REDISCOVERING TIVOLI: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO WILLIAM R. DAVIE'S PLANTATION HOME

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ABSTRACT

When North Carolina legislator and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill founder William R. Davie retired from political life, he chose to retreat to a plantation on the Catawba River in South Carolina called Tivoli. This plantation has been investigated archaeologically three different times, and each time has brought more into question. How long was the site occupied? Do we know the site of the main house? Was there a slave site associated with the property? This thesis serves to answer these questions through an analysis of archaeological evidence from two separate sites on the property: 38CS299 (RLA SoC-636), which has been thought by past investigators to be the main house site and contains significant structural remains including brick footers and two separate hearths, and 38CS301 (RLA SoC-637), which has been deemed as a possible slave quarter site. The analysis uses lines of evidence presented by the features and artifacts present and the property's history, which begins before Davie's occupation and ends well after his death in 1820. There is a possibility that 38CS299 is the main house site, though it is also possible the structure was repurposed in Davie's time. 38CS301 carries some slave quarter site hallmarks, and, when compared to 38CS299, there is distinct possibility that this is where Davie's slaves resided.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could probably write five pages of acknowledgements, but I will try my best to keep it brief. I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Steve Davis, for the endless amounts of information he was able to provide me and for his immense expertise. Without his help, literally none of this would have been possible. I would also like to thank my readers, Dr. Jennifer Gates-Foster and Dr. Vincas Steponaitis, who had a lot of helpful additions, and dealt well with a defense in the time of COVID-19. Dr. Brett Riggs, the students who participated in the 2006 RLA Field School, Deborah Joy and her team at Legacy Research Associates, and the late Lindsay Pettus all have also contributed immensely to the information I have received to complete this project, and for them, I am eternally grateful. Finally, I would like to thank the UNC RLA, which has served as my second home during my time at UNC, and has been instrumental in bringing me to this point.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

William Richardson Davie was one of the Carolinas' founding fathers. From his role in the Revolutionary War, to his work in the North Carolina Legislature, to his participation in the Continental Congress, and his founding of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Davie contributed significantly to the development of North Carolina and that of the United States as a whole. Although it was North Carolina where Davie spent most of his adult life, it was South Carolina where he grew up and later chose to retire and be buried. From 1805 to 1820, Davie's residence was a plantation along the Catawba River at Landsford in Chester County, which he called "Tivoli."

Prompted by documentary evidence and the guidance of former Katawba Land Trust executive director Lindsay Pettus, Davie's Tivoli has been the host to three separate archaeological investigations: one in 2000, conducted by Legacy Research Associates; one in 2004, conducted by R. P. Stephen Davis and Brett Riggs of the University of North Carolina's Research Laboratories of Archaeology (RLA); and a final excavation in 2006 by Davis and Riggs, as part of the RLA's summer field school. Artifacts recovered from Tivoli have been kept in the RLA since, awaiting full analysis.

This thesis aims to serve as that analysis, exploring the contexts and artifact collections to answer important questions regarding Tivoli's history, both as a home and as an archaeological site. Questions about the home will be answered through a look into the documentary evidence which surrounds Tivoli. Who owned Tivoli before Davie? What became of the property after

Davie died? By looking into the records held by the RLA, the answers to these questions can be examined and will help supplement the archaeological record.

Questions about Tivoli as an archaeological site will be answered by looking into the collections from the 2006 field school, both of the presumed main plantation house, 38CS299 (RLA-SoC636) in the RLA's archive, as well as a nearby site believed to be slave quarter, 38CS301 (RLA-SoC637). By examining these artifacts and separating them into functional categories with more detailed description, patterns may be recognized that might answer the questions that still loom around the site as a whole.

According to local tradition, the destruction of General Davie's plantation house has usually been attributed to a fire caused by General William T. Sherman's troops in 1865 ("Tivoli-Landsford -- Two Wars," RLA Archive, Acc 2508-28). Given a lack of clear historical documentation, does the archaeological evidence support this idea? In the archaeological record, is there evidence of destruction by burning, or are there other reasons why Tivoli may have ceased to exist? Analysis of the artifact collection from 38CS299 may form a solid answer to this question and put local conjecture to the test.

There is also the question of what exactly site 38CS299 is, in the broad scheme of Tivoli as a whole. In the past, it has been hypothesized that this is the main house site. However, does this hypothesis hold up with deeper analysis? Or is it possible that this site represents something else?

In daily logs from the 2006 field school, site 38CS301 is referred to multiple times as "the slave quarter" by excavators. However, this hypothesis has not been formally evaluated based on the artifacts they unearthed. By analyzing the artifacts from this site and comparison to other relevant plantation sites across the southern United States, this thesis aims to either support

or challenge the hypothesis put forth by the excavators. Resolving this question not only may reveal the function of this site within the greater Tivoli plantation, but, also may contribute to the well of knowledge regarding slave sites in this period overall.

Finally, there is the question of how long these sites were occupied at Tivoli. What can these lengths of occupation tell us? How long after Davie did the estate persist, and how long were certain structures in use before their destruction?

Davie's Tivoli, therefore, is a site that not only provides interest for someone connected to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, but, also, for the local population of Chester County and all who have questions regarding the living standards of both the elite and the enslaved workers who served them in the early nineteenth century. Investigating this site has the potential to answer important questions about the people living there and their lives during this formative time in the United States' history.

CHAPTER 2
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, William Richardson Davie's legend reigns tall in the form of a single poplar tree in the center of McCorkle Place. According to stories, it is under this tree that Davie pondered where the University of North Carolina should be, deciding that he had found the spot as he sat in its shade (Robinson 1957: 232). The tree stands to this day, and it is said that if the tree falls, the University itself will fall.

While this story about Davie may not have much truth to it, Davie's importance to the state of North Carolina and its University is well established. It is fact. Davie's figure also looms large in North Carolina's history. He served North Carolina and the United States as a militia man, a commissary officer, a lawyer, a politician, a diplomat, and an education advocate.

Davie's story begins in 1756 in Egremont, Scotland, where he was born to Archibald Davie and his wife, Mary Richardson (Robinson 1957: 7). His Scottish citizenship did not last long, however. When he was a young boy, he, his father, and his siblings travelled to the Waxhaws, a region in South Carolina, to live with his maternal uncle and namesake, William Richardson, who was serving there as a Presbyterian minister (Robinson 1957: 10-11). There, he received his early schooling from his uncle and was likely being groomed to take over the parish. This plan changed when his uncle died under mysterious circumstances (Robinson 1957: 19-20). It was then, in 1774, that Davie began attending college at Princeton University, graduating in 1776 (Robinson 1957: 25).

During his time at Princeton, Davie began his career as a revolutionary, when he "marched as a sergeant of a volunteer company of his college-mates, who embodied themselves, contrary to the wishes of their tutors, and marched off to join a detachment of Washington's army stationed at Elizabethtown, New Jersey" (Robinson 1957: 25). Davie carried this revolutionary spirit with him after college, when he moved to North Carolina to begin his study in law. As the revolutionary conflict boiled up, Davie interrupted his studies twice, once in 1777 and again in 1779, to go fight for the militia, taking up command for Captain William Barnett when he resigned due to his old age (Robinson 1957: 29-30). He was still able to finish his law training, even while serving, as he studied after receiving a thigh wound in a battle in 1779. After finishing his training in 1780, he again took up arms, using money from the sale of his uncle's estate to furnish a cavalry, and making a name for himself as a military leader on the battlefield (Robinson 1957: 35-36). As a military leader, he was renowned, apparently even capturing the attention of future president Andrew Jackson, who saw him as a model soldier (Robinson 1957: 45).

It was in the peak of his military career, in 1780, that he was asked by General Nathanael Greene to step into the role of commissary general after Colonel Thomas Polk gave it up. According to Davie biographer Blackwell Robinson, this decision to step down from a combat position to one where he would be working on the sidelines supplying the army showed Davie's true character. He worked in this position for the rest of the war, supplying the troops to ensure their success in battle (Robinson 1957: 96-99).

After the war ended, Davie married Sarah Jones and joined her family in Halifax County. This county, and its high society, eventually brought Davie into politics. Before he was even a member of the legislature, he suggested reforms to the North Carolina Court System in 1782.

While this bill was not enacted until much later, it was still significant in the way that it restructured the judiciary branch of North Carolina as a whole (Robinson 1957: 160). In 1784, Davie took his first seat in the North Carolina House of Commons, during a time when the legislature was dealing with "regulation of the currency, compliance with the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, the state's relationship to the Confederation Congress." Essentially, Davie and his political colleagues were working on the formation of the new nation. Davie was an active member of the House during this time, working on many committees to revise state laws and establish the state's standing (Robinson 1957: 171). Robinson describes Davie, "on the basis of importance and quantity of legislation," as "an outstanding member of the legislature. He introduced thirteen bills or amendments, eleven of which were passed, presented eleven petitions, and served on twenty committees of consequence" (Robinson 1957: 219).

In 1787, Davie made his first foray into national politics when he was one of four North Carolinians who attended the Continental Congress. There, he was recorded as being extremely important to the effort to compromise on how the United States Senate should be constructed. He was on a committee that considered the issue, and his vote was the tipping point toward compromise. He was also involved with getting the three-fifths compromise to move through and be included in the final Constitution (Robinson 1957: 184-188). Upon returning to North Carolina, he began his work defending what he and others had created in Philadelphia by advocating for the ratification of the Constitution. While his first attempt in 1787 failed, two years later, with the help of his friend and fellow federalist James Iredell, Davie was able to successfully campaign for the ratification of the Constitution (Robinson 1957: 217).

A very important contribution to the state during his time in the Legislature was the pushing through of the bill which established what is now The University of North Carolina at

Chapel Hill. Davie first presented the University Bill to the Legislature in 1789 and overcame opposition to get it enacted. In 1790, he was able to secure a loan from the House of Commons to provide a financial foundation for the new university (Robinson 1957: 227-228). Davie worked tirelessly getting the University of North Carolina off the ground: he established a board of trustees, found land to house university buildings, helped to get people to subscribe to the university and promote public funding, and helped establish the curriculum of the university (Robinson 1957: 234, 235, 242). He was also the one who laid the cornerstone of the university at Old East on October 12, 1793 (Robinson 1957: 238).

Davie was elected governor of North Carolina in 1798, and he served as the president of the University of North Carolina Board of Trustees at the same time (Robinson 1957: 265). While Davie served only one year as North Carolina governor, during that time he was able to devote himself to the military preparedness of the state, the exposure of frauds in the land office, and looking into the borders North Carolina had with Tennessee and South Carolina (Robinson 1957: 305).

Davie's tenure as governor was short, but that was because of the call of duty elsewhere: he was asked by President John Adams to serve as an envoy to France in 1800 (Robinson 1957: 320). The United States was in a quasi-naval war with France, as United States vessels were continuously being attacked and sailors were being impressed. The last attempt to mitigate this conflict had ended disastrously with the "X Y Z Affair," so President Adams was looking to avoid war and give diplomacy another shot (Robinson 1957: 318). Davie was sent to France along with other American envoys, and they entered into negotiations with the French in April 1800. The final result of this diplomatic mission was "a firm, inviolable and universal peace and a true and sincere friendship between the two countries" (Robinson 1957: 340, 352).

When Davie returned from France, he was devastated to see the fall of the Federalist party with the election of Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States. He tried and failed to revive the party in North Carolina (Robinson 1957: 362). Despite his efforts against Jefferson and his party, he was appointed by the President to serve on a committee which made treaties with the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Creek nations. In 1801, this committee attempted to gain land settlements from them, proving that he was still in demand as a public servant (Robinson 1957: 369). Another position he took up was one he was given by North Carolina Governor Benjamin Williams in 1801: to look into the issues surrounding the disputed border between North Carolina and South Carolina (Robinson 1957: 369). This task ended up taking him until his retirement in 1805 to figure out, and was ultimately a frustration to him. The years between 1800 and 1805 also held other turbulent events for Davie. His wife died in 1802, leaving him with the care of his younger children. He ended up spending a fair amount of time visiting his daughters, Mary Haynes, Sarah Jones, and Martha Rebecca, in Pennsylvania, where they were attending boarding school (Robinson 1957: 379). He also lost a race for Congress in 1802, which was a bitter, slanderous campaign (Robinson 1957: 371). Davie began the sale of his North Carolina properties in 1804, gifting one to his oldest son, Allen Jones Davie. He then moved to his South Carolina estate, "Tivoli," on the Catawba River in 1805, officially retiring from political life and the practice of law in North Carolina (Robinson 1957: 376).

Though retired, Davie still kept an active interest in the politics of both North and South Carolina, speaking in his letters on issues such as the 1808 presidential election, the war of 1812, and Jefferson's trade embargo (Robinson 1957: 382-393). Jefferson's embargo affected Davie directly, as in his retirement he had devoted himself to agricultural pursuits. At Tivoli, the main crops were corn and cotton, and Davie was an active member of the South Carolina Agricultural

Society, which was devoted to agricultural innovation (Robinson 1957: 384-385). He also offered part of his land for construction of the Landsford Canal, which, according to one of his letters, was meant to "'erect a set of mills on the river'" (Robinson 1957: 384). Davie, though working hard in his new trade of agriculture, was still recognized in the political sphere. In 1812, he was nominated as a possible candidate for Vice President by a convention in Virginia, was spoken of as a potential secretary of war, and was rumored to be a candidate for command of the entire United States Army (a position which he claimed he would have turned down). In 1813, he was "appointed a major general" by President James Madison, though he denied the appointment (Robinson 1957: 388-389). Though Davie was no longer active in politics, his contributions did not go unnoticed. In fact, in 1819, one year before his death, he was appointed to the South Carolina Board of Public Works (Robinson 1957: 392).

Davie died in 1820, after a year where his letters indicated that his health was failing (Robinson 1957: 395). At the time of his death, his son Hyder Ali Davie lived less than three miles away, and his daughters Mary Haynes and Martha Rebecca still lived in his home. His youngest son, Frederick William, was away at boarding school (Robinson 1957: 393). His last will and testament describes how his slaves, as well as some of his furniture, were to be split up among his children. His children were given stipends to support them financially. Frederick William, the youngest son, was given two items that were precious to Davie: the arms that he had used during his time in the Revolutionary War, and control over his estate, Tivoli. Though the boy was not yet twenty-one years old at the time, he was slated to gain the lands and the home attached (Chester County Probate Records v. E-G: 225-226). This bequest did not include four acres "adjoining the publick graveyard," which Davie entrusted to the state of South Carolina to be used as a burial ground for the people in his neighborhood, as well as the location

for a church, should they choose to have one there (Chester County Probate Records, v. E-G: 226). Davie's life may have been over, but that of his estate went on with his ancestors.

Tivoli Before Davie

Davie owned the Tivoli property well before he moved onto it; however, he was not the first owner of the lands. As seen in a landholdings map which dates before the time Davie came into possession of Tivoli, the two tracts comprising his estate were originally owned by Colonel Robert Patton and his brother, James Patton (Figure 1). These tracts of land in Chester County had been in the hands of the Patton family since 1753, when the first tract was granted to Robert and James's father, Matthew, by the Governor of South Carolina. ("Patton Lands Along the Catawba River, South Carolina," RLA Documents, Legacy Research Associates, Background Information Folder).

The land transfer from Patton to Davie occurred, for the most part, in December of 1787. According to the Chester County Deed Book, there were three purchases, which all took place in the same day, the 25th of December in 1787. In the deed book, the first purchase is a tract of 400 acres, (barring one acre for the graveyard), which was "surveyed for James Patton." This tract was sold at the price of £450 of "the current money of South Carolina," and is shown in Figure 1 as the land labelled "James Patton" (Chester County Deeds, Book A: 478). The second transaction was the transfer of one hundred acres to William R. Davie, at a cost of £100 of the "current money of the state of South Carolina." This land was bordered on the north by James and Robert Patton's lands (Chester County Deeds, Book A: 481). Finally, the major transaction at this date was land described as having been granted to "Matthew Patton [Robert's Father] by the Governor of South Carolina." This was bordered in the southwest by James and Robert

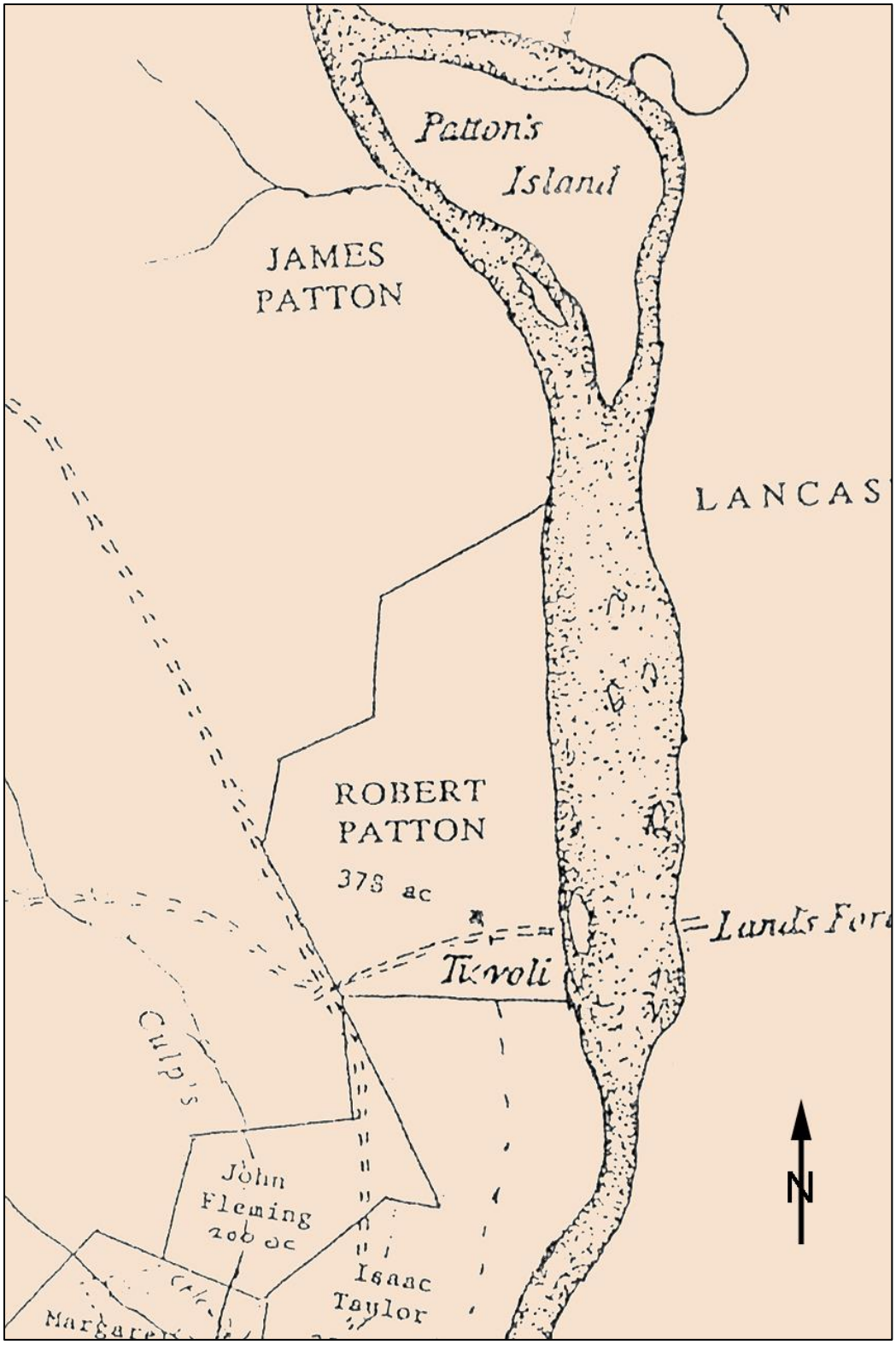

Figure 1. Portion of a map depicting the land holdings before Davie purchased the Tivoli property. Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC RLA).

