

THE KINGSLEY SLAVE CABINS IN DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA, 1968

Charles H. Fairbanks

INTRODUCTION

Although the institution of slavery in America ended slightly over a hundred years ago, there has been no concerted effort by archeologists to study the remains of this cultural institution. Recognizing this hiatus in our research as well as the contributions that excavation could make, the author determined to begin an examination of the material remains of plantations in the Old South. It was hoped that this archeological program, while concentrating on the actual slave quarters, could also investigate the locations of craft activities and perhaps of the actual productive areas of the plantations. The excavations at the Zephaniah Kingsley slave cabins are an early phase of what is hoped will be a long-range comparative exploration of the physical remains of slave communities in the South. Because of its proximity to the University of Florida and the relatively complete remains, the Kingsley Plantation offered an ideal beginning point. A modest grant from the Florida Park Service afforded us an opportunity to begin this important work.

The institution of chattel slavery has long interested historians and humanists. While contemporary accounts of Southern slavery have appeared for nearly two hundred years, much is yet to be learned about this peculiar institution. Almost always written from the viewpoint of the superordinate caste, they are generally lacking in specific information about the daily circumstances of the slaves. Such accounts as Fanny Kemble's almost neurotic attack (1863) on slavery failed to give us specific information on how the slaves lived and the details of their housing, crafts, family life, and daily activities. These are supplemented by excellent political and economic studies of the slave system (Olmsted 1861; Flanders 1933; Grant 1954).

It is precisely in this sort of situation that archeology can supplement and extend the understanding offered by written history. Archeology is consistently concerned with process, rather than events, with technology rather than politics. It can thus broaden and enrich the knowledge of our American heritage at a time when that tradition is in the midst of rapid and often baffling change. Some archeology has already been done in the "big houses" of the southern plantations (Caywood 1955; Noël Hume 1962, 1966). Ivor Noël Hume has reported the excavation of a trash pit believed to have been associated with slaves at Tutter's Neck (1966). Adelaide and Ripley Bullen reported the excavation of the home of a freed slave in Massachusetts (Bullen and Bullen 1945). James A. Ford excavated the remains of a sugar mill, presumably slave-operated, on the Georgia coast (Ford 1937). This author participated in the partial excavation of a slave cabin at the Ryefield site on Cumberland Island (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971). There is, however, a general dearth of reports on the excavation of slave areas in the available literature.

*Cedar Grove
plantation*

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The area now known as Kingsley Plantation has a long and colorful history and is fittingly preserved as a unit of the Florida Park System. The original inhabitants were Timucua Indians, but with their disappearance before 1700, the area was inhabited by refugee Guale Indians from the central Georgia coast. At the mission of San Juan del Puerto, about two miles south of Kingsley Plantation, they established a large community under the care of the Franciscans (McMurray n.d.). Although it is probable that some occupation of the island was maintained after the passing of the Guale mission, no clear picture of the later part of the eighteenth century is now available. About 1795 John McQueen received the island as a grant from the Spanish crown. Although McQueen had been an officer in the American Navy during the Revolution, he removed to Spanish Florida, swore allegiance to the Crown, and became known as Don Juan McQueen. Little is known about McQueen's occupation except that he built one or more houses on the island, one reputed to be still standing at the plantation.

The next owner was John Houstoun McIntosh, a wealthy planter and the grandson of John Mohr McIntosh. While McIntosh may have built the main house of what is now the Kingsley Plantation, the holdings on Ft. George Island seem to have remained in second place to his earlier Plantation, Refuge, on the mainland near St. Mary's, Georgia. John Houstoun McIntosh became director of the abortive Territory of East Florida and suffered financial reverses as a result of the collapse of that freebooting enterprise (Patrick 1954). From this financial crisis he had been saved by a loan from Zephaniah Kingsley, certainly one of Florida's more colorful citizens.

Zephaniah Kingsley, Scottish born in 1765, had come with his family to Charlestown, South Carolina. Arriving in Florida probably as early as 1803, he had already developed an extensive trade in slaves and other commodities with the West Indies. Having taken the required oath, he received a grant of land at Laurel Grove, just south of the present Orange Park in Clay County, Florida (American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. 4: 440). That plantation remained his home until he acquired the Fort George Plantation in 1813. A minor note of interest is that Zephaniah Kingsley was an uncle of Anna McNeill Whistler who has become famous as the subject of the portrait usually known as "Whistler's Mother". His principal claim to fame, however, rests on the somewhat unconventional establishment he maintained on Ft. George Island.

There is a persistent report that Kingsley maintained not only a slave importing station on Ft. George Island but that he used his extensive plantations as a slave training school (May 1945: 150-151). No direct contemporary confirmation of the existence of such a "school" can be found, but interest in it served as one of the principal reasons for beginning an archeological investigation of the slave quarters at Kingsley Plantation. Whether or not the school did actually exist, Kingsley's Ft. George Plantation was unconventional enough to cause trouble for him and his descendents. His first wife was Anna Madigene

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Jai, the daughter of an African tribal chieftain with whom Kingsley had business dealings. Zephaniah maintained that they had been married according to tribal custom but he so feared retaliation by the American territorial authorities and by collateral heirs that he removed Anna and her children to Haiti in 1835. There were also other wives while Anna was still in residence. Among these were: Flora H. Kingsley of Camp New Hope, Sarah M. Kingsley and her son with the Indian name of Micanopy (Will of Zephaniah Kingsley) and Munsilna McGundo and her daughter, Fatima. To the latter wife he deeded a two-story tabby house on the south end of Ft. George Island. During his lifetime Kingsley realized that this marital arrangement did not meet the contemporary standards of his community and attempted by various devices to assure that his wives and children would properly share in his large estate.

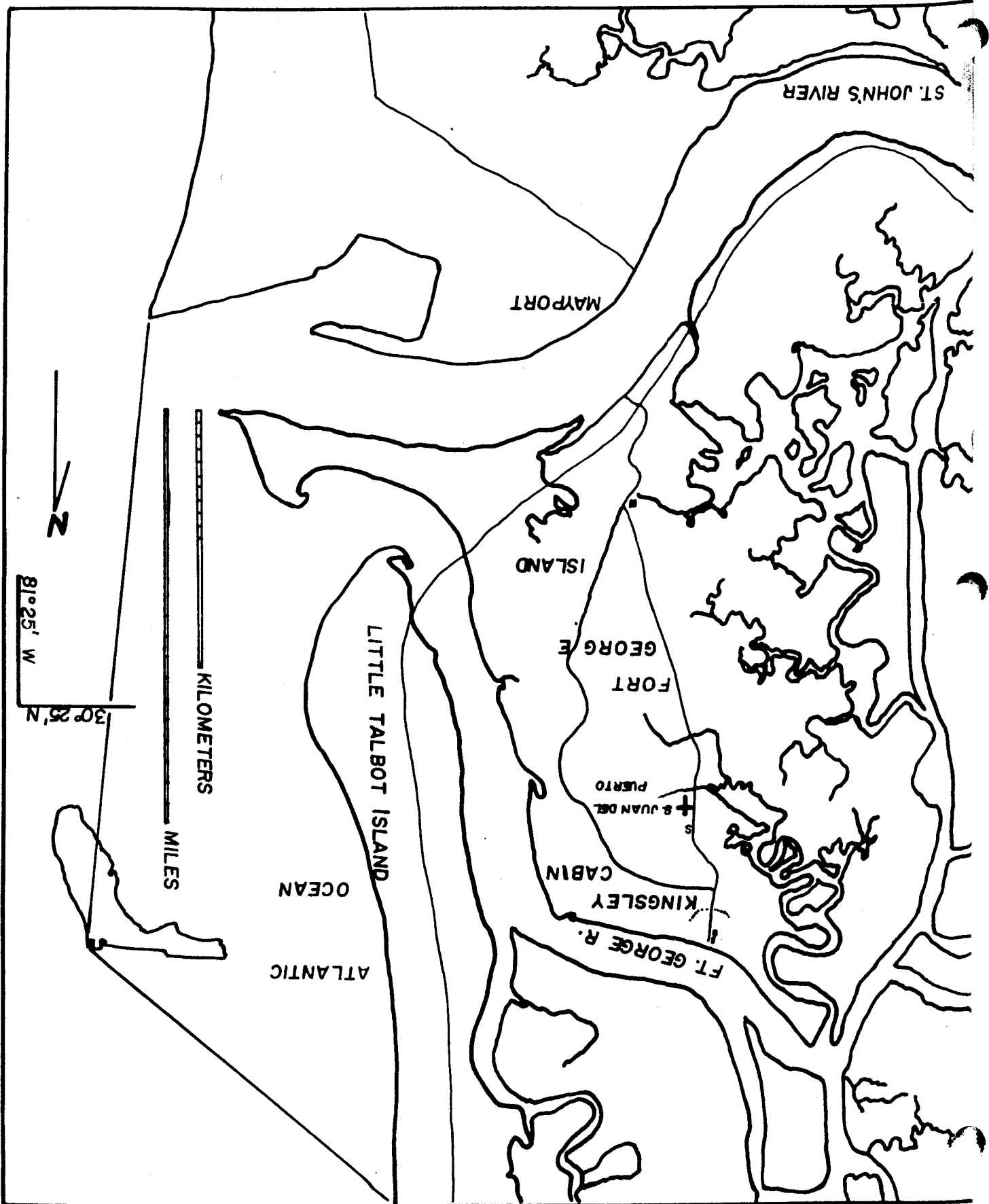
Kingsley was the author of two works on slavery vigorously defending the institution that was already coming under attack in the western world. He published his first defense anonymously in 1828 as: A treatise on the patriarchal, or cooperative system of society as it exists in some governments, and colonies in America, and in the United States, under the name of slavery, with its necessity and advantages, By An Inhabitant of Florida. The second edition, published in 1829, carried the endorsement of the author. New editions, all apparently privately printed, appeared in 1833 and 1834. The work is an energetic defense of slavery when it was tempered with "justice, and benevolence". He also wrote The Rural Code of Haiti published in 1837. While the two works are largely devoted to a philosophical and economic defense of slavery, he does seem to have been sincere and perhaps to have recognized the fact of hybrid vigor in the offspring of different races.

