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By

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ABSTRACT

FLUSH TIMES ON THE UPPER TOMBIGBEE: SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LOWNDES COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1833-1860

By

WILLIAM STEPHEN MCBRIDE

This is a study of settlement patterns and hierarchy, socioeconomic structure, and economic behavior in a recently settled plantation region. The nature of economic behavior, processes of change which occurred as the region evolved from a frontier to a more stable state, has been little studied by students of plantation regions or frontiers in general. To facilitate an understanding of this issue, a model of economic behavior is presented and tested in this study. This model, the Boom-Bust model, focuses on the relationship of economic cycles to settlement patterns, economic development and behavior in a developing plantation, or at least "export propelled" region. While this model is a type of frontier model, the situations it is applicable to are much different from the stereotypical isolated frontier. These areas were more commercialized and experienced more rapid change. A three phase scheme of development, including a boom, a bust, and a recovery, is predicted within the model.

Hypotheses on immigration, socioeconomic structure, agricultural methods, town development and settlement hierarchy, stores, and consumer behavior were generated from this model and tested with documentary data from Lowndes and Monroe Counties, Mississippi, and with archaeological data recovered from the excavation of Colbert and Barton, extinct towns which were located in Lowndes County, Mississippi.

The results of this analysis indicate that in the context of a recently settled plantation region, economic cycles had a very strong impact on the nature of settment pattern and hierarchy, town development, and consumption of luxuries. The examination of socioeconomic structure and consumption patterns within each phase of the model suggests that the societal simplification noted in many frontier situations is generally not present in

those areas which conform to the model. This study demonstrates some of the complexities involved when examining consumer behavior, and the need to be aware of overall economic as well as individual socioeconomic context. It also demonstrates some of the unique contributions historical archaeology can offer, particularly in the study of consumer behavior.

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

Most social and economic studies of plantation regions, particularly the Plantation South, have been focused on longer settled and economically established regions or settlements. This is not surprising given the larger and better quality of data sources in these situations, but it has led to a somewhat static and incomplete picture of variation within plantation economies. These studies have also tended to focus on the plantations rather than other settlement forms, such as farms or towns. Variation and development on the frontiers had significant and lasting impacts on the settlement patterns and economic development of plantation regions.

The inattention given to plantation or other "export propelled" (Katzman 1975) agricultural frontiers has also lessened our ability to attain a broader understanding of the variability of behavior and process on agricultural frontiers in general. Most models of agricultural frontier settlement and adaptation have been based on non-plantation systems and their applicability to plantation situations is unclear. The highly commercial nature of plantation agriculture and its dependence on international markets should certainly lead to many differences from the more frequently studied small farm frontier.

In the study presented below, a model of settlement patterning, town development, and economic structure and behavior will be presented and tested. This model, the Boom-Bust model, focuses on the relationship of economic cycles to economic development and behavior in a developing plantation, or at least "export propelled" region. While this model is a type of frontier model, the situations to which it is applicable are much different than the stereotypical isolated frontier. These latter areas were more commercialized and

experienced more rapid change. It is hoped that testing of this model leads to a better understanding of plantation frontiers in general. On a more particular level, the relationship of economic cycles to changes in settlement patterns, socioeconomic structure, agricultural methods, and consumption patterns in the frontier context will be illuminated.

Two independent data sources, documentary and archaeological, will be utilized in examining the Boom-Bust model. How these two data sources are utilized or related has been a methodological problem in historical archaeology for some time. Documentary sources have often been utilized simply to create a narrative background for a particular site. The narrative is then forgotten and not integrated with the archaeological data in an analytical way. Another common method is to generate hypotheses from the local documents and then test these hypotheses against the archaeological data. In this latter example, the two data sources are treated as separate and non-overlapping. While this method can be fruitful, particularly for development of middle-range theory, it does not make full use of the uniqueness of either data source. Since the two data sources have different strengths and weaknesses, they should be integrated to address different aspects of general questions rather than simply being tested against each other.

In a recent Society for Historical Archaeology Plenary Session, a number of participants identified the inadequate integration of documentary and archaeological data as one of the greatest failings of historical archaeology, and called for the use of both data sources to test general propositions (Cleland 1988; Deagan 1988; Schuyler 1988). In the study to follow, a general model, the Boom-Bust model, is constructed from sources outside the study area, and then tested with both county and community-level documentary data and archaeological data from the study area. The integration of the two data sources in the examination of the general model should make a significant methodological contribution to the field of historical archaeology.

The overall study area is Lowndes County, Mississippi, a county which became involved in cotton production and slave-based agriculture immediately after its settlement

began. Data from surrounding counties, particularly Monroe County, Mississippi, are also used in creating a regional perspective. The archaeological data come from eight domestic sites within the Lowndes County river towns of Colbert and Barton. Although relatively short, the period under study, 1833-1860, spanned a very dynamic time in the region.

As was mentioned above, the main topics to be investigated include changes in socioeconomic structure, agricultural methods, town speculation, settlement patterns and functions, and consumption. The two most important documentary sources to be examined are the county property tax rolls dating from the 1830s to late 1850s and the Federal manuscript census rolls dating from 1820-1860. These two sources provide information on population and wealth, in land and slaves. Agricultural data in the published federal census for 1850 and 1860 will be used to examine questions related to agricultural methods.

A number of data sources will be combined to examine questions related to town development, settlement patterns, and the stores, services, and goods provided by these towns. These records include deeds, county governmental records, store inventories and bills, newspapers, reminiscences, and county property tax rolls.

Archaeological data as well as documentary sources are utilized to examine consumption patterns. The archaeological sample is derived from three domestic sites in the extinct town of Colbert (1835-1847), and five domestic sites in the extinct town of Barton (1848-ca. 1862). Refined ceramics will be the artifact type used in the investigation of changing consumption patterns. Consumption patterns at the county level will be investigated by examining merchandise sales in the county tax records. The archaeological data are important because they provide the most information on household level consumption and on the consumption of certain types of items, in this case refined ceramics. The county tax rolls only give information on total merchandise sold.

Over the last few years consumption patterns or "consumer choices" have become a popular topic of study within historical archaeology (Henry 1989; Spencer-Wood 1987a).

Many of these studies examine the impact of different variables on consumption patterns. Socioeconomic status or class, and to some degree ethnicity are the primary factors utilized in the explanation of consumption variability (Spencer-Wood 1987a). The influence of different economic contexts, including economic cycles, has received surprisingly little analysis, however. Consumption variability on frontiers has been examined to some degree, but generally in more typical isolated frontier situations (Miller and Hurry 1983). A much deeper understanding of the influence of different settlement and economic (cyclical) contexts on consumption patterns is needed to more confidently explain consumption variability.

Arrangement of Chapters

Following this chapter, Chapter 2, presents a model of economic behavior and conditions during the geographical expansion of an export propelled agricultural systems. This type of expansion is referred to here as Boom-Bust expansion and is briefly defined as a type of agricultural frontier expansion which begins during a period of high demand and price for crops, which can be grown in the new area, and ends, or at least is slowed, by a dramatic drop in the price of the same crops.

For the changes described in the Boom Bust Model to occur in a frontier area, a series of preconditions must be present. These preconditions relate to conditions in the frontier area itself, the nature of the intrusive society, and conditions of the world economy. Chapter 3 examines early and middle nineteenth century Lowndes County in order to determine if these preconditions were present there. The data presented to examine the preconditions also serve as contextual descriptions from which specific hypotheses are constructed and tested on documentary and archaeological data in later chapters. These hypotheses focus primarily on issues related to socioeconomic stratification, agricultural

production, town settlement patterns and functions, and consumption patterns. These issues are ones that are sensitive to change in a developing region.

Chapter 4 presents data on the settlement and development of Lowndes County, with an examination of the first eight hypotheses of the study. These hypotheses examine the speed and size of settlement, wealth and socioeconomic structure, and agricultural methods and production. Chapter 5 presents the data on town development and examines the hypotheses on town speculation, town settlement patterns, the hierarchy of towns, and the stores, goods, and services available in the towns. The examination of these hypotheses is organized by the different cycles of the model: Boom, Bust, and Recovery. In Chapter 6, hypotheses related to the impact of economic cycles on consumer behavior, in the context of a developing plantation region, are tested. These hypotheses are tested with both documentary and archaeological data. The materials and methods to be utilized in these tests are discussed below. The socioeconomic level of each of the site residents is identified through documented wealth. As part of these tests, the relationship of socioeconomic level and consumer behavior is addressed. Chapter 7 summarizes the finding of the study and highlights their application to several issues in Historical Archaeology, and hopefully, other disciplines as well.

CHAPTER 2.

THE BOOM-BUST MODEL:

A MODEL OF SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR

Introduction

In this chapter, a model of economic behavior and conditions during the geographical expansion of an export propelled agricultural system is presented. This type of expansion is here referred to as Boom-Bust expansion and is briefly defined as a type of agricultural frontier expansion which begins during a period of high demand and price for crops, which can be grown in the new area, and ends, or at least is slowed, by a dramatic drop in the price of the same crops. General hypotheses will be generated from this model and presented in the next chapter. These hypotheses will focus primarily on issues related to urban hierarchy, settlement patterns and functions, agricultural production, consumption patterns and socioeconomic stratification. These issues are ones that are sensitive to change in a developing region.

The model to be presented combines certain aspects of previous frontier models or theories derived from the study of economic behavior during economic cycles. The primary settlement or frontier models to be utilized are those of Peet (1969), Margolis (1973, 1977, 1979), Casagrande et al. (1964), and Hudson (1969) . These models are utilized either because they deal explicitly with the relationship between frontier expansion and economic cycles. or because they present general insights into issues such as settlement patterns, which will increase the understanding of changes which took place during Boom-Bust expansion.

Frontier Settlement Models

Frontier models and theories have been constructed to investigate and explain such topics as the relationship of the frontier to the sociopolitical nature and identity of a nation (Turner 1893), the nature of adaptations associated with different frontier types (Leyburn 1935; Prescott 1965; Steffin 1980), sociocultural regularities associated with adaptation to frontier conditions (Casagrande et al. 1964; Hardesty 1980), the relationship of frontier expansion to the world economy or "world system" (Meinig 1986; Peet 1969; Wallerstein 1974), and of course, the interrelations of colonizers and indigenous peoples, particularly the changes and adaptation of the latter (Wells 1973; Hallowell 1957; Wasalkov and Ely 1980; White 1983). The third and fourth approaches mentioned above, or those which have addressed regularities in frontier adaptation and those which have examined the frontier in the context of the world economy, will be utilized to a greater extent in the creation of the Boom-Bust model because they more thoroughly address questions of material change.

The model of Peet (1969), which combines the static Von Thunen Model of agricultural zones and a world system approach, is particularly relevant to the Boom-Bust model because it incorporates worldwide supply and demand cycles (Boom-Bust cycles) in an examination of the frontier expansion of western Europe. This model is very general and is not limited to a particular locale. The Von Thunen model is characterized by a central market surrounded by concentric zones of production. What crops are grown in each zone and how far from the central market the zones extend is based upon comparative land values and crop revenues, which are somewhat dependent on the cost of transport to market, and production per acre.

In Peet's model, agricultural expansion or colonization is driven primarily by two forces, changes in crop demand and supply in the market center (core), and changes in the

technology of transport. Since the sixteenth century, this core has been Western Europe, with the northeastern United States added in the late nineteenth century. Increases in demand lead to rises in price, which encourage both intensified agricultural production in older areas, and geographical expansion of the territory in which the crop is grown. In other words, an outward expansion of the zones surrounding the market center occurs. Improvements in transportation technology and organization can reduce the cost of transport and further extend the zone of profitability in which a crop can be grown.

If increases in demand and transportation improvements occur simultaneously, they can lead to great and rapid geographical expansion. This combination is essential for protracted expansion (Peet 1969:289). In fact, Peet notes that these two driving forces are usually not independent. Increases in demand and prices provide capital incentives for experimentation and improvement in transportation methods and systems (Peet 1969:298). The movement of peoples into new territories also places demands on better transportation systems, since they become not only producers, but also consumers.

The exact nature of these zonal expansions depends upon the relative strengths of the forces causing changes in demand, those leading to changes in supply, and those leading to transportation cost decreases (Peet 1969:290). Certainly, if the supply grows too rapidly, that is faster than demand, prices will eventually drop, resulting in a recession (bust) with stagnation or depopulation occurring in the frontier area.

To summarize, Peet's model states that an increase in demand and price for frontier products in market areas is the main force which permits extension of commercial production beyond its previous zone. Under conditions of rising demand and falling transportation costs, the model forecasts rapid outward movements (Peet 1969:290).

The model of Margolis (1973, 1977, 1979) is based on her research, historical and present day, into Brazilian "commodity cycles" and in particular, the nature of frontier expansion and agricultural practices in a plantation mono-crop system. Margolis summarizes the expansion and decline of a number of Brazilian crops, including sugar,

cotton, rubber and cocoa, but her primary focus is on coffee. The bulk of her study is based on ethnographic research in the coffee growing Parana frontier region of Brazil. This model, therefore, like Peet's (1969), describes frontier expansion in relation to the world economy and in particular, in relation to crop demand and prices.

In the Margolis model, a cash-crop (or export propelled) frontier will proceed through a number of predictable stages if certain conditions are present (Margolis 1973:2). These preconditions include a demand, usually international, for a valuable cash crop, the presence of unsettled land suitable for producing this crop, a population to settle the new lands, accessible markets for the crop, and available credit to finance settlement and initial production (Margolis 1977:43). Having accessible markets obviously depends on having an adequate transportation system already in place or at least having the technology and funds to have one constructed soon after settlement

During the first stage of the cycle, a great demand and high price level for a certain crop is established. This is followed by a large migration to areas suitable for growing this crop. In this new area or frontier, the forests are quickly cleared and production is begun on a large scale, with extensive shifting agricultural methods. Yields are very large at first and profits are high (Margolis 1973:2; 1977:46).

This phase is marked by great prosperity and a boom-town atmosphere which is referred to as Movimento in Brazil (Margolis 1973:9; 1977:46). New towns spring up overnight and their stores are stocked with a variety of goods, including luxuries. Comparatively lavish consumption and upward social mobility are common characteristics of this stage (Margolis 1977:46).

Booms of this sort in frontiers generally do not last. Eventually, overproduction occurs, in this area and others, and the price begins to decline. Also, unused land becomes scarce and lands under cultivation begin to get depleted, resulting in declining yields. These two developments mark the beginning of the second stage of Margolis' cycle. Farmers and planters often react to these developments by intensifying their production of

the cash crops, which leads to even lower prices and more soil depletion (Margolis 1977:49). Soil conservation methods are rarely attempted since they are expensive and markets are uncertain. How many years it takes this bust phase to begin is highly variable as it depends on local environmental and international market conditions. As these trends continue the agriculturalist's plight becomes worse. For towns, the decline results in a loss of business and loss of the Movimento associated with the initial boom. Stores eventually stock only basic necessities as there is no market for luxuries (Margolis 1973:9). The opportunities for upward social mobility decrease and there is a slowing of migration into the frontier zone.

Finally, profits for producers become so reduced that replacement crops or livestock may be tried, but this is generally unsuccessful in rejuvenating the area. The cycle ends in the old frontier area when depopulation begins and towns decline. This, however, often makes the beginning of another cycle in a new frontier region. According to Margolis, as long as there is more fertile frontier land, the exploitive and depleting agricultural methods are continued, and in fact, are adaptive (1973:5; 1977:59).

The works of Green (1979) on temperate forest colonization and Katzman (1975) on differing Brazilian frontiers also support the adaptiveness of frontier expansion and the extensive agricultural methods utilized in this context, particularly in conditions of soil exhaustion. As Green notes, expansion is the "least-effort" strategy since it maintains the realized-niche extensive strategy and its higher output per unit of input (1979:75-76). The "comparative costs" of expansion are generally less than intensification and under conditions of low transport costs, are adaptive for export-propelled agriculture (Katzman 1975:269). Expansion is particularly adaptive in tropical regions, sub-tropical regions such as Margolis' study area, and thin soiled temperate regions since soils in these regions are quickly exhausted and take many years to recover due to low resilience (Green 1979:83, 97). In thicker soiled temperate regions, however, where soils are more resilient, intensive agricultural methods, including soil conservation methods, are more feasible, particularly

among wealthy farmers (Green 1979:97). In temperate regions, intensive methods will begin after competition for land raises land prices or rents to a degree that shifting methods are not affordable (Katzman 1975:269-270). Therefore, Green suggests that while all areas go through an initial phase of extensive agricultural exploitation, this is followed, after the land is filled up and rents increase, by intensification in heavier soiled temperate regions and site abandonment in the other regions (1979:98).

The type of agricultural units and social relations of production on frontiers has also been explicitly discussed by Katzman (1975) in his comparisons of Brazilian frontiers. Katzman recognizes two basic agricultural units, family farms and plantations (1975:273). The former is found on both subsistence and export-propelled frontiers while the latter is found only on export-propelled frontiers.

Whether they re-occur on export-propelled frontiers depends on a number of variables, including restrictions on land ownership, political control of labor, and requirements of the cash crop. Under liberal conditions of frontier land ownership and freedom of movement, the small farm unit will be the norm. The very low labor-to-land ratio of frontiers generally results in very high wages for labor, which discourages plantation formation, even in areas where landownership is monopolized by a few (Katzman 1975:274-275). For plantations to occur on frontiers, landlords generally have to possess enough political power to coerce laborers to work for them. As Katzman (1975:275) states, "The linkage between the man-land endowment and the social relations of production depends upon whether the landlords can offset labor's market power with their own political power." The labor arrangement on plantations in these conditions is usually in the form of slavery or serfdom.

Plantation development on frontiers also requires crops that can be grown efficiently and profitably on large units, with a large labor force. This usually requires crops which need more constant maintenance year round, and command a high price (Earle 1987:189).

Since the models of Peet (1969) and Margolis (1973) focus on the relationship of frontier expansion to economic cycles, some discussion on the nature and causes of

economic cycles will be presented. An understanding of these cycles is critical since, as Peet (1969) and Margolis (1973) suggest, fluctuations in economic activity can have a major impact on the speed and conditions of colonization.

By definition, economic cycles are recurrent periods of expansion and constriction in aggregate economic activity (Lee 1959:15). They are a normal part of capitalistic western economies and occur at somewhat regular intervals, although much variation can occur in the length and severity of cycles. There can also be cyclical variation, in timing and severity, of the different components of the economy.

Each cycle consists of a boom or prosperity period, a crisis, a depression or recession, and a recovery. The cause or causes of economic cycles are complex. Changes in such factors as the money supply, the structure of markets, technological innovations, natural resource base, legal framework, political atmosphere, and psychological attributes can affect the level of investment, production, and consumption and initiate a boom or a depression (Lee 1959:63, 124). Significant booms have historically been generated by expansion of bank credit (i.e., new money) in combination with new investment avenues such as those associated with the opening of new territory, the exploitation of newly discovered natural resources, the extensive development of new industries, or revolutionary changes in old industries due to technological change (Adams 1936:88). Dramatic busts have resulted from overproduction in combination with lessened bank funds and credit (Adams 1936:43).

The prosperity phase, which may or may not be a true boom, is characterized by increased investments and loans, increased consumption, especially of durables and luxuries, increased production, increased prices, increased employment, increased wages and salaries, and increased profits (Lee 1959:42-43). Each of these developments "feeds" on the other and the overall economy spirals upward.

Different components of the economy grow at different rates, however (Lee 1959:22). For instance, the demand for raw materials and commodities grows faster than demand for

finished consumer goods, and production grows ahead of retail trade (Adams 1936:45-46). Of course, some products or commodities might not be affected in the boom period because of previous overproduction or unusual demand patterns, but these occurrences are not common.

The boom period corresponds with the first stage of Margolis' cycle. This is when demand and prices for a crop are so high as to encourage rapid migration and investment into an area suitable for growing the demanded crop(s). As Peet (1969) notes, this is the period when crop prices are so high as to overcome previous transport cost restrictions and allow the production zones to expand. Of course, if transportation improvements are also involved, the expansion could be even greater and more rapid.

Eventually, however, interest rates and prices rise too high and investments and purchases begin to decline. The economy becomes saturated with too much inventory as production outstrips consumption. This marks the beginning of the crisis.

The crisis generally leads into a period of depression or recession characterized by contracting expenditures by businesses and consumers, contracting bank deposits, declining prices and profits, short credit, reduced incentives to invest, rising unemployment and business bankruptcies. Again, the drop in demand and prices for different categories of products occur at different rates. The demand and price of raw materials, such as metals and agricultural products, decline first, more rapidly, and to a greater extent than do other classes of goods (Adams 1936:48). Smaller businesses and farms tend to be especially vulnerable because of their inflexibility and fail at a higher rate than do larger operations (Earle 1975:115; Lee 1959:40). In fact, many large businesses and plantations actually expand during depressions by absorbing the smaller operations, which can be bought at a cheap price (Earle 1975:106). This trend seems to hold for society overall since the gap between rich and poor often widen during depressions (Earle 1975:115).

The bust corresponds to the second state of Margolis' (1973) cycle, which is characterized by declining crop prices and increasing soil depletion. This condition leads to

a general economic decline of the frontier area and perhaps eventual abandonment if the soils cannot be maintained or rejuvenated.

Eventually, the economy will hit bottom. At this point, production levels and prices have become very low and unemployment has peeked. But, consumers have postponed purchases (especially for durables) for a relatively long time and with prices so low, they begin to purchase more. Sensing the end of the depression and taking advantage of low capital, land, and stock prices and low interest rates, investments begin to increase. This continues and the economy begins to move upward (Lee 1959:39-40).

Eventually, a recovery is in effect. This is characterized by increased employment, increased consumption (especially in durables), increased production, increased investments and rising anticipation for profits, increased bank deposits and credit, increased profits, and increased wages (Lee 1959:41). Again, the demand for and price of raw materials increase more rapidly than for finished goods, such that wholesale prices rise before retail prices (Adams 1936:49).

In Margolis' (1973) and Peet's (1969) models, new frontier expansion may be encouraged in this recovery period, if demand and prices reach a level to offset transport costs. In areas of thicker soil, more intensive agricultural practices would continue and increase in light of the higher crop prices (Green 1979).

Much has been written by economists on consumer behavior during the various cyclical movements and some of these have been noted above. But, since consumption patterns are a topic of this thesis, a closer examination of these findings is needed. In general, economists have found that spending on expensive durables and luxuries fluctuate more than on non-durables (Lee 1959:18; Matthews 1967:124). During booms, therefore, spending on durables and luxuries would increase more dramatically than for items such as food and clothing, while during depressions, spending on the former goods would decline relatively more than on the latter (Hoyt 1938:178, 181). These are patterns observed by Margolis (1973) in her study of Brazil (see above). In fact, because of the Movimento of

the boom on the frontier and the vulnerability of overextended frontier farmers at the bust, these consumption patterns are likely exaggerated.

Economists have noted, however, that consumption patterns are affected less rapidly by a fall in income than with a rise (Lee 1959:315; Matthews 1967:123). This is because people get used to a certain level of consumption and reduce their savings or even borrow money to maintain their past level of consumption (Lee 1959:315; Matthews 1967:123). People also tend to believe that cyclical movements are temporary. Of course, if there is a change from employed to unemployed, consumption patterns will change more rapidly. How other factors which influence consumption patterns, such as class, occupation, ethnic affiliation, and family life cycle, interact with cyclical movements is unclear at present, but it does appear that in depressions, wages generally fall more than salaries and the purchasing power of farmers declines more than average (Hoyt 1938:176).

The next two models discussed, those of Casagrande et al. (1964) and Hudson (1969), do not specifically examine frontier settlement in relation to broader economic conditions, but rather look at general regularities and changes in the sociocultural system of the frontier society. Both of these models are of such a general nature that they should have applicability to most if not all agricultural frontiers (Casagrande et al. 1964.311). These will be examined in order to determine if Boom-Bust frontier expansion conforms to the frontier generalizations put forward in these models.

The study of Casagrande et al. (1964) is based on ethnographic research in two Ecuadorian frontiers: one in the Orente and one on the Western Coastal Plain. Although the relationship of frontier expansion to economic cycles is not discussed, these frontiers are similar to that studied by Margolis and to the study area of this thesis in that they were both export-propelled, had relatively good transportation networks (at least on the inner side of the frontier), and possessed both farms and plantations (Casagrande et al. 1964).

In the Casagrande et al. (1964) model, colonization is defined as a relatively rapid and often large scale movement of peoples from settled areas to new territories (Lewis 1976;

Miller 1984:13). The central tenet of this model is that during colonization, there is an abandonment of complexity by the colonizing peoples and that the degree of complexity or simplification varies by the distance from the motherland and duration of settlement (Casagrande et al. 1964:311). Casagrande et al. (1964:282) suggests that during the colonization process, more specialized sociocultural components are selected against and lost since they are unnecessary or maladaptive. This results in a more generalized sociocultural system. This loss of complex or specialized components within the social, economic, and political system has been called "ruralization" by Casagrande et al. (1964) and "deculturation" by Thompson (1973). These simplified-generalized systems are more efficient in adapting to a new extensive, open environment (Lewis 1984:11; Sahlins and Service 1960). Increased complexity occurs with increased population density and improved connections with the mother region.

The evolution from this simplified frontier society to a more complex and integrated one has been formulated into the concept of a "colonization gradient". This gradient has both spatial and temporal aspects. The spatial aspects of the model predicts that as the distance from the homeland increases so does the degree of simplification and fluidity (Casagrande et al. 1964:311; Miller 1984:17). The temporal aspect of the model predicts that after the period of initial simplification, the colonizing society will become more complex and stable as the duration of occupation increases (Casagrande et al. 1964:314; Miller 1984:18).

Casagrande et al. (1964) and Thompson (1973) state that the colonization gradient should be visible in many aspects of the cultural system, but they put particular emphasis on the settlement system and social structure. With regard to the settlement system, settlements closer to the homeland will be more complex and there will be more variety among them, while at the frontier edge only the simplest settlement forms will be found. Overall, the urban hierarchy will be much less complex than in established areas. The settlement forms predicted include, in order of decreasing size and complexity, the "Frontier Town", nucleated villages, semi-nucleated settlements, and dispersed habitations.

The Frontier Town is the major link with the homeland and is found only in the longest settled or most accessible portion of the frontier. It is by far the largest central place on the frontier and provides the most services. The other settlement types are found throughout most of the frontier, although the nucleated villages are usually absent on the outer fringes (Casagrande et al. 1964:312-314; Miller 1984:19). Over time, the settlement system becomes much more complex and better integrated until it replicates that of the homeland. Within the colonization gradient the social structure of the colonial society is more fluid during the early stages of settlement (Miller 1984:20; Thompson 1973:3). Over time, the social structure becomes increasingly rigid and complex.

Again, all of these trends are directional, from simplified to complex. The degree of simplification that occurs and the duration of time it takes to replicate the homeland's level of complexity depends on many factors, including distance from the homeland, quality of transportation networks, environmental differentiations from the homeland, and technological level of the colonists. The end of colonization occurs when the demographic structure, social structure, settlement patterns, and economic system more closely match the stability in the homeland.

An additional note about settlement patterns, and urban patterns in particular, is that town growth and central place complexity is usually more simplified in plantation regions because of the multi-functional nature of plantations. Urban development is even more simplified if the plantation crop has low processing and storage needs (Earle and Hoffman 1976). So, while the increased complexity in the settlement system predicted by Casagrande et al. (1964) may still occur in plantation frontier areas, the level of complexity will never be as great as in more diversified small farm regions.

While the models of Margolis and Casagrande et al. certainly have a different emphasis, they do share certain aspects such as the prediction of increasingly complex and rigid social structure as the frontier matures. In fact, the basic idea of the "colonization gradient" (i.e., that there is a directional change from a more simple to a more complex socioeconomic

system) also pertains to many of Margolis' findings, although her findings suggest less "simplification" than the Casagrande et al. model predicts.

Hudson's (1969) model is concerned only with settlement patterns and is therefore somewhat simpler than the two models discussed above. This model is very general and should be applicable to many different situations. Its basic goals are to explain the morphological changes that take place in settlement distribution over time (Hudson 1969:580). Hudson's model, which was adapted from plant ecology models, states that given a relatively uniform topography, the evolution of frontier settlement patterns can be characterized by three stages, as follows:

1) Colonization - sparse and random settlement pattern

2) Spread - as population increases, offspring communities spread out from original settlements. This results in a clustered pattern.

3) Competition - after gaps in the settlement pattern are filled in, competition leads to the decline of many settlements having less advantageous locations. This results in more even spacing between settlements.

This model has been tested on rural settlement patterns by Hudson (1969), Lewis (1984), and O'Brien (1984) and on town settlement patterns by Blouet (1972) and Swedlund (1975). One finding by Swedlund, which is important, is the lack of a spread or clustered phase in his town analysis. This is not overly surprising since towns do not generally "bud off" from one another.

The Hudson stages should be present in a Boom-Bust frontier context since it meets the basic precondition of colonization of an open territory. The primary difference when compared to other frontier centers is that the settlement pattern should progress from one stage to the next more rapidly in the Boom-Bust situation.

To facilitate the examination of expansion and economic behavior in the study area, the characteristics of this "Boom and Bust" type of colonization will be organized into an explicit model. Many aspects of this model are borrowed directly from the models of

Margolis, Peet, and Green discussed above. To this are added the idea of the "colonization gradient" from Casagrande, Thompson, and Young (1964), the settlement predictions of Hudson (1969), and information gained through the study of conditions and behavior associated with the various stages of economic cycles. The same preconditions Margolis (1977:43) stated for her model also hold here. These include the following:

1) An intrusive society which is at a state level of sociopolitical integration and is highly integrated in an international profit-motivated market economy;

2) National or international economic conditions which result in a large national or international increase in the demand and price for certain crops and an increase in the credit available to finance the expanded production of the crop;

3) The presence of inexpensive vacant or sparsely settled land suitable for growing crops in great demand (This condition often requires the intrusive society to have the ability to remove indigenous peoples);

4) A population ready to settle this new territory and with the ability to grow the crops in demand;

5) An adequate transportation and marketing system so that the crop can be exported and consumer goods imported.

For plantations to be established in the frontier area two more preconditions need to be met. These include

6) A society in which landowners have the political and economic power to coerce or even own labor; and

7) The production of crops which can be efficiently and profitably grown on large agricultural units with a large labor force.

If these preconditions are present , the colonized area is predicted to proceed through three stages: Boom , Bust and Depression, and Recovery. The last stage in this model differs somewhat from Margolis' study area which experienced soil exhaustion and depopulation during and after the depression stage, and is directed at thicker-soiled temperate zones (Green 1979; Peet 1969). In this area, some soil exhaustion occurs after the first few decades, but it is generally not sufficient to cause depopulation in most cases. Indeed, rich harvests and large profits could usually still be made on these temperate lands once prices recovered, if more intensive methods, including soil conservation, are adopted. If the area under study is a tropical or thin-soiled temperate area, the third phase would be depopulation and perhaps abandonment, as in the Margolis model (see above).

Boom-Bust Model

Characteristics of each phase are as follows:

First Stage (Boom)

During this stage, the new territory should experience very rapid settlement and economic prosperity as lands are put into cash crops immediately. Initial agricultural methods will be extensive. Agricultural units can include both small farms and plantations. The latter will develop if preconditions six and seven above are met. High levels of speculation in land and towns should occur. A large number of towns should be created overnight and the expected size of these towns should be relatively great. The settlement system should have a relatively simple and hierarchy and settlements should be distributed in a random fashion relative to each other. The number of services offered in frontier trade towns should be great relative to their size. The towns should contain general and speciality stores which are stocked with a variety of goods, including luxuries. A dominate town, referred to as the "Frontier Town" by Casagrande et al. (1964) should exist in the

longest settled portion of the frontier. Transportation and marketing systems should develop quickly.

This economic prosperity and optimism should result in comparatively lavish consumption, particularly of durables and luxuries. The social structure in the new territory should be simpler (i.e., less hierarchical) than that in settled areas or at later periods in the new territory and possess greater potential for upward mobility. The simpler social structure will result in less concentration of wealth when compared to later periods. Areas suitable for crops grown on plantations will have a more complex social structure than family farms frontiers.

Second Stage (Bust-Depression)

As the new lands are settled and brought under production, staple crop production will eventually rise to a level that surpasses demand and a price drop and depression occurs. The length of time between the beginning of the land rush to the bust can be quite variable, but in most examples, it was slightly less than a decade (North 1966:72).

Characteristics of the bust period should include tighter credit, a slow down in new settlements, and economic hardship for agriculturalists and businessmen. The economic decline should cause increased competition between towns, resulting in the decline of many businesses, especially specialty shops within towns and even the extinction of whole towns. The town settlement pattern should become more uniform as more poorly located towns disappear. Consumption of luxuries and durables should decline, although perhaps slowly at first. The price of most goods should decline relative to the levels in the boom.

The opportunities for upward social mobility should decrease in this period and the social structure should increase in complexity. The degree of wealth concentration should increase significantly since large planters and merchants with more land and financial reserves to fall back on, can better weather price declines. As vacant land is sold and

unimproved land diminishes, more intensive agricultural methods become increasingly necessary to keep up production levels. This again favors the larger planters who can better afford additional costs.

Third Phase (Recovery)

Given the settlement slow down of the depression phase, staple production grows at a much slower rate relative to the boom and demand will eventually catch and surpass supply, resulting in an increase in staple price and economic recovery in areas dependent on that crop. This upswing should mark the beginning of less dramatic economic development and behavior in the region. This phase, the recovery, will not occur in some areas, such as thin-soiled or tropical plantation regions, which due to soil depletion had been abandoned during the bust (see Margolis 1973).

In fact, by this time the new area should begin to parallel older settled regions in its stability and social structure, agricultural methods, and town settlement system. There should be an increased trend toward social structural complexity. The structure should become more hierarchical and rigid. Wealth should become increasingly concentrated, although the pace of this increased concentration should be reduced from that of the depression period. More intensive agricultural methods, including fertilization, increased mechanization, and soil conservation methods, will expand in this period.

The town settlement pattern should further mature in this stage and it should become increasingly uniform. Some disadvantageously located towns may still decline or disappear in this rather prosperous period due to competition from others. The town settlement system should become more complex and hierarchical than earlier as the region passes its frontier stage, although in plantation areas it may remain relatively simple. The importance of the "frontier town" for the entire region should become reduced as the area matures. Its size relative to other towns will not be as great as in earlier phases.

Consumption of durables and luxuries should increase relative to the bust period, but they should not be as lavish as the boom period. The number and variety of goods and services available in towns should increase relative to the depression stage but the number and variety available in small towns should not be as great as in the boom when many towns had aspirations to become cities.

In the chapter to follow, the model will be utilized to examine and explain developments which occurred in Lowndes County, Mississippi during the middle nineteenth century. This examination will take the form of a test of the various characteristics of the model. Before the hypotheses can be generated, however, certain aspects of the study area will be examined to determine if it meets the preconditions of the model.

CHAPTER 3.

THE SETTLEMENT CONTEXT OF LOWNDES COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI: PRECONDITIONS OF THE BOOM-BUST MODEL

Introduction

For the changes described in the Boom Bust Model to occur in a frontier area, a series of preconditions must be present. These preconditions relate to conditions in the frontier area itself, the nature of the intrusive society, and conditions of the world economy. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine early and middle nineteenth century Lowndes County in order to determine if these preconditions were present. The data presented to examine the preconditions will also serve as contextual descriptions from which specific hypotheses will be constructed. These hypotheses will be tested on documentary and archaeological data in the chapters to follow.

As was stated in Chapter Two, there are five general preconditions which should be present at time of settlement for the characteristics of the Boom-Bust model to occur. These include:

1) An intrusive society which is at a state level of sociopolitical integration and is highly integrated in an international profit-motivated market economy;

2) National or international economic conditions which result in a large national or international increase in the demand and price for certain crops and an increase in the credit available to finance the expanded production of the crop;

3) The presence of inexpensive vacant or sparsely settled land suitable for growing crops in great demand (This condition often requires the intrusive society to have the ability to remove indigenous peoples);

4) A population ready to settle this new territory and with the ability to grow the crops in demand;

5) An adequate transportation and marketing system so that the crop can be exported and consumer goods imported.

For plantations to be established in the frontier area two more preconditions need to be met. These include

6) A society in which landowners have the political and economic power to coerce or even own labor; and

7) The production of crops which can be efficiently and profitably grown on large agricultural units with a large labor force.

The Study Area

The study area is Lowndes County, Mississippi, which is located in the Upper Tombigbee Valley region of that state. This county was founded in 1830 and experienced two different initial settlement phases. The eastern part of the county, which was originally part of Monroe County, was officially opened for settlement in 1820, although a scattering of settlement occurred as early as 1815. Monroe County, which was founded in 1821, originally included that part of Mississippi east of the Tombigbee River and south of Gaines' Trace (Figure 3.1). Eastern Lowndes County consisted of that part of old Monroe County south of the Buttahatchie River.

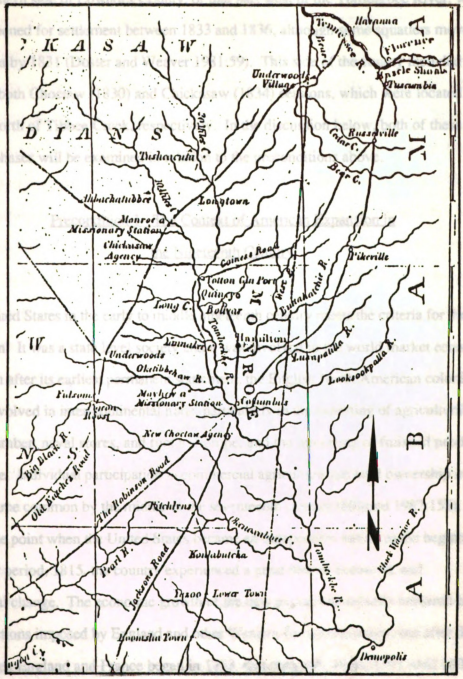


Figure 3.1. 1828 Map of Northeastern Mississippi.

The western side of Lowndes County, or that part west of the Tombigbee River, was officially opened for settlement between 1833 and 1836, although some squatters moved into this area by 1831 (Doster and Weaver 1981:59). This side of the county included lands from both Choctaw (1830) and Chickasaw (1834) cessions, which were located south and north of Tibbee Creek, respectively. In the discussion below, both of these periods or phases will be examined in relation to the preconditions above.

Precondition 1: The Context of American Expansion in the Nineteenth Century

The United States in the early to middle nineteenth century meets the criteria for the first precondition. It was a state level society and it was involved in the world market economy. In fact, soon after its earliest permanent settlement, the English North American colonies had been involved in inter-continental trade, particularly in the exporting of agricultural products, lumber, naval stores, and furs to Europe; and the importing of finished products from Europe. Individual participation in commercial agriculture and land ownership in fee simple became common by the middle of the seventeenth century (Hilliard 1987:155).

From the point when the United States became an independent nation to the beginning of the study period, 1815, the country experienced a great deal of economic and geographical change. The economic growth of the new nation was initially hindered by trade restrictions imposed by England and other Western European nations, but after the wars between England and France began in 1793, this changed. From 1793 until 1807, with the exception of a few years, the U.S. enjoyed a position of a neutral trader and its economy grew accordingly (North 1966:36). Growth occurred in the exports trade, but especially in the re-export trade. The latter greatly enhanced Northeastern shipping and its associated industries, including shipbuilding, rope making and sail making, as well as enlarging commission merchant houses, banks, and marine insurance companies (North

1966:49). The growth of the English textile industry at this time and the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 led to a great growth in cotton production and exports and manufacturing (North 1966:40; Wright 1978:14).

The return of some English and American trade restrictions beginning in 1807 and continuing through the War of 1812 damaged the American export trade. But, these restrictions greatly aided the growth of American manufacturers. The number of American cotton mills increased from 15 mills, with 8000 spindles, in 1808 to 102 mills, with 31,000 spindles, in 1809. By 1811 there were over 50,000 spindles (North 1966:56).

After the War of 1812 ended, the liberal trading policies enacted by both England and the United States and the increased English demand greatly enhanced American commodity production, especially of cotton. This free trade, however, severely damaged American manufacturers (North 1966:57).

As part of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Revolutionary War, the United States acquired claim to the territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, and from the Great Lakes to Spanish East and West Florida (Hilliard 1987:149). This was the land that was to become available in periods of high crop price and demand. Originally, the method of disposing of this western land was unstructured and complicated by land claims by many of the states for the territory extending to the Mississippi River. Between 1784 and 1802, however, the states ceded their claims to most of this land, and through the Ordinances of 1787 and 1794, the Federal Government created a system for disposing of it (Hilliard 1987:154-155). The policy of land disposal was a liberal one which involved selling small parcels at a low price to encourage settlement by individual farmers (Hilliard 1987:162). These ordinances also gave Congress sole power to deal with Indian claims (Hilliard 1987:162).

The United States Public Domain nearly doubled in 1803 with the Louisiana Purchase. This territory did not possess the encumbrances of the states that had occurred on the lands east of the Mississippi. Although the United States possessed a tremendous western

territory by the early nineteenth century, the vast majority of the lands west of the Appalachians had still not received agricultural settlement by the beginning of the War of 1812. The exceptions to this were Kentucky, Tennessee, southern Ohio, and the Lower Mississippi Valley. Most of the land north of the Ohio River and south of the Tennessee River, while within the boundaries of the United States, was still Indian territory (Hilliard 1987:164). This presented large scale settlement by Euro-Americans. The settlement situation was to change in the middle 1810s, however, with the beginning of large scale Indian Cessions and Removals in the Old Northwest and Old Southwest.

Precondition 2: Antebellum Economic Cycles

Two major Boom-Bust cycles occurred during the antebellum period. The first began in 1815 with the end of the War of 1812, and the reopening of British markets for American products. This greatly increased the demand and price for American commodities. Given the growth of the English textile industry in the 1810s, cotton was in particular demand. Cotton prices jumped 62 % between 1814 and 1815 (Gray 1933:1027). Soon after the Treaty of Ghent was signed in 1815, a flood of English investment capital came into the United States. This, coupled with the large jump in commodity prices, created an economic boom. The boom lasted until 1819, when a commodity glut, particularly of cotton, caused prices to plummet 58% from Fall, 1818 (Gray 1933:1027). Investment soon ceased and payment was demanded on previous lands. Cotton prices remained low until the early 1830s (North 1966:73).

The second economic boom was during the 1830s. Although the boom of the 1830s was not associated with a war, it resembled the 1810s boom in other aspects, including a large increase in U.S. Bank reserves which then could be used for investment. This specie consisted of both gold from England, which was experiencing economic prosperity, and silver from Mexico (Temin 1969:68, 77). The dissolution of the Second Bank of the

United States and the redistribution of its funds to state banks with much looser loan policies also increased the availability of credit (Lee 1959:124). By 1833, because of the strong economy and good wheat harvests in England, the demand and price for cotton jumped about 75% from 13 to 18 cents a pound (Gray 1933:1027; Temin 1969:100, 104). Although the price of cotton was not as high as that found in the 1810s, increased efficiency in production and transportation made cotton very profitable in rich soils at the 1830s prices (Moore 1986).

Reasons for the end of the 1830s boom are somewhat more complex than the earlier boom, and include both political and economic factors. The land boom was ended in 1836 by President Jackson's "Specie Circular" which required payment in specie for government lands. This circular contributed to the financial Panic of 1837 (Lee 1959:124). But this was only a temporary "correction" and did not initiate a depression (North 1966:201). Cotton prices recovered in 1838 and remained relatively high until the end of 1839 when again, production outstripped demand and prices dropped 46% (North 1966:201; Temin 1969:154-155). The change in the supply and demand ratio was the result of the great increase in cotton production associated with the settlement of the new lands in the Southwest, improvements in cotton breeds, and a number of poor grain harvests in Europe, which had the effect of lowering demand for clothing among those farmers (Gray 1933;1027; Temin 1969:100). This price deflation and the associated tighter bank credit policies, which were also influenced by the reduced specie exports of the Bank of England, marked the beginning of a long and deep worldwide depression which continued until the late 1840's (Temin 1969:88, 115). Cotton prices did not experience a long term improvement until the fall of 1849 (Gray 1933:1027). Both the middle 1810s and middle 1830s were boom times ripe for frontier expansion.

Precondition 3: Settlement of the Old Southwest: The Availability of Land

As mentioned above, the major obstacles to the Euro-American settlement of much of the United States, including study area, was the fact that it was already claimed by several Indian groups. Thus Indian cessions were necessary before settlement could begin. In the study area and in much of the Old Southwest, the main Indian Land Cessions occurred at three separate times: in 1814 following the Creek War, in 1816-1820, following the War of 1812, and in the early to middle 1830s (Figure 3.2). The first cession was an outcome of war. As part of the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson, which ended the war between the United States and the Red Stick Creek Indians, the Creeks were forced to relinquish control of their lands between the Tombigbee and Coosa Rivers in the Mississippi Territory, and all their lands in southern Georgia (Howell 1971:24). Interestingly, General Jackson used this Creek War as a pretense to remove all Creeks from this land, even though only one fraction, the Red Sticks, had been belligerents in the war (Abernethy 1965:22). The Creek claims on the Tombigbee River included what was to become eastern Monroe and later eastern Lowndes Counties (Figure 3.2).

Although a trickle of Euroamerican settlement began entering the Upper Tombigbee Valley as early as 1815, the settlement was slowed by additional claims to the Tombigbee-Black Warrior territory by the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians. These claims prevented the Federal Government from beginning a survey and quickly disposing of the Tombigbee-Black Warrior Territory.

Soon after 1815, land in what in now northern Alabama (1816), western Alabama and eastern Mississippi (1816), western Tennessee and Kentucky (1818), and southwestern Mississippi (1820) was ceded to the United States by the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Indians. These Indians, along with the Creeks, although relinquishing large tracts of their land, still resided in other sections of their traditional homelands after these

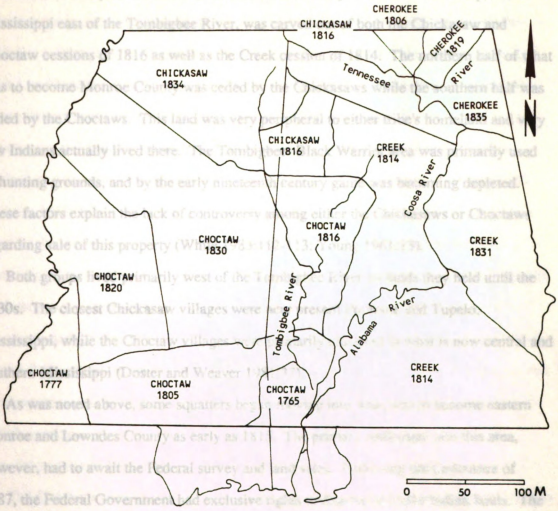


Figure 3.2. Indian Cessions in Mississippi and Alabama.

cessions. It was not until the cessions of the 1830s that they were removed to west of the Mississippi (see below).

Monroe County, from which eastern Lowndes County was created, or that part of Mississippi east of the Tombigbee River, was carved out of both the Chickasaw and Choctaw cessions of 1816 as well as the Creek cession of 1814. The northern half of what was to become Monroe County was ceded by the Chickasaws while the southern half was ceded by the Choctaws. This land was very peripheral to either tribe's homeland and very few Indians actually lived there. The Tombigbee- Black Warrior area was primarily used as hunting grounds, and by the early nineteenth century game was becoming depleted. These factors explain the lack of controversy among either the Chickasaws or Choctaws regarding sale of this property (White 1983:112-113; Young 1961:13).

Both groups lived primarily west of the Tombigbee River on lands they held until the 1830s. The closest Chickasaw villages were near present Pontotoc and Tupelo, Mississippi, while the Choctaw villages were primarily clustered in what is now central and southern Mississippi (Doster and Weaver 1981:37).

As was noted above, some squatters began moving into what was to become eastern Monroe and Lowndes County as early as 1815. The primary settlement into this area, however, had to await the Federal survey and land sales. Following the Ordinance of 1787, the Federal Government had exclusive rights to dispose of ceded Indian lands. The survey of the study area was delayed until 1819-1820, and land sales did not begin until 1820 (Doster and Weaver 1981:47). By this time, the boom, which began in 1815, was over and cotton prices had dropped 38%. Since eastern Monroe, and later Lowndes, was not open for legal settlement until after the Panic or Bust of 1819, this area, at least at this time, did not meet the criteria of the second precondition stated above, although it fulfilled precondition three. This situation changed in the 1830s, when land was vacated in the context of an economic boom, thus meeting both Preconditions 2 and 3.

The remaining Indian lands in Mississippi after 1820 consisted of territory claimed by the Choctaws and Chickasaws in northern Mississippi west of the Tombigbee River, as well as part of southeastern Mississippi. Since these lands were the last remaining claims of either group, these cessions involved the removal of these Indians to a new territory. Initially, neither the Choctaws nor the Chickasaws wanted to leave their homelands. It took a combination of factors to push the Indians into negotiating for their own removal. These factors included threats, political manipulations, and bribery by the federal negotiators; political maneuvering by different Indian factions; depredations by white settlers; and the extension of the Mississippi State law over the Indians in January 1830 (Gibson 1971; White 1983; Young 1961). The extension of state law over the Indians entailed the dissolution of their tribal government. This latter development was not contradicted by the federal government; on the contrary, they used it as a threat, along with such tactics as withholding annuities (Gibson 1971:174). Although the majority of Choctaws and Chickasaws still did not support removal in 1830, a majority of their chiefs, both full-blood and mixed-blood, saw removal as inevitable and attempted to make the best arrangements possible (Gibson 1971:170-172; White 1983:140-143). Also, those chiefs which were against removal tended to not be recognized as legitimate by the federal negotiators (White 1983:139).

