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ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE ROBERT NEWSOM FARMSTEAD (23CY497) CALLAWAY COUNTY, MISSOURI

A Masters Thesis

Presented to

The Graduate College of

Missouri State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science, Applied Anthropology

By

James A. Halpern

December 2015

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE

ROBERT NEWSOM FARMSTEAD (23CY497)

CALLAWAY COUNTY, MISSOURI

Sociology and Anthropology

Missouri State University, December 2015

Master of Science

James A. Halpern

ABSTRACT

Scholarly research on slavery in the U.S. has focused on large commercial plantations in the Old South. Yet a majority of slaveholders and nearly half of the enslaved lived in smaller slaveholding houses and family farms (Burke 2010:4). This study helps redress the dearth of research on small slaveholdings through study of the Robert Newsom Farmstead, or "Celia" Site (23CY497), located in Callaway County, Missouri. The research goal is to model the antebellum spatial organization of the landholding, thereby increasing our understanding of slavery at the Newsom site and on non-plantation slaveholdings generally. This was accomplished through collection and analysis of historical and archaeological data. Documentary research has yielded new information about the histories and relationships of Newsom Farmstead occupants. The results of archaeological pedestrian survey and shovel testing, together with the historical findings, clarifies the chronology, construction, design, locations, and functions of site structures and features, including Robert Newsom's dwelling, possible slave quarters, the still house, and the Newsom family burying ground. In the context of a more detailed model of farmstead spatial organization, these findings underscore the relatively intimate nature of the domestic arrangement between slave and slaveholder on the Newsom Farmstead, and thereby contribute to our knowledge of small slaveholdings more broadly.

KEYWORDS: Robert Newsom, Celia, Missouri, slavery, slave, farmstead, archaeological, archaeology, historical, history, trial

This abstract is approved as to form and content

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Dr. Elizabeth Sobel
Chairperson, Advisory Committee
Missouri State University

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Approved:

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William Meadows, PhD

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am profoundly grateful to the following for their encouragement and/or generous assistance during the course of this research and the path leading to it. Readers should infer whatever eloquence this statement lacks; it is offered in all sincerity. Firstly, to my thesis committee members Drs. Elizabeth Sobel, William Meadows, and William Piston: my deepest appreciation for your approachability, patient support, valuable time, thoughtful guidance, humor, and professional expertise. Thank you. Secondly, I would like to extend my gratitude to all who have contributed to this process in ways either large or small, including Drs. Rochelle Marrinan, Glen Doran, Bruce Grindal, Elizabeth Peters, Kathryn Josserand, and Tony Hopkins; Tanya Peres, Greg Heide, Leslie Provis, Lynn Shreve, Tom Hodgeson, and Betty Stanton; Andrea Repp, Rhonda Kimbrough, John Ippolito, Barbara Williams, and Velicia Bergstrom; employees of the Mark Twain National Forest (past and present), including Jenny Farenbaugh, Joe Koloski, Kim Bittle, Keri Hicks; Jim Kaminski and Lester Lakey; Kathi Turner, Bruce Gibson, Rich Hall, Kristina Hill, Tamar Mannikko, Marla Collins, Kolleen Bean, William MacNeill, Eraina Nossa; Todd Boness and Scott Heine; Antoinette Sitting Up-Perez; Carol Trokey, Bob Horbyk, Langston Simmons, Kathy Miles, Allen Weathersbee III, Darla Rein, Justin Adams, Reggie Bray, Tina Sanders, Gail Dollen, Halle Adams, Michael Stewart, Chance Dry, Beth Hardman, Chuck Miner, and James Murrell; Judith Deel, Missouri State Historic Preservation Office; Missouri State University faculty, staff, and/or members of my graduate cohort, including Drs. Bill Wedenoja, Suzanne Walker-Pacheko, F. Scott Worman, Meslissa Maier, David Rohall, Julie Masterson, Thomas Tomasi, Erin Kenny, Neil Lopinot; Jack Ray, Christy Titus, Andrea Breshears, Christy Hyman, Florice Pearce, Daniel McMurray, Miles Pearson, Melanie (Bay) Munton, Jennifer Rideout, Georgia LaMair, John Fox, Sarah O'Donnell, Christopher Smith, Andrea Gregory, Annie Oliver, Grace Gronniger, Cynthia Prasse, Natalie Casey, Clarissa Martin, Christopher Kempke, Michael Moffat, Christopher Dukes, Ashley Downs, and everyone at MSU with a willing ear, a ready joke, and/or good advice. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Howard Wight Marshall and those whose unwitting support was nevertheless of value, including Frank Whittow, Dr. Andrea Hunter, Richard Halpern, Stephen Halpern, and Julie Witt; my non-human support group, including Gus, Trouble, Schmoo, Mitzy, Hazel, and Oberon. Finally, I offer my sincerest thanks to new friends and acquaintances who were instrumental in this effort, including Ms. Annie B. Norman (thank you, Annie), her daughter Bebe Schank, Bebe's husband David Schank, and Bill Conner – truly gracious people, all; also, Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society museum director Barbara Huddleston and staff (wonderful folks), Callaway County Circuit Court Clerk Judy Groner, the Missouri State Historical Society, the Missouri State Archives, and the ever-generous Joy Lynn Conwell, Curator of Historical Collections at the Chadwick Library, Iowa Wesleyan University.

Dedicated to Mom and Dad: unconditionally
loving, supportive, and above all, patient.
(You may now stop asking.)

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INTRODUCTION

An Atypical Historical Record

Historical and archaeological investigations undertaken since the 1930s at eighteenth and nineteenth century plantation slaveholdings have focused primarily on sites in the so-called "plantation belt" geographic region of the Old South (Otto 1980:35; Singleton 1990:70). Throughout the southern states, a majority of slaveholders and nearly half of the enslaved lived on farms rather than on plantations; however, there have been relatively few studies of slavery at the scale of the household or family farm. Nor have historians systematically explored how the lives of individuals—both free and enslaved—occupying small slaveholding farms may have differed from those who lived on large commercial plantations (Burke 2010:4).

Phifer (1962:138), Otto (1980:35), and Burke (2010:59) have described a disproportionate underrepresentation of small slaveholding farmsteads in the historical record. Historians have frequently found that manuscripts relating to the great plantations and planter families have been more widely generated, preserved, and accessible than those of less conspicuous, small-scale slaveholding farmers. In addition, eyewitness accounts of slavery were most often written by those following well-established routes of travel through the plantation belt of the Atlantic and Gulf Coastal Plain and its margins rather than those travelling through the somewhat less accessible regions of the slaveholding states and territories. Finally, period newspapers that operated long enough to remain available for current scholarly research were most frequently located in the densely populated coastal cities, towns, and surrounding

lowlands rather than in the more thinly populated upland interior. At least in part due to documentary sample bias, therefore, critical analyses of slavery have not been widely implemented for areas occupied by the small slaveholding farmer, but have instead focused on geographical areas dominated by large commercial plantations. Likewise, archaeological studies of slavery have largely centered on plantation sites, not only due to the influence of the biased documentary record described above, but also due to archaeological preservation and research biases.

During the late hours of June 23, 1855, Robert Newsom of Callaway County, Missouri—homesteader, grandfather, successful man of business, slaveholder—was bludgeoned to death in the quarters of one of his bondspeople, a young woman named Celia, purportedly while intending her rape. The demise of Newsom on the grounds of his non-plantation farm and the trial to which Celia was entitled under state law divided Newsom's community and were sensationalized not only in the local and regional press, but in publications as far away as New York City. The violent confrontation of that midsummer evening in 1855 and the defense mounted by Celia's counsel at trial challenged conceptions of personhood and control of reproductive rights that were central to notions of state-sanctioned slavery (Bridgewater 2001:12-15). An additional consequence of those events and their notoriety was creation of an atypical historical record with the potential to shed light on the Newsom landholding and aspects of the human interactions upon it. Archaeological remains of the Newsom farmstead also provide an opportunity to learn about the context of Celia's enslavement.

The present study is a historical and archaeological investigation of the Robert Newsom Farmstead (23CY497), sometimes referred to as the "Celia Site," that helps

redress the problematic dearth of research on small slaveholdings. The Newsom site is of interest not merely as an example of a non-plantation farmstead: it is also significant for its association with events that had national implications in the debate over slavery and for the symbolic importance of those events in popular culture, particularly to members of the African-American community and other proponents of social justice. A widely read book-length treatment of the case was published in 1991,[1] and at various times Celia's ordeal has been commemorated in Callaway County through annual candlelight vigils.

The study presented here critically examines census and tax records, accounts of Newsom's death published in newspapers of the day, records of legal proceedings, family journals, and descendant genealogical research; these comprise the documentary basis through which a detailed history of the Newsoms and their landholding has been compiled. In addition, this work examines the results of archaeological investigations of the Newsom site. The archaeological analysis serves as a line of evidence against which to test and subsequently extend that history.

Objectives, Suitability, and Significance

A central objective of this research is to broaden the historical study of the Newsom farmstead and its occupants through examination of a wide variety of sources. Doing so has not only helped fill some of the gaps in previous reports about this important site, but has also proven essential in pursuance of a second objective: modelling the landholding's spatial organization. Identification of the locations and use-period of structures at the Newsom farmstead through historical and archaeological

[1]Melton A. McLaurin (1991), "Celia, a Slave" (HarperCollins).

investigations helps clarify the relationship between spatial organization and the power dynamics of slavery at small slaveholding farmsteads, particularly in contrast to models of space and power at large commercial plantations. This comparison should contribute to the growing body of research on variation between small and large slaveholdings generally, in both Missouri and the other states comprising the antebellum South.

On the whole, the Newsom site is well suited to this research. As previously observed, the notoriety of Newsom's death and the resulting trial of Celia generated a body of historical documentation concerning the Newsom farmstead that, combined with preserved writings of Newsom family members, makes the site a more promising subject of archival research than many of its lesser-documented contemporaries. Additionally, subsurface archaeological remnants at the site retain a fair degree of integrity; while there has been some ground disturbance, the property has been exposed to limited development since its acquisition by federal land managers. Moreover, previous archaeological fieldwork at the Newsom landholding has resulted in preliminary identification of several site features, forming an excellent foundation for the supplementary fieldwork implemented during current investigations. Finally, given the sensationalized death of Newsom and the trial of Celia, the site is already widely recognized as a small-scale slaveholding where spatial organization may have been closely linked with power relations. Thus, the particular relevance of the site to this topic has already been established.

Historical archaeological investigations of the Robert Newsom Farmstead have prospective significance in several areas, and have the potential to make intellectual and applied contributions to the fields of history, anthropological archaeology, and cultural

resource management. Firstly, this study stands to contribute to the history of the antebellum period, in both Missouri and the broader U.S., by enriching our understanding of the Newsom Farmstead site and by providing insights concerning the role of the cultural landscape in the historically significant Newsom-Celia case. This project also contributes to the historical archaeology of early nineteenth-century settlement and the dynamics of space, power, and enslavement in non-plantation contexts. Finally, this study will aid the U.S. Forest Service in managing the Newsom property by providing information the agency can use to more effectively protect and ultimately interpret the site.

BACKGROUND

Plantation Archaeology

Prior to the American Civil War, the term "plantation" was applied to many of the large southern farms worked by slave labor. At that time, there was no explicit line of demarcation between the plantation and farm, only a vague notion of scale as it applied to the overall acreage of a landholding and the size of the slave population employed in its cultivation (US Census Bureau1916:7; Adams and Boling 1989:70-72). Thompson (1932:608) and Prunty (1955:460) describe several interdependent elements that have been widely adopted as characteristic of plantations, thereby distinguishing them from farms. In general terms, plantations consist of large scale properties managed through specialized, intensive agricultural operations that depended primarily on central control of a nonfamilial labor force for the production of marketable cash crops. In comparison, Messick et al. (2001:52) and Singleton (1985:2) describe farms as diversified agricultural operations implemented on a relatively smaller scale, with a substantial quantity of labor provided by the landowner and family; goods were produced primarily for subsistence and secondarily for the market. Ultimately, only a small proportion of white males in the South were ever slaveholders, while an even smaller fraction of those were counted among the elite population of large-scale planters (Cabak and Groover 2006:51).

The origins of plantation archaeology as a specific area of inquiry have been attributed to Morley Jeffers Williams, a trained landscape architect and member of the faculty of Harvard University. Williams first conducted archaeological fieldwork at George Washington's Mount Vernon Estate during 1931 as part of a larger study of

southern Colonial plantations and gardens (Pogue 1988a:165-167; Singleton 1990:70). Accounts of additional investigations were sporadically published into the late 1950s and early 1960s; however, most of the early research was focused on the architectural restoration of buildings and gardens, not on understanding the plantation life of both free and enslaved peoples (Singleton 1995:119-120).

During the 1960s, historically oriented anthropological studies into the experiences of enslaved African-Americans and those who benefitted from their labor began to emerge (Singleton 1990:70-72). Excavations of slave dwellings by Charles H. Fairbanks at two coastal plantations in Florida and Georgia embodied deliberate attempts to systematically study slavery through the application of both historical and archaeological methods (Singleton 1995:119). Fairbanks (1972:62) had recognized that contemporary accounts of southern slavery were almost always written from the viewpoint of the "superordinate caste" and generally lacked specific information about the daily circumstances of the slaves—precisely the sort of situation in which archeology could "supplement and extend" knowledge obtainable through written history alone.

A number of influences have contributed to the development of enslavement as a research focus of historical archaeology. Orser (1984:3, 7) and Singleton (1995:121) cite passage of historic preservation legislation during the mid-1960s and early 1970s as critical to the process. Such laws mandate investigation—albeit frequently limited in scope—of archaeological sites that may be threatened by development. A large proportion of such sites would not otherwise have received archaeological attention. The eventual recognition that archaeology can provide unique insights into social dynamics, economics, and political aspects of slavery and a widespread increase in the archaeology

of social inequality (see for example Delle et al. 2000; Leone 2005; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Mrozowski 2006; Orser 1988, 1999; Paynter 1989; Scham 2001; Scott 1994; 2001; Shackel 2003; Stine 1990; Wall 1994) have further stimulated an exponential growth in the archaeology of slavery since the mid-1960s (Singleton 1990:76; 1995:121; Honerkamp 2009:1). The resultant body of work displays a shift from the early, virtually exclusive archaeological focus on the planter's household to areas occupied by enslaved people and other agricultural laborers (Singleton 1995:119-121).

Major themes in the archaeological study of enslavement and its material culture are diverse. These include variation between slave, overseer, and master in housing, subsistence, and other quality of life indicators (Adams and Boling 1989; Drucker 1981; Orser 1988; Otto 1977, 1984; Otto and Burns 1984); burial practices of slaves and freedmen (e.g., Davidson 2004; Fitts 1996; Jamieson 1995); the role of landscapes and constructed environments in the power dynamics of slavery (Brandon and Davidson 2005; Epperson 1990; Fitts 1996; Kimmel 1993; Vlach 1993; Young 1997); the gender dynamics of enslavement (Galle 2010; Heath 2004; Ramey 1998); ethnic identity, "Africanisms," and African-American ethnogenesis among slaves (Ferguson 1998; Galke 2009; Howson 1990; Leone and Fry 1999; McKee 1987; Samford 1996; Stine, Cabak, and Groover 1996; Vlach 1991; Wilkie 1995; 2000a; 2000b); manifestations of slave resistance (Ferguson 1998; Orser and Funari 2001); and method, theory, and politics in the history and archaeology of enslavement (Babson 1990; Blakey 1997; Franklin 1997; Mack and Blakey 2004; Howson 1990; Moore 1985; Mullins 2008; Orser 1988, 1989, 1998, 2001, 2004; Singleton 1988, 1990, 1995).

The Plantation Bias

The majority of early historical and archaeological research investigating slavery and its archaeological correlates focused on the large commercial plantations that once flourished in portions of the Old South (Joseph 2004:20; Otto 1980:35; Otto and Burns 1981:167). Yet roughly half of the slave territory of the United States was managed outside the southern plantation system, operating in the realm of the small backcountry or yeoman farmer who owned few if any slaves and grew few if any cash crops. In the latter case, slavery took on a different character than it did among the larger plantations of the southeastern low country and piedmont (Fairbanks 1984:11; Otto 1980:35-36). More than half of the whites who held slaves—and almost half of the slaves themselves—lived on small family farms rather than plantations, yet such farms and small slaveholdings remain largely obscured by a focus on plantation studies (Burke 2010:4; Otto 1980:37). The potential for bias in such a limited approach has been highlighted by archaeologists and historians alike. More than thirty years ago, Fairbanks (1984:11) cautioned that almost nothing was known about the archaeology of small slaveholdings or the lives of their inhabitants, the details of which rarely appear in the written record. More recently, Burke (2010:4) argues that preferential investigation of slaves and slaveholders on large commercial plantations yields an incomplete picture of slavery in the American South.

Although numerous non-plantation slaveholding sites have been investigated since passage of historic preservation legislation during the mid-1960s and early 1970s, scholars have conducted relatively few studies concentrating specifically on manifestations of slavery at the scale of the household or family farm, and have only

recently begun to systematically explore how the lives, relationships, and landscapes characterizing small slaveholding farms may have differed from those of commercial slaveholding estates (Burke 2010:4; Singleton 1995:121). The lack of attention to small slaveholdings leaves both scholarly and popular understandings of slavery unnecessarily narrow and incomplete; it is hoped that the present study will, in some small measure, help remedy those shortcomings.

REGIONAL AND LOCAL CONTEXT

The Missouri Model

While historical research on slavery in the United States generally exhibits the plantation bias discussed above, Burke's (2010) recent historical study of slavery in Missouri demonstrates an alternative focus and therefore significantly informs this historical archaeological study of the Newsom Farmstead. As explained in depth by Burke (2010:48-51) and noted by Haskell (1902:31) more than a century ago, the expression of slavery in Missouri was heavily influenced by the state's geology, geography, and frontier status; its topography, climate, and proximity to free northern states and territories largely discouraged immigration of wealthy southern planters, creating instead opportunities for the immigration of small slaveholders from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky into the state. Although such small-scale slaveholdings have been eclipsed in popular imagination by the opulent commercial plantations of the Old South, they were numerically dominant in Missouri and throughout the remaining slave states, resulting in a culture of slavery that differed socially, politically, and economically from that of the southern plantation system (Burke 2010:5, 25). More than a quarter of a million people from the Upper South migrated to Missouri between 1820 and 1860, many of them small slaveholders pursuing plentiful, inexpensive land (Burke 2010:25; Trexler 1914:9).

Comparing slavery as it existed on large, lowland plantations to its manifestation outside the commercial plantation system, Craven (1930:20) writes, "frontier and markets dictated the farm in place of the plantation and placed white and black, owner and slave,

master, hired man, son and servant, together at common tasks." Haskell (1902:31) describes slavery in the western part of Missouri as "much more a domestic than commercial institution. Family servants constituted the bulk of slave ownership, and few white families owned more than one family of blacks. The social habits were those of the farm and not the plantation." Phillips (1918:228) writes that the slaveholding majority held "but one or two families of slaves," and "commonly labored alongside the blacks, giving not less than step for step at the plow and stroke for stroke with the hoe." Not only did many of Missouri's non-plantation slaveholders purportedly labor alongside their bondspeople, but many lived near together, as well.