Patton's lands, in the southeast by Robert Patton and Robert Morrison's lands, and northeast by Isaac Taylor's lands and the Catawba River. The original plat of land was 558 acres, but, "considering computation," Davie's final purchase was determined to be 378 acres, at a cost of £3,000 (Chester County Deeds, Book A: 484). This acreage is represented by the tract labelled "Robert Patton" in Figure 1. This tract cost considerably more, which is likely because this is the tract that contained Land's Ford. This could also point to the fact that there were existing structures on this property, which boosted the land value.

There was also another transaction in 1793 between more of the Patton family and Davie. Alexander, Tristram, and Rebecca Patton sold to Davie "225 acres on the West Side of the Catawba," which had been previously sold to their father, Matthew Patton, by a man named Casper Culp ("Pattons in South Carolina Records," RLA Documents, Acc. 2508-29).

Tivoli During Davie's Occupation

Imagining what the Tivoli home looked like during Davie's occupation requires a look into the probate records and Davie's will. Firstly, Tivoli was likely a cotton plantation, information inferred from the cotton gin present in the 1821 estate appraisal ("Estate of William R. Davie," RLA Documents, Acc. 2508-42). This plantation ran off of slave labor, which is evident in the fact that $34,350 of the estate's $46,989.37 was attributed to slaves, as well as the fact that there are over 100 slaves in Davie's ownership at the time of his death ("Estate of William R. Davie," RLA Documents, Acc. 2508-42).

The environment of the main house can also be captured, in some degree, through the estate appraisal. This serves mainly to show Davie's wealth, as he was in possession of multiple high-end goods at the time of his death, including a $2,500 library, a $300 gold watch, and a

$100 “silver plate” (“Estate of William R. Davie,” RLA Documents, Acc. 2508-42). Davie was also in possession of $750 worth of household furniture, as well as a piano, two bedsteads, and $30 worth of kitchen furniture, which suggests a home that was large enough to accommodate these items, as well as the $2500 library (“Estate of William R. Davie,” RLA Documents, Acc. 2508-42).

While Davie was living at Tivoli, he often hosted visitors, who came to pay their respects to him in his old age. Visitors would often stay for multiple days, which implies he had the space to house them, along with the four children that lived at home with him when he first moved to the house. He was said to have taken his visitors to a large oak tree on his property with a view of the river, where they would discuss the developing American nation (Clark 1892: 29).

Tivoli After Davie

Frederick William Davie inherited Tivoli from his father. It is unclear how long Frederick William stayed in Davie’s plantation home, however, he did eventually construct a new home on the property, which is still standing today. It is believed this new home was constructed in 1828 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Landsford Plantation House, RLA Archives, Acc 2508-32). When Frederick William died in 1850, he left no heirs to the property. This led to a United States Supreme Court case that took place in 1892 between Dr. William Richardson Davie, who was the son of William Jones Davie (General Davie’s son), and James B. Heyward, the husband of General Davie’s granddaughter (Hyder Ali’s daughter). Eventually, it was decided that Dr. William Richardson Davie would receive the land (*Bedon v. Davie,* RLA Records, Acc. 2508-31). Frederick William Davie’s home was eventually sold in 1899 to a man named W.S. Garrison, who occupied the home until the 1950s (National Register of Historic

Place Inventory: Nomination Form, 1986, RLA Documents, Acc. 2508-28). The site of William R. Davie's Tivoli became a part of Landsford State Park in 1970 (South Carolina State Parks, 2020).

CHAPTER 3
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT TIVOLI

The effort to find archaeological evidence of Davie's Tivoli plantation house was spearheaded by Lindsay Pettus, former executive director of the Katawba Valley Land Trust. The basis for the initial investigation was historical documentation, namely maps and written accounts of where exactly the Tivoli manor was located. In an 1808 letter from Davie to his friend General John Steele, Davie gave instructions as to how to find his home coming by way of the Old Nation's Ford, located near the North Carolina/ South Carolina border. In the letter, he recommends using the old post road, and describes the area immediately surrounding his home, saying,

> When you come within a mile and ½ of my house you will probably observe a graveyard, and when you come nearly opposite my gate you will observe a road goes out to the left hand, which in 200 yards brings you to my gate; should you pass this fork, you will soon come to a place too remarkable to pass your notice, the road from the Chester Ct. H. and the road from my house, come into the post road (which is the one you will travel) exactly at the same place on different hands. You have then nothing to do but to turn up the road leading to my house, the post is not 250 yards from my gate. [Davie 1808]

The graveyard and the fork in the road can be still be found today, meaning that the site itself was easier for researchers to find (Figure 2). The depictions of Tivoli on historical maps also provides clues to the house's location.

For example, Figure 3 is a map published in 1808 by Price and Strother, which was actually meant to depict North Carolina, but also shows the location of Davie's estate, which was right over the South Carolina border, calling Tivoli "The Seat of Gen. Davie." This map shows

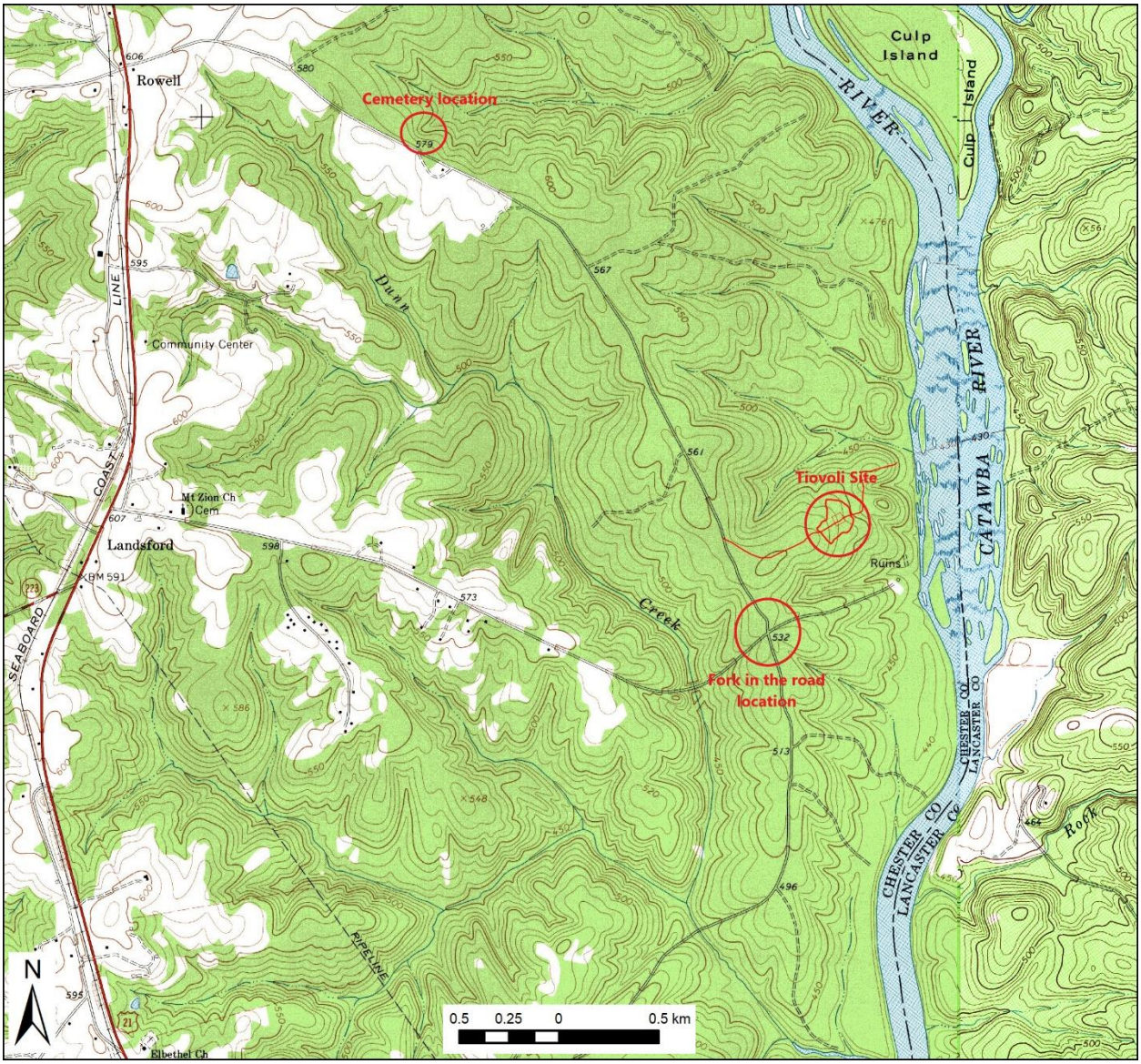

Figure 2. Portions of Catawba and Van Wyck USGS 7.5-minute quadrangle maps showing the Tivoli site location as well the graveyard and road intersection mentioned by Davie in his 1808 letter to John Steele.

the house right next to the river. Figure 4, a map from Robert Mills's *Atlas of South Carolina*, published in 1825, shows Tivoli relative to the road as well as the Landsford Canal, which was under construction when Davie died in 1820 (Davis and Riggs 2004:5).

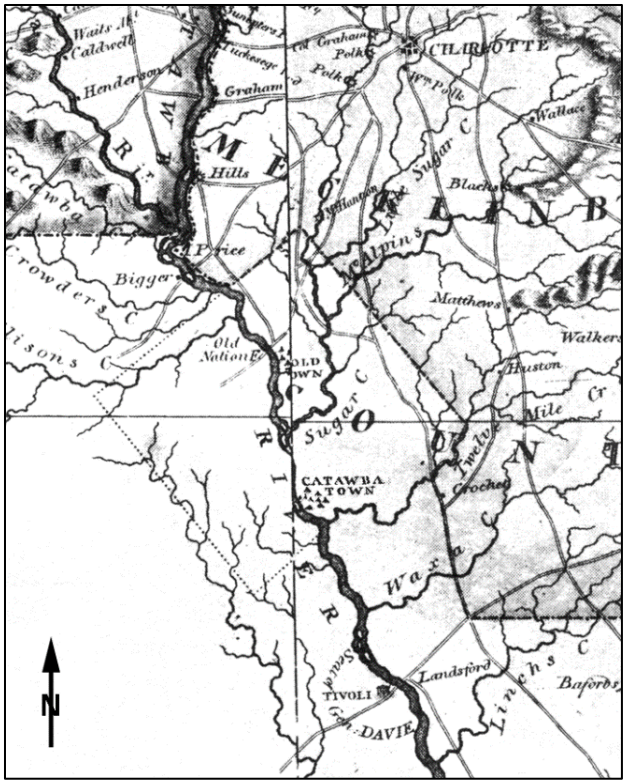

Figure 3. 1808 Price and Strother's map of North Carolina which includes Tivoli, on the west side of the Catawba River. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

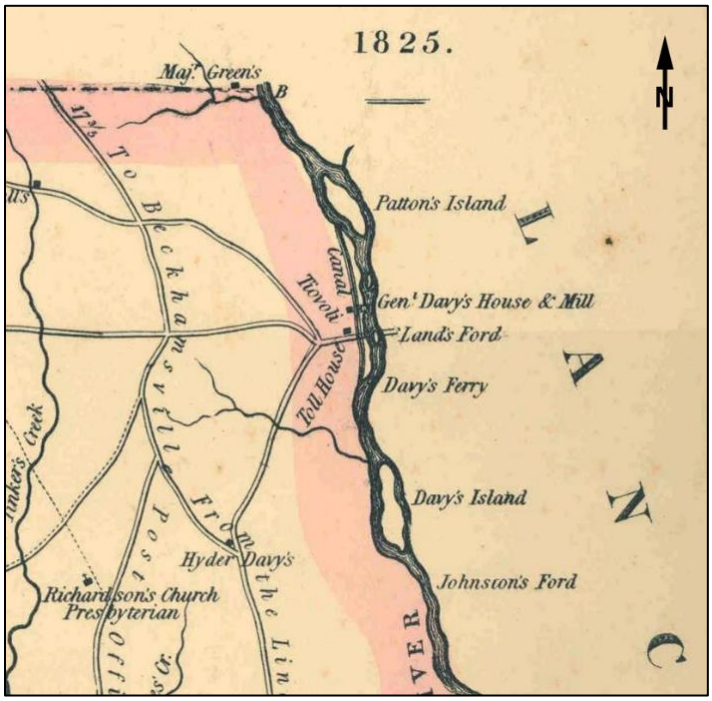

Figure 4. 1825 map from Robert Mills's *Atlas of South Carolina*, showing Tivoli, the Landsford Canal, and Hyder Davie's house. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

Another map, drawn by D.G. Stinson in 1873, shows Tivoli, as well as other properties, as they relate to General Sumter's Revolutionary War encampment at Land's Ford. Shown in Figure 5, this map gives a much closer look at the location of the house in relation to the river and the road. This is noteworthy, as the less detailed maps show Tivoli right next to the river, whereas Stinson's map reflects that the house was actually somewhat off the river.

Finally, documents and aerial photographs from the 1950s have provided excellent benchmarks for excavators. An account by Landry Huey McMurray, a South Carolinian who searched for Tivoli's remains in 1955, states:

> The survey for Mills' map of Chester County was made in 1818, and according to the map the Davie home, Tivoli, was about 3/8 of a mile northwest of the ford. We went on foot from the bridge across the old canal in the general direction of "Tivoli" as shown on Mills' map. At about 3/8 of a mile from the rock bridge over the canal and at about 1/8 of a mile from the flat river-bottom land, we found a most beautiful spot on a plateau possibly 200 feet above the river. A large walnut tree is standing with 2 large hewn rocks at the foot; there are several other large trees nearby, one a beautiful locust. The fields around are densely covered with wild grass. An old roadbed passes near the place in an almost direct line to the river, and a few hundred yards down the roadbed we found an old pit, still about 5 or 6 feet deep and 10 ft. across. [McMurray 1955]

The "ford" referred to in this document is Land's Ford, which is shown on the map in Figure 4. The "old canal" is likely the Landsford Canal, which ran along the river edge of Davie's property. McMurray later goes on to state that he believes Tivoli may have been on this elevated plateau, and that the old road described is the path which was taken to deliver goods to the river for transport to Charleston (McMurray 1955). This account, like the Stinson map, also indicates that the main house was not directly on the river. The final supplement to all of these items is an aerial photograph taken in 1955 during a U.S. Soil Conservation Service. In this picture (Figure 6), there are multiple patches of darkened soil. These areas, considering the

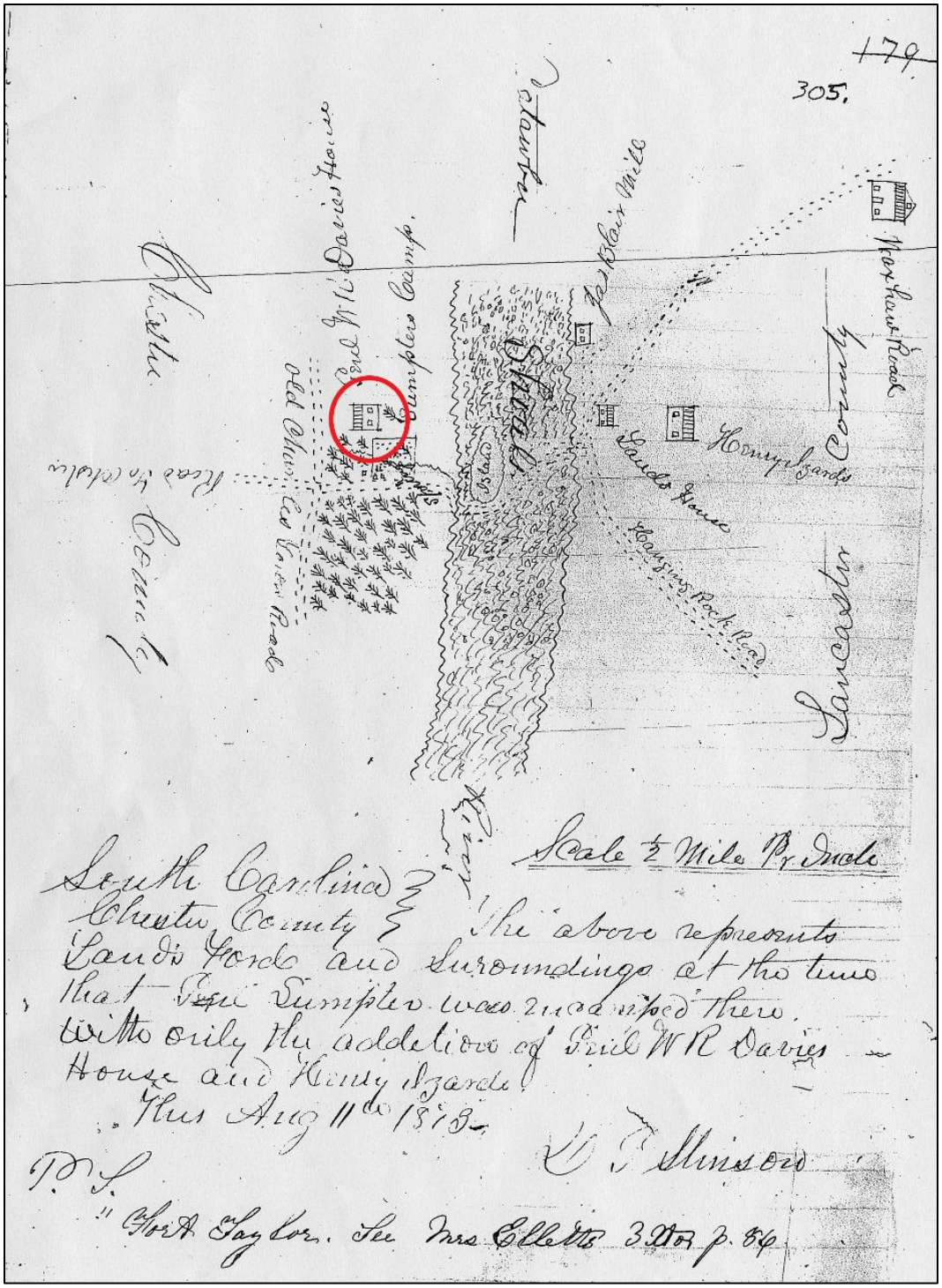

Figure 5. D.G. Stinson's 1873 map which depicts General Sumter's encampment as well as Tivoli (circled in red). Lyman Draper Manuscripts, Series VV. Thomas Sumter Papers (11 microfiche). Davis Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

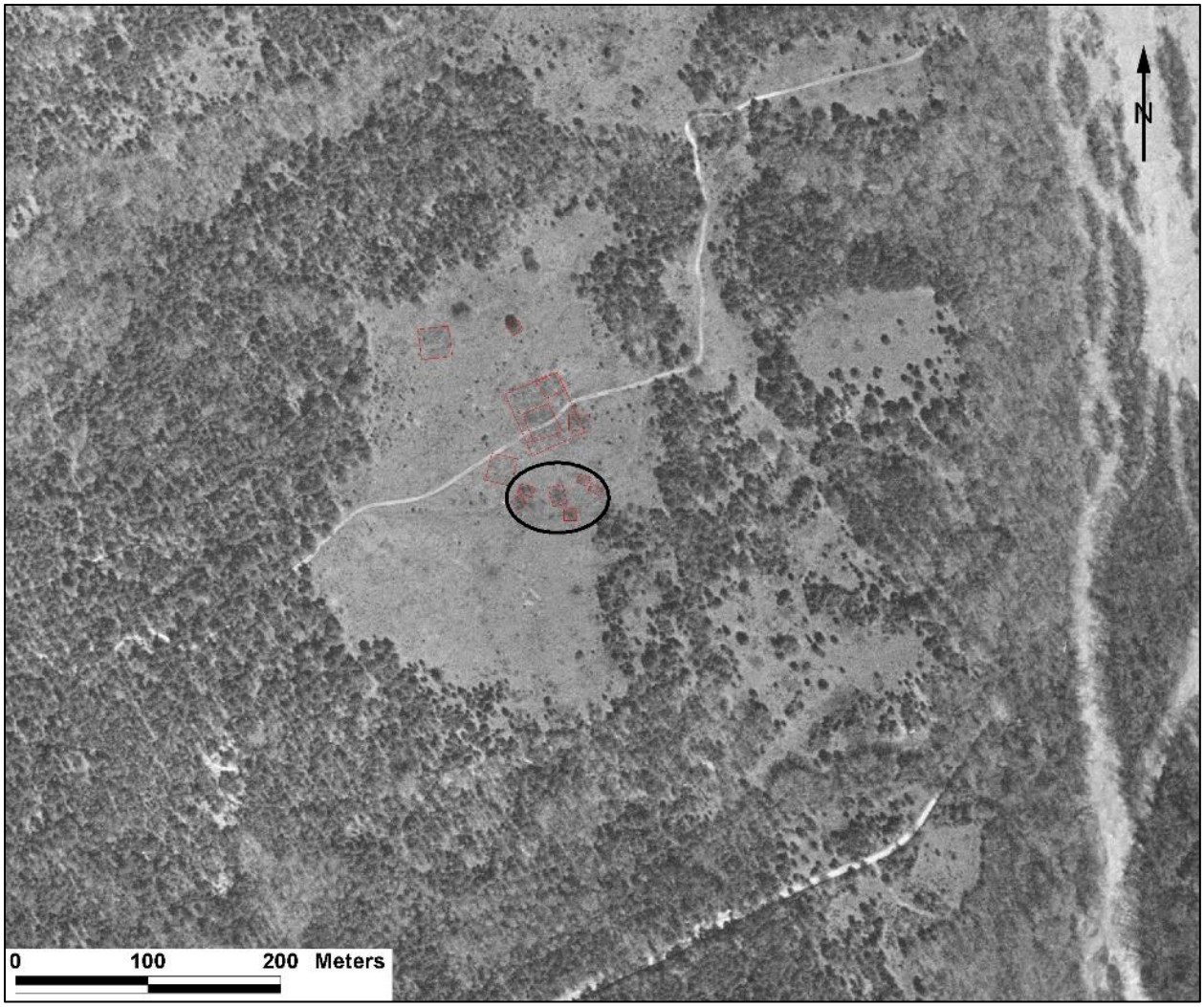

Figure 6. 1955 U.S. Soil Conservation survey photo with outlines on the darkened areas and a circle surrounding what is thought to be the main house site. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

documentary and map evidence, were identified as possible sites for the Tivoli mansion and surrounding buildings.