The Choctaws were the first to negotiate a treaty, the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830. Certain problems, however, including a reluctance of some Choctaw families to sell their land and speculation before the allotments were finalized, caused a delay in the public land sales (Young 1961:47,69). The first public land auction occurred in October 1833 and the second in the fall of 1834. These sales included that part of Lowndes west of the Tombigbee and south of Tibbee Creek (Figure 3.3). Some settlement had begun, however, as early as 1831 by squatters hoping to acquire land through preemption (Young 1961:58). In fact, many did acquire the right to purchase their improvements after

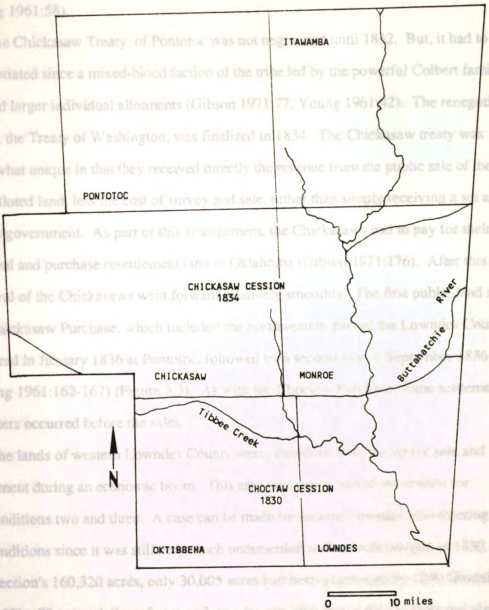


Figure 3.3. Choctaw and Chickasaw Cessions of the 1830s.

Congress passed the Preemption Act of January 30, 1834 (Doster & Weaver 1981:53; Young 1961:58).

The Chickasaw Treaty of Pontotoc was not negotiated until 1832. But, it had to be renegotiated since a mixed-blood faction of the tribe led by the powerful Colbert family wanted larger individual allotments (Gibson 1971:77; Young 1961:42). The renegotiated treaty, the Treaty of Washington, was finalized in 1834. The Chickasaw treaty was somewhat unique in that they received directly the revenue from the public sale of their non-alloted land, less the cost of survey and sale, rather than simply receiving a set amount by the government. As part of this arrangement, the Chickasaws had to pay for their removal and purchase resettlement land in Oklahoma (Gibson 1971:176). After this treaty, removal of the Chickasaws went forward relatively smoothly. The first public land sales in the Chickasaw Purchase, which included the northwestern part of the Lowndes County, occurred in January 1836 at Pontotoc, followed by a second sale in September 1836 (Young 1961:162-167) (Figure 3.3). As with the Choctaw Purchase, some settlement by squatters occurred before the sales.

The lands of western Lowndes County were, therefore, first put up for sale and settlement during an economic boom. This area thus meets part of the criteria for Preconditions two and three. A case can be made for eastern Lowndes also meeting these preconditions since it was still very much undersettled and underdeveloped in 1830. Of this section's 160,320 acres, only 30,005 acres had been purchased by 1830 (Rodabough 1985:27). The population of eastern Lowndes was still only 3,861 in 1830 and about 400 of these persons lived in Columbus (U.S. Census of Population, Lowndes County, 1830; Doster and Weaver 1981:8).

Preconditions 3, 6, and 7: Cotton and the Environment of Lowndes County

From the above discussion it is apparent that cotton was the primary cash crop of the Old Southwest during the two antebellum booms. Whether this crop could be grown in Lowndes County will now be investigated. The cotton grown in the Old Southwest during the 1810s expansion was the upland green-seed cotton . By the 1830s settlement, this cotton had been replaced by an improved variety of upland cotton known as "petit gulf" (Moore 1986:11). The "petit gulf" variety was more resistant to rot, easier to pick, and had a longer fiber than older varieties of upland cotton (Moore 1986:11). For instance, a slave could usually pick about 60 pounds of green seed a day, but about 150-200 pounds of "petit gulf" a day (Moore 1986:11). This crop needed a frost-free growing season of approximately 200 days, at least a moderate amount of rainfall (over 25 inches annually), and very rich soils or heavy fertilizer, since cotton is a very soil exhausting crop (Earle 1987:184).

Whether cotton agriculture had a significant economy of scale is a topic that has been debated for many years and will not be resolved here (see Conrad and Mayer 1958; Fogel and Engelman 1974; Wright 1978). What is important, however, is that after the invention of Whitney's cotton gin, upland cotton was a crop that, because of its relatively high price and moderate but simple labor requirements, could be grown efficiently and profitably on large scale plantations (Earle 1987:189; Wright 1978:13). Also, given the shortage of free agricultural labor in antebellum America in general, and on the frontier in particular, the use of slaves was the only way that very large agricultural units could be operated in areas of abundant land (Wright 1978:11). During the antebellum period, slavery was legal and maintained with the territory and later state of Mississippi. Upland cotton was also profitable on family farms as well, but these usually had a lower proportion of cotton to food crops than did the larger plantations (Wright 1978:75).

To determine that Lowndes County, Mississippi generally met all of the above conditions necessary for cotton production, a physical description will be given. The county averages 50 to 55 inches of rainfall annually and 200 to 240 frost free days a year (Brent 1979:86-87). Physiographically, the county consists of three primary divisions, the Fall Line Hills in the Northeast corner, the Tombigbee Terraces east and slightly west of the Tombigbee River, and the Black Prairie to the west of the river (Figure 3.4).

The Fall Line Hills area is marked predominantly by Tuscaloosa and Eutaw geologic formations and is characterized by dissected uplands with a few broad flat ridges separated by valleys (Doster & Weaver 1981:22). Since the valley bottoms are so narrow in this region, there are very few extensive alluvial deposits (Doster & Weaver 1981:24). Overall, soils consist of gently to steeply sloping sandy to clayey soils which are fair to poor in terms of agricultural potential (Doster & Weaver 1981:24). The primary vegetation today is a mixed pine-hardwood forest, although in the past it may have consisted largely of hardwoods (Doster & Weaver 1981: 24).

The Tombigbee Terrace is the predominant physiographic division of the eastern half of Lowndes County and also borders the Tombigbee River on its western bank. This region is characterized by more subdued relief and more extensive alluvial deposits than the Fall Line Hills zone. The terraces represent earlier floodplains which have been somewhat dissected by erosion (Doster & Weaver 1981:29). The soils are generally level to gently sloping and sandy to loamy in texture. More recent alluvial deposits, however, contain more silt and clay. These soils are good to poor for agriculture, depending on the sand content (Doster & Weaver 1981:29). The vegetation is much like that of the Fall Line Hills, although softer hardwoods, such as gum, cypress, and pecan predominates in the alluvial plains (Doster & Weaver 1981:29).

The Black Prairie region of Mississippi and Alabama historically made up some of the most renown cotton land in the United States. Lowndes County has some of the western extension of this zone ,which begins in east central Alabama. The Black Prairie is

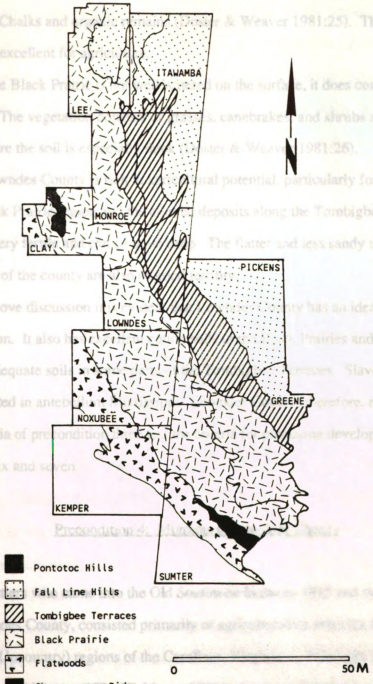


Figure 3.4. Physiographic Regions of the Upper Tombigbee Valley.

characterized by undulating deeply weathered plains of low relief. Soils consist of gently sloping clays or silty clays which were produced by the breakdown of Demopolis and Mooreville Chalks and organic remains (Doster & Weaver 1981:25). These soils are very fertile and excellent for agriculture.

Although the Black Prairie is not well watered on the surface, it does contain many artesian wells. The vegetation consists of grasses, canebrakes, and shrubs as well as some hardwoods where the soil is especially thick (Doster & Weaver 1981:26).

Overall, Lowndes County is rich in agricultural potential, particularly for cotton. The soils of the Black Prairie region and the alluvial deposits along the Tombigbee and its major tributaries are very fertile and can be quite deep. The flatter and less sandy terrace soils on the eastern side of the county are also of good fertility.

From the above discussion it is evident that Lowndes County has an ideal climate for cotton production. It also has excellent cotton soils in the Black Prairies and the alluvial bottoms, and adequate soils in some parts of the Tombigbee Terraces. Slavery was also legal and accepted in antebellum Mississippi. Lowndes County, therefore, meets the remaining criteria of precondition three and the criteria for plantation development in preconditions six and seven.

Precondition 4: Migrants to Lowndes County

The new settlers who came into the Old Southwest between 1815 and the 1830s, including Lowndes County, consisted primarily of agriculturalists from the Piedmont and Central Plains (Upcountry) regions of the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia (Abernethy 1965:35; Doster and Weaver 1981:59; Moore 1986:2; Owsley 1949:60; Smith 1958:23; Taylor 1926:65; Weaver 1945:28). For instance, in Lowndes County of 1850, still one third of the heads of agricultural families were born in South Carolina, while 17.5%,

12.6%, and 12.3% of these heads were born in North Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia, respectively (Weaver 1945:28).

The upcountry regions of the South Atlantic States which these settlers left were primarily areas in which upland green-seed cotton was the staple. A significant percentage of settlers, however, probably also came from the tobacco producing regions of Virginia and North Carolina. The South Atlantic upcountry areas had originally been settled between the early to late eighteenth century and utilized cereals or tobacco as their cash crops, if they had any, until the 1790s or early 1800s (Smith 1958:2). At this time, these upcountry regions consisted primarily of small farms with very few slaves. Many of the farms in these regions were still at a subsistence level at the turn of the nineteenth century (Smith 1958:2).

The great English demand for cotton and the invention of Whitney's Gin in 1793 changed the nature of agriculture and demography in the Piedmont and western Central Plains of the South Atlantic States. The upland green-seed cotton quickly became accepted as the major cash crop in the upcountry regions of South Carolina and Georgia and in some upcountry sections of North Carolina and Virginia (Abernethy 1965:34; Owsley 1949:60; Smith 1958:2). This crop was well adapted to the climate and soils of these regions, particularly the Carolinas and Georgia. This cotton could be more widely grown than the long staple Sea Island cotton grown in coastal South Carolina and Georgia. The main hindrance to the profitability of the green-seed cotton was the difficulty in separating the seed from the lint, a problem which was solved by Whitney's Gin.

The spread of cotton into the upcountry also brought about a large increase in the slave population and the beginning of plantations (Smith 1958:48). From 1790 to 1810, the proportion of slaves in upcountry South Carolina increased from between 15 % and 32 % of the population, depending upon the specific county, as much as 54% of the population in some areas (Klein 1990:250-253). At this same period, the proportion of households

owning slaves increased from about 25% to about 40-45% (Klein 1990:251). The proportion of slaves continued to increase through the 1810s and 1820s (Klein 1990:252).

By the middle 1810s, when the first large scale emigration from the South Atlantic States began, the Piedmont and Central Plains regions of these areas were already showing signs of soil exhaustion (Craven 1926; Smith 1958:29). Agricultural methods of the day were very damaging to the soil. Shallow topsoil plowing, commonly up and down hills, was the norm (Bonner 1964:61; Moore 1986:14). The frontier practice of field clearing, multi-year farming until production declined, and finally field abandonment, was generally the main mode of cultivation. As William Ellison, a South Carolina planter, stated in 1828,

> The successful cotton planter sits down in the choicest of his lands, slaughters the forest, and murders the soil, and when his lands are exhausted, buys all he can from his neighbors.... and continues the work of destruction, until he has created a desert of old fields around him, and when he thinks he can do no better, sells his lands for what he can get, or deserts them, and marches off to the new country to recommense (sic) the same process (quoted from Smith 1958:29-30).

As population increased, the field abandonment method became less practical, and fields were put under crops even longer, with no nutrients returned to the soil. Soil exhaustion continued to increase through the 1820s as cotton farmers tried to increase their crops in a period of low prices (Smith 1958:7). Even though cotton prices were low at this time, cotton was still the most profitable crop grown in the region (Smith 1958;58). By the early 1830s, the situation had become critical and emigration accelerated (Smith 1958:20-22). The severity of the soil conditions are illustrated in an 1839 statement that "the sterility of our land, produced by an injudicious and scourging mode of culture, and the failure of our staple for a series of years, prove that there is a radical defect in our usual system of cultivation" (Smith 1958:93).

The poor soil conditions in the east and the known rich soils in the Old Southwest were major reasons for emigration between 1815 and 1840 (Abernethy 1965:35; Bonner 1964:61; Moore 1986:5-6; Smith 1958:20). The quality of the southwestern lands was well known in the east because of written accounts by travellers, promoters,

friends, and relatives (Doster and Weaver 1981). Often potential settlers, particularly planters, sent relatives ahead to scout out the land and locate areas of high fertility. By the 1830s, the fertility of the Black Prairie soils of Mississippi were well known to settlers, since similar soils were encountered in Alabama in the 1810s.

Other reasons for emigration included the poorer transportation in the east, and a system of land inheritance which often left second and third sons of planters without land (Abernethy 1965:35; Moore 1986:5-6; Smith 1958:34; Taylor 1926:32). The river systems in the eastern upcountry were generally small and interrupted by rapids. In the Southwest, a greater percentage of land was accessible to navigable streams flowing to the Gulf of Mexico (Abernethy 1965:35).

From the Piedmont and Central Plains of the South Atlantic States, the settlers brought, besides their upland cotton, their system of farms and small to moderate-sized slave plantations (Moore 1986:2; Owsley 1949:60; Taylor 1926:31). In the east, the very large plantations were located on the coast. Few of these large planters migrated to the Southwest because of the heavy capital investments in their low country plantations and their social investments and status in the region (Abernethy 1965:36; Owsley 1949:61). Also, the requirements of the low country crops, particularly rice and Sea Island cotton, gave their lands a certain monopoly value (Abernethy 1965:36).

Most of the upcountry settlers who moved into the Southwest, including northeastern Mississippi, therefore, were very familiar with cotton production, either with family or slave labor. Initially, they utilized their home implements, such as the shovel plow, and home methods, such as shallow planting, but soon they had adapted to the deeper soils of the Mississippi Prairie and alluvium by borrowing turning plows and deeper plowing methods from Mississippi Valley planters (Moore 1986:14-15). By the 1830s, there was definitely a pool of potential settlers working and waiting to settle Lowndes County and with the knowledge to grow cotton. The Upper Tombigbee Valley therefore meets the criteria of precondition four.

Precondition 5: Transportation

The primary transport route in the study area was the Tombigbee River. This river flowed from extreme northeastern Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico at Mobile, Alabama. Mobile became a U.S. port in 1813 and by the late 1810s it had become a major cotton port. From the earliest settlement in the study area, cotton and other agricultural produce was shipped down river to Mobile.

In the 1810s, while goods were easily shipped downriver on flatboats, upriver transport was extremely difficult and most finished goods had to be brought overland, an expensive proposition. This situation must have encouraged a higher level of self sufficiency than was found later, when transportation improved (Doster and Weaver 1981:64).

In the early 1820s, upriver transport became easier and less expensive when steamboats finally reached the Upper Tombigbee region. After 1822, steamboats began regular service as far north as Columbus, or even Cotton Gin Port, during the high water season (Winter and Spring) (Doster and Weaver 1981:67). The much lower freight rates charged by steamboats, relative to wagons, made commercial agriculture in the Upper Tombigbee Valley much more profitable. The advent of steamboat transportation led to a drop in up-river transport cost from 6.5 cents per ton-mile in 1816 to .0.5 cents per ton-mile in 1826 (Earle 1987:176).

Numerous other, at least partially navigable tributaries of the Tombigbee cut through Lowndes County. The most notable of these are the Buttahatchie River, the Luxapallala River, and Tibbee Creek. Crops could be shipped down these streams on flatboats or keelboats.

The Upper Tombigbee region also possessed a number of prominent trails early in its settlement history. The nearby Natchez Trace provided contact with Natchez, New

Orleans, and Nashville. This route was surveyed in 1802 and ran west of Lowndes County, crossing the Tombigbee just to the north of present Tupelo, Mississippi (Doster and Weaver 1981:32).

Other trails were also established in the Upper Tombigbee area in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The most important was probably Gaines' Trace, which provided an overland route from the impassable Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River to Cotton Gin Port on the Tombigbee. This trail was surveyed in 1807. Soon after this, another trail of unknown name was established for the Tennessee River, at about present East Port, Mississippi, to Pitchlynn's Trading Post on the west side of the Tombigbee (Doster & Weaver 1981:47; Elliott 1978b).

Soon after settlement began in Monroe County, two additional roads, Jackson's Military Road (1818) and Robinson's Road (1821), were constructed through the area. Both crossed the Tombigbee at Columbus and helped its growth considerably. After Monroe County was formed in 1821, some local roads were constructed. The most prominent of these was the road connecting Columbus and Cotton Gin Port to the county seat of Hamilton and to each other.

By the time of the 1830s boom, Lowndes County and most of the Upper Tombigbee region was endowed with a relatively good and reliable transportation system, especially for that time. The study area, particularly after the beginning of steamboat trade in 1822, therefore meets the criteria for precondition five.

Hypotheses

From the above discussion it is apparent that Lowndes County, at least after 1830, met the preconditions for the Boom-Bust Model. During the early 1830s, a vast amount of territory ideal for cotton production was open for settlement at a time when cotton prices were high. The suitability of cotton cultivation also meant that Lowndes County was

suitable for plantation slavery. The presence of a large navigable river, steamboat traffic, and a good seaport (Mobile, Alabama) at this time meant that export-propelled agriculture and the importing of manufactured goods could begin immediately after settlement began.

The settlement of Lowndes County from the 1830s onward should, therefore, follow the pattern of development and change, described in the Boom-Bust model. In the section below, the characteristics predicted for each phase of the model are formulated into hypotheses. These hypotheses focus on the topics of immigration, socioeconomic structure, agricultural methods, town settlement patterns, town services, and consumption patterns and will be organized accordingly. These particular aspects of the model are examined because they are sensitive to the changes occurring during the Boom-Bust Recovery development and because they can be investigated by the available documentary and/or archaeological data.

Immigration

H1. During the boom period of the 1830s, Lowndes County should have experienced a much larger immigration of settlers than the county experienced during the bust of the late 1810s and 1820s, or the bust of the 1840s. The 1830s immigration should have been most apparent in the newly opened lands west of the Tombigbee River, but eastern Lowndes County should have also experienced a significant population increase and agricultural expansion during this time.

H2. The immigrants who entered Lowndes County during the boom of the 1830s, while including both farmers and planters (with their slaves) should have included more planters, and larger planters, than entered the county during the bust of the late 1810s and 1820s.

As was noted above in the discussion of preconditions, eastern Lowndes was still only sparsely settled in 1830, so land remained for new settlers after the cotton price increases of 1833 and beyond. Although the rapid sale and settlement of the Choctaw and Chickasaw lands in the 1830s, of which western Lowndes was a part, is well known to historians of the region. Whether farmers or planters, or both, led this immigration is poorly understood.

Socioeconomic Structure

H3. Given the prosperous times and frontier nature of Lowndes County during the boom period of the 1830s, the socioeconomic structure of Lowndes County should have been hierarchically more simple and possessed a more even distribution of wealth than in later periods in Lowndes County.

H4. During the 1840s, there should have been an increase in hierarchical complexity in Lowndes County and a large increase in the concentration of wealth among the upper classes of the county, since they had the capital and flexibility to weather the harsh conditions better than smaller agriculturalists and merchants.

H5. During the recovery period of the 1850s, there should have been only a slight increase, if any, in wealth concentration in Lowndes County. Because of increasing stability in the region, this change should have been much less than that which occurred in the bust of the 1840s.

Wealth categories will be utilized as an indication of the complexity of the social structure since other information, such as occupation, is lacking before 1850. When examined over time, the concentration of wealth illustrates the relative economic success of people from different economic levels

Agricultural Methods and Production

H6. Agricultural production methods during the boom of the 1830s, when land was plentiful and cheap, should have been more extensive than in the 1840s, when less vacant land was available, the price of land was higher, and the price for cotton was lower.

H7. These more intensive agricultural methods, which should have begun in the 1840s, should have increased during the recovery phase of the 1850s, as the county became even more densely settled and the price of land increased.

Because of deficiency in historic records, particularly the 1840 Census, Hypothesis 6 cannot be tested in the study area. Hypothesis 7 will be examined, however, utilizing agricultural production statistics in the 1850 and 1860 Federal Census.

Town Development Settlement Patterns and Hierarchy

H8. During the boom of the 1830s, a large number of towns should have been established in Lowndes County, particularly west of the Tombigbee. Due to the optimism and speculative nature of this period, the expectations and plans for these speculative towns should have been exaggerated.

H9. Due to the lessened competition and immature nature of the initial boom period, the distribution of towns in the middle to late 1830s should be relatively random.

H10. During the boom of the 1830s, the town hierarchy should have been relatively simple and with a dominant, in terms of size and services, "frontier town" located in the earliest settled part of the region.

H11. During the bust of the 1840s, poor economic conditions should have increased competition between towns and resulted in the decline or extinction of

most speculative towns and resulted in a more evenly dispersed town settlement pattern, as compared to that of the 1830s.

H12. During the bust of the 1840s, the frontier town, because of its size and multiple functions, should have weathered the harsh conditions better than smaller towns and increased its dominance in size and services relative to the smaller towns.

H13 During the recovery period of the late 1840s and 1850s, frontier conditions should have subsided. This will be reflected in a relatively more uniform settlement distribution than previously.

H14. During the recovery phase of the late 1840s and 1850s, an increasingly hierarchical urban system should have evolved, and the size and service dominance of the frontier town should have been reduced, relative to other towns.

Diversity of stores, goods, and services.

H15. The smaller towns in the boom period of the 1830s, particularly the speculative towns, should have had a greater variety of stores, goods, especially luxuries, and services than in the bust or recovery periods.

H16. During the bust, the variety of stores and goods, particularly luxuries, in the smaller towns should have become scarce.

H17. In the recovery phase, the quantity and variety of stores, goods, and services in the smaller towns should have increased relative to the bust, but should not be as great as in the boom period.

Although some store inventories and bills are available for the study area, the lack of a truly representative sample of store documents makes a formal test of these three hypotheses impossible at present. What store data that are available, however, will be

utilized in a less formal examination of the availability of goods. Since very little information is extant on the types of stores, particularly specialty stores, present in the smaller towns, this aspect of the three hypotheses cannot be formally examined either.

Consumption Patterns

H18. Because of economic prosperity (higher income), easy credit, and optimism, much more lavish consumption of material goods, especially of luxuries and durables, relative to socioeconomic status, should have been present during the boom period of the 1830s compared to the depression or even the recovery phase.

H19. While consumption of material goods, particularly luxuries and durables, should have increased in the recovery period relative to the depression, the consumption level should not have been as great as that of the boom for most citizens.

Data Sources

Both documentary and archaeological data will be utilized in the testing of these hypotheses. Documentary data, however, are the major source of information on Lowndes County to be utilized in these tests. The two main documentary sources to be examined are the county property tax rolls dating from the 1830s to late 1850s and the Federal manuscript census rolls dating from 1820-1860. These two sources provide information on population and wealth, in land and slaves, and will be used in the tests related to migration, socioeconomic structure, and wealth concentration. On the topic of wealth, the county tax rolls are vital in providing information for the period predating 1850, since no land holding information is given in the censuses of 1820-1840. Slave holdings are calculated from the federal census, as are landholdings fro 1850 and 1860.

The published federal census for 1850 and 1860 will be used to examine questions related to agricultural methods. Since little quantitative data are present on actual methods, production and agricultural expenditure figures provided in these two censuses will provide an alternative with which to investigate agricultural intensification.

A number of data sources will be combined to examine the hypotheses on town development, settlement patterns, and the stores, services, and goods provided by these towns. Early maps are vital for showing locations of early towns, particularly those that became extinct. Other data are used in conjunction with maps to provide more detailed information on towns. These sources include deeds, county governmental records, store inventories and bills, newspapers, reminiscences, and county property tax rolls. The county tax rolls give the amount of merchandise sold in the county's stores. Once the location of these stores is determined, this information provides an interesting method of examining town strength and importance and how these changed over time. These sales data will also be used to examine changing rates of consumption in the county.

Since some of the town development hypotheses are regional in scope, data on an area larger than Lowndes County is needed. Secondary sources and the federal censuses will be used in examining most other county towns, with the exception of those in adjacent Monroe County, which will utilize similar sources to those described above for Lowndes County.

Fortunately, a number of excellent secondary sources related to the history of Lowndes County and the Upper Tombigbee Valley are available. Part of these data are the result of projects associated with the construction of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway (Adams 1981; Doster and Weaver 1981; Elliott 1978a; Prout 1973; Way and McBride 1983; Weaver and Doster 1982). But, a long standing local interest in this region, particularly in Lowndes and Monroe Counties, has provided a number in valuable studies dating back to the early twentieth century (Evans 1979; Lipscomb 1909; Rodabough 1971-1975, 1985; Wood 1925).

Archaeological data and merchandise sales in the county tax records are utilized to examine the hypotheses related to changing consumption patterns. The archaeological sample is derived from a number of domestic sites in the extinct towns of Colbert and Barton. The excavation of these sites was completed as part of an overall cultural resource management program associated with the development of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway and sponsored by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Mobile District. The data from these sites provide for household level examination which is not available from many other sources. The archaeological data also provide information on the consumption of certain types of items, in this case refined ceramics, while the county tax rolls give no information more precise than total merchandise sold.

Because the Boom-Bust-Recovery cycles are so short in duration, usually no more than a decade in length, very tight chronological control is necessary to examine the consumption hypotheses. The fact that the towns of Colbert and Barton were fairly short lived, each about 12 to 15 years, helps overcome this problem to some degree, but not completely. The Colbert stores span both the boom and the bust phases and some of the Barton sites were occupied into the twentieth century. Careful chronological control and feature comparison is necessary to determine if separate boom, bust, and recovery deposits can be identified.

The above nineteen hypotheses will be examined in the next three chapters. Chapter 4 will address questions related to immigration, socioeconomic structure and wealth, and agricultural methods. Hypotheses examining town development, settlement patterns, and services will be presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will address hypotheses related to consumption patterns and will provide a discussion of the archaeological investigation at Colbert and Barton.

CHAPTER 4

SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF LOWNDES COUNTY

Introduction

The discussion presented in Chapter 3 reveals that Lowndes County from the 1830s through the 1850s met the preconditions of the Boom-Bust Model. Therefore, the settlement and development of Lowndes County during that period should follow the predictions stated in the nineteen hypotheses. In this chapter, the first eight hypotheses will be examined. These hypotheses deal with the speed and size of settlement, wealth and socioeconomic structure, and agricultural methods and production.

Migrations of the Boom Period

The first hypothesis states that during the boom period of the 1830s, Lowndes County should have received a larger immigration of settlers than occurred during the bust periods of the late 1810s and 1820s and the bust of the 1840s. The 1830s immigration should have been most dramatic in the newly opened lands west of the Tombigbee River, but eastern Lowndes County should have also experienced a significant population increase. The examination of this hypothesis provides the context and conditions which will lay a foundation for the examination of the remaining hypotheses. The test implications for the first part of this hypothesis is that the population of Lowndes County should have increased much more between 1830 and 1840 than it did between 1820 and 1830 or between 1840 and 1850.

In the analysis to follow, population and wealth data from the Federal Censuses will be utilized. The 1840 Federal Census will be utilized as a measure of the culmination of the 1830s boom. Since cotton prices did not begin their long term drop until late 1839 (see Chapter 3), the use of the 1840 Census seems reasonable. The 1850 Federal Census will be used to represent the culmination of changes which occurred in the 1840s depression. Again, since cotton prices did not begin their long term increase until the late 1840s, this also seems reasonable. The 1860 Federal Census will be utilized to examine changes which occurred during the 1850s recovery.

Table 4.1 gives population figures for Lowndes County for 1820 through 1850. This data indicates that by far the greatest absolute and relative population increase in the county was between 1830 and 1840. During this decade the total population increased by 11,340 persons, or 347%. This increase consisted of 7,274 persons in the newly opened territory west of the Tombigbee, and an additional 4,066 persons in the eastern half of Lowndes County. The increase in slaves from 1830 to 1840, which amounted to an increase of 724%, was especially dramatic and indicates that planters with slaves were entering the area in this decade. More discussion on slavery and planters will be given below.

During the depression of the 1840s to 1850, the total population of Lowndes County increased only 34.7%, and the white population only 13.8%. Between 1810 and 1820, the population increased relatively more, 203%, but absolutely by only 2116 persons. The underdeveloped nature of Lowndes County in the early 1830s is evident by comparing the low quantity of early taxable land, only 30,005 acres in 1830 and 30,929 acres in 1833, to the 203,040 taxable acres in 1840 (Lowndes County Property Taxes 1833, 1840; Rodabough 1985:27). The 1840 taxable land included 82,748 acres in the eastern half of Lowndes County and 120,292 acres in the western half.

The above data support the test implication of a greater increase in population for Lowndes County during the boom times of the 1830s. These results indicate that while most growth occurred in the newly opened western lands, the eastern half of Lowndes

County, although initially settled in the 1820s, underwent considerable additional settlement and development during the 1830s.

Table 4.1. Lowndes County Population, 1820-1850.

	1820	1830	1840	1850
SAMPLE				
Whites	776	2104	5730	6521
Free Blacks	5	5	12	28
Slaves	276	1064	8771	12995
Total	1057	3173	14513	19544

Source: U.S. Census Office (1832, 1841, 1854).

The second hypothesis states that the immigrants who entered Lowndes County during the boom of the 1830s, while including both farmers and planters, should have included more planters, and especially larger planters, than had entered the county during the 1810s or 1820s. The first test implication of this hypothesis is that landholding and slaveholding data from the western half of Lowndes County in 1840 should confirm the presence of small and medium-sized landholders (1-300 acres) as well as some larger holders (> 300 acres). It should also include slaveless households, small slaveholders (< 10 slaves), and medium to large slaveholders (> 20 slaves).

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 give the distribution of slaveholdings for 1820, 1830, and 1840-west and landholdings for 1833 and 1840-west. Land ownership data for 1820 is not available. The 1840-west data is used since it represents only new holdings established during the 1830s and, therefore, directly addresses the hypothesis.

The landholding data for 1833 and 1840 is constructed from the Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls, while the slaveholding data is from the U.S. Census. The 1833 land data was the earliest year available with complete landholding data. This data was still for only the east half of Lowndes County. In order to make these sources comparable and to render the 1833 and 1840 land data comparable to the 1850 and 1860 agricultural census,

only those tax roll entries who were also in the census were utilized. This decision also had the effect of removing any outside speculators from the sample, leaving only residents. Some 1850 and 1860 agricultural census entries were also dropped since they were not in the population schedule.

Table 4.2. Distribution of Slaveholding Households, Lowndes County, 1820-1840.

	1820		1830		1840	
Slaves	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-9	49	87.5	115	78.8	84	38.9
10-19	6	10.7	23	15.8	51	23.6
20-29	1	1.8	7	4.8	29	13.4
30-39	0	0	1	0.7	18	8.3
40-49	0	0	0	0	9	4.2
50-74	0	0	0	0	15	6.9
75-99	0	0	0	0	3	1.4
199-149	0	0	0	0	5	2.3
150-199	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
200+	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
TOTALS	56	100	146	100	216	100
Slaveless	74	56.9	132	47.5	61	22.0

Source: U.S. Manuscript Census, Lowndes County, 1820-1840.

Table 4.3. Distribution of Landholding Households, Lowndes County, 1833-1840.

	1833		1840-West	
Acres	N	%	N	%
1-49	0	0	0	0
50-99	54	36.2	7	4.3
100-299	57	38.3	34	21.1
300-499	29	19.5	44	27.3
500-999	9	6.0	47	29.2
1000-1999	0	0	20	12.4
2000+	0	0	9	5.6
TOTALS	149	100	161	99.9
Landless	129	46.4	116	41.9

Source: Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls, 1833, 1840.

The landholding and slaveholding data from western Lowndes County in 1840 confirm the first test implication. The 1830s immigrants included farmers and planters of various sizes. The number of planter households, those containing twenty or more slaves, and the large size of some slaveholdings and landholdings, is somewhat surprising. Nearly forty percent of the slaveholding heads and nearly thirty percent of all household heads were of planter status. Twenty-five, or 11.6 %, of the slaveholding heads owned 50 or more slaves by 1840. The low proportion of non-slaveholding head, 22%, is quite striking and indicates that Lowndes County in the 1830s was not a stereotypical backwoods frontier.

The landholding data also suggest that large holdings were established quite early after settlement began in the western Choctaw and Chickasaw cessions. Nearly 50 %, or 76, of the landowning households had holdings of 500 acres or greater. Some of these holdings may have been speculative holdings, and therefore somewhat exaggerated in size, but since the sample only includes resident households, and the major immigration had already occurred by 1840, this bias is probably not very great. Also, the presence of large slaveholdings, which are usually associated with large landholdings, suggests that many, if not most, of the large landholdings were working plantations.

The second test implication for the second hypothesis is that the slaveholdings and landholdings from 1840 should include a greater number and proportion of planters, especially large planters, compared to the 1820 and 1830-1833 data. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 clearly indicate that this is the case. The immigrants who entered Lowndes County in 1820 or earlier consisted almost exclusively of small slaveholders or non-slaveholders. Only one household in 1820 meets the usual requirement for planter status, that is, owning twenty or more slaves (Bonner 1965). This range of holding size is not surprising, given the fact that the original Monroe County, from which eastern Lowndes County was created, was not completely surveyed until July 1820 (Howell 1971:30). Therefore, many of these households were still squatters when the census was taken.

The 1830 and 1833 data, however, indicate that Lowndes County society still consisted of primarily small to medium holders and non-slave or non-landholders ten years after official settlement began. Only eight households owned 20 or more slaves and none owned over 39 slaves. In 1833, the number (38) and proportion (25.5%) of farmers with over 300 acres was much smaller than in 1840, and again indicates that most of the agriculturalists were small and medium-sized farmers.

The third implication of this hypothesis is that the proportion of slaves in the county population should be much greater in 1840, than in 1820 or 1830. The proportion of slaves in the population was 26.1%, 33.5%, and 60.4%, for 1820, 1830, and 1840, respectively. This conforms to the test implication and supports the plantation nature of Lowndes County in 1840. The population of the eastern half of Lowndes County in 1840 consisted of 47.2% slaves, while the west half consisted of 73.6% slaves. This again underlines the strong plantation orientation of the newly opened prairie region west of the Tombigbee.

The above results indicate that very different populations moved into Lowndes County in the 1820s than entered the county in the 1830s. The latter decade received a much greater frequency of planters or prospective planters. The argument presented here is that the boom conditions of the 1830s combined with the other preconditions stated in the previous chapter, especially rich soils and an adequate transportation system, are the variables responsible for the nearly immediate establishment of a plantation society in this region. Although the soils in eastern Lowndes County ar overall not as rich as those in western Lowndes County, this difference alone is not adequate to explain the great sparsity of agricultural units over 500 acres and slaveholdings of over 19 slaves in 1830, especially since these sized units became much more common by 1840 (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1840). The less developed transportation network may have initially hindered immigration into the region, but by 1822 steamboats began regular service to Lowndes

County (Evans 1979). The most critical variable differentiating the 1820s and 1830s conditions was the recession conditions of the former and the boom conditions of the latter.

The above discussion lends quantitative support to the statements by Myers (1949) and Moore (1986, 1988) that planters were included in the first settlement wave into the Black Prairie. The data presented here also contradict the finding and theories of Foust (1975), Owsley (1949) and Phillips (1908) that farmers or herders led the migration into all areas of the South, with the possible exception of the Mississippi River Valley. The lack of analysis or data predating the 1850 federal census has severely hindered the examination of this question. Surprisingly, most quantitative studies claiming to address questions related to frontier migration are based on post-frontier data and have therefore missed the impact of variables such as economic cycles (Foust 1975; Schaeffer 1987).

Socioeconomic Structure and Concentration of Wealth

Three hypotheses will be addressed which cover the socioeconomic structure and concentration of wealth in Lowndes County during the boom, bust, and recovery phases of development. Since the changes discussed in these hypotheses are measured relative to each other, the three hypotheses will be examined together. Wealth in slaves and land will be used to measure both the socioeconomic structure and the concentration of wealth in the study area, since they were the major material determinants of status in the antebellum South (Wright 1978). Other measures of status, such as income, occupation, political and social prestige or influence, are not available for most of the years under investigation.

Hypothesis 3 states that during the boom of the 1830s, the socioeconomic structure of Lowndes County should have been hierarchically more simple and possessed a more even distribution of wealth than in the later periods. Hypothesis 4 states that there should have been an increase in hierarchical complexity and a large increase in the concentration of wealth among the upper classes during the depression of the 1840s. Hypothesis 5 states

that there should have been a much smaller increase, if any, in the concentration of wealth during the recovery period of the 1850s.

As with the analysis above, 1840 tax and population census data will be used to represent the culmination of the 1830s boom, while the 1850 population and agricultural census data will be used to document changes which occurred during the 1840s depression. Developments which occurred during the recovery period of the 1850s will be documented with the 1860 population and agricultural census.

The first test implication for the above hypothesis is that the distribution of slaveholdings and landholdings in Lowndes County in 1840 should form a pattern with less range of holding sizes and a greater proportion of smaller holders, than was found in 1850 or 1860. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2 give the distribution of slaveholding and landholding households in 1840, 1850, and 1860. These data do not support the first part of Hypothesis 3, which predicted a simpler socioeconomic structure for the county in the boom period, or the first part of Hypothesis 4, which predicted increased complexity by 1850. By 1840, Lowndes County society contained a great variety of economic levels and much disparity in the distribution of wealth between rich and poor.

Table 4.4 indicates that in 1840 Lowndes County slaveholders had holdings of similar size and distribution as in 1850 and 1860. The only differences between the three years is a slight increase in slaveholdings of 50 and over in 1850, and again in 1860, as well as in changes in the proportion of slaveless household heads. The landholding data illustrate more variation between 1840 and 1850, but the 1840 distribution still could not be referred to as simplified or clustered toward small holdings. The major difference between 1840 and 1850 is the large relative and absolute increase in holders of less than 50 acres (Table 4.4, Figure 4.2). Between 1850 and 1860, the number and proportion of holders with over 499 acres increased significantly, as did the number and proportion of landless household heads.

Table 4.4. Distribution of Slaveholding Households, Lowndes County, 1840-1860.

Slaves	1840 N	1840 %	1850 N	1850 %	1860 N	1860 %
1-9	324	57.5	442	58.4	510	56.4
10-19	121	21.5	141	18.6	169	18.7
20-29	48	8.5	71	9.4	71	7.8
30-39	26	4.6	33	4.4	38	4.2
40-49	13	2.3	14	1.8	32	3.5
50-74	20	3.6	38	5.0	42	4.6
75-99	4	0.7	13	1.7	27	3.0
199-149	5	0.9	4	0.5	10	1.1
150-199	1	0.2	1	0.1	5	0.6
200+	1	0.2	0	0	1	0
TOTALS	563	100	757	99.9	905	99.9
Slaveless	264	31.9	507	40.1	482	34.8

Source: U.S. Manuscript Census, Lowndes County, 1840-1860.

Table 4.5. Distribution of Landholding Households, Lowndes County, 1840-1860.

Acres	1840 N	1840 %	1850 N	1850 %	1860 N	1860 %
1-49	16	3.5	90	13.3	25	4.0
50-99	70	15.3	88	13.1	75	12.0
100-299	157	34.3	228	33.8	192	30.7
300-499	99	21.6	117	17.4	99	15.8
500-999	84	18.3	100	14.8	133	21.3
1000-1999	23	5.0	37	5.5	87	13.9
2000+	9	2.0	14	2.1	14	2.2
TOTALS	458	100	674	100	625	99.9
Landless	369	44.6	590	46.7	762	54.9

Source: U.S. Manuscript Census, Lowndes County, 1840-1860.

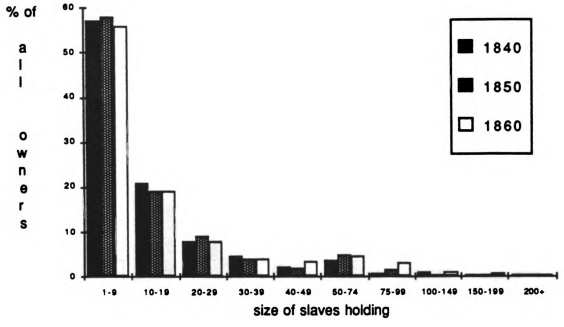


Figure 4.1. Distribution of slaveholdings, 1840-1860.

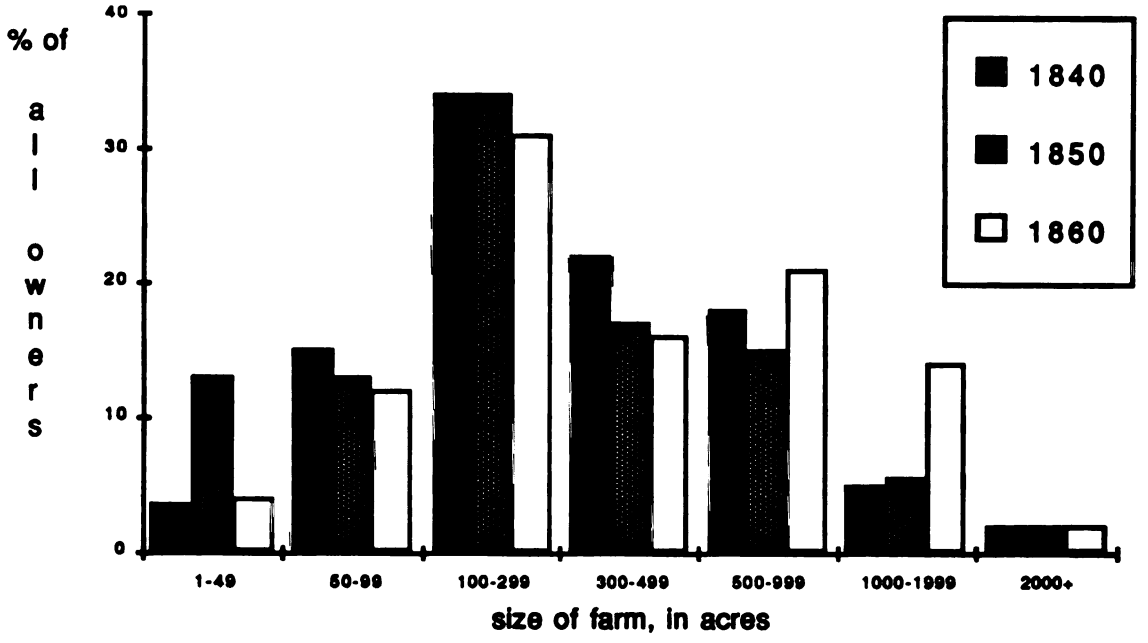


Figure 4.2. Distribution of landholdings, 1840-1860.

By 1840, Lowndes County appears to have been a full blown plantation society. This result is not due to the maturing of the earlier settled eastern half of the county, but rather to the rapid establishment of settlers with diverse economic levels, including large planters on both sides of the river, but particularly on the western side. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 below show that western Lowndes County contained the vast majority of the larger slaveholdings (50+) and landholdings (500 + acres) and all slaveholdings over 100 slaves and landholdings over 2000 acres. Western Lowndes County also contained a much lower proportion of non-slaveholding heads (22%) than the eastern half of the county (36.9%).

It is necessary to go back to 1820 and 1830 to view a simplified socioeconomic structure in Lowndes County (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). At these times, the society consisted primarily of squatters, small to medium-sized holders, some townspeople, and slaves. The county at these times, however, did not meet the preconditions of the model. The 1810 settlement occurred before the land was surveyed and the 1820s settlement occurred during a recession or depression.

It appears, therefore, that the societal simplification predicted in the model does not hold for Lowndes County in the middle and late 1830s. As was noted in Chapter 2, the simplification process, which is characterized by a loss of numerous cultural components (particularly specialized ones), is a normal adaptation in a newly settled environment (Casagrande et al. 1964; Lewis 1984). Evidently a simplified, non-hierarchical society was not adaptive or necessary in the area west of the Tombigbee River.

The exceptionally rapid establishment of a complex society in this region, at least one that exceeded the expectations of the model, was probably related to a number of factors. The proximity of Lowndes County to older settled non-frontier areas in northern Alabama may be one factor. The previous (1830) establishment of county government certainly made administration and communication with the new area more efficient and made settlement of the new lands logistically easier and less risky. These factors probably encouraged large planters with their slaves to move quickly to the newly ceded lands. As

Table 4.6. Distribution of Slaveholding Households, by Location, 1840.

	East Side		West Side	
Slaves	N	%	N	%
1-9	240	69.2	84	38.9
10-19	70	20.2	51	23.6
20-29	19	5.5	29	13.4
30-39	8	2.3	18	8.3
40-49	4	1.2	9	4.2
50-74	5	1.4	15	6.9
75-99	1	0.3	3	1.4
100-149	0	0	5	2.3
150-199	0	0	1	0.5
200+	0	0	1	0.5
TOTALS	347	100.1	216	100
Slaveless	203	36.9	61	22.0

Source: U.S. Census, 1840

Table 4.7. Distribution of Landholding Households, by Location, 1840.

	East Side		West Side	
Acres	N	%	N	%
1-49	16	5.4	0	0
50-99	63	21.2	7	4.3
100-299	123	41.4	34	21.1
300-499	55	18.5	44	27.3
500-999	37	12.5	47	29.2
1000-1999	3	01.0	20	12.4
2000+	0	0	9	5.6
TOTALS	297	100	161	99.9
Landless	253	46.0	116	41.9

Source: Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls, 1840.

will be recalled, the Colonization Gradient Model predicted less simplification from the outer edge to the inner edge of the frontier region (Lewis 1984:11). But, this is a matter of degree and even the edge closest to the homeland is predicted to have more simplification than the study area.

Other factors are therefore necessary to more fully account for the social structural complexity of the county in 1840. All of the preconditions of the Boom-Bust model, especially the sanctioning of slavery and the exceptionally rich cotton lands, are probably important factors in the lack of social-structural simplification in the study area. The richness of the black praire soils was well known to potential settlers because of the 1810s settlement of the Alabama praire lands.

If the impact of the preconditions is this strong, perhaps the simplification hypotheses should be removed completely from the model, at least for plantation situations. Further testing, however, is needed to fully understand the simplification issue in Boom-Bust contexts. In the Upper Tombigbee area, it would be fruitful to examine social structural complexity of counties which were not part of Old Monroe County. In this way, the impact of the 1820s settlement and political organization could be examined. The model also needs to be examined in non-plantation areas to examine frontier social structural complexity more broadly.

The second test implication for Hypotheses 3, 4 and 5 is that the proportion of wealth held by the upper levels of Lowndes County society in 1840 should be less than that in 1850 or 1860 and that the increase in this concentration of wealth between 1840 and 1850 should be much greater than that occurring between 1850 and 1860.

A decile analysis of slave ownership, farm acreage, and value of farm acreage, with Gini coefficients calculated, will be utilized in the examination of this implication. The Gini coefficient is a measure of how close a distribution falls to perfect equality. A value of 0 indicates perfect equality, while a value of 100 indicates complete concentration (Wright 1978:25). The decile analysis illustrates the proportion of wealth owned by the middle to

richest ten percentile groupings of the households and the poorest 50% of the households within the county. Decile analysis and Gini coefficient calculation are the predominate methods of wealth analysis in recent economic history (Klein 1990; Weiner 1976; Wright 1978).

Tables 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10 present decile ownership and Gini coefficients for slaves, land, and land value for Lowndes County in 1840, 1850, and 1860. Lorenze curves are shown in Figures 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5. These curves give a graphical representation of the Gini, with a more rapidly rising curve indicating a higher Gini, which means a greater concentration of wealth. The diagonal represents a completely equal distribution.

In all three wealth categories, slaves, acres, and land value, the 1840 distribution was fairly concentrated. This again, was the result of the immigration of large planters into the county from the beginning of the 1830s land sales.

When 1840 and 1850 are compared, an increase in concentration of wealth is evident for all three categories. For slaves, there was a 6.5% increase in the amount owned by the top 10 % of society, with a 5.0 point increase in the Gini coefficient. These increases are due primarily to the increase in holdings of over 49 slaves and the large increase in the number of slaveless heads of households (see Table 4.4, Figure 4.3).

With land and land value, there was a 6.3% and a 9.8% increase, respectively, in the share owned by the wealthiest 10% of the society between 1840 and 1850. The Gini coefficients increased 5.5 and 6.0 points, respectively, for land and land value (note the more rapid rise in the Lorenze curve for 1850, Figure 4.4). These measures are primarily due to a large increase in small holders (1-49 acres) and a slight increase in the proportion of holdings over 1000 acres (see Table 4.5). The greater concentration in land value versus acreage indicates that the wealthier owners not only controlled more land, but also more of the better land. The increase of small non-slaveholding farmers in 1850 is probably the result of both the economic decline of somewhat larger holders from 1840 and the creation or arrival of a disproportionate amount of new small holders between 1840 and 1850. The

Table 4.8. Slave Concentration, 1840-1860.

Decile	1840 Slaves	%	1850 Slaves	%	1860 Slaves	%
Top 10%	4255	52.9	6628	59.4	9169	58.7
2nd	1592	19.8	2237	20.0	3129	20.0
3rd	956	11.9	1141	10.2	1622	10.4
4th	594	7.4	647	5.8	912	5.8
5th	361	4.5	351	3.1	498	3.2
Bottom 50%	279	3.5	161	1.4	294	1.9
TOTALS	8037	100	11165	99.9	15624	100
Gini		54.6		59.6		59.1

Source: U.S. Manuscript Census, Lowndes County, 1840-1860.

Table 4.9. Acreage Concentration, 1840-1860.