A number of researchers (e.g., Burke 2010:143; Enscore et al. 2014:61; Fitts 1996:55-58; Strutt 2010:226-230) have described the close conditions under which free whites and enslaved African Americans sometimes coexisted on the slaveholding farms of Missouri, the Mid-Atlantic States, and portions of the Old South, wherein many bondspeople were either quartered in the slaveholder's primary residence or in structures relatively close to it. The number of bondspeople on a given farm appears to have had a direct influence on the location of their lodgings: while cabins on Missouri's few larger slaveholdings were sometimes arranged in classic plantation form like a small slave quarter some distance away from the "big house," in most cases bondspeople were housed in one or two structures located directly behind the main residence (Burke 201:154).

In general terms, the relatively close positioning of domiciliary and secondary domestic structures is characteristic of the nucleated and semi-nucleated models of farmstead organization that accompanied southern emigrants throughout the frontier

between 1775 and 1825. Site nucleation was intended to increase efficiency within cleared domestic spaces while maximizing the agricultural use-potential of the surrounding landscape (Groover 2008:24; Joseph 1997:49; Prunty 1955:465-466; Sayers 2003:386; Worthy 1983:78, 81). An additional corollary of nucleation on slaveholding farms was the potential for nearly continuous surveillance of enslaved peoples, a form of social control that likely evolved as a by-product of the extreme spatial limiting of domestic areas typical of nucleated and semi-nucleated sites (Enscore et al. 2014:61; Fitts 1996:57; Sayers 2003:386-388). Burke (2010:8, 141) describes the intimacy of relations within such slaveholdings, where free and enslaved residents were an integral part of one another's lives:

> Working and living so closely together fostered personal interactions between owners and slaves and allowed them the extraordinary power to influence one another's lives. It was in these homes and fields where black and white Missourians stridently contested the terms of their relations and labor and ultimately determined their experience of life on slavery's border.

Missouri's "Little Dixie"

The Newsom farmstead is located in Callaway County, Missouri, one of eight core counties that—along with an extensive secondary core straddling the Missouri River in the western two-thirds of the state—comprise a Southern folk-cultural area that would come to be known as "Little Dixie" (Figure 1) (Burke 2010:12, 27, 48; Marshall 1981:vii,1-2). The region was settled largely by immigrants from the Upper South, mostly of British extraction, and ultimately held the greatest concentration of slaves and slaveholders in the state. By 1850, roughly one-half of Callaway County's family heads held slaves, who in turn made up approximately 39% of the county's total population;

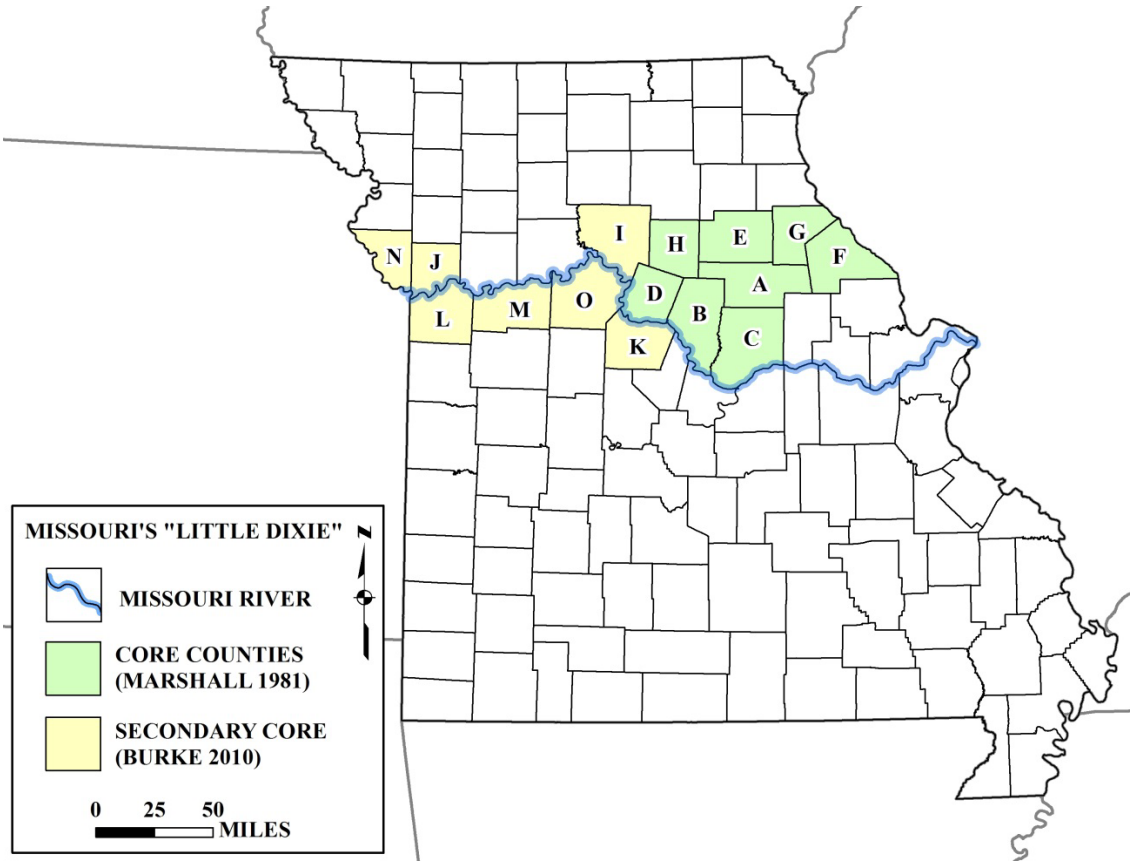

Figure 1. Map of Missouri's "Little Dixie" folk-cultural area. Core counties defined by Marshall (1981:1-2) include: A) Audrain, B) Boone, C) Callaway, D) Howard, E) Monroe, F) Pike, G) Ralls, H) Randolph; Secondary core counties (Burke 2010:27, 96) include I) Charlton, J) Clay, K) Cooper, L) Jackson, M) Layfayette, N) Platte, O) Saline.

this relatively high proportion of slaves and slaveholding families was irrefutably associated with substantial economic advantage (Scarpino 1976:22, 29, 33). As a consequence of the fiscal prosperity of its inhabitants, Missouri's Little Dixie would prove to be the most politically and economically important region of the state during most of the antebellum period (Burke 2010:51).

The Newsom Farmstead Environmental Context

The Robert Newsom Farmstead site lies within the Cedar Creek Unit of the Mark Twain National Forest approximately seven miles southwest of present-day Fulton, in Callaway County, Missouri (Figure 2). The property was originally settled by the Newsoms during 1822–23 and occupied by members of the family until 1927 (Grover 2013a:24; Newsom 1912:106). Although outlying parcels of the landholding were sold to non-family buyers beginning in 1915, the farmstead core area appears to have been retained by heirs of the Newsom estate until the 1930s, during which time a majority of the lands were acquired by the William Woods College for Girls. The property entered federal ownership in 1941 following its acquisition by the Natural Resources Conservation Service (formerly the U.S. Soil Conservation Service) under provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937 (50 Stat. 522). Newsom's former acreage was transferred to U. S. Forest Service management in 1954, and has remained in Forest ownership since that date.[2]

The Newsom Farmstead habitation locus, or "core area," extends over some 3.5 acres currently used as pasturage, and is today comprised of several nineteenth to early-twentieth century archaeological concentrations of foundation stones, bricks, brick fragments, and artifact scatters. A rock-lined well with a concrete and aggregate superstructure is present on the eastern side of the site, and several subsurface features have been identified within the site core area. The Newsom family cemetery is situated approximately 300 meters to the north; remnants of a still house have been identified somewhat farther to the northeast (Figure 3).

[2] Mark Twain National Forest land records (microfiche) on file at the Forest Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri. 5490 Land Title File: William Woods College, Tract No. 119, 1-3.

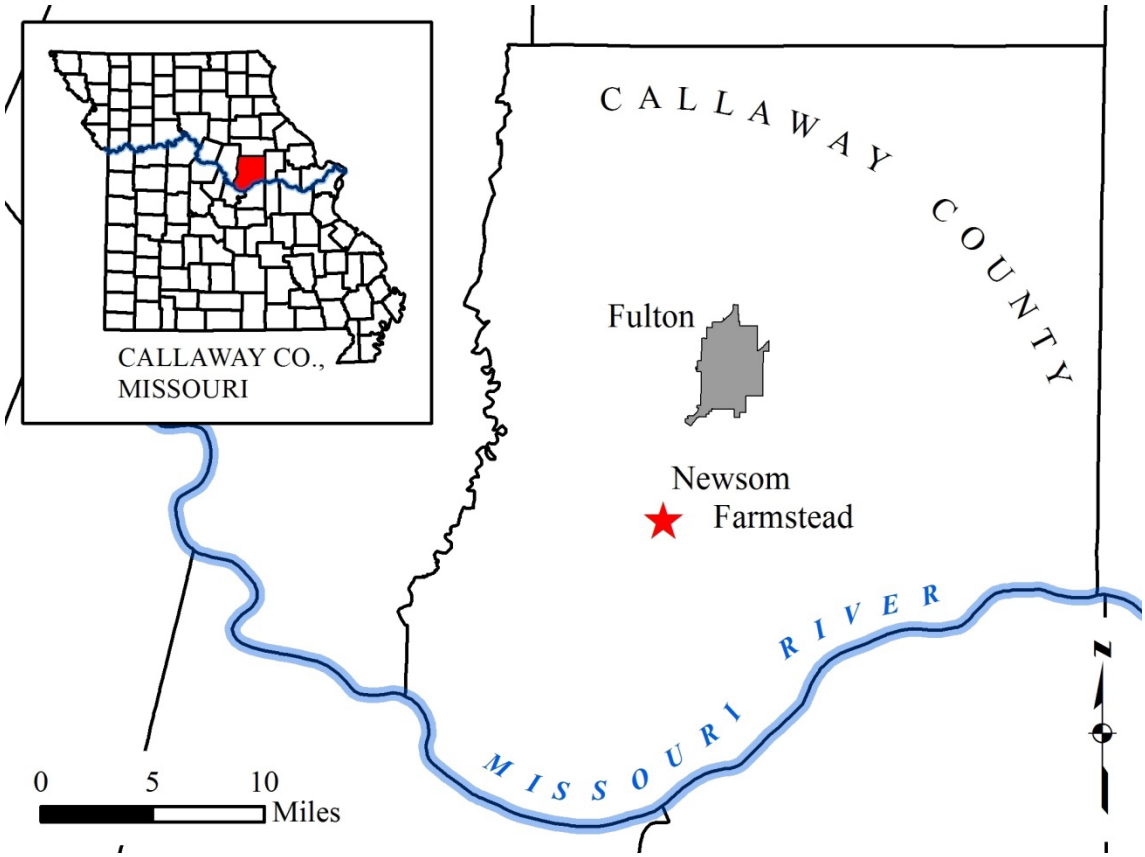

Figure 2. General location of the Robert Newsom Farmstead Site (23CY497), Callaway County, Missouri.

As currently defined, the site occupies a relatively broad, gently sloping ridgetop adjacent to an unnamed tributary of the Middle River at an elevation of 780–800 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). The concentrated presence of irregularly distributed foundation stones and brick within the previously shaded site core has discouraged hay mowing in that area, thus permitting a grove of American elm (*Ulmus americana*), black walnut (*Juglans nigra*), honey locust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*), black locust (*Robinia pseudoacacia*), and scattered eastern red-cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) to become further established within the otherwise open pastureland (Figure 4).

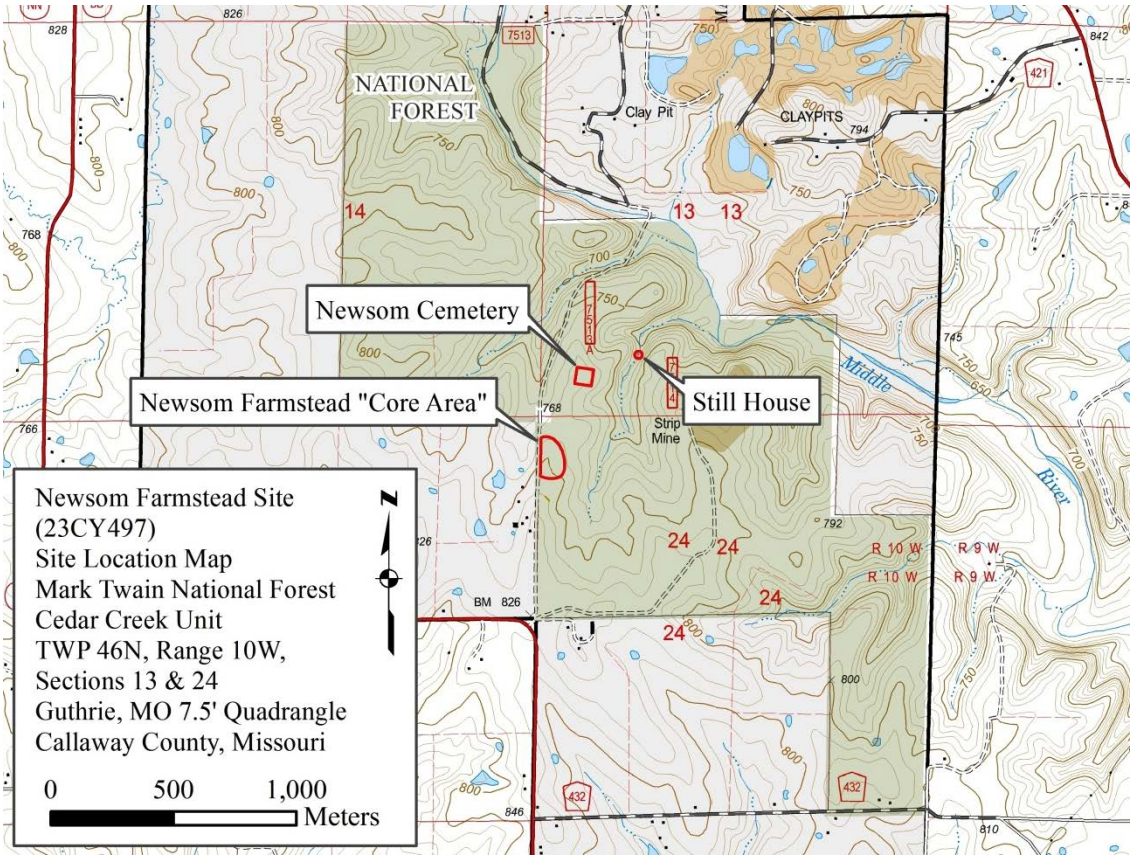

Figure 3. Location of the Newsom Farmstead Site (23CY497), the associated family cemetery (23CY496), and the probable still house (ArcGIS background map: U.S. Forest Service, Image Server GeoTiffs publication, February 2012).

Nigh and Schroeder (2002:87, 139, 175) place the Newsom Farmstead locale in the Outer Ozark Border subsection of the Ozark Highlands ecological section. Many of the area uplands are flat while valleys are relatively deep and typical of Ozarks-like landscapes, projecting northward from the Missouri River. Local relief averages 150–200 feet. Historically, the region was forested with oak savanna and woodland in the valleys and mostly prairies on the flat ridges; eastern red-cedar predominated on dolomite glades. Today, lands consist primarily of cool season fescue or warm season native grass pasture/grazing allotments with scattered cropland, dense relict-field thickets, and second-growth hardwoods dominating the steeper slopes.

Figure 4. The Newsom Farmstead Site core area, situated in the grove of trees at center left; note the two-track pasture road in the foreground. Facing northeast (April 12, 2014).

Robert Newsom made his home in a region typified by eroded upland soils of the Keswick-Lindley-Gorin Association, which originate from Pleistocene loess overlying pedisediments and glacial till (Horn 1992:8). The primary dwelling area occupies a portion of broad, flat-to-gently sloping ridgetop characterized by Gorin silt loam, a ridgetop/upper side slope soil that is particularly vulnerable to erosion. As a consequence, much of the original surface layer may have been lost over time (Horne 1992:26-27). Existing remnants are brown or dark yellowish brown silt loams that typically extend from the ground surface to a depth of ca. 30 centimeters, at which point there is an abrupt textural change to a silty clay subsoil (Soil Survey Staff 2014:3). As observed during the present study, the latter generally defines the boundary between the artifact-bearing soils above and the culturally sterile substrate.

Previous Archaeological Investigations at the Newsom Farmstead

Mark Twain National Forest cultural resources inventory records indicate that prior to current investigations, the Robert Newsom Farmstead site has been formally documented on seven separate occasions. Researchers have been associated with a number of institutions, including the U.S. Forest Service, a private archaeological contracting firm, and two public universities. Although the extent of field investigations associated with each entry has varied, all have contributed at least incrementally to the site record, if not considerably more so.

U.S. Forest Service: 1984. The Robert Newsom Farmstead was first entered onto the rolls of the U.S. Forest Service as a potential historical resource during a literature review for a planned cultural resources survey in 1984 (Henley and Harris

1984:1). At that time, researchers examining Mark Twain National Forest land records[3]and historical area maps[4] documented the presence of a "site lead" based solely on archival information. Although the site's existence does not appear to have been field-verified at that time, investigators accurately plotted the farmstead's location and identified its former residents as the Newsom family.

Historic Preservation Associates: 1985. The Newsom site was field documented and mapped for the first time during contracted broad scale archaeological survey of the area on July 18, 1985, by Richard P. Kandare of Historic Preservation Associates, a private archaeological services firm based in Fayetteville, Arkansas (Klinger and Kandare 1988:85). Although little additional information was collected, Kandare recorded a historic artifact scatter comprised of stoneware, brick, metal, and glass fragments in a two-track field road which runs through the site (Figure 5); he also observed foundation stones amongst a stand of shade trees, where they had been "jumbled w/out apparent pattern" by heavy machinery (Kandare1985:1, 6). No subsurface testing was implemented at that time, and site boundaries appear to have been delineated based solely on surficial components (Kandare 1985:6).

University of Tennessee: 2001. Members of the University of Tennessee Anthropology Department under the field supervision of Brooke Hamby performed pedestrian survey (walkover) of the Newsom site during March 2001 in hopes of identifying the location of Celia's quarters. Investigators recorded the visible presence of intact fieldstone foundation remnants exposed on the western side of the site which,

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[3]Mark Twain National Forest land records (microfiche) on file at the Forest Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri. 5490 Land Title File: William Woods College, Tract No. 119, 1-3.
[4]1944 Millersburg, Missouri 15 Minute Quadrangle; 1916 Soils Map of Callaway County, Missouri (Krusekopf, et al. 1919).