While in New York, preparing to visit his wife and children in Haiti, Kingsley died in 1843. As he had anticipated, the settlement of his generous estate was prolonged and acrimonious. His will was challenged by the Territorial authorities and by numerous collateral heirs. The complaint was that it was against public policy to allow the progeny of miscegenation to profit. The will was eventually upheld and the heirs received substantial sums. Anna Madigene Jai Kingsley returned to Duval County after the American Civil War, although little is known of her life in those later years.

While Zephaniah Kingsley was a fascinating person, the major factor in beginning an excavation project was the desire to find any evidence of the slave school in plantation crafts which is supposed to have been maintained on Ft. George Island. The remaining slave cabins are an impressive group, possibly one of the most extensive in the southern states. It is hoped that additional excavations can be carried out in the near future.

The excavations during the first two weeks of August, 1968 were carried out by four University of Florida students under the direction of the author. The work of these students, Richard Brezina, Samuel Furgason, Randy Nimnicht, and James Zahler, was part of the regular

Fig. 1



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Field Session in Archeological Techniques at the University. Subsequently Samuel Furganson served as laboratory assistant in the analysis of the collections.

These slave cabins are located in a broad arc trending east and west some thousand feet south of the main house on each side of a north-south road bordered by cabbage palms (Fig. 1). The eastern segment consists of 16 cabins with the first and last in the series being noticeably larger than the intervening ones. The western segment now consists of only ten cabins, although it is assumed that it originally contained an equal number as the eastern arc. Again the first cabin is the largest. To the west of the standing ruins there are two or more areas of tabby remains that support the assumption of two symmetrical arcs, thus making a total of thirty-two houses. The 1968 excavations investigated the remains of the large cabin immediately west of the road and conducted a limited test in the first cabin of the eastern line, which is scheduled for restoration by the Florida Park Service.

Between the first and second cabins on both east and west sides there is a shallow depression in the ground that suggested the location of a well. The western depression was investigated and did indeed contain the remains of a well.

All of the cabins are of poured tabby with interior fireplaces of both tabby and clay brick. While the tabby is clearly poured it seems to differ in a number of respects from the conventional tabby construction of the Georgia coast. That the shell for the tabby was derived from an Indian shell midden is clear from the presence of a sherd of Spanish Majolica, Aucilla Polychrome (Goggin 1958), embedded in the wall of Cabin #2 of the western arc. Some of the cabins were re-occupied during the ownership of John F. Rollins after the Civil War. A number of the houses have standing walls as high as the eaves line, while in others the walls are only a few feet in height.

THE EXCAVATIONS

The area was staked in a modified grid system so arranged that it covered the first cabins on each side of the road. The grid lines were laid out north and south, although the cabins are not arranged in a true orientation to the cardinal directions. All dirt not troweled out was screened through a powered sifter with diamond mesh 3/4" x 3/8" in size. All artifacts, segregated by level and square, were washed at the end of each day's work and a preliminary inventory prepared. In the laboratory necessary repair was carried out but lack of funds has prevented any systematic conservation treatment of the many iron objects. Horizontal and vertical control was maintained with a transit located adjacent to the excavation on a temporary benchmark.

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Cabin #1 West was most extensively tested by means of cross trenches. The first trench, ten feet wide, was started ten feet south of the cabin and carried up to the southern wall (Fig. 2). Within the cabin the trench was reduced to a width of five feet and carried forward to the north wall. From the midpoint of this trench, another trench was dug from east wall to west wall. This latter trench bisected the fireplace located in the middle of the western wall. It was felt that, short of complete excavation, these trenches gave us a highly adequate sample of structural features and artifacts of the cabin.

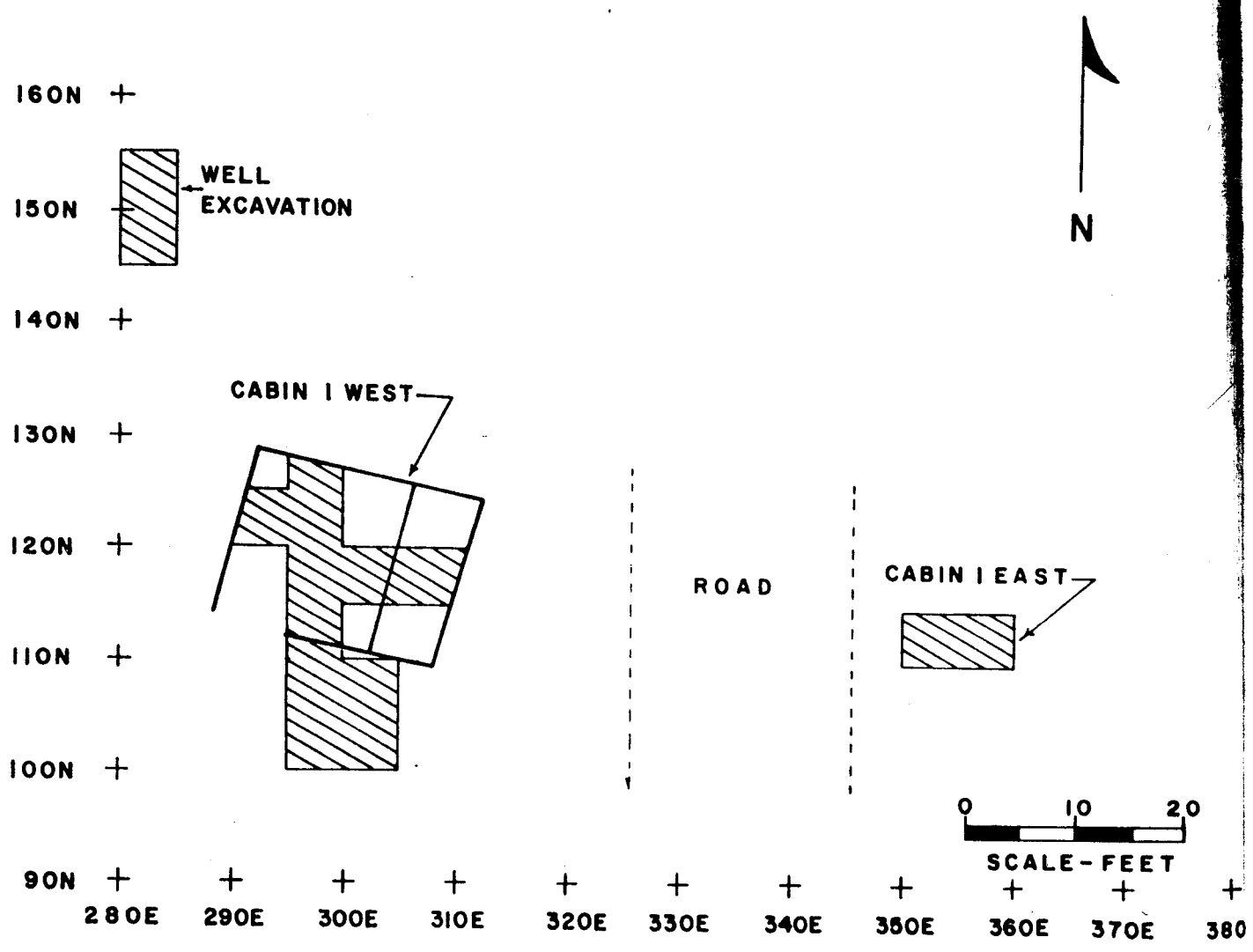
A test trench through the depression north of the space between Cabins #1 West and #2 West was laid out so that its western wall provided a profile through the center of the anticipated well. It was taken down about three feet below the surface where it became clear that a well was indeed present, as indicated by the remains of a wood casing.

As Cabin #1 East was scheduled for restoration, we felt that extensive excavation would weaken the structure in undesirable ways. A short trench, five feet wide, was cut from the eastern room through the doorway into the western room. It stopped short of the fireplace at the east end of the western wall. The primary results of this trench were to determine original floor level, nature of the floor, and reveal details of the doorway. The tabby floor in the trench was covered with a polyethylene sheet before backfilling in order to facilitate clearing during restoration.