Decile	1840 Acreage	%	1850 Acreage	%	1860 Acreage	%
Top 10%	96666	52.0	153897	58.3	190330	57.5
2nd	39656	21.3	57866	21.9	80806	24.4
3rd	24217	13.0	30783	11.6	37773	11.4
4th	14623	7.9	15191	5.8	17794	5.4
5th	8204	4.4	5501	2.1	4222	1.3
Bottom50%	2683	1.4	784	0.3	0	0
TOTALS	186049	100	263967	100	330925	100
Gini		56.3		61.8		63.8

Source: U.S. Property Tax Roll 1840; Manuscript Census, 1850, 1860.

Table 4.10. Agricultural Land Value Concentration, 1840-1860.

Decile	1840 Value	%	1850 Value	%	1860 Value	%
Top 10%	174503	59.7	1385950	69.5	5395950	72.9
2nd	57518	19.7	331767	16.6	1345150	18.2
3rd	31287	10.7	163717	8.2	447595	6.0
4th	17338	5.9	79739	4.0	186230	2.5
5th	8806	3.0	30962	1.5	31880	0.4
Bottom 50%	2730	0.9	3381	0.2	0	0
TOTALS	292182	99.9	1995516	100	7406805	100
Gini		60.1		66.1		71.1

Source: U.S. Property Tax Roll 1840; Manuscript Census, 1850, 1860.

lack of credit and low cotton prices of the 1840s would have inhibited new holders from acquiring much land or many slaves.

In order to examine how the newly settled west side and the more mixed (old and new) settled east side of Lowndes County were effected by the depression of the 1840s, Gini coefficients and the wealth of the wealthiest decile is given separately for each location in Table 4.11. This data shows that the changes on each side of the river were very similar, although the increases on the eastern side of the county were generally slightly greater, suggesting that people on each side were affected similarly by the 1840s conditions.

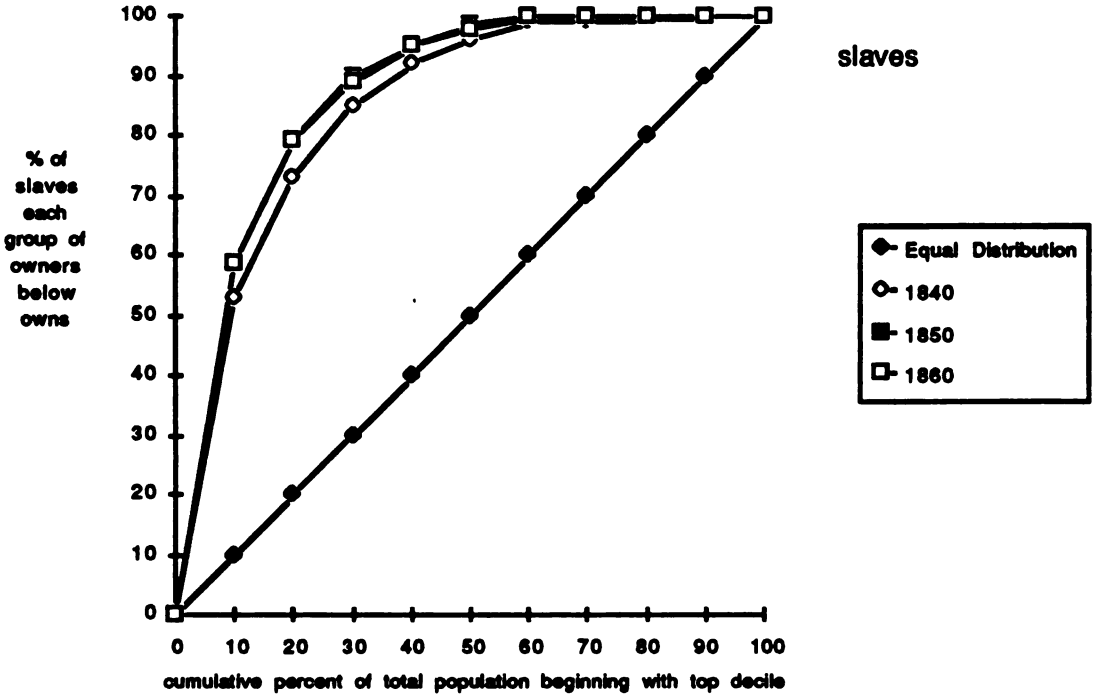


Figure 4.3. Lorenze Curve, slaveholding, 1840-1860.

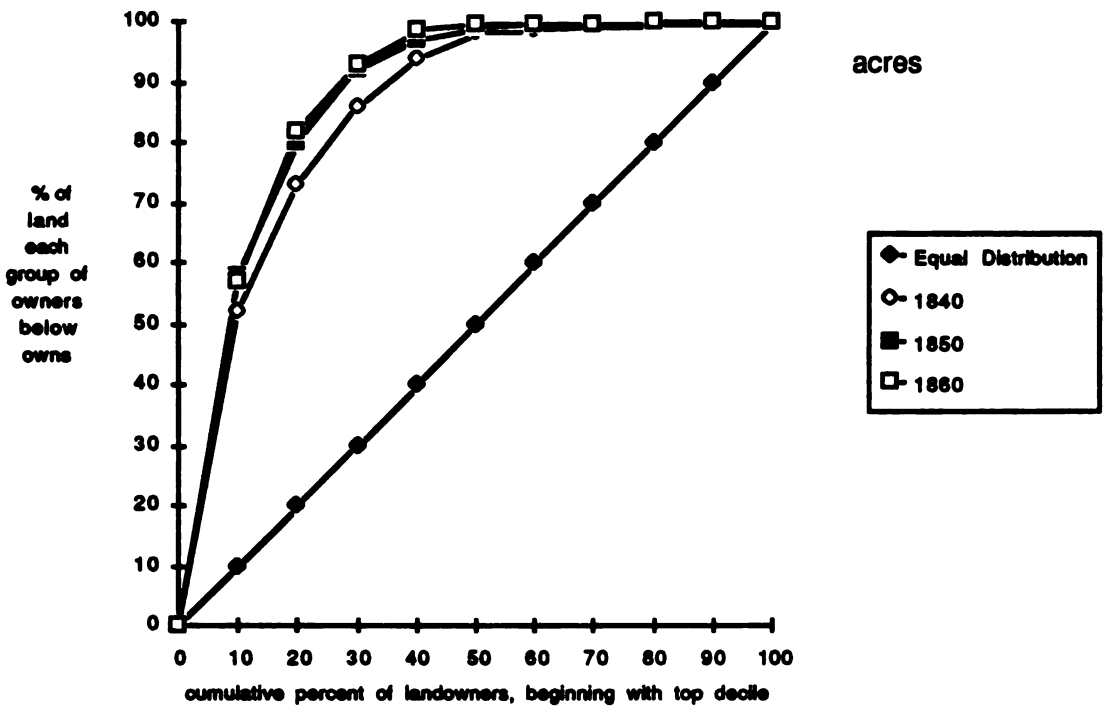


Figure 4.4. Lorenze Curve, landholding, 1840-1860.

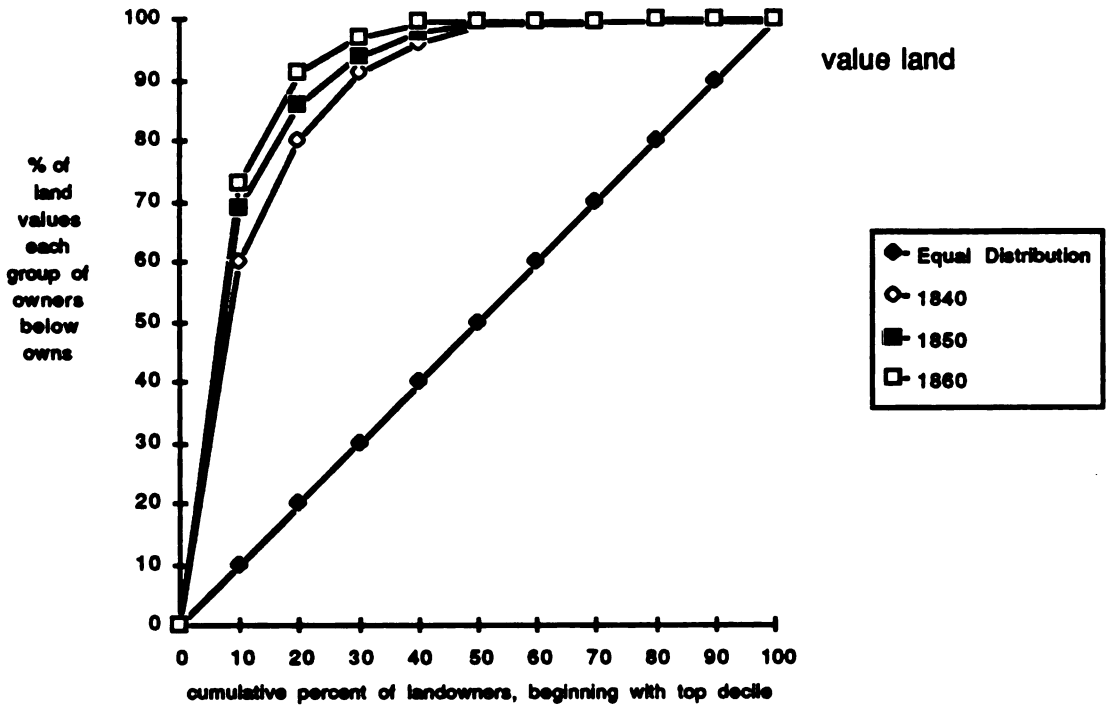


Figure 4.5. Lorenze Curve, land value, 1840-1860.

Table 4.11. Comparison of Gini Coefficients, 1840-60.

	Slaves		Acres		Land Value	
Sample	top decile	Gini	top decile	Gini	top decile	Gini
1840 East	49.2	53.2	45.6	53.3	51.3	56.1
1850 East	58.1	59.4	56.0	60.6	68.5	66.1
Difference	8.9	6.2	10.4	7.3	17.2	10.0
1840 West	46.9	49.1	46.3	52.8	48.9	53.3
1850 West	52.6	55.9	56.9	59.2	64.0	62.4
Difference	6.6	6.5	10.6	6.4	15.1	9.1

Source: U.S. Property Tax Roll 1840; Manuscript Census, 1850, 1860.

The most striking discovery of the split analysis is the much lower concentration on each side of the county when examined separately in 1840, than when the whole county is examined. The higher concentrations in the whole county sample reflect the different structures of the two halves of the county and result from the combination of the larger land and slave holdings of the western half with the generally smaller and medium-sized holdings of the eastern side of the county (see Tables 4.6 and 4.7). By 1850, the differences between the two halves were not as exaggerated (see Tables 4.12 and 4.13).

The 1860 data presented in Tables 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10 support the test implication that the difference in concentration of wealth between 1850 and 1860 should be less than that between 1840 and 1850. This is very strongly supported with slaves and acres, where the 1850 to 1860 difference in ownership by the top (wealthiest) decile is only 0.7 and 0.8, respectively. Both of these changes were in fact, decreases in concentration, which reflects the broader opportunities of the 1850s economic recovery.

The land value data does not support the test implication as closely, however, although it is still supportive. The difference in land value of the top decile and Gini coefficient for this decade are 3.4% and 5 points. The greater change here, when compared to the acreage change, reflects disproportionate price increase of planters' land, which was likely of higher quality, during the 1850s rather than an increase in acreage concentration.

Table 4.12. Distribution of Slaveholding Households, by Location, 1850.

	East Side		West Side	
Slaves	N	%	N	%
1-9	298	66.7	144	46.4
10-19	75	16.8	66	21.3
20-29	35	7.8	36	11.6
30-39	12	2.7	21	6.8
40-49	8	1.8	6	1.9
50-74	15	3.3	23	7.4
75-99	4	.8	9	2.9
100-149	0	0	4	1.3
150-199	0	0	1	.3
200+	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	447	100	310	100
Slaveless	345	43.6	162	34.4

Source: U.S. Manuscript Census, 1850.

Table 4.13. Distribution of Landholding Households, by Location, 1850.

	East Side		West Side	
Acres	N	%	N	%
1-49	58	14.7	32	11.5
50-99	52	13.2	36	12.9
100-299	147	37.3	81	29.1
300-499	73	18.5	44	15.8
500-999	46	11.6	54	19.3
1000-1999	14	3.5	23	8.2
2000+	5	1.2	9	3.2
TOTALS	395	100	279	100
Landless	397	50.1	193	40.8

Source: U.S Manuscript Census, Lowndes County, 1850.

Agricultural Methods and Production

In this section changes in the intensification of agricultural production in Lowndes County between 1850 and 1860 will be investigated. As was noted in Chapter 3 above, Hypothesis 6, which deals with changes from the boom to the bust, cannot be tested because of weaknesses in the historical records predating 1850. Although the 1840 Federal Census provides some agricultural statistics, they are difficult to compare with later years because some measures are not only less reliable but also taken differently. The most serious problem with the 1840 data is that only total acreage is given, with no information on improved acreage, which is needed to identify farmland rather than simply total land ownership.

Hypothesis 7, which examines changes from the bust to the recovery, can be examined, however, since more detailed agricultural statistics are given in the 1850 and 1860 Federal Agricultural Censuses. (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1854, 1864) Since little detailed information and no quantitative information is available on the agricultural practices of this period, production figures will be used as a measure of intensification. The use of production figures is reasonable, since intensification, which included planting more crops per acre, increased use of draft animals, improvements in technology, increased use of fertilizer, and improvements in soil conservation, is a major cause of production increases (Moore 1988).

Hypothesis 7 states that more intensive agricultural methods should have increased during the recovery phase of the 1850s as the county became even more densely settled and the price of land increased. The 1850 and 1860 agricultural census will be utilized to examine this hypothesis.

The first test implication is that an increase in improved acreage and in the ratio of improved to unimproved acreage should have occurred between 1850 and 1860. This would result from the opening of new land and the continued use of previously opened

land . In 1850 improved land consisted of 126,998 acres or 43.4% of the total owned acreage of the county. In 1860, there were 167,373 improved acres, which was 52% of the total owned acreage. This represents a 32% increase in improved acreage and a large increase in the ratio of improved to unimproved acreage. The absolute amount of unimproved acreage decreased 8% over the decade.

The second test implication is that the absolute production and production per improved acre of cotton should have increased significantly between 1850 and 1860, and that the increase should not be associated with a large decrease in the production of other major crops. Production per improved acreage gives an indication of how intensively cultivated land was being used.

Table 4.14 presents production figures, and production per improved acre for the major crops grown in Lowndes County in 1850 and 1860. The cotton production figures demonstrate a large absolute increase (239%) as well as large increases per improved acre (157%). At the same time, improvements were also made in the absolute and per acre production of corn and other major crops, except for oats. Since oats were never a particularly large or important crop, this decline had little impact on cotton production figures.

Since the number of horses/mules and slaves per improved acre (.04 and .10, respectively) did not increase significantly from 1850, intensification came in other areas. In fact, production per slave also increased tremendously between 1850 (466 pounds per slave) and 1860 (1225 pounds per slave). Yields were increased at this time through improvements in farm implementation and processing equipment, improvements in planting and cultivating practices, such as deep plowing, increased use of cotton seed as a fertilizer, and improvements in cotton breeding (Moore 1988). Improvements in farm implements in Lowndes County is illustrated by the 66% increase in the value of implements per farm between 1850 ($179) and 1860 ($297) (U.S. Census of Agriculture 1854, 1864). Crop rotation, along with contour plowing, ditching, and fertilization, became more important in

the 1850s, as soil exhaustion and erosion became more critical (Doster and Weaver 1981:62; Moore 1988:30-36). The large increase in legume production between 1850 an 1860, from 6439 bushels to 55,318 bushels, probably illustrates the increased use of pea plants to enhance the soil. Peas and corn would be planted together every third of fourth year to rejuvenate cotton fields (Bonner 1964; Moore 1958, 1988; Smith 1958).

Table 4.14. Agricultural Production, Lowndes County, 1850-1860.

Crop	1850		1860	
	N	per improved acre	N	per improved acre
Cotton (lbs)	6050800	47.64	20493600	122.44
Corn (bu)	871864	6.87	1157271	6.91
Oats (bu)	41120	.32	2608	.02
Potato(bu)	99432	.78	124387	.74

Source: U.S. Census of Agriculture (1854, 1864).

The results of the above tests strongly support the agricultural methods hypothesis and illustrate a large increase in the production of cotton, absolutely and per acre, from 1850 to 1860. These increases were primarily the result of a change toward much more intensive agricultural methods from the early 1850s to 1860.

CHAPTER 5

TOWN DEVELOPMENT IN LOWNDES COUNTY

Introduction

The settlement pattern of a region is interwoven with its economic organization and therefore can be a very sensitive indication of the level and processes of development of that area. In this chapter, the town settlement patterns and town services within Lowndes County, Mississippi will be investigated. This investigation will focus on the period of 1833 to ca. 1860, which meets the preconditions of the Boom-Bust Model. Ten hypotheses (Hypotheses 8-17) will be examined in this chapter. These hypotheses focus on town speculation, town settlement patterns, the hierarchy of towns, and the stores, goods, and services available in the towns. The examination of these hypotheses will be generally organized by the different cycles of the model: Boom, Bust, and Recovery. An exception is the examination of the last three hypotheses (Hypotheses 15-17), which deal with the diversity of stores, services, and goods. This discussion is placed separately, at the end of the chapter, since different data are utilized.

Pre-Boom Town Development

Before proceeding in the examination of these hypotheses on town development, some background on eastern Lowndes County is needed to provide context. As discussed above in Chapter 3, the eastern half of Lowndes and its parent county, Monroe,

had been settled by Euro-Americans since the late 1810s. By the early 1820s, there were three nucleated towns in old Monroe County. Two of these towns were founded in the late 1810s before the government land sales. These were Cotton Gin Port at the northern end of Monroe County, and Columbus, originally called Possum Town, in the southern half of Monroe County (Figure 5.1). Both of these towns were located at the intersection of the major trails with the Tombigbee River. Cotton Gin Port was on Gaines' Trace, while Columbus sat astride the Warrior Trail and on what would soon become Jackson's Military Road and the Robinson Road. Both of these towns developed as river ports and trading centers, with a clientele consisting of both new Euro-American settlers and Indians from west of the river.

By 1820, Columbus had a population of 109 and was already twice as large as Cotton Gin Port, which had only 49 residents (U.S. Manuscript Census, N.E. Mississippi, 1820). Columbus had a number of advantages over Cotton Gin Port, including its downstream position on the Tombigbee, the greater fertility of the surrounding region, and its position on more heavily travelled roads. Cotton Gin Port's location on the northern, less navigable, portion of the Tombigbee would be a major problem throughout its history.

Both Cotton Gin Port and Columbus were platted in the 1820s and both contained numerous service related businesses, including general stores, taverns, inns, stables, and warehouses, as well as doctors and lawyers. Columbus, however, had more stores and by 1821 it also had a school (Rodabough 1985:2).

After Monroe County was formed in 1821, a location for its seat of government had to be chosen. Both Columbus and Cotton Gin Port vied for this honor. But, since neither one was located near the center of the county and because competitive feelings ran high throughout the county, a more neutral position was chosen just north of the Buttahatchie River. The new county seat was named Hamilton.

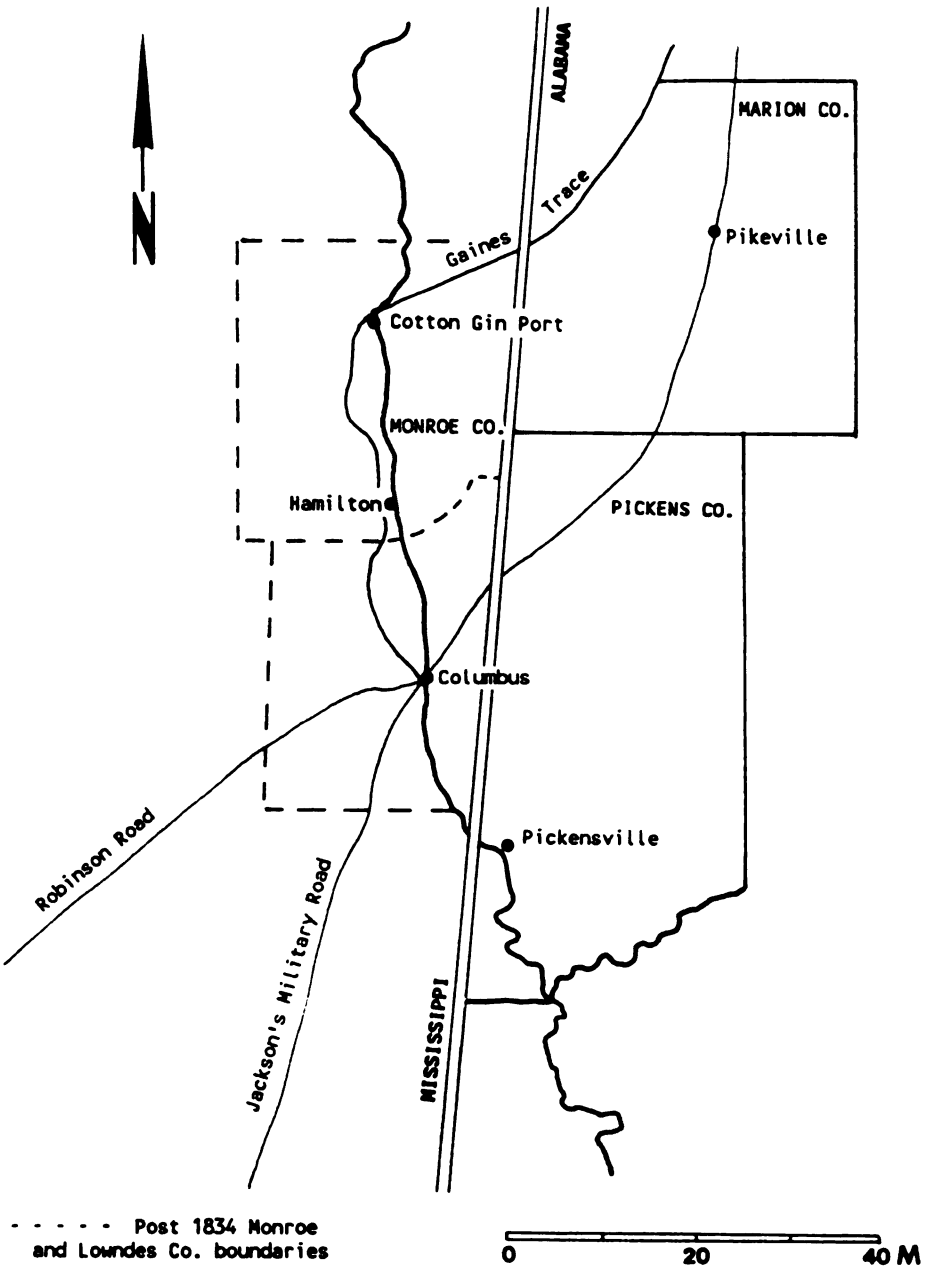


Figure 5.1. Monroe County, Mississippi, and Surrounding Area, early 1820s.

Hamilton was never much more than an administrative center. No more than two or three stores were located there and its population never exceeded 100 to 150 people (Rodabough 1985:34-35). The town's location off the river greatly hindered its commercial development. Throughout the 1820s no real town speculation occurred in Monroe County. The towns that were founded tended to grow gradually. As was noted in Chapter 3, this was related to the low cotton prices and only moderate flow of immigrants to the area during this time.

By 1830, Columbus had about 400 people, while Cotton Gin Port was probably no more than half of this size (Rodabough 1985:27). Hamilton never grew beyond its early 100-150 population level (Rodabough 1985:34-35). Columbus' position in the region was strengthened in 1830 when it became the county seat of the newly formed Lowndes County. In 1833, Columbus became the land office for the Choctaw Cession, a designation that further enhanced its position an made it a natural jumping off point and supply center for new settlers. The development of Lowndes County and Upper Tombigbee towns between 1833 and 1860 will now be investigated.

Boom Period Town Development

As was discussed in Chapter 3 and 4 above, the boom began in 1833 with a rise in cotton prices and with the opening of the Choctaw Cession lands. Between fall 1832 and fall 1833, the average price of cotton increased 46% to 14.7 cents a pound. This boom continued until the fall of 1839, when cotton prices declined to an average of 9.1 cents a pound (Gray 1933:1027). The boom was interrupted, however, in 1837 by a financial panic, which hindered investment and led to a temporary drop in cotton prices.

The first hypothesis to be examined (Hypothesis 8) states that during the boom of the 1830s, a large number of towns should have been established in Lowndes County,

particularly on the western side of the Tombigbee River, and due to the optimism and speculative nature of this period, most of these speculative towns should have been relatively large and nucleated. For this hypothesis to be verified, a large number of new towns should have appeared on maps, in deeds, and mentioned in other records dating between 1833 and 1840. The deeds, plats and advertisements from this period should indicate that the town plans were large and optimistic.

Historic records from the 1830s indicate that five speculative towns were established in Lowndes County and promoted during the boom of the 1830s (Figure 5.2) (Burr Map of Mississippi 1839; Clay County Deed Books D-G; Columbus Democrat April 6, 1836; Gwin and Dougharty Map of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, and Arkansas 1838; Lipscomb 1909:68, 70; Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes 1833-1839; Lowndes County Deed Books 5-31; Laws of Mississippi 1836-1839; Map of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama 1837; Southern Argus December 17, 1836, September 26, 1837). All of these towns, except one, were established in the new western land, particularly on the west bank of the Tombigbee River, or on one of its west side tributaries. As Weaver (1986:4) states, "towns with the best prospect of success in terms of lot sales were those on the west bank of a river through which would flow settlers moving to new lands toward the west, and commodities seeking an outlet from those newly settled land to the outside world."

The most prominent speculative towns in western Lowndes County were Colbert, Plymouth, and West Port (Figure 5.2). All of these towns were on the west bank of the Tombigbee River and all were quite ambitious.

The original plat of Colbert had over 100 blocks and it was viewed as a future rival to Columbus (Figure 6.2). Colbert was vigorously promoted after its founding in December 1835, with advertisements such as:

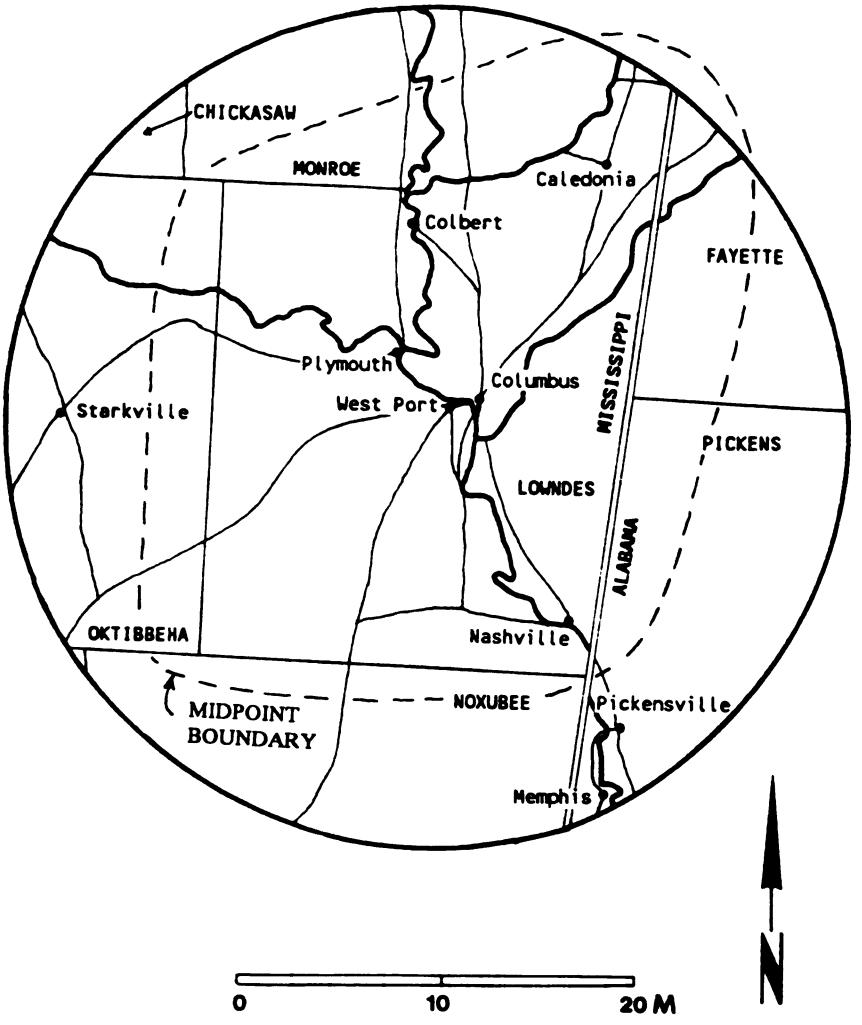


Figure 5.2. Towns in Lowndes County, circa 1839.

> [Colbert] is situated on an elevated Bluff on the Tombecbee River... It occupies a beautiful open plain -- is well supplied with a number of pure, never-failing springs; and is continuous to the large and fertile prairies....The Bluffs on both sides of the river are the best known on the river above Columbus. Colbert is nearly in a direct line between Pontitoc and Columbus; of course the great thoroughfare from Memphis via Pontitoc to Columbus, Tuscaloosa, etc. must necessarily cross the river at this point.
>
> The lands in the adjacent country are of a superior quality, and as the title to the same are now confirming, it is certain that a dense population will soon be dependent upon Colbert for their supplies (Columbus Democrat, August 6, 1836.)

This advertisement points out three important considerations related to a town's future prospects, namely its topographic situation, its situation with respect to transportation, and the prospects of the site for generating trade (see Weaver 1986:4). By the middle to late 1830s, Colbert had attained a population of 100 to 150 people, and it contained four to five stores, numerous artisan shops, a hotel, a school, warehouses, a voting precinct, a militia company, and a post office (Elliott 1978a:48-54; Laws of Mississippi 1838; Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1837-1839).

Plymouth was founded about 1833, at the confluence of Oktibbeha (Tibbee) Creek and the Tombigbee. It had an ambitious plat containing 56 blocks (Prout 1973:84). During the 1830s Plymouth contained two to three general stores, and inn and tavern, a brickyard, at least one cotton warehouse, a silversmith shop, other artisan shops, a horse mill, an academy, a voting precinct, and a post office (Elliott 1978a:22; Prout 1973:66; Rodabough 1985:30). In 1836, Plymouth was incorporated (Laws of Mississippi 1836). Plymouth was well situated relative to transportation routes. It had access to two navigable streams and it sat upon a major road, the Old Choctaw-Chickasaw Trail (Elliott 1978a:20). The position on Tibbee Creek allowed Plymouth to tap not only west-central Lowndes planters, but also those in Oktibbeha County (Elliott 1978a:22). The peak population of Plymouth is difficult to estimate, but it was probably comparable to that of Colbert (Rodabough 1985:130).

Perhaps the most ambitious of all the speculative towns in Lowndes County was West Port. It was established on the west bank of the Tombigbee just above Columbus, in 1835. West Port's plat was the largest of the speculative towns and contained 103 in-blocks (including fractional blocks) and 28 out-blocks (Figure 5.3). During the middle and late 1830s West Port had two or three stores, two warehouses, a post office, and an inn and tavern (Elliott 1978a:5-7; Lowndes County Property Rolls 1837-40; Rodabough 1985:30). The population of West Port at this time is difficult to estimate, but it may not have been as large as Colbert or Plymouth (Elliott (1978a:7).

One other speculative town in western Lowndes County which was founded, but which never succeeded in becoming a nucleated town was Waverly. Waverly, originally known as Mullen's Bluff, was a river landing established just south of Colbert in 1836. In 1839 Waverly was platted and lots were put up for sale (Adams 1980:80). Although the plat was not large (22 blocks), Waverly's promoters must have expected a significant town to develop (Figure 5.4). Because of its late founding toward the end of the boom and competition from other towns, Waverly never developed into a nucleated town. In remained only a hamlet and river landing throughout its history.

The only speculative town to develop on the east bank of the river was Nashville. Nashville, which was located at an old hamlet known as Young's Bluff, was platted in 1834. The size of this plat is unknown, but Nimrod Nash purchased 290 acres in this locale, presumably to develop into the town (Elliott 1988). By the middle 1830s Nashville contained three general merchandise stores, a number of artisan shops, warehouses, and a post office (Rodabough 1985:29). It was designated a voting precinct in 1834 (Lowndes County Board of Police Minutes 1834).

Another town that developed in the eastern half of Lowndes County, but it does not follow the pattern of the speculative towns. This was Caledonia, which was located in the northeastern part of the county. It evolved more gradually and was never promoted or platted. The number of facilities, however, which included a bank, a tanyard, a shoe and

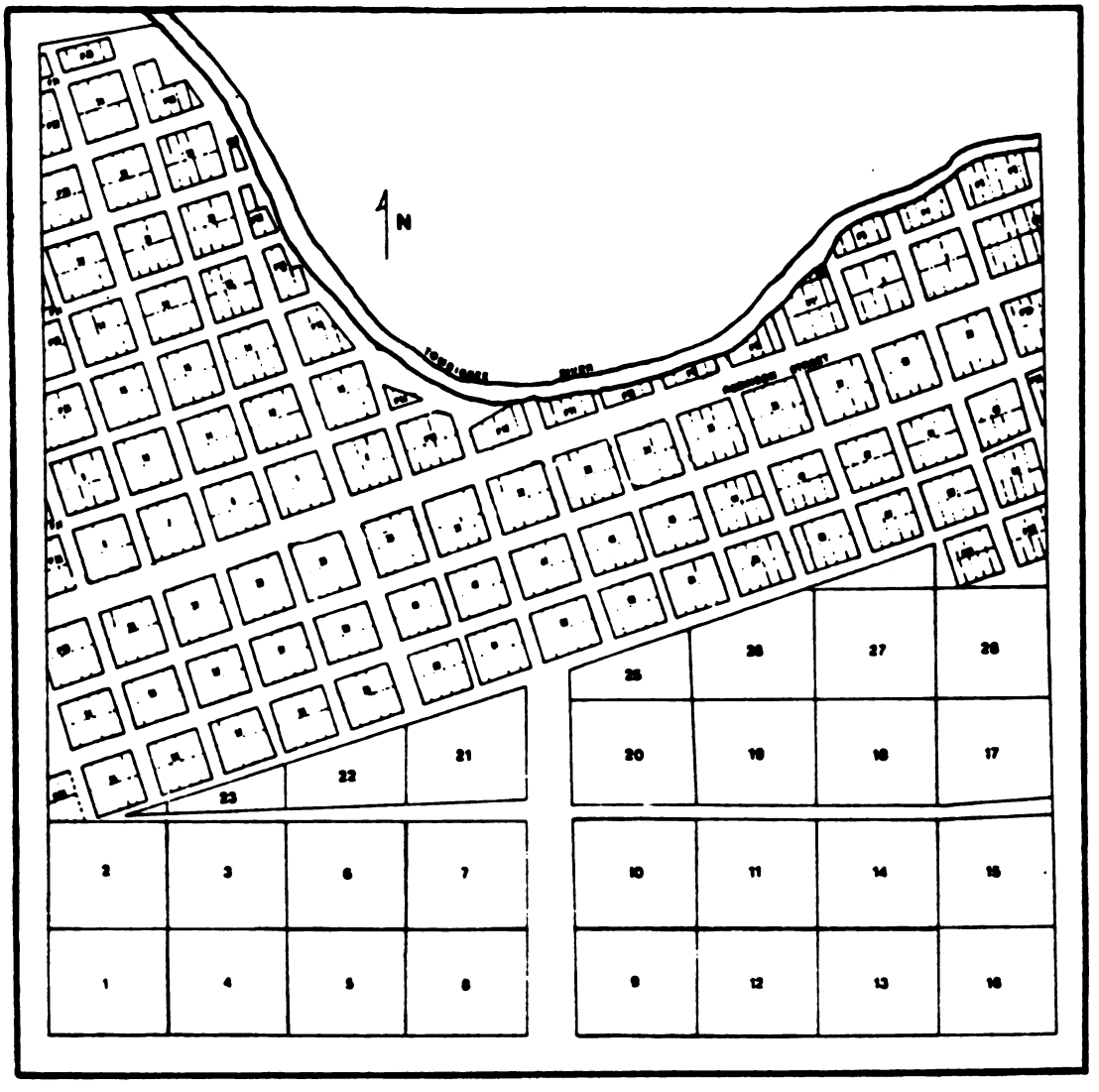


Figure 5.3. Plat of West Port.

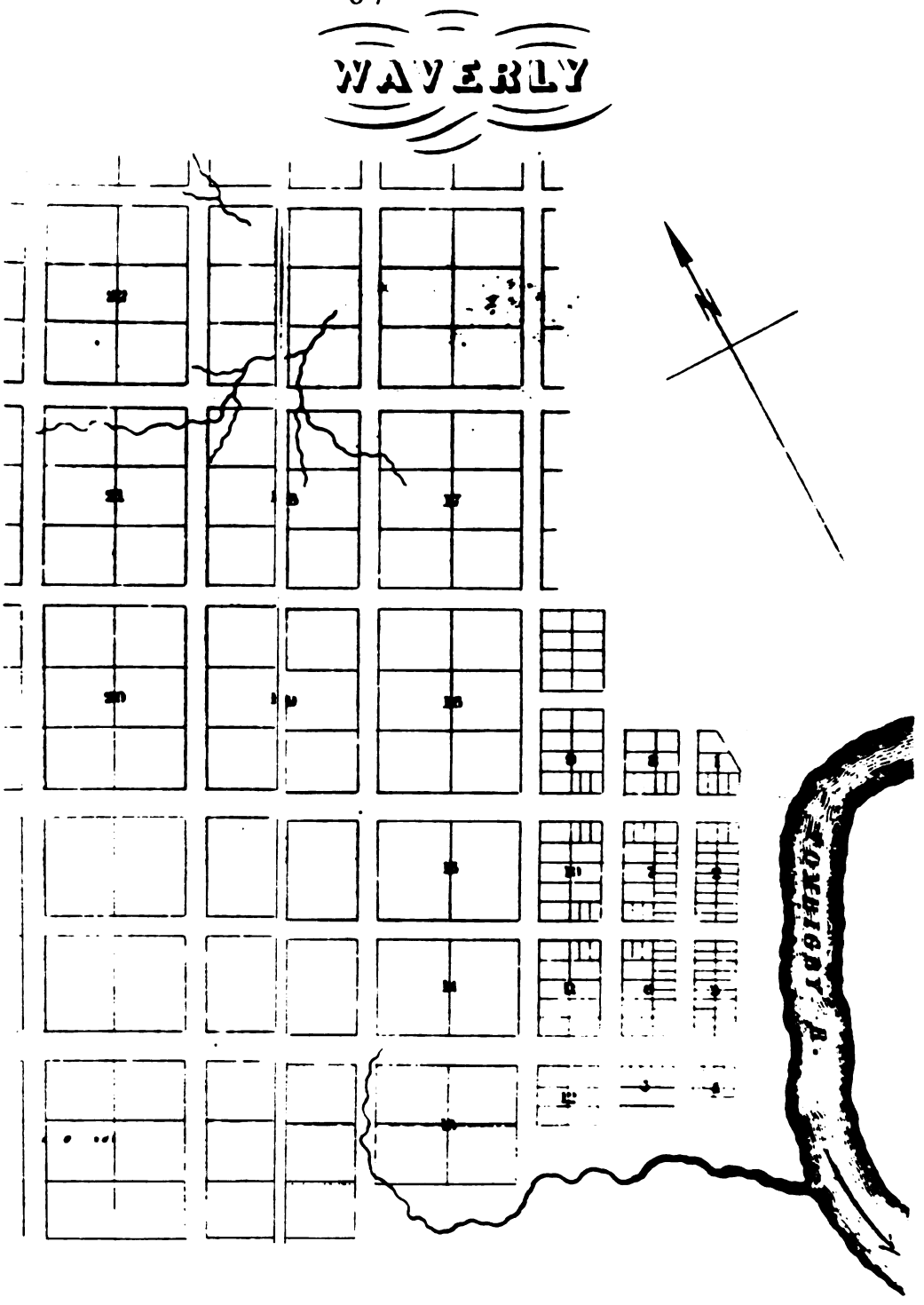


Figure 5.4. Plat of Waverly

hat factory, a couple of stores, and a warehouse, indicated that Caledonia was a town (Wood 1925:17; WPA Lowndes County n.d.). Caledonia, fits Adkin's (1972) "typical town", level which is basically an enlarged and more nucleated cross roads settlement.

Of course, numerous smaller settlements were also created in the 1830s. There were hamlets located at cross roads, river landings, and at the intersection of roads and navigable streams. Most of the new hamlets were established west of the Tombigbee. These settlements usually contained, at most, a store, a warehouse, a blacksmith shop, and a few dwellings. No speculation or promotion accompanied the development of these central places. Some of the better known hamlets established after 1830 include Lowndesville, Moore's Bluff, Cedar Creek, and Dailey's Crossroads.

From the above discussion it is apparent that town development in Lowndes County during the 1830s closely followed the prediction in the test implications for Hypothesis 8. Five speculative towns were founded and promoted in Lowndes County during this period. Although these towns had differential success, all were created with high expectations and ambitious plans.

The second town related hypothesis (Hypothesis 9) states that due to lessened competition and immature nature of the initial boom period, the distribution of towns in the middle to late 1830s should be relatively random in relation to each other. The premise of this hypothesis is that the location chosen for the speculative towns usually was not always strongly influenced by the location of other towns. Towns, rather than hamlets or landings, are used because they are more sensitive to the changes in the Boom-Bust cycle and because the identification and location of all hamlets within the county is difficult if not impossible. Since Waverly never developed beyond a hamlet level, it is not included in this analysis.

This hypothesis was derived from Hudson's (1969) model of frontier settlement. Like some other tests of Hudson's model done in the past, the nearest neighbor technique will be utilized here (see Lewis 1984; Swedlund 1975). This technique requires the

calculation of a mean observed distance between nearest neighbor points and expected mean distances (from number of points and total area), and finally the ratios of the two (R). When R = 1, this indicates random spacing of points. When R is between 0 and 1 the distribution is approaching "clustered", and when R is between 1 and 2.15 the distribution is approaching regular or even spacing (Lloyd and Dicken 1977:66).

Before proceeding with the analysis, one commonly cited problem with the nearest neighbor method needs to be discussed and resolved. This is the "boundary effect." This problem has two aspects. The first aspect is exactly where one draws the boundary for a study area. Unless there are dramatic natural boundaries such as high mountains or an ocean, the study area will have to be chosen by the researcher. The size of the area studied can change the results, since the expected distance between points is based on the total area and the nearest neighbor statistic is observed distance divided by expected distance. For instance, an isolated cluster of settlements may be regularly spaced within a small area but clustered within a larger area (Hodder and Orton 1979:41). This problem requires researchers to define whether they are examining a pattern within a region or throughout the whole region (Hodder and Orton 1979:41). The primary solution to this aspect of the boundary problem is simply for the researcher to choose the study area carefully in accordance with the aims of the study (Hammond and McCullagh 1978; Hodder and Orton 1979; Getis 1964).

The second aspect to the boundary effect problem is the potential distortion imposed by points near the boundary of an area. This problem can be considerable in cases where a large proportion of points are located near the boundary (Hodder and Orton 1979:41). The substance of this problem is that the actual nearest neighbors of the edge points and their area of influence may be outside the boundary of the study area. Limiting measurements to within the boundary will produce a larger nearest neighbor value than if the actual nearest neighbors are measured (Clark and Evans 1954; Hodder and Orton 1979:42).

Two primary solutions to this aspect of boundary problems have been suggested. The first is that the actual nearest neighbors to points within the study area should be measured even if they are outside the boundary (Clark and Evans 1954; Getis and Boots 1978; King 1962). The second solution suggested is to drop those points in the study area which are closer to the boundary than they are to their nearest neighbor (Dacey 1963; Peebles 1978). Both of these methods reduce the distortion of the boundary effect. Both methods create some distortion, however, since they alter the actual number of points per area. This distortion can be reduced by choosing the study area carefully so that a proportion of points near the edge, or at least with nearest neighbors outside the study area, is low.

At any given year, Lowndes County had a high proportion of its towns near its border, and some with nearest neighbors outside the county. Therefore, a boundary problem is present in the study area (Figures 5.2 and 5.9). Because the sample of towns within the county is so small, the removal of towns near the border would severely distort the nature of settlement. Therefore, this methods is not used and the second alternative is used. Again, in this second alternative, if the nearest neighbor of a given individual point lies outside the specified area, this distance is measured. However, no individual points lying outside the specified area should be used as a center of measurement (Clark and Evans 1954:449-451).

Choosing the boundaries for this study is difficult since no natural boundaries exist. In this study, three separate boundaries will be used. The first is the county, itself. Because a number of county towns have nearest neighbors outside the county or are near the county edge, two additional study areas will be used. The second study area has a boundary created by drawing a line halfway between the edge towns and the closest town outside the county. This method approximated the hinterlands of each town (Hammond and McCullagh 1978:276). Since change over time is this issue under investigation here, a single boundary will be utilized. This boundary is measured from the furthest extended

towns for each side of the county. This system allows for the greatest possible area to be used in the calculations.

The third study area utilized is a circle extending out from the center of Lowndes County. The edge of the circle was subjectively chosen to include Lowndes County and all nearest neighbors to Lowndes County towns. In the four years studied below, a nearest neighbor of all towns fell outside the boundary only once. The use of a circular area, which is common in nearest neighbor analysis (Getis 1964), also enhances the comparability of this study with Swedlund's (1975) test of Hudson's model. Swedlund's study also examined the changing distribution of towns.

In order to support Hypothesis 9, a ratio (R) falling close to 1 should be the result of the nearest neighbor calculation on Lowndes County towns. Between 1836 and 1839, which includes the boom period after both the Chickasaw and Choctaw land sales had begun, there were six nucleated towns in Lowndes County. These included Columbus, Caledonia, Nashville, West Port, Plymouth, and Colbert.

The R value for the above six towns is 1.02 and .84, utilizing the county borders and the mid-points as the boundary, respectively. An R value of .95 was calculated from the nine towns in the circle. The three additional towns are the Pickens County, Alabama river towns of Pickensville and Memphis, where were founded circa 1819 and 1830, respectively, and Starkville, the county seat of Oktibbeha County (Figure 5.2). The R values from the county and the circle tend to confirm the hypothesis, while the R value from the mid-point area does not. This last value suggests a clustered pattern, which is due to the close proximity of three towns, Plymouth, West Port, and Columbus, on the river in the center of Lowndes County. The wider boundaries of the mid-point area is the reason that its R value is less than the county area. Which one of these methods is a more accurate representation of settlement patterns, or whether one is better than another, is unclear. Given the requirement of a uniform study area for Hudson's model, a clustered pattern is not unexpected given the presence of the Tombigbee River. The mid-point area

method may be more accurate. The circle includes a larger area in which the relative importance of the Tombigbee River is slightly reduced.

The third hypothesis related to town development in the boom is Hypothesis 10, which states that during the boom of the 1830s, the town hierarchy should have been relatively simple and with a dominant "Frontier Town," in terms of size and services, which is located in the earliest settled part of the region. The first test implication of this hypothesis is that the sizes and services of the boom phase central places should indicate a hierarchy with only a few different levels.

A variation of the central place classification system proposed for the Upper Tombigbee Valley by Weaver and Doster (1982) will be utilized here. Weaver and Doster's central place classification system was based on both the range of services offered by a center and the size of its hinterland. A four level hierarchy resulted: 1) a regional center; 2) subregional centers (including other county seats and some larger trade towns); 3) local centers (including other trade towns); and 4) neighborhood centers (consisting of rural hamlets) (Weaver and Doster 1982:92). On purely functional grounds, however, there is a problem in Weaver and Doster's lumping of the county seats with the larger trade towns in the subregional level. While the economic hinterlands of many county seats and larger trade towns may have been similar, the important administrative functions of county seats were not present in the trade towns. Therefore, these will be split into subregional administrative and subregional trade centers.

Another change from Weaver and Doster's system is the addition of another central place level between the regional and subregional centers -- the super subregional center. As will be shown below, one town greatly surpassed all other towns, other than the regional center, in size, services, and hinterland. The classification system here is directed toward plantation regions where little or no industrialization occurs. The differences between communities is often one of scale rather than absolute function, since with the exception of county seats, all were trade communities.

The central place hierarchy utilized here is somewhat of an ideal. More discussion of variation within levels will be provided as the study continues. Comparisons of the Lowndes County and Upper Tombigbee settlement hierarchy and the settlement aspect of the Casagrande et al.'s (1964) model will also be provided in the discussions to follow.

Within Lowndes County during the middle to late 1830s, central place sizes, services, and hinterland size suggest that there were three different levels of central places within Lowndes County: a regional center county seat, local centers (nucleated towns), and neighborhood centers (rural hamlets). The regional center and county seat, Columbus, with a population of 1,623 by 1835 and about 2,000 by 1840, contained more people than all other Lowndes County towns combined and was much larger than any other regional towns (Doster and Weaver 1981:80). The presence of the federal land office, commission merchants, four banks, five churches, two newspapers, a wide variety of specialized stores and services, and county government separated Columbus from other county and regional towns. As the discussion below will demonstrate, Columbus qualified as a "Frontier Town" in the Casagrande et al. (1964) model discussed in Chapter 2.

The local centers of the county during the boom, Caledonia, Colbert, Plymouth, Nashville, and West Port, were all relatively similar in size and functions. These towns generally had populations of roughly 100 to 150 persons, and contained a post office, a warehouse, a school, a church, a blacksmith shop, a carpentry shop, two to four general merchandise stores, and a voting precinct (Elliott 1978a; Rodabough 1985; Wood 1925). The main variation between these towns is their location on or off the Tombigbee River. Only Caledonia was off the river, but it's location on the junction of a major road, with a short road connection to a river landing, and its services, which were similar to the other nucleated towns, suggests that it is approximately the same level as the river towns.

These towns match Casagrande et al.'s (1964) "nucleated settlement" which is defined as a smaller (than the Frontier Town) central place which contains a cluster of

households, a few small stores, a church, and a school. These communities only provide goods and services to their immediate locate (Casagrande et al. 1964).

