was less correspondence regarding the Hermitage farm than in subsequent years and even some earlier years. The Jackson correspondence about the farm, other than the year 1831 letters previously cited, is largely about selling or breeding horses and discussions of his horses "Bolivar" and "Stockholder." There are two letters referring to the purchase of land; one parcel from Peter Mosely with instructions to overseer Steele to close a certain road on the property, and the other a discussion of the purchase of the adjacent lots belonging to Thomas J. Alexander, and Samuel Donelson to help them and to gratify Andrew, Jr.⁸⁶

On February 4, 1832, Jackson wrote from Washington to his overseer, Graves W. Steele, and informed him that he was sending six bushels of clover seed and instructed him to sow them in the "race tract field." This confirms, as do subsequent letters, the existence of a race track, perhaps a training area, on the Hermitage property. The track caused Jackson some concern about injury to his character by its presence and it was eventually abandoned. He further advised Steele to pursue the acquisition of the land from Alexander and Samuel Donelson and if successful

to unite with them to extend a fence "...to the road as laid out to the mouth of Stones River...." ⁸⁷

In April of 1832, Andrew Jackson, Jr. set out for Tennessee with his new bride. General Jackson gave him a detailed memorandum of several pages with instructions for handling matters on the farm and with Mr. Steele, Mr. Morrison, and Mr. Nichol. Mr. Morrison was in charge of the remodeling of the second Hermitage and building the tomb, while Mr. Nichol was Jackson's financial agent. In the memorandum, he asked Andrew Jr. to have Mr. Steele make brick and put up a set of stables for the riding and carriage horses and suggested a general plan as to how it should be built. ⁸⁸

Again in April, 1832, Jackson wrote Andrew Jackson, Jr. questioning Steele's judgment in purchasing 14 single plows for "...having a blacksmith it is a great want of economy to buy single plows." This adds the obvious, but thus confirmed, knowledge that there was a resident blacksmith, with necessary equipment (possibly a shop on the farm), and is important in any determination of what specific activities existed. ⁸⁹

Beginning in 1832, it is easily seen from the quantity and content of the correspondence from Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., that the General was attempting to train Andrew, Jr. in business and farming as well as trying to operate the farm himself from a distance. Numerous letters, as many as three or four per month, flowed from Jackson's pen to his son and the overseer. Andrew, Jr.'s lack of interest in the farm caused overseer Steele to write Jackson a confidential letter deploring the situation, followed by a letter indicating he was making brick for "the purpose of building Stable Carriage house and Coffee house etc. and a house at the winStand place if you wish it." He also reported on the

progress with the monument.⁹⁰ The coffee house mentioned is presumed to be a shed or structure similar to a smokehouse for roasting green coffee beans. The reference to the "winStand" (Winston) place shows how various tracts making up the Hermitage farm retained the name of their former owner.

In early 1833, Andrew, Jr. and Sarah were visiting in Philadelphia and a new overseer, Burnard W. Holtzclaw, had been engaged at the Hermitage in place of Mr. Steele. Major William B. Lewis visited the Hermitage in April, probably at Jackson's behest, and wrote a lengthy and extensive account of affairs there. In it he refers to Jackson's "brick Negroe houses" and the poor condition of the yard and garden. He commented that there were "58 Negro children" there and all were well clad. The spinning "ginney" was going with some of the old women spinning by hand and the two looms were working constantly. This comprehensive letter gives the number of livestock, the acreage in the varied crops, and provides an excellent overall picture of the farm operation.⁹¹

Andrew, Jr. and his family returned to the Hermitage around the first of November 1833, and the letters to Andrew, Jr. from Jackson increased, as did his admonitions for proper attention to money matters. The cotton crop was of much concern to Jackson and little mention was made of the house. Sarah Jackson did purchase some settees and chairs, at Jackson's request, while in Philadelphia.

Correspondence during the year 1834 was examined to determine if the fire that struck the Hermitage dwelling that year caused any reference to the first Hermitage. The early letters between President Jackson and Andrew, Jr. are by and large characterized by Jackson's continued concern over financial matters and Andrew's irresponsible handling of them.

Andrew, Jr.'s purchase of the Baldwin place (previously owned by Jackson as Hunter's Hill)⁹² was distressing to Jackson because of the excessive price and unsatisfactory terms for payment. No comment is made prior to the fire on October 13, 1834, relating to buildings and structures on the farm except the gin and cotton press and painting of the second Hermitage. Jackson came home from Washington during the summer and it was after his return to Washington that he received word that the second Hermitage had burned leaving the foundation and walls still intact.

After the fire Andrew, Jr., Sarah and the children were without a place to live and what they did is explained in an article titled "Reminiscences of Andrew Jackson," published in the Continental Monthly of September 1862:

The conversation was social. Someone brought in a lighted corn-cob pipe, with a long reed-stalk, for the President to smoke. He appeared waiting for it. As he puffed at it, a Western man asked some question about the fire which had been reported at the Hermitage. The answer made was, "it had not been much injured," I think, "but the family had moved temporarily into a log-house," in which, the General observed, "he had spent some of the happiest days of his life." He then, as if excited by old recollections, told us he had an excellent plantation, fine cattle, noble horses, a large still-house, and so on. "Why, General," laughed his Western friend, "I thought I saw your name, the other day, along with those of other prominent men, advocating the cold-water system?" I did sign something of the kind," replied the veteran, very coolly puffing at his pipe, "but I had a very good distillery for all that!" Before markets became convenient, almost all large plantations had stills to use up the surplus grains, which could not be sold to a profit near home. Tanneries and blacksmiths' shops were also accompaniments, for essential convenience.⁹³

Taken at face value this appears to indicate that the first Hermitage log house was again used as the manor by President Jackson's family. The historian Marquis James assumed as much and stated that:

"Andrew Jackson's family had found shelter in the remnant of the ancient blockhouse--the original Hermitage which still stood on the place."⁹⁴ His source for this information was the Continental Monthly article, quoted above, which is not as definitive as he makes it appear. Two letters in the Jackson correspondence indicate a different arrangement was made. Stockley D. Donelson wrote to Jackson on October 14, 1834, that "Andrew requested me to say to you that he would move to the Baldwin place, and will start 3 or 4 whipsaws tomorrow...."⁹⁵ Thomas Jefferson Donelson wrote to Andrew Jackson on November 4, 1834, that "Andrew and Sarah appear to be comfortably fixed at the Baldwin place."⁹⁶

In weighing the relative merits of reminiscences against letters written at the time of an occurrence, the letters must be considered the more accurate source. It seems most probable that Jackson had reference to a log-house at Hunter's Hill (Baldwin place he had repurchased), though some later accounts say the house he occupied there was of frame construction.

Correspondence for the remainder of 1834 concerns the rebuilding, cotton, crops, horses, and the new overseer (Mr. Hobbs), with instructions to Andrew, Jr. to improve the Hunter's Hill fences and "also those fences of the Hermitage and its appendages."⁹⁷ There are no references to the first Hermitage buildings.

The correspondence of the year 1837 contained no reference to the marriage of the servants Alfred and Gracey, as reported by Mary C. Dorris. This period was examined with the thought there would be some mention of the first Hermitage in connection with the marriage. Jackson's letters, in 1837, do tell about the farming operations and he named his crops as cotton, corn, wheat, oats, and rye. He said he had an excess of blooded stock for empty corn cribs and hay lofts, but had milk and butter and

good mutton. He was short of pork and advised Andrew Jackson, Jr. to purchase 10,000 pounds.⁹⁸

Andrew Jackson's correspondence from 1834 to the time of his death in 1845 (as published by Bassett) indicates that after 1838 there was a period of declining fortunes and financial reverses. These set-backs caused the sale of portions of the estate, horses, and slaves to meet the debts Andrew Jackson, Jr. continued to create. In the many letters of this period there are some that give information on the physical aspects of the Hermitage farm, the roads across the property, the condition of the garden and crops, but none that make reference to the first Hermitage buildings. Of particular interest is a letter from the overseer, Edward Hobbs, to Andrew Jackson, Jr., dated August 26, 1835, detailing the problems, work, and conditions at the Hermitage farm at that time. Hobbs discusses the preparation of a new casting for the cotton press, shingles for the gin and the slave houses, locks for the corn houses, and shoes for the slaves. He also mentions the illness from venereal disease (gonorrhoea) of some slaves.⁹⁹

The lack of information regarding Jackson's early days and the first Hermitage might be explained in part by the 1834 fire. As Jackson stated in a letter to his biographer, Amos Kendall, on December 12, 1842: "I have no likeness of myself or Mrs. Jackson in our early days; have no plan of our Battle ground; they all got burned with my house,"¹⁰⁰ There is no information beyond this statement of what records or how many were destroyed in the fire.

HERMITAGE LAND TRANSACTIONS

A historical study of the Hermitage should also include an examination of the many land transactions that altered the extent and function of the property at various times during Jackson's ownership. The increase in acreage during Jackson's lifetime with an attendant increase in the number of slaves, livestock, barns, outbuildings, farm equipment, and impendimenta had an effect on the original buildings in terms of usage and alteration. Conversely, the shrinkage of the holdings by sale and transfer contributed to the deterioration and loss of many features whose presence would aid materially in the analysis of the first Hermitage.

Jackson, in common with many early Tennesseans, speculated heavily in land and the unfortunate aftermath of such speculation in the Allison affair led directly to his acquisition of the Hermitage. While there are existing records of large amounts of land that Jackson bought and sold, this study is confined to the original Hermitage property and contiguous additions and losses.

Existing deeds, Davidson County tax lists, the probate of Jackson's will, and Jackson's own statements, as found in his letters, are the four sources used to determine the acreage at several intervals. No single one of these sources, nor any combination of them, furnishes a complete record but if all are used a composite emerges that generally outlines the expansion and contraction of the property. Some differences in the four sources can be attributed to round number approximation and estimations of acreage, but for some gains and losses there is incomplete data. An example is the known addition of land for which no acreage is given, such as the lot purchased around 1832 from Alexander Donelson, a son and heir

of Severn Donelson. Figure 5 is intended as a visual aid to show fluctuations in the acreage for which there is supporting data.

On August 23, 1804 Jackson purchased 425 acres from Nathaniel Hays for \$3,400, which was the original Hermitage tract (Fig. 2, A and B). The deed states it was "...part of a preemption granted to Nathaniel Hays from the State of North Carolina by patent bearing date the Seventeenth day of April one Thousand Seven hundred and Eight Six and No. Twenty four...."¹⁰¹ The preemption to Hays was for 640 acres but prior to the sale to Jackson, Hays had sold two hundred and twenty acres to a Mr. Taylor who had sold it to a Mr. Frank Sanders. Jackson then sold an additional one hundred acres from the Hermitage tract to Mr. Sanders ("...to give him room..."¹⁰²), thus leaving 320 acres, the least amount the Hermitage tract would contain. The slight variation in acreage was due to estimations and is not significant.

Figure 6 shows the relationship of the Nathaniel Hays tract to the other tracts in the area. The figure is adapted from an undated survey map of the Donelson lands attributed to Captain John Donelson and in the possession of a descendant, Mrs. W. Ross Stephens.

The original map has several stylized houses drawn in on the various properties, including a single building just east of the spring on the Nathaniel Hays (Hermitage) tract. If it could be determined that the survey map was made prior to 1804, as family tradition has it, then it would certainly prove that the "old blockhouse" or some building was already on the first Hermitage tract when Jackson bought it. However, an examination of the map shows that the northernmost 640 acre tract on the south side of the Cumberland River is labeled Edward Ward. This was the Hunter's Hill tract, originally a preemption grant to Lewis Robards, later purchased by John Shannon, who sold it to Andrew Jackson. It was not owned by Edward Ward until Jackson sold it to him in 1804.

YEAR	ACRES*	
1804	420	Original Hermitage tract purchased from Nathaniel Hays
1806	320	After 100 acres sold to F. Sanders
1811	420	After purchase of 100 acres from Samuel Hays heirs
1812	640	Reported on Davidson County tax list
1814	1000	Hermitage tract Jackson offered for sale ¹
1821	960	After purchase of 320 acres from Samuel Donelson heirs ²
1823	1280	After purchase of 320 acres from F. Sanders
1824	640	After transfer of 640 acres to A.J. Donelson
1825	640	Reported on Davidson County tax list
1827	838	After purchase of 198 acres from Winston heirs
1829	900	Reported on Davidson County tax list
1830	989	After purchase of 151 acres from Peter Mosely
1832	1199	After acquisition of 210 acres from Severn Donelson heirs ³
1833	1800	After purchase of 601 acres from R.W. Hill
1834	1907	After purchase of 107 acres from A.J. Donelson
1834	1660	After transfer of 247 acres to A.J. Donelson
1838	1820	After purchase of 160 acres from T. Harrison
1839	1780	Reported on Davidson County tax list
1840	970	After sale of 850 acres to Mrs. Eliza Donelson
1841	960	Jackson's estimate of Hermitage acreage
1845	1050	Acreage given in the probate of Jackson's will
1856	500	In the Hermitage tract sold to the state of Tennessee

Sources

Deeds 
Tax list 
Jackson letters 
Will probate 

*Cumulative acreage derived from deeds, Jackson letters, 1812 tax list

¹Includes Hugh Hays preemption

²One-half Hugh Hays preemption

³Not including one lot of undetermined acreage

Figure 5. Hermitage acreage 1804-1856.

A confusing point is that Jackson's name does not appear on the map. Yet there was a period of approximately six weeks (July 6, 1804 to August 23, 1804), from the time Hunter's Hill was sold until Jackson executed the deed for the Nathaniel Hays property, when Jackson did not have legal title to either tract. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Jackson may have commissioned Captain Donelson to survey these properties at this time. If so, it would explain Edward Ward's name being on the map and the absence of Jackson's.

Whether the survey was done prior to 1804 or in the July-August period of 1804, the fact that a building is shown by the Hermitage spring is persuasive evidence that one was there before Jackson bought the property. It could have been the "blockhouse" which so many writers have said became part of the first Hermitage.

The next transaction involving the Hermitage property is more complex and involves the preemption of Hugh Hays. This tract of 640 acres was adjacent to, and north of, Nathaniel Hays preemption (now Jackson's Hermitage tract of 320 acres and Frank Sanders' 320 acres). Samuel Donelson, the father of A. J. Donelson, and Jackson's former partner in the Nashville store, was experiencing great financial embarrassment. Jackson proposed to William Donelson (Samuel's brother) that they jointly purchase Hugh Hays preemption as a gift to Samuel so that he might settle near Jackson on the property. Although William desired that Samuel be resettled, he would only pay half the purchase price with the provision that Samuel repay him. The purchase was jointly made by Andrew Jackson and William Donelson and deeded jointly to William and Samuel Donelson.

Samuel died before he took possession of the property, and Jackson was called upon to administer the debt-ridden estate. Jackson's half of

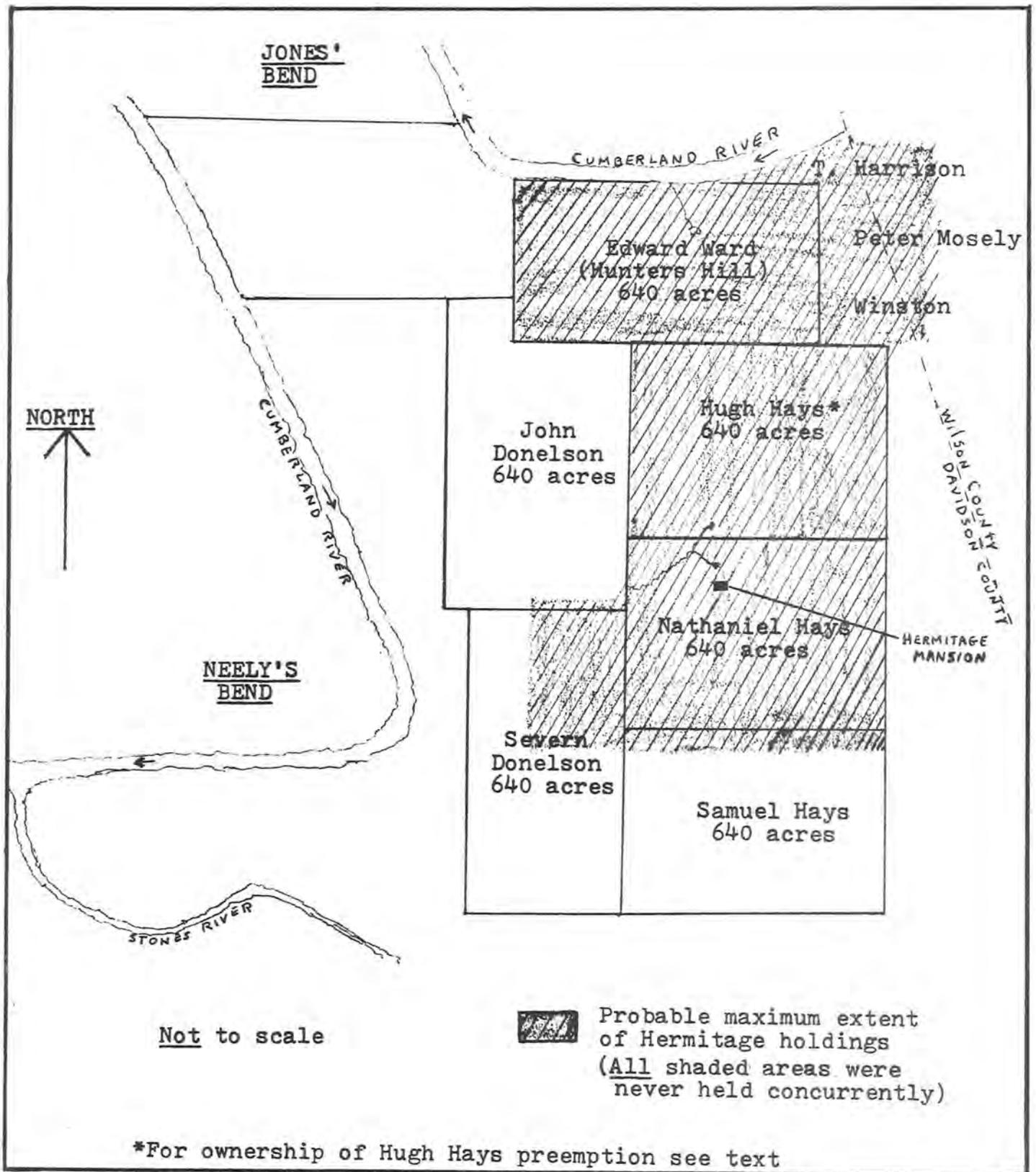


Figure 6. Sketch showing relationship of tracts in Hermitage land transactions (adapted from map of Donelson lands in possession of Mrs. W. Ross Stephens, descendant of Captain John Donelson).

Hugh Hays preemption, he had bought for Samuel, was sold by the sheriff. Jackson bought it back with his own money and had it deeded to Samuel's children and in the meantime purchased the remaining undivided half of the preemption from William Donelson at an enhanced price.¹⁰³ The exact dates of all these transactions are not known. Samuel Donelson died around 1803, and it appears they occurred close to that time and prior to Jackson's actual purchase of the Hermitage tract. The deed of purchase of the Hermitage tract by Jackson, dated August 23, 1804, mentions "Hugh Hays preemption now belonging to the heirs of Samuel Donelson Desd." Samuel, had he lived, would have been near Jackson whether Jackson was on the Hermitage property or still at Hunter's Hill for both adjoined the Hugh Hays preemption. The dates are of concern because one of the cabins (the North Cabin) now under study in the first Hermitage area is probably located on what was the original Hugh Hays preemption.

One existing document relating to the transfer of the moiety, or undivided half, of Hugh Hays preemption from William Donelson to Andrew Jackson bears a date of December 11, 1806, and could be best described as a covenant and bond for the land to be conveyed when called for.¹⁰⁴ The actual deed is dated April 22, 1821, and was termed an indenture that formally and legally transferred the undivided half to Jackson from the estate of William Donelson, now deceased.¹⁰⁵ It thus appears that the entire Hugh Hays preemption, for all practical purposes, became a part of the Hermitage tract no later than 1806. Evidently it was not actually owned by Jackson and he was apparently only acting in the interests of the children of Samuel Donelson, but it remained a de facto part of Jackson's property until 1821 and the subsequent

division of the property with A. J. Donelson (Samuel's son) in 1824. This division established clear titles and ownership.

In April of 1810, Jackson swapped 25 acres of land, adjacent to the 100 acres previously sold to Frank Sanders, to William Ward for 25 acres.¹⁰⁶ This was an even swap that altered the boundaries of the Hermitage tract but not the acreage.

No further records of changes are found until March 15, 1811, when the heirs of Samuel Hays sold Jackson 100 acres to satisfy a bond given by their father to John Castleman.¹⁰⁷ This was part of Samuel Hays' preemption adjacent to and south of the Hermitage tract.

A list of Jackson's taxable property in Davidson County for the year 1812 includes the following information:

...640 acres of land---whereon he lives 640 in two tracts belonging to John, Andrew Jackson and Danel Donelson sons of Saml Donelson Deceased....

The inclusion of the 640 acres belonging to the heirs of Samuel Donelson in Jackson's taxable possessions bears out the previous conclusion about his physical, though not legal, possession and use of the old Hugh Hays' grant. The historian Bassett, commenting on this tax list in his Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, states that Jackson was the guardian of the Samuel Donelson children.¹⁰⁸ That this was not the case at that time is shown by a letter from Andrew Jackson to James Jackson, in 1814, wherein he requests James to make sure that their guardian agrees to a proposed sale of the land.¹⁰⁹

The tax list stated that Jackson had "640 acres whereon he lives," which leaves the question of what acreage, other than the 100 acres bought of Samuel Hays' heirs, was added to his previous holding to make a total of

640. The absence of records and deeds makes it a matter of speculation whether this was correct as listed (the list having been made by "Thomas Overton for Linsey") or whether there had been additional land purchased to make up this total. The 1812 tax list is used in determining the cumulative acreage in Figure 5 because it makes the statement that Jackson lived on the taxed property.

In September of 1814, Jackson, who was at Mobile, wrote to his agent, James Jackson, expressing concern that he would lose the Allison-related litigation and be pressed for funds. With this in mind he instructed James Jackson to consult with Mrs. Andrew Jackson and sell "...my farm... the whole tract of 1000 acres or what may measure out ...1/3 of the price of the land is to be secured for the three sons of Samuel Donelson deceased on the event they by their guardian agree to it."¹¹⁰ This indicates there were 1000 acres more or less in the Hermitage tract at that time, and that the Hugh Hays preemption, now belonging to Samuel Donelson's sons, was included in the Hermitage tract for purposes of this sale. The grandfather of Samuel Donelson's sons, General Daniel Smith of Rock Castle, wrote Jackson that he was in accord with the proposed sale.¹¹¹ James Jackson advised against the sale and the matter was dropped.

In 1821, as previously mentioned, the executors of William Donelson's estate confirmed the bond given to Jackson in 1806 and gave him title to 320 acres, the undivided half of the former preemption of Hugh Hays. This action legalized the addition of the tract to the Hermitage property already owned by Jackson.

In 1823, Jackson purchased the 320 acres from Frank Sanders that was the remaining eastern portion of Nathaniel Hays original preemption.¹¹² In 1824, Major A. J. Donelson having married, Jackson gave him this property

and also drew up a deed of partition dividing Hugh Hays preemption of 640 acres, with the eastern half going to the Major. This partition was made in a way that would unite the Major's two tracts.¹¹³ This left the Hermitage with 640 acres, and the 1825 Davidson County tax list also gives this figure.¹¹⁴

In 1827, Jackson purchased a tract of 198 acres adjacent to the Hermitage property from the heirs of Anthony Winston.¹¹⁵ Several references to the Winston place and its usage are found in correspondence between Jackson and his overseer. The 1829 Davidson County Tax List charged Jackson with 900 acres without specifying where they were located.¹¹⁶ In 1830, Jackson purchased 151 acres from Captain Peter Mosely that bordered the Winston tract. Jackson also bought 250 acres from Mosely in 1831 and traded it to Thomas J. Donelson (son of Severn) for his 110 acre lot.¹¹⁷

The Jackson correspondence of 1832 contains letters discussing the acquisition of this lot and two others from the sons of Severn Donelson. The size of two of the lots (210 acres) gotten from Samuel and Thomas J. Donelson can be determined from memorandums from Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr.¹¹⁸ There is no direct proof that the third lot was purchased at that time, but all three lots are specifically mentioned as belonging to Jackson in Jackson's will dated September 30, 1833.¹¹⁹ This will was superseded by his final will, in 1843, wherein the lots are again named as belonging to Jackson. The inability to determine the exact acreage of the third lot makes a close measure of the Hermitage property past the year 1832 difficult. It is likely that the three totaled about 300 acres and were part of the Hermitage tract sold to the State of Tennessee in 1856.

In 1833, Jackson repurchased Hunter's Hill from R. W. Hill, its then current owner. It was occupied by Mr. Baldwin and was often referred to

by Jackson as the Baldwin place, as well as the Ward place and Hunter's Hill. It was there that Andrew Jackson, Jr. moved after the fire of 1834 damaged the Hermitage mansion. The deed gave the acreage as 601, rather than the 640 it contained when Jackson first owned it, with the variance probably due to errors in the surveys.¹²⁰

A series of complicated land swaps and transactions with Major A. J. Donelson began in 1827 but were not in their final form and the deeds registered until August of 1834. In the early part of 1834, Jackson's Hermitage tract reached its zenith of around 2,000 acres. To add timber bearing land to the Hermitage tract, Jackson bought 107 acres of A. J. Donelson's eastern half of the Hugh Hays preemption. In a subsequent transfer Jackson deeded his Winston tract of 197 acres to A. J. Donelson and returned all but 50 acres of the 107 bought from him. This made a total of 247 acres deeded to Major Donelson in apparent exchange for the 50 acres Jackson received.¹²¹

In 1838, Jackson swapped 840 acres he owned on the Forked Deer river in west Tennessee to Thomas T. Harrison for four slaves and 160 acres adjoining Captain Peter Mosely's land that was then part of the Hermitage tract. A portion of this land, some 68 acres, extended into Wilson County.¹²² The fact that a portion of the Hermitage property lay in Wilson County makes the 1839 Davidson County tax list acreage given for Andrew Jackson an unreliable gauge of its actual size.¹²³ The tax lists, unless they specified that Jackson lived on the property taxed, could well have included acreage he owned elsewhere in the county and not part of the Hermitage.

The financial indiscretions of Andrew Jackson, Jr. and the generally poor economic situation in 1838 caused Jackson to place the Hunter's Hill

tract on the market together with the Mosely and Harrison tracts. The swap of the west Tennessee land for the Harrison tract possibly was done to make the Hunter's Hill property more attractive and more likely to sell. Finding a buyer proved to be difficult and Jackson wrote to several of his friends to let it be known he was trying to sell the property. He then placed the following advertisement in The Nashville Union of April 20, 1840:

LOOK AT THIS!
A GREAT BARGAIN TO BE HAD

A VALUABLE TRACT OF LAND, containing 850 acres; bounded on the south by the Hermitage, and fronting on its north side, on the Cumberland river, for upwards of one mile. The improvements consist of a comfortable brick dwelling house, kitchen and smokehouse. Also, frame carriage house, stables, two large barns, negro cabins, & c. It is well calculated for either a cotton or stock farm, being well watered, and having about 70 acres in grass and clover. Any one wishing to purchase the above, will please call on Andrew Jackson Jr. who will show them the premises, and make known to them the terms.

ANDREW JACKSON

If not sold at private sale before the 15th of May, 1840, on that day it will be exposed to public sale, together with some fine-blooded horses, cattle and sheep. Terms made known on the day of the sale.

The advertisement gives some clue to what structures were on that portion of the Hermitage tract. It did not go to public sale as announced, and Mrs. Eliza E. Donelson, who desired to return to Tennessee from Alabama after her husband died, purchased it on July 14, 1840.¹²⁴

Continuing financial problems, largely created by Andrew Jackson, Jr., forced Jackson to borrow money. In offering the now reduced Hermitage tract as security, Jackson sent a description of its boundaries and appendages to Major William B. Lewis on September 30, 1841 and stated it contained 960 acres.¹²⁵ It was not required for security, and the boundaries remained the same until Jackson's death in 1845.

In the probate of Jackson's will, August 4, 1845, Andrew Jackson, Jr. reported to the Davidson County Court that the Hermitage tract contained "...about 1000 acres and in Wilson County about 50 acres of cedar timber...."¹²⁶ The tract passed to Andrew Jackson, Jr. by the terms of Jackson's will. Due to Andrew, Jr.'s unwise investments and continued mismanagement, debts against the property increased. He sold 550 acres of the Hermitage tract, that included the western half of the old Hugh Hays preemption, between 1845 and 1856, and the remaining 500 acres were purchased by the State of Tennessee in 1856 (claim to the west half of the Hugh Hays preemption was relinquished in 1855¹²⁷). No attempt has been made in this study to follow in detail the Hermitage land transactions of Andrew Jackson, Jr.

THE HERMITAGE AFTER GENERAL JACKSON'S DEATH

After the death of General Jackson (1845) and the sale of outlying portions of the Hermitage tract to others, the State of Tennessee bought the remaining 500 acres, in 1856, and, in 1889, transferred 25 acres to the Ladies Hermitage Association. During this period (1845-1889) the Hermitage experienced poverty, neglect, abandonment, and war. These events, together with the inexorable ravages of the years, left its buildings much damaged. Detailed information about the Hermitage during this time is not abundant. Tennesseans were involved in the weightier matters of impending, then actual, war followed by the agonies of reconstruction. Relative normalcy did not return until the 1880s.

In 1847, Roeliff Brinkerhoff was at the Hermitage as a tutor for Andrew Jackson, Jr.'s children. He spoke about it only in generalities in his Recollections of a Lifetime and stated that he would not bore the reader by recounting his observations that were published elsewhere.

These observations were published in a series of articles entitled "Three Years at the Hermitage" that appeared in a Washington, D. C. journal called The Capitol, edited by Donn Piatt and George Alfred Townsend. Sensing that these articles by one so intimately associated with the household might be very informative, a request was made of the Library of Congress for copies. The Library was unable to locate the journals but hopefully the information will surface at a later date. Brinkerhoff went to the Hermitage after being at General Donelson's (the brother of A. J. Donelson) for a year, and his only noteworthy comment was that the Hermitage had 50 slaves at that time.¹²⁸

By 1853, Andrew Jackson, Jr.'s fortunes had diminished until he was forced to mortgage the Hermitage to secure a debt of \$15,000. By 1856, he had found it necessary to sell all but 500 acres of the estate and offered the remainder to the State of Tennessee. The General Assembly authorized the Governor to purchase the property with the proviso that it be used as a southern branch of the Military Academy at West Point. Furthermore, the act provided that, if it was not accepted by the general government in two years, it was to be exposed to public sale, exclusive of 50 acres encompassing the tomb, mansion, spring, and the springhouses.¹²⁹ The term "springhouses" is worthy of note as it indicates there was more than one springhouse.

Governor Andrew Johnson reported to the 1857 General Assembly that he had carried out their will, purchased the Hermitage and tendered it to the Federal Government. He suggested "...in the event the Federal Government should refuse to accept of the property ...would it not be better to set it apart as a permanent residence for all future Governors of the State?...would thus...preserve...the sacred spot...."¹³⁰

By the terms of the contract with the State, Andrew Jackson, Jr. was allowed to remain on the property until 1858, at which time he moved to Mississippi.

According to an unidentified newspaper clipping dated January 18, 1922:

...During the absence of Andrew Jackson Jr. at the Mississippi home, a family of his old slaves were left at the Hermitage to care for it and it was these who Parton, the historian, saw when he visited the Hermitage for the historical data of his history of Andrew Jackson. ...Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence was then living at her home, "Birdsong", a mile from the Hermitage, but she was indisposed and refused to see the historian and therefore all her beautiful reminiscences of "Grandpa" are lost to history...."131

This explains where Parton was getting his information at the Hermitage and adds credibility inasmuch as these were old slaves who were no doubt long time residents.

Parton made additional comments about the Hermitage with descriptions of the property and the state of the outbuildings and slave cabins:

Soon we reach the Hermitage farm a thousand acres in extent; four hundred cleared and cultivated; the rest forest--thick lofty, luxuriant;...

The new Hermitage...has been built;...it was begun in the summer of 1819...near the old block-house...

"Old Hannah",...whose care of the chickens at the Hermitage General Jackson extols, is now sixty-seven years of age, and she appears to be still in the very prime of her vigor. She strode about the Hermitage farm with us on a chilly wet day in February, bare-headed, with a spring in her step that belongs to thirty-five....

One would have expected to find the stables of such a lover of horses extensive and commodious; but they are neither. One building of unhewn logs, with stalls for nine or ten horses, and another still smaller for the shelter of the huge family coach, are all the out buildings that now remain. The Negro cabins, some of logs and a few of brick are scattered about the farm, instead of forming a compact little street, as is often the case on large plantations....132

Parton's statement about how few out-buildings remained only thirteen years after the General's death gives evidence of the neglect the Hermitage suffered once he left the scene. His statement that some of the "Negro cabins" were of logs and others of brick prevents a general assumption, in the absence of other evidence, that all were built from logs.

Governor Isham G. Harris recommended to the legislature of 1859 that, the time having expired for the Federal Government to accept the Hermitage, it should be turned over to the State Agricultural Bureau that they might farm the fields. One hundred and fifty acres should be reserved by the state, including the house and grounds. In the 1860 session of the Assembly a bill was introduced to move the remains of General and Mrs. Jackson to the capitol grounds, but it was dropped after an emotional appeal from Andrew Jackson, Jr. Nothing having been done to take care of the property, Governor Harris invited Andrew, Jr. to return as a tenant-at-will and act as custodian of the Hermitage. Andrew accepted the offer and brought his family back from Mississippi.

A bill was passed by the legislature in 1860 that requested the Governor to provide upkeep and repairs, as necessary, to the "house, tomb, yards and gardens", but with war imminent nothing of this nature was done. Next came a bill to tender the Hermitage, with the exception of 50 acres that included the tomb and mansion, to the Confederate States Government for a permanent Military Academy. The bill passed the house but died in the Senate.¹³³

With civil war raging, Nashville came under Federal control in 1862, and the Hermitage, still neglected, didn't fare very well. Private Benjamin T. Smith, a scout in the Union army, gave his impressions after

a visit November 14, 1862:

Under charge of Lieut. Grow twenty five of our Co. go out scouting, as far as the Hermatage [Hermitage]. This is the former home and present burial place of Genl Andrew Jackson who was president in 1832. The present owner is an adopted son, who is said to be a violent secessionist. The place must have been a fine one in its palmy days, but now through neglect its pretty well run to weeds. The drive way is flanked on either side by stately elms, with their overarching bows intermingling. This leads up to the front of the fine old brick mansion. An old decrept negress here spends her declining days, basking in the rays of the sun, nursing her crooked fingers, and bent and aged limbs and rheumatic joints. I asked her some questions, as to age, and if she knew the Genl in life. De Lord bless you massa, she replied , I don holl him in dese here arms, when he were only so high, streatching forth her withered hand knee high. Bressed Old Massa, I done nurse him many times, and she turned her toothless visage up to the sun. I all most believed her as her wrinkled face bore the stamp of great age, and if she had said she was the mother of Matheusiler [Methuselah], I was not prepared to contradict her. The tomb of Jackson is situated in one corner of the garden, and is quite well preserved, stone pillars, supporting a canopied roof, the floor cemented, under which the remains are deposited. After inspecting every thing of interest we return to Camp....¹³⁴

Obviously the old "negress" confused General Jackson with Andrew Jackson, Jr. when she referred to him as knee high, but Private Smith's story confirms that former slaves were living at the Hermitage during the war.

Governor Brownlow, certainly not in sympathy with the "violent secessionist's" family left at the Hermitage after Andrew Jackson, Jr.'s untimely death in 1865, had a rather lengthy comment on the condition of the Hermitage in his message to the General Assembly on October 3, 1865:

...I feel it my duty to lay before you the condition of the Hermitage Property, now owned by the State. This property was purchased by one of my predecessors, under the act of 1856, chapter 96, for the sum of forty-eight thousand (\$48,000) dollars....

By the act of March 24th, 1860, the Governor and Secretary of State are required to make such repairs and improvements as in their judgement are deemed necessary, and to employ laborers to keep the mansion, garden, tomb and surroundings in a good state of repair. This act recites by way of preamble, that the property was at that date in a "dilapidated condition." It seems that nothing was ever done under this act in the way of repairs. And as the property was in a "dilapidated condition" in 1860, you can readily imagine its condition now, after four years of a great civil war.

At the request of Major Wm.B. Lewis and myself, Major General THOMAS, of the United States Army, has ordered a preliminary survey of the Hermitage Property, and the report and plot are in my possession for your inspection. Impelled by a spirit of reverence for the illustrious dead, Gen. Thomas has generously had the tomb repaired and otherwise materially benefitted the property, for which he has the thanks of all good men. The flooring of the tomb has been raised and properly re-laid, and new cornices made, but the roof, which is of copper, leaks badly, and if not soon repaired will destroy the ceiling, flooring, &c. The mansion is much damaged from leaks in the roof and deficiency in the guttering. The ceiling and plastering are badly cracked, and in many places the plastering is falling off. Some of the joists have rotted from the same cause--the foundation has been undermined, and the brick walls cracked open in consequence. Should this condition of things continue another year, it will become necessary to partially tear down and rebuild the mansion.

The liability of the State on account of the Hermitage Property, principal and interest, now amounts to about seventy thousand (\$70,000) dollars. I propose to the Legislature to lay off one hundred acres, including the tomb and mansion, and tender it to the Federal Government, or use it as a State institution for a "Hotel des Invalides," or asylum for invalid soldiers, similar to the one founded in Paris by the Emperor Napoleon. Let the remaining four hundred acres be sold, the debt against the State be discharged, and the surplus go towards the purchase of a mansion for the Governor of the State. I am informed that the large and convenient brick building in front of the Capitol is for sale, and I recommend its immediate purchase for that purpose....¹³⁵

In view of this message Governor Brownlow seemed to feel, as did Governor Johnson in 1857, that the Hermitage property should be put to use or sale in such a manner as would provide an executive mansion for the Governor of Tennessee. The "dilapidated condition" into which the Hermitage had fallen is evident, with the tomb alone having been

repaired by General Thomas. A search has been made in the Brownlow Papers¹³⁶ for the "preliminary survey" and "report and plot" General Thomas made for Governor Brownlow, but no such documents were found. This historical material, of great value, seems to have been lost or destroyed, and the nature of the repairs wherein General Thomas "otherwise materially benefitted the property" are unknown. It should be mentioned that the traditional story of General Thomas providing a guard of Federal troops (who used the fenced garden as a corral for their horses) is not found among the reports in the massive compilation of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, nor is any mention of the Hermitage found in the biographies of General George H. Thomas that were examined.¹³⁷ The source of the story, other than its repetition by various writers, has not been given and confirmation is lacking.

In a message to the General Assembly in November of 1866 Governor Brownlow's vitriolic disapproval of the tenants of the Hermitage is evident:

...I refer you to my former message and my official report concerning that fine estate, which is now the property of the State, known as the "Hermitage Farm." The Legislature of 1855-6, purchased this estate out of respect to the memory of its former illustrious owner, at the cost of \$48,000, and incurred a debt of that amount by the issuance of its bonds, which debt now amounts to about \$80,000. Since the purchase, the interest of the State in the property has been wholly neglected. The present occupants have enjoyed it without being called on for a single dollar either for rent or repairs; nor have they volunteered to repair the dwelling, fences, or even the tomb itself. It would seem that the use of such a magnificent estate by private individuals would compensate them for keeping it at least in some sort of repair. But the entire property presents a dreary aspect of dilapidation and neglect. As I do not understand it to have been the object of the purchase to establish a State charity, I recommend the sale of the property as a measure due to the State, and satisfactory to the tax-payers, and to meet in part the debt incurred in the purchase....¹³⁸

Brownlow's recommendations were ignored by the tumultuous post-war Assemblies,

and the Hermitage structures continued to slowly rot away. In retrospect, it seems possible it may not have been such a catastrophe for, although repairs were neglected and many features lost or damaged, an unrestricted sale might have resulted in complete division or destruction of the property.

No further interest in the property was shown by the State of Tennessee until 1883. The remnants of the Jackson family, with Andrew, Jr.'s widow, Sarah York Jackson, as the matriarch, continued to occupy the Hermitage. Sarah, her sole surviving son, CSA Colonel Andrew Jackson, III, and her sister, Mrs. Adams, made up the family; the other sons, as well as the Adams boys, had perished in the war. "Little" Rachel had married Dr. John Lawrence and moved to a nearby farm.

In 1883, the General Assembly bestirred itself and by Joint Resolution of the House and Senate appointed a committee to visit the Hermitage and report on conditions there. The majority report said in part:

Mr. Speaker---Your committee appointed to visit the Hermitage under Joint Resolution No. 46, beg leave to submit the following...:

That they visited the Hermitage on the 22nd [February 22, 1883], and found Mrs. Sarah, widow of Andrew Jackson, the adopted son of General Andrew Jackson, a tenant at will, in possession of the farm.

In obedience to said resolution, we report the house in bad condition, the roof leaky and out of repair, the wood work being a decaying condition. Mortar had dropped out of the chimneys, rendering them liable to fall. We found the canopy over the tomb weather-beaten and decaying, exposing the superstructure of the vault. The grounds immediately around the house and tomb are in fair condition. The majority of cleared land under ordinary fencing, with fifty acres in growing wheat, the remainder in woods of fine growth, but uninclosed, and being depredated upon, comprise the farm. We also found, as no taxes could be levied on this property and no rents received by the State, that this valuable estate should be self-sustaining. The cultivated fields could be rented out and the proceeds

applied towards repairs and improvements. Your committee would recommend that an iron railing be placed around the tomb and the necessary repairs be made upon the house and canopy of the tomb at the earliest practicable time. Your committee would also recommend that the house be insured for a sum not less than five thousand dollars (\$5,000).

The report made further suggestions for the use of the property after the death of its present tenants:

Your committee would respectfully suggest that this excellent farm might be turned over, after the death of Mrs. Jackson, to the Bureau of Agriculture of the United States to be used as an experimental seed farm, the title remaining vested in the State of Tennessee.

Your committee, under the circumstances, considering the age, seventy-eight years, of Mrs. Sarah Jackson and her feeble condition, would recommend that she be left undisturbed on the place, and would also recommend that Alfred, seventy-eight years of age, and his wife, 76 years old, born servants of Gen. Andrew Jackson, who have never lived elsewhere, be allowed a home there during their life-time, of fifty acres, free of rent....¹³⁹

The report was referred to the Committee on Public Grounds and Buildings, and Governor William B. Bate reported to the Assembly, in 1885, that certain repairs to the tomb, costing \$350, had been made. He said it was an insufficient amount to do what was needed.¹⁴⁰

A minority report submitted by some members of the committee concurred with the majority about the condition of the property but differed as to recommendations for its disposition. Saying that the State "...does not now, never did, and in all probability never will have any use whatever for the fine farm....," they recommended its sale (with 50 acres each reserved to Mrs. Sarah Jackson and Alfred, contiguous to and including the mansion) with first refusal given for six months to the United States Agricultural Bureau. With the minority report, Senate Bill No. 314 was introduced as an act to provide for sale of part of the Hermitage farm, but it failed to pass.¹⁴¹

A feature article entitled "Old Hickory's Hermitage" was written by a Chicago Tribune correspondent who visited the Hermitage in 1886 and had Uncle Alfred as his guide. He said Colonel Andrew Jackson (III) was not at home, but that General A. Jackson's daughter-in-law was there and saw him. He gave her age as 83 and then described the tour, dialect and all, that Uncle Alfred gave him:

...Alfred led the way to the back plazza and with a reverential forefinger pointed out a small log house with two windows and an outside chimney, such are so common in the South "Dat was de house old Mass'de Gin'l first lived in, "he said in retrospective tone "Dis yer house was built in 1826, but de Gin'ls never 'joyed hisself yer. Dat old house was where he cum when he cum back from New Awleans; dar was where his frens used to come befo' he was President. I was bawn dar, Sah! My Mammy was the Gin'ls cook, and you see dat Kitchen offen de cabin? I was bawn dar, sah, in 1802". "...Dis yer house was built in 1826 (illegible) yo' see dat de howse dat was built den was burned down in 1832. Next year it was built up agin--dats dis yer house. It war de old house dat de fus missis died in. She had only been out o' de cabin over dar two years. De Gin's had been elected President: Missis was packing' her trunks to go to Washington when she took sick & died just before Christmas, 1828...."

...Old Alfred led the way to the log cabin. It is a miserable rickety affair used now as the home of pigs and chickens. It is very hard to realize that in this tumble-down wreck Andrew Jackson in 1804 entertained Aaron Burr. But such is the fact. Here too the Marquis de Lafayette who afterwards wrote most charmingly of the hospitality he encountered at the "Country Home of Gen. Andrew Jackson". That "Country Home:, as Lafayette saw it, was an humble affair indeed. The mud which filled the chinks between the logs long since fell away. The chimney has crumbled, the logs themselves are fast decaying; it is a grand but historic wreck...¹⁴²

Several things in this correspondent's report are intriguing. The date Alfred ascribed to the construction of the Second Hermitage (1826) and his statement that Mrs. Rachel Jackson "had only been out o' de cabin over dar [the first Hermitage] two years" immediately catches the eye. Unless Alfred's aged memory be suspected or journalistic inaccuracy and license be blamed, this will not fit the accepted date (1819-1821) of the

completion of the second Hermitage. Could it be possible that Andrew and Rachel did not move from the cabins until 1824, or can the discrepancies be attributed to Alfred's careless recollection of dates? Alfred further stated that he was born in "dat Kitchen offen de cabin" in 1802 which would place Jackson on the property before he purchased it from Nathaniel Hays (1804). Could Jackson have occupied the Nathaniel Hays and the Hugh Hays preemptions in 1802 or utilized the first Hermitage cabins as house servant quarters while he lived close-by at Hunters Hill?

The most plausible answers to these questions are that it seems to be more an inaccuracy in dates on the part of Alfred than a radical revelation of new facts. He had, as previously noted, given his birthdate some years earlier than the Hermitage Farm Journal bears out, and in this article he gives the date the Hermitage burned as 1832. Ample and conclusive historical evidence places the fire as having occurred in 1834. Still the fact remains that these are the reported words of one of the few persons still living at the time (1886) who was present when the events described occurred. Regardless of the conflicts with generally accepted dates, such eyewitness descriptions of the condition of the first Hermitage in 1886 are useful. Its description as a "miserable rickety affair used now as the home for pigs and chickens" may aid in the interpretation of the archaeological record. Especially interesting is Alfred's reference to a kitchen. Judging from the Figure 4 photographs, he must have been referring to the East Cabin.

After Sarah York Jackson's death, the 1888 General Assembly took definitive action about the Hermitage property, making 475 acres available for a Confederate Soldiers Home and setting aside the remaining 25 acres for the newly formed Ladies Hermitage Association. The first secretary

of the Association, Mary C. Dorris, tells the story in her book Preservation Of The Hermitage. The Nashville Daily American of June 13, 1889, reported a meeting of the Ladies Hermitage Association and the representative of the Confederate Home to divide the property. The Ladies Hermitage Association was given control of 25 acres that contained "...the two old cabins upon the east which formed the original Hermitage house, the spring near the extremity of the northern boundary and the barn on the west side...." It was further agreed to build the Soldiers home where it would not spoil the view of the Hermitage (the site of this no longer extant building is in tract C, Fig. 2).

The Bettie M. Donelson Papers containing scrapbooks and clippings related to the Hermitage are replete with information about the early days of the Ladies Hermitage Association. Many of the newspaper clippings tell about the restoration of the log cabins of the first Hermitage as well as Alfred's cabin. An unidentified clipping, dated June 30, 1896, tells that "the cabin of old Uncle Alfred has been straightened, a new roof placed on it and his log fireplace thoroughly repaired replacing immense rocks that had been in a deteriorated condition for a year or more." Another unidentified clipping, dated October 8, 1896, says that a delegation from the Ladies Hermitage Association visited the old historic cabin and viewed the smaller cabin "which is now being restored". It tells of Old Alfred's cabin having been resingled, rechinked and daubed.

Still another unidentified clipping, May 6, 1890, datelined the Hermitage, quotes Mrs. Amy Jackson (the wife of Andrew Jackson III) as saying "the old gin house and tract field where his horses were trained are here." The Confederate Veteran of February, 1893, described the Tennessee Confederate Home:

...comprises the greater part of the Hermitage.... The farm contains four hundred and seventy-five acres, enclosed by eight and one-half miles of wire fence with cedar posts. Many acres of the land was poor and washed but has been admirably reclaimed from underbrush and thicket and set in clover. Eight acres are also set apart for the garden. There are upon the premises three fine wells and an inexhaustible spring of pure water, which furnishes the supply for the tank in the main building, a distance of thirty-three hundred feet.¹⁴³

According to the minutes of the Ladies Hermitage Association for September 23, 1891, the cattle of the Confederate Soldiers Home were allowed to get water at the Hermitage spring, and a 10 foot wide right-of-way over the Hermitage grounds was given for this purpose. The early minutes of the Association from 1890 to 1908 give the various steps taken for the preservation and restoration of the Hermitage structures, fences, and spring.

After the turn of the twentieth century, one proposed use of a part of the Hermitage property is of interest. A proposal was made, in 1913, to establish the Seaman A. Knapp School of Country Life, a demonstration farm, on the Hermitage tract. A bill was introduced in the General Assembly to establish the facility but it was defeated. Subsequent alterations, restorations and additions to the Hermitage property are of more recent times. They are well enough known that their inclusion in this historical study is not indicated.¹⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

There are several possibilities suggested by the documents, correspondence, and written materials examined relating to the origin, subsequent form, and usage of the first Hermitage. Firm conclusions are difficult to reach due to a dearth of hard evidence; but, at the risk of allowing speculation to become more important than fact, some conjectures are made. It appears that there probably was a two-story blockhouse on the property when Jackson acquired it from Nathaniel Hays. It does not seem to have been "built" by Jackson, as some historians state, and there is considerable evidence that he remodeled and converted it to a dwelling complex in the manner and form essentially as described by the historian James Parton and Mrs. James K. Polk. It is quite probable that the Hugh Hays preemption was in Jackson's de facto possession by the time he bought the Hermitage property from Nathaniel Hays, or at least by 1806.

In the early years after the Jacksons moved to the second Hermitage (1821-1830), the cabin complex was probably used as other than mere slave cabins. In light of the well known hospitality of the Hermitage and its many guests, it seems logical to assume that the first Hermitage cabins served as guest houses. The second Hermitage, for all its size, could not have easily accommodated all the overnight guests and visitors.