CABIN #1 WEST

Noticeably larger than the remaining cabins in the western arc, the first ruin measures 24.5' WNW - SSE by 18.6' NNE - SSW with walls mostly rising to a height of 7.3' above the present ground surface. The interior of the eastern wall was the best preserved with what appears to be original plastered coating present irregularly for about 1.5' at the top and 2.0' just above the ground level. About 2.0' of the western wall and 11.0' of the southern wall are missing adjacent to the southwest corner. At present there is a door on the north face and two small windows in the eastern half at north and south. The exterior walls are 1.3' thick. The building is divided by a north-south wall 1.0' wide. The eastern room measures 16.1' by 8.2', the western 16.1' by 12.6'. Located in the center of the western wall is a fireplace of simple style but rather elaborate construction. Two cheek walls project 2.2' into the room and are faced with brick on a poured tabby core. This tabby core seems to be an integral part of the western wall and must have been poured at the same time as the wall. The firebox proper as well as the hearth are of clay brick measuring 9 1/2" x 5" x 4 3/4". The parts of the fireplace less exposed to heat are faced with tabby brick measuring 7 1/2" x 3 1/2" x 2".

The tabby walls show layering, but the layers are not of equal height varying from 0.9' to 1.4'. Peg holes are large and rectangular,



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Fig. 2

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measuring about 2" x 4". These construction features differ significantly from the standard Colonial tabby of the Georgia coast with its regular courses and round peg holes. From the irregularity of the coursing, the integral tabby core of the fireplace cheek walls, and the large peg holes, I have come to the conclusion that the walls were poured in one form as is modern monolithic concrete. That is, wooden forms were erected up to eaves-line for the whole structure, including the fireplace core. Batches of tabby, of varying volume were then poured into the forms. This would account for layers or courses of varying height. As soon as the tabby hardened the forms were removed, brick faces added to the fireplace and the chimney constructed of tabby brick. Evidently wooden jambs and sills for doors and windows were placed in the forms before pouring the tabby, although they are not well represented in Cabin #1 West. Finally the relatively smooth interior and exterior walls were roughened by random chopping with what appears to have been a narrow hatchet. On this "scratch coat" a smooth, fine plaster was applied. Erosion has very largely removed this finish coat.

Excavations were begun with a ten foot square outside and overlapping the center of the south wall. The square was cut down in two sections, one to the west, followed by the eastern half. Below the sod, the black humic midden ranged from 0.5' to 1.0' in depth, being deeper away from the house. Beginning at a point 1.3' south of the cabin wall and extending to 1.9' south, there was a shallow depression about 0.2' deep. This appears to be a dripline marking the outer edge of the eaves which would thus have extended out 1.5' from the house.

The upper humus was mixed with shell, mostly oyster, and contained a number of artifacts. These will be discussed at greater length below. It is worth noting, however, that these seemed to be a concentration of objects against the wall of the cabin. In particular we found an iron ax head and an eye hoe close to the cabin wall and just east of the largely obliterated back door. These evidently represent tools stacked against the house and gradually covered with humus.

Below the upper humus was a very thin layer of black sand with very little shell extending out about five feet from the wall. It was not cut by any construction trench and evidently represents humus existing when the house was built. Below this was tan sand, undisturbed, and extending down at least three-and-a-half feet. We found little specific evidence of any aboriginal occupation in the area. While there are scattered Indian sherds in the collections, the lack of any occupational concentration suggests that they were brought in with the shell used in the tabby.

Within the cabin our excavations were a five-foot trench north-south and a similar trench east-west. As it was desirable to intersect both the doorway between the two rooms and the fireplace at a favorable spot, the two legs of the east-west trench were offset five feet (Fig. 2). The humus was a black sand containing numerous artifacts as well as fragments of tabby, brick, and shell. From the condition of much of the