The third level of central places in Lowndes County at this time were neighborhood centers or hamlets such as Waverly, Lowndesville, Mayhew, Swearengens Moore's Bluff, Cedar Creek, and Dailey's Crossroads. These communities generally contained one general merchandise store, a gin or mill, a warehouse, a blacksmith shop, and perhaps a physician, and were fairly dispersed in their layout (Weaver and Doster 1982). These communities match Casagrande et al.'s (1964) semi-nucleated communities level, which are defined as a small cluster of houses or buildings, one of which is used as a store. The store usually serves only a small hinterland. In some case, a mill, a school, or a church may also be present.

The central place system in Lowndes County at this time contained three levels. This pattern is simpler than the system found after the railroad arrived (see below). The first test implication, therefore, is supported.

If the study area is expanded to the entire Upper Tombigbee region, one additional level should be added. This includes subregional-administrative centers, the other county seat towns, which should be placed at a level between Columbus and the local centers. The administrative functions of the county seat towns separate them from other nucleated towns, even though they generally contained only 100 to 200 people, like the nucleated towns (Mitlin 1875; Weaver and Doster 1982). None of these other county seat towns were comparable to Columbus in size or variety of services.

Two towns, Cotton Gin Port, and Aberdeen, in Monroe County, were somewhat larger than the other nucleated towns in the region. Each contained 200 to 400 people by the end of the boom. The types of services in these towns, however, were generally the same as the other nucleated towns of the boom, so they will be kept at the local center level. The regional central place hierarchy during the 1830s, therefore, consisted of four

levels and was simpler than that found in later periods, when at least six levels can be identified. Thus, the test implication is still supported.

The second test implication for Hypothesis 10 is that there should be one town during the boom period of the 1830s which was much larger and had a dominance in stores and services in relation to other communities in the county or region. From the above discussion, it should be apparent that the most dominant town in the county and region was Columbus. This dominance should be reflected in a much larger population than in other towns and a great concentration of merchandise sold during the boom. The merchandise sold by all stores in the county is given in the property tax rolls. The location of each store was determined through census and deed research as well as the use of numerous secondary sources or reminiscences, including Elliott (1978a, 1988), Evans (1979), Lipscomb (1909), Prout (1973), Rodabough (1971-1975, 1985), and Wood (1925).

Columbus' development into a regional center or "Frontier Town" can be observed in a great population increase between 1832, before the western lands were open, and 1835, after the Choctaw sales began. Between these three years, the population of Columbus increased 237%, from 481 to 1,623 (Columbus Democrat, September 25, 1856). The number of stores and shops increased from three or four in the late 1820s to 28 in 1836 (Lowndes County Property Rolls 1837; Monroe County Property Rolls 1827-29). The population of Columbus at this time was more than that of all other towns in Lowndes County combined, and much more than that of any town in the region. The next largest towns in the region, Cotton Gin Port and Aberdeen, only had populations of about 200 to 400 people by the late 1830s (Evans 1979). The other county seats only contained 100 to 200 people at this time (Mitlin 1975; Weaver and Doster 1982).

The dominance of Columbus in merchantile activities within Lowndes County can be seen by examining the concentration of merchandise sold during the boom period. Between 1833, after the southwest side of the river had opened, and 1838, 72% to 87%

of the merchandise sold in Lowndes County was sold by Columbus merchants (calculated from Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1834-1839) (Table 5.1).

Figure 5.5 illustrates the changing proportion of Lowndes County merchandise sold in Columbus. As can be seen, while Columbus' proportion remained high, it declined somewhat between 1834 and 1836. This corresponds with the growth of the other nuclear towns, particularly the speculative towns whose proportion of sales increased from 9% in 1833 to between 14% and 22% in 1834-1836. In 1837, Columbus' dominance within Lowndes County increased. This was the year of the financial panic, the Panic of 1837, precipitated by Jackson's Specie Circular. The smaller towns, especially the speculative ones, were more severely impacted by the crisis than Columbus. The sales in the speculative towns dropped from 9% to 5% of Lowndes County's total sales between 1836 and 1837. In 1838, the economy improved and the sales in the speculative towns increased to 7% of the county sales. By 1839, the effects of declining cotton prices were beginning to effect the pattern of sales. More discussion on these changes will be given in the Bust phase section below.

Since, by definition, the importance of a Frontier Town should extend beyond a single county's boundary, a larger sample is needed to better examine this test implication. The sample is enlarged by adding merchantile data for Monroe County stores. Monroe County is located just north of Lowndes County and was the most populous county in the Upper Tombigbee Region. Significantly, Monroe was the only other county in the region with towns of any size. These towns included Cotton Gin Port, which was a rival of Columbus in the 1820s, and Aberdeen, which was the most successful of the Black Prairie towns.

From 1833 to 1838, the proportion of sales in Columbus ranged from 53% to 69% of the two county region (Table 5.2). The next largest proportion of sales was 25% for Cotton Gin Port in 1833, before western Monroe had opened to Euro-American settlement. Figure 5.6 illustrates changes in the proportion of sales in Columbus, Cotton

Table 5.1. Lowndes County Merchandise Sold.

YEAR	Total Lowndes Co Sales	Columbus Sales	% Columbus Sales are of whole county sales	Speculative towns sales	% Spec. town sales are of whole county sales
1834	152585	130118	85	10984	7
1835	290052	208752	72	41222	14
1835	366135	268191	73	32139	9
1836	631292	481842	76	61500	9
1837	596220	517430	87	27450	5
1838	551212	443712	80	38700	7
1839	468636	402936	86	33000	7
1840	357169	317492	89	22299	6
1842	302855	273723	90	25859	6
1850	537131	468220	87	2500	.4
1852	689374	596282	86	4000	.5
1856	709466	596722	84	0	0
1858	814602	633851	78	1467	.2

Table 5.2. Lowndes and Monroe County Merchandise Sold.

YEAR	Total Lowndes and Monroe Co Sales (combined)	Columbus Sales	% Col Sales are of two county region	Cotton Gin Port (CGP) Sales	% CGP sales are of two county region	Aberdeen Sales	% Aber sales are of two county region
1821	47004	19754	42	20500	44	0	0
1822	52525	27334	52	19082	36	0	0
1823	74533	30827	41	41000	55	0	0
1824	68675	38075	55	23400	34	0	0
1826	79634	27604	35	22240	28	0	0
1827	65811	34122	52	18562	28	0	0
1828	48317	19159	40	16732	35	0	0
1832	236867	152517	64	54328	23	0	0
1833	243529	130118	53	60398	25	0	0
1834	402828	208752	52	70498	17	0	0
1835	496825	268191	54	75342	15	0	0
1836	860369	481842	56	107919	12	56750	6
1837	768381	517430	67	49678	6	53725	7
1838	645794	443712	69	8055	1	37500	6
1839	499375	402936	79	2058	.4	9800	2
1840	421062	317492	73	6434	1.5	24586	6
1852	1447024	596282	41	14951	1	603464	42
1856	1189603	596722	50	53730	4.5	381745	32

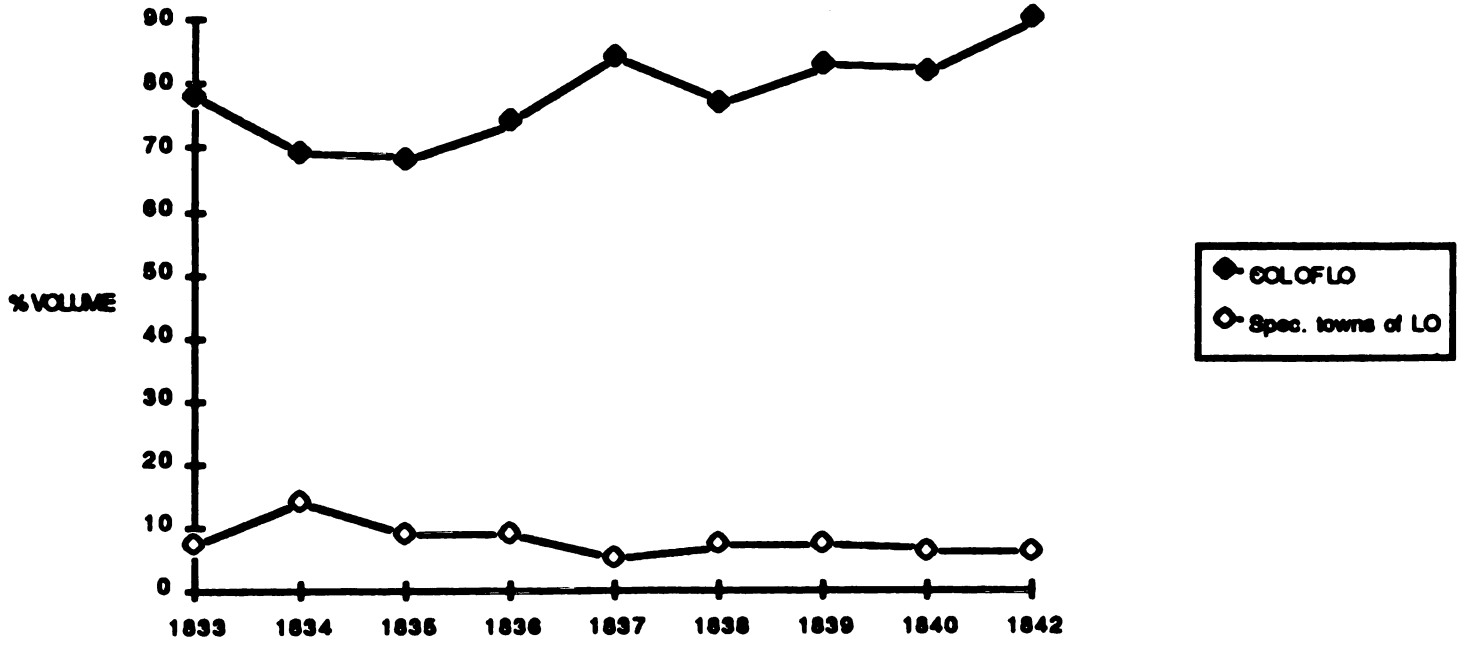


Figure 5.5. Share of Sales, Columbus and Speculative Towns, 1833-42.

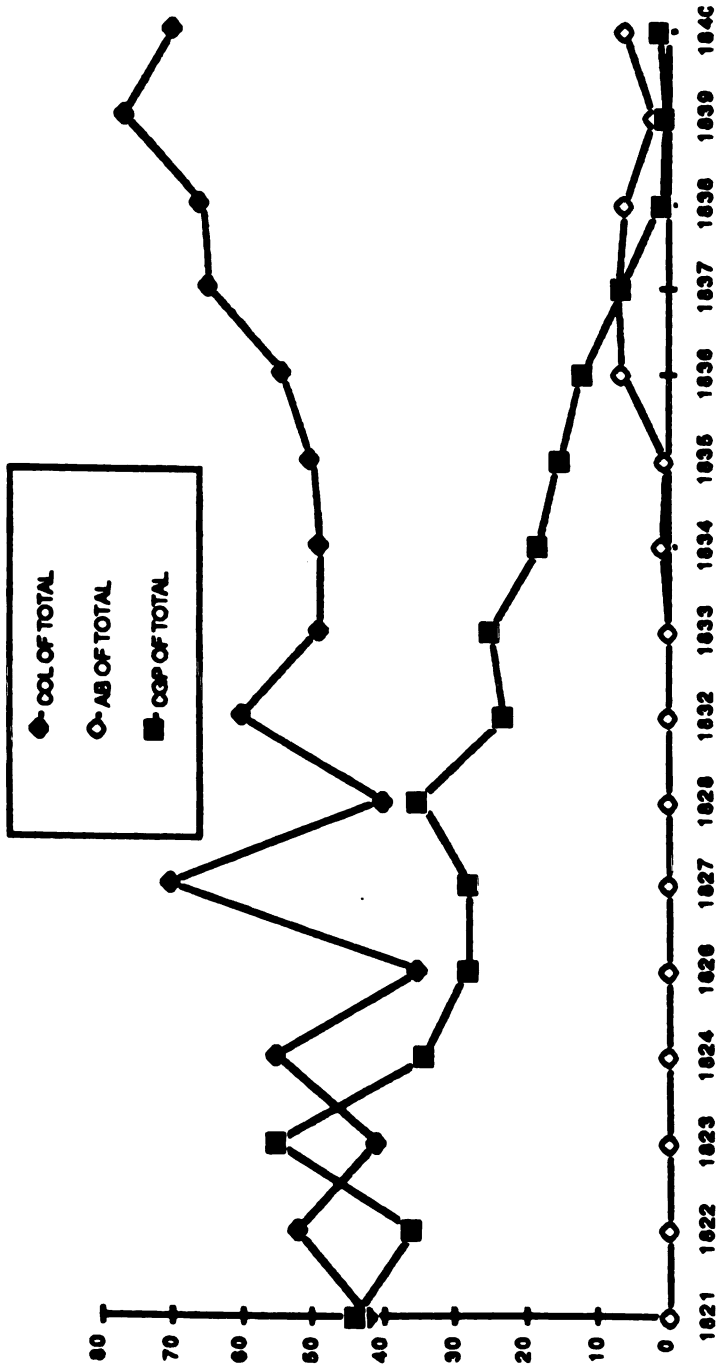


Figure 5.6. Share of Sales, Columbus, Aberdeen, Cotton Gin Port, 1821-40.

Gin Port, and Aberdeen. The dominance of Columbus was maintained throughout the whole boom period; while the proportion of sales which occurred at Cotton Gin Port declined greatly. The largest jumps with regards to Columbus were in 1837, the year of the panic, and in 1839, the beginning of the cotton price decline and the bust. The greater proportion of sales in Columbus in 1832 is due to the fact that the western side was yet to open. The dominance of Columbus' proportion of sales between 1833 and 1838 reflects the earlier opening of the Choctaw lands of western Monroe, as well as the more prosperous plantation nature of Lowndes County. Lowndes County overall has better soil than Monroe County.

It is interesting to observe the proportion of sales in Columbus and Cotton Gin Port in the 1820s (Figure 5.6, Table 5.2). The competition for supremacy between the two is clearly visible. At this time, the Upper Tombigbee region was on the outer edge of the frontier, and neither town met the criteria of a Frontier Town. By 1832, Columbus began to exert its dominance. As the western lands were opened during the 1830s boom, the proportion of sales in the two towns diverged greatly, as Columbus was firmly established as the regional center, or Frontier Town, for the Upper Tombigbee Valley. Cotton Gin Port's relative decline, again, was related to its location further north in the less navigable reaches of the Tombigbee River in an area which contained less rich agricultural area.

Bust Period Town Development

The analysis now shifts to the bust period. As was discussed in Chapter 3, the bust began with a drop in cotton prices from 13 cents a pound in the winter of 1839 to 9.1 cents a pound in the fall of 1839 (Gray 1933:1027). The price of cotton generally continued to decline, until 1846 when, with the exception of late 1848, prices began a

gradual improvement (Gray 1933:1027). Two hypotheses related to town development in the bust and depression period will be examined.

The first hypothesis related to town development in the bust (Hypothesis 11) states that during the bust of the 1840s, poor economic conditions should have increased competition between towns and resulted in the decline or extinction of most speculative towns and resulted in a more evenly dispersed town settlement patterns, as compared to that of the 1830s. The decline or extinction of towns should be reflected in a decline or loss of stores and services and in the increased forfeiture of town lots through tax payment delinquency.

The number of stores in the four Lowndes County speculative towns; West Port, Colbert, Plymouth, and Nashville, declined from a high of eleven in 1836 to five by 1842 (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1837-1843). West Port and Plymouth seemed to be especially hard hit during this period. The close proximity of these two towns, especially West Port, to Columbus undoubtedly hindered their viability and caused them to decline earlier than the other river towns. By 1843 each of these towns had only one store. In 1841, West Port had lost its post office and by 1842 it was no longer a voting precinct (Elliott 1978a:7). Plymouth had lost its voting precinct by 1842 and its post office by 1845 (Elliott 1978a:23). Between 1840 and 1843, 25 town lots and four town blocks were sold at Sheriff Sales in Plymouth (Prout 1973:106). Numerous lots in West Port were also sold at Sheriff's Sales in 1842 (Kaye 1984). The last reference to a town lot being sold in either town was July 1847 (Elliott 1978a). By the middle 1840s both of these towns had been reduced to mere hamlets.

Colbert and Nashville were able to hold out somewhat longer. Their positions relative to Columbus probably made them more viable. The merchants in these two towns were severely strained by the depression, however, and some stores failed. By the middle 1840s, Nashville only had one merchandise store, while the number in Colbert was reduced from a high of five stores to two (Lowndes County Personal Tax Rolls 1843).

Between 1840 and 1843, 60 town lots were sold at Sheriff's Sales at Colbert (Clay County Deed Book D:446-459).

The final blow to most of the speculative river towns in Lowndes County and indeed the entire Upper Tombigbee Region came with the devastating flood of December, 1847. This flood completely inundated what was left of West Port, Nashville, and Colbert. It also damaged many other landings and the lower portions of Columbus. The degree of impact to Plymouth is unclear, but its position sixty feet above the flood plain may have protected it. Nashville never recovered its status as a nucleated town after this flood (Rodabough 1985:29-30). Interestingly, although Colbert was also devastated by the depression and this flood, it was, in a sense, re-established in 1848 as the town of Barton, on a bluff less than a mile to the north. Why Colbert-Barton survived as a nucleated river town while the others did not is not completely clear, but its distance from other viable towns, most particularly Columbus and Aberdeen, was certainly a major factor. The Colbert-Barton area is 23 miles north of Columbus and 28 miles south of Aberdeen, in river miles. West Port and Plymouth were only one and six miles, respectively, above Columbus. Nashville, however, was 28 miles below Columbus, but it was only 11 miles above the early Alabama town of Pickensville. This close proximity to Pickensville may have reduced Nashville's hinterland relative to that of Colbert.

By the end of the 1840s depression, all of the speculative towns in Lowndes County except Colbert-Barton had been reduced to hamlets or even simple river landings. The central place network of the county at this time, therefore, consisted of the regional center and county seat (Columbus), two local centers, Colbert-Barton and Caledonia, and a large number of river and interior hamlets. The number of central place levels within the county was the same as that of the late 1830s.

The degree of uniformity in the town settlement will again be investigated through the nearest neighbor method. A settlement pattern approaches uniformity when R is between 1 and 2.15. If the town settlement pattern changed toward a more evenly dispersed

pattern during the bust, as Hypothesis 11 states, then the R value for the 1840s should have increased toward uniformity from the 1830s.

The R values for circa 1848 are 1.48, 1.21, and 1.29 for the county area, mid-point, and circle, respectively. The circular area is changed by the addition of one local center (trade town), Palo Alto, which was founded in 1846 (Figure 5.7). All of these R values illustrate a substantial change toward uniformity (.34 to .46 increase) when compared to the circa 1839 figures. The much larger R values for the county area occurred because all of the town extinctions represented in any study area were within this smaller area. The R values for all three areas support the above test implication and hypothesis.

The R value for the end of the bust (1847-48) is 1.37. The value represents a relatively large change (.30) toward uniformity from the 1830s. This, therefore, supports the above test implication and hypothesis.

The second bust hypothesis (Hypothesis 12) states that during this period, the Frontier Town, because of its size and multiple functions, should have weathered the harsh conditions better and increased its dominance in size and services relative to the smaller towns. The test implications for this hypothesis are that the proportion of merchandise sold in Columbus should have increased during the bust period, which again began in the second half of 1839, and continued until the late 1840s. Unfortunately, no population figures are available for Columbus or other towns during the bust period.

Figure 5.5 above illustrates the proportion of Lowndes County merchandise sold within Columbus. In 1839, there was already a noticeable increase of over 5% from 1838, to 85.9%. Although the price of cotton did not decline until Fall 1839, the presence of a change in sale concentration this early is not surprising since most merchandise was sold in the fall (Atherton 1949). This proportion was increased in 1841 and 1843 to 88.9% and 87.6%, respectively. The proportion of the four speculative towns was 7% in 1839 and 6% in 1843.

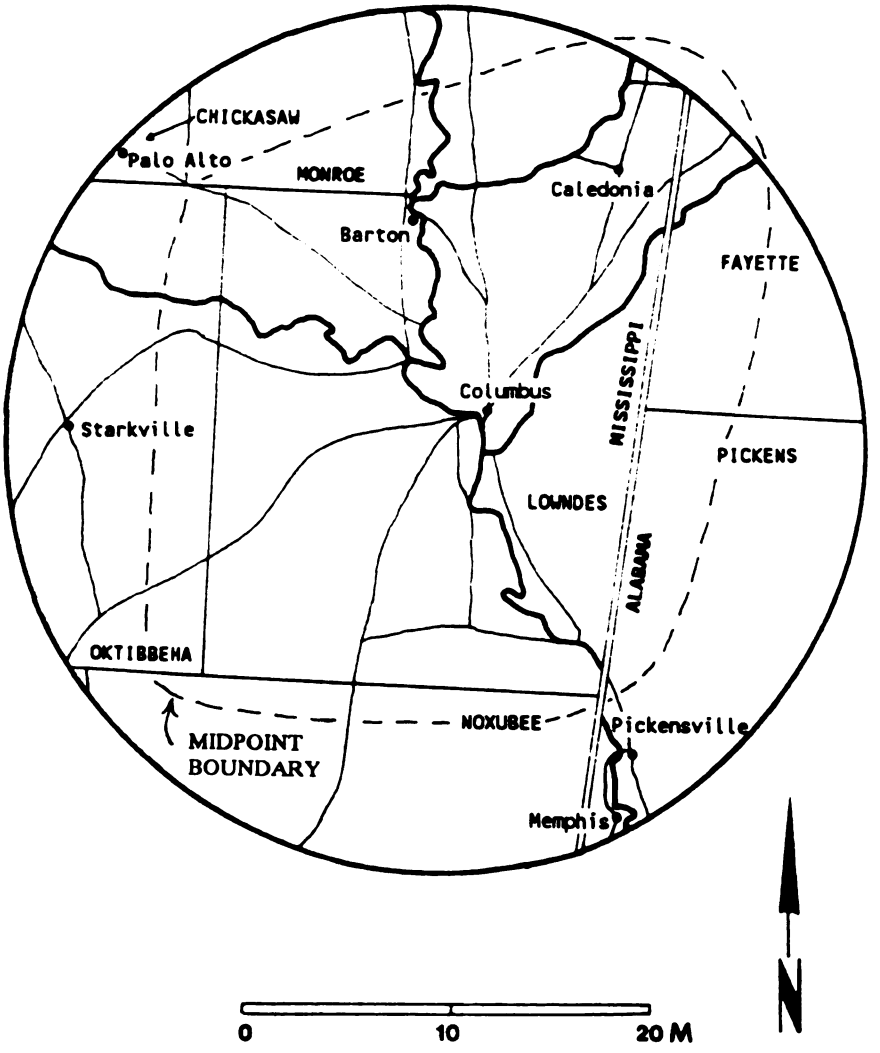


Figure 5.7. Towns in Lowndes County and Surrounding Area, circa 1848.

Figure 5.6 (and Table 5.2) presents data for Monroe and Lowndes counties combined. This sample shows a similar pattern, with Columbus increasing its proportion of merchandise sold in 1839 by 12%, to 80.7%, and continuing a high proportion in 1840, 75.4%. The figure also documents the continued decline of Cotton Gin Port and fluctuation of Aberdeen. The only two depression years in which both Lowndes and Monroe County data were available were 1839 and 1840. These results support the test implication and illustrate, along with the previous discussion on speculative towns, that Columbus was able to better weather at least the early part of the depression and increase its regional and county dominance.

Recovery Period Town Development

By the late 1840s, the price of cotton began to move upward, and this, coupled with more efficient production methods, resulted in increased property for Lowndes County and the Upper Tombigbee Region. Two hypotheses will be examined for town development during the recovery phase of the late 1840s to 1860.

The first hypothesis (Hypothesis 13) to be examined states that during the recovery period, frontier conditions should have subsided, and competition will have led to a more uniform settlement distribution than previously. As the central place system becomes more uniform, it approaches the K-3 principle, or marketing principle of Christaller's classic Central Place Theory. This pattern, which ideally would reflect perfect uniformity (R = 2.15), is generally found in only mature settlement conditions in uniform environmental conditions (Vance 1965). Using the nearest neighbor method, an R value of greater than the 1.48, 1.21, and 1.29 found in the bust period should result from this analysis if the hypothesis is supported.

At the beginning of the recovery, Lowndes County contained only three communities which could be considered nucleated towns. These were Columbus, Caledonia, and Barton, which replaced Colbert after the flood of 1847. In the early 1850s, another interior town, Crawfordville, developed. This town was located in the southwestern part of the county (Figure 5.8). There is no evidence that Crawfordville or Barton were promoted like towns in the 1830s. Both had small plats and populations of about 100 to 150 people (Way and McBride 1983; Wood 1925).

Nearest neighbor R values of 1.86, 1.52, and 1.46 for the county area, mid-point, and circular area resulted from the measurement and calculations of the circa 1856 data. This indicates a change toward greater uniformity from the late 1840s for all study areas. The change was due to the founding of Crawfordsville, which filled a void in the Southwestern part of Lowndes County. The greater R value for the county area is due to the fact that Crawfordville, which represents the only change in circa 1856, was within Lowndes County. The smaller area was more dramatically affected by this addition. All three study areas support the above test implication and hypothesis.

The major recovery period change to the central place network of Lowndes County and the entire region did not occur until the late 1850s, however, when the Mobile and Ohio Railroad entered the region. This railroad line first entered Noxubee County and southwestern Lowndes County in 1857 and it reached the northern part of the region a year later. The railroad cut through the Black Prairie about ten miles west of the Tombigbee River and missed all of the established towns (see Figures 5.9 and 5.10). Given the unreliability of the river as a transport route the central place distribution was fragile and subject to change. In fact, the impact was almost immediate. By 1858 or early 1859, three towns, West Point, Artesia, and Crawford, and two small depots, Mayhew Station, and Tibbee Station, had been established on the rail line in Lowndes County. Four of these five communities were originally hamlets which moved to the rail line. The other, Crawford, was basically the transported town of Crawfordsville. Within

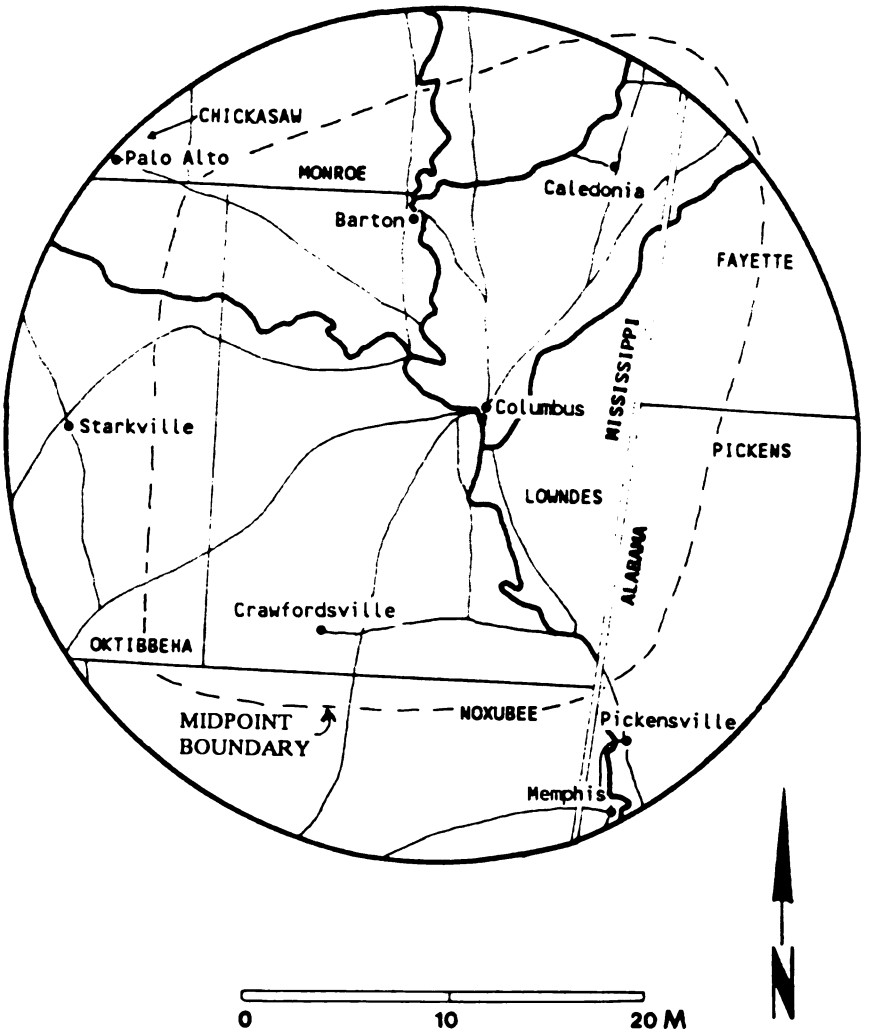


Figure 5.8. Towns in Lowndes County and Surrounding Area, circa 1856.

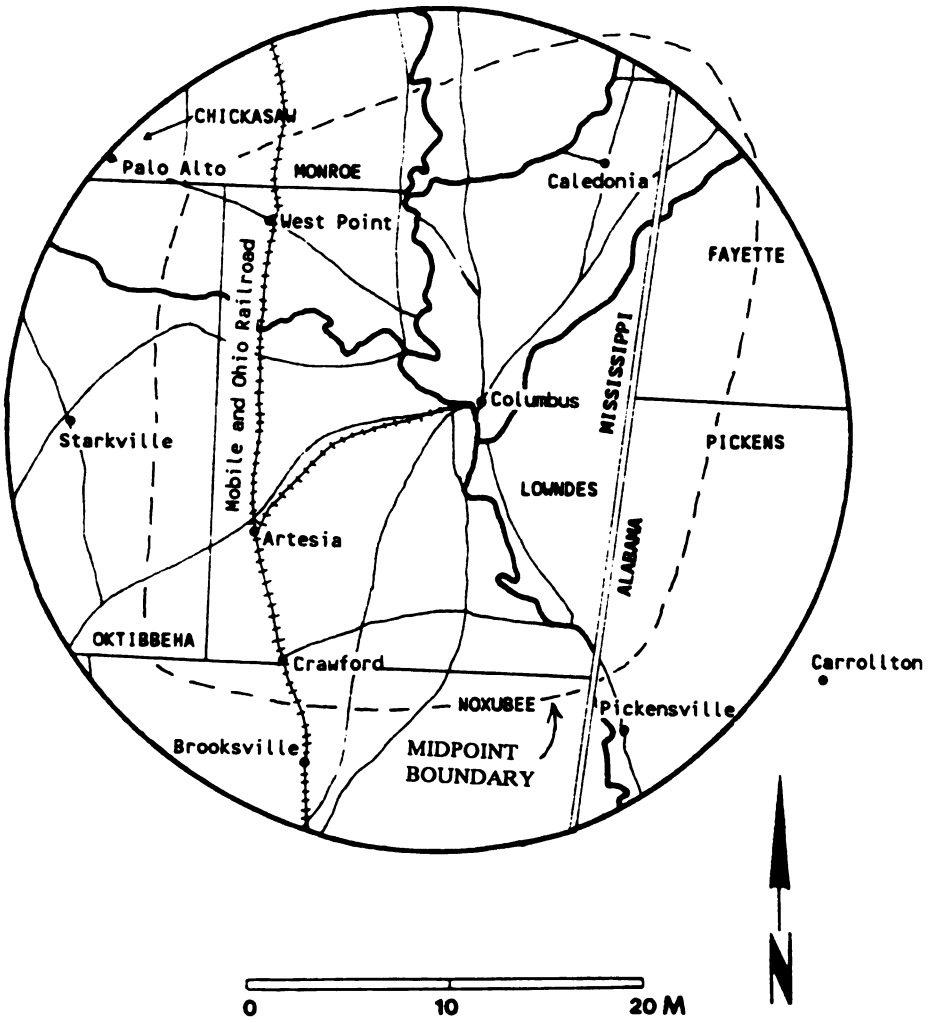


Figure 5.9. Towns in Lowndes County and Surrounding Area, circa 1865.

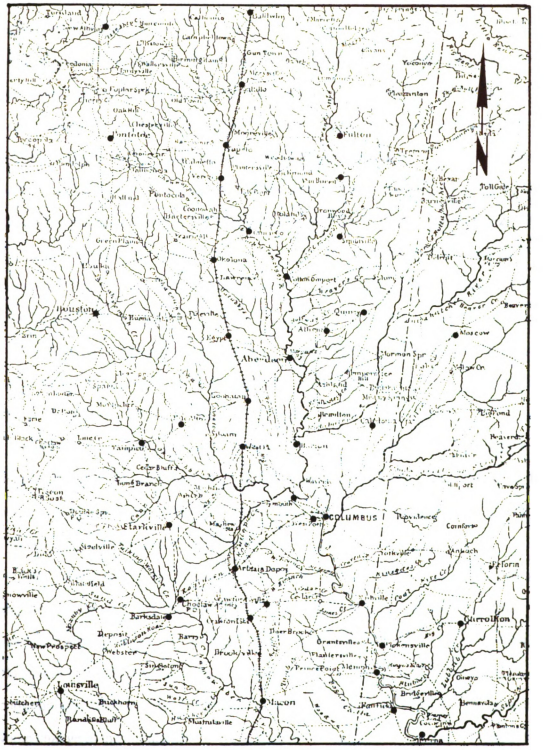


Figure 5.10. The Upper Tombigbee Region, circa 1865.

the circular study area, one railroad town, Brooksville in northern Noxubee County, was established in 1858-59.

The establishment of the rail line and the towns and stations along it was very detrimental to the river communities. Barton was especially hard hit. It lost most of its Prairie customers to West Point almost overnight. Barton's business establishments were severely impacted in the 1858-1859 season (Way and McBride 1983:52). By 1858 Barton had lost its post office, by 1861 it had lost all of its stores, and by 1862 it had lost its designation as a voting precinct (Elliott 1978a:67; Way and McBride 1983:52). By the early 1860s Barton had been reduced to an agricultural community with a ferry and steamboat landing. The Pickens County river town of Memphis had also been reduced to a hamlet by the early 1860s.

The smaller river hamlets and landings also lost business to the railroad. Some, such as Lowndesville, Plymouth, and Moore's Bluff had completely disappeared by the early 1860s (Rodabough 1985:29-30).

Even mighty Columbus was in danger from the railroad. The city leaders quickly realized this fact, however, and began construction of a spur line to Artesia. When this was completed in 1859, Columbus' predominant position in the county was secured (Rodabough 1985:28; Doster and Weaver 1981:98).

The R values for circa 1865 are 1.86, 1.53, and 1.52 for the county, mid-point area, and the circular area, respectively. The county and mid-point area reflect very little change, if any, from circa 1856. This is somewhat surprising and is related to the close placement of Crawford, Artesia, and Brooksville. The close placement of these communities reflects the presence of town speculation along the railroad. The greater R value change in the circular area is related to the demise of Memphis and the new closer neighbors for Starkville and Palo Alto.

When this study is compared to Swedlund's (1975) similar study of Massachusetts towns, the R values for Lowndes County increased much more rapidly. In the circular

area, which is more comparable to Swedlund's data, an R of 1.37 was reached only ten to fifteen years after the western side of the Tombigbee was opened. It took Swedlund's region over 60 years to reach this level. Swedlund's region took over 160 years to reach an R of 1.52, which was reached in this Mississippi study area only thirty years after the western lands were opened and about fifty years after any settlement began.

The Boom-Bust type of settlement and the nature of the local or regional economy of the Upper Tombigbee are certainly factors in the rate of change. In a highly commercialized cotton region like the Upper Tombigbee, very little agricultural diversification was present. This would lead to less functional differentiation between towns, and hence increased competition, than would be found in more diverse regions (Adkins 1972; Earle and Hoffman 1976; Weaver and Doster 1982). The speculative nature of the boom followed by the hardship of the bust created a situation of heavy competition and high town extinction since many towns were not adequately located.

The second recovery period hypothesis (Hypothesis 14) states that during the recovery phase of the late 1840s and 1850s, an increasingly complex urban system should have evolved and the size and service dominance of the Frontier Town should have been reduced relative to other towns. The first test implication is that there should be more central place levels during the recovery than in earlier periods.

Within Lowndes County, there was not an immediate change in the town hierarchy in the 1850s. Columbus maintained its dominance with a population of 2,611 in 1850 (U.S. Census 1854). The total number of towns in the early and middle 1850s was actually less than that in 1836. The other three towns in the county, Caledonia, Barton, and Crawfordville, all contained about the same services and could all be considered local centers. At this time, Crawfordville contained three stores, a school, a post office, and a voting precinct (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1851-53; Wood 1925:12; WPA Lowndes County n.d.:11-12). In the middle 1850s, Barton contained four to five stores, a blacksmith shop, a hotel, a school, two warehouses, and a post office (Elliott 1978a:57-

59; Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1851-59; Way and McBride 1983). Barton was incorporated in 1854 (Laws of Mississippi, 1854). Less is known of Caledonia, but it also possessed two stores, a bank, a post office, and a voting precinct at this time (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1851-1859; Wood 1925:12).

A number of river and inland neighborhood centers or hamlets existed and prospered before the railroad came into the region. Much cotton was stored and shipped out of the warehouses of these communities, and the stores in such hamlets as Waverly, Vinton, and Swearengen's did a relatively large business in the 1850s (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1851-1859).

The hierarchy of towns in Lowndes County did not really change until the railroad arrived. The changes in transportation created another town level. For the first time, a second real city, West Point, was present in the county. West Point went from a hamlet in 1857 to a town of 1,000 people in 1858 (WPA Clay County n.d.:17). By 1859 West Point had seven stores, a school, an Ambrotype gallery, a church, a tin shop, a blacksmith shop, and a post office (Doster and Weaver 1981:198; Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1859). West Point should be placed in the subregional- trade center level because of its size, services, and hinterland. As noted above, the growth of West Point led to the swift decline and finally extinction of Barton.

Two other Lowndes County railroad towns were established in 1858. These were Crawford and Artesia. Both of these fall into the local center community level (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1859; Wood 1925:12). Hamlets or neighborhood centers extant in the late 1850s included two small railroad depots, Mayhew Station, and Tibbee Station, a number of river landings, Waverly and Vinton being perhaps the most prominent, and some interior crossroads communities.

So, within Lowndes County, the central place network did not increase in complexity until the arrival of the railroad. This opens up interesting questions as to what may have happened to the central place network had the railroad not arrived when in it did. It is

especially interesting to speculate on what would have happened to Barton, the only river town in the county other than Columbus. Barton likely would have grown to a degree that it could be considered a higher level community than Caledonia or Crawfordsville. But, it is very unlikely that it would have come close to West Point's growth. The more diffuse trade on the river, where steamboats would stop at any landing, would probably have inhibited the degree of growth.

To better observe Columbus' decline as a Frontier Town and regional changes in the Central Place Network, it is necessary to examine the central place hierarchy of the Upper Tombigbee Region. In the whole region, changes in the central place system are visible by the early 1850s. The most dramatic change was the rise of Aberdeen in Monroe County. By 1848, Aberdeen, which was a speculative town established on the west bank of the Tombigbee in 1836, was designated the seat of Monroe County and should be designated a subregional administrative center. The town grew rapidly after this. In the early 1850s, it had a population of over 2,000 and rivaled Columbus in services (Doster and Weaver 1981:81-82). In 1852, Aberdeen had more merchandise sold ($603464) than Columbus ($596,282) (calculated from Lowndes County Property Tax Roll 1853, Monroe County Property Tax Roll 1853). So, by the early 1850s, there were, in effect, two regional centers in the region, competing against one another. This situation indicates that Columbus had lost its position as Frontier Town. This marks the end of a Frontier Zone and perhaps the end of the frontier in the region.

Other changes during the 1850s included increased differentiation between county seats and between other trade towns. None of the other communities reached super subregional administrative centers or subregional trade centers, however, so other than Aberdeen, the levels represented were the same. The ranked population pattern probably showed a more even progression from top to bottom than before.

The arrival of the railroad resulted in the establishment of more central place types and a resolution of the Aberdeen and Columbus battle for dominance. West Point, Tupelo,

and Okalona experienced rapid growth and fell into the subregional trade center level. Local railroad towns included Artesia, Egypt, and Crawford. Railroad hamlets included Tibbee Station, Mayhew Station, Prairie Station, and Loohatten (see Figures 5.9 and 5.10).

The construction of a spur from Columbus to Artesia in 1859 secured Columbus' position as the largest town in the region and the single regional center. It never regained its Frontier Town dominance, however. Aberdeen, on the other hand, failed to connect to the rail line before the Civil War. This hurt Aberdeen's growth and relegated it to a super subregional status. It never again challenged Columbus as the regional center.

The above results generally support the hypothesis on increased social structural complexity and reduction in the dominance of the Frontier Town from the bust to the recovery. Within Lowndes County, these changes did not really occur until the arrival of the railroad and West Point. Although this change represents the addition of only one new level within the county, this new one was highly significant because of its size and effect on marketing within the county (see below).

By 1860 the hierarchy of the region was even more complex, with the addition of subregional-trade towns along the railroad. At this time, the system consisted of the regional center (Columbus), a super subregional center (Aberdeen), some subregional administrative centers (county seats), some subregional trade centers on the railroad, numerous local centers, and many neighborhood centers.

When compared to more Northern regions, this hierarchy is still relatively simple. No large urban centers developed and little absolute functional differentiation was present. Other than type of transportation and political or administrative designation, the main difference between these towns was one of size and scale rather than type. The uniformity in agricultural production and lack of industrialization limited functional differentiation in the region. The presence of plantations, the marketing system, and the

limited processing and storage requirements of cotton limited the size of communities in the region (see discussion in Chapter 3).

The second test implication for Hypothesis 14 is that the proportion of merchandise sold in Columbus should be reduced in the 1850s. The reduction in concentration should also be reflected in the proportional growth of the next largest center. Within Lowndes County, the proportion of merchandise sold in Columbus did not decline significantly until 1858 (Figure 5.11). In the early and middle 1850s, Columbus sold between 84% and 87% of the county's merchandise. This lack of change parallels the discussion above and reflects the lack of a second significant town in the county. In 1858, the share of Columbus drops to 78%, due primarily to the rise of West Point, but also due to the growth of the other railroad towns, Crawford and Artesia. In 1858, $60,233 of merchandise (or 7.4% of the county's total) was sold in West Point. This was the highest percentage sold by any single town (other than Columbus) in Lowndes County since Plymouth's boom days of the middle 1830s. The 78% sold by Columbus was its lowest proportion since 1836.

When the proportion of merchandise sold in Columbus is examined for the two county region, Columbus' relative decline is earlier and more dramatic (Figure 5.12). Between 1840 and 1852, Columbus' proportion of sales decreased from 75% to 41%. Unfortunately, there are no matching years between 1840 and 1852 in which both Lowndes and Monroe counties have existing tax records. This inhibits an understanding of the rate of change between these two years. Aberdeen certainly began its ascent by 1848, if not before. In this year, it became the Monroe County seat and sold $340,714 worth of merchandise (Evans 1979). This was far greater sales than occurred in any other town in the region, except Columbus. As is visible in Figure 5.12, Aberdeen's sales were actually greater than those of Columbus in 1852. Columbus, however, recovered its lead in 1856. The two towns probably fluctuated back and forth until Columbus got a railroad connection in 1859.

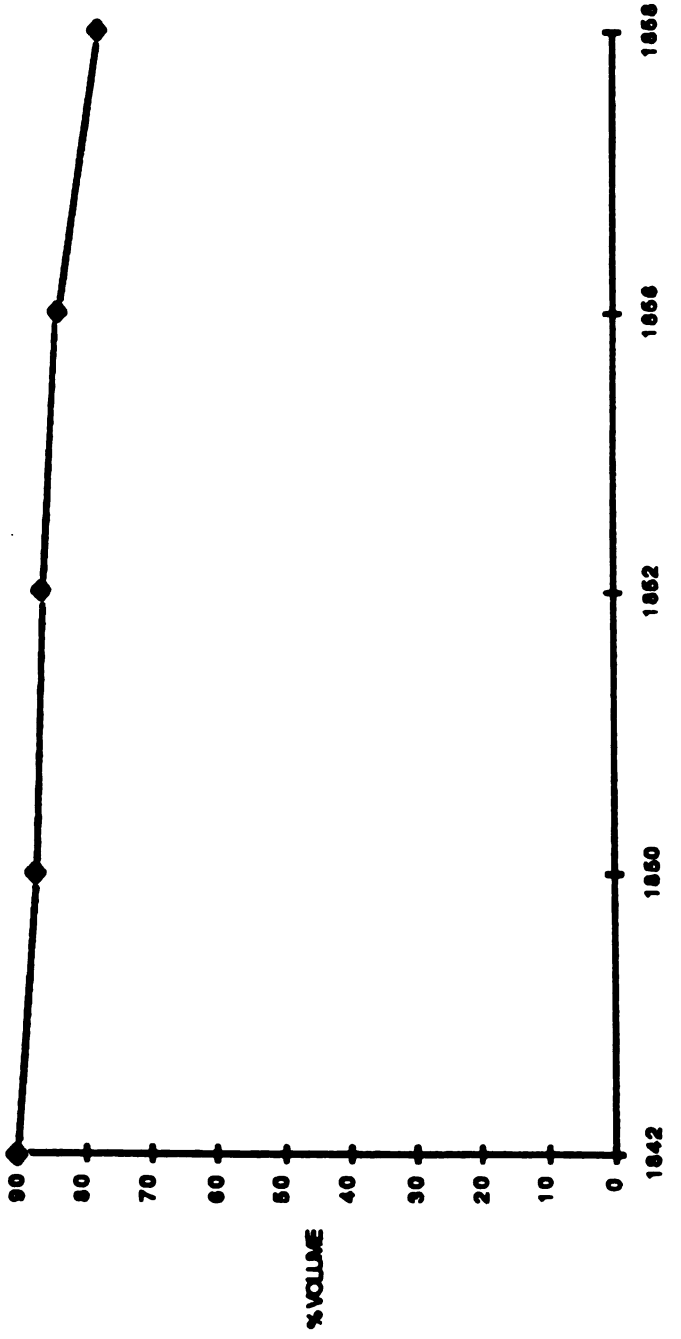


Figure 5.11. Share of Sales, Columbus, 1842-1858.

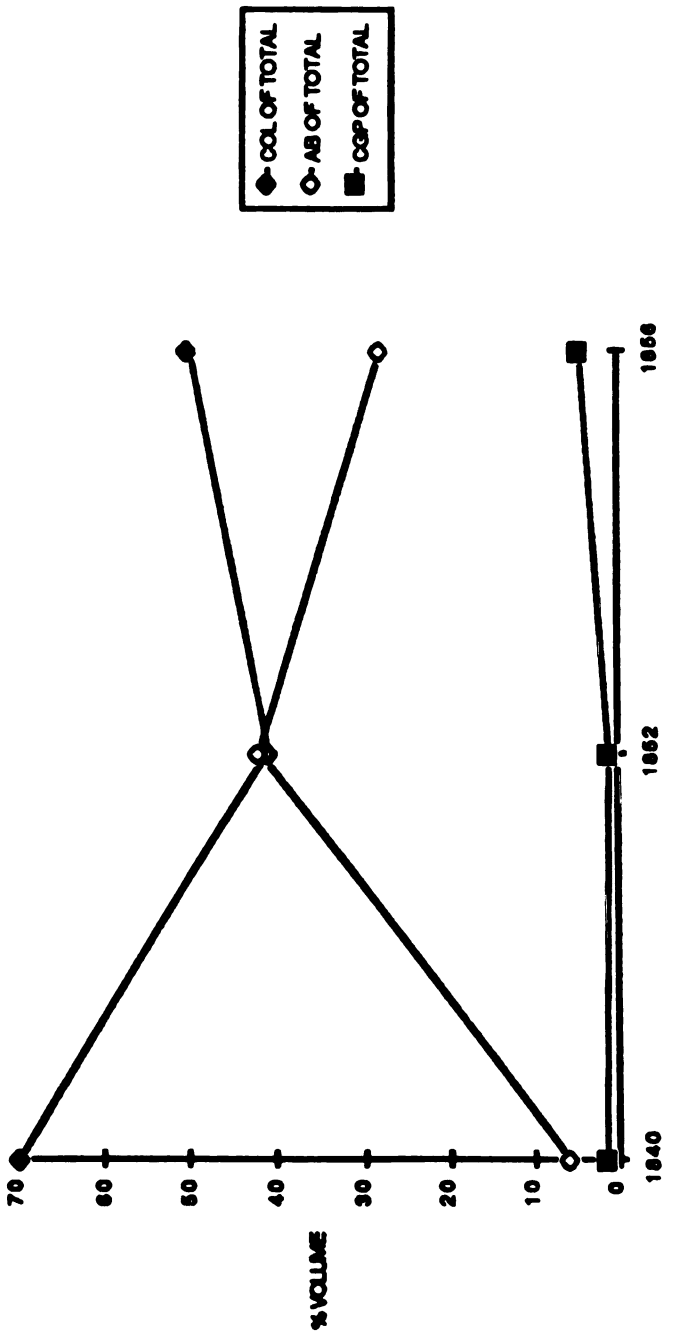


Figure 5.12. Share of Sales, Columbus, Aberdeen, Cotton Gin Port, 1840-56.