2000 Excavations by Legacy Research Associates

In 2000, Lindsay Pettus contracted Legacy Research Associates of Durham, NC, to conduct an archaeological survey of the suspected site. Their proposal states that fieldwork would consist of a visual inspection of the site, systematic subsurface probing to locate artifacts,

metal detection, shovel testing in areas that appeared to contain artifacts, and mapping of inspected areas as well as any features discovered (Legacy Research Associates, 2000). The investigation took five days and reported five sites (38CS299 to 38CS305).

Out of the five sites reported, two of them yielded significant nineteenth-century artifacts. The first of these was 38CS299, where three 1-m test pits were dug and one feature was identified (Davis and Riggs 2004: 11). Test Unit 1 (hereafter referred to as TU1) consisted of brick rubble and rock, and contained 193 historic artifacts, including various types of ceramics, glass (in the form of wine bottles, flat glass and other glass containers), and nails (Davis and Riggs 2004: 11; Joy 2000). TU2 hit another rock pile and contained two artifacts: a wine bottle base and a cut nail (Davis and Riggs 2004: 11; Joy 2000). TU3 yielded 32 artifacts, including stoneware sherds, glass from a Coke bottle as well as flat window glass, iron objects, a cut nail and brick fragments (Davis and Riggs 2004; 11, Joy 2000). Finally, a "shallow surface deposit of discarded refuse," designated Feature 1, was found. It contained 138 historic artifacts, which included Euroamerican ceramics, Catawba-made ceramics, glass in the form of wine bottles, clear bottles and window glass, and nails, as well as 80 pieces of animal bone (Davis and Riggs 2004; 11; Joy 2000).

Though TU1 and Feature 1 both contained artifacts that could have been associated with Davie during his time at Tivoli, Deborah Joy, who headed Legacy Research Associates' investigation, was cautious in suggesting that 38CS299 was the main house site. In field forms, the site is referred to as a "historic trash pit" (Joy 2000).

38CS304 was interpreted by the Legacy Research Associates team as a "possible kitchen site." At this site, they found four piles of rocks with foundation stones, suggesting this site had at one time been a domestic context. A single one-meter test unit was excavated in this spot, and

it contained 109 historical artifacts, including iron objects, glass shards, and some whiteware sherds (Davis and Riggs 2004: 11; Joy 2000).

2004 Excavations by UNC's Research Laboratories of Archaeology

In 2003, Dr. R. P. Stephen Davis and Dr. Brett Riggs of UNC's RLA revisited the site to evaluate the discoveries made by Legacy Research Associates in 2000. They started this process with a metal-detector survey of the areas that indicated possible structures from the 1955 aerial photograph, which brought up mostly wrought nails. The areas where artifacts were found mostly corresponded to the areas where Legacy Research Associates had also found historical artifacts (Davis and Riggs 2004: 12). Their original plan was to survey the area containing the anomalies seen in the 1955 aerial photographs, looking for metal debris that could serve as architectural evidence. However, upon their return in March 2004, they changed their focus to the area that Legacy Research Associates had designated Feature 1, near a cluster of smaller anomalies on the US Soil Conservation aerial photo (Figure 7). This was due to the historical evidence from McMurray suggesting this to be the location of the main household, as well as the fact that the former owners of the property had not planted trees in the area due to the fact that they believed this had been the location of the main house (Davis and Riggs 2004: 13).

The investigation began with a metal detector survey, which revealed numerous cut and wrought nails. The excavators also observed a low mound which contained brick fragments. After probing it, the excavators hypothesized that it could have been a chimney fall (Davis and Riggs 2004: 13). They then began probing every two meters, and west of the preserved chimney fall, they discovered bricks *in situ* about 20 cm below the surface. They did not fully expose the bricks, but by probing they determined that they covered an area measuring about 50 cm by

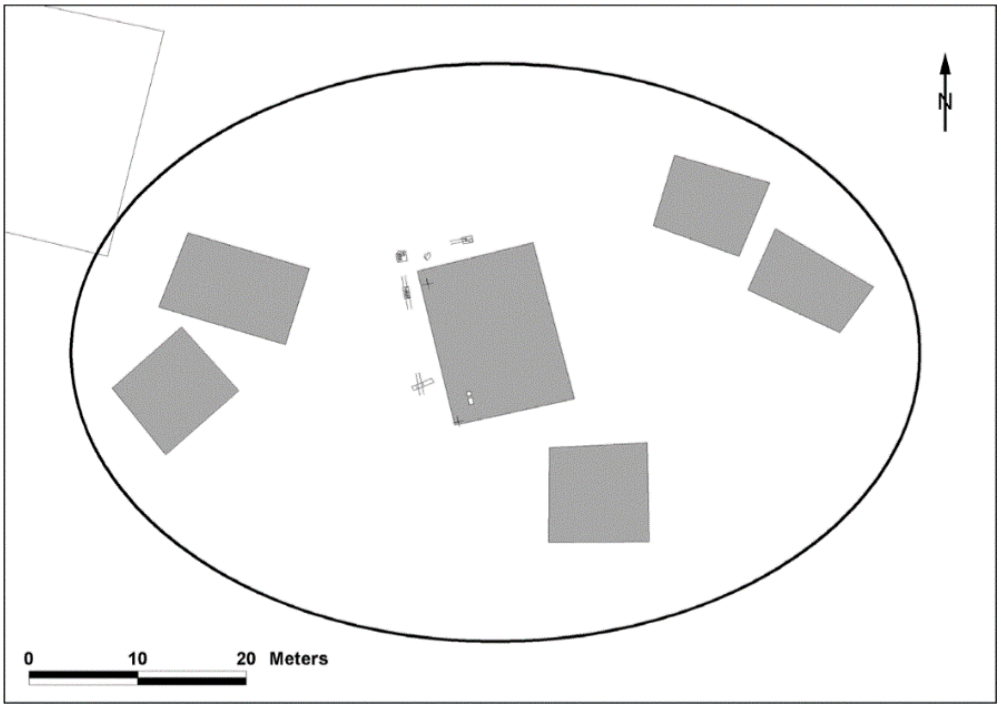

Figure 7. Close-up of the shapes of the soil anomalies examined in the 2004 investigation, as shown in Figure 6. Courtesy of the UNC RLA.

50 cm. Also contained within the area of these bricks were pieces of window glass, rum bottle glass, pearlware, and a Catawba potsherd (Davis and Riggs 2004: 13). Upon this discovery, the excavators hypothesized that this might be evidence for the main house site, as it had both brick footers as well as window glass, which "only the main house would have" (Davis and Riggs 2004: 13).

The goal of excavation then became to expose the brick footer and also search for additional footers. A 0.9 m by 0.9 m test unit was excavated and designated Test Unit A (Figures 8 and 9). They probed a line west of Test Unit A going at 10-15 cm intervals, but found no additional brick footers. Using this same method to the south, they uncovered an "alignment of foundation bricks three bricks wide and four bricks long" (Davis and Riggs 2004: 14). The test unit excavated measured 0.5 m by 1 m by 12 cm deep and was called Test Unit B (Figure 10).

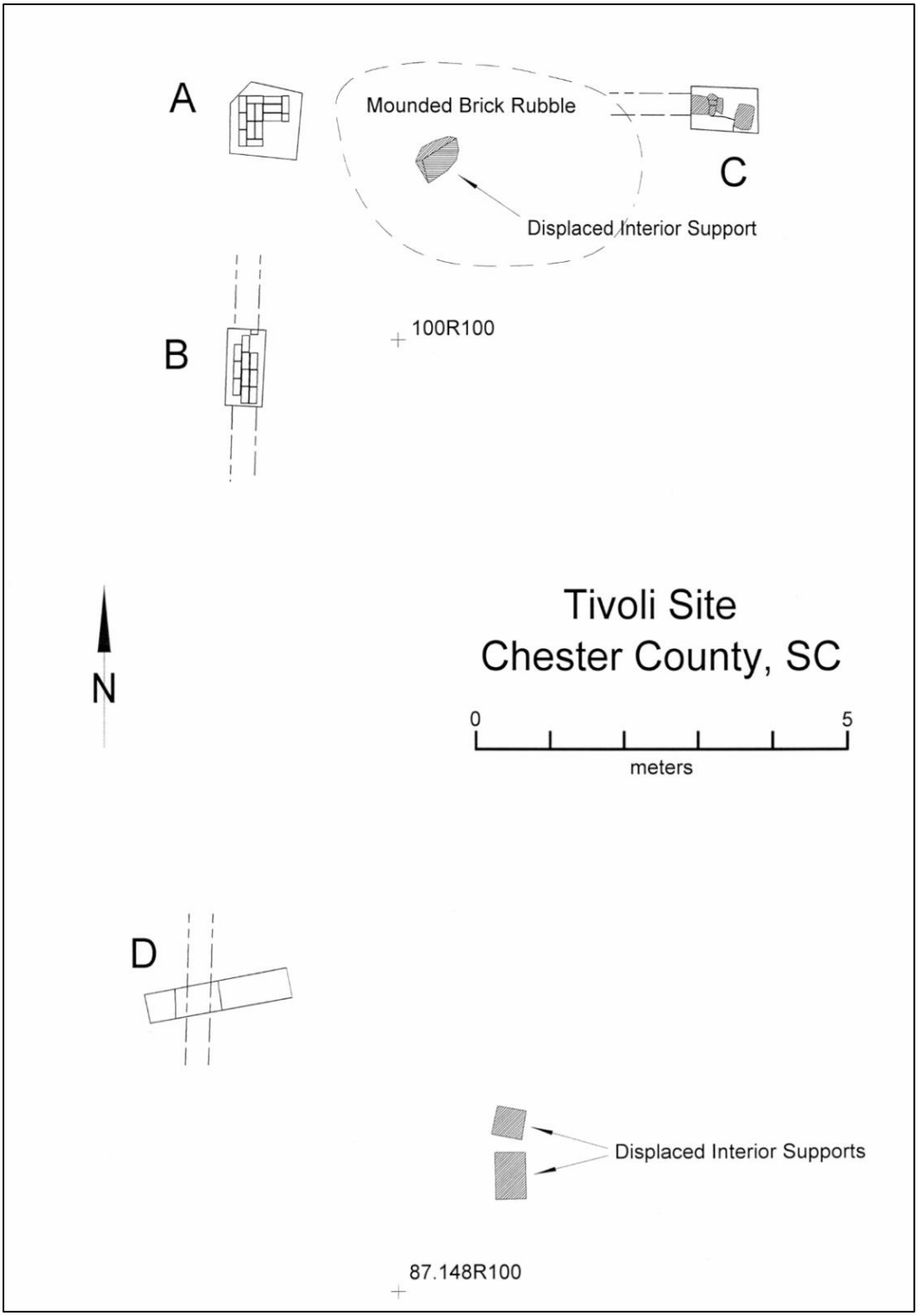

Figure 8. Map of 38CS299 showing areas of excavation in 2004 and identified archaeological features. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

Figure 9. Test Unit A, view to the west, from Davis and Riggs (2004). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

Figure 10. Test Unit B, view to the east, from Davis and Riggs (2004). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

The excavators then probed east of Test Unit A and found a section of stones resting *in situ* in what they deemed to be a foundation trench about six meters out. Their excavation here measured about 0.6 m by 0.9 m by 16 cm deep, and was called Test Unit C (Figure 11). Additional probing indicated what was determined to be foundation stones, though they were slightly offset from the wall line created by Test Units A and B (Davis and Riggs 2004: 20).

On the final day of excavation, a slot trench was excavated 11.5 m south of Test Unit A, with the excavation measuring 1.9 m by 0.4 m by 20 cm. It revealed a "trench-like disturbance," with dark, mottled soil, brick fragments, and sand mortar, deemed Test Unit D (Figure 12). The trench was slightly offset from the lines created by Test Unit A and B, which, when considering Test Unit C also being offset, suggested to the excavators that the house's plan may have been "more sophisticated than a rectangular configuration" (Davis and Riggs 2004: 20).

Artifacts found during the investigation, which included pearlware sherds, window glass, bottle glass, wrought nails, and a single Catawba potsherd were all placed back into the pits when they were backfilled. These artifacts were consistent with the early nineteenth-century date of Tivoli's occupation (Davis and Riggs 2004: 20).

At the end of the 2004 excavation, Davis and Riggs concluded that 38CS299 was a strong candidate for being Davie's Tivoli. This conclusion was based on the fact that the structural remains lined up with the location indicated in Davie's letter to John Steele, as well as the D.G. Stinson map and McMurray's survey in 1955. They also concluded that the foundations discovered indicated a residence that was both substantially built (with brick and stone foundations) and "consistent with the size of a prominent citizen's home." These points, combined with the fact that the associated artifacts matched up with the time of Davie's

Figure 11. Test Unit C, view to the north, from Davis and Riggs (2004) . Courtesy of UNC RLA.

Figure 12. Close-up of Test Unit D. Note the mottled soil and the sand mortar present. Arrows represent the trench edges. From Davis and Riggs (2004); view to the south. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

occupation, all contributed heavily to the final conclusion that this site very likely could be the Tivoli manor (Davis and Riggs 2004: 22).

2006 Excavations by UNC's Research Laboratories of Archaeology

38CS299

The findings from the limited 2004 investigation prompted a much larger site investigation in 2006, coinciding with the 250th anniversary of Davie's birth (Figure 13). The primary research goals were to expose the foundation of the building, which would help in understanding its "size and configuration," and to obtain a collection of artifacts associated with the site that could show the date of construction, the time of occupation, and the status of the people who occupied the structure (Davis and Riggs 2005).

The excavators planned to carry out research on the house site by excavating in contiguous 1x1m units, and either dry-screening in ¼-in mesh or water screening in 1/16th-in mesh. Features were to be designated if there was either notable surface disturbance or a significant artifact deposit. The initial plan was for a two-phase project that was to take place in 2005. The first phase would have been a topographic survey of the site (38CS299), along with a re-examination of the areas Legacy Research Associates had designated features in all areas they had investigated. Any areas considered important from this preliminary survey, in addition to the main house site, would be excavated during phase two. The second phase would then be to fully excavate the main house and any other sites designated significant during the first phase of investigation (Tivoli Research Proposal, RLA Documents, Acc. 2508-FO1).

The excavation ended up taking place in 2006 as an archaeological field school, with the primary investigators being Dr. R. P. Stephen Davis and Dr. Brett Riggs of the RLA, as well as

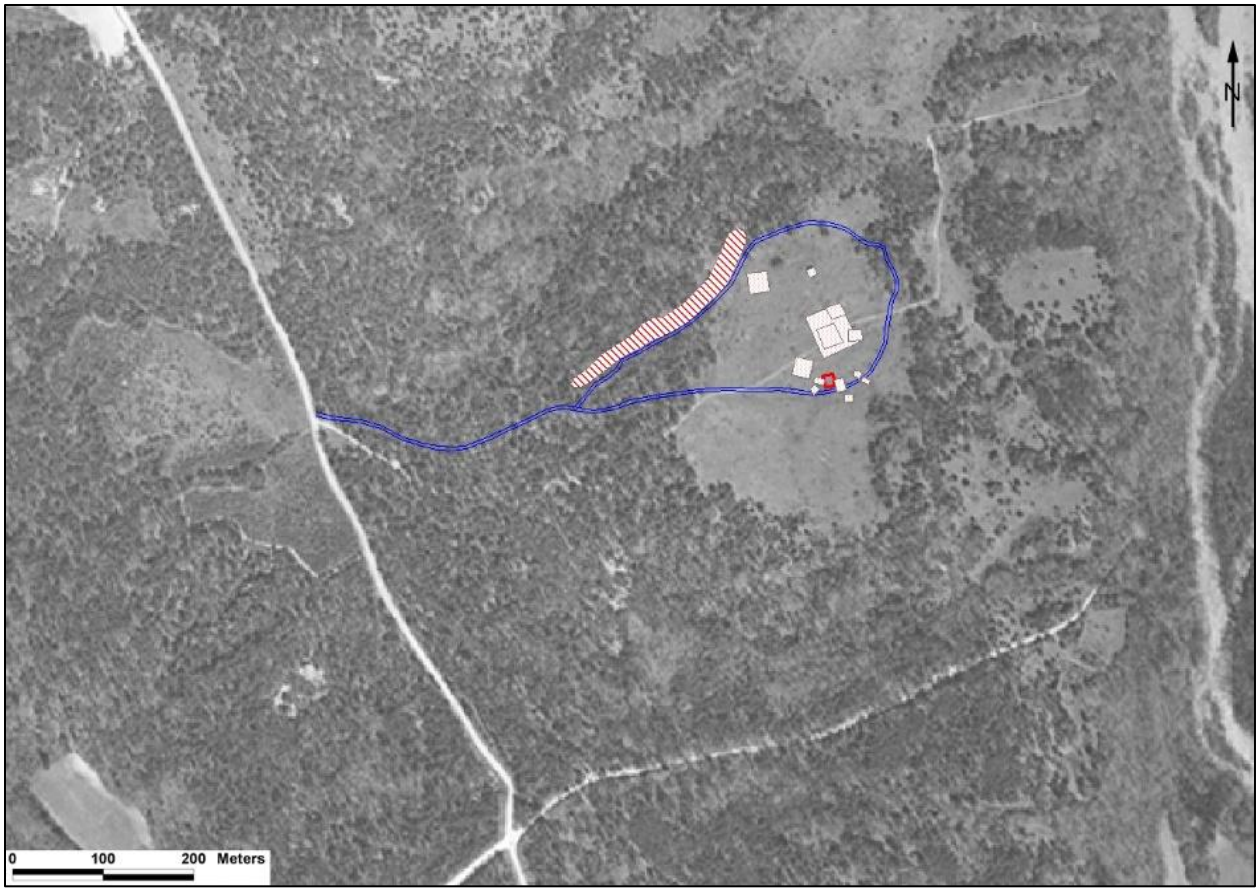

Figure 13. The areas investigated by the 2006 RLA Field School. 38CS299 is the small area outlined with solid red, and 38CS301 is the larger area filled in with red stripes. The blue line depicts an abandoned roadbed. Photo courtesy of UNC RLA.