130 N + 285 E + 290 E + 295 E + 300 E + 305 E + 315 E
130 N

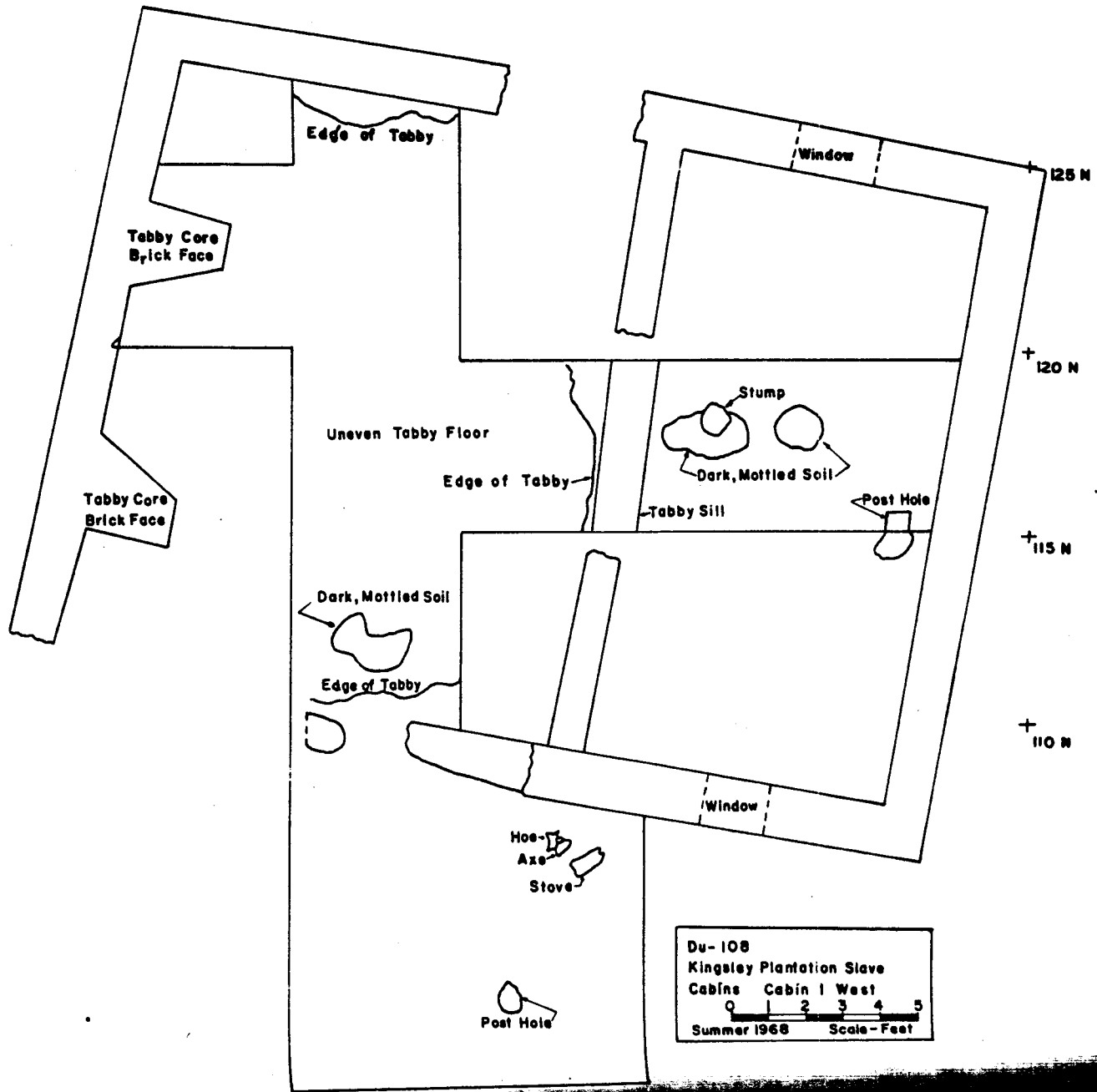


Fig. 3

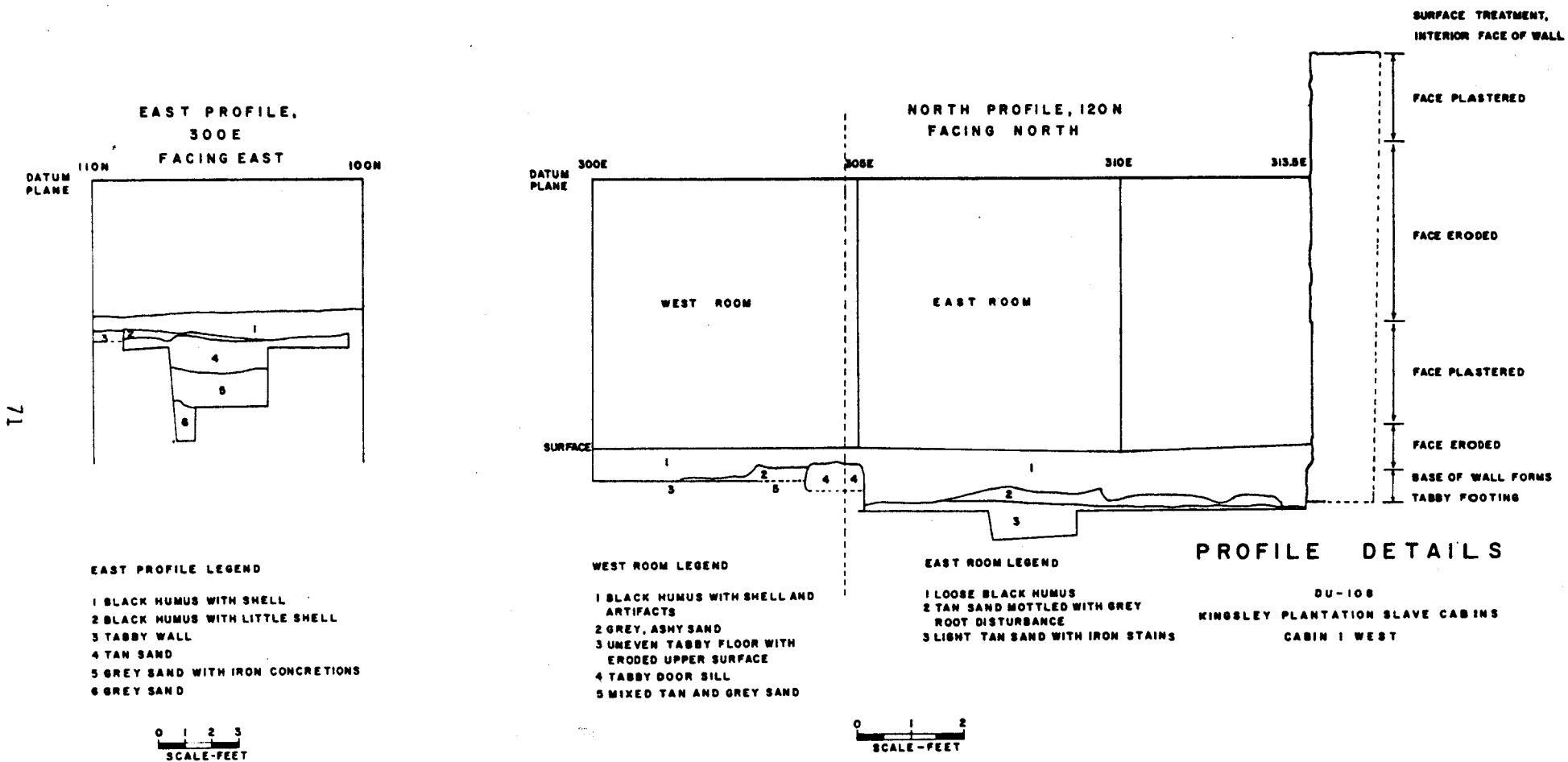


Fig. 4

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shell it was probable that some of them represented food remains rather than decayed tabby. Ranging in depth from 0.6' to 1.9', this black humus represented accumulations on the floor as well as debris which had collected after the abandonment of the building. While it was not easy to identify any floor deposit, the black sand immediately in contact with the floor was excavated separately and the artifacts segregated.

The east room was separated from the west by a tabby partition one foot thick. This was cut by a door at the center which is now 5.8' wide. As both faces are now broken and eroded, showing no evidence of form marks, we cannot tell how wide the door may originally have been. In the doorway was a badly eroded tabby door sill, again with no evidence of forms or wooden bucks. Its upper surface was 0.5' below the present surface and it extended downward one foot without any evidence of any construction trench. As black humic sand extended under it, detection of any footing ditch would have been virtually impossible. The eastern exterior wall of the building was 1.3' thick. Again no good evidence of a construction trench could be found. Below the present surface, the face was eroded to a depth of 0.4', evidently the level where recent humus had begun to develop after the cabin had been abandoned. This level, 0.4' below present surface may well represent the floor level of the room, although we could find no definite proof of this. Below the presumed floor level the wall showed the impression of wooden forms for 0.3 feet. From that point to the base of the wall at 1.05' below the present surface the wall was irregular but not eroded.

We can reconstruct the building sequence with fair accuracy from these details. If we assume that the base of the wall forms represents the original land surface, the builders dug a footing ditch about three tenths of a foot deep and about sixteen inches wide. Either a footing was poured in this ditch or forms were erected along it and both wall and footing poured monolithically. I incline to the belief that no separate footing was poured as I could see no pour seam at that point. At any rate, once the walls were poured, dark sandy humus was filled in to a depth of about four inches. We found no evidence of either a packed dirt or a wooden floor. Once the cabin had been abandoned, and probably after the roof collapsed, the tabby wall eroded down to this level. The black humus appeared completely homogeneous from the present surface to a maximum depth of about a foot. Below that was a somewhat mixed zone of tan sand with black disturbances, evidently roots, grading downward to undisturbed tan sand.

It is noteworthy that the wall footings were very shallow and were not spread at all. As the sandy soil here is quite soft this does not appear to be a very stable type of construction. About 85% of the walls, however, are still standing as high as seven feet above the present surface. Evidently tabby walls, lightly founded on soft sand, will stand for at least 150 years.

The western room, with its large fireplace was considerably larger than the eastern room, being 13.3' wide compared to the 8.0' width of the

eastern room. In addition there was a tabby floor throughout virtually all of its area. This tabby had been poured 0.2' to 0.3' thick virtually up to the walls on all sides. The edges were irregular and do not appear to mark the presence of any furred wooden walls. Rather, the tabby simply was spread around with no particular pains to seal it to the side walls. In patches, particularly toward the east, the floor was covered with one to two inches of a grey ashy sand which appeared to be a floor accumulation. The upper surface was somewhat irregular, apparently as much from original unevenness as from wear.

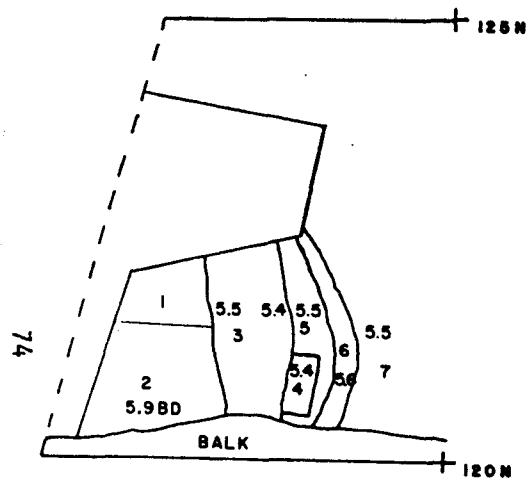
FIREPLACE

Dominating the western wall was a large fireplace with an overall width of 8.7 feet, measuring to the outside of the cheek walls. These walls extended out into the room 2.2' and were composed of a tabby core faced with brick. The actual fireplace opening measured 6.1' wide at the front, narrowing to 4.0' wide at the back wall. While the core and the chimney were built of tabby bricks, the bricks facing the actual fire area were of baked clay. This, of course, makes sense as tabby bricks break down when subjected to heat much more rapidly than do fired clay brick. When we began excavation the fireplace was mounded with brick rubble, tabby mortar, and humus, being the highest point within the cabin. We dug the north half of the fireplace and kept a profile baulk east and west through the center of the hearth. The features will be described from the bottom upward, in the order in which they were originally constructed.

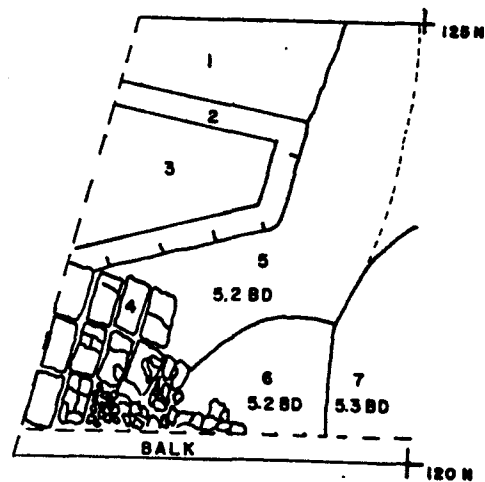
The tabby floor of the westward room was about 0.4' lower in the fireplace area than in the rest of the room although the base of the brick back was at the same general level as the room floor. Some of this depression seems to have been caused by the gradual slaking of the tabby footing under the hearth. Although only brick fragments remained in place at this lower level, we believe that the floor of the hearth was originally laid in clay brick. The hearth area extended out into the room slightly less than a foot being rounded in a gentle curve. The outer edge was a slight depression, 3" wide, which suggested a curb of brick set on edge along the edge of the hearth.

Covering the original hearth level was a compact mass of ash with some fairly fresh shell. This fresh shell was even more concentrated to the front of the hearth, strongly suggesting the remains of oysters roasted in the fireplace. On top of the ash and shell a second hearth had been laid of tabby bricks some 0.5' above the original hearth level. The lack of artifacts in the fill between the two hearths does not allow us to fix the time which elapsed between the laying of the first and second brick pavements.

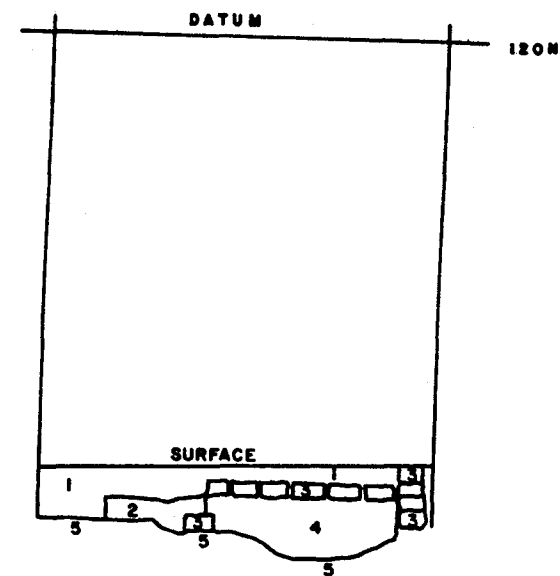
BOTTOM LEVEL



UPPER LEVEL



SOUTH PROFILE
FACING SOUTH



- 1 SANDY POCKET
- 2 TABBY FLOOR
- 3 WESTWARD SLOPING HEARTH
ON COMPACT MORTAR
- 4 BRICK
- 5 MORTAR OVER TABBY FLOOR
FOR LINE OF BRICK
- 6 DEPRESSION
- 7 TABBY FLOOR
- 8 MEASUREMENTS 5.5 ETC. ARE FEET
BELOW DATUM