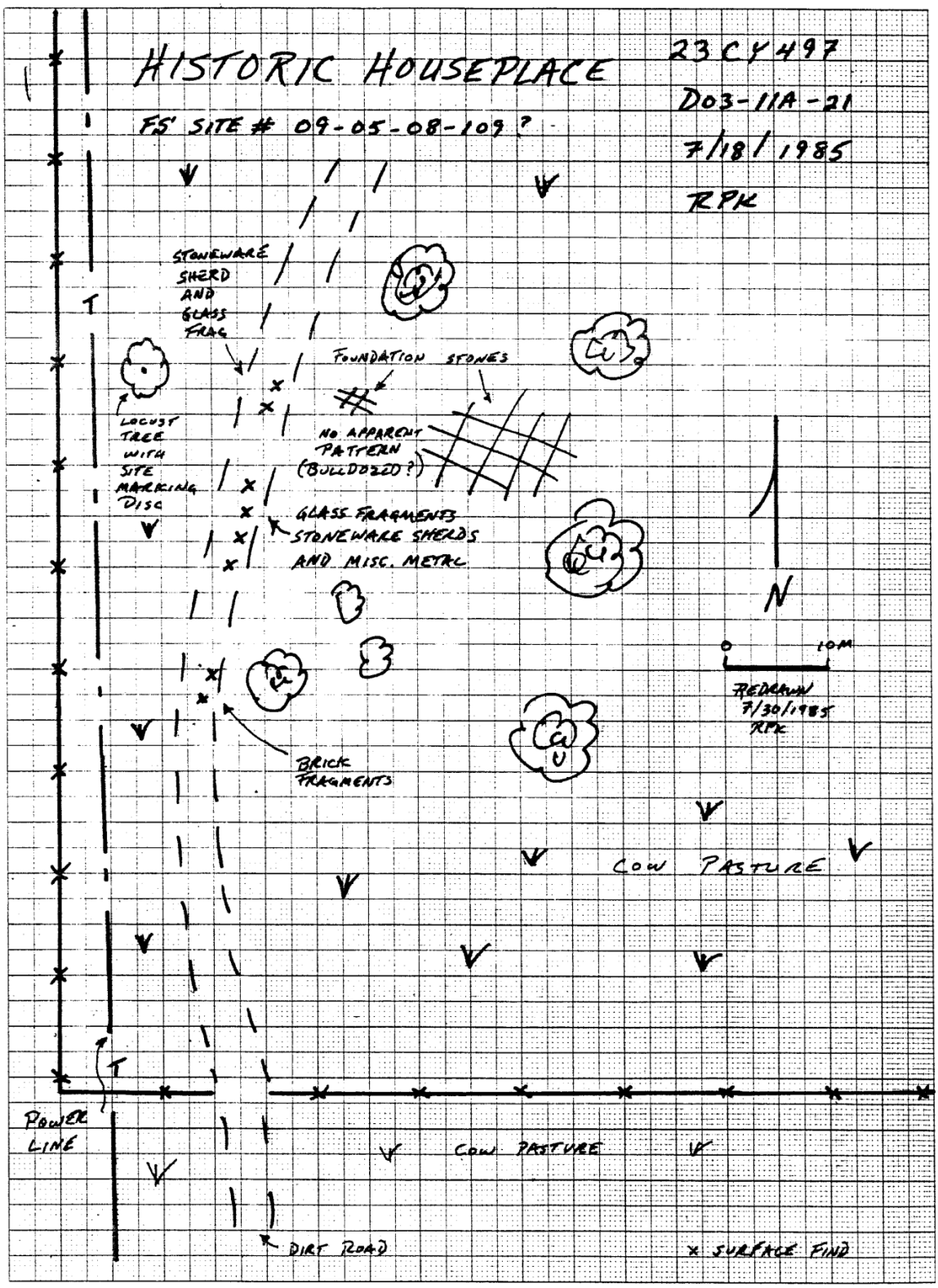


Figure 5. Heritage Preservation Associates sketch map of the Newsom Farmstead Site (23CY497), illustrating visible surface features and indications of mechanical disturbance as initially recorded on July 18, 1985 (Kandare 1985:3).

based on their scale, were provisionally identified as remains of the Newsom dwelling. Following establishment of a site datum and grid-points, Hamby excavated and screened twenty-five shovel tests around a concentration of bricks visible on the ridgetop north of the apparent locus of the Robert Newsom residence. Artifact analysis indicated that the area was likely the location of an early twentieth century barn as opposed to Celia's cabin (Hamby 2002:24), a supposition confirmed through archival research undertaken as part of the current study.[5]Under the guidance of Dr. Charles H. Faulkner, University of Tennessee researchers received funding to return to the site in July 2001 to continue their investigations. According to Hamby (2002:4, 18), the additional work consisted of fifty-four shovel tests and six excavation units (Figure 6). Nine shovel tests and one excavation unit were situated in the area previously identified as the probable locus of a barn in order to more conclusively eliminate the possibility that it had been the location of Celia's cabin; thirty-five shovel tests, twelve augur tests, and four excavation units were placed approximately fifty yards behind the Newsom dwelling, "where historical records indicate Celia's house was located";[6] nine shovel tests and one excavation unit were positioned adjacent to the rock-lined well located on the eastern side of the site core area. The purported Newsom residence location was not investigated at that time.

In total, more than 1100 artifacts were recovered during the March and July 2001 field investigations. Although Hamby and her colleagues had provisionally identified the locations of Robert Newsom's dwelling, the later-period barn, a well house, and Celia's

[5] "Authorization to construct new barn". Probate records of David Newsom, Callaway County, Missouri. Box 136, Bundle 18, Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, Fulton, Missouri; also Aerial Photograph Nos. TK-2B-72 (September 22, 1941) and TK-5B-48 (November 28, 1941), on file with the Mark Twain National Forest and Natural Resources Conservation Service, Fulton, Missouri.
[6] See McLaurin (1991:61).

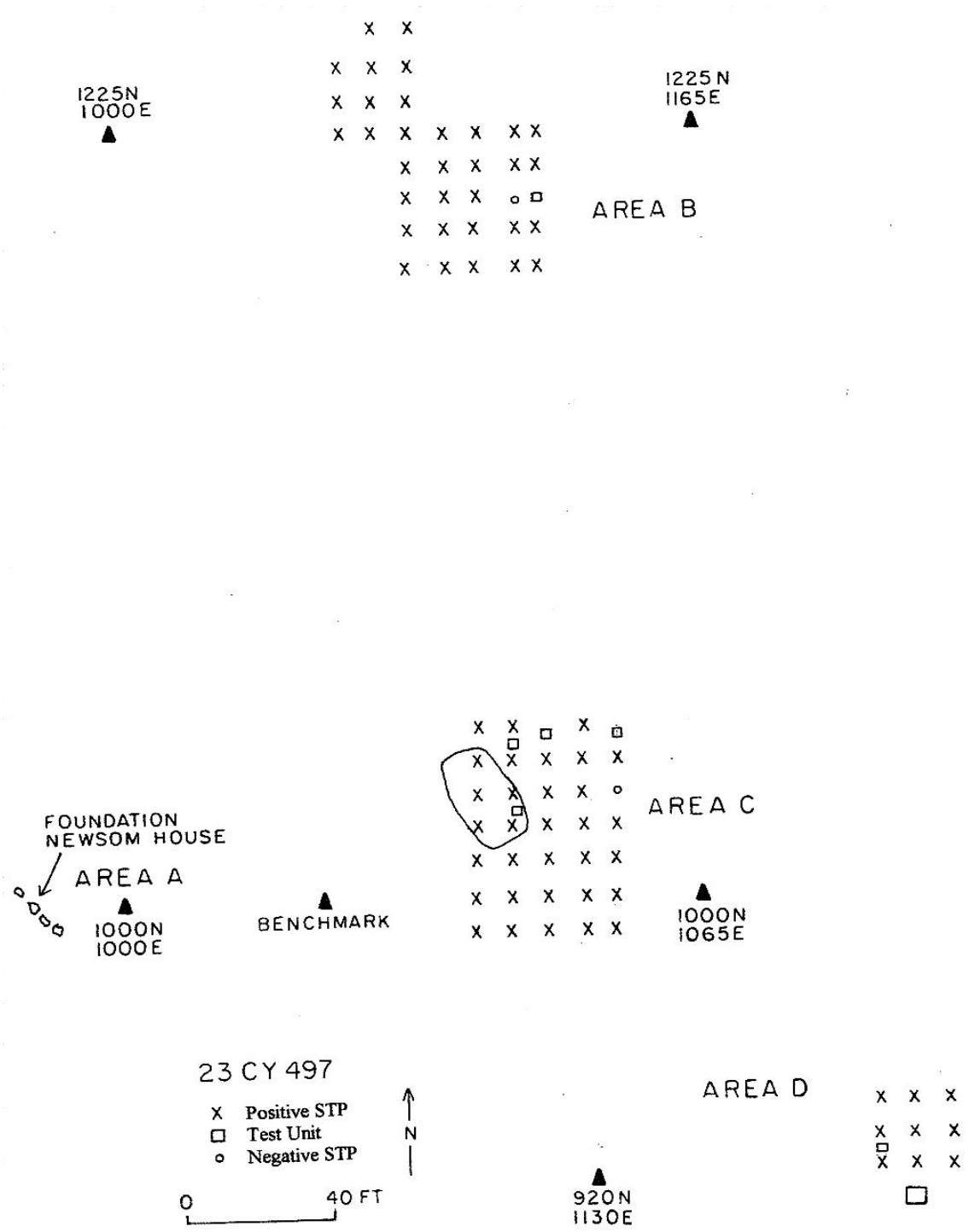


Figure 6. University of Tennessee's sketch map positive and negative shovel test probes (STPs) and excavation unit locations (augur tests not shown). Area A (at left) contains the 2001 site datum (1000N/1000E) and the Newsom dwelling house foundation segment; Area B (top) is the twentieth century barn location; Area C (center right) is the proposed location of Celia's cabin (note the area of late 19th century fill along its western edge); and Area D (bottom right) is the site of the rock-lined house well and possible well house (Hamby 2002:3).

cabin (Hamby 2002:2-24; 2004:6-9), she hoped to pursue additional excavations to confirm her assessments as part of her doctoral research; however, sufficient funding could not be secured and the project was shelved (Brooke Hamby, personal communication, July 2013).

U.S. Forest Service: 2003 and 2005. The Newsom Farmstead was visited in November 2003 by Mark Twain National Forest heritage resources management personnel during site relocation efforts conducted in preparation for a 375 acre prescribed burn of the area (Gibson 2003:5; Hill 2005a:2). Although no additional archaeological testing was performed at that time, the site's location was field-verified and its record updated to include a brief narrative describing the site's history, its historical significance, and several of its existing features (Hill 2003:1). In order to mitigate potential adverse effects of prescribed burning to the Newsom site, heritage resources staff recommended removal of heavy concentrations of combustible fuels from the core area and placement of a proposed fire control line outside what was believed to be the site's western boundary prior to burn implementation; additionally, post-burn monitoring was planned to assess the efficacy of the mitigation efforts (Hill 2005a:2; 2005b:1).

In accordance with the Forest's mitigation plan for the prescribed burning project, a site monitoring visit was performed by Mark Twain National Forest archaeologists Kristina Hill and Bruce Gibson in April 2005, shortly after burn implementation. During the course of the site revisit, an artifact scatter containing materials dating from the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was observed in a 24 meter-long segment of fire control line that had been plowed between the site's ostensible western boundary and the Forest property line located further west (Hill 2005a:3). In consultation with partners at

the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office, heritage resources staff determined that a systematic surface collection within the fire line segment and subsequent relocation of the fire line (or exclusion of the site from future prescribed burns) would adequately mitigate the unintentional effects of plow line construction (Hill 2005b:7-8).

Following unsuccessful attempts to relocate the University of Tennessee site datum and grid points, Forest archaeologists conducted a systematic surface collection on the fire line during two visits in April and May of 2005 (Hill 2005b:1; Kristina Hill, personal communication, August 22, 2014); a total of 98 historic artifacts were observed during those efforts, including "a great deal" of fragmentary handmade brick and several limestone slabs and slab fragments. Surface collection on the fire line also yielded machine cut nails, wire nails, window glass, and artifacts of a domestic nature, including ceramic vessel sherds and container glass (Hill 2005b:3-6). A follow-up metal detector survey of the Newsom Farmstead indicated the widespread presence of scattered subsurface ferrous artifacts across the site, leading to further broadening of the site boundary; an updated site record and sketch map (Figure 7) depicting the fire line location and expanded site boundary were prepared and included with the site damage report (Hill 2005b). No prescribed burning has been undertaken in the area since that time.

Missouri State University: 2012. Pursuant to U.S. Forest Service heritage resource management program requirements, condition assessments for several historically significant sites on the Mark Twain National Forest were prepared under a Challenge Cost Share Agreement with the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Missouri State University in Springfield, Missouri. On July 30, 2012, Missouri State

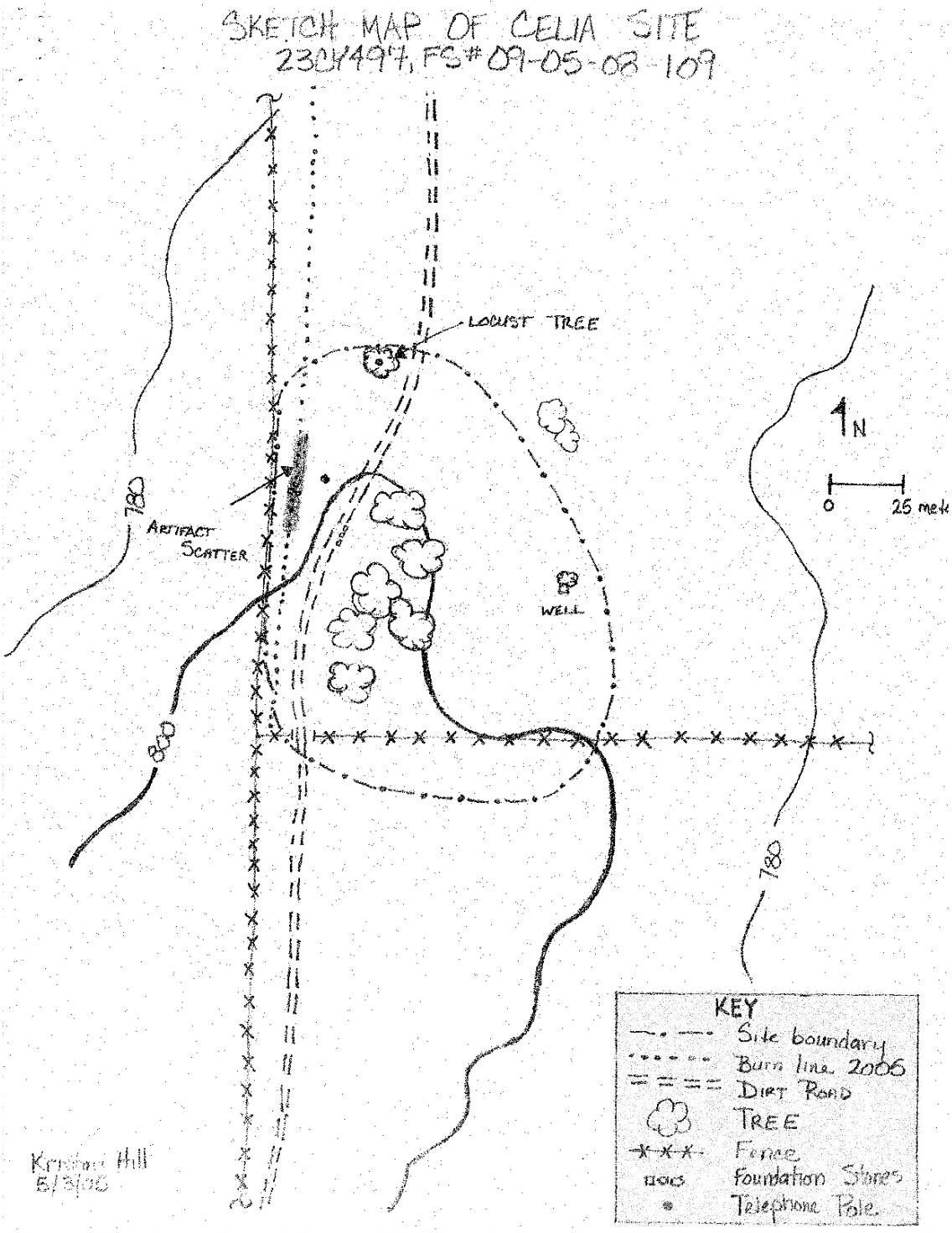


Figure 7. U.S. Forest Service site sketch map of the Newsom Farmstead Site, showing the fire control line and associated artifact scatter discussed above (from photocopy). Note the foundation stones mapped on the eastern edge of the two-track field road, just southeast of the telephone pole location (Hill 2005c:5).

personnel under the field supervision of Jennifer Rideout and Jon Fox revisited the Newsom Farmstead, successfully relocating the artifact and structural remnant concentrations identified by Historic Preservation Associates in 1985, the University of Tennessee in 2001, and U.S. Forest Service archaeologists in 2003 and 2005 (Gibson 2003; Hamby 2002; Hill 2005; Klinger and Kandare 1988; Rideout et al. 2012).

While no subsurface testing was performed during the 2012 assessment, Missouri State researchers captured photographic overviews of the site and prepared measured sketch maps of previously identified feature loci, adding considerable detail to the Newsom site record (Figure 8). The resultant data were subsequently incorporated into an updated Mark Twain National Forest Archaeological Site Recordation Form and submitted to the Forest for curation (Rideout et al. 2012). Missouri State's 2012 fieldwork was the last investigatory site revisit prior to the current study.

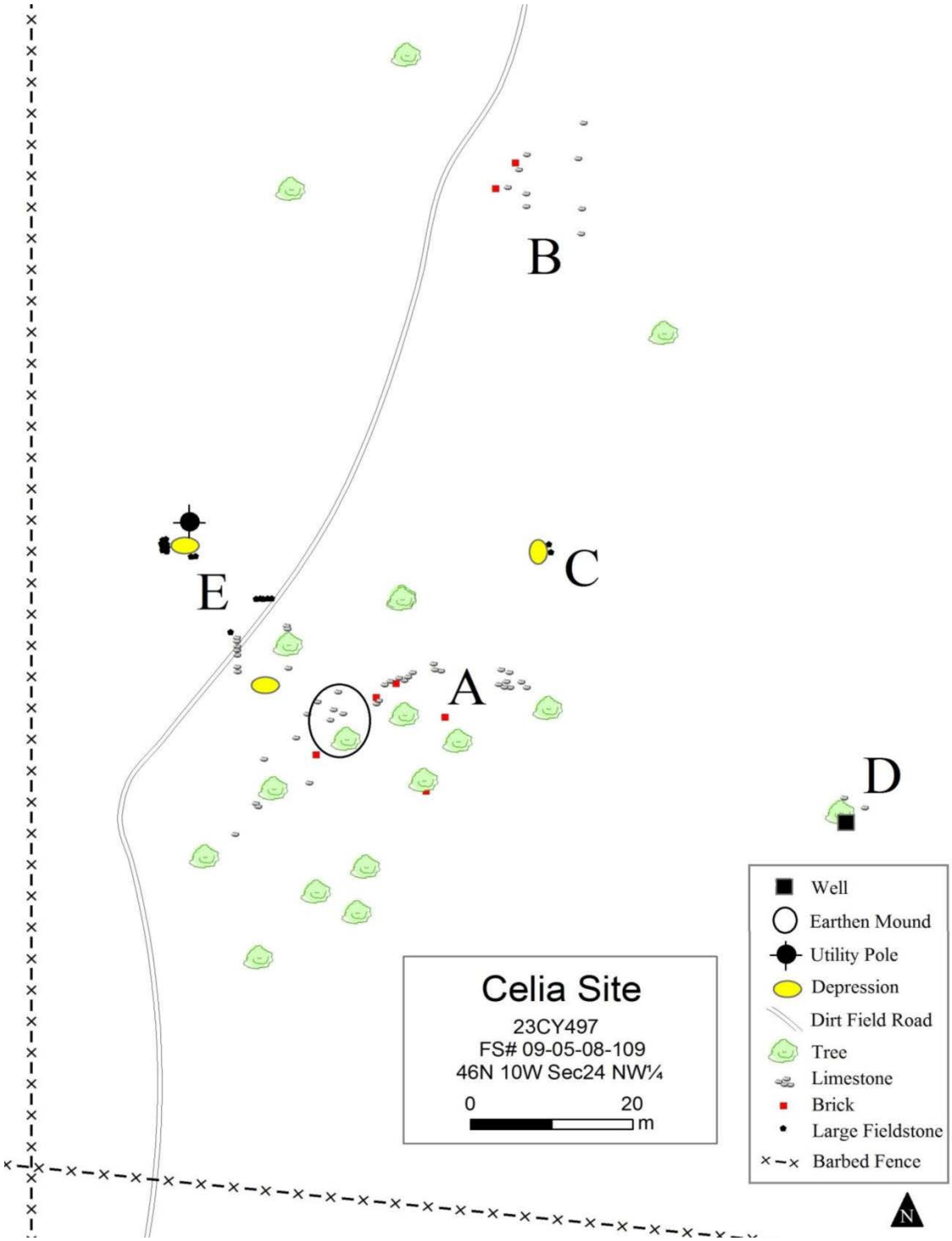


Figure 8. Missouri State University sketch map depicting visible surface features. Area A (center) contains scattered brick and limestone block foundation remnants, including the *in situ* foundation stones mapped in the two-track field road, and a probable "push-pile"; Area B (top) is the twentieth century barn location; Area C (center right) is the proposed site of Celia's cabin; Area D (right) is the location of the rock-lined house well; Area E (left) may represent additional structural remnants (Rideout et al. 2012).