Another possibility that suggests itself is the use of the first Hermitage as a house for the overseer after the second Hermitage was built. Occupying the middle ground between master and slave, the overseer, for good reasons, was housed separately from both. Indeed, Jackson followed this procedure on his Halcyon plantation in Mississippi and could well have done so at the Hermitage farm.¹⁴⁵

After its probable use as a guest house, or houses, and later perhaps as the overseer's house, the first Hermitage cabin complex may have been used as slave cabins, tool sheds or, as the old woman quoted by Parton said about one of the cabins, "used for plunder." There is evidence that at least one of the cabins (probably the South Cabin) was moved and that the West Cabin was altered as suggested by almost all of the early writers who addressed the subject.

This study of the historical background of the first Hermitage cannot be considered all-inclusive. That statement is not to be considered a disclaimer to cover omissions but merely to indicate the scope of the study. As Marquis James said, "The evidence is never all in and the time for the last word remains a figure of speech."¹⁴⁶ The last bit of evidence has not been examined and much primary, as well as secondary, material has been bypassed due largely to the sheer volume available. Even though the most likely sources and times have been thoroughly examined, the nagging thought remains that a sentence or paragraph of great importance to the subject still lurks undiscovered in an unlikely place. Some one thing an obscure person said or wrote could outweigh masses of "important" material. It is hoped that the archaeological assessment may fill some of the gaps not covered by documentary evidence.

NOTES

The following abbreviations are used to avoid excessive repetition:

- DLC ----- Library of Congress (Andrew Jackson Papers,
microfilm reels unless otherwise noted)
- LHA ----- Ladies Hermitage Association Papers
- TSLA ----- Tennessee State Library and Archives
- THi ----- Tennessee Historical Society
- DCR ----- Davidson County Tennessee Courthouse Records

1. Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, ed. by John Spencer Bassett (6 vols.; Washington: Carnegie Institution 1926-1933).
2. W. W. Clayton, History of Davidson County Tennessee (Philadelphia 1880; reprinted, Nashville: Charles Elder, 1971), pp. 20-23.
3. Three Tennessee Pioneer Documents (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1964), p. 20. Robert Quarles and Robert H. White, editors.
4. James G. M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Charleston: Walker & James, 1853; reprinted New York: Arno, 1971), p. 376.
5. John Haywood, The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee (Knoxville: Heiskell & Brown, 1823; reprinted New York: Arno, 1971), p. 85.
6. Register Book "A", 1784-89, DCR, Part II, p. 335, TSLA.
7. A. W. Putnam, History of Middle Tennessee (Nashville: The Author 1859; reprinted, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), pp. 162-163.
8. J. C. Furnas, The Americans (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), note p. 151.
9. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee, p. 460.
10. Putnam, History of Middle Tennessee, p. 414; pp. 490-491. It is questionable that the "Granny Hays" described was the mother of Colonel Robert Hays. A letter from the Colonel's mother in the Library of Congress (DLC, reel 1) is datelined Wyeth County, Virginia, September 20, 1790 and does not indicate she was in or planned to move to the Cumberland Country.
11. Register Book "A", 1784, DCR, Part II, p. 335.

12. Clayton, History of Davidson County, p. 32; also Coffee Papers, Dyas Collection, THi.
13. Putnam, History of Middle Tennessee, p. 497.
14. Letter, Andrew Jackson to James Jackson, August 25, 1819, DLC, reel 27.
15. Account Book, 1795, Andrew Jackson's Nashville Store, LHA.
16. John Wooldridge, History of Nashville Tennessee (Nashville: Methodist Publishing House, 1890; Reprinted, Nashville; Charles Elder, 1970), p. 90.
17. Letter, Jackson and Hutchings to Boggs and Davidson, July 31, 1804, DLC, reel 3.
18. DLC, reel 2.
19. Bassett, Correspondence, I, p. 101 note. General Jackson with Mr. Figuerrrs, March 5, 1803, and General Jackson to the estate of Charles Gilliam February 2, 1803, (Joint Universities Library, Nashville, Stanley Horn Collection), differ from Bassett's citation in both date and content.
20. Nathaniel Hays to Andrew Jackson, August 20, 1804, DLC, reel 3.
21. DLC, reel 3.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. William P. Anderson to Andrew Jackson December 10, 1803. Andrew Jackson Papers, TSLA.
25. DLC, reel 3.
26. Andrew Jackson to James Winchester, February 17, 1805, THi.
27. LHA.
28. Deed Book "F", DCR, and personal interview with John Lane, Attorney-at-Law, Smyrna, Tennessee, March 1975.
29. John Reid, Biography of General Andrew Jackson, Manuscript Copy, TSLA.
30. John H. Eaton, The Life of Andrew Jackson (Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son, 1817).
31. Amos Kendall, Life of Andrew Jackson, Private, Military and Civil, with Illustrations, Nos. 1-7 (New York: Harper, 1843-44), No. 3, pp. 112-113.

32. Henry Lee, Biography of Andrew Jackson, unpublished, covering Jackson's life to the year 1819. DLC, reel 64.
33. Amos Kendall to Andrew Jackson, October 21, 1843. DLC, reel 55. This is perhaps the most representative of the letters on this subject.
34. Letter, Andrew Jackson to George Bancroft, December 9, 1841. DLC, Martin Van Buren Papers.
35. James Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson (3 vols; New York: Mason, 1860), II, p. 633.
36. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, pp. 307-308.
37. Augustus C. Buell, History of Andrew Jackson (2 vols; New York: Scribners, 1904).
38. LHA.
39. Mary C. Dorris, Preservation of the Hermitage (Nashville: Smith & Lamar, 1915), p. 68.
40. Varina Davis, Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America (2 vols., N. P., 1890: Reprinted Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971) I, p. 11.
41. Arthur St. Clair Colyar, Life and Times of Andrew Jackson (2 vols., Nashville: Marshall & Bruce, 1904), I.
42. Dorris, Preservation of the Hermitage, pp. 9, 116, 121, 122.
43. Farm Journal, 1817-1832, LHA. This is an arbitrary title given to this important ledger. The earlier portions are in Andrew Jackson's handwriting while subsequent entries are perhaps by the farm overseers. It contains a record of farm operations, building construction, slave inventories, and miscellaneous entries.
44. Samuel Gordon Heiskell, Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History (Nashville: Ambrose Printing Co., 1918), p. 307.
45. Marquis James, Andrew Jackson: The Border Captain (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1933), p. 105.
46. Stanley F. Horn, The Hermitage, Home of Old Hickory (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1938), pp. 17-18.
47. Mary French Caldwell, Andrew Jackson's Hermitage (Nashville: Ladies Hermitage Association, 1933), p. 24.
48. DLC, reel 3.
49. Hunter's Hill Account Book, July 1804-April 1805. LHA.

50. General Andrew Jackson to John Thomas, June 3, 1805. Chicago Historical Society.
51. Agreement between A. Jackson & Wm. Edwards ca. 1805. DLC, reel 60.
52. Genl. Jackson & Wm. P. Anderson to John Hoggatt, February 16, 1805, Chicago Historical Society.
53. Hunter's Hill Account Book, November 26, 1804, LHA.
54. Hunter's Hill Account Book, March 1, 1805; March 30, 1805, LHA. The "old fields" might have been Clover Bottom which was known originally as Buchanan's Old Fields. Bassett, Correspondence, I, pp. 111-112 note.
55. Clover Bottom Store Accounts, entries of April 12, 1805, July 6, 1805, September 24, 1805, March 7, 1806, October 27, 1806, November 26, 1806 and January 19, 1807. LHA.
56. Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, December 24, 1808. Coffee Papers, Dyas Collection, THi. Matthew Pain had a mill on the north side of a creek on or adjacent to the old Samuel Hays preemption. (Davidson County deed, Anthony Hays et al. to Andrew Jackson March 15, 1811).
57. Andrew Jackson in account with John Verell, January 29, 1806. DLC, reel 17.
58. Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, p. 219.
59. William R. Galt, "Recollections of the Hermitage in 1828", pp. 8-9. Original manuscript in possession of Mary M. Galt, Lexington, Virginia.
60. Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, December 17, 1811. Indiana University, Lilly Library, U. S. History Manuscripts.
61. Rachel Jackson to Andrew Jackson, April 7, 1814. DLC, reel 10.
62. Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson. May 8, 1814. Private: Miss Carolyn Manovill. Slaves belonging to the inhabitants of Fort Mims had been recaptured from the Creeks by Jackson and were later returned to the surviving owners.
63. Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, November 23, 1813. Harvard University, Autograph File.
64. Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, August 10, 1814. Private: William Dearborn.
65. Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, September 19, 1814. Private: Mrs. Uhland O. Redd; James Jackson to Andrew Jackson, September 19, 1814. DLC, reel 71.
66. Bassett, Correspondence, II, p. 223.
67. Jackson Account with J. R. Bedford, September 29, 1812. DLC, reel 5.

68. Jackson Account with Thomas G. Watson, July 9, 1804. Hurja Collection. THi.
69. Farm Journal, 1817-1832, LHA.
70. Bassett, Correspondence, II, p. 408 note.
71. Ibid.
72. Farm Journal, 1817-1832, LHA.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, p. 338.
76. Andrew Jackson to Captain Richard K. Call, November 5, 1821. DLC, reel 31.
77. Receipt dated March 4, 1823, DLC, reel 32.
78. The Mississippi Statesman and Natchez Gazette, March 8, 1827.
79. Farm Journal, 1817-1832, LHA. Andrew Jackson's signature is printed, not signed.
80. General John Coffee to General Andrew Jackson, April 28, 1831. DLC, reel 39.
81. Andrew Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., May, 1831. DLC, reel 40.
82. Andrew Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., July 1831 (fragment) DLC, reel 40.
83. Andrew Jackson to Brigadier General John Coffee, May 29, 1831, Coffee Papers, Dyas Collection, THi.
84. Josiah Nichol to Andrew Jackson, October 19, 1831. DLC, reel 40.
85. D. Morrison to Andrew Jackson, December 6, 1831. LHA.
86. Andrew Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., July 9, 1831. DLC, reel 39; Andrew Jackson to William Donelson, November 5, 1831. DLC, Andrew J. Donelson Papers.
87. Bassett, Correspondence, IV, pp. 408-409.
88. Ibid., pp. 431-433.
89. Ibid., pp. 436-437.
90. Ibid., pp. 443-444, 457.
91. Major William B. Lewis to General Jackson, April 21, 1833. DLC, reel 42.

92. Deed, Harry R. W. Hill to Andrew Jackson, Jr., December 31, 1833. DLC, reels 45 and 58.
93. The Continental Monthly (New York: John F. Trow, 1862), vol. II, July-December 1862, p. 319.
94. Marquis James, Portrait of a President (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1937), p. 687.
95. Stockley D. Donelson to Andrew Jackson, November 14, 1834. DLC, reel 44.
96. Thomas Jefferson Donelson to Andrew Jackson, November 4, 1834. DLC, reel 45.
97. Andrew Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., November 15, 1834. DLC, reel 45.
98. Andrew Jackson to A. J. Hutchings, April 4, 1837, Coffee Papers, Dyas Collection. THi; Andrew Jackson to Amos Kendall May 22, 1837. DLC, reel 78.
99. Edward Hobb to Andrew Jackson, Jr., August 26, 1835. DLC, reel 78.
100. Bassett, Correspondence, VI, p. 180.
101. Deed Book "F" DCR, p. 241.
102. Memorandum, Andrew Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., December 1, 1844, DLC, Miscellaneous Collection.
103. Ibid.
104. Wills and Inventories, DCR, vol. 7, p. 439.
105. Deed Book "O", DCR, pp. 370-371.
106. Deed Book "I", DCR, p. 42.
107. Deed Book "Y", DCR, pp. 497-498.
108. Bassett, Correspondence, I, p. 212.
109. Letter, Andrew Jackson to James Jackson, December 19, 1814, transcript copy, Private: Mrs. Uhland O. Redd.
110. Ibid.
111. Letter, Daniel Smith to Andrew Jackson, December 28, 1814. DLC, reel 15.
112. Letter, Andrew Jackson to Brigadier-General John Coffee, October 24, 1823. Bassett, Correspondence, III, pp. 213-215.

113. Deed Book "Q", DCR, pp. 638-639.
114. Bassett, Correspondence, III, p. 271.
115. Circuit Court Minutes, DCR, May 22, 1828, deed proven only. Deed executed and acreage given May 19, 1827, Deed Book "X", DCR, pp. 302-303.
116. Tax List, 1829, DCR, transcript folder, p. 33.
117. Deed Book "S", DCR, pp. 468-469; Wilson County Tennessee Deed Book "N", pp. 194-195, 471.
118. Andrew Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., undated memorandum, date derived from content; Andrew Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., July 19, 1832, Bassett, Correspondence, IV, pp. 431-432, 464; Memorandum, Andrew Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Jr., December 1, 1844, DLC, Miscellaneous Collection.
119. With codicils dated April 14, 1834, and May 4, 1842, DLC, reels 43, 44, 45.
120. DLC, reels 45, 58.
121. DLC, reels 34, 44, 46; Deed Book "X", DCR, pp. 302-303.
122. DLC, reel 51.
123. Tax List, 1839, DCR, District Number 4, p. 234.
124. Deed Book 9, DCR, pp. 290-291.
125. Andrew Jackson to Major William B. Lewis, September 30, 1841, Bassett, Correspondence, VI, p. 125.
126. DLC, Gist Blair Collection.
127. Deed Book 19, DCR, p. 599, April 11, 1855.
128. Roeliff Brinkerhoff, Recollections of a Lifetime, (Cincinnati; Robert Clark, 1900).
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131. Bettie M. Donelson Papers, TSLA.
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133. White, Messages, 1857-1869. V, pp. 131-132, 159-162, 361.
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137. United States War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 127 vols. and index. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901); Richard O'Conner, Thomas, Rock of Chickamauga, (New York; Printice-Hall, 1948) Francis F. McKinney, Education in Violence, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961).
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139. Senate Journal of the Forty Third General Assembly of the State of Tennessee (Nashville: Albert B. Tarvel, Law Publisher, 1883), pp. 426-427.
140. White, Messages, 1883-1899. VII, p. 139.
141. Senate Journal of the Forty Third General Assembly. pp. 441-443.
142. The correspondent visited the Hermitage in 1886, New York Public Library.
143. Confederate Veteran, Nashville: vol. 1, No. 2, February 1893, p. 59.
144. Bettie M. Donelson Papers, TSLA.
145. Ford Collection, New York Public Library, vol. 4; Bassett, Correspondence, VI, p. 369.
146. Marquis James, The Life of Andrew Jackson (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938), p. 915.

RESULTS OF THE 1974-1975 ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD WORK

The only previous archaeological work at the Hermitage was a project conducted, in 1970, in an effort to salvage materials destined to be disturbed by the installation of an environmental control system beneath the Hermitage mansion (Brown 1972). In this case, horizontal control was maintained within the perimeters of the structural walls. Turning our attention to the open areas of the site, it seemed desirable to establish a permanent grid system to which present and future work could be related. Three concrete bench marks were placed along the west edge of our rather arbitrary "Area A." The primary one of these was designated 500N500E (500 north, 500 east). Projected grid lines run north-south and east-west (based on 1974 magnetic alignment), with the 0 north, 0 east point falling to the south and west, well outside the plantation complex. The 500N500E bench mark (Fig. 7) was also used as the control point for vertical measurements (based on available topographic maps, it was assigned an elevation of 150 meters). For the grid system and for all field and laboratory measurements the metric system is used as a standard. An equivalent American standard is presented whenever it is felt this will enhance the description of an item or feature.

During the 1974 season, a total of 12 individuals served as crew members from late July until the beginning of October. Average crew size was 7 to 8. In 1975, field work was again initiated in July and continued until the last day of August. Crew size varied from 8 to 9.

The basic excavation units used during both seasons were squares 2 meters on a side. Each square is identified by the grid intersection point at its southwest corner. For the most part these squares were excavated using a grid-balk system whereby the initial excavated unit is

1.85 m square, leaving a .30 m (30 centimeter) wide balk between adjacent squares (Fig. 10 and Fig. 11). The balks were later removed as separate units and identified according to the square on whose west and south side they were located.

The first two units excavated, in 1974, were test pits located south of the ruins of the South Cabin (Fig. 7). These test "squares" (476N546E and 486N546E) were each 1 m north-south by 2 m east-west. They provided us with relatively few artifacts but did give an important look at the natural soil stratigraphy in the area. Later in the first season, an irregular square was excavated on the east side of the East Cabin, adjacent to the building's south back door. Most of the 1974 effort was devoted to exposing the south end of the South Cabin foundation. Six 2 m squares were completed in this one spot.

Following the first season of field work a preliminary report (Smith 1974b) was completed, and in it several specific problems were outlined to be tested in 1975. During this second season some additional tests were made around the South and East cabins, and tests were carried out around the previously untested West and North cabins. Test trenches were also dug through Feature 16 and Feature 21 (Fig. 7) and to the north and east of the North Cabin (outside the area shown on Fig. 7).

A total of 24 features was recorded during 1974 and 1975. These are discussed below under separate headings or in relation to the cabins with which they are associated. An unnumbered feature "discovered" late in the last season is the stone-lined well shown near the top of Figure 7. Its top is surrounded by a thick growth of trees, and it is filled-in to within a few feet of the surface. According to the former supervisor of the Hermitage maintenance crew, Julius Armstrong, this well was already

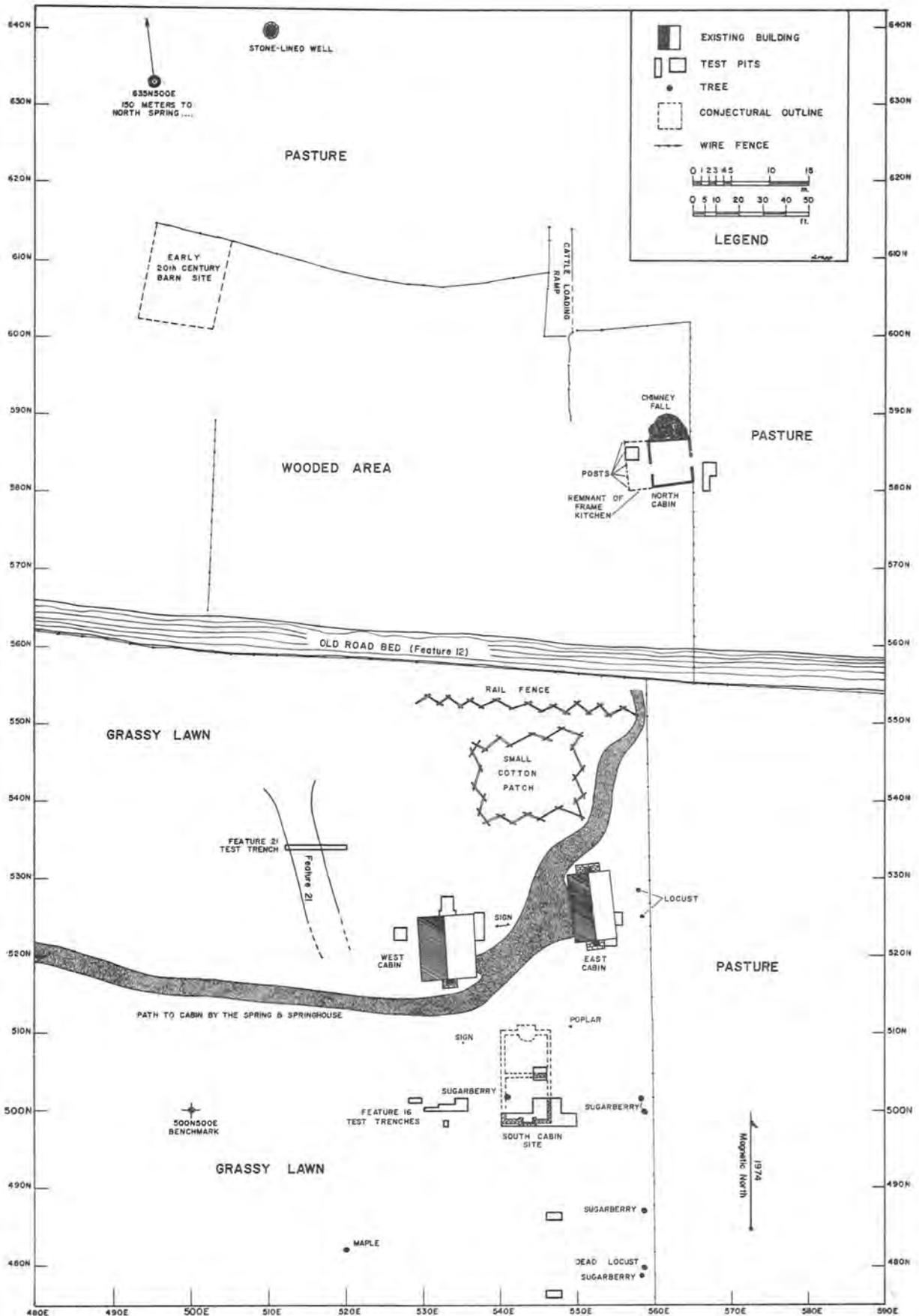


Figure 7. Archaeological base map for the first Hermitage area.

an abandoned feature in the 1920s. Nothing else is known about it at this time. A frame barn, the site of which is located southwest of the well, was in use during the early part of the present century.

The local topography of the first Hermitage area is moderately sloping. The two restored cabins sit on a peninsula-like shelf which runs northwest-southeast and drops off to the north, northwest, and west. The North Cabin is slightly lower than the others, and there is a descent of several feet from the cabins to the main spring (Fig. 3, No. 12).

Near the spring is a log building (Fig. 3, No. 13) built in 1940 for use by the Ladies Hermitage Association. It contains a kitchen and two dining rooms and served us well as an archaeological laboratory during both field seasons. Processing of the artifacts (washing, cataloging, preservation treatment, and some analysis) was carried out here while the field work was in progress and for several days after each field season.

The remaining analysis and report preparation were completed at the Tennessee Division of Archaeology. The artifacts recovered will be stored at the Hermitage. All field notes, maps, photographs, and other materials relating to the project are filed at the Division of Archaeology. From these same sources the following information concerning the first Hermitage structures and features has been compiled.

THE SOUTH CABIN SITE

Preliminary to work on the South Cabin ruins, the two test pits labeled 476N546E and 486N546E were excavated to investigate the more natural soil zones surrounding the cabin site. Both pits yielded only a scattering of artifacts in the top portion of a 10 to 20 cm zone of tan clayey loam, which overlies a deposit of lighter, more clayey undisturbed

soil. In the northernmost pit a shelf of sandstone bedrock was encountered at approximately 25 cm below the surface.

Before excavation the South Cabin site was evident by the presence of two chimney falls with a depressed area between them (Fig. 8). Subsequent investigations revealed the stone footing and a small part of the brick base of the cabin's south chimney and a stone and brick foundation 6.25 m wide by 12.10 m long. At times, such as at the beginning of the 1975 season, the outlines of this foundation show clearly on the surface (Fig. 9). Interestingly, the overall dimensions of this building (20.5 by 40 feet) were larger than either the East Cabin (18 by 30 feet) or the West Cabin (24 by 26 feet), as well as the main portion of the North Cabin (18 by 20 feet).

Using the grid-balk method described above, four 2 m squares were started at the south end of the South Cabin site (Fig. 10 and Fig. 11). And, by the end of the first season, six such squares had been completed (Fig. 13 to Fig. 15). During the second season, we returned to the South Cabin site to test three questions which had been formulated during 1974. These concerned a possible structural addition on the east side of the foundation, the exact nature of a circular grass discoloration (Feature 16) to the west of the foundation, and a possible relationship between the South Cabin structural remains and the building now known as Uncle Alfred's Cabin (Fig. 3, No. 9). The additional units excavated in 1975 are shown in Figure 7 and Figure 18.

Our hypothesis concerning Uncle Alfred's Cabin (Fig. 17) was developed from one of the comments in James Parton's (1860) description of the first Hermitage. One of the cabins is mentioned as having been "drawn up near the present Hermitage" (quoted in the preceding historical section).

Once we understood the configurations of the South Cabin foundation (Fig. 18), we found a remarkable similarity between its size and the size of Uncle Alfred's Cabin. Furthermore, after carefully examining Uncle Alfred's Cabin, we wondered if perhaps the South Cabin remains might have a cross foundation corresponding to the dividing wall between the two rooms of the Uncle Alfred structure. The excavation of square 504N544E, in 1975, proved that there was indeed such a feature (Feature 3B, Fig. 18).

The maximum outside length of the South Cabin foundation (Feature 3) is judged to be 12.10 m. Maximum outside length of Uncle Alfred's Cabin is 11.92 m (a difference of 18 cm or 7 inches). Widths of the two are 6.25 m for Feature 3, 5.94 m for Uncle Alfred's Cabin (a 31 cm or 12-inch difference). The center wall of Uncle Alfred's Cabin is 5.93 m and 5.99 m from the north and south ends of the building. The center of the South Cabin's cross foundation is 6.20 m from the south edge of the main foundation.

An important difference is that, while the South Cabin clearly had two fireplaces, on the outermost wall of each room, Uncle Alfred's Cabin has a central H-shaped fireplace, which serves both rooms. Possibly what is indicated by Parton's "drawn up near the present Hermitage" statement is that the South Cabin had been disassembled and the logs moved to the Uncle Alfred's Cabin site. Here, they may have been reassembled in a somewhat different form with the reused logs determining the second cabin's overall size.

We would also suggest that the fact that Parton bothered to mention this, probably indicates that it was a fairly recent event. Artifacts

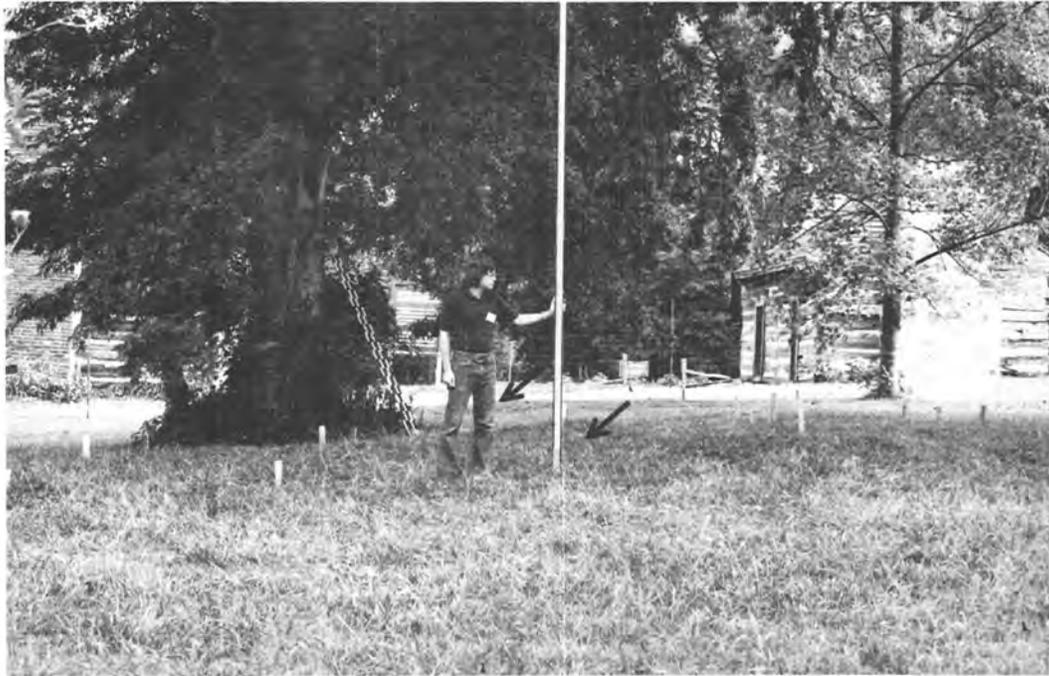


Figure 8. Area A, South Cabin site, in 1974, before excavation. View is facing north. Arrows indicate chimney falls.

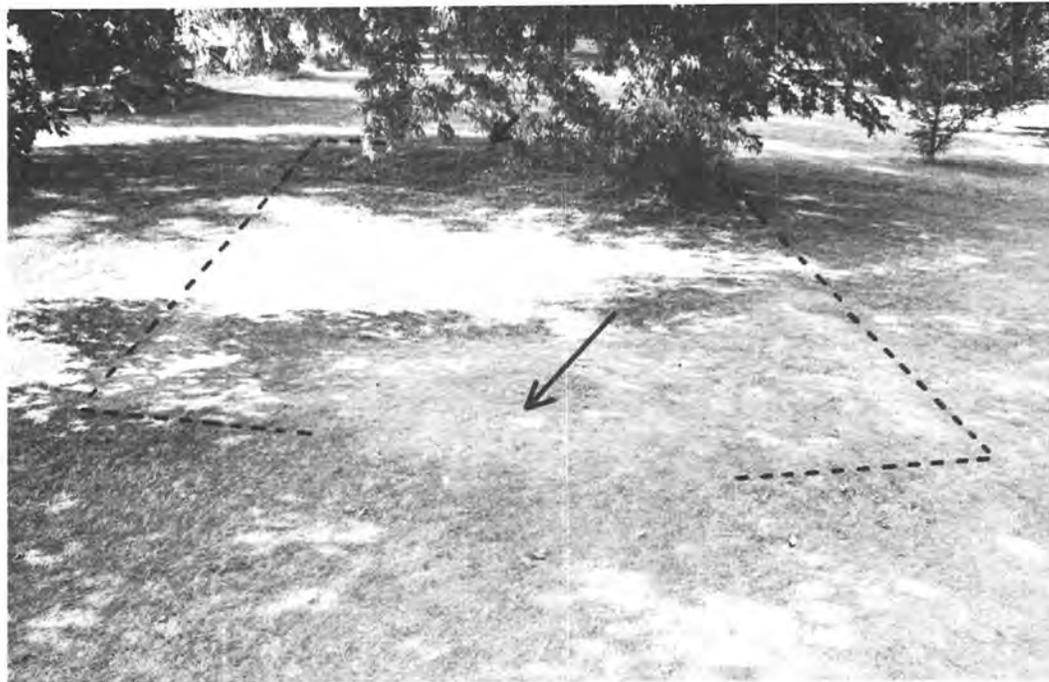


Figure 9. South Cabin site, in 1975, facing South.

Figure 10. South Cabin site, initial four-square excavation of south chimney fall, 1974. View is facing east-southeast. Squares 498N544E, 498N546E, 500N544E, and 500N546E.

Figure 11. Initial four-square area, facing west. All squares have been excavated to various levels of Zone III.

Figure 12. Post Impression, Feature 6, before excavation.

Figure 13. South cabin site, six-square excavation with balks unremoved. View is facing west. Squares 498N540E, 498N542E, 498N544E, 498N546E, 500N544E, and 500N546E.

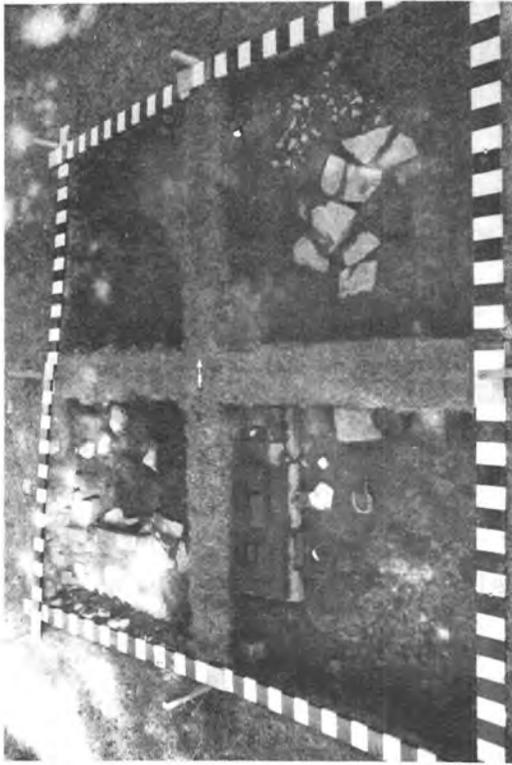


Figure 11.

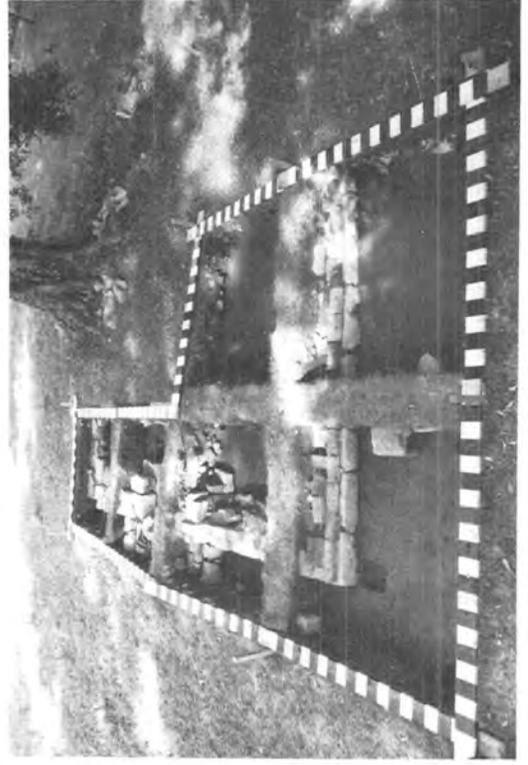


Figure 13.



Figure 10.



Figure 12.

Figure 14. South Cabin site excavation with balks removed, 1974. View is facing east.

Figure 15. Completed 1974 South Cabin site excavation, facing west. Subsoil has been removed to base of foundation's east side. Numerous depressions within the foundation are old rodent burrows which have been reexcavated.

Figure 16. Base of south chimney, Feature 7, with hearth fill removed. View is facing south.

Figure 17. Uncle Alfred's Cabin, from a postcard dated 1898, Ladies Hermitage Association file. View is facing west. This cabin, which may have been removed from the South Cabin foundation in the 1850s, appears essentially the same today as it did in 1898. However, the large window to the left is now a doorway.

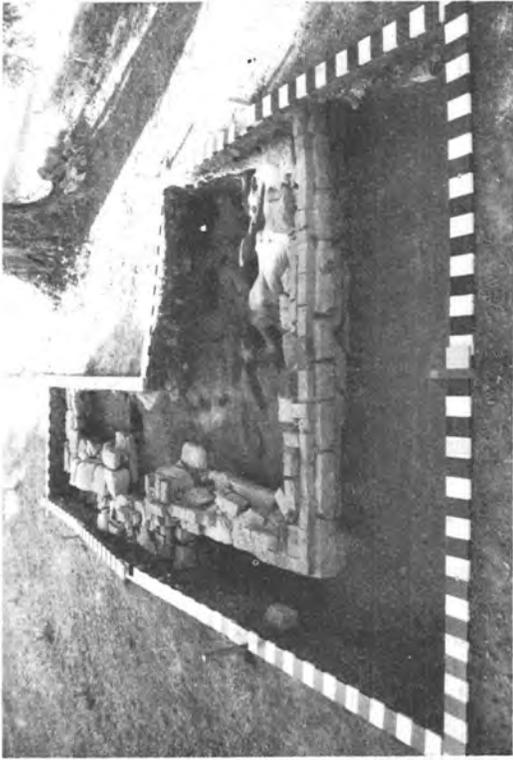


Figure 15.



Figure 17.



Figure 14.

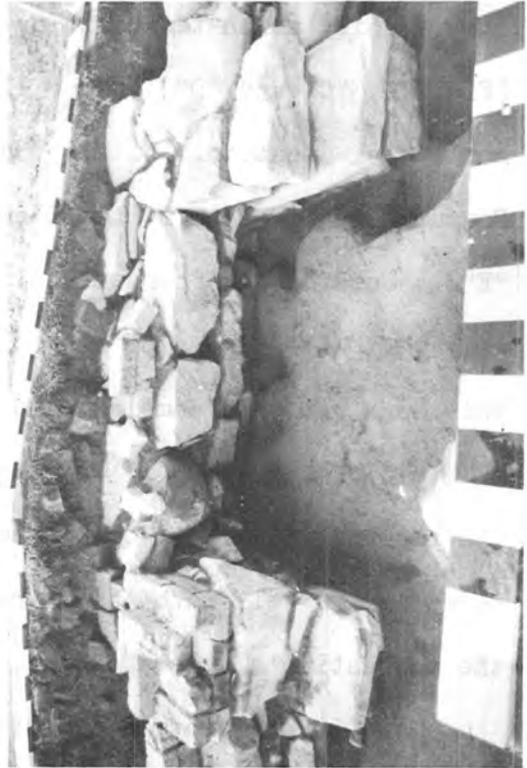


Figure 16.

from the South Cabin site would support a late 1850s terminal occupation date. Parton visited the Hermitage between 1855 and 1860.

Other information about the South Cabin has been deduced from its associated features and stratigraphy.

South Cabin Strata

During both the 1974 and 1975 excavations, the soil was removed from each square by natural levels. Though as many as seven levels were excavated in one South Cabin site square, for the purpose of analysis, the basic stratigraphic sequence is presented in terms of three culturally significant "zones." Zone I was composed of from 10 to 20 cm of dark humic soil overlying the structural remains but containing much brick and brick rubble from the south chimney fall. This zone is shown in Figure 19 as "A." Zone II consisted of an average of 10 cm of yellow to tan, somewhat clayey soil, which tended to overlie and extend outward from the foundation (Fig. 19, "C" and "D"). Zone III varied in composition depending on horizontal location. Within the foundation, both north and south of Feature 3B, it was a 20 to 30 cm layer of brown loamy fill (Fig. 19, "E"). Outside the foundation it averaged approximately 20 cm of gray ashy soil with lenses of tan to yellow ash. In places the layering of this zone was very complex, and it is indicated in Figure 19 by strata "F" to "I." Stratum "I" was devoid of cultural materials except for its top portion. But, on the east side of the foundation, excavations were carried well into this stratum to determine the basal depth of the foundation's stone footing.

Zone I represents the humic build-up which has occurred since the building ceased to exist. Zone II seems to represent a period during

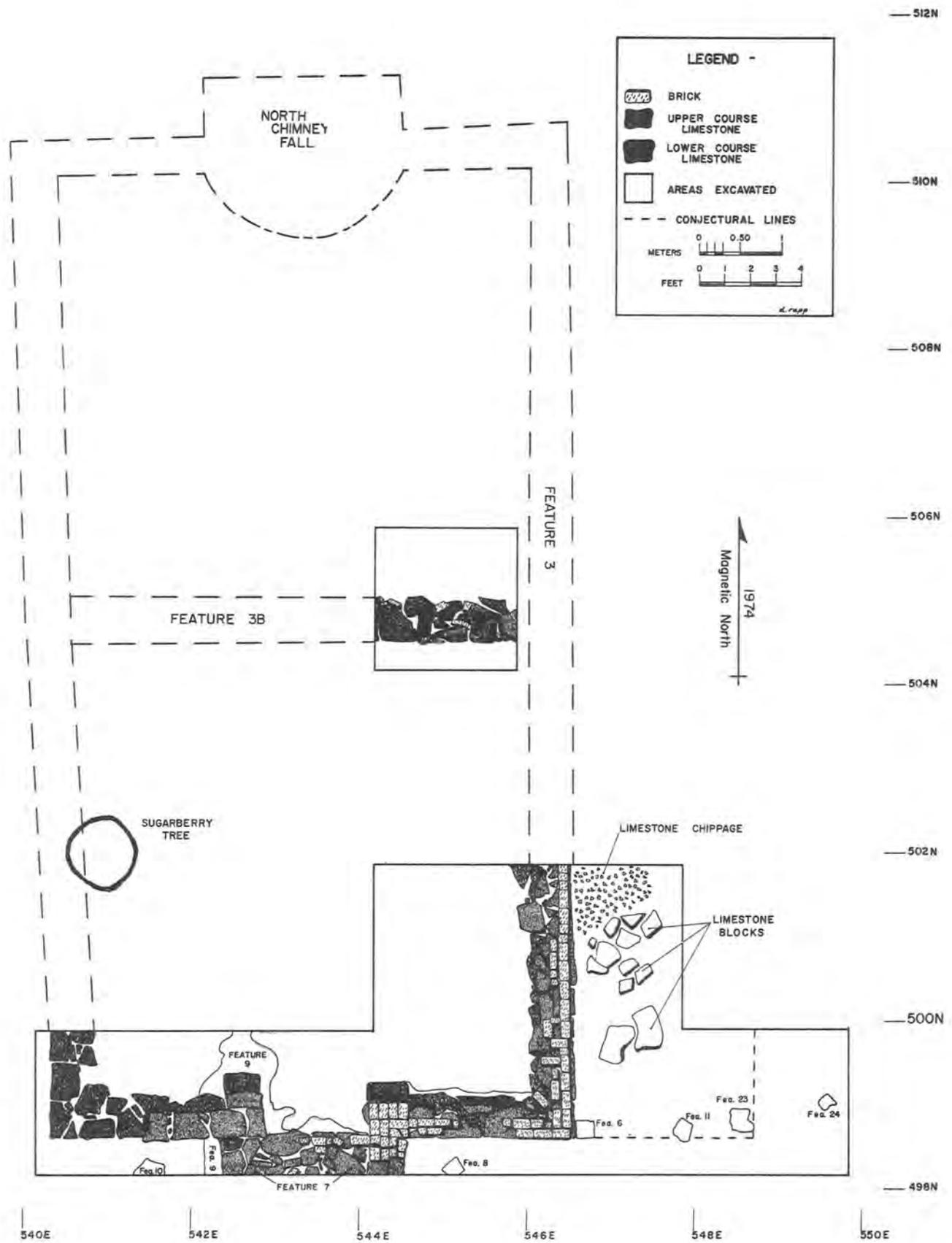


Figure 18. Excavation plan for the South Cabin site.

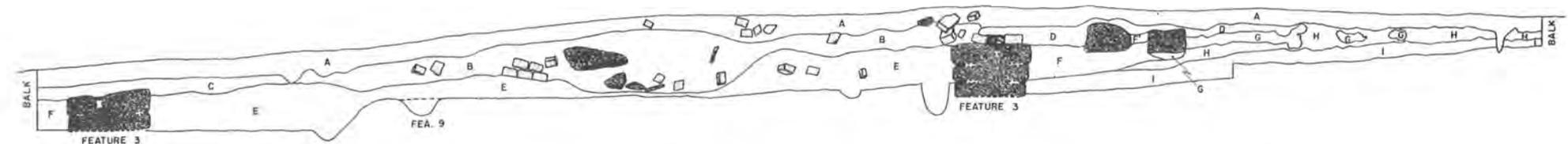
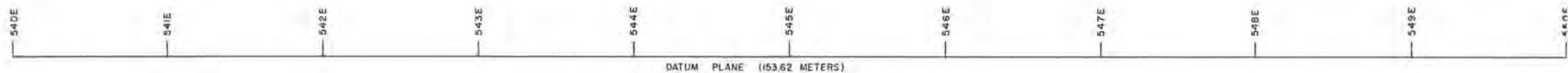
which the building was either in a state of abandonment or was being disassembled, or both. The washing out and/or discarding of clay chinking may explain the yellowish soil color and is one of the things which seem to confirm that this was a log cabin. Zone III, inside the foundation, was a typical under-the-floor type fill, loose loamy soil rich in organic materials and artifacts, with a notable increase in very small items. The cabin most certainly had floor boards. At some time, this deposit was extensively disturbed by burrowing animals whose tunnels extended down into the underlying zone of natural red clay (Fig. 15). Zone III, outside the foundation, also appears to represent a gradual build-up during the period of occupation, but it is more difficult to generalize about this zone. Much of the fill seems to have been caused by the dumping of fireplace ash, but there were also indications of structural additions on both the east and south sides of the main cabin. Some of the fill may have accumulated under the floors or otherwise within these attachments.

South Cabin Site Features

Fifteen features were recorded which relate to the South Cabin site. These are described below, individually, or in groups of close structural relationship.

Feature 1

Feature number 1 was assigned to the South Cabin's south chimney fall, which consisted of whole and fragmentary bricks intermixed with pieces of stone. There were 187 pieces of limestone 10 cm or greater in breadth



107

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|
| A | Dark humic zone with brick rubble from Fea 1 | C | Yellowish clayey soil with some brick rubble and mortar | E | Gray to tan loamy soil, "under-the-house" fill | G | Hard packed yellow ash |
| B | Lower portion of Fea 1, brick rubble, brick, and limestone intermixed with gray, loamy "under-the-floor" fill | D | Yellow to tan clayey soil with some brick rubble and mortar | F | Gray ashy fill | H | Gray ashy fill (more compact than F) |
| | | | | F | Same soil type but more compact | I | Reddish clay mixed with yellow sand grading into sterile red clay |

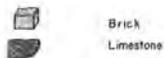


Figure 19. South Cabin site profile, drawn along the 499.85 north grid line, facing north.

excavated from the 1974 six-square area. During both seasons, all samples of brick were recorded by weight and in some cases by weight and size. The total mass of brick recorded is discussed in the next section. The south chimney was mostly brick but apparently did contain some stone within its structure. The chimney fall mass was greatest immediately in front (north) of the chimney base, where its weight had forced it down into the previously deposited Zone III fill (Fig. 19, "B").

Features 3, 3B, 7, and 9

Feature number 7 was assigned to the remaining base of the south chimney (Fig. 16). This consists of a three-course deep, u-shaped pile of limestone blocks now supporting only a small remnant of the east side of the brick firebox. The central portion of the footing had been filled with dirt and chunks of rock and brick to provide a base for the hearth. This base was a maximum of 25 cm thick. Through time, the bricks from the hearth had been reduced to a 10 to 15 cm thick band of bright red clay. Originally, however, the base of the brick hearth was probably flush with the top of the stone footing. Above the decayed hearth was a layer of fireplace ash. Though this ash was very disturbed in most places, in Square 498N542E three pieces of flat limestone were resting on top of it, affording some protection. These had apparently fallen from the back or side walls of the chimney, suggesting that much of the stone in Feature 1 was there as a result of having been incorporated into the construction of the primarily brick chimney. The writer has observed a number of nineteenth-century chimneys in Middle Tennessee which are constructed of both brick and stone. In addition to the frequent use of stone footings, it seems to have been fairly common to include stone

facings, lintels, etc., in otherwise brick chimneys.

The Feature 7 chimney footing is actually an integral part of the three course deep limestone footing portion of Feature 3. Feature 3 also has a two-brick wide, one-brick thick cap which probably still runs the entire length of the east foundation wall. Along the south wall, east of the chimney, this cap is partially two bricks thick. This step-up in the cap could have been to close the space between the sills and the first end logs, again assuming that type of construction. Unfortunately, the upper courses of the west portion of the foundation are no longer extant (Fig. 18).

On the east side of the chimney a portion of Feature 3's brick cap is broken down so as to suggest an extra amount of stress at this spot (Fig. 18). Several items of door hardware were also found here, just inside the foundation. A doorway is thus thought to have existed between the chimney and the southeast corner of the cabin.

Still another door may have been located on the east wall of the foundation immediately south of the concentration of limestone chippage shown in Figure 18. This interpretation is based on a diminishing of Zone II at this point, plus the finding of a key which was probably used in a door lock.

No definite indications of a brick cap were found in exposing the two-course cross foundation (Feature 3B). However, the top portion of the stone was only about 15 cm below the present ground surface, and such a cap may well have been present originally.

Previous to the laying of the foundation, the construction workers apparently made some attempt to level the natural east-west slope. Even

so, the base of the west wall is 20 cm lower than the base of the east wall (Fig. 19). Also, the west side of the Feature 7 footing is lower than its east side and was set into an excavated trench, labeled Feature 9 (Fig. 16 and Fig. 18). This was the only footing trench found. But, the stone footings, especially the chimney footing, had borne sufficient weight to cause them to depress from one to two courses into the subsoil zone. The stone footings were all dry laid, using chinking stones to level between the larger blocks. The brickwork is held in place by a sandy-lime mortar.

Features 6, 8, 10, 11, 23, and 24

These are all postholes. One of them Feature 6, is shown in Figure 12 as it appeared before being excavated.

Feature 6 was the most regular of the postholes uncovered, being a clearly defined 20 cm (8-inch) square depression extending from the base of Zone III, 11 cm into the underlying clay subsoil. In size and depth it was similar to features 11 and 23, and it is thought to have been associated with them. Another posthole, Feature 24, could possibly be part of this same row but was not interpreted as such by us. Unlike the first three, the post had apparently been pulled out of the Feature 24 hole, allowing it to be quickly filled with rock and brick. Even more significant was the fact that features 6, 11, and 23 were within a seemingly confined deposit of yellow ash, which we believe accumulated inside the walls of an east side structural addition (conjecturalized in Fig. 18). This yellow ash formed a distinct corner at Feature 23, and its outer edge is indicated by the east end of "G" in Figure 19.

Features 8 and 10 were also postholes basically similar to the other examples (Fig. 18). They suggest that another structural addition may have been present on the south end of the main cabin. Zone III immediately above Feature 8 contained a very concentrated deposit of tool-shed-like artifacts. A lean-to shop or storage shed is perhaps indicated. This could no doubt be verified by additional testing.

Features 2, 4, and 5

These were noted as circular or irregular discolorations in Zone II. Number 5 had some posthole-like characteristics, but it is now believed that they were all disturbances which occurred after the building ceased to exist.

Feature 16

During the 1974 field season, we noted the periodic presence of a circular grass discoloration immediately west of the South Cabin remains. Whenever the grass had been cut and was beginning to grow long again, a slightly darker ring would become visible. This ring was approximately 30 cm wide and roughly 2.45 m (8 feet) in diameter. Its center point was at approximately 500.10N531.50E, 6 m west of Feature 3.

The location of this anomaly was recorded in 1974, and it was tested as Feature 16 in 1975. Three units (Square 500N534E, Partial Square 500N532E, and Partial Square 500N530E) were excavated to bisect the feature (Fig. 7). Another partial square or slot trench (498N532E) was excavated through the south edge of the ring.

Within the confines of the ring there were three visible strata: a thin humic layer with few artifacts; a 10 cm thick deposit of brown loamy

soil with fragments of brick and limestone and relatively concentrated artifacts; and about 6 cm of orange clayey soil with fewer artifacts. These are referred to as zones I, II, and III in the artifact tabulations.

The ring itself was roughly definable by the presence of small chunks of limestone, some of them standing on end. Our interpretation is that this feature was probably a nineteenth-century flower garden with a stone border. Leaves falling from the large sugarberry on the west edge of Feature 3 must cause some increase in soil acidity, and this should be counteracted somewhat by the Feature 16 limestone. This probably produces a slightly better environment for the grass, resulting in a darker, more lush growth following the outlines of the circular border.

One additional unit, Partial Square 500N528E (Fig. 7), was excavated to test a depression immediately west of the ring. This proved to be a very recent disturbance, and the few artifacts from this test trench are combined with Feature 16 in subsequent discussions.