- 1 DIRT
- 2 BRICK FACING
- 3 TABBY CORE
- 4 BRICKS
- 5 LOOSE OYSTER SHELL
- 6 COMPACTED MORTAR FRAGMENTS
- 7 CONSOLIDATED TABBY



- 1 BLACK HUMIC SOIL
- 2 SHELL WITH SOIL
- 3 BRICKS
- 4 PACKED ASH WITH SOME SHELL
- 5 THIN TABBY FLOOR

FIREPLACE DETAILS

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KINGSLEY PLANTATION SLAVE CABINS
CABIN I WEST

Fig. 5

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THE WELL

About ten feet west and twenty feet north of the northwest corner of the cabin was a roughly circular depression in the otherwise level ground. A trench five feet wide and ten feet long was excavated to a depth of 2.5' across the eastern half of this depression. While the well was important and interesting we had neither the equipment or funds to excavate it completely. As soon as it was clear that we were indeed dealing with a well, the excavations were closed. The well had been dug by the pit method rather than the ring method. A large pit, extending beyond our excavations, had been dug to an undetermined depth. In this a square well casing of wood had been constructed and the pit backfilled to this wooden lining. The wooden casing was preserved, although in poor shape. Our heaviest concentration of food bones came from the fill of the well proper, while the pit outside the well casing contained few artifacts of any kind. This strongly suggests that the well was filled with rubbish and that it had been originally dug early in the occupation of the site before much trash had accumulated.

CABIN ONE EAST

As this cabin was scheduled for restoration, we excavated only enough to secure data on the floor level and composition. A single trench, five feet wide and seven feet long was excavated spanning the doorway between the east and west rooms. A hard, fairly even, tabby floor was present in both rooms. The surface of the floor was 0.3' lower in the western room than in the eastern one. The door area showed the impression of a wooden sill 0.4' wide. This had extended 0.5' into the walls at the sides of the door. The vertical faces of the doors showed the impressions of wooden vertical door casing. Very few artifacts were found in this limited cut within Cabin One East.

THE ARTIFACTS

The abundant artifacts recovered in the Kingsley Slave Cabins are important not for dating the site, but for the information they provide about the activities at the site and the style of life there. As with many sites of the historic period, the period of construction and use is well known from a series of written documents. What we hoped to learn was how the people who lived in these cabins carried out the mundane activities of home and family life. The artifacts recovered would also provide items for interpretative exhibits. For these reasons, no exhaustive tabulation of objects by stratigraphic units will be presented. I will, instead, discuss the various categories and styles of artifacts and attempt to draw conclusions about their significance for reconstructing a past segment of American culture.

DOOR SILL DETAILS

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KINGSLEY PLANTATION SLAVE CABINS

CABIN I EAST

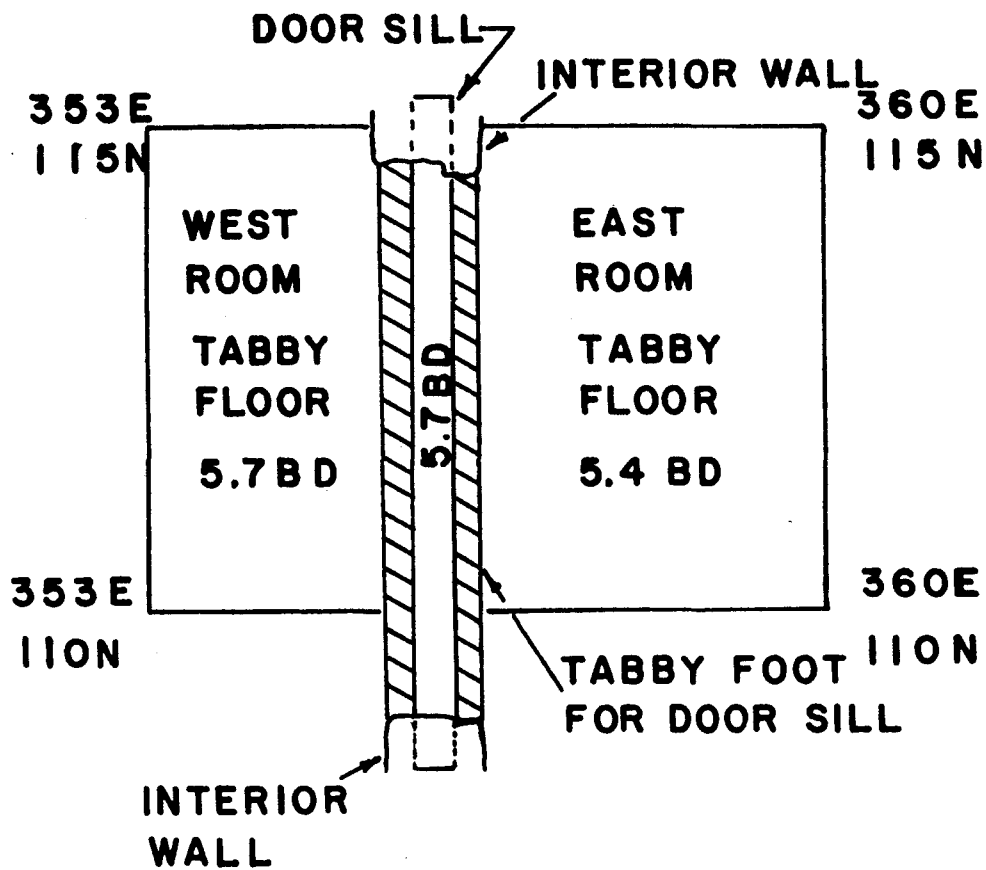
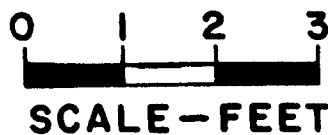


Fig. 6



CERAMICS

Ceramics were fairly abundant and comprised a rather broad range from coarse earthenware to thin, white porcelain. The range of types and styles strongly suggests that no specific table ware was provided for the inhabitants, but that perhaps a miscellaneous collection of ceramics found its way into the cabins. The most common single type was a group generally called Ironstone China, 217 sherds (No. 1 Hume 1966: 131). It is generally thick with a crazed glaze and little or no decoration. Hard and porcelaneous in the body, it is a serviceable table ware, most commonly found after the middle of the nineteenth century. The high proportion of Ironstone China in the Kingsley Cabin evidently derives from occupation just prior to and after the Civil War. The small samples involved here, in badly disturbed contexts, do not distinguish early and late occupational strata. Of probably similar date are fifty-two sherds of white porcelain of better grade than that classified as Ironstone China. Ten sherds are thin and represent fine china, evidently single pieces, perhaps discarded from the main house. The remaining forty-two are thick and represent a better grade of utility ware.

The next most common ceramics were a group of color-decorated refined earthenwares. They include pearlware and white ware and were all small sherds, making detailed analysis difficult. In many cases I cannot determine in which of the bodies a given decorative feature is to be described. I have therefore used these decorative styles as the classificatory units. Twenty-six sherds are shell-edged refined earthenware, mostly on pearlware (No. 1 Hume 1966: 131). The majority (23) are blue edged with only three being green edged. Execution ranges from neatly impressed shell-edging and a deep pigment to mere painting of the edge with little or no impression. The greatest popularity of this type was probably during the 1820's, which would fall within the earlier part of the site occupation. The greatest concentration was found in the basal floor deposit and in the pit fill of the well.

Gaudy Dutch was fairly common with 34 sherds, mostly of the earlier blue and white subtype (No. 1 Hume 1966: 129). There seems to be a very little of the more flamboyant polychrome versions of this style. These would seem to date from about 1795 to 1815 and thus from the earlier occupation at the cabin.

Annular ware was the most common refined earthenware type found with 37 sherds. The most frequent form was that of colored horizontal bands, although the Mocha dendritic, wormy, and eye designs are represented. As a group, the banded ware sherds would seem to fit into a time from about 1830 to 1850, although the sample and the individual sherds are both too small for any precise dating (No. 1 Hume 1966: 131; Van Rensselaer 1966: 337-341).

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Transfer printed white refined earthenware occurred 27 times. Blue-on-white was the major color with 20 sherds (Noël Hume 1966: 128-130). Magenta, sepia, and black each occurred twice, while there was only one pink specimen. The collection could date from any decade from 1820 to the end of the century, although the black, sepia, and magenta transfer styles tend to have relative early dates. In the absence of any identifiable marks the collection is of little diagnostic value.

Heavier, utilitarian wares were also present in some quantities. Salt-glazed stoneware was the most common in this group. Forty-five sherds of stoneware seem to have been largely from the common jug. Many have a thin, dull chocolate brown glaze on the interiors and seem to be mid-nineteenth century. Another 26 salt-glazed sherds were classified as Ginger Beer bottles on the basis of curvature, characteristic short neck, or makers marks (Noël Hume 1966: 78-79). One complete mark of

VITREUS STONE [ware]

WARRANTED NOT ABSORB [ANT]

J. BOURNE & SON

CODNOR PARK

NEAR DERBY

was found. This refers to a pottery established by Joseph Bourne in 1812 and moved to Danby in 1856 (Mankowitz and Haggart 1957: 30). The total of 71 salt-glazed stoneware sherds comprise 14% of the 505 ceramic sherds from the excavation. This seems a relatively low percentage for early nineteenth century houses, however, it reflects the fact that the slaves were not commonly supplied with the contents of these jugs and bottles -- beer and whiskey.

