

A MATERIAL CULTURAL APPROACH TO CHILDHOOD IN
ANTEBELLUM AND POSTBELLUM GULF COAST PLANTATION
SOCIETIES

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department
of Comparative Cultural Studies
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

By

Derry Robson Webb

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ABSTRACT

The brick cabins of the Magnolia Plantation Quarters in Derry, Louisiana, were occupied continuously from the early to mid 1840's through the late 1960's where 7.5 of the brick cabins stand today. In contrast the cabins at the Levi Jordan Plantation in Brazoria County, Texas were occupied from the early to mid 1840s only until the late 1880s when archaeological evidence indicates that they were abandoned and left to decay. The investigation by Kenneth Brown of both sites yielded historical, oral and archaeological evidence of both antebellum and postbellum tenant communities. The research presented in this thesis examines the enslaved and tenant children of these communities using historical evidence and the material record they left behind, including toys and school related artifacts. In previous studies, children have often been treated as a minor component of an overall research project. This study attempts to place the focus directly on the children by asking questions specific to them.

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Chapter One

Background of the Archaeology of Children

Introduction

Some have asked “What is the Use of Plantation Archaeology?” (Potter, 1991) While others have written that “plantations of the Old South and their inhabitants bequeathed to the future the most striking architectural relics ever created by an agrarian people” (Matrana, 2009: xiii). Regardless of opinion, plantations were home to generations of people whether by choice or not.

By 1860, there were an estimated 46,274 of these large unified tracts of agricultural land containing at least twenty or more slaves stretching from Maryland to Texas (Rehder, 1999:53) This average of an estimated ratio of around one enslaved per two acres (Rehder, 1999:33) speaks to the fact that a large number of our ancestors and specifically African-Americans led lives that were affected by these estates. Charles Orser has argued that only archaeology “has the power to resurrect the daily lives and cultural patterns of the invisible men and women of the past” (Orser, 1996:12). Because of this, the archaeology of the African Diaspora and its interception with Plantation and postbellum archaeology is critical to a full understanding of the history of the United States.

Plantation archaeology has evolved from a primary focus on architectural reconstruction usually of the main house to a broad focus on cultural issues such as race, power, domination and the general living conditions of slaves, including foodways, acculturation, and crafts (Singleton, 1990). As these questions have been addressed and as more African-American sites are investigated, the complexity of the experience of all of the enslaved has led to recent work that focuses more on understanding the day to day

experience within enslaved communities (Brown 2008c:13-21, 2013; Camp, 2002; Hine, 2007; King, 2012). Using a combination of historical documents, ethnographic evidence and material culture, this study will make enslaved and emancipated children and childhood its primary focus. In doing so, it follows this recent trend of reaching past the examination of those who controlled society to looking at “issues of identity, the individual, and the role of agency” (Kamp 2006:115).

Two main plantation Quarters are being examined within this thesis; The Levi Jordan Plantation, Brazoria County Texas and The Magnolia Plantation, Cane River Creole National Historical Park, Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana. Both plantations had excavations conducted of their quarters utilizing mostly consistent field techniques as developed by Dr. Brown, and both quarters’ areas were inhabited in both antebellum and postbellum time frames. Specific to this study, both plantations have historical evidence that shows the presence of children and schools. (Brown 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008b, 2008c, 2009, 2010, 2013) The Levi Jordan Plantation also has archeological evidence that points to the presence of a Praise House / Church then School (Brown 2013) and the Magnolia Plantation has historical evidence that indicates a possible school (Crespi, 2004). This combination of evidence allows the following questions to be addressed:

1. Can we see a technological, temporal or gender delineation between toys identified as being played with by enslaved children and those identified as being played with by emancipated children?
 - a. Do the enslaved have greater or fewer store bought toys? In other words can we see a significant difference in household investment in store bought toys before or after emancipation?
 - b. As per Andrade Lima (Andrade Lima, 2012), toys have been used by adults to demonstrate domesticity to girls and virility and strength to boys. Is this

gender delineation supported in an antebellum or postbellum context at Magnolia or the Levi Jordan Plantations?

2. Because there is ethnographic evidence of a school at Magnolia Plantation, can we use the archaeological remains from the Jordan praise house / Church then school to determine if any of the three cabins excavated at Magnolia plantation were used as a school?

The work within this thesis is intended to broaden the scope of research at both Magnolia and the Levi Jordan Plantations by focusing specifically on the effects of enslavement and then emancipation on the children of these plantations. As many as 144 enslaved persons may have lived at the Levi Jordan Plantation (Brown 2013:26-34) and historical evidence shows that as many as 112 enslaved persons may have lived at Magnolia Plantation (Brown 2008b:55-60). Surely some of them were children. Throughout the United States, generations of children spent their childhoods on plantations; this thesis is an attempt to give a voice to some of them.

African Diaspora and Plantation Archaeology

The earliest studies of African diaspora archaeology were related to efforts to assist architectural reconstruction and preservation of well known historic settlement and plantation sites. Excavations at Mount Vernon (Pogue, 1988; Wall, 1945), Charles Towne (South, 1969), Williamsburg (Wertenbaker, 1953) and Carter's Grove (Hume, 1979) may have touched on deposits left by the enslaved, but it was not until later that an effort was made to interpret them. These cultural historical oriented excavations often lacked explicit anthropologically based research questions and were instead "designed to supplement the

written record of a site with the goal of deriving a narrative account of what happened there” (Singleton, 1990:71).

Starting in the 1960s and continuing into the 1970s, the world of African diaspora archaeology collided with political and social forces. The 1960s was a decade of cultural dichotomies; Kennedy optimism leading to Vietnam cynicism and fights for basic civil rights in a country capable of reaching the moon. In July of 1964, the Civil Rights Act was signed into law forbidding “discrimination in places of public accommodation and amending voting rights legislation so that discriminatory practices like literacy tests were forbidden (Civil Rights Act of 1964). In 1966, the National Historic and Preservation Act recognized that the nation’s historic heritage, not including “historic, archaeological, architectural and cultural values” (NHPA, 1966:62) should be preserved. This act codified a National Register of Historic Places and opened up more grants designed to assist those in the business of historic preservation (NHPA, 1966:50-51). Many African-American sites that would not have been considered otherwise were studied by contract archaeologists, while others were surveyed and assessed for future research (Singleton and Bograd: 1995, 14).

Around this time, Lewis Binford published a series of articles and a book on his “new archaeology” (Binford 1962, 1964, 1965, 1968; Binford and Binford: 1968) in which he set down a methodology that he thought would ultimately lead to cross cultural general laws and theories. His new or Processual archaeology advocated a “scientific frame of reference” (Binford, 1962:217) and planned hypothetical research designs (Binford, 1964:426, 434). He urged that field work be “conducted in terms of a running analysis against a backdrop of the widest possible set of questions to which the data are potentially relevant (Binford, 1964:440). Within this framework, some African diaspora / plantation archaeologists started

moving from a descriptive, historically oriented approach to “scientific” studies full of tables, statistics and lists. (Best, 1968; Barber, 1976; Handler, 1983; Lees, 1979)

By the early 1980s, many scholars were starting to see that while New Archaeology’s emphasis on research design and hypothesis testing was a good starting point, it fell short in answering questions relating to the meaning of the archaeological record: “There have always been members of the New Archeology cadre that felt the rejection of psychological and symbolic factors was too strong and that the workings of the mind and the style of the way people do things were inadequately treated in most New Archeological works” (Redman 1991:298). For those working on African Diaspora and Plantation Archaeology, questions of meaning and the interpretation of the material record were complicated by the influence of power relationships, oppression, resistance and historical documents that emphasized the view of the plantation owner.

Many of the studies on African-American sites at this time took a systemic approach, seeking to frame plantation life within a larger economic function and often asking questions about status differences and power relationships using artifact frequencies and plantation structure studies (Otto, 1984; Singleton and Bograd, 1985; Orser 1987, 1988a, 1988b; Adams 1987). Fairbank’s work at Kingsley plantation (Fairbanks 1972, 1984) and John Otto’s concept of status patterning recognized all plantation structures and their occupants (Otto 1980, 1984; Moore, 1985). But as Fairbanks noted some of these efforts still fell short: “So far excavation in slave and freedman sites has not clearly revealed the differences in culture that have existed between highly skilled craftsmen, house servants, field hands, Black foremen, and other status groups within the Black populations. It seems that we cannot yet talk about the details of the whole Black communities, only general conclusions are

available. The need is clearly for historical and archaeological studies that will attack those aspects not yet examined.” (Fairbanks, 1984:11)

In making this statement, Fairbanks joined the ranks of others that felt that the New Archaeology had not fulfilled its promise. In the early 1980s, Ian Hodder and other scholars started questioning how far New Archaeology could take them (Hodder 1982, 1986; Leone and Potter 1988; Shanks and Tilley, 1989), noting that analytical and statistical methods could create accurate renderings of artifact assemblages but they did not explain what these assemblages represented. Because of this, a post-processual or contextual archaeology started to emerge; it argued that there was no objective archaeology because facts cannot be separated from the bias of the observer and the material record must be interpreted contextually. It moved away from strict validation by scientific method towards a multi-vocal, multi-discipline approach. (Redman, 1991)

For African Diaspora / plantation archaeologists, no longer were artifact patterns pigeon holed into neat categories in a manner reminiscent of Stanley South’s Pattern Recognition models (South, 2002) and Otto’s status patterning (Otto 1980, 1984) but rather the material record and the patterns found there were framed within a complex, contextual cultural framework. Theresa Singleton notes, “Whether Washington, Jefferson, or any other planter preferred porcelain to Creamware has little bearing on the ceramic choice of those living in the slave quarters. The question that should be asked is whether the social differentiation that archaeologists infer in the material record of the field and house slaves, was the same as that recognized by enslaved people”. (Singleton and Bograd, 1985:18)

Rather than being studied as merely part of a larger economic function, post processualist studies tried to frame the enslaved within larger narratives such as race and

class struggles (Adams and Boling, 1989; Epperson 1990, 1995; Orser, 1987) or resistance (Agorsah, 1993; Epperson, 1990; ; O'Malley, 2002; Orser and Funari, 2001; Parker Pearson, 1997; Stewart, 1991). Within these larger guidelines, there was a greater emphasis on the reconstruction of the everyday lives of the African-American occupants of the plantation (Singleton, 1990:73). Many studies were designed to examine the physiological needs of the enslaved, including housing and use of yard spaces, food ways and household equipment (Scott, 2001; Singleton, 1990:74, 2001, Young et al, 2001). Studies included but were not limited to excavations and interpretations of storage pits beneath slave cabins (McKee 1992; Young, 1997), arrangement of Quarters communities (Affleck, 1989; Vlach, 1991; Kelso 1986) and multiple studies on colono-Indian ware (Ferguson, 1980; Lees, and Kimery-Lees, 1979; Deetz, 1977:237-239).

Although many questions were answered, a lot of these studies formed the basis for, or inspired additional scholarship, much in the same way as Otto's attributions of artifacts had formed "the foundation for the development of analytical techniques used in historical archaeology (Orser, 1984:4; Singleton, 1990:71). This research was combined with a search for culture retained from Africa or Africanisms (Ferguson 1992; Wheaton and Garrow, 1985; Yentsch 1991). Those advocating this direction, joined Herskovits (Herskovits, 1941) in maintaining that not all "African-derived cultural traits" (Singleton, 1999:7) were destroyed on the middle passage (catastrophism). Studies on the origination of Colonoware, the meaning of storage pits and cross cultural artifacts such as blue beads (Adams, 1989; Thomas, 1998) inspired questions of ethnicity (Michie, 1990), acculturation (Otto, 1984), and religious and ritual behavior (Brown and Cooper, 1990; Fennel 2007a, 2007b; Leone and Fry, 1999; Wilkie, 1995). Material culture began to be examined as potential evidence of an

“amalgamation of reinterpreted African culture and adopted European materials” (Singleton, 1996:149).

The search for African-American ethnic markers and Africanisms was complicated by creolization and acculturation. Singleton noted “the search for Africanisms however, has been fraught with numerous problems” (Singleton, 1996:8). DeCorse discussed complicating factors such as the overlap of different cultures (overseer, owner) at Plantation sites (DeCorse, 1999:145), the actual origins of the enslaved due to the mixing of African cultural affiliations in the middle passage (DeCorse, 1999:135) and changing cultural settings (DeCorse, 1999:148). Posnansky noted “It is important to know that slaves in the Americas were a *mélange* of very different peoples (Posnansky, 1999:25). Perry and Paynter talked about multivalency in regards to objects representative of possible Africanisms, “African Americans and European Americans used a similar range of objects though in quite different ways...it is not that multivalent objects are somehow obscure and exotic items that appear in our miscellaneous categories. It is rather that all too often they are given the interpretation used by the dominant culture.” (Perry and Paynter, 1999:303)

Brown and Cooper in their study of the Levi Jordan Plantation in Brazoria County, Texas noted that most of the material culture excavated was of European origins. But to the occupants of the Quarters area, these items may have had different uses and/or meanings. Brown and Cooper argued that in order to identify the meaning and use of material culture within a slave and tenant community, the artifacts should be excavated and interpreted contextually; “In order to investigate this interaction more fully, archaeologists must look for and extensively excavate associational contexts within slave and tenant farmer communities throughout the South. Only through the comparisons of such data can one begin to talk about

acculturation processes, the retention of so-called African behavioral patterns, and the definition of ethnicity.” (Brown and Cooper, 1990:19)

In addition to these studies of the African-American experience in the United States, other work within the field of African Diaspora / Plantation archaeology has been reaching beyond our shores to look at the experiences of enslaved Africans everywhere. Around the world, many slaves ran away and created settlements of their own. Quite a few of these maroon settlements have been investigated; they range in size from small campsites to large self maintaining establishments (Agorsah, 1994; Anderson, 1996; Campbell, M.C., 1988; Ejstrud, 2008). Studies in the Caribbean have also been undertaken to gain a more complete picture of the slave trade (Aufhauser, 1974; Bolland, 1981; Eltis et al, 2005). Eltis notes “Of the 11 million or more enslaved Africans forced to cross the Atlantic after 1500, no fewer than 95 percent disembarked in tropical and subtropical regions” (Eltis et al, 2005:673). Christopher DeCorse’s work on Sub-Saharan African slave sites, including Elmina has provided insight into the slave trade and the impact of European contact (DeCorse, 1991, 1992, 1993; Posnansky and DeCorse, 1986).

More recent work within the field of African Diaspora / Plantation archaeology has been looking at the experiences of black women and of specific interest to this study, children. Singleton notes that “the plantation offers a muddled picture of gender roles” (Singleton and Bograd, 1995:29). Experiences of white women and the expectation of gender roles and work varied from the experiences of black women. Many enslaved women performed work considered women’s work like washing and cooking as well as contributed to field labor (Joyner, 1991; Morgan, 1982; Stamp, 1956). Some of these studies have focused primarily on the African-American experience of women on the plantation (Camp,

2002; White, 1985), others have chosen to focus on all women on the plantation (Fox-Genovese, 1988) while others have focused on the roles of plantation mistresses (Clinton, 1982). Additional scholarship on women and children will be discussed later in this chapter.

Beyond slavery, the Archaeology of Postbellum Times

As Singleton and Bograd have pointed out, much of African-American archaeology has focused on slavery and antebellum plantation sites (Singleton and Bograd, 1995:13) but the enslaved experience reached beyond the temporal and contextual boundaries of enslavement. After emancipation many of the formerly enslaved stayed on the plantations as tenants or sharecroppers. Tenancy or the process of renting and cultivating land owned by another had its origins in Europe. Under tenancy, a fixed agreed upon amount was paid to the landowner, usually in cash but often in goods and services. Sharecropping was a system where the renter had to pay a portion of the crop as rent. Orser has pointed out that while the two systems appeared to be the same, there was a distinction within the law. Legally sharecroppers were seen to not have “possession of the crop” (Orser 1999:149). They were seen as the laborers receiving the necessary supplies from the landowner and returning half of the crop produced. Renters were treated differently under the law and worked within different flexible systems. They supplied their own tools and returned combinations of crops and/or cash. (Orser 1999:149)

Orser has also argued that there has been a failure of archaeologists to focus on tenancy and sharecropping for two reasons. First the belief by many archaeologists that the tenancy system was specific to the South and second because of what he terms as “temporal bigotry” or the lack of respect of historical sites by prehistorians. (Orser 1999:161) Adding

to this is confusion in the material record caused by the movement of people off and on plantations postbellum time. Scholars interested in the experience of emancipated African-Americans experience an amalgamation of their material record with the material record of others. In examining May Plantation, Claudia Holland notes that during postbellum times, the lands that had been worked by slaves were being tilled by a mix of white and black workers. There was a “continuous restructuring of labor” (Holland, 1990:62) and an ongoing shifting of tenants from house to house to obtain better living conditions or get closer to the fields (Holland, 1990:63-64).

Elizabeth Scott has studied foodways at Nina Plantation, looking at the differences between antebellum and postbellum dietary patterns. Unique to this site is an 1857 flood deposit that coincides with a change in ownership of the plantation from French owned to Anglo owned. The change in ownership appears to coincide with a diet change not only for the owners of the main house but also for the Quarters residents. Scott writes that the difference between the mostly antebellum period French owners and the Quarters residents was greater than the difference between the Anglo owners and the Quarters residents. Not surprisingly, Scott notes the difficulty in interpretation of the meaning of this difference, “the differences in food consumption that appear evident in the faunal remains from Nina Plantation could have more to do with nineteenth-century changes in technology (particularly changes in shipping and meat processing that made more kinds of meat available to more people) than they have to do with ethnic or economic food choices” (Scott, 2001:18).

Laurie Wilkie has studied both the enslaved and tenant communities at Oakley Plantation in Louisiana. In her book about Oakley Plantation, she attempts to trace movements of the formerly enslaved after emancipation noting major difficulties in cross

referencing records (Wilkie, 2000a:53-54). What is clear to Wilkie is that some slaves ran away as the Civil war drew close (Wilkie, 2000a:62) while others were still there as tenant farmers in 1872 (Wilkie, 2000a:68). Despite a lack of a measurable improvement in the standard of living for the formerly enslaved (Wilkie, 2000a), Wilkie says the period “seems to represent a revival of African-based traditions” (Wilkie, 2000a:234). Kenneth L. Brown in his studies of the Levi Jordan Plantation in Brazoria County has also discovered evidence for postbellum African Retentions and craft specialization (Brown and Cooper, 1990; Brown, 2013).

While these studies show that many of the enslaved stayed close to the places to which they were brought, after emancipation, many African-Americans left the places where they had been enslaved and tried to create lives in other areas. Scholars from many disciplines have researched their experiences (De Cunzo, 2008; Kellogg 1977, Frehill-Rowe, 1993). Lu Ann De Cunzo has written about the life of two African-American families who after emancipation settled in Delaware. She notes that her expectation of encountering evidence of poverty was negated by archaeological evidence of “a diverse, extensive, captivating array of objects” (De Cunzo, 2008:42).

Emancipated slaves in Texas often made their way to Dallas or Houston’s Freedman’s towns. In North Dallas, James Davidson exhumed 1,150 burials containing 1,157 individuals from an area in the path of highway construction. The graveyard was dated to between 1869 and 1907 and contained many formerly enslaved with fifteen being interred with perforated coins. (Davidson, 2004:22) The combination of an African tradition of applying supernatural status to a metal amulet (Davidson, 2004:33) combined with a white-derived coin charm (Davidson, 2004:35) led Davidson to interpret the coins as an attempt by

the African American community “to gain some measure of control over their own lives” (Davidson, 2004:38). In Houston’s Freedman’s town, work has included excavations at the Jack Yates House, Bethel Missionary Baptist Church and a walking survey of the historic brick streets (McDavid et al, 2008; DiFrancesco 2008). Unique findings included the discovery of a ceramic die embedded into the historic brick streets, in the middle of a crossroads and an upside down street marker located adjacent to the church. McDavid writes that both of these placements may have been intentional and had symbolic meaning (McDavid et al, 2008:48-49).

The Anthropology and Archaeology of Children

As mentioned previously, more recent work within the field of African Diaspora / Plantation archaeology has been looking at the experiences of enslaved women and children. Historically, anthropological and archaeological work on children has been undertaken as a part of a larger project (Camp, 2002; Deetz, 1993; Heath, 1999; Hine, 2007). This is due in part to our culturally based view of childhood that children are peripheral to the structure of our adult based society (Baxter 2005; Derevenski, 2000; Kamp 2001). Children are seen as not leaving a patterned and understandable material record behind. They are merely part of a whole and not agents creating their own spatial patterning.

Anthropology

Early anthropologic literature on children was often ethnographically based (Kidd, 1906; Malinowski, 1913; Mead, 1928, 1930). The behavior of the children was observed and written about without any explicit theoretical basis (Baxter, 2005:5). By the mid 1950s, however, childhood began to be seen as a dual process of biological development and

socialization (Barry et al, 1957; Erikson, 1950; Mead 1955; Mead and Wolfenstein 1955; Parsons, 1954). This search for theory was soon combined with the emerging ideas of cultural evolution and adaptation leading to an increased focus into the lives of prehistoric children (Flenniken, 1984; Keith, 2005; Lillehammer, 1989; Park, 2005).

Lawrence Hirschfeld in his 2002 article, “why don’t anthropologists like children?” argued that in a comprehensive anthropology, children are “theoretically crucial” because they acquire cultural knowledge better than all other groups and this acquisition of cultural knowledge is a basic premise of anthropology (Hirschfeld, 2002:624). He continues, “In conceiving of children as appendages to adult society, anthropology has conceived of them as lacking inherent interest” (Hirschfeld, 2002:614)

Possibly because of this lack of interest, anthropological studies specifically about children are a small subset of the wealth of anthropological knowledge. Helen Schwartzman writes that “In a survey of one hundred years of research as reported in *American Anthropologist*, I found that only about 4 percent of articles published during this time period included any significant information about children” (cited from Schwartzman, 2001) (Schwartzman, 2006:127 footnote 1). Hirschfeld writes that multiple works on children since Margaret Mead in the 1930s have not produced a “tradition of child-focused research” (Hirschfeld, 2002:611). He notes, “if you eliminate studies on nutrition and book reviews, *American Anthropologist* has published three articles on children dated between 1986 and 2001 and fourteen since 1904” (Hirschfeld, 2002:612).

But an interest in the anthropology of children is growing as demonstrated by the recent publication of Volume 15 of the *Archaeological papers of the Anthropological Association* dedicated entirely to the subject (January, 2005). Because of this Helen

Schwartzman suggests “that the anthropology of children may finally be ‘coming of age’” (Schwartzman, 2006:123).

Archaeology

Like Anthropology, Archaeological research is trending towards an increased focus on the childhood experience. Some see this as a natural process resulting from an increased movement towards feminism and gender sensitivity (Claassen, 1992; Conkey and Spector, 1984; Gero and Conkey, 1991) leading to an acknowledgment that a comprehensive study of a culture must include all actors. In her article “where have all the children gone?”, Kamp argues that historically, archaeological reconstructions have not acknowledged the children because they are seen as peripheral to cultures, of little economic or social importance and too intangible (Kamp, 2001:1-2).

Archaeological work on children since the 1970s has been evolving from using children as a way to explain “uninterpretable artifacts” (Baxter, 2005:8) to making children a primary focus. Studies have included attempts to define children and childhood both contextually and temporally (Bluebond-Langner et al, 2007; Kamp, 2001; King, 2012, Perry, 2005), socialization, task acquisition, and education (Bugarin, 2006; Kamp, 2001; Keith, 2005; Levin, 2007; Park, 2005; Smith, 2006) and pattern recognition and the tangibility of children (Baxter, 2005, 2006a, 2006b) including toys (Andrade Lima 2012; Kamp, 2006;) and play (Roberts and Barry, 1976; Schlegel and Barry, 1989; Kamp, 2001; Thomas, 2006; Wiggins, 1980).

Past Problems with Defining a Child and Childhood

Not surprisingly, most anthropologists have encountered problems in their studies of children because the definition of a child is culturally constructed and can change over time. As an example Kamp notes that the advent of formal schooling within the United States and Europe changed childhood to a time of active participation in the labor force to a time of play and learning. An archaeological study of childhood should then, according to Kamp start with a determination of cultural age categories (Kamp, 2001, 2006).

However, the prevailing definition of a child and childhood within our culture is based in biology. This definition assumes a clear delineation between childhood and adulthood and applies this delineation universally. (Kamp, 2001, 2006; Perry, 2005) This can be seen in laws enacted during the twentieth century that give special attention to the rights of children separate and apart from adults. According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 1, Part 1, a child is defined as those persons “below the age of eighteen years” (www.ourdocuments.gov).

Perry argues for a biological approach to defining childhood noting that bioarchaeologists can determine if an individual is approximately less than 18 years of age (subadult) and can choose to define a child based on chronological age (Perry, 2005:89). Perry argues that biological markers can identify important stages in a child’s development such as weaning or puberty. These stages in many cultures are linked to transitional rituals and can mark the beginning of adulthood (Perry, 2005; Haag, 1988; Soga, 1931). Perry notes “many cultures use biological and social rather than chronological age to indicate an age-grade transition and because skeletal growth varies greatly between individuals, this may be a

more accurate indicator than strict chronological age. It will then vary slightly between and even within populations” (Perry, 2005:94).

Myra Bluebond-Langner and Jill E. Korbin (Bluebond-Langner et al, 2007) write that there is a tendency in anthropology to resist universal definitions of child and childhood and to identify population-specific definitions. But, they insist that within some cultural constructs, universal definitions are appropriate. Studies involving child soldiers, child labor and age of consent to marry should look to the international human rights community and international laws in order to define childhood. However Bluebond-Langner and Korbin do note that basing a definition of a child and childhood on biology and twentieth century laws can be tricky for archaeologists who work across cultural lines and beyond the temporal boundaries of the twentieth century; “for the anthropologist ‘bright lines’ are immediately problematic considering the variation by culture, ethnicity, gender, history and location found in the cross-cultural record” (Bluebond-Langner et al 2007:242)

To avoid these bright lines, most archaeologists recognize that the children they are studying exist within a specific temporal and contextual environment; childhood is seen as a social construction that varies throughout time and by location. (Baxter 2005, 2006a, 2006b; Haag 1988; Hiner and Hawes, 1991; Reynolds, 1990; Soga 1931) Levine notes that “the conditions of childhood tend to vary in central tendency from one population to another, are sensitive to population-specific contexts, and are not comprehensible without detailed knowledge of the socially and culturally organized contexts that give them meaning” (Levine, 2007:247). Some scholars believe that in the historical context, the question of what constitutes a child and childhood is probably best answered through historical documents (Park 2005; Wilkie 2000b). To define children in the temporal and contextual culture of an

antebellum and postbellum plantation environment, scholars have turned to laws, plantation records and ethnographies (King, 2012; Morgan, 1998; Guthrie, 1996; Creel, 1988).

Wilma King has approached the difficulty in defining children and childhood in a plantation setting by using the 1850 census and its definitions for her classification of what constitutes a child in an enslaved context. “The 1850 Census of the United States divided slaves into groups consisting of those below five years of age under the heading “Infancy,” while the second category, “Youth,” included those from five to twenty years of age. Gradual abolition laws delineated the ages at which slaves were to receive their freedom. Once freed, minor apprentices remained bound to employers until eighteen and twenty-one years of age for females and males respectively. I have used age-specific data with eighteen and twenty-one as the upper limits for females and males respectively.” (King 2012, Kindle Locations 125-128)

According to Philip D. Morgan, “much of the wealth of early America derived from slave-produced commodities” and so it might make sense to look at the enslaved within this economic contextual environment. Slave owners tended to classify their enslaved based on the workload or task that the enslaved could perform. Able bodied men were considered a full share, a slave woman might be a three-quarter share (but could also be a full share) and a young slave from age nine to fifteen was a half share. Before the half share designation, a child might enter the labor force but the age upon entry varied from plantation to plantation averaging around nine or ten years of age. A few children aged six or seven might also be given tasks or be groomed for domestic labor (Morgan 1998:197). Based on this temporal and cultural context, an enslaved child could be defined as those individuals that had not

reached the full share for male or three-quarter share for female designation as defined by the slave owner.

Patricia Guthrie suggests that the division between childhood and adulthood could be defined within the enslaved and later emancipated community as the process of “catching sense”. Based on her work with descendents of the enslaved of St. Helena Island, Guthrie identified “a unique strategy...originated by those in bondage that enabled the African Americans to establish a sense of belonging” (Guthrie 1996:31). A person who caught sense on a particular plantation was hereafter seen as belonging to that plantation even if the person moved away or was sold. Children under the age of two were said to be driven by natural instincts but as they grew up they matured in their understanding and knowledge of their surrounding plantation environment while staying within the control of parents, grandparents or other responsible adults. When a person officially joined the community church or praise house, the process of catching sense ended and adulthood began, “when the minister extends the right hand of fellowship, it represents acceptance into adulthood” (Guthrie 1996:3). Guthrie’s interviews indicated that a person could catch sense as young as age twelve (Guthrie 1996:33) and once gained, membership within the church or praise house entitled one to burial in the community graveyard, resolution of disputes and a sense of belonging and kinship.

Margaret Washington Creel, in her book “A Peculiar People” also discusses the origins and process of “catching sense”. Early European travelers to the West African coast wrote about the Poro and Sande secret societies they encountered that were consistent across the area regardless of ethnic group. The Poro and Sande’s principle function appeared to be to train community members for adulthood and inclusion in society. Creel writes “In these

‘bush schools’ social knowledge and instruction were imparted. Individuals were educated to their life’s work; familiarized with tribal history and lore; and schooled in social conduct and behavior befitting their particular sex and station” (Creel 1988:47). She argues that many of these ethnic groups ended up in the Lowcountry and despite the trauma of captivity and the Middle passage, these traditions may have been retained (Creel 1988:52-53). The praise house of the Lowcountry Gullahs became according to Creel, a way of social control and a place through which a community member would attain personhood and catch sense. In the same way that the Poro and Sande initiates would separate themselves and return as a fully fledged citizen, acceptance into the Praise house depended upon a process of enlightenment called “seekin”. For the Gullah, “the rite was uniquely a prerequisite for community stature within their own society” (Creel 1998:295). Adulthood for the Gullah could only be achieved after this process.

Task Acquisition, Socialization and Education

Just as definitions of children and childhood are recognized as being temporally and contextually based, the economic and social contribution of children to their communities can vary. Similar to the anthropological study of women before the advent of feminism, archaeological studies of the work of children have portrayed them as assistants to the real workers (men and women) but not as having tasks that fall primarily to them. (Kamp, 2001:15) Children have been seen as passive, innocent and obedient but the actuality is that children can and do play active roles in society (Reynolds, 1990; Schildkrout, 1978).

The age at which children begin to labor and the tasks assigned to them are cultural constructs that are further complicated by gender divisions (Kamp, 2001:16). But, children throughout history have contributed significantly to the success of the communities in which

they dwelled, studies show that children have been active economic participants as plantation workers, child care helpers, laborers and farm workers (Bugarin 2006; Kamp 2001; King 2013; Morgan, 1998).

Sharyn Kane and Richard Keeton write that slaves were a commodity that made plantation owners successful. In order to maximize their profits, many owners required their slaves to begin work early in life. According to Kane and Keeton, many started to pick up stones or tote water as early as seven years of age and by ten or twelve, they assumed adult work. Productivity on a plantation was measured against the output of a full hand or healthy male and by this measurement; most children were considered quarter hands (Kane et al, 1994). Housing was often substandard and slave children usually slept on pallets on the floor.

For historical archaeological studies of children, documentary evidence can be employed as a basis for interpretation of material culture. But for prehistoric cultures, ethnography becomes a key tool to study children and childhood. (Bugarin, 2006; Keith, 2006; Levine, 2007; Park, 2005; Smith, 2006) Ethnographies can show specific behavioral patterns based on age, gender and the practices of the specific society and can describe the rituals and behaviors associated with the material record (Bugarin, 2006).

Robert Park's work with the children of the late prehistoric Thule and Dorset cultures of Arctic Canada has implications for the use of ethnography in the interpretation of how childhood behavior differs between cultures and throughout time (Park, 2005) Park noted that in imitating the adult hunting and living patterns, the children of these societies left their own material record alongside that of the adult and became a part of the site formation processes. The permafrost of Arctic Canada had led to preservation of quite a bit of the late

prehistoric material culture. Park's methodology included a comparison of this artifact assemblage with ethnographies of the Inuit (the descendent culture) to look at the roles of children in the late prehistoric.

According to Inuit ethnographies, the Inuit believe that a new born child possesses everything that it is going to know and simply needs to be guided. Children are encouraged to imitate and perform adult tasks but the age at which this begins is not clear. While they do imitate adult activities such as hunting, building snow houses and babying dolls, they spend most of their play time playing hide and seek, racing, singing and telling stories. Park found that only a few artifacts such as tops and possibly balls could be interpreted as only being used for play. However, there was an abundance of artifacts identified as miniatures of adult items such as small houses, tools and dolls. Ethnographic analysis showed that miniature items while used for play were also for other things such as grave offerings or Shaman's tools.

So along with ethnographic analysis, Park stated that the context of the artifact should be seriously considered. If children were performing adult tasks in miniature, the material record and therefore the site should reflect that relationship? After plotting frequencies of child sized artifacts found in the Thule culture against adult sized artifacts; Park concluded that the Inuit belief of treating children as small adults is reflected in the Thule material culture (Park, 2005).

In her "childhood learning and the distribution of knowledge in foraging societies" (Keith, 2005), Kathryn Keith illustrated that the patterns of childhood are strongly influenced by the adult's attempts to teach and socialize the child and the community in which they live. Children in these foraging communities are exposed at an early age to skills such as

gathering plants and hunting small animals, these roles are often gender defined and also influenced by same sex play groups with older children. But skill acquisition is cultural, in the Inuit, it is encouraged and formally taught while in the Aka and the! Kung, the opposite is true (Keith, 2005).

Patricia Smith's has studied children's patterns of learning of adult behavior by examining their crafting of ceramic pots in prehistoric Huron society. She argues that in learning to manufacture pots, the children start their own innovations and it is in fact these innovations that suggest agency and lead us to a greater understanding of their lives (Smith, 2006).

Play

Ethnographic research has also been helpful in studies of play and toys (Roberts and Barry, 1976; Schlegel and Barry, 1989). Studies have shown that "the types of games played vary with the level of complexity of the society and with the emphases in child training practices" (Kamp, 2001:19; Beatrice and John Whiting 1975). To an extent, play and the items of play are cultural constructs and although they may change over time, they are passed down through generations (Kamp, 2001:19).

In her ethnographic research at a contemporary kid's camp in Lincoln Park, Chicago, Kelly Thomas observes children today for insight into the behaviors of children in the past. Play according to Thomas is "a process by which children negotiate their space and position within the larger society of other children, adults and natural surroundings" (Thomas, 2006:49). Like contemporary children who act like Spiderman, historical children might have acted out popular myths or stories of their time. They are active agents, within a

temporal and contextual environment but at the same time, they can clearly differentiate between play and pretend and can explain to adults the difference (Thomas, 2006).

In 1970, Virginia Heyer Young published a paper entitled “Family and Childhood in a Southern Negro Community” in which she recorded the behavior of African American parents and children as they interacted in their houses and yards. Young argued “the Negro family has been widely analyzed with a strong bias toward White American family values” so that a people have been “wrongly pigeonholed” into “an impoverished version of the American White family” (Young, 1970:269). Her extensive observations of children in Georgetown in the early 1960s showed that at that time there was an “integrated cultural pattern” that differed from the white cultural tradition (Young, 1970:286). A great deal of autonomy was afforded older children who tended to take on the role of responsibility for younger children and babies were continuously held leading to close familial relationships. According to Young, this cultural or social structure allowed most children within these communities to have a “resilient self-image” (Young, 1970:281).

Play was different for these children, Young notes that the children weren’t supplied with objects “there are almost no toys... such as the middle-class child” (Young, 1970:283) instead they make up their own games and toys using anything available such as stones, June-bugs, ropes, sticks, bailing wire, chairs, and other children. Elvin L. Shields, who was born on Melrose plantation in 1948, carries on a tradition started by his ancestors of creating and selling toys made from twisted wire. On his website, he notes that “as a child, he and other poor plantation kids fabricated toys such as sling shots, pop guns and twisted wire figures of local farm images” (www.plantationtoys.com)

Based on evidence taken from the slave narratives, David K. Wiggins investigates the play of slave children in the plantation communities of the old south from 1820 to 1860. A lot of a slave child's life was spent taking care of those younger than them and assisting field hands and with domestic chores. Mostly children were allowed to roam and play when their work was completed. (Wiggins, 1980:23) At night, many children were taught skills by their parents, hunting for the boys and cooking and sewing for the girls (Wiggins, 1980:24).

Play included traditional games taught to them by older children and improvised games using any items that were available. Marbles were popular when available along with throwing horse shoes, jumping poles and ropes, hop skotch and walking on stilts (Wiggins, 1980:24). Quite frequently slave children played with white children sometimes imitating scenes they had witnessed. The game of auction was remembered by Abe Livingston and Dinah Perry remembered that they reenacted a funeral procession (Wiggins, 1980:26). Rachel Harris of Arkansas recalls a game called "No Bogeyman tonight" where one of the children would be an evil spirit and chase the others and the game of hiding the switch was remembered by many interviewees (Wiggins, 1980:26).

A variety of ballgames were played most of them being improvised with few rules. Hitting the ball with a stick to get it into a hole, baseball or trying to throw the ball over a building were just three of the games remembered. But by far, according to Wiggins the most popular game was marbles. Marbles were easy to come by; matches could be arranged anywhere and "the collection of marbles was one instance in which they could acquire objects of material worth; no matter their monetary value" (Wiggins, 1980:27).

For the boys, wagering games were popular; shooting craps, playing cards or gambling with whatever they had were common ways of passing the time. (Wiggins,

1980:28) Slave girls like girls everywhere played with dolls, jumped rope and played house (Wiggins, 1980:28).

Toys

Children's contribution to the artifact record is for the most part linked to that of adults (Baxter, 2006a; Park 2005), but in her "Making Space for Children in Archaeological Interpretations" (Baxter, 2006b), Baxter demonstrates that children do leave identifiable tangible artifact distributions. Citing previous works that have seen children as 'randomizing' and 'distorting' to the material record (Baxter, 2006b:78), Baxter set out to prove her hypothesis that "children's behaviors should demonstrate regularities and patterning that reflect the social norms and guidelines for children's behavior and the use of space in a particular cultural setting" (Baxter, 2006b:79).

Her methodology was to select five sites dated between 1820 and 1900 that had evidence of domestic activity. The sites varied socioeconomically, ethnically and geographically including an orphanage, farmhouse, rural residence, boarding house and plantation. Each site had very little post nineteenth century disturbance, existing historical records and had been sampled systematically (Baxter, 2006b:82). Baxter identified children's toys using 19th century catalogs and publications and then applied artifact frequencies to create contour maps based on the artifact assemblage (Baxter, 2006b:83).

Her methodology proved that children leave "patterned and identifiable" remains in the archaeological record (Baxter, 2006b:82-85). Four of the five sites had recognizable patterns including the largest site Orange Grove Plantation that showed not surprisingly children's play areas clustered closer to their homes (Baxter, 2006b:84). Despite these

results, Baxter notes that the material record of a child isn't that simple, "the object does not have to be a toy or a child-specific tool to be an important part of a child's experience" (Baxter, 2005:114). Adults surrounding the children influence what spaces the children will use, how the children utilize these spaces and what material items the children take to these spaces. Archaeologists will need to rely on nonarchaeological sources such as ethnographic analysis to make children visible (Baxter 2006a).

In regards to toys, they can be objects utilized by adults such as miniatures belonging to a Shaman or as offerings in ritual contexts or graves. Toys can be used by adults to bond with children, encourage desired behaviors from children or as adult recreation items. "Adults in all cultures engage in a variety of dances, games, contests and other types of recreation, not only for enjoyment but also to forge desired social relationships" (Kamp, 2006:120).

Wilkie talks about toys in terms of control by adults. But in this control, Western twentieth century toys can be used to engender children. As the adults try to instill cultural values and enforce norms and gender roles, the toys can reflect the gender of the children. But according to Wilkie, children are not passive; they demand purchase of some items and break others. Additionally, highly valued toys are curated sometimes into adulthood. An example of this is the material record of marbles. Most marbles found are the common small ones that could be purchased in large quantities. The more valuable and large shooters are not usually found in the archaeological record but were more commonly curated into adulthood and now show up in auctions. Dolls are also a problem in the archaeological record since replacement parts were commonly available and these valuable items were also curated and passed on to other children (Wilkie, 2000b).

In her article “The Dark Side of Toys in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro, Brazil”, Andrade Lima argues that “through toys it is possible to examine the moral values and social roles subliminally instilled in children” (Andrade Lima, 2012:63). For historical archaeologists, the material culture of children increased in visibility during the 19th century. Industrialization in the Western world caused mass production and wide distribution of all manner of goods including those intended to be used by children. (Andrade Lima, 2012:64)

Lima investigated multiple and varied sites around and in Rio de Janeiro. The most visible toys were porcelain dolls interpreted as belonging to girls. Made of bisque, Lima suggests that they dominate because they are not as fragile as items made of cloth or leather (Andrade Lima, 2012:67). Also highly visible were marbles, that in Brazil were interpreted as being for boys (Andrade Lima, 2012:73). Lima notes that the recovered toys and the materials they are made of can be interpreted as a reflection of the rigid gender differentiations of 19th century Brazil (Andrade Lima, 2012:67). Toys for boys are created from “highly resistant materials such as metals and glass” and toys for girls are often made of more fragile materials such as fabric and porcelain. Additionally, miniatures of adult items such as tea services for girls and whips for boys (Andrade Lima, 2012: 74) were according to Lima intended “to instill the ideal of domesticity in girls from a tender age” (Andrade Lima, 2012:70) and encourage “the attributes of strength and virility” in boys (Andrade Lima, 2012:71).

The work of Lima and other scholars concentrating on Plantation Archaeology and/or children and toys in the past has laid the groundwork for this thesis. Without their scholarship, a study of children in an antebellum and postbellum environment would be

limited. The following chapters will hopefully add to the field of research at both Magnolia and the Levi Jordan Plantation and to the study of children in general.

Chapter Two

Historical Backgrounds of Magnolia and Jordan Plantations

Crespi writes that people may attach meaning to the places where they grew up (Crespi, 2004:24). For many people Magnolia and the Levi Jordan Plantations were those meaningful places of childhood. Established as family farming businesses, both plantations are unique in their longevity, remaining family owned through antebellum and postbellum times. While generations of owners managed the land, these owners owed their prosperity to the hard work of their enslaved including the children. Both plantations have historical evidence that shows the presence of children and schools. (Brown, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008b, 2008c, 2009, 2010, 2013) The Levi Jordan Plantation also has archaeological evidence that points to the presence of a school / Praise House (Brown, 2013) and the Magnolia Plantation has historical evidence that indicates a possible school (Crespi, 2004). Because this is a story of childhood throughout antebellum and postbellum times in a Plantation environment, an understanding of the history of each plantation is needed.

History of the Levi Jordan Plantation

The Levi Jordan plantation was started by Levi Jordan and his son-in-law, James McNeill on the 17th of February, 1848 with the purchase of 2,221 acres of land close to the San Bernard River in present day Brazoria County, Texas located just south of Houston, Texas. Around nine to twelve slaves were brought to the plantation by Jordan and McNeill to begin the task of planting, clearing and construction of housing and a sugar mill. Historical and archaeological evidence has shown that soon after arriving at the plantation in 1848, the residents constructed a brick kiln, the Quarters, enslaved house servants' cabins,

outbuildings, kitchen, “boy’s house”, work house, plantation hospital, main house and sugar mill. The Quarters area seems to have been constructed first with the main house being built last (Brown, 2003:3-4; Brown, 2013:29).

By 1854 Levi Jordan was listed among the top ten sugar cane producers for Brazoria County (Freeman, 2004:91) and his enslaved workforce numbered around 95 (1850 U.S. Census). His enslaved were organized into a gang labor system of seven to eleven people per gang working under direct supervision. They worked the cane and cotton fields and also produced the crops that fed the residents of the plantation. (Brown, 2003:4; Brown, 2013:29) Brown has written about multiple lines of evidence that might indicate Jordan had been supplementing the income produced by these enslaved by raising or illegally importing slaves for the primary purpose of sale. One line of support for this comes from the presence (as indicated by census documents) of multiple children living with Claiborn Holmes, an elderly Quarter’s resident who does not seem to be their father or grandfather. This might indicate that he had taken in children orphaned by the sale of their parents. (Brown, 2013:30-31 and Brown, 2005a:8-9) What we do know is that historical documents demonstrate that in 1861 Jordan hired John Evans to take \$10,000 and go east to purchase slaves (Freeman, 2004:117). Regardless of how he acquired them, Levi Jordan’s enslaved population grew from the original nine to twelve slaves to an antebellum high of a 144 (Brown, 2013:29).

During the first few years after emancipation, the population at Levi Jordan plantation steadily declined to around 100 individuals. Most had been enslaved under Jordan but continued to work as tenants for wages or as sharecroppers. (Brown, 2004:5; Brown, 2013:31) During this time, plantation ledgers show that sharecroppers paid fifty percent of the cotton they produced as their share, tenants paid a rent of \$25.00 for a cabin, \$40.00 to

use a mule and other fees for supplies and equipment (Brown, 2005a:11). The transition from slavery to freedom was overseen by agents of the Freedman's bureau who in addition to other mandates, urged education for the formerly enslaved and organized schools for both children and adults. (Henson, 1998:27) Historical and archaeological evidence has shown that a school existed on the Levi Jordan plantation (Brown, 2013).