THE WEST CABIN

This building was given considerable attention in the introductory section. More is known about its history than any of the other cabins in the area. Nevertheless, the most basic question (When was it built?) is by no means clear. One objective of carrying out archaeological tests around this cabin was to provide some indication of how long it may have been in use. We also hoped there would be at least some archaeological information which would help support the interpretation that this was the actual residence of the Jackson family from 1804 to ca. 1821. And if this were the case, then there should be at least some indication of the social distinction of this building reflected in its

archaeological record. Furthermore, there was a need to salvage materials immediately adjacent to the cabin because of a forthcoming restoration plan calling for some lowering of the present ground surface on the cabin's east side.

The west Cabin also presents a complex problem of architectural interpretation. A detailed discussion of this problem would be beyond the scope of this report, but some additional comments are in order.

The present cabin has three windows, two on the west side and a tall narrow one on the north end. The only opening on the east side is a doorway located towards the south end of the wall. Inside, the lower cabin space, which is floored, has been partitioned into three rooms. The south half of the cabin, the part containing the fireplace, forms the largest of these. The north half is divided into two compartments. Though somewhat modified by replacement logs, the original cabin was put together using a full dovetail corner notch.

During July, 1975, the first Hermitage cabins were examined by Henry A. Judd, Chief Historical Architect for the National Park Service. In discussing the West Cabin, he pointed out that it probably once had two rooms above the three lower. He also suggested that the cabin could have been higher at one time and noted the presence of an early type "eight-over-eight" sash in one of the windows. Several other interesting observations about the West Cabin are contained in a typed transcription of notes made during his visit (Judd 1975: 8-10).

We must point out, however, that these same comments were made without the advantage now offered by viewing the photographic sequence in Figure 4. These photographs should be extremely helpful in future architectural interpretations. In particular, view "a" could become a major source of reference for restoration planning.

One additional observation which we have made will be described though we are not entirely sure of all of the implications. In looking at the earlier views in the Figure 4 sequence, it can be seen that on the west side of the West Cabin the second log from the bottom is mortised to receive the floor joists, which are exposed. Such end exposure, however, is normally characteristic of ceiling joists. Indeed, there is much about the appearance of this cabin, which suggests that it may have been cut down from two stories by removing the lower logs.

Support for this is suggested by Mary C. Dorris' comment that when this cabin was being restored the carpenters noted the presence of beading on the underside of the floor joists (quoted in the historical section). Presently these beaded joists are not visible because of a layer of foundation-like stones placed under the cabin's lower logs several years ago, but their existence was checked and confirmed during the archaeological project. Dorris goes on to say that the original "block house" was converted "by General Jackson himself from the two-story to a one-story house and was used for years as one of the cabins for the habitation of his Negro slaves" (Dorris 1915: 69).

A similar statement appears on the back of the LHA card shown in Figure 4, e. Unfortunately though, it adds some confusion by stating that the smaller of the two cabins (the East Cabin) was formed from the upper story of the original building. And this, of course, is also at variance with Parton's statement quoted in the preceding section.

In so far as the West Cabin is concerned, we would suggest as the most plausible interpretation that: it was originally a two-story building; that it was modified to a one-story building, between 1822 and the 1830s, by removing the first floor logs; and that subsequently, as a slave cabin, it was partitioned into three lower rooms with two others in the attic.



Figure 20. Excavation of Partial Square 524N532E at north end of West Cabin. View is facing south.



Figure 21. Excavation of Partial Square 522N536E on east side of West Cabin. View is facing northwest.

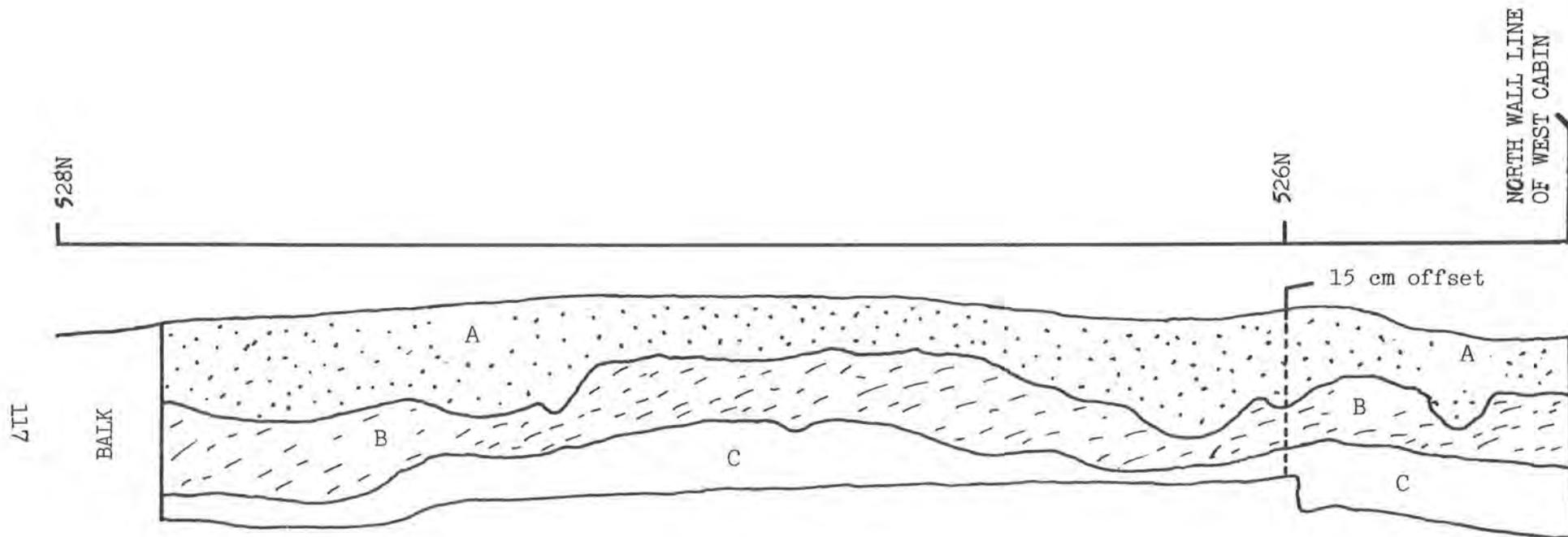
Square 522N526E

Archaeological testing around the West Cabin was carried out on three sides of the building (Fig. 7). On the west side, we chose a spot below the north window, Square 522N526E, in hopes of recovering items largely associated with the room served by the window (we had also planned to test beneath the south window but were not able to do so during the time available.) Three levels were excavated in Square 522N526E but are easily merged into two zones of some cultural significance (Zone I = 8-10 cm of recent humic soil; Zone II = 15-20 cm of brown clayey loam, grading into clay subsoil).

Partial Square 524N532E and Square 526N532E

At the north end of the cabin, we first excavated a partial square beneath the small window (Fig. 20); then added, on the north, a regular 2 m square with balks (Fig. 7). The visible stratigraphy in Partial Square 524N532E and Square 526N532E was clearer than at any other spot around the West Cabin. Three very distinct levels were encountered and are illustrated in Figure 22. However, for uniformity of comparison, the few artifacts which came from level "C" are merged with those from "B" in the artifact section of the report, i.e.: Zone I="A" in Figure 22; Zone II="B" and "C" combined.

The concentration of ash indicated by "B" is of considerable interest. This may have simply been the most convenient dumping place for ash from the West Cabin fireplace. But it is possible the stratigraphy here could relate to some sort of structural attachment which might have previously existed on this end of the building. Such an addition



- A = SOD AND HUMIC LAYER OF VERY DARK CLAYEY LOAM WITH MUCH MORTAR IN THE SOUTH PORTION
- B = ASH DEPOSIT MIXED WITH SOME BROWN CLAYEY LOAM AND MUCH CHARCOAL AND MORTAR
- C = BROWN CLAYEY LOAM WITH SOME CHARCOAL, ASH, AND MORTAR, CHANGING TO ORANGE SUBSOIL AT THE BASE

Figure 22. Profile of east walls of Partial Square 524N532E and Square 526N532E, facing east.

is suggested by at least one historical source (comments by Mrs. James K. Polk quoted in historical section). In retrospect, we wish that more archaeological testing had been accomplished here and would recommend that a future attempt be made to more completely expose this ash deposit.

Partial Squares 522N536E and 524N536E

On the east side of the cabin (Fig. 21) the ground surface is rather high, but the stratigraphy again became rather undramatic (Zone I = 10-15 cm of recent humic soil; Zone II = 10-15 cm of brown clayey loam, grading into subsoil). There was a significant concentration of artifacts here, and we wished to salvage a fairly large sample of these before some needed restoration grading is carried out on this side of the building. Two squares, slightly smaller than regular, were excavated. Immediately below the surface, in the second of these, we found the center stone pier for the east side bottom log. This is at the south edge of Partial Square 522N536E (grid coordinates 522.15N 536.40E). There are also limestone piers at each corner of the building.

FEATURE 21 TEST TRENCH

Northwest of the West Cabin there is a 4 m (13-foot) wide depression which becomes notably entrenched where the ground slopes off to the north. Though it fades out to the north and south of this point, we suspect that it is an old road bed, previously connecting with the east-west road bed labeled Feature 12 (Fig. 7).

A cross trench composed of the south 1/4 of squares 534N512E, 534N514E, 534N516E, and 534N518E was excavated through Feature 21 in hopes of confirming that it was an old road. It is sometimes possible to

clearly define such a feature by identifying the wheel ruts which show on a cross section wall. In this case we had little success. The cross section revealed a uniformly shallow deposit of hard-packed brown clayey loam over sandstone bedrock. However, the fact that a depression has been worn into the underlying rock is perhaps a kind of proof of the probable passage of wagon wheels.

Only a few artifacts were found in the Feature 21 test trench. These are part of the general scatter of debris related to the cabins.

THE EAST CABIN

Historical information pertaining specifically to the East Cabin is at best confusing. Comments by Uncle Alfred, recorded in 1886 (quoted in the historical section), suggest that it had served as Jackson's early kitchen. In more recent times, it has been called a guest cabin, such an interpretation probably deriving from Mrs. James K. Polk's reminiscences recorded by Buell (also quoted in the historical section). Although apparently unoccupied and containing only "plunder" during Parton's 1850s visit (*loc cit*), we assume that, like the West Cabin, the East Cabin had also housed slaves during the 1830s to 1850s. There is some suggestion in Parton's description and a clear statement on the back of the LHA card (Fig. 4, e), that the East Cabin was not built until after the second Hermitage. However, neither of these sources can be considered proof of this point.

The interior of the East Cabin is divided by an east-west log partition wall. There are two front and two back doors serving the two rooms, and the rooms are connected by a doorway in the dividing wall. There are indications that the ceiling was once floored, and there were probably two overhead attic rooms.

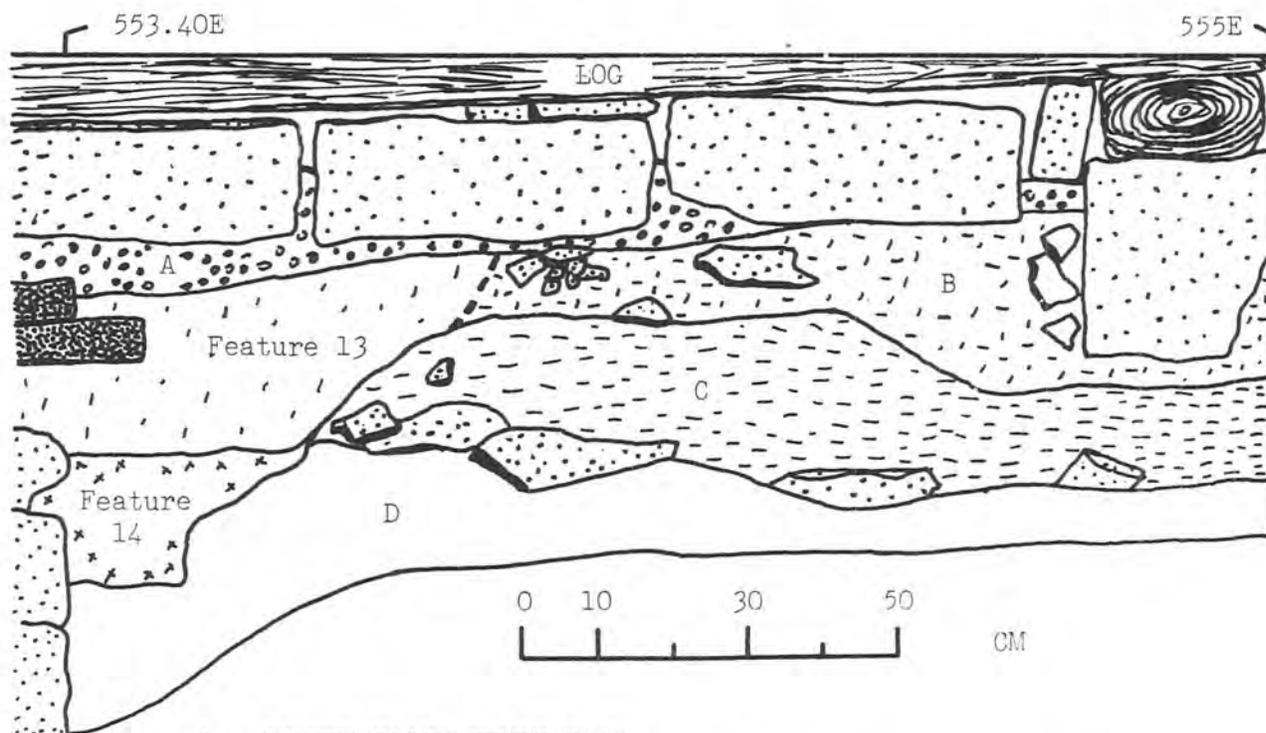
In examining this cabin, Judd (1975: 5-7) stated that, because the corner notching is not in the same style as the West Cabin (the East Cabin logs are square notched), it was probably built at a different time (this would also tend to negate the suggestions that they were once part of the same building). In addition, he noted that the south fireplace appeared to be rather new and not well made. In examining the Figure 4 photographs, we also detected an apparent late modification of the East Cabin chimneys (Fig. 4, h), and we now believe this may relate to an 1896 restoration effort (historical research section, p. 81). During 1975, a test pit was excavated adjacent to the south chimney to see if something more could be learned about this modification. We also wished to increase the size of the East Cabin sample of artifacts obtained the previous year.

Partial Square 524N554E

This unit (Fig. 7) produced a fairly good stratigraphic sequence of artifacts, most of which had probably been discarded out the cabin's south back door. The several levels actually excavated have been reduced to three analysis zones. The top zone, Zone I, was composed of 15 cm of dark humic soil. Zone II refers primarily to the lower portion of a large drip-line depression, running along the west edge of the square (an area frequently impacted by water running off the roof). Zone III contained 20 to 25 cm of tan ashy soil, grading into orange clayey subsoil. Much of the fill in this lower zone was created by the dumping of fireplace ash. The associated artifacts should date to the period when the cabin was in active use.

Irregular Square 521.50N553.40E

This pit (Fig. 7 and Fig. 23) was excavated along the east side of the south chimney, with its north edge following the cabin's south wall line. The stratigraphy encountered was somewhat jumbled, especially



- A = GRITTY BLACK HUMIC SOIL
- B = BROWNISH GRAY ASH DEPOSIT WITH CHUNKS OF LIMESTONE
- C = HARD PACKED GRAY TO WHITE WOOD ASH DEPOSIT
- D = HARD PACKED RED CLAY WITH POCKETS OF GRAY ASH

Figure 23. Excavation of Irregular Square 521.50N553.40E and profile of north wall.

near the chimney. This is illustrated in the Figure 23 profile. "A" is the recent humic accumulation. "B" was probably formed by the dumping of fireplace ash. But it was more disturbed than "C" a nearly pure wood ash deposit.

Adjacent to the chimney, a large disturbance was found cutting through both layers of ash. This was separately excavated as Feature 13. We believe this hole was dug around the chimney base during a late nineteenth-century rebuilding of the chimney. From approximately the base of the hole, the type of stone forming the bottom courses of the chimney is different from the type in the upper courses (Fig. 24). The hole had been backfilled with brown ashy soil and limestone chips.

Below Feature 13, there was another probably shovel-cut hole, which we excavated as Feature 14 (Fig. 23). Subsequent to its original excavation, it has been filled with brown loamy soil. Apparently this was a footing hole dug when the chimney was first built. The weight of the chimney has since caused it to depress one and one-half courses into the underlying subsoil.

At the base of the bottom ash deposit we encountered a round posthold, shown in Figure 24. This was labeled Feature 15. It was 25 cm (10 inches) in diameter and extended 51 cm into the subsoil. The function of the post represented by this hole is unknown. As it was encountered below the Feature 13 disturbance, it could be of rather recent origin. Coincidentally, a similar square excavated adjacent to a nineteenth-century stone chimney at Castalian Springs produced an almost identical posthole (Smith 1975: 53).

The artifacts recovered from this square are discussed in terms of their association with the three features and three zones. In respect

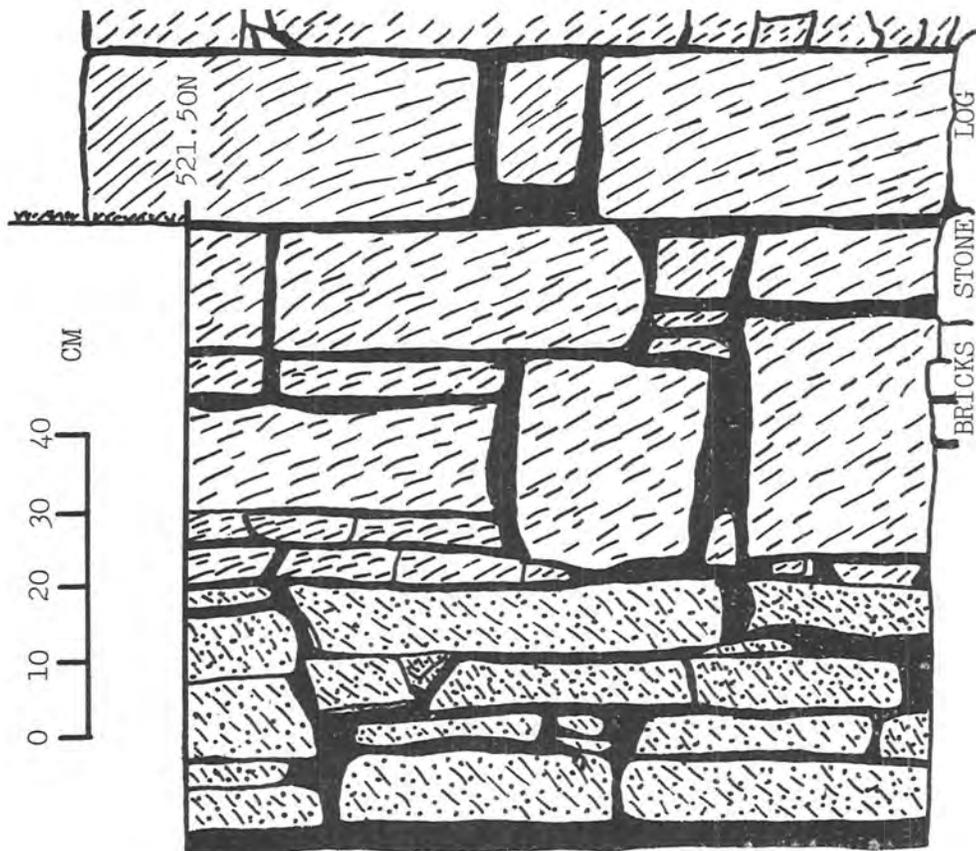


Figure 24. East side of the East Cabin's south chimney, Irregular Square 521.50N553.40E, facing west.

to Figure 23: Zone I="A"; Zone II="B"; and Zone III="C" and some pockets of ashy fill in "D".

A final point of some interest is that the foundation-like course of stones below the cabin's lower logs (Fig. 23) is not actually a foundation. Both the East and West cabins are supported on corner and center stone piers. As indicated by several photographs, these foundation-like stones were not added until about 15 years ago. This is an important point in considering the similarities and differences between the restored cabins and the former South Cabin.

FEATURE 12

Though not tested archaeologically, this old road bed is of interest to our understanding of the area. Besides the portion shown on Figure 7, it extends at least another 91.5 m (300 feet) west to the springhouse and 549 m (1,800 feet) east to Shute Lane (Fig. 2). Approximately halfway between the North Cabin and Shute Lane there is a stretch which is paralleled on its south edge by the remnants of an old stone wall. The road itself runs along the north edge of the boundary line between tracts A and D in Figure 2.

The age of this feature is a moot point. It is not indicated on the 1870 plat illustrated as Figure 25, but that does not prove that it was not extant at that time. As discussed earlier, this boundary is the same, or at least approximately the same, as the dividing line between the original grants of Hugh Hays and Nathaniel Hays. Presumably a road or lane could have existed here even before Andrew Jackson acquired the first Hermitage. Its conspicuous entrenchment is probably a result

of much usage during the last half of the nineteenth century and until the 1940s.

THE NORTH CABIN

During both seasons of field work a considerable amount of time was devoted to recording and interpreting this cabin, which is located across the aforementioned north tract boundary line (Fig. 7). It was photographed from various angles and several architectural drawings were made. This information is only summarized here, but it will be available for possible restoration purposes. The primary objective of our efforts, insofar as this report is concerned, is to attempt to place the North Cabin in chronological perspective and to determine its probable relationship to the Hermitage.

Basically, the North Cabin can be described as a two-story log building with an opposing door and window on the east and west sides, a second story window on the west side, and a small window and partially intact fireplace on the north end. The fireplace (Fig. 26) was mostly brick but contained some stone. The stone showing in the photograph is supporting a large iron lintel (made from a relatively modern piece of steam boiler grate). In the southwest corner of the cabin there are remnants of a closet stairwell leading to the second floor. The roof has collapsed inward, but a portion of the south gable was sufficiently intact to be measured (the angle of roof slope was 30 degrees).

The cabin must have been in existence at least as early as the 1860s. An 1870 deed plat (redrawn as Fig. 25) shows it standing with front and rear attachments, including another fireplace on the east side wing. Evidently the west side of the 1870 dwelling was considered the front.

Sometime later, perhaps around 1900, this plan was altered by removing the east side wing and replacing the west attachment with a rear kitchen. This frame kitchen must have appeared very similar to the earlier west side attachment, but the extant remnants of the kitchen clearly indicate that it was built well after 1870. The east and south sides of the building still retain most of the pieces of clapboard siding, which previously covered all of the exterior. The west side, which until recent years has been protected by the kitchen, is the best preserved part of the log construction.

A partial view of the North Cabin during the nineteenth century is shown in Figure 4, d. There is also a photograph, not reproduced here, but accompanying Walker's (1972: 10) section of the Hermitage guidebook, which shows the house at a slightly earlier date. This photograph, taken from a spot west of the main complex, shows the mansion, the buildings directly behind it, and the cabins. The North Cabin is in the background but is definitely the same clapboard "dwelling" shown in Figure 25. The date of this general-view photograph must be about the same as Figure 4, b (ca. 1880).

The log portion of the building was constructed in a style that is different from either the West and East cabins. Judd (1975: 10) again notes that a different "corner man" notched the logs for this cabin (a "v" notch was used). However, at least one similarity between the North and West cabins is that they both had beaded ceiling joists (the North Cabin joists have fallen into the interior debris pile).

In attempting to determine the North Cabin's probable date of initial construction, it is helpful to state the problem in terms of

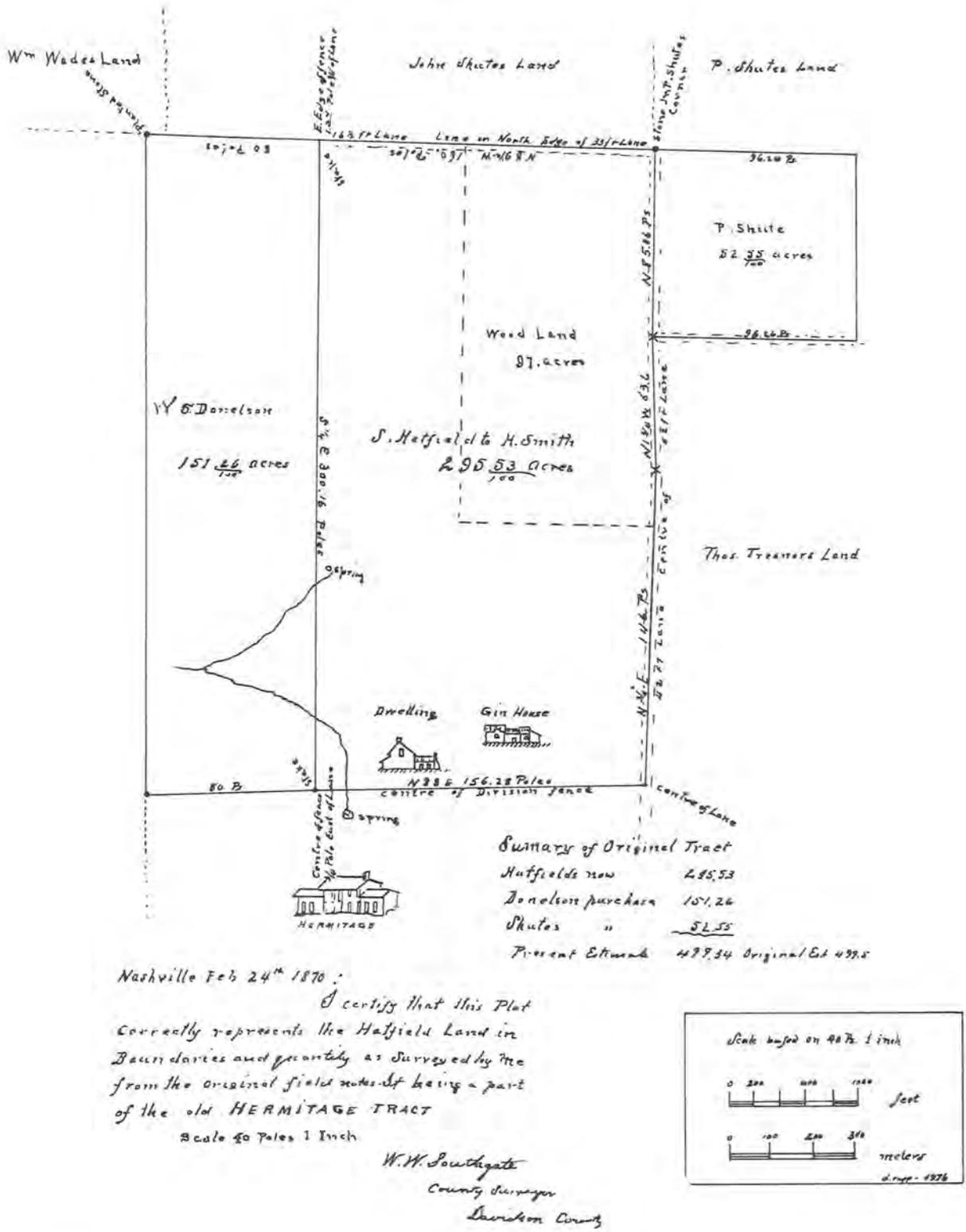


Figure 25. Deed plat showing tract sold by Samuel Hatfield to Harry Smith, in 1870. Also shows tracts previously sold by Hatfield to W. S. Donelson and P. Shute. Redrawn from a copy of the deed belonging to the Andrew Jackson Papers Project.

several hypotheses. These are based on the various historical sources which have been previously cited.

The North Cabin could have been constructed:

- 1) Before Andrew Jackson gained control of the Hugh Hayes grant (before ca. 1804-1806).
- 2) By Andrew Jackson between 1806 and 1821 (which would make it a part of the original Hermitage).
- 3) By Andrew Jackson or Andrew Jackson, Jr. between 1821 and 1855 (after the first Hermitage period).
- 4) By subsequent owners of the north tract between 1855 and 1870 (actually, it seems certain that the building shown on the 1870 plat represents the cabin after it had been standing several years and had been substantially remodeled).

During the first half of the present century this building was used to house a series of tenant farmer families. According to Julius Armstrong (see p.x), a family by the name of Scott lived here in the 1920s. Afterwards, the Tom Summers family were residents for two or three years. And then it was occupied by the Jake Withers family until the 1940s. It was subsequently abandoned, except for occasional farm storage, before being sold, in 1960, to the Ladies Hermitage Association.

Comments about the North Cabin are conspicuously absent from the historical documents relating to the first Hermitage. This alone tends to support hypothesis "3" or "4." However, our final opinion concerning these hypotheses is based on historical, archaeological, and dendrochronological data and will be summarized in the concluding section.

The fact that the cabin was occupied until so recently has made the archaeological record more difficult to fully interpret. This is especially true on the east side of the building.



Figure 26. North side of the North Cabin in 1974. View is facing south.

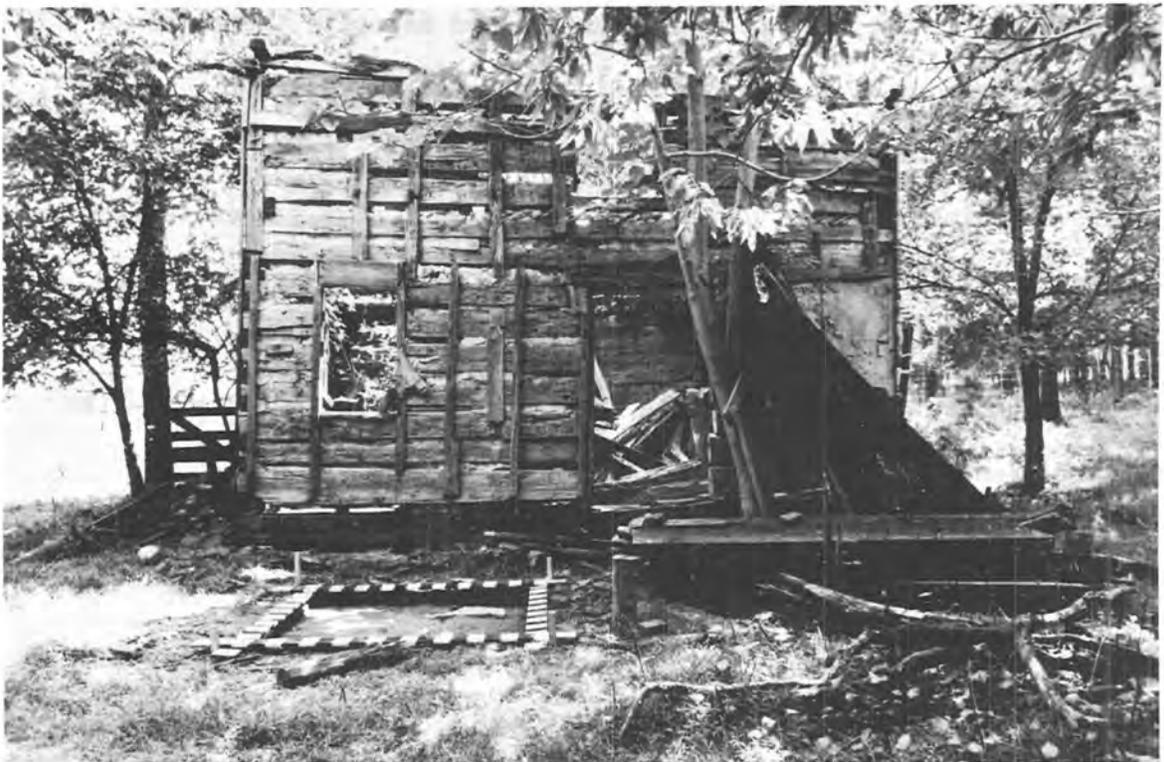


Figure 27. West side of the North Cabin, in 1975, during excavation of Square 584N556E. View is facing east.

Square 582N566E and Partial Square 580N566E

Upon examining the North Cabin for places to carry out archaeological tests, we noted a low foundation-like ridge extending east of the building's southeast corner. This seemed to be a continuation of the south wall line, and we assumed it was probably the south foundation of the east wing shown on the 1870 plat (Fig. 25).

Square 582N566E (Fig. 7) was excavated immediately north of this feature on the assumption that it would reveal items deposited beneath the east wing. Two distinct cultural levels were found: a 15 to 20 cm dark humic zone and a 20 to 40 cm orange clayey zone. A large circular disturbance was encountered at the base of the first level and a similar, but smaller, disturbance near the base of the second level. These were labeled Feature 17 and Feature 18, respectively. Both proved to be animal burrows, and at the base of the human related deposits there was an extensive network of burrows extending into the clay subsoil.

The distinctive thing about Square 582N566E is that both cultural levels contained a large quantity of almost exclusively twentieth-century artifacts. Failing to find any indication of a nineteenth-century occupation level, we elected to excavate only the west half of the adjacent square (580N566E), which extended across the foundation-like feature (Feature 19).

In Partial Square 580N566E, the same stratigraphic situation was found, on both sides of the feature, as in Square 582N566E (two distinct zones laden with twentieth-century debris). Feature 19, a linear arrangement of stones and relatively modern bricks, was probably constructed after 1900 and does not appear to have been a foundation.

Information provided by Julius Armstrong (p. x) suggests that this "wall" was more than likely a part of the base of a fence which extended around the front yard of the house when it was last occupied.

Our eventual conclusion was that sometime between about 1880 and 1920, there must have been a major surface alteration on the east side of the North Cabin. This could have been by erosion or by some more direct removal of the top soil. It may have been directly related to the removal of the old east wing. Whatever the exact cause, the east side surface was clearly denuded of most of its nineteenth-century remains.

The two zones encountered relate to the 1920s to 1940s occupation, followed by some 30 years abandonment. As this is simply not relevant to the problem with which we are concerned, all of the artifacts found on the east side of the North Cabin are merged into a single provenience category in subsequent discussions.

Square 584N556E

Not finding any really helpful data on the east side of the North Cabin, we next looked for a location which had been more protected. Square 584N556E (Fig. 27) was selected. This spot is below the original structure's west side window and, since sometime before 1870, has been enclosed by at least two successive west side additions.

Four levels were excavated in Square 584N556E. The top two of these relate to the same time interval indicated by the east side strata, and they have been merged into a single zone. Thus: Zone I = 25 cm of recent humic-like soils containing much debris from the decaying building; Zone II = the top 10 cm of a 20 cm deposit of brown clayey loam (it also

contained some of the more recent debris); and Zone III = the bottom half of the clayey loam deposit containing fewer artifacts but a notable quantity of charcoal and mortar.

Two features were located in this square. Feature 20 was a posthole containing a very recent postmold. This was part of the line of posts shown in Figure 7, which supported the west edge of the kitchen floor. The Feature 20 post is lying on the west side of the square in Figure 27, and three other posts can be seen standing to the right. The post is 13 cm (5 1/4 inches) in diameter. The round posthole was 30 cm in diameter and 40 cm deep. A squarish chunk of limestone was found at the bottom of the hole. This had provided a footing for the post.

Feature 22 was encountered in the southeast corner of the square at the base of Zone III. Only a corner of the feature was exposed, but it seemed to be a square hole which had been dug at least 20 cm into the clay subsoil.

Though the bottom zone in Square 584N556E was definitely older than either of the east side strata, an early nineteenth-century occupation is still not indicated. This will be discussed in more detail in terms of the specific artifact categories described below,

THE NORTHEAST TEST PITS

Certainly one of the most striking things indicated on the Figure 25 plat is the "Gin House." Most probably this contained an animal powered cotton gin (it is well removed from any water source), but its antiquity is unknown. As indicated in the historical section, a horse mill was built for Andrew Jackson shortly after he moved to the Hermitage, and he is known to have operated one of the earliest cotton gins in the region. However,

because of the reasons previously stated, it seems unlikely that these earlier (pre-1821) operations would have been carried out on the Hugh Hays tract.

During the summer of 1975, a brief attempt was made to determine the location of the Figure 25 gin house. Because of the oversized rendition of the buildings shown on the plat, it is difficult to relate them to the map's scale. Also, the large open field east of the North Cabin is in permanent pasture, and this made it impossible to find any surface material relating to the gin.

We eventually selected three adjacent knolls as probable sites. A 1 m square test pit was excavated on each of these (the southwest quadrant of squares 610N690E, 610N790E, and 610N840E). The two easternmost pits were completely sterile, but Partial Square 610N690E produced a small quantity of nineteenth-century debris.

In the early part of 1976, the fields east and north of the North Cabin were disced so that the pasture could be replanted. A few days after the ground had been broken another survey was conducted, and this time we found a large shallow depression with associated historic debris which probably is the gin site. We would now recommend the area around the 595N-715E grid coordinate as the likely starting point for any future explorations.

If such an attempt is ever contemplated, it would be well to learn more about certain twentieth-century modifications that may have been made here. This same field was once known as Blackwood Aviation Field. According to an historical marker on Shute Lane, it served as the home airbase for the 105th Observation Squadron of the Tennessee National Guard, from 1921 to 1928.

FIRST HERMITAGE ARTIFACTS

Our method of retrieving artifacts was threefold. The soil was removed in thin slices using a hand trowel (or sometimes a whiskbroom) and a dirt scoop. All artifacts thought to be structurally significant and some non-structural artifacts were mapped in place, within their respective squares, and assigned a catalog number before they were removed from the ground. Except in the northeast test pits, all of the dirt was screened through 1/4 inch mesh. All cultural items were saved, except for brick rubble, which was weighed and then discarded. For most levels in most of the squares we also collected at least one bag of soil, which was later fine screened in water. This served as a check for tiny artifacts that might have been missed by the regular screening or troweling procedures.

The artifacts recovered were labeled for identification using a catalog system based on a four part number (year-accession-provenience-item or group of items). In this section, the artifacts are discussed in terms of four levels of provenience grouping:

- 1) Some of the items which were plotted in situ are described in terms of their specific location.
- 2) The individual squares were excavated by natural levels, and this same separation is maintained in discussing the artifacts from some localities (although the levels may be referred to as "zones").
- 3) For some of the localities, the levels excavated have been merged into culturally significant "zones." Most of the artifact discussion is carried out in terms of these zones and their associated features (Table 1).
- 4) In some cases, all zones and features within the different subareas are merged in order to make gross comparisons between major structural associations.

Table 1 presents the basic provenience abbreviations used in subsequent tables. This merger of the original provenience categories makes it possible to tabulate what would otherwise be an extremely unwieldy body of data. Likewise, the abbreviations make it possible to condense the size of the tables. The abbreviations are designed to be self explanatory and, by an occasional reference to Table 1, should be readily intelligible.

Probably nowhere in the historical archaeological realm is there more diversity than in the area of artifact analysis and classification. South (1974: 169-171), for example, is extremely critical of the traditional descriptive-analysis approach to artifacts, where it fails to provide additional data of a "synthesized" nature or lead to the discovery of "patterning" in the material record. Somewhere near the opposite end of the spectrum is Stone's (1974) "formal classification" discourse, which suggests that only through an extremely rigorous analysis of artifact attributes can we arrive at descriptions sufficiently sophisticated to permit meaningful interpretations of artifact distribution.

Actually both of these monographs represent major contributions to the field and probably are much less antithetical than a casual reading would suggest. What both approaches presume is that the archaeologist is able to work with a very discreet set, or sets, of data. Quite often, as in the present example, this is simply not the case.

The first Hermitage excavations produced a rather large quantity of objects, most of which we were able to relate to specific temporal or social categories in only a general sort of way. While we were able to at least partially fulfill the objectives discussed in the introductory section, some of the most significant conclusions about the artifacts were made in an inductive manner.

Table 1. Artifact provenience abbreviations.

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>
Two test pits located south of the South Cabin site (Southern Test Pits)	STP
South Cabin, Zone I	SC,ZI
South Cabin, Zone II	SC,ZII
South Cabin, Zone III, Inside Feature 3, South of Feature 3B	SC,ZIII,SF3B
South Cabin, Zone III, Inside Feature 3, North of Feature 3B (N 1/2 of Square 504N544E only)	SC,ZIII,NF3B
South Cabin, Zone III, Outside and East of Feature 3	SC,ZIII,EF3
South Cabin, Zone III, Outside and South of Feature 3	SC,ZIII,SF3
South Cabin Features, 1 to 11 and 23 and 24	SC,F1(etc.)
South Cabin Feature 16 Test Excavation, Zones I, II, and III	SC,F16,ZI(ZII,ZIII)
West Cabin, West Side, Zone I	WC,WS,ZI
West Cabin, West Side, Zone II	WC,WS,ZII
West Cabin, North Side, Zone I	WC,NS,ZI
West Cabin, North Side, Zone II	WC,NS,ZII
West Cabin, East Side, Zone I	WC,ES,ZI
West Cabin, East Side, Zone II	WC,ES,ZII
Feature 21 (roadbed) Test	F21
East Cabin, East Side, Zone I	EC,ES,ZI
East Cabin, East Side, Zone II	EC,ES,ZII
East Cabin, East Side, Zone III	EC,ES,ZIII
East Cabin, South Side, Zone I	EC,SS,ZI
East Cabin, South Side, Zone II	EC,SS,ZII
East Cabin, South Side, Zone III	EC,SS,ZIII
East Cabin, Features 13 to 15	EC,F13(etc.)
North Cabin, East Side	NC,ES
North Cabin, West Side, Zone I	NC,WS,ZI
North Cabin, West Side, Zone II	NC,WS,ZII
North Cabin, West Side, Zone III	NC,WS,ZIII
North Cabin Features 20 and 22	NC,F20(etc.)
Gin House Site Test Pits located north and east of North Cabin (Northeast Test Pits) (Partial Square 610N690E only)	NETP

The artifacts recovered from the first Hermitage are described in a rather traditional way by grouping them into what are, for the most part, functional categories. Some subdivision was also made on the basis of sheer bulk. Nails, for example, could be considered a subcategory of "structural debris," but they are sufficiently ubiquitous to warrant a separate subheading.

A basic assumption underlying this presentation is that most of the prospective readers probably are not familiar with the kinds of material items to be discussed. The body of historic site reports is now of sufficient size to cause some archaeologists to disdain the practice of describing items that have been dealt with previously. But, with a site such as the Hermitage, it is assumed that the artifacts found will be of interest to many persons who are not familiar with the archaeological literature. It would thus seem unfair not to include illustrated descriptions of the remains on which our conclusions are based.

CERAMIC CONTAINERS

During 1974 and 1975, a total of 4,766 ceramic sherds were recovered. Though no complete vessels were found, a variety of forms are indicated. Most common are fragments of plates, bowls, and cups, with a lesser percentage of heavier kitchen wares. Examples of most of the types discussed are shown in the two accompanying figures (Fig. 28 and Fig. 29). The distribution of types within the major provenience groups is shown by way of four tables. We will also present data on maker's marks and other chronological information provided by the percentage ratios of the different types recovered.

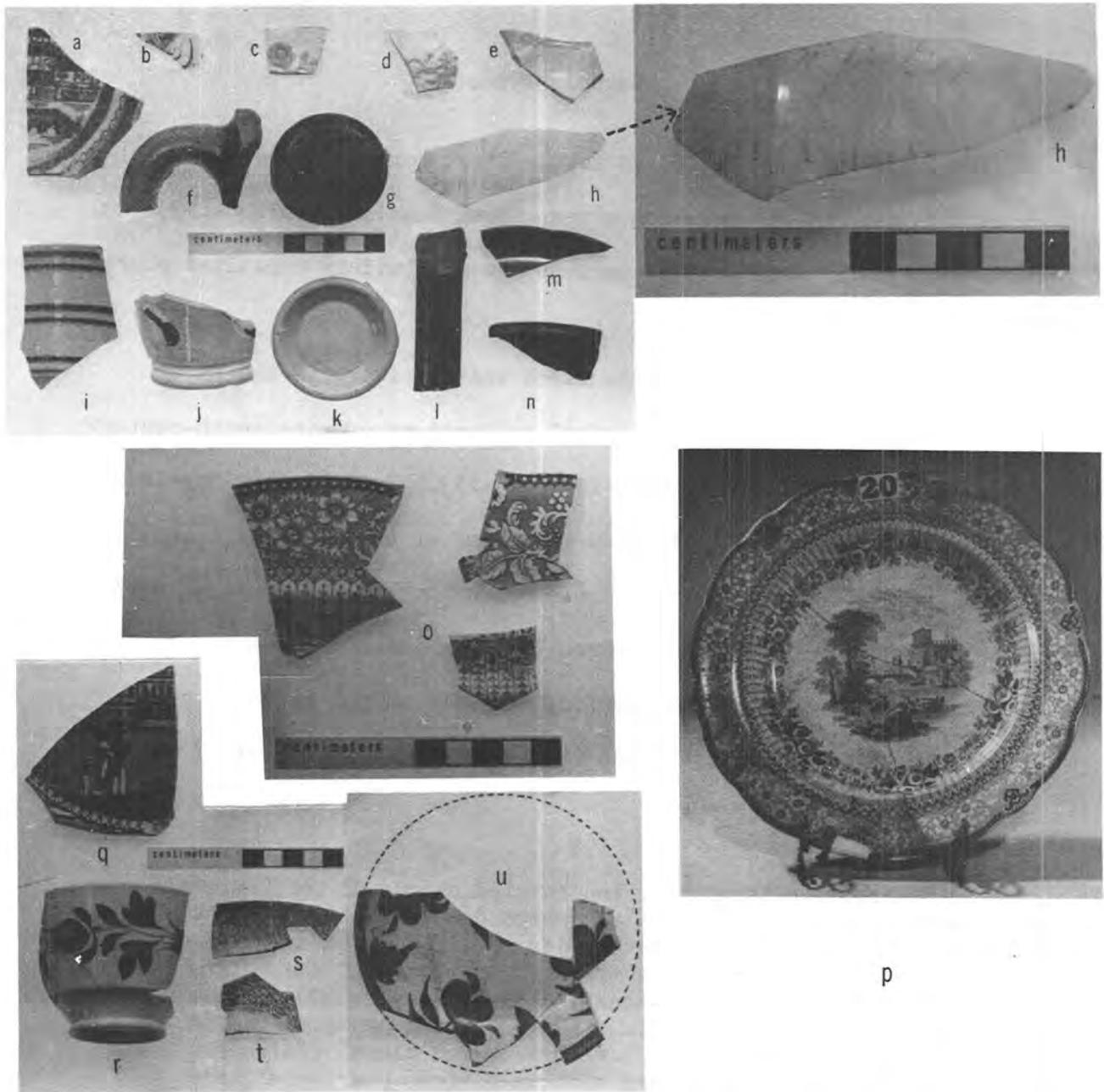


Figure 28. First Hermitage ceramics: a. underglaze blue porcelain; b. overglaze enamelled porcelain; c,d. porcelain with purple appiques; e. gilded porcelain; f. gray and blue salt-glazed stoneware handle; g. slip decorated stoneware, handle portion of circular lid; h. porcelain sherd bearing partial inscription "Andrew Jackson" "President of the United States"; i. banded yellow ware; j. "finger painted" yellow ware; k. yellow ware foot ring; l-n. Rockingham ware; o. blue transfer printed pearlware, Pattern A; p. blue transfer printed pearlware plate from the Hermitage Museum, also Pattern A; q. blue transfer printed pearlware, Pattern B; r. hand painted pearlware, floral polychrome; s. blue spatterware; t. blue and purple spatterware; u. hand painted pearlware, underglaze blue floral. a. from SC,ZIII,NF3B; b. and t. from SC,ZI; c,d,f,j-n, and q. from SC,ZIII,SF3B; e. and r. from SC, lower F1; g. from SC,ZII; h. from SC,ZIII,EF3B; i. from SC,F7; o. from South, East, and West cabins (see text); s. from WC,WS,ZII; u. from EC,ES,ZIII.

Ceramic Types

The kinds of ceramics found in the first Hermitage area are well known from other early American sites. Noel Hume's (1970: 98-150) guide to colonial artifacts is perhaps the most widely consulted source for descriptive purposes.

The writer has elsewhere discussed what he feels is the major problem in classifying archaeological collections of nineteenth-century ceramics (Smith 1974a: 40-42 and 1975: 23-25). Briefly this has to do with the late eighteenth-century development of pearlware as a replacement for creamware, followed by the nineteenth-century manufacture of a wide variety of harder white-bodied wares. The latter can be extremely difficult to distinguish when dealing with the normal archaeological sample, one or two sherds of the original vessel. As before, I have used the term "whiteware" as:

...a general category for undecorated sherds of refined white earthenware or semi-porcelain which do not fit into the ironstone or pearlware categories....plain white sherds (excluding porcelain) are typed as pearlware if the "glaze appears blue in the crevices" [Noel Hume 1970: 130]. They are called ironstone if they are "hard and procelaneous in the body" and "generally thick with a crazed glaze" [Fairbanks 1974: 77]....sherds of ironstone with an obvious pearlware glaze are separately identified. White refined earthenware or semi-porcelain sherds not falling into one of these categories are termed "whiteware" (Smith 1975: 23 and 25).