RESEARCH METHODS

The objectives of this study include preparing a comprehensive history of the Newsom Farmstead and its occupants as well as modelling the landholding's spatial organization, thus allowing for investigation of the relationship between site spatial organization and the power dynamics of slavery there. The methods used to pursue these goals include the collection of archival, oral history, and archaeological information followed by analysis and interpretation of those data.

Data Collection

Archival Research. Documents that have proven valuable in adding to our knowledge about the Newsom site and its residents include those created as part of the public record (or for public consumption) as well as those produced for more personal uses. The former category includes records of the United States Census, the Missouri State Census, state personal property tax valuations, records of the United States General Land Office, local deed and land survey records, period newspaper accounts, probate records, historical aerial photographs and county plat books, and legal documents associated with the indictment and prosecution of the young bondswoman Celia. Documents created for more personal uses include family journals and journal excerpts, records of farm accounts, family bible entries, photographs, period family histories, personal correspondence, and compilations of descendant genealogical research.

In addition to their utility in assembling a general site history, all documents were examined with a particular emphasis on identifying explicit and implied references to the

enslaved population on the site, the locations of structures and activity areas there, and any evidence suggesting a relationship between the farmstead's built environment and power relations amongst its free and enslaved residents. Both primary and secondary sources were critically evaluated in terms of reliability, and wherever possible were used to cross-check observations detailed elsewhere in the document collection. Although the nature of these documents and their individual ability to inform the history of the Newsom Farmstead varied widely, their collective potential to interdependently illuminate, corroborate, and/or correct the historical record proved of far greater value than any single document viewed in isolation.

Oral History Interviews. Oral interviews with Ms. Annie B. Norman, an authoritative Newsom family researcher and lineal descendant of Robert Newsom, were held in Fulton, Missouri, on the evening of June 22, 2014, and at the site of the Newsom landholding on June 23, 2014. Interestingly, the second interview took place on the 159th anniversary of Robert Newsom's death. Conversational discussions about the Newsom site and those who dwelled there were held in a mutually enthusiastic tone, and proved of significant value in addressing both historical and anthropological questions. Ms. Norman's gracious participation during her brief visit to Fulton included sharing personal reflections, family lore, and primary source documents in the form of historical journals and family photographs.

Prior approval for the Human Subjects component of this study was obtained from the Missouri State University Institutional Review Board on June 19, 2014 (Study No. 14-0478). Informed consent documentation was reviewed and signed by Ms.

Norman on June 22, 2014, and is on file with the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri.

Archaeological Data Collection. Archaeological field investigations aimed at identifying the location, possible function, and chronological association of structures and activity areas at the Newsom Farmstead were performed on an intermittent basis between July 6, 2013, and April 23, 2014. Exploratory methods included datum and grid establishment; pedestrian surface survey; metal detection; opportunistic and systematic shovel testing; artifact collection; and recordation of investigations through field notes, digital photography, and mapping. The intended purpose and scope of each activity is described below.

Following unsuccessful attempts to relocate the site datum established in 2001 by University of Tennessee researchers (Hamby 2002:2), a new datum of steel reinforcing bar ("rebar") set vertically in eighty pounds of poured concrete was constructed (Figure 9), its location recorded to sub-meter accuracy with a Trimble GeoXT resource-grade handheld GPS receiver and included in the site record. Grid-point shovel testing locations were established and pin-flagged within the site core area at five meter intervals on a west-to-east axis and at ten meter intervals on a north-to-south axis (Figure 10). Each point was measured from either the site datum or a secondary reference point tied to that datum using a hand tape and "sighted-in" using a tripod-mounted Brunton Pocket Transit aligned with true (geodetic) north by correcting for 1.33° east declination.

Based on a review of historic photographs, the choice of an asymmetrical testing grid was an expedient compromise between ground coverage and testing resolution, maintaining the likelihood of intersecting subsurface structural remnants with a north-to-

Figure 9. Concrete and steel rebar site datum, painted bright orange. A removable protective PVC sleeve has been placed over the rebar vertical. Robert Newsom Farmstead, Callaway County, Missouri (March 22, 2014).

south orientation of their long axis while maximizing the chances of archaeologically detecting such a structure's hypothetically narrower west-to-east dimensions. The accuracy of grid-point placement was periodically checked at various locations across the core area grid; at no time did placement margin-of-error exceed 25 centimeters (slightly less than 10 inches). Provided future investigators are able to relocate the newly fabricated steel rebar and poured concrete datum, it will be a relatively simple matter for them to re-establish the existing grid or relocate points of interest on the grid.

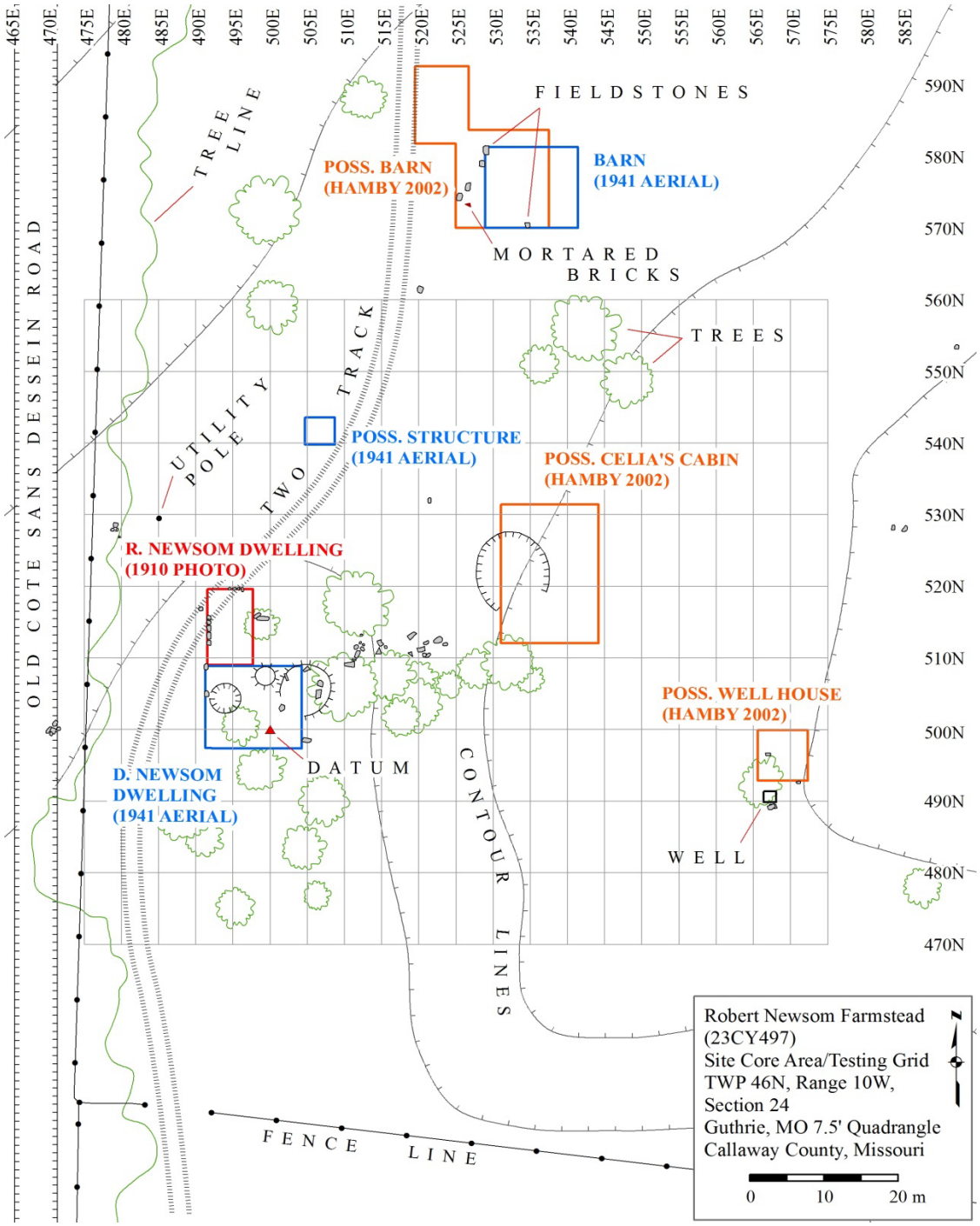


Figure 10. Sketch map depicting placement of the shovel testing grid to encompass the suspected site core area, as defined through previous archaeological testing (Hamby 2002), site records (Henley and Harris 1984; Hill 2005c; Kandare 1985; Rideout et al. 2012), and historical photographs.[7]

[7] 1910 Photograph of the Newsom dwellings, personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida; Aerial Photograph Nos. TK-2B-72 (9-22-41) and TK-5B-48 (11-28-41), on file with the Mark Twain National Forest and Natural Resources Conservation Service, Fulton, Missouri.

Pedestrian survey is comprised of surface inspection of a site, or "walkover," and is generally appropriate for identifying overt surface features or artifact scatters. Surface survey can be implemented by walking specified transects distributed systematically across a broad area, or by focusing efforts in areas of high probability. At the Newsom Farmstead, ridgetops, low-gradient slopes, wooded areas, and drainages were visually surveyed, primarily during winter "leaf-off" to increase visibility in overgrown or forested areas. Where appropriate, surface observations were photographed, flagged, mapped, and their location recorded using a resource-grade handheld GPS receiver.

Metal detection is a form of remote sensing through which subsurface metal artifacts or concentrations thereof can be identified in a fairly economical manner. Because a majority of structures at 19th century historic sites incorporated ferrous metals into their construction, for example through the use of nails or other hardware, it is an appropriate method for identifying possible structure locations. Additionally, metal detection can be useful in identifying concentrations of refuse—provided said refuse includes metals. Handheld consumer-grade metal detection units are readily available, and can be used in concert with pedestrian survey, as described above.

A Fisher M-Scope 1225-X handheld metal detector was opportunistically employed at the Newsom Farmstead within the previously identified site core (comprising the probable locations of the Newsom dwelling and Celia's cabin) and portions of the surrounding area, including ridgetops, low-gradient slopes, wooded areas, and drainages. Although metal detectors are useful for indicating the presence of artifacts such as iron or steel nails, identification of items lying beneath the ground surface nevertheless requires excavation and recovery. Toward that end, screened shovel tests

were used to ground-truth metal detector "hit" loci, which were excavated on a sample basis.

"Screened shovel tests" refers to the columnar excavation of soils using a pointed shovel and subsequent sorting of the excavated material by passing it through an archaeological screen or sieve, typically fitted with ¼" hardware cloth. Shovel tests are generally at least 30 centimeters in diameter, and are customarily excavated downward until non artifact-bearing or impenetrable substrates/obstacles are encountered. Screened shovel testing is suitable for identifying subsurface artifact scatters, the kinds of materials that are present, their horizontal and vertical distribution, and for identifying indicators of disturbance within a site. They may also provide information about the nature of subsurface archaeological features, if present, though given their relatively narrow diameter are not typically helpful in revealing the horizontal extents of site features or in generating large artifact samples.

Non-probabilistically distributed shovel tests at the Newsom Farmstead were used for three primary purposes: to identify a sample of metallic artifacts located through metal detection; to opportunistically search for subsurface archaeological deposits in high-probability areas; and to systematically explore the distribution of artifacts within the site core area by shovel testing at grid-point locations. On two occasions, excavated shovel tests encountered subsurface feature locations and were expanded into squared excavation units measuring 50 centimeters per side. In each case, artifacts from the expanded portions of the tests were collected and analyzed separately from those recovered during grid-point shovel testing.

Records relating to the identification and evaluation of cultural resources at the Newsom Farmstead include such documents as field notes, site maps, digital photographs, photo catalogs, artifact inventories, and upon its completion a copy of this study. Archival copies of each, as appropriate, will be curated in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Curation of Federally Owned and Administered Archaeological Collections (36 CFR 79). They will remain property of the U.S. Forest Service, and will be made available to the public for qualified research purposes.

With the exception of redundant construction materials such as brick and stone fragments, all period artifacts identified through shovel testing at the Newsom site were collected. Artifacts were cleaned, if appropriate to do so, sorted, and placed into polyethylene, zip-lock style plastic bags permanently labeled with site number, date, and artifact provenience information, including collection date, grid-point coordinates, and depth below the ground surface. Following project completion, all artifacts and associated project records will be curated in accordance with the Secretary's Standards cited above, and will remain property of the U.S. Forest Service.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Archaeological data evaluated as part of the current study include those collected during the 2013–14 field season and during previous investigations (Klinger and Kandare 1988; Gibson 2003; Hamby 2002; Hill 2005a, 2005b). In the latter case, provisionally identified activity areas and artifact classifications were critically assessed as a means to cross-check the historical record and conclusions derived from examination of newly

recovered materials. Analysis and interpretation not only required adoption of a classificatory framework though which to sort data, but also the means to assess those data with respect to their cultural context; both are described, below.

Classification Schema and Establishing Context. The 2013–14 pedestrian survey, metal detection, and shovel testing of the Newsom landholding were employed in an attempt to identify broad artifact distribution patterns within the site, and were therefore exploratory in nature. Accordingly, this study uses a relatively general artifact typology based on functional classification to help define those patterns of distribution and, where possible, to reveal distinctions among them. The fundamental aim is to extend our understanding of the Newsom Farmstead by determining where artifacts are present and if they exhibit temporal or social patterning capable of shedding light on the locations, chronological range, and possible function of site structures and activity areas. The general nature of these questions, in conjunction with a reliance on archaeological shovel test data, a relatively small sample of each artifact type, and a need to realistically limit the scope of this project, make use of a general typology suitable for this research. In consequence of these factors, efforts to design and apply a highly specific artifact typology across the full range of materials recovered would be inefficient and premature.

The functional classification system used for this study is based on that employed as a component of South's (1962:1-5; 1977:93) widely utilized "pattern recognition" model to ensure comparability of the data with those of other researchers (e.g., Adams et al. 2006; Boyd et al. 2011; Drucker 1981; Groover 2003; Hamby 2002, 2004; Moore 1985; Otto 1984; Singleton 1980; Wheaton and Garrow 1985). The goal of South's pattern concept is to reveal cultural meaning at the intra- and intersite level though

examination of the spatial distribution and relative numeric frequencies of artifacts recovered from archaeological sites; where replicated patterns in such distributions and frequencies are recognized, behavioral inferences explaining those patterns can be hypothesized and tested against artifact assemblages recovered elsewhere (Joseph 1989:55; South 1977:31-43, 102; 1978:223-224). In the study of relations between slaveholder and enslaved, such patterns are typically interpreted as evidence of behavioral differences among various groups of plantation residents (Orser 1990:130).

In his original work, South (1977:92-103) classifies assemblages of artifacts into "groups" according to their supposed functional context, each of which represent essential components of the eighteenth-century British-American tool kit, the constituents of which include architectural, kitchen, furniture, clothing, personal, arms, tobacco pipe, and other activities-related artifact groupings (Joseph 1989:55; Orser 1990:130; South 1977:95-96). First-order groupings, such as the Kitchen Group, can be further subdivided into more specific artifact "classes" based on artifact form and sometimes function. Classes can be divided further still by material composition, and thereafter where appropriate based on combinations of morphological characteristics that comprise specific "wares". Lastly, one or more stylistic attributes can be used to separate wares into specific "types". The extent to which analysts categorize artifacts according to their respective Group, Class, Material, Ware, and Type can vary in relation to the sort of research questions being addressed (Groover 2002:114; South 1977:92-94, 201).

According to South (1977:93-94, 99-100), classification of data along such organizational lines should produce cultural insights of a specificity that corresponds with the degree of generalization at which analysis occurs. Broad cultural trends are more

likely to be revealed at the Group level of generalization. Analyses of more specific levels of classification are expected to reveal answers to more specific questions, such as those relating to ethnicity, industry, craft activity, trade, chronological association, and social standing. Thus, one benefit of the classification system used in South's pattern recognition model is its flexibility. While the classificatory structure of the model as proposed by South during the 1960s and 1970s has remained relatively stable among those who employ it, its composition can be modified as logic dictates and new patterns proposed as they are identified (Joseph 1989:55; Orser 1990:130).

Still, many historical archaeologists fail to employ the pattern recognition concept to its full potential. South (1988:25-28) and others, such as Orser (1990:130-131), lament the tendency of many researchers to make exclusive use of South's classification system to engineer specimen catalogs dedicated to rote description and little else. In addition, pattern recognition has been broadly criticized for its "reductionist statistical approach" and its frequently arbitrary seeming assignment of function (Deagan 2004:611). At the very least, however, proponents and detractors alike recognize that South's analytical techniques comprise a "universally recognized" method for organizing large collections of artifactual data in ways that can be readily understood and used for comparative purposes (Joseph 1989:56, 65). As such, South's (1977) typological model is suitable for this study.