Levi Jordan died in 1872 leaving the plantation to be split among his three grandsons James Calvin McNeill, Charles Philip McNeill and William Archibald Campbell McNeill. (Brown, 2013:31-32) Tenant farming and sharecropping continued but in addition to their primary work, many tenants had a specialized occupation including blacksmith, curer, carver, hunter/munitions-maker, seamstress, elder and carpenter (Brown, 2013:32) By the mid 1880s, Levi Jordan's great grandsons (Calvin Earl Martin, Royal Furniss Martin, McWillie Martin and Charles Ernest Martin) had inherited the plantation and were hoping to breed and train race horses instead of producing crops and leasing the land to tenants and sharecroppers. (Brown, 2005a:12)

In 1887, Royal Martin and McWillie Martin were charged with one count of first-degree murder and two counts of assault with intent to murder against African American plaintiffs residing in the plantation former Quarters area (Brown, 2013:33). Although these charges were later dismissed archaeological evidence has shown that around 1887, the former Quarter's area was abandoned (Brown, 2013). The abandonment left a unique archaeological deposit (see detailed discussion below) containing personal items that probably would have been taken if a normal move had occurred and evidence that the cabins had been padlocked and left to decay. Brown proposed that the abandonment may have resulted from a combination of poor harvests, violence directed at the community and Chattel

mortgages held by the Martin brothers for some of the residents of the Community (Brown, 2013:33-34).

For all of the twentieth century, the Levi Jordan plantation remained under the control of Levi Jordan descendents. For a lot of that time, the plantation was used to raise cattle, aerial photographs show the construction of a small corral in the former Quarters area in the 1930s (Brown, 2005a:13) and the area around the Sugar Mill still has cattle grazing around it today. In 2002, the Main house and former Quarters / tenant community areas were acquired by the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department of the State of Texas (TPWD) to be developed into a public park. The park is known as the “Levi Jordan Plantation State Historic Site” or “LJPSHS” and is still being developed.

Overview of Past Research at the Levi Jordan Plantation

Archaeological research for Jordan Plantation began with fieldwork in 1986 and ended in July 2006 when the Jordan artifacts were transferred to the custody of Texas Parks and Wildlife. Excavations were conducted in the quarters area and around the main house in an effort to answer key “questions regarding the material culture employed by the enslaved and, later, emancipated members of the community” (Brown, 2013:5). By the end of the first season, a thin depositional zone had been identified that contained a wide range of whole artifacts many of them within the context of relatable artifacts and considered items that would have been taken by the owners in the normal process of moving. These items were interpreted as entering the archaeological context as a result of the sudden abandonment of the quarters (Brown, 2013:13) and represented a unique opportunity to study the beliefs and behaviors of those living in the quarters at the time of abandonment (Brown, 2013:34).

The methodology designed by Brown and employed at the Levi Jordan and Magnolia Plantation sites, was based on a desire to keep as tight a provenience as possible and provide highly contextual and comparable data. To this end, during most field seasons, standard units were subdivided and dug in one foot by one foot sub-units. The units were excavated at arbitrary levels no more than two-tenths of a foot unless a soil change was noted and then excavators shifted to a combination of natural strata and arbitrary levels. Each level was excavated before the excavator moved to the next level. (Brown, 2013:11-17) Artifacts were collected and accessioned using a base material cataloging method (see explanation in Magnolia section).

Because of this method, the Quarters area was discovered to have at least three “broadly defined human produced Stratigraphic zones” (Brown, 2013:14) and was determined to be the remains of four blocks of brick walled cabins that had been standing during antebellum and postbellum periods. (Brown, 2013:13). The upper zone had topsoil and brick rubble and was dated to the post 1920s due to artifact distributions. The second and third zones had a similar soil matrix but differed in the size and frequency of artifacts. The second zone labeled the “abandonment zone” was not contiguous across the site and when revealed it contained “curatable” artifacts that seemed to have entered the archaeological context whole. These artifacts including eyeglasses, jewelry and tools seemed to have been left in situ by their owners and many were of the sort that an owner would have taken them during a normal moving process (Brown, 2013:13). The third zone differed from the second zone because it contained a random assortment of small and/or broken artifacts that appear to have built up beneath a wooden floor. Since the second and third zones had a

similar soil matrix, (Illustration 2.1) other methods may have overlooked and combined these two zones resulting in a mix of both the abandonment and subfloor zones.

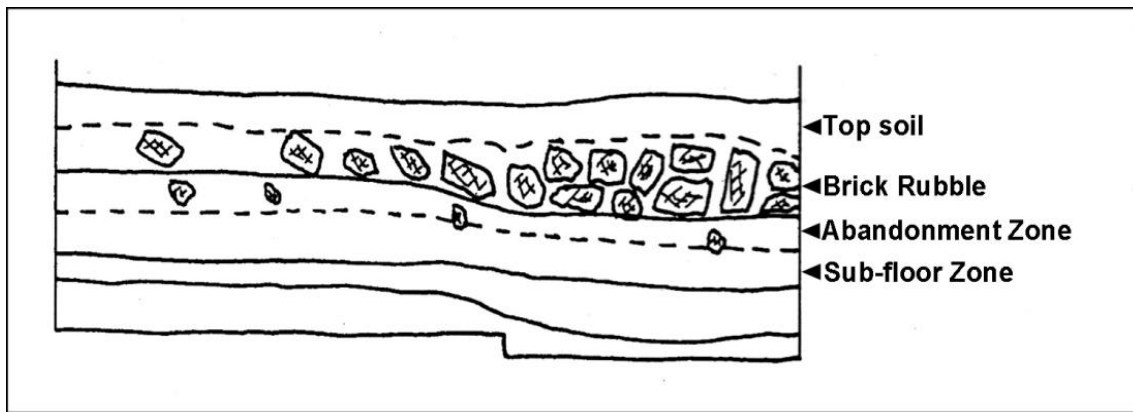


Illustration 2.1: Typical soil profile from Quarters area. Adapted from (Brown, 2013:14)

One of the cabins identified and excavated was the first cabin on the first row numerically indicated as Cabin 1-A-1 (Illustration 2.2). Work specifically on Cabin 1-A-1 is relevant to this thesis as the cabin has been interpreted to have been used for at least part of its life as the Quarters Community's Praise House / Church and school and will be used as a comparative project to answer question number two (see chapter one). Beginning in the 1995 field season and ending in the 2002 field season, excavations and analysis of this cabin showed that although it had begun life similar to the other cabins at some point its structure and function had been significantly changed including moving the interior wall so that the cabin that once contained two similar sized rooms contained one large and one small room connected with an interior door and moving the hearth into the smaller sized room. This discovery of this restructuring when combined with the results of excavations that uncovered at least eight ritually significant deposits that appeared to have been intentionally placed beneath the living floor of the cabin led to the interpretation of the cabin as a Praise House / Church and School (Illustration 2.3). Supporting this hypothesis was a statistically low

frequency of domestic artifacts including an absence of toys and a corresponding high frequency of slate, pencils, buttons and jewelry. Additional exploration into oral tradition

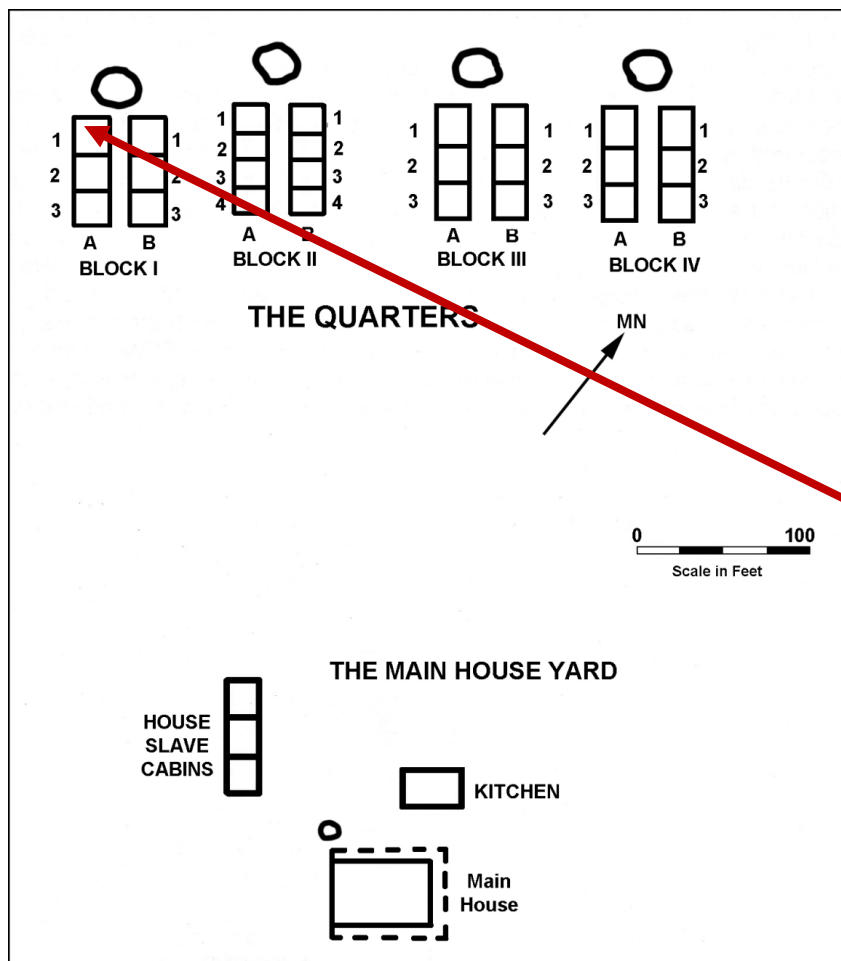


Illustration 2.2:
Map of the Levi
Jordan plantation
showing the
Quarters area,
house slave cabins,
kitchen and main
house. Note the
enumeration of the
cabins so that the
first cabin on the
first row of block
one would be
indicated by the
number 1-A-1.
Adapted from
(Brown 2013:19)

and historical research including a larger ethnographic focus and an examination of studies of the Gullah and Geechee of the Lowcountry of South Carolina and Georgia did not negate this hypothesis. (Brown, 2005a; Creel, 1988; Guthrie, 1996) These studies provided some interpretive models setting the basis for the interpretation of these deposits (Brown, 2013:25). Specific to this thesis; Creel's 1988 ethnographic description of Gullah praise houses was used to formulate test implications for cabin 1-A-1 leading to an interpretation that the cabin was altered to become a Praise House / Church School for the Quarters community.

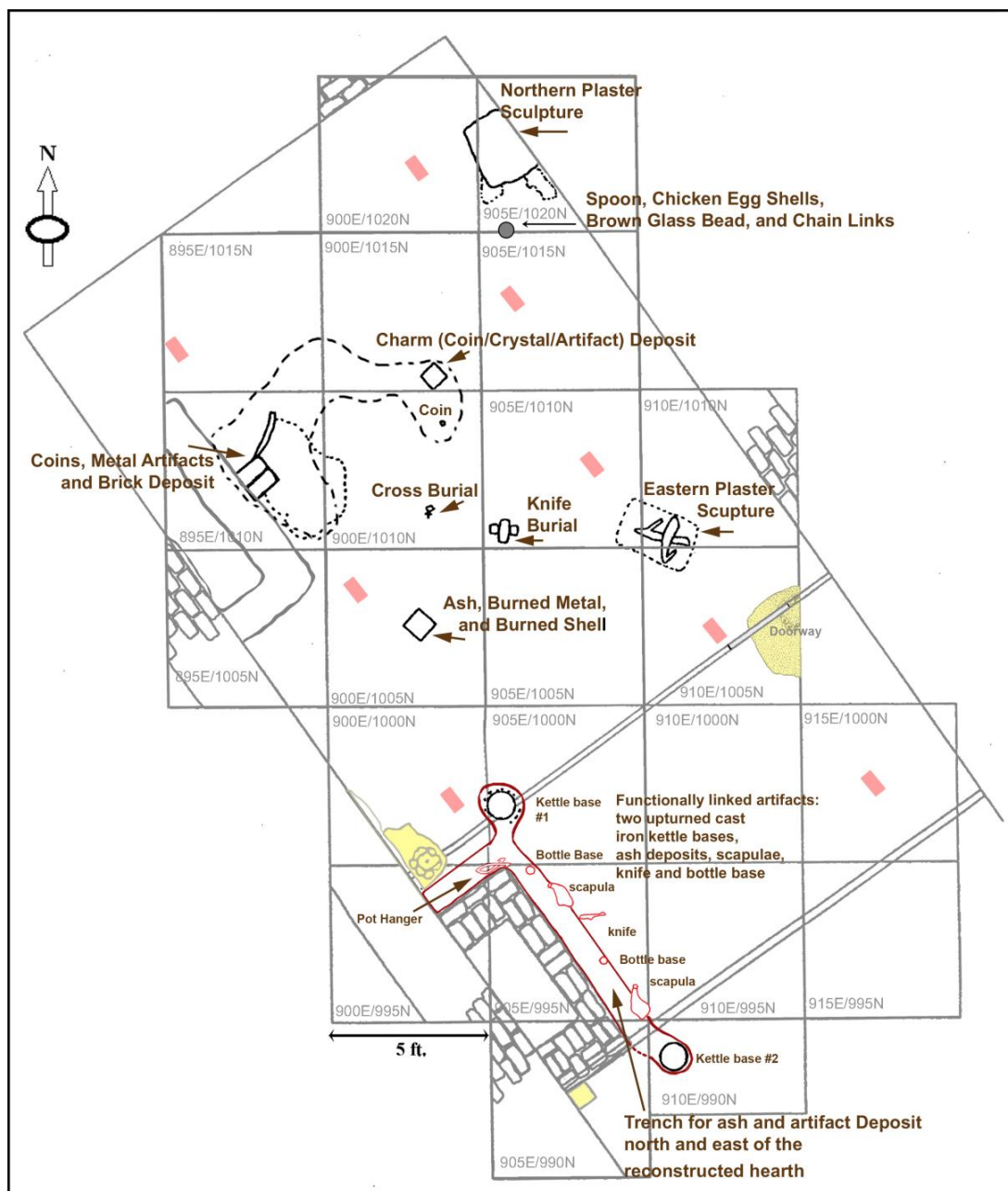


Illustration 2.3: Plan and map of cabin 1-A-1 and associated deposits used to interpret the function of the cabin as a church/praise house. Note the uneven room sizes and relocated hearth due to the restructuring of the cabin. Adapted from (Brown, 2013:42)

History of Magnolia Plantation

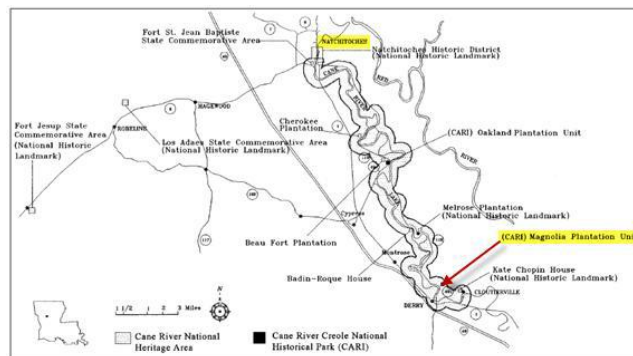
Magnolia Plantation is located in north central Louisiana in the Parish of Natchitoches, Louisiana. It is situated next to the Cane River (until 1835 was formerly part

of the Red River) and close to Derry, Louisiana and the Kisatchie National Forest (Illustrations 2.4 and 2.5). It had its start with a land grant in 1753 to Jean Baptiste LeComte,



Illustration 2.4: Location of Magnolia Plantation in Louisiana. Adapted from (Heacock, 2011:25)

Illustration 2.5: Location of Magnolia Plantation within the Cane River Creole National Park. Map of the Cane River Heritage Area. Adapted from (Cole, 2013:28) (courtesy of the National Parks Service).



a retired French soldier. During the late 1700s and the early 1800s additional land was acquired from surrounding areas so that by 1840 Jean Baptiste LeComte's grandson, Ambroise LeComte (II) controlled and partially owned three plantations and may have also owned as many as thirty two slaves, although ownership is unclear.

In 1845, his wife, Julia Buard died and her estate went into probate so at this time a full accounting of Magnolia Plantation was undertaken. The total value of the estate including all of their holdings was over \$285, 877 with the part that constituted Magnolia plantation including 11,182 acres, 155 slaves, buildings, improvements, furniture, livestock and crop futures valued at 113,428 (Miller, 2004:28). A year after Julia died; Ambroise (II) re-married, moved into Natchitoches and left the day to day operations of his plantations to overseers (Miller, 2004:28). At this time, Suzette Hertzog Buard (widow of Louis Buard

(died 1849) brother to Ambroise's (II) first wife Julia was living on the plantation with her younger brother Matthew Hertzog, her six children (Malone, 1996: 70) and according to the slave schedules around 43 slaves (Brown 2008b) although it is unsure if all of the slaves were at Magnolia or if they were spread to Vienna Plantation. In 1852, Ambroise's (II) daughter by Julia, Atala LeComte married Matthew and Ambroise (II) gave the newlyweds a 40% interest in the plantation (Heacock, 2011:39).

In 1858, Ambroise LeComte (II) commissioned a local surveyor, G.S. Walmsley to survey his property and create a map (Illustration 2.6). Multiple structures were identified and surveyed including but not limited to the Gin House, slave quarters, nursery, mill, pigeon house, slave hospital/overseers house, Plantation bell and tower, sawmill and big house (Keel, 1999:23-27). In 1860, LeComte (II) stated that he had 235 slaves, 128 males and 107 females. (Malone, 1996:75) A lot of the enslaved were field workers. While many of the LeComte-Hertzog enslaved worked the fields, others labored in the big house or at different tasks required for the day to day running of the plantation including cooks, carpenters, sawyers, drivers and household servants (Malone, 1996:64-68). His plantation ledger and journal (1845 to 1852) contain a listing of his enslaved separated by sex and age with a separate listing for those that he considered "house servants".

existed until the 1960s (Malone, 1996:91) and the Plantation store functioned as a meeting place (Malone, 1996:101). Some formerly enslaved became landowners in their own right purchasing land that had once been part of the areas antebellum plantations (Malone, 1996:104).

In 1938, there were still seven families living in the former Quarters area (Heacock, 2011:48 from Teal, personal communication November 17, 2005) and by 1958, a tenant book lists at least twelve tenants in the former Quarters area (Firth 2006:165 taken from Brown 2008b:64). In 1976, the Hertzog family decided to donate the part of Magnolia plantation that contained the Quarters, store and gin to Museum Contents, Inc. of Natchitoches. In 1979, Magnolia Plantation was placed on the National Register of Historic Places (Heacock, 2011:49 as per Miri, 1997: Appendix B). Currently this part of the plantation is owned, maintained and administered as part of the Cane River Creole National Park by the National Park Service.

Overview of Past Research at Magnolia Plantation

The first couple of archaeological explorations at Magnolia Plantation concluded that “midden deposits likely existed in the cabin yards (Gregory, personal communication 1996” (Keel, 1999:23) and that most of the area around the cabins is a deposit indicative of the late 1930s to the 1960s (Hahn and Wells, 1991:47-48), “is of little archaeological interest” (Hahn and Wells, 1991:71)

In January, 1996 when the National Park Service acquired the property that contains Magnolia Plantation, Dr. Bennie Keel was employed to undertake preliminary archaeological investigations. (Keel, 1999) Using a systematic methodology that included digging 1,206

systematic auger holes placed across the site, Keel was able to correlate recovered artifact assemblages and features to the Walmsley's 1858 plat map.

Of interest were features to the West of the Quarters area that were identified as being in the vicinity of a structure identified on the Walmsley map as a building or area called the nursery. Keel notes, “approximately 150 feet west of Cabin 2, a concentration of material designated G approximated the position of the nursery as mapped by Walmsley (Illustrations 2.7 and 2.8). We also recovered an in situ brick pier or foundation (Feature 34) and a construction rubble feature (Feature 33) at this location”. (Keel, 1999:62) Keel does not detail exactly where the personal group items were located but to note that they occurred “in the slave quarters and around other structures where loss or disposal would be expected” (Keel, 1999:64) and that they were not found south of the slave village or by the gin house.

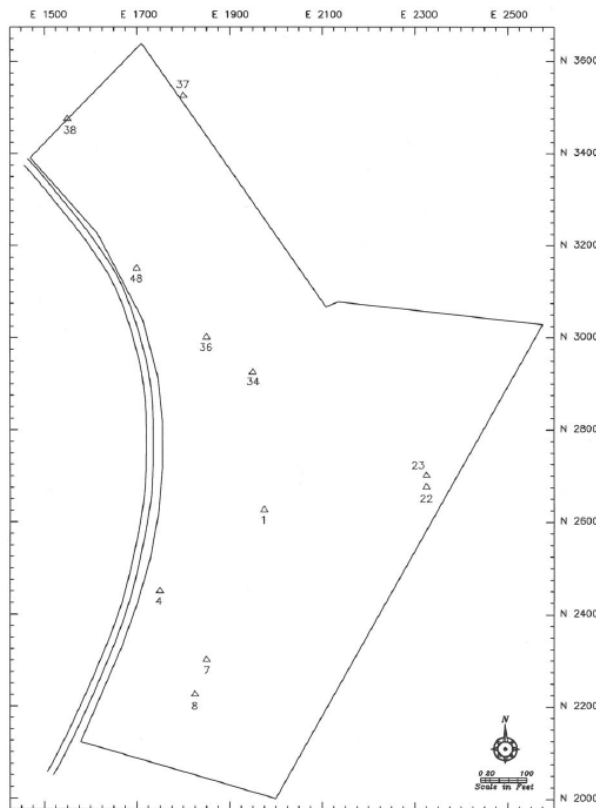


Illustration 2.7: Keel's Identification of eleven features on Magnolia Plantation including feature 34, identified as possibly being in the location of the nursery. Adapted from (Keel, 1999:62).

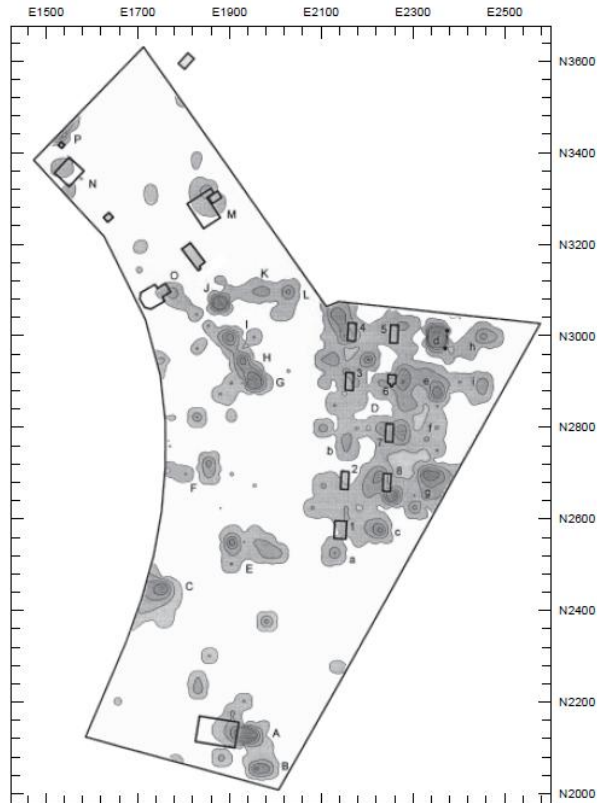


Illustration 2.8: Keel’s structure group data distribution map showing not only concentrations around the cabins area but also concentrations in area G, 122 feet west of Cabin 2 in the position of feature 34 and the nursery as mapped by Walmsley. Adapted from (Keel, 1999:61).

Starting in 2005 and ending in 2011, Dr. Ken Brown led a team consisting of students from the University of Houston and volunteers in excavations at the Magnolia Plantation site. Magnolia plantation is the fourth plantation quarters site in a larger comparative study undertaken by Brown. The aim of the larger project was to use similar methodology at all sites to develop “evidence related to a wide variety of behavioral and belief patterns that existed within slave and tenant communities across the South in both rural and urban settings” (Brown, 2005b:3) and to investigate “the effect of the labor system imposed by the plantation owner (e.g., gang versus task) on the beliefs and behaviors of the enslaved population of the plantation” (Brown, 2005b:4). Magnolia Plantation was the second gang-based plantation to be investigated, the Levi Jordan Plantation in Brazoria County Texas was the first. (Brown, 2008B:1) To limit possible noise from uncontrollable variables, the plantation sites were investigated using “highly controlled and systematic archaeological

investigation” (Brown, 2005b:4), chosen for the evidence of both enslaved and freed African Americans and had “essentially identical” populations (Brown, 2005b:3). For similar reasons, these two plantations are ideal for this study of children within a plantation context from antebellum to postbellum times.

Despite the desire to limit uncontrollable variables, Magnolia Plantation differs from the Levi Jordan plantation in at least three ways. First, early on the plantation was under French and Spanish control so that Catholicism was the predominant religion in the area; second, the cabins in the Magnolia Plantation Quarters area were originally constructed with hard packed dirt floors, wood floors were not introduced until the 1930s leading to a different artifact assemblage than that found within the cabins at the Levi Jordan plantation where wood floors were built into the cabins at construction and finally, Magnolia plantation had a longer lifespan of tenancy than the Levi Jordan plantation lasting into the 1960s where the Levi Jordan plantation was abandoned in the late 19th century. Due to these differences, especially the last two, the toy assemblage at Magnolia found within the cabins will probably have a greater variety and longer date range than the toy assemblage at the Levi Jordan Plantation. Additionally, temporally comparable toys might be found within the cabins at the Levi Jordan Plantation but in the yard spaces at Magnolia Plantation.

Using similar methodology as employed at the Levi Jordan Plantation, Brown and his team excavated three extant cabins (cabins 1, 3 and 4 as enumerated by the Park Service and two ruins (ruins A and B) within the Magnolia Plantation Quarters area (Illustration 2.9). All artifacts recovered were bagged with tight provenience information indicated on the outside of the bag and transported to the University of Houston Historic Archaeology lab for cleaning and cataloging according to the accession catalog established by Dr. Brown to be

used for the larger comparative project including Magnolia and the Levi Jordan Plantation.

(Brown, 2006:5)

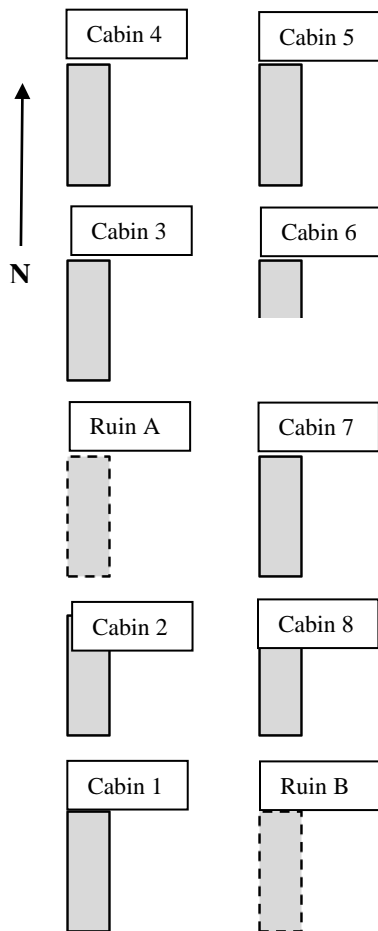


Illustration 2.9: Park designation of cabins as numbered by the National Park Service including excavated cabins 1, 3, and 4 and ruins A and B. Illustration not to scale. Cabin six is a one room cabin.

This accession catalog system categorizes each artifact by material category (ceramics, glass, metal, plastic and rubber, lithics and ecology) followed by sub-material such as stoneware and then sub category such as plain sherd and is unlike the functional catalog systems such as the one used by Keel (1999) based on the work by South (1977) and Sprague (1981) that employ groupings based on assumed use. South's work relies on the archaeologist's ability to place artifacts into classes and groups based on perceived function so that these groups can be used to identify cultural patterns. For example, a piece of a ceramic would be put into a ceramic class and then put into the kitchen artifact group then

the percentage of this group to total percentage of all artifacts would identify a cultural pattern. Domestic residences might be expected to contain larger percentages of kitchen group than military sites, for example. (South, 1977) The problem with the functional classification system for this study is that the base classification of each artifact is imbued with the bias of the archaeologist so that a 19th century artifact is defined in a 20th century setting and therefore is placed temporally and contextually within the 20th century. Kenneth L. Brown writes “Sprague’s assumption appears to be that all people who live in the late 20th century would have defined material culture in the same way as those who lived in the 19th and early 20th centuries. We do not think this is an accurate assumption.” (Brown, 2013:21). If the function of the artifact is merely an erroneous assumption then the interpretation by the archaeologist of the meaning of the artifact and the behavior that accompanied it is based on conjecture.

For this study, the intent is not to assume use while categorizing the artifacts therefore avoiding bias regarding the temporal and contextual function and meaning of the artifact. Kenneth L. Brown maintains that this “uncritical reliance on an individual archaeologist’s knowledge of how material items were/are used and what they meant/mean” (Brown, 2013:22) has caused problems when interpreting function and therefore meaning. While excavations at Magnolia Plantation were complete in 2011 (Figure 2.1), cleaning, cataloging and interpretation of the recovered artifacts based on the accession catalog supported by Dr. Brown is currently underway in the University of Houston Historical Archaeology Lab. All interpretations for artifacts from Magnolia and the Levi Jordan Plantations discussed in this

thesis rely on this accession system.



Figure 2.1: Cabins within Magnolia Plantation Quarters in 2011 during excavations, picture taken looking northeast. Cabin 1 is the closest cabin in this picture.

As mentioned above, both Magnolia Plantation and the Levi Jordan plantation have similar backgrounds that make them ideal for this study. They show evidence of children throughout antebellum and postbellum times, used gang labor systems and were large land and slave holdings. Additionally, they were excavated using a similar methodology and the artifacts were processed using a similar catalog system. Although they differ in some ways, they are comparable enough to be able to answer the questions raised in chapter one. Of additional interest is that the Levi Jordan Plantation almost represents a moment “frozen in time” and can speak to the adaptations of the relatively recently enslaved whereas the long occupancy of the Magnolia Plantation Quarters may speak to changes in lifestyle over a hundred year period as the enslaved moved from sharecropping to tenancy.

Chapter Three Methodology

Introduction and Questions

In order to answer the questions raised in chapter one, this thesis will examine the material remains and historical documents relating to children on Magnolia Plantation as compared to those for the Levi Jordan Plantation. Magnolia Plantation and the Levi Jordan Plantation were chosen because historical evidence for both plantations shows the presence of children and schools (Brown 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008b, 2008c, 2009, 2010, 2013) and both sites were excavated using similar methodology that resulted in tight proveniences and highly contextual information including the archaeological evidence that points to the presence of a Praise House / Church and then school at the Levi Jordan Plantation (Brown, 2013).

As noted in chapter one, the material record specific to children can be hard to determine as it can combine with the material record of adults (Park, 2005). Because of this, within archaeological studies of childhood in the past, the existence of contextually and temporally defined toys has been assumed to indicate the presence of children (Baxter, 2005, 2006, 2006b; Carskadden et al 1985; Derevenski, 2000; Andrade Lima, 2012; Park, 2005; Randall 1971, 1986; Smith 2006). However, what constitutes a child is also redefined dependent upon “population-specific contexts” (Bluebond-Langner et al, 2007: 242). In order to study children within an antebellum and postbellum plantation context, twentieth century definitions of children and toys will be put aside and this study will use a contextually distinct definition of childhood and of toys.

Below is a brief synopsis of this methodology applied to the questions to be addressed by this thesis:

1. To assist in analysis and interpretation of the data used to answer the questions addressed by this thesis, children at the Levi Jordan and Magnolia Plantations will be documented:
 - a. Using the **definition of a child** (see below), an examination will be conducted of historical documents including but not limited to pictures, plantation records, slave schedules, baptismal, death and church records, diaries and correspondence from both plantations.
 - b. Ethnographic evidence will be reviewed including interviews conducted by previous researchers with descendants from both plantations.
2. For data collection and to answer the **first question** including parts a and b regarding toys:
 - a. An interpretation of all artifacts defined as toys at Magnolia Plantation including seriation and source will be conducted.
 - b. An association of each toy to an assumed gender, if applicable (see below) will be combined with artifact frequencies and the data collected from the identification of children.
3. For data collection and to answer the **second question** regarding the existence of a school at Magnolia Plantation:
 - a. A comparison of the artifact frequencies and types recovered from the Magnolia Plantation Quarters cabins and the artifact frequencies and types recovered from the cabin identified as the Levi Jordan Plantation Praise House / Church will be conducted.

Definition of a child

As noted in chapter one, in the United States for most purposes, a child is defined as a person under the age of eighteen years (www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/2256, www.dol.gov/dol/topic/youthlabor/agerequirements.htm,

www.childwelfare.gov/can/defining/federal.cfm). This twentieth century and mostly Western definition is problematic when applied across temporal and contextual lines (Bluebond-Langner et al, 2007:242) to the time and place of antebellum and postbellum plantation life. Many scholars have attempted to see beyond this contemporary demarcation to define childhood in the past. Both Patricia Guthrie and Margaret Washington Creel have discussed the process of becoming an adult within enslaved communities as “catching sense”; childhood is not defined by an age but rather as an acceptance by the community that the individual has been schooled in social conduct and behavior and has sought religious enlightenment and admittance into the community (Creel, 1988; Guthrie 1996). Philip D. Morgan has defined the enslaved based on their economic addition to the plantation and based on the workload or task that the enslaved could perform as defined by the slave owner either as full shares (able bodied men and some women) or partial shares (children, some women, elderly and sick) (Morgan, 1998:197).

In general for this thesis, a combination of the above definitions will be used depending first on the status of the person; free or enslaved and then upon the availability of historical sources available for that person. Census forms will first be consulted and compared to the specific written records of the plantation owners including journals, ledgers, receipts and personal correspondence. If a person is listed on a census as a child within a family unit (free persons) or is listed by the plantation owner as a child or as a partial hand not identified as a woman (enslaved persons), then for purposes of this study, the person will be considered a child.

Specifically for enslaved populations, the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules will be researched for both plantations and the children will first be identified according to these

historical records. For the Levi Jordan Plantation, Brown used the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules to demonstrate changes in the population of the plantation between these two time periods (Brown, 1994, 2005a). Both schedules according to Brown reflected a lack of enslaved people in their mid to late teens and may indicate that Jordan was selling off enslaved people within this age group (Brown, 2013). At Magnolia Plantation, the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules will also be researched to determine the changes in population in a manner similar to the research conducted at the Levi Jordan Plantation. However, these findings will be compared with pages 37 to 51 of Ambroise LeComte's (II) 1845 to 1852 Account Ledger to determine at what ages Ambroise considered his enslaved to be children.

One example of a ledger page that will be examined for this study is seen in figures 3.1 and 3.2 below that show the top and middle of page 40 of Ambroise's (II) ledger, respectively. Page 40 contains a partial listing of Ambroise's (II) enslaved by name, age and estimated value in 1845 followed by a listing of female children born in 1845. From this listing, we can see that Marguerite is listed under the general female enslaved as a Negro aged 6 and we can see that Suzanne is aged three and was born to Helene on November 10th, 1849.

40

1852

Magnolia Plantation

Estimated in 1845

Names of female Slaves

ages

M	Melia	Mulatto	girl	28.250
	Mathilde	"	"	45.450
	Miliza	"	"	23.450
	Mariquinin	"	"	47.300
	Madelaine	"	"	29.600
	Marinette	Negro	"	47.150
	Martha	"	"	29.450
	Marguerite	"	"	6.
S. x	Octavie	"	"	12.200
P.	Pasite	"	"	20.550
R. x	Roseline	at Shallow Lake	"	21.500
	Rose	Mulatto	"	35.600
S. x	Suzanne (old)	"	"	69.100
x	Sucky	Negro	"	45.200
	Suzanne	Manuel's wife	"	18.200
	Sarah	"	"	40.750
	Selphina	"	"	29.500

Figure 3.1: The top of page 40 of Ambroise LeComte's (I) plantation ledger dated 1845 to 1852. Within the listing is Marguerite aged six. (Prudhomme Family Papers, Collection #613:40)

Compare this to figure 3.4 of an 1870 census document that groups individuals by family unit and within this family unit lists household members with their age, sex and occupation. Any child that appeared on an 1860 slave schedule would then be grouped into a family unit in the 1870 census either as a child or as an adult with an occupation listed.

Page No. 267
 SCHEDULE 2—Slave Inhabitants in _____ in the County of _____ State
 of _____, enumerated by me, on the 26th day of June, 1860. *W. J. Jones* Ass't Marshal

NAME OF SLAVE OWNER.	Number of Slaves	DESCRIPTION.				Total	Color	Sex	Age	Occupation	Value	Name of Slave
		M	F	M	F							
<i>A. Mims</i>	1	12	2	B								
	1	12	2	B								
	1	12	2	B								
	1	10	2	B								
	1	10	2	B								
	1	16	2	B								
	1	8	2	B								
	1	8	2	B								
	1	8	2	B								
	1	4	2	B								
	1	4	2	B								
	1	4	2	B								
	1	4	2	B								
	1	1	2	B								
	1	1	2	B								
	1	5	2	B								
	1	5	2	B								
	1	5	2	B								
<i>W. D. Cushman</i>	1	12	2	B								
<i>Henry Robinson</i>	1	18	2	B								
	1	4	2	B								
<i>S. Mims</i>	1	60	2	B								
	1	40	2	B								
	1	35	2	B								
	1	35	2	B								
	1	25	2	B								
	1	25	2	B								
	1	20	2	B								
	1	20	2	B								
	1	20	2	B								
	1	17	2	B								
	1	17	2	B								
	1	14	2	B								
	1	13	2	B								
	1	10	2	B								
	1	1	2	B								
<i>Sam Jordan</i>	1	53	2	B								
	1	55	2	B								
	1	35	2	B								
	1	35	2	B								
	1	32	2	B								
	1	32	2	B								

No. of males above 15 years of age, 111
 No. of females above 15 years of age, 111
 Total slaves, 222

Figure 3.3: Example of an 1860 slave schedule showing slaves grouped by owners, S. Mims has fifteen enslaved in four houses. (U.S. Federal Census, 1860)

Page No. 6 } Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as /.

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in Natchitoches, in the County of Natchitoches, State of Louisiana, enumerated by me on the 1st day of August, 1870.

Post Office: Natchitoches James Brown, Ass't Marshal.

Dwelling-house, numbered in the order of enumeration.		The name of every person whose place of abode on the first day of June, 1870, was in this family.	DESCRIPTION.			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female.	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED.		Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S.; or the Country, if of foreign birth.	PARENTAGE.		Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	EDUCATION.	CONSTITUTIONAL INFIRMITIES.					
No. of dwelling-house.	Family, numbered in the order of enumeration.		Age at last birthday.	Sex.	Color.		Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.		Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.				Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	EDUCATION.	CONSTITUTIONAL INFIRMITIES.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
		Johnson Noga	29	M	B				Louisiana										
50	50	Auguste Peter	58	M	B	Labourer			Virginia										
		Michelle	57	F	B	Keeping house			Louisiana										
		Jacken Abraham	8	M	M				Louisiana										
		Catherine	2	F	B				Louisiana										
51	51	Peter Pierre	58	M	B	Labourer			Louisiana										
		Henny	28	F	B	Keeping house			Louisiana										
		Delaga	9	F	B				Louisiana										
		Suzelle	2	F	B				Louisiana										
52	52	Mason Virginia	24	F	B	Keeping house			Alabama										
		Suzanne	5	F	B				Louisiana										
53	53	Woodward Auguste	62	M	B	Labourer			District Columbia										
		Suzelle	42	F	B	Keeping house			Louisiana										
		Agellie	26	F	B	Labourer			Louisiana										
		John	6	M	M				Louisiana										
		Augustine	14	M	B	Labourer			Louisiana										
54	54	Phillip's Jean	61	M	B	Blacksmith	115.0		Louisiana										
		Marie	55	F	B	Keeping house			Louisiana										
		Sater Ann	30	F	B	Labourer			Louisiana										
		Washington Cory	21	M	B				Louisiana										
		Phillip's Jean	17	F	B				Louisiana										
		Mary	1	F	B				Louisiana										
55		Phillip's Edward	15	M	B	Labourer			Louisiana										
		China	21	F	B	Keeping house			Louisiana										
55	56	Conker Ede	32	M	B	Labourer			China										
		Phillip's Agellie	23	F	B	Keeping house			Louisiana										
		Albena	12	M	M				Louisiana										
		Almaide	2	F	B				Louisiana										
		Ede	2	M	M				Louisiana										
56	57	Victors Joseph	54	M	B	Labourer			Mississippi										
		Lillian V	17	F	B	Labourer			Mississippi										
		Jackon	15	M	B				Mississippi										
		Margaret	12	F	B				Mississippi										
57	58	Wade Agnes	47	F	B	Labourer			Mississippi										
		Fina	26	F	B				Louisiana										
		Camille	17	M	B				Louisiana										
		Adeline	15	F	B				Louisiana										
		Mica	13	F	B				Louisiana										
		Laura	9	F	B				Louisiana										
		Jane	2	F	B				Louisiana										

No. of dwellings, _____ No. of white females, _____ No. of males, foreign born, _____
 " " families, _____ " " colored males, _____ " " females, " "
 " " white males, _____ " " females, _____ " " blind, _____

Figure 3.4: Example of an 1870 census form from Natchitoches, Louisiana showing the formerly enslaved grouped by household unit. (U.S. Federal Census, 1870)

For this thesis, the problem of bridging the genealogical gap between enslavement and emancipation will be approached by first keeping the children of the Quarters areas defined as two separate populations enslaved and emancipated, as detailed above. The enslaved children will then be looked at individually to see if they can be identified within the emancipated population. For both plantations the relatively detailed 1870 census which contains family information, ages and some genealogical information such as parent's names and place of birth will first be reviewed to see if the formerly enslaved can be identified. This information will then be cross referenced against other available site specific historic and ethnographic sources. Specifically for the Levi Jordan plantation, the work of Brown (Brown, 2013) and Freeman (Freeman, 2004) including oral information, deeds, court records and a diary by Levi and Sarah Jordan's granddaughter, Sally McNeil will be referenced.

For Magnolia Plantation, there are a number of primary resources and secondary compilations available to supplement census information. The primary sources are the Prudhomme family papers (Collection #613) located in the Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill that contain Ambroise LeComte's journal and ledger as noted above, personal correspondence between Ambroise and his overseers, land survey information, receipts, personal checks, plat maps and account ledgers for Magnolia and surrounding plantations and the Melrose collection located at the Cammie G. Henry Research Center of the Eugene P. Cammie G. Henry Research Center of the Eugene P. Watson Memorial Library, Northwestern State University of Louisiana, Natchitoches, Louisiana which contains documents including 1920, 1941 and 1958 photographs and scrapbooks. Many of the secondary compilations for Magnolia Plantation are taken from primary sources

researched by Dee Heacock and Sara Ridge under the direction of Brown and used in the 2006 and 2007 Preliminary reports on the excavations of the Quarters Community of Magnolia Plantation. Ambroise's ledger and journal was copied and transcribed into a database of enslaved persons (Brown, 2006, 2008b; Heacock, 2011). Also, Heacock and Brown combined their research of Ambroise's records with baptismal records collected and translated by Elizabeth Shown Mills to create a list of LeComte's enslaved men, women and children (Mills 2007a, 2007b).

These primary and secondary sources specific to each plantation will be combined with 1880 and later census data to identify the children living on Magnolia and the Levi Jordan plantations in the late 18th and for Magnolia Plantation, into the middle of the 19th century. The census records as noted above are grouped by family unit with detailed information about the family members including date and place of birth and will be charted in an attempt to establish how many children were residing on the plantation at the time of each enumeration.

Methodology for First Question, Part A – Identifying the Toys

Once the children on each plantation have been identified, an interpretation of all artifacts defined as toys at Magnolia Plantation including seriation, and source, if applicable will be conducted. The process of childhood can be seen reflected in material culture such as clothing, furniture or even handprints on ceramics (Kamp, 2001:2). But as noted above, previous studies have shown that it is those artifacts that can be defined exclusively as toys that for historical archaeologists indicate the presence of children. For this thesis, the material culture at Magnolia Plantation and the Levi Jordan Plantation will be examined to

identify three categories of toys. First those artifacts defined primarily as a toy or an item commonly associated with children in studies of the material culture of childhood (Andrade Lima, 2012:71; Bugarin, 2006:21; Wiggins, 1980:24,)), second, those items that originally were intended for adult use but may have been incorporated or reused as a play object such as bottle stoppers or costume jewelry and last, those artifacts whose primary purpose may have been as a toy but entered the material record as something else such as a doll used as a ritual object (Brown, 2013). In general, each toy will be interpreted using relevant temporal publications (Baumann, 2004; Six et al, 2006), plantation store records and previous studies on identification and seriation (Andrade Lima, 2012; Carskadden and Gartley, 1990; Carskadden et al, 1985; Randall, 1971, 1986). Artifacts that may have been connected with adult ritual behavior, such as the doll associated with the curer's kit found at the Levi Jordan Plantation (Brown, 1994:109) will be examined contextually using archaeological and ethnographic evidence to determine principle use and will not be assumed to be associated with the behavior of children. The results will then be graphically and statistically recorded using a combination of commercially available software including Microsoft Access™.