An even more complex aspect of this problem concerns the classification of decorated sherds of the various white-bodied wares. For example, with a blue transfer printed body sherd having no crevice it would be difficult to know if it were pearlware or whiteware (as this term is often used). Only if a crevice were present could we then decide whether to classify it "blue transfer printed pearlware" or "blue transfer printed

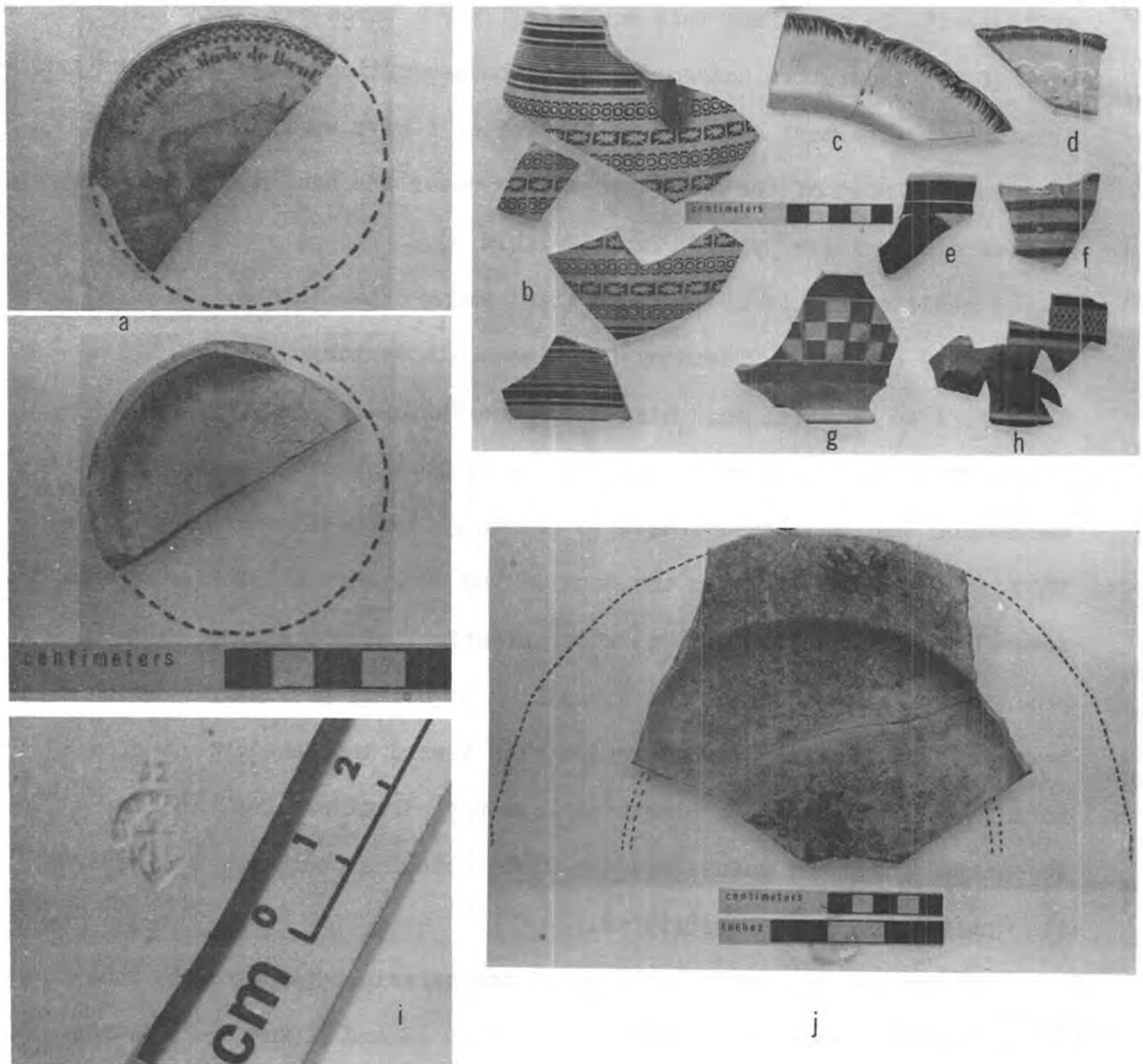


Figure 29. First Hermitage ceramics: a. obverse and reverse of blue transfer printed pearlware lid, dated 1822; b. fragments of black and green banded pearlware pitcher, Pattern A; c. blue edge decorated pearlware; d. green edge decorated pearlware with embossed design on the marly; e. "finger painted" annular pearlware; f. blue and white annular pearlware; g. blue and white annular pearlware, Pattern B; h. brown, green, and white annular pearlware with mocha design; i. sherd of marked Davenport pearlware with abbreviated year date, 1848; j. partial floral stenciled pearlware plate, Pattern A. a. from SC,ZIII,SF3B; b. from SC, all zones; c. and f. from SC,ZI; d,e,h, and j. from SC,ZIII,EF3; g. and i. from SC,ZII.

whiteware." In practice, this would call for a three-way split in each of our decorative categories. On the assumption that the decorative treatment is the most significant attribute, I have avoided such a split by subsuming most of the decorated sherds under the heading "Pearlware-Whiteware Decorative Types" (Table 2-Table 5).

I realize this is at variance with, among other things, South's (1974: 252) suggested "Taxonomy for Nineteenth Century Ceramics." However, I do not feel that his "Ironstone-Whiteware" combination (South 1974: 247) is very useful. It seems to be based in part on the assumption that pearlware ceased to be manufactured after about 1830-1840 (South 1974: 334). In the case of the Hermitage collection, we have several dated sherds (Fig. 29i) which clearly indicate a much later production of what can only be classified as normal pearlware. South's taxonomy is definitely a much needed step toward the development of a formal classification for nineteenth-century ceramics. But, in the absence of any clear guidelines for distinguishing pearlware body sherds, its utility is greatly restricted.

The general appearance of most of the ceramic types found in the first Hermitage area is illustrated by Figure 28 and Figure 29. Sherds of ironstone, redware, and creamware are not illustrated. Very little ironstone (at least the heavier, more easily definable variety) or creamware was found. Redware is familiar to everyone in its unglazed flower pot form. Yellow ware (Fig. 28 i-k) has been little described in the archaeological literature, but it is recognized by American ceramic historians (Ketchum 1971: 93-96) as a distinct type of lead or alkaline glazed earthenware. To some extent this is also true of the mottled brown Rockingham ware (Fig. 28 l-n). It was not very common until around

Table 2. Distribution of South Cabin site ceramic sherds.

(WARES)	ZI	ZII	ZIII SF3B	ZIII NF3B	ZIII EF3	ZIII SF3	Lower F1	F2&4	F6	F7	F9	F16 ZI	F16 ZII	F16 ZIII	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
PORCELAIN	37	34	25	9	13	2	4	5		3		1	8	1	142	5.0
Undecorated	(31)	(20)	(16)	(4)	(6)	(2)	(1)	(3)		(1)		(1)	(7)		(92)	
Underglaze Blue	(1)	(8)	(2)	(4)	(3)					(1)				(1)	(20)	
Overglaze Enameled	(4)	(4)	(1)		(2)		(1)	(2)							(14)	
Gilded	(1)	(1)	(3)		(1)		(1)						(1)		(8)	
Purple Appliques			(3)												(3)	
Misc. Decorated		(1)		(1)	(1)		(1)			(1)					(5)	
STONEWARE	38	42	12	2	7	2				1		1	10		115	4.1
Salt Glazed	(34)	(37)	(9)	(2)	(7)	(2)				(1)		(1)	(10)		(103)	
Slip Decorated	(4)	(3)	(1)												(8)	
Brown Bottle		(1)	(1)												(2)	
Misc.		(1)	(1)												(2)	
IRONSTONE	1	1													2	0.1
Undecorated		(1)													(1)	
Decorated	(1)														(1)	
YELLOW WARE	21	21	14		5		4			1		2	3		71	2.5
Undecorated	(12)	(11)	(6)		(3)		(2)					(2)	(3)		(39)	
Banded	(3)	(7)	(6)		(1)		(2)			(1)					(20)	
Mocha	(3)				(1)										(4)	
"Finger Painted"	(3)	(2)	(2)												(7)	
Misc.		(1)													(1)	
REDWARE	15	7	3	1		5				1		1	10	4	47	1.7
Unglazed	(1)												(1)		(2)	
Lead Glazed	(13)	(7)	(2)			(5)				(1)		(1)	(9)	(4)	(42)	
Misc.	(1)		(1)	(1)											(3)	
ROCKINGHAM WARE	5	7	4	3	1								2	1	23	0.8
UNDECORATED CREAMWARE		1	1												2	0.1

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"CONTINUED"

Table 2. "CONTINUED"

(WARES)	ZI	ZII	ZIII SF3B	ZIII NF3B	ZIII EF3	ZIII SF3	Lower F1	F2&4	F6	F7	F9	F16 ZI	F16 ZII	F16 ZIII	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
UNDECORATED PEARLWARE	70	80	36	10	29	3	5	2		6		10	41	3	295	10.5
UNDECORATED WHITEWARE	362	319	104	14	68	19	21	14		10	4	15	143	14	1107	39.4
(PEARLWARE-WHITEWARE DECORATIVE TYPES)																[28.4]
TRANSFER PRINTED	62	65	25	12	28	1	4	4	1	5	2	7	15	2	233	8.3
Blue	(38)	(30)	(13)	(11)	(14)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(3)	(1)	(7)	(12)	(2)	(138)	
Blue, Pattern A	(4)	(2)	(3)		(2)		(1)	(1)		(1)	(1)				(15)	
Blue, Pattern B		(3)	(1)												(4)	
Flow Blue													(1)		(1)	
Green, Pattern A	(3)	(11)	(2)		(6)		(1)			(1)			(1)		(25)	
Purple	(3)	(9)	(1)		(3)								(1)		(17)	
Red	(2)		(1)		(1)										(4)	
Magenta	(2)	(1)		(1)	(1)										(5)	
Black	(10)	(8)	(4)		(1)										(23)	
Brown		(1)													(1)	
HAND PAINTED OR STENCILED	36	46	27	10	21	2	10	2		1			10	2	167	5.9
Underglaze Blue Floral	(4)	(7)	(3)	(2)	(4)		(1)						(1)	(1)	(23)	
Floral Polychrome	(32)	(35)	(23)	(8)	(14)	(2)	(8)	(2)		(1)			(8)	(1)	(134)	
Floral, Pattern A		(4)	(1)		(3)		(1)						(1)		(10)	
ANNULAR	51	56	20	3	39	6	3	2					8	2	190	6.8
Banded	(32)	(37)	(13)	(2)	(15)	(4)	(1)	(1)					(7)	(2)	(114)	
Banded, Pattern A	(9)	(3)	(2)			(1)									(15)	
Banded, Pattern B		(3)													(3)	
Mocha	(2)			(1)	(11)										(14)	
"Finger Painted"	(7)	(9)			(12)	(1)	(2)	(1)			(1)				(33)	
Rim Band Only	(1)	(4)	(4)		(1)								(1)		(11)	
SPONGED (SPATTERWARE)	4	3	1	6											14	0.5
Blue		(3)	(1)	(3)											(7)	
Blue and Purple	(3)			(3)											(6)	
Green	(1)														(1)	

(PEARLWARE-WHITWARE DECORATIVE TYPES)	ZI	ZII	ZIII SF3B	ZIII NF3B	ZIII EF3	ZIII SF3	Lower F1	F2&4	F6	F7	F9	F16 ZI	F16 ZII	F16 ZIII	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
EDGE DECORATED																
(SHELLEDGED)	50	52	33	6	20	1	2	1		3		1	17	7	193	6.9
Blue	(43)	(36)	(29)	(6)	(9)	(1)	(2)	(1)		(2)			(14)	(7)	(150)	
Green	(7)	(11)	(2)		(10)					(1)			(2)		(33)	
Unpainted Embossing		(5)	(2)		(1)							(1)	(1)		(10)	
(MISCELLANEOUS)																
MISCELLANEOUS GLAZED(Etc)	3	9	5		1										18	0.6
Lead Glazed																
Earthenware	(1)	(1)													(2)	
Green Glazed																
Molded Earthenware		(3)													(3)	
Brown Glazed																
Earthenware	(2)	(3)													(5)	
Blue Glazed																
Earthenware		(1)	(2)												(3)	
Pearlware with																
Green Floral																
Applique		(1)													(1)	
Whiteware with Pink																
Design			(1)												(1)	
Whiteware with																
Indistinct Design			(2)												(2)	
Burned Whiteware Handle																
with molded Fluor-de-Lis					(1)										(1)	
BADLY BURNED	65	56	12	2	23	3	14	10					4		188	6.8
TOTAL	820	799	321	78	255	44	67	40	1	31	7	38	271	36	2808	100%

Table 3. Distribution of West Cabin ceramic sherds.

(WARES)	WS ZI	WS ZII	NS ZI	NS ZII	ES ZI	ES ZII	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
PORCELAIN		3	6	6	11	16	42	3.7
Undecorated		(3)	(4)	(3)	(5)	(7)	(22)	
Underglaze Blue			(2)	(2)	(4)	(7)	(15)	
Overglaze Enameled				(1)	(2)	(2)	(5)	
STONEWARE	4	3	5	1	7	4	24	2.1
Salt Glazed	(1)	(2)	(5)	(1)	(4)	(4)	(17)	
Slip Decorated					(3)		(3)	
Alkaline Glazed	(3)	(1)					(4)	
IRONSTONE					3		3	0.3
Undecorated					(3)		(3)	
YELLOW WARE	2	6	2	1	3	5	19	1.7
Undecorated	(2)	(5)	(2)		(3)	(2)	(14)	
Banded				(1)		(1)	(2)	
"Finger Painted"		(1)				(2)	(3)	
REDWARE			2	2	2	2	8	0.7
Unglazed				(1)			(1)	
Lead Glazed			(2)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(6)	
Misc.					(1)		(1)	
ROCKINGHAM WARE			1	2		1	4	0.3
UNDECORATED CREAMWARE			3	2		1	6	0.5
UNDECORATED PEARLWARE	10	21	12	19	17	30	109	9.7
UNDECORATED WHITEWARE	60	109	95	56	119	127	566	50.5
(PEARLWARE-WHITEWARE DECORATIVE TYPES)								[28.7]
TRANSFER PRINTED	6	8	5	15	32	49	115	10.3
Blue	(6)	(8)	(2)	(9)	(26)	(33)	(84)	
Blue, Pattern A				(1)	(1)	(2)	(4)	
Green, Pattern A			(1)			(3)	(4)	
Purple			(2)	(3)	(4)	(10)	(19)	
Magenta				(1)			(1)	
Black				(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	
HAND PAINTED OR STENCILED	10	13	5	3	4	15	50	4.5
Underglaze Blue Floral	(5)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(2)		(17)	
Floral Polychrome	(5)	(6)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(15)	(33)	

"CONTINUED"

Table 3. "CONTINUED"

<u>(PEARLWARE-WHITWARE DECORATIVE TYPES)</u>	<u>WS ZI</u>	<u>WS ZII</u>	<u>NS ZI</u>	<u>NS ZII</u>	<u>ES ZI</u>	<u>ES ZII</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% of TOTAL</u>
ANNULAR	1	8	8	4	5	5	31	2.8
Banded	(1)	(1)	(7)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(21)	
"Finger-Painted"		(7)	(1)				(8)	
Rim Band Only					(1)	(1)	(2)	
SPONGED (SPATTERWARE)	2	5	2		2		11	1.0
Blue	(2)	(5)			(1)		(8)	
Blue and Green			(1)				(1)	
Red			(1)		(1)		(2)	
EDGE DECORATED (SHELLEDGED)	10	23	16	15	22	26	112	10.0
Blue	(10)	(15)	(9)	(11)	(22)	(23)	(90)	
Green		(7)	(3)	(2)		(3)	(15)	
Unpainted Embossing		(1)	(4)	(2)			(7)	
LUSTER DECORATED				1			1	0.1
Copper				(1)			(1)	
<u>(MISCELLANEOUS)</u>								
MISCELLANEOUS GLAZED(Etc.) 1			4		1	2	8	0.7
Lead Glazed								
Earthenware	(1)				(1)	(1)	(3)	
Unglazed								
Earthenware			(1)				(1)	
Whiteware with Gold Ribbon Design			(1)				(1)	
Whiteware with Yellow and White Glaze			(1)			(1)	(2)	
Blue Glazed Whiteware with White Sprigged Design			(1)				(1)	
BADLY BURNED		1		7	4		12	1.1
<hr/> TOTAL	<hr/> 106	<hr/> 200	<hr/> 166	<hr/> 134	<hr/> 232	<hr/> 283	<hr/> 1121	<hr/> 100%

Table 4. Distribution of East Cabin ceramic sherds.

(WARES)	ES ZI	ES ZII	ES ZIII	SS ZI	SS ZII	SS ZIII	F13	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
PORCELAIN	9		2	3	5	4	1	24	7.7
Undecorated	(8)		(1)	(1)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(15)	
Underglaze Blue	(1)		(1)	(1)				(3)	
Overglaze Enameled					(1)	(3)		(4)	
Gilded				(1)	(1)			(2)	
STONEWARE	5		1	1	2			9	2.9
Salt Glazed	(4)		(1)	(1)	(2)			(8)	
Misc.	(1)							(1)	
YELLOW WARE	3			1				4	1.3
Undecorated	(3)			(1)				(4)	
REDWARE	1				1			2	0.6
Lead Glazed	(1)							(1)	
Misc.					(1)			(1)	
ROCKINGHAM WARE					2			2	0.6
UNDECORATED CREAMWARE	1		2					3	1.0
UNDECORATED PEARLWARE	5		8	9	3	4	2	31	9.9
UNDECORATED WHITEWARE	46	3	23	17	11	5	1	106	34.0
(PEARLWARE-WHITEWARE DECORATIVE TYPES)									[33.0]
TRANSFER PRINTED	8	4	23	3	5	6	1	50	16.0
Blue	(6)	(4)	(17)	(3)	(2)	(5)	(1)	(38)	
Blue, Pattern A	(2)					(1)		(3)	
Flow Blue			(6)					(6)	
Green, Pattern A					(1)			(1)	
Black					(2)			(2)	
HAND PAINTED OR STENCILED	3	1	20	1	2			27	8.7
Underglaze Blue Floral	(3)	(1)	(9)	(1)	(2)			(13)	
Floral Polychrome			(11)	(1)	(2)			(14)	
ANNULAR	1		3		1			5	1.6
Banded	(1)		(2)		(1)			(4)	
"Finger Painted"			(1)					(1)	

Table 4. "CONTINUED"

<u>(PEARLWARE-WHITEWARE DECORATIVE TYPES)</u>	ES ZI	ES ZII	ES ZIII	SS ZI	SS ZII	SS ZIII	F13	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
SPONGED (SPATTERWARE)				1	1			2	0.6
Blue and Purple				(1)				(1)	
Red					(1)			(1)	
EDGE DECORATED (SHELLEDGED)	2		9	1	5	1	1	19	6.1
Blue	(1)		(9)	(1)	(4)			(15)	
Green					(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	
Unpainted Embossing								(1)	
<u>(MISCELLANEOUS)</u>									
MISCELLANEOUS GLAZED (Etc.)			1		2			3	1.0
Tan Glazed Earthenware					(1)			(1)	
Blue Glazed Earthenware					(1)			(1)	
Burned Whiteware Handle with molded Fleur-de-Lis			(1)					(1)	
BADLY BURNED	7		5		9	4		25	8.0
<hr/>									
TOTAL	91	8	97	37	49	24	6	312	100%

Table 5. Distribution of North Cabin ceramic sherds.

(WARES)	WEST SIDE						EAST SIDE		
	ZI	ZII	ZIII	F20	F22	TOTAL	% of TOTAL	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
PORCELAIN	7	2				9	4.3	26	11.6
Undecorated	(5)	(2)				(7)		(24)	
Gilded						(2)		(1)	
Misc. Decorated	(2)							(1)	
STONEWARE	1	3		1		5	2.4	10	4.5
Salt Glazed	(1)	(3)				(4)		(8)	
Slip Decorated				(1)		(1)		(2)	
IRONSTONE		2	5			7	3.3		
Undecorated			(5)			(5)			
Pearlware Glazed		(2)				(2)			
REDWARE	2				1	3	1.4		
Unglazed	(2)					(2)			
Lead Glazed					(1)	(1)			
ROCKINGHAM WARE		2				2	0.9		
UNDECORATED PEARLWARE	3	12	2			17	8.0	3	1.4
UNDECORATED WHITEWARE	46	81	1	8		136	64.1	132	59.2
(PEARLWARE-WHITEWARE DECORATIVE TYPES)									
TRANSFER PRINTED	5	8				13	6.1	6	2.7
Blue	(4)	(3)				(7)		(6)	
Flow Blue		(1)				(1)			
Purple		(1)				(1)			
Magenta	(1)					(1)			
Black		(2)				(2)			
Brown		(1)				(1)			
HAND PAINTED OR STENCILED	3	1				4	1.9	7	3.1
Floral Polychrome	(3)	(1)				(4)		(7)	
ANNULAR		1				1	0.5	1	0.4
Banded		(1)				(1)			
Rim Band Only								(1)	
EDGE DECORATED (SHELLEDGED)	3	3	1			7	3.3	1	0.4
Blue	(1)	(3)	(1)			(5)		(1)	
Unpainted Embossing	(2)					(2)			

Table 5. "CONTINUED"

(MISCELLANEOUS)	WEST SIDE						EAST SIDE		
	ZI	ZII	ZIII	F20	F22	TOTAL	% of TOTAL	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
MISCELLANEOUS MODERN DECORATED WHITEWARES	6	1				7	3.3	17	7.6
Floral Patterns	(1)					(1)		(14)	
Other	(5)	(1)				(6)		(3)	
MISCELLANEOUS MODERN DECORATED EARTHENWARES	1					1	0.5	20	9.0
Yellow Glazed with Orange and Green Floral Design	(1)					(1)		(17)	
Yellow Glazed with Scroll-like Rim Design								(2)	
Brownish-Yellow Glazed								(1)	
<hr/>									
TOTAL	77	116	9	1	1	212	100%	223	100%

the middle of the nineteenth century and has perhaps been best known to collectors of the Bennington variety (Barret 1964).

A few other observations need to be made concerning some of the specific varieties of ceramics represented in the Hermitage collection. One of the most interesting of these concerns what we have called "Pattern A," blue transfer printed ware (Fig. 28o,p). Sherds of this same pattern were associated with the South Cabin (Table 2), the West Cabin (Table 3), and the East Cabin (Table 4). Two of them (Fig. 28o, upper right) are cross-matching sherds from Zone I on the east side of the West Cabin and Zone III on the south side of the East Cabin. This no doubt relates to the disturbance caused by the digging of a repair hole beside the East Cabin's south chimney (Feature 13, Fig. 23). But what is really significant is that 18 sherds of this same pattern were also found distributed throughout the areas which were tested under and around the Hermitage mansion (Brown 1972: 20-23).

The most complete example of this pattern is a restored plate (Fig. 28p) in the Hermitage museum (copies of which are sold in the Hermitage gift shop). Exactly how it became part of the museum collection is uncertain, but it has been cataloged as an "original blue plate, one of a set used by Gen. Jackson in the Hermitage." Such an identification receives considerable support from the total of 40 sherds which have now been recovered from the first and second Hermitage sites. Conversely, the plate, which is marked, helps in identifying and dating the sherds.

The earlier archaeological samples of this pattern were identified as having been manufactured by Enoch Wood and Sons, ca. 1818-1846 (Brown 1972: 20). However, this identification was made on the basis of style of rim decoration and seems doubtful in light of the makers mark on the

museum specimen. This mark (a transfer printed chalice and beehive, with pattern name "GRECIAN" and the initials "W R") was used by the British firm of William Ridgway, probably between 1830 and 1854 (Godden 1964: 538-539).

At least two separate plates are represented by the blue transfer printed sherds from the South Cabin excavations, referred to as "Pattern B" (Fig. 28q). The one illustrated came from Zone III inside the south portion of the foundation, and it bears part of a mark which can probably be attributed to the British potters John and William Ridgway (Table 6).

Of the 30 green transfer printed sherds found in the first Hermitage area (Table 2-Table 4), all appear to be from the same pattern ("Pattern A"). These were mostly plates with a floral boarder design similar to, though not the same as, Pattern A, blue transferware (Fig. 28o,p). Interestingly, no green transfer printed specimens were found among the 1,976 sherds recovered from the second Hermitage (Brown 1972: 21-22).

The sherds of annular ware described as "Pattern A" and "Pattern B" were only found in association with the South Cabin (Table 2). So far as can be determined from the sherds, only two vessels are represented. The smaller (Fig. 29g) was a bowl with a rim diameter of approximately 130 mm (5 inches). The sherds of Pattern A (Fig. 29b) are from a large pitcher.

Sherds from at least two separate plates with the same stenciled floral design ("Pattern A") were found in the South Cabin ruins (Table 2). Three cross-matching sherds, found on the east side of the foundation, are illustrated with conjectural outlines of the plate (Fig. 29j). This same specimen and one other sherd both have part of a printed mark on their

bottom sides (Table 6). The marks, though not identical in appearance, seem to have carried the same slogan: "...[possibly IRON]STONE" "...S TAMS & CO" "IMPORTERS" "PHILADELPHIA." Andrew Jackson's numerous business transactions in Philadelphia are a matter of record, and it is gratifying to recover items which unquestionably came from this source.

The same can be said of the ceramic lid shown in Figure 29a. This bears a French inscription, translated "True Marrow of Beef" and is dated 1822. Though it would be difficult, if not impossible to prove this item's exact route of importation, the probability that it came by way of New Orleans seems substantial.

One final sherd worthy of special mention is the fragment of porcelain shown in Figure 28h. This apparently came from a bowl at least 150 mm (6 inches) in diameter. In faded gold letters it bears most of the inscription "Andrew Jackson" "President of the United States." We can only assume that this was some sort of presentation piece, probably made during one of Jackson's two terms as President (1829-1837).

Ceramic Distribution

Except for 90 sherds (STP = 76; F21 = 12, NETP = 2), mostly whiteware, the major ceramic distributions are shown in tables 2 to 5. Probably the most striking thing about the percentage distribution of the various types of ceramics associated with the cabin sites is that there is so little difference. The North Cabin, even excluding the material from the east side, does show a notable increase in the percentage of plain whiteware sherds. But for the other three cabins only minor differences are evident.

Initially, we were somewhat disappointed by what seemed to be a too low percentage of annular ware from the first Hermitage area. This stems

from the knowledge that this area was later used as slave quarters. According to an observation first made by Otto (1975), it seems reasonable to expect that on sites occupied by slaves the percentage of annular ware should be relatively high. In the spring of 1975, I had the opportunity to test Otto's observation at the Castalian Springs site, where the investigation of the remains of a slave cabin yielded most of the sherds of annular ware found at the site. As was noted in the Castalian Springs report:

These account for 8.3 percent of the collection and, thus, have a higher percentage frequency here than in any other location investigated. A recent hypothesis suggested by Otto [1975] is that on certain plantation sites, sherds of annular ware (mostly representing bowls) occur with greater frequency in activity areas related to slaves and lower class whites. The probable explanation is that persons in these categories were more dependent on the consumption of slow-simmer type foods which could best be eaten from bowls.

In addition from this same slave cabin:

...bowls were also represented by most of the sherds of handpainted (or stenciled) wares....If we add the 31 sherds of this type... to the annular ware sherds, this indicates at least a 34 percent frequency for this kind of container. While Otto [1975] is careful to state that his hypothesis may only be relevant to the type of coastal plantation which he investigated, it would seem from the above that it probably has a much wider significance (Smith 1975: 86).

As indicated in the tables, annular ware accounts for 6.8 percent of the South Cabin sherds, 2.8 percent of the West Cabin sample, 1.6 percent from the East Cabin, and less than 1 percent from either side of the North Cabin. Based on this alone, we might well have considered abandoning the above hypothesis. Fortunately, however, a check of Brown's (1972: 24) report revealed that only two sherds (a mere .002 percent of the collection) were found in association with the Hermitage mansion.

This seems to indicate that in relative terms the hypothesis is valid for the Hermitage. Given the fact that the first Hermitage area was used as slave quarters for only about half of the period it was occupied, we probably should not expect a very large percentage of annular ware. However, because of its almost total absence from the second Hermitage collection, it still seems to provide confirmation that the first Hermitage cabins were later used to house slaves.

Ceramic Marks

Much nineteenth-century pottery was marked, and these marks, or often only part of them, are frequently found on archaeologically recovered sherds. Sometimes it is impossible to determine the vessel form to which they originally pertained, but they are still of interest because of what they can tell us about points of origin and dates of manufacture. Information about the marked sherds from the first Hermitage area is summarized in Table 6.

Perhaps most striking are the marked sherds of Davenport pearlware (Fig. 291). The British (Staffordshire) firm of W. Davenport & Co. operated from approximately 1793 to 1887, and many of their marks include an anchor in the design. Between 1805 and 1860, the common mark was an anchor with an upper-case "DAVENPORT" above and sometimes the last two numerals of the year of manufacture on each side of the anchor's shank (Godden 1964: 189). Five of these marks were found in the first Hermitage excavations (Table 6), but the most significant may be the 1844 mark from the lower fill inside the South Cabin foundation (SC,ZIII,SF3B). This strongly implies that the cabin was still extant (i.e., according to the hypothesis stated earlier, it had not yet been moved) until sometime

Table 6. Marked ceramic sherds.

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Ware</u>	<u>Type Mark</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Date of Manufacture</u>	<u>Reference</u>
SC,ZI	Blue Transferware	Printed	Rectangular panel with pattern name "GENOA" and below the panel "W. ADAMS & ..." (W. Adams & Sons)	1819-1864	Godden (1964:21)
SC,ZI	Whiteware	Printed	"PARIS WHITE" "WAR..." [Warranted] around concentric circle design with lion and "CRESCENT POTTERY"	Post-1880	Kovel & Kovel (1972:177g)
SC,ZI	Whiteware	Printed	Partial, rectangular panel with "...a"	?	
SC,ZI	Pearlware	Impressed	Partial, "...ITE WARE" [White Ware] "...EW & S"	?	
SC,ZI	Whiteware	Printed	Partial "...AVE..."	?	
SC,ZI	Porcelain	Incised	"G S" (possibly for Grove and Stark)	1871-1875?	Godden (1964: 295)
SC,ZI	Pearlware	Impressed	Partial, "...BBS" "...RT" in double circle (probably Davenport)	ca.1793-1887	Godden (1964:190)
SC,ZII	Pearlware	Impressed	Davenport anchor with abbreviated manufacture date	1848	Godden 1964:189)
SC,ZII	Black Transferware	Printed	"2"	?	
SC,ZIII,SF3B	Handpainted Floral (Pattern A)	Printed	Partial, "...TONE" [Stone] "...AMS & CO" [Tams & Co.] "...PORTERS" [Importers] "...LPHIA" [Philadelphia]	?	
SC,ZIII,SF3B	Handpainted Floral Poly- chrome	Painted	Two slash marks and a dot, green painted	?	

"CONTINUED"

Table 6. "CONTINUED"

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Ware</u>	<u>Type Mark</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Date of Manufacture</u>	<u>Reference</u>
SC,ZIIB,SF3B	Blue Transferware (Pattern B)	Printed	Partial, "ITY" [City?] "NEW Y..." [New York] in panel, "... & W. Ridgway" [J. & W. Ridgway] below	1814-1830	Godden (1964: 534) Chaffers (1932: 711)
SC,ZIIB,SF3B	Pearlware	Impressed	Davenport anchor with abbreviated manufacture date	1844	Godden (1964: 189)
SC,ZIIB,SF3B	Whiteware	Impressed	Partial cursive "s"	?	
SC,ZIIB,SF3B	Blue Transferware	Incised	Beef marrow container lid with date on underside	1822	
SC,ZIIB,SF3B	Pearlware	Impressed	Partial	?	
SC,ZIIB,EF3	Porcelain	Printed	Partial exterior inscription "Andrew Jackson" "President of the United States"	probably 1829-1837	
SC,ZIIB,EF3	Handpainted Floral (Pattern A)	Printed	Partial, "... [Iron?] "STONE" in panel, "S TAMS & CO." "...PORTERS" [Importers] "...LADELPHIA" [Philadelphia]	?	
SC,F1	Pearlware	Impressed	Partial Davenport anchor with abbreviated date	184?	Godden (1964: 189)
S,F16,ZII	Pearlware	Impressed	"I I"	?	
WC,ES,ZI	Pearlware	Impressed	Upper-case "DAVENPORT" and anchor but no date abbreviation	1805-1887	Godden (1964: 189)
EC,ES,ZIIB	Pearlware	Impressed	Partial, "...BS" "...T" in double circle (probably a Davenport mark)	ca.1793-1887	Godden (1964: 190)

Table 6. "CONTINUED"

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Ware</u>	<u>Type Mark</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Date of Manufacture</u>	<u>Reference</u>
EC,ES,ZIII	Handpainted Blue Floral	Painted	One slash mark and dot, blue painted	?	
EC,SS,ZI	Pearlware	Impressed	"DAV..." in double circle (probably Davenport - see SC, ZI and EC,ES,ZIII)	ca. 1793-1887	Godden (1964: 190)
EC,SS,ZI	Pearlware	Impressed	Indistinct, Davenport anchor with abbreviated manufacture date	1850?	Godden (1964; 189)
NC,ES	Total of 4 probably twentieth-century marks: "B. P. Co" ; "S V China 147" ; "Vienna, Austria" (with crown and shield); and partial "...E TERRE"				

----- Total Marked Sherds: 20 (SC), 1 (WC), 4 (EC), 4 (NC) = 29 -----

after 1844. In addition, if we are correct in our interpretation of Zone II (that it resulted from the dismantling of the cabin), then the 1848 sherd (Fig. 29i) from this zone at least suggests that the South Cabin was still standing until sometime after this date.

The marked sherd of Pattern B, blue transferware (Fig. 28q) is of some interest. Evidently it was manufactured in England by John and William Ridgway, yet in a panel above the maker's name it seems to have carried the name "New York" (Table 6). Presumably this could be part of a pattern designation, but it might also indicate the city of importation.

The two marked sherds of Pattern A, floral stenciled ware (Fig. 29j and Table 6) present a problem in terms of probable date of manufacture. The first "S" in the more complete mark ("...S TAMS & CO") seems to have been at the end of a word, and we would assume that this is the name of the importer. However, Godden (1964: 733) does list an "S. TAMS & CO." which he says "is given by several writers as a Longton potter, c. 1830-50, but I cannot trace such a pottery or firm in contemporary records of this period." Perhaps this is an example of the name of an importer being mistakenly identified as a manufacturer. On the other hand, the suggested dates referred to by Godden would be in keeping with the other ceramic dates we have for the South Cabin.

Ceramic Formula Dates

South's (1972) ceramic dating formula is now a widely accepted means of interpreting archaeological ceramic collections. In its more recent application (South 1974: 333-340) the computation has been expanded so that "mean ceramic dates" are converted to "mean occupation dates." This latter method has been used to derive the dates presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Ceramic formula dates.

Types used	Date Ranges	Medians
PORCELAIN		
Underglaze Blue (Canton)	ca. 1800-1830	1815
Overglaze Enamelled (China Trade)	ca. 1790-1825	1808
STONEWARE		
Brown Bottles	ca. 1820-1900+	1860
IRONSTONE	ca. 1813-1900	1857
YELLOW WARE	ca. 1830-1940	1885 *
ROCKINGHAM WARE	ca. 1788-1940	1864 *
UNDECORATED CREAMWARE	ca. 1762-1820	1791
UNDECORATED PEARLWARE	ca. 1780-1830	1805
UNDECORATED WHITEWARE (DECORATED PEARLWARE)	ca. 1820-1900+	1860
TRANSFER PRINTED	ca. 1795-1840	1818
HANDPAINTED		
Underglaze Blue	ca. 1780-1820	1800
Floral Polychrome	ca. 1795-1840	1818
ANNULAR		
Banded	ca. 1790-1820	1805
Mocha	ca. 1795-1890	1843
"Finger-Painted"	ca. 1790-1820	1805
EDGE DECORATED		
Blue and Green	ca. 1780-1830	1805
LUSTER DECORATED	ca. 1790-1840	1815

Mean ceramic dates converted to median occupation dates =

South Cabin (Table 2)

Total sherds	=	1833.8
Feature 16	=	1835.8
Zone I	=	1836.4
Zone II and		
Lower Feature 1	=	1834.1
Zone III's	=	1829.3

East Cabin (Table 4)

Total sherds	=	1830.0
Zone I's	=	1839.3
Zone II's	=	1829.4
Zone III's	=	1821.9

West Cabin (Table 3)

Total sherds	=	1835.5
Zone I's	=	1837.5
Zone II's	=	1833.8

North Cabin, W. Side (Table 5).

Total sherds	=	1844.3
Zone I	=	1845.3
Zone II	=	1843.8
Zone III	=	1836.3

* Date estimates based on Noel Hume (1970:101), Ketchum (1971: 95-96), and Barret (1964). Other dates from South (1972 and 1974).

In this study we have included two ceramic types not used by South, yellow ware and Rockingham ware. As the ceramic formula was originally designed for eighteenth-century problems, the inclusion of some of these later types is a necessary step towards making the formula more useful on nineteenth-century sites. Though we have not used it here, sponged or spatterware (Fig. 28s, t) is another type whose date ranges could probably be established. Apparently it should have a median date somewhere around 1878 (Lewis 1972: 44).

Our most difficult problem in using the formula has been how to resolve the conflicts, discussed above, surrounding the terms ironstone, whiteware, and pearlware. For lack of a better solution, we have used South's 1860 date for "Ironstone-Whiteware" as the median date for our whiteware category. And, for our pearlware-whiteware decorative types, South's dates for decorated pearlware were used. So far as we could determine, the majority of our decorated earthenware sherds were in fact from pearlware glazed vessels.

In spite of these problems, the dates derived seem to be acceptable. Excluding all Zone I's (the modern humic layers) from the South, West, and East cabins and excluding the North Cabin entirely, a combined median occupation date of 1832.0 was derived. We know from the historian James Parton's visit that a few slaves were still living here in the late 1850s, but they apparently represented only a remnant of the former slave force. As the Hermitage had been sold to the state of Tennessee in 1856, the use of this area must have been rapidly declining. If we assume a terminal occupation date of around 1860, then the 1832.0 median suggests a beginning date of around 1804. This, it should be recalled, was the year Andrew Jackson purchased the Hermitage from Nathaniel Hays!

As has been discussed elsewhere (Fairbanks 1974: 82; Smith 1975: 94), the ceramic formula date when applied to slave cabin ceramics, seems to tend toward producing an earlier-than-actual date. This is apparently due to the practice of passing items down the social scale, from owner to slave. Because of the unusual and changing social status of the first Hermitage, it seems unlikely that this rule would specifically apply here. But it is mentioned to point out that any assumed error in the formula date would probably not help support the hypothesis that there was an earlier occupation of the site. While this alone would not disprove that there was already a "blockhouse" here when the Jacksons arrived, it does suggest that any previous occupation was of relatively minor or short duration.

Perhaps the most useful aspect of the formula, in the present situation, is that it provides a visual image of the temporal relationships between the cabins (Table 7). The West Cabin, even though the integrity of its associated strata is poor, still seems fairly close to the East and South cabins in time. The North Cabin, which we know was occupied until the 1940s, is more difficult to assess. We have excluded all of the east side sherds from the computation made for the North Cabin. And, while the lowest zone on the west side did produce a date (1836.3) somewhat comparable to the other cabins, this is based on such a small number of sherds (9) that it has little if any statistical validity. Also, there are other major problems in attempting to use the formula in situations where the known occupation was this late. All we can say is that, based on the ceramics, the North Cabin does not show any evidence that it was in use as early as the others.

GLASS CONTAINERS

Three intact nineteenth-century medicine vials and 5,495 fragments from bottles and other glass containers were found during the two seasons. Items of glass such as window pane are not included in this subsection but appear under other subheadings (e.g., Structural Debris).

Glass Container Fragments

Most of the pieces of glass found are very small and are difficult to relate to the specific type of container represented. They are categorized partly on the basis of color and their distribution shown in tables 8 to 11. Not included in the tables are 42 pieces (mostly clear, blue-green, and olive) from the two stratigraphic test pits (STP), 7 pieces from Feature 21, and 3 pieces from the gin house site tests (NETP).

Fragments of dark olive (so-called "black" glass) wine bottles are rather common. The most complete example (Fig. 30a) was found in Zone III inside the South Cabin foundation (along with the kick-ups and necks of at least 3 other similar bottles). It is basically the same style as the early nineteenth-century free-blown examples illustrated by Noel Hume (1970: 68).

Though dark olive bottles were used as containers for liquids other than wine, the contents of at least one bottle are clearly shown by way of the lead foil seal or cork cover illustrated in Figure 30k (also from the South Cabin site). This is stamped with the names "J. A. MONTAGUE & Co." "BORDEAUX."

Bordeaux, a sort of catch-all term for the various wines from the Garonne River district in southwest France, has been considered a

much respected table wine since the seventeenth century (Francis 1972: 7 and 66). Though we have been unsuccessful in our attempts to determine the specific period during which the J. A. Montague firm was active, several very similar foil covers (stamped "MERIC AINE" "BORDEAUX") are discussed and illustrated by Switzer (1974: 28-30). These were affixed to tall cylindrical-shaped olive-green bottles contained in the cargo of the steamboat Bertrand, which sank in the Missouri River in 1865.

A single, partial glass seal was found (WC,NS,ZII) which had also been attached to an olive wine bottle. The fragment bears only the first three letters of a word "JOC..." and would be difficult or impossible to specifically date. Glass seals were affixed to wine bottles as early as 1652 and as late as 1905 (Noel Hume 1970: 61-62).

According to Kendrick (1971: 52) the production of olive-green and olive-amber glass bottles began to decline after 1860. And, in this connection, it is interesting to observe the percentage frequencies for the different Hermitage locations tested. Fragments of olive and olive-amber glass together account for: 25 percent of the South Cabin sample, 15 percent of the West Cabin sample, 20 percent of the East Cabin sample, and 2 percent from either side of the North Cabin. For many of the lower zones associated with the South, West, and East cabins, pieces of these same color account for 35 to 40 percent.

Generally speaking, for nineteenth-century contexts, there seems to be some correlation between earlier ceramic dates, as produced by the South (1972) method, and higher frequencies for olive and olive-amber glass fragments. Somewhere around 30 percent of such glass may be about the norm for sites dating to the first half of the nineteenth century. Beyond this it would be interesting to see if an actual

Table 8. Glass container fragments, South Cabin site.

COLOR	Lower											F16	F16	F16	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
	ZI	ZII	ZIII SF3B	ZIII NF3B	ZIII EF3	ZIII SF3	F1	F2&4	F7	F9	F24	ZI	ZII	ZIII		
Clear	93	62	37	4	27	8	11	4	3			2	32	9	292	12.2
Clear-Frosted	24	20	2	7	3							3	3	1	63	2.6
Clear-Purple	6	4							1			1			12	0.5
Clear w/ Gold Design		1													1	0.1
Clear Cut		2			2	1									5	0.2
Clear Pressed	18	18	6		6		1	3						1	53	2.2
Greenish	57	36	33	13	47	7	10		1	1		9	54	9	277	11.6
Greenish Pressed	1		1		2										4	0.2
Olive	122	148	96	4	25	28	25	13	5	2		1	9	2	480	20.1
Olive-Amber	23	32	1	1	1							4	41	15	118	4.9
Amber	148	31	4			1			1			1	4		190	7.9
Brown	7														7	0.3
Blue-Green	262	153	53		4	1	3	8				12	47		543	22.7
Blue	13	1	4			3							2		23	1.0
Milky		1					2							1	4	0.2
Heavily Patinated	7	1	8		7	1			1					1	26	1.1
Melted	71	68	34	7	34	23	15	3	8		1	6	22		292	12.2
TOTAL	852	578	279	36	158	73	67	31	20	3	1	39	214	39	2390	100%

Table 9. Glass container fragments, West Cabin.

COLOR	WS	WS	NS	NS	ES	ES	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
	ZI	ZII	ZI	ZII	ZI	ZII		
Clear	40	89	63	62	113	84	451	32.8
Clear-Frosted	3		9			1	13	0.9
Clear-Purple					106		106	7.7
Clear w/ Painted Design	1						1	0.1
Clear Cut			1				1	0.1
Clear Pressed					2		2	0.1
Greenish	30	85	43	30	64	56	308	22.4
Olive	5	9	11	9	11	6	51	3.7
Olive-Amber	9	6	57	55	12	18	157	11.4
Amber	13	12	37	7	24	32	125	9.1
Blue-Green	3		9	16	41	51	120	8.7
Blue			3		6		9	0.7
Milky						2	2	0.1
Black					1		1	0.1
Heavily Patinated					1		1	0.1
Melted		1	6	4	8	9	28	2.0
TOTAL	104	202	239	183	389	259	1376	100%

Table 10. Glass container fragments, East Cabin.

<u>COLOR</u>	<u>ES</u> <u>ZI</u>	<u>ES</u> <u>ZII</u>	<u>ES</u> <u>ZIII</u>	<u>SS</u> <u>ZI</u>	<u>SS</u> <u>ZII</u>	<u>SS</u> <u>ZIII</u>	<u>F13</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>TOTAL</u>
Clear	64	1	10	21	5	1	2	104	30.1
Clear-Purple	1	3		1	1			6	1.7
Clear Pressed	1					1		2	0.6
Greenish	36	4	9		16	1		66	19.1
Olive	20	2	8	5	11	8	6	60	17.3
Olive-Amber				4	3	2		9	2.6
Amber			2	10	3			15	4.3
Brown	1							1	0.3
Blue-Green		2		23				25	7.2
Blue						1		1	0.3
Milky				1				1	0.3
Heavily Patinated			1					1	0.3
Melted	16	4	11	7	12	5		55	15.9
TOTAL	139	16	41	72	51	19	8	346	100%

Table 11. Glass container fragments, North Cabin.

COLOR	WEST SIDE						EAST SIDE		
	ZI	ZII	ZIII	F20	F22	TOTAL	% of TOTAL	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
Clear	148	177	26	4	1	356	57.7	178	25.0
Clear-Frosted		5				5	0.8		
Clear-Purple	12	31	1			44	7.1	390	54.6
Clear Pressed	1	1				2	0.3	1	0.1
Greenish	3			5		8	1.3	2	0.3
Olive		6				6	1.0	10	1.4
Olive-Amber	2	2				4	0.7	6	0.8
Amber	7	10	1			18	2.9	4	0.6
Brown	22					22	3.5	3	0.4
Blue-Green	29	68	11	1		109	17.7	75	10.5
Blue	14	12				26	4.2	22	3.1
Milky	5	3		1		9	1.5	14	2.0
Peach								8	1.1
Melted	6	2				8	1.3	1	0.1
TOTAL	249	317	39	11	1	617	100%	714	100%

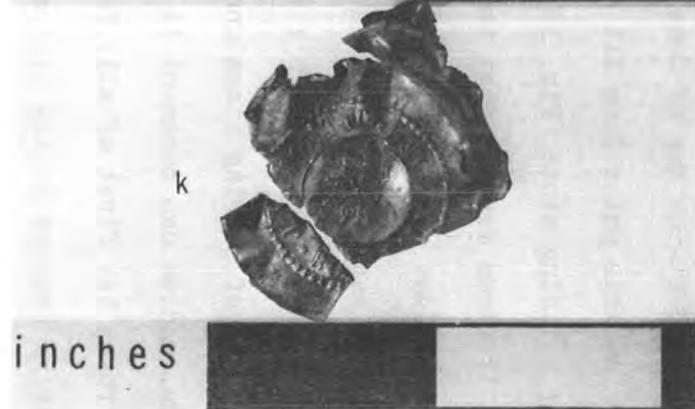
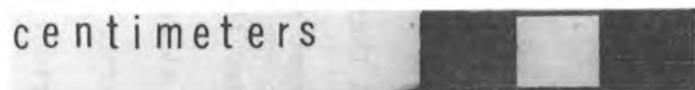
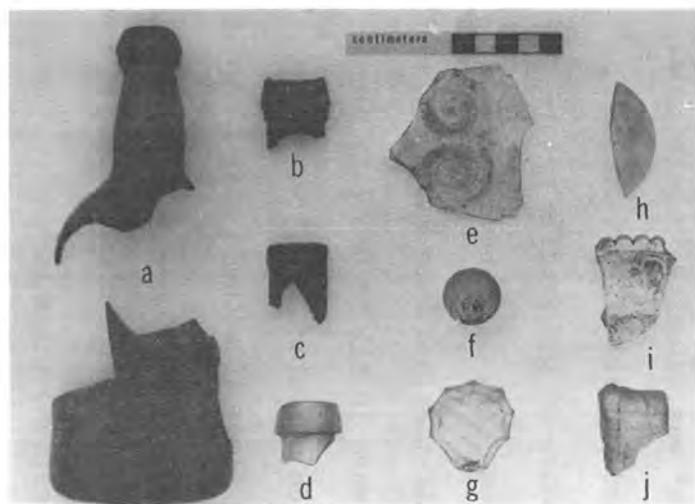
dating formula could be developed using color frequency as the major index. This would require a comparison of data from a number of well documented sites and could not be attempted in the present report.

The vast majority of the bottles represented by the first Hermitage fragments (excluding the North Cabin) are from free-blown or blown-in-mold varieties. Most of the necks were finished by the application of a separate piece of glass, forming a collar below the lip (Fig. 30b-d). The type of neck finishes present are for the most part characteristic of pre-1880 bottles.

A few flasks are represented. Figure 30e is part of a blue-green "scroll" or "violin" flask. Complete examples of this style of flask are depicted in American Glass, and they were produced from at least as early as the 1840s (McKearin and McKearin 1948: 226 and 571).

A few other types of glass containers are suggested by some of the fragments. Items "f" and "g" in Figure 30 are partial decanter stoppers. The cut glass fragment (Fig. 30j) could also be part of a decanter. Item "h" may be part of a wine glass. Item "i" is one of the largest pieces of pressed glass found. It is from a bowl or compote and appears to have had the overall stippled background characteristic of the "lacy" pressed glass produced from about 1825 to 1840 (Allen 1975).

The assemblage of glass from the North Cabin, especially from the cabin's east side, is very different from the other subareas. Most notable is the larger quantity of clear to clear-purple fragments (64.8 percent on the west side; 79.6 percent on the east side). An increased usage of clear glass in America was directly related to the post-1880 growth of the food-preservation industry. And, between 1880 and 1914, many of these clear glass containers were made using manganese in the



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Figure 30. Glass containers: a. partial olive wine bottle; b-d. olive, olive-amber, and blue-green bottle fragments showing types of applied neck finishes; e. fragment of blue-green "scroll" flask; f,g. partial clear decanter stoppers; h. partial foot pad from stemmed drinking glass; i. fragment of clear pressed glass; j. fragment of clear cut glass; k. lead foil cover stamped "J. A. MONTAGUE" "BORDEAUX;" l-n. medicine vials from the South Cabin site. Proveniences: a, d-f, and i. (SC,ZIII,SF3B); b. and j. (SC,ZIII,EF3); c. (WC,NS,ZI); g. (EC,ES,ZI); h. (WC,ES,ZII); k. (SC,ZII); l-n. (see text).

formula. The presence of manganese causes clear glass to turn varying shades of purple upon long exposure to sunlight (Kendrick 1971: 54-55).

A majority of the North Cabin fragments are clearly from twentieth-century machine-made bottles and jars. Some are embossed with makers' marks which indicate their period of manufacture. An example is the Illinois Glass Company "I" in a diamond, used between 1916 and 1929 (Toulouse 1971: 264). However, such obviously late examples were less frequent on the cabin's west side and were not found in Zone III.

South Cabin Medicine Vials

These three containers (Fig. 30 1-n) represent what is perhaps the single most important artifact find made during the two seasons of field work. They are small pharmaceutical vials of a type which Noel Hume (1970: 73-74) illustrates and describes as common in the late eighteenth century. All three were found in the north half of Square 500N546E, east of the foundation, at the top of Zone III ("n" was actually in both zones II and III). At this point Zone III consisted largely of left-over chips and blocks of building stone (Fig. 18). Because of the fragile nature of these vials, it seems certain that the only way they could have survived unbroken in the midst of this rocky fill is if they had been rather carefully placed there. We have speculated that they were in all probability placed under the floor of the South Cabin's east side addition.