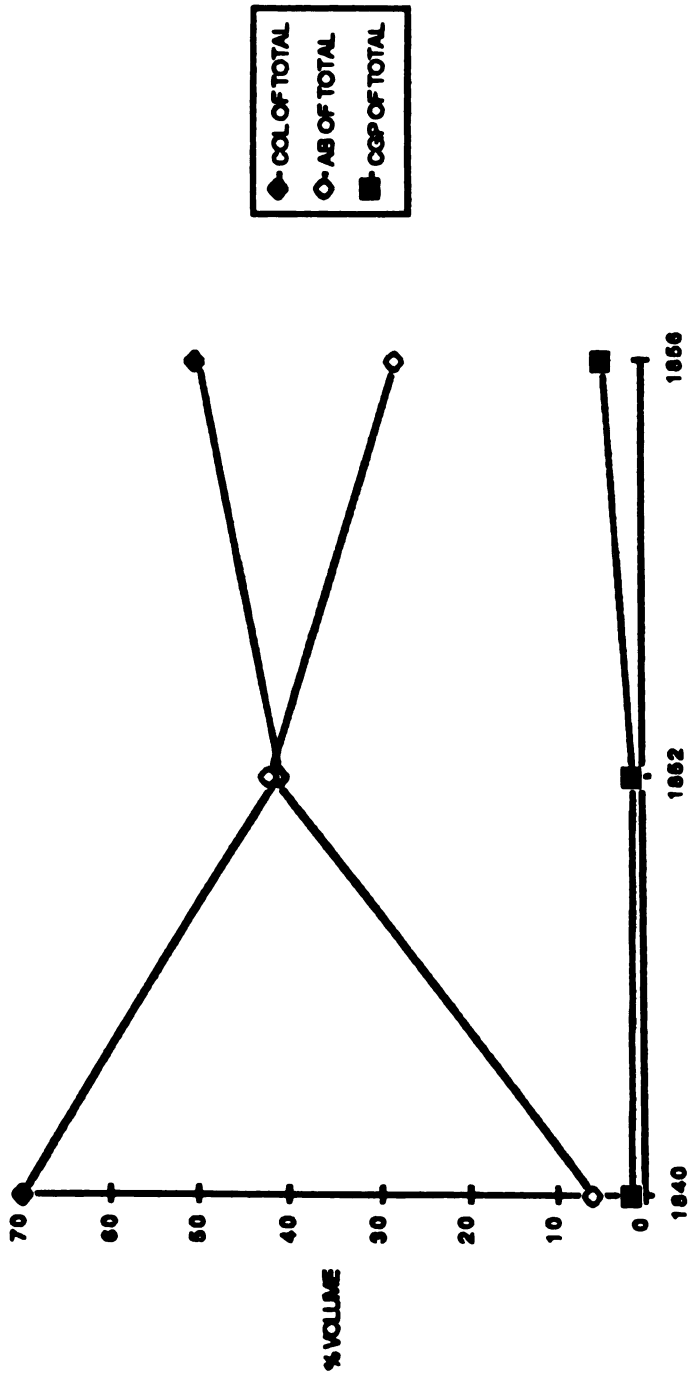


Figure 5.12. Share of Sales, Columbus, Aberdeen, Cotton Gin Port, 1840-56.

The above analysis generally supports the test implications and therefore, Hypothesis 14 on changes which occurred in the central place hierarchy during the recovery period. The central place system became somewhat more complex in this period and the dominance of Columbus was reduced. These changes were earlier and more dramatic when a larger region is examined. Within Lowndes County, the system did not really become more complex until the railroad entered in 1858.

The relative decline of Columbus in the region during the late 1840s and 1850s follows closely the predictions made by Casagrande et al. (1964) in their colonization model, and suggests that by this time the Upper Tombigbee Valley was no longer a frontier. The loss of Columbus' position as a Frontier Town and the increased complexity of the central place system of the region indicates that it had become a more mature antebellum plantation society.

Diversity of Stores, Service, and Goods

Three hypotheses (15, 16, and 17) were stated in Chapter 3, which dealt with these topics. As was noted in that chapter, these hypotheses cannot be formally tested because of inadequacies in the historic record. No records exist which give the complete range of store or shop types, or services, present in the smaller towns of the boom and bust periods. The Dun and Company Agents' Reports of the 1850s do give more detail on stores and services of the recovery period, but since there is no comparable information for the earlier periods they are not very helpful.

What can be examined generally, however, are the types of goods carried in the general merchandise stores from the 1830s to the 1850. Because the sample of store records is small and of questionable representativeness, this investigation will not be a

formal quantitative test, but rather a more informal investigation. The data sources to be utilized in this examination are store bills and inventories from the towns of Colbert and Barton. These store records were recovered from estate files and Circuit Court case files. They therefore represent unpaid bills or store inventories at the death of the customer or store owner, or disputed bills in law suits (Lowndes County Chancery Files; Lowndes County Circuit Court Files). The four store inventories are all from Colbert. These towns were chosen because they were intensively investigated, both using documentary and archaeological data, as part of Michigan State University's Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project between 1979 and 1983 (Cleland and McBride 1983; Minnerly 1982a, 1982b). Colbert (1835-1847) is a good representation of a speculative boom and later bust nucleated town, while Barton (1848-ca. 1862) is a good example of a recovery period nucleated town. These towns are also the main source of archaeological material discussed in the next chapter.

In relation to store goods, Hypothesis 15, 16, and 17 stated that the variety of goods, especially luxuries, in the smaller nucleated towns (as opposed to Columbus) should be greater in the boom than in the bust or recovery, and the variety should be greater in the recovery than in the bust.

For the boom period, one store inventory and three store bills were located. The store bills each represent the account of one customer over a period of days or months. The Keese and Barton store inventory of 1837 illustrates that this store contained a great variety of merchandise: including 82 different categories of cloth and padding; numerous items of clothing, including shirts, coats, vests, hats, caps, bonnetts, stockings, and gloves; a large variety of men's, women's, and children's boots and slippers; numerous types of buttons and buckles; a variety of handkerchiefs, cravats, and ribbons; a variety of ceramics, tableglass, and table utensils; a variety of harness equipment; and numerous sundries and miscellaneous items including pocket knives, combs, pencils, thimbles, scissors, and brushes. The store bills which date from 1836 and 1837 and come from the

stores of Joshua Robinson and Calvin McCracken, list fewer, but similar items. Goods in these store bills not found in the Keese and Barton inventory include cognac, whiskey, and a sword cane.

Luxury items from the 1830s records include the following: expensive cloth such as Super Drab cloth, Black Bombazine cloth, Superior English Merino Wool cloth, Broad Cloth, Silk velvet, and Silk vesting; long white kid gloves; black silk gloves; silk handkerchiefs; silk hose; fine linen shirts; Valencia vests' double breasted vests; fur seal caps; fur capes; gilt buttons; ladies silk hats; fine hats; Tuscan bonnets; Morocco shoes; silver thimbles; tortoise shell combs; silver pencils; silver plated table utensils; expensive watches; and the sword cane. Most of the items listed were in the Keese and Barton inventory. Little is known about this store, other than this inventory, although it appears to have been rather short-lived under Elijah Keese and Absolam Barton. This store does not appear in the property tax rolls under Keese and Barton, but it does appear in these records in 1836 and 1837, under the name of Barton's previous partner, E. P. Borden (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1837-1838). In these two years, the store sold $5000 and $2500, respectively, worth of merchandise, which suggests it was a medium-sized store, given that the mean sales for Colbert stores in 1836 and 1837 were $3750 and $4560. The Robinson store seems to have also been a medium-sized store, selling $4000 worth of merchandise in 1837 and 1838, while the McCracken store was larger, selling $9,350 worth of merchandise in 1837 (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1838-1939).

The above store entries suggest that a large variety of goods, including luxuries were carried at at least some Colbert stores. The three stores represented seemed to carry similar general merchandise or goods, though some seemed to carry groceries such as coffee and liquor, while others did not.

For the 1840s depression, there is a large collection of store bills and inventories. Only one inventory, however, is of comparable length to the Keese and Barton inventory. This is the Reuben King inventory of 1845. This store seems to have carried

approximately the same type and variety of goods found at the Keese and Barton store. The King inventory was 20 pages long and had 636 separate entries, while the Keese and Barton store inventory was 22 pages long and had 749 entries (Lowndes County Circuit Court Files). The King inventory included 113 different categories of cloth and padding, as well as a large variety of clothing items, shoes and boots, table ware and utensils, tools, hardware, harness equipment, and sundries. The variety of ceramics and tableglass was even greater than at the Keese and Barton store. The more expensive items, which would be considered luxuries, are of a similar type as those present at the Keese and Barton store. Within the largest category of items present at either store, textiles, the Keese and Barton store did have a higher proportion (24%) of expensive cloth (price > $1.00 per yard) than the King store (15%). The significance of this difference is not clear, but what is clear is that there was a greater quantity and variety of luxury items in the King store during the depression than would have been expected from the model, especially given the findings of Margolis (1979). This does not necessarily disprove the hypothesis, however, since the overall quantity of luxuries available during the 1830s than 1840s cannot be measured. Significantly, in 1837, the year of the Keese and Barton inventory, that store, later named Borden and Barton, had the lowest sales (2500) of the five Colbert stores listed in the tax rolls, while in 1842 the King store had the greatest sales ($10,000) of the three Colbert stores listed (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1838-1843). It is unfortunate that no inventory was found for the McCracken store, which had the largest sales in 1837.

The other two inventories from the 1840s were much shorter (four and five pages) and suggested that these stores, Bolinski's (1846) and Angle's (1847) were not very large. The variety of goods, particularly luxuries, was not as great in these stores. No expensive cloth was present in either store, but a few luxury items, including silk handkerchiefs, German Silver butter knives, Fine ivory combs, German silver pencil cases, a Silver watch, a French Fancy watch, and a brass clock were listed in the

inventories. Although there was a low frequency of luxuries in these stores, some pretty fancy items were present.

A total of 23 store bills were located which data between 1840 and 1847. These suggest an overall pattern of merchandise similar to that found in the King store. These bills are from the stores of Peter Warren, Joel Leftwich, M.S. Jones, Reuben King, and James Curtis (Lowndes County Chancery Files; Lowndes County Circuit Court Files). Expensive items in these bills include Fancy silk handkerchiefs, seal shoes, Fancy cravats, Black Merino wool cloth, a Fashion silk hat, silk mittens, and Fine Morocco shoes.

Although the extant store inventories and bills from the bust period cannot be used to completely verify or refute Hypotheses 15 and 16, because of problems of comparability and representativeness, they do indicate that a wide variety of items, including some luxuries, were available and sold in the Colbert stores. This suggests that a demand, or suspected demand, for these goods still existed in the 1840s. The presence of a large number of planters and larger farmers in the Black Prairie, where most of Colbert's customers came from, probably helped maintain some demand for these goods during the depression.

For the decade of the 1850s, numerous store bills are extant for the Barton stores. Unfortunately, no store inventories or account books have been located. The Barton store bills, however, indicate that a similar variety of goods were carried in these stores of the 1850s than the Colbert stores of the 1830s and 1840s. All of the seven stores represented seemed to have carried general merchandise, and cloth seems to have been the most commonly sold, and probably carried, merchandise. The luxury goods present in the store bills are similar to those at Colbert and included silk handkerchiefs, Fancy cravats, Fine silk, Fine hats, satin vests, Fine kid gloves, silver thimbles, a gold ring, and a gold pin.

Nothing quantitative can be said about the Barton merchandise in relation to the merchandise at Colbert. All that can be said is that all of the recorded stores sold general merchandise that consisted of a variety of goods that were similar to those found in both periods at Colbert.

CHAPTER 6.

ECONOMIC CYCLES AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR IN LOWNDES COUNTY

The study will now turn to an investigation of the effects of the different cycles of the Boom-Bust-Recovery context on consumption patterns in Lowndes County and in particular, examine Hypothesis 18 and 19, stated in Chapter 3. These hypotheses will be examined both with documentary data and archaeological data. The documentary data to be utilized in this investigation will be merchandise sales, which will be analyzed per-capita and per-acre. This analysis will give an indication of overall merchandise consumption at the county level. The archaeological investigation, however, will focus on consumption patterns of a particular category of goods, refined ceramics, at the household level. By examining consumption patterns at this level, the effects of a number of variables besides consumer cycles, particularly socioeconomic status, can be evaluated.

Surprisingly, little analysis of the effects of economic cycles, particularly in the Boom-Bust settlement context, has been done within historical archaeology. Most studies of consumer behavior within that discipline have been directed toward correlating consumption patterns, especially of refined ceramics, and socioeconomic status or class. In fact, in a recent volume on the archaeology of consumer choices (Spencer-Wood 1987a), economic cycles were only mentioned in one article as a possible major influence on consumption (Henry 1987). But, even in that article, the effects of economic cycles were only given a cursory examination and the site situation, Phoenix, Arizona in the early twentieth century, did not fit the Boom-Bust model of the present study. Those studies which have dealt with consumption patterns on frontiers generally have examined more isolated contexts and have investigated the impact of transportation variability on

consumption patterns (Lees and Kimery-Lees 1981; Miller and Hurry 1983). The present study, therefore, is to some degree breaking new ground.

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will present background information of the archaeological investigations at the extinct towns of Colbert and Barton. These two townsites will provide the basis for the archaeological examination of Hypotheses 18 and 19. This section will give a brief history of each site and their occupants, a description of the excavations, and a discussion on the chronology of each site and features within that site. The second section of this chapter will be the explicit examination of archaeological and documentary test implications generated from the two hypotheses under investigation.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT COLBERT AND BARTON, MISSISSIPPI

Between 1979 and 1980 archaeological investigations were conducted at the extinct towns of Colbert and Barton by Michigan State University, as part of the Tombigbee Historic Townsites Project (Minnerly 1982;1983; Cleland & McBride 1983, Figure 6.1). This project was funded by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Mobile District as part of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project. Additional archaeological investigations were also carried out at Colbert in 1983 by Mississippi State University in response to private development by Simmons Building Systems (Marshall 1988).

The Michigan State University investigations at Colbert involved two phases, an initial discovery and testing phase and a more intensive excavation phase. Two nineteenth century sites at Colbert were located and partially excavated during this project (Polk 1982). A third site was later located in the southern half of old Colbert and

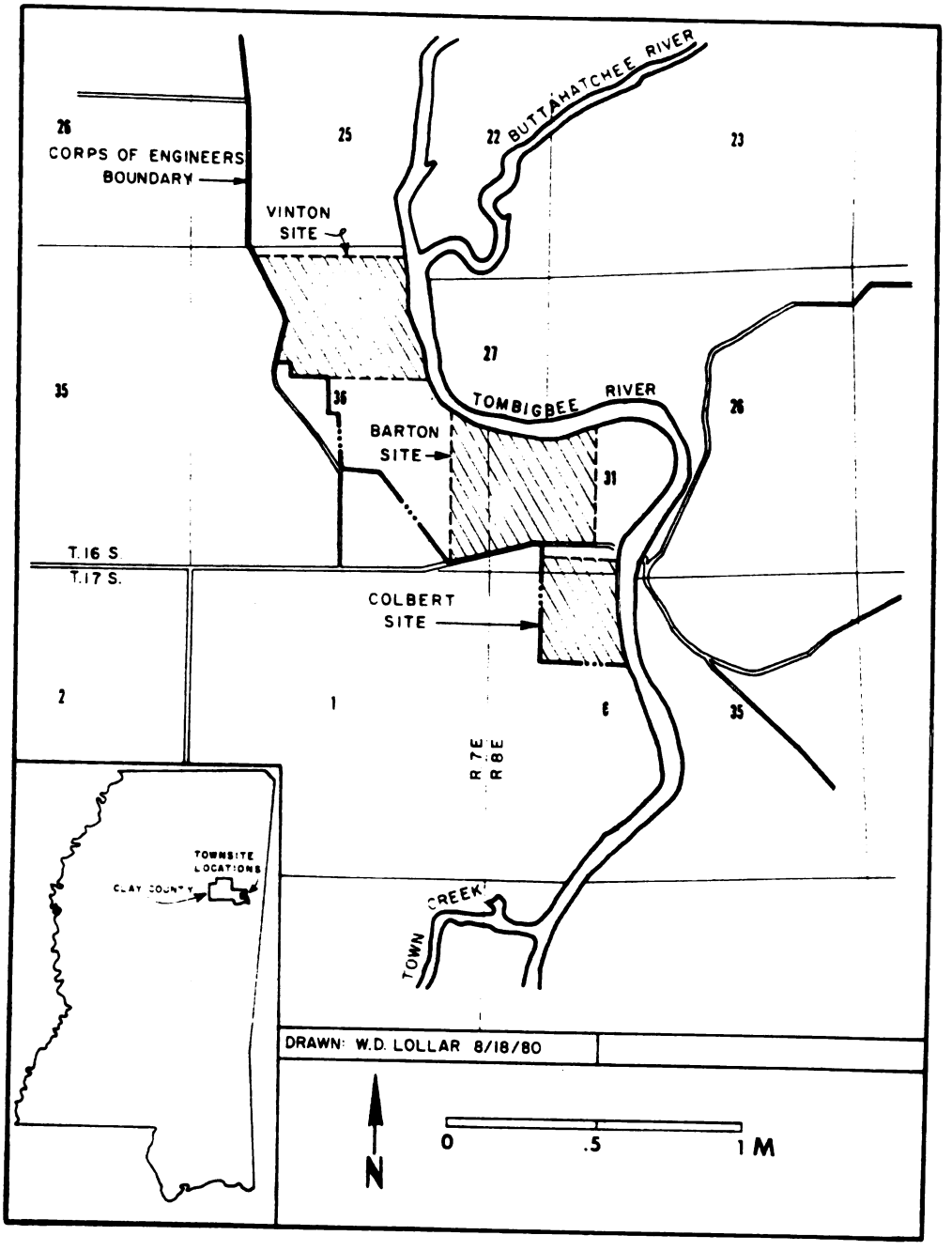


Figure 6.1. Tombigbee Townsites and Vicinity

excavated by Mississippi State University archaeologists (Marshall 1988). These sites, which all appear to have been primarily domestic occupations, are the sample sites from Colbert.

At Barton, twenty-three sites were identified and tested and eight of these received more intensive excavation. The twenty-three sites located included 4 stores, 13 housesites, a hotel, a blacksmith shop, a school, a warehouse, a brick kiln, and one unidentified site (Allen 1983a; McBride 1983). Six housesites, the hotel, and the blacksmith shop received more intensive excavation (Allen 1983b; McBride and McBride 1983). Five of the six housesites make up the Barton sample for this study.

In the discussion below, the results of the excavations at the three Colbert sites and five Barton sites will be summarized. First , a brief history of Colbert and Barton is presented.

Colbert History

Colbert was a typical boom town of the 1830s. It was, along with West Point and Plymouth, one of the three most ambitious towns west of the river (see Chapter 5). Colbert was founded and platted in the height of the boom, late 1835. It had a very ambitious plat which contained over 100 blocks, which were subdivided into lots and covered the entire Fractional Section 6 (Figure 6.2).

The first known public sale of Colbert lots occurred in November 1835 (Elliott 1978a:49). The town was vigorously promoted, as can be seen from an 1836 newspaper advertisement which announced the sale of "valuable lots in the business part of town, with a number of large and beautiful lots admirably suited for family residences" (Columbus Democrat, August 6, 1836).

Colbert grew quickly after these initial sales. In the spring of 1836, an election precinct was established at Colbert and petitions were produced to establish more roads

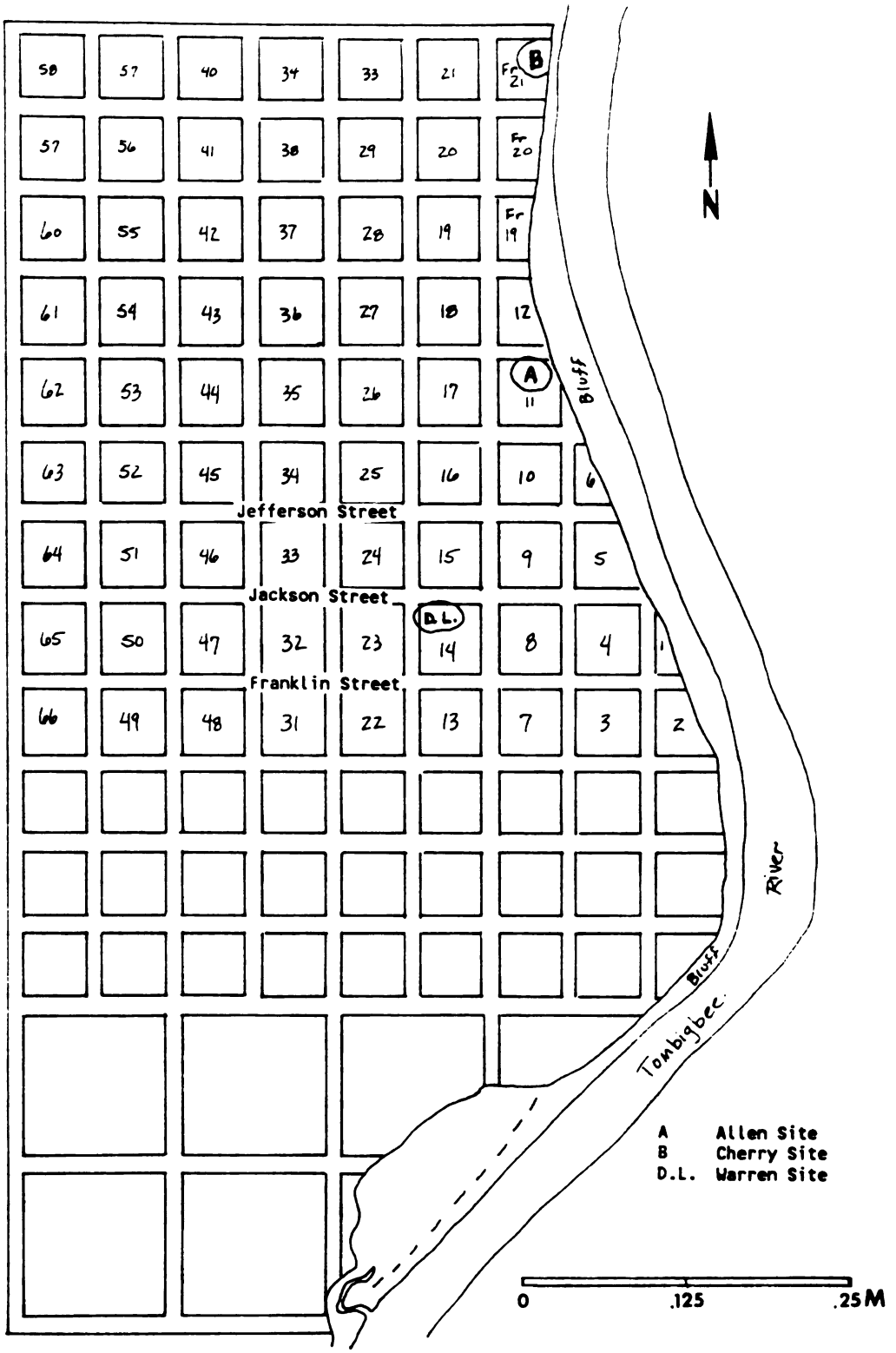


Figure 6.2. Colbert Plat, with Archaeological Sites.

connecting Colbert with major roads and towns (Lowndes Co. Board of Police Minutes, April 1836). Also, in that year, Dr. Edwin F. Watkins was given permission to operate the ferry at Colbert (Elliott 1978a:50). At least three stores were established in town during 1836.

By late 1836, Colbert was a flourishing river trade town whose economy revolved around cotton and cotton planters. It contained six stores (which sold $21,800 in merchandise), craftsmen, physicians, at least one cotton warehouse, and the Colbert Female Academy (Clay County Deed Books D:459; F:214-215; Elliott 1978a:50-51; Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1838). In 1838, Colbert acquired a post office and a militia troop, the Colbert Troop, was chartered (Laws of Mississippi 1838).

It is difficult to estimate the population of Colbert at any point in time. An examination of the 1837 Mississippi State Census and the 1840 Federal Census suggests that probably 20 to 30 households were present in Colbert. The initial growth and prosperity of Colbert continued for only a few years, however. By late 1839 and 1840, the severe depression and associated drop in cotton prices began impacting the town. By 1839 to 1840, the number of merchants in Colbert had been reduced to two or three and the value of merchandise sold was reduced to between $8000 and $9400 (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1841, 1841).

The severity of the depression is perhaps seen best in the town deeds. In March, 1844, over 60 Colbert lots were put up for auction because of unpaid taxes in 1842 and 1843. These lots brought an average price of only 40 cents a piece (Clay Co. Deed Book D:446-464).

Although the town was severely impacted by the depression, it survived and by 1845 was beginning to rebound. The number of stores increased to four and by 1846, to five (Lowndes County Estate Files 474, 507, 557, 913). In 1846, Colbert was finally chartered and the first election of town officers was scheduled for the first Monday in May of that year (Laws of Mississippi 1846).

This renewed growth was also short lived, however, for in December 1847, Colbert, like other low lying Tombigbee River communities, was completely devastated by the great flood of that year. Many structures were evidently swept away by this flood (Rodabaugh 1985:32). Colbert never recovered from this flood. In April 1848, the Colbert Post Office was moved to the newly established and more topographically elevated town of Barton, and in March 1849, Colbert's voting precinct was also moved to Barton (Elliott 1978a:54). By 1848, most individual town lots were viewed as worthless and by 1851 the old town lots were consolidated into agricultural sized holdings (Clay Co. Deed Book D:541; Lowndes Co. Estate File 557).

Barton History

By 1848, when Barton was founded, it was the only true nucleated river town left in Lowndes County other than Columbus. By February 1848, a ferry was chartered at Barton by Hendley S. Bennett and Agur T. Morse (Elliott 1978a:57). Many of Barton's early residents moved up from Colbert (Way and McBride 1983:12-15). As Way and McBride (1983:22) stated, "To a very considerable degree, Barton was conceived and emerged as a reincarnation of Colbert, albeit without the grandiose "boom town" illusions that accompanied the settlement of the earlier community." The lack of these illusions is illustrated by the much smaller plat (30 versus 100 Blocks) laid out for Barton (Figure 6.3).

Barton's economy, like that of Colbert, revolved around cotton and cotton farmers. The town provided storage facilities and access to Mobile steamers that shipped cotton down river and goods up for the towns hinterland of cotton producers. Indeed, by the middle 1850s, there were four warehouses or sheds and three landings at Barton (Way and McBride 1983:25).

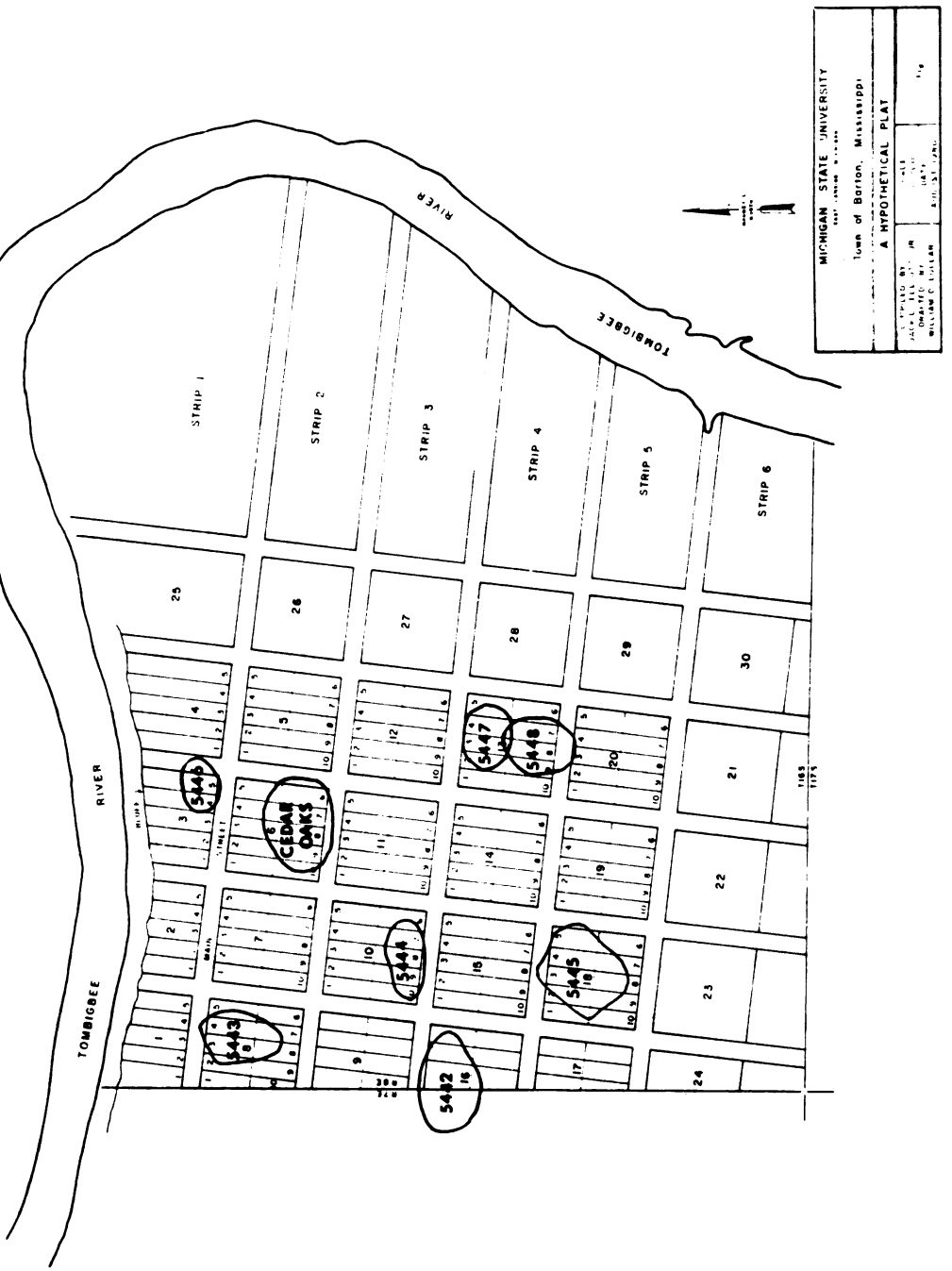


Figure 6.3. Excavated Sites at Barton.

The town prospered in the early and middle 1850s. The services provided at Barton were typical of small inland towns in the cotton south. By 1850 Barton contained five merchantile establishments which sold $15,950 worth of merchandise. The sales were up to $22,413 by 1852 (Lowndes Co. Property Tax Rolls 1851, 1853). Other services at Barton are reflected in the presence of a tavern and hotel, a church, a school, a blacksmith shop, and briefly, a daguerreotype studio. A physician, a lawyer, a few carpenters, a hat manufacturer, and a few planters also lived in Barton. During its peak in the middle 1850s, Barton probably included fifteen to twenty households or 75 to 150 people (Way and McBride 1983:15). Barton was incorporated in 1854 (Elliott 1978a:58).

Barton's success was very much dependent on the navigability of the Tombigbee River. At best, river traffic through Barton was seasonal, concentrated in the high water months between late November and April. In some years, when enough rain failed to appear, the low water all but prevented crops moving out and supplies in.

The completion of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad into the Upper Tombigbee put an end to the transportation problem of the region. Organized in 1848, the M and O reached West Point in northwestern Lowndes County on Christmas Day, 1857 (Elliott 1978a:59; Way and McBride 1983:26). This completion led to a massive reorientation of trade and traffic flow in Lowndes County. The railroad spelled disaster for many river communities, Barton among them. Barton quickly lost business to the new rail town of West Point, which was located in the center of the Prairie to the west of Barton (see Chapter 5). The decline of Barton was fairly rapid. In April, 1858, the Barton Post Office was moved to the nearby hamlet of Vinton (Elliott 1978a). By 1860 only one merchantile business was operating in Barton, and the overland feeder roads in the town were diverted to West Point (Way and McBride 1983:27). Most of the inhabitants in town in 1860 were involved in agriculture (U.S. Manuscript Census, Lowndes Co., 1860).

Although there were no battles fought at or near Barton, the Civil War certainly impacted the town. There were both Union and Confederate soldiers in the area, particularly late in the war, and livestock, cotton, and other goods were confiscated. Trade was certainly disrupted by the war. By 1865 to 1870, Barton was occupied by only a few scattered inhabitants who were involved in agriculture (U.S. Manuscript Census, 1870,; Way and McBride 1983:27). The Barton ferry was the only distinctive aspect left of the community.

Colbert Excavations

SITE A- ALLEN SITE

History

This site was situated within lots 6 & 7 of Block 11 of Colbert townsites and therefore was the residence of John and Margaret Allen, the founders of Colbert (Figure 6.2) (Clay County Deed Book F: 291-295). Margaret Colbert Allen was allotted all of Fractional Section 6, the entire Colbert townsite, as part of the 1834 Treaty of Washington (Elliott 1978a). Whether the Allen's moved to this lot during 1834 or shortly after is unclear, but a note signed by John Allen and dated "Colbert, December 1835" suggests that they were probably living in Colbert by that date. They were definitely residing in Block 11 in 1839 when a deed of trust mentions the Allen's dwelling house, kitchen, and tailor shop in lots 7, 6, and 2 of Block 11, respectively (Clay County Deed Book F: 291-295).

When the Allens moved from this block is uncertain, but their position in the 1850 U.S. Census suggests that they were living on their lands on the east bank of the Tombigbee River and by 1851, the Allen's were living in Perry County, Mississippi, (Clay County Deed Book D: 538; U.S. Census, Lowndes County, MS, 1850: 200). John and Margaret sold their lots in Block 11 with the remainder of their Colbert holdings

to James Hilliard in 1851 (Clay County Deed Book D: 538). It is most likely that this site was abandoned soon after the December 1847 flood.

John Allen was a moderately prosperous planter, businessman (he owned a steam mill on the east side of the Tombigbee), and along with Margaret, an entrepreneur. Besides their extensive Colbert holding, the Allens also owned by the late 1830s, 720 acres of land and 10 slaves (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1839).

Excavation

Historic materials were located at this site during the initial backhoe trenching phase of investigation. Soon afterward, a program of unit excavation was established to investigate this site. Two phases of investigation brought the total excavation area to 56 square meters plus the backhoe trench (Figure 6.4). All units were excavated in 10 centimeter levels and all soil was sifted through one quarter inch mesh hardware cloth.

Features

Nine cultural features were identified at the Allen Site. These included two large trash filled pits or cellars (Features 3 and 16), three post holes with molds (Features 14, 15, and 17), two pier remnants (Features 12 and 18), one small pit (Feature 1), and a pair of possible wagon ruts (Feature 11) (Figure 6.4).

The only features which are of particular interest in this study are the two large pits or cellars. Feature 3 was roughly square and measured 2.2 meters by 2.2 meters and was 75 centimeters deep (Figures 6.4 and 6.5). Whether this feature was dug specifically for trash disposal or served an earlier purpose, such as a cellar, is unclear, but its square shape and the presence of adjacent posts or piers suggests that Feature 3 was originally a cellar. It was filled with a considerable quantity of domestic refuse.

The exposed part of Feature 16 closely resembles Feature 3. It had relatively straight sides and was 72 cm deep. The fill of this feature contained many artifacts (Figure 6.6).

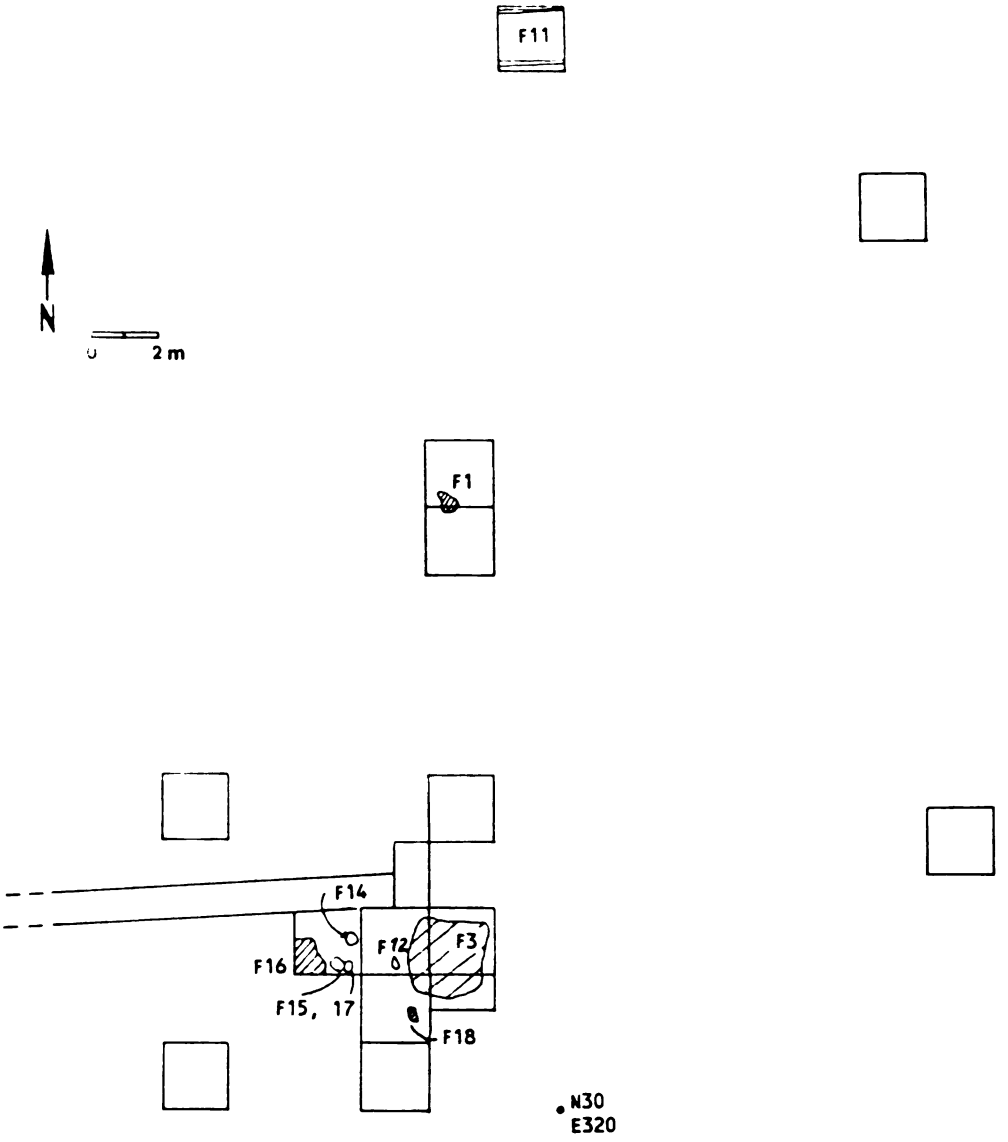


Figure 6.4. Colbert Site A, Excavation Plan.

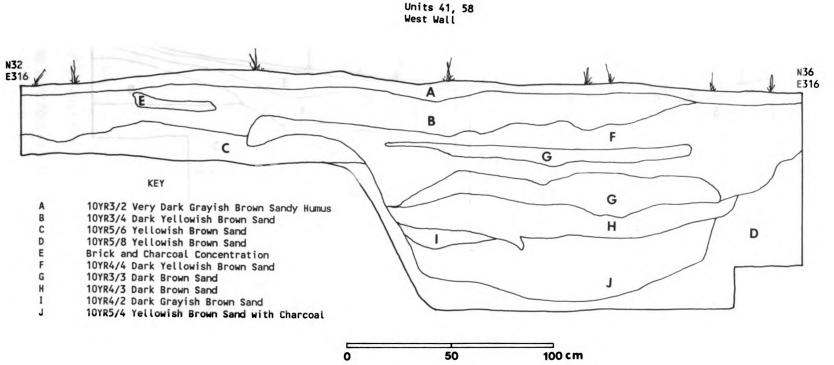


Figure 6.5. Feature 3, Colbert Site A (Allen).

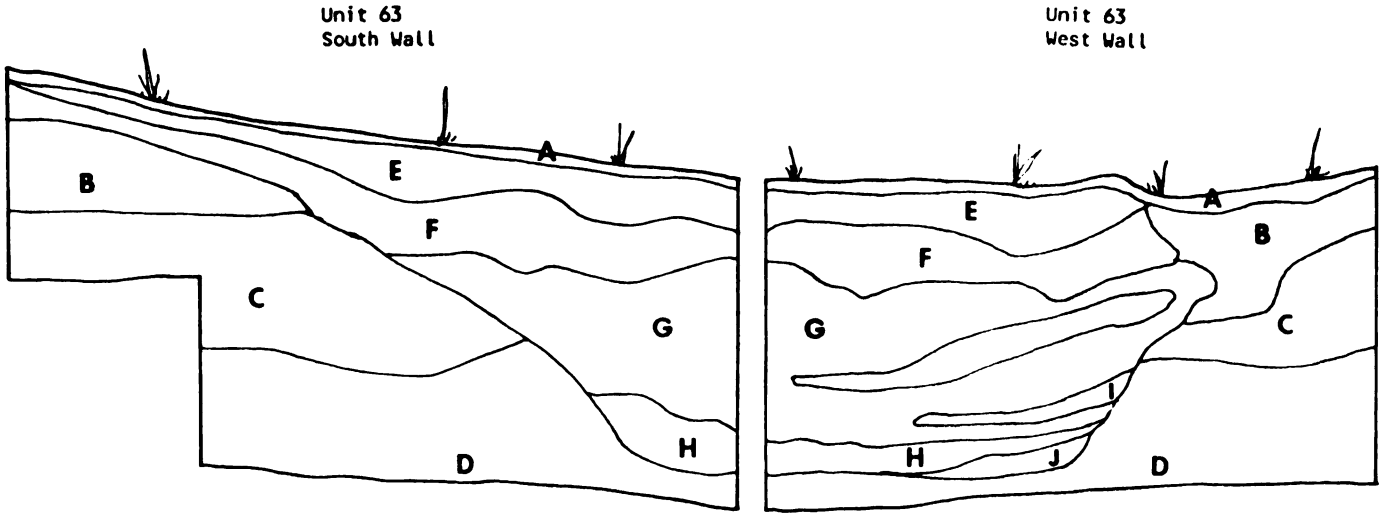


Figure 6.6. Feature 16, Colbert Site A (Allen).

Although the overall size of this feature is unknown, its form and depth suggests that it may also have been a cellar. It was filled with a moderate amount of refuse.

Artifacts and Chronology

Excluding brick and the mineral/miscellaneous category of items, 10,154 artifacts were recovered from this site. The most common artifact types are refined ceramics, followed by nails. A large collection of bottle glass, faunal materials, and table glass, was also recovered. Diagnostic ceramics, including transfer printed, floral painted, and shell edged wares, and diagnostic bottle glass, including roughly applied lips and empontilled bases, support a middle nineteenth century date for this site. A relatively high frequency of early decorative styles on ceramics, such as broad-brush stroke floral painting (77% of painted), suggest that much of the occupation occurred before 1845 or 1850 (Cleland 1983: 30, 33; Lofstrom 1976: 29-32). The presence of pearlware in significant quantities (10% of refined earthenware), which was manufactured from the late 1780s to at least the middle 1840s (Miller 1980:3) also supports the documented dates for this site. The presence of flow blue transfer printed wares do indicate that some occupation occurred after 1840 (Cleland 1983: 36; Lofstrom, Tordoff, and George 1982: 9; Miller 1974: 201). The data range of the ceramic marks (Table 6.1) also supports the documented middle nineteenth century occupation of this site. In fact, two of the manufacturers, Copeland and Garrett and Francis Dillon, suggest occupation dates closely corresponding to the documented dates of the site and town.

In order to examine chronological variation within the site, the frequency and percentage of pearlware and broad brush painted decorative type are presented for Feature 3 and Feature 16 in Table 6.2. These results suggest that Feature 3 contains materials of an earlier age than was found in Feature 16. Since some early types are within Feature 16 and six flow blue sherds (1840+) were within Feature 3, some mixing of boom and

Table 6.1. Ceramic Maker's Marks from the Allen Site.

Manufacturer	N	Date Range	Median Date	Provenience
W. Adams and Sons	3	1800-1864	1832	Gen. Level
S. Alcock and Co.	1	1828-1859	1843.5	Feature 3
Copeland and Garrett	3	1833-1847	1840	Gen.Level,Feat 3
Davenport	3	1805-1860	1832.5	Gen. Level
Francis Dillon	1	1834-1843	1838.5	Gen. Level
S. Tams and Co. or Tams, Anderson, & Tams	1	1820-1850	1835	Gen. Level

Source: Godden 1964; Williams and Weber 1986.

Table 6.2. Diagnostic Ceramics from the Allen Site.

	PEARLWARE				BROAD BRUSH PAINTED			
	sherds		vessels		sherds		vessels	
	N	% of refined ceramics	N	% of refined ceramics	N	% of painted ceramics	N	% of painted ceramic
Gen. Lev	2931	7.7	21	14.4	488	76	36	80
F. 3	107	14.1	25	25	157	83	23	78
F. 16	1	1.4	1	5.2	9	50	2	50

bust purchased materials occurred in each feature. The data in Table 6.2, however, suggest a distinctive difference between the two features.

SITE B- CHERRY SITE

History

This site is located in the northeastern corner of Fractional Block 21 of Colbert townsite (Figure 6.2). This block was purchased by Joel Cherry sometime before 1843 (Clay County Deed Book D: 45). Unfortunately, a more precise initial purchase date for this parcel cannot be attained because of incomplete deed preservation. It is likely, however, given the overall purchasing pattern of Colbert lots that it was purchased in the middle to late 1830s.

Little is known of Joel Cherry except that he owned three other lots in Colbert (lots 1 and 2, Block 21, and lot 2, Block 36) before 1843 and that he owned one slave in 1840 (Clay County Deed Book D: 45; U.S. Census, Lowndes County, MS, 1840: 199). In 1840 his household consisted of himself, and his wife. He may have been related to one of the early Colbert shareholders, Willis W. Cherry, but no evidence of this has been located. In 1843, Joel Cherry lost all of his Colbert property due to back taxes.

Fractional Block 21 was purchased at a sheriff's sale in March 1844 by Joel Leftwich, an early Colbert Commissioner and holder of many town lots (Clay County Deed Book D: 45). Given Leftwich's extensive earlier holdings, many near the center of town, it is unlikely that he ever resided in Fractional Section 21. He certainly may have rented out the property, however.

After Joel Leftwich's death in 1846, all of his property passed to his brother, Littlebury. Littlebury sold a large part of Joel's old property, including Fractional Block 21, to John Hutchins in May 1847 (Clay County Deed Book D: 502). It is improbable that Hutchins, who was a large prairie planter, ever lived at Site B after this date and it is

uncertain whether anyone else ever did either for this is the last mention of this parcel as a separate town block. Seven months after this sale, Colbert was destroyed by the December 1847 flood, and most of its former lots were combined into agricultural holdings.

The most likely scenario for Fractional Block 21 is that it was lived on by Joel Cherry from the late 1830s until 1843. After this date, it was probably abandoned or occupied by renters or relatives of the owners, particularly Joel and Littlebury Leftwich.

Excavation

Site B (the Cherry Site) was located during the backhoe program at Colbert. A dense concentration of nineteenth century artifacts and a feature (Feature 7) were uncovered in the southern half of a north-south trench (Unit 40) (Figure 6.7). A total of nine 2 x 2 meter squares was excavated at this site. All units were excavated in 10 centimeter levels and all soil was sifted through one quarter inch mesh hardware cloth.

Features

Three cultural features were located at the Cherry Site. These included a post mold (Feature 8), a small refuse pit (Feature 9), and a large refuse filled pit or cellar (Feature 7) (Figure 6.7). Only Features 9 and 7 are of relevance to this study.

Feature 9 was an irregular shaped refuse filled pit 120 centimeters long (north-south) by over two meters wide (east-west) and 30 centimeters deep (Figure 6.8). This feature could have been purposely dug for refuse disposal or it could have served an earlier function as a small root cellar. Because of its irregular shape it is also possible that this feature was a natural depression which was later filled with refuse.