Methodology for First Question, Part B – Gender Association

Research has shown that toys within a historical context are typically created by adults and can be infused with cultural expectations of the behaviors associated with perceived gender. Within a Western context, artifacts such as dolls and miniature household (tea sets, irons, stoves) and personal items (combs, jewelry) have been associated with females while soldiers, balls, metal toys (guns, boats) and marbles have been associated with males (Andrade Lima, 2012; Baxter, 2005; Romero, 2008). Because the Levi Jordan and

Magnolia Plantations are located in the United States and are historical sites and because the majority of toys at these plantations (Brown, 2013; Magnolia Plantation database) fall into these categories, this general association of gender to toy is accepted so that the question of gender can be tested within this thesis.

An identification of the children including age and sex living on the Levi Jordan and Magnolia Plantations is already part of this study (see methodology above). The data on children will be combined with the toy data (see methodology above) in order to create a contextual and temporal link between the children and their material record and to determine if gender delineation is supported in an antebellum or postbellum context. For example, if the historical and ethnographic data suggests that three girls lived in Cabin 1 at Magnolia Plantation starting in 1900, then based on the general association of gender to toy as noted in this paragraph, the hypothesis would be that the material record for this time period would contain a majority (51% or greater of the toy assemblage) of dolls or miniature household items and would contain a minority of metal toys and marbles. To test this hypothesis, each type of toy (marble, doll, etc.) recovered and seriated from Cabin 1 would be assigned a gender (see above) and added to the graphical and statistical data to see if the conditions for female gender (a majority of the toy assemblage containing dolls or miniature household items) are met and gender delineation in an antebellum and postbellum environment is supported. If the household assemblage has a majority of toys assigned to the male gender, then the conditions are not met and gender delineation is not supported in an antebellum and postbellum environment.

One study that links children to toys is Gartley and Carskadden's excavation of a cistern located next to a 19th century rental house in New Orleans used historical records to

determine that a datable cache of marbles (1850 to 1860) probably belonged to one of three children (two boys and one girl) who resided in the house starting in 1859 (Gartley and Carskadden, 1987).

Methodology for Second question – Identifying Magnolia’s School

To answer question two, the unique artifact assemblage recovered from cabin 1-A-1 in the former quarters area of the Levi Jordan Plantation will be compared to the artifact frequencies and types recovered from cabins one, three and four of the Magnolia Plantation Quarters area. As discussed in chapter two, excavations at the Levi Jordan Plantation showed three “broadly defined human produced Stratigraphic zones” (See Illustration 2.1) (Brown, 2013:14). The top zone was interpreted as containing mostly post 1920s artifacts including brick rubble and won’t be examined for this thesis. Of interest are zones two and three interpreted as an “abandonment” zone and sub floor zone, respectively. These zones had a similar soil matrix but differed in the size and frequency of artifacts. Zone two, was a thin depositional zone that contained a wide range of artifacts that would have entered the material record in a complete state, were within the context of relatable artifacts and were curatable. Personal items like eyeglasses, jewelry and tools that an owner would be expected to have taken during a normal moving process were left in situ by their owners (Brown, 2013:13). In contrast the third zone contained small or broken artifacts that were interpreted to have built up beneath a wooden floor. The second zone labeled the “abandonment zone” was not contiguous across the site, leading to the hypothesis that at the time of abandonment, some cabins were being used as family dwellings and/or craft workshops while others had other functions.

Cabin 1-A-1 differed from the other excavated cabins as it appeared to have been considerably altered, had ritually significant deposits dug into the soil beneath the cabin and within the main room there was a statistically different frequency of artifacts including an absence of toys with a corresponding high frequency of slate, pencils, buttons and jewelry (Brown, 2005a). Cabin 1-A-1 seemed to have originally been used as a residence as demonstrated by the existence of the sub-floor zone but because it did not contain curatable objects or meet the other requirements of the “abandonment zone”, it was hypothesized that it was not used as a primary residence at the time of abandonment (Brown, 2005a:72). Detailed analysis of the artifacts recovered showed that ceramic, glass including beads and metal percentages were lower than “typical” of the Quarters area while clothing attachments thought to be more expensive like glass buttons appeared at a higher frequency. It was hypothesized that these adornments could be suggestive of finer clothing possibly worn to church (Brown, 2005a: Chapter IV). School related items such as slate used for writing boards and slate pencils were recovered from the highest sub-floor zone levels suggesting deposition late in the cabin’s history and were represented at a higher frequency than found in other areas of the site (Brown, 2005a:94). When the archaeological research was combined with Creel’s ethnographic description of a Gullah Praise house (Creel, 1988) and historical evidence indicating the presence in 1880 of a school teacher living in the Quarters area (Brown, 2001, 2005a), the hypothesis that cabin 1-A-1 had been used after emancipation as a Praise House / church and school was reinforced (Brown, 2005a:94).

Using the Magnolia Plantation and the previous work at the Levi Jordan Plantation, I will examine artifact types and frequencies across the Magnolia Plantation Quarters area to determine if any of the artifact patterns are similar to those seen for Cabin 1-A-1. Generally,

do any of the cabins contain a high frequency of slate pieces and pencils with a corresponding lack of toys as seen in Cabin 1-A-1 for the time that it was a Praise House/ Church and do any of the Magnolia cabins exhibit test implications (first cabin in quarters, presence of hearth with ritual items) for a Praise house as suggested by Creel (Creel, 1988) and used by Brown (Brown, 2001)?

As noted in chapter two, identification of the artifacts recovered from Magnolia Plantation is still underway and the database is not complete. However, the database is being updated daily and at the time of this study contains a complete listing of all toys identified in the field representing 100% of the known toys as excavated by the team led by Brown at Magnolia Plantation. It also contains data from 2,076 provenience lots from 88 total excavation units including 35 three by three foot units and 53 one by one foot test units for a total of 114,045 artifacts weighing approximately 340,255 grams (See Table 3.1 below). This sampling frame (Bernard, 2006; 146-168) represents around 25% of the recovered lots excavated and when combined with the data representing 100% of the known toys recovered, and the methodology presented in this chapter, is sufficient to answer the questions proposed by this thesis.

Material	Quantity	Weight in grams
CERAMICS	85,808	298,226.16
GLASS	4,336	7,870.1
METAL	17,478	30,270.48
POLYMERS (PLASTICS, RUBBER, ETC.)	1,092	885.58
LITHICS	192	370.41
ECOLOGY	5,139	2,632.23
Totals:	114,045	340,254.96

Table 3.1: Listing of artifacts by material, quantity and weight within the Magnolia Plantation accession catalog as of November, 2013.

Chapter Four

Data and Analysis

This chapter is organized into sections as described by the methodology chapter. The first section of the chapter will contain an analysis of the federal census documents including the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules in order to define the children and family units at both plantations. Additional historical references will also be referenced including Ambroise LeComte's (II) journal and ledger entries at Magnolia Plantation. The second section of this chapter will contain an identification of all relevant artifacts found on the plantations including seriation and a gender assignment, if applicable. The last section of this chapter will compare the artifact frequencies and patterns for Magnolia Plantation to the artifact patterns and frequencies identified at the Levi Jordan Plantation in order to identify a school.

Section One

For the federal censuses in 1850 and 1860, all free persons in a household were grouped by household, and then listed by name, age, sex, place of birth and color. For the 1850 and 1860 censuses, enslaved persons were enumerated on a separate schedule grouped under the name of the slave owner. The Federal Constitution stipulated that slaves were counted as three-fifths of a resident for tax purposes and the apportionment of the House of Representatives. Census takers were only required to indicate number of slaves by owner, age, sex, color of each slave and whether the slave was considered "deaf, dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic" (U.S. Federal Census, 1850, 1860). In some rare cases, the names of slaves do appear on the schedules but this was not considered necessary and is rare. Enslaved persons over 100 years of age were also sometimes notated by name. For both of these censuses, the official enumeration day was June 1st; the information contained on the

forms was supposed to reflect that date. (www.archives.gov/research/census/african-american/census-1790-1930.pdf) The specific instructions given to the 1850 census takers for listing the ages of the enslaved are below. Note that the prevailing attitude that an enslaved person was less than human pervades this official United States document. The highlighted phrase below clearly refers to a child as a “which” not a “who” or “whom” as regular grammar would dictate.

*Under heading 3, entitled “Age,” insert, in figures, the specific age of each slave opposite the number of such slave. If the exact age cannot be ascertained insert a number which shall be the nearest approximation thereto. The exact or estimated age of every slave is to be inserted. **If the slave be a child which** on the 1st day of June was less than one year old the entry is to be made by fractional parts of a year, as directed in Rule 7, Schedule 1. Slaves who (born previously) have died since the 1st day of June are to be entered as living, and all details respecting them to be given with as much care as if the slave were living. You are desired to give the names of all slaves whose age reaches or exceeds 100 years. (www.ipums.org).*

The 1870 census is the first time an official last name for the formerly enslaved is enumerated on a census document. The census includes the person’s name, age, sex, race, occupation and place of birth and the formerly enslaved are listed by household alongside all other households within the United States. Starting in 1880 and continuing to later censuses, the familial relationships of those living in the household is listed and for those in cities, the name of the street and house number, if applicable. Censuses were and are conducted and recorded every ten years. The only exception is the 1890 census as most of it was destroyed by a fire in 1921, although some fragments remain for Texas.

One of the problems with the slave schedules is that unlike regular census forms that list free persons by household, the slave schedules do not group the enslaved other than to place them under the slave holder’s name and by gender. Sometimes the listings can appear to be grouped into families, but in most cases the slaves were listed from eldest to youngest

“The slave schedules themselves almost never provide conclusive evidence for the presence of a specific slave in the household or plantation of a particular slaveholder. At best, a census slave schedule can provide supporting evidence for a hypothesis derived from other sources.”

(www.census101.org/slave-schedule)

Magnolia Plantation

Census and historical information will be reviewed for Magnolia Plantation first as it is from Ambroise LeComte that the definition for antebellum children is derived. From the very beginning of Jean Baptiste LeComte’s residence on the lands that would become Magnolia plantation, children were present. Because the scope of this thesis is an exploration of the children that resided on Magnolia plantation from its establishment in 1835 until the last residents left the former Quarters area in the 1960s, the children that lived in the area prior to 1835 will not be fully examined. As noted in chapter three, children will be defined within this thesis based upon historical documents produced by the plantation owners (if available) and this information will be applied to the census documents in order to define the children within the temporal and contextual environment of antebellum and postbellum life. Specifically for Magnolia Plantation, the account ledger of the founder of Magnolia Plantation, Ambroise LeComte (II) will be used. This ledger reveals a picture of late antebellum life (1845 to 1952) from the viewpoint of an owner of a large plantation. In it Ambroise documents purchases, sales, debts and property including his large holdings of enslaved persons.

Ambroise LeComte (II) Account Ledger 1845-1852

Starting on page 37 and continuing to page 51 of his account ledger, Ambroise LeComte (II) compiled a list of his enslaved persons. His accounting was in an organized manner, first by adult males in first name order then by a listing for male children born since 1845 followed by adult females and a listing for female children born since 1845. Along with their names, each enslaved was given a color, sex, age and estimated worth in 1845, he also listed death, name of mother and date of birth, if applicable. Following these listings, he added purchased slaves and his enslaved house servants. An example of one of these pages is seen below; appendix C contains full copies of all pages of his ledger that contain these enslaved listings (figure 4.1). The tops of the pages contain the names of his enslaved adult males (page 38) and females (page 40) and the bottom of the pages contain the beginnings of the listings of male (page 38) and female (page 40) children born since 1845. Because Ambroise (II) appears to be accounting for his enslaved since 1845 and he is entering the data around 1852, anyone born within this time period is put into the section “children born since 1845”. But this section may not contain all enslaved that he considers children. Close inspection of those listed in the adult category reveals a twelve year old male named James on page 37, a ten year old male named Raphael on page 38, an eight year old female named Felicia on page 38 and two seven year old females named Hortense and Marguerite on page 39. It is possible that these enslaved were considered full hands or adults due to their occupation, but this part of the listing doesn’t give occupation. (Prudhomme Family Papers, collection #613)

1852		Magnolia Plantation		Ottobachin in 1852	
Names		of male Slaves		ages	deaths.
R.	Raphael	Negro	Boy	10	152
T.	Tirance	"	"	25	700
	Tony	"	"	26	600
	Thomas Carpenter	"	"	46	700 children August 1852
W. &	Ursin	Mulatto	"	39	750 in 1852
V.	Victorin	"	"	27	750
	Valdin	"	"	28	
W.	William	Negro	"	22	700
	Warren Carpenter	"	Bought in N.C. Jan 1852.	23	750
1853.		Names of male children born since 1845		mothers names	
		ages		ages	deaths
	Celstin	7	Mulatto Boy	7	Constance 1855
	Luzin	3	"	3	Azelie Sept 1852
	Albin	3	"	3	Riziah Dec 1852
	Narcisse	3	Negro	3	Eloise Dec 1852
	Edward	1	"	1	Lagrose Sept 1852
	Severin	1	"	1	Silphie Sept 1852
x	Dominique		"		Kate July 1852
x	Lucien		"		Eloise Aug 1852 Oct 1853
	Alexis		Mulatto		Louisa Sept 1852
	Emile		"		Melie Sept 1852
	Frederick		Negro Boy		Constance Nov 1852
	Maander		Mulatto		Azelie Nov 1852
1853	x Marcel		Negro Boy		Roseline March 1853
	Sirius		"		Silphie Sept 1852
	Laurent		"		Kate Oct 1852
	Baptiste		"		Hilene Dec 1852
	Ursin		"		Louisa July 1852
x			"		Severin Dec 1852
x			"		Constance
x			"		Kate Jan 1853
x			"		Silphie Aug 1852
	Emile		Mulatto		Almanahy Jan 1853
	Francis		Negro Boy		Constance Nov 1852
	Torino		"		Kate Feb 1853
	Jansier		"		Rosie Aug 1852
	Newville		"		Helene Feb 1853
	Justine		Negro		Kate Feb 1853
	Moris		Negro		Helene July 1853

Figure 4.1: Page 38 of Ambroise LeComte's (II) journal showing the end of a listing written by him of his enslaved adult males and the beginning of a listing of his enslaved male children born since 1845. (Prudhomme Family Papers, Collection #613:38)

Of more interest to the question of how Ambroise (II) defined children is his list of “slaves bought this year” on page 41 (Figure 4.2) and his listing of “house servants” on page 51 (Figure 4.3). In these listings, he makes a distinction between men, women, boys and girls and gives their ages. By applying these labels to his enslaved, Ambroise (II) effectively sorts them into those he considered adults and those he considered to be children. It is this definition written by the hand of the owner of Magnolia Plantation that we will use to define enslaved children within this thesis. Next to each listing, I have included a Table (Tables 4.1 and 4.2) indicating the ages, label according to Ambroise and definition within this thesis of each of these enslaved.

Age	LeComte Label	Child or Adult
57	Man	
62	Woman	
40	Man	
29	Ditto	
38	Woman	
18	Ditto	
16	Girl	Child
13	Ditto	Child
52	Man	
34	Woman	
22	Ditto	
40	Ditto	
8	Boy	Child
4	Ditto	child
30	Woman	
11	Boy	child

Table 4.2: Children defined as per Ambroise LeComte (II) on page 51 of his ledger (seen at right).

1852. House Servants.

Name	Age	Label
Amis	57	man
Seanne	62	woman
Clement	40	man
Frank	29	man
Celiste	38	woman
Clementine	18	mulatto
Coralie	16	girl
Appoline	13	girl
Esther	52	man
Suzanne	34	woman
Janet	22	mulatto
Fanny	40	mulatto
Achille	8	boy
Pastor	4	boy
Prudence	30	woman
Sauvage	11	boy

Figure 4.3: The listing of enslaved on page 51 of Ambroise LeComte's (II) journal where he lists his house slaves, their ages and labels them as man, woman, boy or girl. We can see that the oldest child is a 16 year old girl and the youngest adult is an 18 year old woman. (Prudhomme Family Papers, Collection #613:51)

The only exception to this definition appear to be two “boys” listed as being at Cape Hope; a nineteen year old named Picayune and a twenty year old named Manuel (Page 51). Given that for most of Ambroise’s (II) listings, his enslaved adult men were given the label “boy”, this is not surprising. However, these two entries appear directly below a thirty five year old enslaved named Bob who is labeled as a man. Why Ambroise (II) chose to make these notations this way is not known but because these two entries appear to be exceptions within an area where he labeled men as men and children as boys and because they are listed as being at Cape Hope not Magnolia plantation, for this thesis they will not be considered for purposes of defining children. Looking at the entirety of Ambroise’s (II) listings, we can see that for Ambroise (II) the line between child and adulthood appears to be the age of sixteen.

Put another way, according to Ambroise (II), his enslaved girls age sixteen and below and enslaved boys age fifteen and below are children.

While Ambroise's (II) ledger is the key to defining children within this thesis, it is not being used to give accurate counts of his enslaved population, for that I am turning to census data. Brown has written about the problems with using the ledger to determine counts; "One of the issues raised by this journal is that it lists only approximately 110 to 115 people residing and laboring on the Magnolia Plantation (Brown, et al 2006). Given the twenty-four brick structures, providing a total of forty-eight individual cabins, thought to have been built within the Magnolia Quarters, the number of enslaved residing in the quarters appears "low".

In addition to the Ambroise (II) ledger, there is additional evidence of enslaved children from a neighboring plantation owned by the Prud'homme family. In 1852, Ambroise's (II) daughter by Julia, Atala LeComte married Matthew Hertzog who was the son of owners of a neighboring property, Jean Francois Hertzog and Marianne Desiree Prud'homme (Brown 2008b). In a document dated from 1864 to 1865, Prud'homme listed his enslaved population by age category (Series 3.1.7 Folder 376 Receipts 1864-1865). Within this document, his children aged ten and under are separated from the adults. While not definitive when dealing with enslaved older than age ten, this data is helpful because it does not refute the information from Ambroise (II). Clearly any person aged ten and under according to all of these sources was considered a child within the antebellum context of Natchitoches, Louisiana but for Ambroise LeComte those aged sixteen were entering adulthood.

Magnolia Plantation Census Data

For each household the 1840 census included name of head of household, number of free white males and females by age categories, the name of slave owner and the number of slaves by sex, if applicable, any free “colored” persons or foreigners by age and any person that is deaf, dumb or blind. Ambroise (II) reported 172 persons within his household; 160 slaves and twelve free persons. The census lists household occupants by sex, color and age category, enslaved are listed on the same schedule. No names are listed for anyone other than head of household. Interestingly, the age categories for free persons seem to be more finely grained than those for the enslaved or free colored persons. Free white persons are enumerated in five year increments while all others are enumerated in ten year and larger increments. Using this data, counts of children are applied as the data allows and estimated when it does not (Table 4.3). We can see that in 1840, Ambroise (II) has enumerated three free white female children, approximately two free colored children and at least fifty enslaved children (twenty males and thirty females). It is also possible that Ambroise (II) could also have owned up to thirty eight additional enslaved children if the categories containing those aged ten to twenty three contained all children (as defined within this thesis). Although Ambroise (II) owned all of these enslaved and they are enumerated within his household, it is unclear exactly how many were living at Magnolia Plantation.

Free White Persons - Males - 30 thru 39:	1	
Free White Persons - Females - Under 5:	1	Child
Free White Persons - Females - 5 thru 9:	1	Child
Free White Persons - Females - 10 thru 14:	1	Child
Free White Persons - Females - 20 thru 29:	1	
Free Colored Persons - Males - Under 10:	1	Child
Free Colored Persons - Males - 10 thru 23:	1	
Free Colored Persons - Males - 24 thru 35:	1	

Free Colored Persons - Females - Under 10:	1	Child
Free Colored Persons - Females - 24 thru 35:	1	
Free Colored Persons - Females - 36 thru 54:	2	
Slaves - Males - Under 10:	20	Child
Slaves - Males - 10 thru 23:	20	
Slaves - Males - 24 thru 35:	18	
Slaves - Males - 36 thru 54:	18	
Slaves - Males - 55 thru 99:	7	
Slaves - Females - Under 10:	30	Child
Slaves - Females - 10 thru 23:	18	
Slaves - Females - 24 thru 35:	15	
Slaves - Females - 36 thru 54:	10	
Slaves - Females - 55 thru 99:	4	

Table 4.3: Table showing count of enslaved as enumerated on the 1840 census for Ambroise LeComte (II).

Heacock has argued that before the construction of the cabins at Magnolia plantation around 1845, there is evidence that the Quarters area was occupied possibly in temporary dwellings (Heacock, 2008:148-149). In her research, she transcribed a listing from 1840 (Folder 906; Prud-homme Collection UNC) that showed Ambroise's (II) enslaved at Magnolia and his plantation located on the other side of the river called Shallow Lake. One of her charts (Table 4.4) shows those primarily working at Magnolia. I have adapted this chart to show only those persons considered a child based on Ambroise's (II) definition. According to this definition, we have eleven enslaved children at Magnolia, seven females and four males.

1840 Cane River Plantations (Adapted from Heacock, 2008:150)							
Name of Individual	Ethnicity	Gender	Age	Birth year	Death Year	Mother	Date of Record
Azelie	NS	F	10	1830			1840
Barthelemy (Mimi)	NS	M	6	1834		Mimi	1840
Kitty (Kate)	NS	F	7	1833			1840
Lagrosse	NS	F	7	1833			1840
Lorenza	B	F	9	1831			1840
Louis (P.)	M	M	15	1825			1840
Meliza	NS	F	11	1829			1840
Ned	NS	M	14	1826			1840

Octavie	NS	F	1	1839	1851	Couachine	1840
Terence	B	M	13	1827			1840
Venus	B	F	14	1826			1840

Table 4.4: Children at Magnolia Plantation from an 1840 listing as transcribed by Dee Heacock (Adapted from Heacock, 2011)

On the 1850 census, Ambroise (II) is shown as a farmer with 125,000 worth of property but is not living on the plantation. He is enumerated with his children (four are under age 16) “in the town of Natchitoches”. Suzette Hertzog Buard, widow of Louis Buard (died 1849) brother to Ambroise’s (II) first wife, Julia is living on the plantation with her younger brother Matthew Hertzog, her six children under age fourteen and around 43 slaves (figure 4.4 and Chart 4.5) although it is unsure if all of the slaves were at Magnolia or if they were spread to Vienna Plantation.

Number	Age	Sex	Color*
1	12	M	M
1	12	M	B
2	9	M	B
2	8	M	M
2	8	M	B
2	6	M	B
2	6	M	M
1	9	M	M
2	3	M	B
1	3	M	B
1	6	F	B
1	7	F	M
1	7	F	B
1	5	F	B
1	2 mo	F	B

Table 4.5: The Table above is an interpretation of all of those contained on this listing considered children. It appears that she may have had 21 enslaved children; sixteen male and five female.

Figure 4.4: At right is a snippet taken from Suzette Buard's slave schedule (U.S. Federal Census, 1850)

* The Census asks the enumerator to list the person by "color"; white, black, mulatto, Chinese or Indian. For consistency for all census information used within this thesis, I will use this label.

2	40	M	B
2	40	M	B
2	38	M	B
2	33	M	B
2	28	M	B
3	23	M	B
1	30	M	B
1	30	M	B
1	17	M	B
1	23	M	B
1	14	M	B
1	12	M	B
2	9	M	B
2	8	M	B
2	8	M	B
2	4	M	B
1	9	M	B
2	3	M	B
1	3	M	B
1	5	M	B
2	03	M	B
1	40	M	B
1	40	M	B
1	38	M	B
3	28	M	B
2	34	M	B
1	0	M	B
1	7	M	B
1	7	M	B
1	5	M	B
1	2	M	B

The 1850 slave schedule for Ambroise (II) is enumerated by males then females and then by age category. Although the schedule is difficult to read in places, what is apparent is that he had as many as thirty seven male and thirty seven female enslaved children (figure 4.5 and Table 4.6).

Number of enslaved	Age	Color	Sex
5	15	B	M
6	12	B	M
4	8	B	M
9	7	B	M
7	6	B	M
4	1	B	M
2	11	M	M
10	11	B	F
7	5	B	F
5	4	B	F
12	2	B	F
1	8	M	F

Table 4.6: Above is a Table showing enslaved children. According to this schedule, Ambroise LeComte (II) owned 37 male and 37 female children.

Figure 4.5: To the right is a snippet from the 1850 slave schedule of Ambroise LeComte (II). (U.S. Federal Census, 1850)

1	8	B	M
2	7	B	M
1	6	B	M
2	5	B	M
2	4	B	M
9	3	B	M
11	2	B	M
13	1	B	M
7	11	B	M
5	10	B	M
6	9	B	M
4	8	B	M
9	7	B	M
7	6	B	M
4	5	B	M
1	4	B	M
1	3	B	M
2	2	B	M
2	1	B	M
3	11	B	M
4	10	B	M
4	9	B	M
4	8	B	M
11	7	B	M
12	6	B	M
9	5	B	M
6	4	B	M
7	3	B	M
11	2	B	M
7	1	B	M
5	11	B	M
13	10	B	M
1	9	B	M
1	8	B	M

Adding both Suzette Buard and Ambroise (II) enslaved; we get a picture of how many enslaved children were possibly living and/or working on Plantations owned by Ambroise (II) at this time. The Table below (Table 4.7) shows there are a total of ninety three total children, forty females and fifty three males. Because the LeComte's and Hertzogs had multiple holdings, it is not known how many were actually living and working specifically at Magnolia plantation.

Females			
Number	Age	Color	Sex
1	2 mo	B	F
12	2	B	F
5	4	B	F
8	5	B	F
1	6	B	F
1	7	B	F
10	11	B	F
1	7	M	F
1	8	M	F

Males			
Number	Age	Color	Sex
4	1	B	M
1	3	B	M
2	3	B	M
9	6	B	M
9	7	B	M
6	8	B	M
2	9	B	M
7	12	B	M
5	15	B	M
2	6	M	M
2	8	M	M
1	9	M	M
2	11	M	M
1	12	M	M

Table 4.7: The Table above is a listing of all enslaved children owned by Ambroise LeComte (II) and Suzette Buard. There are a total of 93 total children, 40 females and 53 males. It is not known how many were actually living and working specifically at Magnolia plantation.

Malone notes that in a response to an inquiry from the Assistant Marshal of the Western District, Louisiana, Ambroise (II) stated that in 1860 he had 235 slaves, 128 males and 107 females. (Malone, 1996:75) A part of the 1860 census for Ambroise (II) is seen below (figure 4.6). At the bottom of his enumeration, we can see that he has listed twenty eight twelve year olds, thirty three eight year olds and twenty six three year olds for a total of eighty seven enslaved children. Unfortunately, it appears that either the enumerator or Ambroise (II) placed the children into three broad age categories so specific ages of the children can not be determined from this record.

29		1	34	F	B						1	49	F	B						
30	A LeCompte	1	75	M	B				70		61	35	M	B						
31		1	65	M	B						45	35	F	B						
32		1	53	M	B						14	13	F	B						
33		1	63	M	B						14	13	M	B						
34		2	60	M	M						16	8	M	B						
35		1	55	M	B						17	8	F	M						
36		1	59	M	M						17	3	M	B						
37		1	53	F	B						9	3	F	B						

Figure 4.6: 1860 enumeration for Ambroise LeComte (II) showing his enslaved children (U.S. Federal Census, 1850)

While many of the LeComte-Hertzog enslaved must have worked the fields, others labored in the big house or at different tasks required for the day to day running of the plantation. Records show that Jack's wife Casey worked as a cook, Martha was a full time washerwoman, Paul age 14 was a serving boy, Moses, Thomas and Warren were carpenters and sawyers, Athanase Monet and Louis Tenon were drivers, and household servants included Anis, Clement, Frank, Dorsine, Janvier, Jeanne, Celeste, Clementia, Coralie, ,Suzanne, Sanito and Prudence (Malone, 1996:64-68). In 1862 at the eve of the civil war, there were 277 slave holders in the Natchitoches area who owned ten or more slaves. Ambroise (II) was by far the largest of these with the next largest holder reporting 120 enslaved (U.S. Census documents slave schedules for Natchitoches)

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the first time the formerly enslaved are listed by name in a census document is in the 1870 census. To find the residents of the former Quarters area now tenant area of Magnolia Plantation, we can assume that the census enumerator walked in a logical pattern to or from the big house and through the tenant area. The 1870 census for the LeComte family shows that Ambroise (II) is still living within Ward 12 of the town Natchitoches with his wife and children but Atala (Ambroise's daughter by Julia aged 39) and Matthew Hertzog (aged 41) are living on the plantation (Ward 10) with their two children; Desire and Feni, a domestic servant who is 17 years old, a 50 year old cook and another servant aged 15.

Many of the formerly enslaved may have left Magnolia after emancipation but an inspection of the all those enumerated on the 1870 census between Matthew and Atala Hertzog (page 5) to the next person enumerated as a farmer (Charles Bertram on page 8), possibly reveals the residents of the former Quarters area. The overriding assumption for this

methodology is that Quarters residents would not be listed on this census as farmers (changes for subsequent censuses) as farmer indicates land ownership but instead would be listed as farm laborers or some other occupation. The census is read forwards from Matthew and Atala with the assumption that they were enumerated before the tenant area for three reasons. First reading backwards from Matthew and Atala reveals only four households between them and the previous landowning farmer and this number may be too small for the estimated number of cabins in the former Quarters area assuming that a majority of them were being utilized at this time. Reading forwards reveals seventeen dwellings and eighteen families a number that fills the former Quarters area. The second reason is that the entry for the Hertzogs lists a servant with the last name Haffa and directly below in a different household is another person with that last name hinting at a close relationship. Also, at the end of the listing (highlighted), we can see two persons with occupations “dry goods” and “retailed grocery”. Miller writes that in the late 1860s or early 1870s, a store was opened on Magnolia Plantation (Miller, 2004:50) and it is possible that these people were employed in the store. The Table below (Table 4.8) is a full listing of those persons enumerated on the census; we can see that at this time there are twenty three possible children (using LeComte’s (II) definition) living at Magnolia.

Household and family		Last Name	First Name	Age		Sex	Color	Occupation
49	49	Redman	Henry	45		M	B	Laborer
		Lee	Charles	25		M	B	Laborer
		Lee	Emanda	15	Child	F	B	
50	50	Bivens	Henry	25		M	B	Laborer
			Alice	20		F	B	
		Acha	Georden	18		M	B	
51	51	Douglas	Henry	35		M	B	Laborer
			Louise	34		F	B	Laborer
			William	5	Child	M	B	
			Charles	12	Child	M	B	

			Henry	15	Child	M	B	
52	52	Smith	Lewis	35		M	B	Laborer
			Mavly	35		F	B	Housekeeper
53	53	Right	Emmos	40		M	B	Laborer
			Elizabeth	35		F	B	Housekeeper
			Mathilde	15	Child	F	B	
			Leon	7	Child	M	B	
54	54	Wood	Joseph	65		M	B	Laborer
			Caroline	45		F	B	Housekeeper
			Mary L.	13	Child	F	B	
55	55	Allen	Emanuel	25		M	B	Laborer
		Taylor	James	50		M	B	Laborer
			Mary	45		F	B	Housekeeper
			Charles	5	Child	M	B	
56	56	Davis	Nelson	45		M	B	Laborer
			Maria	25		F	B	Housekeeper
			Malinda	1	Child	F	B	
		Griffen	Frank	14	Child	M	B	
57	57	Allen	Thomas	35		M	B	Laborer
			Maria	34		F	B	
			George	15	Child	M	B	
			America	8	Child	F	B	
			Mary	6	Child	F	B	
			Julia	4	Child	F	B	
			Allen	5 mo.	Child	M	B	
58	58	Anderson	George	32		M	B	Laborer
			Suzette	22		F	B	Housekeeper
			George	9 mo.	Child	F	B	
59	59	Taylor	James Jr.	35		M	B	Laborer
			Ellen	38		F	B	Housekeeper
			Arsiine	15	Child	F	B	
			Paul	5	Child	M	B	
			Ellen	2	Child	F	B	
60	60	Johnson	William	25		M	M	Laborer
			Susan	22		F	B	Housekeeper
61	61	Jenkins	Simon	18		M	B	Laborer
			Pauly	40		F	B	Housekeeper
62	62	Davis	David	24		M	B	Laborer
			Asize ?	23		F	B	Housekeeper
			Josephine	5	Child	F	B	
			Emanuel	2	Child	M	B	
63	63	Madelaine	Jenk	30		F	B	Laborer
			Roseline	4	Child	F	B	
			Catherine	2	Child	F	B	

64	64	Thomas	Marguerite	23		F	B	Domestic Servant
			Mary	4	Child	F	B	
65	65	Jenkins	Daniel	42		M	B	Laborer
		Charleville	Aurore	64		F	W	Housekeeper
66	66	Charleville	L?	44		M	W	Dry Goods
			Joseph	33		M	W	Retailed
		Hyame	Aurore	28		F	W	
		Rachel	Amanda	11	Child	F	W	

Table 4.8: A listing based on the 1870 federal census of possible residents of Magnolia plantation former Quarters area. (U.S. Federal Census, 1870)

However, it is at the point of emancipation that the definition used by LeComte (II) for his enslaved children should be revised. The U.S. Census starting in 1870 now provides detailed information including occupation of the formerly enslaved. Any person listed with an occupation other than “at school” or “at home” or if their status is “married” for future Censuses regardless of age will now be considered an adult. As will be discussed in section three of this chapter, children in farming areas did work the fields in addition to attending school but these children will still be considered children for purposes of this thesis as their primary occupation is as a student. For the 1870 census as listed above, no change in counts is required as none of the children listed meet the aforementioned criteria.

During the 1880s and into the 1900s, the population of Natchitoches continued to grow so that by 1880, the Parish was being re-split into different Wards. Matthew and Atala and the Quarters area had been enumerated as part of Ward 10 in 1870 but by 1900 when we are able to see them enumerated again, Matthew and Magnolia Plantation are enumerated within Ward 9. Malone mentions that by 1896, Matthew and Atala were able to move out of the old slave hospital into a newly rebuilt main house so we can assume that the 1900 enumeration is for the big house. The twenty year gap in data is for two reasons: First, a search of census data for Matthew and Atala in 1880 does not reveal any results. An investigation of the census for Ward 9 in 1880 indicates that a lot of the entries are obscured

or too light to read (figure 4.7) probably accounting for missing data. Second, a search for Matthew and Atala in 1890 did not provide any results as the 1890 census was destroyed by fire and therefore is unavailable for research (U.S. Federal Census, 1890).

Figure 4.7: A search of the 1880 census for Ward 9 in Natchitoches, Louisiana does not reveal any entries for the Matthew Hertzog family. A possible reason may be the condition of the forms as seen above. (U.S. Federal Census, 1880)

If we can assume as we have for other censuses that the enumerator of the 1900 census traveled from household to household in a logical pattern, then the 1900 census listings before and after Matthew could indicate inhabitants of the former Quarters now tenant area. Crespi has noted that in the early 1900s, the tenant area began to “thin” (Crespi, 2004), so we might predict that the former Quarters tenant area might be less populated than the census showed in 1870. We can see from the 1890 census (figure 4.10) that Matthew is a farmer, his son Ambroise is a manager, Prudhomme is farm overseer and Parra is clerk. On the 1900 census, the enumerators were instructed to use columns 25, 26, 27 and 28 to indicate status of home ownership. If the person owned a home, column 25 would contain an “O”, if a person rented their home, the column would contain an “R”. For column 27 an “F” would mean that some member of the family operates and resides on the farm but an “H” would mean that the family resides on a farm but does not operate it. Any person operating

or renting a farm for any part of the profit or products was to be listed as a farmer. Note this is very different from the 1870 census where the occupation of farmer indicated ownership.

Reading the census forward from Matthew, we see possible inhabitants of the tenant area. For example, John Metoyer is the next entry after Matthew, he is listed as a farmer, renting a home that is a farm with two small children ages 4 and 3. Assuming that no person listed as owning their own home would be a tenant of the former Quarters area, there are ten dwellings for a total of ten families listed until we reach the next entry indicating a home owner. From this census, we can see that there may be as many as twenty six children residing at Magnolia Plantation according to LeComte's (II) definition at this time but if we review the column indicating occupation, three of these individuals are listed as farm laborers and therefore for purposes of this thesis can be considered adults (Table 4.9).

Supervisor's District No. 4 } Sheet No. 12
Enumeration District No. 79 }

Enumerator

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Last Name	First Name	Color	Sex	Age	Occupation
Metoyer	Mary	B	F	4	
	Jasper	B	M	3	
Luke	Alice	B	F	8	
	Matthew	B	M	5	
Llorens	Bernard	B	M	6	
	Cledan	B	M	4	
Williams	Denis	B	M	11	Farm Laborer
	Adolph	B	M	9	
	Benyiss	B	F	13	Farm Laborer
	Henry	B	M	4	
	Phil	B	M	7	
	Isaac	B	M	2	
	Berlly	B	F	8 months	
Terry	Becky	B	F	2	
	Clarice	B	F	Newborn	
Meziere	Florance	B	F	1	
Page	Mary	B	F	11	Farm Laborer
	Hellen	B	F	10	Farm Laborer
	Henrietta	B	F	7	
	Eloise	B	F	5	
	Rosa	B	F	2 months	
O'Neal	Effrey	B	F	9	
	Alida	B	F	7	
	Eulalie	B	F	6	
	Mac	B	M	4	
	Melisa	B	F	1	

Table 4.9: Listing of the children occupying the Magnolia Quarters area taken from the 1890 census. There are twenty six persons under age sixteen, however four of them aged ten and eleven have occupations.

According to Crespi, persons occupying the residences with the Quarters often moved or changed cabins depending upon changes in marital status or family size so that “within a decade, an individual or a family might have occupied several different cabins in the quarters” (Crespi, 2004:42). Her estimates for the Quarters during the 20th century show that from the 1930s to the 1960s an average of 7 families lived there but by 1969, only one family was left. Throughout this time, the big house was occupied by the Hertzog family. (Crespi, 2004:42)

For the 1910 census, Ambroise Hertzog is 52 and living on the plantation with his wife Sarah and his five children. Listed below him are all of the tenant families living on the plantation including the Williams families and the Verchers. Using the methodology employed in previous census reviews and reading forward from Ambroise's family noted as dwelling number 652 and family number 623, through to the next possible owner, dwelling 697 and family number 664, there are a possible 45 dwellings and 41 families within the Quarters area of Magnolia Plantation. Obviously this number is larger than the capacity of the quarters, so a lot of the families enumerated must have been living elsewhere. Below is the page containing Ambroise Hertzog and his family (figure 4.9), the next page showing families that were most likely to be living in the Quarters area including the Verchers and the Williams (figure 4.10) and the second page after Ambroise Hertzog showing the Wade family and Eliza Chatham listed as a midwife (figure 4.11). Because historical evidence has shown that Cabin 1 may have been the residence of the Wade family and Cabins 3 and 4 may have been the residences of the Vercher family, the count of the children of the Quarters is limited to those families enumerated between these two points and added to the children living in the big house.

The adjusted count shows that there may have been as many as forty eight children within nineteen families on the plantation at this time. However, no person under age sixteen is listed with an occupation but there are seventeen year olds listed without an occupation. Considering that within the 20th century, the age of an adult has been redefined and can depend on the context of the definition (see chapter one), but is generally considered to be age eighteen; any person now listed on the census seventeen years of age or under without an occupation will be considered a child. Using this definition, the adjusted counts

show that there are as many as fifty three children (aged seventeen and under without an occupation listed) living on the plantation.

[illegible]

Figure 4.9: First page of the 1910 census showing the Hertzog family living at the big house and twenty one children (age seventeen and under without an occupation). (U.S. Federal Census, 1910)

[illegible]

Figure 4.10: Second page of 1910 enumeration of Quarters area showing the Vercher and Williams families and twenty seven children (aged seventeen and under). (U.S. Federal Census, 1910)

cabins at this time. Looking at the 1930 census, we can see the Hertzog family residing on the plantation with only one child. Looking for the names communicated as being there in 1938 (see notation above), we can see that Joseph Randolph is enumerated with seven family members but no children and Thomas Williams is enumerated with three children, two daughters and his brother. The Vercher family does not appear to be in the former Quarters area at this time, census records show them in Natchitoches enumerated in Ward 10. Counting the children between the known inhabitants (Hertzog family and Joseph Randolph) of the quarters at this time, we see that in 1930 according to the census there are as many as thirty three children within the Quarters area and the big house.

The 1940 census shows the Hertzog family (family number 128) enumerated on Sheet no 8A in Ward 9 (figure 4.12). A search for Ellis Vercher as noted above in the personal communication to Dee Hertzog shows that he and his family are enumerated in Ward 9 (family 168) at the bottom of Sheet no 10B (figure 4.13) There are a total of forty families enumerated between the Hertzogs and the Verchers possibly indicating that Ellis Vercher was not living in the Quarters area in 1940.

Line	Name	Relationship	Sex	Age	Birth Date	Marital Status	Education	Occupation	Value	Other
19	Hertzog, Sarah	Head	F	44	1896	Married	8			
20	" " " " " "	Wife	F	42	1898	Married	8			
21	" " " " " "	Daughter	F	14	1926	Single	8			
22	" " " " " "	Son	M	9	1931	Single	8			
23	" " " " " "	Granddaughter	F	3	1937	Single	8			
24	" " " " " "	Head	M	44	1896	Married	8			
25	" " " " " "	Wife	F	42	1898	Married	8			
26	" " " " " "	Daughter	F	14	1926	Single	8			
27	" " " " " "	Son	M	9	1931	Single	8			
28	" " " " " "	Granddaughter	F	3	1937	Single	8			

Figure 4.12: Entry for the Hertzog family on Sheet No 8A in Ward 9, family number 128 (U.S. Federal Census, 1940)

northernmost cabin, Doris Randolph who lived on the second row in the cabin behind Wilson Metoyer and Abe Randolph lived in one of the middle cabins (Brown 2008b:64). Because the U.S. Federal Census documents for 1950 and 1960 are not available, this tenant book is the best source for biographical data for those living in the Quarters during the 1950s up until the 1960s when the last tenant left. The assumption for this thesis is that there were children living within the Quarters area at this time but how many and their ages is not known. The data discussed within sections two and three of this chapter will address this time period.

The Levi Jordan Plantation

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, a problem with slave schedules is that they are inconsistent, the enslaved may or may not be enumerated by family unit or could be listed by sex, then age. This lack of consistency is especially problematic for the 1850 slave schedule for the Levi Jordan plantation as the bottom 1/3 of the page for both pages of his enumeration has been obscured by what appears to be either a problem scanning or a water stain. An inquiry into the 1850 slave schedules for Brazoria County Texas yields 42 scanned pages and all of them have some fraction of this stain. For Levi Jordan, on page 39, thirteen enslaved are obscured in column one and nine slaves are completely obscured in column two with one being partly obscured. On page 40, six enslaved are obscured. Overall, 28 of Levi Jordan's 95 total enslaved (Freeman's 2004 report, page 109 says he had "81 negroes worth \$30,375 and cites Texas comptroller 1850) are effectively missing from this documentation; we can only see the tick marks in the first column showing that they were recorded (Figures 4.14 and 4.15)

Figure 4.14: Page 39 of the 1850 Brazoria County slave schedule showing the start of Levi Jordan's record and the "water stain". Adapted from Information taken from:

[/www.archives.gov/research/census/african-american/census-1790-1930.pdf](http://www.archives.gov/research/census/african-american/census-1790-1930.pdf)

Figure 4.15: Page 40 of the 1850 Brazoria County slave schedule showing the rest of Levi Jordan's record and the continuance of the "water stain". Adapted from Information taken from:

[/www.archives.gov/research/census/african-american/census-1790-1930.pdf](http://www.archives.gov/research/census/african-american/census-1790-1930.pdf)

Upon inspection of the record, it is tempting to try to "fill in the blanks" and make assumptions about his enslaved population. The table below (Table 4.10) shows this slave schedule in the order that it was enumerated. It appears that the enumerator listed the enslaved in columns one and into two possibly by sex then age as there are no males starting in the middle of column two and into column three (parts that are visible) that are older than 24. Starting in the middle of column two, we could assume that the enumerator was listing females with related females and possible children as no males over twenty appear. Two examples are column two, No. 16 a 45 year old female with nine persons fifteen and under listed behind her and column three, No. 8 a 33 year old female with five persons nine years old and under behind her. None of the visible males over 20 have these groupings. If Jordan was enumerating based on field hand allocation, then one would expect the males to be listed

followed by adult females and then the children, this is not the case. He could also be enumerating based on date of acquisition but once again you would expect a few adult males to be within the adult females and children and this is not the case.