Meg Kassabaum, Mark Plane, and Daniel LaDu, who were staff assistants with the excavation. Five UNC undergraduate field school students and two graduate student volunteers also joined the crew for the field school, beginning their investigation on May 15, 2006. They began with the excavation of eight units at 38CS299, units 97R98, 97R99, 99R98, 99R99, 101R98, 101R99, 102R98, and 102R99, which were excavated to expose the already-discovered features (Figures 14 and 15). Ultimately, 81 units were excavated by the end of the field season.

Level 1. Level 1 included the shallow topsoil layer in each excavation unit, as well as what was described by excavators as "building destruction debris that have been spread over the

Figure 14. Complete plan of 2006 excavation units at 38CS299, with architectural remains and other features (outlined in red). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

area, perhaps from a later cleaning of the site area" (Tivoli Excavation Plan, RLA Archives, Acc. 2508-FO1). Level 1 was excavated with both shovels and trowels by natural levels, meaning that the excavators stopped when they reached a different soil texture and color, which most often occurred at a depth of about 10-20 cm in most units. The artifacts found in Level 1 suggest early nineteenth century domestic activity. A total of 9, 712 artifacts were recovered, most of which were fragments of pearlware, creamware, porcelain, stonewares, and sherds of Catawba-made ceramics, iron objects such as handles and buckles, and fragments of glass vessels. Structural remains were also very prominent, as there was also lots of brick, mortar, window glass, and iron nails.

Level 2. Level 2 was consistently described as a "clay loam," reflecting a transition from the sandy loam found in Level 1 into a clay subsoil. This layer was the one that contained the

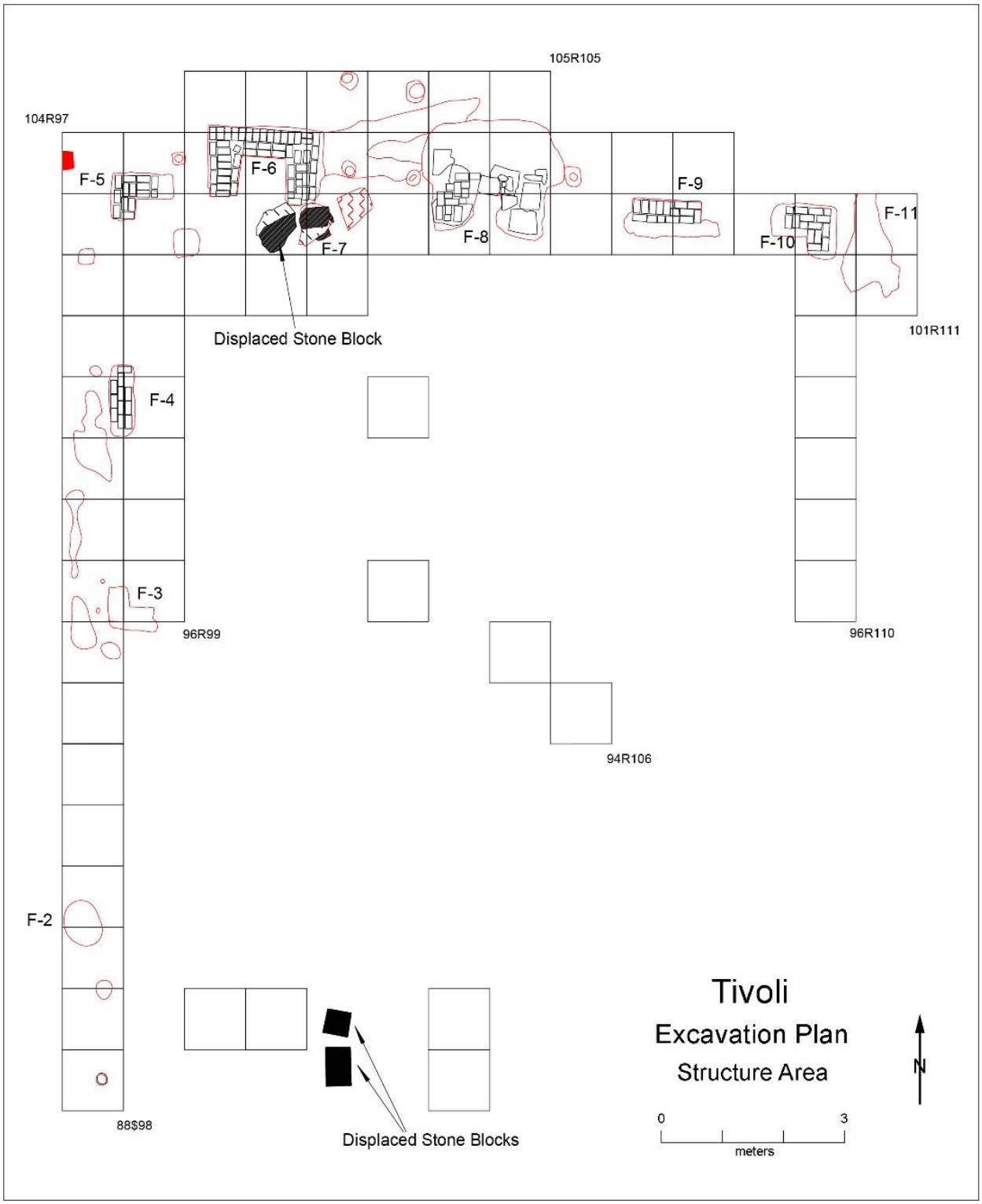

Figure 15. Portion of the 38CS299 excavation plan showing architectural remains and other features (outlined in red). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

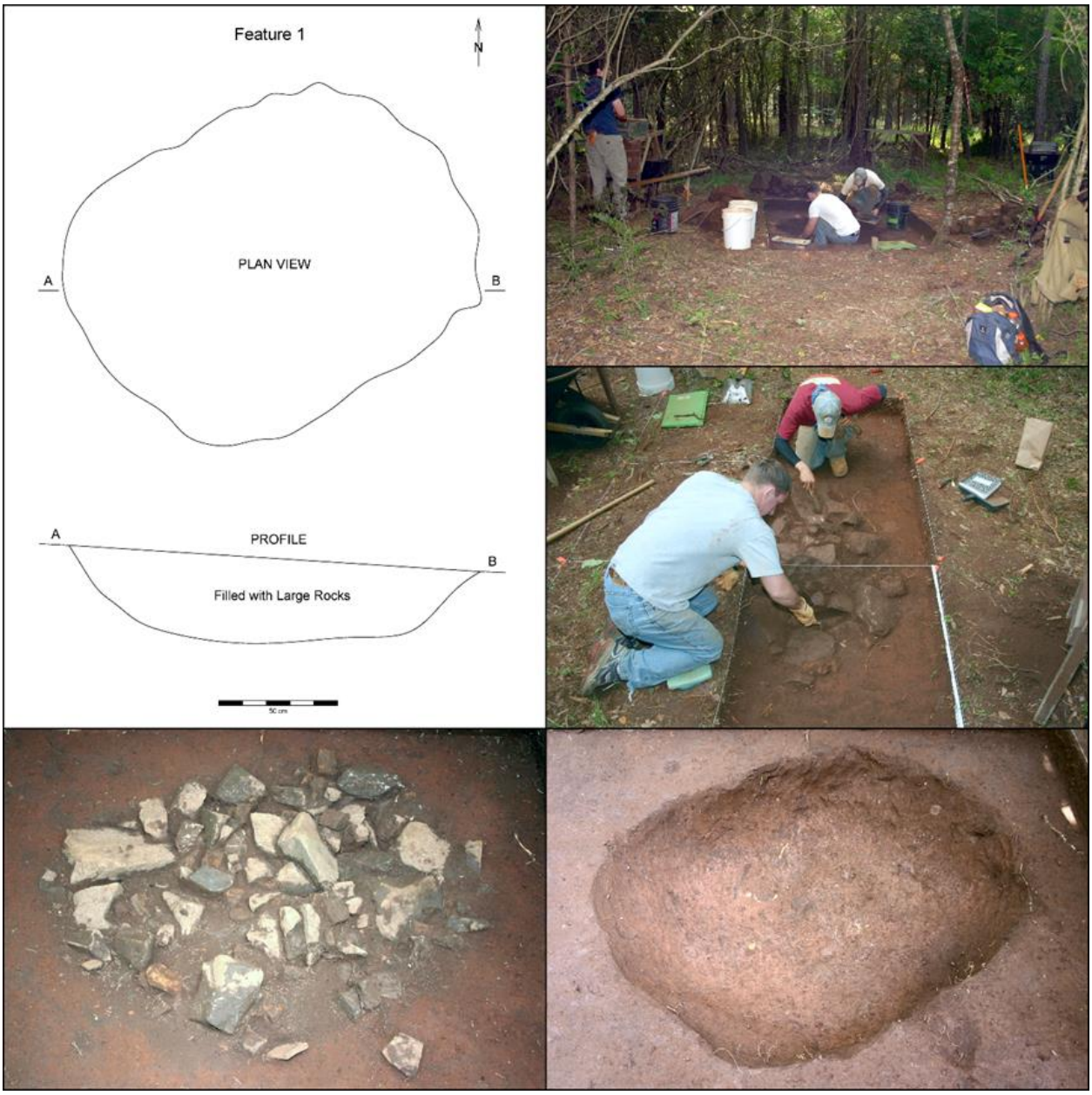

Figure 16. Feature 1 plan and profile drawings (top left); top of rock-filled feature prior to excavation (bottom left); feature being excavated (top right and center right); and excavated feature. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

features found. Level 2 was only excavated if there was a feature or disturbance of interest in Level 1, so the artifact count is lower, at 523 specimens with generally less variety.

Feature 1. Feature 1 was located in units 85R122, 85R123, 85R124, 86R122, 86R123, and 86R124 (Figure 16). It was described as a "large pit filled with rocks," and was about 20 m

southeast of the main structure site where the building foundations were found. The feature was 1.67 m long (measuring NE-SW) and 1.27 m wide (measuring NW-SE). The depth of this feature varied throughout, but was in the range from 33 to 53 cm below the surface, with the outer edges of the feature being higher than the center. The fill in Feature 1 transitioned down from a dark reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 3/3) silty loam down to a wet clay. Artifacts excavated from Feature 1 include 315 rocks and an indeterminate amount of brick fragments. Excavators originally hypothesized that Feature 1 might be a filled-in well, due to its distance from the house, but after finding that the rock fill did not continue to 1 m below the surface, this hypothesis was rejected.

Feature 2. Feature 2 spanned units 90R98 and 91R98, and was described as a "rubble filled pit" (Figure 17). It measured 0.75 m in length (N-S) and 0.59 m in width (E-W). The depth of Feature 2 was 28.5 cm throughout, as measured by a line level from point 91R98. Feature 2 was characterized by a darker soil than the surrounding unit, which contained dark reddish brown (2.5YR 2.5/4) sandy loam, while the fill of the feature was described as a strong brown (7.5YR 4/7) sandy clay, scattered with large yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) chunks of mortar throughout. There was also a darker disturbance at the bottom of the feature which was interpreted as a root disturbance. There were no recorded artifacts for Feature 2. The feature contained mostly large chunks of mortar, as well as the aforementioned root disturbance.

Feature 3. Feature 3 was an L-shaped lens of sand mortar located in the southeastern corner of unit 96R98 and the southwestern end of unit 96R99 (Figure 18). This unit was interpreted as one of the corner foundation piers for the structure on this site. The disturbance was characterized by a change from the surrounding dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) silty loam to a yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) sandy silt loam mottled with sand and mortar. In the

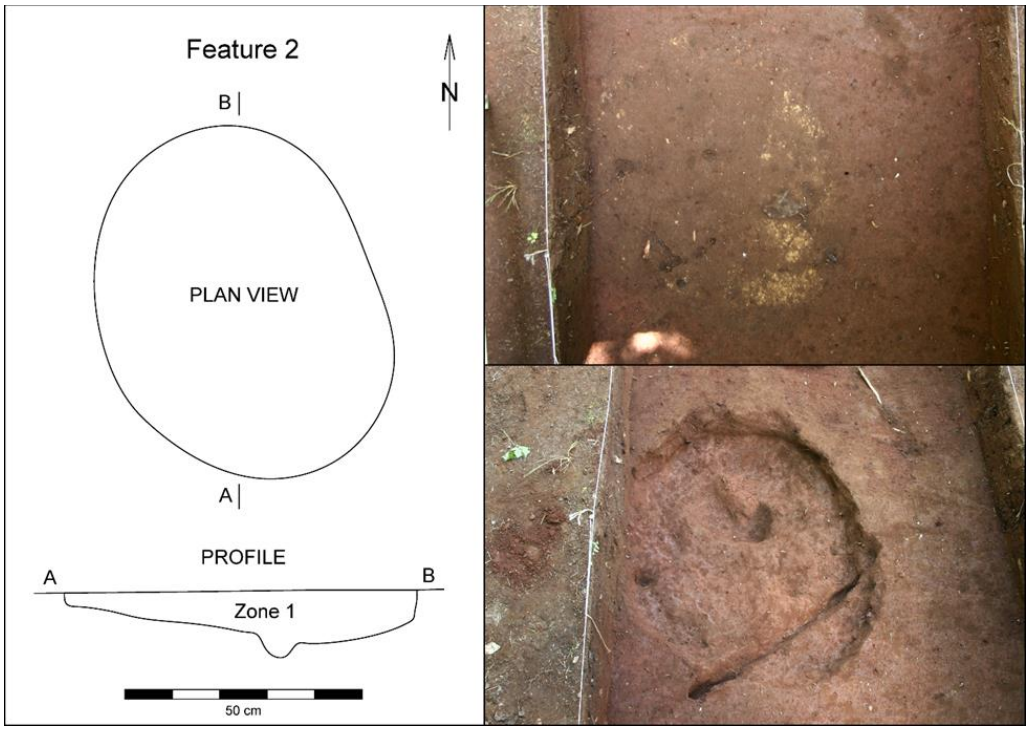

Figure 17. Plan and profile drawings of Feature 2 (left); Feature 2 before it was excavated (note the yellow mottling from the mortar) (top right); and feature fully excavated (top right). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

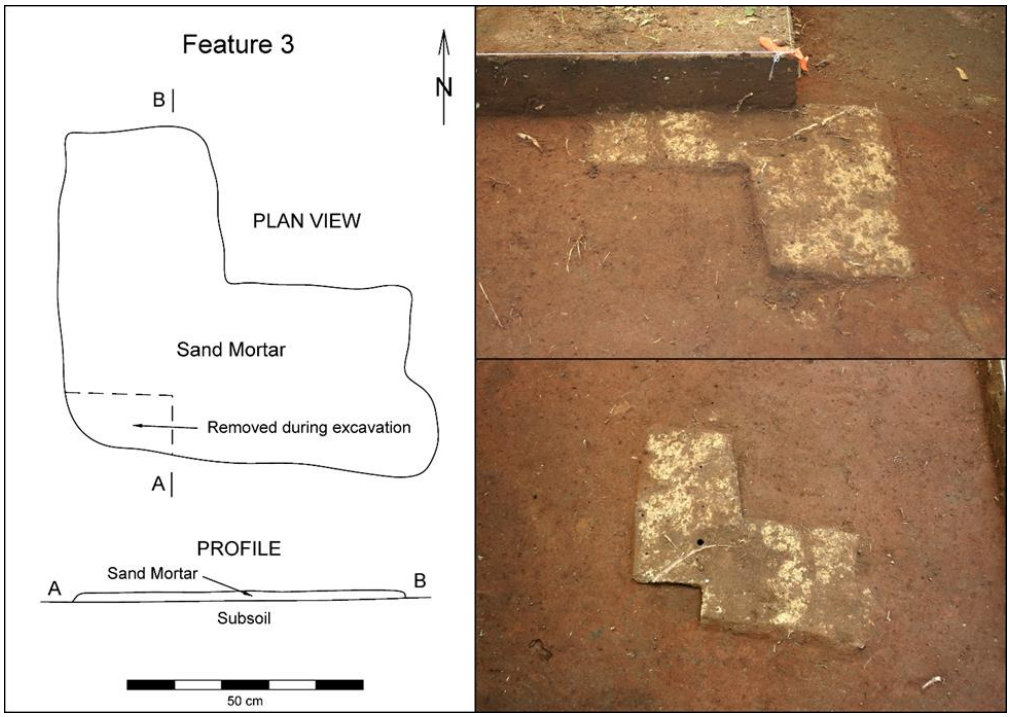

Figure 18. Plan and profile drawings of Feature 3 (left); pictures of Feature 3 before and after the sand deposit in the southeastern corner of unit 96R98 was excavated. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

southeastern corner of unit 96R98, there was a layer of sand mortar that was about 1 cm thick. Feature 3 measured 0.77 m in length (E-W) and 0.68 m in width (N-S). The thickness of the feature was 24 cm. No artifacts attributed to this feature in particular. It was noted that there was a fair amount of sand and mortar surrounding this foundation pier.

Feature 4. Feature 4 was an *in situ* brick mid-wall foundation pier which went through the eastern edge of unit 99R98, the southeast corner of unit 100R98, the western edge of unit 99R99, and the southwest corner of unit 100R99 (Figure 19). This feature was not characterized by a soil change, but, rather by 3 rows of *in situ* bricks with 11 bricks total. There was also a layer of sand mortar that surrounded the bricks. The feature measured 1.19 m in length (N-S) and 0.42 m in width (E-W), and the thickness of the feature was 10-11 cm. The feature itself was composed solely of the row of 11 bricks and the surrounding sand mortar.

Feature 5. Feature 5 was another *in situ* brick corner foundation pier (Figure 20). This feature was located in the northeast corner of unit 102R98, the northwest corner of unit 102R99, the southeast corner of unit 103R98, and the southwest corner of unit 103R99. The feature measured 0.98 m in length (E-W), and 0.73 m in width (N-S). The depth at which Feature 5 was encountered was about 18-20 cm. This feature was characterized by a corner-shaped course of 14 bricks, along with brick rubble along the outer edges. No other artifacts were found with this feature.