Although functional classification of systematically recovered artifacts is a primary component of the current analysis, a variety of standard metrics and descriptive information were recorded for most artifacts in the assemblage; these include data that may help shed light not only on various cultural behaviors, but on site formation

processes as well. Metrics, descriptors, and nonstandard statistics that may be specific to a single artifact group or class are presented in the following list of variables and variable states:

Artifact Fragment:	Yes/No
Count:	Artifacts were counted individually, with two exceptions: Highly corroded and/or fragmentary items as well as samples of clinkers/smithing slag (n = >4) were "batched" Bricks/brick fragments (not collected) were field-quantified according to their estimated cumulative percentage of a complete specimen and assigned to a given range of numeric values, where 1-25% of a brick =0.25; 26-50%= 0.5; 51-75%=0.75; 76-100%=1, etc.
Weight:	Artifacts were weighed in the same lots as counted to the nearest 0.1 g using an Acculab GSI-2000 digital scale
Length:	Maximal artifact length was recorded to the nearest 0.1 mm using Mitutoyo digital calipers
Width:	Artifact width was measured at the widest point perpendicular to the long axis and recorded to the nearest 0.1 mm
Thickness:	Artifact thickness was measured perpendicular to both maximal length and width and recorded to the nearest 0.1 mm, with one exception: The maximal thickness of window glass is chronologically sensitive and was determined by calculating an average from three thickness measurements per fragment, recorded to the nearest 0.1 mm (see Moir 1982, 1987)
Diameter:	The maximal diameter was measured for all artifacts with a circular cross section and recorded to the nearest 0.1 mm
Production Date:	Where possible, the production date of an artifact, its range of production, and/or its median date of production were recorded from published sources

Following South (1977:92-102), artifacts were classified according to functional group based on the best available evidence for primary use at the time of deposition. Accordingly, Newsom site artifacts recovered during 2014 are distributed among

architectural, kitchen-related, household furnishings, clothing, personal, and general activities groups, defined below.

Artifacts assigned to the Architectural Group are those recovered from archaeological contexts which indicate that their primary function was directly related to construction and maintenance of the built environment at the site. As South (1977:100) observes, these materials can enter the archaeological record as a result of loss, intentional discard, or as remnants following destruction of a structure by accident, intentional demolition, or decay. Table 1 lists the variables and variable states recorded for artifacts in the Architectural Group.

Artifacts belonging to the Kitchen Group include those recovered from contexts indicating a primary use in the storage, preparation, service, and consumption of food and drink. Table 2 lists the variables and variable states recorded for artifacts in the Kitchen Group.

Artifacts included in the Household Furnishings Group are those associated with non-architectural modification of the household environment or with other furnishings used in domestic contexts. Table 3 lists the variables and variable states recorded for artifacts in the Household Furnishings Group.

Artifacts assigned to the Clothing Group include those relating to the manufacture, use, and/or maintenance of clothing. Variables and variable states recorded for artifacts in the Clothing Group are also listed in Table 3.

Artifacts associated with the Personal Items Group include non-clothing items or fragments thereof that would typically be used to groom or adorn an individual, to be in the possession of an individual, or that would otherwise be considered personal

Table 1. Architectural Group: Class, Material, Ware/Product, and Type designations with additional descriptive attributes.

Class	Material	Ware/Product	Type/Modifying Elements	Part
Structural	Ferrous	Nail, Machine Cut Nail, Wire Nail, UID[1]		Head Head and Shank Shank Shank and Tip Tip
	Clay	Masonry, Brick	Hand Made	Edge Corner
	Limestone	Masonry, Stone	Rough Dressed	Corner
	Glass	Glass, Window		
Fencing	Ferrous	Wire, Barbed Wire, Drawn Staple, Fencing		
Construction Hardware	Ferrous	Bracket	Corner	
			Straight	
		Hook, UID	Hand Forged	

[1]"UID" denotes "unidentified".

Table 2. Kitchen Group: Class, Material, Ware/Product, and Type designations with additional descriptive attributes (continued on following page).

Class	Material	Ware/Product	Type/Color/Modifying Elements			Part (Ceramics)
Ceramics	Stoneware	American Stoneware	Salt Glazed Glazed Bristol Slipped	Washed Unglazed UID[1]	Rim[2] Body Base	Foot Ring UID
	Refined Earthenware	Whiteware	Plain Colored Glaze[3] Hand Painted[4] Transfer Print[5]	Banded Makers Mark UID		
		Ironstone	Plain Transfer Printed[6]			
		Porcelain	Plain Bone China			
		Pearlware	Plain			
		Multi-Chambered Slip	UID Blue and Brown			

[1] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[2] Tableware circumferences and the interior diameter of vessel openings was estimated using rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm and a "radius chart".
[3] The 2014 sample of Whiteware includes examples treated with clear, yellow, light gray, and brown glazes.
[4] The 2014 sample of hand painted Whiteware includes underglaze green, overglaze green, and overglaze polychrome motifs.
[5] The 2014 sample of transfer printed Whiteware includes UID blue and purple underglaze motifs.
[6] The 2014 sample of transfer printed Ironstone includes a single example of black underglaze.

Table 2 continued. Kitchen Group: Class, Material, Ware/Product, and Type designations with additional descriptive attributes.

Class	Material	Ware/Product	Type/Color/Modifying Elements		Part	
Bottles/Jars	Glass	Canning Jar Medicine/Spice Bottle UID[1] Container	Embossed Colorless Solarized Pale Aqua Aqua Pale Green	Green Dark Amber Straw Cobalt Olive Green Milk	Finish Neck Shoulder	Body Base UID
	Metal	Closure, Bottle/Jar	Crown Cap	Canning Lid		
Cans	Aluminum/ Steel	Beverage Can	Pull-top		Rim/Top	
Glassware	Glass	Hollow Ware	Press- Molded Faux Crystal	Solarized	Body	
Kitchenware	Ferrous	Pail/Bucket			Rim Body	Wire Bail
Faunal	Bone	Bone, UID Cortical	Burned			

[1] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[2] Tableware circumferences and the interior diameter of vessel openings was estimated using rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm and a "radius chart".
[3] The 2014 sample of Whiteware includes examples treated with clear, yellow, light gray, and brown glazes.
[4] The 2014 sample of hand painted Whiteware includes underglaze green, overglaze green, and overglaze polychrome motifs.
[5] The 2014 sample of transfer printed Whiteware includes UID blue and purple underglaze motifs.
[6] The 2014 sample of transfer printed Ironstone includes a single example of black underglaze.

Table 3. Household Furnishings, Clothing, and Personal Items Groups: Class, Material, Ware/Product, and Type designations with additional descriptive attributes.

Class	Material	Ware/Product	Type/ Modifying Elements	Part
Household Furnishings Group				
Furniture Component	Glass	Etched Glass	Etched line segment; UID[1] motif	UID
	Brass	Tack	Half-round brass tack; soldered square shank	Head/Shank
Lamp Parts	Glass	Lamp Chimney	Colorless	Body
			Pale aqua Molded rim, pie crust	Rim, Upper
Electrical	Graphite	Carbon Rod, Battery	Battery, dry cell	Electrode
Clothing Group				
Button/Zipper	Porcelain	Button	Prosser, 4-hole	
	Hard Rubber	Face Cover, Button	UID, dark gray 4-Hole	Face cover
		Button	Molded eagle motif, shank style; purple	Face
	Copper	Zipper Pull	"Talon" press molded	Pull
Sewing	Steel	Pin	Safety pin	Clasp
Upkeep	Iron	Iron, Flat (Sad)	UID embossed	Base
Personal Items Group				
Adornment	Tortoiseshell (Pattern)	Comb	Tuck/side comb	Shaft, partial teeth

[1] "UID" denotes "unidentified".

accoutrement. Variables and variable states for artifacts in the Personal Items Group are also listed in Table 3 (above).

Hamby (2002:8) characterizes the Activities Group as a "catch-all" category, and in some respects this is an accurate assessment: it is a broad classificatory grouping that encompasses a wide range of functional associations. Compared to more superordinate artifacts groups, such as those representative of kitchen or architectural related behaviors, the Activities Group generally displays greater internal variability between functional classes due to the wide range of activities represented therein (South 1977:99-100). Table 4 lists the variables and variable states for artifacts in the Activities Group.

Artifacts that could not be identified to a reasonable degree of certainty, such as highly fragmentary ferrous materials, faunal remains not definitively associated with food preparation or consumption, and other items for which a specific functional category could not be defined, have been placed into an "Indeterminate Group" based on states of preservation and various subjective criteria rather than functional classification; they have therefore been excluded from functional analyses. Table 5 lists the variables and variable states for artifacts in the Indeterminate Group.

Spatial Modeling and Power Relations. Previous research provides a useful but incomplete understanding of spatial organization and its link with power relations on the Newsom farmstead. This study uses historical and archaeological data to develop a model that is more detailed, more accurate, and ideally more useful for understanding the dynamics of slavery on farmsteads.

Modeling the physical layout of the Newsom site involves the identification of structures and activity areas, development of a site chronology, and placement of the site

Table 4. Activities Group: Class, Material, Ware/Product, and Type designations with additional descriptive attributes.

Class	Material	Ware/Product	Type/Modifying Elements	Part
Construction Tools	Ferrous	Hammer	Hammer, Claw	Head
Farm Machinery	Ferrous	Poss. Control Plate, Throttle		
Misc. Hardware	Ferrous	Eye Pin, Cotter Rivet Nut, Castle Fastener Washer Pipe/Tube	UID[1] Drilled Perforated/ Crimped Seam	Head
Stable/Barn	Copper	Rivet	Horse Tack	
	Ferrous	Shoe, Horse Clevis Thimble Skein Buckle (small)		Sidewall Distal Wall Partial frame/ bar/ prong
Other	Ferrous/ Inclusions	Clinker/Smithing Slag		
	Nonferrous	Clinker/Smithing Slag		
	Ferrous	Slag, Weld		
	Coal	Coal, Cannel		

[1]"UID" denotes "unidentified".

Table 5. Indeterminate Group: Class, Material, Ware/Product, and Type designations with additional descriptive attributes.

Class	Material	Ware/Product	Type/Modifying Elements	Part
Faunal, UID[1]	Bone, Unmodified		Cortical	UID
	Shell, Unmodified		Nacreous	
	Shell, Possibly Modified		Nacreous/Straight Edge	
	Tooth Poss. Horn			Non-occlusal
Ferrous, UID	Ferrous	Band/Strap Cast Iron Sheet Metal UID Ferrous		
Glass, UID	Glass		Burned/Fused Spall	

[1]"UID" denotes "unidentified".

within its natural environmental context. Both spatial and chronological modeling relies on data derived from archaeological and historical investigations at the Newsom Farmstead as well published descriptions of spatial organization at similar sites.

Where reasonable conclusions could be drawn, the locations and functions of structures, activity areas, and other landscape modifications at the Newsom Farmstead site were inferred from four lines of evidence. The first source of evidence consists of previously and newly collected archaeological data, including data derived from artifacts, archaeological features, and structural remnants from the site. The second line of evidence is comprised of historical documents specific to the Newsom site, including court documents, newspaper accounts, family journals, tax documents, period maps, and

probate records. The third form of evidence includes general information about the spatial organization of 19th and early 20th century Missouri farmsteads as indicated by studies of farmsteads specifically within the state (Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc. 2010; Marshall 1979; 1981). The fourth line of evidence consists of information about the spatial organization of 19th and early 20th century American farmsteads in general, as indicated by studies of North American farmsteads and farmstead components (Adams 1990; Groover 2008), as well as sources concerning the spatial organization of southern plantations (Adams and Boling 1989; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Drucker 1981; Fairbanks 1984; Vlach 1993).

The Robert Newsom Farmstead was purportedly occupied by the Newsoms and their bondspeople from as early as 1822–23, and records indicate that Newsom heirs lived on-site until ca. 1927 (Grover 2013a:24; Newsom 1912:106). Historical references to the site in surviving documents were particularly useful in establishing portions of the site chronology. In addition, archaeological materials and site features recorded during the current study were assessed and, in the case of the more than 1200 previously collected artifacts (see Klinger and Kandare 1988; Hamby 2002; 2004; and Hill 2005b), reassessed to determine the most likely dates of use and disposal. Structural remnants and activity areas were similarly evaluated based on their association with temporally diagnostic materials, and served as an effective means of cross-checking chronological data in the historical record.

A landscape-scale map of the Newsom site including the locations and estimated dimensions of structural remnants, activity areas, and landscape modifications has been prepared as part of this study. Although production of a surveyed broad scale

topographic map was beyond the scope of this research, GPS-captured feature locations and the distribution of structural remains and activity areas were projected to-scale onto ArcGIS maps displaying various components of the natural landscape, such as topographic lines and hydrologic features, thus placing the Newsom site in the context of its natural environment.

Archaeologists have used a number of approaches and variables to investigate power relations on slaveholdings (see Drucker 1981; Fairbanks 1984; Howson 1990; Lange and Handler 1985). Although most of this work has focused on lowcountry commercial plantation sites (Joseph 2004:20), such studies are nonetheless instructive, and comprise a baseline against which to explore power relations on non-plantation slaveholdings.

The most common approach has been to identify the domestic spaces of slaveholders, overseers, and/or slaves, and to compare those spaces in terms of the abundance and quality of valued resources such as housing (size and quality) and "high" versus "low" value food remains, tableware, and personal items (see Adams and Boling 1989; Fairbanks 1972; McKee 1987; Moore 1985; Orser 1992; Otto 1977; 1980; Wilkie 2000b). A second approach to the study of power relations on slaveholdings has been to identify possible expressions of ethnic identity in material culture and/or domestic landscapes. For example, the distribution of unique possessions, certain forms of personal adornment, sub-floor pits, and swept yards have been interpreted as possible indicators of African or African-derived identity (see Klingelhofer 1987; Stine et al. 1996; Kimmel 1993; Heath and Bennett 2000; Bon-Harper 2009; and Fesler 2010, respectively). A third approach is to examine spatial relationships among structures,

associated features, interior spaces, and other components of the built environment as manifestations of dominance and resistance (see Brandon and Davidson 2005; Epperson 1990; Fitts 1996; Joseph 1993; Kimmel 1993; Thomas 1998; Upton 1984; Young 1997). For instance, using a material culture approach, Vlach (1993) shows how the location, size, and construction of slave quarters relative to masters' quarters fostered the dominance of the latter over the former.

The archaeological and historical data assembled as a consequence of present investigations allow for selective use of the above variables to model spatial organization and power relations at the Newsom Farmstead. Those most successfully employed in the current effort include possible expressions of ethnic identity and/or forms of resistance in the domestic landscape as well as consideration of spatial relationships among components of the built environment as manifestations of attempts to establish dominance.

RESULTS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

A Measure of Context

The June 1855 death of Robert Newsom and Celia's ensuing trial have seized the popular imagination and justifiably comprise the dramatic locus of the Newsom Farmstead historical record. Yet for all of their gravity, the events of those relatively few months in Callaway County, Missouri, did not occur in a vacuum, nor did the site's history end after that tale was fully told. The following narrative represents a more comprehensive account of those who would come to live on the Newsom landholding during its entire period of occupation, which from the time it was settled to the burial of its final inhabitant spanned more than one hundred years.

Where a sufficient foundational basis exists, the historical record is also presented and critically evaluated with respect to the natural and cultural landscape of the farmstead and to manifestations of the enslaved people who resided on Newsom's lands. In addition, the record of the purported murder and trial that lend the site national significance is considered with an emphasis on accurate transcription of selected documents and their potential to inform our understanding of the Newsom site. Although many questions remain unanswered and are, perhaps, unanswerable, the following provides a measure of context to the dramatic events that have inspired broad public interest in the Newsom Farmstead and those who once dwelled upon it.

His Small but Growing Family

A history of the Newsoms of Callaway County, Missouri, properly begins with Robert Newsom's father William, who was born during 1760 in Northumberland County, Virginia, now part of Richmond County (Keller 1951:156; Newsom 1848a:23-24; Newsom 1967:10). William and his older brother were orphaned in 1761, their mother dying shortly after William's birth; their father, a British-born blacksmith, died not long thereafter—supposedly of heartbreak (Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Newsom 1848a:1). Guardians were appointed for the young brothers by the probate court of Northumberland County, and in 1768 both were bound out, or placed in apprenticeship, with farmers from whom they could "acquire a thorough acquaintance with the agricultural pursuits" (Haynie 1994:45; Newsom 1848a:23).

Upon reaching adulthood, William Newsom removed to what is now Campbell County, Virginia, where he married Margaret Speece of New London on May 20, 1782. By 1785, William had purchased a farm south of the latter place, wherein he and his small but growing family[8] continued to reside for some ten years (Newsom 1848a:23; Newsom 1967:13; Norman 2003:6).

Robert Newsom, the fourth of William and Margaret's eleven children, was born in the rolling hills of Campbell County, Virginia, on Tuesday, October 6, 1789 (Newsom 1848a:23; Newsom 1893:3; Newsom 1967:15). During the autumn of 1795, the Newsoms departed their Campbell County farmstead south of New London, Virginia, in pursuit of plenteous, affordable land, completing an eighty mile journey across the Blue

[8] William and Margaret (Speece) Newsom's children included John Newsom (1783–1841), Lewis (1785–1872), William [II] (1787–1850+), Robert (1789–1855), Nathan (1791–1828), Mary (1794–1886), Elizabeth (1796–1861), Susannah (1798–1851), Conrad (1801–1875), Sarah (1804–1889/92), and David (1805–1882). Sources: Grover (2013:1-34); Norman (1958a:3-4; 1964:3).

Ridge and Appalachian Mountains to settle among the Allegheny Mountain foothills in Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia[9] (Newsom 1848b:122; Newsom 1912:105; Newsom 1967:15).

Following their arrival in Greenbrier County, William Newsom acquired and subsequently disposed of several properties. Records of land transactions initially brought to light by Jim Talbert, Greenbrier Historical Society archivist and a lineal descendant of William Newsom, describe a number of Newsom land acquisitions recorded between 1797 and 1809 (Talbert 2003:9; personal communication, September 27, 2014). With the exception of a 285 acre tract procured from Francis Kincaid in 1809, all of the acquired lands appear to have been sold out of Newsom family ownership by 1812. A journal entry penned by Robert Newsom's youngest son David indicates that the family ultimately settled "on or near Lick Creek," in Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia, "at which place [Robert] grew to manhood and married Betsy Gwinn, daughter of Samuel Gwinn, on April 30th, 1812" (Newsom 1912:105). Period land survey records confirm that the Kincaid parcel was indeed located on Lick Creek (Shuck 1992:116), the channel of which borders lands once held by Samuel Gwinn, father of Robert's future wife, Elizabeth "Betsy" Gwinn.

Little is known about the day-to-day events of Robert Newsom's childhood or the economic circumstances under which the Newsom family lived, though a fragmentary narrative can be inferred from the historical record. At least some of the Newsom children were educated; Lewis Newsom, one of Robert's older brothers and an early family chronicler, recalled the winter of 1796–97, during which the Newsoms and their

[9] Today a part of Summers County. The state of West Virginia was not officially admitted to the Union until June 20, 1863 (Callahan 1923:366); in the interests of clarity, the Virginia territory that would eventually comprise that state is referred to herein as "(West) Virginia".

neighbors "…made up a school for Brooks Ball [a teacher] in Greenbrier County," where Robert and his brothers received schooling (Newsom 1848b:122). Lewis wrote elsewhere of their childhood instruction: "None of our family received a liberal education, but all attained a good English one, some of whom have improved themselves and now rank as well educated men" (Newsom 1848a:24). Abstracts of personal property tax lists enumerated in Greenbrier County contribute to the Newsom family portrait, if narrowly so. Returns for 1799, 1805, and 1810 indicate that William sustained tax liabilities for ownership of a varyingly modest number of horses during those years, and little else. Perhaps more significantly, however, at no point during those periods of valuation were the Newsoms documented as being slaveholders (Shuck 1988:214, 263; Vogt 2011:5).

By early 1810, Robert's oldest brother John had married and established a home of his own adjacent to his father's lands; the remainder of Robert's grown brothers had departed Greenbrier County altogether to settle elsewhere (Evans 1903:1270; Newsom 1848a:24; Newsom 1972:20, 24; Norman 1958a:3; Shuck 1992:128). William and Margaret's remaining children are presumed to have been living under William's roof when the 1810 Greenbrier County personal property taxes were assessed; among Newsom's mature sons, it appears to have been Robert alone, then in his twentieth year, who continued to reside with his father (Vogt 2011:5).