Page 39, column One				Page 39, column two				Page 40, column one			
No.	Age	Sex	Race	No.	Age	Sex	Race	No.	Age	Sex	Race
26	45	M	Black	1	27	M	Black	1	22	F	Black
27	45	M	Black	2	27	M	Black	2	4	F	Black
28	40	M	Mulatto	3	24	M	Black	3	21	F	Black
29	?	M	Black	4	21	M	Black	4	2	F	Black
30	?	?	?	5	21	M	Black	5	8	F	Black
31	?	?	?	6	21	M	Black	6	5	F	Black
32	?	?	?	7	21	M	Black	7	3	F	Black
33	?	?	?	8	20	M	Black	8	33	F	Black
34	?	?	?	9	20	M	Black	9	8	F	Black
35	?	?	?	10	24	M	Black	10	9	M	Black
36	?	?	?	11	45	F	Black	11	5	M	Black
37	?	?	?	12	22	F	Black	12	3	M	Mulatto
38	?	?	?	13	1	F	Mulatto	13	1	M	Mulatto
39	?	?	?	14	26	F	Mulatto	14	35	F	Black
40	?	?	?	15	5	F	Mulatto	15	14	F	Black
41	?	?	?	16	45	F	Mulatto	16	9	M	Black
42	?	?	?	17	15	F	Mulatto	17	1	M	Black
				18	13	F	Mulatto	18	24	F	Black
				19	5	F	Mulatto	19	5	M	Black
				20	3	M	Mulatto	20	35	F	Black
				21	10	F	Mulatto	21	5	M	Mulatto
				22	11	F	Mulatto	22	3	F	Mulatto
				23	6	M	Black	23	20	F	Black
				24	4	F	Black	24	8	M	Black
				25	2	F	Black	25	6	F	Black
				26	38	F	Black	26	4	F	Black
				27	15	M	Black	27	2	F	Black
				28	10	M	Black	28	25	F	Black
				29	8	F	Black	29	29	F	Black
				30	5	M	Black	30	21	F	Black
				31	3	F	Black	31	?	?	?
				32	38	F	Black	32	?	?	?
				33	?	?	Black	33	?	?	?
				34	?	?	?	34	?	?	?
				35	?	?	?	35	?	?	?
				36	?	?	?	36	?	?	?
				37	?	?	?				
				38	?	?	?				
				39	?	?	?				
				40	?	?	?				
				41	?	?	?				
				42	?	?	?				

Table 4.10: The 1850 enumeration for the Levi Jordan plantation with missing data

Without these assumptions, the schedule shows thirteen males aged twenty and over, one teenage male and eleven males ten and under. There are fifteen females aged twenty and over, three teenage females (ages thirteen to nineteen) and twenty one females eleven and under. Clearly the visible population of young males is half that of the population of young females and so we could assume that some of the missing information might be boys younger than eleven.

If we follow the pattern that appears to be established by the enumerator from previous entries and from Jordan's entry, we could expect to fill in page 39, column one with adult males between ages forty and twenty seven and the bottoms of columns two and three with a combination of females twenty and over, teenagers and those under age twelve. This would add fourteen males over twenty to the list and might fill in the thirty to forty age groups that are missing. There are sixteen females aged twenty and over for 52 records, a ratio of one female for every 3.25 person under twenty. Applying this ratio to the sixteen obscured records in columns two and three, we could estimate that there would be another four females in the obscured records and the rest of the records would be filled in by males and females under age twenty.

In her report, Freeman reports that there are forty-nine males and forty-six females but "the deteriorated condition of the 1850 slave schedule on microfilm" makes it difficult to determine age and sex for seven of them (Freeman, 2004:110). Brown has identified some of the missing records by a closer examination of the microfilm under magnification and lighting. Using his method, he identified a total of 134 enslaved with nineteen people aged twenty one to thirty five and those aged nineteen years and under compiling the largest percentage of the overall population of the Quarters (Brown, 2005a:8-9).

Applying the definition of children for antebellum times derived from the journal of Ambroise LeComte (II), there are at least thirty five children within the Levi Jordan Plantation Quarters as of the 1850 census. However, there could have been as many as sixteen additional children recorded within the missing records for a total of fifty one children living within the Quarters area, a number that fits with the number identified by Brown.

One way to find specific enslaved persons that were on the 1850 schedule and may be on the 1860 slave schedule is to forecast (by adding ten years to the age of each person) the population based on the 1850 slave schedule as if the same persons were represented. Given this forecast, inspect the 1860 schedule matching sex, age and race when you can, those that fall out should either be less than ten years old (were not alive at last enumeration) or were older at the 1850 enumeration possibly suggesting death . All others may have been bought and sold (www.census101.org/slave-schedule). The 1860 slave schedule for Jordan is not obscured and reveals our first possibly accurate picture of his enslaved population. The Table below (Table 4.11) is taken from this census and shows that the population is fairly even between males and females. There are now thirty three males aged twenty and over and twenty six females aged twenty and over. Teenagers (aged thirteen to nineteen) are fully represented with fourteen males and sixteen females. There are twenty four males aged twelve and under and twenty females aged twenty and under. Overall, there are 134 enslaved represented on the 1860 slave schedule, an increase of thirty nine enslaved from the ninety five represented on the 1850 schedule. There are thirty two enslaved that are listed as being nine years of age or under, so clearly they could make up part of the increase and five

enslaved listed as ten years of age that may or may not have been listed on the 1850 census depending on the date of their birthdays.

Males			Females		
55	Male	Black	55	Female	Black
55	Male	Black	55	Female	Black
55	Male	Black	53	Female	Black
54	Male	Black	52	Female	Black
51	Male	Black	48	Female	Black
50	Male	Black	48	Female	Black
48	Male	Black	45	Female	Black
48	Male	Black	45	Female	Black
46	Male	Black	43	Female	Black
46	Male	Black	43	Female	Black
46	Male	Black	41	Female	Black
46	Male	Black	41	Female	Black
44	Male	Black	40	Female	Black
44	Male	Black	39	Female	Black
44	Male	Black	36	Female	Black
42	Male	Black	36	Female	Black
42	Male	Black	35	Female	Black
40	Male	Black	34	Female	Black
40	Male	Black	34	Female	Black
39	Male	Black	32	Female	Black
38	Male	Black	32	Female	Black
38	Male	Black	29	Female	Black
36	Male	Black	28	Female	Black
34	Male	Black	25	Female	Black
30	Male	Black	21	Female	Black
30	Male	Black	20	Female	Mulatto
30	Male	Black	18	Female	Black
30	Male	Black	18	Female	Black
25	Male	Black	18	Female	Black
25	Male	Black	17	Female	Black
25	Male	Black	17	Female	Black
23	Male	Black	16	Female	Black
22	Male	Black	16	Female	Black
20	Male	Black	16	Female	Black
19	Male	Black	15	Female	Black
19	Male	Black	15	Female	Black
19	Male	Black	15	Female	Black
18	Male	Black	15	Female	Black
17	Male	Black	14	Female	Black
17	Male	Black	13	Female	Black
16	Male	Black	13	Female	Black
16	Male	Black	13	Female	Black
16	Male	Black	11	Female	Black
15	Male	Black	11	Female	Black
14	Male	Black	11	Female	Black
14	Male	Black	11	Female	Black
14	Male	Black	10	Female	Black
13	Male	Black	10	Female	Black

12	Male	Black		9	Female	Black
12	Male	Black		9	Female	Black
12	Male	Black		9	Female	Black
10	Male	Black		8	Female	Black
10	Male	Black		8	Female	Black
10	Male	Black		8	Female	Black
9	Male	Black		7	Female	Black
9	Male	Black		7	Female	Black
8	Male	Black		7	Female	Black
8	Male	Black		6	Female	Black
8	Male	Black		5	Female	Black
7	Male	Black		2	Female	Black
6	Male	Black		2	Female	Black
6	Male	Black		1	Female	Black
5	Male	Black				
4	Male	Black				
4	Male	Black				
3	Male	Black				
3	Male	Black				
2	Male	Black				
1	Male	Black				
1	Male	Black				
6 mo	Male	Black				
6 mo	Male	Black				

Table 4.11: showing Levi Jordan's 1860 enumeration of his enslaved. Children are highlighted in red.

If we assume that at least half of the ten year olds were part of the 1850 census, we can add three persons to the increase total so that the natural increase of the enslaved through births equals approximately thirty five persons. Given that the oldest recorded (and visible) males and females on the 1850 census were forty five years old and they are represented by the fifty five year olds listed below, we can see that Jordan would have had to have purchased around four enslaved to make up the increase of thirty nine enslaved persons we see between the two schedules. Obviously, Jordan could have sold and purchased equivalent age groups and that would not show up between the slave schedules. Freeman notes that Jordan had around 122 slaves in 1859 (according to Texas comptroller records) and had purchased approximately twelve more by 1860, possibly keeping some and selling others (Freeman, 2004:114). Looking at this listing, we see that at this time, Jordan owns sixty enslaved children (figure highlighted in red).

Since one addition to the 1860 slave schedules was a count of slave dwellings (figure 4.16) the schedule for Levi Jordan now shows twenty nine slave cabins. Brown notes that the quarters area only has twenty six cabins so the three missing ones could be the domestic cabins close to the main house (Jordan, 2013:chapter 5:6). The 1860 census for free persons of Brazoria County lists the Levi Jordan family consisting of eleven persons living on the plantation including children; James Calvin (J.C.) aged fifteen, Charles Philip McNeill aged fourteen, Emily Jordan McNeill aged eleven but will die in 1861, Mary Elizabeth McNeill aged eight but will die in 1861, William Archibald Campbell McNeill aged five and Elizabeth Mims aged eight. The Levi Jordan plantation was bordered by land owned by the Mims family and they are enumerated within the same couple of census pages as Levi Jordan.

on page 158 between Claiborne and Levi. The Table below (Table 4.12) lists all of the family units that appear between the two known residents. Claiborne and Isaac are highlighted in red.

Dwelling and Family		Name as of June, 1870	Age	Sex	Color	Profession	Place of Birth
1407	1407	HOLMES, CLAIBORNE	73	M	B	FARM LABORER	GA
		HOLMES HARRIET	44	M	B	KEEPS HOUSE	GA
		MO????	24	M	B	FARM LABORER	GA
		JULIA	22	F	B	FARM LABORER	GA
		CLAIBORNE	18	M	B	FARM LABORER	TX
1408	1408	CARTER, CHARLES	57	M	B	FARM LABORER	GA
		CARTER, AGNES	50	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	GA
1409	1409	WILLIAMS, WILLIAM	41	M	B	FARM LABORER	MIS
		WILLIAMS, MARIE	39	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	TX
		GEORGIANA	18	F	B	AT HOME	MIS
		JEFF	12	M	B	AT HOME	MIS
		PRINCE	9	M	B	AT HOME	MIS
		COMODORE	7	M	B	AT HOME	MIS
		WILLIAM	8/12	M	B	AT HOME	TX
Page 157							
1410	1410	HODGE, JOSEPH	17	M	B	FARM LABORER	LOU
1411	1411	GRACO, AARON	22	M	B	FARM LABORER	LOU
		GRACO, SALLIE	18	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	ALA
		HORACE	2	M	B	AT HOME	TX
		HANNAH	6/12	F	B	AT HOME	TX
1412	1412	GAIND, (GAINS?) GEORGE	37	M	B	FARM LABORER	ALA
		GAIND, CAROLINE	35	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	ALA
		FANNIE	8	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		EUIELY	7	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		MARCUS	5	M	B	AT HOME	TX
1413	1413	MINOR, SAMUEL	36	M	B	FARM LABORER	N. CA
		MINOR, POLLY	31	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	LOU
		SAMUEL	4	M	M	AT HOME	TX
		CHARLES	2	M	M	AT HOME	TX
1414	1414	LEWONS, ELY	34	M	B	FARM LABORER	MS
		LEWONS, LILA	18	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	TX

		LIZZIE	2	F	B	AT HOME	TX
1415	1415	MACS (?), JULIA	14	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	N. CA
		PEGGY	20	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		DELLA	13	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		LAVINIA	11	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		NARCISSA	8	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		LEWIS	7	M	B	AT HOME	TX
		PATZY	3/12	F	B	AT HOME	TX
1416	1416	AUSTIN, HENRY	26	M	B	FARM LABORER	TX
		AUSTIN, EFFY	17	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	TX
1417	1417	HOLMES, ISAAC	54	M	B	FARM LABORER	N. CA
		HOLMES, SOPHY	56	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	GA OR VA
		CIELA	19	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		LAURA	17	F	B	AT HOME	TX
1418	1418	GREEN, JOHN	41	M	B	FARM LABORER	GA OR VA
		GREEN, FRANCIS	36	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	ALA
		JEFF	8	M	B		TX
		KATE	5	F	B		TX
		MILLE	3	F	B		TX
1419	1419	DOEK, HENRY	45	M	B	FARM LABORER	N.CA
		DOEK, BECKY	39	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	GA /VA
		ANTONY	17	M	B	AT HOME	TX
		JERRY	9	M	B		TX
		PATSY	7	F	B		TX
Page 158							
		MOSES, HENRY	2	M	B		TX
1420	1420	JONES, EDWARD	25	M	B	FARM LABORER	LOU
		JONES, GEORGE	22	M	B	FARM LABORER	LOU
1421	1421	FARISEL, NAT	43	M	B	FARM LABORER	GA OR VA
		FARISEL, MARTHA	27	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	ALA
		IKO	8	M	B		TX
		NAT	3	M	B		TX
1422	1422	MCNEIL, JOHN	54	M	B	CARPENTER	S. LEA
		MCNEIL, ABNER	18	M	B	FARM LABORER	TX
1423	1423	BOWERS, GEORGE	35	M	B	FARM LABORER	S. LEA
		BOWERS, EVELINE	31	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	ALA
		RICHARD	7	M	B		TX
		ZACH	4	M	B		TX

1424	1424	HARPER, BEN	41	M	B	FARM LABORER	ALA
		HARPER, BETSY	40	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	KY
		HARPER, MARTHA	26	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		HARPER, LAURA	19	F	B	AT HOME	TX
		SARAH	5	F	M		TX
		ALLEN	4	M	B		TX
		NAPOLEAN	1	M	B		TX
1425	1425	DAVIS, JEFF	23	M	B	FARM LABORER	ARK
1426	1426	WRIGHT, ROBERT	25	M	M	FARM LABORER	N.CA
		WRIGHT, FLORA	23	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	LOU
		CHARITY	6	F	B		TX
		ALEX	4	M	B		TX
		SAUCY	2	F	B		TX
1427	1427	HOLMES, GEORGE	26	M	B	FARM LABORER	LOU
		HOLMES, MARGARET	18	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	ALA
		ISAAC	1	M	B		TX
1428	1428	BURTE, ELLIS	58	M	B	FARM LABORER	KY
		BURTE, SARAH	41	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	KY
		LUCIE	1	F	B		TX
1429	1429	TAYLOR, GEORGE	51	M	B	FARM LABORER	MO
		TAYLOR, MAHOLY	22	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	LOU
		CATHERINE	5	F	B		TX
		GEORGE	3	M	B		TX
		FANNIE	6/12	F	B		TX
1430	1430	GREEN, GEORGE	24	M	B	FARM LABORER	TX
		GREEN, SARAH	25	F	B	KEEPS HOUSE	TX
		SIDNEY	8	M	B		TX
Page 159							
		FRANCIS	13	M	B	AT HOME	TX
1431	1431	JORDAN, LEVI	76	M	W	FARMER	N. CA
		JORDAN, SALLIE	78	F	W	KEEPS HOUSE	N.CA
		MCNEEL, EMILY	50	F	W	AT HOME	ALA
		MCNEEL, CALVIN	25	M	W	FARMER	LOU
		MCNEEL, WILLIAM	2	M	W	AT SCHOOL	TX
		MARTIN, WILLIAM	2	M	W		TX
		STANGER, ROBERT	28	M	W	FARM MANAGER	ENGL AND
1432	1432	MCNEEL, CHARLES	23	M	W	AT HOME	LOU
		RAE, STEPHEN	43	M	W	PHYSICIAN	ALA
		MCOLLOUGH, JOHN	24	M	W	FARM LABORER	ALA
		JACKSON, KATE	10	F	W	AT HOME	TX

Table 4.12: This Table lists all of the family units that appear between the two known residents within the Levi Jordan Plantation Quarters area. Claiborne and Isaac are highlighted in red.

This listing shows that there are approximately twenty four families with forty five children (now defined as those without an occupation) residing within the tenant former Quarters as per this census. This calculation is derived from counting the dwellings and families listed between the Claiborne Holmes and Levi Jordan families. The count includes Claiborne Holmes' family but not Levi Jordan's family as Levi's family is assumed to be living in the big house at this time. One entry shows Julia, aged fourteen with an occupation of "KEEPS HOUSE", she is counted as an adult for purposes of this thesis.

In 1873 Levi Jordan died so that during the rest of the 1870s, the plantation was divided between his heirs, Emily McNeill, Sarah Jordan and his three grandsons, Charles P. McNeill, James Calvin McNeill and William Archibald McNeill. For most of the 1870s, C.P. and J.C. ran the plantation (William had not achieved majority) hiring freedmen (see below) and other laborers. It is possible that the former Quarters area during this time was occupied by some of these people. The 1880 enumeration is difficult to analyze using the previous method of looking for the big house residents and those that lived around it as occupancy of the big house is fluctuating due to among other factors, the death by gunshot wound of William Archibald McNeill the year before (Freeman, 2004:130). This is reflected in the 1880 census as the McNeills enumerated on pages 26 and 29 are not living in close proximity. Freeman writes that the McNeills and the Martin children were living in the big house until the property was rented to a Mr. Chin around 1880 (Freeman, 2004).

Other historical research has revealed possible residents of the Quarters area in the decades before and after the 1880 census. According to Freeman (Freeman, 2004) the names of the freedman laborers hired by the McNeill brothers were Henry Sibley, Walter Brown, Doc Hendricks, Charley Holmes, Promise McNeill, Maniel McNeill, Holland Sherman,

Jonathan Greenwood, George Holmes, Daniel Boxton, Isaac Holmes, painter W.H.J. Hoggarth and fence builder Clark Legly.

Brown has written about some of the occupants of the Quarters area. Mrs. Maholy Grice Taylor was married to George Taylor in 1867 and is listed on the 1870 census with her husband and three children (ages five, three and less than one) but by this 1880 census is a widow living alone. (Brown, 2013:39). Palatine Holmes Bivins was born into slavery on the plantation and is shown on the 1880 census with her husband Samuel Claiborne Holmes who possibly lived in Cabin 1-A-1. Nancy McNeill is living with John Adeline Lewis with five daughters and employed as a domestic servant. John Harrison is a school teacher (Brown, 2013). Below are the enumerations that show the possible tenants of the former Quarters area of the Levi Jordan Plantation including many of those mentioned above (figures 4.17 through 4.20).

Because it is difficult to tell which families were within the Quarters specifically at this time, a review of the census documents will produce only an estimation of the children. Any child who has an occupation or is listed as married will be counted as an adult. The count will start with page 41 and John Harrison and continue until the entry for Henry Sibley (known to be living in the Quarters) on page 44.

Page No. 41
 Supervisor's Dist. No. 5
 Enumeration Dist. No. 1

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SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in Precinct No. 1, in the County of Brazoria, State of Texas, enumerated by me on the 1st day of June, 1880.

John W. Moore

No.	Name	Age	Sex	Color	Profession, Occupation, or Trade	Place of Birth	Place of Birth of Father	Place of Birth of Mother
1	Mariah B. G.	25	W	W	Teacher	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
2	James John	10	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
3	James John	8	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
4	James John	6	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
5	James John	4	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
6	James John	2	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
7	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
8	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
9	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
10	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
11	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
12	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
13	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
14	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
15	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
16	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
17	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
18	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
19	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
20	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
21	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
22	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
23	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
24	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
25	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
26	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
27	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
28	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
29	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
30	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
31	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
32	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
33	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
34	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
35	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
36	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
37	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
38	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
39	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
40	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
41	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
42	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
43	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
44	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
45	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
46	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
47	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
48	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
49	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
50	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
51	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
52	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
53	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
54	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
55	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
56	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
57	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
58	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
59	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
60	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
61	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
62	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
63	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
64	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
65	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
66	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
67	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
68	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
69	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
70	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
71	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
72	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
73	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
74	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
75	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
76	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
77	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
78	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
79	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
80	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
81	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
82	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
83	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
84	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
85	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
86	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
87	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
88	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
89	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
90	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
91	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
92	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
93	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
94	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
95	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
96	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
97	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
98	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
99	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
100	James John	1	M	W	at school	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama

Figure 4.17: Page 41 of the 1880 Brazoria County, Precinct 1 Census showing the start of the listing of the possible tenants of the Quarters area at the Levi Jordan Plantation including Mariah Grice on line 29 and the Bivens family from lines 32 to 38 including Palatine, listed as a 29 year old wife, a 14 year old with a different last name listed as a white male and a domestic servant and Charles (12), Clifton (7) and Isaiah (5) Bivins. (U.S. Federal Census, 1880)

Page 41 lists starting with the school teacher at the top of the page, twenty six persons aged sixteen and under. However within this page, there are Samuel Homes a fourteen year old domestic servant and Matt Jasper aged 14 who is farm labor leading to an adjusted total of children of twenty four.

B. [7-206.1]

Page No. 42 Note A.—The Census Year begins June 1, 1879, and ends May 31, 1880.
 Supervisor's Dist. No. 5 Note B.—All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June, 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE
 Enumeration Dist. No. 1 June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.
 Note C.—Questions Nos. 13, 14, 22 and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.

SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in Precinct No 1, in the County of Brazoria, State of Texas
 enumerated by me on the June day of June, 1880.

Joe Haver Enumerator

No. in Family	Name	Sex	Age	Color	Marital Status	Profession, Occupation, or Trade	Place of Birth	Education	Religion	Place of Birth of Mother	Place of Birth of Father
538	Levi Jordan	M	51	W	Married	Owner	La	La	La	La	La
	Little	M	12	W	Single	at home	La	La	La	La	La
	William	M	10	W	Single	at school	La	La	La	La	La
	Ellen	M	5	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	Isaac	M	4	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	David	M	3	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
539	Wm. J. Jordan	M	25	W	Married	Owner	La	La	La	La	La
	Elizabeth	M	20	W	Married	at home	La	La	La	La	La
	Isaac	M	17	W	Single	at school	La	La	La	La	La
	Fanny	M	15	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	10	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	Lee	M	7	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
540	Combs	M	14	W	Single	at school	La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	13	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	12	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	11	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	10	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	9	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	8	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	7	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	6	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	5	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	4	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	3	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	2	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	1	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
541	John	M	10	W	Single	at school	La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	9	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	8	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	7	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	6	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	5	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	4	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	3	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	2	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	1	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
542	John	M	10	W	Single	at school	La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	9	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	8	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	7	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	6	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	5	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	4	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	3	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	2	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	1	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
543	John	M	10	W	Single	at school	La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	9	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	8	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	7	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	6	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	5	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	4	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	3	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	2	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La
	John	M	1	W	Single		La	La	La	La	La

NOTE 1.—In making entries in columns 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Figure 4.18: Page 42 of the 1880 Census for Brazoria County, Precinct 1 showing a continuation of the possible tenants of the Quarters area at the Levi Jordan Plantation including (U.S. Federal Census, 1880)

Page 42 contains forty three children at first glance, but subtracting for fifteen, thirteen and twelve year olds listed as "farm labor" (lines ten and thirteen, and forty four, respectively), the total is adjusted to equal forty children.

(7-296.)

Page No. 43
 Supervisor's Dist. No. 5
 Enumeration Dist. No. 1

Note A.—The Census Year begins June 1, 1870, and ends May 31, 1880.
 Note B.—All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June, 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.
 Note C.—Questions Nos. 13, 14, 22 and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.

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SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in Precinct No. 1, in the County of Brazoria, State of Texas
 enumerated by me on the 1st day of June, 1880.

J. W. H. H. H.

Name		Age	Sex	Color	Profession, Occupation, or Trade	Birth	Education	Native
1	Williams, Joseph	31	M	W	Farmer	1849		La
2	— Clara	28	F	W	Wife	1851		La
3	— Lucy	22	F	W	Daughter	1866		La
4	— Sarah	20	F	W	Daughter	1868		La
5	Capatie, Piggie	9	F	W	Dom. Serv.			La
6	— Lavinia	14	F	W	Dom. Serv.			La
7	— Henry	12	M	W	Farmer			La
8	— Hattie	10	F	W	Farmer			La
9	— John	8	M	W	Farmer			La
10	— Mary	7	F	W	Farmer			La
11	— William	6	M	W	Farmer			La
12	— Elizabeth	5	F	W	Farmer			La
13	— James	4	M	W	Farmer			La
14	— Mary	3	F	W	Farmer			La
15	— John	2	M	W	Farmer			La
16	— William	1	M	W	Farmer			La
17	— Elizabeth	1	F	W	Farmer			La
18	— James	1	M	W	Farmer			La
19	— Mary	1	F	W	Farmer			La
20	— John	1	M	W	Farmer			La
21	— William	1	M	W	Farmer			La
22	— Elizabeth	1	F	W	Farmer			La
23	— James	1	M	W	Farmer			La
24	— Mary	1	F	W	Farmer			La
25	— John	1	M	W	Farmer			La
26	— William	1	M	W	Farmer			La
27	— Elizabeth	1	F	W	Farmer			La
28	— James	1	M	W	Farmer			La
29	— Mary	1	F	W	Farmer			La
30	— John	1	M	W	Farmer			La
31	— William	1	M	W	Farmer			La
32	— Elizabeth	1	F	W	Farmer			La
33	— James	1	M	W	Farmer			La
34	— Mary	1	F	W	Farmer			La
35	— John	1	M	W	Farmer			La
36	— William	1	M	W	Farmer			La
37	— Elizabeth	1	F	W	Farmer			La
38	— James	1	M	W	Farmer			La
39	— Mary	1	F	W	Farmer			La
40	— John	1	M	W	Farmer			La
41	— William	1	M	W	Farmer			La
42	— Elizabeth	1	F	W	Farmer			La
43	— James	1	M	W	Farmer			La
44	— Mary	1	F	W	Farmer			La
45	— John	1	M	W	Farmer			La
46	— William	1	M	W	Farmer			La
47	— Elizabeth	1	F	W	Farmer			La
48	— James	1	M	W	Farmer			La
49	— Mary	1	F	W	Farmer			La
50	— John	1	M	W	Farmer			La

NOTE D.—In making entries in columns 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Figure 4.19: Page 43 of the 1880 Brazoria County, Precinct 1 census showing possible tenants of the Quarters area at the Levi Jordan Plantation including Claiborne and Hester Holmes (last two entries). (U.S. Federal Census, 1880)

Page 43 contains twenty two children based on age not counting entries for: Piggie Capatie a nine year old orphan and domestic servant (line five) and Lavinia a fourteen year old farm laborer (line twenty four).

Figure 4.20: Page 44 of the 1880 Census for Brazoria County, Precinct 1 showing possible tenants of the Quarters area at the Levi Jordan Plantation including continuing the entry of Claiborne and Hester Holmes showing the orphan girl living with them (line 1) and Henry Sibley, a person hired by the McNeill brothers (U.S. Census, 1880).

Page 44 contains fourteen children based on age not counting an entry for Carter on line one listed as a ten year old orphan and domestic servant. The estimated count of all of the

children within the Levi Jordan Plantation former Quarters area as seen on the above enumeration documents is around one hundred. Given the size of the Quarters area and estimations for previous censuses, this number appears to be high. It is possible that some of those listed were living elsewhere on the plantation or close to the plantation. What is apparent is that there were children living within the Quarters in 1880 and some of those children aged fifteen and younger were engaged in regular employment. The enumerator clearly makes a distinction for those school age children that are “at school” and those that are at home for some reason like eleven year old Hannah Grice who is listed as “none” under occupation with reason given as “dropsy”. For the Levi Jordan Plantation, there is a pattern that emerges when the children that are working are examined. Those ten and under are usually orphans employed as domestic servants and those from ages eleven to fourteen are listed under their parent’s names and are farm labor. The only exception to this rule is Samuel Holmes, listed as a domestic servant but as relationship appears to be listed as spouse’s son.

The 1880 census is the last census that lists the possible tenants of the Quarters area as historical and archaeological evidence has shown that by 1887, the former Quarters area of the Levi Jordan Plantation had been abandoned (Brown, 2013). Because the 1890 census documents were destroyed in a fire, only a few counties within Texas (Ellis, Hood, Kaufman, Rusk, and Trinity) have enumerations so the immediate movements of the former community members can not be tracked using this census. However, since the scope of this thesis does not include the movements of the children after they left the Quarters area, post 1887 research is not included within this document.

Section Two

One of the questions raised by this thesis asks if we can see a technological, temporal or gender delineation between toys identified as being played with by enslaved children and those identified as being played with by emancipated children. In order to answer that question, this section will contain a brief overview and gender assignment of the toys and school related artifacts found at the Levi Jordan Plantation and identification, seriation and gender assignment of all the toys and school related artifacts recovered from Magnolia Plantation. As noted in chapter two, toys can be classified into three categories; those that are defined primarily as a toy or an item commonly associated with children in studies of the material culture of childhood, those items that originally were intended for adult use but may have been incorporated or reused as a play object such as bottle stoppers or bailing wire reformed into farming miniatures and those artifacts whose primary purpose may have been as a toy but entered the material record as something else such as a doll used as a ritual object. Most toys will fall into the first category; those that fall into the second and third category will be examined on an individual basis.

The Levi Jordan Plantation

Excavations at the Levi Jordan Plantation stretched through fourteen field seasons starting in 1986 and ending in 2002. Over that time, 236 five foot by five foot excavation units and 266 one foot by one foot test excavation units were dug. Out of these units an estimated 600,000 artifacts were recovered. (Brown, 2013: chapter 6, page 2). Brown notes that most toys were found within the footprints of residential cabins with cabin II-B-2 having

the highest number of total toys and cabins 1-A-1b and 1-A-1a having the lowest number of total toys (Brown, 2013: chapter 6).

Archaeological research has shown that the presence of marbles indicates the presence of children as they were intended to be children's toys and with few exceptions were utilized as children's toys (Randall 1971, 1986; Carskadden et al 1985). Overall, 76 marbles were recovered from the site including 42 ceramic, thirteen glass and 21 lithic (Table 4.13). Generally, the oldest marbles were hand made of stone or low fired clay commonly

Cabin	Decorated Ceramic	Plain Ceramic	Glass	Lithic	Cabin Total
I-A-1(Praise House)	2	1		1	4
I-A-2 (Elders cabin)			1	1	2
I-B-1	1	2			3
I-B-2	1		1		2
I-B-3 (Carvers cabin)	12	8	2	5	27
II-A-1 (Quilters cabin)	2				2
II-A-2				1	1
II-A-4			1	1	2
II-B-1 (Curers cabin)	3	2	1	5	11
II-B-2 (Munitions Makers/hunters cabin)	2	1	4	1	8
II-B-3 (seamstress' cabin)	2		1	3	6
III-A-2				1	1
IV-B-2	2			1	3
Yard		1	1	1	3
Main House			1		1
Totals	27	15	13	21	76

Table 4.13: Distribution of the 76 marbles recovered during the excavations into the cabins within the Jordan Quarters (adapted from Brown, 2013: chapter six, I have added descriptive terms to cabin numbers).

called “commies” and can date from prehistoric times up until the 20th century. Ceramic marbles were popular during the 19th century because they were cheap and widely available. The earliest glass marbles in the United States were hand blown and imported from Germany; they can be identified by rough marks at either pole called pontil marks that were created during production of the marble. Generally hand blown marbles date between 1840 and 1920 but they were expensive and so are less popular in artifact assemblages for 19th century sites than cheaper ceramic marbles. With the advent of the marble making machine

in the early 1900s, machine made glass marbles became easily available, cheaper and more popular than hand blown glass and ceramic marbles. They can be identified by the lack of pontil marks, type and color of core and surface decoration. During the twentieth century the appearance of machine made glass marbles evolved and changed from a clear two colored core (1902 and later), to a three colored core (1926 and later) to a Cat's eye core (1952 and later). For more on the history and dating of marbles, see Appendix B, seriation of marbles.

Two datable marbles discovered at the Levi Jordan Plantation are pictured below (figure 4.21). The marble on the left is an example of a hand blown "Indian" (any glass marble with a black glass base, erroneously thought to have been manufactured in India) marble with a pontil mark recovered from the Levi Jordan plantation. Generally colored glass hand blown marbles date from the 1890s to the 1920s but this one has an applied glass overlay that obscures the core and base glass color and may date to the middle of the 19th century. The marble on the right does not display pontil marks and may be an example of an Akro patch opaque early machine made marble from the early 20th century. According to Brown (Brown, 2013, chapter six), the marble on the left was "one of the more deeply buried marbles" and the marble on the right was found in the back yard of the main house.



Figure 4.21: Two marbles recovered from the Levi Jordan plantation. The marble on the left has a pontil mark the one on the right does not. Adapted from (Brown, 2013: chapter 6)

Excavations also uncovered a number of porcelain high fired white paste marbles known as "Chinas". Some of the earliest and most commonly seen decorations are three

different colored intersecting parallel lines that create a checkered motif (1850s) while some of the rarer and later decorations date to the 1880s and later and belong to the flower and bull's-eye categories (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:61). The picture below (figure 4.22) shows a sample of those found at the site, we can see examples of most of the common types including the checkered motif probably dating to the mid 1800s (top left, bottom center) and the flowered and bullseye motifs (middle top, middle right, bottom right and bottom left) probably dating to the 1880s (Table 4.14). (For more information on China marbles, see Appendix B)



Figure 4.22: Six ceramic “China” marbles found at the Jordan site showing a wide range of types and dates. Adapted from (Brown, 2013: Chapter six).

Decorative motif	Count
No visible decoration	15
Decorated solid bullseye	2
Decorated donut bullseye	4
Decorated banded	15
Decorated flower	3
Decorated unknown	1

Table 4.14: Breakdown of China Marble types found at the Levi Jordan Plantation by decorative motif. Many of these types of marbles appear to have no decoration but were originally decorated. The process to create the marble does not always result in a permanent design. (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:61)

Cabin II-B-2 (munitions makers cabin) contained the widest variety of toys out of the excavated cabins within the Quarters including a metal toy identified as being patented in 1879 and a small miniature metal trivet (figure 4.23) that due to its size is interpreted as an item intended to be used by a child.



Figure 4.23: Small metal trivet found in Cabin II-B-2. It measures only 3.5 inches long. Picture adapted from (Brown, 2013, chapter six)

Cabin II-B-1 (curer's cabin) contained the curers' kit found beneath the floorboards of the cabin. The kit contained a collection of items in close contextual relationship with each other including a small animal's paw, cubes of white chalk, at least two stacked cast iron kettle basis, fragments of mirrored glass, several patent medicine bottles, pieces of a thermometer, two chipped stone scrapping tools, a small iron ring and concave metal disk and a small porcelain doll (below, taken from Brown, 2013:26-27). Other artifacts recovered from the cabin included an assortment of items contained within what remained of a small box or chest including a ceramic platter from a child's set of toy dishes (figure 4.24), a man's watch chain and a large ceramic marble. Also found within the cabin were four buried chickens. Historic research showed that this cabin may have been the residence of Maholy Grice Taylor (see section one of this chapter) who had a husband and children in the 1870 census but by 1880 is listed as a widow with no children. The box and the chickens may have been intentionally placed by Maholy as a protection against the possible malevolent spirits of her departed loved ones (Brown, 2013:39-40).

The small porcelain doll recovered as part of the curer's kit (figure 4.25), is an example of a toy belonging to category three (see paragraph one). Originally made to be used by a child, it was intentionally placed within the framework of a ritual kit for a purpose that appears to be something other than play. The context for the doll seems to indicate that

its primary purpose for its owner was as part of this ritual kit and therefore it will be analyzed separately from those toys in groups one or two. In other words, it will not be used to indicate male or female children within the household or assigned a gender association.

It could also be argued that the small platter and marble also belong in this third category. As noted above, Brown has hypothesized that they may have belonged to the



Figure 4.24: Small ceramic platter from a child's set of dishes found in Cabin II-B-1 in close association with a large marble and a man's watch chain. Possibly belonging to the one of the deceased children of Maholy Grice Taylor.



Figure 4.25: Small porcelain doll found in the ritual kit placed beneath the floor of Cabin II-B-1.

deceased children of Maholy Grice Taylor and were placed within a box, under a window to protect against malevolent spirits. If this is the case, the platter and the marble belong in category one (primarily a toy) but also in category three (toy used as a ritual item). First, they were probably played with by the children in the house (category one) but after the children were gone, they were retained by the adult and used for a ritual purpose. There is also another explanation; Maholy may have placed the toys along with the man's watch chain into the box as nothing more than mementos. Because we can not be sure if the items were played with before ending up in the box, the platter and the marble will be assumed to be an

item whose primary purpose was that of a toy. They will be assigned to a gender, in this case the marble to a boy and the platter to a girl.

The marbles, metal objects and porcelain items that have been found at the Levi Jordan Plantation indicate that both male and female children were within the Quarters area. It has been argued that miniatures of household items were intended for females, marbles and metal toys in general were for males (Andrade Lima, 2012; Baxter, 2005; Romero, 2008). For purposes of this thesis, the marbles at the Levi Jordan plantation are assumed to indicate the presence of males and the small trivet and platter as household miniature items will be used to assume a female child. Some replica guns were also found but not detailed above, they will also be used to indicate male children. Illustration 4.1 is a graphical illustration of the Quarters area by block and cabin. Table 4.15 below is a synopsis of the toys found within some of the excavated cabins with their gender assignment (see methodology chapter three) and demographic information, if known.

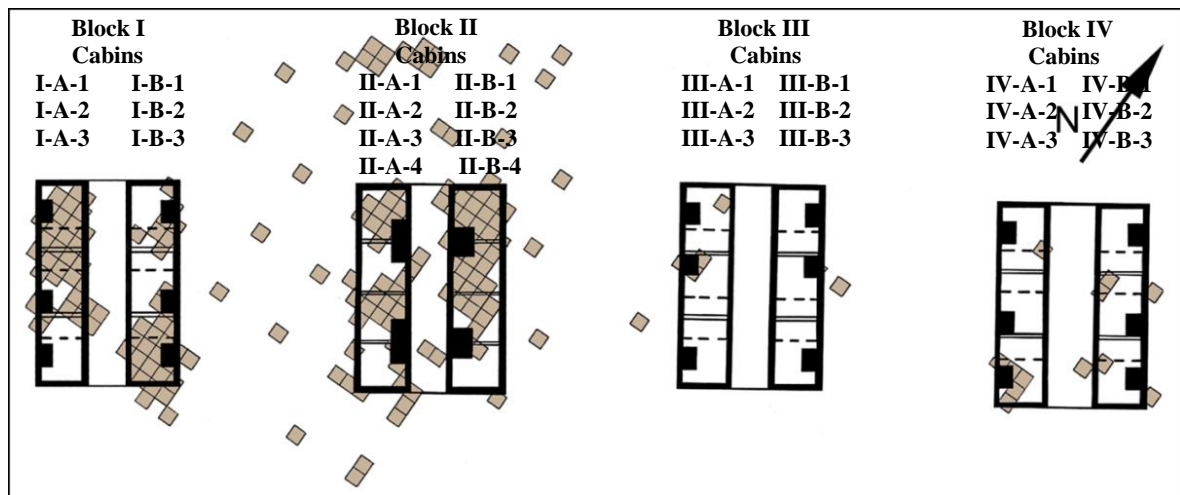


Illustration 4.1: Units dug within the Levi Jordan Plantation quarters. Cabins are enumerated by block, row within block and then cabin within row (adapted from Brown, 2013)

Cabin enumeration	Name given as per interpretation	General artifacts and notes	Toys found	Gender assignment	Known demographic information
I-A-1	Praise House/Church	Many ritual deposits	Marbles, 1 lithic and 3 ceramic	Male	
I-A-2	Elder's cabin	Had moved hearth, Fly whisk	Marbles, 1 ceramic and 1 glass	Male	
I-B-1		Possible kiln beneath structure. Did have a chipped stone tool			
I-B-3	Carver's cabin	Carver's kit including cameo	Marbles, 27 all types	Male	
II-A-1	Quilter's cabin	Thimbles with end cut off	Porcelain doll	Female	
II-A-2			Marble, 1 lithic	Male	
II-A-3		Bridle bits and shells			
II-A-4			Marbles, 1 glass and 1 lithic	Male	
II-B-1	Curer's cabin	Curer's kit and other ritual deposits including coins dated to 1853 and 1858	Marbles, 11 all types; Platter from child's tea set, large marble, doll in kit	Male and female	Maholy Grice Taylor, children died between 1870 and 1880
II-B-2	Munitions makers cabin		Marbles, 8 all types; Lots of toys including porcelain and bisque doll parts, porcelain dog, trivet, pistols, marbles, wagon wheels toy guns and one with patent 1879, political toys chapter three, page 48	Male and female	
II-B-3	Seamstress' cabin	Had chain wrapped around brick in wall Multiple sewing artifacts different kinds but not higher amount	Marbles, 6 all types;	Male	According to the existing plantation ledgers from the 1870s and the 1880 Federal census the seamstress who occupied this cabin appears to have been

					Adeline Lewis, a single mother with five young female children
III-A-2		Not occupied at abandonment	Marble: 1 lithic	Male	
IV-B-2			Marbles, 2 ceramic 1 lithic; bisque doll fragment	Male and female	

Table 4.15: The Table below is a synopsis of the toys found within some of the excavated cabins with their gender assignment (see methodology chapter three) and demographic information, if known.

In addition to toys, school related artifacts including slate pieces, slate pencils and carbon pencils are important to this study of children. As discussed in chapter two, the Levi Jordan Plantation had a unique archaeological record that was interpreted as an abandonment layer. However, cabin 1-A-1 did not contain a similar abandonment layer. Instead the older lower levels showed evidence that at some point in its life it was a domestic residence but the higher newer levels indicated that by the time the Quarters were abandoned, its function was something else. Although slate pieces (figure 4.26) and slate pencils (figure 4.27) were



Figure 4.26: A photograph of two of the slate boards recovered during excavations at the Levi Jordan Plantation Quarters. Many of these fragments had lines and other drawings on both of their flat surfaces. Adapted from (Brown, 2013:chapter 6)



Figure 4.27: A photograph of a small sample of the slate pencils recovered from the Levi Jordan Plantation Quarters. Adapted from (Brown, 2013: chapter 6)

found throughout the Quarters area and even by the big house they were found in greater frequencies in the highest sub-floor levels of cabin 1-A-1. This material evidence combined with historical research led to the formation of a hypothesis that for the period of its occupancy this cabin had served at least partly as a school.

Seven of the excavated cabins with the Levi Jordan former Quarters area contained only male designated toys, these were cabins III-A-2, II-A-4, II-A-2, Seamstress' cabin, carver's cabin, elder's cabin, and praise house/church and for most of these cabins, census data indicates that both male and female children may have lived there. But for Cabin II-B-3, the Seamstress' cabin census data dated to 1880 seems to indicate that Adeline (Adaline) Lewis lived there with her five female children (Brown, 2013). The combination of only male designated toys some of them dated to 1879 combined with census and historical data possibly indicating that the cabin was occupied by all female children at this time could demonstrate that gender delineation is not supported for the Levi Jordan Plantation Quarters. Another explanation for the lack of female toys might be that the cabin was not occupied by Adeline Lewis in 1880 but by Nancy and John McNeill and a nine year old adopted boy named McFearson Freeman. In the 1870 Census, Nancy is listed as a seamstress living in Brazoria city (U.S. Federal Census, 1870) but by 1880 she is living in the quarters with John. If the cabin belonged to a seamstress (Brown, 2013), it could possibly have belonged to Nancy and John not Adeline and so the toy assemblage could affirm gender delineation.

Magnolia Plantation

Cabin 1

Cabin 1 is a double roomed cabin at the most south and west spot on the rows of cabins within the Magnolia Plantation Quarters area. At least twenty four units were opened within the cabin, fourteen in the north room and ten in the south room. For most of its life, the cabin was used as a residence but there is also oral historical evidence that during the 1950s to 1960s, it was also a place for gambling. During excavations, Brown's team recovered a Hoyt's Nickel Cologne bottle from a unit directly in front of a door on the east wall of the north room that appeared to have been intentionally buried in a shallow hole. This bottle was interpreted as a way to steal the luck of those that may have passed over it into the back room to gamble (Brown, 2006:13-18). Also, in the south room in unit 2133E/2565N, a small hand carved die was recovered and may be possible evidence of gambling (figure 4.28).



Figure 4.28: Small hand carved die found within cabin 1. Note the irregular placement of the three.

Generally, the inside of the cabin displayed a higher frequency of artifacts than the yard spaces surrounding it (Brown, 2005b:19) and this was also true of the toys recovered. The artifacts within the cabin were affected by a post depositional process; at least a half foot of soil had been removed at some point between the initial excavations by Bennie Keel and the excavations by Brown's team by the NPS in its attempt to reconstruct and support new wooden floors (Brown, 2006: 7-8). Toys and artifacts recovered from outside exhibited a pattern of clustering in areas defined by fence lines or under raised porch areas. Both Cole

and Brown proposed that one explanation for this is the habit of sweeping yard spaces; any dropped artifacts would be swept away from the activity areas to the outlying or fence areas (Brown, 2005b:19; Cole, 2013). See drawing below for units dug within and around the cabin (Illustration 4.2).