Feature 7 was a large cellar-like feature which was at least five by two meters in horizontal area and 45 centimeters deep (Figure 6.9). Whether a structure, or simply boards covered this feature before it was filled is unclear. Given the unsubstantial nature

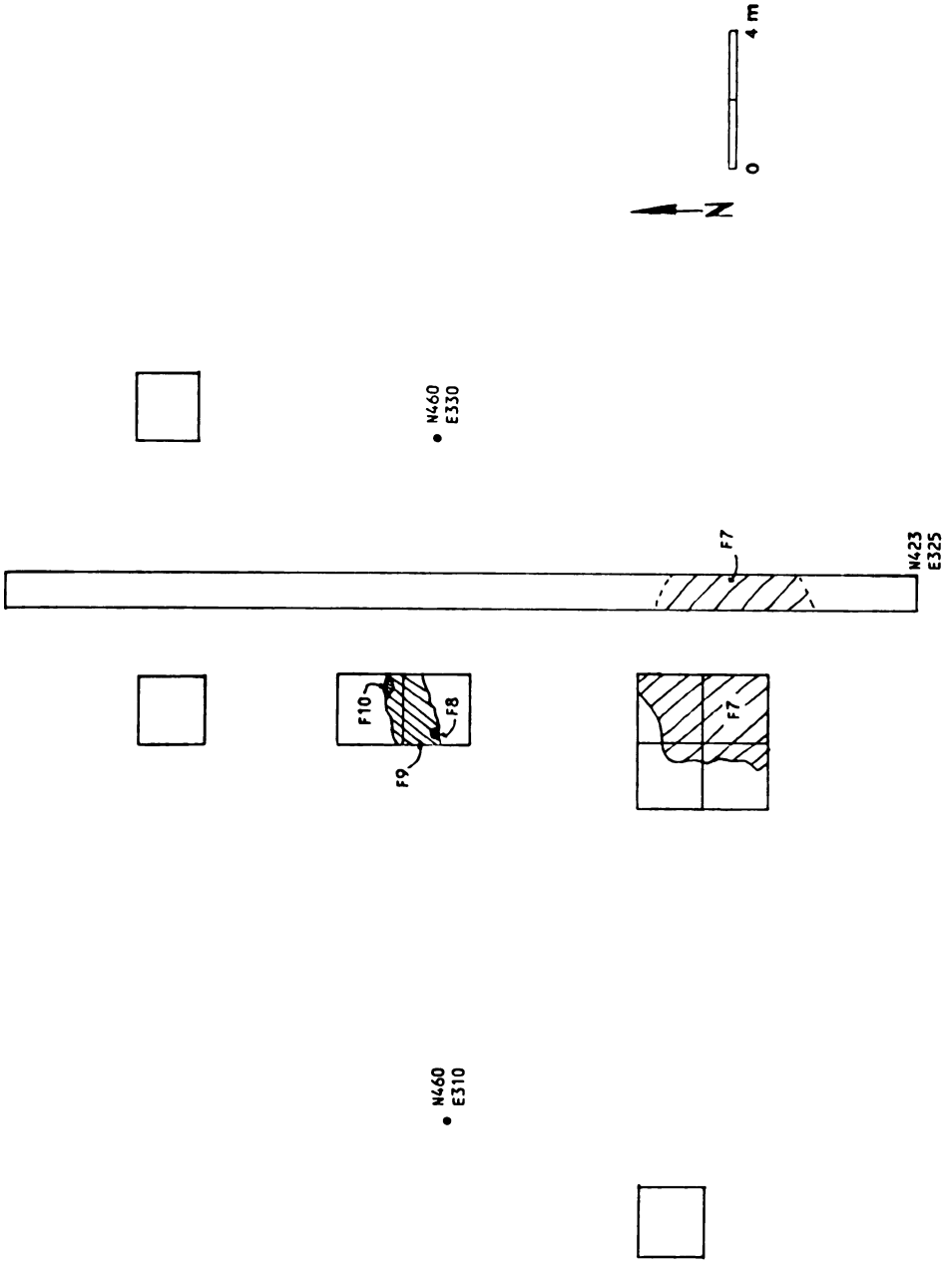
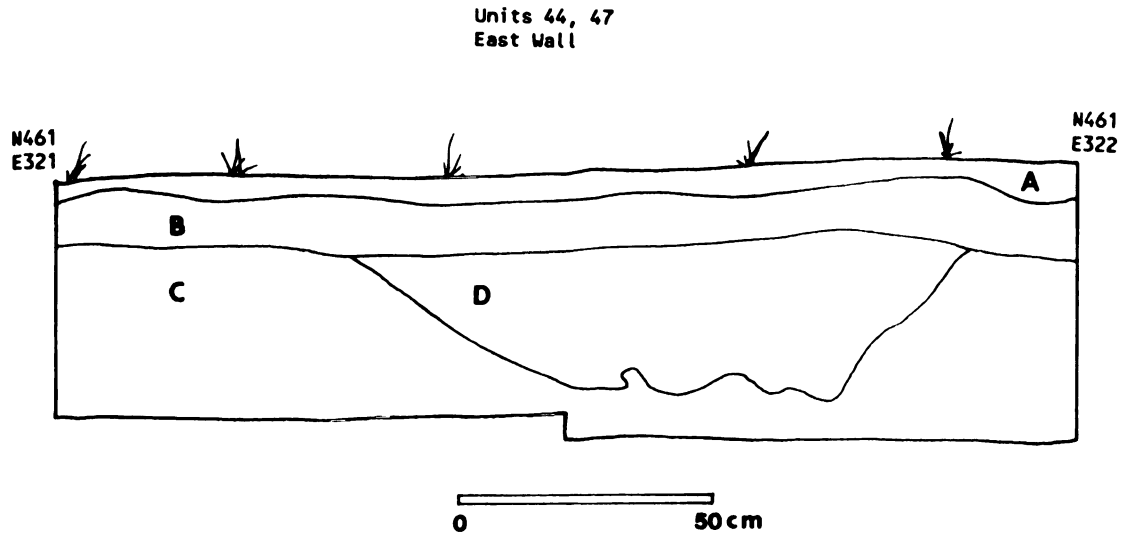


Figure 6.7. Colbert Site B, Excavation Plan.



KEY

A 10YR4/2 Dark Grayish Brown Loam and Humus
B 10YR3/3 to 10YR4/3 Dark Yellowish Brown Sandy Loam
C 10YR5/6 Yellowish Brown Sand
D 10YR3/3 and 10YR5/4 Mottled Dark Brown and Yellowish Brown Sand

Figure 6.8. Feature 9, Colbert Site B (Cherry).

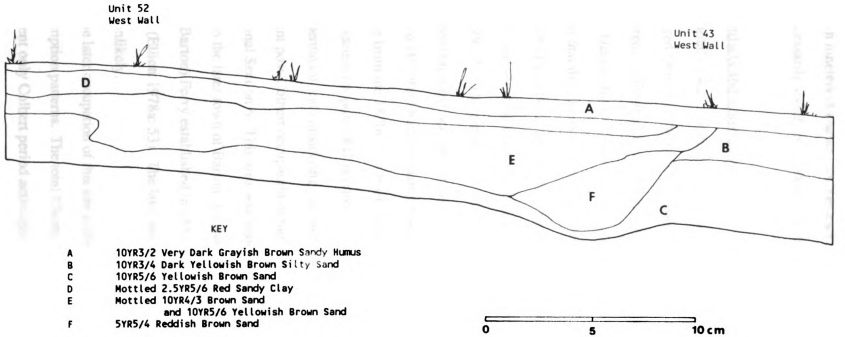


Figure 6.9. Feature 7, Colbert Site B (Cherry).

of much nineteenth century architecture in this region, the lack of foundation remnants is not necessarily significant (Wilson 1975).

Artifacts and Chronology

A total of 4,271 artifacts (excluding brick and mineral/miscellaneous items) was recovered from the Cherry Site. Nails are by far the most common artifact type recovered. Refined ceramics, bottle glass, and faunal remains are the next most common items. Diagnostic artifacts such as decorated refined ceramics and bottle necks and bases suggest that the Cherry Site was occupied during the middle nineteenth century. The presence of pearlware and the high proportion of broad-brush painted (50% of printed) suggest that some occupation pre-dating 1850 occurred (Cleland 1983: 30, 33; Lofstrom 1976: 29-32). The presence of thirteen plain and molded ironstone sherds, however, indicates that some occupation likely occurred after the middle 1840s (Miller 1980: 4). The two identified maker's marks from the Cherry Site (Table 6.3) suggest an occupation ranging from the 1830s to at least 1855.

Evidence for post 1847 occupation on this site is somewhat surprising given the documentation and considering the overall history of Colbert. One possible factor in the apparent post-Colbert occupation of this site is its location in the far northeast corner of Fractional Section 6. This area was adjacent to the last Colbert Ferry (1845 - 1851), very close to the later town of Barton, and only a few hundred feet south of Jackson Spring (later Barton) Ferry established in 1851 by James R. Hilliard, James H. Griswold, and others (Elliott 1978a: 53). The later use of this site by ferry operators would not have been unlikely.

The later occupation of this site presents analytical difficulties for the investigation of consumption patterns. The total Cherry Site collection certainly cannot be used to represent only Colbert period activities. The features (7 and 9), however, do not contain any definite, or even likely, post-Colbert artifacts. Table 6.4 shows the proportion of

Table 6.3. Ceramic Maker's Marks from the Cherry Site.

Manufacturer	Number	Date Range	Median Date	Provenience
J. Clementson (Dallas Shape)	1	1855-1864	1859.5	Gen. Level
Ralph & James Clews, Enoch Wood and Sons, J and J Jackson, John and Will Ridgeway, or Ralph Stevenson and Williams (Harvard Pattern)	1	1818-1846	1832	Feature 7

Source: Godden 1964; Larsen 1975; Wetherbee 1980.

Table 6.4. Diagnostic Ceramics from the Cherry Site, Features 7 & 9.

	PEARLWARE				BROAD BRUSH PAINTED			
	sherds		vessels		sherds		vessels	
	N	% of refined ceramics	N	% of refined ceramics	N	% of painted ceramics	N	% of painted ceramic
Feat. 7 & 9	3	2.4	3	6.8	10	50	4	50

pearlware and broad-brush painted ceramics, which suggest that these features are comparable to Feature 16 at the Allen site. The Harvard pattern from Feature 7 also lends support for the earlier date for this feature. Only the materials from Features 7 and 9, therefore, will be utilized in the consumption analysis presented in the next chapter.

DON'S LANDING- WARREN SITE

History

This site was situated within what were lots 7 and 8 of Block 14 in Colbert townsite (Figure 6.2). These lots contained the residence and store of Peter Warren, his wife Ann, and their five children. Warren bought these lots from Agar T. Morse in 1838. The Warrens occupied these lots until January 1848 when they moved to Barton (Clay County Deed Book H: 23).

Peter Warren, who was originally from Rhode Island, owned and operated a general merchandise store in Colbert throughout his residence there. His store sold between $600 and $3000 worth of merchandise every year between 1837 and 1842 (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1838 - 1843). Peter Warren owned six slaves during this period, and he was taxed for a $10 watch in 1843 (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1838 - 1843).

Excavation

Archaeological examination of the Warren Site was performed over three phases by Mississippi State University. The first phase involved clearing, disking, and surface collecting the site. A grid consisting of ten feet squares was laid over the whole site and utilized for control. Once the surface collections were complete, a program of mechanical stripping was performed. Finally, excavation units and further mechanical stripping were completed in areas of refuse and feature concentration.

In the end, 47,800 square feet of area was surface collected and north-south strips were mechanically excavated at approximately every 20 feet across the site (Marshall 1988). Three areas of artifact and/or feature concentration were located during the first two phases of investigation (Figure 6.10).

In the East feature area. 1050 square feet was excavated to approximately 16 inches below surface (Figure 6.11). In West Feature Area 1, 190 square feet was excavated to approximately 12 inches below surface while in West Feature Area 2, 345.5 square feet was excavated to approximately 16 inches below surface (Figures 6.10 and 6.12). While most of this excavation was completed by hand, additional mechanical removal of soil was performed in the lower levels of many excavation blocks.

Features

All of the features identified on the Warren Site were either in the East Feature Area or in West Feature Area 2 (Figures 6.11 and 6.12). West Feature Area 1 contained no discrete features and it has been interpreted as a marshy area which received occasional dumping (Marshall 1988:71). The East Feature Area contained 21 features, all of which were the remnants of posts or piers (Figure 6.11). Three clusters of brick rubble were also identified in this area although no feature numbers were assigned. The majority of the post remnants were of the same shape and size, and are probably fence post remnants, though the east-west posts could be the remains of a simple poled structure such as a barn or shed. The four larger post holes or piers (Features 2,4,10, and 11) do seem to be the remnants of a small structure. The large square post mold/hole to the south of this four post structure is probably related to that structure. The function of the small structure is difficult to determine, especially since the large and varied artifact collection from the East Feature area suggests that it was used for general refuse dumping (Marshall 1988).

The significance of the three brick rubble clusters is difficult to assess since, according to Marshall (1988: 34-37), much of this rubble was somewhat displaced

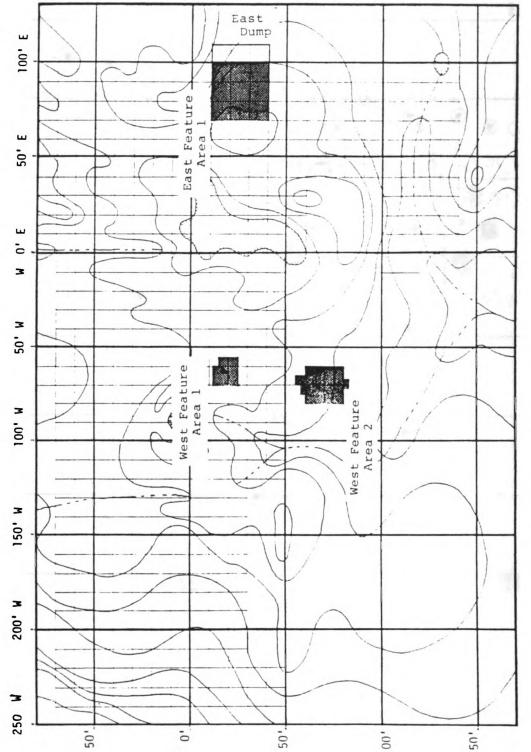


Figure 6.10. Don's Landing (Warren) Site Plan (from Marshall 1988).

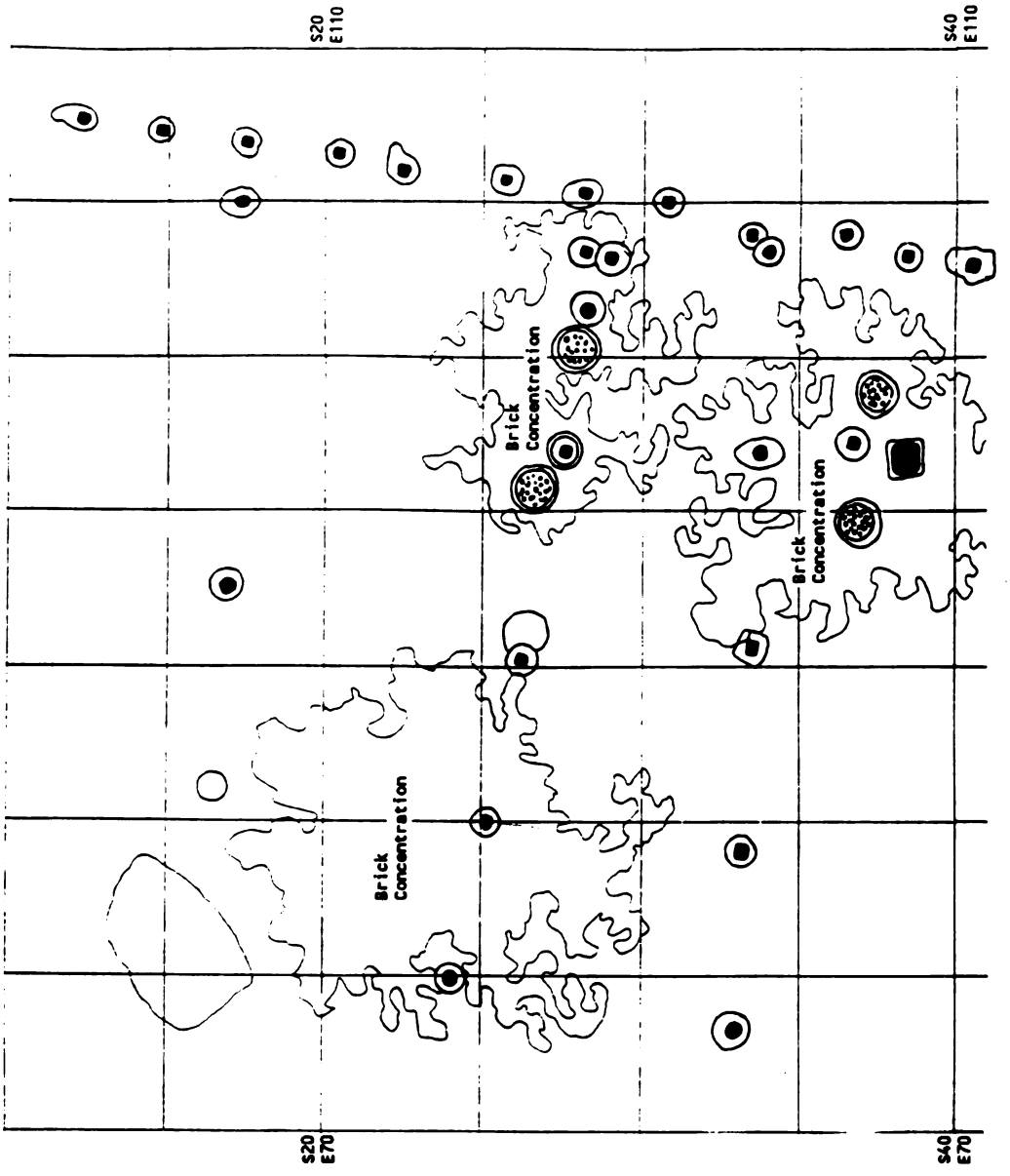


Figure 6.11. Plan of East Feature Area 1 (from Marshall 1988).

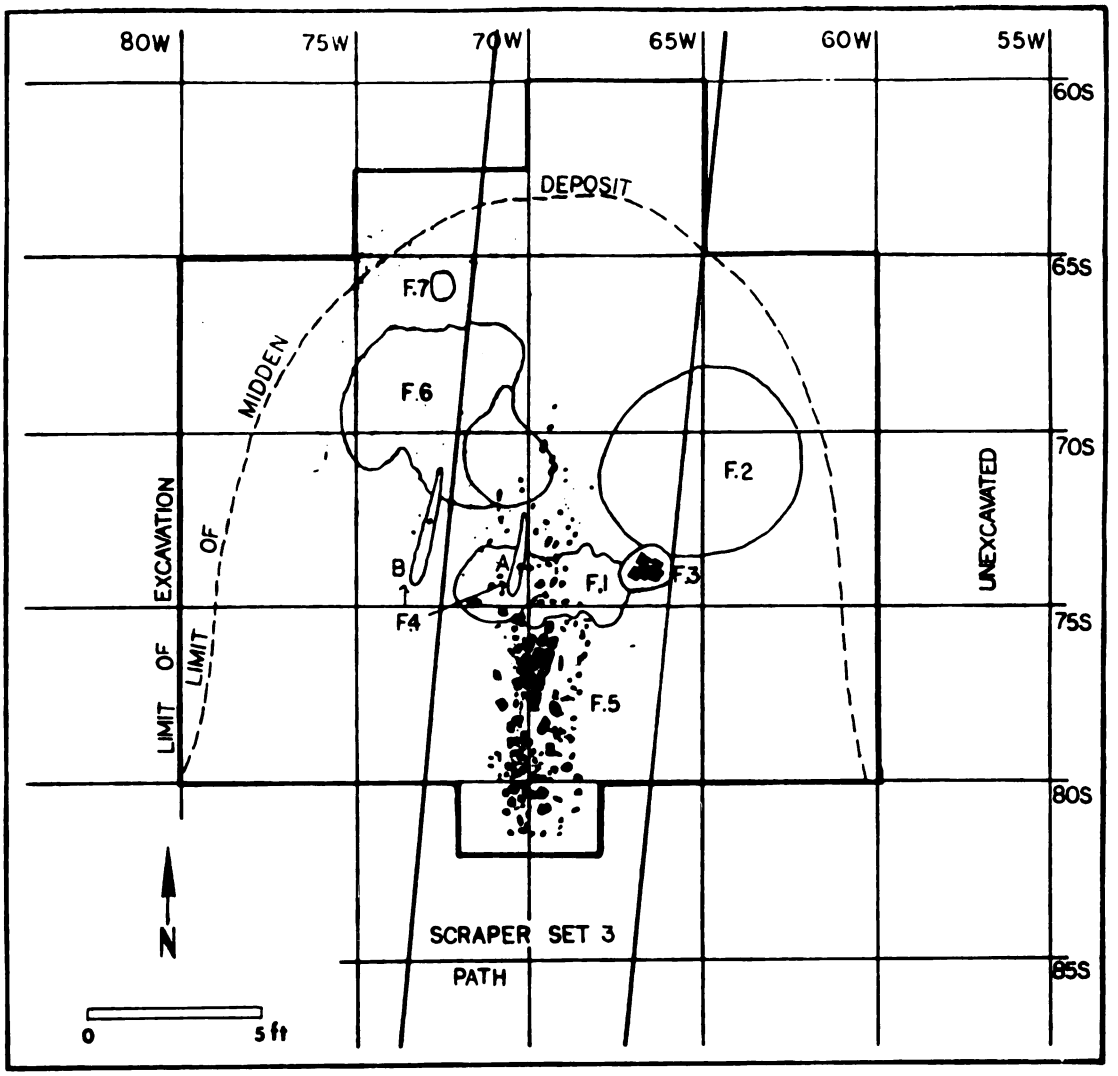


Figure 6.12. Plan of West Feature Area 2 (from Marshall 1988).

during the clearing of this site by heavy machinery. Marshall (1988: 36) does seem to think, however, that the most southeastern cluster was less disturbed and probably is in its original location.

Seven features were identified in West Feature Area 2 (Figure 6.12). These consisted of the overall midden deposit (Feature 1), a circular burned area (Feature 2), a pit or post hole filled with brick (Feature 3), two linear dark stains (Feature 4 A and B), a concentration of brick rubble which may be the remnants of a brick walkway (Feature 5), a series of parallel linear stains (Feature 6), which have been interpreted as garden spading (Marshall 1988: 64), and finally a post mold or hole (Feature 7).

The features and refuse recovered in West Feature Area 2 indicate that it was utilized for heavy refuse disposal and burning. The area also seems to have been utilized as a garden, which is not surprising given the richness of the midden. The presence of the probable brick walkway is somewhat surprising, but it may have been constructed simply to facilitate the hauling of trash over the sometimes muddy terrain. The precise function of the posts is unclear.

Artifacts and Chronology

The Warren Site contained 4,443 artifacts. Refined ceramics and nails were the most common artifact type recovered. A large quantity of faunal material was also recovered. All diagnostic artifacts recovered from the Warren Site date to the middle nineteenth century. The ceramic maker's marks recovered at this site support a pre-1850 date for this site (Table 6.5). Like the Allen and Cherry Sites discussed above, the presence of pearlware and relatively early decorative types, such as broad-brush painted, and the very low proportion of generally later wares, such as plain and molded ironstone (0.5% of refined earthenware) (Table 6.6) suggest that this site was probably not occupied after the flood of 1847.

Table 6.5 Ceramic Maker's Marks from the Warren Site.

Manufacturer	Number	Date Range	Median Date	Provenience
Francis Dillon	1	1834-1840	1837	West Feature Area 2
American Manuf. Pottery Co.	1	1833-1850	1842	East Feature Area
J. and W. Ridgeway	1	1814-1837	1826	West Feature Area 2

Sources: Godden 1964, Lehner 1988.

Table 6.6. Diagnostic Ceramics from the Warren Site.

	PEARLWARE				BROAD BRUSH PAINTED			
	sherds		vessels		sherds		vessels	
	N	% of refined ceramics	N	% of refined ceramics	N	% of painted ceramics	N	% of painted ceramic
E. Feat. Area	31	2.5	9	5.6	50	64	24	62
W. Feat. Area 1-2	16	10.9	5	14.3	22	78	8	67
Gen Lev	57	6.2	11	9.1	35	69	2	50

Although the East Feature area and the two West Feature areas of the site have the same range of diagnostics, the proportion of pearlware and earlier (broad-brush painted) wares suggests that West Feature Areas 1 and 2 date somewhat earlier than the East Feature Area (Table 6.6). The presence of identical decorative types and two cross-mends between the East and West Feature Areas, however, indicates that some temporal overlap is present, but there is a definite trend toward earlier ceramics in the West Feature Areas, which will be used with Feature 3 of the Allen site to represent earlier Colbert occupations. The East Feature Area will be used with Allen Site Feature 16 and the Cherry Site to represent somewhat later Colbert occupations.

Barton Excavations

At Barton, eight of the sites located were subjected to intensive excavation. These included housesites 5442, 5444, 5445, 5447, 5448 and Cedar Oaks, the hotel site (5443), and the blacksmith shop (5446) (Figure 6.3). These sites were chosen for further excavation because of their integrity, documentation, function, and representativeness. The first five excavated housesites will be described in more detail below since their assemblages will be utilized for further analysis later in this chapter. These descriptions are taken to a large degree from McBride and McBride (1983). The collections from the tested sites are too small for detailed consumption analysis, and therefore will not be described further.

The assemblages from two of the excavated domestic sites, the hotel and Cedar Oaks, will not be utilized for further analysis either, but for different reasons. The different function of the hotel makes it difficult to compare to the housesites, while the mixed nature of the Cedar Oaks' deposits make analysis of particular time periods impossible. No significant deposits of middle nineteenth century material could be identified within strata or features at Cedar Oaks. The failure to identify exclusively middle nineteenth

century deposits at Cedar Oaks is unfortunate, since it was the home of James Collins, Barton's wealthiest merchant.

Site 5442

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

Site 5442 is one of the Barton house sites with a long sequence of occupations. During the period Barton functioned as a riverport town, this house site was the home of three merchants, one of whom was also the Barton mayor. This site is located within the reconstructed plat of Barton in Block 16 (Figure 6.3). Hendley S. Bennett, trustee for the town of Barton, first sold this block to Agur T. and Grace G. Morse on 3 June 1851 (Clay Co. Deed Book D:548-549). Morse bought other property at this time, later acting as a Barton trustee, and there is no reason to believe he ever occupied this land. Soon after acquiring Block 16, Morse sold it, along with the east half of Lot 5 of Block 7, to Robert McGowan for $50.00 (Clay County Deed Book D:554).

It is likely that Robert McGowan was the first resident of this town property. He was one of the earliest Barton merchants, and he probably built his house on Block 16, while the east half of Lot 5 of Block 7 was his store property. In the 1850 census, the McGowan household included Robert: his wife Nancy, children Robert, and William, and Fletcher Scott. Scott was listed in the census as a clerk, and numerous receipts from McGowan's business establish him in this capacity, if not as a partner

Judging from his business receipts, McGowan had been at Barton at least since 1849 and remained in business until 1853, when he moved to Vinton During his tenure at Barton, he did a good business, and his sales of $8,000 in 1851 were more than the sales of all other Barton merchants combined. In 1852, he again sold $8000 of merchandise. According to the 1850 census, he had three slaves, and in 1851 he was taxed for one clock and three slaves along with his store sales. In 1852 his taxable property had

increased by one slave and the addition of a $130 clock or watch. In 1850 his real estate was valued at $4,000 (Lowndes Co. Property Tax Rolls 1851-53; U.S. Census, Lowndes Co., 1850).

The next inhabitants were the family of Dr. William Rainey, who was McGowan's successor in business. Their household in 1850 in Monroe County included William Rainey, his wife Eliza A., and a daughter. By 1852 he was living in Lowndes County, where he was taxed for one carriage, one watch, one horse, and one slave. He may already have been living in Barton, but he was definitely there by 1853, when he was taxed for one carriage, watch, and slave.The Raineys appear to have been forced out of business in Barton by 1856 by suits brought against them and possibly an overextension of credit.

The next occupants of this site was Augustine R. Duling and Mary R. Duling. Rainey sold the property on 15 February 1856 to Mary R. Duling, for $1,000-indicating at least one substantial structure and probably both a house and store building (Clay Co. Deed Book F:493). The Dulings had been in the general area since at least 1845 and had owned considerable property at Colbert. Augustine was elected mayor of Barton (which also meant Justice of the Peace) in 1857 and 1859, and his son, Augustine H., was elected Barton constable in 1857. Although some of the older children may not have been living with their parents by 1856, the household in 1850 consisted of Augustine B.,Mary, William, Augustine H., Lucretia, and Rosa. Augustine R. was taxed in 1857 for one slave, and his son A. H. was taxed for his poll only. A. B.'s real estate had been valued at $4,000 in 1850 and was valued at $1,000 in 1860, along with $1,000 in personal property. Duling was listed in the 1850 agricultural census as having 200 acres of land worth $2,000 (Lowndes Co. Property Tax Roll 1857; U.S. Census, Lowndes Co., 1850, 1860).

It seems likely that the Dulings did not reside long on Block 16, for they sold it in February 1857 to William J. Futrell for $600 and moved next door to the old Warren

house on Block 18 (Clay County Deed Book F:518-519). Futrell also purchased the adjoining Block 9 from E. A. and M. Atkinson (Clay County Deed Book F:530-531). The Futrell household in 1860 consisted of W. J. Futrell, Mahala, and two children Also residing with them were L. L. Kelley, and Parthena Kelley. Both William J. Futrell and L. L. Kelley were listed as farmers, and William J's son, William V. was listed as a student (U.S. Census 1860). William J.'s real property in 1863 was valued at $3,000, his personal property at $1,000, high in comparison to most Barton residents at that time. Throughout the 1850s , however, he was taxed only for his poll and sometimes for one clock. In the 1850 agricultural schedule his land was valued at $1,000,. In 1860 his farmland consisted of 50 improved and 10 unimproved acres worth $300.00.

We do not know how long the Futrell family resided in the house on Block 16. By 1863, William J. Futrell was dead and by 1866, his wife had married E. V. Gaston (Clay Co. Deed Book E:613-614). Neither Mrs. E. V. Gaston nor her son, W. V. Futrell, appear in the 1870 Federal Census in the vicinity of Barton or Vinton, and by 1872 William V. had definitely established himself in Aberdeen, where he ran a variety store. It is unclear who, if anyone, lived on this property between the late 1860s and 1900. The property was owned by the Richardson family until 1879, when it was sold to Mary E. Coltrane. It is unclear, however, if any of these people resided in Block 16 (McBride and McBride 1983:142).

This block remained in the Coltraine family until 1919, when Mary Coltrain's daughter sold it to M. W. Atkins (Clay Co. Deed Book 47:228). It is unclear whether any of the Coltraines lived on Site 5442, however. By 1900, the house was rented to Frank C. Andrews and his family. The Andrews family apparently lived here until the 1910s (McClurken and Anderson 1981).

The next residents of Site 5442 were the Keller family. In about 1915, Thomas and Francis Keller and their five children moved into this site. Thomas and Francis' daughter, Nancy, and her husband, Sandord Harvell, lived in this house in the 1920s,

and are the last known occupants of the site. All of the later residents were involved in agriculture (McClurken and Anderson 1981).

Excavation

A total sample of 371 square meters was excavated at this site, the largest at Barton (Figure 6.13). The excavation procedures during the testing and data recovery phases were similar in that units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels during both phases. However, the method of soil removal differed. In Phase I the soil was shoveled out and passed through a quarter-inch mesh wire screen. During Phase III the soil was removed by careful troweling, and not passed through a screen. Some artifacts were piece plotted. Excavators attempted this latter procedure in the hope of obtaining more data on the association of artifacts and features.

Structural Features

The dwelling at site 5442 was represented archaeologically by a brick chimney base, three brick piers, three post holes, and a brick walkway. Also, on the western, northern, and southeastern sides of the chimney base are driplines (Figure 6.13).

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

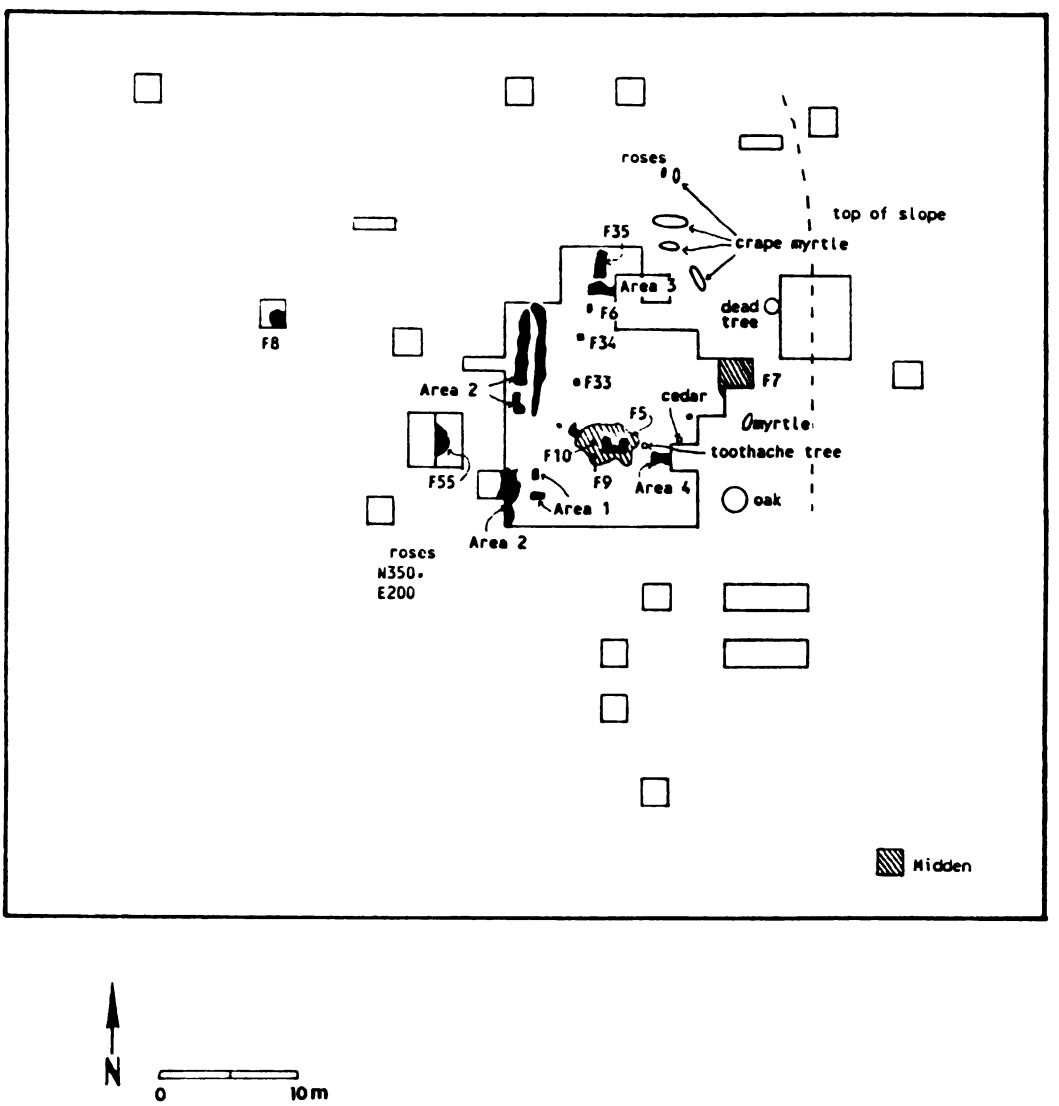


Figure 6.13. Site 5442, Excavation Plan.

ft rooms. The western driplines (Areas 1 and 2) certainly suggest the presence of a porch on this side and the northern dripline (Areas 3) may indicate a porch also.

Other Features

Two refuse filled features were also found at this site. One was a deep well and the other a small trash pit. These features will provide the data base for the consumption analysis to follow. The stratigraphy within the well was very complex and consisted of medium thick to very thin lenses of sandy loam, charcoal, and ash (Figure 6.14). Unfortunately, wall slumping made it impossible to complete the profile map for the lower 1.6 m of this feature. The trash pit (Feature 8) was roughly oval, 100 cm by 80 cm in area, and 25 cm deep (Figure 6.15).

Artifacts and Chronology

Excluding brick and artifacts of the mineral/composite/- miscellaneous category (which were cataloged by weight), 26,701 artifacts were recovered from this site. The majority were metal (primarily nails) or glass (nearly half window glass). Ceramics made up the only other material found in significant quantities. The well (Feature 55) contained 7,833 artifacts, including a tremendous amount of nails, ceramics, bottle glass, miscellaneous metal, and faunal remains. The large frequency (4,714) and location of cut nails on the outer edges of the feature suggest that a wooden lining had once been present. The remaining artifacts were likely the result of secondary deposition.

The small refuse pit (Feature 8) contained 116 artifacts, excluding brick fragments. The most frequent artifacts in this feature were nails, ceramics, animal bone, and bottle glass, suggesting secondary refuse.

The artifacts from site 5442 support the historically documented occupation dates. (Table 6.7) Artifacts such as transfer printed, hand painted, and shell edge decorated ceramics, as well as applied bottle lips, support the middle nineteenth century beginning

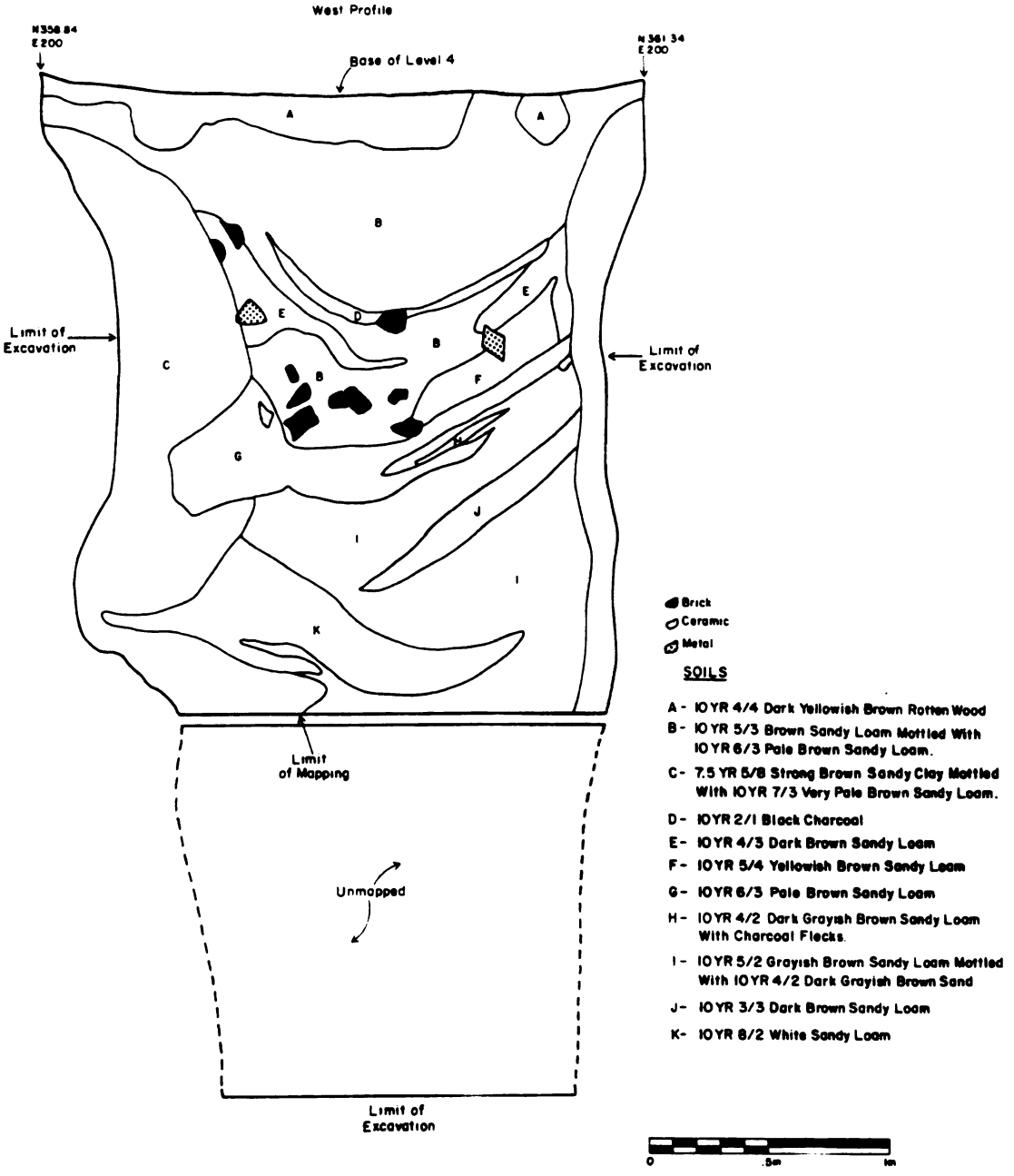
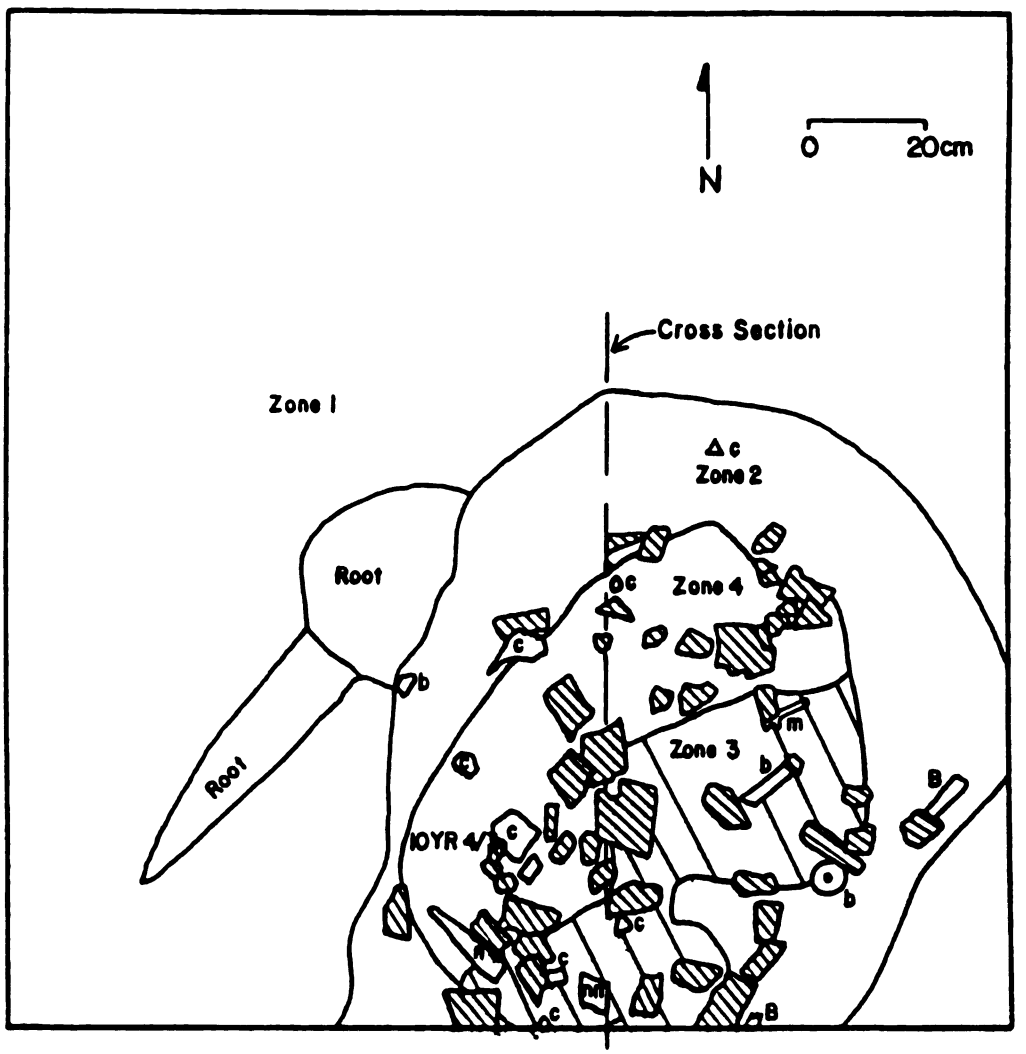


Figure 6.14. Feature 55 (well), Site 5442.



c = Ceramic
b = Bottle
B = Bone
□ = Brick
m = Metal
n = Hinge

Zone 1 5YR 5/8 reddish yellow sandy clay (B1 Horizon)
Zone 2 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown clayey sand (some dark)
Zone 3 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam (brown mottling)
Zone 4 10YR 4/3 dark brown clayey sand

Figure 6.15. Feature 8 (pit), Site 5442.

Table 6.7. Ceramic Maker's Marks and Labels from the McGowan Site.

Manufacturer	Number	Date Range	Provenience
Ceramics			
James Edwards (&son?)	2	1842-1882	Feature 55
James Edwards (registry)	1	1851	General Level
TJ and J Mayer	1	1843-1855	General Level
Alfred Meakin	1	1875-1897	General Level
Sebring Pottery Company	1	1887-1940	General Level
Vodrey	1	1872-1885	General Level
Glass			
Ball Mason	2	1895+	General Level
Coca Cola	3	1915+	General Level
Mentholatum	1	1889+	General Level
Patent Date	1	1906+	General Level
Patent Date	1	1925+	General Level
Metal			
J B Williams Co	1	1918+	General Level

Sources: Fike 1987; Gates and Omerod 1982; Godden 1964; Toulouse 1969.

date for this site. A high frequency of late artifacts such as machine-blown bottles and wire nails support the early to middle twentieth century end date.

More specific chronological information from maker's marks and labels is given below in Table 6.7. An examination of diagnostic artifacts by excavation level indicates that the midden deposits over the site were mixed. The only contexts which date exclusively from the Barton town period 1848-ca. 1865) were Features 8 and 55. The middle nineteenth century position of these two features is supported by the presence of diagnostic ceramics (transfer printed, painted, shell edged, and sponged whiteware) and glass (empontilled bottle bases and roughly applied bottle lips). The low proportion of broad-brush painted whiteware vessels (33% of painted) and absence of scalloped shell edged whiteware and pearlware in these features support the primarily post 1850 use of these features, while the lack of late nineteenth century bottle glass and ceramic decorative forms supports a circa 1860-1870 terminal date for these features. The date range of the two James Edwards ceramic marks found in Feature 55, 1842 to 1882, nicely brackets the existence of Barton as a town. No chronological difference between Features 8 and 55 could be ascertained from artifact analysis. Because of the chronological complexity of site 5442, only materials from Features 8 and 55 will be utilized in the analysis presented below.

SITE 5444

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

On the reconstructed plat of Barton, this site is in the south half of Block 10, a residential area south of the hotel (Figure 6.3). In 1851, James Collins bought Block 15, just south of Block 10, and may have lived there until he bought Cedar Oaks in January 1852 (Clay County Deed Book D:584). In May 1852, Collins bought several lots in Block 10, including the south half (Clay County Deed Book D:584). The use he put this

site to is unknown, but he never lived there. This is the only documented transaction of this property, and its occupation is sketchy.

The 1855 Lowndes County land roll indicates that a John Adair owned this property, which was valued at $100. While this valuation is hot high, it is not so low as to preclude the presence of a small dwelling. Little is known of Adair. In 1850, he was 19 years old and in 1851 he was taxed only for his poll. He was a carpenter by trade, and by 1860 he and his family were living in Holly Springs (Lowndes Co Property Tax Roll 1851; U.S. Census, Lowndes County, Mississippi, 1850; U.S. Census, Marshall County, Mississippi, 1860).

In 1857 this property was owned by James Griswold, who lived on the south half of Block 13 (Lowndes County Land Roll 1857), No value for this property was listed. It is possible that James Griswold's brother Fedum lived on this site. In 1860 this house site was occupied by the W. J. and Betsy Rodgers family (U.S. Census 1860). They had lived in Mississippi since at least 1840 and in 1850 resided about five miles west of Barton. By 1860, when they were living in Barton, William J. was listed as a Negro manager with $100 of personal estate and no real estate. Their household consisted of William J., aged 50; Betsy, aged 52; their children John, aged nine; Martha, aged seven; Margaret, aged six; and Susan, aged four; and W. R. Siles, aged 20 and listed as a farm laborer.s Nothing more is known of the family, and they seem not to have remained in Barton through the 1860s (U.S. Census 1850, 1860). Little is known of this site after this time.

Excavation

Seven units (28 square meters) were excavated here during Phases I and II. These were placed in a dispersed fashion over the site, and three features, a chimney base and two post holes, were located. The Phase III sample frame (100 square meters) was designed primarily to investigate the area immediately surrounding the chimney base with

a goal of locating additional structural features (Figure 6.16). Units were also placed in the general yard area to the north, west, and south to investigate refuse disposal patterns and find additional features. All units at this site were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and all of the soil was excavated with shovels and passed through a quarter-inch mesh wire screen.

Structural Features

The only feature definitely associated with the dwelling is a chimney base (Feature 16) one course thick and measuring 1.34 m (E/W) by 90 cm (N/S) (Figure 6.17). It has a single firebox at the southern end. Four post holes in fairly close proximity to the chimney are roughly rectangular and approximately the same size (20-24 cm in diameter). The location of these posts suggests the presence of a room or shed on the north side of the dwelling. Another possible structural feature, Feature 48, was located in the south-central portion and consisted of a large (2 m x 2 m) pile of brick rubble (Figure 6.16). This feature may have been a brick dump, but it may also have been part of a chimney fall, possibly associated with a chimney at the southern end of the house.

Artifacts and Chronology

A total of 5,319 artifacts (excluding brick and mineral/ composite/ miscellaneous) was recovered from this site. This assemblage contained a very high percentage of metal (primarily nails, 57.5%) and a low proportion of ceramics, due to the location of the excavation sample primarily in the area of the structure (Figure 6.16). It is interesting that the great frequency of nails is not matched by the other major structural artifact type, window glass (5%), which may suggest a low frequency of glass panes in this structure.