Earthenware comprised a very small part, only 18 sherds. Two of these are olive jar sherds and probably are derived from the Spanish Mission period site at Du-53 to the south. They may well have weathered out of the tabby made from mission site shell. The remaining sixteen earthenware sherds, all small, have interior lead glaze and cannot be precisely dated.

As a whole the ceramics represent a time span from perhaps as early as 1820 to at least 1850. As this is the documented active life of the site as slave quarters, they offer little in the way of dating. What they do seem to indicate is that the cabin utility and table wares reflect changing ceramic styles for the first half of the nineteenth century. The presence of late eighteenth century creamware certainly represents a style largely outmoded at the time the cabins were used. The other styles are a mixture of types commonly in use in America of the period. Evidently slave cabins were not furnished with a special class of wares.

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This differs somewhat from the picture of clothing provided the slaves which was usually of special types judged more durable and "suitable" for laborers (Kemble). I cannot escape the conclusion that the slaves were supplied with dishes discarded from the plantation house.

There are two clusters of sherds in this collection. Each seems to reflect slightly different periods of occupancy of the house. In Group I belong: Shell edged pearlware, Gaudy Dutch pearlware or white ware, annularware, and the transfer printed pearlware and white ware. Group II consists of the Ironstone China and the brown salt-glazed stoneware bottles. Group I types have earlier beginning dates than do the types in Group II. South's Mean Ceramic Date method (1972) was applied to the dating of the Kingsley Cabin, although we know in some detail the dates of occupancy. It was used, rather, to see if the Mean Ceramic Date would offer any clues as to the cultural processes at work there. The assumption was that the Mean Ceramic Date method would reveal the date of a collection where that date was unknown. As the time-spans of the ceramic types were fairly well known I felt that an application of the dating method might show some skewing which in turn might in fact throw some light on the significance of the ceramic assemblage. Mean Ceramic Dates were determined for each of the two groups defined.

<u>Type Number</u>	<u>Date Range</u>	<u>Median Date</u>	<u>Style Name</u>	<u>Number Found</u>
GROUP I				
19	1780-1830	1805	Shell-edged pearlware	26
12	1795-1815	1805	Gaudy Dutch	34
13	1790-1820	1805	Annular wares	37
GROUP II				
1	1820-1900+	1860	Brown stoneware bottles	71
3	1813-1900	1857	Ironstone China	217

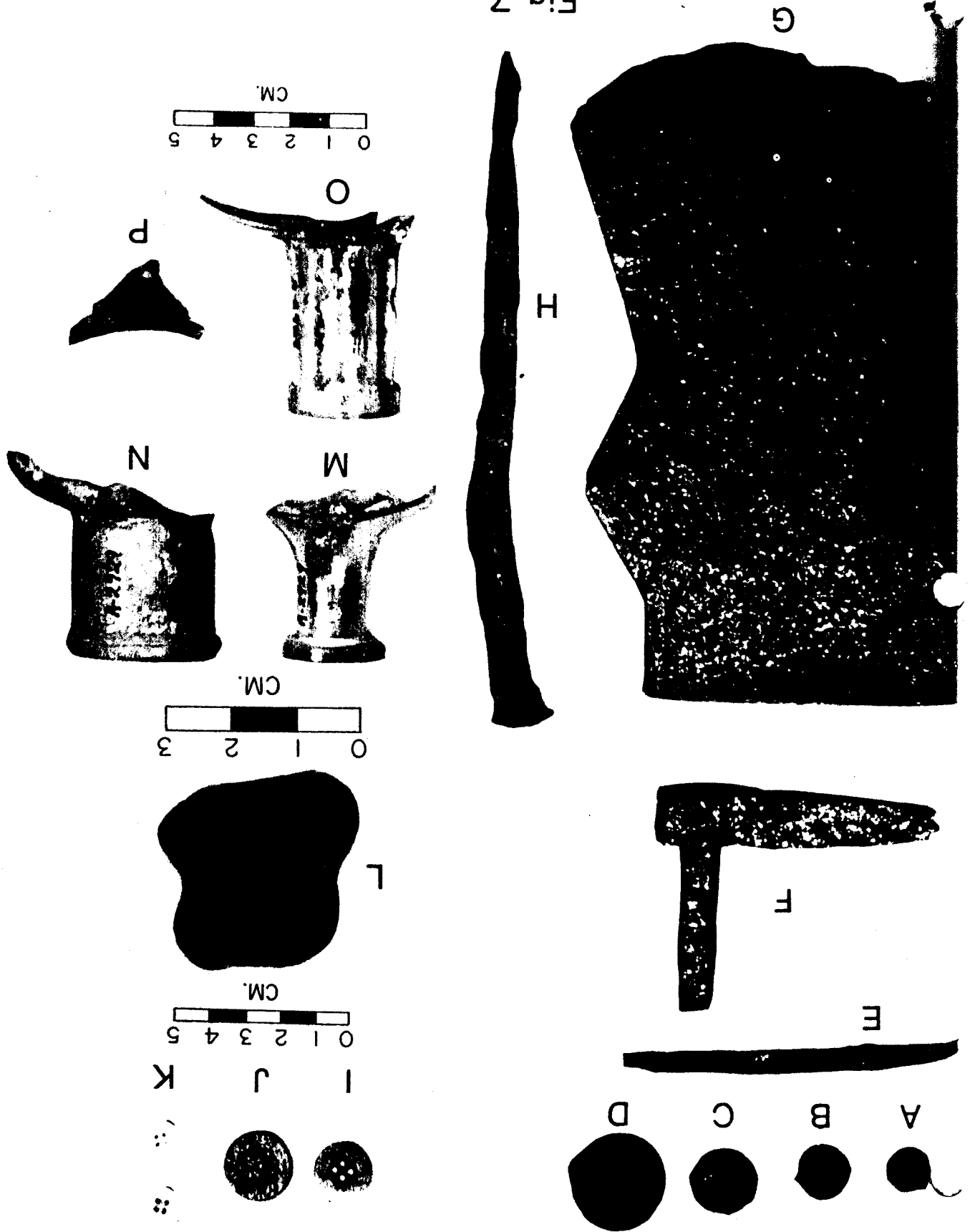
While I realize that the sample is very small and thus may not be statistically valid, the results are interesting. The total sherd sample had a Mean Ceramic Date of 1845.7, that for Group I was 1819.8, for Group II was 1857.1. It is clear that Group II, and thus the whole sample, dates after the major occupation of the site. Group I, however, with a Mean Ceramic Date of 1819.8 seems early for a site occupied from 1813 to 1843 at the death of Zephaniah Kingsley. The Mean Ceramic Dates for Group II and the collection as a whole fall outside the major occupation

Figure 7. Artifacts from Kingsley Slave Cabin

- A-D Metal buttons
- E Latch lifter
- F Shutter pintle
- G Iron ax
- H Large wrought iron spike
- I-J Bone buttons
- K Milk glass buttons
- L Perforated clay bead (at different scale)

The shutter pintle and ax have been cleaned by electrolysis.

Fig. 7



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for the site. As the slave cabins were presumably not built immediately on Kingsley's moving to the site in 1813, we can probably postulate a mean date of occupation of the cabins of about 1830. This would allow something like 10 years for the construction of the houses and the importation of the occupants to full strength. The Mean Ceramic Date is thus some 10.2 years too early. Coupled with the lack of any clear cut dominance of any one style of sherds in Group I, this suggests that the table wares of the slave cabins represent a gradual discard from the big house of the plantation. As sets became fragmentary and new styles were purchased, the odds and ends found their way to the slave cabins. Only further excavations of slave cabins and further testing of South's Mean Ceramic Date Formula will determine whether these theses are valid. The exercise does, however, suggest ways in which this method may be used for other purposes than dating alone.

ABORIGINAL CERAMICS

Indian sherds were found in a number of contexts totaling 69 pieces. Most of them came from the upper levels of rubble where they were probably derived from the erosion of the tabby walls. As indicated earlier, the shell for the tabby seems to have been taken from the Indian shell middens at Du-53 several miles to the south. Most of the types present at that site were represented: St. John's Plain, St. John's Check Stamped, Sand Tempered Plain, and San Marcos Stamped. The latter was in an extreme minority in marked contrast to its predominance at San Juan del Puerto. The great majority of the sherds, 48 or 68.1% were found outside the cabin to the south. Along with the Indian ceramics was found a sand tempered perforated dumbbell shaped clay object (Fig. 7L). This may be a slave-made bead as it does not resemble any usual Florida Indian artifact. These aboriginal artifacts suggest that there was a minor Indian occupation in the cabin area before the buildings were constructed and probably before the historic period. The material found is not really diagnostic and no cultural affiliation can be made except to say that the sand tempered material does not appear to be either the St. John's tradition or the San Marcos complex.