CABIN 1 UNITS DUG

- Full units are 3 foot by 3 foot and indicated by East and North corner
 Test units are 1 foot by 1 foot, no numeric indication given on this map due to space restrictions

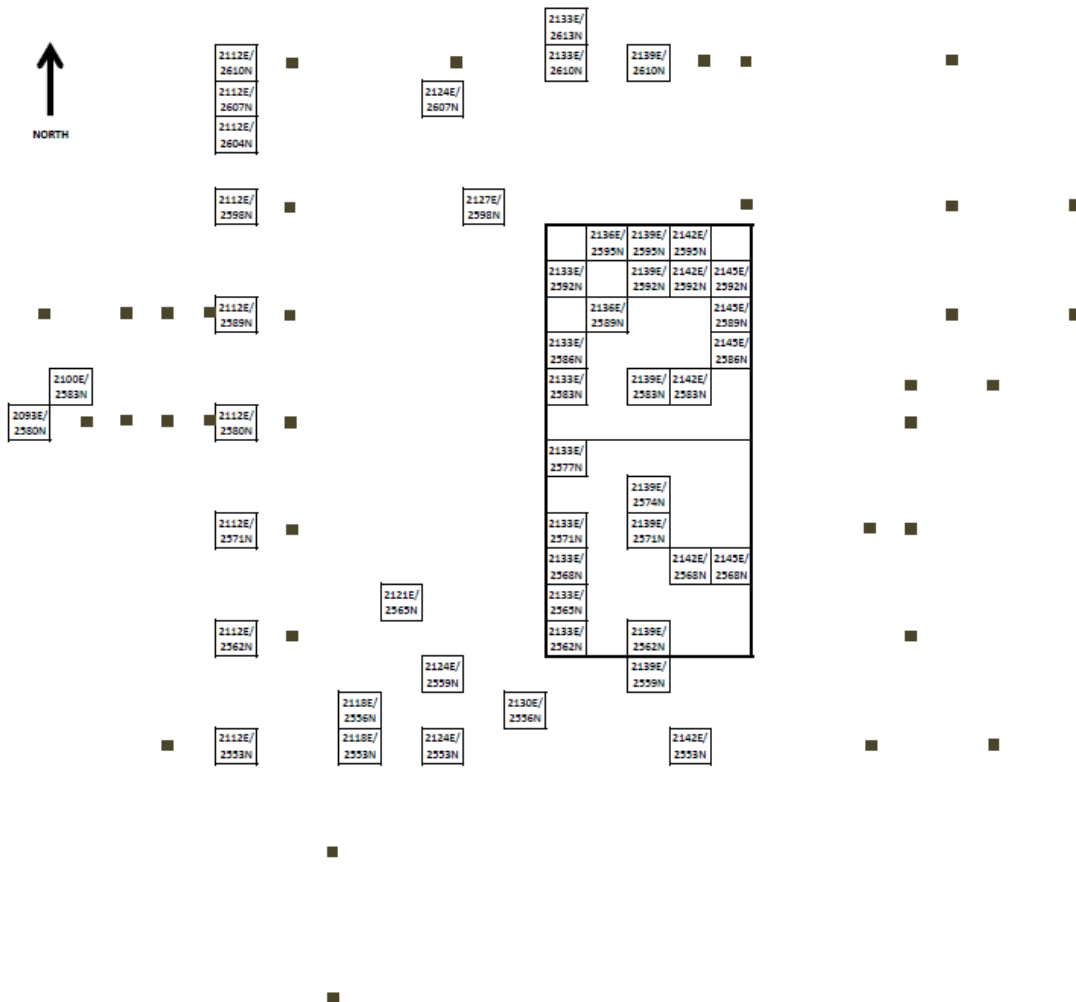


Illustration 4.2: Graphical picture of excavation units in and around Cabin 1, not to scale.

Porcelain and Dolls

Within the cabin the following dolls pieces were recovered: a small porcelain fragment within the north room just northeast of the hearth and a small ceramic doll foot wearing a brown shoe and textured stockings about 5/8 inches long but broken with a foot length of 4/8 of an inch long within the south room just south of the pit feature. No matching pieces to these dolls were recovered within any of the excavated units. In the yard area, the only items identified as bisque or porcelain were recovered from the southwest yard area. Considering that over 23 full units and over 39 test units were dug in the areas on all sides of this cabin, the lack of doll pieces is worth noting but fits within the pattern of the low frequency of all artifacts within this area (Brown, 2005b:19). Brown noted a mottled yard deposit that wherever found was at a relatively consistent elevation across the site (Brown 2005b:17). Bricks and nails were higher above this surface while ceramics were at lower elevations. In unit 2112/2553 located at the far west corner of the yard, three pieces of porcelain possibly belonging to a doll were discovered in levels 7 and 8, fully beneath the yard deposit possibly indicating an earlier date. The other doll parts were at higher levels and consisted of a small bisque fragment in unit 2124/2559 just off the south corner of the porch and a plastic doll leg in unit 2121/2565.

Plastic toys

Twenty five plastic toys or plastic jewelry pieces interpreted as possible play things were found in and around cabin 1. A lot of these items could be classified as bubble gum machine favors or Cracker Jack toys. All of these items would probably date to the 1940s and later when plastic became widely available as no items were identified as the earlier form of plastic called Bakelite dated to the early 1900s. Cracker Jack began putting prizes into their boxes in 1912 but the plastic forms of these prizes did not start until the 1940s

(www.crackerjackcollectors.com). The yard spaces around the cabin contained six of these plastic toys; a complete red jack was surface collected from the porch and a plastic whistle was found in the far north yard. The other plastic toys were pieces of costume jewelry. There were eighteen plastic toys or pieces of plastic toys collected from within the cabin, a ratio of two to one when compared with those found outside the cabin. Most of these were recovered from the north room and as expected for plastic were found within the higher levels of the artifact assemblage indicating a more modern date. No plastic toys were found in the units directly against the north wall of the north room possibly indicating that the post depositional process as discussed above had removed these artifacts or that a piece of furniture or some other item had been placed against this wall blocking the loss of these small items.

Within the plastic toys, there was a mix of those that could have belonged to a boy and those that could have belonged to a girl. As discussed before, dolls and miniature household items would be assumed to have belonged to a female child. Most of the plastic items recovered were either costume jewelry pieces or bubblegum / Cracker Jack favors. The jewelry pieces will be assumed to have belonged to a girl but the bubblegum /Cracker Jack favors will be considered gender neutral due to the randomness of how they are acquired. A more detailed discussion of gender assignment is at the end of this chapter. Appendix E contains a listing of all of these toys by gender assignment and cabin.

Metal Toys

Two metal toys were found in and around Cabin1. The first was found in unit 2112E/2553N in the southwest yard area and was a part of a toy gun. The second was a small cast iron pot interpreted as being a toy due to its size and was found in unit

2133E/2562N located in the southwestern corner of the south pen. As discussed in chapter three, metal items are often associated with boys and for the artifact assemblage of toys within Magnolia plantation, this appears to be true. Most metal items recovered are replica guns and soldiers. However, the small metal pot will be assigned to a female gender as it is a miniature of a household item.

Marbles

There were twenty one ceramic marbles recovered from in and around Cabin 1. Fourteen were found in the south room, four in the north room and three in the yard areas around the cabin. The ceramic marbles were with one exception found in the units at the edges of the rooms, the exception being the unit directly in front of the hearth in the south room. With two exceptions, they were discovered in the higher layers of the deposit possibly indicating that they had had been swept into the cracks in the wooden floor or between the wooden floor and surrounding walls. The first exception was a marble found within the pit feature in unit 2133E/2568N at level six, it is a 5/8 inch handmade stone marble with remains of what may be decoration on its surface (figure 4.29) and the second was a marble found in unit 2133E/2562N excavated in the most southwest corner of the south room of the cabin. This marble was discovered in level five; it appears to be a 4/8 inch handmade marble. Located in the same unit at level four was an opaque oxblood marble often attributed to an early machine maker called Akro Agate marble company dating to 1914 and later (figure 4.30).



Figure 4.29:
To the left is a
handmade
stone marble
found in
Cabin 1. It
has faded
decoration

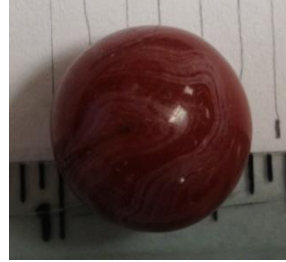


Figure 4.30:
To the left
is an
Opaque
Oxblood
marble
found in
Cabin 1

There were 63 glass marbles found in or around Cabin 1. As noted in Appendix B, clear marbles began to be made by German manufacturers and imported into the United States in the mid 19th century. Most of these had light colored multiple helix cores with rough maker's marks on either pole called pontil marks. Machine made marbles began to be made in the early 1900s, the earliest tried to mimic agate marbles and were opaque with surface designs but later clear marbles with two colored cores became popular. By 1926, a process to create three or more colored cores had been perfected and these types of marbles began to be available. Marbles with a distinctive core that looks like a cat's eye were not created until 1952 and so will date no earlier than then. Out of the 63 glass marbles, only six of them were recovered from units outside of the cabin, four of the six were opaque and two were clear or colored glass. One of these marbles collected as a surface collection from the porch area was an opaque brightly colored 9/16 inch yellow marble in close association with a red plastic jack. Solid colored marbles are often called ballot box marbles as the black and white versions were used for voting, bright colors were often used in board games like Chinese checkers with the 9/16 inch size being the most common. This marble was probably part of a game like Chinese checkers and would date no earlier than 1892 (figure 4.31). See appendix B for a seriation of marbles.



Figure 4.31: Example of a marble nicknamed a “ballot box” from its solid coloration. Due to its solid color and size of 9/16 inch, it was probably used in a board game like Chinese checkers and is probably dated no earlier than the 1892.

Cabin 3

Cabin three is a double roomed cabin and the second cabin from the North end of the site in the first row of extant cabins. Cabin 4 sits directly to its North but the cabin directly to its south is not standing anymore. Like all of the cabins, it was originally built as two non-joining rooms but at some point in its history, a connecting door was created between the two rooms and additions were added to the back of the cabin. Currently, the door is still there but all additions and the front porch are missing from the cabin. Cabin three and its surrounding yard spaces were the focus of a master’s thesis by Stephanie Cole (Cole, 2013). For consistency, her definition of the total area and units excavated associated with this cabin will be used. Cole defined a total of 48 standard three foot square units and 43 one foot square test units within the interior of the cabin and its associated yard space (Illustration 4.3).

Porcelain and dolls

Thirty five pieces of porcelain or bisque were recovered from around cabin 3. There were no known bisque doll parts recovered from inside the cabin. Most pieces were recovered from the yard area north of cabin 3 between cabins 3 and 4 within the areas dug as indicated by the most northern part of illustration 4.3. Unit 2154E/2979N had 3 pieces of bisque with a light flesh tone on one side that appear to be related and units 2156E/2975N

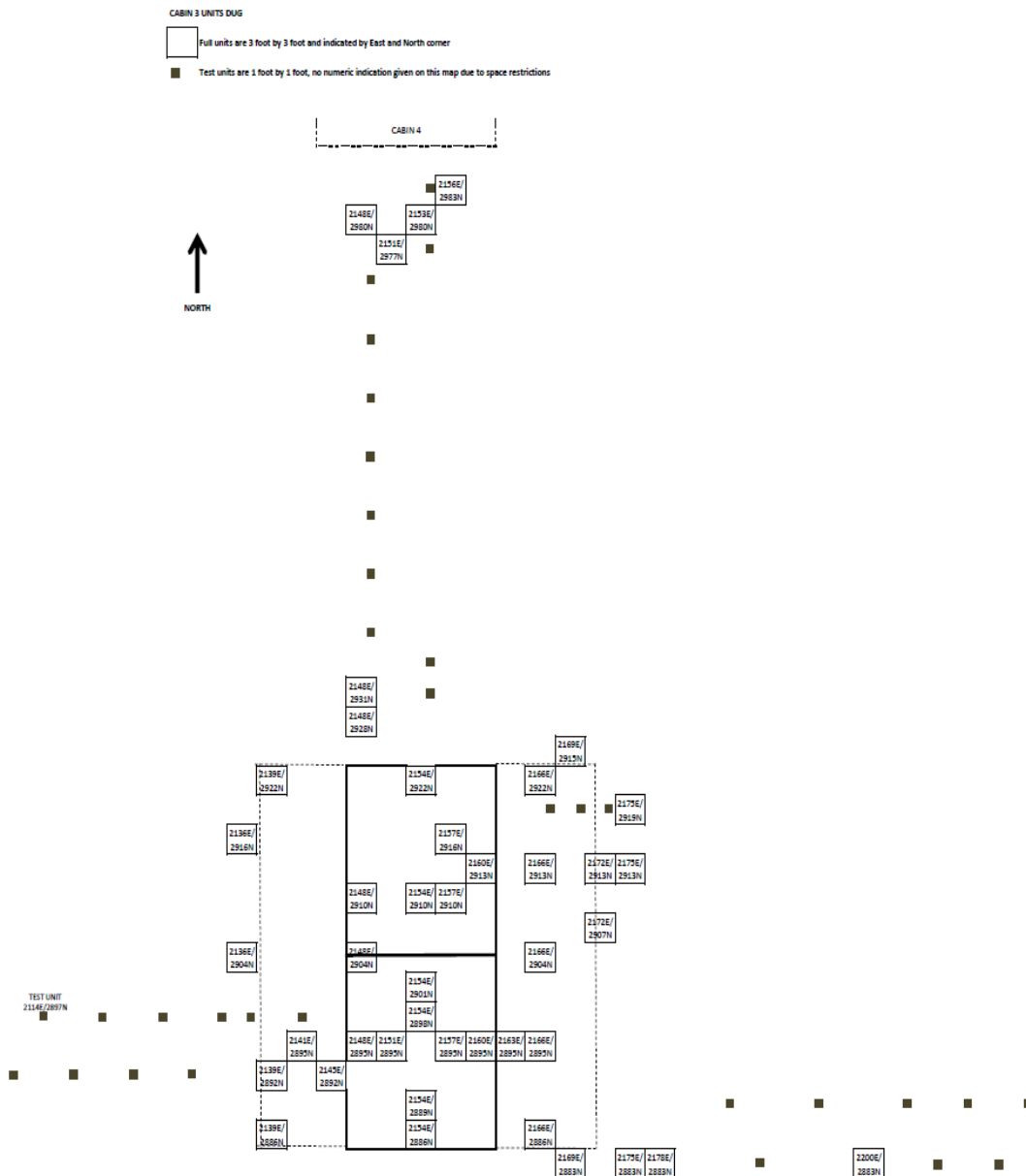


Illustration 4.3: Units dug in Cabin 3 and associated units including far northern yard between cabins 3 and 4. Dotted lines to the West and East of the cabin indicate the porch and addition, respectively.



Figure 4.32: Pieces of bisque from units 2156E/2975N and 2148E/2979N that appear to be related. All of the pieces have a lip detail and similar paste and glaze.

In two units there appeared to be matching legs to the same doll, unit 2148E/2979N and unit 2151E/2976N but on further inspection, they are not related, one has a sharp v shape for its instep and smooth stockings while the other has a smoother instep and textured stockings (see figure 4.33). Overall, the artifact assemblage in this area indicates that at least three dolls and one possible doll or pitcher existed. As mentioned in the discussion on cabin 1 and Appendix A, porcelain dolls were relatively expensive items to own as most were imported from Germany. Earlier dolls had heads and limbs made out of shiny porcelain with fabric bodies but by the 1880s, heads and limbs were being made out of bisque. Because they are ceramic the heads and limbs are often the only things that survive in the material record. These doll pieces probably date from the middle to late 1800s. They are gender specific to girls as discussed in chapter three, see discussion at end of this chapter and Appendix E for a more detailed analysis of toys recovered from Magnolia plantation and their gender assignments.



Figure 4.33: Two doll feet found within the north yard area of cabin 3. Although similar in appearance, closer inspection shows that they come from two different dolls.

Plastic Toys

Around and within Cabin 3 were twenty four plastic toys, five were found in the east yard mostly under the addition, six were found in the west yard area, three were in the north room and ten were found in the south room. Fifteen of the plastic artifacts may have been either bubble gum or Cracker Jack favors, many of these had attached loops possibly to be used as charms (Figure 4.34). Because they are acquired through the purchase of a box of Cracker Jack or from a machine and because the consumer cannot choose which favor he/she obtains, these items for purposes of this study are considered to be playthings of both boys and girls. Some plastic items appear to be game pieces or individual play pieces. One



Figure 4.34: Three bubble gum or Cracker Jack plastic “charms” found within and around Cabin 3. The item on the left is an imitation compass, the center item is either a bullet or a plastic lipstick and the item on the right is a small boat. All three items have a loop attached.

of these is a plastic ship that appears to be a model of a 1950s era passenger ship (Figure

4.35). Any item identified as belonging to a game will be considered gender neutral but any item such as a miniature household item or small gun will be gender identified.



Figure 4.35: Plastic toy ship found in the south room of cabin 3 by the connecting door between the north and south rooms.

Metal Toys

Four metal toys were found in and around cabin 3. Within the cabin was a partial metal jack located in unit 2154E/2898N directly in front of the hearth. Another metal jack was recovered from the North yard in unit 2154E/2979N. Two remnants of metal soldiers and one complete metal soldier were also recovered within the yard spaces of the cabin, the complete soldier south of the cabin and the other pieces north of the cabin. These toys have been assigned to a male gender as discussed in chapter two.

Marbles

Only one ceramic marble was found within the cabin walls and only two were found in the yard areas of the cabin. The two outside marbles were made of dark crumbly clay and could possibly have started out life as bottle stoppers. The one inside the cabin was a 9/16 inch brown clay handmade marble often known as a “commie” and could date as early as the 1840s. Twenty five glass marbles were found in the south room and ten were found in the north room. Overall, glass marbles were found within ten of the fourteen units dug within

the cabin including a datable “Moonie” found in the North Room (Figure 4.36). Twenty eight glass marbles were found in the outside areas around the cabin, eight of these in an area identified as being a porch on the western side of the cabin and fourteen of them in an area identified as being an addition on the eastern side of the cabin. One of these glass marbles is a modern machine made turquoise cat’s eye dating no earlier than 1952 found in the east yard underneath the addition within unit 2166E/2904N recovered from the top layers of excavated soil (Figure 4.37).



Figure 4.36: The marble to the left is a semi opaque marble found in unit 2157E/2916N, it is an example of a Moonie from Akro Agate Company dated in the 1920s.



Figure 4.37: The marble to the left is a Cat's eye marble found underneath the addition on the East side of cabin 3. Note the perfectly spherical shape and distinctive cat's eye core. These marbles were usually clear glass; the cores could be any color.

Stephanie Cole in her work on cabin three noted that a higher number of marbles, coins and jewelry were found under what would have been a raised porch on the west side of the cabin. They were recovered during excavations because they were not retrieved when they were dropped. The coins found beneath the porch area dated to a range of 1936-1961 suggesting that the raised porch was built no earlier than 1936 (Cole, 2013) The expectation would be that no marbles would be found within this area dating to before 1936. Appendix D is a complete listing of all marbles recovered from Magnolia Plantation. Four marbles were recovered from a unit that would have been directly beneath this porch. Other units dug were on the porch sides and so were not used for this argument. Within that unit, five marbles were recovered (Table 4.16), three opaque and one that was so destroyed that it

could not be identified. The opaque marbles appear to be machine made marbles and so would date no earlier than the first decade of the 20th century. The Opaque light green and mustard yellow one appears to be an Akro Agate patch marble dating to around 1926. The presence of these marbles does not negate the date of the porch but may indicate that marbles were curated from time of purchase to time of loss. It also may suggest that these slightly older model marbles were less expensive to obtain and could speak to personal choice, availability of marbles or economics within the plantation environment.

Level 3, lot 8175, dated to 1926	WEST PORCH	OPAQUE LIGHT GREEN AND MUSTARD YELLOW, 5/8 INCHES
Level 4, lot 8409, machine made, no earlier than 1906	WEST PORCH	OPAQUE AGATE STYLE BLACK AND WHITE SWIRL, 4/8
Destroyed, lot 8400 level 4	WEST PORCH	CLEAR LIGHT ORANGE VERY BROKEN MARBLE, 5/8 INCH
Level 3, lot 8223 , machine made, no earlier than 1906	WEST PORCH	OPAQUE BLUE AND WHITE MARBLE, 5/8 INCH AND AN OPAQUE RED AND WHITE MARBLE

Table 4.16: Table listing the marbles found within a unit directly underneath the Western porch on Cabin 3.

Cabin 4

Cabin four is a double roomed cabin and the end cabin from the North end of the site in the first row of extant cabins. It was the closest cabin during antebellum times to the overseers and big house. Like cabins one and three, previously analyzed, it was originally built as two non-joining rooms but at some point in its history, a connecting door was created between the two rooms and is still there. This cabin was examined in detail by Dee Heacock in her master's thesis (Heacock, 2012), so for consistency, her definition of the total area and units excavated associated with this cabin will be used. Twenty nine units were dug, twelve outside the cabin, and seven in the north room and ten in the south room (Illustration 4.4).

CABIN 4 UNITS DUG



Full units are 3 foot by 3 foot and indicated by East and North corner



Test units are 1 foot by 1 foot, no numeric indication given on this map due to space restrictions

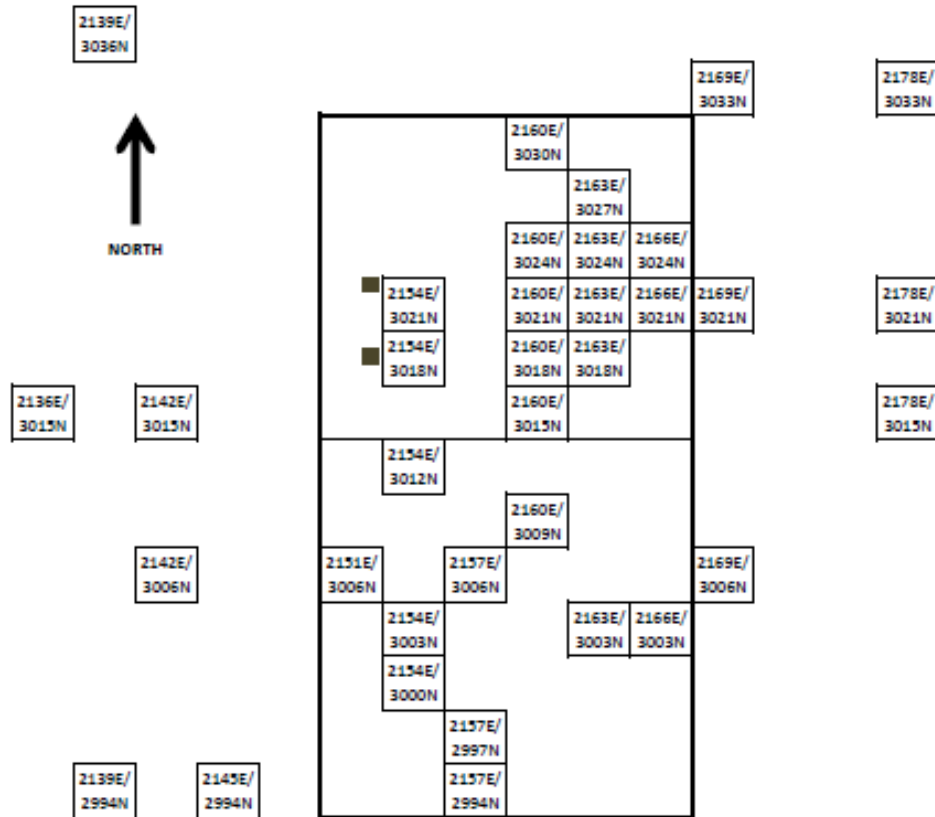


Illustration 4.4: Units dug in Cabin 4 and associated yard spaces.

Porcelain and dolls

Ten pieces of porcelain were found within and around cabin 4. In the south room four pieces were found including two doll arms and a doll boot similar to the one with the textured stocking that was recovered from unit 2151E/2976N located in the yard space between cabins 3 and 4 (figure 4.38). Also within the cabin but also found in an east yard unit right next to the cabin were two pieces of bisque porcelain interpreted as belonging to a doll but of a darker glaze than other porcelain pieces recovered on the site (Figure 4.39)



Figure 4.38: doll boot recovered from the south room of cabin 4. A match for the doll leg and boot that was recovered from a unit between cabins 3 and 4.

These pieces both appeared to belong to the same item but were in units that were contextually far apart. One piece was found within the southern room by the west wall and the other piece was found outside of the northern room by the eastern wall. No other pieces of bisque china with this dark glaze were recovered from the site. It is possible that these pieces represent a darker skin colored doll but without other pieces to this doll, that



Figure 4.39: Two pieces of bisque porcelain that display a darker glaze than other pieces recovered from the site. Found in unit 2151E/3006N in the South Pen by the west wall and unit 2169E/3021N on the outside of the cabin by the eastern wall of cabin 4.

interpretation is conjecture. In the eastern yard of cabin 4, two pieces of a child's tea set were recovered. One piece was a handpainted creamer with blue flower detail and light glazing (unit 2178E/3033N) and the other appeared to be just a spout from an item either a tea or coffee pot (unit 2178E/3021N). The creamer is lightly glazed and painted with no discernible crazing but the spout appears to be a rougher application and is covered with crazing. These visual differences plus the physical difference of over 12 feet between them indicate that they are probably not from the same set. One last piece of porcelain found within cabin four's yard space is the only marked piece of doll porcelain recovered from the

site. It is marked “Made in Germany” on one side and is a ¼ inch piece of bisque (Figure 4.40). Most 19th century porcelain dolls were imported from Germany (see Appendix A for a seriation of dolls). This mark indicates that at least one of the dolls recovered may have been an 18th century German import.



Figure 4.40: A piece of bisque porcelain recovered, marked “Made in Germany”.

Plastic Toys

Twenty four plastic toys or toy pieces and one rubber ball were recovered from in and around cabin 4. Overwhelmingly the majority of them, fifteen pieces came from the north room of the cabin with seven pieces in the southern room and four pieces in the yard spaces. As described for cabins 1 and 3, the majority of these toys were bubble gum or Cracker Jack favors. The only one of these plastic toys interpreted as bubble gum or Cracker Jack favors that was marked was recovered from the northwest yard of this cabin was a small plastic squirrel marked “Cracker Jack” dated to 1948 (figure 4.41). An interesting note about this squirrel is that the 1958 tenant book (discussed in Section One of this chapter) for Magnolia Plantation lists a Wilson “Squirrel” Metoyer as living in the northernmost cabin within the Quarters. It is possible that this squirrel was given to or acquired by him as a memento.



Figure 4.41: A 1948 plastic toy marked "Cracker Jack"

Another plastic item recovered from cabin 4 is a red plastic watch with clear dial on the front and marked on the back "W Germany" (Figure 4.42). Interestingly and possibly related, a 1950 German Pfennig was recovered from a unit in Cabin 3's south room below the window. It is possible that the two items were souvenirs from a trip to Germany. More research is required to determine if this is the case.



Figure 4.42: Front and back of a red plastic watch recovered from the north room of cabin 4 and marked "W Germany" on the back.

Metal Toys

There were eight metal toys found within or around Cabin 4. They consisted of a miniature metal flat figure of a cowboy, a miniature metal figure that resembles a dolphin, a possible brass game piece, a red toy steamship, a small indeterminate item that looks like a tiny spur, two pieces of metal soldier and one complete metal soldier. The complete metal soldier appears to be wearing an outfit of a WWI or later soldier, complete with gun, water bottle and brown boots (Figure 4.43).



Figure 4.43: A small metal soldier found in the south room of cabin 4. He wears an outfit that appears to be a WWI or later soldier complete with gun, black boots and water canteen.

Marbles

There were two stone marbles, sixteen ceramic marbles and sixty two glass marbles found in and around cabin 4. Both stone marbles were found within the north room and with the exception of one marble found in the north yard, all of the ceramic marbles were found evenly distributed between the north (six marbles)and south rooms (seven marbles) within the cabin walls. Two of the ceramic marbles can be dated (Figures 4.44 and 4.45).



Figure 4.44: Handpainted unglazed decorated ceramic marble with checkered pattern found in Unit 2163E/3027N in the North room of Cabin 4. These marbles date as early as the 1840s but were produced as late as 1914 (Gartley and Carskadden, 1987).

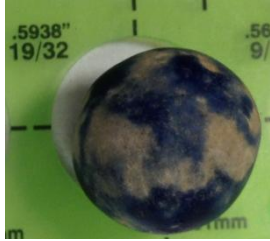
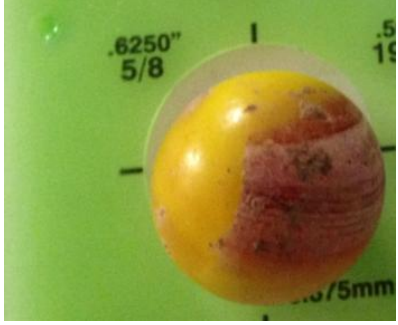

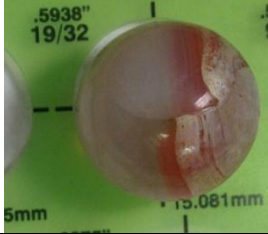
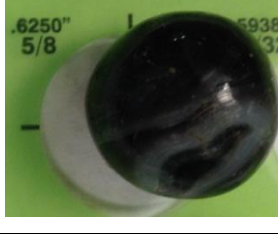


Figure 4.45: Unusual ceramic marble with hand applied coloration found in unit 2166E/3024N in the North room of Cabin 4. Found in a lower level than the handpainted decorated marble above suggesting an older age. Note the irregular shape. This could possibly be a marble called a mottled agate which was a white paste marble with inclusions of either brown or blue clay. These marbles are dated from 1780 to 1850 (Gartley and Carskadden, 1987:116).

As noted above there were sixty two glass marbles recovered from within and around cabin 4. Thirty were within the cabin; twenty in the south room and ten in the north room. Four of these marbles that can be identified and dated are seen below (Figures 4.46, 4.47, 4.48 and 4.49), for a full listing of all marbles recovered, see Appendix D.

	
<p>Figure 4.46: Found in unit 2163E/3021N (level 2), an opaque patch marble, named for the application of color that appears to be an applied patch. Akro Agate Company started producing these as early as the 1920s. A few of these patch type marbles were also found in other units in the cabin.</p>	<p>Figure 4.47: Found in unit 2163E/3018N at level 10. It was probably produced by Akro Agate Company and is called a milky oxblood due to the base color and dark red patch. These are dated after 1926.</p>
	
<p>Figure 4.48: Found in unit 2160E/3018N, this is a Lutz marble, which is a colored glass marbles decorated with copper aventurine first appear in catalogs dated from 1910 to 1915 (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Location 1683).</p>	<p>Figure 4.49: Found in unit 2166E/3024N, this is an Indian probably made by an American manufacturer starting in the 1890s.</p>

Gender and artifact Distribution

As discussed in the sections above and within chapter three, marbles and most metal items like small metal soldiers will be associated with male children and porcelain fragments including doll parts and tea sets will be associated with girls. The scatter plots below by excavated cabin graphically indicate where these two types of toys were found. All three cabins have marbles and doll pieces as shown on the graphs below (Illustrations 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7). Because marbles, dolls and metal toy fragments were found within and around all three excavated cabins, there appears to be no gender delineation apparent within Magnolia Plantation.

However, Cabin 3 was the only cabin to not have any porcelain pieces within the cabin walls (Illustration 4.6). Porcelain dolls as discussed earlier were popular before the turn of the 20th century and the advent of composite dolls that were cheaper and less fragile. Because of this, we might expect children listed within the 1870 census to play with these types of toys. This census is chosen as it contains a large listing of families and children within the Quarters after emancipation but before the 20th century. Inspecting the census, the Douglas family is the only family with all boys (three) and is listed within dwelling 51 possibly accounting for the artifact distribution within Cabin 3 at this time.

The south yard space of Cabin 4 (shown on Cabin 3 diagram) is also worth mentioning for the large amount of porcelain fragments and items found within a cluster of units just south of its south wall (see explanation above). Although three pieces of porcelain were found within its walls, the majority of the pieces including individual doll legs were found in this location. There are four families that only have girl children and one of them is enumerated directly before the Douglas family. Assuming that the cabins were still two room cabins, and they were enumerated starting with the big house and in cabin order, the

Redman family enumerated as household 49 with fifteen year old (as of 1860) Amanda could account for this high amount of porcelain.

In general, the census statistics for this time indicate that overall most families within the Quarters area had both male and female children and the artifact record seems to support this. Metal toys, marbles and porcelain doll pieces were found in or around all three excavated cabins and within all excavated layers of soil. Cabin 1 had the oldest marble (possible 1840s) and Cabin 3 had the newest marble (1950s) recovered. Bisque doll fragments dating to the last three decades of the 19th century were found throughout the site and metal soldiers and soldier pieces dating to the 1940s were also represented at each cabin. Even for those cabins that appear to have less gender specific items such as the internal spaces of Cabin 3, clear gender delineation is still not supported as there is a fragment of bisque directly outside the cabin on the west side. However when combined with the census information for this cabin for the time period when porcelain dolls would be expected to be play things, the lack of porcelain within this cabin does suggest a lack of female children.

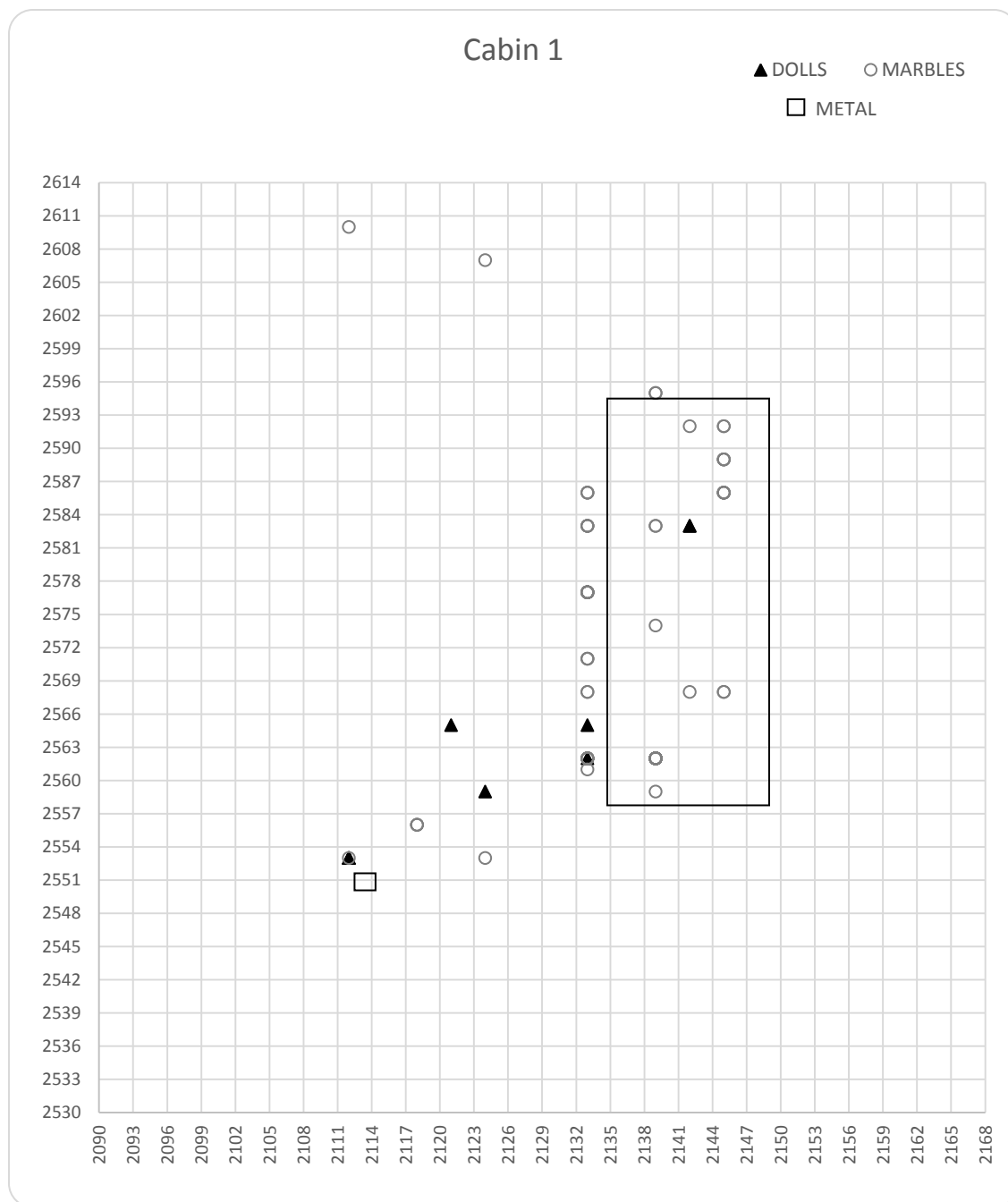


Illustration 4.5: Graphical illustration of marbles, dolls and metal pieces found in and around Cabin 1.

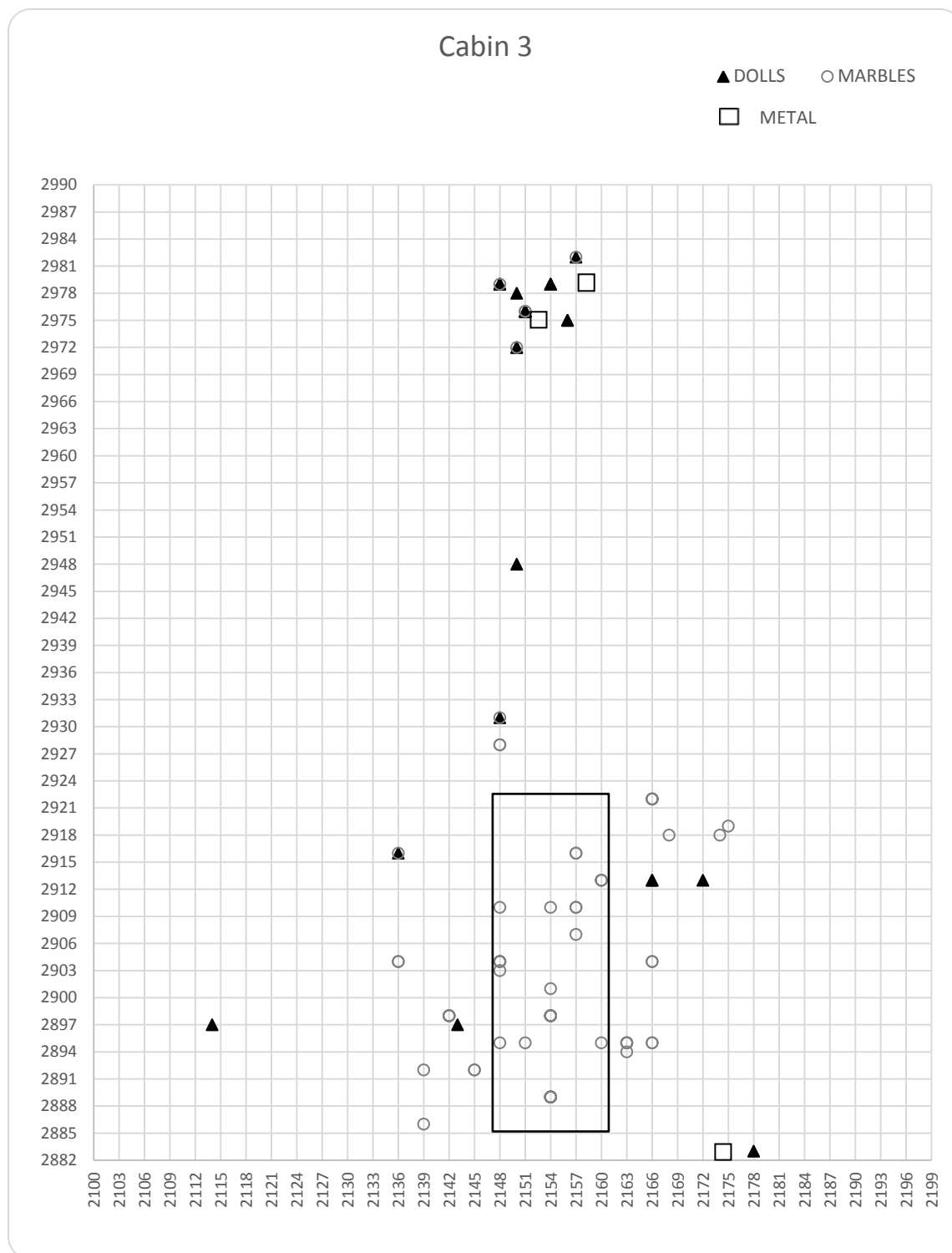


Illustration 4.6: Graphical illustration of marbles, dolls and metal pieces found in and around Cabin 3.

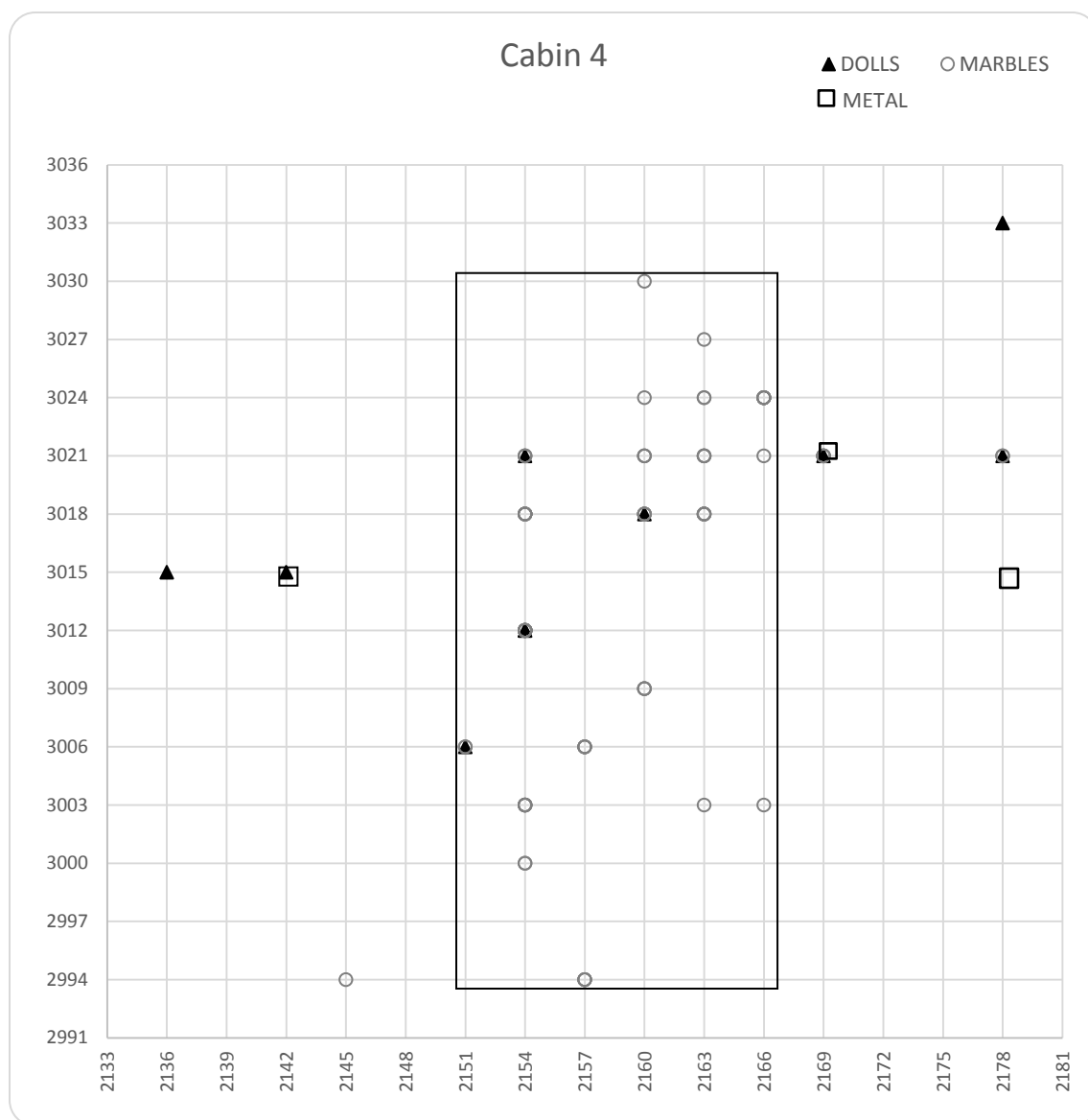


Illustration 4.7: Graphical illustration of marbles, dolls and metal pieces found in and around Cabin 4.

Section Three

As noted in the first paragraph of this chapter, this last section will contain a comparison of artifacts recovered from cabins 1, 2 and 3 within the Quarters area at Magnolia Plantation to those recovered from Cabin 1-A-1, the cabin identified as the Plantation Praise House / Church and school at the Levi Jordan Plantation. The discussion will emphasize school related artifacts and also include any relevant information that might point to a school at Magnolia Plantation including restructuring of internal structures within the cabin as seen in Cabin 1-A-1 and external placement of the cabin relative to other cabins.