Feature 6. Feature 6 was an *in situ* fireplace hearth and chimney foundation (Figure 21). The feature was located along the east wall of unit 103R100, the north wall of unit 103R101, along the west wall of unit 103R102, and on the south edge of unit 104R101. Feature 6 measured 1.71 m in length (E-W) and 1.12 m in width (N-S). The feature was encountered at a depth of 15-

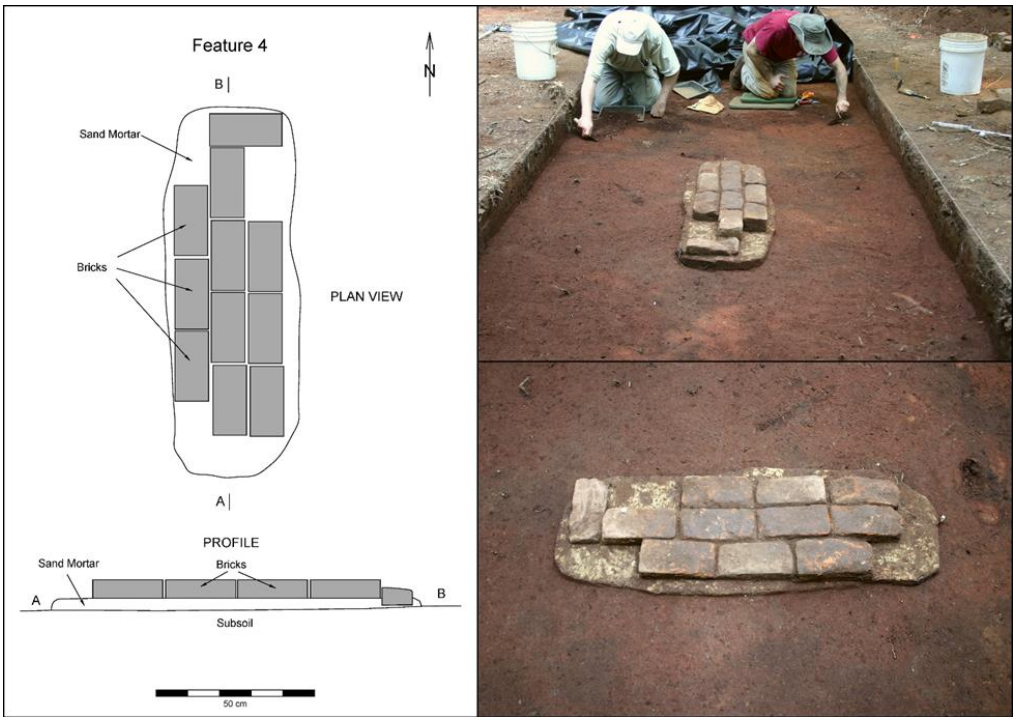

Figure 19. Plan and profile drawings of Feature 4 (left); Feature 4 (a mid-wall foundation) as it was being excavated and after it was excavated (right). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

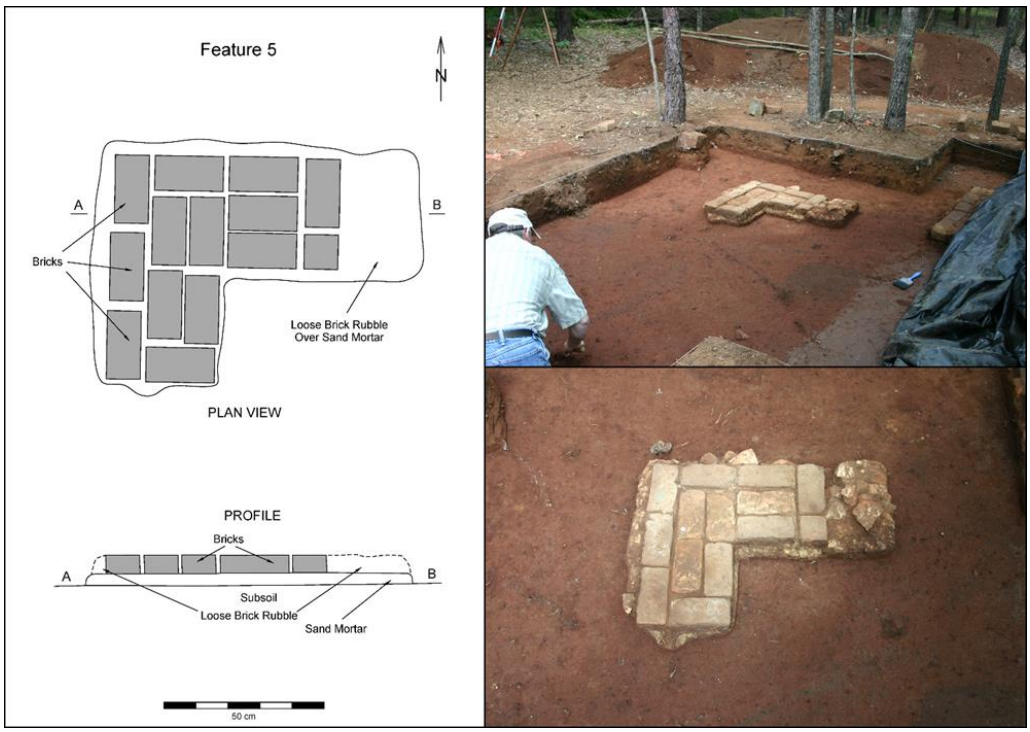

Figure 20. Plan and profile drawings of Feature 5 (left); Feature 5 (corner foundation) as it was being excavated and after excavation (right). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

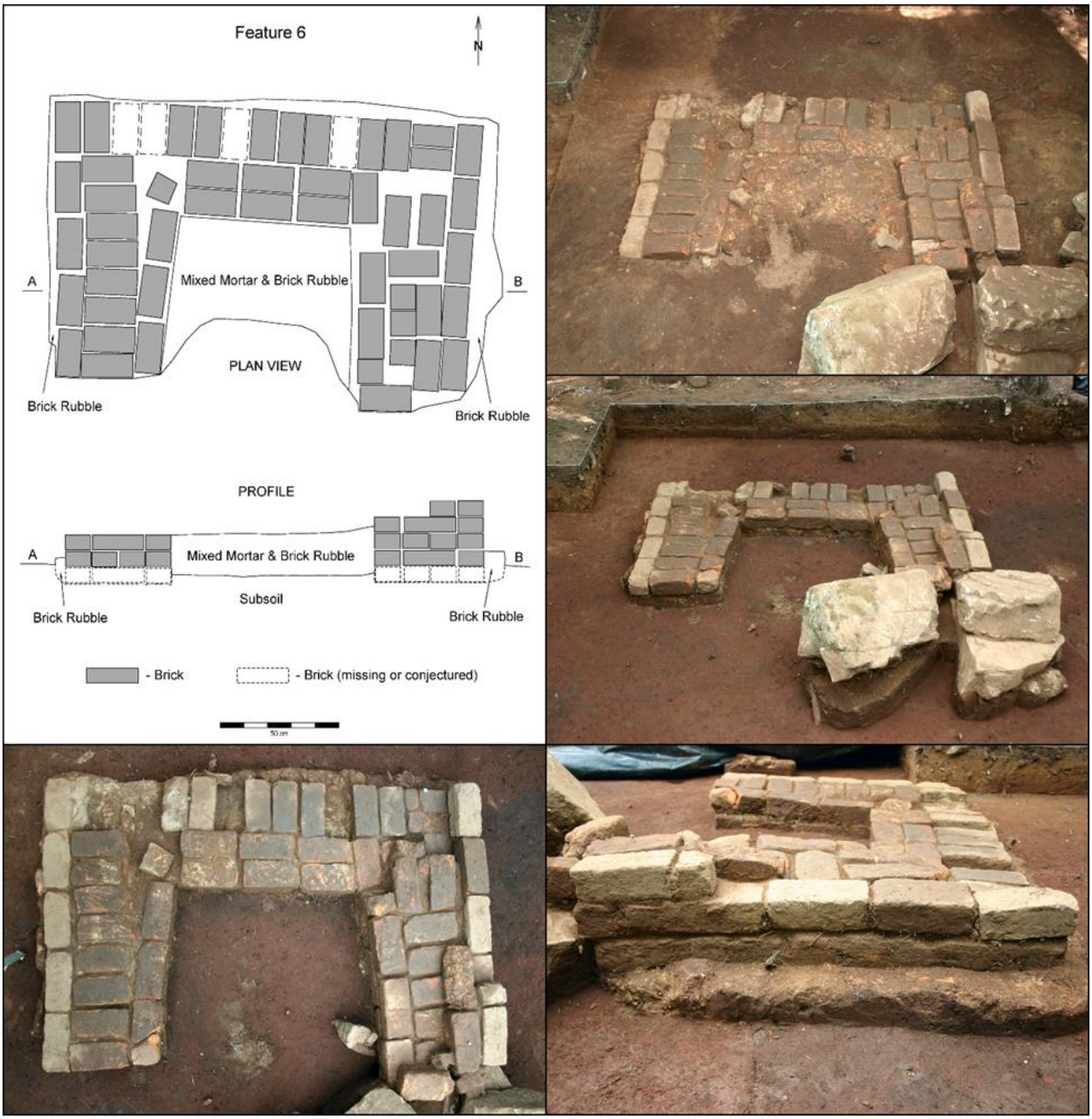

Figure 21. Plan and profile drawings of Feature 6 (top left); Feature 6 during the process of excavation (note Feature 7, the large displaced stones, on the southern end) (top right); Feature 6 from the side (bottom right); top view of Feature 6, fully excavated (bottom left). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

19 cm below the surface. This feature only contained the chimney foundation, which included 52 *in situ* bricks as well as a course of mortar and rubble.

Feature 7. Feature 7 was described as a "large rock cluster" in the centers of units 102R101 and 102R102 (Figure 22). These, on the maps in Figures 17 and 18, were referred to as "displaced stone blocks," and were visible on the surface of these units. Together, they measured 1.23 m long (E-W) and 0.72 m wide (N-S). This feature was characterized by the large stone blocks that were just south of the collapsed chimney foundation, and no other artifacts of note were part of Feature 7. This feature left a large amount of units 102R101 and 102R102 unexcavated, due to its size.

Feature 8. Feature 8 was described as a collapsed fireplace hearth and chimney foundation which was characterized both by a course of brick and stone as well as a layer of brick and mortar rubble (Figure 23 and 24). Feature 8 ran through the northern half of units 102R104 and 102R105, through the entirety of units 103R104 and 103R105, the west edge of unit 103R106, and the southern edge of units 104R104 and 104R105. The further south, the more brick and stone was present in the feature. This course of bricks and stone as well as the mortar ranged from being 9-24 cm below the surface, and measured 1.69 m long (E-W) and 1.33 m wide (N-S). This feature was characterized both by the course of brick and stone that was present in the south as well as a switch to a light olive brown (10YR 5/6) to light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) soil that was filled with mortar. It is also of note that this feature not in alignment with the foundation piers in the house, and was constructed differently from the hearth at Feature 6.

In units 103R104 and 103R105, where there was no a course of stone and brick, a total of 234 artifacts were found. These artifacts included iron nails, window glass, refined earthenware, porcelain, Catawba earthenware, container glass, animal bone, mortar, brass wire, a brass tack,

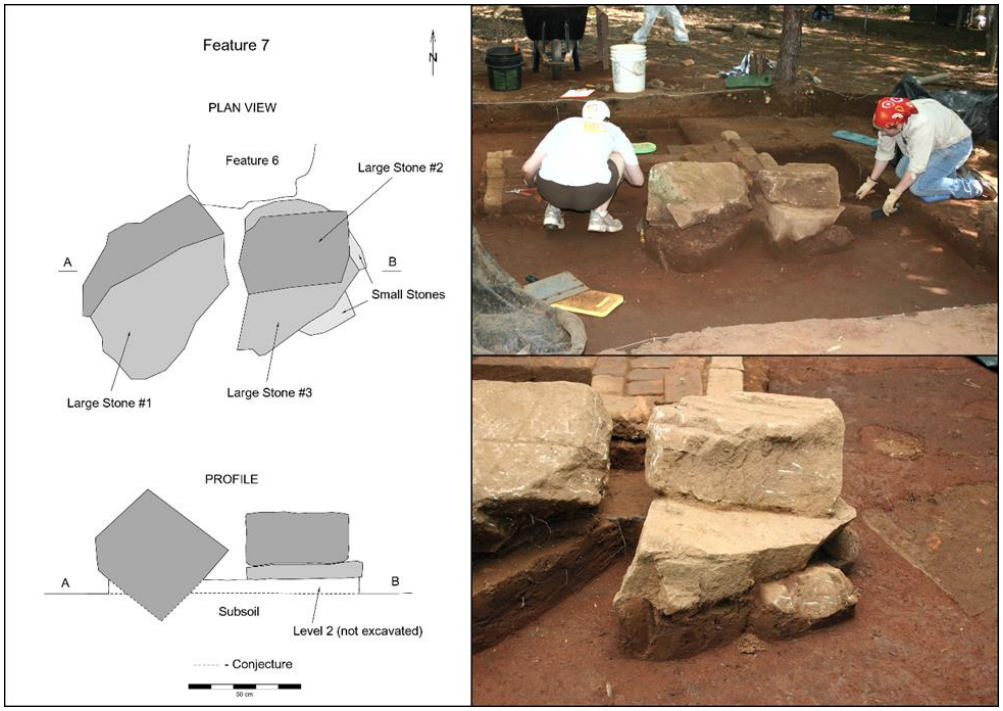

Figure 22. Plan and profile drawings of Feature 7 (left); Feature 7 as it was being excavated and post excavation (right). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

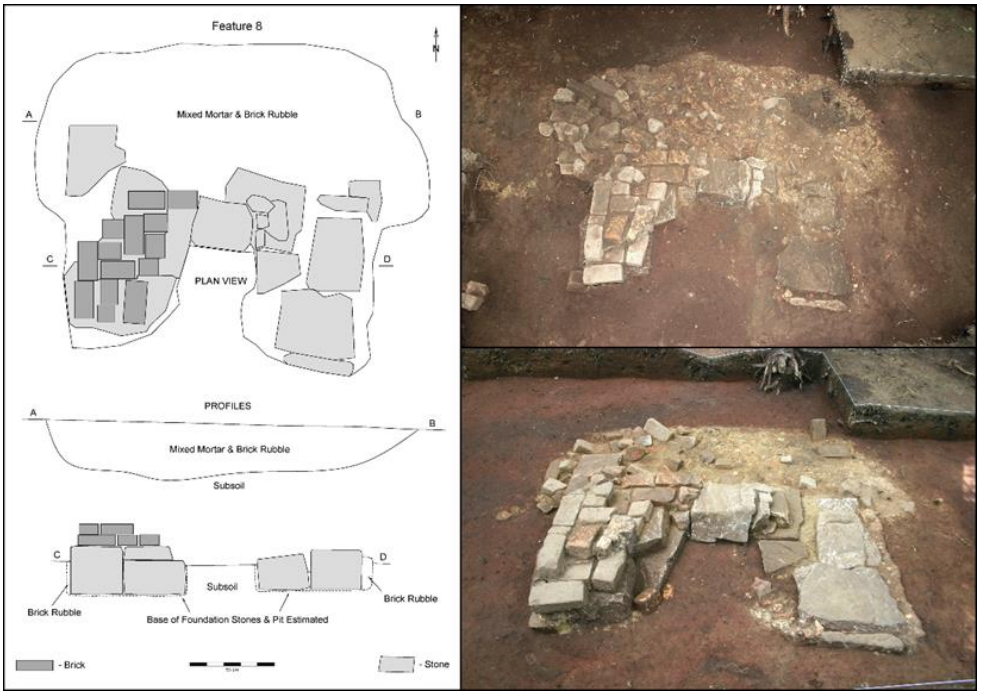

Figure 23. Plan and profile drawings of Feature 8 (left); Feature 8 before the brick rubble was excavated (right). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

Figure 24. Feature 8 after the brick and mortar rubble was excavated. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

an iron sheet, and plaster. There was also the course of *in situ* brick and stone itself, which contained 13 bricks and 11 stones.

Feature 9. Feature 9 was an *in situ* brick foundation pier (Figure 25). The feature was in the northeastern corner of unit 102R107 and the northwestern corner of unit 102R108. The depth at which the feature was discovered was about 13 cm below surface, and it measured 1.57 m long (E-W) and 0.59 m wide (N-S). This feature had no associated artifacts, but was characterized by the brick foundation pier consisting of 15 bricks and the associated trench of brick rubble, which was immediately south of the foundation pier.

Feature 10. Feature 10 was an *in situ* brick foundation pier surrounded by a layer of brick and mortar rubble (Figure 26). Feature 10 was located along the eastern edge of unit 102R109 and within unit 102R110, and was bordered to the east by Feature 11. The feature measured 1.28

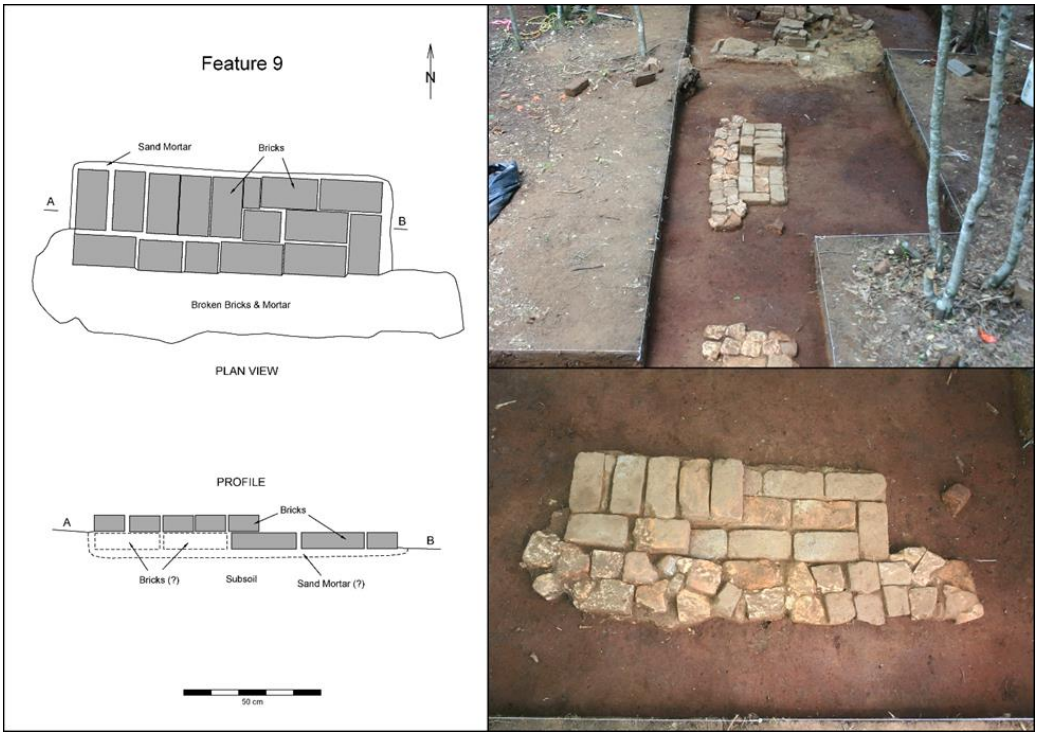

Figure 25. Plan and profile drawing of Feature 9 (left); Feature 9 post excavation, note the brick rubble below the course of bricks (right). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

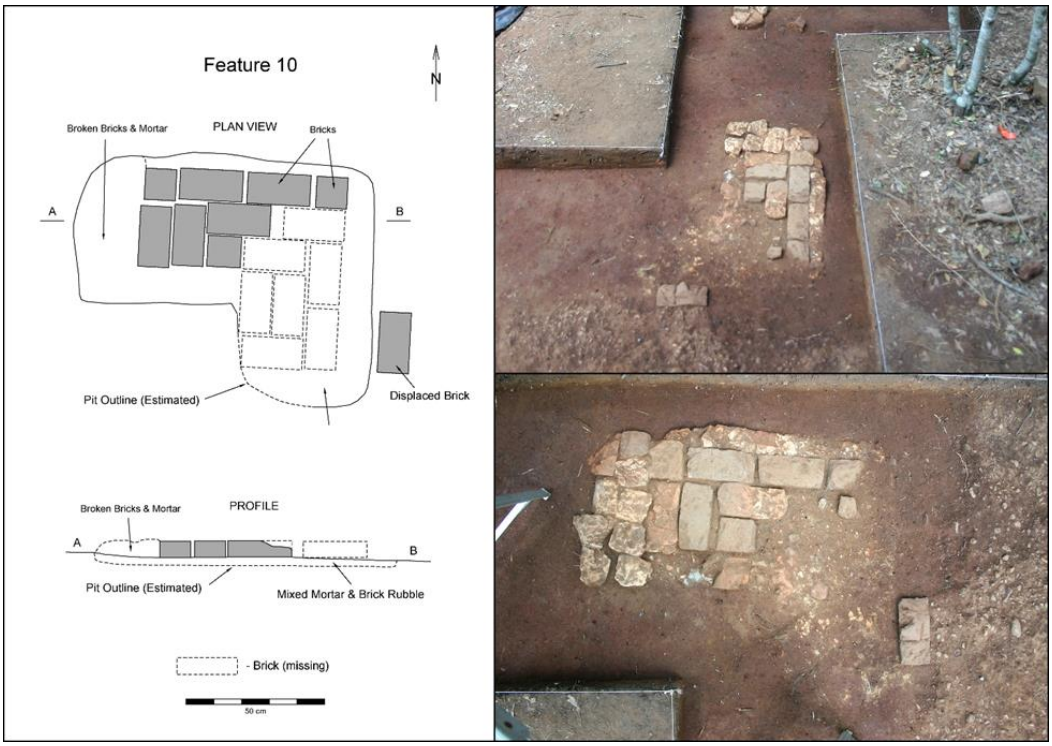

Figure 26: Plan and profile drawings of Feature 10 (left); Feature 10, fully excavated (right). Note the surrounding brick and mortar rubble and the single displaced brick. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