While abstracts of land deeds and tax records provide some indication of the environment in which Robert Newsom grew to adulthood, in aggregate they are a pale representation of the life that Robert and his siblings would have known in the Newsom household. Personal recollections hold considerably more potential to stir our

imaginations and connect us with those under study, though as Sturtevant (1966:4) writes, such historical evidence "is varyingly empirical." Nevertheless, even the most biased of written remembrances can offer valuable historical insight in the presence of corroboration.

During his later years in Salem, Oregon, Robert Newsom's youngest brother David (b. 1805) wrote an essay for the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, a regional Methodist weekly (Mott 1938:66-67). Newsom (Figure 11), an outspoken proponent of the temperance movement in Oregon, used his composition to describe in dramatic fashion his father's apparently lengthy—and ultimately losing—struggle with alcoholism (Newsom 1972:240-242). Titled simply "The History of a Whiskey Still," an extended excerpt follows:

> In an early day, in West Va., a rude whisky still was made, which was used, with its fixtures, to manufacture corn and rye whisky, and apple and peach brandy. The owner for a time seemed to prosper in his business, and grain and fruits came to him from the farmers around, which were exchanged for whisky or brandy. Hundreds of boys and men drank from that fountain of death. A year rolled by; and the owner of the still, and two of his sons filled the drunkard's grave. The estate was insolvent, and the still and its fixtures were offered at a low figure for sale.
>
> There lived a farmer in that section who had, many years before, contracted the habit of using, daily, spirituous liquors. When this distillery blowed out, he had to send one of his boys fifteen miles distant, with two jugs, to have them filled with brandy or whisky. Finally he concluded that it would be good policy to buy the still and its fixtures, and put them to work on his farm, and use up his fruit and grain in that way. So thought, so done, and in due time the grain and fruit of his farm and those of other farmers were converted into distilled liquors.
>
> Soon that still house was the resort of low, drunken vagabonds, who ate free victuals and drank free liquors there. The owner was a liberal man, and when intoxicated would treat all the men present, and go security on notes for them. He had six sons, who were kept from the use of spirituous liquors by their godly mother, who exercised a controlling influence over them. When their father was sober he would advise his sons to abstain from intoxicating drinks, but

Figure 11. Robert Newsom's youngest brother David, in 1879. No images of Robert have been located, to date. From the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

when he would be intoxicated, he with others, would lay snares to entrap his sons into intemperance.

Years rolled by and the affairs of this man became entangled, and he became a confirmed drunkard. His conduct toward his patient, good wife and their children became harsh and cruel. Sometimes, in the late hours of the night, he would come forth from the still house to his home, much intoxicated; and would then drive out his wife and children into the pitiless storms. He would break up articles of furniture, and utter loud yells. After exhausting his strength he would tumble down on the floor, and fall asleep. His good wife would then quietly return with her children to the house, and make down a bed on the floor, roll him on it, and keep up a good fire all night. Her youngest child – a small boy –

> would look on these matters with abhorrence; and at one time he made a solemn promise to his beloved mother that he never would use spirituous liquors, nor make them; would never use tobacco, nor ever gamble. A few more years passed by, and this deluded man died in a fit – leaving his family bankrupt.
>
> That youngest child of the former owner of that still kept his promise to his good mother, and never used spirituous liquors, tobacco, nor gambled…In all the vicissitudes of life he has kept his promise to his good mother. He vowed in early life that he would wage unceasing warfare on alcohol and its traffickers. He has labored without faltering for nearly a half century in the forefront of the Temperance army. God has been with him, and has spared his life to a good old age; and he is about to witness in Oregon the triumph of the temperance cause.
>
> Perhaps my readers may wish to know who that little boy was, who grew up, became a man, and has warred so long upon king alcohol. Well, he is familiarly known in Oregon as Uncle,
>
> DAVID NEWSOM
>
> – *Pacific Christian Advocate*, September 23, 1880
> Page 2, Column 5.

William Newsom died on Sunday, December 27, 1812, at the comparatively young age of fifty-two (Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Newsom 1967:21), leaving his wife of thirty years and six children without a visible means of support (Newsom 1972:241). Fortunately, both Robert and John Newsom remained near-at-hand, and it is possible that—with the help of the other Newsom children—one or both continued to work their mother's land. Margaret stayed on at the Newsom homestead until 1827, at which time she was persuaded to remove to the home of a married daughter in Gallia County, Ohio, where she lived for another six years (Newsom 1833:1-2, 19; Newsom 1967:22). The Newsom family homestead and its remaining lands were finally sold to a Mr. William Miller on September 19, 1828, for the sum of $375 (Greenbrier County Deed Book 12:41).

Joined in Marriage

Approximately eight months before the untimely death of his father, Robert Newsom was joined in marriage to Elizabeth "Betsy" Gwinn, daughter of Mr. Samuel Gwinn, on April 30, 1812, making her an integral part of the Lick Creek home he established on lands acquired from William and Margaret the year before (Newsom 1912:105; Shuck 1992:128). Nine months and twelve days later, on Friday, February 12, 1813, Harvey Newsom was born, the first of Robert and Elizabeth's twelve children.[10] More births followed over the next several years, including Rebecca, Julia Franklin, and Virginia Robinette Newsom, who would be the last of Robert and Elizabeth's children to be born in the state of Virginia (Newsom 1912:106).

Abstracts of the 1815 Greenbrier County personal property tax lists indicate that Robert and John Newsom were at least modestly successful in managing their separate farms. At the time that the taxes were assessed, Robert was in possession of two horses and eighteen cows; John's tally included three horses and thirty cows. Margret Newsom, three years after her husband's death, claimed ownership of two horses and four cows. Although she almost certainly could have used the assistance in labor, neither Margaret nor her landowning sons held any slaves at that time (Shuck 1988:293). Two years later, the 1817 report of the tax assessor for Greenbrier County was virtually identical, with the exception that there appears to have been no data reported with regard to the citizenry's ownership of cows (Shuck 1996:111).

[10] Robert and Elizabeth's children include Harvey Newsom (1813–1895), Rebecca (1814–1891), Julia Franklin (1817–1891), Virginia (1819–1899), Ruth Ann (1821–1886), Susan (1823–1857), Sarah/"Sally" (1826–1857), William (1829–1835), David (1833–1912), Mary Lewis/"Polly" (1835–1915), John Jackson (1837), and Kitty (1839). Sources: Grover (2013a:11-27); Newsom (1912:106); Norman (1961a:4; 1961b:5-6).

The Population Schedules of the Fourth Census of the United States for the State of Virginia (U.S. Census Bureau 1820:186) confirm that when the census was enumerated in Greenbrier County beginning in August 1820, there were three "free white" males living in Robert Newsom's household, including one under the age of ten (Harvey, then seven years old), one between ten and sixteen (most likely Robert's youngest brother David, then fourteen), and one between the ages of twenty-seven to forty-five (Robert, then thirty-one). Additionally, there were four free white females, including three under nine years of age (the Newsom daughters: Rebecca, six; Julia, three; and Virginia, one year old); one free white female was listed as being between the ages of twenty-seven and forty-five (Elizabeth, then twenty-nine).

With respect to records currently available, Robert Newsom and his brother John are first listed as slaveholders in the 1820 U.S. Census. According to these records, Robert held two male and two female bondspeople in his possession, each less than fourteen years of age. In an August 1959 letter to a family relation, Mrs. Ellen (Mosely) McNamee—a grandchild of Robert's daughter Mary, or "Polly"—writes that upon quitting the state, Newsom traveled from (West) Virginia to Missouri with "four white children and four little negroes (slaves) he planned to raise up for help" (McNamee 1959:7).

There is little in the existing record from which to derive more than a vague, two-dimensional image of Robert Newsom, nor anything that might overtly foreshadow his eventual fate. The few details in family lore, written remembrances, farm accounts, and abstracts of court testimony hint at a driven, strong-willed man; Newsom was certainly prepared to expose his wife and four young children to the very real dangers of accident

and disease inherent to travel on western frontier (McLaurin 1991:2). Ellen McNamee (1959:7) writes that her great grandfather Robert was "a very ambitious and progressive man for his time," a man whose motto, according to her grandmother, was "win gold and wear it". Whether the foregoing truly represents Newsom's guiding principle or was instead a daughter's somewhat more derisive comment on her father's character is an open question. The phrase, popularized during the mid-nineteenth century, is borrowed from the following prose (Saunders 1856:46):

> A vain man's motto is, "win gold and wear it" –a generous man's, "win gold and share it" –a miser's, "win gold and spare it" –a profligate's, "win gold and spend it" –a broker's, "win gold and lend it" –a fool's, "win gold and end it" –a gambler's, "win gold and lose it" –a wise man's, "win gold and use it."

To the Missouri Territory

The late summer of 1820 was to be the last that Robert Newsom, his older brother John, and their respective families would spend as residents of (West) Virginia (Bryan and Rose 1876:362; Newsom 1894a:2). Whatever their ultimate motivations for doing so—and one might reasonably conclude they involved the prosperity of their families—Robert and John were lured westward by the promise of a better life (McLaurin 1991:2; Annie B. Norman, personal communication, August 22, 2014). Public domain lands in the Missouri Territory were offered for sale to settlers beginning on the first Monday in August 1818, and over the course of the following two years immigration to the area was extensive (Foley 1989:252-253; National Historical Company 1884:94).

Harvey Newsom, Robert's first-born, was seven years old when his family departed Greenbrier County during the autumn of 1820, turning their faces toward the

sunset and beginning the journey westward to the Missouri Territory (Figure 12). Present were his father, his mother, and eight children: "four white and four black," he wrote, "all under eight years of age" (Newsom 1894a:2). Although the Newsoms' youngest son David was not born until the family was well established in Missouri, he was an avid diarist and composed a straightforward, second-hand description of their journey and eventual settlement in what would become the twenty-fourth state (Newsom 1912:105). He writes: "They came down the Kanawha River & on down the Ohio River in boats to Shawneetown in Illinois, where they disembarked and loaded their stuff in wagons & came across southern Illinois to a point north of the mouth…of the Mo River."

Setting out from their home on Lick Creek with their belongings in tow, Robert Newsom's family, possibly in company with the household of his elder brother John, would have been only a few miles from one of the wagon roads that extended through Lewisburg to the navigable waters of the Kanawha River. By 1814, the principal route of those going westward from the central and southern counties of Virginia was via Lewisburg, across the New River at Bowyer's Ferry (Sewell), through what today is Fayetteville, and finally over Cotton Hill to the Great Falls of the Kanawha River, just below the confluence of the New River and the Gauley (Callahan 1923:175). A few miles farther on, travelers could secure a small flatboat to carry them by water for the remainder of their journey to the Ohio River, some ninety miles distant (Peters and Cardin 1926:124-125).

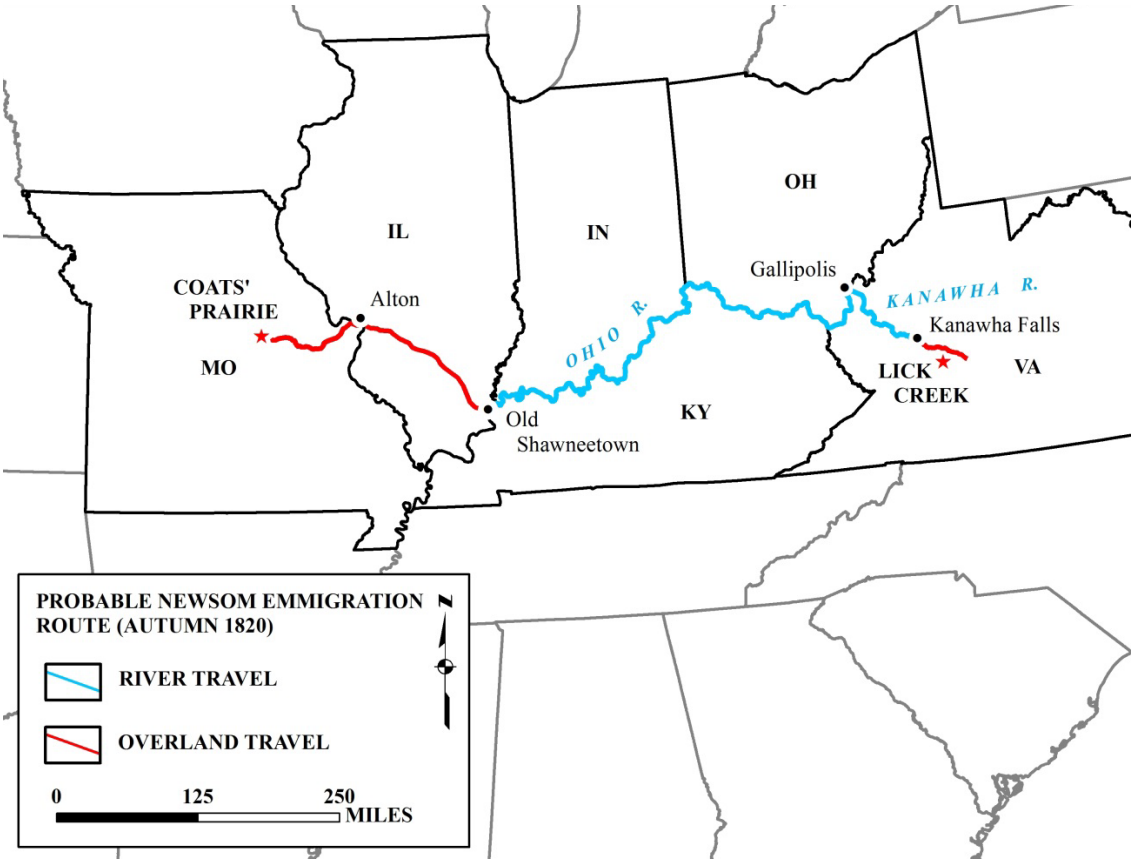


Figure 12. The most likely route followed by the Newsoms on their journey from Lick Creek, (West) Virginia, to Coats' Prairie, Missouri.

Upon reaching the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers at Point Pleasant, (West) Virginia, it is possible that the Newsoms debarked and made their way a few miles downstream along the west bank of the Ohio to Gallipolis, where two of Robert's brothers had been established in the tanning business for some time (Evans 1903:1270; Newsom 1848a:24). Prior to recommencing their journey, the travelers likely engaged a larger craft more suited to the broad waters of the Ohio. Relatively large, rectangular flatboats were the principal means of transportation for the majority of immigrants who traveled the waterways of the Ohio Basin during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Robinson 1983:3); steamboats were still a relatively infrequent sight on the

river, and it would be several years more before they came into general use sufficient to appreciably diminish flatboat navigation (Hulbert 1903:140).

Although David Newsom does not specify the type of craft, it is likely that the Newsoms pooled their resources and hired a Kentucky "Broadhorn" flatboat, typically a downstream-only, half-roofed craft about forty feet long, twelve feet wide, and eight feet deep, compared by emigrants of the day to a "New England pig-sty set afloat" (Hulbert 1903:161); they were maneuvered by a combination of two sweeps, or oars, on each side as well as a long steering oar in the stern and a shorter one in the bow, known as the "gouger," which provided additional control of the vessel in swift water. The broadhorn was capable of carrying several families downriver, a "motley congregation of men, women, children and domestic animals surrounded by the few crude housekeeping utensils which had been brought over the mountains or purchased at the port of embarkation" (Hulbert 1903:119-120).

The lengthiest stage of their riverine journey carried the Newsoms and their bondspeople down the Ohio River from the vicinity of Gallipolis, following a meandering westward course to what is now Old Shawneetown, Illinois, a journey of some 580 miles. While steep gradients at some points of the Ohio could produce swift currents in the center of the river, such waters were in sharp contrast to the long stretches of lake-like pools, where the gradient was slight and the current very nearly imperceptible, particularly near the shore (Robinson 1983:9).

Seventeen years later, a twenty-four year old Harvey Newsom retraced the same route in reverse, from his home in Missouri to the place of his birth in Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia. Newsom (1888a:n.p.) wrote:

> I started on the ninth day of June 1837 from Callaway County Missouri for Greenbrier County [West] Virginia…aboard a steam boat from Cote Sans Dessein on the Missouri River to Gallipolis Ohio, & from thence into Greenbrier & Monroe [Counties] on horseback. Returned home on the 30th of August 1837. Left Lick Creek [West] Virginia on Tuesday 15th augt, 9 oclock.

Harvey Newsom's return journey from his birthplace in (West) Virginia to his home in Callaway County, Missouri, took fifteen days, the greater portion of it presumably in some comfort aboard a paddlewheel steamer traveling the Ohio and Missouri Rivers. It is difficult to imagine the extent to which his 1837 voyage must have differed from the Newsoms' original journey to Missouri by flatboat and wagon seventeen years before, particularly in light of the delays they must have experienced due to weather, darkness, hazards on the river, or intermittent landings to obtain supplies.

Whatever the duration of their journey, the Newsoms' 1820 passage down the Ohio was preferable to an overland route. Additionally, the flatboats offered more than efficient transportation: they were long-term assets. As a rule, once its downstream voyage was completed, each vessel was taken apart and sold off as lumber (Johnson 1979:4).

After disembarking at (Old) Shawneetown and disposing of their timber flatboat, the Newsoms most likely stretched their legs and struck out on the Goshen Road. Heavily trafficked since at least 1818, it was a fairly direct northwesterly trending series of wagon trails that extended nearly 150 miles across southern Illinois, from (Old) Shawneetown through Carlyle and beyond to Goshen, Edwardsville, and finally Alton, several miles upstream of the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers (Hubbs 1949:19).

David Newsom (1912:105-106) continues his second-hand account of the family's journey to Missouri:

> They then moved on westward north of the Mo River, and stopped in St Charles Co. for a short time with a man named Ebersole where they expected to winter but father and Ebersole had a quarrel, & father pulled out and came on westward to Cotes Prairie. By this time the weather was getting cold and they remained there during winter [of 1820–21] and in the spring they came on west to the Dry Fork of Cedar Creek and there stayed in the houses of James Ewing and tended a little crop until June 1822.

Following the quarrel with Mr. Ebersol, the details of which are lacking, an apparently frustrated Robert Newsom abandoned St. Charles County and, winter coming on, travelled west along the Missouri River for a distance of some sixty miles, to Coats' Prairie, a small settlement in southeastern Callaway County established by the family of Reverend William Coats during 1817 (Bryan and Rose 1884:318). It is not known if the Newsoms considered purchasing property in the area or had the means to do so; however, they would depart with the spring thaw and remove to the Dry Fork of Cedar Creek, in western Callaway County, where they were to impose upon the good graces of a Mr. James Ewing (Newsom 1912:105).

Among several General Land Office patents issued to him in Franklin and St. Louis, Missouri, one finds that on April 1, 1825, a James P. Ewing entered 160 acres comprising the southeast quarter of Section 36, in Township 47 North, Range 11 West, Fifth Principal Meridian (GLO Document No. 1069, April 1, 1825). It is worth noting that the above date represents the specific day that the patent was issued, not the actual date that the land was acquired or otherwise occupied. As described by David Newsom

(1912:105), the lands detailed in the above patent were situated precisely on the Dry Fork of Cedar Creek.