The school experience for the children of the Levi Jordan plantation

At the time of the establishment of the Praise house/ school there may have been as many as twenty four families residing within the tenant former Quarters area as per census records. These records indicate that Cabin 1-A-1 may have served as a residence for Claiborne Holmes, a plantation preacher and George Morrison a white school teacher living on the plantation (U.S. Federal census, 1880). Additionally, a history of Grace Methodist Church traces its ancestry back to the quarters (Anonymous, 1979) (Jordan, 2013:10, 49) and states that the white minister and his wife were teachers and taught night classes for both adults and children. According to Brown, this evidence combined with the relatively high frequency of slate board and pencil fragments within the main room of cabin 1-A-1 would support the hypothesis that this cabin was at some time in its life used as a school (Brown, 2013:11).

The school experience for the children of Magnolia Plantation

During antebellum times on Magnolia Plantation, it is likely that small children were attended by older children or older women in or close to the building titled the nursery on the Walmsley map while their parents labored. Most enslaved children were not formerly schooled; they were taught trades and skills in order to further the prosperity of the plantation owners and other tasks like cooking, tending livestock and gardens, sewing and hunting by their parents. Fairly soon after emancipation, a Freedman's school was begun on a plantation owned by one of the Hertzog brothers in order to educate children from surrounding plantations (Malone, 1996:95). After the plantation store opened, many children would accompany their parents there to do their schoolwork (Crespi, 2004:37). "At least one overseer's wife worked in the store where she had contact with workers and children, some of whom she helped with schoolwork" (Crespi, 2004:43). Working in the fields for the children did not end with emancipation; twentieth century schools in agricultural areas were suspended during harvests so that everyone could assist with the crops (Crespi, 2004:34). Specifically, "colored" schools used a split session schedule where classes were held for three months and closed for harvest in September and October, resuming in November (Crespi, 2004:41). The children's earnings often helped pay for school necessities and sometimes families would combine finances to help pay teachers if they continued classes through harvest times (Crespi, 2004:41).

A former resident of the Quarters area remembered that around 1922, classes were being held in the Magnolia plantation quarters taught by the wife of the second St. Andrew's Preacher (Crespi, 2004:40). Many Magnolia children also may have attended Parochial schools before the first "colored" schools were established, "In the early 1940s, a public

school was established near St. Andrew Church for black children” (Crespi 2004:25) that Magnolia Quarters children attended (Crespi, 2004:40). “Although Magnolia children may have first attended public school classes held in the church itself, the Parish School records show that the Parish purchased private holdings in 1941 to construct a public school for ‘the colored’ in Derry (closest town to Magnolia plantation) near St. Andrew Missionary Baptist Church. The school would also be called St. Andrew. Children from the Quarters attended it, crossing the Cane River by boat whenever possible, taking the footbridge, hiking up their trouser legs and wading across when the river was very low, or walking the long way around on highway 119 and highway 1.” (Crespi, page 40). In 1954, the Parish sold the land that St. Andrew’s was on and many of the attending children transferred to St. Matthew’s School near Melrose (Crespi, 2004:27, 40) that served all age groups or to nearby towns to attend other parochial schools (Crespi, 2004:27).

Cabin 1 test implications for a Praise House / Church and school

Originally cabin 1 was chosen for excavation because it appeared to possibly meet test implications for the possible location of a Magnolia Plantation Praise House / Church. First, the southern room of this standing cabin was the ‘first house on the street’” (Brown, 2005b) in the Magnolia Quarters making it different than the other extant cabins and comparing favorably with the hypothesized location for the community’s church or praise house in the Gullah and Geechee areas, and the location of the church and then school at the Levi Jordan Plantation. Second, as best as can be determined from existing reports, “NPS excavation near the northern wall of the southern room produced an artifact rich pit feature that appears in many ways identical to the northern feature that was placed to ritually sanctify

the Jordan Quarters Church.” (Brown 2005b:5) When the NPS pit was reopened, it appeared to be full of refuse but had been intentionally dug, closed and then reopened at some point in the past. At the very bottom of the pit were some metal items possibly intentionally placed including a pocket knife and other small metal items (figure 4.50). The pit and its contents did not necessarily negate the hypothesis that Cabin 1 was a praise house.



Figure 4.50: Bottom of the pit excavated in the South room of Cabin #1 showing the placement of small metal objects that might have been intentionally placed. A small pocket knife is on the far right.

Another test implication (but not a primary reason for the initial excavation) for the existence of the Praise house /church and later school at the Levi Jordan Plantation was a lack of toys for the time it was turned into a Praise house/ church combined with relatively few domestic artifacts indicating a change in use and a higher percentage of school related items for the time that it may have been used as a school. The artifact assemblage found in Cabin 1 is different than the one recovered from the Levi Jordan Praise House. The artifacts including toys suggest a long life as a domestic residence (Brown, 2005b, 2006) with no obvious change in this fundamental use. Even the additional room possibly used for gambling did not change its primary purpose. Overall, the domestic artifact assemblage throughout the use of the cabin did not indicate that this cabin was a Praise House / Church and school as seen at the Levi Jordan Plantation.

The cabin and the areas around the cabin did contain many school related items (Table 4.17) including three pieces of slate with possible writing on them, slate pencils and many pieces of 20th century pencils. The assemblage contained a greater variety of school related artifacts than the assemblage recovered from cabin 1-A-1 and can be explained by reviewing the occupancy dates for both plantations. Due to the abandonment of the quarters in the late 1800s, the Levi Jordan School related artifacts do not date past then and are mainly fragments of slate and slate pencils while the artifact assemblage found within the Quarters at Magnolia Plantation reflects the antebellum through to the late 1960s occupancy and includes 20th century pencils. This was true of all of the cabins at Magnolia Plantation.

Unit Number		Location	Item	Level	Description of Item found
2171E	2552N	EAST YARD	PENCIL	1	PENCIL LEAD
2130E	2556N	SOUTH YARD	PENCIL	2	PENCIL ERASER
2130E	2556N	SOUTH YARD	PENCIL	3	ERASER END OF PENCIL
2234E	2556N	SOUTH YARD	PENCIL	7	CHALK
2139E	2562N	S PEN	PENCIL	6	SLATE PENCIL
2133E	2568N	S PEN	PENCIL	2	2 PENCIL LEADS
2133E	2568N	S PEN	PENCIL	2	SMALL PENCIL LEAD FRAGMENT
2133E	2568N	S PEN	PENCIL	3	PENCIL LEAD 2 FRAGMENTS
2117E	2570 N	WEST YARD	SLATE	2	SLATE BOARD FRAGMENT WITH POSSIBLE Y INSCRIBED
2112E	2571N	WEST YARD	SLATE	2	SLATE FRAGMENT
2139E	2574N	S PEN	PENCIL	2	PENCIL ERASER WITH LEAD FRAGMENT AND HOLDER
2139E	2583N	N PEN	PENCIL	5	PENCIL ERASER
2142E	2586N	N PEN	SLATE	1	SLATE WITH WRITING
2145E	2586N	N PEN	PENCIL	1	GRAPHITE ROD PENCIL LEAD
2136E	2589N	N PEN	PENCIL	1	PENCIL LEAD
2145E	2589N	N PEN	PAPER	3	PAPER WITH PRINTING
2145E	2589N	N PEN	PAPER	3	FIBER
2133E	2592N	N PEN	SLATE	2	SLATE
2135E	2609N	NORTH YARD	SLATE	2	SLATE BOARD
2133E	2613N	NORTH YARD	PENCIL	3	PENCIL LEAD

Table 4:17: Chart of school related items found in and around Cabin 1 including 5 pieces of slate, one slate pencil and twelve pieces of modern pencil. The abbreviations “S PEN” and “N PEN” refer to the South and North rooms of the cabin, respectively.

Although not meeting the criteria as a Praise House / Church as seen at the Levi Jordan Plantation, the recovered coin assemblage from the entire Quarters area at Magnolia Plantation might indicate that Cabin 1 was different from Cabins 3 and 4 and could have had a use in addition to being a residence. Table 4.18 shows the distribution of coins and tokens between the three excavated extant cabins. Cabin 1 has approximately 1/3 less than either cabins 3 or 4. The coins found in cabin 1 were mainly found in the North room and none of them were dated earlier than 1941, possibly supporting the hypothesis that an addition off this room was used for gambling. However the addition of the raised wooden floors by the National Park Service and the resulting disturbance of the top layers of deposit within the cabin imply that the exact location of the coins recovered from Cabin 1 cannot be determined and could also account for the difference in the coin frequencies.

	North Room	South Room	North Yard	South Yard	West Yard	East Yard	Total
Cabin 1	17	5	2	0	1	2	27
Cabin 3	23	22	2	0	16	12	75
Cabin 4	55	28	0	3	1	1	88

Table 4.18: Coins and tokens by cabin and area (adapted from Cole, 2013)

Cabin 3 test implications for a Praise House / Church and school

Cabin 3 is located within the first row of cabins (from the west) and not on either end. Because of this, it isn't the best candidate for a Praise house as it would be more likely that a Praise house would be located as the first house on the street. But like the Jordan praise house, this cabin exhibited a slightly different structural pattern than the other cabins within the Quarters area; it had a window put into the South room and the stove appeared to have been located to the left of the hearth in the north room rather than directly in front of it as in other cabins. It is possible that the purpose of the rearrangement of the stove could have

been to free up space within the north room so that this room could be used for larger gatherings. As previously discussed, the Levi Jordan cabin (1-A-1) identified as the praise house had been changed by moving the walls and hearth.

Sixteen pieces of pencil or pencil lead were found within or around the cabin; five pieces from the north pen, six pieces from the south room and five pieces in the yard spaces (figure 4.51). Five pieces of slate were recovered from around the cabin; no pieces were recovered from within the cabin. The pieces of slate were recovered from the far north yard area close to Cabin 4 and so could arguably belong to the artifact assemblage of cabin 4 (see explanation for cabin 4 below). Overall, the school related artifact assemblage was too low to indicate that a school might have been conducted within this cabin (Table 4.19). This cabin had a high toy assemblage, over 68 total toys or toy pieces were recovered from within the walls of the cabin (33 toys, 35 marbles) indicating that the primary use of the cabin was as a residence and not as a Praise House / Church.



Figure 4.51 A piece of slate with the number three scratched onto it found in the north yard of Cabin 3, unit 2154E/2976N.

Unit Number		Location	Item	Level	Description of Item Found
2181E	2883N	WEST YARD	PENCIL	5	PENCIL LEAD
2123E	2891N	WEST YARD	SLATE	8	SLATE FRAGMENT WITH POSSIBLE WRITING
2145E	2892N	WEST YARD	PENCIL	2	2 EACH PENCIL LEAD
2145E	2892N	WEST YARD	PENCIL	3	PENCIL LEAD
2157E	2895N	S PEN	PENCIL	2	PENCIL LEAD GRAPHITE
2154E	2898N	S PEN	PENCIL	2	ERASER END OF PENCIL
2154E	2898N	S PEN	PEN	2	CALIGRAPHY PEN POINT
2154E	2898N	S PEN	PENCIL	2	2 PENCIL LEADS WOODEN PENCIL
2157E	2898N	S PEN	PENCIL	2	PENCIL ERASER
2157E	2898N	S PEN	PENCIL	2	PENCIL LEAD

2136E	2904N	WEST YARD	PENCIL	6	PENCIL LEAD
2148E	2904N	S PEN	PENCIL	1	METAL PART OF PENCIL ERASER
2148E	2904N	S PEN	SLATE	2	PLASTER WITH PENCIL MARKS
2148E	2904N	S PEN	SLATE	2	PLASTER WITH PENCIL MARKS
2154E	2910N	N PEN	PENCIL	2	PENCIL LEAD WITH ERASER HOLDER
2154E	2910N	N PEN	PENCIL	2	PENCIL LEAD
2157E	2910N	N PEN	PENCIL	6	PENCIL LEAD
2160E	2913N	N PEN	PENCIL	3	PARTIAL PENCIL WITH ERASER END
2160E	2913N	N PEN	PENCIL	4	RECTANGLE PENCIL LEAD
2136E	2916N	WEST YARD	PENCIL	5	METAL END WOODEN PENCIL
2175E	2919N	EAST YARD	PEN	4	GOLD FOUNTAIN PEN TIP "14 KARAT 2"
2151E	2976N	NORTH YARD	SLATE	3	SLATE WITH WRITING
2151E	2976N	NORTH YARD	SLATE	3	2 PIECES OF SLATE
2151E	2979N	NORTH YARD	SLATE	6	SLATE FRAGMENT WITH ENGRAVED '8'
2154E	2976N	NORTH YARD	SLATE	5	SLATE WITH WRITTEN # 3 ON ONE SIDE

Table 4.19: School related items found in and around cabin 3 including 6 pieces of slate, 16 pieces of modern pencil and a gold fountain pen tip, however ten pieces in yard, 9 in s pen and 5 in 9 pen

Cabin 4 test implications for a Praise House / Church and School

As noted above, originally cabin 1 was chosen for excavation as it had the ideal hypothesized location for the community's church or praise house as seen in the Gullah and Geechee areas (Brown, 2006). Although not always the case, as indicated by cabin 1-A-1 at the Levi Jordan Plantation, the house farthest away from the overseer's house and/or big house would have been chosen. For this reason, cabin 4 as the closest cabin to the overseer's house does not meet the criteria for a Praise House / church for Magnolia Plantation as seen at for cabin 1-A-1 at the Levi Jordan Plantation.

Overall, Cabin 4 like the other cabins contained more domestic artifacts and toys than were recovered within cabin 1-A-1 at the Levi Jordan Plantation for the time that it was a Praise House/church and school and like the other Magnolia cabins; it contained school

related items with a greater temporal range than those recovered from cabin 1-A-1. Table 4.20 lists the school related items associated with this cabin.

Unit Number		Location	Item	Level	Description of Item Found
2157E	2994N	S PEN	LEAD	7	PENCIL LEAD
2157E	2994N	S PEN	SLATE PENCIL	7	SLATE PENCIL
2157E	2994N	S PEN	PENCIL PIECE	8	PENCIL END - ERASER HOLDER
2163E	3003N	S PEN	SLATE PENCIL	2	SLATE PENCIL
2163E	3003N	S PEN	LEAD	2	GRAPHITE
2151E	3006N	S PEN	LEAD	6	PENCIL LEAD
2160E	3009N	S PEN	LEAD	3	PENCIL LEAD
2160E	3009N	S PEN	SLATE	4	SLATE FRAGMENT
2154E	3012N	S PEN	LEAD	4	GRAPHIC PENCIL LEAD
2154E	3012N	S PEN	PENCIL PIECE	4	PENCIL ERASER RUBBER
2136E	3015N	WEST YARD	SLATE	3	SLATE WITH WRITING
2160E	3018N	N PEN	PENCIL PIECE	3	PENCIL ERASER WITH LEAD FRAGMENT
2160E	3018N	N PEN	LEAD	6	PENCIL LEAD
2154E	3021N	S PEN	PENCIL PIECE	4	PARTIAL PENCIL
2160E	3021N	N PEN	PENCIL PIECE	2	PARTIAL PENCIL
2160E	3021N	N PEN	LEAD	2	PENCIL LEAD
2166E	3021N	N PEN	LEAD	2	GRAPHITE ROD
2166E	3021N	N PEN	LEAD	7	PENCIL LEAD
2166E	3021N	N PEN	LEAD	8	GRAPHITE PENCIL LEAD
2166E	3021N	N PEN	ERASER	8	ERASER END OF PENCIL ALUM
2160E	3024N	N PEN	PENCIL PIECE	4	PENCIL
2163E	3027N	N PEN	PENCIL PIECE	3	PIECE OF PENCIL LEAD

Table 4.20: listing of school related items found in and around Cabin 4 including 2 pieces of slate, 2 slate pencils, 11 pieces of modern pencil

Conclusion

The test implications as defined at the Levi Jordan Plantation's cabin 1-A-1 as a Praise House/ Church then school are not met by any of the cabins within Magnolia Plantation Quarters. Both cabin's 1 and 4 fit the pattern of being at the end of the row or "first house on the street" although cabin 1 is farther away from the big house like cabin 1-A-1 at the Levi Jordan Plantation and therefore is a better candidate. Cabin 3 has been altered in a different way than cabins 1 and 4. An additional window was added to the South room

possibly as a way to conduct business and the stove has been repositioned in the North room possibly indicating a different use for this space. (Cole, 2013) As noted in Section two of this chapter, the toys within each cabin are of a greater variety and frequency than the toys found in the Levi Jordan Plantation's Praise House / Church and school and therefore for this reason alone, they do not fit the test implications for a Praise House / Church then school as indicated by cabin 1-A-1.

However, if we investigate the cabins not as Praise House / Churches used as schools but as primary residences possibly used as schools, we see that the presence of toys within the cabins do not negate the hypothesis that the cabins could have been used as schools, they only negate the criteria as seen in cabin 1-A-1 to be a Praise House / Church and then school. Considering the greater lifespan of occupancy of the cabins (as late as 1964) as compared to the cabins at the Levi Jordan Plantation (late 1800s) and the primary use of the cabins as domestic residences, toys would be expected. Additionally, any cabin that was not first used as a Praise House / Church and then a school but was first used as a domestic residence and then a school might not only contain a higher quantity of toys relative to cabin 1-A-1 but due to the increased number of children utilizing the cabin, also might contain a higher quantity of toys relative to the other cabins within the Magnolia Quarters.

Looking at a comparison of all three cabins and their associated yard spaces, we see the following artifact distribution and frequencies (Table 4.21). At first glance, it appears that there are twice as many toys in cabins 3 and 4 than found in cabin 1. An explanation for this might be

	Plastic	Porcelain	Metal	Marbles (all kinds)	Total Toy Pieces
Cabin 1	25	6	2	21	54
Cabin 3	24	35	4	66	129
Cabin 4	26 (1 piece is rubber)	10	8	80	124

Table 4.21: Toy totals per cabin including cabin yard space area.

that the amount of units dug was less than other cabins. But cabin 1 had twenty four units dug within its walls and over twenty three full units and as many test units dug in the yard spaces around the cabin. These numbers are equal if not slightly more than the number of units dug in and around cabin 3, so the number of units dug is not a cause of the lower number of toys for cabin 1 as seen in the chart. Another and possibly more plausible explanation might be the installation of raised wooden floors by the National Park Service and the subsequent removal of soil as discussed earlier.

The school related material record for all three cabins appears to be evenly distributed. Cabin 1 had five pieces of slate, one slate pencil and twelve pieces of modern pencil including erasers, wood shafts and lead. Only two pieces of the slate and the slate pencil were found within the cabin. Cabin 3 had six pieces of slate, sixteen pieces of modern pencil and a gold fountain pen tip. However, none of the slate was found within the cabin, it was mostly found in the north yard that was excavated between cabin 3 and cabin 4. Cabin 4 had two pieces of slate, 2 slate pencils and eleven pieces of modern pencil. In fact most of the slate within Magnolia Plantation Quarters with writing on it was found either in Cabin 4 or close to Cabin 4 in units excavated in between Cabin 4 and Cabin 3. If we adjust the totals for cabin 4 by adding the slate pieces found close to it (table 4.22), we see that Cabin 4 has 2 slate pencils and 6 pieces of slate, cabin 3 has three pieces of slate and cabin 1 has 5 pieces of slate and one slate pencil. If we apply the same argument as we did to the slate pieces to the

porcelain that was found between cabins 3 and 4, the adjusted totals for porcelain are below.

Porcelain was chosen as it was the only toy type recovered from this area.

	Plastic	Porcelain	Metal	Marbles (all kinds)	Total Toy Pieces
Cabin 1	25	6	2	21	54
Cabin 3	24	9	4	66	103
Cabin 4	26 (1 piece is rubber)	36	8	80	150

Table 4.22: Chart showing adjusted toy totals when porcelain recovered from the yard space between cabins 3 and 4 is removed from cabin 3's totals and added to cabin 4's totals.

As mentioned above, historical evidence has indicated that there might have been a school located in the quarters in 1922. A school in this era might be expected to contain a greater amount of 20th century implements like the pieces of lead pencil recovered from all cabins. A variety of pencil leads, pencil erasers and pieces of pencils were recovered from all three excavated cabins. The modern pencil with a graphite core and protective wood outer skin became popular after the process of making them was mechanized in the 1860s. Originally, the skin of the pencil indicated quality and the best pencils had varnished wood exteriors. At some point, the color yellow became indicative of quality and became the most popular color for the skin of a graphite pencil. Stories vary about why this was the case, but a common thread is that the best graphite was eastern in origin and the color yellow was representative of this source. Later pencils although reduced in quality were often painted yellow to mimic expensive pencils and to cover flaws in their wooden outer coverings. (Petroski, 1989) The pencil with an eraser at the end was patented in 1872 by Eagle Pencil Company but did not become popular until the 20th century (Petroski, 1989:178).

Table 4.23 shows just the pencil pieces leads and pencil erasers within the Quarters area per cabin. As noted above, pencils with erasers although patented in 1872, were not popular until the 20th century and so may indicate a 1900s or later artifact assemblage. If we examine the assemblage counting each eraser or metal eraser holder as one pencil because

pencils generally only have one end and one eraser, cabin 1 and its yard spaces contained at least four pencils, cabin 3 and its yard spaces contained at least six pencils and cabin 4 and its yard spaces contained at least four pencils. No adjustment as done for porcelain and slate between cabins 3 and 4 was needed as none of these artifacts were in those units.

Cabin 1		
ERASER	PENCIL ERASER	SOUTH YARD
ERASER	PENCIL ERASER	NORTH ROOM
ERASER	PENCIL ERASER WITH LEAD FRAGMENT AND HOLDER	SOUTH ROOM
ERASER END	ERASER END OF PENCIL	SOUTH YARD
LEAD	2 PENCIL LEADS	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD 2 FRAGMENTS	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	NORTH YARD
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	GRAPHITE ROD PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	EAST YARD
LEAD	SMALL PENCIL LEAD FRAGMENT	SOUTH ROOM
Cabin 3		
ERASER	PENCIL ERASER	SOUTH ROOM
ERASER	PARTIAL PENCIL WITH ERASER END	NORTH ROOM
ERASER END	ERASER END OF PENCIL	SOUTH ROOM
ERASER END	METAL END WOODEN PENCIL	WEST YARD
ERASER END	METAL PART OF PENCIL ERASER	SOUTH ROOM
ERASER END	PENCIL LEAD WITH ERASER HOLDER	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	WEST YARD
LEAD	2 EACH PENCIL LEAD	WEST YARD
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	WEST YARD
LEAD	2 PENCIL LEADS WOODEN PENCIL	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD GRAPHITE	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	RECTANGLE PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	WEST YARD
Cabin 4		
ERASER	PENCIL ERASER	SOUTH ROOM
ERASER	PENCIL ERASER WITH LEAD FRAGMENT	NORTH ROOM
ERASER END	ERASER END OF PENCIL ALUM	NORTH ROOM
ERASER END	PENCIL END - ERASER HOLDER	SOUTH ROOM

LEAD	GRAPHIC PENCIL LEAD	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	GRAPHITE ROD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	GRAPHITE PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
LEAD	GRAPHITE	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PENCIL LEAD	SOUTH ROOM
LEAD	PIECE OF PENCIL LEAD	NORTH ROOM
PENCIL PIECE	PARTIAL PENCIL	SOUTH ROOM
PENCIL PIECE	PARTIAL PENCIL	NORTH ROOM
PENCIL PIECE	PENCIL	NORTH ROOM

Table 4.23: Chart showing post 1900 pencil pieces within Magnolia Plantation Quarters.

Given the higher percentage of toys especially porcelain pieces and the slightly higher percentage of older school supplies like slate and slate pencils recovered from the three fully excavated cabins, cabin 4 appears to be the best candidate for the location of a school during antebellum and during the late 1800s. However, when reviewing the pencil pieces and erasers, the location of the school during the 20th century is less clear. Cabin 3 has a slightly higher percentage of “modern” pencils and could have served as the school mentioned in the 1922 account. Additionally, this cabin also contained two pieces of a fountain pen (found in the addition on the East side); no other pieces of fountain pens were found in the Quarters. An expensive writing instrument suggests that it might have been a tool of the trade, maybe for a teacher, writer or bookkeeper. The extra pencils and the existence of more expensive writing implements such as a fountain pen combined with the rearrangement of the stove possibly to create more room in the north room might indicate that this cabin was chosen to be used as a 20th century school.

Chapter Five

Summary and Conclusions

The physical remains of Magnolia Plantation and the Levi Jordan Plantation including brick cabins at Magnolia and the big house at the Levi Jordan Plantation reflect the labor of generations including children. Archaeological and anthropological studies have evolved from mentioning children as only a small and non important part of a larger mechanism to a direct focus on children, seeing them as important economic and social factors that influence the world around them. Part of the reluctance to make children the main focus is the difficulty in identifying children within the contextual and temporal framework of study as most anthropologists and archaeologists recognize that childhood is a social construction that varies depending upon time and location (Baxter 2005, 2006a, 2006b; Haag 1988 Hiner and Hawes, 1991; Reynolds, 1990; Soga 1931).

Specific to this thesis, the problem of studying children is compounded by slavery. Enslaved children often worked in the fields or big house long before their free contemporaries were out of their nurseries. Slave owners created the boundaries of childhood for enslaved antebellum children. Because of this, the definition of childhood for antebellum children used within this study was derived from the handwritten ledger of one of the slave owners; Ambroise LeComte (II) who historic records show owned a large amount of children. However, being labeled a child did not mean that the enslaved did not work, rather it probably indicated that they were considered a half or quarter hand for tax purposes.

By 1860, thirty four percent (87) of Ambroise's (II) 237 total enslaved would have been considered children by his own definition. Most of those children would have been

employed in furthering the economic success of the plantation either by assisting their parents, watching younger children, as field hands or house servants. In addition to the labor they provided, the enslaved children like the enslaved adults were a commodity that greatly enhanced the wealth of their owners. In 1819, Thomas Jefferson wrote that “a child raised every 2 years is of more profit than the crop of the best laboring man” (Cohen, 1969:17). Possibly, Levi Jordan had this in mind for his enslaved as there is some circumstantial evidence that he may have been raising slaves for the primary purpose of sale (Brown, 2013).

After emancipation until the turn of the twentieth century, formerly enslaved children whose families stayed in agricultural areas still worked the fields for part of the year even if they were attending school. Records show that schools had specific terms set up in order to accommodate this schedule. However, Census documents now listed occupations and these showed that many children did not attend school but continued to work as they had during enslavement. By 1880, there are children within the Quarters area as young as ten years of age listed as “farm laborers” or “domestic servants” and this pattern continues throughout the nineteenth century. What is clear is that after emancipation, children continued to work as they had before emancipation but now were given “credit” for it. By 1890, we see the definition of a child morphing to one that we recognize today while we still see very young children with occupations, we start to see seventeen year olds listed as “at school” or “at home”. By 1910 there are no young children listed as having an occupation and many more seventeen year olds listed without an occupation, at home or at school. Until the middle of the twentieth century, children in agricultural areas attended school for part of the year and worked the fields during harvest season.

Despite the fact that enslaved and then emancipated children living on the Plantations were working, they were still children and therefore were engaging in play and utilizing toys. The first question raised by this thesis asks if we can see a difference between the toys played with by enslaved children and those played with by emancipated children and if we can see gender delineation in these toys and the second question asks if we can determine the location of the school at Magnolia Plantation. Depositional and post depositional processes have an effect on the artifact record at both plantations and influence the answers to these questions. There are two significant differences between Magnolia Plantation and the Levi Jordan Plantation that are addressed within this thesis and affect the material record; first the length of occupancy of the Quarters area is considerably longer for Magnolia Plantation lasting until 1964 than for the Levi Jordan Plantation ending around 1887 and second, raised wooden floors were installed at the Levi Jordan Plantation from the beginning of occupancy of the cabins whereas at Magnolia Plantation, some of the cabins had hard packed dirt floors as late as the 1930s (Cole, 2013).

Time Period of occupancy and abandonment

The Levi Jordan Plantation Quarters were occupied until their abandonment in 1887 (Brown, 2013) and because of this the artifact record associated with the occupancy of the cabins effectively ends at this time. In contrast to this, the Quarters area at Magnolia Plantation was occupied continuously from the antebellum period until the early 1960s and the artifact record reflects this long occupancy with toys ranging from nineteenth century bisque porcelain and clay marbles to 1950s marbles and plastic Cracker Jack favors. The abandonment of the Quarters at the Levi Jordan Plantation also affected the material record

in another way; when the cabins were abandoned, items that would have been taken in a normal move were left in situ to be covered by cabin refuse as the cabins decayed. When excavated, these items including a hand blown German glass marble and porcelain child's tea set plate were found as left by their owners. Unlike the abandonment of the cabins at the Levi Jordan Plantation, the Magnolia Plantation cabins were vacated in customary ways. Artifacts were not left in situ but were taken by the owners when the owners moved to other locations. In comparison to the Levi Jordan Plantation, very few treasured intact items were recovered from the material record at Magnolia Plantation. Those that were recovered were mostly within ritual deposits intentionally buried beneath the floors of the cabins.

Raised wooden floors

The second crucial difference between the Levi Jordan Plantation and Magnolia Plantation that affects the material record is the time period that raised wooden floors were installed within the cabins. At the Levi Jordan Plantation, the raised wooden floors were installed and existed for the entire occupancy of the cabins until their abandonment in 1887. At Magnolia Plantation however, archaeological evidence has shown that the cabins were originally built with hard packed dirt floors and did not contain raised wooden floors until sometime in the twentieth century and this could have varied by cabin (Brown, 2009, Cole, 2013). The presence of raised wooden floors affects the frequency and types of artifacts present in the material record. At the Levi Jordan Plantation, small artifacts that fell through the cracks in the floorboards for the entire time period of occupancy from antebellum through to 1887 would not have been retrieved. Therefore the material record beneath the wooden

floors reflects this time period and includes a wide variety of domestic and craft items including toys and a large number of nineteenth century clay marbles.

In contrast to this, at Magnolia Plantation for this time period, the cabins contained hard packed dirt floors. Any artifacts that fell to the floor would have been retrieved or swept away so that there are relatively few nineteenth century toys recovered from within the cabins at Magnolia. Any nineteenth century clay marbles recovered appear to have slipped between the hard packed floors and the walls or into cracks in the floors that were then repaired. Once the raised wooden floors were installed however, the frequency and variety of toys recovered from Magnolia Plantation increases including marbles, porcelain pieces, metal soldiers and plastic Cracker Jack favors. Because of this, a lot of the artifact record within the cabins reflects a time period bounded by the date of the installation of the raised wooden floors until the date that the last family moved from the Quarters (Brown, 2009, Cole, 2013). The toys recovered from this deposit were not left in situ as seen in the abandonment layer at the Levi Jordan Plantation but probably entered the material record through loss or as trash.

The depositional processes for the two plantations have created an artifact assemblage that is not complete for either plantation for the entire time period beginning with the enslaved and stretching into the middle of the twentieth century but by combining the data from both plantations, a clearer record can be created. The antebellum and restoration time period is perhaps better represented by the toy assemblage at the Levi Jordan Plantation due to the presence of the raised wooden floors and the abandonment layer. At Magnolia Plantation, the material record better reflects the lives of the occupants of the cabins once the raised wooden floors were installed, beginning in the 1930s and ending around 1964.

Question One Part A

Regardless of the frequency and variety of toys within the artifact record at both plantations, to answer the first question, if we can see a difference between the toys played with by enslaved children and those played with by emancipated children, the toys from both plantations were seriated (see Appendixes A and B). Carskadden has written that marbles can be useful to historic archaeology as they can indicate economic status or access to trade outlets (Carskadden et al, 1985:95-96). The first glass marbles were expensive, imported from Germany and had to be purchased while clay or ceramic marbles were produced domestically, sometimes even handmade and were inexpensive and easy to acquire. Because they are datable and were recovered from both sites marbles were used as a starting point for this question. Other toys were addressed for purposes of this question, if they could be dated.

For the Levi Jordan Plantation, only eleven of the total seventy four marbles recovered from within the cabins were made of glass while most of the recovered marbles (forty one) were ceramic and would have been relatively common and inexpensive to acquire. As noted above, the presence of wooden floors starting from the time the cabins were constructed resulted in any toy including marbles that slipped through the floor boards to become part of the material record. Because of this, we can be relatively certain that these marbles represent a sample of those that were played with by the children that lived in the Quarters area from the time the cabins were constructed and especially at their abandonment in 1887. The ceramic marble assemblage contained examples of decorated ceramics that can be dated from the middle 1800s to as late as the 1880s (Figure 4.24). One hand blown glass

marble was recovered from some of the deeper deposits (Brown, 2013) and could date as early as the middle 1800s (Figure 4.23), it is probable that this marble was of German manufacture and therefore was expensive (relative to the ceramic marbles) to obtain. Other toys recovered from the Levi Jordan Plantation included a small metal trivet dated to 1879 (Figure 4.25), and a small glazed porcelain doll (Figure 4.27) recovered from within the context of the curer's kit. Highly glazed porcelain was popular for dolls earlier in the nineteenth century until the advent of bisque in the 1880s and so it is possible that this doll could date to antebellum times. However, the context for this doll within a deposit interpreted as belonging to an adult resulted in this doll not being defined as a play item for purposes of this thesis.

At Magnolia Plantation because of the raised wooden floors thought to have been installed during the twentieth century and as late as the 1930s, earlier marbles dropped onto the hard packed dirt floors within the cabins were generally recovered by the occupants of the cabins. Subsequently, most of the material record for toys consists of machine made glass marbles dating to the early twentieth century and as late as 1952. However, there were forty two ceramic marbles (eighteen percent of the total) and six lithic marbles excavated from across the site with most of these being retrieved from cabins 1 and 4 (eighteen and fourteen, respectively). While many marbles were found in the yard spaces, cabin 1 only had one glass marble within its yard spaces while it had sixty glass marbles within its walls. Overall, this cabin had fewer artifacts including toys in its yard spaces when compared to other cabins, probably due to the yard being swept when in use. Most of the marbles recovered from inside cabin 1 were found within units placed close to the walls. This pattern was probably due to depositional processes as discussed above and to post depositional

processes including the National Park Service installation of raised wooden floors and pest control procedures. Some of the ceramic marbles recovered from cabin 1 were from deeper layers of deposit and were probably lost through cracks in the dirt floors or between the dirt floors and the brick walls. Cabin 4 contained two of the oldest marbles recovered, a decorated ceramic marble comparable to the ones recovered from the Levi Jordan Plantation that could date as early as 1840 (figure 4.46) and a blue mottled clay marble that could date as early as 1780 or as late as 1850 (figure 4.47). Evidence has pointed to the construction of the Quarters area as early as the 1830s (Brown 2008a, Heacock, 2011) but beneath the south room of cabin 4 there is evidence of a previous structure (Heacock, 2011). The existence of this early marble could be additional evidence of this early occupation or it could have been a curated item that slipped into a crack in the dirt floor of the cabin and was never retrieved. Wilkie has written that children are not passive, highly valued toys are sometimes curated into adulthood (Wilkie, 2000). Because of this, items that can be given a specific manufactured date might show up in the material record belonging to later generations.

Many of the other toys recovered from Magnolia Plantation were small Cracker Jack or bubble gum favors and pieces of plastic costume jewelry that date from the 1920s to the 1960s reflecting the late twentieth century occupancy of the site. For the nineteenth century, Andrade Lima has written that the most visible toys are usually porcelain dolls and marbles as other material items are more fragile (Andrade Lima, 2012:67). Only a few bisque fragments were recovered from in and around the cabins at Magnolia Plantation and are generally doll parts including several small bisque doll legs and a piece of a head stamped made in Germany. The earliest china dolls were made of highly glazed porcelain, bisque dolls generally date to 1880 and later. None of these earlier ceramic dolls were identified at

Magnolia Plantation. Interestingly, the doll legs that were recovered belong to small dolls that would have been constructed with bisque arms, legs and heads and fabric bodies. The smaller dolls would have been less expensive than some of the larger German made fashion dolls and so might indicate personal choice, economic pressure or availability.

The toy assemblage indicates that the occupants of both the Levi Jordan Plantation and Magnolia Plantation Quarters had access to goods that were not created on the plantation and that personal choice, economic factors or availability of the items played some part in how the marbles were acquired and curated. For the Levi Jordan Plantation personal choice or economics may be seen in the carver's cabin with its overwhelming amount of ceramic and lithic marbles as compared to the other cabins. What is clear for the Levi Jordan Plantation is that the more desirable hand blown German made glass marbles were available at some time before the Quarters were abandoned but did not completely replace the ceramic marbles. These marbles can date as early as 1840 and could have been acquired by an enslaved person and curated into the 1880s but they could also have been acquired post emancipation (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 985-1509). While the porcelain doll could date to enslavement, the metal toys recovered including the trivet when datable all were manufactured post emancipation.

At Magnolia plantation, hand blown glass marbles are not apparent in the material record. While there are some marbles that might be hand blown glass marbles, they did not display obvious pontil marks, German core designs or hand appliquéd surface decoration indicative of those types of marbles. Marbles that appear in the material record during antebellum times are ceramic or stone and those for later times are machine made glass. This is different than the pattern recorded at the Levi Jordan Plantation and primarily reflects the

absence of raised wooden floors as discussed above. However it could arguably also represent a difference in social and economic status, and/or a difference in availability of the marbles or curation. Wiggins has written, “The collection of marbles was one instance in which they could acquire objects of material worth; no matter their monetary value” (Wiggins, 1980:27). The ceramic toy assemblage was mostly bisque dated to the 1880s however a few porcelain pieces were recovered but not identifiable as porcelain dolls. Metal toys were mostly metal soldiers or metal soldier toy bases dating to the twentieth century.

When the material record of both plantations is examined, at first glance there does seem to be a slight difference in the toys played with by enslaved children and those played with by emancipated children. First, the majority of the metal items recovered dated to post-emancipation including the metal trivet and the toy guns at the Levi Jordan plantation and the metal soldiers at Magnolia Plantation, there was not a lot of metal represented in earlier deposits. Second, although the percentage of glass marbles to ceramic marbles recovered is small at the Levi Jordan Plantation (thirteen out of seventy six), there are enough of them considering that as lost items found beneath the wooden floors, they are a small sample of the total population to indicate that they were popular play things. Third, the ceramic doll pieces recovered from Magnolia plantation are bisque and therefore mostly dated to post emancipation with no ceramic doll pieces dated to enslavement. There are no early nineteenth century highly glazed porcelain doll pieces within the Magnolia Plantation toy assemblage. The only example of one of these dolls was found within the curer’s kit at the Levi Jordan Plantation and is being considered a part of an adult’s material record (as mentioned above and in chapters three and four) due to the context from which it was recovered.

This slight difference between toys that may be dated to enslavement and those that are post-emancipation or later can be explained by the depositional processes as discussed above and by the availability of the toys and the materials they are created from. Machine made glass marbles and Cracker Jack toys are evident in the twentieth century assemblage at Magnolia and not within the assemblage at the Levi Jordan Plantation because the Levi Jordan former Quarters area was abandoned before these items became available. A large variety of nineteenth century clay marbles are evident at the Levi Jordan Plantation because they fell through the raised wooden floors or were left in situ when the cabins were abandoned.

Although there are slight differences in the toy assemblages through time, there is no bright line of change seen in the toy assemblage between enslavement and emancipation. The artifact record indicates that the newly freed did not immediately procure expensive toys for their children but rather the items played with did not materially change in form and function. Marbles were still popular but as the glass machine made marbles became available, they gradually replaced the older and less available clay ones. As noted above, the porcelain doll pieces recovered are from small porcelain dolls estimated to be no more than eight inches in height and would have been the least expensive porcelain dolls to acquire. The marbles from Magnolia Plantation were almost exclusively inexpensive machine made and mass produced varieties and the plastic toys were favors from Cracker Jack packages and Gumball machines. What is clear is that the toys recovered within the Quarters and then tenant areas reflect a population from antebellum times (at the Levi Jordan Plantation) to the 1960s (at Magnolia Plantation) with little access to extra funds and expensive toys. At emancipation for the occupants of the Levi Jordan Plantation and Magnolia Plantation former

Quarters area, the toy assemblage does not reflect any substantial improvement or change in living conditions or economies. Even into the twentieth century, the toy assemblage of the children of the tenant families at Magnolia Plantation (predominantly machine made marbles and Cracker Jack toys) indicates that the occupants of the former Quarters area still play with the least expensive and most commonly available toys. Many authors have written that for the formerly enslaved, the process of emancipation, sharecropping and tenant farming was slavery by another name and freedom did not mean wealth or a change in economic or even social circumstances (Blackmon, 2008; Litwack, 1998), the toy assemblage at both the Levi Jordan and Magnolia Plantations seems to support these scholars.

Question One Part B

In general, at Magnolia the dirt floors combined with the difficulty in determining who lived within each cabin for each time period make it difficult to deal with the question of gender. Cabin 3 was the only excavated cabin that did not contain any bisque doll pieces within its walls. The census data shows that in 1870 the Douglas family with three boys could have been the ones living in the cabin. This information was obtained by isolating the occupants of the big house then reading forward counting families and residences assuming that there was one family per each pen of each cabin at this time. The 1870 census was chosen as it lists a large amount of families within the Quarters area after emancipation but before the twentieth century when porcelain dolls were popular. The Douglas family is the fourth family enumerated after the Hertzog family who were probably living in the big house at this time. The lack of bisque doll pieces suggests that for the nineteenth century when this type of toy was popular, girl children were not present in this cabin. If the Douglas family

was the family residing within this cabin, then the question of gender delineation is supported for this cabin at Magnolia Plantation. Unfortunately, linking the Douglas family specifically to this cabin is speculative at best and no confirming evidence is available.

For cabin 1, there is an eyewitness account by a visitor to the Quarters area during the 1930s. Mr. Moran lived just south of the former Quarters area and specifically remembers visiting the cabin during the 1930s because the Williams family who lived there had three good looking daughters. As an eighty three year old in 2009, Mr. Moran was born around 1926 and so would have been anywhere from four to fourteen during the 1930s. He also remembers playing games around the former Quarters area including baseball and marbles (Brown, 2009). Interestingly, there were fifteen plastic items associated with girls found in and around cabin 1 including three pieces in the yard including the only plastic doll part found on the site (most modern plastic dates to the early 1940s with an earlier form called Bakelite dating earlier). This amount constituted a larger raw number than the eleven pieces associated with Cabin 3 and the five pieces associated with cabin 4. However considering the lower frequency of artifacts and toys found in the yard spaces of cabin 1 overall, the higher number was surprising and could be a result of the occupation of the cabin by the Williams family.

The question of gender is easier to address at the Levi Jordan plantation because of the raised wooden floors during the entire occupation of the cabins and the existence of direct census and historical information for who lived within each cabin. The quilter's cabin at the Levi Jordan Plantation was the only cabin that could be isolated as having only female toys as it contained a porcelain doll combined with one of the lowest counts of marbles (two decorated ceramic examples). Unfortunately, census information did not define who might

have been the quilter and how many children they may have had in the cabin at any time. However, census information did specify that the curer's cabin may have been the residence of Maholy Grice Taylor (Brown, 2013) who in 1870 was married with three children; Catherine aged five, George aged three and Fannie aged six months. It also revealed that by 1880, Maholy was a widow still living within the quarters but with no children. The toy assemblage recovered from this cabin included eleven marbles including one large marble contained in a small chest, a platter from a child's tea set also within the chest and the porcelain doll within the curer's kit. This combination of both male and female toys even if we discount the curer's kit doll matches the census information showing that both male and female children lived within this cabin. It is not known what happened to Maholy's children and husband but the presence of the curers kit and four fully articulated buried chickens within the cabin has led Brown to argue that she was the curer and the chickens combined with the small chest containing mementos from her children and husband could have been as a protection device from malevolent spirits (Brown, 2013).

Seven of the excavated cabins with the Levi Jordan former Quarters area contained only male designated toys, these were cabins III-A-2, II-A-4, II-A-2, Seamstress' cabin, carver's cabin, elder's cabin, and praise house/church. The seamstress' cabin toy assemblage consisted of all types of marbles indicating that only male children may have lived there. Brown has written that this may have been the cabin of Adeline (Adaline) Lewis and her five children (Brown, 2013). The census record for 1880 shows Adeline with her five children living in the Quarters area but her five children are all girls; Lillie aged twelve, Roxanne aged ten, Ella aged five, Sarah aged four and Annie aged ten months (U.S. Federal Census, 1880). This combination of toys defined for boys and the census information revealing that

around that time the cabin was occupied by five girls seems to indicate that gender delineation was not supported at the Levi Jordan Plantation. However, a closer inspection of the census records shows that the cabin could have also been inhabited by the McNeal (McNeil) family. In 1870, Rachel McNeil is listed as a seamstress living in Brazoria City but by 1880; she is listed living in the former Quarters area with her husband, John McNeil who is the primary driver for the plantation and one boy named Freeman McFearson aged nine and listed as adopted (U.S. Federal Census, 1880). The material record has indicated that the cabin may have belonged to a seamstress (Brown, 2013) so if the cabin was inhabited by the McNeil family, then the presence of only marbles could support gender delineation for the Levi Jordan Plantation.

In general, gender association to specific toys may be an adult ideal that in actuality is not reinforced by children. Therefore it is not surprising that marbles being plentiful and widely available are found across both sites not just in areas that might be reserved for boys. When it comes to dolls, boys may have been made to feel guilty for wanting to play with traditional dolls possibly leading to their propensity for destroying the dolls of their sisters (Smith, 2010) and to the invention of action figures. Perhaps this is what occurred to the doll represented by all of the bisque in the area just south of Cabin 4 at Magnolia Plantation. However, like children everywhere, antebellum and postbellum children would have played with whatever item was available and often these items do not survive in the material record.