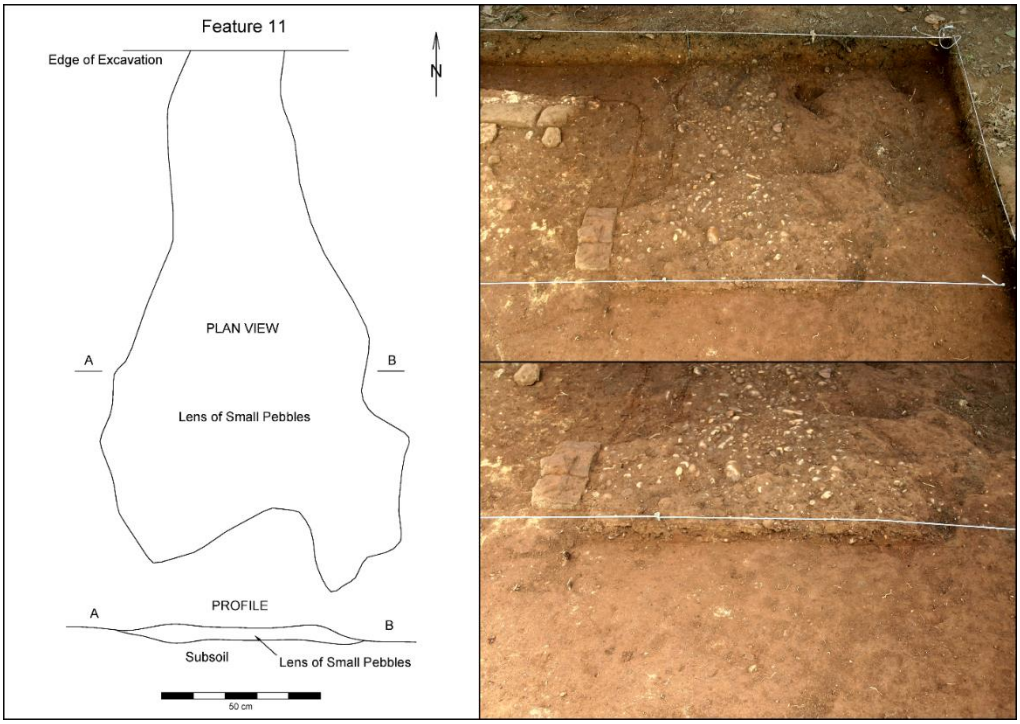

Figure 27. Plan and profile drawings of Feature 11 (left); Feature 11 as it was being excavated (right). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

m long (E-W) and 0.89 m wide (N-S), and was encountered about 15 cm below surface. This feature was composed of the foundation pier, which contained eight *in situ* bricks, one brick that was displaced, and an underlying layer of light yellowish brown (10YR6/4), mortar-mottled soil. No other artifacts were associated with this feature.

Feature 11. Feature 11 is described as a "pebble surface," which means it was the same soil color as the surrounding unit, but the matrix contained a large amount of pebbles (Figure 27). This feature was located in the eastern edge of units 101R110 and 102R110, and much of units 101R111 and 102R111. The feature was 2 m long (N-S) and 1.05 m wide (E-W). The feature was located at 13-15 cm below the surface. This feature did not have any artifacts associated with it, only the pebbly matrix that characterized it as a feature.

Discussion. These features, when seen in conjunction with one another, represent the rough layout of the structure present in 38CS299. These features represent a building with the dimensions of roughly 36 x 24 ft, or 880 ft^2. This is slightly smaller than Davie's previous home in Halifax County, named Loretta, which was 33 x 33 ft, coming out to be 1089 ft^2 (after an addition to the home) (Hasty 2006: 8). This similarity in measurements provides evidence that this could have been the main structure for the property, as it is comparable in square footage to Davie's earlier home.

Another possibility for the function of this site is that it was used as a place for Davie and his family to stay while a larger main plantation house was being constructed. This would be similar to Thomas Jefferson's South Pavilion, which he constructed in 1770 so he could live there and oversee the construction of his main home (Kelso 1997: 21). After this structure was used for this purpose, it then could have been repurposed as a kitchen or another auxiliary building on the plantation.

The structure at 38CS299 was sturdily built, which is evidenced by the piers. All of the piers were fully excavated to their sand-mortar base only at level 2. These features weren't even discovered, in most cases, until about 10 cm below the surface, and were only fully uncovered at about 20 cm below the surface, and their sand mortar foundations entered the subsoil. Their depth as well as the fact that they were constructed out of a sturdy material with a substantial base indicated that this structure was of sturdy construction. Carl Steen confirms that this is an indicator of a more sturdily built structure, as he noted similar features in the kitchen building at Somerset Place (Steen et al 2003: 109, 113). This information is coupled with the fact that there were three L-shaped piers, which indicates closed walls on all four sides, as opposed to an open, shed-like structure (Steen et al 2003: 108).

Compared to Davie's home in Halifax County, which was also, according to Kathryn Hasty, originally built on separate brick piers, this structure was of a similar form, meaning it was likely constructed primarily out of wood (Hasty 2006: 8).

The two hearths on this site, Feature 6 and Feature 8, are also of particular interest when studying this structure. There is a distinct difference in construction date suggested by these two hearths. Firstly, Feature 8 is constructed with different materials than Feature 6, using brick, mortar, and stone as opposed to just brick and mortar. The construction of Feature 6 appears more consistent with the brick foundation piers. Secondly, the two hearths are not aligned with each other, and only Feature 6 is aligned with the piers, suggesting this hearth was built the same time as the piers. Feature 8, then, presumably predates the construction of the foundation piers and Feature 6, as the differences in alignment and construction suggest. However, Feature 8 was likely incorporated into the structure, as it would have been completely dismantled if it was not.

38CS301

This site is known as the "slave quarter" and was initially discovered by Deborah Joy in 2000, but was not identified then as having any potential nineteenth-century artifacts. However, in a re-survey of the Tivoli site, the "slave quarter" was rediscovered as an area of interest due to large concentrations of artifacts discovered in shovel test pits as well as extensive metal detector survey. It was considered a possibility for Tivoli's slave quarter because according to his will, William R. Davie owned many slaves, but it was unknown where these people lived. This site provides a possible location for the homes of those who were enslaved. Thirty-five units were excavated in this area (Figure 28).

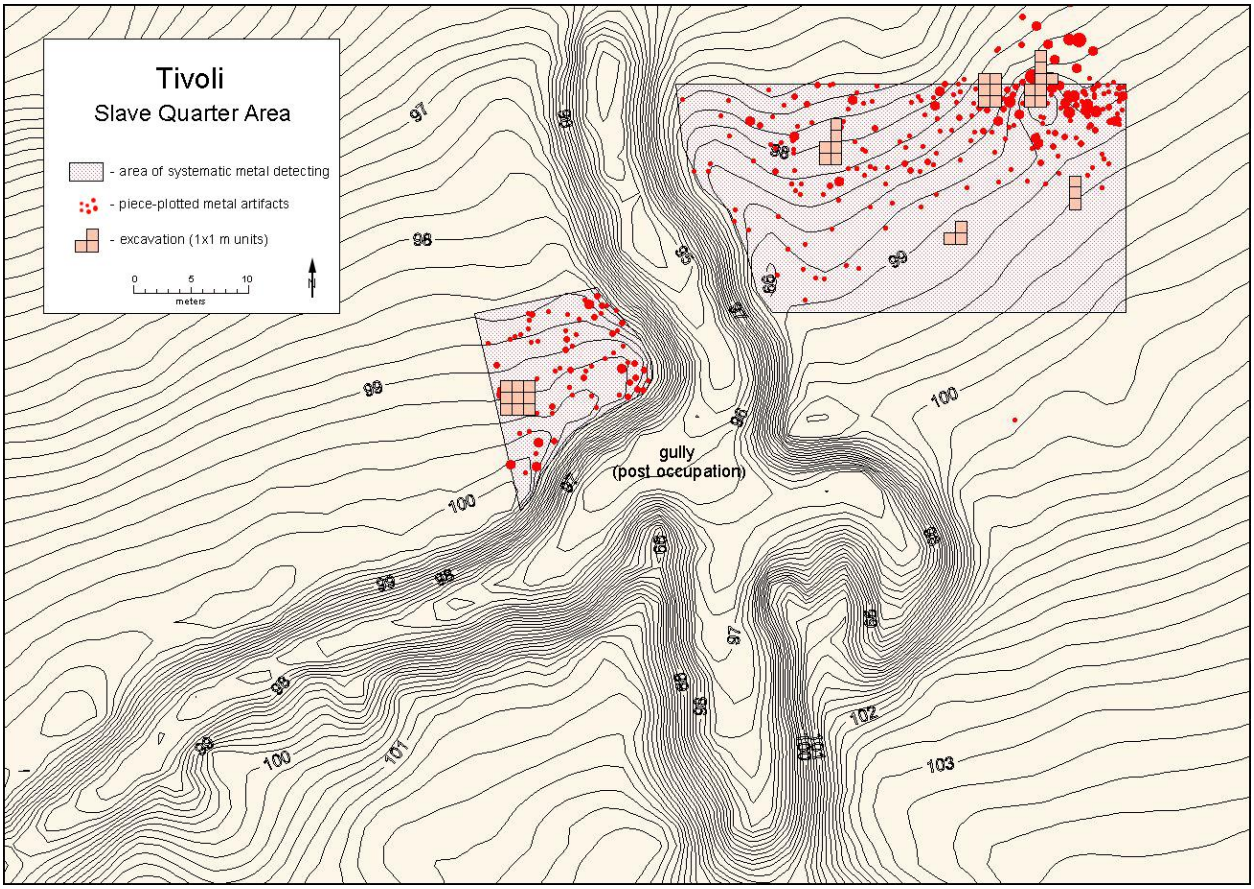

Figure 28. Contour map of the investigated area of site 38CS301, showing locations of artifacts identified and recovered during systematic metal detecting (red dots) and the excavated units (orange squares). Courtesy of UNC RLA.

Level 1. This was the only level excavated in 38CS301, and it represented plow-disturbed topsoil. Level 1 in site 38CS301 was consistently described as either a sandy or clay loam, though many excavators noted that it was actually a yellowish red (5YR 4/6) sandy loam down to a strong brown (7.5YR 4/6) clay loam. The level was also characterized by multiple root disturbances. The amount of soil excavated and screened to reach subsoil seemed to vary based on the unit, and seemed to be deeper in the eastern units. For instance, one of the more westerly units, unit 178L127, only went down to a depth of 10 cm in its lowest spot, whereas a more easterly unit, unit 204L82, went down 29 cm in its deepest spot.

Figure 29. Feature 1 of 38CS301 as it appeared near the base of excavation. Note the refined earthenware sherds and the green glass bottle neck present. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

A total of 2,564 artifacts were found, in both the excavations and the metal-detector survey The concentration of artifacts was heavier in the northeastern-most area of this investigation (Figure 28). The types of artifacts found were refined earthenware, porcelain, iron nails, bottle glass, oyster shell, Catawba-made earthenware, clay pipe fragments, window glass, brass buttons, iron sheets, animal bones/teeth, slate, and a jaw harp.

Feature 1. Feature 1 was an artifact cluster located along the west edge of unit 203L82, the northeast corner of unit 203L83, the western wall of unit 204L82, and the southeastern corner of unit 204L83 (Figure 29). There are no recorded length and width measurements for this feature, but at its deepest point, it was 32 cm below the surface. Thirty-nine artifacts were found in Feature 1, including container and bottle glass, animal bones, pig teeth, refined earthenware,

an iron kettle fragment, iron nails, Catawba-made earthenware, and a dark green glass bottle neck.

Discussion. This site was a considerable distance, about 200 m west-northwest of 38CS299, and did show evidence of structural remains, but only through the presence of nails. There was not the same caliber of structural remains present that were there in 38CS299, such as bricks and window glass. This does not mean that structures were not present, it merely means that the structures did not have permanent footprints, like that at 38CS299. The collection of artifacts from this site presents a strong case for the slave-quarter interpretation.

CHAPTER 4
ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

In order to gain a full understanding of the artifacts at 38CS299 and 38CS301, they have been separated into the functional groupings defined by Stanley South (1977: 95-96): the kitchen group, the bone group, the architectural group, the arms group, the clothing group, the personal group, the tobacco group, the activities group, and the furniture group (Table 1). These are categories of artifacts that are based on the functional purpose of those artifacts when they were used. The distinctions across the groups are based on the idea that certain activities at a site will lead to differential patterns in artifact distributions, and these patterns are consistent across sites in the United States throughout the entire eighteenth century (South 1977: 86-87). Using these groupings, specific patterns are seen among the artifact classes at each site in terms of what general activities they represent, and we can begin to determine what each site was used for (Figures 30 and 31).

One of the biggest differences is the fact that the architectural group is a much larger percentage of 38CS299's assemblage. This is because of the window glass in that assemblage, which is entirely absent, (save for seven pieces), in the assemblage at 38CS301. Also, while there are only three bricks shown in Table 1 under 38CS299, there were actually many more found at the site and noted on the individual context forms. Save for three "sample" bricks from Feature 8, these were not collected, but were of significant presence on the site. This points to a higher degree of architectural sophistication of the structure at 38CS299, which lends credibility to the idea that 38CS301 could have been home to humbler slave structures. There are

Table 1. Artifact Classes and Counts.

Type of Artifact	38CS299	38CS301	Total
Kitchen Artifact Group			
Container Glass	773	136	909
Euroamerican Ceramic Sherds	788	685	1473
Kettle	-	10	10
Spoon	-	1	1
Stove	4	-	4
Sub-total	1565	832	2397
% of Total	16.1%	32.4%	19.5%
Bone Group			
Animal Bone	21	26	47
Sub-total	21	26	47
% of Total	0.2%	1%	0.4%
Architecture Group			
Bolt	1	-	1
Brick	3	3	6
Fired Clay	-	1	1
Hearth Face	-	2	2
Hearth Stone	-	1	1
Keyhole	1	-	1
Nail	1422	608	2030
Oyster Shell	108	1	109
Rivet	2		2
Staple		6	6
Spike	1	2	3
Window Glass	5640	7	5647
Sub-total	7178	631	7809
% of Total	73.9%	24.6%	63.6%
Arms Group			
Ball	2	-	2
Cartridge	1	-	1
Casing	1	-	1
Gunflint	1	-	1
Hammerstone	1	-	1
Shot	8	1	9
Sub-total	14	1	15
% of Total	0.1%	0.03%	0.1%
Clothing Group			
Aglet	1	-	1
Boot Heel		3	3
Buckle	3	5	8
Button	7	7	14
Fastener	1	-	1
Sub-total	12	15	27
% of Total	0.1%	0.6%	0.2%
Personal Group			
Jewel	1	-	1
Sub-total	1	-	1
% of Total	0.01%		0.008%
Tobacco Group			
Pipe	3	7	10
Sub-total	3	7	10
% of Total	0.03%	0.3%	0.08%

Table 1 Continued.

Type of Artifact	38CS299	38CS301	Total
Activities Group			
Axe	-	1	1
File	-	1	1
Hoe	-	1	1
Horseshoe	-	3	3
Jew's Harp	-	1	1
Knife	-	2	2
Mule Shoe	-	1	1
Plow	-	1	1
Colonoware	671	955	1626
Punch	2	-	2
Saddle Brace	-	1	1
Sub-total	673	967	1640
% of Total	6.9%	37.7%	13.4%
Furniture Group			
Furniture Hardware	1	-	1
Tack	6	1	7
Sub-total	7	1	8
% of Total	0.07%	0.04%	0.07%
Miscellaneous			
Band	2	-	2
Bar	-	2	2
Bead	1	1	2
Biface	1	-	1
Bottle Cap	17	-	17
Cast Iron Vessel Fragment	-	1	1
Chain Link	-	2	2
Charcoal	1	3	4
Clip	-	1	1
Core	-	1	1
Flake	83	7	90
Fragment	45	4	49
Handle	1	-	1
Loop	1	1	2
Object	2	9	11
Peach Pit	2	-	2
Pincer	-	1	1
Projectile Point	9	2	11
Rod	-	1	1
Scraper	1	-	1
Screw	3	-	3
Sheet	43	26	69
Strike-a-Light Flint	1	-	1
Wire	9	5	14
Wire Ring	3	-	3
Sub-total	238	84	322
% of Total	2.5%	3.3%	2.6%
Total	9,712	2,564	12,176

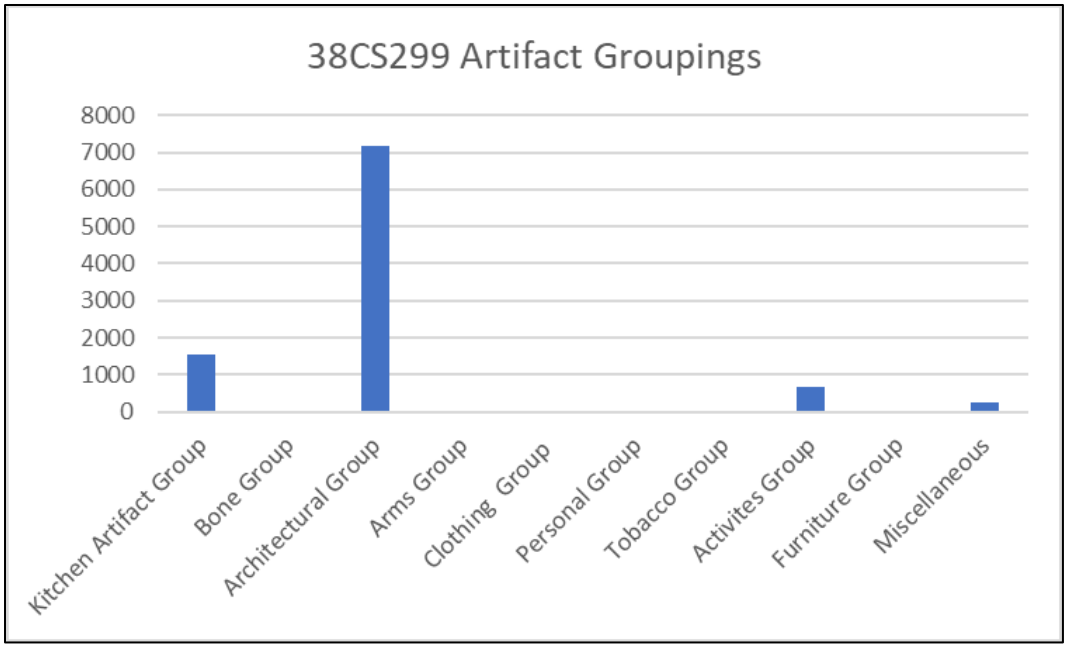

Figure 30. Bar chart of artifact groups in 38CS299.