Like at site 5442, the diagnostic artifacts (including a lack of pearlware and scalloped shell edged whiteware) from this site suggest that its occupation occurred primarily during the 1850s and 1860s. The presence of a Thomas Booth ceramic mark (Table 6.8) and the

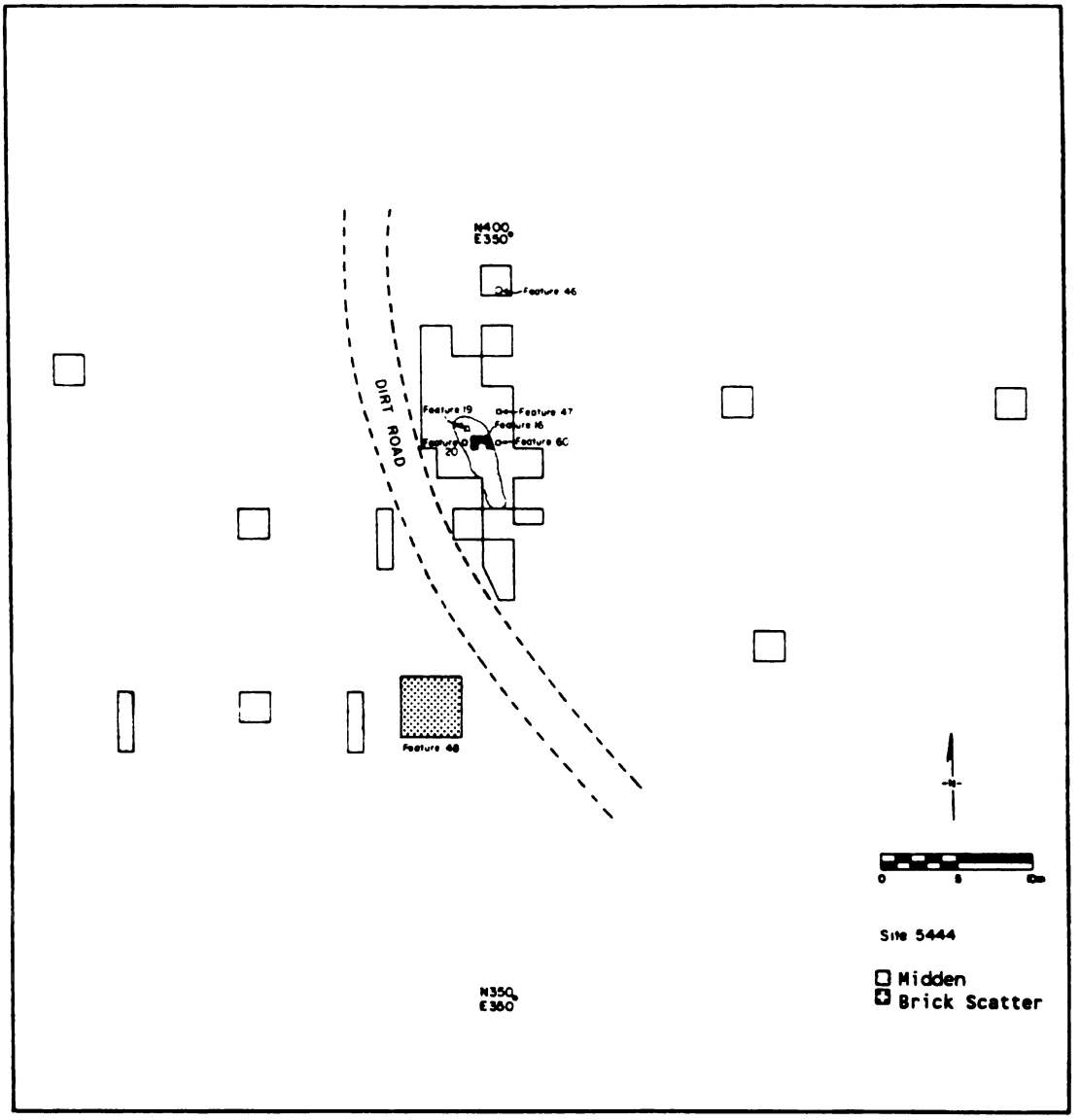
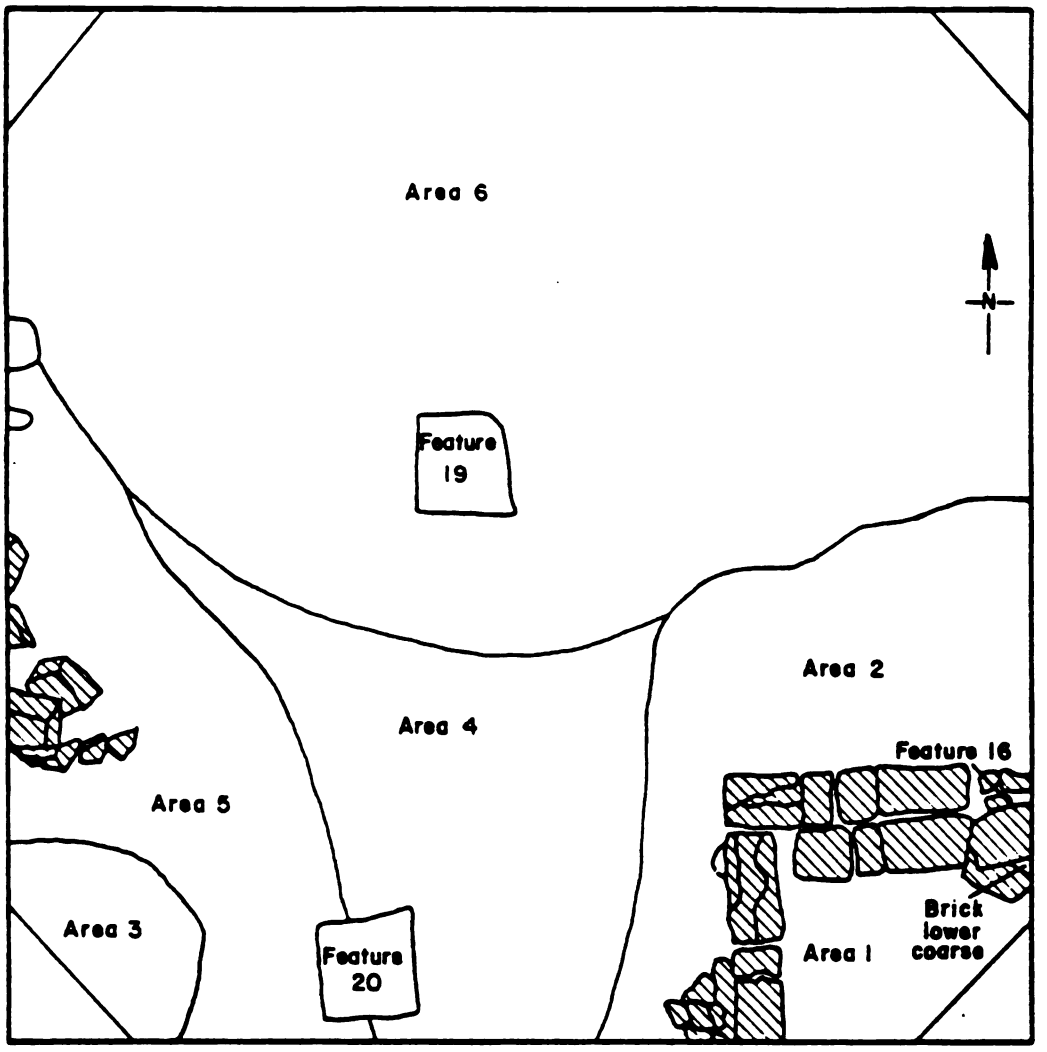


Figure 6.16. Site 5444, Excavation Plan.



Area 1 10YR 6/3 pale brown sandy loam
Area 2 7.5 YR 4/6 mottled with 10 YR 6/4 (A2-B1 Horizon interface)
Area 3 10 YR 6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam (A2 Horizon)
Area 4 7.5 YR 4/6 strong brown sandy clay (B1 Horizon)
Area 5 same as area 2
Area 6 2.5 YR 3/6 red silty clay (B2 Horizon)
Feature 16 brick foundation
Feature 19 post hole 10YR 6/4 light yellow brown sandy clay
Feature 20 post hole 10 YR 6/4 light yellow brown sandy clay

Figure 6.17. Feature 16 (chimney), Site 5444.

Table 6.8. Ceramic Maker's Marks from the Adair-Rogers Site.

Manufacturer	Number	Date Range	Median	Provenience
James Edwards (& Sons?)	2	1842-1882	1862	Gen. Level
Thomas Booth & Co	1	1868-1872	1870	Gen. Level

Sources: Godden 1964.

token stamped "Reissued June 20, 1868" indicates that this site was occupied into the very late 1860s or 1870s. This probably reflects the continued use of this site as a residence for farmers or tenants, a pattern which began as early as 1860 with the Rogers family.

SITE 5445

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

This house site was the residence of two Barton merchants, Peter Warren and A. B. Duling, and their families. Both families moved to Barton from Colbert. A. B. Duling was the last mayor of Barton, and he and his family are also associated with site 5442.

Peter Warren was born in Rhode Island around 1780 and was living in Colbert by 1837. In 1839 he married Sarah Ann McBee, daughter of Vardry McBee. Both Sarah McBee and Peter Warren had come to Mississippi from South Carolina, where Peter left several grown daughters.

Peter, who had a small mercantile business at Colbert , moved to Barton in 1848 and continued a moderate business on Lot 1, Block 2, until 1853 (Way and McBride 1983).

His sales were $2,000 in 1851 and $1,500 in 1852, but there was nothing listed thereafter. The Warren household in 1850 consisted of Peter, aged 70, his wife Ann (Sarah Ann), aged 60, and his daughter Sarah, aged 37 (U.S. Census 1850). At Warren's estate auction in 1857, J. M. Collins purchased his store lot for $117.25 and gave it to the Barton Christian Church trustees (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls, 1851-2; Lowndes County Estate File 913; McBride and McBride 1983).

In the 1850 census, Peter's worth was listed at $800 of real estate and eleven slaves. In 1851 he was taxed for two carriages, one watch, and nine slaves; by 1852 his slaves had increased to ten and in 1853 to eleven. Estate appraisers valued the Warren house and Block 18 at $400 in 1857; they were sold to Mary R. Duling, wife of Augustine B., at auction for $300 (Clay County Deed Book F:592-593). Warren had paid $50.00 for Block 18. In the agricultural schedule of the 1850 census he is listed as having a farm of ten improved acres and sixty unimproved acres, worth $100 (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1851-53; Lowndes County Estate File 913).

In 1857, the Dulings moved from site 5442 to this site. In 1858, Augustine B. Duling was mayor and his son Augustine H. constable of Barton. In the 1860 census, they were listed as having $1,000 of real property and $1,000 of personal property. The Duling household in 1860 consisted of Augustine B., then aged 49, his wife Mary, aged 48, son Augustine, aged 23, and daughter Mary, aged 17. There are no further transactions at the townsite for Mary R. Duling, and she does not appear in the 1870 census as living there. Sometime between 1860 and 1870 this site was abandoned.

Excavation

During Phases I and II, 15 units (60 square meters), evenly dispersed over much of the site, were excavated (Figure 6.18). Unfortunately, only one feature was uncovered, a refuse pit. A total of 132 square meters was excavated during Phase III, bringing the total to 192 square meters, Excavation methods for the testing and data recovery phases were

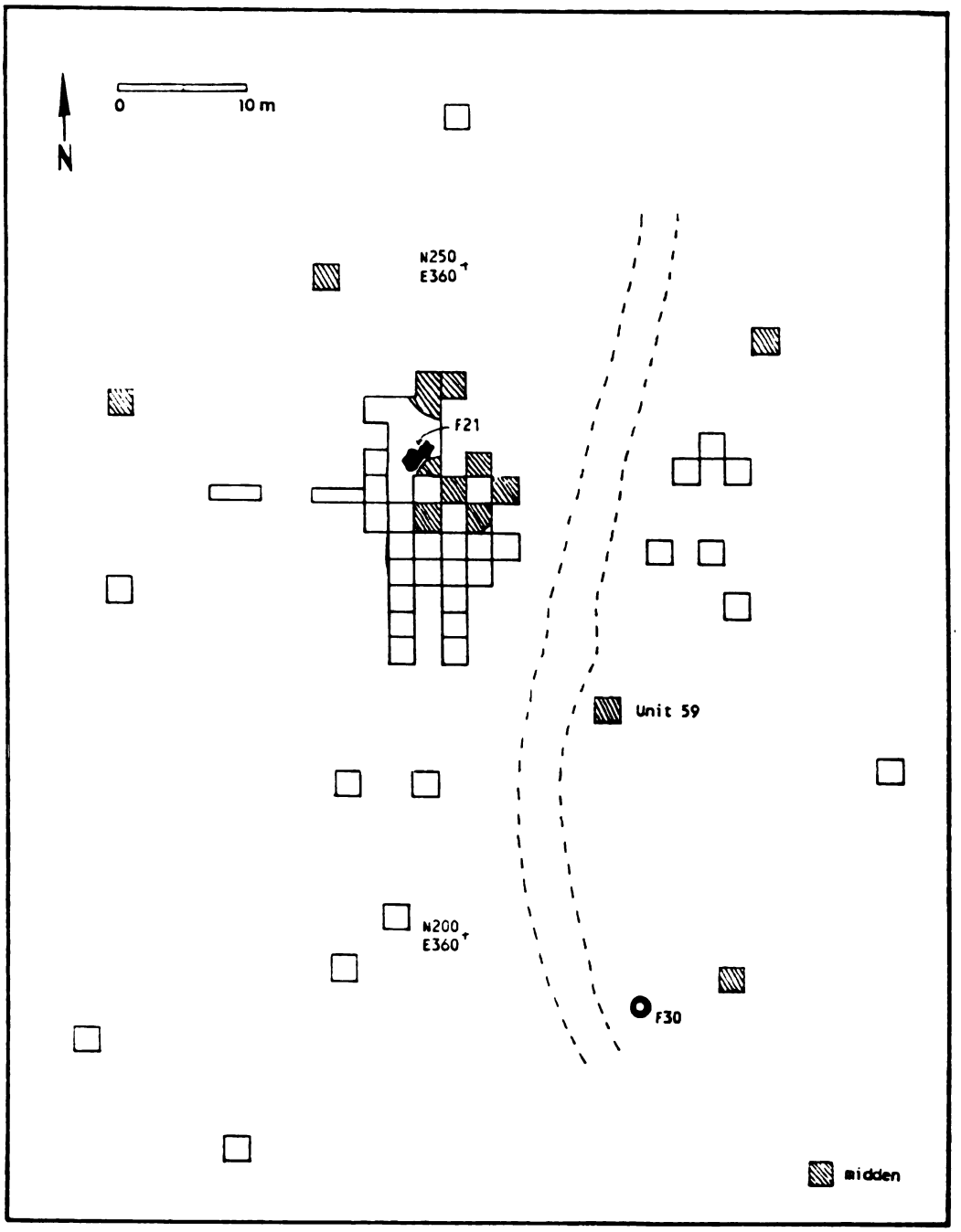


Figure 6.18. Site 5445, Excavation Plan.

basically the same. During both, units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and all excavated soil was passed through quarter-inch mesh wire screens.

Features

The only features discovered at this site were an irregularly shaped trash pit (Feature 21) located at N236 E346, approximately 2.5 m in diameter and 32 cm in depth and a brick-lined well (Feature 30) (Figure 6.18). The shape of the pit suggests it was a natural depression rather than an excavated pit. The well, which was located southeast of Feature 21, was about 15 ft deep and brick-lined.

Artifacts and Chronology

The site produced 11,458 artifacts, excluding brick and mineral/composite/miscellaneous items. These included a large number of cut nails, ceramics, and bottle glass. The refuse pit (Feature 21) contained 1505 artifacts, including a large quantity of bone and shell, bricks, bottle glass, ceramics, and machine cut nails. Although no structural features were located, a large concentration of window glass in Unit 59, approximately 20 m north of the well, suggests that the dwelling was located in this area, possibly under the present road.

The diagnostic ceramics and glass from this site supports its documented middle nineteenth century date. The low frequency (two) and percentage (2.3% of shell edged) of scalloped shell edged whiteware, and the low percentage of broad-brush painted whiteware sherds (39% of painted) support the ca. 1848 beginning date. The presence but low frequency (six) and percentage (6.8% of shell edged) of painted-only shell edged whiteware supports the early to middle 1860s end date (Miller n.d.). The date ranges of the three identified ceramic manufacturer's marks also support the general middle nineteenth century date range (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9. Ceramic Maker's Marks from the Warren-Duling Site.

Manufacturer	Number	Date Range	Median	Provenience
James Edwards (& Sons?)	2	1842-1882	1862	Gen. Level
TJ and J Mayer	1	1843-1855	1849	Gen. Level

Sources: Godden 1964.

SITE 5447

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

Site 5447 was a house site occupied first by a physician and then by a lawyer. Located on the reconstructed plat of Barton in the north half of Block 13, north of site 5448, this block was first sold by H. S. Bennett, trustee, to Martha L. Debrill in February 1852 (Clay County Deed Book D:576-577) (Figure 6.3). The 1850 census suggests that Martha and Matthew had been living at the site since 1850. This later recording of the land transaction was a common pattern at both Colbert and Barton. Matthew was listed as a physician with $900 worth of real estate. The other members of the household included his wife Martha L., and William Leftwich Capshaw, aged seven and born in Mississippi. Matthew was not listed in the 1851 Lowndes County Personal Property Roll but Mrs. Debrill appears in 1852, being taxed for one poll for the household; neither appears in 1853. It is likely that Matthew Debrill died in the early 1850s, as he was not a party to the 1852 deed mentioned above. (Clay County Deed Book:D.576-577; U.S. Census 1850).

During of shortly after 1852, Martha L. Hill Debrill married James M. Capshaw. After their marriage, Martha and James probably resided in the house on the north half of

Block 13; James Capshaw had other property in Barton but no other parcels in the probable residential areas. He was assessed in the property rolls for one watch, one clock, one piano, one slave, and one poll in 1853, and in 1857 for the same property plus the addition of another slave. He is thought to have continued his law business in Barton and may also have acted as a cotton agent. By 1859 Martha and James Capshaw had moved to Texas, and James's partner, Benjamin F. Capshaw, had moved to West Point (McBride and McBride 1983).

Little is known of the next owners, Caroline S. and George W. Gage. By January 1864, when Caroline Gage sold the site, she was living in Monroe County and signed the deed as C. S. Freeman, her married name before her marriage to G. W. Gage (Clay County Deed Book E:567). It is not known whether the Georges ever resided on this site. During the latter half of the 1860s, this block changed hands a number of times, but given its description and value it is unlikely that it was used as a residence or even contained a house. (McBride and McBride 1983:217).

Excavation

A total of 114 square meters was excavated (25 2 x 2 m units and three trenches) at this site (Figure 6.19) . Unfortunately, no structural or refuse filled features were found through excavations, although a dense sheet refuse area was found on the eastern slope of the site. Excavation methodology remained consistent throughout the testing and mitigation phases; all units were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, and all soil was passed through a quarter-inch mesh wire screen.

Features

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

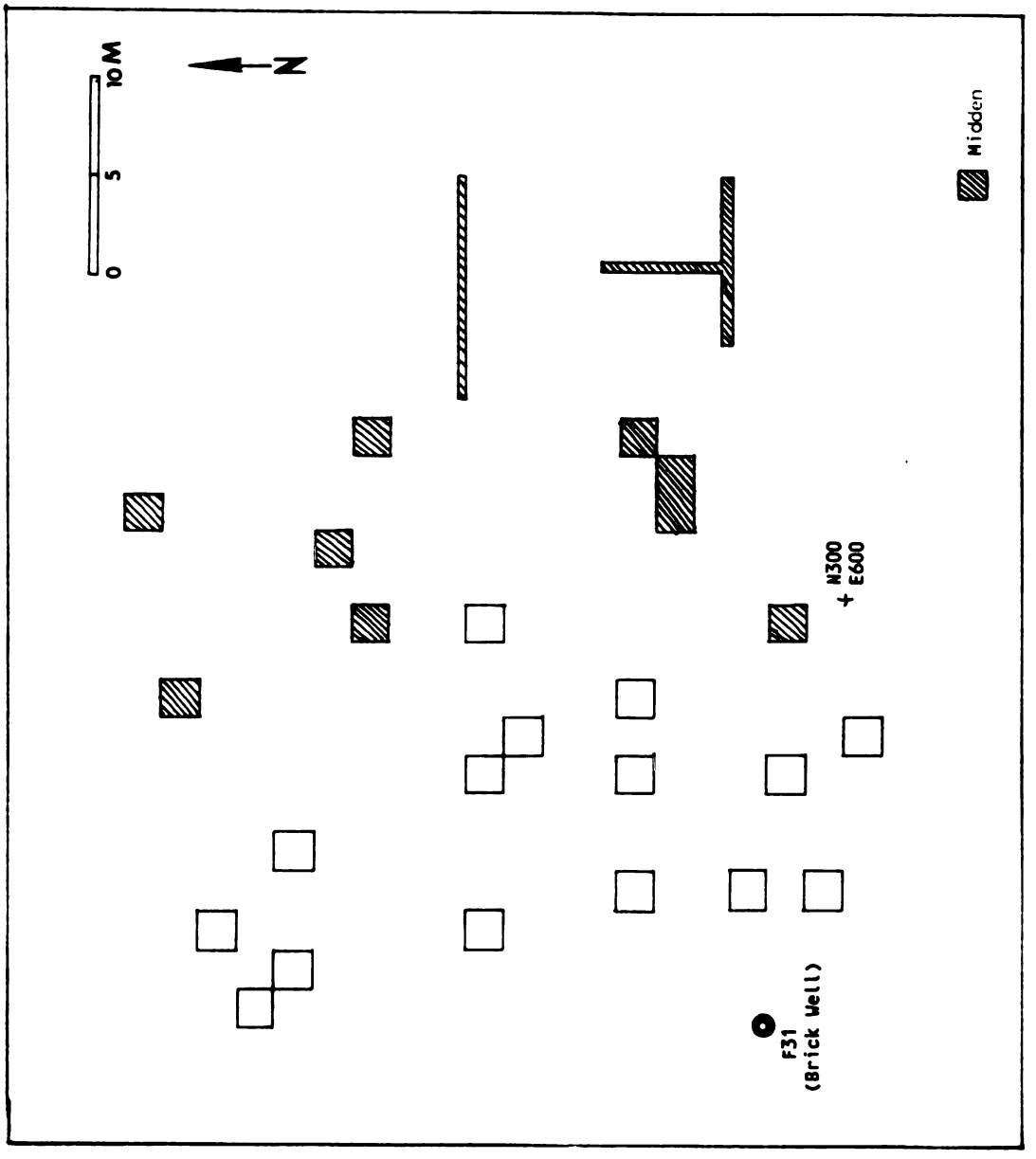


Figure 6.19. Site 5447, Excavation Plan.

Artifacts and Chronology

Excavations at this site produced 3,041 artifacts, the lowest number of any Barton site. These artifacts included a large proportion of ceramics, nails, window glass, and bottle glass. The window glass was concentrated in two units in the west central side of the site, which may have been the locale of the dwelling.

The diagnostic ceramics, again including transfer printed, floral painted, shell edged, and slipped whitewares; and glass, including roughly applied bottle lips and empontilled bases, support the site's middle nineteenth century position. The presence but low frequency (three) and percentage (15% of shell edged) of painted-only shell edged wares supports a late 1850s or 1860s end date for this site. The percentage (36% of painted) of broad brush painted whiteware sherds is similar to the other Barton sites and lower than the Colbert sites, and therefore supports the documented beginning date for this site. Unfortunately, no ceramic maker's marks were recovered from this site.

SITE 5448

Oral Historical and Archival Documentation

This site is located in the south half of Block 13 of the Barton plat (Figure 6.3). During the initial sales of blocks and lots in 1851-1852, trustee Hendley S. Bennett sold this half block to James H. Griswold in November 1852, along with Block 20 and Strip l. Griswold retained the property until January 1858, when he was known to be "planting" about five miles from Barton, and this site was probably his residence from 1852 to 1858. He had married Anna M. Young, the daughter of nearby planter Wade Young, in 1850, and James and Anna were said to have had considerable property in slaves through Wade's estate (Clay County Deed Book F:462-3; Monroe County Marriage Book 1850:10).

Griswold was originally from New England. In Barton, he took over the business of Robert McGowan and with his brother, Fedum Griswold, expanded from a single store to a daguerreotype studio, mill, blacksmith shop, and ferry. James owned various parcels in the business district and some land on the east bank of the river across from Barton (Dun and Co Agent's Reports, Vol. 14:8, 37).

James Griswold was probably one of the wealthier Barton residents. In 1851 he was taxed for one carriage, one horse, one piano, and eight slaves; in 1852 he was also taxed for the Barton Ferry, valued at $750; merchandise sales for that year were about $6,000. There was little change in 1853, when the personal roll listed his sales at $5,000. By 1854 R. G. Dun and Company estimated the sales at $7,282. In 1857 Griswold was still taxed for one carriage and one piano, his slaves had increased to nine (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1851-3, 1857; Dun and Company Agents Reports, Vol 14:8).

The Griswolds sold the south half of Block 13, along with Strip 1 and Block 20, to Mary E. Hanks in January 1858 for $400 (Clay County Deed Book E:462-463). Mary Hanks had just sold the hotel property to E. A. Atkinson, and she probably moved her family to this residence. Her household in 1860 consisted of herself, two daughters and a son. She is listed in the 1860 census as having $200 worth of real estate and $200 worth of personal property. Agrissa Hanks had been taxed in 1857 for one piano, one clock, and two slaves. In 1859 Mrs. Hanks was taxed for one piano and two slaves. In January 1860 she sold this site and several other parcels for $210 to Robert Ussery and seems to have moved back to the western side of town (Clay County Deed Book E:462-3, 510; Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1857, 1859).

Robert Ussery appears in the 1860 census on the eastern side of Barton. In 1860 he was 56 years old, and minister of the Christian Church. The Ussery household included Robert, his wife Betsy, and three children. They were listed in 1860 as having $100 worth of real estate and $1,500 of personal estate. By 1864, when he sold his Barton property, he was living in Monroe county (Clay County Deed Book E:578).

Robert Ussery sold the south half of Block 13, along with Block 12, Block 20, Block 29, and Strip 1, to Susan Littleton in February 1864 (Clay County Deed Book E:578). The price for this land, which must have been about 15 acres, was $800. Susan Littleton was married to Tatum Littleton, and by 1860 site owned and was running the Barton Ferry, having purchased it from J. Hicks after the dispute and court case of 1858-1859 (McBride and McBride 1983:225).

Tatum and Susan may have moved to Site 5448 in 1864, but most likely they only used the house during times of high water, living most of the time at the ferry house as later operators did. The Littleton household in 1860 consisted of Tatum, Susan, and two children. They had one slave. By the time Susan bought site 5448, however, Tatum was dead. Two months after she purchased this block, Susan Littleton married N. J. Yates, and they continued to live near and run the Barton Ferry. Little is known about Yates before his marriage to Susan. In 1870 N. J. Yates was listed in the federal census as the ferryman and Susan as keeping house. She was listed with $1,000 of real estate and $3,000 of personal estate. Susan's children Montie and Ada were living with them as were N. J. and Susan's two children. Susan sold the Barton ferry and property in 1894, having held it for 34 years. She was then 64 years old (McBride and McBride 1983:226; Clay County Deed Book 24:593).

From the Littleton period until the 1930s, Site 5448 was always associated with the Barton Ferry property. From 1895 to the 1930s the Ferry went through a number of owners, including F. A. Sharp (1895-1906), Daniel and Annie Cogdell (1906-1913), Jan Uithoven (1913-1919), and Zack Ellis (1919+). During this period the house on Site 5448 seemed to have been utilized intermittently as a haven from high water by the ferry operators, or rented to farmers. Some of the known occupants include March Montgomery (ca. 1900), Barney Cogdell (ca. 1909), Tom and Flora Keller (ca.1920) and Joe Harris (ca. 1925). The house evidently collapsed between the late 1930s and early 1940s (McClurken and Anderson 1981).

Excavation

This site was one of two sites (including Cedar Oaks) chosen for intensive testing during the first two phases of the Michigan State University project. By the end of Phase II, 108 square meters, or 29 units (25 2 x 2 m units and four 1 x 2 m units), had been excavated. In Phase III, an additional 720 square meters was excavated.

Excavation methods at this site were significantly different during the testing and data recovery phases. During Phases I and II, excavation was done by natural or cultural stratigraphic levels. Although this method was used successfully at Cedar Oaks , the stratigraphy at the Highwater House did not have the integrity of the Cedar Oaks stratigraphy because of heavy cultivation. The only remaining cultural middens were located just east of the chimney base and on the eastern ridge edge near Feature 1 (Figure 6.20). Because of the greater effort involved and limited results of this method, it was not continued in Phase III. At this time, excavation was done by arbitrary 10 cm levels. In Phase III, as in the previous two phases, all excavated soil was passed through quarter-inch mesh wire screens.

Structural Features

The only archaeologically visible remnants of the dwelling at this site were a chimney base (Feature 2) and 18 charred board remains (Feature 4) (Figures 6.20 and 6.21). The chimney base was fairly large, measuring 1.7 m (E/W) by 1.4 m (N/S) and seven courses in height. It is unique for Barton since it had two fireboxes, one on the north and south ends, respectively. Oral testimony indicates that this chimney was located in the center of the structure, the usual placement for a "double" or "stack" chimney (McClurken and Anderson 1981) This type of dwelling is usually referred to as a saddlebag house (Wilson 1975:44). Unfortunately, there were no piers or driplines to aid in the reconstruction of the dwelling size, but the structure does appear on 1937 U.S. Army Air Service aerial

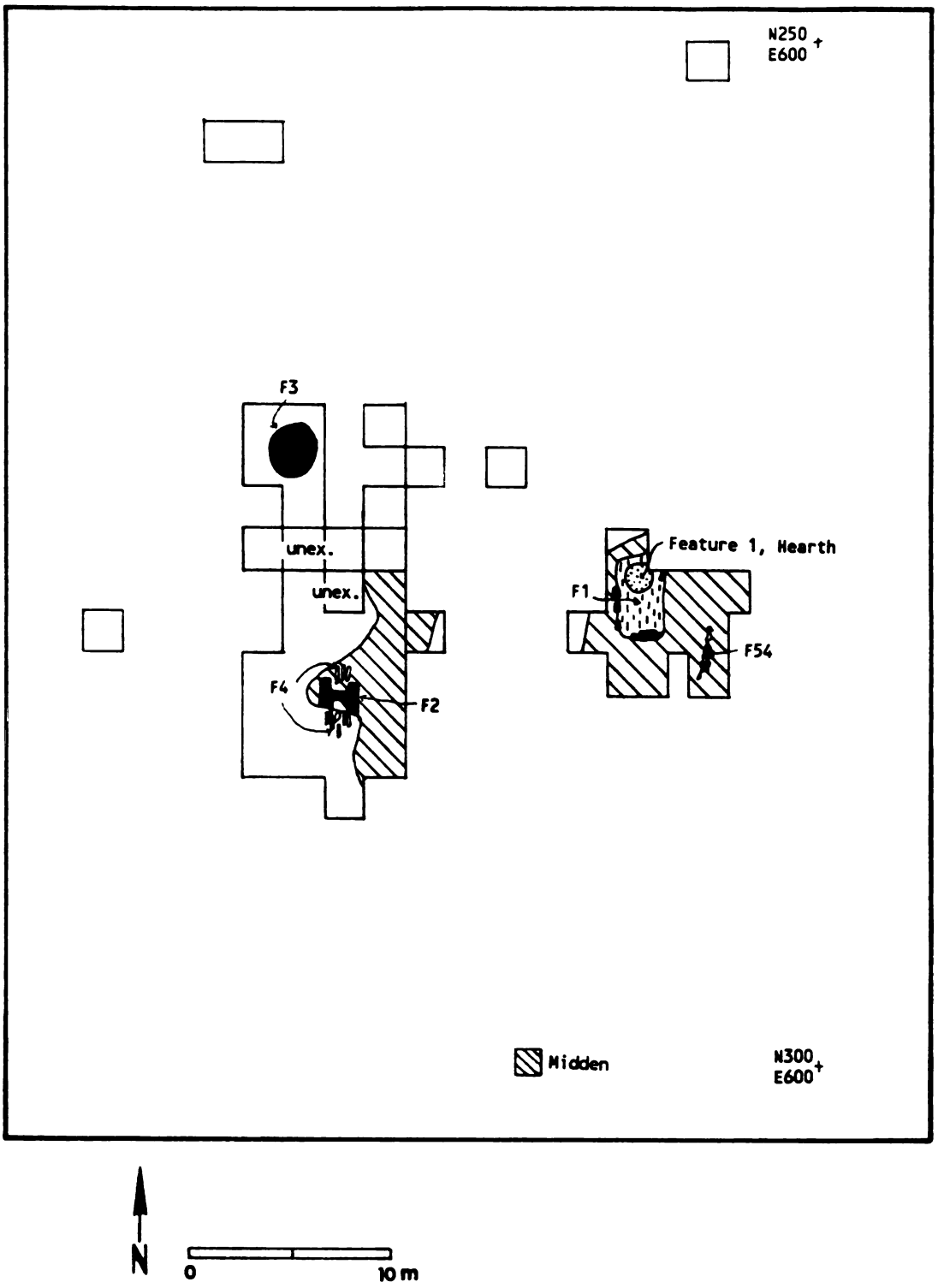


Figure 6.20. Site 5448, Excavation Plan.

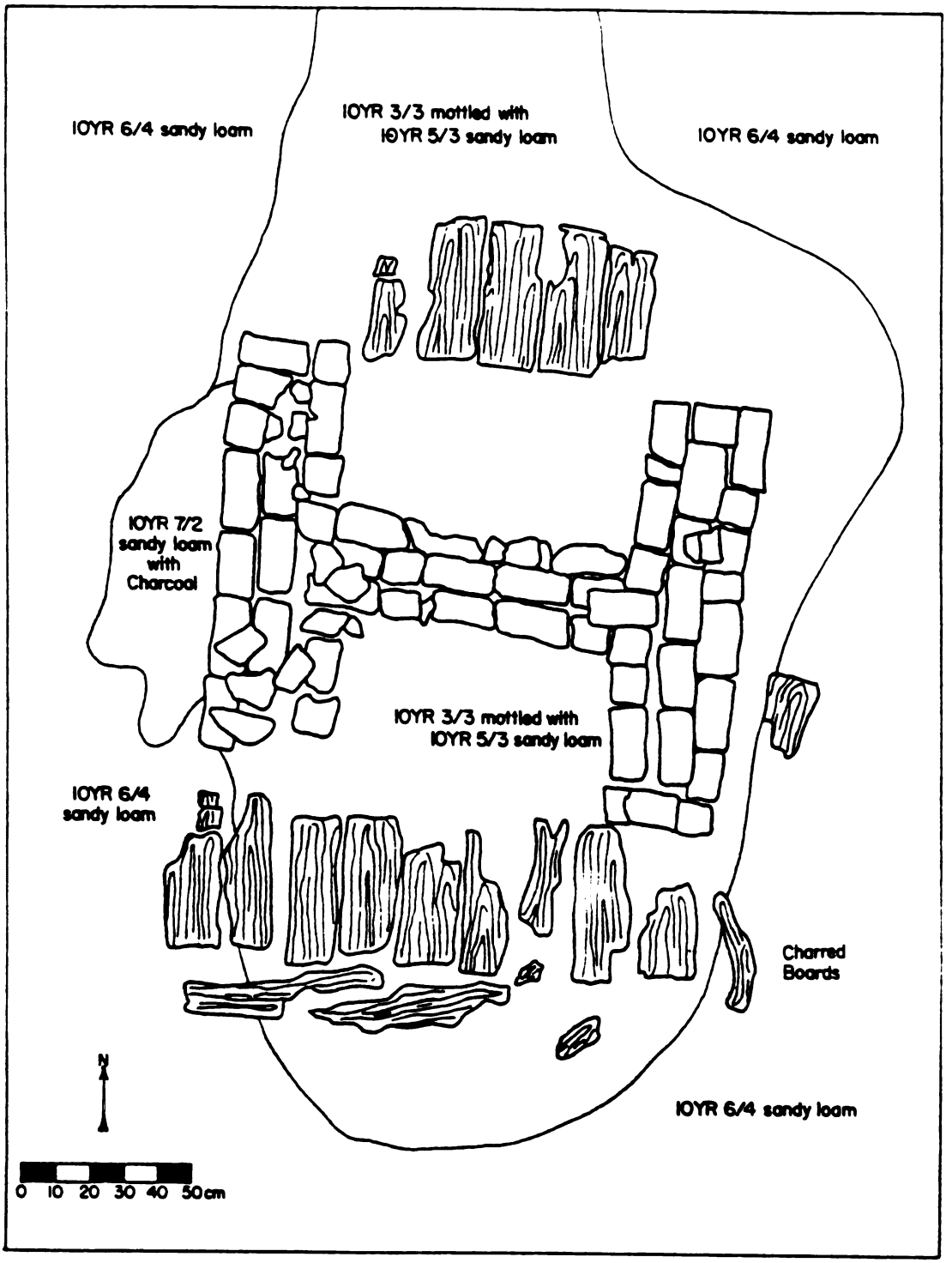


Figure 6.21. Feature 2 (chimney), Site 5448.

photographs. From these photographs, it appears that the structure was approximately 36 ft (N/S) by 13 ft (E/W).

This site is the only Barton site, other than Cedar Oaks, which contained definite archaeological evidence of an outbuilding. This structure (Feature 1), located on the eastern edge of the ridgetop, consisted of a rectangular recessed area (4.1 x 2.3 m and 20 cm deep) with a deep (32 cm) brick-filled depression (Subfeature 10) on its northern end. It was surrounded by four post holes (Subfeatures 4, 5, 7, and 9) and a brick wall remnant. A linear scatter of brick to the east also was associated with this structure (Figure 6.20). The exact function of Feature 1 is unclear, but the artifact assemblage and structure configuration are not inconsistent with a smokehouse. The high quantity of bone is especially suggestive of some kind of food preparation or processing, and the brick-filled depression to the north is probably the remains of a smudge pit for smoking.

Other Features

A deep unlined well (Feature 3) was discovered approximately 6 m north of the dwelling (12 m north of the chimney) (Figures 6.20 and 6.22). At its top the feature was roughly oval and measured 2 m by 1.8 m. Excavation continued until 5.5 m below surface, although this was not the base; excavation was stopped due to constricted space and danger of collapse. Coring determined that the well extended another 1.04 m, for a total depth of 6.54 m (21.5 ft) below surface.

Artifacts and Chronology

A total of 38,605 artifacts were recovered from this site, the largest density of any Barton site. Of these, 19,792 were nails, not surprising since this house burned down and an outbuilding was also present. The proportion of refined ceramics is very low, although there frequency is high (1634). The number of unmodified bone (979) are high; the majority of these were recovered from Feature 3 and the "smokehouse" area. The

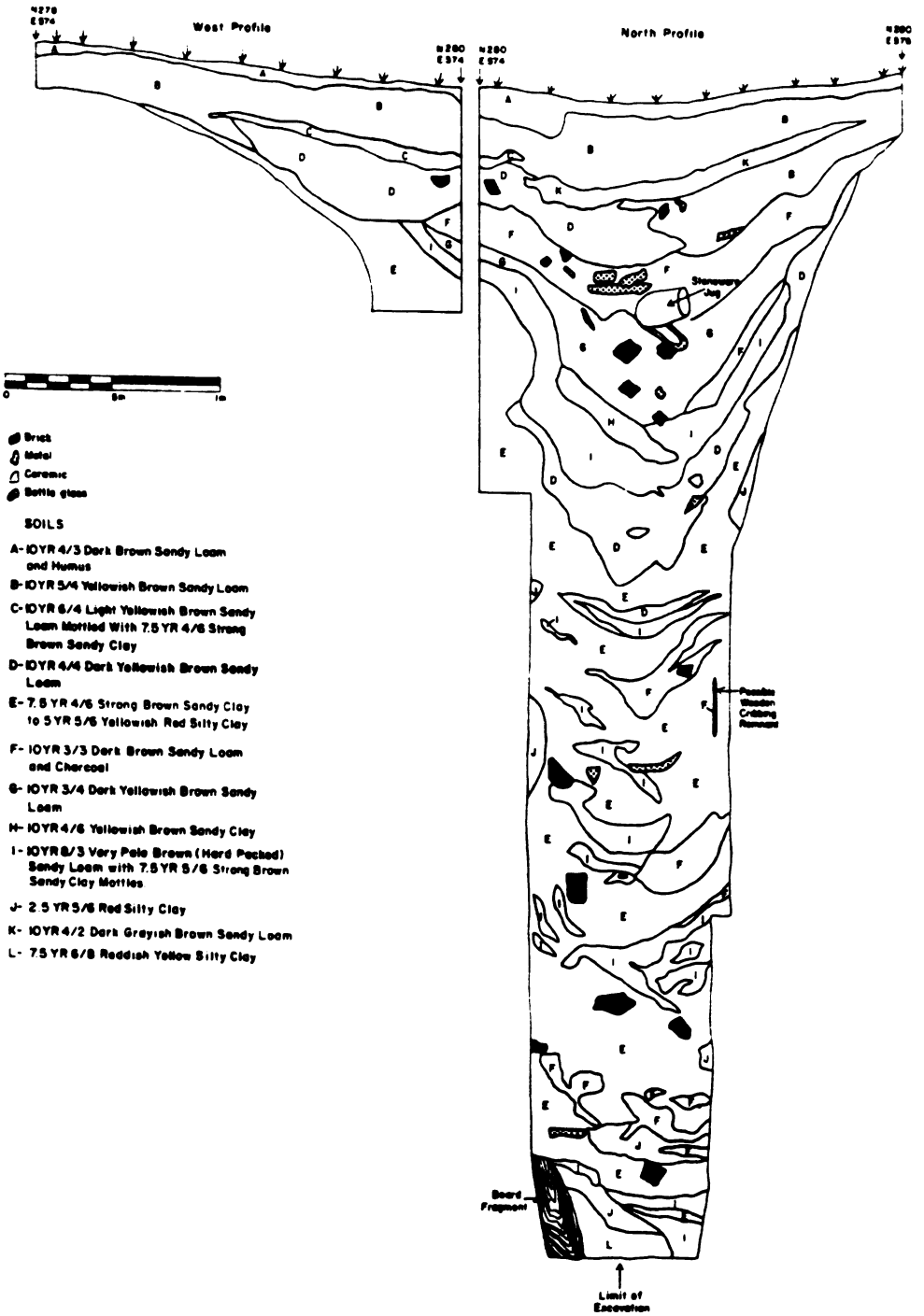


Figure 6.22. Feature 3 (well), Site 5448.

amount of bottle glass and table ware is also dense, especially outside the features. The earlier bottle fragments and ceramics tend to be concentrated on the eastern slope, the "smokehouse" area, and in the lower levels of Feature 3.

The diagnostic artifacts recovered from Site 5448 support its documented middle nineteenth to early twentieth century occupation. The marked or labelled artifacts, which are listed in Table 6.10, suggest a date range from the middle nineteenth century to 1933.

The long occupation of this site, like that of site 5442, presents problems for consumption analysis. Strata within units and features were examined to determine if shorter, and particularly middle nineteenth century, deposits could be identified. This analysis resulted in the identification of three areas of middle nineteenth century deposits: 1) the Feature 1, including the eastern slope, below Level 1; 2) Feature 54; and 3) Feature 3 below Level 17.

The well, Feature 3, seemed to have been filled primarily in two phases in the middle nineteenth century. First, in the middle nineteenth century, the lower three and a half meters of the well were filled with refuse and soil and capped with hard packed silty loam. Later, in the early twentieth century, well fill evidently slumped and another meter of refuse and soil was added. The break between the two deposition episodes is very distinct, both in terms of stratigraphy and material culture.

The three middle nineteenth century deposits were identified by the presence of diagnostic ceramics (transfer printed, floral painted, sponged, shell edged, and slipped whiteware), and glass (roughly applied bottle lips and empontilled bases). The ceramic maker's marks from these three deposits also supports roughly middle nineteenth century designation (Table 6.11), as does the Louisville Glass Works bottle (Table 6.10). No definite chronological difference could be seen between these three areas or features, so they will be utilized together as the sample from this site for the consumption analysis.

Table 6.10. Ceramic Maker's Marks and Labels from the Griswold Site.

Manufacturer	Number	Date Range	Provenience
Ceramics			
Booths	2	1891-1906	Feat. 3, Level 9, 13
James Edwards & son	2	1842-1882	Feature 55
John Edwards (registry)	2	1880-1900	General Level
Jacob Furnival & Co	1	1845-1870	Feature 54
Edwin M. Knowles	1	1900-1948	Feature 3, Level 9
Homer Laughlin	1	1873+	General Level
Homer Laughlin	2	1933	General Level
J. W. Pankhurst	1	1850-1882	Feature 3, Level 45
John Wedge Wood	1	1841-1860	Feature 3, Level 51
Glass			
Louisville Glass Works	1	1855-1873	Feature 3, Level 39
Owen's Bottle Co	1	1911-1929	General Level
Swayzee's Improved Mason	2	1894-1903	Feat. 3, Level 9, 12
Metal			
Stamped Buckle	1	1879+	Feature 3, Level 12

Sources: Gates and Omerod 1982; Godden 1964; Toulouse 1969, 1971.

Table 6.11. Ceramic Maker's Marks from the Early Griswold Site.

Manufacturer	Number	Date Range	Median	Provenience
James Edwards (& Sons?)	2	1842-1882	1862	Feat 1, Lev 2, E. Slope, Lev. 6
Jacob Furnival & Co	1	1845-1870	1857.5	Feature 54
J W Pankhurst	1	1850-1882	1866	Feat. 3, Lev 45
John Wedge Wood	1	1841-1860	1850.5	Feat. 3, Lev. 51

Sources: Godden 1964.

ANALYSIS OF CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

The first hypothesis (Hypothesis 18) to be tested in this chapter states that because of economic prosperity (higher income), easy credit, and optimism, much more lavish consumption of material goods, especially luxuries and durables, both absolutely and relative to socioeconomic status should have been present during the boom period of the 1830s compared to the depression or even the recovery phase. The second hypothesis (Hypothesis 19) on consumption patterns states that while consumption of material goods, particularly of luxuries an durables, should have increased during the recovery period relative to the depression, the consumption level should not be as great as that of the boom for most citizens. These hypotheses will first be examined with documentary records and then with archaeological data.

Consumption of Store Merchandise

The sales of merchandise in Lowndes County will be utilized as the first examination of the above hypotheses. This test cannot examine the consumption of specific types of goods or consumption patterns relative to socioeconomic wealth, but rather consumption of all merchandise by all people. This examination, therefore, is not as precise an examination as would be liked, but it should give an overall illustration of changes in consumption patterns.

Both per-capita and per-acre measures of consumption will be utilized in this analysis. The per-acre measurement is used in order to examine consumption by wealth. Acreage is commonly used as a proxy for wealth, given the agrarian values of antebellum Southerners (Wright 1978, see also Chapter 4 above). Slaves, the other common measure of Southern wealth, will not be used in this case since slaves were also consumers. The first test implication for the consumption hypotheses is that the per-capita and per-acre expenditures on merchandise in Lowndes County should be greater in the boom of the 1830s than the bust of the 1840s. The second test implications is that the per-capita and per-acre expenditures on merchandise should be greater in the boom of the 1830s than the recovery of the 1850s. The third test implication is that the per-capita and per-acre expenditures on merchandise in the recovery of the 1850s should be greater than that of the depression of the 1840s. Per-capita expenditures will be calculated for the total population and the free population. Both of these are calculated since, even though slaves rarely bought merchandise, a certain amount of merchandise, particularly clothing and cloth, was bought for slaves.

The 1836 and 1837 Lowndes County Tax Rolls and the 1837 Mississippi State Census are utilized to calculate per-capita and per-acre consumption during the boom years of 1836 and 1837. The 1840 Federal Census and the 1840 Lowndes County Tax Roll are utilized to examine the bust of the early 1840s (1840 and 1842). The 1850

Federal Census is used for the early recovery years of 1850 and 1852, while the 1860 Federal Census was used to compare to the 1858 merchandise sales.

Table 6.12 presents the per-capita and per-acre consumption of merchandise in Lowndes County for selected years. The per-capita and per-acre ratios strongly support the test implications that there was a greater expenditure on merchandise in the boom of the 1830s and the recovery of the 1850s than in the depression of the 1840s. The drop between 1837 and 1840 was particularly exaggerated. The lower rate in 1837 relative to 1836 is certainly related to the Panic of 1837, which occurred in the latter part of that year. The comparison between the 1830s and 1850s also supports the test implication that there was more per-capita and per-acre expenditures during the boom than the recovery. The great difference between the 1836 and 1837 pre-acre ratios and the others suggest a much greater level of merchandise consumption relative to wealth in the boom.

Table 6.12. Purchasing Patterns of Lowndes County Merchandise.

YEAR	Merchandise Sold	Population	Per-capita expenditure	Acres	Per-acre
1836	631,292	12,864	49.07	42,934	14.7
1837	596,220	12,864	46.35	46,338	12.87
1840	357,169	14,513	24.61	203,040	1.76
1842	302,855	14,513	20.86	203,040	1.49
1850	537,131	19,544	27.48	293,310	1.83
1852	689,374	19,544	35.27	293,310	2.35
1858	814,602	23,625	34.48	330,925	2.46

Sources: Lowndes County Property Rolls, 1836-1859; Mississippi State Census, 1837; U.S. Census of Population and Agriculture (1840, 1850, 1860).

Archaeological Examination

This study now turns to the archaeological testing of Hypotheses 18 and 19. As was noted above, the archaeological data can present a picture of individual household, at at least site, consumption patterns, which is unavailable in the county tax rolls.

Data Sources and Methods

The artifact group utilized to test these hypotheses is refined ceramics. Ceramics possess a number of characteristics which makes them particularly appropriate for this analysis. There is a great range in price among ceramics of different decorative and paste types. The more expensive varieties, such as porcelain and certain decorated earthenware, can certainly be classified as luxuries.

Ceramics are particularly useful for consumption and status analysis because they fall not only within Binford's (1962) technomic category, but also within the sociotechnic sphere. The form, decoration type, and even paste or glaze type of ceramics can convey information about social status. In fact, some ceramic forms (i.e., tea services) were used explicitly as status display items (Roth 1961).

There are also three very practical reasons why ceramics lend themselves well for archaeological analysis of consumption. First, as can be seen in the above site descriptions, they are found in large quantities. Other luxury artifacts, such as personal adornment items (rings, earrings, brooches, etc.) were not found in a large enough quantity for meaningful analysis. Second, ceramics can be dated relatively well, and third, through the research of George Miller (1980; 1991) the prices of different ceramic forms and decorative types are known for various years within the nineteenth century.

Miller has taken the ceramic price data from potters' price lists, bills of lading, and importers' account books and created relative price index values for the different decorative and paste types by year. These index values illustrate the relative cost

differences of the different ceramic types. The average relative value for archaeological assemblages then can be calculated to create a mean ceramic price index value (Miller 1980; 1991). Calculating these mean index values allows sites to be scaled in terms of expenditures on ceramics. Variation in ceramic consumption patterns can then be investigated relative to factors such as socioeconomic status or wealth, ethnicity, transportation, economic conditions, etc. Previous studies have demonstrated a close correlation between mean index values and socioeconomic status (see Spencer-Wood 1987a). Archaeological studies have also correlated mean index value variability with market access (Lees and Kimery-Lees 1984; Miller and Hurry 1983). This ceramic price index will be utilized to examine consumption at Colbert and Barton.

Miller defined four main price groups for refined white earthenware. These are, from cheapest to most expensive:

1. Plain, Cream-Colored ware (C.C.)
2. Minimal decoration - shell edged, banded, sponged, and slipped
3. Painted Floral or Geometric Motif
4. Transfer Printed

The price differentials between these groups can be considerable, with transfer-printed being up to five times as expensive as C.C. ware (Miller 1980:30). For sites occupied in the middle nineteenth century and later, white granite or ironstone, should be added as a fifth group. It was generally at a price equal to that of transfer-printed white earthenware (Miller 1980:4). A sixth group of refined ceramics, porcelain, should be added as the final and most expensive group.