By the early spring of 1822, a fifth child had joined Robert and Elizabeth's household. Ruth Ann Newsom (Figure 13), said to have been "the beauty of the Newsom family" (Norman 1959:1), was born during October 1821 on the lands of James Ewing; Robert, perhaps with some impatience, was at that time preparing to establish a home of his own. David Newsom (1912:106) concludes his narrative of the family's earliest days in Callaway County as follows:

> My father having in the meantime bought the northwest quarter of Section 24 in Township 46 [North] Range 10 West (where he afterward in 1832 built his [brick] house) came down from the Ewing place and cleared out a little field, he & brother Harvey, on the east side of the ridge and built a log house and moved family into it in Nov 1823 (I think). He & family continued to live in it until Dec 1832, when they moved into the brick house and in which I was born one month later on Jan 1st 1833.

Upon the Middle River Acreage

Designated an assignee of one James Snowden, Robert Newsom formally entered 160 acres from the U.S. government at the General Land Office in St. Louis, Missouri, on May 10, 1825, comprised of the northwest quarter of Section 24, Township 46 North, Range 10 West, Fifth Principle Meridian (GLO Document No. 444, May 10, 1825). It appears, however, that Robert had begun to clear the property and had occupied the site at least two years before obtaining title to it, an occurrence common among many landholders settling the territorial wilds (Rohrbough 1962:1-3, 104).

The lands upon which Newsom chose to dwell consist of broad, gently sloping ridgetops of bluestem, indiangrass, and switchgrass prairie interspersed with sheltering stands of mixed oak, hickory, elm, locust, black walnut, cedar, and maple. The northern

Figure 13. Ruth Ann Newsom and husband James Noonan Langley, undated. Photographic reprint in the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

part of the acreage is bisected by an unnamed tributary of the Middle River, a modest waterway which passes the Newsom landholding approximately one-half mile to the northeast and 150 feet below in elevation. Dolomite limestone boulders, spalls, and chert cobbles are scattered on the timbered hillsides; occasional bedrock exposures are present,

particularly in the primary watercourse where it abruptly descends on its way to the Middle River. In the coming years, Robert Newsom would hold title to additional tracts of land in Callaway and Audrain Counties (Newsom 1912:84); however, it was upon the Middle River acreage where he would make a home for himself and his heirs.

During the mid-summer of 1822, Newsom and his nine year old son Harvey "came down from the Ewing place," and began the arduous task of clearing land "on the east side of the ridge" (Newsom 1912:106). A necessity common on the frontier, the substantial labor of opening heavily forested lands was often eased somewhat through the process of creating "deadenings"; while smaller trees could be easily felled with axes and dense thickets of underbrush burned off by fire, undesirable trees of significant diameter posed more of a challenge. These could be "deadened" over time by removing a broad ring of bark from their circumference, or "girdling" them, to interrupt the flow of sap between the roots and crown; if available, a solution of arsenic and lye could then be applied to girdled surfaces using a long-handled dipper (Heiligmann 1997:1; Otto and Burns 1981:173). Trees "deadened" in such a manner would begin to die almost immediately; if they did not eventually fall of their own accord, they could be burned in-place or brought down with a long rope and a team of draft animals.

As the Newsoms cleared their lands, it is safe to imagine that they roughly dressed and stockpiled timbers of useful proportions, in due course accumulating a quantity sufficient to begin construction of the "log house" that they completed and subsequently occupied on or about November 1823 (Newsom 1912:106). In December of that year, Robert and Elizabeth's sixth child, Susan, was born; she would grow up and

come to wed a local man, her entire lifespan passed within twenty miles of her birthplace in Callaway County (McNamee 1959:6).

Little else is known about those early years on the Newsom site. Some seventy-one years later, Harvey Newsom (1894a:2-3) wrote:

> [Callaway] County was [then] new and sparsely settled. We labored under many privations incident to a new country. We manufactured our clothing from the seed flax and cotton, afterward also from wool and shoes from the raw hides of cattle tanned at home. We still survived and got along comfortably. No deaths occurred in the family and all survived to maturity.

Prior to his death in 1951, Martin Baskett Dunham (b. 1873), a grandson of Robert Newsom's by his daughter Polly (Grover 2013a:26-27), composed a description of life on his grandfather's farm during its period of initial settlement, as related to him by his mother (Dunham Nd:1). He writes, in part:

> Cotes Sans Dessein one of the important towns of the Co was the base from which they got most of their supplies in those early years, and the Criswells, the Fitzhughs, the Caldwells, and many others of that part of the Co went there for their supplies and bought sugar by the barrel and coffee by the sack and such other necessities as were then procurable in equally large quantities for they as well as my grandfather [Robert] had large families to support and in addition must provide for a whole retinue of negroes many of whom were unprofitable and unproductive…you may imagine what it cost to feed and clothe such a numerous household in addition to one's own family, aside from the clearing of the land and the construction of the heavy barns and buildings of that day…

Within the context of the available documents, no first- or second-hand accounts of the specific role played by Newsom's young bondspeople in establishing the site exist, nor do any of the several written recollections mention Robert's brother John and his family. At the very least, however, their presence or absence can be ascertained at particular moments in time from public records of the day. Robert and John Newsom are

reported to have settled in Callaway County during 1820 (Bryan and Rose 1876:362; Newsom 1894a:2; Newsom 1912:105); both are named on the Personal Property Tax List for the year 1823, assessed a mere two years after Missouri was admitted to the Union as the twenty-fourth state (Hodges and Woodruff 1969: 107).

The 1824 Callaway County Tax List resides in the manuscript collection at the State Historical Society of Missouri, in Columbia (Bell, Ovid, 3805 f.5). The document is exceedingly fragile but available for review (Figure 14), and chronicles various metrics, including the location, monetary value, and number of acres owned by each person chargeable with tax; the value of improvements on their land; and the number and value of "negroes," horses, cattle, watches, lots of ground, mills, distilleries, and tan yards, as well as the total tax owed.

John Newsom is listed on the 1824 rolls as owning no land; he does possess three horses valued at a combined $100, as well as three cattle valued at $8.00 apiece. By 1824, it seems, he was no longer a slaveholder. The total tax owed on John Newsom's combined personal property, valued at $124, was just over 40¢.

Robert Newsom appears to have been doing somewhat better at the time. The tax assessor for 1824 reported Newsom as owning 160 acres in the northwest quarter of Section 24, Township 46 North, Range 10 West, valued at $320; improvements on the property, including his log house and any associated structures, were valued at $26. Additionally, Robert possessed two horses valued at a combined $30 and four cattle valued at $8.00 apiece. During the period of evaluation for 1824, Newsom also held four "negroes" valued at a combined $800. The total tax owed on Robert Newsom's personal property, assessed at $1,208, was $1.67.

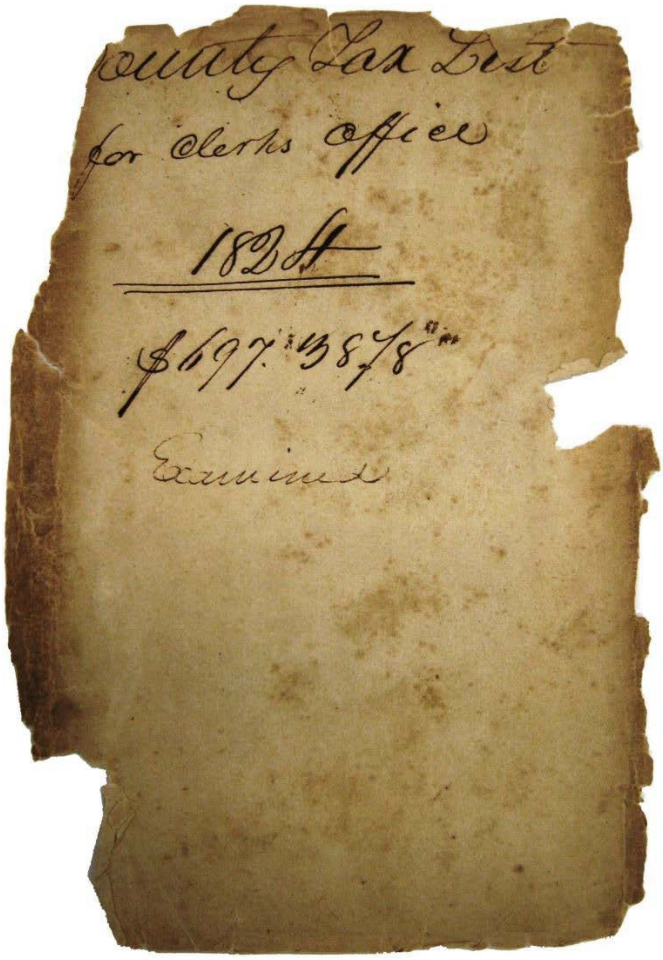

County Tax List
for Clerks office
1824
$697.38 7/8
Examined

Figure 14. Callaway County Personal Property Tax List for the year 1824 (title page). From the manuscript collection at the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

Extrapolating from a non-systematic, impressionistic review of data recorded for other slaveholders on the 1824 tax rolls, particularly the number-to-value ratio of their respective bondspeople, it appears that Robert may have continued to possess the enslaved youths, two boys and two girls, which he had brought with him from (West) Virginia during 1820. If, as reported by Harvey Newsom (1894a:2), the bondspeople were indeed less than "eight years old" during the family's passage to Missouri, they

would have been twelve years of age or under by 1824, and not yet come into their full value as "capital assets" (Phillips 1918:369-370). A second extempore review of the monetary value assigned by the county to the bondspeople recorded in its tax rolls illustrates the extent to which slaves represented a substantial form of wealth for those that held them, their value oftentimes exceeding the worth ascribed to the slaveholder's assets in land.

James P. Ewing also appears on the Callaway County Personal Property Tax Rolls for 1824, within which it is recorded, and thereby confirmed, that he owned 376 acres in a location corresponding with patents issued to him by the General Land Offices in St. Louis and Franklin, Missouri, during 1824 and 1825—on the Dry Fork of Cedar Creek (GLO Document No. 25, August 10, 1824; Document No. 1069, April 1, 1825). Ewing's land was valued at $432, while the improvements upon it—at least one of which the Newsoms are presumed to have occupied during 1821–22—were assessed at a value of $54; he held no bondspeople at that time.

Life on the Newsom Farmstead

It can be inferred from various sources[11] that life on the Newsom farmstead during the decade following its establishment was dictated in large part by the vagaries of the weather and measured in the season's rhythms, just as it would be in later years. As the land was cleared, crops were planted and harvested in turn; grain was ground into meal or flour; rails were split, fences built and mended, outbuildings were raised. Cloth was woven from yarn and thread spun of cotton, flax, and wool. Sustenance was

[11] David Newsom Journals (Newsom 1883; 1912); David Newsom and Hugh A. Tincher, Probate Inventory of the Estate of Robert Newsom (Newsom and Tincher 1855); Harvey Newsom Journal (Newsom 1894a:2-3); Robert Newsom Account Book (Newsom 1888a; Newsom 1888b).

procured from the wilds as the Newsoms encouraged the natural increase of their several cattle, sheep, and hogs. Apple, plum, pear, and cherry seedlings were planted, taking years to mature and bear fruit; the sap of maples tapped during the early days of spring was boiled down to syrup or sugar. A conch shell belonging to Newsom may have been sounded to start the day; a bell rang to end it. In the course of time, Newsom's family witnessed increase as well, as two more children were born to Robert and Elizabeth: Sally, delivered in January 1826, and William, in 1829 (Norman 1961a:5).

During the summer of 1827, the Newsoms were joined by one of Robert's younger brothers, Conrad (Figure 15), who had determined to relocate to Missouri following his May 1827 marriage to Miss Lydia Sargent of Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia. The newlyweds passed the autumn and winter of 1827 with the Newsom family, and in May 1828 their first child, Eli Sargent Newsom, was born within the shelter of Robert's "commodious" log house; in September or October 1829, Conrad and Lydia welcomed a daughter, Emily (Newsom 1971:1-3, 6).

Meanwhile, improvements continued to be made on the Newsom farmstead: Robert and Harvey excavated a "house well" in 1827, and during July 1828 the family raised a log barn measuring forty-two by twenty feet, situating it to the south of what would in a few years be the location of Robert's brick-walled house (Newsom 1912:84). Again, no mention is made in the available documents of Robert's bondspeople or their role in affecting the material circumstances of the Newsom family during that period; it is reasonable to posit, however, that the enslaved youths, at that point most likely in their middle- to late-teen years, contributed substantial labor to the operations of the Newsom household and management of its lands.

Figure 15. Conrad Newsom, ca. 1870. From the collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

John Newsom, Robert's brother, does not appear on the Population Schedules of the Fifth Census of the United States, enumerated beginning on June 1, 1830, as a resident of Callaway County, Missouri. He is, however, listed as a "non-resident chargeable with tax" by James Baker, the 1830 Callaway County tax assessor, incurring a levy on eighty acres located in the east half of the northwest quarter of Township 46 North, Range 11 West, Section 12, Fifth Principle Meridian, approximately one-half mile

south of lands owned by James P. Ewing (Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society 1985:66-67). Ms. Annie B. Norman (1961b:3), great-great granddaughter of Robert Newsom, has determined that John eventually purchased property in Monroe County, Missouri, and had removed to that location with his family by 1832. There, on a farm of some 800 acres, "he prospered and lived until his death in his sixtieth year" (Newsom 1967:20).

The Callaway County Personal Property Tax List for 1830 indicates that Robert Newsom had maintained ownership of the previously assessed 160 acre tract of land on the uplands overlooking the Middle River, then valued at $240; one improvement, valued at $180, was listed for the property. He also owned nineteen horses assessed at a combined $280, and seven cattle valued at $41. The Callaway County tax assessor recorded three "negroes" in Newsom's possession, two males and one female, representing a decline of one female in the previously recorded total of Newsom bondspeople; the three were assessed as having a combined value of $750 (Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society 1985:38-39).

More specific than the tax rolls in some respects, the Population Schedules of the 1830 U.S. Census for Callaway County, Missouri, indicate that there were thirteen individuals occupying Robert's household during that period (U.S. Census 1830:61B-62A), including Robert, Elizabeth, and all eight of the Newsom children: Harvey, then seventeen years old; Rebecca, fifteen; Julia Franklin, fourteen; Virginia, eleven; Ruth Ann, eight; Susan, six; Sally, four; and William, approximately one year of age. Robert's younger brother Conrad, purportedly still living on Newsom's lands during that period (Newsom 1971:6), was not enumerated among the members of Robert's household.

As did the Callaway County tax assessor, the assistant marshal for the census year 1830 recorded three bondspeople in Robert's possession, including two males and the sole remaining female noted above, all denoted as being "of ten and under twenty-four" years of age. Given their gender and potential ages, it is possible that the remaining bondspeople were among the original group brought to Missouri from (West) Virginia ten years before. If one assumes that this was the case, then a question arises as to the whereabouts of the other bondswoman. The historical record does not state explicitly what may have happened to her. In the most forbidding case, her absence may indicate that she died; however, it is also possible that one of the two enslaved female youths designated on Robert's 1824 tax entry was sold or hired out for an extended time, and thus was not counted as part of the Newsom estate in 1830. A fairly straightforward—albeit speculative—explanation may arise through examination of county tax and U.S. Census documents associated with Robert's brother, Conrad.

The Callaway County Personal Property Tax Rolls for 1830 appear to show that Conrad Newsom and his growing family continued to reside on Robert's lands or relatively close-by, possibly in their own cabin situated on that property. While the younger Newsom brother was not assessed a tax on land ownership at that time, he did incur a tax on a single "improvement," presumably a dwelling, valued at $50. Additionally, he was taxed for ownership of three horses, assessed at a combined $60, one watch valued at $6.00, and a tan yard, valued at $70. No bondspeople were recorded among his possessions at that time.

By June 1830, however, the Population Schedules for the 1830 U.S. Census of Callaway County (U.S. Census 1830:57B-58A) count Conrad Newsom as the head of a

household of six co-resident individuals; these included Conrad, his wife Lydia (Sargent) Newsom, and their two children: Eli, then two; and Emily, less than one year of age. One "free white male" occupant, listed as being "of fifteen and under twenty" years old, may have been one of Conrad's brothers-in-law, the second-eldest of whom joined Lydia's husband in a marginally successful land venture before departing Callaway County in the autumn of 1830 (Newsom 1971:3-5, 10). The final resident of Conrad Newsom's household was described by the census taker as a female slave "of ten and under twenty-four" years of age (U.S. Census 1830:57B-58A). Although it is certainly possible that Conrad, apparently residing in his own modestly constructed home on Robert's property or in the neighborhood thereof, had purchased a bondswoman within that age group from an outside source, it is also conceivable that she was purchased or transferred directly from Robert's holdings to Conrad's; the records do not say.

Two more children were born to Conrad and Lydia (Sargent) Newsom before they departed Callaway County following the May 1834 death of Lydia's father, Eli Sargent. Initially, they removed to property she had inherited from her father in Coles County (Now Douglas County), Illinois (Newsom 1971:11-14). Conrad and his family, which in time included thirteen children, eventually came to settle in Poweshiek County, Iowa, where he continued to reside amongst wife and family until his passing in February 1875 at the age of seventy-three (Grover 2013a:32).

Writing in a seemingly frail hand on August 26, 1883, Harvey Newsom, himself then seventy years of age and unaware of his uncle's ultimate fate, penned a note in the margin of his father's account book, passed to him many years before (Newsom

1888b:27). It reads: "Poor old uncle Conrad Newsom/ I suppose gone to his rest long, long ago. —H Newsom".

Robert Newsom's Journal of Accounts

One of the more informative of the Newsom documents, though far from the most dramatic, rests in the manuscript collection of the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, in Fulton, Missouri. It is an unassuming photocopy—the original remaining in private hands—of what began as Robert Newsom's journal of accounts, or "daybook" (Newsom 1888b), but ended its functional existence as the personal journal and family record of his son, Harvey Newsom (Newsom 1888a). It is an apparently smallish book partially filled with chronological financial entries spanning the period November 5, 1832 to April 14, 1834. Approximately half-way through the volume is the last sequentially dated account record, following which at least one page has been roughly shorn from its binding, a few traces of writing in the margin's stub; thereafter, the orderly character of the document changes.

The next dated entry is August 7, 1839; the latest appears to be January 1, 1888. At various points, the book was rotated 180 degrees and entries were penned from the back cover forward, then rotated again and continued. Descriptions of weather, daily productivity reports, promissory notes, cures for "mad itch" in cattle, random notes, and family records compete for space with childish scrawls mimicking entries in a more practiced hand; the book at times is a veritable welter of archaic penmanship. Still, it contains a great deal of information.

Just as archaeological and historical investigations undertaken since the 1930s at eighteenth and nineteenth century slaveholdings have focused primarily on the larger sites occurring in the so-called “plantation belt” geographic region of the Old South (Otto 1980:35; Singleton 1990:70), research in the field of accounting history has focused on the financial records of large business organizations and on broad cultural practices rather than the “ordinary” accounts of individuals, families, and family businesses. As accounting historians have pointed out, however, it is these ordinary accounts that are frequently among the few surviving records that, within limits, help document daily lives in the context within which they were actually lived (Schultz and Hollister 2004:141; Vollmers and Bay 2001:43).