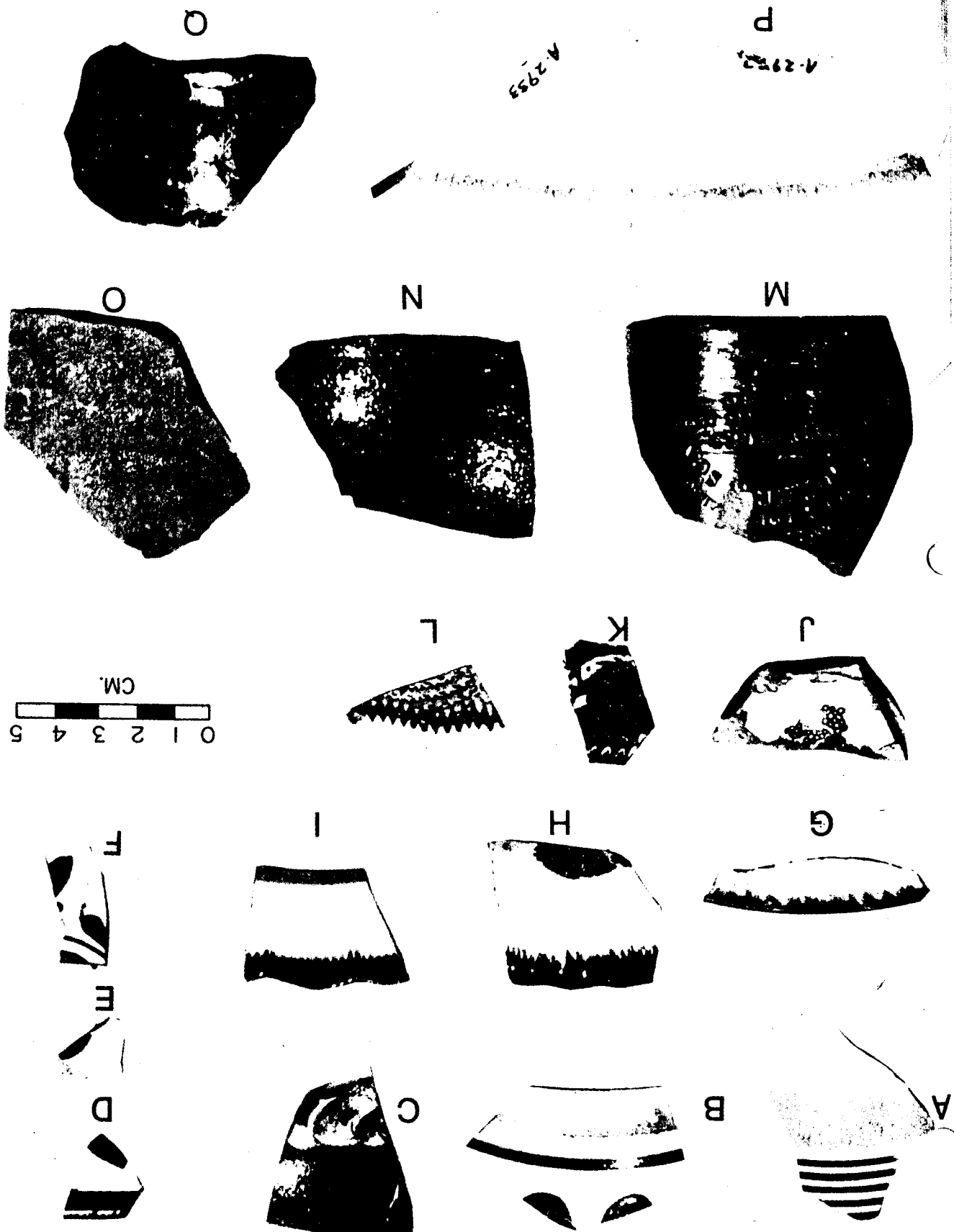
NON-CERAMIC ARTIFACTS

The rest of the artifacts recovered could be classified under the rubrics metal, stone, and glass. These categories seem to have little usefulness, however, and I will discuss them under the functional headings of building hardware, domestic equipment, clothing, foods remains. This method should throw more light on the activities at the cabin than would the more usual discussion by material classes.

Figure 8. Ceramics from Kingsley Slave Cabin

- A-C Banded pearlware cup sherds
- D-F Direct painted blue-on-white pearlware cup sherds
- G-I Blue shell-edged pearlware plate sherds
- J-L Blue transfer printed plate or saucer sherds
- M Brown salt glazed stoneware bottle base
- N Brown salt glazed stoneware jug sherd
- O Greyish alkaline glazed stoneware sherd
- P White ironstone
- Q Brown lead glazed redware

Fig. 8



BUILDING HARDWARE

Nails were by far the most common object found, the total reaching 718 whole and fragmentary specimens. Of these 663 or 92.3% were cut nails. Only 4.9%, 35 specimens, were wire nails while wrought nails were even less common, 18 or 2.6%. Two nails or 0.2% were copper cut nails. Slightly over half of the nails (394) were found outside the cabin in the southern approach trench. While some of these were probably lost during construction and others represent debris from the collapse of the wooden elements of the building, this distribution is peculiar. Clearly there was no interior lath or little other wooden work within the building. I believe the abundance of nails south of the cabin points to a wooden structure in the area. This may well have been a lean-to shed or porch. The presence of various tools in the same area strengthens this assumption. As we found what appeared to be a drip line from 1.3' to 1.9' south of the southern wall, this shed or porch must have been added late during the life of the building. Perhaps it represents an addition after the Civil War using wood, and nails, salvaged from other cabins.

Hardware other than nails was relatively scarce and related largely to doors. One large and one small pinion were found just to the south of the cabin. The larger pinion evidently came from the back door, while the smaller one evidently belonged to a window shutter (Fig. 7F). A curved latch lifter was also found outside the cabin. Among the miscellaneous iron pieces are a number that could well enough be the less distinctive parts of a simple latch. Within the cabin was found part of a box type door lock. At least two parts of rectangular butt hinges are represented within the cabin. I feel that the box lock and butt hinges are late replacements or additions to the cabin hardware.

Less surely late are fragments of two padlocks. One is a cordate face plate with pivoted brass keyhole cover. The other is an isolated brass keyhole cover. A small iron key from Cabin 1 East almost certainly indicates the presence of at least one padlock there. Evidently the cabins were secured at some time during the period at least. Plantation diaries, such as that of Fanny Kemble, indicate that some slaves were entrusted with the keys to larders and other storerooms. They never seem, however, to record that the residential cabins were usually locked.

The building hardware indicates the expected construction early in the nineteenth century with perhaps repair late, after the invention of wire nail machines. The supposed existence of a frame lean-to at the south must be demonstrated in further excavations.

DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT

Items of domestic equipment were very common and comprise a number of material categories: glass, metal, and clay being the most common.

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Of these glass was by far the most abundant, there being 901 pieces recovered. The great majority are common green bottle glass, all badly fragmented. No whole or reasonably whole bottles were recovered, but an inspection of the sherds seems to indicate mainly dip-mold bottles. No clear indications of two-piece molds could be discerned in the small fragments available. The large number of sherds probably does not represent a very large number of whole bottles. The most common type is a tall dark green bottle of about one fifth gallon capacity, to judge from available sherds. A second category is represented by smaller clear glass bottles which probably represent medicine bottles. Two necks are illustrated in Figure 7M and 7O.

Flat pieces of glass that may represent window panes or mirrors were very scarce, only 28 small pieces being found. This seems to mean that windows were not glazed. This would agree with the postulated presence of shutters as suggested by the small iron pinion.

Somewhat finer glass was present in small quantities. Several sherds of pressed glass with a wavy line design were found along with a cushion from the base of a wine goblet stem. These sherds evidently represent a small delicate stemmed wine glass or goblet (Fig. 7P). Some fragments of cut and polished glass were found, consisting of two cruet stoppers with expanded, faceted heads and one curved cylindrical piece of faceted glass. This fragment appears to be part of a small handle. These cut glass fragments do not seem to match with any containers found in the excavation. All the pressed and cut glass fragments are of a clear metal of high quality, representing relatively expensive glass tablewares.

Tobacco pipes were relatively scarce, a total of only fifteen pieces being found. Of the eleven stem sherds, two had impressed designs. One decoration is a fine raised grid of squares touching at their corners. The other bears the impressed mark "OUDA", evidently for "Gouda", the site in Holland where many white clay pipes were made in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The three bowl sherds are the rather large form common in the 1830's and 1840's. It appears probable that all of the pipes are of Dutch manufacture as Gouda exported widely. Two sherds of a short stemmed, plain buff clay pipe were found. This bears every indication of the common pipes of the middle nineteenth century with a detachable cane stem. Widely manufactured in Europe and the United States, they gradually replaced the older white clay pipes with long integral stems. One of the white clay stems has a bore diameter of 4/64", the remaining 10 are all 5/64" bores. The smallness of the sample and the known late date suggested that any attempt to date the pipes by bore diameters would be misleading.

These pipes all appear to be typical of the period and only remarkable for the small quantity recovered. I suspect that the scarcity does not reflect the true frequency of smoking at the cabins, wooden or corncob pipes may well have been in use. Even if Kingsley did not supply his slaves with tobacco we would expect that it would have been grown in the gardens that the slaves were allowed to tend in their free time.

*in contrast
to Barbados*

SUBSISTANCE

As might be expected, remains of foods, food preparation equipment, and food procurement were found in some abundance. Perhaps the most surprising artifacts fall into the final category, that of food procurement. Several spherical lead balls, and one somewhat expended musket flint were found in the debris on and above the floor. These balls are between 50 and 60 caliber, evidently representing shot for hunting pieces. It is a common statement of the numerous plantation journals that firearms were not allowed in the hands of slaves. A partial exception was that some individuals were designated hunters for the master's table. The fact that these musket balls were found in what appears to have been a slave driver's cabin strongly suggests that others besides hunters did in fact have access to guns, at least on occasion. Cylindrical, perforated lead weights were also found that strongly resemble modern weights for small cast nets. There is thus a strong suggestion of fairly regular hunting for game along with fishing for shrimp or perhaps mullet.