For Magnolia Plantation and the Levi Jordan Plantation, there is no indication when combining census and historical data with the material record that marbles and metal soldiers were reserved for boys while porcelain dolls and tea sets were reserved for girls. Specifically at Magnolia Plantation, the time periods before the installation of the raised wooden floors

have inconclusive results due to the lack of toys recovered. After the installation of the wooden floors, cabins 1 and 3 might show some gender delineation but post depositional processes including the addition of raised wooden floors in Cabin 1 and post control processes by the National Park Service have disturbed some of the deposit. Specifically for the Levi Jordan Plantation, archaeological evidence combined with historical documents for the seamstress' cabin could indicate that gender delineation is not supported if Adeline Lewis and her girls occupied the cabin or could support gender delineation if the McNeal family with their one boy occupied the cabin. In the case of the seamstress' cabin, the existence of all male toys combined with an all female census record led to further research into the cabin and its possible occupants and resulted in test implications that the McNeal family might have been the occupants of the cabin instead of the Lewis family. Using this template, future research might benefit from using the existence of all female or all male toys as a predictor of who might be expected to have occupied a residence at any specific time. Rather than primarily being to prove gender delineation, the existence of all male or all female defined toys could be used as a tool to strengthen or negate a hypothesis of who might have occupied a structure at any given time.

Question Two

This thesis also attempted to locate the school at Magnolia Plantation based on evidence collected from the Levi Jordan Praise House / Church School. Historical evidence has shown that there was a school being conducted within the Quarters at Magnolia Plantation. Overall, none of the excavated cabins exhibited the same pattern as the Levi

Jordan Praise House / Church and later school indicating that none of the excavated Magnolia cabins had been first employed as a Praise House and then turned into a school.

While cabin 1 was the first house on the street and had ritual deposits beneath it, it did not meet the requirements for a Praise House / Church and then School due to the amount of domestic artifacts indicating that it's basic use as a residence had not changed throughout the occupation of the cabin. It also had not been materially changed in structure like the Praise House at the Levi Jordan Plantation. While a center door had been added for access between the north and south room this was evident in all cabins at Magnolia Plantation. This cabin also had access to a small room on the east side of the cabin but no internal restructuring on the scale of cabin 1-A-1. For the artifact assemblage, it did contain many nineteenth century school items including five pieces of slate and a slate pencil and some twentieth century school items. As discussed in Section three of chapter four, twentieth century pencils were counted based on pencil ends as one eraser or metal cap would indicate one pencil. Using this counting method, four twentieth century pencils were recovered from this cabin.

Cabin 4 could also be considered the first house on the street but being closest to the big house and overseers' cabin was not a likely candidate as a Praise House. This cabin did contain some ritual deposits beneath its floors but nothing comparable to cabin 1-A-1. It also had the center door added for access between the north and south rooms but this change was not particular to this cabin. Cabin 4 did have the largest amount of nineteenth century school implements including two slate pencils but the lowest number of twentieth century pencils (using count methodology) of all three excavated cabins.

Cabin 3 was initially not a good candidate for a Praise House / Church then school as it is located in a center position within the row of cabins and could not be considered the first

house on the street under any circumstances. It also had some ritual deposits beneath its floors but nothing comparable to the ones from cabin 1-A-1. However, this cabin did have some structural changes that made it different from the other excavated cabins at Magnolia Plantation and therefore worth a re-examination. Like the other cabins it did have the center door that separated the two rooms of the cabins but unlike the other cabins, it also had a window on the West wall of the south room and the stove in the north room had been repositioned. Cole has argued that the existence of the window in the south room could have been for some sort of commerce and this argument is supported by the artifact assemblage including a large amount of coins recovered from beneath what would have been a raised porch on the west side of the cabin. Additionally, the area beneath the window within the south room of the cabin was devoid of many domestic artifacts indicating that the area had some other use. (Cole, 2013) As mentioned above, this cabin is the only excavated cabin that also has evidence of the stove in the north room being repositioned from the center to the east side of the fireplace. One reason for this repositioning may have been to increase usable space within the north room of the cabin possibly so that the space could be used for larger gatherings or for a different purpose other than solely domestic use. For the nineteenth century school related artifact assemblage, this cabin only had a few slate pieces and as mentioned above a lot of these were in the yard space between cabin 3 and cabin 4. However, this cabin contained the greatest variety of twentieth century writing implements including five pencils (using count methodology), a calligraphy pen point, a gold fountain pen tip and a rectangular piece of lead from a carpenter's pencil.

Overall none of the cabins had the correct artifact assemblage and significant restructuring indicative of the pattern seen at the Levi Jordan Plantation and so none could

have been used as a Praise house / Church then school similar to cabin 1-A-1. The cabins all displayed a relatively equal amount of nineteenth century school supplies. Cabin 4 had more slate pieces and slate pencils if the yard deposits attributed to cabin 3 but closer to cabin 4 are counted. Since the test implications for a Praise House then school were for a nineteenth century pattern, these test implications were abandoned when evaluating the cabins for a twentieth century school and the cabins were examined as primarily domestic structures used part time for schooling. While the data is inconclusive for both antebellum and postbellum time periods, when the twentieth century artifact assemblage recovered from cabin 3 including the specific and costly writing implements is combined with the re-arrangement of the stove in the north room to possibly make additional room and the addition of the window in the south room this cabin seems to be the best candidate for a twentieth century school within the former Quarters.

Conclusion

The questions addressed by this thesis were specific to children and designed to examine the overall experience of an enslaved then emancipated child. The results indicate that overall there was no specific line of demarcation indicated by the material record that could pinpoint the time of emancipation. Generally, the formerly enslaved now free led lives that were similar economically and socially to those that they led when enslaved. Technically, they could leave the plantation but things like Chattel mortgages, lack of opportunities and Jim Crow laws effectively still held them captive. Some things did change however; the formerly enslaved now had access to formal schools and the existence of these now legal schools within the former Quarters areas is proven by the presence of school

teachers on the census records, historical documents and to some extent by the material record.

The children that lived and worked on the Levi Jordan Plantation and Magnolia Plantation not only helped build the plantations they lived on but they also enriched the material record. Their story has mostly been told as part of a larger framework with their contributions being seen as insignificant. As individuals, they have been seen as minimal parts of family structures integral to the purpose of the family but unable to stand as distinct persons. However, historical evidence has shown that at any point in time, children comprised over a third of the enslaved inhabitants at Magnolia Plantation and as soon as they were able, these children were working sometimes without family structures. All of these children have left definable patterns and recognizable artifacts including toys and school items. Since scholars have indicated that the presence of marbles indicates children, arguably without the children on the Levi Jordan and Magnolia Plantations, a large part of the material record would be missing. What is apparent is that the children of antebellum and postbellum times were like all children historically, they wanted to play regardless of their circumstances. While most play items like sticks have not survived into the present, some have. It is by combining historical evidence with a careful study of these toys that the story of children within an antebellum and postbellum plantation environment can be told.

Appendix A: Seriation of Dolls

The origin of the word doll is not really known, it is thought to be either from Old Dutch from the word *dol* meaning whipping top or from old English from the word *doil* or *dold* meaning stupid. For most scholars, a doll is now defined as a plaything made in the image of a human (Robertson, 2004:4). Because dolls are intended to mimic humans they may reveal something about the values of the culture that created them (Robertson, 2004: xi). For example, dolls that are formed and dressed like adults or dolls that resemble infants could be indicators of an effort by a culture to instill feminine ideals such as fashion or skills such as child caring into its children (Derevenski, 2000, 102-103). Fashion dolls are said to have been exchanged by courtiers as early as the 15th and 16th century in order to communicate the latest fashions of the time. These dolls may then have been used by children as play objects or kept by the women who received them as mementos. In fact, there is historical evidence that both Queen Juana of Spain (1479-1555) and Catherine de' Medici (1519-89) both received and retained fashion dolls (Croizat, 2007).

Dolls are usually classified by the material from which they are made and then by manufacturer and type. Very old dolls were usually handmade out of available local materials like wood or fabric and rarely survive in the material record. But in Europe in the early 1800s, dolls with heads, arms and legs made out of either China (glazed) or bisque (unglazed) porcelain attached to fabric bodies began to be manufactured. By 1880, because it more realistically resembled skin, bisque porcelain became more fashionable for dolls than china although some china dolls were still produced. In the early 1900s, composition dolls became popular as they could be manufactured cheaply and were less breakable than those made of porcelain. Composition dolls are made of a mix of wood pulp or paper that has been

molded under pressure and intended to be an alternative to wood. Dolls made of plastic started being manufactured in the 1940s after World War I and usually have painted features and hair. Starting in the 1950s, vinyl became the most widely used material as it was cheap and easy to make, was more like human skin than plastic and allowed lifelike hair to be implanted into the doll. (Coleman, 1968)

Because the majority of antique porcelain dolls were produced between 1860 and 1917 in Germany, (although rare ones were made in the early 1800s in France), they can usually be dated within this date range. Some porcelain dolls are stamped with country of origin while others can be tied to a specific manufacturer and therefore dated by a stamp often found on the back of the head (Coleman, 1968). Without a determining mark, the style of doll and the way it is put together can give some indication of age; Andrade Lima writes that jointed dolls that were produced mainly in Germany dated from the 1850s onwards “represented young women with rosy cheeks, red lips, and painted eyebrows. The heads (sometimes without shoulders), legs and arms were made from porcelain or stoneware, tied by rubber bands, wires, or thread to a body made from fabric or soft leather.” (Andrade-Lima, 2012:70) Because porcelain dolls were expensive, they were often well cared for, replacement pieces could be purchased from retailers such as Montgomery Ward and Sears. (Derevenski, 2000, 102-103) The chart below gives the approximate date range for the most common types of dolls (Coleman, 1968).

Material	Date Range
China	1840 to 1917
Rubber	1851 to Present
Bisque	1860 to 1917
Celluloid	1869 to 1925
Composition	1907 to unknown
Plastic	1940s to present
Vinyl	1950s to present

Appendix B: Seriation of Marbles

For much of the 19th century millions of marbles produced by Germany entered into the United States but by the 20th century, the American toy industry dominated marble production (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990: 55). Intended to be used primarily in a variety of indoor and outdoor games, these small spheres were produced from all types of materials including the most inexpensive clay or ceramic to stone, glass, alabaster, limestone, agate and semiprecious materials. (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990: 55, Carskadden et al, 1985:86) Current archaeological research specific to marbles accepts that marbles indicate the presence of children and has been focusing on the toy industry (Randall 1971, 1986; Carskadden et al 1985). This direction has led to a desire to serialize marbles and has yielded sites in New Orleans and Zanesville, Ohio that have provided “datable contexts” (Gartley and Carskadden, 1990:56). Marbles are dated using a combination of base material, manufacture method, place of origin and decoration. The earliest marbles were locally handmade out of clay while the majority of modern marbles are factory manufactured out of glass. (Baumann, 2004; Gartley and Carskadden, 1990)

Historically, most clay based or ceramic marbles were imported from Germany, however as many as eleven American potteries from 1889 to about 1920 created ceramic marbles along with other products. The most well known of these was American Marble and Toy Company (1890-1904) advertised by Montgomery Ward. (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990: 56) Ceramic marbles can be sub classified as earthenware (low-fired and refined), stoneware or porcelain and are generally less expensive than marbles made of other substances. The most inexpensive are nicknamed “commies” and are made of low-fired earthenware (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:56, 67). Usually they are red, tan or gray but

some believed to be manufactured from 1890 to World War 1, may be brightly colored due to paint or dye. “Commies” are found on sites dated from Colonial times to the 1920s but because many are handmade (sometimes by children), they are hard to date. (Carskadden et al, 1985:88; Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:56) There are three main types of the slightly more expensive refined earthenware marbles; low fired chalky kaolin marbles called “chalkies” or “striped plasters” possibly German made and imported after 1891, “whiteware” marbles from the 1880s to early 1900s, thought to be cheap English or American copies of German porcelain marbles sometimes yellow in color with brown bands and “agateware” marbles made of mixed clays dating from Colonial times to World War I sometimes white with bands of green, blue or brown. (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990: 56-57) Stoneware marbles are sometimes referred to as imitation agates because like agateware marbles, they are partially composed of mixed clays. They are usually dated to 1850 but are more frequent in sites dated around 1890 and include the mottled brown or blue “Benningtons” or “Crockers”, the white or gray banded or swirled “jaspies” and sponged or spattered salt glazed. (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990: 57) Porcelain marbles or “Chinas” are made of highly fired glazed or unglazed white clay and can be with or without handpainted designs (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:57) that mimic the designs on agate marbles (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:58). There were created in Germany starting in the early 1800s but the earliest archaeologically discovered China in the United States is from an 1840 to 1850 privy in Zanesville, Ohio (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:58).

According to Carskadden and Gartley, decorations on ceramic marbles can be used to serialize marbles that were manufactured between 1850 and 1910. Colors used to decorate marbles in order of popularity are; black, orange, green, reddish brown, blue, blue-gray,

orangish-brown, pink and lavender (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:59-60). The most popular process for decoration was to fire the marble to bisque stage, apply a clear glaze to the bisque and then refire resulting in a long wearing design. Some marbles were glazed, painted and then refired resulting in decorations that wore off over time and the illusion in the archaeological record that there are fewer decorated glazed marbles than undecorated ones. (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:61) Datable decorations include intersecting parallel lines or checkered patterns, single circumference winding lines or helixes, banded, bulls-eyes, spirals, leaves, daisy wheels, flowers, complex floral patterns, animals and people, numbers and advertising. (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:61-67) Some of the earliest and most commonly seen decorations are three different colored intersecting parallel lines that create a checkered motif (1850s) while some of the more rare and later decorations belong to the flower and bull's-eye categories (1880s and later)(Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:61).

Carskadden and Gartley's research has demonstrated that ceramic marbles dominated most 1850 to 1890 century artifact assemblages probably due to their greater availability and relative inexpensiveness (Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:55, Carskadden et al, 1985). However although they were not as common, the more expensive handmade glass marbles were more desirable (Baumann, 2004; Carskadden and Gartley, 1990). Handmade glass marbles began to be made in Germany around 1846 and were imported into the United States from that time and into the 1920s as seen in the 1921 and 1923 Sears catalogs (Baumann, 2004, Kindle Location: 1022; Carskadden et al, 1985: 91-92). Handmade glass marbles are identified by the production process used to make them, by design and by material (Baumann, 2004). Most handmade glass marbles start life as colored rods of glass that are formed into a long cylinder called a cane which is melted, twisted and stretched until the

desired pattern of the marble is produced. Once this is achieved, the end of the rod is cut off using marble scissors (Figure Appendix B: 1) which create a sphere (Baumann, 2004).

Marbles produced with these tongs can be identified by their pontils which are rough marks on both ends of the marble caused by the marble being cut off the cane and pressed into the marble scissors (Carskadden et al, 1985; Randall, 1971:104).



Figure Appendix B.1: Marble scissors were patented in 1848 and are tongs with a blade on one end and a cup on the other. The cup end is used to squeeze the glass into a spherical shape and the blade is used to remove the sphere from the glass rod (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1009-1015) picture adapted from www.marblecollecting.com

German swirls are the most common of the old handmade glass marbles; they are recognizable as a clear or light colored glass marble ranging in size from 5/8 to 2 inches usually revealing an inner core made of different colors of glass and a ribboned surface decoration. These marbles were manufactured starting in 1840 and imported into the United States until the late 1920s. The construction of the inner core, size and external decoration indicates rarity. The most common are Latticinio cores that are identified by a net like inner core usually of one color and outer multi colored ribbon decorations. The rest of the German swirls are solid core marbles identified by a core that is created from multiple rods of twisted colored glass. They range from single solid cores where the core is not divided to double, ribbon and rare complex cores where the core appears to be split into multiple strands. (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 985-1509).

Handmade colored glass marbles differ from German swirls as they are made of darker or opaque glass and may have elaborate surface or near surface decoration sometimes made of applied crushed glass, mica or goldstone. Most have descriptive names such as cornhusk, gooseberry, maglite (bright when held against a light), mist, onionskin (speckled), Joseph (multi-colored), peppermint (red and white swirled), Indian (black base color incorrectly believed to have come from India), mellonball (undecorated plain glass can be any color), ballot (black or white plain undecorated used to indicate yes and no votes) and clambroth (creamy opaque the color of clam chowder with spirals). (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1516-2112) Compared to the clearer German swirls, a lot of handmade colored glass marbles are relatively rare. Baumann suggests that these designs may have been considered less attractive and consequently did not sell as well (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Location 1516). Despite the relative rarity of some of these marbles, many of them are datable. Lutzers which are colored glass marbles decorated with copper aventurine first appear in catalogs dated from 1910 to 1915 (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Location 1683). Josephs have been seen as early as 1869 but most were manufactured in the 2nd and 3rd decades of the 20th century and peppermints appear to be popular in the 1920s. Some Indians were probably made by an American manufacturer starting in the 1890s and mellonballs are thought to have been used in early board games (1874 and later). An early example of a pink onionskin (1850 to 1860) was recovered from the bottom of a cistern located next to a 19th century rental house in New Orleans. This deposit is of particular interest to this study as it forms part of an assemblage of eighty-one marbles, forty-eight of them in a tin that can be directly linked to three children (two boys and one girl) that resided in the house starting in

1859 until adulthood (Gartley and Carskadden, 1987). (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1785-1953)

Machine made glass marbles did not come into existence until after the 1902 invention of the automatic glass marble-making machine by M.F. Christensen of Akron, Ohio (Pat. 802,495; granted Oct. 24, 1905; applied for Dec.19, 1902) (Randall, 1986). While there are no descriptions of the very first machine made marbles, it is almost certain that they were made to mimic and ultimately compete with the German handmade marbles (Carskadden et al, 1985:93). The first machine made marbles were relatively expensive costing a nickel a piece (Six et al, 2006:125). By the late 1920s, German control of the American marble market had almost ceased due to the influence of this machine combined with resistance to German produced products because of World War 1. (Carskadden et al, 1985; Carskadden and Gartley, 1990:55; Gartley and Carskadden, 1987; Randall, 1986) Generally, machine made marbles can be identified as they have no pontils and are generally rounder than those that were handmade (Carskadden et al, 1985; Randall, 1971, 1986:162). This is because they are cut off from the glass source at the beginning of the process instead of at the end as in handmade marbles and rolled on rollers instead of formed with marble scissors (Randall, 1986:162). Machine made marbles are often categorized by size but although they are machine made, their individual sizing can vary up to 1/16 of an inch depending on manufacturer. Common sizes are 9/16 (12mm) used for games like Chinese checkers, 5/8 inch (16mm) the most common used for playing marbles, 3/4 inch often used as a shooter marble in marble games, 7/8 inch not very common but seen more often in cat's eye cores, 1 inch (25mm) not that common in the United States but used around the world as

a shooter and the larger marbles of 1 3/8 (35mm), 1 5/8 (42mm) and 2 (50mm) most often used as decorative or advertising pieces (Six et al, 2006).

Although the presence of machine made marbles will date the material record no earlier than 1902 (Gartley and Carskadden, 1987:124), changing manufacturing methods can place some types of these marbles into a more specific temporal frame. Some machine made marbles have a rough feel and what appears to be a single pontil and are identified as transitional marbles made from 1901 to 1926 (Randall, 1971:105). Machine made marbles that are an opaque base color of blue, brown, red or purple with white swirls were probably created by the Akro Agate Company from 1914 to 1930 although other smaller manufacturers mimicked their process (Six et al, 2006). Clear glass marbles portraying comic strip characters were created after 1926 by the Peltier Glass Factory (Randall, 1971:105). Any machine made marble with three or more colors is probably dated to after 1926 when a series of patents amended the marble making manufacturing process that had been previously limited (Randall, 1986:163). Marbles manufactured after 1926, can be dated using advertisements, toy catalogs (www.marblesgalore.com) or by packaging, if it exists. By the 1950s and 60s, marbles began to be packaged by companies as advertising gimmicks and giveaways by gas companies (Mobil, Shell, Sinclair), food companies (Morton's Salt, 7-Up, Dr. Pepper) and others like John Deere. Distinctive cats' eye marbles are clear marbles that get their name from a solid core that mimics a cat's eye and were originally produced by Japanese marble makers in the early 1950s. By 1955, Marble King had copied the process and was producing American made Cat's eyes. Cat's eye marbles were soon the most desirable and popular machine made marble outselling all other types. (Six et al, 2006:94).

The chart below contains a synopsis of each marble type by material (clay, glass, etc.), primary appearance, surface or internal decoration, date range and source of information. The chart is divided into handmade and machine made. All ceramic or natural stone marbles are considered handmade while glass marbles can be hand blown or machine made. Machine made marbles are often identified by manufacturer but because all of their products unless noted are similar and most of them produced marbles within the same timeframe, the distinction will not be used within this thesis for purposes of dating.

Handmade				
Material	Primary decoration or appearance	surface or internal decoration and other information	Dated	Source
Limestone	German		1780-1915	Baumann, 1991
Porcelain or China German	Glazed, Hand-painted		1840-1914	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987
	Unglazed, Hand-painted	Bulls-eye	1840-1914	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987
		Checkered	1840-1914	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987
		Daisy wheel	1840-1914	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987
		Leaves	1840-1914	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987
		Red flowers and berries	1840-1914	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987
		Single set of lines around circumference with daisy wheels, flowers or spirals at end	1840-1914	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987
		Single set of lines around circumference with nothing at end	1840-1914	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987
Refined Earthenware German	Agate white and brown banded		1780-1850	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987:116

	Jaspers – bands of light and brown clay		1850-1910	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987:117
	Lined crockery, white or grey with swirling veins of blue, gray or green		1850-1910	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987:117
	Mottled Agate – white with rounded inclusions of brown or blue clay		1780-1850	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987:116
	Pipe clay – chalky white texture with painted parallel lines		1890-1910	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987:117
Stoneware German or American	Mottled blue or brown glaze		1914-1929	Baumann, 1991:29-30; Gartley and Carskadden, 1990:55-69
Glass German	Clear glass with two pontils	Has swirled core that can be solid but is more likely to be multi-stranded core	1840-1920	Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 985-1509
Glass German or American	Colored glass, some have surface decoration	Lutz – sparkly with surface decoration of copper aventurine	1910-1915	Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1516-2112
		Joseph, multi-colored surface decoration	1910-1930	Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1785-1953
		Peppermint, red and white striped	1920s	Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1785-1953
		Indian – black glass base	1890s -1920	Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1785-1953
		Mellonball, solid colored, used in board games, also known as a clearie	1874 and later	Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1785-1953
		Onionskin, mottled surface decoration	1850 and later	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987). (Baumann, 2004: Kindle Locations 1785-1953
Machine Made				
Glass	Clear or colored	Core of two colors or less	1902 and later	Gartley and Carskadden, 1987:124)
		Core of three or more colors	1926 and later	Randall, 1986:163

		Any type except cat's eye packaged in an advertising package	1926 and later	www.marblesgalore.com
	Clear	Core usually one color resembling a cat's eye	1952 and later	Six et al, 2006:94
	Opaque	Usually by Akro Agate Company - made to imitate Agate marbles with opaque base color of blue, brown, red or purple with white swirls	1914-1930	Six et al, 2006
		Usually by Peltier Glass Company has an applied comic strip character to surface	1926 and later	Randall, 1971:105

Appendix B.2 Chart partially adapted from (Maples, 1998) but amended with updated information including glass marbles and machine made marbles.

Appendix C: LeComte's Journal Pages Showing listing of his enslaved

All pages of Appendix C courtesy of Prudhomme Family Papers, Collection #613

1852.		Magnolia plantation.		Colombian in 1846.
	Names	of male Slaves.	ages.	death.
A.	Ambrise	Mulatto Boy	36. 750	
	Adams	Negro	31. 650	
	x August	"	38. 400 in Aug 1847	
	x August	"	33. 750 death 1847	
	Agnes	Mulatto	27. 500	
	Agnes	Negro	23. 550	
	Albert	Negro	29. 700	
B.	Baptiste	"	47. 900	
	Barthelmy	Mulatto	17. 350 death 1847	
	x Bill	Negro	25. 700 death 1847	
C.	x Charles Nabel?	"	27. 700 death 1847	
	Circague	Mulatto	25. 500	
	Chonchoute	"	26. 550	
	Cupidon	"	36. 750	
	Charles Blacksmith	Negro	23. 550	
	x Choute	"	26. 700 August 1850	
	x Georges	"	30. 700	
	Geos Joe	"	44. 900	
	x Grand mulatto	Mulatto	23. 650 year 1846	
	Grand Louis	"	43. 750	
	x Grand Francis	Negro	62. 10. year 1847	
H.	Henry	"	26. 750	
	x Honore	Mulatto	25. death June 4th 1850	
J.	Joseph	"	24. 600	
	Joseph Drotin	"	52. 400	
	x Joseph Larive	"	54. 750 May 1850.	
	Joseph	Negro	44. 700	
	x John Smith	"	42. 500 Jan 20 1850	
	John Davis	"	34. 550	
	x Joe Gasparite	"	49. 500 - year 1846.	
	Joe England	"	39. 700	
	x Joseph Ophan	"	29. 125 death 1847	
	James	"	38.	
	James file	"	12.	
L.	x Jacques Oyon	"	33. 10. death 1846.	
	Louis (petit)	Mulatto	27. 700	
	x Louis Renon Commandeur	"	66. 350 Jan 1850.	
M.	Moris Carpenter	"	40. 800	
N.	Ned (Boy)	Negro	26. 700	
	Ned (Litley) (Coon)	Born in the pen.	18. Sept 27 1850	
P.	Pauland	"	10. 550	
	Paulin	Mulatto	33. 500.	

Magnolia Plantation					Olanah in 1862	
1852	Names	of male Slaves			aged	death.
	R. Raphael	Negro	Boy		10	1852
	T. Terence	"	"		35	700
	Tony	"	"		26	600
	Thomas Carpenter	"	"		46	700 ^{Chung Aug 1852}
	U. + Ursin	Mulatto	"		39	700 ^{Oct 1852}
	V. Victorien	"	"		27	750
	V. Valden	"	"		28	
	W. William	Negro	"		22	700
	Warren Carpenter	"	Bought in D.C. Jan 1852.		33	700
1853	Names	of male children born since 1848			aged	death
	Celstin	Mulatto	Boy		7	Constance 1865
	Eugene	"	"		3	Agnes Sept 1853
	Albin	"	"		3	Najah Dec 1853
	Narcisse	Negro	"		3	Elise Dec 1853
	Edmond	"	"		1	Lagasse Aug 1854
	Severin	"	"		1	St. Philip Sept 1852
	x Domingue	"	"			Kate July 1852 ^{Chung Aug 1852}
	x Lucien	"	"			Elise Aug 1852 Oct 1853
	Alexis	Mulatto	"			Louisa Sept 1852
	Emile	"	"			Melina Sept 1852
	Ferdinand	Negro Boy	"			Constance Nov 1852
	Alexandre	Mulatto	"			Agnes Nov 1852
1853	x Marcel	Negro Boy	"			Roseline March 1853 ^{Chung Aug 1852}
	x Severin	"	"			Silphie Sept 1852
	Laurant	"	"			Kate Oct 1852
	Baptiste	"	"			Helen Dec 1852
	Ursin	"	"			Louisa July 1853
	x	"	"			Severin Dec 1852
	x	"	"			Constance
	x	"	"			Kate Jan 1853
	x	"	"			Silphie Aug 1852
	Emile	Mulatto	"			Almaly Jan 1853
	Francis	Negro Boy	"			Constance Nov 1852
	Ferdinand	"	"			Kate Feb 1853
	Severin	"	"			Roseline Aug 1852
	Nouvill	"	"			Helen Oct 1852
	Sustane	Negro	"			Kate Jan 1853
	Mosis	Negro	"			Helen July 1853

1853		Magnolia Plantations		Estimated in 1853	Age	Months
Names		of female Slaves				
A.	Agnes	Negro	girl	47.	240	1853
x	Agnes	"	"	89.	10	Sept. 1853
x	Agnes	"	"	23.	550	
B.	Agnes	"	"	4.	100	July 1853
C.	Caroline	Mulatto	"	35.	600	
x	Constance	Negro	" (conception)	37.	500	1853
x	Clarissa	"	"	44.	520	1853
	Catherine	"	"	21.	450	
	Constance	"	"	37.	500	
	Clothilda	Mulatto	"	19.	350	
	Chaguit	"	"	22.	400	
	Clementine	"	"	30.		
x	Alfred	"	"	7.	150	Sept. 1853
F.	Alfred	Negro	"	57.	100	Sept. 1853
	Felix	"	"	8.		
	Francoise	"	"	62.	10	
x	Fanchon	"	"	23.	550	Nov. 20. 1853
E.	Elodie	Mulatto	"	39.	600	
H.	Helene	Negro	"	26.	150	
	Hortense	"	"	25.	600	
	Hortense (chick)	Mulatto	"	58.	350	
	Hortense	"	"	7.	100	
x	Hortense (nurse)	"	"	62.		Nov. 7. 1853
x	Hennette	"	"	22.	500	Jan. 1853
x	Hennette	Negro	"	21.	550	Jan. 1853
	Hennette (gross)	Mulatto	"	33.	750	
J.	Janette	Negro	"	30.	500	Jan. 1853
	Julia	Mulatto	"	43.	750	
x	Isabelle	Negro	"	19.	450	Jan. 1853
K.	Kitty, or Kate	"	"	19.	250	
	Kyrak	"	"	31.	700	
L.	Lagoda	"	"	19.	550	
	Lorenza	Mulatto	"	21.	450	
x	Leila	"	"	24.	500	Jan. 1853
M.	Maria (gross)	Negro	"	22.	550	Jan. 1853
x	Maryle	"	"	34.	600	Jan. 1853
x	Maria Scanne	"	"	52.	350	Jan. 1853
	Mimi	"	"	40.	600	
	Marguerite	"	"	7.		
	Marcelite	"	"	39.	600	

1852		Magnolia Plantation		age	deaths
Name		of female slaves			
M	Melia	Mulatto	girl	25. 500	
	Mathilde	"	"	45. 400	
	Meliza	"	"	23. 450	
	Mariquinia	"	"	47. 300	
	Madelaine	"	"	39. 600	
	Marinette	Negro	"	47. 150 girl 1807	
	+ Martha	"	"	39. 450 maid 1809	
	Marguerite	"	"	6.	
O. +	Octavie	"	"	13. 300 p/s 1851	
P.	Pasite	"	"	30. 550	
R. +	Rodolphe	at Chateau Lake	"	31. 500.	
	Rose	Mulatto	"	35. 600	
S. +	Suzanne (old)	"	"	69. 10. 9. 1853.	
	+ Suckey	Negro	"	45. 400. 35. 400/1853	
	Suzanne (manu's wife)	"	"	18. 200	
	Tarah	"	"	40. 750	
	Telliphine	"	"	29. 550	
	+ Tally	"	"	60. 40. 19. 1850.	
V. +	Victorine	Mulatto	"	38. 400 1854	
	Venus	Negro	"	36. 525.	
Z. +	Zolina	"	"	31. 600 July 1851	
1852.		Name of female children born since 1850.		mother's name	year deaths.
	Ambrosine	Negro girl		4. Zolina Feb 1852	
	Suzanne	"		3. Helene Nov 1852	
	+ Legida	Leurot	"	2. Constante Oct 1852	Em. n. 1855.
	Amin	Mulatto	"	Henriette Feb 1853	
	Clara	Negro	"	Helene March 1853	
	Mathilde	Mulatto	"	Clementine Dec 1853	
	Amanda	Mulatto	"	Henriette Oct 1853	
	+ Arsene	Negro	"	Constante May 30. 1853	
	Mene	"	"	Helene 1854	
	+ Supette	Negro girl		Agnes Aug 1853	
	Deneige	m.	"	Suzanne Jan 27. 1855	
	Solito	m.	"	Clara Apr 17. 1855	
	Charlotte	m.	"	Emeline Jan 15. 1855	
				Helene Jan 1855	
				Clara Jan 1855	
				Agnes 1855	
	Emeline	Mulatto	"	Constante July 1855	
	Georgiana	Mulatto	"	Meliza April 1857	
Turn to page after Book 13					

550
 650
 650
 800
 600
 150 y^r 1807
 650 march 1809
 200 p^y 20 deca-1851.
 550
 500.
 600
 10 g^t Feb. 1853.
 400. 22 April 1853
 200
 750
 500
 42 Aug 19. 1850.
 and 1854
 755.
 600 July 20. 1851.
 1850
 Non
 year deaths.
 Fed next
 Feb 1849
 24/1852 Dec. 10. 1855.
 Feb. 1853
 1850
 March 1851
 Dec. 21. 1852.
 27. 1854.
 May 31. 1855. May 21. 1854
 - 1854
 Jan 4. 1850
 May 27. 1855.
 1/17/1855
 June 15. 1855 -
 1855. 1855.
 Jan. 1856 Jan. 1856.
 1857
 July 1. 1858
 Feb 17. 1857
 1853

18వ పే.

Dict #

1853		Shallow Lake Plantation		Estimate in 1845	
		Names of male Slaves		ages	deaths
B.	Beliver	Negro	Boy	14.	
D.	x Daniel Blacksmith	"	"	42. 800 march 24. 1857.	
x	Daniel	"	"	32. 750 Dec 17th 1855.	
E.	Elijah	"	"	49. 600	
x	Edward	young	"	- - - Jan 1846.	
F.	x Friday	" at Magnolia	"	54. 340 died 1856	
	Francois	"	"	15. 200	
G.	Gabriel	"	"	44. 700	
	Greene	"	"	42. 750	
H.	Harry	"	"	33. 600	
J.	x James	"	"	57. 250 died 1852.	
	Jacob	"	"	30. 625.	
	Leon	"	"	21. 500	
	Julis	"	"	24. 550	
	Juan Baptiste	"	"	45. 750	
x	Jacques Solo	"	"	- 22. 750 march 16th 1858.	
N.	Kiel	"	"	44. 600 march 1858.	
x	Kenville	"	"	45. 750 Jan 1858.	
P.	Pierre or Peter	Mulatto	"	31. 600	
S.	Solo.	Negro	"	48. 150	
T.	Toussaint	"	"	29. 750.	
x	Tomas Monte	"	"	52. 650 Dec 5th 1855.	
x	Tomas Dugues	" at Magnolia	"	62. 250 Jan 6th 1857	
1852.		Names of male children born since 1845.		mothers Born	deaths
				ages	
	Louis (A. B. Rachal)	Mulatto	Boy	7	Christina any 1855
	Denis	Negro	"	4	d. 1848
	Pantaleon	"	"	1	July 1857 - July 1858.
x	Pignin	"	"	2	Marine a p. 1850 - died 1855
	Sustane	"	"	1	Adeline Aug 7. 1857.
x	Silvin	"	"		Marine a p. 1850 - died 1855
1854	Sequies	"	"		Christina march 1858.
1855	Paulinaire	"	"		Marine July 11. 1858.
"	Silvin	"	"		Christina March 1858.
1856	x Louis	"	"		Christina March 1858.
1857	x Marcel	"	"		Christina March 1858.
1858	Kiel	"	"		Christina March 1858.
1859	Sustane	"	"		Christina March 1858.

Plantation
near Richmond
15th
15th

C493

1852.	Names	of Female Slave	Color	Age	death
A.	Adeline	Negro	girl	23.	450
	Adèle	"	"	19.	300
	Adeline	"	"	15.	200
	Amory	Mulatto	"	47.	550
	Angèle	Negro	"	13.	150
B. x	Basilis	"	"	16.	300 June 12 th 1853
C. x	Céleste	"	"	29.	400 Feb 15 th 1857
	Célestine	"	"	31.	
	Céline	"	"	11.	150
D. x	Dolore	"	"	26.	550, April 5 th 1855.
E.	Edou	"	"	23.	550
F. x	Fanny	born at Magdalen 1851.	"	43.	600
	Francine	born at Magdalen 1851.	"	67.	150
J.	Jeanne (petite)	"	"	57.	10
L.	Lucette	"	"	30.	550
M.	Marine	"	"	31.	600
O.	Oliver	"	"	40.	100.
R. x	Rose	"	"	29.	550
S.	Séverine	born at Magdalen 1851.	"	18.	200
T.	Thérèse	"	"	42.	
Z.	Zéline	"	"	23.	550.

1853.	Names	of Female children born since 1851.	Color	Age	death
	Félicienne	Negro	girl	5	Edou 1857
	X. Reine	"	"	3	d. July 11 th 1855
	X. Célestine	"	"	3	Dolore 1859, died 1855
	Damasine	"	"		Lucette mulatto
1854	Louisa	Mulatto	"		Edou 1859
	Marcelite	Negro	"		Lucette - died 1859 Aug 1857
	Souri	Mulatto	"		Adeline 1859
1855	Jeanne	Negro	"		Adeline 1859
1856	Orthémide	Negro	"		Edou 1859
	Aurore	Negro	"		Adeline 1859
	Francine	Negro	"		Edou 1859
1857	Pauline	Negro	"		Marine 1859
1858	Léide	Negro	"		Edou 1859
1859	Antonia Virginia	Negro	girl		Adeline 1859
1860	Nanette	Negro	girl		Adeline 1859

1853. Slaves on Shallow Lake plantation at Acad. Manual.

				Mother's name	Birth date
	Louise	Negro Woman	35 years		
x	William or Willie	"	Boy	Louise	1838 July 27, 1851.
	Jim	"	"	d.	1840
	Jean Baptiste	Mulatto	"	"	20 th June 1847
	Paulin	"	"	"	29 th June 1848
	Louisiana	"	Girl	"	4 Nov. 1849
x	Lovais	"	Boy	"	27 Oct 1851 Oct. 1852
	Estace	"	Girl	"	25 Dec. 1852
	Colitain	Negro	Boy	"	29 March 1853

Estimation
in the year
1851. [47]

1852

Vienna Plantation Cote d'Or.

Names of male slaves				ages	deaths
B.	Bush	negro	man	31	450
D.	Desir	"	"	36	900
E. x	Edmond	"	"	31	600 Jan 23-1856
N.	Nelson	"	"	45	800
x	Red	"	"	34	900 April 2-1858
R. x	Robert	"	"	31	700 Sept-1857
x	Reine	mulatto	"	24	800
S.	Scott	Negro	"	46	750
1854. February 17th Brought at Victor Compagnac's Sale.				Cost at 1850	
	Sack	negro	man	42	1600.
	Payson	"	"	42	1500.

1852

Names of male children at Vienna.

Names	Estimation in 1851.	negro	Boy	ages	mother's name	year	deaths
Isabella	200	"	"	6	Laura	1846	
Israel	300	"	"	5	Idley	1847	
Isaac	300	"	"	5	Maria	1847	
Aaron	150	"	"	4	Florence	1848	
Anderson	200	"	"	4	Viney	1848	
Desir S.	150	2ick	"	3	Lama	1849	
	200	x	x	2	x	1850	
Elias	50	"	"	-	"	Feb 1852	
1854. February 17th - Brought at Victor Compagnac's Sale				Cost at 1850			
Lewis		son of Payson	Boy	11		1775	
Payson S.		d° - d°	d°		x. Estimated to cost	500.	
Tommy		negro Boy	born		Maria	1857	
Lankey		"	"		Florence	1854	
Samuel		"	"		Sarah Dwyer	1857	
Labe		"	"		Mathilda	1858	

1851.		Vienna Plantation Cole Log Cabin.		Estimation in the year 1851	1849
		<u>Names of Female Slaves</u>		<u>ages</u>	<u>deaths</u>
C.	x Charlotte	negro woman.		41. 500	Sept. 1857
E.	x Ellen orphan	" girl	small negro	9. 300	
F.	Florence	" woman, wife of		31. 600	
	Flora	" "		32. 650	
I.	x Idley	" " "	Roni	31. 600	Dec 31. 1854
L.	Laura	" " "	Delir	31. 600	
M.	Maria	" " "		31. 650	
V.	x Viney	" " "		41. 600	dead
1852		Bought at Victor Sompagnac's sale			
	February 17th	Caddy - wife of Jack - green cork - last birth - 45. 5. 1835.			
		Matilda - wife of Peyton - Sickly (Estimated cost) 35. - 310.			
1852.		<u>Names of Female children at Vienna Plantation.</u>		<u>ages</u>	<u>deaths</u>
		<u>in 1851</u>	<u>mother's name</u>	<u>year</u>	<u>deaths</u>
	Sarah	300	negro girl	8	Idley - 1844
	Coley	150	" "	3	" - 1849
	Sarah Jane	150	" "	3	Maria 1849
	Rebecca	100	" "		Florence 1853
	Erin	150	" "	2	Laura - 1850.
1854		Bought at the sale of Victor Sompagnac.			
	February 17th	Nancy - child of Peyton		6. mother dead - 300.	
	Dec. 26th	Negro girl - Louisa		Idley - Dec 1854	
		" girl - Lafitte		Laura - 1855	
		" girl - Madeline		Florence Feb 1856	
		" girl Rachel		Laura Jan 1859	

[51]

Estimate
with grain
1847

1852 Vanacucou. Vachery. aged 1847 *deaths*

C.	Charles	Negro	man	53.350
E. x	Elois	"	"	54.750 <i>from 1847 to 1852</i>
G.	Grand Baptiste	"	"	67.250
H.	Honoré	"	"	54.350

1852 At Spanish Lake

B. x	Baptiste Ardennier	Negro	man	67. 50 <i>dis. may 1852.</i>
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1852 At Cape hope

B. x	Bob	Negro	man	35.600 <i>Sold to</i>
J.	John	<i>at S. Lake</i>	Boy son of Laura 1850	11 350 <i>in 1852</i>
M.	Manuel	<i>at S. Lake</i>	"	20.400 <i>New with 1847</i>
P.	Picayune	<i>at S. Lake</i>	"	19 -
	Paul	<i>at S. Lake</i>	Mulatto	14.150
R.	Reni	<i>at S. Lake</i>	"	17.400
W.	Wolsey	<i>at S. Lake</i>	Negro	27.450
1852	1852	1852	1852	1852
	Prudent	<i>at S. Lake</i>	Mulatto	14.500
	Alexander	<i>at S. Lake</i>	Mulatto	15.500

1852. House Servants.

x	Anis	Negro	man	57.250 <i>apt 30 1852</i>
	Jeanne	"	Woman	62.150
	Clement	Mulatto	man	40.900
	Frank	Negro	"	29.750
x	Celeste	"	Woman	38. - <i>from 19th 1852.</i>
	Clementine	Mulatto	"	18
	Coralie	"	girl	16
0	Appoline	"	"	13. 180 <i>dis. in 1852</i>
x	Esther	"	man	52.500 <i>from 22 1852</i>
	Suzanne	"	Woman	34.
	Janet	Negro	"	22.
	Fanny	Mulatto	"	40.
	Achille	<i>at S. Lake</i>	Boy	8 <i>Capit</i>
	Paul	<i>at S. Lake</i>	"	4.
1852	Prudent	<i>at S. Lake</i>	Woman	30. <i>from</i>
	Sauvur	<i>Bought at S. Lake</i>	Woman	18. <i>from</i>

Appendix D:
Marbles at Magnolia Plantation
by Material, Cabin and General Area around or in Cabin

Ceramic Marbles			
	Cabin	Area	Long Description
1	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 3RD UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	CERAMIC BOTTLE STOPPER MARBLE
2	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 3RD UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	MARBLE CERAMIC
3	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL FIRST UNIT	MARBLE CERAMIC BROKEN
4	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL FIRST UNIT	MARBLE CERAMIC
5	CABIN 1	NORTH WEST YARD BETWEEN CABIN 1 AND CABIN 2	DECORATED CERAMIC 1/2 INCH MARBLE WITH GREY/BLUE DOUBLE LINE
6	CABIN 1	S PEN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, SOUTH PEN, 3/4 INCH CERAMIC MARBLE OR BOTTLE STOPPER, POSSIBLE COMMIE, LOW FIRED EARTHENWARE
7	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	CERAMIC MARBLE OR BOTTLE STOPPER, MEDIUM BROWN TO ORANGISH COLOR, 4/8 INCH
8	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF HEARTH	CERAMIC MARBLE
9	CABIN 1	S PEN LEFT WALL NORTH OF PIT	CLAY POSSIBLE MARBLE, PROBABLY BOTTLE STOPPER DUE TO SMALL SIZE, 4/8 INCH
10	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	ORANGE CLAY MARBLE OR BOTTLE STOPPER, PITTED WITH SMALL HOLE ONE ONE SIDE, 4/8 INCH
11	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	BOTTLE STOPPER, NOT ROUND, 5/8 INCH
12	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLAY BOTTLE STOPPER, NOT ROUND, 5/8 INCH
13	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CERAMIC BOTTLE STOPPER, 5/8 INCH
14	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL, PIT	STONE MARBLE, HAS A SMALL HOLE ON ONE SIDE, HAS WHAT COULD BE TRACES OF DECORATION ON THE OTHER, 5/8 INCH
15	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	STONE OR CERAMIC BOTTLE STOPPER, 4/8 INCH, PITTED AND UNEVEN
16	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	CERAMIC MARBLE, LOOKS HANDMADE, 4/8 INCH
17	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	STONEWARE BOTTLE STOPPER OR