The practice of storing items under the floor of a cabin was evidently rather common, and we can document it at least twice for slaves in Tennessee. There is, first of all, Parton's description of the first Hermitage cabins (quoted in the historical section) which refers to "the usual trap door...for the convenience of stowage under the house." And,

in the Tennessee slave narratives (Rawick 1972: 77) reference is made to raising up a plank in the floor of a cabin to get items stored underneath.

The most interesting aspect of this find concerns the probable original contents of the vials. Two of them (Fig. 30 m, n) were found standing in inverted positions but retained partial corks and traces of mercury inside, with additional mercury in the ground below their mouths. The third (Fig. 30 l) was standing more or less upright and is approximately one-fourth full of mercury, with the remaining interior space filled with dirt.

The number of accepted nineteenth-century uses for mercury was quite large. Neill and Smith (1852: 81-83), for example, list fifteen common medicinal preparations, including mild chloride of mercury (calomel), mercurial or blue pills, mercury with chalk, mercurial ointment, mercurial plaster, iodide of mercury, and several sulphurets and oxides of mercury. As late as 1920, mercury compounds were still used for the treatment of skin diseases, ulcers, parasitic infections, venereal disease, typhoid fever, smallpox, erysipelas, and chilbains (to name but a few). Mercury chloride was also widely used as an antiseptic and germicide (Fuller 1920: 978-980). Significant nonmedicinal uses included silvering of mirrors, the making of barometers and thermometers, and fulminate of mercury "for priming the copper percussion caps for fowling-pieces, muskets, & c." (Cooley 1850: 423). The contents of the Hermitage vials, however, were almost certainly medicinal.

Especially before 1860, bloodletting and calomel (mild mercurous chloride) were the great medical stand-bys of the nineteenth century. One of the standard plantation treatments for both blacks and whites

"consisted of giving a large dose of calomel followed several hours later by a dose of castor oil" (Duffy 1962: 19). This very remedy was recommended by Andrew Jackson, i.e., "calomel, after six hours, worked off with oil" (quoted in Watkins 1941: 30); and (as quoted in the historical section, p. 45) Rachel Jackson, in direct reference to the Hermitage slaves, described bleeding and calomel as the "only" medicine. In addition, Jackson's 1812 account with the physician J. R. Bedford (cited in the historical section, note 67) contains entries for: "1 dose Calomel"; 1 Bottle Castor Oil"; and (most interestingly) "1 vial calomel."

That the South Cabin vials most likely contained calomel is suggested not only by these remarks but also by the quantity of metallic mercury remaining in the vial (Fig. 30 1) found in an upright position (for assistance in making this interpretation, I am indebted to Russel Campbell and Travis Smotherman, chemists for the Food and Drug Division, Tennessee Department of Agriculture). Calomel is a white, odorless, tasteless, heavy powder, which decomposes from mercurous chloride to mercuric chloride and metallic mercury. Of the various compounds used in the nineteenth century, calomel was not only the most common, but it is also the one most likely to have left behind as much free mercury as the "1" vial contains. Mercuric chloride is both volatile and soluble and could easily have been removed by the action of ground water. Metallic mercury is insoluble and would not have been affected by water seeping into and out of the vial.

Perhaps the major significance of all of this is that we know of no other instance where one of these vials has been found containing clear evidence as to its contents. Fragments of the same general style of bottle have been widely reported for nineteenth-century sites, and they have sometimes been referred to as narcotic bottles (Walker 1971: 163-165).

Given the known widespread use of calomel, we would suggest that, in the absence of other evidence, the bottles alone might best be taken as probably indicative of the use of this compound.

This is not to suggest that they were used exclusively for calomel. Walker (1971: 164) refers to an apparently late nineteenth-century example which was embossed "WORM TONIC." And we found the pontil scarred basal portion of a 21 mm diameter vial with the end portions of the words ".ORM" and "...S" (SC,F16,ZIII).

The base of one other blue-green vial (also 21 mm in diameter with an open pontil mark) came from the West Cabin (WS,ZI).

The intact bottles (Fig. 30 l-n) are all made from rather thin glass in varying shades of blue-green. All have open pontil scars, moderate basal kick-ups, and flat everted lips. Specimen "l" is 88 mm tall by 17 to 18 mm in diameter. Specimen "m" is 99 mm tall by 26 mm in diameter. Only "n" shows any evidence of a mold seam. It was blown into an open mold which left rather deep lines running up opposite sides to the shoulder. It is also 99 mm tall but is somewhat flattened in cross section, 21.5 mm from mold seam to mold seam by 24 mm. Its cork is somewhat shriveled, but otherwise in fairly complete condition, and measures 9 mm in diameter by 8 mm deep (actual interior diameter of the bottle's mouth is 10.5 mm).

Volumetric measurements were made for the two larger vials: "m" = 35 cc (1.27 liquid ounces or 14.88 drams); "n" = 24 cc (1.27 liquid ounces or 10.16 drams). The contents of vial "l" were sealed shortly after it was found and will be available for possible future analysis (it might be possible, for example, to determine the original source of the mercury).

METAL OR PARTLY METAL CONTAINERS

Some 4,378 items are included here; however, this is a difficult category to assess. Iron pots, on the one hand, were extremely plentiful in the nineteenth century, but they are so nearly indestructible as to be seldom found in the archaeological context. In contrast, tinware fragments were extremely ubiquitous in the first Hermitage area but, because of the relatively fragile nature of the discarded containers, yielded little information about original form.

Pieces of Iron Pots, Kettles, Etc.

Most of the 31 pieces found came from the South Cabin site. These include lug handles and feet and sections of rims and body walls, mostly from large, open boiling pots. There are 24 pieces that were associated with the South Cabin: 4 from the Feature 16 test pits, 7 from Zone I, 6 from Zone II, and the remaining 7 from the lower zones and other features. Two pieces came from the West Cabin, 4 from the East Cabin, 1 from the stratigraphic pits (STP), but none from the North Cabin.

Barrel Hoops

A total of 41 rectangular strips of metal (predominantly iron) were found which are believed to be sections of barrel hoops. These range from 18 to 37 mm (3/4 to 1 1/2 inches) in width by 2 to 4 mm thick. The general distribution of the fragments is as follows: SC (all zones and internal features) - 11; SC, F16 (all zones) - 4; WC (total) - 21; EC (total) - 2; NC (total) - 3.

Tinware Containers

Tinware is a general term for items made of thin sheet iron, or steel, plated with tin. As used here, it also includes enameled, Japanned, and Britannia wares (the different surface treatments of these wares tend to become obliterated in the ground, and archaeological samples are difficult to separate). The manufacture of tinware in the United States dates from about 1770; the first U. S. patent for a forerunner of the modern tin can was granted in 1818 (Fontanna and Greenleaf 1962: 67-70).

The total number of Area A fragments counted is 4,271. As indicated above, tinware deteriorates badly in the ground, and the exact number of pieces cataloged depends in part on how carefully the original pieces were handled after they were excavated. The following is the general distribution of the fragments: STP - 8; SC - 1071 (rather evenly dispersed through the various zones and features); SC,F16 - 200 (all zones); WC - 345 (total); EC - 130 (total); NC,ES - 2144; NC,WS - 373. The large number of North Cabin fragments is a direct reflection of the increasing use of tin cans for food preservation after the 1880s (Fontanna and Greenleaf 1962: 68-70).

In addition to these fragments, there are 27 pieces of tinware which are sufficiently intact to indicate something about the original containers. The South Cabin site produced all but one of these, including several thin rectangular panels from box-like containers. One badly crushed rectangular-shaped tin box also came from the East Cabin (SS,ZI). Judging from a mid-nineteenth-century catalog (Dover 1869: 39-51), the boxes represented could have been used for bread, spice, cutlery, or paper storage.

One complete and 6 partial, round tin containers also came from the South Cabin site. The complete specimen (Fig. 31c) is 70 mm (2 3/4 inches) in diameter and, with the lid on, 16 mm tall. The partial sections, which

came from several locations within the South Cabin excavations, are 2 lids and 4 bases from the same type of container (all are around 70 mm in diameter).

The intact specimen was completely sealed (corroded shut) when found, and some time was spent cleaning it (manually and by electrolysis) so that it could be opened. Nothing was found to indicate its original contents. Vaguely similar containers, identified as tobacco boxes, are illustrated by the Dover Stamping Company (Dover 1869: 27). Also, an early catalog produced by a Nashville firm (Phillips & Buttorff 1886: 352) suggests that round tin containers were used for shoe "blacking" at least as early as the 1880s.

The Hermitage container (Fig. 31c) was made from three pieces of tin-plated metal. A strip 12 mm wide was cut and the two ends braded together to form the body. The bottom edge of the strip is flared outward, and it has an interior groove 3 mm below its top edge. The container top fits over the top edge of the strip and rests on the top edge of the groove's exterior convexity. The container base is crimped over the strip's bottom flange.

The only other definable tinware containers from the South Cabin are a partial flat-bottom dipper, part of a bucket (?), and a portion of a canteen. The dipper (Fig. 31b) was found at the point of transition between zones II and III, against the outside edge of the east portion of the south foundation wall. Though cataloged as Zone II, it should probably be considered part of the concentration of tool-shed-like debris found at this spot, mostly in Zone III (Fig. 43). The dipper's bottom and handle are missing, but the point of handle attachment is still evident (left side of photograph). It is 55 mm tall. The piece of bucket (?) rim and the

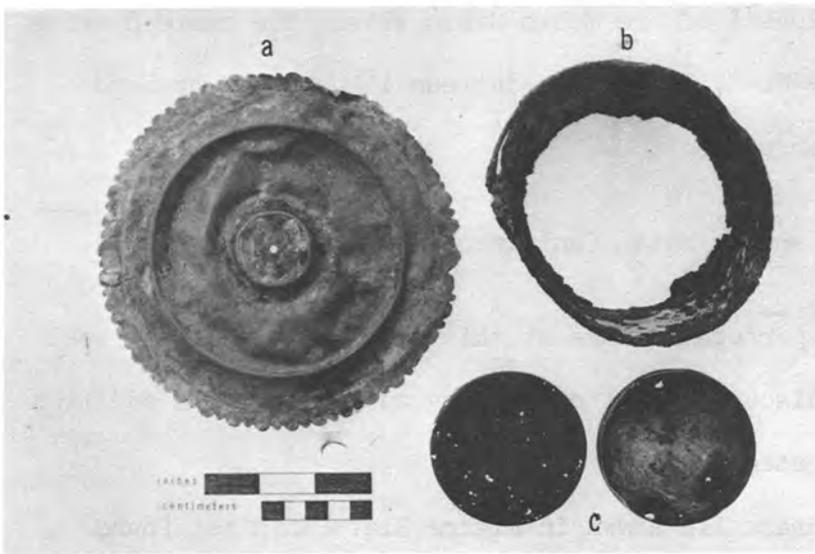


Figure 31.

Metal containers:
 a. brass lid (SC,ZIII,
 SF3B); b. partial tin-
 plated dipper (SC,ZII);
 c. tin-plated container
 (lid to left), possibly
 for tobacco or shoe
 blacking (SC,ZIII,NF3B).

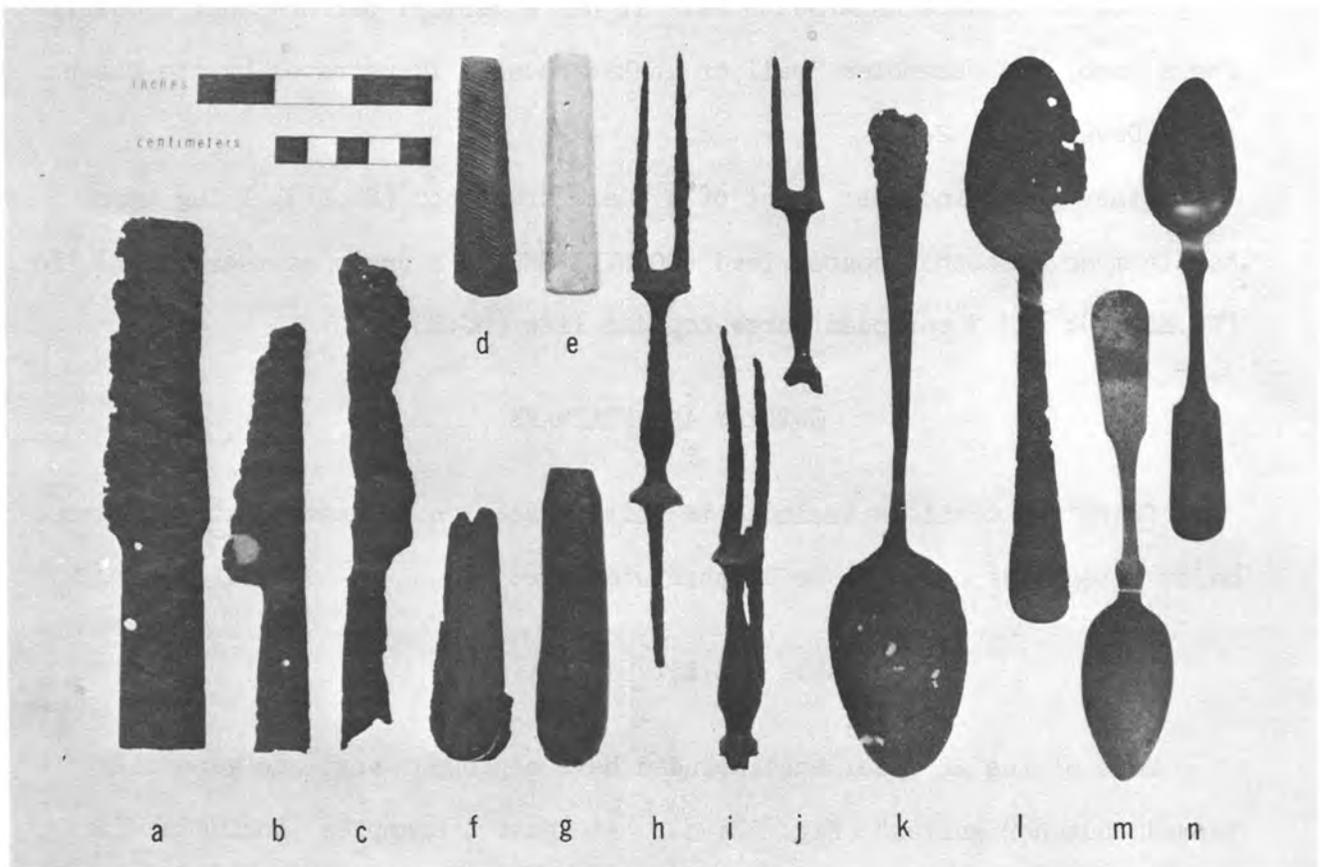


Figure 32. Cutlery and flatware: a-c. knives; d-g. bone handles; h-j. forks; k-n. spoons. Proveniences: a. and f. (SC,F1); b. (SC,F7,ash layer); c,d, and l. (SC,ZIII,SF3B); e. (WC,ES,ZII); g. and m. (SC,ZII); h,k, and n. (SC,ZIII,NF3B); i. (EC,ES,ZIII); j. (SC,F16,ZII).

partial canteen came from Zone I of the South Cabin site. The canteen seems to be the same style as the U. S. Regulation canteen illustrated by Lord (1963: 71) for the Civil War period.

Miscellaneous Metal Container Parts

Technically we should perhaps include at this point the lead-foil seal depicted in Figure 30 and discussed in the previous subsection. In addition there are 7 items in this category.

Most striking is the brass lid shown in Figure 31a. This was found just inside the east wall of the South Cabin foundation (ZIII,SF3B) and had 39 pieces of tinware underneath it. It has a central perforation, probably for a knob, and resembles "pail or bucket covers" illustrated by the Dover firm (Dover 1869: 2-5).

Other items include: part of a small brass box (SC,ZI); 1 lug type handle made of copper coated lead (SC,ZIII,SF3B); a brass saltshaker (?) lid (WC,ES,ZI); and 3 corroded screw-top jar lids (NC,ES).

CUTLERY AND FLATWARE

There are 66 items included in this subsection. These relate to three major categories of table or kitchen utensils.

Table and Kitchen Knives

Most of the 22 specimens included here represent what are generally termed "butcher knives" (Fig. 32a-c). At least 4 examples (including Fig. 32b,c) are very similar in construction. All have forged bolsters, separating the tang and blade, and strongly resemble some of the earliest iron knives known in America (Peterson 1958: 17). Two of these came from the fireplace ash remaining in the South Cabin's chimney base (Feature 7).

The other 2 also came from within this building's foundation (ZIII,SF3B).

The handle portion of what must be one of these same type knives (Fig. 32d) also came from Zone III inside the South Cabin foundation. This has a flat tang section sandwiched between two bone handles (scales) held in place by two rivets. On each of the bone scales, the end that was closest to the blade is notched so as to permit it to fit flush against the type of bolster shown in Figure 32b,c). The scales are decorated with incised lines forming medial parallel line designs and lateral diamond-shaped motifs.

One other relatively complete butcher knife (Fig. 32a) and 6 blade sections also came from the South Cabin site. In addition, 2 knives made in a somewhat different style seem to be represented by bone handle sections found in the lower portion of Feature 1 (Fig. 32f) and in Zone III (SF3B).

The West Cabin produced the flat tang section of a lead-butted knife (ES,ZII) and 2 blade sections (NS,ZI). A bone knife scale (Fig. 32e) also came from the east side of this building (ZII).

Two sections of knife blades were found on the west side (ZII) of the North Cabin. The tests on the east side of this cabin yielded 2 very corroded table knives of rather modern vintage.

Forks

The South Cabin excavations produced 10 partial forks in varying degrees of completeness. The most complete is Figure 32h, which is missing only its folding guard-arm and handle. A staghorn handle (Fig. 32g), found in Zone II, may have come from a similar fork.

All of the South Cabin forks are two-tined, and most are large (i.e., carving forks). One Zone II specimen, which is not illustrated, is rather small (85 mm excluding the handle tang, which is broken). All but one of

them have, or appear to have had, rounded tangs for attaching the handle. The exception (Fig. 32j) has a partial flat tang.

The only fork found outside the South Cabin site came from the East Cabin (ES,ZIII). It is missing its tang, but its folding guard is still present (Fig. 32i). This type of device, which snaps out at a right angle to the fork's long axis, has been in use since around the end of the seventeenth century (Noel Hume 1970: 180).

Bone Handle Fragments

There are 18 pieces of bone handles which are too small to indicate the specific kind of utensil to which they were attached. All are assumed to be from knives or forks (mostly knives). Their general distribution is as follows: plain rounded sections - 6 (SC), 1 (WC), 1 (EC), 1 (NC); plain flattened sections - 1 (SC), 1 (WC); sections decorated with incised lines - 5 (SC), 1 (WC); section of modern (?) staghorn - (WC).

Spoons

There are 15 whole or partial spoons that were recovered from the first Hermitage area. These were made from at least three types of metal combinations.

Eleven pieces came from the ground heavily encrusted with iron oxide. However, 2 complete specimens have been cleaned by electrolysis (Fig. 32k,1), and these seem to contain a large percentage of tin. They may be Britannia metal, which was developed in 1795 as a replacement for pewter (Noel Hume 1970: 184). The Britannia alloy was made largely from tin hardened with copper and antimony, and sometimes a little zinc and bismuth (Rainwater 1975: 211). It seems possible that this alloy (especially if

zinc was used) would pick up iron oxide from the ground, causing the spoons to appear, before cleaning, to be made of iron.

Eight of these corroded spoons, or spoon fragments, came from the South Cabin: 2 (ZI), 1 (ZII), 3 (ZIII,SF3B), 1 (ZIII,NF3B), 1 (ZIII,EF3). One came from the West Cabin (WS,ZI); one from the East Cabin (ES,ZIII); and one highly corroded spoon, which may be relatively modern, came from the North Cabin (ES).

Two partial pewter spoons were found. One of these (a partial bowl) came from the West Cabin (WC,ZI); the other (a handle section) came from the North Cabin (WS,ZII).

There are also 2 South Cabin spoons which were made by silverplating over a copper base. Both are stylistically similar to Silver spoons of the general 1820s to 1850s period (Ormsbee 1949: 56). However, they must be later than the commercial development of electroplating, which did not come into existence until the 1830s (Rainwater and Rainwater 1968: 21).

The spoon (Fig. 32n) from Zone III (NF3B) has lost almost all of its silver coating. It does have a four-part hallmark or, more likely, an American trademark on the bottom side of the handle. Unfortunately, the characters are in rather poor condition, and we are unable to specifically identify it. The third and fourth characters from the left are possibly an oak leaf and an "E" and suggest that it may be the mark of James E. Ellis, who began production in Canada in 1848 (Rainwater 1975: 49).

The spoon (Fig. 32m) from Zone II still retains patches of silver over much of its surface. It is broken where the shank joins the bowl and had been somewhat abused before being lost or discarded. The shank is bent, and two sets of knife marks have been cut into the underside of the handle. Its most interesting feature is the trademark "HALL & ELTON"

in a rectangular panel on the bottom side of the shank. The firm of Hall, Elton, & Co., began operation in Wallingford, Connecticut, in 1837 (Rainwater and Rainwater 1968: 27).

HEATING AND LIGHTING

The most obvious by-product of nineteenth-century heating (and/or cooking) is wood ash. Concentrations of ash were found around the standing cabins and outside the South Cabin foundation. The presence of this ash contributes to an abnormal alkalinity of the associated soils (the presence of limestone is another probable contributing factor). Nine soil samples from the South Cabin site were tested by the Agricultural Extension Service of the University of Tennessee - U. S. Department of Agriculture. According to their directions for interpretation of the pH measure of acidity: "A pH of 7.0 means that the soil is neutral, lower values mean that the soil is acid, and higher values indicate alkalinity. Soil pH normally ranges from 4.5 to 8.0" (Agricultural Extension Service report dated March 5, 1975, filed at Tennessee Division of Archaeology). Results of their tests indicate a pH value of: 7.4 for Zone I; 7.7 for Zone II; 8.1 for Zone III inside the foundation (SF3B); 8.2 to 8.3 for Zone III outside the foundation (EF3); and 8.0 to 8.4 for the fireplace (F7) strata.*

Small quantities of coal and cinders were also found. The South Cabin tests produced at least 30 small pieces of coal — recorded as 86.3 grams (gm) (3.1 ounces) — and 1.5 gm of cinders. However, over half of the pieces came from Zone I. A total of 9.0 gm (0.3 ounces) of coal and 6.1 gm of cinders

* High levels of phosphorus and potassium (the only minerals for which they normally test) were also found in all of the samples. Phosphorus was actually more concentrated in Zone I and Zone II ; potassium was more concentrated in the lower zones and especially in the fireplace levels.

were also found around the West Cabin, but none of these materials were found in the East Cabin squares. Larger concentrations were recovered from the North Cabin. The west side test yielded 130.7 gm (4.6 ounces) of coal and 135.4 gm of cinders. On the east side we retrieved 675.9 gm (23.9 ounces) of coal and 169.0 gm of cinders.

Concerning the use of coal in place of wood, Killebrew (1874: 676-677) notes that, at the time of his study, timber in Davidson County had become "scarce and dear" and that "coal is now [1874] used on many farms, being much cheaper than wood."

Lighting sources, excluding the fireplaces, are indicated in three ways. A number of the pieces of clear glass found in the various subareas are evidently from lamp chimneys. Except in the case of pieces of noded rims (mostly from the North Cabin), it is difficult to be sure if a fragment is from a chimney or some type of container. Thus, no separate accounting can be made (resulting in the inclusion of some of this kind of glass in tables 8 to 11).

A clear glass prism with brass hooks was found on the north side of the West Cabin (Fig. 33b). It could be from a chandelier, but it appears most similar to wall and mantel lamp crystals illustrated by Hayward (1962: Plates 93-100). It is also like the uppermost crystals in pairs that hang from mantel lamps and candelabrams in the Hermitage mansion. In these instances the upper hook of the oval crystal attaches to the lamp while the bottom hook attaches to another crystal, which is several inches long.

The most interesting artifact in this category is the grease lamp shown in Figure 33a. It has a maximum height of 33 mm, and two of the opposite side walls are pierced to receive a suspension wire (which is missing). When in use it was filled with grease or oil, and wicks could be placed in any

of its four corners. A seemingly identical specimen, complete with its curved wire handle, is illustrated by Neumann and Kravic (1975: 176). It is dated ca. 1755 to 1778. Hayward (1962: Plate 15) also shows a similar grease lamp, along with the more traditional-looking "Betty lamps."

TOYS, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS

A total of 57 items is categorized under this subheading. It includes things relating to the entertainment of both children and adults. A 62 mm lead disc with two lateral holes and a central concave/convex area may be a type of "whizzer" (Fig. 34a). This kind of toy, which makes a loud whirring sound when spun by means of a loop of string passed through one or two holes, usually near the center of the disc, was very common in the eighteenth century. While the South Cabin specimen is larger than, and in some other ways unlike, most examples illustrated in the literature (cf. Good 1972: 155; Grimm 1970: 97; Stone 1974: 154), all of the descriptions known to the writer are for eighteenth-century examples. Presumably the Figure 34a object was made between 1804 and the 1850s.

A toy wheel, made of iron, was found in the lowest zone on the east side of the East Cabin (Fig. 34d). Similar wheels are shown on toy wagons, trains, and animals illustrated by the Dover Stamping Company (Dover 1869: 56-58).

Other miscellaneous toys include a small iron horseshoe magnet (?) (WC,NS,ZI), part of a porcelain doll head (WC,ES,ZI), a porcelain doll arm (NC,WS,ZI), and 3 twentieth-century items from the North Cabin (ES).

Musical devices are represented by a partial harmonica (Fig. 34e) and 4 partial jew's harps. A single brass jew's harp (Fig. 34b) from the West Cabin is complete except for its vibrator. It has file marks on all of

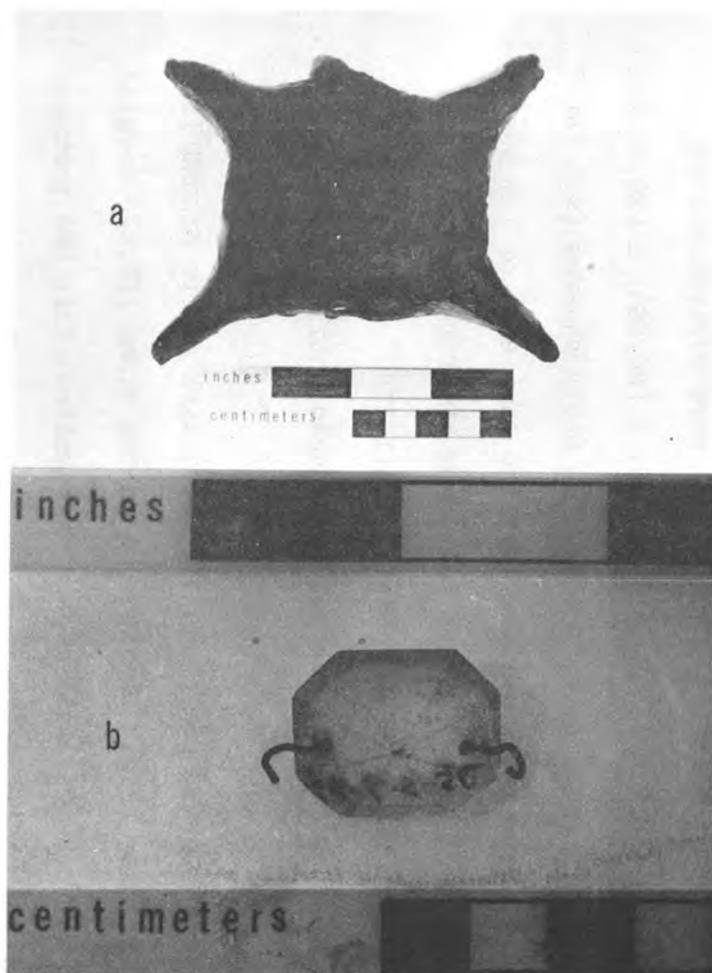


Figure 33. Lighting devices: a. grease lamp (SC,ZIII,SF3B); b. chandelier or mantel lamp crystal (WC,NS,ZI).

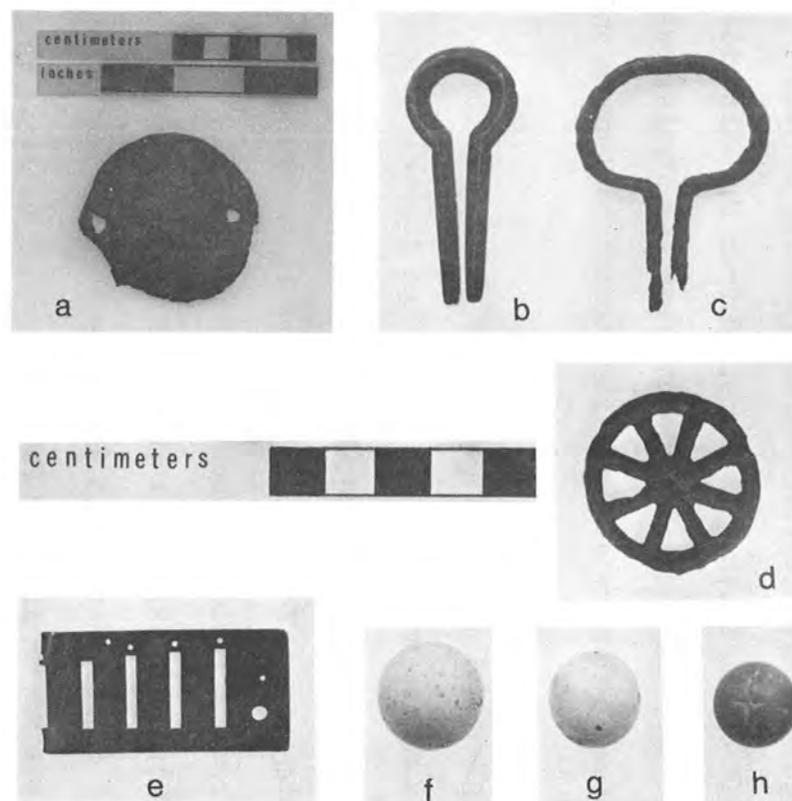


Figure 34. Toys and amusements: a. lead disc, possible "whizzer" (SC,ZIII,SF3B); b. brass jew's harp frame (WC,ES,ZII); c. iron jew's harp frame (SC,ZII); d. iron toy wheel (EC,ES,ZIII); e. partial brass reed plate from harmonica (SC,ZI); f. stone marble (NC,WS,ZII); g. clay marble (NC,WS,ZII); h. clay marble with cut marks (SC,ZIII,SF3B).

its surfaces and is classifiable in terms of Stone's (1974: 141) "Series B, Type 1, Variety A" category. Three partial jew's harps made of iron came from Zone I and Zone II of the South Cabin site and from the east side of the North Cabin. Figure 34c, the most complete of these, is stylistically similar to a complete eighteenth-century specimen illustrated by Neumann and Kravic (1975: 169).

Marbles are the most plentiful type of item in this category. There are 34 whole and partial examples, made of stone, clay, and glass.

Seventeen are light-colored stone marbles (Fig. 34f), which seem to fall into three size categories. Fourteen of them are 15 to 19 mm in diameter. These came from the following locations: 1 (SC,ZI); 3 (SC,ZII); 2 (SC,ZIII,NF3B); 2 (WC,NS,ZII); 1 (WC,ES,ZI); 3 (NC,ES); 2 (NC,WS,ZII). There are 2 others that are 13 mm in diameter (EC,SS,ZIII and NC,ES), and one that is 34 mm in diameter (NC,ES).

Both light (Fig. 34g) and dark (Fig. 34h) clay marbles were found. There are 11 of them. They range in size from 13 to 17 mm in diameter, with the average diameter being 15.5 mm. These were distributed as follows: 1 (SC,ZI); 3 (SC,ZIII,SF3B); 1 (SC,F1); 5 (NC,ES); 1 (NC,WS,ZII).

Five glass marbles were found in the North Cabin squares (all but 1 on the cabin's east side) and 1 in Zone I on the east side of the West Cabin. Though hand-made glass marbles date from the fifteenth century, they were not produced in the United States until 1880, and the first machine for making glass marbles was not introduced until 1901 (Randall 1971: 104-105).

One of the clay marbles (SC,F1) has a faded dark stripe around its middle. One of the clay (Fig. 34h) and one of the stone (SC,ZI) marbles have sets of cut marks, apparently made with a knife. This was perhaps

done to identify a particular marble. According to Walker (1971: 184):

During the 19th century, marbles were used in a number of games, which, collectively, were usually termed "marbles." This term was also frequently used for any one of these games; however, there was a specific name for each. Among these were "nine Holes" and "Hit and Span", both of which were played in a standing position, and "Ring Taw", the form most commonly played today. All of these games were then played primarily by young men rather than by children....

WRITING MATERIALS

There are 84 items included in this subsection.

From at least as early as the mid-eighteenth century (South 1963) and until the beginning of the twentieth century, slate pencils (made of soft slate or soapstone) and slate tablets were common implements of writing. Examples of slate pencils from other nineteenth-century sites in Tennessee are discussed and illustrated by Benthall (1973: 60) and Smith (1975: 69).

Six pieces of broken slate pencils were found in the first Hermitage area. These came from the South Cabin site (4 as follows: 1 - ZI; 2 - ZII; 1 - ZIII,NF3B), the West Cabin (1- WS,ZII), and the North Cabin (1 - WS,ZII).

Pieces of flat slate, all or virtually all of them from broken writing tablets, were more plentiful. There are 64 pieces which were distributed as follows: 10 (SC,ZI); 13 (SC,ZII); 1 (SC,F16,ZII); 3 (WC,NS,ZII); 2 (WC,ES,ZI); 1 (WC,ES,ZII); 1 (EC,ES,ZIII); 4 (NC,ES); 11 (NC,WS,ZI); 16 (NC,WS,ZII); 1(NC,WS,ZIII); 1 (NC,F20).

Fourteen items, mostly from the North Cabin, are from modern (?) lead pencils (pieces of lead and 3 metal eraser holders). None of these were found in an early context, however, Mercer (1960: 62) states that lead pencils (pulverized black lead mixed with sulphur, enclosed in wood) were in use by English carpenters as early as 1798.

TOBACCO PIPES

The South, West, and East Cabin excavations produced 1 complete and 39 fragments of clay tobacco pipes. None were found in the North Cabin tests. Some of the larger fragments and the complete specimen are shown in Figure 35.

Short-stem clay pipes (designed to use a detachable cane stem which inserted into the pipe's short stem) are actually of greater antiquity than the "colonial-style" long-stem white ballclay pipes. However, the widespread distribution of the short-stem type dates from the nineteenth century when certain American home industries began to develop into major factories (Iain Walker 1975). By the mid-nineteenth century short-stem clay pipes were so common, and relatively inexpensive, that they could be distributed as political campaign gimmicks (Smith 1975: 88 and photograph of Franklin Pierce figurehead pipe, p. 90).

The unbroken pipe and 29 of the partial examples came from the various zones and features associated with the South Cabin site. Many of the fragments are from human figurehead pipes (Fig. 35a,b), and all but 3 of them are of dark colored, hard earthenware or stoneware. Two fluted bowl fragments (ZII and ZIII, SF3B) are of white ballclay, and one redware bowl fragment (ZI) has a white clay-filled incised line design decorating the surface. The complete pipe (Fig. 35g) is made of brownish-gray stoneware, with a fluted bowl and stem, and it is somewhat lopsided in form. It had been protected beneath the Feature 1 chimney fall and retained a dark mass of tobacco cake in the bottom of its bowl.

The West Cabin tests produced 7 of the fragments. One is from the bowl of a white porcelain pipe (Fig. 35f). The others are dark colored shank and bowl pieces.

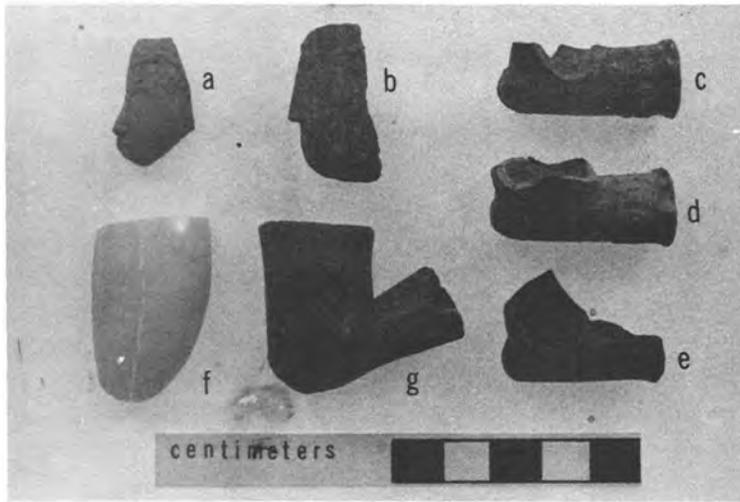


Figure 35.

Tobacco pipes. f. is porcelain, others are stoneware or earthenware. Proveniences: a. and e. (SC,ZI); b. (EC,ES,ZIII); c. and g. (SC,ZIII,SF3B); d. (SC,ZII); f. (WC,NS,ZII).

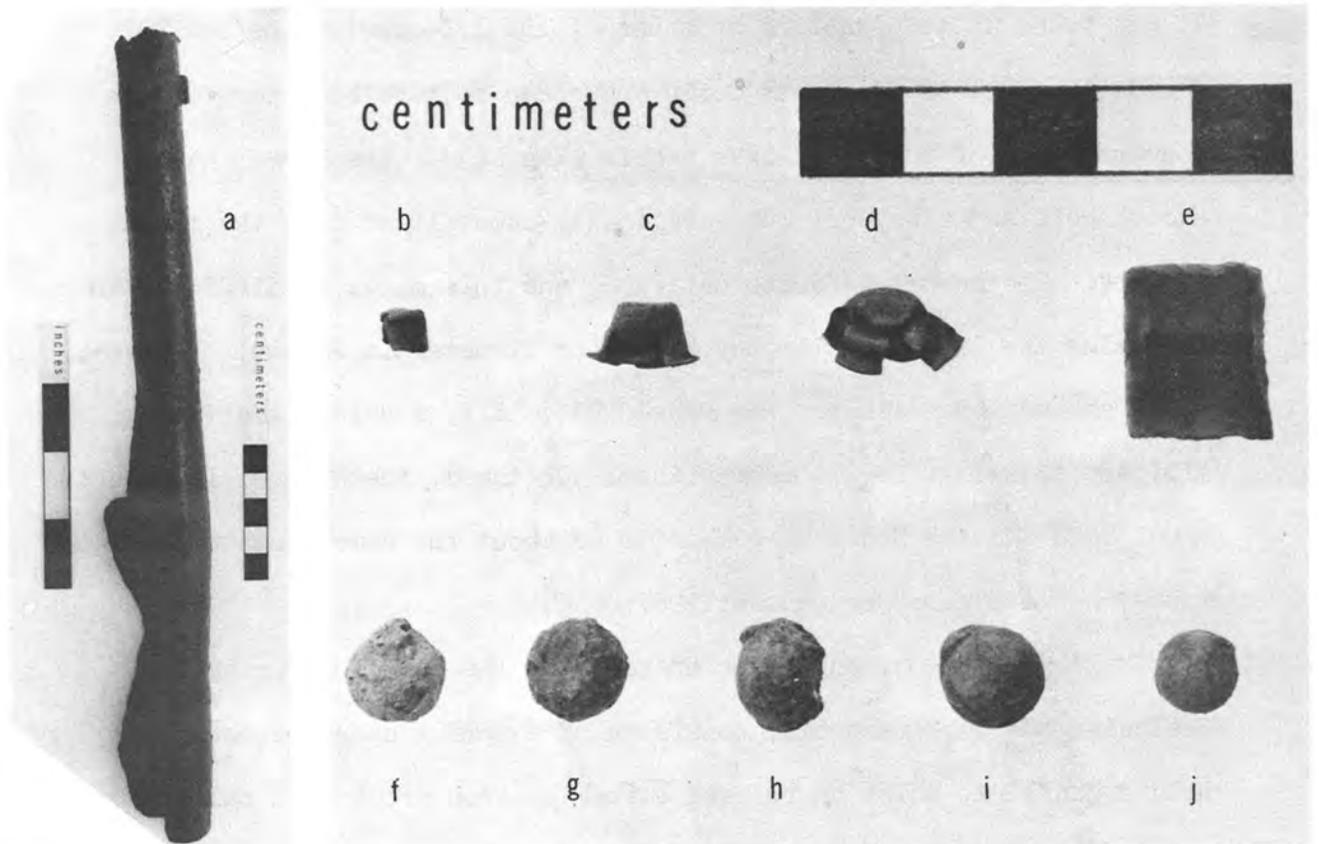


Figure 36. Firearms material: a. exploded musket barrel; b-d. percussion caps; e. gunflint; f-j. spherical mold-made bullets. Proveniences: a. (SC,ZII); b. and h. (SC,ZIII,SF3B); c. and e. (WC,ES,ZII); d. (WC,ES,ZI); f. and i. (SC,ZI); g. (NC,WS,ZII); j. (SC,ZIII,NF3B).

Only 3 pieces of tobacco pipe were found in the East Cabin squares. Two are stoneware; one is the rather simply designed figurehead bowl fragment shown in Figure 35b. It is made of unglazed redware.

FIREARMS MATERIAL

A total of 43 items is subsumed here. These are rather diverse, and their identifications and distributions are presented in the form of a table (Table 12).

Most dramatic is the frontal section of an exploded musket barrel (Fig. 36a). Like the dipper (Fig. 31b) discussed in a previous subsection, it was found at the juncture of zones II and III outside the south foundation wall of the South Cabin and seems to have been part of the concentration of tool-shed-like debris (Fig. 43). The barrel has a smooth bore and a bayonet lug, originally about 19 mm from the muzzle opening. The muzzle is quite battered, and this makes it difficult to determine the interior diameter (exterior diameter is 22 mm). However, it is around .69 caliber. The Model 1795, 1812, and 1816 American military muskets were all .69 caliber. Of these, the bayonet lugs on the Model 1812 and the Model 1816 seem to be about the same distance from the muzzle as in Figure 36a (Russel 1957: 156).

Until the 1840s, most guns operated on the flintlock principle. Basically the lock mechanism consisted of a spring operated cock that held a gunflint, which on release struck an iron projection called the flizzen. This released a shower of sparks that ignited the powder used to fire the weapon. This was replaced, starting around 1822, by the percussion firing mechanism, which uses a vertical nipple screwed into the breech and a percussion cap detonated by the impact of the hammer portion of the cock.

Table 12. Distribution of firearms material.

Spherical mold-made bullets:

<u>Caliber</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Proveniences</u>
.27	1	NC, WS, ZIII
.30	1	SC, ZII
.32	2	SC, ZIII, NF3B; NC, ES
.35	3	SC, ZIII, SF3B; WC, NS, ZII; NC, WS, ZII
.38	1	SC, ZI
.40	2	WC, WS, ZII; NC, WS, ZII
.42	1	SC, ZI
.46	<u>1</u>	WC, NS, ZI
	12	

"Modern" conical bullets and cartridges:

<u>Caliber</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Proveniences</u>
.22	12	SC, ZI; SC, F16, ZIII; NC, ES, ; NC, WS, ZII
.24	1	NETP
.32	3	WC, ES, ZII; NC, ES
.34	1	SC, F16, ZI
.35	1	NC, ES
.36	1	NC, WS, ZI
.38	1	NC, WS, ZII
.45	<u>1</u>	NC, WS, ZII
	21	

Other items:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Proveniences</u>
gunflint	1	WC, ES, ZII
percussion caps	4	SC, ZIII, SF3B; WC, ES, ZI; WC, ES, ZII; NC, WS, ZIII
musket barrel	1	SC, ZII
partial lock springs(?)	2	SC, ZI
partial side plate(?)	1	SC, ZI
12 gauge shotgun shell	<u>1</u>	WC, NS, ZI
	10	

Two kinds of copper percussion caps were found in the first Hermitage area. Three of them (Fig. 36c,d, and Table 12) are the "four wing" or "top hat" type used on rifles and carbines. The other example (Fig. 36b) is much smaller, and its top is marked with a capitol "U." This type of cap was used on small single shot pistols (Russell 1957: 242; Clausen 1970: 14).

Somewhat surprisingly only a single gunflint was found during the two seasons of field work. This is a small (17.7 X 14.2 X 4.3 mm) dark gray gunflint of the English prismatic type, probably a pistol flint (Noel Hume 1970: 221).

All of the mold-made bullets found are of a rather small caliber (Fig. 36f-j). This is perhaps a reflection of the domestic, as opposed to military, nature of the site. Most of the bullets are in good condition and were probably simply lost rather than having been fired.

Some of the miscellaneous fragments of lead discussed in a subsequent subsection no doubt relate to the molding of bullets on the site. Though round lead bullets were available commercially in the nineteenth century, it was still common practice for gun owners to mold their own (Smith 1974a: 47-48).

COINS

Coins are valuable for their ability to provide the date after which a stratigraphic layer was deposited. However, only 4 nineteenth-century coins were found in the first Hermitage excavations.

Three of these were associated with the South Cabin site: an 1840 half dime (ZI); an 1842 half dime (ZIII,SF3B); and an 1825 half dollar (ZIII,SF3B). Most significant is the 1842 half dime found in the cabin's

under-the-floor layer. This indicates that Zone II (the period of cabin abandonment and removal) is post-1842 and reinforces the interpretation made by way of the sherd dated 1844, discussed in the ceramic subsection (i.e., the South Cabin must have been in use through the early 1840s and probably later).

The only other nineteenth-century coin is an 1890 penny from Zone II on the west side of the North Cabin.

A few twentieth-century coins were found, including 5 pennies (1900-1946) from the east side of the North Cabin and 2 nickles (1903 and 1940) from the West Cabin (ZI).

BUTTONS

The four cabin sites produced a total of 289 buttons or button fragments, with 70 percent of them coming from the South Cabin site. In part this is simply a reflection of the larger quantity of materials of all kinds which came from the more extensive South Cabin tests. However, it is a higher percentage than for most other artifact categories (e.g., only 43 percent of the nails, 44 percent of the glass container fragments, and 59 percent of the ceramic sherds from Area A came from the South Cabin site).

Initially, we felt that the 201 buttons from the South Cabin site indicated a rather high frequency, and it seemed probable that there might be a connection between this and William Galt's statement that, in 1828, the northernmost "cottages" behind the Hermitage mansion were "occupied by spinners and weavers" (quoted in the historical section, p. 44). A comparison of ratios, however, fails to provide any firm support for this: for the South Cabin site there is a ratio of 1 button to every 14 sherds;

for the Hermitage mansion, 1 button to every 8 sherds (Brown 1970: 18 and 21); and for slave cabins 2 and 3 at Castalian Springs, 1 button to every 5 sherds (Smith 1975: 83 and 92). Thus, the frequency of buttons for the South Cabin site actually appears to be less than for some other contemporary domestic situations.

Button Types

Most of the first Hermitage buttons are comparable to types previously described by South (1964) and/or Olsen (1963). Examples are shown in Figure 37, which is keyed to Table 13. The left column of the table gives a somewhat abbreviated description of each Hermitage type, a cross-reference to a comparable South (1964) or Olsen (1963) type (if such exists), figure number, and size (size range followed by average size in parentheses).

In the initial classification, we distinguished two varieties of Type 1 and three varieties of Type 2, bone buttons. However, the significance of the variables on which this was based does not appear to be very great.

The same is true of the shell buttons. Originally we had nine categories for what are here classified as Type 7, four-hole shell buttons. The variables for these are mostly different styles of face decoration (e.g., Fig. 37i,j), and we could not determine that these had any particular temporal or distributional significance.

Plain white four-hole milk glass buttons (Type 11) are all smooth surfaced with pebbly backs, except for one (Fig. 37n) which has a ridged face design (WC,NS,ZII). The four-hole milk glass buttons with painted dots and geometric face designs are distinctive enough to be separately typed (Type 15).

Most of the metal buttons are comparable to South's (1964) types. But the Hermitage Type 24 buttons are somewhat intermediate to the

centimeters

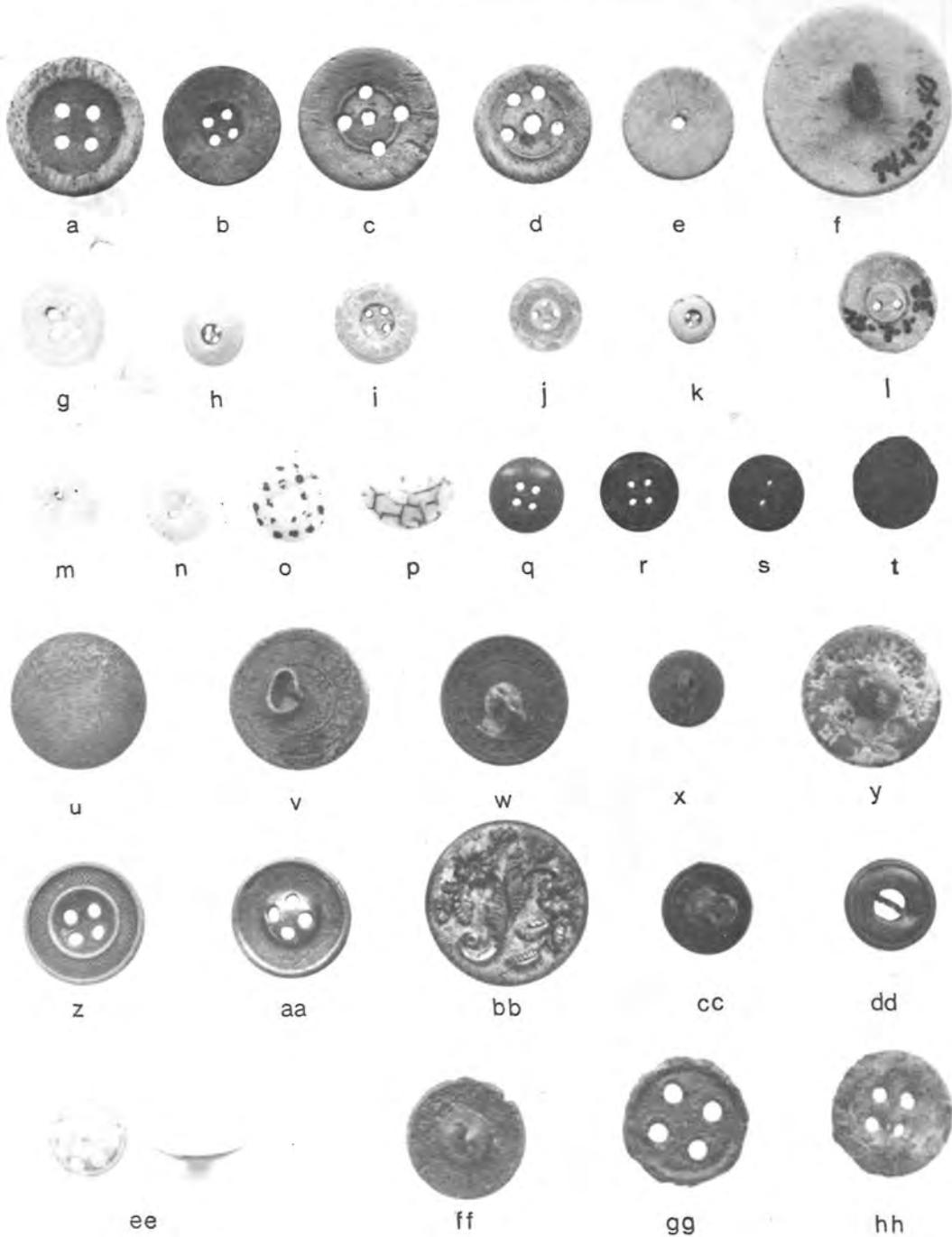


Figure 37. First Hermitage button types. See Table 13 for type descriptions and proveniences.