Food remains consisted of the bones of fish, cattle, pigs, racoons, turtles, clams, and oysters. The largest collection came from the fill around the well. Clam and oyster shells formed a sizeable heap in the fireplace, spreading out onto the adjacent floor. These evidently represent the remains of shellfish roasted in the cabin. Three small fragments of corncob were the only remains of plant foods recovered. We anticipate that the excavation of the well will produce a much broader range of vegetable remains.

Cooking equipment was rather poorly represented, consisting of fragments of a cast iron skillet and a cast iron pot. Both the skillet and pot had three legs, evidently as they were used for cooking in an open fireplace. Fragments of a rather large iron spoon, a three-tined iron fork and two table knives represent eating as well as cooking equipment.

Considering the food remains, cooking equipment, and table ware as a whole gives a fairly complete picture of the food habits of the families at the Kingsley Plantation. While some foods, such as beef and pork, were evidently drawn from plantation supplies, these were extensively supplemented by wild game, fish, and shellfish from the surrounding area. The absence of forest game such as deer suggest that the adjacent tidal streams and marshes were the major hunting area. The racoon were probably derived from the same marshes where today they are gathered by rural coastal populations. The tidal salt marsh is perhaps the richest part of the coastal environment and has been exploited by men from the earliest times onward. Not only does it produce great quantities of calories per acre, but exploitation is relatively simple once the proper techniques have been learned.

Cooking equipment was at a minimum and would not serve for any elaborate cuisene. While some table wares were of finer types, they appear to have been odds and ends discarded from the main house. It is

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clear, however, that cooking was done at the cabin fireplace, at least for the shellfish, and probably for the other game foods as well. This is in rather sharp contrast to the usual pattern of plantation food customs which involved central preparation and distribution of cooked meals to the workers. To what extent this was a peculiarity of Kingsley's Plantation is not yet clear.

Two small pieces of tannish, probably foreign, flint have been heavily battered along the edges and corners. The spalls are very irregular and show no evidence of skilled knapping. They evidently represent flint strike-a-lights which were locally made. No accompanying steels were found, perhaps because any casual piece of steel would serve.

Just outside the south (rear) door were several pieces of a cast iron stove frame. I suspect that this stove was a late addition to the cabin, perhaps in the period of the Rollin's ownership after the Civil War.

FARMING EQUIPMENT

This category was rather disappointing as we had hoped to find evidence of specialized craft instruction if Kingsley did in fact conduct a slave craft school. The range is somewhat limited, the sort of collection that might be expected at any small southern farm. Near the back door were a heavy ax head, an eye hoe with broad blade, and a cast iron plow share. The ax blade (Fig. 7G) had a number of cuts on the faces and evidently had served as a makeshift anvil at some time. It does suggest some fairly unusual activity, although I cannot select one from several possibilities. The broad hoe is of a common type used from colonial times well into the twentieth century. Other farm equipment consisted of an iron bale from a bucket, an iron strap buckle, a piece of chain, the trace hook from a whippetree, what appears to be a blacksmith's center punch, and a piece of whetstone. The punch strongly suggests the existence of the more advanced craft of smithing, but is the sort of handy tool beloved by handymen the world over. The remainder of these objects are simply the debris of the usual farm activities. None can be closely dated by either material or form.

CLOTHING AND MISCELLANEOUS

This category includes, besides items indicating the clothing complex, those items which can reasonably be regarded as personal property. They give some dim picture of personal appearance and activities of the inhabitants. One large copper U.S. Liberty Head Cent dated 1832 was the only coin to be recovered and clearly indicates that this was not, for the slaves, a money economy.

Buttons were by far the most common and varied item found, probably indicating that clothing was of odds and various ends, like the dishes from which they ate.

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Fifteen buttons, classed into at least eight more or less distinct types were recovered. Below, in tabular form the buttons are classified according to the schemes proposed by Olsen (1962, 1963) and South (1964). Measurements are in millimeters.

OLSEN	MEASUREMENT	SOUTH
BONE - 4		
2 - Type J, 1750-1830	12.1 & 17.1	Type 19, 1800-1830
2 - Unclassified	12.3 & 16.9	Type 20, 1800-1830
IRON - 2		
2 - Unclassified	17.4	Type 21, 1800-1830
WHITEMETAL - 2		
1 - Type K, 1800-1860	17.7	Type 30, 1837-1865
1 - Type E, 1750-1812	18.8	Type 11, 1726-1776
WHITE PORCELAIN - 3		
3 - Unclassified	10.6, 10.8 & 11.2	Type 23, 1837-1865
BRASS - 4		
2 - Type D, 1760-1785	15.8 & 29.0	Type 7, 1726-1776
1 - Type G, 1785-1800	19.3	Type 9, 1726-1776
1 - Type F, 1821-1830	20.0	Unclassified. U.S.

Military issue with, in relief, an eagle in flight, olive branch in left talon, arrows in right, below letters.

U.S. in a plain oval wreath. Stamped in reverse: six stars and "United States".

The military button is the most closely dated, while the others mostly range from the rather late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. The exceptions are the three white porcelain buttons, evidently from underclothes that date from a somewhat later period. As a whole, the buttons might be expected to have been lost from used, probably reused, clothing during the first half of the nineteenth century. The bone buttons may well have been made locally, either as spare-time work or as part of plantation crafts.

*buttons & other
datable objects not
good chrono indicators
because of retention of
old stuff*

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While the buttons give the impression of a rather mixed bag of clothing the recovery of the iron handle of a flatiron does indicate that clothing was cared for by the inhabitants. Two badly rusted folding pocket knives are probably also to be considered as personal property.

The only item of personal adornment, aside from the double clay earspool of doubtful ascription described under ceramics, was a single pale blue glass bead of the faceted type so common from about 1780 to well into the nineteenth century. In another report (Ascher and Fairbanks) this was referred to as an "Ambassador Bead" because it is of a type given that name in Africa during the same time period. I now have strong doubts that this can represent an item brought from their original home by slaves. These faceted beads, usually in a pale blue metal are quite common in the New World, occurring in large quantities in Seminole graves from about 1780 to well into the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSIONS

The brief excavation of one of the larger slave cabins at the Kingsley Plantation revealed some definitive information on the construction of the cabin that is useful for restoration. It also indicated some specific things about the life of slaves during the period from 1813 to 1843. After Kingsley's death in 1843 it seems highly likely that the cabin was re-occupied at least sporadically. The sherd profile strongly suggests this continued occupation. The sherd assemblage also strongly suggests that the table wares of the cabin were discards from more formal groupings. It seems entirely likely that slave quarters were not supplied with any regular class of slave ceramics. The buttons, containing a number of eighteenth century types, also strongly suggest hand-me-down clothing rather than regularly purchased work clothes.

It was surprising that no surely African elements in the material culture could be identified. It has long been known that blacks arrived in this country with nothing but their chains. They did manage, however, to leave survivals of their language and other behavioral traits in the slave culture of the south which survive in Afro-American culture until the present. I felt that the special circumstances of Kingsley being a slave - importing station, and Kingsley's permissive attitude toward his charges, would assure that some elements of African material culture would have been recreated in the plantation situation. Pottery, ornaments, game pieces, or ritual objects might well be expected in such a milieu. We found nothing, however, that could surely be identified as such. The only possible exception was the dumbbell shaped bead of crude manufacture which is simply an exotic piece without any clear cultural identification. A possible explanation is presented that not sufficient time elapsed for the African individuals to recover from the shock of enforced migration and begin the process of recreating

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the material aspects of their former cultures. The fact that most material culture items were supplied by the plantation owner would, of course, mitigate against such a recreation, except perhaps for highly specific items that could not be part of plantation supplies.

In matters of diet we were somewhat more fortunate in that we recovered evidence that at least some food was prepared in the cabin, food remains being rather abundant. While the standard descriptions of plantation life usually state that slave rations were prepared in central kitchens, the evidence is clear that at least some food was prepared in the cabins. All the Kingsley cabins had fireplaces, the ones in the three existing larger end cabins being quite comodious. Cooking seems to have been a regular event in the fireplace excavated by us. Bones of cattle and pigs may be part of rations issued to individuals or families. Chicken bones may represent flocks raised by the slaves. The racoon, fish, and shell fish were present in ample quantities, representing certainly spare time activity of the residents in this cabin. Their quantity is enough to strongly suggest that the wild foods were a significant supplement to the diet. The marshes and lagoons seem to have been the major source of these wild foods, reflecting a continuing pattern of exploitation of these abundant resources that continues among rural and even some urban people in the area today. The presence of firearms is indicated by rather scant but nevertheless definite evidence. Here again the archeological evidence seems to contradict the available documentation of plantation patterns.

In spite of our expectations, no evidence of training in, or practice of, specialized crafts was found. The tools were only those that might be expected of a normal farm of the period. As the end cabin in the row was surely a slavedriver or foreman, I have not ruled out the possibility that further excavation will reveal specialized craft occupations. Our sample here and of slave cabins in general is still too small to be able to yet identify such craft occupations on the basis of specialized tool assemblages.

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