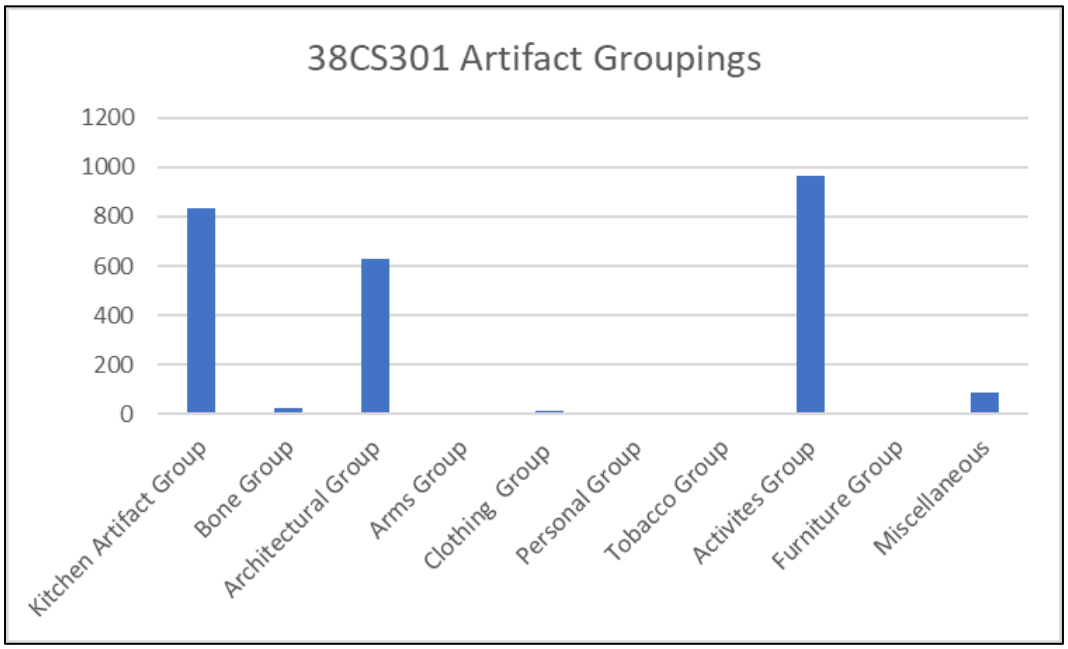

Figure 31. Bar chart of artifact groups in 38CS301.

architectural remains there, which implies the existence of a building, but the lack of window remains, as well as the near absence of brick, points towards buildings with less detailing than that at 38CS299. Lynne G. Lewis, in her assessment of the collection at Drayton Hall, noted that

a high percentage of architectural remains is an indicator of status, which this site certainly reflects (Lewis 1985: 130).

Another interesting pattern is the prominence of the activities group in 38CS301 as opposed to 38CS299. This points to a site that had more evidence of farm-work related activities. This makes sense with the hypothesis that 38CS301 is a slave site. The slaves would have been the ones doing the work on the plantation; therefore, the evidence of working life would have rested mostly with them. It is also interesting to note that South places hand-made earthenwares (colonoware) within his activities grouping, likely because these were often produced on or close to the sites they are found in. Colonoware is a type of ware that was notoriously cheap and was often purchased by slave masters for slaves to use and has been used as a key indicator of slave sites (Lange et al 1985: 18). In these assemblages, colonoware consists mostly of Catawba-made wares, which were likely produced at Catawba settlements about fifteen miles north of Davie's property. While 38CS299 did have colonoware present at the site, there were roughly 300 more sherds at 38CS301. This, again, is more evidence to suggest that 38CS301 was a slave site.

Finally, there are the kitchen artifacts to consider as well. Generally, there is a pattern that is accepted: the architectural group responds in an inverse manner to the kitchen group, meaning where there are less architectural remains and more kitchen remains, it indicates a higher status building, whereas there will more than likely be less kitchen remains and more architectural remains in a lower status building, as they are less likely to have a lot of material possessions (Moore 1985: 153). Generally speaking, this trend seems to be turned on its head here, as the kitchen group is 16.1% of the assemblage at 38CS299 while the architectural group is 74%, and the kitchen group at 38CS301 is 32.4% of the assemblage and the architectural group is 24.6%. This is largely explained by the prevalence of window glass at site 38CS299, which adds a hefty

amount to the architectural group category. If you were to remove the window glass, the percentages equalize, making the architectural grouping 37.8% of the assemblage while the kitchen grouping is 38.4%.

An explanation for this pattern inverting could be that the building at 38CS299, while being a high-status building, also could have been a working building, like a kitchen, therefore not as reflective of this pattern as it would have been if it were a permanent dwelling for Davie or his family. There is also the fact that the site was present after Davie and his family lived in it, indicating that someone else could have been using the structure for a different purpose. There is also the chance that if 38CS301 was a slave site, Davie and his family provided well enough for his slaves that there was an equalization between the architectural and kitchen artifact classes.

Further analysis of these artifacts will allow for closer examination of class dynamics, but, also, dating metrics that can be used to better understand the duration of the occupation on this site. This will be done by examining window glass, nails, Euroamerican ceramics, and glassware, all of which are abundant within the collection and have specific metrics for dating, and some of which can be used as determiners of status.

Window Glass

The massive amount of window glass at 38CS299 lends credence to the fact that it was likely the main house, as an auxiliary building that did not require detail work, such as a kitchen, would likely not use as much window glass for light (Steen 2003: 120). The amount of window glass in this assemblage is very high, allowing much more light than was likely needed for an auxiliary building. A high-status main house, however, would be a likely candidate to house all of the windows (Steen 2003: 120).

The large collection of window glass at 38CS299 can be used in a mean thickness formula to provide an estimated date for the entire assemblage. According to Jonathan Weildand's study of window-glass dating formulas, one that would be appropriate to use for this assemblage would be Randall Moir's dating method, as the glass is "reliably from a single structure," and this method has been applied to contexts in the Southeast with good results (Weiland 2009: 40).

This requires taking the mean thickness of all glass on the site, and plugging it into the formula ID= 84.22(TH)+1712.7, where ID is the date of construction (within 7 years) and TH is the mean thickness. When I employed this formula with this collection, the year of construction I got was 1813.7. Though this seems late, there is also the fact that window glass in higher-status buildings had the chance to be thicker (Weiland 2009: 36). There is also the fact that this building's occupation seemed to span much of the nineteenth century, leaving chances for repairs in window glass.

Also of note in this assemblage, very few of these pieces were burnt, making the narrative of Sherman burning down the plantation seem more unlikely.

Nails

The Tivoli nail assemblage is separated into three major groups: hand-wrought nails, cut nails, and wire nails (Nelson 1968: 1). Hand-wrought nails, in this case, are nails that are forged by shaping a molten iron rod with a hammer to fashion a point. The head is then hammered flat from the end opposite the point (Wells 1998: 81). Cut nails are nails that were created by a nail machine, which would literally cut the nail by slicing a sheet of iron. There are two distinct sub-categories within the family of cut nails; the first iterations had cut shafts but wrought heads

shaped by hammers, and the later versions had both a machine-cut shaft and a machine-cut head (Wells 1998: 83). Wire nails are defined as nails that are created by pulling iron rods until their diameter is reduced, creating nails with cylindrical shafts and pointed tips (Wells 1998: 86). Separating the Tivoli nails into these three categories can give insights into the dates of the structures they are associated with, as these production methods were associated with the technologies of different periods. The production of hand-wrought nails primarily occurred in the United States during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though there was production and use into the nineteenth century as well (Nelson 1968: 4; Wells 1998: 81). Cut nails were produced mainly during the nineteenth century. Those with wrought heads can be dated to the late eighteenth century, when nail-cutting technology was first introduced. Later, in the early nineteenth century, the technology was further developed to produce fully cut nails, instead of just cut shafts (Wells 1998: 83). Wire-nail technology was not developed until well into the nineteenth century, around 1880 (Wells 1998: 86).

Further categorizations in the analysis of this assemblage include the condition of the nails, meaning if they were burnt, clinched or bent, which gives further insights into the site's history. Burned nails obviously indicate that they came into contact with fire at some point, and could be a hint that the structure burned down. Clinching is a method used in building, where the carpenter hammers the exposed pointy end of the nail back into the wood, creating a bent tip. This is done in carpentry to ensure the security of the nails (Wells 1998: 96). Amy Young, in her study of nineteenth-century home sites, noted that a high number of clinched nails found at a site could be indicative of the dismantling of a structure, especially if these nails were found all together in a discard pit (Young 1994: 58). Bent/pulled nails are nails that have been removed from where they rested within the wood. Again, Young notes that if a lot of these are found, the

structure more than likely was dismantled by hand (Young 1994: 58). Finally, unaltered nails, those that do not show significant changes to the nail shaft, are often found on sites as a result of them being dropped during construction, and remaining there as the structure rots. Young notes that a larger number of unaltered nails is likely the result of a structure rotting in place (Young 1994: 58).

It is worth nothing that the conditions of these nails deteriorated considerably after the 2006 excavation, and some did not survive the cleaning process.

38CS299

This assemblage contained 1,422 nails (Figure 32). Of this total, 121 nails were classified as indeterminate (8.5%). There were 596 total wrought nails (41.9%). In terms of cut nails, there were a total of 789 (55.5%), but out of these, 239 had an indeterminate head type (16.8%), 205 had wrought heads (14.4%), and 250 had machine made heads (17.6%). Finally, one wire nail was found, (0.07%), though this does not factor into dating the assemblage, as it obviously is intrusive and dates much later.

Also of note was the physical condition of the nails. Twenty-one nails were described as "bent" (1.5%), and 37 were described as "clinched" (2.6%). This left 1,364 nails to be "unaltered" (95.9%). Thirty-three were described as "burned" (2.3%).

38CS301

There were 608 total nails in this assemblage (Figure 33). Out of these, 30 (4.9%) were of an indeterminate type, 72 were wrought nails (11.8%), and 504 were cut nails (82.8%). Among

Figure 32. A sample of nails recovered from 38CS299. A: bent machine cut with a cut head; B: machine cut; C: machine cut; D: hand-wrought; E: machine cut with a cut head; F: hand-wrought; G: machine cut with a cut head; H: machine cut with a cut head; I: bent, machine cut; J: machine cut with a cut head; K: machine cut with a cut head; L: machine cut with a cut head; M: machine cut with a cut head; N: machine cut; O: hand-wrought; P: machine cut with a cut head. Courtesy of UNC RLA.

the cut nails, there are the important distinctions of the head types (wrought, machine cut, and indeterminate). There were 99 cut nails with wrought heads (16.3%), 209 cut nails with machine cut heads (34.3%), and 196 cut nails with indeterminate heads (32.2%). Finally, there were three wire nails in the assemblage (0.5%), which were intrusive and are a small enough amount that they are not necessarily representative of the assemblage date as a whole.

The physical descriptions of the nails were also notable. Ten nails were described as "bent" (1.6%) and 21 nails were described as "clinched" (3.4%), leaving 578 "unaltered" (94.9%). Nineteen were described as "burned" (3.1%).

Figure 33. A sample of the nails recovered from 38CS301. A: bent machine cut with a cut head; B: machine cut; C: machine cut with a cut head; D: machine cut with a cut head; E: machine cut with a cut head; F: machine cut with a cut head; G: machine cut with a cut head; H: clinched hand-wrought, I: machine cut with a wrought head; J: bent, machine cut with a cut head; K: cut; L: machine cut with a wrought head; M: machine cut; N: machine cut. Photo courtesy of UNC RLA.

Discussion

The nails within both assemblages were likely used for architectural purposes, as fasteners in home-building. Though it is possible that Davie owned a nail-making machine, like his political rival Thomas Jefferson, the spread of nails at both sites does not suggest that this was the case in either of these locations. On Jefferson's property, the excavation of the nailery revealed one side of the room covered in partially-made nails, hoop iron and charcoal, which is where the machine rested. The part of the room where the machine was not located, however, was mostly clear (Kelso 1997: 79). No partially-made nails or hoop iron was discovered at either site and the nails were spread evenly across the entire site, rather than being concentrated on one

side. Therefore, these nails were likely not manufactured at the site. This does not mean that Davie did not own a nail machine somewhere on his property. It only means that the nail machine was likely not located at either of these sites.

It is notable that the assemblage at 38CS299 has a much larger hand-wrought nail frequency than 38CS301 (55%, compared to 11.8%), making it likely that construction took place earlier at the former. This could indicate that the building had been there when Davie purchased the land, whereas the structures at 38CS301 were likely built during Davie's occupation, or, possibly, after.

Also of note is the fact that both of these sites have many more unaltered nails instead of ones that were bent or clinched (95.9% unaltered at 38CS299 and 94.9% unaltered at 38CS301). According to Amy Young's study, this pattern points to these structures having rotted in place, rather than having been systematically dismantled. This idea holds more weight when the dimensions of the structure at 38CS299 are considered, compared with some of the structural information from Davie's first estate, Loretta, in Halifax County. According to Hasty (2006: 7), floorboards at the latter building are about 10.17 ft in length and have about 18 nails in each. Assuming the same techniques were used at Tivoli, then the square footage of this building can be used to determine how many planks of wood could have been placed inside, as well as the possible number of nails that would have been used. Using these dimensions, 1,557 nails would have been used to complete the flooring, considering the building measured about 880 ft^2. Since the total number of nails found were 1,422, it is likely that the building rotted away, and that most of the nail population is represented in this assemblage.

Also of note, the population of nails described as "burned" at both sites was very low, lending no credence to the narrative that the sites were burned by Sherman's troops.

Euroamerican Ceramics

Euroamerican ceramics in the two Tivoli assemblages were separated first into three main categories: earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain, following Ivor Noel Hume's categorization (Hume 1969). Within these three broader categories, the ceramics were further analyzed based on the coloring, decoration and vessel form. Using this information, the ceramics were dated using the Mean Ceramic Dating Type File (hereafter referred to as the MCD Type File) from the Digital Archaeological Archive for Comparative Slavery (hereafter referred to as DAACS). This resource was used for dating because of the specificity it offered in differentiating different patterns on each specific ware type. After making these distinctions, the mean ceramic date for each of these assemblages was calculated using Stanley South's mean ceramic dating formula (South 1977). The distinction between wares and descriptions of each are presented below.

There were also physical features of the vessels which were taken into consideration, those being if the vessels were considered "burned," along with the form of the vessels, if they could be determined. The meaning behind the vessel forms could lead to important distinctions between slave and non-slave sites. Patricia Samford notes that ceramic types are not always the same across slave sites, as different owners had different protocols when providing ceramics for their slaves. However, there is a general trend of there being more hollowware (bowls, vases, tureens, etc.) than flatware (plates, saucers, serving dishes, etc.), as stews and mushes were more common dishes in the enslaved community (Samford 1996: 99).

It should be noted that there two mean ceramic dates for each site. This is because of the whiteware assemblage that is prevalent at 38CS299, and the red-purple painted pearlware that is present both at 38CS299 and 38CS301. Both of these wares present date ranges, which, according to the DAACS MCD Type File, are beyond Davie's occupation of the site. This does

not mean these wares are not relevant to the discussion; it just means that they can present information about how long the site was occupied after Davie's death, which is extremely relevant information to understanding what exactly happened to the site.

Earthenwares

Both coarse and refined earthenwares are represented in the Tivoli assemblages, though many of the unglazed coarse earthenwares were sorted into the "Catawba-made" or "colonoware" category. These earthenware types, along with the specific decoration patterns of each, allowed for the attribution of specific date ranges for each.

One of the coarse earthenwares represented in both assemblages was Jackfield type ware, which is characterized by a purple/gray body and a heavy black glaze, though Thomas Whieldon's variant of Jackfield type had a red body (Noel Hume, 1969: 123). This ware type is characteristic of 1760's American sites, and was used for teawares and pitchers (Noel Hume 1969: 123). The date range is 1740-1790.

Another distinct coarse earthenware represented in this assemblage is the Buckley type. Originating in the Buckley district of Wales, this coarse earthenware is distinguishable by its red body which is often filled with inclusions of quartz or feldspar, as well as a thick, black glaze. This type of ware was often used for utilitarian vessels; such as milk pans (Galle et al. 2018: 50). The date range for this ware is 1720-1775.

Whieldon Ware, also described as "clouded ware," was a minor part of both assemblages. This ware is characterized by a cream-colored refined earthenware body and "clouded" underglaze decorations in the colors blue, green, brown, and gray (Noel-Hume 1969: 123-124)., The date range that is attributed to this kind of ware is 1740-1775.

Creamware was a large part of both the assemblage from 38CS299 and the one from 38CS301. Creamware, also called "Queen's ware," is Josiah Wedgwood's perfection of Thomas Whieldon's cream-colored refined earthenware body. They began as a team, at first using a lead green glaze, but it was Wedgwood who created a clear glaze that became massively popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Noel Hume 1969: 124-125). Both of Tivoli's assemblages contains multiple variations of creamware that each carry specific date ranges. The largest percentage of this creamware is described as "plain," meaning that there is no discernable patterns or decorations on the body of the ware. It is characterized instead by the cream-colored body and the clear lead glaze, which pools yellow or yellow-green in crevices (Galle et al. 2018: 61). The date range for "plain" creamware is 1762-1820. Other variations included in these assemblages are hand-painted creamware, overglaze (1765-1815) and underglaze (1795-1815). Both of these types are characterized by clearly hand-painted (*not* transfer-printed) designs either on top of or under the leaden glaze. There is also slipped creamware (1785-1820), most often in an "annularware" pattern, which means the decoration is a slip band on the vessel. This is as opposed to a "dipt," "dendritic," or "mocha" pattern (Galle et al. 2018: 19). Finally, there is creamware which has a transfer-printed design (1783-1820), meaning the design was not painted on, and was instead part of the early days of transfer printing, which was a phenomenon much more common on pearlwares (Noel Hume 1969: 128).

Pearlware is another ware type that was common in both the 38CS299 and 38C301 assemblages, as well as on Federal Period American sites as a whole (Noel Hume 1969: 129). Pearlware was another product of Josiah Wedgwood. This time, he was attempting to make a ware whiter than creamware, so it could more closely resemble Chinese porcelain. He was able to accomplish this both by the introduction of more flint into the body of the ceramic and by

adding cobalt to the glaze, which added a blue tint and gave the impression of an overall whiter ware (Noel Hume 1969: 128). This blue tint is what characterizes the "plain" pearlware in this assemblage, along with the blue pooling of the glaze in crevices and the lack of discernable decoration (Galle et al. 2018: 65). The date range for "plain" pearlware is 1775-1830. When it comes to the decorations that are present, there are some differences that separate pearlware from creamware.

With pearlware, hand-painted designs are dated not just by their presence, but by their color, as polychrome hand-painted wares in more pastel colors and darker blues or neutrals (brown and gray), were popular from 1785 to 1815, whereas pinkish reds along with bright orange and green in floral patterns were popular later, until about 1835 (Noel Hume 1969: 129). Therefore, the freehand painted underglaze categories are separated by color: blue (1775-1830), neutrals (1795-1830), yellow (1795-1830), and green (1795-1830). Another variation of pearlware common on these sites is shell-edged, with the edge colored either blue or green (1780-1895). There are also examples of slipped pearlware, both in the "annularware" pattern as well as the "dendritic" pattern, which is slip spread outward with an acidic solution, creating a pattern that looks similar to tree roots. The dendritic pattern has a slightly later date (1795-1830) than the annular pattern (1790-1830). There was also a large representation of transfer-printed pearlware (1795-1830), as it was often printed under the cobalt glaze with patterns to mimic those on Chinese Porcelain (Noel Hume 1969, 128). Finally, there are colors that indicate a much later date. Those are sherds hand-painted or transfer printed under the glaze with red-purple colors. Those that are transfer printed are in the date range 1828-1830, whereas the hand-painted wares have the date range 1829-1830.

Whiteware became popular after 1820 as a final attempt to create a whiter, porcelain-like ceramic out of refined earthenware. Whiteware is identifiable by a white-bodied ware with a thick, clear glaze. Crazing (webs of small cracks extending across the vessel) is common in whiteware. The forms that these vessels take are usually quite thick (Galle et al. 2018: 69). The date range for whiteware is 1820-2000.

Stonewares

Many of the stonewares in the Tivoli assemblages were unidentifiable, and, therefore, cannot contribute to the dating of the assemblages. However, the pieces that could be identified do have significance in dating and understanding each assemblage. The representation of stoneware in the Tivoli assemblage originates from Europe, with wares from Germany and England.