Table 13. Button distributions.

Type	Subarea Totals	Proveniences
1. four-hole bone disc South (1964) Type 20 Figure 37a,b 13 to 19 mm (15 mm)	19 (SC) 2 (WC) <u>21</u>	6(SC,ZI); 9(SC,ZIII,SF3B); 1 (SC,ZIII,NF3B); 1(SC,ZIII,EF3); 1(SC,F4); 1(SC,F16,ZII); 1(NC, WS,ZI); 1(NC,WS,ZII)
2. five-hole bone disc South (1964) Type 19 Figure 37c,d 10 to 20 mm (16 mm)	34 (SC) 4 (WC) 1 (EC) <u>39</u>	7(SC,ZI); 6(SC,ZII); 10(SC,ZIII, SF3B); 4(SC,ZIII,NF3B); 2(SC, ZIII,EF3); 1(SC,ZIII,SF3); 4(SC, F1); 1(WC,WS,ZI); 1(WC,ES,ZI); 2(WC,ES,ZII); 1(EC,ES,ZI)
3. one-hole bone disc South (1964) Type 15 Figure 37e 8 to 15 mm (12 mm)	10 (SC) 2 (WC) 1 (NC) <u>13</u>	2(SC,ZII); 5(SC,ZIII,SF3B); 2(SC, ZIII,NF3B); 1(SC,F7); 1(WC,WS, ZI); 1(WC,WS,ZII); 1(NC,ES)
4. one-hole bone disc with brass wire eye Figure 37f 26 mm	1 (SC)	1(SC,ZIII,SF3B)
5. two-hole bone disc	1 (NC)	1(NC,ES)
6. partial bone disc (pieces too small to indicate type and size)	30 (SC) 1 (WC) 1 (EC)	10(SC,ZI); 5(SC,ZII); 10(SC,ZIII, SF3B); 1(SC,ZIII,NF3B); 1 (SC, ZIII,EF3); 1(SC,ZIII,SF3); 2 (SC,F1); 1(WC,ES,ZII); 1(EC,SS, ZI)
7. four-hole shell South (1964) Type 22 Figure 37g-j 6 to 14 mm (10 mm)	26 (SC)	4(SC,ZI); 6(SC,ZII); 13(SC,ZIII, SF3B); 1(SC,F1); 1(SC,F2); 1 (SC,F7)
8. three-hole shell Figure 37k 5 mm	1 (SC)	1(SC,ZIII,SF3B)
9. two-hole shell Figure 37l 13 and 15 mm	1 (EC) 1 (NC) <u>2</u>	1(EC,SS,ZI); 1(NC,ES)
10. partial shell	1 (SC) 1 (WC) 2 (NC)	1(SC,ZIII,SF3B); 1(WC,NS,ZII); 2(WC,ES)

Table 13. "CONTINUED"

Type	Subarea Totals	Proveniences
11. four-hole milk glass ("porcelain") South (1964) Type 23 Figure 37m,n 9 to 15 mm (10 mm), 1 is 24 mm (WC,NS,ZI)	17 (SC) ✓ 8 (WC) 1 (EC) 11 (NC) <u>37</u>	6(SC,ZI); 1(SC,ZII); 5(SC,ZIII, SF3B); 1(SC,ZIII,EF3); 1(SC,F1); 1(SC,F16,ZI); 2(SC,F16,ZII); 2 (WC,WS,ZII); 2(WC,NS,ZI); 1(WC, NS,ZII); 1(WC,ES,ZI); 2(WC,ES,ZII); 1(EC,ES,ZI); 6(NC,ES); 1(NC,WS,ZI); 4(NC,WS,ZII)
12. two-hole milk glass 11 mm	1 (NC) ✓	1(NC,ES)
13. one-hole milk glass with brass wire eye 9 mm	1 (NC) ✓	1(NC,ES)
14. partial plain milk glass	2 (SC) ✓ 3 (NC) <u>5</u>	1(SC,ZI); 1(SC,F16,ZII); 2(NC,ES); 1(NC,WS,ZII)
15. four-hole milk glass with painted design (some are partial) Figure 37o,p ca. 9 to 13 mm (11 mm)	5 (SC) ✓ 1 (NC) <u>6</u>	3(SC,ZII); 2(SC,ZIII,SF3B); 1(NC,WS,ZIII)
16. four-hole blue glass Figure 37q 10 mm	1 (SC) ✓	1(SC,ZII)
17. four-hole black glass Figure 37r 10 mm	1 (SC) ✓ 1 (WC) <u>2</u>	1(SC,ZIII,SF3B); 1(WC,NS,ZII)
18. two-hole blue glass Figure 37s 10 mm	1 (SC) ✓	1(SC,ZIII,NF3B)
19. black faceted glass with brass wire eye South (1964) Type 13 Figure 37t 10 and 12 mm	1 (SC) 1 (WC) <u>2</u>	1(SC,ZI); 1(WC,WS,ZII)
20. brass disc with eye cast in place and spun back South (1964) Type 7 12, 21, and 25 mm	2 (SC) 1 (EC) <u>3</u>	1(EC,F1); 1(SC,F7); 1(EC,ES,ZIII)

Table 13. "CONTINUED"

Type	Subarea Totals	Proveniences
21. stamped brass disc with eye soldered to back... some with traces of gilding...68% have maker's name and/or words such as "ORANGE COLOUR," "SUPERIOR," "LONDON IMPERIAL," "TREBLE GILT," and "PLATED" South (1964) Type 18 Figure 37u-y 10 to 22 mm (16 mm)	13 (SC) 3 (WC) 6 (NC) <u>22</u>	2(SC,ZI); 5(SC,ZII); 3(SC,ZIII, SF3B); 1(SC,ZIII,NF3B); 1(SC,ZIII,EF3); 1(SC,F7); 1(WC,WS,ZII); 2(WC,NS,ZII); 3(NC,ES); 3(NC,WS,ZII)
22. stamped brass with four holes in a sunken panel... 2 with stamped marks (see text) South (1964) Type 32 Figure 37z,aa all 17 mm	4 (SC)	1(SC,ZI); 1(SC,ZII); 1(SC,ZIII, NF3B); 1(SC,F1)
23. same style as # 22 but cast whitmetal	4 (SC) 1 (WC) 1 (F21) <u>6</u>	1(SC,ZII); 1(SC,ZIII,SF3B); 1(SC,ZIII,NF3B); 1(SC,F1); 1(WC,WS,ZI); 1(F21)
24. two-piece pressed brass with soldered eye...some with traces of gilding and/or relief designs on front... 50% have maker's name and/or words such as "SUPERFINE," "FANCY ORANGE COLOUR," and "PLATED" Similar to South (1964) Types 26 and 27 and Olsen (1963) Type I Figure 37bb,cc 2 are 22 mm, others are 12 mm	7 (SC) 1 (WC) <u>8</u>	3(SC,ZI); 1(SC,ZII); 3(SC,ZIII, SF3B); 1(WC,WS,ZII).
25. two-piece pressed brass with pronounced dome front and brass eye soldered to back... 2 have embossed floral and geometric designs on dome Similar to Olsen (1963) Type F 10 to 12 mm (12 mm)	3 (SC) 1 (EC) <u>4</u>	1(SC,ZI); 1(SC,ZIII,EF3); 1(SC,F16,ZII); 1(EC,ES,ZIII)

Table 13. "CONTINUED"

Type	Subarea Totals	Proveniences
26. cast brass with geometric face design, soldered eye, and gilding Similar to South (1964) Type 17 10 mm	1 (SC)	1(SC,ZIII,EF3)
27. two-piece stamped brass with central opening traversed by brass strip which is part of the front piece Figure 37dd 12 mm	1 (SC)	1(SC,ZI)
28. bone shank with painted and gilded brass top, which was glued in place Figure 37ee bottom 10 mm, top 12 mm	1 (SC)	1(SC,ZIII,SF3B)
29. cast whitmetal with wire eye South (1964) Type 29 Figure 37ff 16 mm	1 (SC)	1(SC,ZI)
30. four-hole cast whitmetal Olsen (1963) Type K Figure 37gg 13 to 21 mm (17 mm)	3 (SC) 1 (WC) <u>4</u>	1(SC,ZI); 1(SC,ZII); 1(SC,ZIII, SF3B); 1(WC,ES,ZI)
31. fiber-filled four-hole iron South (1964) Type 21 Figure 37hh 11 to 22 mm (17 mm)	5 (SC) 3 (WC) 1 (NC) <u>9</u>	2(SC,ZI); 2(SC,ZIII,SF3B); 1(SC,ZIII,NF3B); 1(WC,WS,ZI); 2(WC,WS,ZII); 1(NC,WS,ZIII)
32. iron buttonmolds (?)...two-piece iron with central hole in back...1 with fabric impression on face South (1964) Type 24 11, 12, and 15 mm	3 (SC)	1(SC,ZIII,SF3B); 1(SC,ZIII,SF3); 1(SC,F1)
33. fragments of brass and iron buttons	1 (SC) 4 (NC) <u>5</u>	1(SC,ZI); 4(NC,WS,ZII)
34. miscellaneous-modern metal, hard rubber, and plastic	2 (SC) 7 (WC) 12 (NC) <u>21</u>	1(SC,ZI); 1(SC,F16,ZII); 1(WC,WS,ZI); 1(WC,NS,ZI); 5(WC,ES,ZI); 10(NC,ES); 2 (NC,WS,ZII)

----- Total: 201 (SC), 36 (WC), 6 (EC), 1 (F21), 45 (NC) = 289 -----

characteristic traits which South gives for his types 26 and 27.

Structurally they seem to best fit Olsen's (1963) type I.

Type 28 is probably the most anomalous specimen found (Fig. 37ee). Its top is made from a concave-convex disc of brass, which was decorated with two layers of paint (?) and a gilded ring of circular designs. This top is now loose, but it had apparently been glued to the bone shank.

Button Chronology

Both South (1964) and Olsen (1963) provide general time range estimates for their types. With two exceptions, all of the first Hermitage types that are comparable to theirs are placed in periods from 1800 to 1865. Hermitage types 19 and 20 are placed by South (1964) in the 1726 to 1776 period.

A few of the first Hermitage buttons are marked in such a way that some more or less specific manufacture date can be assigned to them. The most useful is a Type 22 button (Fig. 37aa) from the lower South Cabin fill (SC,ZIII,NF3B). This bears an English code mark which shows that the button was made on July 8, 1846 (Kovel and Kovel 1972: viii). This adds two years to the date after which the South Cabin was probably still occupied (previously suggested by the 1842 coin and the 1844 sherd, also from Zone III).

Another Type 22 button from the lower portion of the South Cabin chimney fall (SC,F1) is stamped with the names "E PRICHARD" "WATERBURY CON." According to Luscomb (1967: 161), Elizur E. Prichard of Waterbury, Connecticut, was a manufacturer of gilt buttons from the 1820s until the 1850s.

Two of the Type 24 buttons can be attributed to specific manufacturers. One (SC,ZIII,SF3B) bears the words "BENEDICT & BURNHAM EXTRA," indicating

that it was made in Connecticut between 1843 and 1849 (Luscomb 1967: 21). Another (WC,WS,ZII) is marked "SCOVILLS & Co" "SUPERFINE" and was probably made between 1840 and 1850 (Luscomb 1967: 174).

Two of the Type 21 buttons have what appear to be manufacturer's names but a specific date for them has not been determined by us: "W. STANLEY LONDON" (SC,ZI); "WELLINGTON" (SC,ZIII,EF3).

The buttons from the North Cabin are interesting in that they indicate the continuing usage of some of the same types into the twentieth century. This seems especially true for the four-hole milk glass buttons (Type 11), which occurred the same number of times on the east side of the North Cabin as in the lower zones of the South Cabin site.

BUCKLES

There are 25 complete or partial buckles. Representative types are illustrated in Figure 38.

A majority of these are rectangular or oval-frame iron buckles (Fig. 38a-c), which were probably used on harness, or other leather, straps. Eight came from the South Cabin site (ZII, ZIII, and F1), 4 from the West Cabin (ES,ZI and ZII), 1 from the East Cabin (ES,ZIII), and 1 from the North Cabin (WS,ZII).

Two other iron buckles from the South Cabin site are for clothing. One (Fig. 38e) may have been used on a wide cloth belt, such as was worn on women's dresses of the 1820s-1830s (Cassin-Scott 1971: Plates 29-37). The other (Fig. 38g) is a garter buckle, which was found near the surface and may be relatively modern.

Eight brass buckles were found (6 - SC, various zones; 1 - WC; 1 - NC,ES), and each is apparently some type of clothing buckle. Two of them (SC,F1 and F16) are partial shoe buckles. One garter buckle (Fig. 38f)

ismade of stamped brass and is decorated with floral designs. One other partial brass buckle (Fig. 38h) was silver plated and has embossed star and cross-like designs on one surface.

One other probable clothing buckle (Fig. 38d) appears to be made from Britannia metal.

MISCELLANEOUS BONE AND SHELL ITEMS

This category does not include bone handles for knives and forks or bone buttons (discussed in previous subsections) but subsumes 26 other items of varying function. All of these came from the South Cabin, mostly from the lower zones within the foundation. Bone and shell items do not preserve well in open or acidic environments, but the alkaline soils within the South Cabin foundation did preserve many kinds of artifacts not found elsewhere in the first Hermitage area.

Two matching pieces of shell inlay (Fig. 39a) and 9 pieces of carved bone inlay (Fig. 39c) were found. This type of adornment was used on various devices, including jewel boxes and musical instruments.

Two other pieces of worked shell (Fig. 39b,d) were found. The exact function of either is unknown.

The bone button blank (Fig. 39e) is a 2 mm thick strip of bone from which at least eight button discs have been cut (all of the disc holes are 6 mm in diameter). Interestingly enough, the finished buttons would have been smaller than any of the bone buttons that were found (Table 13). This at least suggests that slaves living in the South Cabin may have made buttons which were not for their own use.

Two or three partial bone combs were found. The most complete example is shown in Figure 39f. The other two pieces are from a seemingly identical

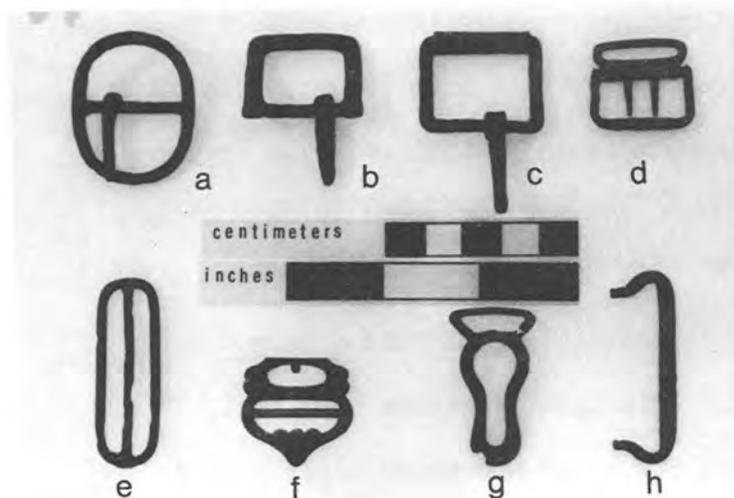


Figure 38.

Buckles: a. iron (WC,ES,ZI);
 b. iron (SC,ZII); c. iron
 (SC,ZIII,EF3); d. Britannia(?)
 metal (SC,ZIII,SF3B); e. iron
 (SC,ZIII,SF3B); f. brass (WC,
 NS,ZII); g. iron (SC,ZI);
 h. silver plated brass (SC,F1).

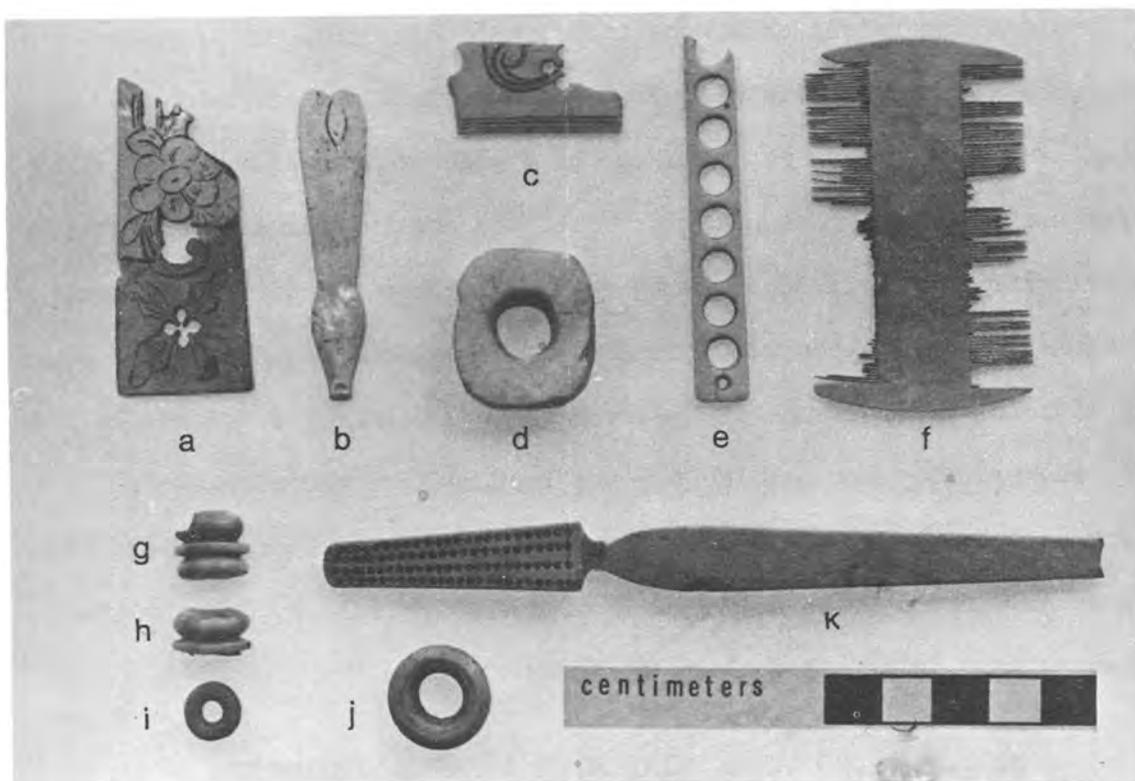


Figure 39. Shell and bone artifacts: a. shell inlay (SC,ZI); b. shell handle (?) (SC,ZII); c. bone inlay (SC,ZII); d. cut and perforated disc of mussel shell (SC,ZIII,NF3B); e. bone button blank (SC, ZIII,SF3B); f. bone comb (SC,ZIII,NF3B); g. bone knob (SC,ZIII, SF3B); h. bone knob (SC,ZIII,EF3); i. bone grommet (SC,ZIII,SF3B); j. bone ring with interior and exterior spiral threading (SC,F1); k. bone toothbrush (SC,ZII).

double-edged comb, or combs. This general style of comb was in use at least as early as the mid-eighteenth century (Stone 1974: 139-141).

Two matching pieces of a decorative bone knob (Fig. 39g,h) were found on opposite sides of the South Cabin foundation. The knob has a central opening 7 mm in diameter, and it is assumed to be a broken drawer pull.

A small (4 by 11 mm) bone grommet (Fig. 39i) and a larger bone ring (Fig. 39j) were recovered. This last is rather puzzling. It is threaded with a spiral groove on its outer and inner edges. It is concave-convex in cross section and a maximum of 6 mm thick.

Two matching halves of a bone toothbrush (Fig. 39k) and 4 pieces of bone and ivory, probably also from toothbrushes, were found. Toothbrushes have seldom been reported in the archaeological literature, and the few examples that have been discussed are mostly from late nineteenth-century contexts (e.g., Brose 1967: 50). Five bone and ivory toothbrushes were found in association with the Hermitage mansion (Brown 1972: 16 and Plate 15), but at least one of these (marked "DEMOVILLE & Co" "NASHVILLE TENN") was probably not made before the last half of the nineteenth century (see Smith 1975: 64). The earliest mention of toothbrushes which we have found is in a 1799 list of items for sale by a Nashville apothecary shop (cited in Watkins 1941: 42).

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS RELATING TO PERSONAL ADORNMENT, CLOTHING, AND SEWING

As in the preceding subsection, we have included here an assortment of objects of varying function, which nevertheless seem closely related in terms of direct personal use. All but 10 of the 155 items considered are metal (or partly metal), and most are rather small.

Items Pertaining to Sewing

Most conspicuous are 54 straight pins. All but one are of brass, which in most cases had probably once been coated with tin. Two styles are represented: pins with solid heads (Fig. 40a), which were first manufactured in 1824; and pins with wire-wound heads (Fig. 40b,c), which were manufactured from the seventeenth century until they were replaced by the solid-head type (Noel Hume 1970: 254).

Thirty-five of the solid-head pins were found. Thirty of them came from the South Cabin site, including 18 from Zone III (SF3B). Four others came from the West Cabin, and one from the North Cabin.

Ten straight pins with wire-wound heads were recovered. Five of these came from the South Cabin site, and 5 came from the West Cabin.

Nine headless pin shanks were found. Five of these came from the South Cabin tests and 4 from the West Cabin.

One complete and 2 partial protected-pointed safety pins were found (SC,ZI; WC,ES,ZI; NC,WS,ZII). According to Noel Hume (1970: 255), this type of pin was not invented until around 1857. The 3 recovered are made from a single strand of brass wire, twisted into the required shape and silver plated.

In the preliminary report (Smith 1974b: 20), it was incorrectly reported that one of these safety pins had been found in Zone III of the South Cabin site, suggesting that the building was in use until ca. 1857. Actually the only safety pin found in the South Cabin squares was from Zone I and could be later than the cabin's occupation period. Nevertheless, we have included a photograph of this example of an early type safety pin (Fig. 41) for they have rarely been illustrated elsewhere. They should be of some use as time markers on nineteenth-century sites.

A total of 8 thimbles was found. The most recent example (NC,ES) is made of aluminum and is embossed "SOUTHERN INSURANCE CO." Four brass thimbles were found in the South Cabin excavations. Two of brass and one of iron-coated brass were found in the East Cabin squares. Representative examples are shown in Figure 40d-g. The 3 brass thimbles which are not illustrated are closest in appearance to specimen "f."

Five heavily corroded pieces of iron have eye openings and seem to be partial large needles or awls. Three of these came from the South Cabin site; 2 came from the West and East Cabin tests.

A heavily corroded partial pair of scissors came from the west side (Zone II) of the North Cabin.

Items Pertaining to Clothing

Hooks and eyes for fastening unjoined parts of clothing, such as collars and seams, have changed little in basic form since the seventeenth century (Noel Hume 1970: 255; Stone 1974: 81-85). Nine brass hooks and 11 brass eyes were found in Area A. Eight of the hooks (including 3 from ZIII,SF3B) and 9 of the eyes (including 5 from ZIII,SF3B) came from the South Cabin site. One hook and one eye came from the West Cabin, and one of the eyes was found in Zone III on the east side of the East Cabin.

Several metal grommets (most of them brass) were found, and most had probably been used as shoe eyelets. Eight came from the South Cabin site (ZI and ZII), and one each came from the West Cabin (ES,ZII), from Feature 21, and from the North Cabin (WS,ZI). Two brass shoe buttons came from the North Cabin (NS,ZI and ZII). Other shoe parts include: a small piece of shoe heel with square cut tacks (SC,ZII); 10 pieces of relatively modern shoe leather (NC,ES); and 2 copper scuff plates for shoe toes (SC,ZI).

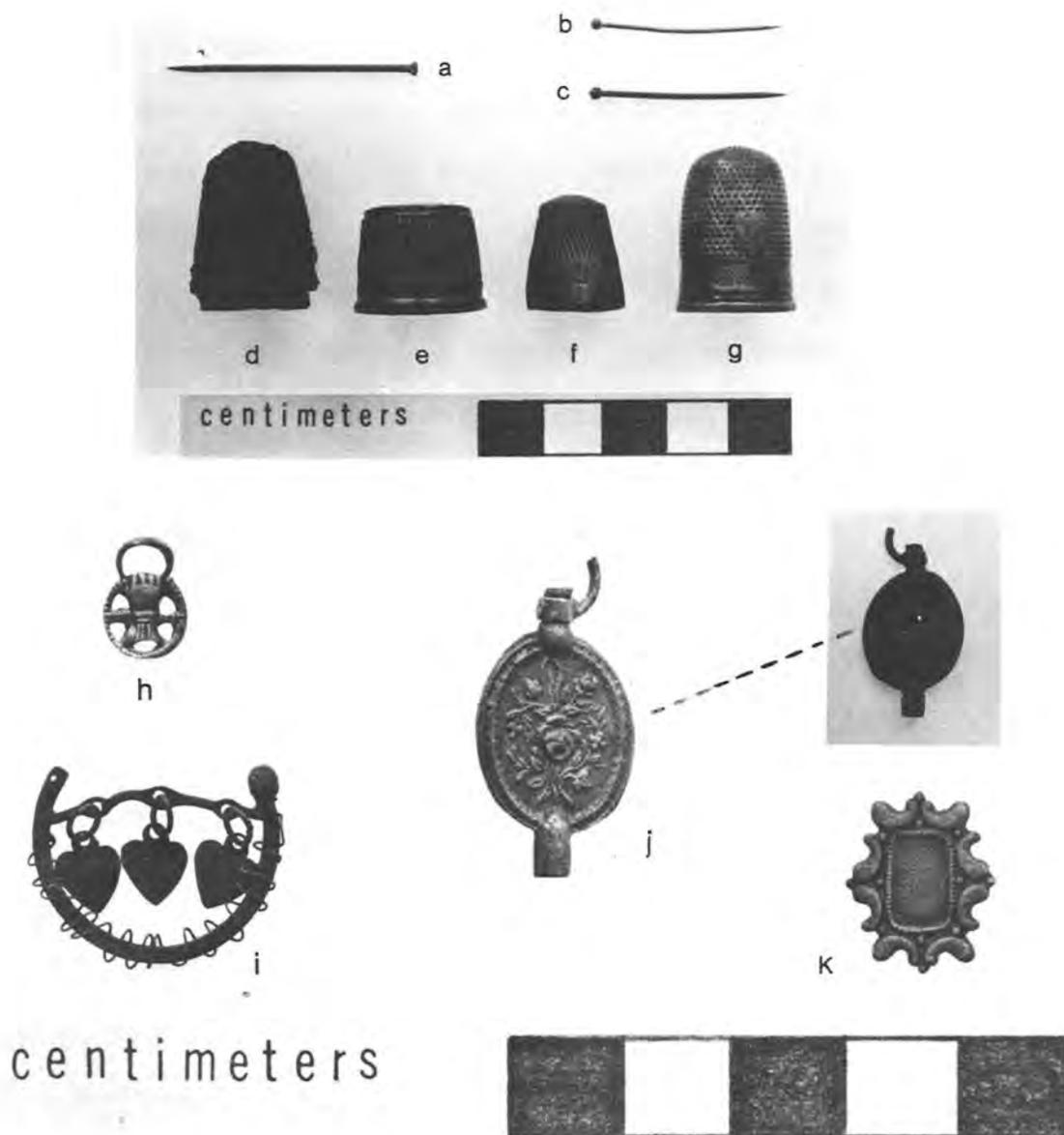


Figure 40. Items relating to sewing and personal adornment:
 a. straight pin with solid head (SC,ZI,III,SF3B);
 b,c. straight pins with wire-wound heads (NC,NS,ZII);
 d. iron-coated brass thimble (EC,SS,ZII); e. open-crown brass thimble (SC,ZI); f. brass thimble (EC,SS,ZII); g. brass thimble (SC,F1); h. brass charm (SC,ZI,III,SF3B); i. brass earring (SC,ZII); j. opposite sides of brass charm or watch fob (SC,ZII) (smaller image not to scale); k. partial brass locket (?) (SC,ZII).

Though the provenience of these last 2 items (Fig. 42) makes it difficult to know how early they may have been discarded, they could be from the period when slaves were living in the first Hermitage area. Petsche (1974: 61) illustrates a pair of children's shoes with similar brass toe plates from the 1865 cargo of the steamboat Bertrand. We have also included a photograph (Fig. 42) of a child's shoe of this type (probably nineteenth-century) from the Castalian Springs kitchen museum (by permission of the Bledsoe's Lick Historical Association, Sumner County, Tennessee).

A most interesting statement concerning this type of shoe is contained in the comments made by Sylvia Watkins, a former Tennessee slave (Rawick 1972: 77). Referring to a period of her childhood, just after the Civil War, she noted that:

...we got one pair of shoes a year, they had brass on the toes. I use to get out and shine the toes on mine, we called it gold on our shoes....

The South Cabin scuff plates are both from child-size shoes. The top specimen in Figure 42 is the more complete of the two and is only 55 mm long (a shoe toe width of $2 \frac{3}{16}$ inches). It has eight headless square tacks which held the sole to the plate, and it had (one is missing) four smaller flat-headed tacks which held the plate to the inner sole.

There are 4 other miscellaneous items that may relate to clothing and are probably rather recent: metal brads and snaps (SC,ZI) and 2 brass end covers for belts (?) (WC,ES).

Miscellaneous Items Pertaining to Personal Adornment

Eleven items in this category may also be of rather recent origin. This includes several hair pins; a circular rhinestone brooch (WC,ES,ZI);

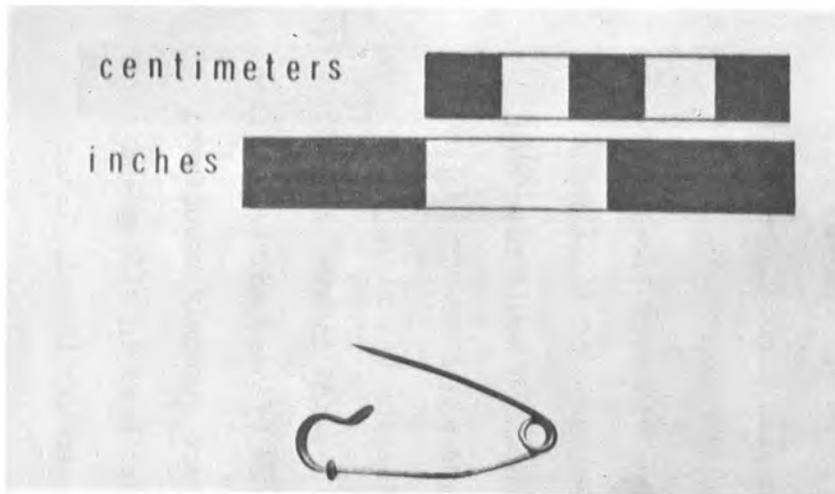


Figure 41. Safety pin (SC,ZI).

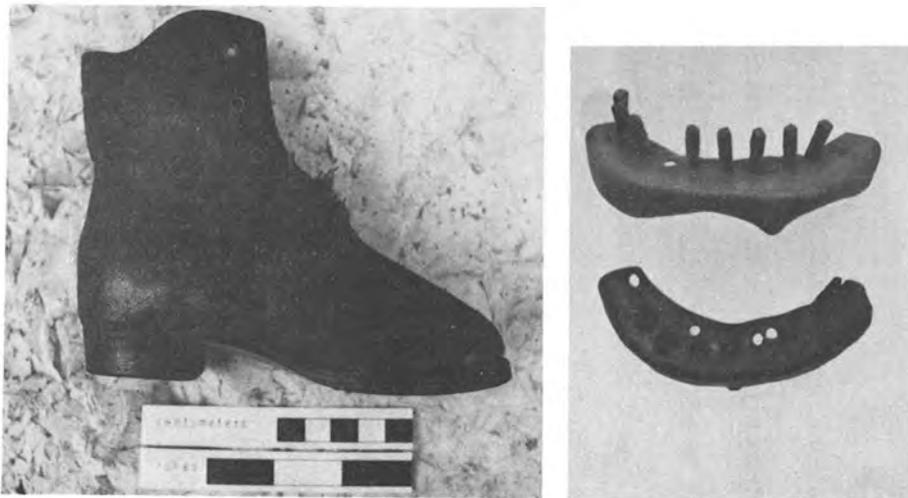


Figure 42. Copper scuff plates for shoe toes (SC,ZI) with an example of a copper-toed child's shoe from Castalian Springs kitchen museum.



Figure 43. Concentration of toolshed-like artifacts outside the east portion of the South Cabin's south foundation wall (Square 498N544E).

a small brass crucifix with glass adorns (WC,ES,ZII); and from the North Cabin (ES) a gold-plated child's ring, a pearl bead, and a brass insignia disc stamped "U.S."

Four sections of brass chains were found (SC,ZII and ZIII,SF3B; NC,WS,ZIII). These are similar to eighteenth-century "jewelry chains" illustrated by Stone (1974: 137).

The South Cabin site produced 9 other, probably nineteenth-century, items which pertain to personal adornment. Four of these are shown in Figure 40. Not shown are: a 51 mm long brass cone (ZI), which had been painted black and had a remnant of silk inside (probably an umbrella ferrule); a small clover-shaped piece of brass (ZIII,SF3B), which may be part of a charm; a thin brass ring (ZIII,SF3B), 29mm in diameter (probably for personal adornment); a brass jewelry hook (ZIII,NF3B); and a 20 mm long cone-shaped piece of black painted brass (ZIII,NF3B) with a suspension hole through the small end, a 10 mm brad through the large end, and wood fibers inside (probably a fan pivot).

Of the 4 items illustrated (Fig. 40), "h" and "i" seem likely to have been worn by slaves. The earring is made entirely of sheet brass and brass wire. It is complete except for a wire which would have been attached through the suspension hole (at left) and would have inserted into an opening in the top of the knob-like projection (at right).

The charm, (Fig. 40h) is made of stamped brass and is similar to certain Latin American amulets or good-luck charms (*figas*) which are based on a human hand-sign of the cross motif. These are strongly associated with African-oriented spiritualist cults, and have been in widespread use since at least the middle of the nineteenth century (Ewbank 1856: 241-245). In addition, there may be a connection between this and what is

called a "hand" (also called a "jack") in the Florida slave narratives. This is described as a charm to "keep witches away" (quoted in Smith 1973: 199).

The charm or watch fob (Fig. 40j) is complete except for its suspension loop. It has a floral design on one side and a scenic design (a deer or elk in a forest) on the other. It is suggestive (especially if it is a watch fob) of someone in the upper social class.

Excluded from discussion at this point are glass beads, which are described in a separate section.

FARM AND LIVESTOCK TOOLS AND EQUIPMENT

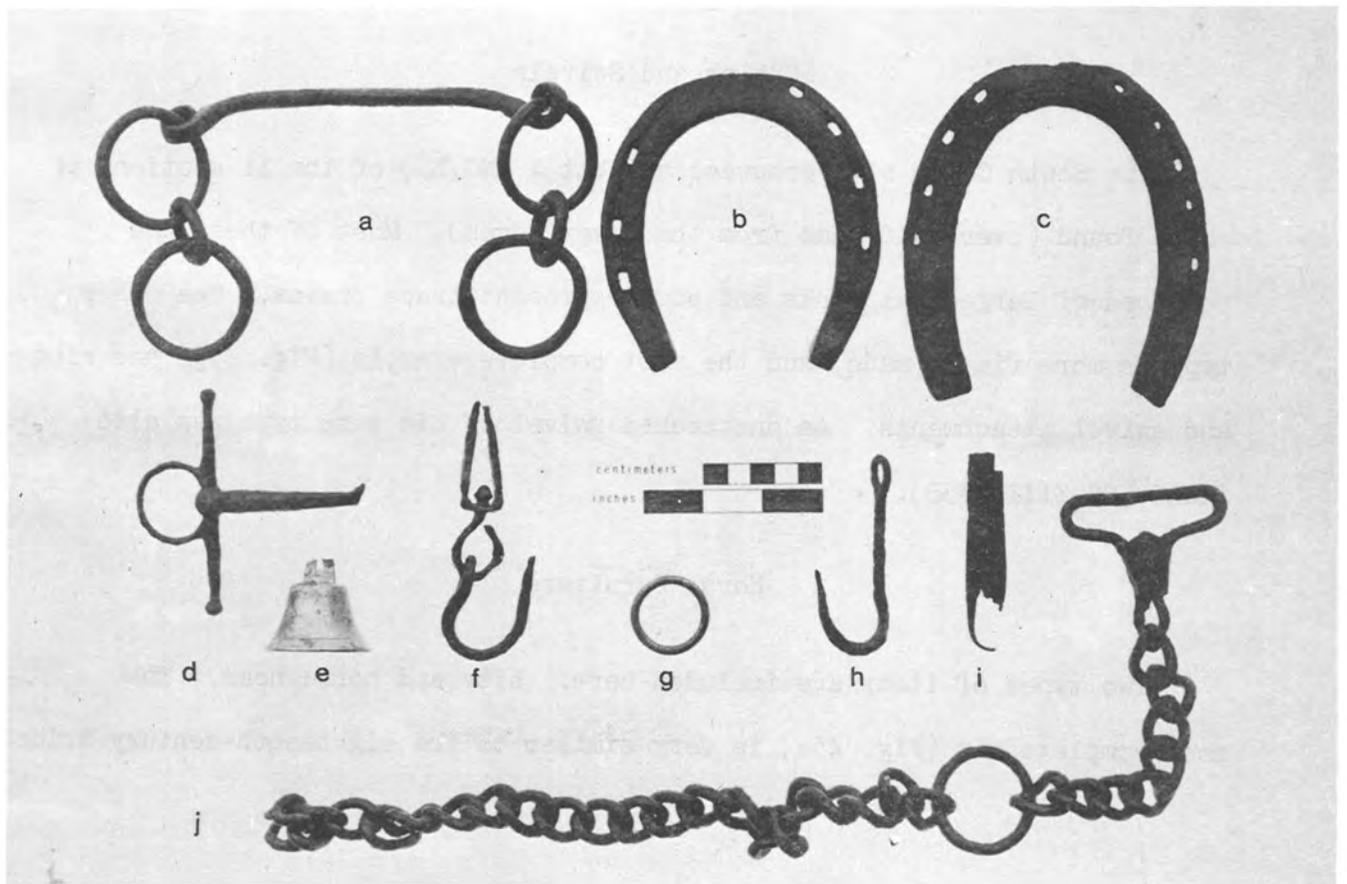
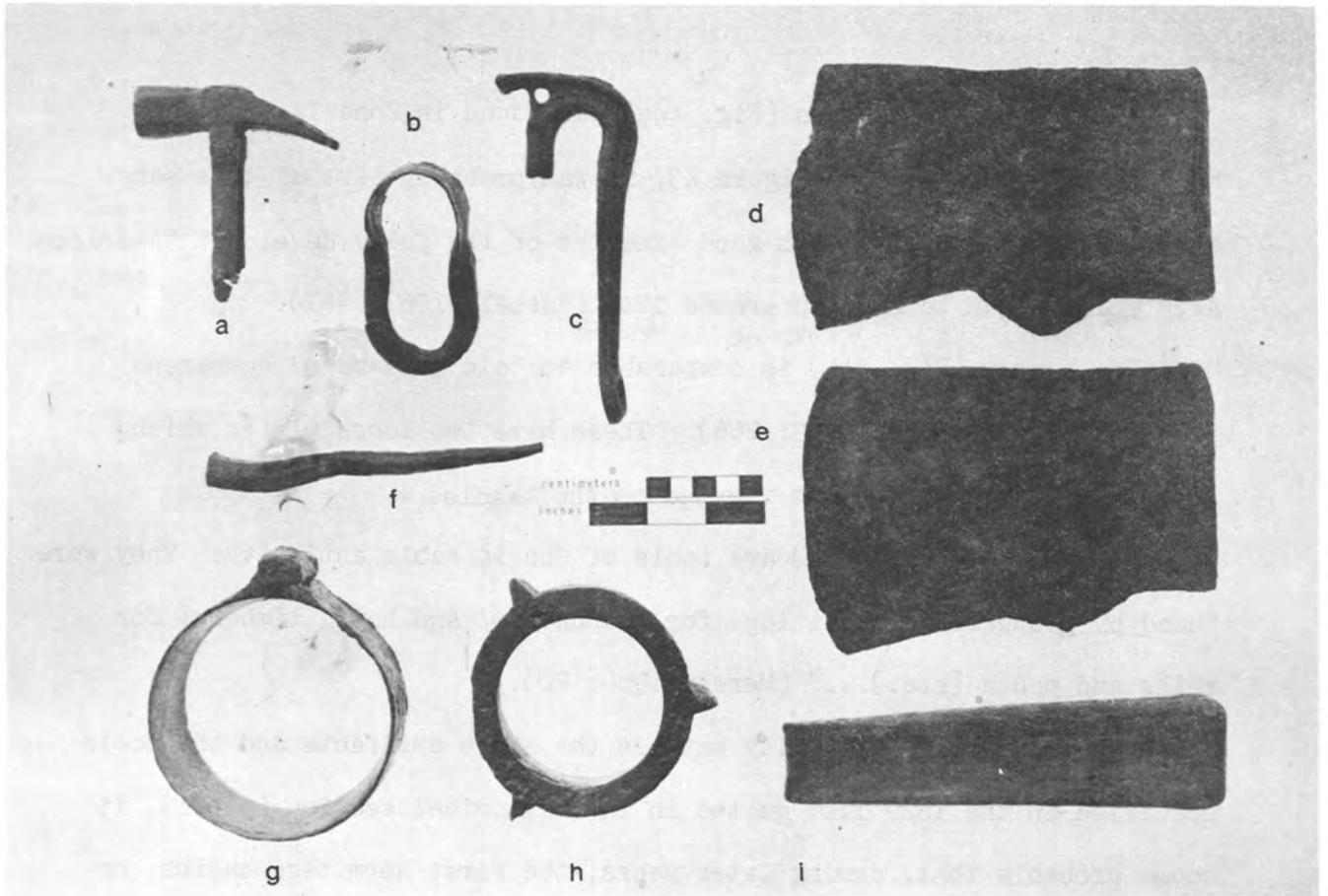
This category (composed of 94 items) consists of various objects, mostly metallic, which probably relate to farming activities, including the raising of livestock. It also includes equestrian items, under the subheading "horse furniture."

Metal Tools

Thirty-one items are categorized here, including: 1 punch (Fig. 44f); 1 iron hoe blade (SC,ZI); 1 arm from a large pair of fire tongs (SC,ZII); 2 axes (Fig. 44d,e); 3 pieces of iron files (SC,ZI; SC,ZIII,SF3B; WC,NS,ZI); 1 wedge (Fig. 44i); 1 hammer head (Fig. 44a); 1 large iron windlass crank (SC,ZIII,SF3; visible in Fig. 43); 1 singletree attachment (Fig. 44b); 1 partial plow beam clevis (Fig. 44c); 1 partial froe (?) (WC,WS,ZII); and 10 unidentified or modern tool parts (mostly from the North Cabin). There are also 7 partial knives and a metal tip probably from a knife scabbard, which are counted separately from the kitchen knives discussed earlier. Most of these are partial clasp knives (eg. Fig. 45i) from the South Cabin site.

Figure 44. Iron farm tools: a. hammer head (SC,ZIII,SF3B);
b. singletree attachment (SC,ZIII,SF3); c. partial
plow beam clevis (WC,WS,ZII); d. ax (SC,ZIII,SF3);
e. ax (SC,ZII); f. punch (SC,ZI); g. wagon hub boxing (?)
(SC,ZIII,NF3B); h. wagon hub boxing (SC,ZIII,SF3B);
i. wedge (SC,ZIII,SF3B).

Figure 45. Farm tools and livestock equipment: a. solid-mouthed
bridoon bit (SC,ZIII,NF3B); b. horseshoe (SC,ZIII,NF3B);
c. horseshoe (SC,ZIII,NF3B); d. partial snaffle bit
(SC,F16,ZII); e. animal bell (SC,ZIII,SF3B); f. swivel
hook (SC,ZII); g. harness ring (STP); h. hook (SC,ZIII,
SF3B); i. clasp knife (SC,ZI); j. chain with ring and
swivel attachment (SC,ZII). All items are iron except
e. and g. (brass).



Though one of the axes (Fig. 44e) was found in Zone II above the concentration of items in Figure 43, it was probably part of this same association. These are both good examples of the fully developed "American Ax," which began to develop around 1740 (Russell 1967: 257).

The hammer (Fig. 44a) is comparable to "old home-made" specimens illustrated by Mercer (1960: 266). These have two loose plates which insert into the eye and are riveted to the handle.

Iron wedges (Fig. 44i) are tools of considerable antiquity. They were "used by pioneers to split logs for 'puncheons' and house timbers; for rails and posts [etc.]..." (Mercer 1960: 20).

Because of the similarity between the above artifacts and the tools specified in the 1829 list quoted in the historical section (p. 51), it seems probable that, during later years, the first Hermitage cabins, or parts of them, may have been a major location for storing farm tools.

Chains and Swivels

The South Cabin site produced all but 1 (NC,ES) of the 11 sections of chain found (over half came from the lower zones). Most of these are composed of large oval links and some represent trace chains. One other type is more finely made, and the most complete example (Fig. 45j) has ring and swivel attachments. An unattached swivel of his same type was also found (SC,ZIII,SF3B).

Horse Furniture

Two types of items are included here: bits and horseshoes. The most complete bit (Fig. 45a) is very similar to the eighteenth-century bridoon

bit illustrated by Noel Hume (1970: 241). Two partial snaffle bits were also found (Fig. 45d and NC,ES).

There are 12 whole or partial horseshoes from the following locations: 1(SC,ZI); 2 (SC,ZIII,SF3B); 2 (SC,ZIII,NF3B); 1 (SC,ZIII,EF3); 2 (SC,ZIII,SF3); 1 (SC,F16,ZII); 1 (WC,ES,ZII); 2 (NC,WS,ZII). Four examples are shown (Fig. 43 and Fig. 45b,c). Figure 45b is perhaps the most typical example.

Harness Hardware

Harness buckles have been previously discussed, and some examples are shown in Figure 38.

There are 13 brass rivets or brads and 4 isolated brad washers which may have been used to hold together pieces of harness. These were more or less evenly distributed between the West Cabin and the South Cabin site.

Both brass (Fig. 45g) and iron harness rings were found. The 4 brass rings came from on or near the South Cabin site. The 7 iron rings came from all four cabin sites and Feature 21.

Miscellaneous Items

Two of the items found are both probably wagon hub boxings. One of them (Fig. 44h) is identical to eighteenth-century hub boxings illustrated and described by Grimm (1970: 126 and 152). The other (Fig. 44g) is unlike any of Grimm's (1970: 126) illustrations, but it does have the same, rather characteristic, edge to edge taper. A large hinge-like piece of iron from the West Cabin (NS,ZII) is also similar to Grimms' (1970: 126) example of a wagon-hub dust cover.

Three large iron hooks and two hooks with swivel attachments were found on the South Cabin site. These are included here, but their exact function is not known (Fig. 45f,h).

A small brass farm bell (Fig. 45e) from the South Cabin site is very similar to a bell recovered from Chota, an historic Cherokee town site in East Tennessee (Gleeson 1971: Plate 28). Older residents in Middle Tennessee sometimes refer to these as turkey bells.

Only 3 non-metal items are included in this subsection. One small sandstone abrader or whetstone came from the West Cabin (ES,ZII). One irregular but smooth chunk of hard white stone from the South Cabin site (ZIII,SF3B) is probably a novaculite whetstone. And one other piece of sandstone from the South Cabin tests (ZIII,SF3B) is part of a disc-shaped grindstone. This last was approximately 220 mm (8 3/4 inches) in diameter and had a central opening about 37 mm square.

STRUCTURAL AND FURNITURE HARDWARE

For many of the 232 items included here it is difficult or impossible to know precisely how they were used. Many of the structural hardware artifacts may have once been part of the cabin where they were found. But it is also as likely that many of these same items were found as a result of their once having been stored inside the buildings.

Sixty-six staples were found in the area. Two more or less typical nineteenth-century examples are shown in Figure 46a,b. However, at least 34 of those found are small modern staples from the North Cabin.

Other Area A items, most of them also used to secure wooden parts, include 52 wood screws, 26 bolts, 22 washers, 15 nuts, and 9 carpenter's rivets. Most of these are iron, but a few are made of brass. Both blunt ended and post-1846 machine pointed wood screws were found (Mercer 1960: 254). A majority of the bolts, nuts, and washers are large and were probably used to secure heavy timbers or such metal devices as iron hinges. We have

included in the photograph (Fig. 46h) an example of one of the early type wing nuts described by Mercer (1960: 248). Also shown (Fig. 47a) is an example of a large carpenter's rivet, which among other things was used to secure the straps of wrought iron hinges (Mercer 1960: 246).

Twenty-seven of the first Hermitage artifacts seem to be specimens of door or shutter hardware. There are 8 hinges, 3 partial padlocks (Fig. 46n,o), 5 pintles (Fig. 46j,k), a brass doorknob (Fig. 46i), an iron latch (Fig. 46g), 4 keyhole escutcheons (Fig. 46c,d), 4 keys (Fig. 46f), and part of a stock lock bolt (Fig. 46e). Items "c," "d," "e," "g," and "i" in Figure 46 were all found just inside the South Cabin's south foundation wall and may pertain to a door located on the east side of the south chimney. The key shown (Fig. 46f) may also relate to another door believed to have been located on the east side of the South Cabin (see p. 109).