			MARBLE, 1 PIT ON ONE SIDE, 4/8 INCH
18	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	CERAMIC BOTTLE STOPPER, HAS A LITTLE FLAT SIDE, SLIGHTLY LESS THAN 4/8 INCH
19	CABIN 1	SOUTHWEST YARD	PITTED NOT COMPLETELY ROUND, 3/4 INCH IN DIAMETER
20	CABIN 1	SOUTHWEST YARD	BOTTLE STOPPER, PITTED, NOT COMPLETELY ROUND, 1/2 INCH
21	CABIN 3	EAST YARD UNDER NORTH ADDITION	17/32 INCH, DARK BROWN CLAY BOTTLE STOPPER OR MARBLE
22	CABIN 3	EAST YARD UNDER NORTH ADDITION	1/2 INCH CERAMIC BROKEN DARK CLAY MARBLE OR BOTTLE STOPPER
23	CABIN 3	N PEN WEST WALL	COULD BE A COMMIE, VERY MISHAPEN, HAS FLAT NOTCH WHERE IT WAS PROBABLY PUT DOWN TO FIRE, MEDIUM BROWN
24	CABIN 3	NORTH YARD	11/16 INCH CERAMIC WHITE MARBLE, CODED AS LITHIC, NOT STONE
25	CABIN 3	NORTH YARD	17/32 INCH PARTIALLY BROKEN DARK BROWN CLAY BOTTLE STOPPER OR MARBLE
26	CABIN 3	NORTH YARD	5/8 INCH LIGHT CLAY UNEVEN BOTTLE STOPPER OR MARBLE
27	CABIN 3	NORTH YARD	CHIP OFF A CERAMIC WHITE PASTE MARBLE WITH WHAT LOOKS LIKE SALT GLAZE ON IT
28	CABIN 4	N PEN	BROWN CERAMIC MARBLE, HAS HATCH MARKINGS ALL OVER IT JPG 5543
29	CABIN 4	N PEN	CERAMIC MARBLE
30	CABIN 4	N PEN	YELLOW MARBLE CERAMIC
31	CABIN 4	N PEN	19/32 INCH CERAMIC BLUE AND WHITE MARBLE, DARKLY COLORED VERY UNUSUAL MOTTLED JPG 5627
32	CABIN 4	N PEN	WHITE CERAMIC MARBLE WITH DARK RED AND BLUE STRIPES, BLUE GO ONE WAY AND RED GO THE OTHER, JPG 5624
33	CABIN 4	N PEN	9/16 INCH "COMMIE", EARTHENWARE MARBLE OR BOTTLESTOPPER HAND FORMED, LIGHT BROWN IN COLOR JPG 5553
34	CABIN 4	N PEN	21/32 INCH STONE MARBLE, WHITE PASTE WITH BROWN FLAT GLAZE, HAS STRIATIONS AROUND MIDDLE AND INDENTATION ON ONE SIDE, HAD RED FLECKS OF SOMETHING EMBEDDED WITHIN THE STONE AND COULD BE PAINTED jpg 5632

35	CABIN 4	NORTH YARD	LOOKS LIKE A SALT GLAZE, IT IS DARK BROWN MOTTLED AND SHINY jpg 5719
36	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH CERAMIC MARBLE, HAS INDENTATIONS ON EACH END JPG 5665
37	CABIN 4	S PEN	13/16 INCH HARD FIRED UNGLAZED CERAMIC MARBLE JPG 5605
38	CABIN 4	S PEN	CERAMIC BALL OR BELL
39	CABIN 4	S PEN	19/32 INCH COULD ALSO BE A STONE OR FLINT MARBLE
40	CABIN 4	S PEN	19/32 INCH CERAMIC MARBLE JPG 5664
41	CABIN 4	S PEN	CERAMIC BALL
42	CABIN 4	S PEN	CERAMIC BOTTLE STOPPER MARBLE
Glass Marbles			
	Cabin	Area	Long Description
	CABIN 1	N PEN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, NORTH PEN, 19/32 INCH SEMI OPAQUE MARBLE, 2 COLOR GREEN SURFACE DECORATION, NO CORE
1	CABIN 1	N PEN CENTER EAST UNIT	MARBLE
2	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 2ND UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	BLUE GLASS MARBLE
3	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 2ND UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	MARBLE RED GLASS
4	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 2ND UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	MARBLE BLUE CLEAR GLASS
5	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 2ND UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	MARBLE BLUE WHITE GLASS
6	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 2ND UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	CLEAR WHITE MARBLE
7	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 3RD UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	CLEAR GLASS WITH WHITE AND AQUA SWIRL, 4/8 INCH DIAMETER
8	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 3RD UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	GLASS MARBLE WITH RED SWIRL
9	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 4TH UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	RED CORE AND RED SWIRL MARBLE, 4/8 INCH

10	CABIN 1	N PEN EAST WALL 4TH UNIT ON WALL GOING NORTH FROM CONNECTING WALL	BLUE, CREAM AND RUST MARBLE, CORE IS BLUE SWIRLS ARE CREAM AND RUST, 5/8 INCH
11	CABIN 1	N PEN N WALL CENTER	UNIDENTIFIED MARBLE
12	CABIN 1	N PEN N WALL CENTER	UNIDENTIFIED MARBLE
13	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL 2ND UNIT GOING N FROM CONNECTING DOOR	WHITE AND RED SWIRL MARBLE, 5/8 INCH
14	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL 2ND UNIT GOING N FROM CONNECTING DOOR	RED AND WHITE GLASS MARBLE
15	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL 2ND UNIT GOING N FROM CONNECTING DOOR	RED AND WHITE GLASS MARBLE
16	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL FIRST UNIT	OPAQUE BLUE AND WHITE SWIRL MARBLE, VERY DAMAGED, LITTLE LARGER THAN 4/8 INCH
17	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL FIRST UNIT	UNIDENTIFIED MARBLE
18	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL FIRST UNIT GOING N FROM CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR, WITH ORANGE. BLUE AND WHITE SWIRLED CORE, POSSIBLE CATS EYE MARBLE, 5/8 INCH
19	CABIN 1	NORTH WEST YARD BETWEEN CABIN 1 AND CABIN 2	RED WHITE AND BLUE SWIRL MARBLE, 4/8 INCH
20	CABIN 1	PORCH	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, PORCH, YELLOW OPAQUE 9/16 INCH MARBLE, POSSIBLE BALLOT BOX, 2 FEET FROM N DOOR / 1.5 FEET FROM CABIN
21	CABIN 1	S PEN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, SOUTH PEN, 19/32 INCH GLASS MARBLE, GREEN AND WHITE SWIRL SURFACE COLLECITON, NO CORE
22	CABIN 1	S PEN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, SOUTH PEN, 5/8 INCH CLEAR LIGHT BLUE GLASS WITH LIGHT WHITE AND BLUE SURFACE SWIRL DECORATIONS
23	CABIN 1	S PEN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, SOUTH PEN, 5/8 INCH OPAQUE GLASS MARBLE, WHITE AND ORANGE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION
24	CABIN 1	S PEN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, SOUTH PEN, 5/8 INCH GLASS MARBLE, BLUE AND WHITE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION
25	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	OPAQUE BLUE AND WHITE MACHINE MADE WITH SWIRLS, 4/8 INCH
26	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR WITH LIGHT GREEN, WHITE AND OXBLOOD SWIRLS ON IT, POSSIBLE HANDMADE, 5/8 INCH

27	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	OPAQUE BLUE AND WHITE SWIRL MARBLE, SEEMS TO HAVE CUT MARKS ON EITHER SIDE, 5/8 INCH
28	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR LIGHT GREEN WITH WHITE AND GREEN EXTERNAL SWIRLS, 5/8 INCH
29	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	INDIAN WITH WHITE SWIRLS, POSSIBLE PLAYRITE OUT OF WEST VIRGINIA, 5/8 INCH
30	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR WITH WHITE EXTERNAL SWIRLS, ONE ORANGE STREAK, 5/8 INCH
31	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR GLASS WITH LIGHT GREEN, WHITE AND GREEN SWIRLS, 5/8 INCH
32	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR WITH YELLOW SWIRLS, POSSIBLE HANDMADE DUE TO IRREGULAR SPHERE, 5/8 INCH
33	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	MARBLE GLASS
34	CABIN 1	S PEN LEFT WALL NORTH OF PIT	OPAQUE GREEN AND WHITE SWIRL, 5/8 INCH
35	CABIN 1	S PEN LEFT WALL NORTH OF PIT	OPAQUE RED AND WHITE SWIRL, 5/8 INCH
36	CABIN 1	S PEN MIDDLE OF FLOOR	1/4 OF A GLASS RED AND WHITE OPAQUE SWIRL MARBLE
37	CABIN 1	S PEN RIGHT MIDDLE WALL	MARBLE GLASS
38	CABIN 1	S PEN RIGHT MIDDLE WALL	MARBLE GLASS
39	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLEAR WITH MULTIPLE SHADES OF GREEN SWIRLS AND A WHITE SWIRL, 4/8 INCH
40	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLEAR WITH MULTICOLORED GREEN SWIRLS, 4/8 INCH
41	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	RED OR ORANGE CLEAR GLASS MARBLE, "TRANSLUCENT", NO SWIRLS OR DECORATIONS, 4/8 INCH, VERY PITTED
42	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	WHITE AND GREEN SEMI OPAQUE WITH INTERNAL SWIRLS, 4/8 INCH
43	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLEAR WITH GREEN SWIRLS ON OUTSIDE, 5/8 INCH
44	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	OPAQUE WHITE WITH YELLOW SWIRLS, 5/8 INCH
45	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLEAR HALF GREEN AND HALF LIGHT GREEN WITH RED SWIRL, 5/8 INCH
46	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLEAR VERY LIGHT YELLOW WITH WHITE SWIRLS ON SURFACE ONLY, SLIGHTLY SMALLER THAN 5/8 INCH
47	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	MULTI OPAQUE SWIRL, 5/8 INCH
48	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	MULTI OPAQUE SWIRL, 5/8 INCH

49	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLEAR WITH GREEN AND WHITE SWIRLS ON THE OUTSIDE,
50	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLEAR GREEN WITH WHITE CORE AND SWIRL,
51	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL	CLEAR BLUE WITH LIGHT BLUE SWIRL, SURFACE ONLY
52	CABIN 1	S PEN, SOUTH WALL, PIT	ORANGE AND WHITE SWIRLED GLASS MARBLE, PELTIER SLAG, 5/8 INCH
53	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	CLEAR GLASS WHITE SURFACE SWIRL, 5/8 INCH PITTED
54	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	OPAQUE WHITE AND YELLOW SWIRL, 5/8 INCH
55	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	DARK RED OXBLOOD OR CARNELIAN WITH WHITE SURFACE SWIRL, 5/8 INCH
56	CABIN 1	N PEN WEST WALL FIRST UNIT	MARBLE GLASS
57	CABIN 1	S PEN IN FRONT OF CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR WITH WHITE AND RED SWIRLS, 5/8 INCH
58	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	CLEAR GLASS AND AQUA SWIRL, 4/8 INCH DIAMETER
59	CABIN 1	SOUTH WALL OF CABIN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION - PORCH, OPAQUE 5/8 INCH BLOOD RED AND YELLOW MARBLE
60	CABIN 1	SOUTHWEST YARD	OPAQUE SWIRL, RED AND WHITE, 5/8 INCH. PITTED
61	CABIN 1	SOUTHWEST YARD	OPAQUE SWIRL, BLUE AND WHITE, 5/8 INCH, EXTREMELY PITTED POOR CONDITION
62	CABIN 1	SOUTHWEST YARD	BOTTLE STOPPER CLEAR
63	CABIN 3	EAST ADDITION	FOREST GREEN CATS EYE MARBLE, 5/16 INCH
64	CABIN 3	EAST ADDITION	GREEN AND WHITE SWIRLED MARBLE, 4/8 INCH
65	CABIN 3	EAST ADDITION	GREEN MARBLE WITH WHITE SWIRLS ON SURFACE, 5/8 INCH
66	CABIN 3	EAST ADDITION BY S PEN	RED CLEAR MARBLE BUT COMPLETELY FULL OF DARK RED SWIRLS SO LOOKS OPAQUE, 5/8 INCH
67	CABIN 3	EAST ADDITION BY S PEN	GREEN AND WHITE SWIRLED MARBLE, 4/8 INCH
68	CABIN 3	EAST ADDITION BY S PEN	ORANGE AND WHITE SWIRLED MARBLE, 5/16 INCH
69	CABIN 3	EAST ADDITION BY S PEN	OPAQUE BLUE AND WHITE MARBLE, 4/16 INCH
70	CABIN 3	EAST YARD	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE BUT HAS GLASS BUBBLES THROUGHOUT, NO CORE, NO DECORATION 5/8 INCH
71	CABIN 3	EAST YARD	OPAQUE, BLOOD RED 23/32 INCH MARBLE, PARTIALLY BROKEN ON ONE SIDE, NO DECORATION

72	CABIN 3	EAST YARD ADDITION	CLEAR GLASS, LIGHT YELLOW WITH YELLOW RIBBONED CORE, 5/8 INCH
73	CABIN 3	EAST YARD UNDER ADDITION	5/8 INCH CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH TURQUOISE SWIRL CORE
74	CABIN 3	EAST YARD UNDER ADDITION	5/8 INCH, CLEAR GLASS WITH ORANGE CORE SWIRL
75	CABIN 3	EAST YARD UNDER NORTH ADDITION	5/8 INCH CLEAR GLASS MARBLE, HAS BLUE CORE
76	CABIN 3	EAST YARD UNDER NORTH ADDITION	5/8 INCH OPAQUE BLUE AND WHITE SWIRL MARBLE
77	CABIN 3	N PEN	
78	CABIN 3	N PEN	4/8 INCH OPAQUE 1/2 BLUE AND 1/2 WHITE
79	CABIN 3	N PEN	5/8 INCH CLEAR RED GLASS WITH RED CATS EYE SWIRL
80	CABIN 3	N PEN	5/8 INCH, CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH WHITE SWIRL, REALLY DESTROYED
81	CABIN 3	N PEN	3/4 INCH SEMI OPAQUE WHITE GLASS MARBLE, NO DECORATION AT ALL
82	CABIN 3	N PEN BY DOOR	5/8 INCH CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH ORANGE INTERNAL CATS EYE TYPE SWIRL
83	CABIN 3	N PEN IN FRONT OF HEARTH	
84	CABIN 3	N PEN WEST WALL	OPAQUE LIGHT GREEN AND DARK RED BROWN SWIRL
85	CABIN 3	N PEN WEST WALL	REALLY DESTROYED GLASS MARBLE
86	CABIN 3	NORTH YARD	5/8 INCH BROKEN OPAQUE GLASS MARBLE 3 COLOR
87	CABIN 3	NORTH YARD	GLASS MARBLE
88	CABIN 3	S PEN	11/16 INCH, FOREST GREEN MARBLE WITH WHITE SWIRL
89	CABIN 3	S PEN	CLEAR GLASS WITH ROYAL BLUE CORE, 9/16
90	CABIN 3	S PEN	FOREST GREEN WITH INTERNAL GREEN SWIRLS, 4/8 INCH
91	CABIN 3	S PEN	CLEAR WITH YELLOW CATS EYE CORE, 5/16 INCH
92	CABIN 3	S PEN	12/16 INCH, CLEAR GLASS WITH BLUE DOUBLE CATS EYE
93	CABIN 3	S PEN	ORANGE, WHITE AND GREEN SWIRL, 5/16 INCH
94	CABIN 3	S PEN	WHITE AND MAROON OPAQUE SWIRL, 5/16 INCH
95	CABIN 3	S PEN	OPAQUE RED AND WHITE SWIRL MARBLE, 5/16 INCH
96	CABIN 3	S PEN BY CONNECTING DOOR	5/8 INCH, OPAQUE TURQUOISE BLUE, ORANGE, WHITE SWIRL MARBLE
97	CABIN 3	S PEN BY CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH YELLOW CATSEYE, 5/8 INCH

98	CABIN 3	S PEN BY CONNECTING DOOR	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE LIGHT AMBER MARBLE, NO CORE SLIGHT WHITE EXTERNAL SWIRL, 5/8 INCH
99	CABIN 3	S PEN BY CONNECTING DOOR	5/8 INCH, CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH ORANGE CATS EYE CENTER
100	CABIN 3	S PEN BY CONNECTING DOOR	5/8 INCH MARBLE, SLIGHTLY OPAQUE 1/2 WHITE, 1/4 BLUE, 1/4 RED SLIGHT SWIRL
101	CABIN 3	S PEN BY CONNECTING DOOR	OPAQUE WHITE MARBLE WITH 1/4 BLACK AND 1/4 RED, 5/8 INCH
102	CABIN 3	S PEN BY HEARTH	CLEAR LIGHT YELLOW MARBLE WITH WHITE SURFACE SWIRLS, 4/8 INCH
103	CABIN 3	S PEN BY HEARTH	BABY BLUE AND GREEN SURFACE SWIRL MARBLE, VERY BROKEN AND CHIPPED, 5/8 INCH
104	CABIN 3	S PEN BY HEARTH	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH ORANGE CORE, 5/8 INCH
105	CABIN 3	S PEN BY HEARTH	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH GREEN SWIRL CORE, 5/8 INCH
106	CABIN 3	S PEN BY HEARTH	DARK BROWN AND BLACK MOTTLED BOTTLESTOPPER, 5/8 INCH
107	CABIN 3	S PEN BY HEARTH	CLEAR GLASS WITH TURQUOISE BLUE SWIRL CORE, 5/8 INCH
108	CABIN 3	S PEN BY HEARTH	CLEAR GLASS WITH GREEN CATS EYE CORE, 4/8 INCH
109	CABIN 3	S PEN UNDER EAST DOOR	OPAQUE WHITE AND BLUE SWIRL MARBLE, 5/8 INCH
110	CABIN 3	S PEN UNDER HEARTH	TURQUOISE BLUE AND YELLOW OPAQUE SWIRL MARBLE, 5/8 INCH
111	CABIN 3	S PEN UNDER WINDOW	OPAQUE RED AND WHITE SWIRL MARBLE, 5/8 INCH
112	CABIN 3	S PEN UNDER WINDOW BUT MIDDLE OF ROOM	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH GREEN SWIRL CORE, 5/16 INCH
113	CABIN 3	WEST PORCH	OPAQUE LIGHT GREEN AND MUSTARD YELLOW, 5/8 INCHES
114	CABIN 3	WEST PORCH	OPAQUE AGATE STYLE BLACK AND WHITE SWIRL, 4/8
115	CABIN 3	WEST PORCH	CLEAR LIGHT ORANGE VERY BROKEN MARBLE, 5/8 INCH
116	CABIN 3	WEST PORCH	OPAQUE BLUE AND WHITE MARBLE, 5/8 INCH
117	CABIN 3	WEST YARD	WHITE AND YELLOW SWIRL 1/2 OF A MARBLE, 4/8 INCH
118	CABIN 3	WEST YARD	CLEAR GLASS WITH RED SWIRL CORE AND SWIRL OUTSIDE, 4/8 INCH
119	CABIN 3	WEST YARD	GLASS MARBLE
120	CABIN 3	WEST YARD JUST OFF PORCH	5/8 INCH GLASS MARBLE, NOT OPAQUE BUT COMPLETELY FULL OF YELLOW AND RED SWIRLS
121	CABIN 3	WEST YARD JUST OFF PORCH	4/8 INCH GLASS MARBLE, BLUE CLEAR GLASS WITH A NAVY BLUE CORE

12 2	CABIN 3	WEST YARD UNDER PORCH UNDER WINDOW	CLEAR MARBLE WITH BLUE, GREEN AND WHITE CORE, 5/8 INCH
12 3	CABIN 3	WEST YARD UNDER PORCH UNDER WINDOW	AMBER WITH LIGHT GREEN SWIRL CORE, 5/8 INCH
12 4	CABIN 4	EAST YARD	MARBLE FRAGMENT
12 5	CABIN 4	EAST YARD	19/32 INCH OPAQUE LIME GREEN AND ORANGE MARBLE
12 6	CABIN 4	EAST YARD	CLEAR GLASS SLIGHTLY GREEN WITH WHITE SWIRLS ALL OVER SOME WITHIN THE MARBLES, ONE MARBLE IS 5/8 INCH AND THE OTHER IS 19/32 INCH
12 7	CABIN 4	EAST YARD	19/32 INCH CLEAR GLASS BLUE, WHITE AND TAN SWIRL SURFACE, DEEPLY PITTED
12 8	CABIN 4	EAST YARD	19/32 INCH CLEAR GLASS MARBLE WITH ORANGE AND WHITE SURFACE SWIRL DECORATION
12 9	CABIN 4	EAST YARD	23/32 INCH CLEAR GLASS MARBLE, ORANGE AND WHITE SWIRL DECORATION BUT MAINLY WHITE
13 0	CABIN 4	N PEN	MARBLE BLUE AND WHITE
13 1	CABIN 4	N PEN	23/32 INCH CLEAR WHITE AND GREEN GLASS 2/3 OF A MARBLE, COMPLETELY DESTROYED AND CHIPPED, POSSIBLY BURNED
13 2	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH CLEAR BLUE GLASS MARBLE, NO SURFACE DECORATION AND NO CORE, POSSIBLE GAME PIECE
13 3	CABIN 4	N PEN	GLASS BOTTLE STOPPER
13 4	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH SEMI OPAQUE LIGHT GREEN AND GREEN SURFACE SWIRL DECORATION
13 5	CABIN 4	N PEN	19/32 INCH CLEAR MARBLE, 1/2 IS WHITE AND 1/2 IS ORANGE SWIRL
13 6	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH LIGHT GREEN GLASS MARBLE WITH GREEN SURFACE DECORATION, NO CORE
13 7	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH MARBLE, CLEAR GLASS WITH ORANGE RIBBON CORE HAS WHAT APPEARS TO BE SCRATCH MARKS THAT HAVE "MENED" ON ONE SIDE, POSSIBLE WORKING?
13 8	CABIN 4	N PEN	11/16 INCH MARBLE, GREEN OR BLUE GLASS BUT CAN NOT SEE DECORATION HAS CONCRETIONS ALL OVER IT
13 9	CABIN 4	N PEN	21/32 INCH MARBLE, OPAQUE BLOOD RED AND WHITE SWIRL
14	CABIN	N PEN	11/16 MARBLE, GLASS IS ALMOST

0	4		OPAQUE, GREEN AND WHITE SWIRL MAKES IT ALMOST APPEAR OPAQUE
14 1	CABIN 4	N PEN	BLUE AND WHITE SWIRL OPAQUE MARBLE, 19/32 INCH, SEEMS TO HAVE MARKS THAT MIGHT BE EVIDENCE OF SOMEONE TRYING TO DRILL OR WORK THE MARBLE
14 2	CABIN 4	N PEN	OPAQUE 5/8 INCH MARBLE WITH BASE COLOR YELLOW AND ORANGE WITH WHITE STREAK DECORATION
14 3	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH, SURFACE DECORATION, ORANGE AND WHITE
14 4	CABIN 4	N PEN	OPAQUE GLASS MARBLE, 17/32 INCH CREAM AND ORANGE SWIRL PATTERN
14 5	CABIN 4	N PEN	BLACK GLASS "INDIAN" WITH WHITE SWIRLS, 5/8 INCH
14 6	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH GLASS MARBLE WITH YELLOW SWIRL THAT REACHES INTO THE CORE
14 7	CABIN 4	N PEN	19/32 INCH SEMI OPAQUE BLUE, LIGHT BLUE AND BLACK SURFACE SWIRL DECORATION
14 8	CABIN 4	N PEN	GREEN AND WHITE SURFACE DECORATION, LARGE MARBLE WITH LOTS OF PITS, POSSIBLY HANDMADE AS IT IS NOT COMPLETELY SPHERICAL BUT HARD TO SEE PONTILS AS IT IS SO PITTED AND CHIPPED
14 9	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH SEMI OPAQUE MARBLE, 3 COLOR WITH BROWN RED, GREEN AND WHITE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION
15 0	CABIN 4	N PEN	21/32 INCH OPAQUE GREEN AND WHITE MARBLE, SURFACE DECORATION IS SWIRL, NO VISIBLE CORE
15 1	CABIN 4	N PEN	19/32 INCH GLASS MARBLE , RED, ORANGE AND WHITE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION SEMI OPAQUE
15 2	CABIN 4	N PEN	3/4 INCH MARBLE, CLEAR GLASS, WITH BLUE RIBBON CORE
15 3	CABIN 4	N PEN	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE 9/16 INCH WITH NAVY BLUE RIBBONED CORE
15 4	CABIN 4	N PEN	PARTIAL OPAQUE MARBLE WITH MULTI COLORED OVER 3 DECORATION
15 5	CABIN 4	N PEN	OPAQUE GLASS MARBLE 9/16 INCH ORANGE AND CREAM SURFACE SWIRL DECORATIONS

15 6	CABIN 4	N PEN	21/32 INCH CLEAR GLASS MARBLE , TWO COLOR WHITE CORE SWIRL WITH RUST AND WHITE SURFACE DECORATION
15 7	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH OPAQUE RED AND WHITE SWIRLED MARBLE
15 8	CABIN 4	N PEN	5/8 INCH ORANGE AND WHITE SURFACE SWIRL MARBLE
15 9	CABIN 4	S PEN	19/32 INCH CLEAR GLASS MARBLE, GLASS IS SLIGHTLY AMBER, HAS WHITE AND RED SURFACE DECORATION, REACHES INTO INSIDE NO DISCERNABLE CORE
16 0	CABIN 4	S PEN	OPAQUE LIGHT GREEN AND BLUE, NO CORE 5/8 INCH
16 1	CABIN 4	S PEN	16/32 CLEAR LIGHT GREEN GLASS WITH GREEN SWIRL WHITE AND WITH MICA DECORATION
16 2	CABIN 4	S PEN	OPAQUE THREE COLOR MARBLE, ORANGE, GREEN AND WHITE, 5/8 INCH
16 3	CABIN 4	S PEN	21/32 INCH MARBLE, CLEAR BLUE GLASS WITH WHITE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION
16 4	CABIN 4	S PEN	19/32 INCH OPAQUE BLOOD RED MARBLE, SURFACE DECORATION OF A LIGHT WHITE SWIRL VERY FAINT
16 5	CABIN 4	S PEN	OPAQUE 5/8 INCH GLASS MARBLE WHITE GLASS WITH ORANGE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION
16 6	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH CLEAR GREEN GLASS, NO CORE WHITE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION POSSIBLE PONTIL
16 7	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH SEMI OPAQUE THREE COLOR SURFACE DECORATION (ORANGE, WHITE, GREEN)
16 8	CABIN 4	S PEN	19/32 INCH GLASS MARBLE, OPAQUE ORANGE AND WHITE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION
16 9	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH GLASS MARBLE SEMI OPAQUE WITH PURPLE, GREEN AND WHITE SWIRLS
17 0	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH GLASS MARBLE CLEAR WITH GREEN AND ORANGE AND WHITE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION
17 1	CABIN 4	S PEN	MARBLE GLASS RED, WHITE AND BLUE
17 2	CABIN 4	S PEN	GLASS MARBLE
17 3	CABIN 4	S PEN	MARBLE BLUE GLASS
17 4	CABIN 4	S PEN	GLASS MARBLE GREEN

17 5	CABIN 4	S PEN	1/2 INCH ALMOST OPAQUE MARBLE, BLUE AND WHITE
17 6	CABIN 4	S PEN	OPAQUE WHITE MARBLE WITH BLUE VEINING, 19/32 INCH
17 7	CABIN 4	S PEN	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE 19/32 INCH, NO CORE RUST AND WHITE SURFACE DECORATION
17 8	CABIN 4	S PEN	CLEAR GLASS MARBLE 5/8 INCH WITH WHITE RIBBON CORE AND WHITE AND RUST COLORED SWIRL SURFACE DECORATIONS
17 9	CABIN 4	S PEN	OPAQUE 21/32 INCH GLASS MARBLE WITH NAVY BLUE AND ORANGE SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION
18 0	CABIN 4	S PEN	GREEN GLASS MARBLE
18 1	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH GLASS MARBLE SEMI OPAQUE WITH WHITE AND GREEN SWIRL SURFACE DECORATION, HAS A SLIGHT WHITE CORE
18 2	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH SEMI OPAQUE TWO COLOR OPAQUE WHITE AND YELLOW, NO CORE
18 3	CABIN 4	S PEN	MARBLE WHITE AND BLUE GLASS
18 4	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH CLEAR GREEN GLASS WITH WHITE SURFACE DECORATION
18 5	CABIN 4	S PEN	5/8 INCH OPAQUE, BROKEN MARBLE SURFACE DECORATION IS THREE PLUS COLORS, GREEN WHITE AND BROWN
18 6	CABIN 4	S PEN	21/32 GLASS MARBLE BLUE WITH WHITE SURFACE DECORATION COMPLETELY DESTROYED AND CHIPPED, POSSIBLY BURNED, LOT # ON PICTURE IS WRONG BECAUSE TAG IS WRONG BUT SC IS CORRECT

Lithic Marbles

	Cabin	Area	Long Description
1	CABIN 1	N PEN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, NORTH PEN, 23/32 INCH STONE MARBLE, BROWN EITHER A BOTTLE STOPPER OR A COMMIE
2	CABIN 1	S PEN	CABIN 1 SURFACE COLLECTION, SOUTH PEN, 17/32 INCH FLINT OR STONE MARBLES, GREYISH BROWN IN COLOR
3	CABIN 1	S PEN, SW CORNER	STONE OR CERAMIC MARBLE, 6/8 INCH, NO VISIBLE DECORATION BUT BASE COLOR IS CREAM WITH MEDIUM BROWN MOTTILING OR DISCOLORATION

4	CABIN 4	N PEN	TINY FLINT MARBLE, LOOKS LIKE IT HAS A BULLSEYE PATTERN ON THE POLLS, DARK BROWN WITH DARKER BROWN CIRCLES
5	CABIN 4	N PEN	21/32 INCH STONE MARBLE WHITE WITH FLECKING
6	CABIN 4	S PEN	WHITE CERAMIC MARBLE 11/16 INCH, HIGH FIRED NO GLAZE, THERE ARE FAINT RED DECORATIONS ON IT

Appendix E: Other Toys (not marbles) at Magnolia Plantation by Gender and cabin

BOYS		
CABIN 1		
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	TOY PLASTIC SPACESHIP
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	TOY PLASTIC CAR WHEEL
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	TOY PLASTIC HANDLE
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	TOY PLASTIC WHEEL
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	TOY PLASTIC WRENCH
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	TOY PLASTIC HAMMER
YARD NORTH	PLASTIC	TOY 1/2 PLASTIC WHISTLE
YARD SOUTH WEST	METAL	TOY PART OF TOY GUN
YARD WEST UNDER PORCH	PLASTIC	RED JACK 2 FEET FROM NO DOOR / 3.5 FEET FROM CABIN
CABIN 3		
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	WHITE PLASTIC HORSE LEG, FLAT ON ONE SIDE, 7/8 INCH
INSIDE S PEN	METAL	PARTIAL JACK, METAL, 4/8 INCH WIDE BUT ONLY A PARTIAL JACK, VERY CORRODED
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	7/8 INCH YELLOW PLASTIC PERSON, POSSIBLE FIREMAN WITH HAT, COULD HAVE HAD A POSSIBLE ATTACHMENT AT TOP AND COULD BE BROKEN AT BOTTOM
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC PASSENGER SHIP, "CUNARD LINE", GREY COLORATION WITH REMAINS OF GOLD PAINT POSSIBLY ON IT, NO MARKINGS POSSIBLY 1950S
INSIDE S PEN	RUBBER	ORANGISH RED RUBBER BALL
NORTH YARD	METAL	SMALL LEAD FIGURINE
NORTH YARD	METAL	BASE OF TOY SOLDIER, 3/4 INCH LONG
NORTH YARD	METAL	METAL TOY JACK, PARTIALLY BROKEN 3/4 INCH WIDE
NORTH YARD	PLASTIC	SMALL PLASTIC TOY GUN PARTIALLY BROKEN, BLACK PLASTIC WITH SILVERING
SOUTH YARD	METAL	METAL TOY SOLDIER
YARD EAST UNDER ADDITION	PLASTIC	PARTIAL PLASTIC WHISTLE, HALF RED AND HALF CREAM NO MARKINGS
YARD EAST UNDER ADDITION	PLASTIC	1 3/8 INCH LONG, RED PLASTIC TRAIN 1/2, BROKEN SO TRUE LENGTH NOT KNOWN, NO MARKINGS, 5/8 INCH TALL FROM WHEEL BASE TO ROOF

YARD WEST		TOY GUN
CABIN 4		
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	SMALL BLUE PLASTIC TOY GUN
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	ACTION FIGURE BASE PLASTIC
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	YELLOW PLASTIC RIFLE, HAS STARS ON EITHER SIDE
INSIDE N PEN	RUBBER	RED RUBBER BALL
INSIDE S PEN	METAL	METAL TOY FIGURE WITH GUN
INSIDE S PEN	METAL	RED TOY STEAMSHIP METAL
YARD EAST	METAL	METAL BASE OF TOY FIGURE
YARD EAST	METAL	MINIATURE METAL COWBOY FLAT FIGURE
YARD EAST	PLASTIC	JACK
YARD EAST	PLASTIC	PLASTIC JACK
YARD SOUTH	METAL	METAL - LOOKS LIKE A TINY SPUR
YARD WEST	METAL	ARM AND RIFLE OF CAST FIGURINE TOY

GIRLS		
CABIN 1		
INSIDE N PEN	CERAMIC	TOY PORCELAIN DOLL ARM
INSIDE N PEN	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	TOY PLASTIC 1/2 SCISSORS
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC CAP "TIPS"
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	COSTUME JEWELRY GEM
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC "SILVER" EARRING
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC "SILVER" JEWELRY CLASP
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC DECORATION
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC DECORATION
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	CELLULOSE RING
INSIDE S PEN	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN
INSIDE S PEN	METAL	SMALL CAST IRON POT
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC FLOWER
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC FLOWER
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC POSSIBLE TINY HAIR COMB
YARD EAST	PLASTIC	CLEAR PLASTIC GEMSTONE
YARD WEST	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN
YARD WEST	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN
YARD WEST	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN
YARD WEST	CERAMIC	BISQUE
YARD WEST	PLASTIC	COSTUME JEWEL RED FACETED
YARD WEST	PLASTIC	PLASTIC TOY FACE
YARD WEST	PLASTIC	PLASTIC DOLL LEG
CABIN 3		
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT 1/4 INCH OR SMALLER, PAINTED ON ONE SIDE WITH LIGHT FLESH TONE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT, SHARP RIGHT ANGLE, NOT A DOLL PROBABLY PART OF A TEASET
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT, 1/2 INCH OR SMALLER HAS SHARP ANGLE, BOTTOM OF FIGURINE OR PART OF A TEA SET, PROBABLY NOT A DOLL
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	2 SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENTS, 1/4 INCH OR SMALLER, PAINTED LIGHT FLESH TONE ON ONE SIDE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE PART, SLIGHTLY PINK WITH SLIGHT MARKING COULD BE EYEBROW, 1/4 INCH OR SMALLER

BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL PIECE OF BISQUE, HAS A SLIGHT FLAT EDGE, MAY BELONG TO THE PIECE THAT HAD THE EAR ON IT
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT WITH CURVED CARVING ON IT, LESS THAN A 1/4 INCH
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	BISQUE DOLL PART, WITH LIGHT FLESH TONE ON ONE SIDE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT ABOUT AN INCH LONG, WITH A 3 AT THE BASE OF IT, APPEARS TO BE PART OF A FIGURINE MORE THAN A DOLL
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	3 SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENTS, 1/4 INCH LONG OR SMALLER EACH, PAINTED ON ONE SIDE WITH LIGHT FLESH TONE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT ABOUT 3/4 INCH LONG AND 1/2 INCH WIDE, PAINTED ON ONE SIDE WITH LIGHT FLESH TONE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT ABOUT 3/4 INCH LONG AND 1/2 INCH WIDE, PAINTED ON ONE SIDE WITH LIGHT FLESH TONE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT ABOUT 3/4 INCH LONG AND 1/2 INCH WIDE, PAINTED ON ONE SIDE WITH LIGHT FLESH TONE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT ABOUT 1/2 INCH LONG, LIGHT FLESH TONE ON ONE SIDE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	PROBABLY NOT A DOLL, HAS A SHARP 45 DEGREE ANGLE, FIGURINE OR TEA SET PART
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	PROBABLY NOT A DOLL, IT LOOKS LIKE PART OF A FIGURINE, VIRGIN MARY POSSIBLY AS WE FOUND OTHER PARTS
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	BISQUE PART ABOUT 1 1/2 INCHES LONG
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	FULL PORCELAIN DOLL LEG HAS THE BROWN BOOT AND TEXTURED STOCKINGS AS SEEN ON OTHER PIECES
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT ABOUT 1/2 INCH LONG AND WIDE, PAINTED ON ONE SIDE WITH LIGHT FLESH TONE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT ABOUT 1/4 INCH LONG AND WIDE, PAINTED ON ONE SIDE WITH LIGHT FLESH TONE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	NO PICTURE, FRAGMENT OF PORCELAIN
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	SMALL BISQUE FRAGMENT, 1/4 INCH OR SMALLER PAINTED LIGHT FLESH TONE ONE SIDE, COULD BE EYEBROW PIECE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	COULD BE DOLL HEAD, HAS AN EAR BUT HAS A RIM ON THE TOP OF IT, IS IT A PITCHER OR WOULD THE HAIR HAVE BEEN ATTACHED THERE?
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	PART OF FIGURINE
BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	BROWN PORCELAIN DOLL FOOT WEARING A SHOOTIE

BTWN CABINS 3 AND 4	CERAMIC	PROBABLY NOT CERAMIC, PROBABLY GLASS, LOOKS LIKE AN EYE
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	CLEAR PLASTIC DIAMOND SHAPE RHINESTONE
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	SMALL PLASTIC SEWING MACHINE, 6/8 INCH LONG AND 5/8 INCH TALL, SAYS "SINGER" ON ONE SIDE, YELLOW PLASTIC WITH A BROWN AND GOLD COVERING
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	WHITE PLASTIC BEAD WITH A "W" OR AN "M" ON IT, HOLE ON ONE SIDE, ATTACHMENT ON OTHER SIDE
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	RED PLASTIC PENDANT, 9/8 INCH, STAMPED WITH "C.J.C.O." ON BACK
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC SEASHELL
YARD EAST 3 FEET FROM DOORWAY	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN FRAGMENT LOOKS LIKE PART OF A FACE OF A DOLL
YARD EAST 3 FEET FROM DOORWAY	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN FRAGMENT, WHITE BISQUE, HAS AN EAR ON IT POSSIBLY RELATED TO OTHER PIECE WITH EAR
YARD EAST FENCE LINE	CERAMIC	BISQUE FRAGMENT, NO MARKINGS ABOUT 1/2 INCH BY 1/4 INCH
YARD EAST UNDER ADDITION	CERAMIC	GLAZED BISQUE PART, NOT SURE WHAT IT IS
YARD EAST UNDER ADDITION	GLASS	GLASS PUPPY
YARD EAST UNDER ADDITION	PLASTIC	IND. JEWELRY
YARD NORTH	PLASTIC	BLACK PLASTIC DECORATIVE TRIANGLE INLAY
YARD WEST	CERAMIC	3/8 INCH BISQUE ON ONE SIDE HIGHLY POLISHED ON OTHER
YARD WEST	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN FRAGMENT
YARD WEST	PLASTIC	BLACK PLASTIC BOW, 1 1/2 INCH
YARD WEST	PLASTIC	GREEN PLASTIC BRACKETED JEWEL
YARD WEST UNDER PORCH	CERAMIC	DOLL PART, TINY PIECE OF BISQUE 3/8 INCH LONG
CABIN 4		
INSIDE N PEN	CERAMIC	BROKEN PIECE OF AN ARM OR A LEG, HAS RING AROUND TOP FOR POSSIBLE ATTACHMENT, LISTED AS A POSSIBLE UTENSIL HANDLE IN MAIN DATABASE, COULD ALSO BE THIS BUT IT IS BISQUE
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	DECORATED WHITE WRISTBAND
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PARTIAL RING PLASTIC
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PINK JEWELRY STONE
INSIDE S PEN	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN PART OF A DOLL FACE, IS UNUSUAL AS THE FLESH TONE IS DARK COMPARED TO OTHER PORCELAIN PIECES WE HAVE RECOVERED
INSIDE S PEN	CERAMIC	BISQUE DOLL ARM

INSIDE S PEN	CERAMIC	BISQUE DOLL ARM
INSIDE S PEN	CERAMIC	BROWN PORCELAIN DOLL FOOT WEARING A BOOT AND TEXTURED CREAM STOCKINGS, BROKEN JUST ABOVE ANKLE
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	PINK PLASTIC FRAGMENT
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	YELLOW JEWEL
YARD EAST	BISQUE	PORCELAIN MINATURE CREAMER OR TEAPOT, 2 1/4 INCH WIDE AND 1 1/2 INCHES TALL APPROXIMATELY, HAS BLUE AND WHITE FLORAL DECORATION
YARD EAST	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN SPOUT, WHITE CRAZED COLOR
YARD EAST	PLASTIC	FAKE GEM CLEAR PLASTIC
YARD EAST NEXT TO N PEN WALL	CERAMIC	PORCELAIN FRAGMENT OF DOLL, DARKER ORANGISH GLAZE
YARD WEST	CERAMIC	SAYS "MADE IN GERMANY" ON IT LESS THAN A 1/4 INCH IN SIZE
YARD WEST	CERAMIC	CERAMIC DOLL BOOT
NO GENDER		
CABIN 1		
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	TOY PLASTIC HORSE LEG
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC HORSE LEG, FLAT ON ONE SIDE 11/16 INCH, LIGHT YELLOW PLASTIC PIECE, BOOMERANG SHAPED WITH HOLES ON EITHER END, MARKED "ARM" ON FLAT SIDE
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	RED PLASTIC WITH WRITING
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC EYEGLASS FRAME
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	YELLOW PLASTIC BOXING GLOVE, 11/16 LONG BUT BROKEN AT WRIST, 3/8 INCH WIDE, LOOKS LIKE THERE WAS A LOOP AT THE WRIST, POSSIBLE CRACKER JACK TOY
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	FLAT PLASTIC YELLOW TOY COWBOY LEGS
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	LIGHT GREEN PLASTIC BULLET OR COULD BE A LIPSTICK, HAD AN ATTACHMENT, BROKEN OFF, BROWN OR GOLD COLORATION LEFT ON IT, 3/8 INCH WIDE OR DIAMETER AND 9/8 INCH LENGTH
SOUTH YARD	PLASTIC	SMALL PLASTIC CREAM COLORED FIGURE, ABOUT 3/8 INCH WIDE BUT MISSING AN ARM AND THE BOTTOM BROKEN AT WAIST LINE, 4/8 INCH TALL POSSIBLE CRACKER JACK

YARD EAST	PLASTIC	SMALL PLASTIC CREAM COLORED FIGURE,ABOUT 3/8 INCH WIDE BUT MISSING AN ARM AND THE BOTTOM BROKEN AT WAIST LINE, 4/8 INCH TALL POSSIBLE CRACKER JACK
YARD EAST UNDER ADDITION	PLASTIC	CLEAR PLASTIC DISC WITH SPOKES RADIATING FROM CENTER POINT, AROUND OUTSIDE ARE NUMBERS "11, 12, 7 AND 4", POSSIBLE BACKING, THE 12 AND 7 ARE OPPOSITE EACH OTHER, SO PROBABLY NOT A CLOCK OR WATCH FACE, 9/8 INCH DIAMETER
YARD WEST	PLASTIC	6/8 INCH DIAMETER GREEN PLASTIC DISC WITH LOOP ON TOP, RADIATING PATTERN IMPRINTED ON IT WITH SIX "ARMS" EQUIDISTANT EXTENDING OUT FROM SIDE POSSIBLE CRACKER JACK TOY
CABIN 4		
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	RUBBER TOY TIRE
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	YELLOW PLASTIC TOY PERSON
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC TOY TIRE
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	BLACK PLASTIC CAP
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PIECE OF WHITE PLASTIC WITH WRITING
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	YELLOW AND GREEN TOY IN PILL SHAPE PLASTIC
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC CLEAR OBJECT COULD BE WATCH PART
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	PLASTIC RED WATCH
INSIDE N PEN	PLASTIC	SMALL DONUT LOOKING THING SMALL WHEEL?
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	BLUE ??? PLASTIC
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	3 MONKEYS
INSIDE S PEN	PLASTIC	CLEAR PLASTIC
INSIDE S PEN	RUBBER	RUBBER TOY TIRE
YARD EAST	METAL	METAL DOLPHIN ???
YARD NORTH	PLASTIC	HORSE SHOE PENDANT
YARD NORTHWEST	PLASTIC	CRACKER JACK SQUIRREL PLASTIC
ADULT USE		
CABIN 1		
INSIDE S PEN	ECOLOGY	HAND MADE DIE
CABIN 3		

INSIDE N PEN	ECOLOGY	HAND MADE BONE DIE
INSIDE S PEN	ECOLOGY	HOME MADE BONE DIE
YARD EAST UNDER ADDITION	PLASTIC	1 1/2 INCH DIAMETER BLUE POKER CHIP
YARD WEST	ECOLOGY	WOODEN DIE

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