Westerwald stoneware is named after the district of Germany in which it was created. This ware's tradition was started in the villages of Siegberg and Raeren, but exploded into an industry in the villages of Grenzhausen and Höhr (Noel Hume 1969: 280). Westerwald is characterized by its gray body and the use of cobalt and manganese to decorate patterns such as incisions, flower motifs, or abstract designs (Galle et al. 2018: 79). Westerwald is most often seen in the form of tankards, chamber pots, and mugs (Galle et al. 2018: 79). The date range for Westerwald stoneware, as established by the DAACS MCD Type File, is 1650-1775.

Fulham stoneware was an English creation, made in an attempt to topple the German monopoly on stonewares. Created by English Potter John Dwight around 1671, this stoneware is characterized by a gray body dipped in a brown salt glaze on the top, which has the texture of an orange peel (Galle et al. 2018: 74; Noel Hume 1969: 111-112). Fulham stoneware usually takes

the form of tankards, jugs or mugs (Galle et al. 2018: 74). The date range for Fulham, as established by the DAACS MCD Type File, is 1671-1775.

White salt-glazed stoneware is another British creation. White salt glaze was developed to corner the market for a whiter, finer looking ceramic that could be contentious with delftwares and porcelains (Noel Hume 1969: 115). It is characterized by a white body and a white glaze that has the texture of an orange, the hallmark of a salt glaze. White salt glaze took multiple forms throughout its years, from tankards to flat table wares. The date range for plain white salt-glazed stoneware in the DAACS MCD Type File is 1720-1805. Another variant of white salt-glazed stoneware present in the Tivoli assemblage is scratch blue, which is characterized by incisions filled with cobalt. This was a popular pattern for tea wares, as well as other vessels for serving beverages such as pitchers (Noel Hume 1969: 117). This variant of white salt-glazed stoneware is dated between 1744 and 1775.

Porcelains

Within the distinction of porcelain, there are separate types that have a possibility of appearing on American sites. Two of the more prominent types are English Soft Paste porcelain and Chinese porcelain. Within the Tivoli assemblages, however, the porcelain is notably distinguishable as English Soft Paste, which is an English attempt at recreating the Chinese ware. English soft-paste porcelain is characterized by a body that is softer and more porous than Chinese porcelain, as well as black inclusions within the paste. The glaze can often be seen as a distinct layer that tops the paste. Typically, English Soft Paste porcelain was used for teawares, teapots, some tankards, and flatwares (MAC Lab 2002). Porcelain, in general, is an indicator of

status in a site; however, this is not Chinese Export porcelain, so it does not carry as much weight in this consideration. The date range is 1745-1795 for this type of ware.

38CS299

The assemblage from 38CS299 had a total of 788 sherds, but, not all of them were identifiable or contributed to the mean ceramic date of the assemblage; therefore, they were not taken into account in that calculation. However, in terms of which ceramics out of the assemblage were burnt, the entire assemblage was taken into account. Twenty-one sherds of them were categorized as burned (2.6%). In terms of the physical forms of the vessels, there were 72 sherds determined to be hollowware (9.1%) and 48 determined to be flatware (6.1%).

Of the 788 total sherds, 659 were identifiable and contributed to the mean ceramic date. Of those that did not contribute to this date, 17 are refined earthenware of an "indeterminate" type (2.2%), 66 are lead-glazed coarse earthenware of indeterminate type (8.4%), and 39 are stoneware of an "indeterminate" type (4.9%).

The mean ceramic date, as calculated using the information presented in Table 2, came out to be 1793 without the wares that date to after Davie's occupation, and 1812 with the wares that date to after his occupation. This assemblage contains 685 Euromerican ceramic sherds. It is of note that this assemblage contained no whiteware, but it did contain multiple wares that were of indeterminate type. Therefore, they could not contribute to the mean ceramic date of the assemblage, but were still considered when the percentage of burned ceramics were considered. Of these 685, three are labelled as burned (0.4%).

Table 2. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for Site 38CS299.

Ware Type	N	%	Date Range	Median	DAACS Source
Creamware (plain)	220	33.5	1762-1820	1791	MCD Type File (7)
Creamware (slipped)	1	0.2	1785-1820	1802.5	MCD Type File (7)
Creamware (hand-painted underglaze)	7	1.1	1795-1815	1805	MCD Type File (6)
Creamware (hand-painted overglaze)	4	0.6	1765-1815	1790	MCD Type File (6)
Creamware (transfer-printed)	2	0.3	1783-1820	1801.5	MCD Type File (6)
Jackfield Type	4	0.6	1740-1790	1765	MCD Type File (9)
Buckley Type	3	0.5	1720-1775	1747.5	MCD Type File (3)
Pearlware (plain)	97	14.8	1775-1830	1802.5	MCD Type File (11)
Pearlware (transfer-printed, blue)	73	11.1	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (13)
Pearlware (hand-painted underglaze, blue)	7	1.1	1775-1820	1797.5	MCD Type File (13)
Pearlware (hand-painted underglaze, green)	16	2.4	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (13)
Pearlware (hand-painted underglaze, yellow-red)	6	0.9	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (13)
Pearlware (shell edged)	6	0.9	1780-1895	1837.5	MCD Type File (13)
Pearlware (slipped)	4	0.6	1790-1830	1810	MCD Type File (14)
Whieldon Ware	12	1.8	1740-1775	1757.5	MCD Type File (31)
Fulham Type Stoneware	4	0.6	1671-1775	1723	MCD Type File (8)
Westerwald Stoneware	3	0.5	1650-1775	1712.5	MCD Type File (31)
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	2	0.3	1720-1805	1777.5	MCD Type File (33)
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware (scratch blue)	1	0.2	1744-1775	1759.5	MCD Type File (34)
English Soft-Paste Porcelain	64	9.7	1745-1795	1770	MCD Type File (17)
Pearlware (transfer-printed red-purple)	3	0.5	1828-1830	1829	MCD Type File (14)
Pearlware (hand painted underglaze, red-purple)	17	2.6	1829-1830	1829.5	MCD Type File (13)
Whiteware	101	15.4	1820-2000	1910	MCD Type File (36)
Total	657	100.2			

38CS301

Six-hundred and forty-seven sherds could be used as dating tools for this assemblage. Of the wares that did not contribute to the mean ceramic date, seven are stoneware of an indeterminate type (1%), and eight are refined earthenware of an indeterminate type (1.2%), and 10 were noted by a previous analyst as missing (1.5%).

There is an interesting split between the hollowware and flatware forms in this assemblage. There were actually more identifiable hollowware forms. Out of these, 90 are hollowware (13.1% of the assemblage) and 97 are flatware (14.2% of the assemblage). However,

Table 3. Data Used to Calculate the Mean Ceramic Date for Site 38CS301.

Ware Type	N	%	Date Range	Median	DAACS Source
Creamware (plain)	231	35.7	1762-1820	1791	MCD Type File (7)
Pearlware (plain)	215	33.2	1775-1830	1802.5	MCD Type File (11)
Pearlware (hand-painted overglaze, yellow)	1	0.2	1775-1820	1797.5	MCD Type File (12)
Pearlware (sponged)	2	0.3	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (15)
Pearlware (shell edged)	23	3.6	1780-1895	1837.5	MCD Type File (13)
Pearlware (slipped, dendritic)	1	0.2	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (11)
Pearlware (slipped, annular)	32	4.9	1790-1830	1810	MCD Type File (15)
Pearlware (green coloring)	1	0.2	1775-1830	1802.5	MCD Type File (11)
Pearlware (hand-painted underglaze, neutral)	16	2.5	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (12)
Pearlware (hand-painted underglaze, yellow)	2	0.3	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (12)
Pearlware (hand-painted underglaze, green)	5	0.8	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (12)
Pearlware (hand-painted underglaze, blue)	30	4.6	1775-1820	1797.5	MCD Type File (13)
Pearlware (transfer-printed)	54	8.3	1795-1830	1812.5	MCD Type File (13)
Whieldon Ware	3	0.5	1740- 1775	1757.5	MCD Type File (31)
English Soft-Paste Porcelain	24	3.7	1745-1795	1770	MCD Type File (17)
Pearlware (red-purple hand-painted)	7	1.1	1829-1830	1829.5	MCD Type File (13)
Total	647	100.1			

out of those 97 identified as flatware, 24 of them are flatware with a recessed base, or soup plates, meaning they are not as straightforward in their identification as flatware.

This assemblage was dated using the information presented in Table 3, and the mean ceramic date came out to be 1799.6 without the red-purple painted pearlware, and is 1799.9 with the red-purple painted pearlware.

Discussion

Both of these sites date correctly for Davie's habitation, according to the calculated Mean Ceramic Dates. Though the date minus the whiteware/pearlware with red-purple coloring is earlier than Davie's occupation at 38CS299 (resting at 1793), this could suggest that the structure on this site was built before Davie obtained the property (as suggested in the nail analysis), or

there may have been some carry over from Davie's property in Halifax County. As compared to the assemblage at 38CS301, the Mean Ceramic Date that includes the whiteware and red-purple painted pearlware makes sense, as it is likely that Davie and his family, the masters, were passing down less expensive and out-of-date wares to their slaves.

The wares at 38CS301 show less variety than those at 38CS299, and therefore they have a later mean ceramic date without the whiteware and red-purple painted pearlware. The explanation for this difference is simple: whitewares, which were entirely absent from the 38CS301 collection, while they comprised 12.8% of the 38CS299 assemblage. These wares came into vogue beginning in the year 1820. Considering that 38CS301 has been hypothesized as a slave site, this pattern makes sense. Whiteware was a new, fashionable ware that likely would not have been passed down to enslaved peoples by their masters until later. There was also less variety overall, which makes sense again, if this was a site for enslaved people.

The red-purple painted pearlware, presented in both cases, also provides a very precise dating metric for both sites, as it has a very specific date range within the late 1820s. Therefore, we can conclude that both sites were occupied at least until 1828.

The patterning of hollowware versus flatware provided an interesting take on status represented at these two sites. The flatware percentage represented at 38CS301 is both greater than the percentage of hollowware at that site as well as being greater than the percentage of flatware at 38CS299. There is also more hollowware than flatware represented at 38CS301. This could simply be because there were more identifiable sherds at 38CS301, but also it could call into question the economic status of the sites in question.

Finally, another interesting pattern to note is the rarity of burnt sherds. In both 38CS299 and 38CS301, less than 10% of the sherds were burnt. Knowing this, the idea that Davie's property was ransacked and burned down by Sherman's troops seems less likely.

Table and Bottle Glass

Table and bottle glass from the Tivoli assemblage were sorted according to multiple standards. The forms the vessels take, as well as distinguishing marks on each vessel, are indicators of the date of objects. In the early nineteenth century, glassblowing was the main way of producing glass, either by hand or using a mold (Lorrain 1968: 35). Even when a mold was used, however, mold marks "may or may not be" present, and it wasn't as certain as it would be on glass that had been crafted after molds became the primary method of glass production (Lorrain 1968: 36). Therefore, a mold mark on glass has the potential to be a good dating metric. In 1810, the first major innovation for hinged molds came to be, a one-piece body with a two-piece neck and shoulder (Lorrain 1968: 38). By 1827, the three-piece mold was replaced with a two-piece mold (Lorrain 1968: 40; Haskell 1981: 29). Though many of the shards in this assemblage are too small to fully showcase this difference, the presence of mold marks at all indicates that the glass dates after 1810.

Another dating indicator that could be used in this assemblage is the presence of molded lettering. This is a feature that was not present on bottles until 1857, beginning with bottles that were square or rectangular with "recessed panels on one or more sides" (Lorrain 1968: 40).

Color also can be used for dating glassware; however, not all colors are associated with a specific date. In fact, blues, olive greens, ambers, and light aquas do not have a particular date range associated with them, though they can be associated with various vessel types (Lindsey

2020). Light lavender, dark olive green and unleaded clear glass, however, can lend clues as to the dating of the assemblage. Light lavender tint is indicative of manganese in glass, which was used as a coloring agent to remove yellowish tint. Manganese was used in glass in the United States beginning in 1880 and ending in 1914, when World War I ended imports of the product from Germany (Lindsey 2020; Haskell 1981: 31). Dark olive green coloring, which is most often used in wine bottles, was not used commonly past 1870, confining this to the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth century (Lindsey 2020). Clear glass, in its first iterations, contained lead to maintain its clarity. However, in 1864, an alternative to leaded glass was created, which was clear without the use of lead. Therefore, if the clear glass is shown to be unleaded, it is likely from after this period (Haskell 1981: 27).

Finally, the last metric used in this glass analysis is one that indicates status rather than date. This is the presence of leaded or cut glass in an assemblage. If these items are present, the assemblage is more likely to be associated with higher status individuals (Lewis and Haskell 1980: 52; Noel Hume 1969: 193). Forms of glass are also important in this type of analysis. Table glass, meaning shards that represent tumblers or wine glasses, are good indicators of a higher-status group's presence on the site (Lewis 1985: 132).

38CS299

This assemblage has a total of 773 shards of glass. Of those, 33 are amber (4.3%), 128 are green (16.6%), 48 are light lavender (6.2%), 345 are clear (44.6%), 123 are aqua tinted (15.9%), five are blue (0.6%), and 89 are dark olive green (11.5%).

Also of note, 18 of these shards come from paneled bottles (2.3%), 14 have cut-in patterns (1.8%), 13 have molded letters (1.7%), 45 were described as "molded" (5.8%), and 183

are described as “leaded” (determined with the use of a UV light) (23.7%). Considering 345 shards were clear, that is 53% of the clear glass assemblage. Sixteen of the shards were burned or melted (2.1%).

Twenty-two shards were from tumblers, including three intact bases and one stem from a piece of stemware (2.8%). Twelve shards were determined to be pieces of wine bottles (1.6%).

38CS301

This assemblage had a total of 136 shards of glass. Of those, 35 shards are clear (25.7%), 59 are dark olive green (43.4%), two are light lavender (1.5%), one is light aqua (0.7%), and 38 are olive green (27.9%),

Also of note, one engraved piece was recovered (0.7%). Seven shards are described as “molded” (5.2%) and 13 were “leaded” (9.6%), Out of 35 clear shards, 37.1% are leaded. Eleven shards are described as “burned” (8.1%).

Six shards of glass are from tumblers (4.4%), and 10 of the shards were determined to have come from wine bottles (7.4%).

Discussion

The results of this analysis point to interesting trends within the assemblage. Firstly, there is a definite trend towards both leaded glass and cut-in patterns with the assemblage from 38CS299, which indicates higher status. This makes sense, if 38CS301 is the slave quarter site and 38CS299 is associated with the main house. There is also generally more variety of glass at 38CS299 than at 38CS301, which could also be an indicator of status.

The dating of both assemblages points to an occupation (most notably at 38CS299) after Davie's death. Not all of the clear glass in either assemblage was leaded, which puts the unleaded clear glass after the date 1864 (Haskell 1981: 27). This is well past Davie's occupation of the site. The presence of light lavender tinted glass, as well as paneled bottles and glass with lettering molded into them, also raises questions as to the dates of occupation of these sites, especially 38CS299, as bottle glass with lettering dates after 1857, non-leaded clear glass dates after 1864, and lavender-colored glass dates after 1880. These shards may not represent an occupation, as they are bottle glass, which is not as indicative of a domestic situation as tableware.

The number of tableware shards, when simply comparing the percentage within the assemblages, does not seem to reveal much, as a lower percentage of the assemblage at 38CS299 consists of tumbler shards than at 38CS301. The higher number of tumbler shards is an indicator of a domestic situation at the structure at 38CS299. This does not rule out a domestic situation at 38CS301, but there is less evidence of one, or at the very least, one with as high quality of tableware.

Again, the numbers of "burned" shards are very low at both sites. This collection continues to indicate that Sherman's troops likely did not burn down Davie's home and property, as local legend has suggested.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

This investigation of Tivoli brings forth new evidence for previous hypotheses. One of these hypotheses is that 38CS299 is the main home. This structure very likely existed before Davie moved on to the property, as evidenced by the mean ceramic date without the red-purple painted pearlware and the whiteware. This idea is also supported by the higher number of hand-wrought nails that were found in this assemblage, implying that the structure was built earlier. Additional evidence is found in its similarity to Davie's Halifax County residence, Loretta, not only in its dimensions but also in the presence of a double hearth. All this, combined with the large amount of window glass that would likely not be present in any auxiliary-type buildings, lends credence to this site's role as the main house. However, this does not mean that this was a domestic site the entire time it was in use, especially considering the amount of furniture versus the square footage, as well as the amount of visitors and family members Tivoli held. It is possible that this began as Davie's home and later took on a different role when a larger home was constructed.

Another hypothesis that has been challenged is that the site was burned. Less than 10% of all analyzed artifact classes were burned, therefore discounting this theory for both 38CS299 and 38CS301. What actually happened to Tivoli is more likely that the buildings fell apart in place, which is evidenced by the nail assemblage at 38CS299. Unless later excavations reveal a discard site for used nails, then it is reasonable to hypothesize that the structure on this site rotted in place.

38CS301 was presumed to represent a slave quarter, and the artifact analysis supports that hypothesis. The large Activities artifact group at 38CS301, which includes 955 sherds of colonoware, does point towards a slave occupation, as colonoware is an indicator of a slave population. The higher Activities group also points to a working population, or at least a population that was more in contact with farming tools and equipment than those who occupied 38CS299. There is also a disparity in luxury goods between the two sites, notably with the fact that no whiteware was found site 38CS301, whereas it was a fair portion of the ceramic assemblage at 38CS299. The earlier mean ceramic date there could indicate the passing down of less in-vogue wares to those that lived at that site. Glassware analysis also showed a difference in leaded versus unleaded glass as well as etched versus non-etched glass, which shows a disparity in status. The fact that there was overall less glassware also points to an overall poorer demographic at 38CS301.

Finally, there comes the question of how long the occupation of the Tivoli property lasted. A narrative can be created using the archaeological evidence. Prior to Davie's ownership of the land, the structure from 38CS299 was likely already standing. This is evidenced twofold, both with the abundance of hand-wrought nails found in the structure and the Mean Ceramic Date of 1793 that does not include whiteware or red-purple painted pearlware. The ceramics that contributed to this earlier date are the Rhenish blue-grey stoneware, Jackfield-type earthenware, Buckley Type earthenware, Fulham Type stoneware, and White Salt Glazed stoneware. This time is likely when the hearth represented by Feature 8 was first in use.

The structures that existed within 38CS301, as well as the second hearth (Feature 6) associated with the structure at 38CS299, were likely built upon Davie's arrival in 1800. The structure at 38CS299 was likely in use during Davie's entire lifetime, though the building may

have changed purpose as the occupation went on, starting as a domestic site for Davie and his family and ending as a kitchen site. This would explain the amount of window glass, especially if the structure was originally intended as a domestic site, before Davie's family moved in. This would be the era of pearlware and creamware on both sites and the beginning of the era of whiteware at 38CS299. Of note, the end of Davie's life in 1820 is also when construction of the Landsford Canal began, and possible evidence for soil mining for the canal is apparent on the 38CS301 site. The construction of the canal, along with the destruction of 38CS301, could mark the end of the occupation there, though ceramic evidence does place the end of the occupation around 1829.

Moving the slaves out was likely a process, and it was also likely that Frederick William Davie kept the slaves allotted to him on his father's property, which he likely occupied until his own house was constructed in 1828. The structures at 38CS301 likely were abandoned at this time. The structure at 38CS299 was still in use until it collapsed, as evidenced by the glassware, and likely was in use after it collapsed as well.

This investigation of Tivoli has helped to answer several of the questions that surround the site. The main house was likely an extant structure that Davie enlarged when he moved in, and possibly changed the function of as he lived on the property, as well as constructing slave cabins. The occupation of the site did not simply end with Davie. It continued on, well into the nineteenth century, leaving more questions for us to answer.

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