Since the price of different decorative types relative to CC changes over time, the index year chosen can be very important to the analysis. What one is trying to identify is the year closest to the purchase date of a majority of a given ceramic assemblage. The most common date chosen is the mean documented date of the site in question (see

Spencer-Wood 1987a, 1987b). This is the system utilized here. The mean date for Colbert is 1841.5 while the mean date for Barton is ca. 1855.

In Miller's (1991) revised and expanded index, which is used in this study, three years approximating Colbert's existence, 1833, 1838, and 1846, have relatively complete index values. The 1838 date falls closest to the Colbert mean date and this index will therefore be utilized. The 1846 index will also be utilized to examine the Colbert features which appear to have been deposited primarily in the latter half of the town's existence. For the Barton sites, the 1855/1856 index was used since it falls near the mean date of the town.

These dates are likely a good approximation of the purchasing dates for the ceramics of the two towns. Although some time-lag between purchasing an deposition certainly occurred, it is probably not great enough to bias the results. For instance, the very high proportion of whiteware (85-97% of sherds, 75-95% of vessels) as opposed to creamware and pearlware at Colbert suggest that most of the refined earthenware was bought after 1830 (see discussion on site chronology above). The fact that the 1820s and early 1830s was a recession and that many Colbert residents travelled long distances in their move to the town suggests that only a small proportion of these ceramics would have been purchased before the middle 1830s.

The same pattern was probably true at Barton, although supporting data is not as strong. The very low proportion of scalloped shell edged whiteware at Barton (0-20% of shell edged sherds), when compared to even the later Colbert deposits (where it made up 70 to 100% of the shell edged sherds), suggests that most ceramics were probably bought in the late 1840s or 1850s (Miller 1991). The fact that none of the ceramic maker's marks from the Barton assemblage are present in the Colbert assemblage also suggests that limited overlap in purchasing occurred between these two assemblages. This makes sense since Colbert residents moving up to Barton likely lost much of there ceramics in

the flood of 1847, given its severity. New migrants into the area probably also bought a large proportion of their ceramics after their arrival at the town.

Ceramic vessel counts will be utilized in this analysis since they present a more accurate reflection of the ceramics used than do sherd counts (see Spencer-Wood 1987b). Sherd counts tend to greatly overestimate the number of undecorated ceramics, since even many decorated vessels contained mostly undecorated surfaces.

Minimum vessel counts were calculated primarily through the use of rim-sherds. Some body or base-sherds were also utilized, however, if their decoration precluded them from matching up with any of the rims. Since many of the sherds recovered from these sites were very fragmentary, close comparisons with a comparative collection of middle nineteenth vessels were conducted to identify vessel forms.

A few compromises or approximations were also made with Miller's values. For plates and cups, he lists numerous values for each year based on such factors as vessel size, thickness, shape, and whether they had handles. Since these could usually not be determined from the sherds, these values were simply averaged together. This adjustment is a common means of using this system (Garrow 1987; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987; Spencer-Wood 1987b). Also, on some forms or types, no value was given for the years utilized. In these cases, the value was interpolated using the yearly value closest to it or by using some general conclusions made by Miller (1980). These latter conclusions include the statement that ironstone was usually at a price about the same of transfer printed and that flow printed was usually about 20% more than regular transfer printed (Miller 1980:32). Again, these are estimations utilized in previous studies (Garrow 1987; Spencer-Wood 1987b).

In his original article, Miller (1980:11) found that the price of CC ware was relatively stable throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. This meant that index values (which are set relative to CC) for different years and site dating from different periods, could be compared without complications. His most recent analysis (Miller 1991) has

shown that the price of CC ware did fluctuate over time. In general, the price of CC declined from the early to middle nineteenth century (Miller 1991: 2-3). One must therefore remember this and maintain caution when comparing the ceramic values for widely separated years. Given the price decline, the ceramic price indexes for the earlier Colbert deposits probably underestimate their difference from the later Colbert and Barton deposits since for all index years, the price of CC is held constant.

One problem with the testing of the boom-bust-recovery hypotheses is the need for short, tightly dated deposits. It is fortunate that most sites at Colbert and Barton had relatively short occupations (10 to 16 years). Even this length of occupation causes problems, however, particularly at Colbert which spanned both the boom and the bust. Fortunately, there are two features at Colbert, Site A (Allen Site): Features 16 and 3, and three feature areas at the Warren Site (East Feature area and West Feature Areas 1 and 2) which tend to date somewhat later and earlier, respectively, than the overall site deposits (see above). These features and feature areas will be compared to each other to examine changing consumption patterns at Colbert. Since the feature areas of the Warren site, and the Allen features, are undoubtedly somewhat mixed with 1830s and 1840s purchased materials, these comparisons should be viewed as consumption trends from the boom to the end of the bust rather than absolute boom and bust differences. Comparing a "bust" deposit with Barton material will therefore be especially problematic.

The first test implication is that a higher ceramic price index should be present in the generally earlier Colbert deposits (Feature 3, Allen Site; West Feature Areas 1 and 2, Warren Site) than at the later Colbert deposits at these sites (Feature 16, Allen Site; East Feature Area, Warren Site). Also, the difference in the index values from the different deposits within each site should not be better explained by other variables, such as the turnover of these properties to a person of a lower socioeconomic level.

Tables 6.13 and 6.14 present mean ceramic index values. Table 6.13 presents the mean ceramic index values for the separate deposits at the Allen and Warren sites, using

Table 6.13. Mean Ceramic Index Values of Separate Colbert Deposits.

Provenience	Date Range	Mean Ceramic Index Value
Allen Site (Feature 3)	1836-ca.1842	2.65
Allen Site (Feature 16)	ca. 1840-1847	2.31
Warren Site (West Half)	1837-ca. 1849	2.53
Warren Site (East Half)	ca. 1842-1847	2.06

Table 6.14. Feature 16 and Warren Site, Mean Ceramic Index Values (1846).

Provenience	Date Range	Mean Ceramic Index Value
Allen Site (Feature 16)	ca. 1840-1847	2.12
Warren Site (East Half)	ca. 1840-1847	1.89

the 1838 indexes (see Appendixes for actual calculations). The index value for the later Allen feature, Feature 16, is 12% lower than the value for Feature 3. The East Feature Area of the Warren site is 18.6% lower than the West Feature Area of that site. These results strongly support the first test implication. The strength of this difference in index values is especially impressive since all of these deposits are somewhat mixed. In Table 6.14 the mean index values are calculated for the two later Colbert deposits using the 1846 index. Using this index creates even greater difference from earlier deposits. Although it is impossible to determine the exact date range for these features, the 1846 index is probably more accurate for the later features than the 1838 index.

Assessing the significance of index value variability has not received much discussion. One scholar, Shepard (1987:175) required a level of difference equal to at least 5% of the total range of index values for the scale year utilized. For the 1838 scale used here, there is a total range of 3.8, so a difference of 0.19 would be needed for significance if Shepard's criteria is utilized. This would mean that the differences

between Feature 16 and Feature 3 would be significant. At the Warren site, the difference between early and late deposits would also be significant.

Most studies utilizing Miller's indexes, however, are not so explicit in assigning significance. Also, a number of studies (Garrow 1987; McBride and McBride 1987; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987) have found what appear to be significantly different index values, when compared to documentary records, that are less than 5% of the total index range.

Since both the Allen site and the Warren site had the same occupants in the 1830s and 1840s, and neither occupant changed occupation, the change in economic conditions seems the best explanation for this ceramic index decline. Complicating factors, however, will become more important during the recovery period comparisons, and are discussed below.

The exact nature of the bust impact on these consumers is difficult to measure. It likely lowered their expectations for the future, which probably affected their consumption patterns. The bust most probably lowered the income of the households. Income cannot be measured for John Allen, but Peter Warren's income can be roughly examined by examining his merchantile sales. These dropped from a high of $3000 in 1837 to a low of $600 in 1840. Surprisingly, Warren's sales were back up to $2000 in 1842 (Lowndes County Property Tax Rolls 1838, 1841, 1843). Unfortunately, no tax records for the middle 1840s are available, so whether Warren's upturn was an anomaly or a general pattern is not known. Caution must be used when utilizing these sales figures, however, since it is not known how much of these sales figures were profit and whether the profit rate remained stable or fluctuated greatly. But, the sales figures do suggest that Warren suffered some business decline, though it was probably short lived.

Another factor that could have affected consumption patterns in the bust were changes in the availability of goods, particularly more expensive goods. This question was investigated in the last chapter, and while the quantity and variety of goods available could

not be accurately measured, Colbert store bills from the 1840s and from the Reuben King inventory of 1845 indicate that luxuries were still available in the bust. In fact, the King inventory listed expensive ceramics, including blue transfer printed ware and gold edged porcelain (Lowndes County Circuit Court File 6619).

Before the boom and recovery comparisons are made, other variables which might affect the consumption patterns should be evaluated. These evaluations are needed since the test implication for this comparison will compare separate sites occupied by different people. The variables or factors, other than economic cycles, which seem most relevant to the study of consumption patterns at these sites include socioeconomic status, life-cycle, and site occupation length and turn-over. The first two variables are commonly discussed in the historical archaeological literature and seem to be relevant here. The third variable is important, since, as will be shown below, some Barton sites had considerable turnover.

Socioeconomic Status

The first variable to be investigated is socioeconomic status. Some socioeconomic ranking must be determined to make the Colbert and Barton site comparisons valid. Also, whether socioeconomic status, rather than economic cycles, explains the Colbert and Barton differences needs to be examined. Generally, archaeologists have found a strong correlation between Miller's mean ceramic index values and socioeconomic status (Spencer-Wood 1987a, Shepard 1987). Tables 6.15 present s the wealth holdings of the Colbert site residents.

The Colbert data suggest that the John Allen household was considerably wealthier than the other two Colbert residents. Allen's land holdings alone put him in the upper 20% of Lowndes County landowners in 1840 (see Chapter 4). The relative status of the other two households, Warren and Cherry are more difficult to assess. They each owned

Table 6.15. Wealth of Colbert Site Residents.

Resident	Town Holdings	Slaves	Farm Land	Other Wealth
Allen (planter-miller)	Originally one quarter of the town. Later 5 blocks and 28 lots, dwelling, kitchen and tailor shop (value, at least $5000)	9-11	720 acres	East side, and later entire Colbert Ferry, Steam Saw Mill (value $11,500)
Warren (merchant)	Two lots, dwelling and store (value $900) $600 to $3000 worth of sales annually	6	0	0
Cherry (unknown occupation)	Three lots and one fractional block, dwelling (value unknown)	1	0	0

Source: Clay Co. Deeds, Lowndes County Tax Rolls, U.S. Census, Lowndes Co., MS.

about the same amount of town land, but Warren owned significantly more slaves. Also, Warren's occupation, merchant, and amount of sales, probably placed him above Cherry in status. Although Cherry's occupation is not known, he was probably not a merchant or an attorney, at least a prominent one, since he was not mentioned as such in any documents. The fact that Cherry lost his town lands due to back taxes also suggests a somewhat lower economic position, at least by 1843.

These results suggest a two or three tiered ranking of these sites with the Allen's, who could probably be designated an Upper-Middle Class household. Below the Allen's are the Warren's, who given Peter's moderate sized merchant status, could certainly be designated roughly Middle Class. Cherry should be placed in the same general level as Warren or slightly below him.

The wealth of the Barton residents is given in Table 6.16 below. Since there was more turnover at the Barton sites, the wealth of individual households is organized by

Table 6.16. Wealth of Barton Site Residents.

Site	Resident	Town Holdings	Slaves	Farm Land	Other Wealth
5442	McGowan (merchant-farmer)	Three lots, one fractional block, dwelling and store (value $1000). $8000 worth of merchandise sold annually.	4	480 acres (value $3000)	0
5442	Rainey (merchant-farmer)	One fractional block, one lot, dwelling and store (value $590). $913 to $4500 worth of merchandise sold annually.	1	360 acres (value $760)	0
5442	Duling (merchant-farmer)	One fractional block, one lot, dwelling and store (value $1000). $700 worth of merchandise sold annually.	4	192 acres (value $704)	0
5442	Futrell (farmer)	One fractional block, one whole block, dwelling (value $700).	0	60 acres (value $300)	0
5444	Adair (carpenter)	One half block, dwelling (value $100)	0	0	0
5444	Rodgers (tenant farmer)	0	0	0	0
5445	Warren (merchant-farmer)	One block, one lot, dwelling, store (value $800). $1500 to $2000 worth of merchandise sold annually.	11	70 acres (value $100)	0
5445	Duling (merchant-farmer)	Four blocks, one strip, dwelling, store (value $503). $700 worth of merchandise sold annually.	4	640 acres (value $2000)	0
5447	Debrill (physician)	One half block, one lot, dwelling, office (value$900)	0	0	0
5447	Capshaw (lawyer-cotton agent)	One block, two lots, dwelling, and office (value $610)	2	0	0
5447	Gage (occupation ?)	One block, two half blocks, dwelling (value $804.67)	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
5448	Griswold (merchant, etc.)	One block, one half block, four lots, two strips, dwelling, store, blacksmith shop, photographic studio, Barton Ferry, warehouse, (value, at least $1810). $5000 to $7282 merchandise sold annually	9	648 acres (value $4000)	Mill (value unknown)
5448	Hanks (occupation ?)	Two and one half blocks, one strip, dwelling (value $450)	2	0	0
5448	Ussery (minister)	Two half blocks, one strip, dwelling (value $800)	1	0	0

Source: Clay Co. Deeds, Dun & Co. Reports, Lowndes County Land Rolls, Lowndes Co. Tax Rolls, U.S. Census (Agriculture, Population, & Slaves), Lowndes Co. , MS.

site. The figures given are an approximation of the wealth held by these households during their occupation of that particular site.

In order to better interpret this data in terms of site ranking, the mean value of the different wealth categories, weighted by length of occupation at that site, are given for each site in Table 6.17. The sites are ordered in this table by town holdings. The data from the two tables suggests that these sites should be ranked into three levels. The top level consists of site 5448, primarily the home of James Griswold. The second level includes sites 5442, 5445, and 5447. These were primarily the residences of medium and small merchants and professionals. The earliest resident of site 5442, Robert McGowan was somewhat wealthier than the other residents of these sites, but his wealth was overshadowed by the later residents of this site because of McGowan's relatively short stay (four years). These sites generally represent middle class occupations. The third, or bottom, level of ranking includes site 5444. The known occupants of this site were a carpenter, who evidently did not own his own shop, and an overseer. Neither of these households owned much wealth. Other residents of this site are an enigma, but they most likely would have consisted of renters, probably craftsmen, clerks, laborers, or farmers.

Table 6.17. Mean Wealth at Barton Sites.

Site	Town Holdings	Slaves	Farm Land	Merchandise Sales (merchants only)
Group A				
5448	$1327	5.7	$2286	$5146
Group B				
5447	$ 778	1.0	0	--
5442	$ 756	1.3	$1011	$4423
5445	$ 678	8.1	$882	$1400
Group C				
5444	$ 50	0	0	--

When the Colbert sites and residents are compared with the Barton ones, the three level rankings seem comparable. The Allens, who were probably among the wealthiest residents of Colbert, fit in the upper rank close to Griswold, although the Allen's may have been somewhat wealthier. The Colbert Warren site should be comparable to the middle level sites at Barton. The placement of the Cherry site is again difficult. His household and site could be placed with the middle ranked sites or with the lowest ranked site.

Life-Cycle and Length of Occupation

Table 6.18 presents information on life cycle and length of occupation. Studies on consumption within economics and archaeology have suggested a number of patterns associated with these variables. With regards to life cycles, it has been suggested that as a family passes through the different stages of the household or family life cycle, its consumption of luxuries increases. This occurs until retirement, at which point the consumption rate declines (Henry 1989:8-9; Lee Decker 1987:240; Schiffer et al. 1981:82). The life cycle stages used here are as follows: single unmarried, newlywed, family with children, older couple (age 50+) with children, older couple without children or with adult children, and widowed (Henry 1989:8-9).

Archaeological studies have also found that the longer a household remains at a residence, the more items it accumulated (Schiffer et al. 1981:78). Although shorter occupation might reduce ceramic accumulation, overall, exactly how it relates to the consumption of different ceramic types is unclear. But, it could have reduced the consumption of expensive ceramics if the residents had some prior notion that they would soon leave.

Generally, the life cycle information presented in Table 6.18 fits closely with the socioeconomic status. The two wealthiest households, the Allens and Griswolds, were

Table 6.18. Life-cycle and Occupation Span at Colbert and Barton Sites.

SITE	OCCUPANT	LIFE-CYCLE	YEARS OF OCCUPATION
Colbert- A	Allen	Older couple- no children	11
Don's Landing	Warren	Older couple-adult children	11
Colbert-B	Cherry	Newlywed	?
Barton 5442	McGowen	Family with children	4
"	Rainey	Older couple- adult children	5
"	Duling	Family with children	1
"	Futrell	Family with children	7
Barton 5444	Adair	Single or newlywed	?
"	Rodgers	Family with children	?
Barton 5445	Warren	Older couple-adult children / Retired	10
"	Duling	Older couple-adult children	7
Barton 5447	Debrill	Couple-no children	4
"	Capshaw	Family with children	4
"	Gage	?	?
Barton 5448	Griswold	Older couple-no children	8
"	Hanks	Widow	2
"	Ussery	Older couple-children	4

both older couples (adults over 50 years of age). The middle socioeconomic level generally consisted of older couples and families with children. An important exception to this is Peter Warren, who moved into retirement in the last two or three years of his occupation of site 5445 (Way and McBride 1983). The widow Mary Hank probably also falls roughly into the middle socioeconomic level of Barton. Barton's households of lower socioeconomic status, Adair and Rodgers, were a single male or newlywed and a family with children.

One of the most striking differences between the Colbert sites, at least the Warren Site and the Allen Site, and the Barton sites is the length of occupation and number of occupations. Sites 5445 and 5448 have occupation lengths which fall closest to the above two Colbert sites, but both of the Barton sites did have more than one occupant.

Socioeconomic status, life cycle, and length of occupation will be utilized in the Colbert and Barton comparisons below. The purpose of this step is to determine if the Boom-Bust cycles are the best or dominant explanation for the patterns visible from the analysis.

The test implication for the boom-recovery comparison is that a higher ceramic price index value should be present in the earlier Colbert deposits (Feature 3, Allen site; West Feature Areas, Warren Site) than at Barton sites of similar socioeconomic level. Table 6.19 presents the mean ceramic index values for the Barton sites and the early Colbert deposits and socioeconomic rank order (see Appendix B for calculations). These figures strongly show a pattern of overall lower luxury (expensive ceramic) consumption at Barton than at Colbert. Socioeconomic position seems to affect the price index value within each town but this effect is weakened when the two towns are compared. In fact, when socioeconomic rank is considered, Colbert and Barton comparisons are most striking. The middle status Warren site at Colbert has a mean index value much higher than the high status Griswold site (5448) at Barton. The Warren site also has a much

Table 6.19. Ceramic Consumption and Site Rank, Colbert and Barton.

Rank	Site	Mean Ceramic Index Value
1	Allen	2.65
2	Warren	2.53
1	5448	2.09
2	5447	1.95
2	5445	1.94
2	5442	1.88
3	5444	1.84

higher index value of the middle, or second ranked, Barton sites, including Peter Warren's Barton site (site 5445).

These results seem to confirm the test implication and support the stronger effect of economic cycles on consumption patterns, compared to socioeconomic status. There are, however, other factors relating to the nature of this sample that should be considered. A major complicating factor at the Barton sites is their complex occupational histories. The multiple residents and sometimes quick turnover at most of the Barton sites, and at 5442 and 5447 in particular, may have somewhat lowered their ceramic index values. Families in residence for four to five years likely did not accumulate as many goods, and perhaps as many luxury goods, as families in residences for eleven years.

The mixing of people of somewhat different socioeconomic levels is also a complication. However, this is primarily an issue at only two sites, site 5442 and site 5448. At site 5442, the longest occupant, the farmer William Futrell, was of a somewhat lower socioeconomic level that the earlier merchant households. Futrell, therefore, may have lowered the ceramic index value for this site.

At site 5448, the eight year occupation of the wealthy James Griswold household was followed by shorter occupations by the middle socioeconomic level residents Mary Hanks (who was a widow) and Robert Ussery. But since the later occupants of site 5448 were

still of a middle socioeconomic level, the great difference between the site 5448 index value and at least the Colbert Warren site value cannot be easily explained by the site turnover. Different economic conditions seem to be the best explanation, especially given the large differences in index values.

The Barton site with the longest household occupation is site 5445. This site was occupied by Peter Warren for ten years and then Augustine Duling for seven years. At Barton, both Warren and Duling seem to have been of a similar socioeconomic level as Warren at Colbert. One complicating factor at site 5445 was Warren's retirement status in the last two to three years of this occupation. This new life cycle status could have caused a decline in consumption of more expensive items. Given that this retirement status was for only two or three years, it seems unlikely that this, or the single turnover of this site, was responsible for the large ceramic index value difference between this site and the Colbert Warren site.

Because of the factors discussed above, the Colbert and Barton comparisons are not without problems. Most of the Barton sites experienced greater and more rapid turnover than the Colbert sites and this may partly contribute to the differences between the Colbert and Barton ceramic index values. The degree of difference in ceramic price index values between the Allen Site- Feature 3 and site 5448 and especially between the Warren site-West Feature Areas and sites 5445 and 5448, however, is so large that it is probably best explained by the change in economic conditions. A larger sample of early Colbert sites and a sample of 1850s sites with longer single occupations would certainly make these comparisons stronger and are probably necessary for a more complete test of this hypothesis.

The third and final test implication for the consumption hypotheses is that a higher ceramic price index value should be present at the Barton sites than at the late Colbert deposits or sites (Allen Site-Feature 16; Warren Site-East Feature Area; Cherry Site, Features 7 and 9) of similar socioeconomic level. Table 6 20 presents the price index

Table 6.20. Late Colbert Mean Ceramic Index Values.

Sample	Index Value
Allen Site, Feature 16	2.12
Cherry Site, Feature 7 and 9	1.97
Warren Site, East Feature Area	1.89

values for the Colbert sites. Miller's 1846 index values were used for the late Colbert deposits since the lower proportion of pearlware in these deposits suggested that overall they dated considerably later than the Feature 3 and West Feature Area deposits (see Tables 6.2, 6.4, and 6.6).

The above Colbert price index values do not support the test implication. The Allen site price index value is higher than the site 5448 price index value. The Warren-East Feature Area price index value is lower than all of the middle level Barton sites, except site 5442. But the differences in index values (.05 to .06) are not as great as expected and are not significant using Shepard's criteria, which would require a difference of .13. The Cherry site index value is very high relative to both the Colbert and Barton sites, and may suggest a re-evaluation of the status of its occupants is necessary. Since this index value is higher than all the Barton values except site 5448, it certainly does not confirm the test implication.

While the above results appear to reject the hypothesis on bust and recovery consumption, this comparison probably does not represent the best test since the late Colbert deposits are somewhat mixed with Boom materials. Deposits from sites not occupied until the 1840s would be necessary to more fully test this hypothesis. The problems discussed above may have also acted to somewhat lower the Barton index values.

CHAPTER 7.

CONCLUSIONS

In the previous chapters of this study, the Boom-Bust model of expansion and economic development has been presented and then tested in the study area of Lowndes County, Mississippi. This model was developed to explain the structure and changes which occur when an area experiences a certain type of colonization and development, referred to here as Boom-Bust settlement. By comparing the study area's development to the model a broader context has been provided in which societal conditions and changes can be more thoroughly examined and explained. More generally, the presentation and examination of this model has illustrated a type of agricultural frontier expansion that has occurred numerous times across North America and throughout the world, but which has received little systematic study. The detailed examination of the characteristics and processes of Boom-Bust expansion can make a significant and needed contribution to frontier studies, by identifying and explaining variability in the frontier process.

The topics examined in the study area included the rate and size of immigration, socioeconomic structure and wealth concentration, agricultural production methods, town development, town settlement system, the services and goods provided in towns, and consumption patterns. A series of nineteen hypotheses dealing with these topics were generated from the model and tested in the study area by the use of documentary and archaeological data. For the most part, the hypotheses were confirmed, at least in those areas where they could be directly tested.

The examination of immigration illustrated that Lowndes County experienced a large and rapid influx of settlers during the boom times of the 1830s. The size of the 1830s

immigration contrasted greatly with what the eastern half of the county experience in the 1810s and 1820s, when the region did not meet the preconditions of the model. The size of the immigrant population in the 1830s also greatly contrasted with that of the depression of the 1840s and the recovery period of the 1850s.

The tests dealing with socioeconomic structure and wealth concentration provided some interesting results, in particular the rejection of the hypothesis on socioeconomic simplification in the initial boom phase of settlement. The results of this test indicated that a nearly full blown plantation society was almost immediately established in the study area. The society contained a hierarchy of settlers from large planters to small farmers, to landless whites, to slaves. These results also contradict the general models of Upland South expansion. Upland South expansion, of which the settlement of northern Mississippi was a part, was supposedly led by generalized open-range stockman/farmers who, at least initially, practiced subsistence agriculture (Newton 1974; Owsley 1949; Weaver and Doster 1982). The generalized agriculture of these settlers made them preadapted for frontier conditions (Newton 1974). The results from Lowndes County certainly do not support this Upland South model. Part of the problem of Southern frontier migration studies has been the lack of pre-1850 quantitative data, such as is presented in this study through the use of pre-1850 tax records, census data, etc.. Hopefully, more use will be made of these sources in future research.

Evidently, the simplified and generalized society often found on frontiers was not adaptive in the study area during the boom. The model preconditions discussed in Chapter 3, such as a good transportation system, a previously established market system, a great demand and high price for cotton, legality of slavery, and rich land, allowed a greater variety of settlers, including wealthy planters, to enter the region with expectations of riches. Interestingly, a more simplified society was present in part of the study area during the 1810s and 1820s, when the preconditions of the model were not met.

Moore (1986) and Weaver and Doster (1982) have brought another interesting aspect of the Upland South Cultural Tradition in their studies of northern Mississippi. Both studies suggest that between the 1830s and 1850, northern Mississippi experienced a blending of Upland and Lowland South cultural traits in such areas as architecture, settlement patterns, and agricultural practices. This blending was not due to an in migration of Lowland Southerners but a diffusion of traits and ideas from the Lower Mississippi Valley. As Moore (1986) states, two "cotton cultures" came together in northern Mississippi, that of the Piedmont and that of the Mississippi Valley. This adjustment or blending calls into question the cohesiveness and uniformity of the Upland South tradition across the entire South, as is often implied (Kniffen 1965; Newton 1974).

The rejection of the simplification hypothesis indicates that an adjustment in the model is necessary, at least for plantation societies. Whether the simplification characteristic should be removed from the model completely is a question that will have to await further tests in commercialized non-plantation frontiers. This finding also brings up the opposite question of under what conditions does the simplification process hold. Recently, this process has been considered almost as a universal, so that details of the process, or variations, have not been examined as closely as they should be.

Comparisons in the concentration of land, value of land, and slaves between 1840 and 1860 closely followed the predictions of the model. A moderate increase in concentration of all wealth measures occurred among the wealthy during the depression of the 1840s, while very little change occurred between 1850 and 1860 with the exception of an increased concentration in one measure, the value of land, held by the wealthiest citizens. The stability in the level of concentration of landholdings and slaveholdings in the final antebellum decade suggests that Lowndes County was already moving beyond a frontier stage by the early 1850s. This conclusion is also reflected in changes in the town settlement system (see below) and is an indication of the speed in which changes occur in the boom-bust setting.

The agricultural production figures from 1850 and 1860 do indicate that some fairly dramatic changes were still occurring in some aspects of Lowndes County society during the 1850s. The great increase in cotton production per-improved acre and per-slave suggests that more intensive agricultural methods were being utilized at this time. This change was predicted in the model and reflects the reduction in high quality open land by the 1850s.

The pace of change in the boom-bust context was also reflected in the examination of hypotheses related to settlement pattern and organization. As was predicted in the model, numerous towns were established almost overnight during the boom period. The generally large town plats of the speculative towns illustrates the high expectations of the period. When the bust of the late 1830s came, however, many of these towns disappeared, or at least declined, almost as fast as they appeared.

The population size, functions, location, and merchandise figures from Columbus during the 1830s and 1840s indicates that it clearly matched the Frontier Town settlement type defined by Casagrande et al. (1964). No other town in the county or region came close to its size and influence once the western lands were opened. The nearly complete regional dominance of Columbus was relatively short lived, however, for by the early 1850s a rival, Aberdeen, appeared. The growth of Aberdeen marked the beginning of a somewhat more complex regional town settlement system and the end of Columbus' role as the Frontier Town.

The rapidity of the changes in the town settlement system was also reflected in spatial arrangement of towns. A nearest neighbor analysis illustrated a rather dramatic change toward a more even distribution every ten years between 1836 and 1856. The pattern toward uniformity is associated with increased competition between towns as the area matured. The extremely rapid rate of change in the town settlement pattern of the study region contrasts sharply with the more gradual changes presented in Swedlund's (1975) study, which was used as a comparison. Swedlund's study area was one that did not

experience a Boom-Bust type of settlement, but rather a more gradual and less speculative one. The Boom-Bust context of the study area resulted in an initial boom period of exaggerated town speculation, followed by a harsh economic period characterized by increased competition and a high rate of town decline and even extinction. Disadvantageously placed towns, such as those near larger more established towns, were the first to go. Competition and renewed town founding (in a more gradual way) in the recovery period led to increased uniformity of the town settlement pattern.

The rate of change in town settlement pattern in the Upper Tombigbee area after the boom was probably also accelerated to some degree by the presence of plantations. Because of the multi-functional nature of plantation, the uniformity of agricultural production, and the reduced processing and storage needs of cotton, urbanization is usually inhibited in cotton plantation regions. The plantation nature of the region, therefore, would have led to a greater rate of town decline or extinction in the bust and more inter-town competition than is normal in non-plantation boom-bust cycles. Comparisons need to be made with the rate of change in boom-bust farming areas to evaluate the impact of plantation agriculture.

Although the hypotheses on goods available within the smaller towns of the county could not be directly tested, store bills and inventories suggest a pattern somewhat at variance with the model. The bills and inventories from the 1840s indicated that a wide variety of goods, including luxuries, were still available in at least some periods of the bust. This finding suggests that another adjustment to the model is necessary for plantation regions, and perhaps even all temperate regions. That part of the model dealing with luxury availability was probably overly influenced by the coffee frontier data from Margolis (1973) where the bust was evidently more severe. Much more systematic research needs to be done on store account books and inventories to fully test these hypotheses.

The consumption analysis was in many ways the most difficult, because of problems with both the documentary and archaeological data. The documentary tests, which were based on analysis of merchandise sales, showed a clear pattern of decreasing expenditures on merchandise from the boom to the bust and an increase from the bust to the recovery. As predicted, the expenditures in the boom were also larger than in the recovery. Unfortunately, this data gave no indication of the types of goods that were consumed, so how expenditures varied from luxuries or durables to other products is unclear.

Overall, the archaeological examination of the boom-bust recovery hypotheses resulted in mixed and somewhat problematic results. The boom to bust comparisons strongly supported the hypothesis predicting reduced consumption of expensive ceramics from boom to bust. The probable mixed nature of these deposits only strengthens this result, since any mixing would pull the early and late price index values toward one another.

The apparent confirmation of the boom to recovery hypothesis, which predicted greater relative consumption of expensive ceramics in the boom, and the apparent rejection of the bust to recovery hypothesis, which predicted greater relative consumption of expensive ceramics in the recovery, are both problematic because of complicating factors in both data sets. The degree of chronological control necessary to fully test this model calls for particular types of sites or features and very precise excavation and artifact analysis. It may be that these requirements are more than can be reasonably expected with archaeological remains. I feel, however, that this negative conclusion has not yet been demonstrated. A careful choice of sites with an emphasis on excavation of quickly filled features, such as privies or refuse pits, plus very detailed chronological analysis, could lead to more reliable and complete testing of the consumption changes predicted in the model. The positive results obtained from the comparison of early and late Colbert deposits is encouraging and suggests that under certain conditions, the archaeological record can be used to address changes outlined in the model.

The use of ceramics to investigate changes in consumption patterns over time could also be aided by local information on ceramic price changes. As Miller (1991) has noted, comparisons of price index values calculated from his system become more problematic as the temporal distance between assemblages becomes greater. Retail and wholesale price index values calculated from local and regional store account and wholesale account books may give more accurate values for local or regional level analysis.

The patterns present in the early and later Colbert deposits also suggest that broader economic conditions should be addressed in archaeological studies of consumption patterns. This has not been done in the past. Most archaeological examinations of consumption have focussed on variability relative to socioeconomic status (see Spencer-Wood 1987a). While this is certainly a worthwhile topic, and many of these studies have been successful in correlating status and consumption patterns, a deeper understanding of the reasons behind consumption variability can only be identified if patterns are viewed in a broader context, which includes general economic conditions, transportation systems, marketing systems, and urban versus rural location, among other factors. The study of consumption has recently become a major focus within historical archaeology. Historical archaeology should be able to present a unique and significant perspective on this topic, but we have to be more sophisticated in our treatment of context and variables. Susan Henry's (1989) paper is a step in the right direction.

The use of a general model, the Boom-Bust model, in this study, greatly facilitated the identification and explanation of changes within the cotton frontier of Lowndes County, Mississippi. General models, such as the Boom-Bust model, offer great advantage in the identification and explanation of both regular and idiosyncratic behavior. This type of model is vital in directing broad comparisons in cultural development.

Within historical archaeology, increased testing of broad models, such as that done by Lewis (1984) and Miller (1984), needs to be performed if the discipline is to advance and make significant theoretical contributions. The methodology utilized in this thesis, which

drew upon both documentary and archaeological data to test a general model, is one way of taking advantage of the strengths of historical archaeology, which include the presence of two different and independent data sources.

In general, the Boom-Bust model presented in this thesis accurately describes and explains the frontier development of the study area. This model describes an important type of frontier development, which has occurred numerous times over time and space, but is poorly understood. The Boom-Bust type of agricultural settlement should be further studied and more integrated into general colonization theory. The present study demonstrates the force of economic conditions on developmental structure and pace and suggests that economic context should be closely examined in any colonization study.

Further tests of the Boom-Bust model need to be performed in different environmental zones and in non-plantation as well as plantation agricultural systems to better understand the uniformity and variability of this type of agricultural colonization. Comparisons with non-agricultural boom-bust frontiers, such as mining frontiers, may also be constructive. Only through the examination of different types of colonization, such as Boom-Bust, can a more complete understanding of colonization in general be obtained.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

MEAN CERAMIC INDEX CALCULATIONS

The calculations for the mean ceramic index values discussed in Chapter 6 are provided in this appendix, arranged in a series of tables by sites or areas within sites. Selected Colbert calculations are provided using both an 1838 set of index values and an 1846 set of index values.

Table A.1 1838 Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, Colbert, Site A, Feature 3.

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER		
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product
plain	4	1.54	6.1	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	1
edged	0	1	0	13	1.38	17	0	1	0	0	1.38	0
sponge	0	1.84	0	1	1.61	1.6	0	1	0	0	1	0
banded	1	1.73	1.7	2	1.83	3.6	0	1	0	0	1.78	0
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	1.2	2.4	0	1.2	0
painted	23	1.97	45	3	2.23	6.6	1	1.8	1.8	3	2	6
printed	20	3.41	68	13	3.3	42	0	2.9	0	9	3.2	28
flowed	1	4.09	4.0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
ironstone	1	3.41	3.4	0	3.3	0	0	2.9	0	0	3.2	0
porcelain	10	4.35	43	1	4.8	4.8	0	4.38	0	0	4.51	0
index sum	174			79.6			4.2			35.8		(ALL FORMS) 293.73
N	60			35			3			13		111
index value:	2.90			2.27			1.4			2.75		final index value 2.646

Table A.2 1838 Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, Colbert, Site A, Feature 16.

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER		
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product
plain	3	1.54	4.6	4	1	4	0	1	0	0	1	0
edged	0	1	0	1	1.38	1.3	0	1	0	0	1.38	0
sponge	0	1.84	0	0	1.61	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
banded	1	1.73	1.7	0	1.83	0	0	1	0	0	1.78	0
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1.2	1.2	0	1.2	0
painted	4	1.97	7.8	0	2.23	0	0	1.8	0	0	2	0
printed	1	3.41	3.4	1	3.3	3.3	0	2.9	0	2	3.2	6.4
flowed	1	4.09	4.0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
ironstone	0	3.41	0	0	3.3	0	0	2.9	0	0	3.2	0
porcelain	2	4.35	8.7	0	4.8	0	0	4.38	0	0	4.51	0
												(ALL FORMS)
index sum	32.1			8.68			1.2			6.4		48.44
N	12			6			1			2		21
index value:	2.68			1.44			1.2			3.2	final index value	2.306

Table A.3 1838 Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, Colbert, Site B.

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER		
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product
plain	3	1.54	4.6	6	1	6	0	1	0	1	1	1
edged	0	1	0	4	1.38	5.5	0	1	0	0	1.38	0
sponge	2	1.84	3.6	1	1.61	1.6	0	1	0	0	1	0
banded	0	1.73	0	2	1.83	3.6	0	1	0	0	1.78	0
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	1.2	2.4	0	1.2	0
painted	6	1.97	11.	1	2.23	2.2	0	1.8	0	1	2	2
printed	5	3.41	17.	5	3.3	16.	0	2.9	0	2	3.2	6.4
flowed	2	4.09	8.1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
ironstone	0	3.41	0	0	3.3	0	0	2.9	0	1	3.2	3.2
porcelain	0	4.35	0	1	4.8	4.8	0	4.38	0	0	4.51	0

					(ALL FORMS)
index sum	45.3	40.32	2.4	12.6	100.67
N	18	20	2	5	45
index value:	2.51	2.01	1.2	2.52	final index value 2.237

Table A.4 1838 Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, Colbert, Don's Landing, WF1&2.

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER			
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	
plain	5	1.54	7.7	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	
edged	0	1	0	6	1.38	8.2	0	1	0	0	1.38	0	
sponge	0	1.84	0	0	1.61	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	
banded	0	1.73	0	0	1.83	0	0	1	0	0	1.78	0	
slipped	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	1.2	2.4	0	1.2	0	
painted	8	1.97	15	0	2.23	0	1	1.8	1.8	0	2	0	
printed	11	3.41	37	3	3.3	9.9	0	2.9	0	3	3.2	9.6	
flowed	0	4.09	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	
ironstone	0	3.41	0	0	3.3	0	0	2.9	0	0	3.2	0	
porcelain	4	4.35	17	1	4.8	4.8	0	4.38	0	1	4.51	4.5	
													(ALL FORMS)
index sum	78.3			23.98			4.2			15.11			121.66
N	29			11			3			5			48
index value:	2.70			2.18			1.4			3.02		final index value	2.534

Table A.5 1838 Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, Don's Landing, East Feature.

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER		
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product
plain	13	1.54	20.	12	1	12	2	1	2	5	1	5
edged	0	1	0	31	1.38	42.	0	1	0	0	1.38	0
sponge	9	1.84	16.	2	1.61	3.2	0	1	0	0	1	0
banded	0	1.73	0	0	1.83	0	0	1	0	0	1.78	0
slipped	2	1	2	0	1	0	17	1.2	20.	1	1.2	1.2
painted	32	1.97	63.	2	2.23	4.4	4	1.8	7.2	0	2	0
printed	14	3.41	47.	8	3.3	26.	0	2.9	0	6	3.2	19.
flowed	0	4.09	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
ironstone	1	3.41	3.4	0	3.3	0	0	2.9	0	0	3.2	0
porcelain	12	4.35	52.	0	4.8	0	0	4.38	0	4	4.51	18.
												(ALL FORMS)
index sum		202.			88.86			29.6			43.44	364.87
N		83			55			23			16	177
index value:		2.44			1.61			1.28			2.71	final index value 2.061

Table A6. 1846 Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, Colbert Site A, Feature 16.

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER		
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product
plain	3	1.48	4.4	4	1	4	0	1	0	0	1	0
edged	0	1	0	1	1.27	1.2	0	1	0	0	1.27	0
sponge	0	1.84	0	0	1.25	0	0	1.11	0	0	1.4	0
banded	1	1.73	1.7	0	1.83	0	0	1.5	0	0	1.78	0
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1.2	1.2	0	1.2	0
painted	4	1.96	7.8	0	2.07	0	0	1.6	0	0	1.88	0
printed	1	2.59	2.5	1	2.78	2.7	0	2.58	0	2	2.65	5.3
flowed	1	3.17	3.1	0	3.48	0	0	3.25	0	0	3.3	0
ironstone	0	2.35	0	0	2.57	0	0	2.37	0	0	2.43	0
porcelain	2	4.21	8.4	0	4.29	0	0	3.46	0	0	3.99	0
index sum	29.9			8.05			1.2			5.3		(ALL FORMS) 44.47
N	12			6			1			2		21
final index value:	2.49			1.34			1.2			2.65		total index value 2.117

Table A7.1846 Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, Colbert, Site B, Feature 7, 8, 9.

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER		
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product
plain	3	1.48	4.4	6	1	6	0	1	0	1	1	1
edged	0	1	0	4	1.27	5.0	0	1	0	0	1.27	0
sponge	2	1.84	3.6	1	1.25	1.2	0	1.11	0	0	1.4	0
banded	0	1.73	0	2	1.83	3.6	0	1.5	0	0	1.78	0
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	1.2	2.4	0	1.2	0
painted	6	1.96	11	1	2.07	2.0	0	1.6	0	1	1.88	1.8
printed	5	2.59	12	5	2.78	13	0	2.58	0	2	2.65	5.3
flowed	2	3.17	6.3	0	3.48	0	0	3.25	0	0	3.3	0
ironstone	0	2.35	0	0	2.57	0	0	2.37	0	1	2.43	2.4
porcelain	0	4.21	0	1	4.29	4.2	0	3.46	0	0	3.99	0
index sum	39.1			36.25			2.4			10.61		(ALL FORMS) 88.43
N	18			20			2			5		45
final index value:	2.17			1.81			1.2			2.12		total index value 1.965

Table A8. 1846 Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, Don's Landing, East Feature.

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER		
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product
plain	13	1.48	19.	12	1	12	2	1	2	5	1	5
edged	0	1	0	31	1.27	39.	0	1	0	0	1.27	0
sponge	9	1.84	16.	2	1.25	2.5	0	1.11	0	0	1.4	0
banded	0	1.73	0	0	1.83	0	0	1.5	0	0	1.78	0
slipped	2	1	2	0	1	0	17	1.2	20.	1	1.2	1.2
painted	32	1.96	62.	2	2.07	4.1	4	1.6	6.4	0	1.88	0
printed	14	2.59	36.	8	2.78	22.	0	2.58	0	6	2.65	15.
flowed	0	3.17	0	0	3.48	0	0	3.25	0	0	3.3	0
ironstone	1	2.35	2.3	0	2.57	0	0	2.37	0	0	2.43	0
porcelain	12	4.21	50.	0	4.29	0	0	3.46	0	4	3.99	15.
												(ALL FORMS)
index sum		187.			80.25			28.8			38.06	334.76
N		83			55			23			16	177
final index value:		2.26			1.45			1.25			2.37	total index value 1.891

Table A9. Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, BARTON, SITE 5442

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER			
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	
plain	9	1.61	14	18	1	18	1	1	1	8	1	8	
edged	0	1	0	6	1.17	7.0	0	1	0	0	1.17	0	
sponge	0	1.84	0	1	1.24	1.2	0	1.11	0	0	1.4	0	
banded	0	1.73	0	0	1.24	0	0	1.11	0	0	1.36	0	
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	1.11	5.5	0	1.11	0	
painted	2	1.91	3.8	0	1.91	0	0	1.51	0	2	1.78	3.5	
printed	4	2.92	11	3	2.65	7.9	0	2.25	0	3	2.61	7.8	
flowed	1	3.57	3.5	1	3.18	3.1	0	2.7	0	0	3.15	0	
ironstone	8	2.87	22	10	2.65	26	1	2.25	2.2	1	2.61	2.6	
porcelain	1	4.06	4.0	0	3.77	0	0	2.54	0	3	3.46	10	
index sum	60.5			63.89			8.8			32.38			(ALL FORMS) 165.65
N	25			39			7			17			88
final index value:	2.42			1.63			1.25			1.90			final index value 1.882

Table A10. Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, BARTON, SITE 5443

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER			
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	
plain	24	1.61	38.	30	1	30	4	1	4	14	1	14	
edged	0	1	0	16	1.17	18.	0	1	0	1	1.17	1.1	
sponge	6	1.84	11.	2	1.24	2.4	0	1.11	0	4	1.4	5.6	
banded	1	1.73	1.7	1	1.24	1.2	0	1.11	0	1	1.36	1.3	
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	11	1.11	12.	0	1.11	0	
painted	2	1.91	3.8	0	1.91	0	0	1.51	0	1	1.78	1.7	
printed	5	2.92	14.	4	2.65	10.	0	2.25	0	4	2.61	10.	
flowed	5	3.57	17.	0	3.18	0	0	2.7	0	1	3.15	3.1	
ironstone	12	2.87	34.	7	2.65	18.	0	2.25	0	2	2.61	5.2	
porcelain	5	4.06	20.	0	3.77	0	1	2.54	2.5	0	3.46	0	(ALL FORMS)
index sum		144.			81.59			18.7			42.72		287.21
N		60			60			16			28		164
final index value:		2.40			1.35			1.17			1.52	final index value	1.751

Table A11. Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, BARTON, SITE 5444

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER			
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	
plain	11	1.61	17.	10	1	10	4	1	4	2	1	2	
edged	0	1	0	4	1.17	4.6	0	1	0	0	1.17	0	
sponge	2	1.84	3.6	0	1.24	0	1	1.11	1.1	0	1.4	0	
banded	2	1.73	3.4	0	1.24	0	0	1.11	0	0	1.36	0	
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	1.11	2.2	0	1.11	0	
painted	4	1.91	7.6	0	1.91	0	0	1.51	0	1	1.78	1.7	
printed	5	2.92	14.	1	2.65	2.6	0	2.25	0	2	2.61	5.2	
flowed	0	3.57	0	0	3.18	0	0	2.7	0	0	3.15	0	
ironstone	2	2.87	5.7	1	2.65	2.6	2	2.25	4.5	0	2.61	0	
porcelain	2	4.06	8.1	0	3.77	0	0	2.54	0	1	3.46	3.4	(ALL FORMS)
index sum		64.4			19.98			11.8			12.46		108.68
N		28			16			9			6		59
final index value:		2.30			1.24			1.31			2.07	final index value	1.842

Table A12. Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, BARTON, SITE 5445

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER			
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	
plain	17	1.61	27.	13	1	13	2	1	2	12	1	12	
edged	0	1	0	15	1.17	17.	0	1	0	1	1.17	1.1	
sponge	8	1.84	14.	2	1.24	2.4	1	1.11	1.1	1	1.4	1.4	
banded	2	1.73	3.4	2	1.24	2.4	0	1.11	0	1	1.36	1.3	
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	15	1.11	16.	0	1.11	0	
painted	6	1.91	11.	1	1.91	1.9	1	1.51	1.5	1	1.78	1.7	
printed	3	2.92	8.7	5	2.65	13.	0	2.25	0	6	2.61	15.	
flowed	5	3.57	17.	0	3.18	0	0	2.7	0	3	3.15	9.4	
ironstone	16	2.87	45.	4	2.65	10.	0	2.25	0	5	2.61	13.	
porcelain	5	4.06	20.	0	3.77	0	0	2.54	0	3	3.46	10.	(ALL FORMS)
index sum		153.			61.27			21.2			66.25		302.09
N		62			42			19			33		156
final index value:		2.47			1.45			1.11			2.00	final index value	1.936

Table A13. Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, BARTON, SITE 5447

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER			
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	
plain	10	1.61	16.	9	1	9	1	1	1	2	1	2	
edged	0	1	0	12	1.17	14.	0	1	0	1	1.17	1.1	
sponge	3	1.84	5.5	0	1.24	0	0	1.11	0	0	1.4	0	
banded	1	1.73	1.7	0	1.24	0	0	1.11	0	0	1.36	0	
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1.11	1.1	0	1.11	0	
painted	4	1.91	7.6	2	1.91	3.8	0	1.51	0	1	1.78	1.7	
printed	5	2.92	14.	2	2.65	5.3	0	2.25	0	3	2.61	7.8	
flowed	1	3.57	3.5	0	3.18	0	0	2.7	0	1	3.15	3.1	
ironstone	4	2.87	11.	2	2.65	5.3	1	2.25	2.2	1	2.61	2.6	
porcelain	3	4.06	12.	1	3.77	3.7	0	2.54	0	0	3.46	0	
													(ALL FORMS)
index sum		74.5			41.23			4.36			18.54		138.68
N		31			28			3			9		71
final index value:		2.40			1.47			1.45			2.06	final index value	1.953

Table A14. Mean Ceramic Index Calculation, BARTON, SITE 5448

decoration	CUPS			PLATES			BOWLS			OTHER		
	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product	count	index	product
plain	19	1.61	30	17	1	17	0	1	0	3	1	3
edged	0	1	0	16	1.17	18	0	1	0	0	1.17	0
sponge	7	1.84	12	1	1.24	1.2	3	1.11	3.3	1	1.4	1.4
banded	3	1.73	5.1	0	1.24	0	1	1.11	1.1	0	1.36	0
slipped	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	1.11	3.3	2	1.11	2.2
painted	7	1.91	13	1	1.91	1.9	0	1.51	0	3	1.78	5.3
printed	12	2.92	35	11	2.65	29	0	2.25	0	6	2.61	15
flowed	3	3.57	10	3	3.18	9.5	0	2.7	0	0	3.15	0
ironstone	13	2.87	37	5	2.65	13	1	2.25	2.2	0	2.61	0
porcelain	7	4.06	28	0	3.77	0	0	2.54	0	2	3.46	6.9
index sum	178			90.81			10.0			34.54		(ALL FORMS) 314.07
N	71			54			8			17		150
final index value:	2.51			1.68			1.25			2.03		final index value 2.093

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