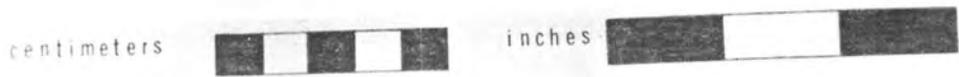
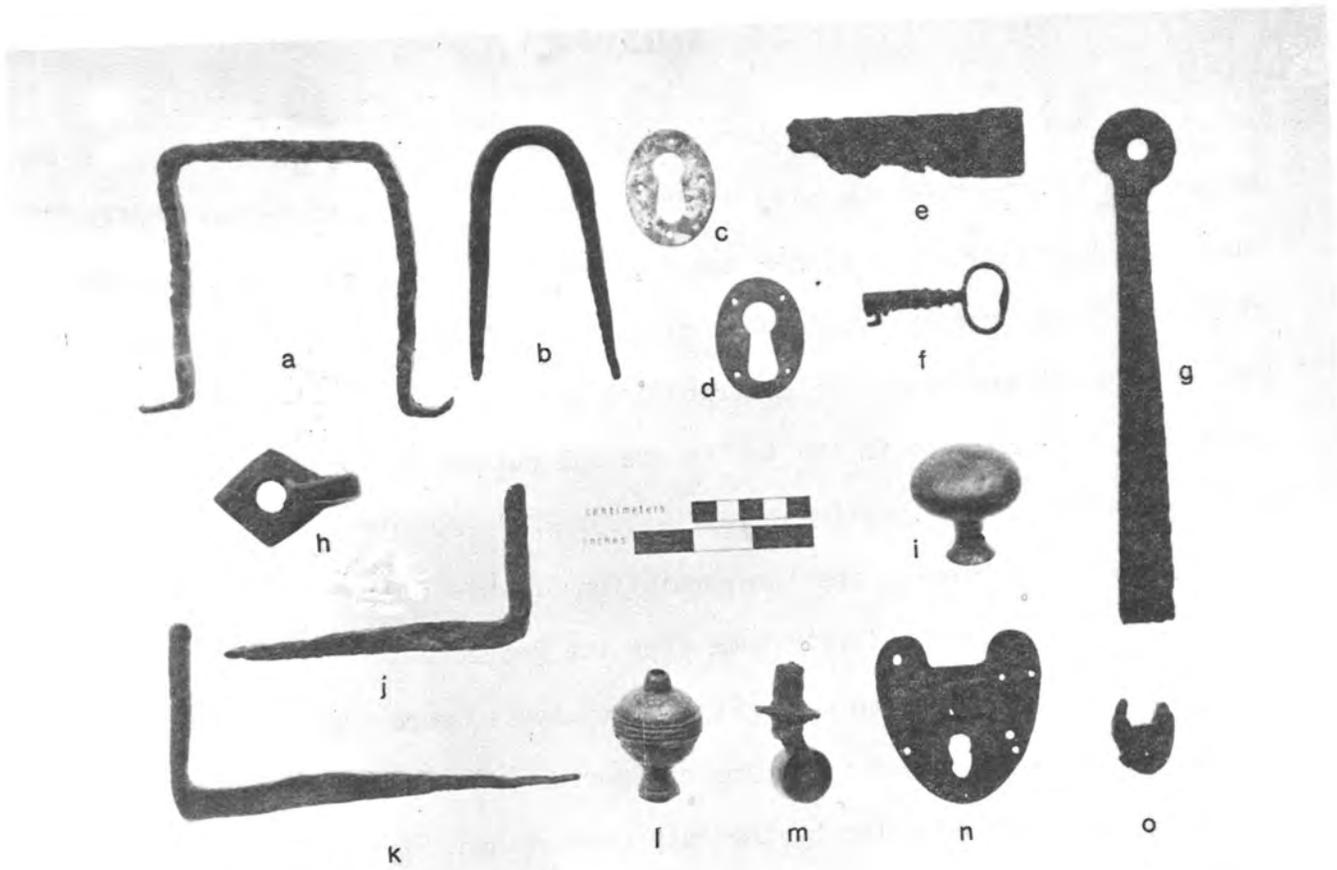
Nine iron hook-like devices were found (SC - 6; WC - 3) which are believed to be mantel or wall hooks. They seem to be made to drive into wood, leaving an exposed hook or L-shaped projection that would have provided a support on which to hang household objects.

A few items were found which belong to the category of furniture hardware. These include: a decorative brass object (Fig. 46l) from the lower portion of the South Cabin chimney fall, which may be an andiron finial; 2 furniture casters (Fig. 46m and WC,WS,ZII); a brass drawer pull embossed "PATENT 1855" (WC,NS,ZII); a cabinet (?) latch (EC,SS,ZII); and a porcelain drawer pull (NC,WS,ZI).

The most interesting distribution pattern noted for items in this subsection concerns the structural hardware artifacts from the South Cabin site. The percentage of these items from Zone II is notably higher than for several other artifact categories compared. This provides some support for our contention that Zone II pertains to the dismantling of the cabin.

Figure 46. Structural and furniture hardware: a. square staple (SC,ZIII,SF3B); b. u-shaped staple (SC,ZIII,EF3); c. keyhole escutcheon (SC,ZIII,SF3B); d. keyhole escutcheon (SC,ZII); e. partial stock-lock bolt (SC,ZIII,SF3B); f. key (SC,ZII); g. latch (SC,ZII); h. "rat tail" wing nut (SC,ZIII,NF3B); i. doorknob (SC,ZII); j. pintle (SC,ZII); k. pintle (WC,WS,ZII); l. andiron (?) finial (SC,F1); m. furniture caster (WC,ES,ZI); n. padlock case front (inside surface) (WC,NS,ZII); o. padlock with keyhole cover (hasp is broken) (SC,ZII). All items are iron except c,d,i, and l. (brass) and m. and o. (brass and iron).

Figure 47. Carpenter's rivet and nail types: a. round-headed rivet with flat rove, b. large-headed hand wrought nails, c. rose-headed hand wrought nails, d. machine-cut brads, e. early machine-headed cut nails, f. "modern" common cut nails.



NAILS

The total number of complete and partial nails recovered during the two seasons is 9,187. There are also 8 additional "nails" classified as "spikes," which are unusually large hand-wrought specimens. These last came from six different South Cabin proveniences, except for 1 from the West Cabin (ES,ZII). Tables 14 to 17 summarize the distribution of nail types for the four major subareas. Not included in the tables are 131 cut nails and tacks from the three additional test locations: STP - 103; F21 - 22; NETP - 6.

A major problem in the interpretation of this large collection of nails is that the vast majority came from the ground heavily corroded, and it has not been feasible to clean (by electrolysis) more than a small percentage of them. The three major categories (wire, cut, and hand-wrought) can normally be sorted after having only been washed. However, beyond this it is often difficult to determine the specific type represented. In the case of cut nails, by far the largest category, we have used the heading "'Modern' Machine-Cut" for common "modern" machine-cut nails and as a residual category for corroded specimens only identified as machine cut.

Classification of the nails is based on the guidelines provided by Nelson (1968). These and some additional observations are summarized below:

Hand-Wrought. Used during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and for special purposes into the nineteenth century. Characterized by hand-made head and four-sided taper of the shank (Fig. 47c). Many of the Hermitage hand-wrought nails have thick, square to rounded shanks and large, rather flat heads (Fig. 47b).

Machine-Cut with Handmade Head. First developed in the 1780s and used until the 1820s. Shank portion cut by machine; head applied by hand-held hammer and heading tool. Shanks of these and subsequent cut nails taper on two sides only. Both common nails (which appear similar to the fully machine-cut type except for their wrought heads) and brads (Fig. 47d,right), plus a few small lath nails, were found in the South Cabin excavations.

Machine-Cut Brad. Also called L-headed nails, the completely machine made type (Fig. 47d, left) was first produced in the 1790s. A perfected form was developed ca. 1810 and continued to be used throughout the nineteenth century.

Early Machine-Headed. Usually have irregular heads and a waisted shank beneath the head. Produced from about 1815 to 1830s (Fig. 47e).

"Modern" Machine Cut. Uniform machine-cut and headed nails were perfected in the 1830s and continue to be used for some special purposes today. However, they were not in much demand after the 1890s (Fig. 47f).

Modern Wire Nails. Manufacture of nails from steel wire dates from the 1850s, but they did not become the dominant type of nail used until the 1890s.

Miscellaneous. Some of the nails found are not directly comparable to Nelson's (1968) categories, and some are probably not related to structural uses. For example, many of the "Headless Machine-Cut" and "Machine-Cut Tack" specimens are most likely from shoes (see Fig. 42), and there are other special types such as "Horseshoe Nails."

As with previous artifact categories, the North Cabin sample is heavily weighted with more recent examples, in this case modern wire and modern flat-headed roofing nails. Only Zone III (WS) was more or less free of these, suggesting some pre-1890 accumulation.

At the other extreme, the percentage of early nails (Hand-Wrought and Machine-Cut with Handmade Head) associated with the South, West, and East cabins is very low. This again suggests that there was little concentrated pre-nineteenth-century occupation. However, the nail distributions provide one of the few instances where the West Cabin produced a slightly greater percentage of older type artifacts. This is one of the few bits of archaeological information that could be regarded as supporting the "West Cabin as eighteenth-century blockhouse" hypothesis discussed in previous sections of the report.

Table 14. Distribution of South Cabin site nails.

Nail Types	ZIII		ZIII	ZIII	ZIII	F2,4			F6,10		F16	F16	F16	TOTAL	% of TOTAL	
	ZI	ZII	SF3B	NF3B	EF3	SF3	F1	& 5	F7	F9	& 24	ZI	ZII			ZIII
Modern Wire	2	1												3	0.1	
"Modern" Machine-Cut *																
Complete & head portions	676	649	276	63	227	69	63	65	44	2	1	39	221	16	2411	55.4
Shank portions	410	400	246	28	117	35	52	36	49	9	4	42	180	17	1625	37.4
"Modern" Cut Finish	39	4										17	4		64	1.5
Machine-Cut Tack	7	3			6			1				2	8		27	0.6
Headless Machine-Cut	3	2													5	0.1
Early Machine-Headed	7	13		1	2	2		1	1			5	40	3	75	1.7
Machine-Cut Brad	23	26	12		9		2	1					4		77	1.8
Machine-Cut w/ Handmade Head																
Common nail	4	1			1							1	3		10	0.2
Brad	1														1	0.0
Lath nail	1												13		14	0.3
Hand-Wrought																
Common nail	4	4	1		1							2		2	14	0.3
Large headed	5	4	1	2	1		1		1				1		16	0.4
Brad	1	1					2		1						5	0.1
Horseshoe Nail			1		1										2	0.0
Machine-Cut, Anvil (?)																
Flattened		1													1	0.0
TOTAL	1184	1108	537	94	365	106	120	104	96	11	5	108	474	38	4350	100%

* Includes corroded nails that, without additional cleaning, could only be identified as machine-cut.

Table 15. Distribution of West Cabin nails.

Nail Types	WS	WS	NS	NS	ES	ES	TOTAL	% of TOTAL	
	ZI	ZII	ZI	ZII	ZI	ZII			
Modern Wire	41	1	10		122		174	7.4	
"Modern" Machine-Cut *									
Complete & head portions	108	125	346	159	239	231	1208	51.6	
Shank portions	32	80	267	108	130	197	814	34.8	
"Modern" Cut Finish	1	2					3	0.1	
Machine-Cut Tack		1	5	3	1	2	12	0.5	
Headless Machine-Cut			2			5	7	0.3	
Early Machine-Headed	1		30	4	5	3	43	1.8	
Machine-Cut Brad	4	3	4	2	6	9	28	1.2	
Machine Cut w/ Handmade Head									
Common nail	2		2	2			6	0.3	
Hand-Wrought									
Common nail	1	1	11	4	12	8	37	1.6	
Large headed	2		2				4	0.2	
Brad			1				1	0.0	
Machine-Cut, Anvil (?)									
Flattened			2		1		3	0.1	
	<hr/>								
TOTAL	192	213	682	282	516	455	2340	100%	

* Same as Table 14.

Table 16. Distribution of East Cabin nails.

Nail Types	ES	ES	ES	SS	SS	SS	F13	F15	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
	ZI	ZII	ZIII	ZI	ZII	ZIII				
Modern Wire	100	1		97	6				204	19.0
"Modern" Machine-Cut *										
Complete & head portions	165	17	115	88	59	28	14		486	45.3
Shank portions	144	15	61	56	63	12	7	1	359	33.5
Machine-Cut Tack		3							3	0.3
Early Machine-Headed			1		3		1		5	0.5
Machine-Cut Brad		4					1		6	0.5
Hand-Wrought										
Common nail					6		1		7	0.6
Large headed					2				2	0.2
Horseshoe Nail					1				1	0.1
<hr/>										
TOTAL	416	34	177	253	128	43	21	1	1073	100%

* Same as Table 14.

Table 17. Distribution of North Cabin nails.

Nail Types	WEST SIDE					EAST SIDE			
	ZI	ZII	ZIII	F20 post- mold	F20 post- hole	TOTAL	% of TOTAL	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
Modern Wire									
Complete & head portions	153	23		4		180	19.6	455	35.2
Shank portions	32	6		1		39	4.3	459	35.5
Modern Roofing	95		1			96	10.5	138	10.7
"Modern" Machine-Cut *									
Complete & head portions	76	151	36	1	9	273	29.8	147	11.3
Shank portions	37	285			1	323	35.2	93	7.2
Machine-Cut Tack		2				2	0.2		
Machine-Cut Brad	1	3				4	0.4	1	0.1
TOTAL	394	470	37	6	10	917	100%	1293	100%

* Same as Table 14.

STRUCTURAL DEBRIS

Three basic kinds of materials are considered here. Pieces of mortar and plaster and bricks and brick rubble were extremely abundant and were recorded by weight. Fragments of flat glass, which were thought to be from window panes, were recorded by number and are discussed in terms of their distribution and average thickness.

Mortar and Plaster

The main classificatory difference in these materials is that the term mortar was applied to irregular chunks, and the term plaster was used for pieces with at least one smooth, flat surface. Most of the mortar had been used between bricks or as daubing between cabin logs. Some of the pieces classified as plaster also came from between cabin logs (one smooth-surfaced piece from the South Cabin site has a clear log impression on one side), but there are also many pieces that are layered, with an outer coat of pure white or occasionally pink. These probably represent interior wall finishes such as were used as early as the seventeenth century and had become extremely common by the middle of the nineteenth century (Walker 1971: 66).

The South Cabin excavations produced a total of 5,289.2 gm (11.7 pounds) of mortar and 1,873.5 gm (4.1 pounds) of plaster. Pieces of both mortar and plaster came from all zones and virtually all features, but the mortar seems to have been slightly more concentrated in Zone II and the temporally associated lower portion of Feature 1. These two proveniences yielded 1,913.5 gm (36 percent) of the mortar. The heaviest concentration of plaster was in Zone III (SF3B), 706.2 gm (37 percent).

The West Cabin produced 5,056.2 gm (11.2 pounds) of mortar, 70.1 gm (3 ounces) of plaster, and an additional 774.8 gm of very modern concrete

daubing. In all of the West Cabin locations tested, these materials were most concentrated in the upper zones.

The East Cabin test pits yielded 4,310.9 gm (9.5 pounds) mortar, 17.8 gm (less than 1 ounce) of plaster, and an additional 8,457.1 gm of very recent mortar and concrete daubing. Again, the heaviest concentrations were in zones I and II of both squares.

No material was identified as plaster in the North Cabin sample, and only 58.8 and 298.0 gm of mortar came from the east and west sides of the building. Most of that from the west side (157.3 gm) came from Zone I.

After these materials had been weighed and recorded, all but a small sample from each provenience was discarded. Basically all of the older samples of mortar seem to have been made using a fairly constant composition of sand and lime, with occasional inclusions of darker inorganic particles.

Brick

The value of bricks as chronological indicators on nineteenth-century sites is extremely limited. The "standard common" or "8-inch" brick (8 by 3 3/4 by 2 1/4 inches) was widely used by the early part of the nineteenth century and continued to be made in much the same technological manner for many decades thereafter (Walker 1971: 47-53). Specifically, in the Nashville area, almost all brick was molded by hand until after 1879 (Cox 1976: 6).

Except for a few machine-pressed bricks from the east side of the North Cabin, all of the first Hermitage specimens are rather uniform in size and texture. They are of a rather sandy consistency and range in color from brick red to orange and purple. All of the larger pieces exhibit five flat surfaces and one surface that is striated. This is a result of their having been molded in open-top box-like molds, with the striated surface resulting from scraping across the top of the mold to remove excess clay.

There is some indication that bricks were being molded and fired on the Hermitage property from around the time of the construction of the first mansion (1819). This is one of the problems to be investigated during the summer of 1976, and the results will be reported at a later date. We will also include at that time information which has been collected about the bricks used in various structures in the Hermitage and Tulip Grove complexes.

For the present, our conclusions about the the bricks in the first Hermitage area are based largely on two collections. These came from the North Cabin chimney and the South Cabin site.

Work on the South Cabin site yielded a total of 25 whole bricks that were already disassociated (the in-place bricks shown in Fig. 18 were not removed and are excluded from the following tabulations). Most of these complete bricks were associated with the Feature 1 chimney fall. These, as well as partial bricks and brick rubble, were recorded on a specially designed form, and for each whole brick we have a record of its length, width, thickness, and weight. Twenty-four of the South Cabin specimens range from 205 to 218 mm long, 95 to 106 mm wide, 54 to 63 mm thick, and weigh from 1,956.2 to 2,551.5 gm. The averages for these same brick are 210 mm by 100 mm by 58 mm, weight 2,227.9 gm (8 1/4 by 3 15/16 by 2 1/4 inches, and 4.9 pounds). One anomalous South Cabin brick is only 193 mm long, 94 mm wide, 55 mm thick, and weighs 1,786.1 gm.

The North Cabin chimney, now a chimney fall (Fig. 26), was constructed of the same type of hand-molded brick found elsewhere in the area (though its actual construction may have been rather late, see p. 125). In 1974, 20 bricks were pulled from the North Cabin chimney fall and recorded. These range from 206 to 215 mm long, 97 to 109 mm wide, 49 to 60 mm thick, and weigh from 1,871.1 to 2,494.8 gm. Their averages are 209 mm by 101 mm by 58 mm, weight 2,283.6 gm (8 1/4 by 3 15/16 by 2 1/4 inches, and 5.0 pounds).

The problem of what to do with the heavy concentrations of brick and brick rubble sometimes associated with the ruins of buildings is a significant one for the historical archaeologist. Should they be treated as other artifacts and saved, or simply ignored?

In the first Hermitage investigations, this problem was handled by recording such information as size, weight, and color of all complete and some partial bricks and also recording by weight all of the brick rubble from a given level or feature. This same mass, except for a few selected specimens, was then discarded into excavation pits which were ready to be backfilled. Admittedly this is a time-consuming procedure and may not be desirable in all situations. However, it is felt that in dealing with the remains of brick constructions, a record of the weight of the mass of bricks and brick rubble encountered is the only way to attempt to answer the question of how many bricks were originally used. For the results given here we are using an adjusted average weight of 2,253.0 gm as representative of individual hand-molded first Hermitage bricks.

The South Cabin site produced the following quantities of brick and brick rubble: ZI - 830,104.8 gm; ZII - 226,103.8 gm; ZIII,SF3B - 140,797.0 gm; ZIII,NF3B - 11,433.3 gm; ZIII,EF3 - 46,255.9 gm; ZIII,SF3 - 22,245.5 gm; F1 - 304,377.5 gm; F2 and F4 - 6,154.0 gm; F7 - 53,312.7 gm; F9 - 2,409.7 gm; F24 - 399.4 gm; F16,ZI - 835.4; F16,ZII - 24,405.6 gm; F16,ZIII - 4,770.1 gm. This is a total of 1,673,604.7 gm (3,692.3 pounds) or, converted to number of bricks represented, equals 742.8. An additional calculation is that at least 1,410,158.7 gm of the total are probably from the ruin of the south chimney. This figure, which equals 625.9 bricks provides at least a start towards knowing the total mass of the south chimney fall, and an eventual complete excavation of the South Cabin site should make it possible to estimate the chimney's approximate original size.

Brick and brick rubble associated with the West Cabin were also recorded but are not easy to relate to any particular structural event. The combined weight of this material from Zone I on each of the three sides of the building is 17,464.8 gm; for Zone II on all sides it is 23,279.1 gm. That most of the 40,743.9 gm (89.9 pounds) came from Zone II may indicate that Zone I has accumulated largely since the collapse of the cabin's chimney in 1889 (Fig. 4f).

A rather even trend is indicated for the rate of deposition of brick rubble around the East Cabin. Combining the material from the two squares, Zone I equals 4,627.4 gm, Zone II equals 10,239.9 gm, and Zone III equals 12,061.9 gm (features 13 and 14 produced an additional 164.8 gm). The distribution of these 27,094.0 gm (59.7 pounds) merely suggests a decrease in density of brick debris from the time when the area was in active use and when most of the construction occurred.

A total of 48,406.0 gm (106.7 pounds) of bricks and brick debris came from the North Cabin excavations (does not include the chimney fall sample). Most of this (31,995.0 gm) came from the cabin's east side and, as noted above, included several relatively modern machine-pressed bricks. On the west side, brick, as well as other debris, was most prevalent in Zone II.

Only very minor quantities of brick rubble came from any of the other locations tested (STP, F21, and NETP). This indicates an additional point concerning the utility of recording, by weight, the amount of rubble in a particular provenience. In the absence of other clues, a clearly defined pattern of increasing density could help to pinpoint the locations of some types of building sites.

Window Glass

A total of 1,109 pieces of flat greenish glass (most if not all of them from glazed windows) was found in the first Hermitage area. These are too small to yield the kinds of dating information which would be available from intact panes (Noel Hume 1970: 234), but their distribution is of considerable interest. There are two indications (see pages 40-41 and 113) that the West Cabin may have once had glazed windows (an embellishment which would most likely have been discontinued during its use as a slave cabin). And indeed, a considerably larger quantity of such glass was found associated with this building.

The South Cabin site produced only 92 pieces of window pane, rather evenly distributed, but slightly more concentrated in the lower zones. The East Cabin tests yielded 150 pieces, and 115 of these came from Zone III on the building's east side. The West Cabin excavations produced a rather striking 528 pieces, with 489 coming from Zone II.

The North Cabin squares contained 340 pieces of window pane, but in this case there are some distinctive size differences.

The South, West, and East cabin samples show a strong similarity in terms of thickness. While there are a few obvious examples of rather thick, modern sheet glass, the normal size range for samples from all three cabins is 0.8 to 2.1 mm. There is also a very consistent average thickness of 1.2 to 1.3 mm. According to Walker (1971: 78), window glass 3/64 inch (1.1 to 1.3 mm) thick "occurs only on sites built, or occupied, prior to 1845."

In contrast to the other cabins, fragments of window pane (112) from the North Cabin's east side average 2.3 mm thick, while samples from the somewhat older deposits on the west side range from 1.4 to 3.0 mm and average 1.7 mm. This provides still one more suggestion that the North Cabin was probably not in use as early as the other first Hermitage area cabins.

MISCELLANEOUS METAL

This category consists largely of unidentified or unidentifiable objects of iron, brass, and lead. There are also many distinctly modern metal items which came from the upper zones of the two restored cabins and especially from the North Cabin. In all, 1,118 objects are included in this subsection.

There are 27 iron artifacts which we were unable to specifically classify that may ultimately prove to be identifiable. Seventeen of these came from the South Cabin site. In addition, there are 748 pieces of iron (many badly corroded) that are either unidentifiable objects or in many instances represent the by-products of some metal working activity. Most of these came from two locations: SC - 457; NC - 233. The North Cabin material can probably be considered a normal association of machine-age junk. In the case of the South Cabin, however, a considerable amount of work with metal seems implied. This may relate to the use of this building for the maintenance of farm tools, an activity indirectly suggested in another subsection.

A total of 94 pieces of wire was found. Again, many of these are relatively modern North Cabin items. However, 46 pieces of iron wire came from the South Cabin Site, and 29 similar pieces came from the West Cabin. Except for some Zone I samples, these do not seem to be sections of fence wire, but the specific use of any of them is unknown.

A total of 48 small iron strips came from the West Cabin and the South Cabin site. Most of these are approximately 20 to 30 mm long, 2 mm wide, and slightly less than 1 mm thick. One has a small brass disc with flanges crimped around its midsection. They may all pertain to some specific function, but what it was is not known.

There are 9 brass objects from the South Cabin site, 6 from the West Cabin, and 4 from the North Cabin for which a specific function was not determined. Two identical brass rings (18 mm in diameter and concave on the inside edge) are interesting in that one came from the South Cabin site (ZIII,SF3B), the other came from the North Cabin (NS,ZII).

In addition, 40 miscellaneous scraps of brass came from the West Cabin and the South Cabin site. At least some of these seem to relate to the making of brass utensils.

Miscellaneous chunks, strips, and globules of lead were found in three locations: SC - 112; WC - 5; F21 - 1. Such scatterings of lead result from, among other things, the molding of lead bullets. The largest piece of lead found (SC,ZIII,EF3) is an 880 gm disc which by its shape shows that it was heated and then allowed to solidify in the concave bottom of an iron pot.

There are 24 metal objects (such as bottle caps, electrical connectors, etc.), almost all of them from the North Cabin, which are of no real concern to the present problem. Of passing interest is an aluminum disc from the east side of the North Cabin which is stamped with the number 1 and "Alabama State Tax Commission" "Luxuary Tax Token."

FLORAL REMAINS

A sizable quantity of charred floral remains was found. Most prevalent is wood charcoal, small pieces of which were scattered throughout most levels and features. No particular concentrations were found, and most of it probably came from the periodic cleaning of fireplaces. The South Cabin squares contained 1,436.6 gm wood charcoal (including 46.8 gm of charred tree bark). There was a notable increase in density from Zone I to Zone III (especially ZIII,SF3B). In contrast, only 190.0 gm of wood charcoal came from the West

Cabin, most of it from the building's north side. The East Cabin (especially ES,ZIII) produced 350.9 gm, but only 90.8 gm were found in tests around the North Cabin.

A variety of other charred plant remains were found. These are especially interesting as they indicate some of the types of food consumed in the first Hermitage area. The principal guide used in the classification of these remains is by Eickermeier (1974).

Most of the charred seeds and other portions of plants from the South Cabin site occurred in Zone II and Zone III inside and outside the foundation. All of the types represented can be considered contemporary with the building's period of occupation. The South Cabin totals, by number of pieces and combined weight, are: bean - 1 (0.8 gm); corn cob - 18 (5.4 gm); corn kernel - 11 (2.3 gm); corn stalk (1 small section); sugarberry (southern hackberry) seed - 1 (0.2 gm); hickory nut - 7 (1.7 gm); peach pit - 31 (9.5 gm); pecan - 2 (0.3 gm); walnut - 84 (44.4 gm); unidentified nut - 62 (8.3 gm); unidentified seed - 17 (1.8 gm); unidentified plant stem - 6 (0.5 gm).

As for other fragile remains, floral preservation conditions around the West Cabin were rather poor, except for the north side (ZII). The following small pieces of charred remains were found: corn cob - 5 (4.7 gm); peach pit - 6 (1.2 gm); walnut - 6 (1.6 gm); unidentified nut - 1 (0.7 gm); unidentified seed - 2 (0.3 gm).

Charred plant remains from the East Cabin were rather evenly distributed. Some of all of the following came from the lowest zone outside the back door (ES,ZIII): corn cob - 4 (0.6 gm); corn kernel - 2 (0.5 gm); hickory nut - 19 (2.6 gm); peach pit - 15 (3.4 gm); walnut - 19 (3.1 gm); unidentified nut - 9 (1.2 gm); unidentified seed - 4 (0.3 gm).

A sizeable quantity of uncharred peach pits was preserved on the east side of the North Cabin, along with 15 pieces of charred walnut shell. Charred plant remains from the west side of the North Cabin are also limited to peach pits (11, ca. 3 gm) and pieces of walnut shell (2, 0.5 gm).

ABORIGINAL ARTIFACTS

A total of 1,511 objects was found which pertain to the use of this area in prehistoric times. Most prevalent are unmodified chert chips (1,485), by-products of the making of aboriginal stone tools. These were common in the basal levels of the various squares but were more frequently found around the South, West, and East cabins, which are on higher ground than the North Cabin.

Other items include: 7 whole or partial projectile points (mostly stemmed types), 8 chert bifaces, 1 polishing stone, 1 hammer stone, 1 sandstone abrader, 1 end scraper, 1 microlith, 3 retouched flakes, and 3 small ceramic sherds (sand-tempered plain and cord-marked).

Evidently this area served as a periodic camping spot during Archaic (ca. 9,000 - 1,000 B.C.) and Woodland (ca. 1,000 B.C. - 1,000 A.D.) times.

GENERAL MISCELLANEOUS

Some modern non-occupation debris was encountered in most upper levels, and more was found around the West Cabin than anyplace else. Considering the large number of visitors that are attracted to the Hermitage each year, the quantity of this debris is actually very small (a fact which speaks well of the care given the site by those to whom it is entrusted).

Some types of non-artifactual items were recorded with the objective of preserving at least some information on local ecological conditions.

The prime example is land snail shells, which are known to be sensitive indicators of local environment. These have not actually been analysed, but a total of 462 were recorded and representative samples were saved.

Smooth, water-worn pebbles, which must have been brought in from someplace outside the immediate area, were also recorded. There were 291 of these, but so far as could be determined their distribution was not of any particular significance.

A total of 139 pieces of "slag-like" material was found. These are, for the most part, items melted beyond recognition, probably after they had been thrown or swept into a fireplace. Again no significant pattern of distribution was found, though most of them came from the South Cabin site.

Of some significance are 3 small pieces of sulfur from the South Cabin site (ZII and ZIII,SF3B). In former years, sulfur was used as "a stimulant to the skin and a parasiticide...as a medicine needed by the young in the spring time...in cases of disordered nutrition..." and for the treatment of "deranged" blood (Richardson 1914: 878).

The South Cabin site also produced a small piece of amethyst (ZII), a piece of quartz (ZIII,SF3B), and several chunks of burned clay.

In various locations, especially the South Cabin site, we found several small, smooth objects (including chert chips and historic ceramic sherds) which have been used as chicken gizzard stones.

The North Cabin tests yielded an assortment of plastic, rubber, and other semi-modern examples of occupation debris. The east side squares also produced our only example of a human skeletal element. This is a small molar, the loss of which must have been an event of some concern to the child to whom it once belonged.

GLASS BEADS FROM THE FIRST HERMITAGE

A total of 52 glass beads was recovered in excavations of the early Hermitage complex. These are illustrated in Figure 48 and the locations where they were found are shown in Table 18.

All of the first Hermitage specimens appear to be of European manufacture, imported to North America for use in a number of ways and by a variety of people. Discussion of some of the various uses will be an aid in dating them.

For example: Three glass beads like types found at the early Hermitage (Fig. 48a) were recovered in the excavation of a slave cabin site at Castalian Springs, a nineteenth-century farm-resort in Middle Tennessee (Smith 1975: 88-89). According to Smith, the slave quarters were probably occupied from the 1820 s to the 1850 s. A blue hexagonal, faceted bead of compound construction was also found in association with a slave cabin site at Rayfield cotton plantation on Cumberland Island, Georgia, occupied between circa 1834-1865 (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971: 3 and 8-9). And Fairbanks (1974: 90) reports a single pale blue faceted bead from the Kingsley slave cabins in northern Florida.

The type of faceted beads recovered at the Hermitage are also found in the African trade, but I would like to suggest that whatever of the "Hermitage specimens" may have been the property of slaves, it seems more feasible to assume they acquired them on this continent.

Of particular help in dating are data acquired from research of historic Indian-occupation sites. Beads of the hexagonal, faceted types were extensively used in the Indian trade during the major period of occupation of the early Hermitage cabins. These beads are reported

in the Western Great Lakes as early as 1760 and continue to be distributed as trade goods in that area until circa 1820 (Quimby 1966: 192-196).

They are generally found in historic Indian-occupation sites dating from 1800. As an example, these are predominant bead types in Eastern Oklahoma, an area occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes--the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, who were removed from the present states of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina in the early 1830s.

These beads also are considered characteristic of the Northwest Coast trade and are not uncommon in many western states in nineteenth-century sites.

To provide another example of the variety of uses of such faceted beads, I have examined a butler's pull made entirely of beads of these types. It reportedly was French in manufacture. This does not mean, however, that the beads themselves were manufactured in France--rather the object was made and/or used in that country, or imported from that country.

No doubt, these same types of beads had other decorative uses among various cultures.

White seed beads found adjacent to the West Cabin (Fig. 48g) could have come from a beaded bag or beadwork ornamenting a garment. There are any number of possible uses for this type.

Three specimens in particular may be somewhat later in manufacture than the bulk of those recovered in the Hermitage excavations. These are a black, pressed-glass bead (Fig. 48v); a black, mandrel-wound bead with random faceting (Fig. 48w); and a compound blue faceted bead (Fig. 48i).

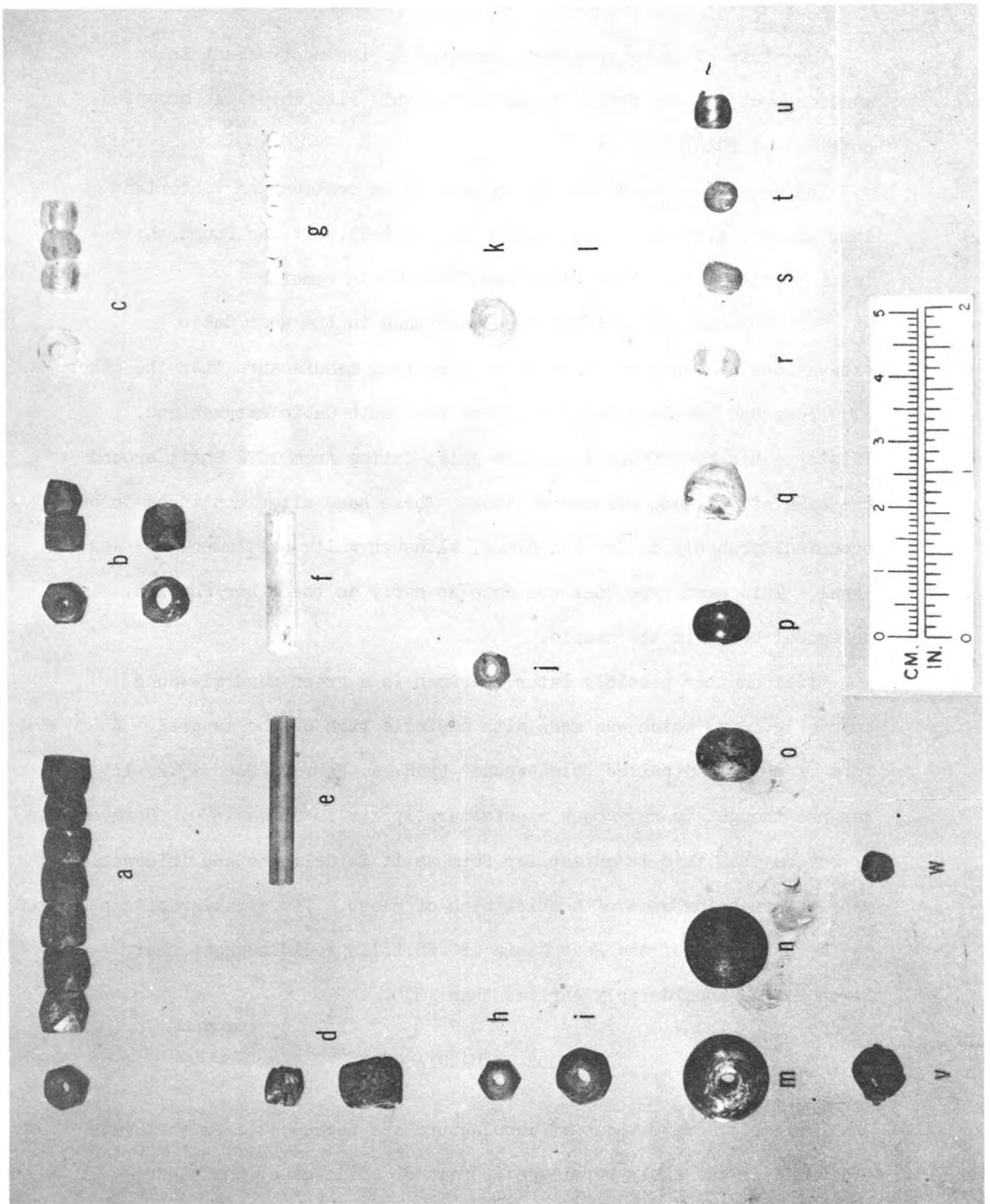


Figure 48. First Hermitage beads.

The first of these specimens probably is the most recent in manufacture. It was found at the North Cabin site which was occupied until circa 1940.

The second one is a type often used as an ornament on Victorian lamp shades, although it had other uses as well. It was found while testing Feature 16, adjacent to the South Cabin remains.

The compound blue faceted bead was found in the West Cabin excavations and appears to be of more refined manufacture than the other blue compound specimen recovered from the South Cabin excavations. This type has been found in Indian sites dating from 1832 until around the time of Oklahoma Statehood, 1907. These same sites continued to be occupied, probably by Creek Indians, although white settlement now was legal. This bead type does not date as early as the other faceted, hexagonal beads in the sample.

Still another possibly later specimen is a green mandrel-wound bead (Fig. 40u) which was made with a single turn of the mandrel. A form of this bead called "blob-wound" by R. K. Harris (Good 1972: 115) was not thought to have been manufactured prior to circa 1870. However, it may be that this is an earlier form as it is delicate and thin-walled, rather than being made of a thick blob of glass. Its stratigraphic position on the east side of the East Cabin (EC,ES,ZIII) would suggest that it should be considerably earlier than 1870.

METHODS OF MANUFACTURE

Basically, two methods of manufacture are represented in the beads excavated at the early Hermitage: drawn or hollowcane, and mandrel wound or wire wound.

Drawn Method

Forty-one of the 52 specimens examined from the site were made by this method in which the glass blower acquires a 'blob of molten glass at the end of his blow pipe and enlarges it into a bubble by blowing into the rod. Then another rod is attached to the opposite side of the bubble, and two men rapidly move in opposite directions until the glass cools and is no longer ductile. The perforation induced by blowing the air bubble into the glass remains relative constant for its entire length. When the glass is completely cooled, it is broken into short sections which are later cut into bead-size segments.

The white seed beads in the early Hermitage sample were then tumbled with sand and ash to thoroughly fill the perforations with that mixture. This prevents the wall of the bead from collapsing when heated again. The beads were then retumbled in a sand-ash mixture within a heated cylinder. This gives them their basic form. They then may have been agitated for some time in bags of bran to produce a polished surface.

The faceted beads of drawn construction were ground on the ends and then faceted. To produce those that are of compound construction, prior to drawing, each additional layer of colored glass was added to the bubble by immersing it into a molten mixture of another hue.

Mandrel-Wound Method

The initial step in manufacture of mandrel-wound beads is like that of drawn beads, other than an air bubble is not blown into the molten glass.

The resulting glass cane has no perforation. These beads are individually made. A short cane of glass is heated by means of a blow-touch type instrument while a metal mandrel also is heated and coated with a parting compound such as chalk (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 49). A thread of molten glass is wound round and around a revolving mandrel, much like yarn is rolled onto a spindle (Harris and Harris 1967: 137). Often the mandrel is tapered, in which case the bead perforation also will taper.

At least one specimen from the Hermitage is a pressed-glass bead (Fig. 48v), and the mold-parting mark is still visible. It first was mandrel wound, as is indicated primarily by the tapering perforation.

METHODS OF CLASSIFICATION

The Hermitage beads have been separated into two of the three structural categories (no "complex" beads were found) proposed by Harris and Harris (1967: 138):

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| <u>Simple.</u> | Those which are composed of a monolithic, structurally undifferentiated mass of glass. |
| <u>Compound</u> | Those beads consisting of two or more layers of glass. |

The Munsell Book of Color (Munsell 1973) has been used for accurate color reference. If a bead is described as opaque, no light will pass through it. If translucent, light passes through the bead to some varying degree. It is possible to see through a transparent bead, but to what degree may vary with the thickness of the glass and density of bead color.

In the following descriptions, the first Munsell notation for each bead group refers to that bead color seen as opaque. The term "diaphanitic color value" then refers to the color of the bead on the Munsell scale, with regards to its translucency or transparency,

Table 18. First Hermitage bead distribution.

<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Bead Type</u>	<u>Number</u>
SC,ZI	a	1
SC,ZI	k	1
SC,ZI	t	1
SC,ZII	a	1
SC,ZIII,SF3B	a	2
SC,ZIII,SF3B	b	1
SC,ZIII,SF3B	c	3
SC,ZIII,SF3B	d	1
SC,ZIII,SF3B	f	1
SC,ZIII,SF3B	h	1
SC,ZIII,EF3	l	1
SC,ZIII,EF3	r	1
SC,F1	b	1
SC,F7	a	1
SC,F7	b	2
SC,F7	c	1
SC,F16,ZII	a	1
SC,F16,ZIII	o	1
SC,F16,ZIII	q	1
SC,F16,ZIII	w	1 (SC Total = 24)
WC,ES,ZI	i	1
WC,ES,ZI	n	1
WC,ES,ZII	g	15
WC,ES,ZII	s	1 (WC Total = 18)
EC,ES,ZI	b	1
EC,ES,ZI	d	1
EC,ES,ZI	e	1
EC,ES,ZI	j	1
EC,ES,ZIII	u	1
EC,SS,ZIII	a	1 (EC Total = 6)
NC,WS,ZI	m	1
NC,WS,ZII	p	1
NC,WS,ZII	v	1
NC,F20	a	1 (NC Total = 4)
		<u>52</u>

when held to the light. A translucent cobalt or royal-blue bead, for example, may appear quite dark unless held to the light, whereon it becomes a brilliant hue. These color variations are important in order to present a more accurate color definition.

GLASS BEAD DESCRIPTIONS

The 52 beads from the first Hermitage are described below.

The letters (a)-(w) refer to Figure 48.

(a): 8 specimens Munsell color value 7.58PB 3/12
 Diaphanitic color value 7.5PB 4/12

Translucent royal-blue, barrel shaped bead of simple, drawn construction, made from a hollow cane of glass which is hexagonal in cross section. Facets were ground on the sides of each bead at each end, leaving a central row of facets around the bead. The total number of facets may vary; usually there are 16 to 20. The ends of the bead are ground.

Catalog #'s 75-6-21-60, 74-1-67-7, 74-1-43-19, 75-7-3-21,
74-1-62-26, 75-8-11-15, 75-6-11-18, 74-1-62-25

(b): 5 specimens Black

Opaque black barrel-shaped bead of simple, drawn construction, made from a hollow cane of glass which is hexagonal in cross section. Faceting is like that described in (a).

Catalog #'s 74-1-79-3, 74-1-35-42, 74-1-67-6, 74-1-87-20
74-1-26-92

(c): 4 specimens Colorless

Transparent colorless, barrel-shaped bead of simple, drawn construction, made from a hollow cane of glass which is hexagonal in cross section. Faceting is like that described in (a).

Catalog #'s 74-1-77-1, 74-1-88-24, 74-1-88-23, 74-1-83-10

(d): 2 specimens Munsell color value 7.5YR 3/2
 Diaphanitic color value 7.5YR 5/4

Somewhat translucent dark brown, barrel-shaped bead of simple, drawn construction, made from a hollow cane of glass which is hexagonal in cross section. Faceting is like that described in (a).

Catalog #'s 74-1-83-9, 74-1-35-29.

(e): 1 specimen Munsell color value 2.5Y 8/6
 Diaphanitic color value 2.5Y 9/6

Translucent yellow bead which is tubular in shape and hexagonal in cross section. It is of simple, drawn construction.

Catalog # 74-1-33-14

(f): 1 specimen Milky white

Translucent milky-white bead which is tubular in shape and is of simple, drawn construction. It has been broken.

Catalog # 74-1-23-34

(g): 15 specimens White

Opaque white seed beads of simple, drawn construction. Tumbled.

Catalog # 75-5-14-44

(h): 1 specimen Munsell color value 7.5PB 4/12 over 5PB 6/8
 Diaphanitic color value 7.5PB 5/12

Transparent blue faceted bead of compound, drawn construction. The exterior medium-blue layer is hexagonal in cross section. The core is translucent sky blue. Facets were ground on the sides of each bead at each end, leaving a central row on facets around the bead. The total number of facets may range from 16 to 20 in the type.

Catalog # 75-6-19-13

(i): 1 specimen Munsell color value 7.5PB 4/12 over 5PB 7/8
 Diaphanitic color value 7.5PB 5/12

Transparent blue bead which appears to be of compound, drawn construction. The inner layer is translucent sky blue. The bead has an additional row of facets, when compared with (h). Mille (1975: 20) observes that different faceted specimens vary in appearance and workmanship, suggesting a wide time span and differing fabrication expertise. This bead appears to be of the later period. There are, however, wavy striations on the exterior surface of the bead, but these do not compare with the usual mandrel-wound striation patterns.

Catalog # 75-5-10-57

(j): 1 specimen Munsell color value 5BG 6/8 over 7.5BG 8/4
 Diaphanitic color value 7.5BG 8/4

Transparent aqua faceted bead which has an interior layer of translucent aqua of a lighter hue. The bead is drawn, compound construction and is barrel-shaped. Faceting is like that described in (a). The bead is hexagonal in cross section.

Catalog # 74-1-35-43

(k): 1 specimen Colorless over milky white

Transparent colorless faceted bead which has a core that is translucent milky-white glass. The bead is of drawn, compound construction and is barrel shaped. Faceting is like that described in (a).

Catalog # 74-1-9-37

(l): 1 specimen Colorless over milky white, over colorless

Transparent colorless faceted bead which has a middle layer of milky-white glass that is translucent, and a core of transparent colorless glass. The bead is of drawn, compound construction and is barrel shaped. Faceting is like that described in (a).

Catalog # 74-1-27-32

(m): 1 specimen Black

Opaque black spheroidal-shaped bead of simple, mandrel-wound construction.

Catalog # 75-8-9-42

- (n): 1 specimen Black
Opaque black round bead of simple, mandrel-wound construction.
Catalog # 75-5-10-56
- (o): 1 specimen Munsell color value 7.5PB 2.5/6
 Diaphanitic color value 7.5PB 3/12
Translucent purple-blue spheroidal-shaped bead of simple,
mandrel-wound construction.
Catalog # 75-5-6-6
- (p): 1 specimen Black
Opaque black donut-shaped bead of simple, mandrel-wound
construction. Bead surface is somewhat glossy.
Catalog # 75-8-10-57
- (q): 1 specimen Munsell color value 10YR 7/10
 Diaphanitic color value 10YR 8/6
Translucent amber-colored, spheroidal-shaped bead of simple,
mandrel-wound construction.
Catalog #75-6-3-15
- (r): 1 specimen Colorless
Translucent colorless donut-shaped bead of simple, mandrel-wound
construction.
Catalog # 75-6-24-14
- (s): 1 specimen Munsell color value 5YR 4/6
 Diaphanitic color value 5YR 5/8
Translucent brown donut-shaped bead of simple, mandrel-wound
construction.
Catalog # 75-5-11-42
- (t): 1 specimen Munsell color value 10BG 7/6
 Diaphanitic color value 10BG 7/6
Transparent aqua spheroidal-shaped bead of simple, mandrel-wound
construction.
Catalog # 75-6-15-29

(u): 1 specimen

Munsell color value 10GY 8/6

Diaphanitic color value 10GY 8/6

Transparent moss-green, donut-shaped bead of simple, mandrel-wound, single-turn construction.

Catalog # 74-1-47-6

(v): 1 specimen

Black

Opaque black pressed-glass bead with random or accidental faceting. It is a circular convex-bicone in shape. The mold-parting mark is still visible. The bead surface is somewhat glossy. It was mandrel-wound and has a tapered perforation, which retains a corroded piece of suspension wire.

Catalog # 75-8-10-56

(w): 1 specimen

Black

Opaque black round bead with random ground facets. It is of simple, mandrel-wound construction. The surface is somewhat glossy. It has a tapered perforation.

Catalog # 75-6-3-14

FAUNAL REMAINS FROM THE FIRST HERMITAGE

In 1974, archaeological investigations conducted in Area A of the Hermitage estate yielded over 11,000 fragmented faunal remains. Preliminary laboratory analysis conducted at the University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology, included the identification, correlation, and synthesis of faunal evidence from 98 proveniences representing three subareas: two test units south of the South Cabin, a test unit near the south back door of the East Cabin, and a six unit excavation within the southern limits of the foundation and outer periphery of the South Cabin site. With the return of archaeological crews in the summer of 1975, an additional 6,000 pieces of bone were recovered from the North, South, East, and West cabins. Additional laboratory analysis was conducted on the Hermitage property in the autumn of 1975. Of the slightly less than 18,000 faunal elements examined, 16 percent (2,863 elements) were identifiable to at least the generic level. The origin of all elements (including anatomical identifications) is summarized according to subarea, level, zone, and feature in Appendix I and II.*

The density of faunal remains, horizontally, is more diffuse at the outskirts of structures. Vertically and horizontally, faunal debris becomes more abundant near the peripheries of individual cabin foundations, denser within cabin foundations, and densest within zones representing the height of occupation. Material derived from the two 1 X 2 m test units located south of the South Cabin (Fig. 7) accounts for a mere 0.1 percent of the total faunal remains recovered. The sparsity of faunal debris is reflected in the fragmentary remains of pig, tooth fragments and a severed right proximal radius of cow, and a small quantity of unidentifiable mammalian bone.

*These appendixes are not included in the present report, but copies are on file with the Tennessee Division of Archaeology and the Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee.

Skeletal elements recovered from the east and south sides of the East Cabin constitute a little more than 10 percent of the total faunal assemblage. Fauna and the number of representative elements listed in Table 19 reveal a limited species composition with domestic mammalian and domestic avian remains (pig, cow, sheep, and chicken) composing 87 percent of the 248 identifiable elements recovered. Other avian remains were very scanty. The only definite element of turkey, an ulna, was recovered from this area. Fish (Moxostoma sp., redhorse) and shell (Pleurocera sp., periwinkle) are scarce as are the remains of raccoon (Procyon lotor), rabbit (Sylvilagus floridanus), and opossum (Didelphis marsupialis).

Excavation units on the east, west, and north sides of the West Cabin (Table 20) produced additional remains of edible species and local wildlife fauna. Pig, cow, and sheep remains comprise 88 percent of the 427 identifiable fragments. Approximately 5 percent of the remains are of chicken, and 8 percent of edible small mammals (raccoon, squirrel, rabbit, and opossum). The remaining elements represent edible species of turtle and fish (Chelydra serpentina, eastern snapping turtle, and Aplodinotus grunniens, freshwater drum fish) and other indigenous wildlife.

The North Cabin fauna (Table 21) derived from the east and west sides of the cabin also demonstrate a high percentage of domestic mammal bones (about 50 percent of the 165 identifiable elements). Six percent of the remains are of chicken, and 18 percent are of edible small mammal species (squirrel, rabbit, and opossum). Although the North Cabin is temporally disassociated from the East, West, and South cabins, a similar species composition suggests similar utilization of species in the diet. Only a partial sample of the faunal material recovered from the rather modern east side deposits was analyzed.

Table 19. Distribution of East Cabin Fauna.

	ES <u>ZI</u>	ES <u>ZII</u>	ES <u>ZIII</u>	SS <u>ZI</u>	SS <u>ZII</u>	SS <u>ZIII</u>	<u>F13</u>	<u>F14</u>	<u>F15</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
MAMMALIA										
<u>Equus caballus</u> (horse)		1								1
<u>Ovis aries</u> (sheep)	2			1						3
<u>Bos taurus</u> (cow)	1	8	1		6					16
<u>Sus scrofa</u> (pig)	42	6	82	6	35	13	9	2	1	196
<u>Procyon lotor</u> (raccoon)				1	1					2
<u>Rattus cf. norvegicus</u> (brown rat)	4		4	1	1	2	1			13
<u>Sylvilagus floridanus</u> (eastern cottontail)	1				1	3				5
<u>Didelphis marsupialis</u> (opossum)			2			1	1			4
AVES										
<u>Gallus gallus</u> (chicken)			3		1					4
<u>Meleagris gallopavo</u> (turkey)									1	1
AMPHIBIA										
<u>Bufo</u> sp. (toad)	1									1
PISCES										
<u>Moxostoma</u> sp. (redhorse)			1							1
FRESHWATER SNAIL										
<u>Pleurocera</u> sp. (periwinkle)			1							1
UNIDENTIFIABLE										
Mammal	153	52	865	36	226	129	67	12	3	1543
Bird	1		15		10	11	2			39
Fish			2		1					3
Eggshell weights					0.1g	0.3g	0.1g		0.1g	0.6g
TOTAL	205	67	976	45	282	160	80	14	4	1833

Table 20. Distribution of West Cabin Fauna.

	WS ZI	WS ZII	NS ZI	NS ZII	ES ZI	ES ZII	TOTAL
MAMMALIA							
<u>Ovis aries</u> (sheep)				1			1
<u>Bos taurus</u> (cow)	1	7	1	3		3	15
<u>Sus scrofa</u> (pig)	21	36	56	54	17	141	325
<u>Procyon lotor</u> (raccoon)				3		2	5
<u>Mephitis mephitis</u> (?) (skunk)					1		1
<u>Rattus cf. norvegicus</u> (brown rat)				1	1		2
<u>Sciurus carolinensis</u> (gray squirrel)			1	3	1	4	9
<u>Sylvilagus floridanus</u> (eastern cottontail)		1	1	4	3	1	10
<u>Scalopus aquaticus</u> (eastern mole)			1		1	8	10
<u>Didelphis marsupialis</u> (opossum)	3	2		4		2	11
AVES							
<u>Strix varia</u> (?) (barred owl)		1					1
<u>Gallus gallus</u> (chicken)	1	2	1	8		8	20
<u>Turdus migratorius</u> (robin)						1	1
REPTILIA							
<u>Graptemys/Chrysemys/Pseudemys</u> sp. (map, painted, cooter turtle group)				1			1
<u>Chelydra serpentina</u> (eastern snapper)			4				4
AMPHIBIA							
<u>Bufo</u> sp. (toad)						1	1
<u>Rana</u> sp. (frog)				5			5
FISH							
<u>Aplodinotus grunniens</u> (freshwater drum fish)		2		1			3
FRESHWATER SNAIL							
<u>Pleurocera</u> sp. (periwinkle)			2			1	3
UNIDNETIFIABLE							
Mammal	92	168	208	511	49	250	1278
Bird	13	17	16	10	9	23	88
Fish		1		3		2	6
Shell			6	5		1	12
Eggshell weights			0.5g	4.2g			4.7g
TOTAL	131	237	297	617	82	448	1812

Table 21. North Cabin Faunal Distribution

	ES TOTAL	WS ZI	WS ZII	WS ZIII	F20	F22	WS TOTAL
Mammalia							
<u>Equus caballus</u> (horse)			1				1
<u>Bos taurus</u> (cow)	1						
<u>Sus scrofa</u> (pig)	16	6	34	11		1	52
<u>Felis domesticus</u> (domestic cat)			12	1			13
<u>Rattus cf. norvegicus</u> (Brown rat)			13	13			26
<u>Sciurus carolinensis</u> (gray squirrel)		4	10	2			16
<u>Sylvilagus floridanus</u> (eastern cottontail)		5					5
<u>Didelphis marsupialis</u> (opossum)		6	2	1			9
AVES							
<u>Gallus gallus</u> (chicken)			9	1			10
<u>Turdus migratorius</u> (robin)		3		1			4
REPTILIA							
<u>Coluber sp.</u> (constrictor)		11					11
FRESHWATER SNAIL							
<u>Pleurocera sp.</u> (periwinkle)			1				1
UNIDENTIFIABLE							
Mammal	110	30	195	75	2	9	311
Bird	5	1	46	16			63
Fish			4	2			6
Shell			1				1
TOTAL	132*	66	328	123	2	10	529

*Partial Sample, approximately one-third of the elements found.

Table 22. Distribution of South Cabin fauna (by zones).

MAMMALIA	ZI	ZII	ZIII SF3B	ZIII EF3&SF3	ZIII NF3B	TOTAL
<u>Equus caballus</u> (horse)				2		2
<u>Ovis aries</u> (sheep)	3	7	12	3		25
<u>Bos taurus</u> (cow)	14	17	19	16	3	69
<u>Sus scrofa</u> (pig)	271	318	237	102	56	984
<u>Procyon lotor</u> (raccoon)	2	2	7			11
<u>Rattus cf. norvegicus</u> (brown rat)	21	22	142	1	14	200
<u>Marmota monax</u> (woodchuck)	2		2			4
<u>Sciurus carolinensis</u> (gray squirrel)	2	5	9	1		17
<u>Sylvilagus floridanus</u> (easter cottontail)	7	5	11	1	15	39
<u>Scalopus aquaticus</u> (eastern mole)			3			3
<u>Didelphis marsupialis</u> (opossum)	6	14	9	2	5	36
AVES						
<u>Anser</u> sp. (goose)				1		1
<u>Anas</u> sp. (duck)		1		1		2
<u>Buteo cf. lineatus</u> (red-shouldered hawk)					1	1
<u>Accipiter</u> sp. (hawk)		1				1
<u>Bonasa cf. umbellus</u> (ruffed grouse)					1	1
<u>Gallus gallus</u> (chicken)	38	39	94	9	7	187
<u>Columba livia</u> (pigeon)				5		5
<u>Turdus migratorius</u> (robin)			1		2	3
<u>Sturnella</u> sp. (meadowlark)			2			2
REPTILIA						
<u>Terrapene carolina</u> (eastern box turtle)			2			2
AMPHIBIA						
<u>Bufo</u> sp. (toad)	1	1			1	3
PISCES						
<u>Lepisosteus</u> sp. (gar)					1	1
<u>Ictiopus cf. bubalus</u> (smallmouth buffalofish)			1			1
<u>Moxostoma</u> sp. (redhorse)	1		2			3
<u>Ictalurus cf. punctatus</u> (channel catfish)			2			2
<u>Ictalurus</u> sp. (catfish)	2	1			8	11
<u>Pylodictus olivaris</u> (flathead catfish)	1					1
<u>Aplodinotus grunniens</u> (freshwater drum fish)	2	2	1			5

Table 22. Distribution of South Cabin fauna (by zones)

SHELL	ZI	ZII	ZIII SF3B	ZIII EF3&SF3	ZIII NF3B	TOTAL
FRESHWATER MUSSELS						
<u>Ambelma</u> sp. (blue-point)		1				1
<u>Dysnomia</u> cf. <u>propinqua</u>	1					1
<u>Elliptio</u> <u>crassidens</u> (elephant's ear)	1					1
<u>Megalonaias</u> <u>gigantea</u> (washboard)	1					1
<u>Lampsilis</u> <u>anodontoides</u> (yellow sand-shell)			1			1
<u>Ligumia</u> <u>recta</u> (black sand-shell)			1			1
<u>Obovaria</u> <u>subrotunda</u>			2			2
<u>Pleurobema</u> <u>cordatum</u> (small niggerhead)	1					1
<u>Potamilus</u> <u>alatus</u> (pink heel-splitter)	1					1
FRESHWATER SNAIL						
<u>Pleurocera</u> sp. (periwinkle)	3	6	12	1		22
MARINE MUSSELS						
<u>Mytilus</u> <u>recurvus</u> (bent mussel)		1	2			3
<u>Ostrea</u> sp. (?) (oyster)	1					1
MARINE SNAIL						
<u>Oliva</u> <u>sayana</u> (lettered olive)		1				1
UNIDENTIFIABLE						
Mammal	2234	2053	3249	1188	282	9006
Bird	89	98	56	22	15	283
Fish	6	7	3	2	12	30
Shell	27	25	23	29		104
Eggshell weights	0.2g	2.4g	14.7g	1.0g	1.0g	19.3g
TOTAL	2738	2626	3909	1386	423	11082

Table 22. Distribution of South Cabin fauna (by features).

	F1	F2,4,5	F6	F7	F9	F24	F16 ZI	F16 ZII	F16 ZIII	TOTAL
MAMMALIA										
<u>Ovis aries</u> (sheep)	2									2
<u>Bos taurus</u> (cow)	4	2		2	1		1	4		14
<u>Sus scrofa</u> (pig)	53	24		42	5		76	57	9	266
<u>Procyon lotor</u> (raccoon)	3	1								4
<u>Rattus cf. norvegicus</u> (brown rat)	9			3				1		13
<u>Sciurus carolinensis</u> (gray squirrel)									3	3
<u>Sylvilagus floridanus</u> (eastern cottontail)	3			3	2					8
<u>Scalopus aquaticus</u> (eastern mole)	1			1						2
<u>Didelphis marsupialis</u> (opossum)	7			2						9
AVES										
<u>Gallus gallus</u> (chicken)	13	1		14	1			2		31
<u>Turdus migratorius</u> (robin)	2									2
<u>Columba livia</u> (pigeon)					4					4
REPTILIA										
<u>Terrapene carolina</u> (eastern box turtle)						1				1
FISH										
<u>Aplodinotus grunniens</u> (freshwater drum fish)								1		1
FRESHWATER MUSSELS										
<u>Amblema sp.</u> (blue-point)		1								1
<u>Lampsilis anodontoides</u> (yellow sand-shell)	1									1
FRESHWATER SNAIL										
<u>Pleurocera sp.</u> (Periwinkle)	2					2				4
UNIDENTIFIABLE										
Mammal	649	197	6	370	47		59	501	99	1928
Bird	73	8		43	11			16	3	154
Fish	3			2	1					6
Shell	4	6		12				2		24
Eggshell weights		0.3g								0.3g
TOTAL	829	240	6	494	72	3	136	584	114	2478

South Cabin Total = 13,560

Excavations within the foundation and outer periphery of the South Cabin provided 77 percent of the total elements examined and afforded a much wider spectrum of fauna. The distribution of fauna by zone shown in Table 22 corresponds to the three culturally significant stratigraphic zones delineated by Smith (1974b: 11-14). Zone III, within the limits of the foundation and its periphery, contained the material deposited during the period of original occupancy. Zone II deposits accumulated during structural decay. And finally, Zone I represents deposition since the building ceased to exist. In all, eleven genera of Mammalia, nine genera of birds, one genus each of Reptilia and Amphibia, seven genera of fish, nine genera of freshwater mussels, two species of marine mussels, and one species each of marine and freshwater gastropods were identified from these zones. By far, remains of pig, cow, sheep, and chicken dominate the sample and comprise 78 percent of the 2,025 identifiable remains. Close to 11 percent (213 pieces) were identified as probably brown rat (Rattus norvegicus). Approximately 6 percent are of small game mammals (raccoon, woodchuck, squirrel, rabbit, and opossum) with the remaining percentages distributed among edible fish and other indigenous fauna.

Of the fourteen features (Table 22) recorded during the excavation of the South Cabin, remains amounting to 14 percent of the total assemblage came from nine features: Feature 1, the south chimney fall; Features 2, 4 and 5, all Zone II intrusions; Features 6 and 24, two postholes; Feature 7, the south chimney base; Feature 9, a footing hole for the west side of the chimney foundation; and finally, Feature 16, a probable flower bed. Of the 366 identifiable elements 85 percent are pig, cow, sheep, and chicken. Approximately 8 percent are edible species of small game mammals (raccoon, squirrel, rabbit, and opossum) and edible species of bird (domestic pigeon) and fish (freshwater drum fish).

Ultimately, the faunal debris densities of respective cabins and zones do not reflect the variations of occupation suggested by historical inquiries or archaeological investigations. Thus, there appear to be no differences in the types of animal species eaten from the time that this area served as the first Hermitage to the time that the buildings served as slave quarters. Table 23 lists the species represented, number of elements present, and minimum number of individuals represented from all areas of the original Hermitage. Pig, cow, sheep, and chicken remains are the most recurring identifiable fauna and constitute about 80 percent of all identifiable pieces. Pig remains, however, were the most prevalent and account for 92 percent of the domestic mammals.

During the 1974 excavation, 950 pig remains were recovered from the South and East cabins. As a representative sample of the total 1,771 elements identified as pig, a minimum number of 15 pigs are recognized by the presence of 15 right mandibular central incisors occurring either as isolated entities or within their respective alveoli. Two additional individuals are discernable from cranial portions of juveniles and elements retaining the deciduous dentition. No more than 7 or 8 individuals are represented by either rami or by any single diagnostic post-cranial element.

Pig remains also afford an opportunity to establish a general age range at the time of slaughter. An age assessment of the time of slaughter is possible by evaluating the state of epiphyseal union (Silver 1963: 252-253) of the distal condylar epiphyses of metapodials and state of fusion of the proximal epiphyses of the first and second phalanges. Proximal epiphyses of the second phalanges unite with their respective diaphyses around the first year. At two years of age, proximal epiphyses of second phalanges fuse, as do the distal epiphyses of metapodials. The 1974 sample of pig remains yielded a sample of 39 second phalanges with fused epiphyses,

17 phalanges with fused proximal epiphyses, and 22 isolated condylar epiphyses. The general state of fusion or nonfusion suggests that most hogs were slaughtered between 12 to 24 months of age.

Dental ageing criteria (Pope 1934: 11-13; Sisson 1935: 478-79) offer a more definitive means for establishing the age range of slaughter. Third molars occurring in situ or as isolated entities are characterized by sharp and unworn cuspules and appear in various stages of crown formation. Third molar eruption begins at approximately the seventeenth month of life and terminates around the twenty-second month; thus, observable third molars appear in stages of eruption characteristic of a period greater than 17 months but less than 22 months. To proceed one step further, central incisors of the mandibular dentition exhibit occlusal wear while the mandibular second incisors appear in various stages of crown formation and demonstrate no occlusal wear or very slight occlusal wear. Consequently, mandibular central incisors have reached a stage of terminal eruption (17 months) while the second mandibular incisors exhibit conditions that prevail between the 17 to 20 month period of life. Therefore, the state of occlusal wear and stage of eruption of the third molars and central and lateral mandibular incisors suggest that most hogs were slaughtered between 17 to 20 months after birth. Also evident in the sample were individuals exhibiting the deciduous dentition. Apparently, individuals younger than 12 months, but probably not less than 6 months, were included in the annual fall slaughter. Visually, the general ageing criteria hold true for the additional 821 pig remains recovered in 1975 and suggest a similar age range of slaughter.

Corroboration of the assessed age range of slaughter, based on the faunal remains, is recognized in a letter to Jackson from Major William

Table 23. East, West, and South Cabin faunal assemblage.

MAMMALIA	Number of Pieces	Minimum Number of Individuals
<u>Equus caballus</u> (horse)	3	1
<u>Ovis aries</u> (domestic sheep)	31	2
<u>Bos taurus</u> (domestic cow)	114	1
<u>Sus scrofa</u> (domestic pig)	1771	17*(2 imm.)
<u>Procyon lotor</u> (raccoon)	22	4
<u>Mephitis mephitis</u> (?) (striped skunk)	1	1
<u>Rattus cf. norvegicus</u> (brown rat)	228	25
<u>Marmota monax</u> (woodchuck)	4	1
<u>Sciurus carolinensis</u> (gray squirrel)	29	4
<u>Sylvilagus floridanus</u> (eastern cottontail)	62	6
<u>Scalopus aquaticus</u> (eastern mole)	15	3
<u>Didelphis marsupialis</u> (opossum)	60	7
Indeterminate mammal	13,755	
AVES		
<u>Anser</u> sp. (goose)	1	1
<u>Anas</u> sp. (duck)	2	1
<u>Buteo cf. lineatus</u> (red-shouldered hawk)	1	1
<u>Accipiter</u> sp. (hawk)	1	1
<u>Gallus gallus</u> (domestic chicken)	242	18 (4 imm.)
<u>Meleagris gallopavo</u> (turkey)	1	1
<u>Bonasa umbellus</u> (ruffed grouse)	1	1
<u>Columba livia</u> (domestic pigeon)	9	2
<u>Strix varia</u> (?) (barred owl)	1	1
<u>Turdus migratorius</u> (robin)	6	2
<u>Sturnella</u> sp. (meadowlark)	2	1
Indeterminate bird	564	
REPTILIA		
<u>Chelydra serpentina</u> (eastern snapper)	4	1
<u>Graptemys/Chrysemys/Pseudemys</u> sp. (map, painted, cooter group)	1	1
<u>Terrapene carolina</u> (eastern box turtle)	3	1
AMPHIBIA		
<u>Bufo</u> sp. (toad)	5	2
<u>Rana</u> sp. (frog)	5	1

* 1974 sample of 950 elements

Table 23. "CONTINUED"

PISCES	Number of Pieces	Minimum Number of Individuals
<u>Lepisosteus</u> sp. (gar)	1	1
<u>Ictiobus</u> cf. <u>bubalus</u> (smallmouth buffalofish)	1	1
<u>Moxostoma</u> sp. (redhorse)	4	1
<u>Ictalurus</u> cf. <u>punctatus</u> (channel catfish)	2	1
<u>Ictalurus</u> sp. (catfish)	11	
<u>Pylodictus</u> <u>olivaris</u> (flathead catfish)	1	1
<u>Aplodinotus</u> <u>grunniens</u> (freshwater drum fish)	9	8
Indeterminate fish	45	
SHELL		
FRESHWATER MUSSELS		
<u>Amblema</u> sp. (blue-point)	2	2
<u>Dysnomia</u> cf. <u>propinqua</u>	1	1
<u>Elliptio</u> <u>crassidens</u> (elephant's ear)	1	1
<u>Lampsilis</u> <u>anodontoides</u> (yellow sand-shell)	2	2
<u>Legumia</u> <u>recta</u> (black sand-shell)	1	1
<u>Megalonaias</u> <u>gigantea</u> (washboard)	1	1
<u>Obovaria</u> <u>subrotunda</u>	2	2
<u>Pleurobema</u> <u>cordatum</u> (small niggerhead)	1	1
<u>Potamilus</u> <u>alatus</u> (pink heel-splitter)	1	1
FRESHWATER SNAIL		
<u>Pleurocera</u> sp. (periwinkle)	30	30
MARINE MUSSELS		
<u>Mytilus</u> <u>recurvus</u> (bent mussel)	3	2
<u>Ostrea</u> sp. (?) (oyster)	1	1
MARINE SNAIL		
<u>Oliva</u> <u>sayana</u> (lettered olive)	1	1
Indeterminate shell	140	
TOTAL	17,205	

B. Lewis (Bassett 1931: 64) dated April 21, 1833. One entry states that of 300 pigs at the Hermitage, 80 to 90 would be large enough for the fall slaughter. Of these, 109 were not more than a month old. If 109 piglets were not to be slaughtered until the following fall, these individuals would be approximately 19 months at the time of slaughter.

Although no definitive butchering patterns may be established from the available pig remains, cut marks and butchering marks appear on elements of the cranium, mandible, and among most elements of the post-cranial system. Disarticulation of the head is evident by severed occipital condyles, cut bulla ossea, and sheared alar processes of the atlas. Several cut condylar processes of rami suggest separation of the jaw from the skull. Severed olecranon processes of ulnae suggest disarticulation of the lower forelimb at the "elbow."

For 1829, the Hermitage Farm Journal (cited in the historical section, Note 69) lists the names of 95 men, women, and their children as residents of the farm (op. cit. p. 21). The provisioning of 95 men, women, and children throughout the year required some type of staple meat item in the diet. There are two passages, one in a letter to Jackson (Bassett 1931: 64), and one in the 1817-1832 farm journal (p. 31), supporting the implication that pork was the major staple meat item in the diet (also see p. 58 above). Once again, the letter dated April 21, 1833, states that the slaughter of 80 to 90 pigs would be "sufficient, or nearly so, for use of the farm." An entry in the farm journal, dated January 5, 1829, lists an inventory of 18,900 pounds of pork for farm use. Towne and Wentworth (1950: 128) report that during the colonial period an 18 month old hog weighing 200 pounds would yield 60 pounds of fresh cuts and another

60 pounds of meat for curing. If 80 to 90 slaughtered pigs were nearly sufficient for annual domestic consumption, and if the general age of hogs slaughtered was 18 to 19 months, a projected 9,600 to 10,800 pounds of pork was necessary to sustain the inhabitants of the farm for the year 1833.

Besides pigs (in 1829) the Hermitage livestock inventory included 102 cattle and 145 sheep (quoted in the historical section, p. 51). In 1833, 82 cows, yearlings and calves, and 151 sheep and lambs comprised the inventory of livestock. Yet, only 114 cow elements and 31 elements of sheep appeared in the sample of faunal remains. Based on a consideration of all elements, only one cow may be represented. One sheep ramus still retaining the deciduous dentition and a metatarsal and articulating first phalanx suggest the presence of two individuals. In light of the recorded number of sheep and cattle on the Hermitage property, and in regard to stratigraphic occurrence, the relative scarcity of sheep and cow remains suggest that beef and mutton were not only occasional items in the diet of the local personnel, but occasional items in the diet of the original occupants as well. As shown in Table 24 - from the standpoint of variability of preservation (pork may be salted, pickled, or smoked), duration of gestation period, number of off-spring produced, pounds of feed required to gain weight, minimum age of slaughter, percent yield of useable meat, and number of calories furnished - pork as a staple meat item for farm use outweighs the use of beef or mutton. Although beef or mutton may have been eaten in large quantities, the scarcity of cow and sheep remains suggests that the refuse was either discarded in another place or cows and sheep were primarily used for marketing purposes. Other alternatives include the use of cows for their dairy products and sheep for their fleece.

Chicken remains constitute close to 91 percent of all identifiable avian remains. Duck, goose, turkey, grouse, and domestic pigeon remains are very scanty. A carpometacarpus of an indeterminate species of duck were the only elements identifiable as duck or goose. Turkey is only represented by an ulna from the East Cabin. A distal coracoid, probably of ruffed grouse (Bonasa umbellus), was recovered from the South Cabin excavations. Nine elements of domestic pigeon (Columba livia) were also recovered from Zone III of the South Cabin site. In conclusion, although the available bird remains indicate that chicken was the principle species eaten, there were occasions when the diet included duck, goose, turkey, grouse, and domestic pigeon.

Elements of small game and those of freshwater fish suggest an effort was made to maintain a more variable diet by exploitation of indigenous small game mammals and freshwater fish. Raccoon (Procyon lotor), gray squirrel (Sciurus carolinensis), rabbit (Sylvilagus floridanus), opossum (Didelphis marsupialis), and possibly woodchuck (Marmota monax) were hunted. The proximity of the Hermitage to the Cumberland River and Stones River (Fig. 2) afforded easy access to freshwater fish. Redhorse (Moxostoma sp.), smallmouth buffalofish (Ictiobus cf. bubalus), several species of catfish (Ictalurus sp. and Pylodictus olivaris), and freshwater drum fish (Aplodinotus grunniens) were also included in the diet. The presence of 8 otoliths from freshwater drum provided an opportunity to establish the weights and lengths of drum fish by use of formula derived by Witt (1960: 181-85). These data are shown in Table 25. The available drum fish remains demonstrate the range of length was from 282.4-563.4 mm (11.1-22.1 inches), with a mean length of 375.0 mm (14.7 inches), and

TABLE 24. Comparative data for sheep, cow, and pig.

	GESTATION PERIOD	NO. of OFF-SPRING	POUNDS of FEED REQUIRED to Gain 1 lb.	% ENERGY STORED of FOOD CONSUMED	MINIMUM AGE of SLAUGHTER	% YIELD of USEABLE MEAT	CALORIES PER 4 oz. SERVING
Sheep	5 mos.	Usually 1	--	11	2 mos.	44-55	367
Cow	9 mos.	1	10 lbs.	11	15 mos.	50-60	369
Pig	3 mos. 3 wks.	8 or more	3-5 lbs.	35	6 mos.	65-80	402

Towne and Wentworth 1950: 7-8

weights from 427.0-2,891.7 gm (0.94-6.41 pounds), with a mean weight of 934.9 gm (2.0 pounds).

The nine freshwater mussels and freshwater snail, Pleurocera sp., are commonly found in Tennessee river systems. The marine gastropod, Oliva sayana, may be of aboriginal origin. Lewis and Kneberg (1946: 130, 146-47) reported the use of Oliva sp. as beads and as burial accompaniments associated with Dallas component interments. However, there are jewel boxes on display at the Hermitage which are adorned with marine shell, and the possibility that the shell is of Euroamerican origin rather than aboriginal origin should not be discounted.

Besides the creation of unsanitary conditions, areas of refuse accumulation near or underneath structures provide a conducive environment for the propagation of rats. The intentional or unintentional discardment of faunal refuse beneath the South Cabin must have provided an ideal environment for the brown rat (Rattus norvegicus). Of the 228 elements identified as probably brown rat, a little more than 93 percent originated from the level of occupation. The brown rat feeds on almost any type of garbage. Numerous elements exhibited gnawing marks; and, in many cases, gnawing activities rendered bird remains virtually unidentifiable.

As stated earlier, the North Cabin is temporally divorced from the other three structures in Area A. Only a limited number of elements (661) were analyzed from this subarea. In spite of the time separation, a similar species composition suggests a somewhat similar diet. Pig remains were most abundant, only one element of cow was recorded, and small game mammals are represented by elements of opossum, squirrel, and rabbit. Chicken remains were the only edible species of bird represented. And finally, no edible fish were observed. The North Cabin faunal assemblage is summarized in Table 26.

Table 25. Weights and lengths of freshwater drum (Aplodinotus grunniens) calculated from otoliths.

<u>Catalog No.</u>	<u>Otolith Length (mm)</u>	<u>Calculated Length (mm/in.)</u>	<u>Calculated Weight (gm/lb.)</u>
74-1-18-20	11.8	282.4 (11.1)	427.0 (0.94)
74-1-26-81	21.2	563.4 (22.1)	2891.7 (6.4)
74-1-68-23	16.3	417.0 (16.4)	1045.9 (1.4)
74-1-69-14	14.3	357.2 (14.1)	628.3 (1.4)
75-5-2-45	14.2	354.1 (13.9)	609.0 (1.3)
75-5-2-45	11.9	285.5 (11.2)	430.0 (0.94)
75-5-8-39	15.4	390.1 (15.4)	839.0 (1.8)
75-6-2-39	14.2	354.1 (13.9)	609.0 (1.3)

() pounds or inches

Table 26. North Cabin faunal assemblage.

MAMMALIA	<u>Number of Pieces</u>	<u>Minimum Number of Individuals</u>
<u>Equus caballus</u> (horse)	1	1
<u>Bos taurus</u> (cow)	1	1
<u>Sus scrofa</u> (pig)	68	3
<u>Felis domesticus</u> (domestic cat)	13	1
<u>Rattus cf. norvegicus</u> (brown rat)	26	3
<u>Sciurus carolinensis</u> (gray squirrel)	16	2
<u>Sylvilagus floridanus</u> (eastern cottontail)	5	1
<u>Didelphis marsupialis</u> (opossum)	9	2 (1 imm.)
Indeterminate mammal	421	
AVES		
<u>Gallus gallus</u> (chicken)	10	2
<u>Turdus migratorius</u> (robin)	4	1
Indeterminate bird	68	
REPTILIA		
<u>Coluber</u> sp. (constrictor)	11	1
INDETERMINATE FISH		
	6	
FRESHWATER GASTROPOD		
<u>Pleurocera</u> sp. (periwinkle)	1	1
Indeterminate shell	1	
TOTAL	661	

In summary, faunal remains from the vicinity of the first Hermitage indicate that the staple meat item in the diet of the occupants was pork. The slaughter of hogs and the preservation of meat, therefore, must have been a major concern during the fall months of the year. The scarcity of cow and sheep remains indicate that they were, most likely, minor constituents in the diet. Although chicken appears to be the major fowl eaten, there are indications that goose, duck, turkey, grouse, and domestic pigeon were eaten in limited quantities. Finally, remains of small game mammals (raccoon, woodchuck, squirrel, rabbit and opossum) and remains of freshwater fish (smallmouth buffalofish, redhorse, catfish, and freshwater drum fish) suggest some effort was made to exploit the indigenous wildlife and therefore, maintain a more variable diet.

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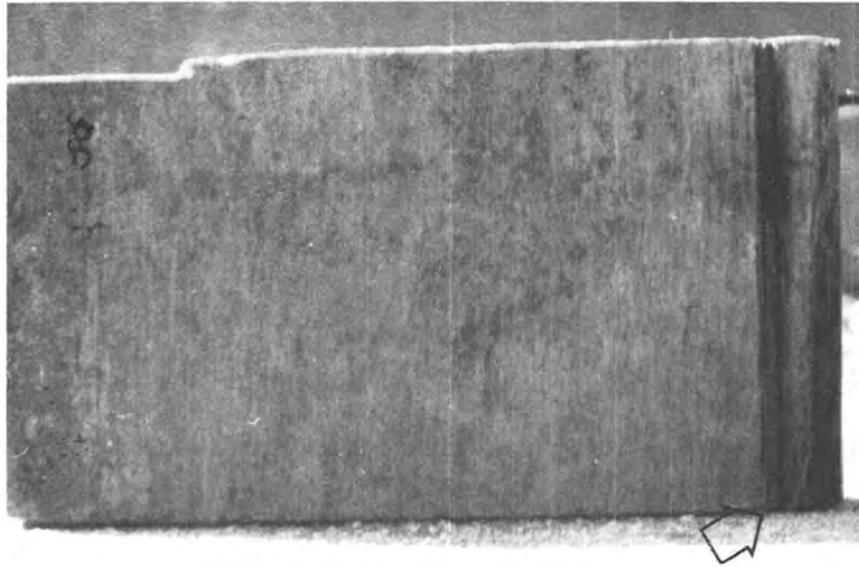
RESULTS OF THE FIRST HERMITAGE DENDROCHRONOLOGY STUDY

An investigation was conducted (Bowers 1974) at the Hermitage to determine if tree ring dating (dendrochronology) could be used in an assessment of "Area A." This technique, although highly successful as an archaeological dating tool in arid and arctic climates, has not been extensively used in temperate climates. Intensive studies are presently being conducted on oak in Ireland. It has been proven beyond a doubt that in spite of a climate with no great extremes, tree ring patterns in Irish oak and pine timbers show good cross dating and have proved suitable for tree ring research (Pilcher 1973). Work by Bowers (1975) and Bowers and Grashot (1975) has established bald cypress (Taxodium distichum) and southern red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) as dateable species in Tennessee. The preliminary report on the wood samples taken from the first Hermitage cabins (Bowers 1974) indicated that, while samples extracted from the two restored cabins were not usable for dating, two red cedar samples (Fig. 49 and Fig. 50) taken from the North Cabin should be subjected to further study.

The recent tree ring research at Castalian Springs National Historic Landmark (Bowers and Grashot 1975) produced two developments vital to further study of the Hermitage samples:

- 1) a short red cedar chronology was constructed from living trees on the site - 1876 to 1974.
- 2) an earlier chronology constructed by Lassetter (1938) for pine and cedar was shown to significantly correlate with the Castalian Springs chronology.

The importance of these developments lies in the fact that, if the Lassetter (1938) chronology could be used to extend the short cedar chronology, then a master chronology for 1690 to 1974 would be available for dating pine and cedar samples in Middle and East Tennessee.



Sample 19-2-4, a beaded ceiling joist of yellow poplar wood.

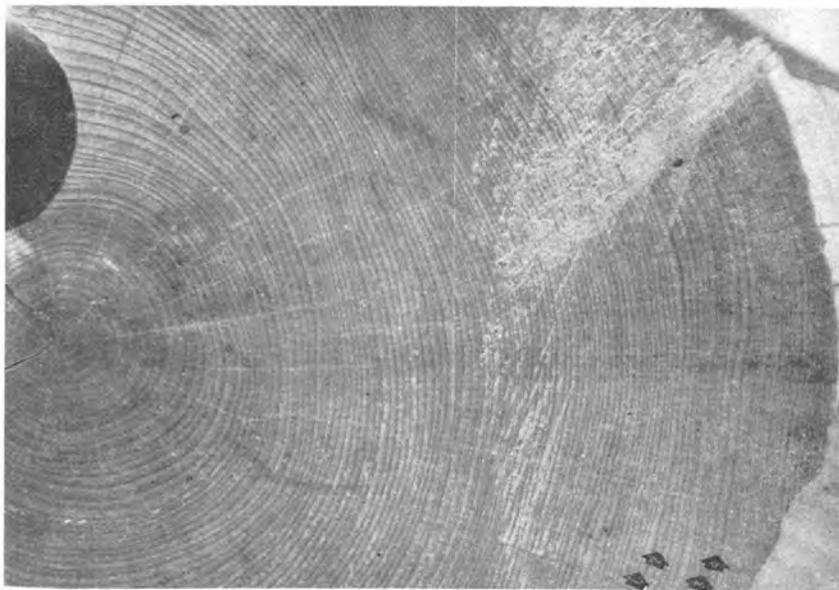


Sample 19-2-2 (left) and sample 19-2-3 (right).

Figure 49. Three of the wood samples collected from the North Cabin in 1974. Only samples 19-2-2 and 19-2-3 were used in the final study. The hole in sample 19-2-3 is an auger hole made to secure the door frame to the end of the log using a wooden peg.



19-2-2



19-2-3

Figure 50. Similarities in the ring patterns of samples 19-2-2 and sample 19-2-3 are obvious.

However, several limitations were noted in the summary of the Castalian Springs report. First, it was felt that additional samples from living trees should be obtained to firmly establish the Castalian Springs cedar chronology. Secondly, the degree of correlation between the two chronologies was not as high as desired.

It was suggested that the latter problem might be eliminated if the two sets of data could be treated exactly alike. The main problem was determining exactly how Lassetter (1938) had handled his data.

Research was initiated to eliminate the above problems. If they could be overcome then an attempt would be made to date the North Cabin samples.

PROCEDURE

Field Collections

Additional samples were collected from living trees at Castalian Springs. A Swedish increment borer was used to extract two samples from each tree. This procedure does not harm the tree.

Sampling was greatly improved by the use of bees wax as a lubricant on the corer. The lubricant used in the initial sampling did not work as well. Many samples had to be discarded previously while the latter technique produced superior samples.

These samples were dried, mounted, sanded, and measured according to the methods of Stokes and Smiley (1968). This data was then added to the original chronology constructed for the site.

Data Analysis

Four different methods were used to analyze the data. All were modifications of the computer program designed by Baille and Pilcher (1973)

to establish the highest correlation between the ring patterns of a sample with those of a second sample. Raw ring widths are first standardized and smoothed by conversion to a percentage of the mean of the five ring widths of which it is the center value. The changes in ring width due to tree age are assessed and removed from the series by a process called standardization. This allows for the comparison of specimens of varying ages (Fritts 1971). Then, the data is normalized by taking the log to base e of the percentage figures. The output is in the form of t values to indicate the probability of the obtained correlations.

Method 1

The program was modified so that a list of the standardized rings for each series of raw ring widths would be printed. Then these values were averaged for all the samples on a year by year basis to construct the new master Castalian Springs chronology. This new master was then compared with the previous master for Castalian Springs, with Lassetter's (1938) chronology, and with the unknown samples from the North Cabin using Baille and Pilcher's (1973) program.

Method 2

A mean growth curve was constructed for each sample by plotting a 10 year running mean over the graph of raw ring widths. The plotted ring widths were then compared individually with the trend line to derive an index number for the ring. The indices of the specimens were averaged on a year to year basis to construct the master Castalian Springs chronology. This new master was then compared with the previous master for Castalian Springs (1975), with Lassetter's (1938) chronology and with the unknown samples from the North Cabin using a modified version of Baille and Pilcher's

(1973) program. In this instance the smoothing step was eliminated and both series being compared were normalized with the log function. At this point, please note that the Hermitage samples were treated by constructing a mean growth curve and converting to indices as above (method also cited in preliminary report).

Method 3

The master chronology was constructed as for Method 2. Again, it was compared using a modified form of Baille and Pilcher's (1973) program with the previous master for Castalian Springs (1975), with Lassetter's (1938) chronology and with the Hermitage samples. The modification in the program now consisted of not smoothing Lassetter's (1938) data but normalizing it by taking the log. All other samples were both smoothed and normalized as called for in the original program.

Method 4.

The master chronology was constructed as for Method 2 and Method 3. Again, Lassetter's (1938) data were not smoothed but normalized by taking the log as in Method 3. All other data were not smoothed by Baille and Pilcher's (1973) original method but by that of Lassetter (1938). Lassetter (1938) smoothed his data with a three year running mean in which the middle year of the three is double weighted. These data were also normalized by taking the log. The rewritten card for Baille and Pilcher's (1973) program reads as follows:

$$A(I) = \text{ALOG}((2*A(I+1)+A(I)+A(I+2))/4)$$

Methods 2, 3, and 4 were used to compare each of the series - old Castalian Springs chronology (1975), new Castalian Springs chronology (1976),

Lassetter's (1938) chronology, Hermitage sample 19-2-2, and Hermitage sample 19-2-3 - with all other series.

RESULTS

Method 1

This method was quickly abandoned when it was noted that the data was so modified by the treatment that no correlation was obtained between the old Castalian Springs chronology (1975) and the new Castalian Springs chronology (1976).

Methods 2, 3 and 4

The results are shown in Table 27. The computer printouts are combined in the form of an appendix.* The notation of clustering which appears on the table indicates that the value has significantly high values to either side. Clustering is expected as the program is sliding one chronology past the other a year at a time. If the two were misaligned by only one year, it seems reasonable to expect a degree of correlation to show up between the two.

DISCUSSION

Method 1

Baille and Pilcher's (1973) method of using raw ring widths instead of standardized indices to construct a chronology was not preferred as the samples were not all of the same age. Trees respond differently to environmental factors at different stages of their development. Each individual

*This appendix is not reproduced here but is on file with the Tennessee Division of Archaeology.

sample is standardized and smoothed before it is averaged on a year by year basis with all other samples to create the master chronology. This method was an attempt to eliminate the plotting of a running mean on graph paper and the use of visual inspection in the derivation of indices.

However, the series produced by this modification of Baille and Pilcher's (1973) program (see Method 1 under PROCEDURE) produced a series totally unlike the previous Castalian Springs chronology (1975) and Lassetter's chronology (1938).

Method 2 and 3

The limited amount of significant results for both methods did not allow for internal checking, i.e. whether the output for hypothetical series A when run against series B conflicted with the results obtained when B was compared with C, etc. Neither method shows a consistently inflating or deflating effect. The known overlap between the Lassetter chronology (1938) and the Castalian Springs master (1976) is not evident in either method. However, Method 2 correctly identifies the relationship between the previous Castalian Springs chronology (1975) and the present Castalian Springs chronology (1976); and Method 3 identifies the correct overlap between the two Hermitage samples. Thus, it appears that series from the same site are not obscured, but the method cannot be used to cross correlate samples from different areas.

Method 4

Internal consistency is present. The results when the two Hermitage samples are compared with each other agree with what would then be

Table 27. Comparison of chronologies using various modifications of Baille and Pilcher's (1973) program.

Chronologies Compared	Method 2	Method 3	Method 4
Castalian Springs (1975) Castalian Springs (1976)	$t = 5.00$ at 1973 some clustering		
Castalian Springs (1976) Lassetter (1938)	$t =$ not significant	$t =$ not significant	$t = 4.95$ at 1971 good clustering
Castalian Springs (1976) Hermitage 19-2-2	$t =$ not significant	$t =$ not significant	$t = 42.43$ at 1953 some clustering
Castalian Springs (1976) Hermitage 19-2-3	$t =$ not significant	$t =$ not significant	$t = 43.40$ at nonsense, good clustering
Lassetter (1938) Hermitage 19-2-2	$t = 3.75$ at 1851 no clustering	$t = 3.76$ at 1853 no clustering	$t = 12.12$ at 1734 good clustering
Lassetter (1938) Hermitage 19-2-3	$t =$ not significant	$t = 3.97$ at 1973 no clustering	$t = 24.88$ at 1857 good clustering
Hermitage 19-2-2 Hermitage 19-2-3		$t = 4.44$ at 47 yrs of overlap, no clustering	$t = 33.26$ at 45 years of overlap, good clustering

expected when each Hermitage sample is compared with Lassetter's (1938) chronology. The known overlap between Lassetter (1938) and the Castalian Springs chronology (1976) is evident. A t value of 4.95 was derived for 1971. The match up should be at 1973, but the two year lag has probably been introduced by the formula worked out to modify Baille and Pilcher's (1973) program with Lassetter's smoothing technique (see discussion of three year running mean under Method 4 of PROCEDURE).

Unlike the other methods, Method 4 produces a clustering of high t values. It is evident that this smoothing technique causes the clustering.

CONCLUSIONS

The authors are familiar with Fritts' (1971) view that moving averages used as growth functions may remove all long-term climatic change and in some instances introduce oscillations into the series. However, as long as Lassetter's (1938) chronology is the most extensive available it will be necessary for historical dating. Method 4 should be used in the treatment of data for comparison with Lassetter. This method appears to be the way in which Lassetter handled his data and produces the most reliable information. Lassetter reported that other smoothing techniques were tried but that a higher degree of similarity was found between samples when this three year weighted mean was used.

Of ecological interest is the higher t values obtained when the Hermitage samples were compared with Lassetter's (1938) chronology than when the Castalian Springs data were compared with Lassetter (1938). There is a strong indication that the trees cut for the Hermitage cabin were from a site similar to Lassetter's collection areas throughout the Clinch River Basin. Lassetter characterized the area as one of steep and

rocky slopes with a mixed stand of pine, oak and cedar, and other species. The open park-like stand of cedars at Castalian Springs occurs on a more gradual slope and has produced less erratic data.

The results obtained with Method 4 point to an outside date of 1736 for sample 19-2-2 from the North Cabin. Because this was a square hewn joist, only heartwood is available, and the outer rings of this specimen are missing. Sample 19-2-2 lived during the same time span as 19-2-3. Sample 19-2-3 includes the outermost rings. The outside date on this sample is 1857. Two years should be added for the apparent lag introduced by the smoothing method. There is some bark remaining on the log from which sample 19-2-3 was taken, and the outermost ring of the sample is very close to if not the last growth ring. No more than one year should be added to the obtained date. The tree from which this log was taken was cut 1859 to 1860.

This date does not conflict with the archaeological and historical evidence which favors an 1821 to 1870 bracket. No significant *t* values were obtained with Method 4 in the 1700s. Thus, there is no evidence to suggest that the cabin was built by Hugh Hays during the late eighteenth century. The date suggested is some 3 to 4 years after Andrew Jackson, Jr. had sold this portion of the Hermitage property.

EDITOR'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

A reiteration of all of the conclusions presented in previous sections will not be attempted. However, some general summarizing remarks are in order. Some final comments are also needed concerning the first Hermitage buildings and features examined.

GENERAL SUMMATION

In the writer's opinion, the completion of this study is an important step toward the realization of some of the goals and objectives presented in the introductory section. The first Hermitage project represents one of the very few attempts to archaeologically examine a representative example of a nineteenth-century Middle Tennessee farm-plantation. From the results of this endeavor it will be much easier to proceed with other aspects of the general problem of interpreting regional nineteenth-century culture.

While the major focus of this study has been archaeological in nature, we have attempted to broaden the scope of our research by using an interdisciplinary-problem-solving approach. From the editor's viewpoint, the results of this effort have compensated many times over the additional burden of attempting to coordinate the various individual activities.

The historical background section of this report stands alone on its own merit. And, its different objectives give it a unique place in the long list of historical statements concerning Andrew Jackson's personal economic activities. Most importantly, as it was done specifically in support of the archaeological investigations, it has been thoroughly useable for arriving at the kinds of conclusions we wished to make. All too often the historical archaeologist is forced to rely on his own limited research abilities or whatever is already available concerning the historical

background of the site he plans to investigate. Had this been the case here, much of our effort toward site interpretation would surely have been wasted.

The problem of site interpretation has been a challenging one, and we certainly do not claim to have answered all, or even a major part, of the relevant questions. Hopefully, we have demonstrated the utility of the archaeological methodology in this particular situation. Obviously, in the case of the South Cabin site, a whole new dimension has been added to the previous understanding of the first Hermitage area. While some of the other findings may seem less dramatic, they make it clear that additional work could and should be done.

This carries over to the realm of artifact interpretation. While the mixed nature of the assemblage has made it difficult to be precise in many instances, there are still some obvious patterns which we can see emerging. Additional work should encounter more discrete features and continue to clarify the meaning of certain horizontal and vertical distributions noted. Ultimately the precise function of each of the cabins should become much better understood.

All limitations considered, the first Hermitage artifact collection still provides a good sample of early to mid-nineteenth-century utilitarian and domestic objects. One especially good example of the collection's wider significance is the group of 52 glass beads. These seem to confirm the previous implication that over much of the southeastern United States we can expect to find certain types, especially royal-blue faceted beads, in association with the household debris of slaves. With the completion of a few more studies, it may become possible to accept this as an established pattern.

The first Hermitage faunal remains illustrate still another point of regional significance. That a collection of nearly 18,000 early to mid-

nineteenth-century animal bones should be completely devoid of elements of large game animals, such as the white-tailed deer, is more than a little surprising. At least two conclusions can probably be drawn. The first concerns the rapidity with which a basic farm economy must have been replacing the preceding frontier life style. The second is a suggestion that the local environment must have been simultaneously undergoing a major change (white-tailed deer normally account for a large percentage of regional late-prehistoric faunal remains; and, if they were still locally available, it seems most probable that at least some would have been exploited and at least minimally represented in such a large sample).

Perhaps the best single example of an interdisciplinary interpretation of an artifact type is for the group of three medicinal vials from the South Cabin site (discussed in the subsection on glass containers). To begin with, had these fragile items not been encountered during the course of some very careful excavation, there is little probability that they (especially the one containing a quantity of mercury) would have survived intact. That they were removed intact made it possible to eventually determine (with the help of chemical analysts) that the original contents were probably calomel. This is additionally supported by the general body of historical information on nineteenth-century medicinal practices and specifically by references to the use of calomel and "vials" of calomel at the Hermitage. This is an interpretation with potentially wide-ranging implications, in that similar vials have been reported with some frequency but never with so clear an indication of their contents.

Finally, in concluding this summation, the writer must note a deep sense of personal satisfaction with the results of the first Hermitage dendrochronology study. In a very real sense, this has been a pioneering effort on the part of the two authors of the dendrochronology section.

While much has been written about the potential use of tree ring dating for historic site problems, whether or not it could actually be used in the southeastern United States has remained something of a mystery. Though much additional research will be needed to develop a refined dating tool, the first major obstacle has been overcome.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Briefly, the first Hermitage can be defined as Andrew Jackson's early farm, ranging in size from 420 acres (in the year 1804) to around 1,000 acres (ca. 1821), which later (after ca. 1821) became a part of the developing Hermitage plantation. The first Hermitage area, the location of at least three of the "original" buildings, was later used as a slave housing area, probably serving in this capacity from around 1830 to the late 1850s.

At the time of Jackson's purchase of the partial Nathaniel Hays preemption (the first Hermitage in 1804), there may have been at least one two-story "blockhouse-like" building on the property. Assuming this, nothing we have found strongly contradicts the persistent tradition that it was the West Cabin, the same building in which the Jacksons lived until sometime between 1819 and 1821. Since that time the West Cabin has undergone a long series of both obvious and subtle changes.

Perhaps most closely associated with the West Cabin is the East Cabin. It has been referred to as both a detached kitchen and a guest cabin. Considering the sources, the former suggestion would seem to be potentially more accurate. Yet, both could be correct for different times, or perhaps each of the cabin's two rooms may have simultaneously served both functions. Though the sample is too small for good comparison, there seems to be some slight indication that the East Cabin artifacts are oriented more exclusively toward domestic activities than the other subarea collections.

Most difficult to assess is the South Cabin site. We believe that we are correct in our two major interpretations: that the South Cabin was approximately contemporary with the West and East cabins, but that it was removed in the 1850s to become what is now known as Uncle Alfred's Cabin. We suspect, though we certainly cannot prove it at this time, that the latter event probably occurred in or around 1856. This was the year Andrew Jackson, Jr. sold the Hermitage to the state of Tennessee, and it may have been desirable to move the cabin to provide a sort of caretaker's residence near the main house. On the question of how early the South Cabin was in use, we have to rely largely on the ceramic formula dates (Table 7). Assuming 1856 as a probable terminal occupation date, we can choose between the 1829 median date for Zone III, which gives a beginning date of 1802, or the more general median date of 1834, suggesting 1813 as the beginning date. Either way the South Cabin would seem to have been part of the pre-1821 first Hermitage.

What we have called the North Cabin is on property which was controlled by Andrew Jackson from around 1806, though he did not technically own it until after the first Hermitage period. Architecturally, this cabin, or cabin ruin, is interesting if not significant, and it has been a difficult decision to proclaim that it probably was not even in existence during Jackson's lifetime (before 1845). However, based on the evidence at hand, such must be our conclusion. The log sample which yielded a most probable cutting date of 1859 to 1860 was taken from a log that is almost certainly part of the original construction. This dendrochronology date is supported by the archaeological material found, which does not seem to indicate any real occupation here before the middle of the nineteenth century (the non-reliable nature of this cabin's mean ceramic dates is explained elsewhere). As the property on which the North Cabin stands was sold from the Hermitage estate

in 1855, it would seem likely that the cabin was built shortly thereafter by the new owner.

The inclusion of the word assessment in the title of this report is appropriate. We believe that we have done an adequate job of determining the nature of the archaeological and historical data that are available. Yet, we still must look ahead to a time when more field work and more basic research should bring us even closer to a full understanding of the first Hermitage.

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