Robert Newsom’s account book (Figure 16) is essentially a daily log of purchases, receipts, and other day-to-day events of the farm recorded as they occurred for future entry in a separate accounts receivable/accounts payable ledger (Flesher 1979:83; Heier 1988:134). While a formal accounts ledger may not have survived, the existence of one can be inferred through the “posting references,” or unique numeric identifiers, associated with each name or account appearing in the daybook. Such posting references identify the specific page number within the separate ledger upon which each individual or business’s account data would have been kept. Use of the accounting terminology common to the period is evident, as well: "To" and/or “Dr” were used to designate amounts debited, or charged, to an account; "By" and/or “Cr” were used to denote credits from, or payments to, an account (Shultz and Hollister 2008:141). A transcription of the daybook portion of Newsom’s account book is presented in Appendix A; a series of encoded entries found therein is included in Appendix B.

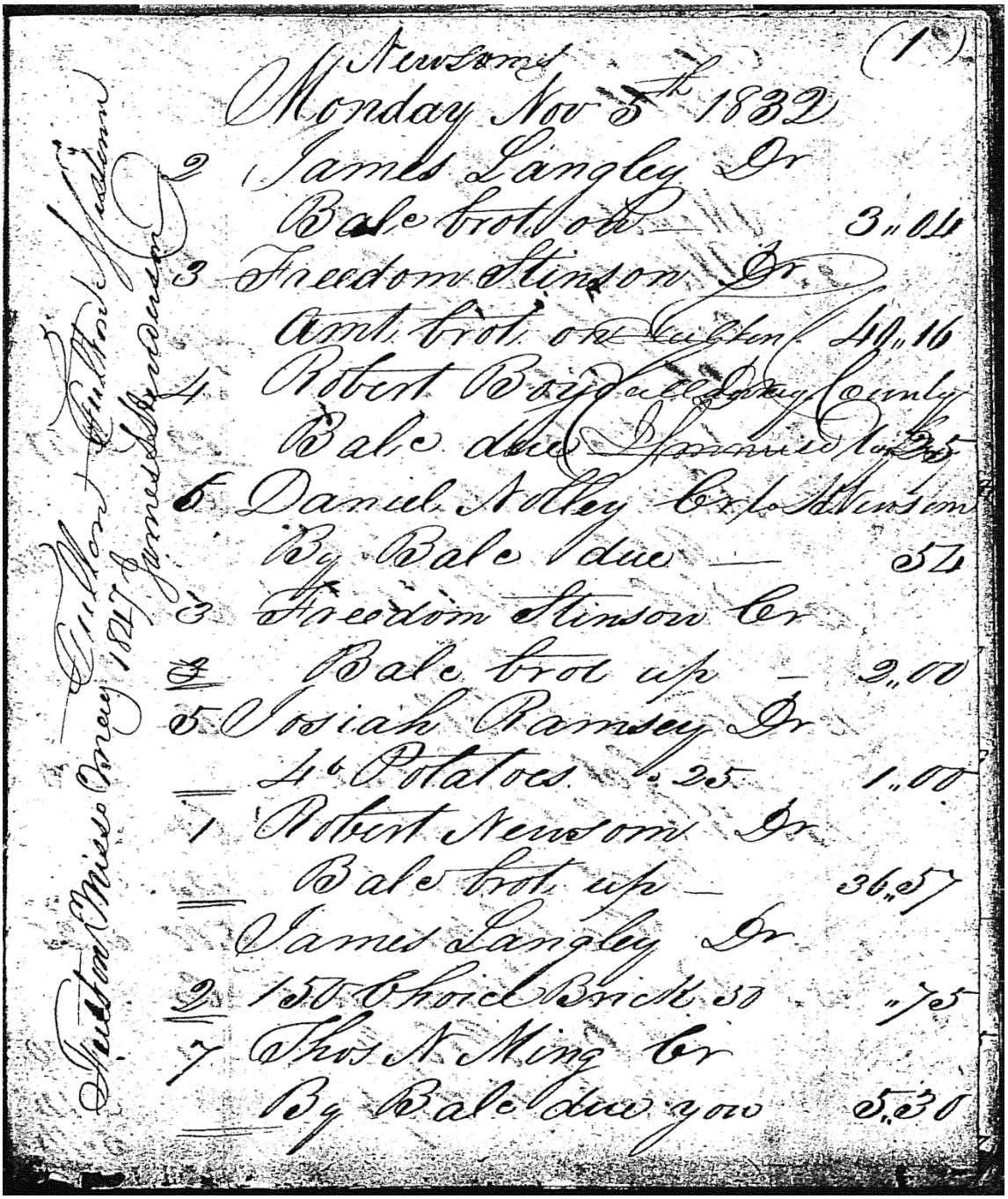

Newsom (1)
Monday Nov 5th 1832
2 James Langley Dr
Bal brot up — 3.00
3 Freedom Stinson Dr
Amt brot over Lafton 40.16
4 Robert Boyd all Lang County
Bal due Spanned 1.25
6 Daniel Adley Cr to Newsom
By Bal due — 54
3 Freedom Stinson Cr
Bal brot up — 2.00
5 Josiah Ramsey Dr
46 Potatoes .25 1.00
1 Robert Newsom Dr
Bal brot up — 36.57
James Langley Dr
2 150 Choice Brick 50 .75
7 Thos N. Ming Cr
By Bal due you 5.30

Figure 16. Page 1 of the "daybook" portion of Robert Newsom's account book (Newsom 1888b), dated Monday, November 5, 1832. Note the unique posting reference, or numeric identifier, associated with each individual's name. The notations "Dr" and "Cr" preceding the value of each transaction denote debit entries and credit entries, respectively. From the manuscript collection of the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, Fulton, Missouri.

David Newsom (1912:106) writes in his journal that construction of the brick-walled house that would eventually become the family's permanent residence began during 1832. According to Newsom (1912:84): "On the brick dwelling house Thos Jones and son did the brick work, and Cebert Waugh and Andy Dawsey did the carpenter work. The brick for the house was molded & burned 40 steps NW of the NW corner of the brick house."

Portions of David Newsom's brief narrative are confirmed through a series of daybook entries made by his father on December 9 and 10, 1832 (Newsom 1888b:6). On those dates, Robert recorded a number of payments made by him to "Waugh & Dorsey" for items they fashioned for the Newsom home (Table 6), including architectural "finishing" elements that typically would have been installed only as a structure neared completion. In addition to providing an overall impression of the home's progress as of December 1832, the catalog of items furnished by Waugh and Dorsey provides specific architectural details about the Newsom residence, a structure that is no longer standing. Fortunately, an early twentieth century photograph of Newsom's brick dwelling has survived, providing a clear visual representation of the structure's façade and, viewed in conjunction with historical aerial photographs of the area, the means to confirm its geographical location.

On December 21, 1909, David Newsom (1912:39) and his wife of more than fifty years shifted their lodgings from his late father's house to a newly constructed addition David had built adjacent to the earlier home. Newsom was sufficiently pleased with the modification to have it photographed, and in so doing preserved an image not only of the

Table 6. Payments made to Waugh and Dorsey. Daybook entries in the account book of Robert Newsom, December 9–10, 1832. Dimensions provided are speculative, but logical from an architectural standpoint (Michael E. Halpern, personal communication, October 21, 2014; Newsom 1888b:6).

Date	Payment For	Amount Paid
Decr 9th 1832	693 1/3 [sq ft] Flooring	20.80
"	108.11 [lin ft] Casings	6.53
"	331.5 [inches] Architraves	19.88
"	87 1/2 [lin ft] Sash linings	2.64
"	87 1/2 [lin ft] Sash hangings	2.64
"	186 1/3 [lin ft] Chair & wash boards	18.63
"	4 Door sills	1.75
"	1 Kitchen window	1.00
"	3 Chimney pieces	11.50
"	1 Staircase	14.00
"	123 Lights & sash @ 8 1/3	10.25
"	4 Panel doors @ 3.00	12.00
Decr 10th 1832	2 Batten doors @ 1.00	2.00
"	Hanging door locks	2.00
	Total:	$125.62

structure he had recently completed, but of the home in which he had been born nearly eighty years before (Figure 17).

The two structures are representative of different eras in American architecture: Robert Newsom's earlier brick dwelling, completed in 1832, is a Georgian cottage variation on the folk "hall-and-parlor" house type brought to Little Dixie by emigrants from Virginia and the Carolinas during the first half of the nineteenth century (Howard Wight Marshall, personal communication, October 15, 2015; Marshall 1981:48;

Figure 17. Robert Newsom's 1832 hall-and-parlor style brick dwelling (left) with the folk-Victorian addition completed by David Newsom in 1909, at right (ca. 1910, facing northeast). From the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

McAlester and McAlester 1984:80-82). David Newsom's addition, constructed seventy-seven years later, is a tidy cross-gabled folk-Victorian style house with lap siding, gable ornaments, and spindlework detailing (McAlester and McAlester 1984:308-310; Newsom 1912:39). The result of the adjacent construction may have been aesthetically dissonant, but the addition effectively doubled Newsom's residential space, and both structures continued to be used in tandem for some time (Annie B. Norman, personal communication, June 23, 2014).

The Newsom dwellings appear to have been photographed at an oblique angle from a location in the front yard just southwest of the complex, facing northeast. The northernmost portion of the brick structure lies beyond the edge of the photograph, while the southern gable-end is almost entirely obscured by the steeply-pitched roof of David Newsom's more recent structure. Much of the original brick dwelling's exterior is not visible and no images of the interior are known to exist; however, a fair amount of architectural information can be gained from the photograph, while still more can be extrapolated from the list of items fabricated by Waugh and Dorsey, summarized above.

The image depicts a series of three nine-over-six light double-hung windows inset fairly deeply into the front elevation of the brick dwelling; a door is placed between the two northernmost windows. The bricks are handsomely laid in a Flemish bond pattern on rough-dressed limestone foundation blocks laid two courses high above ground level, providing a crawlspace beneath the raised floor of the structure. The photograph appears to confirm a journal entry written by David Newsom in 1907 indicating that the roof had recently been covered with Washington cedar shakes (Newsom 1912:79). A prominent brick chimney is centered within the northern gable-end of the structure.

The list of materials supplied for the brick dwelling by Waugh and Dorsey (Newsom 1888b:6) suggests that Robert's 1832 residence, most likely partitioned front-to-rear into two unequally-sized rooms, had a sleeping loft accessed through a batten door by a single, boxed stairway; two of the four panel doors provided access at the front and rear of the house. Three "chimney pieces," or mantelpieces, indicate the presence of three fireplaces; one chimney is visible on the north gable-end of the structure, while a second may have been placed at the southern gable-end, hidden behind the roofline of the 1909 addition. It is probable that the third fireplace was within an attached kitchen of heavy frame construction accessed via a third panel door at the rear of the house, a fourth door providing egress from the kitchen onto the backyard. The "kitchen window" noted above would have been installed therein by Waugh and Dorsey, while a ladderway may have provided access to a loft room/servant quarter above the kitchen ell.[12] Finally, limestone foundation remnants visible at the site today indicate that the façade of the brick structure could have extended some thirty-five feet in length. If that is an accurate estimation, then the dwelling may have been approximately twenty feet wide: if it is presumed that only the primary structure had finished hardwood flooring, then approximately 700 square feet of floorboards would have been required to complete the house. Waugh and Dorsey provided Newsom with 693 and 1/3 square feet.

Not only does the ca. 1910 photograph of the Newsom dwellings establish that the two structures were built end-to-end, it also provides a straightforward mechanism by which the location of Robert's 1832 brick residence can be confirmed. Aerial

[12] Following review of the ca. 1910 photograph of Robert Newsom's dwelling and the "Waugh and Dorsey" (Newsom 1888b:6) daybook entries, Dr. Howard Wight Marshall, an authority on the folk architecture of "Little Dixie," provided additional, invaluable comments regarding the likely configuration of Newsom's home and its exceptionally high quality on the pioneer landscape of the region (personal communication, October 15, 2015).

photographs of the region taken during the late summer and early winter of 1941[13] indicate that Robert Newsom's home was no longer standing; however, the cruciform roof-ridge of David Newsom's 1909 cross-gabled dwelling is clearly depicted in relation to area landmarks that have survived to the present day, allowing its probable location on the modern landscape to be determined. In light of the ca. 1910 photograph referenced above, it is a simple matter to project the location of Robert's house immediately to the north of David's, a position which intersects the existing limestone foundation remnants visible there today.

During the years following construction of the brick dwelling, a fair amount of traffic must have rattled past the Newsom home via the Cote Sans Dessein-to-Fulton road, which ran south to north along the western boundary of Robert's property a mere seventy-five feet from his front door. Occasionally, a horse and rider, a wagon, or perhaps a dusty-footed youth would have turned into Newsom's yard to negotiate a trade or to pass the time of day with acquaintances there.

By Given Name Only

On Monday, November 5, 1832, Robert sold Josiah Ramsey four bushels of potatoes; later in the day, James Langley purchased 150 "choice brick," almost certainly drawn from the stock of those made on-site by the Newsoms and their bondspeople during construction of their home (Newsom 1888b:1). Not only did Robert sell his neighbors the produce of his garden and a bushel or two of the flax, oats, wheat, and corn harvested from his fields, but he milled the latter into flour and meal for an additional fee

[13] Aerial Photographs TK-2B-72 (9-22-41) and TK-5B-48 (11-28-41), on file with the Mark Twain National Forest and Natural Resources Conservation Service, Fulton, Missouri.

(Newsom 1888b:5). He was also known to supply a quart of brandy, and could provide a still-tub or a whiskey barrel if one was sought (Newsom 1888b:55). As indicated by daybook entries, the Newsom family sometimes travelled the Cote Sans Dessein Road up to Fulton for such staples as Imperial Tea, coffee, sugar, gunpowder, a chopping axe, palmetto hats, or a millsaw file; manufactured fabrics, such as calico, cambric, gingham, and beaverteen; ribbons, papers of push pins, cast buttons, indigo, madder, and cotton thread; tuck combs and finger rings; almanacs or educational readers; medicinals, such as aloe, laudanum, peppermint, castor oil, a vial of Bateman's Drops, paregoric, or calomel—anything they could not procure through their own industry on the home farm (e.g., Newsom 1888b:8, 13-15, 26, 38, 64).

Although they are seldom explicitly identified as such, possible references to Newsom's bondspeople as well as those in the service of neighbors are scattered throughout Robert's account book, both in the "daybook" portion of the manuscript as well as the adjoining memoranda. It is true that several of the individuals referred to therein were most likely sufficiently familiar to Newsom that he did not find it necessary to refer to them in writing by both given and surname; indeed, Robert intermittently refers to his own children by their given name only. More often than not, however, family members are referred to by either first and last names or a combination of names and initials, such as "H. Newsom," or "Virginia N". Other individuals appearing at different points in the Newsom account book are referred to exclusively—or very nearly so—by given name only.

Where such appellations cannot be reasonably associated with a specific known person, it is reasonable to infer their status as enslaved individuals. While doing so is

admittedly speculative, it is consistent with previous examinations of naming practices among bonded populations, including Handler and Jacoby's (1996: 710, 718-719, 721-722) study of the principles and significance of naming conventions among North American and British Caribbean slaves; they conclude that a clear majority (91.48%) of enslaved individuals among the study population either did not possess surnames or were very rarely referred to in writing by anything other than their given names.

Occasionally, Robert's accounts indicate that an individual made a purchase on behalf of another party rather than in their own name. In such cases, Newsom generally enters the transaction as follows: "James Langley/To 62 brick pr son," or "Thomas N Ming/To 1 [bushel] meal pr wife," (Newsom 1888b:7, 30). In such cases, the identity of the account holder's surrogate is clear: either the son or wife of a particular individual.

There are instances, however, where the surrogate's identity is less certain: "Thos N Ming per boy/To ½ [bushel] flax seed," or "Polly Ratekin/To 10 [pounds] salt pr girl". One might also encounter such entries as "Thomas N Ming pr boy John/ To 13 lbs flour" (Newsom 1888b:25, 28, 36). While it is impossible to determine Newsom's intent with certainty, it may be that he is recording account transactions fulfilled by bondspeople on behalf of their "owners." Several entries are indicative of Robert "jobbing out" his bondspeople for short-term work or engaging in commerce with them, and it is via these few records that we are able—with the benefit of additional confirmation—to begin providing names to some of the enslaved individuals in Newsom's possession.

During October and November 1833 Robert entered several transactions that, viewed individually, appear similar to the surrogate purchases noted above. Viewed in aggregate, however, Newsom's entries suggest that the family secured a fee

from various account holders for services rendered by a number of his bondspeople, including "Dick" and "Mart" (possibly a diminutive of "Martin"), primarily for hauling goods and agricultural labor (Table 7).

Two additional entries placed out of sequence near the back of Newsom's account book (Newsom 1888a:n.p.) appear beneath the headings "Mart & Dick Cr"[14] and "Harriet Cr". The former dates from 1832, and shows a $4.00 loan made to Mart and Dick as well as payments made to them for various odd jobs, including cutting cornstalks, bringing in bulls, sawing stocks, and "belling" a sow, resulting in a total credit of a fraction over $5.87. Beneath that sum is written "Same Dr,"[15] under which we see that Mart and Dick were charged for several items, including two coats, a quantity of potatoes, and hats. The total bill due, conveniently, came to a fraction over $5.87. Scrawled vertically over the series of entries and signed by Robert Newsom is the following: "This [account] is settled Decr 15, 1833". A second, undated entry written inside the back cover reads "Harriet Cr," and describes a similar loan by Newsom and full repayment by Harriet in exchange for a dress pattern.

"Jobbing out" as well as performance of other directed errands, such as making surrogate purchases on behalf of their "owners," reflects the sort of semi-autonomous activities occasionally allowed enslaved individuals under Missouri's system of slavery. This practice granted the bonded class limited ability to travel unsupervised on the nineteenth century Missouri landscape, but only when such movements were pursuant to explicitly permitted activities or assigned tasks (Burke 2010:6). The ability of bondspeople to perform odd jobs during their "own time" in order to secure expendable

[14] "Cr" (credere) indicates a debt payable by the Newsom account to the person or business named.
[15] "Dr" (debere) indicates a charge payable to the Newsom account by the person or business named.

Table 7. Robert Newsom daybook entries indicative of "jobbing out" practices (Newsom 1888b:26, 50-51).

Date (1833)	Account	Service	Fee
Octr 4	Samuel Day pr boy Dick	To 1 day hauling stone	$1.25
Nov 6	Freedom Stinson pr Dick	To 1 ¼ days hauling corn	$1.75
"	Thomas N Ming pr Dick	To hauling 2 loads to Fulton	$2.00
Nov 8	James M Atkinson pr Dick	To hauling 1 day corn	$0.50
Nov 15	John R Blount	To 1 hand at corn 2 days	$1.00
Nov 20	John R Blount	To work of Dick at corn	$1.00
"	Blount [overstruck]	3 days of Mart & Dick	

income is described by Green et al. (1993:33), and is consistent with the qualified autonomy permitted many enslaved Missourians.

The conclusions drawn from Robert Newsom's daybook are derived from vaguely worded language and in consequence are speculative. They are not at all incompatible, however, with the historical record as it pertains to some of the manifestations of slavery among the small slaveholding farms of Missouri. As such, the memoranda in Robert's account book provide a glimpse of everyday life on the Newsom farmstead, and impart a small degree of visibility to a legally defined class of people about whom the documentary assemblage is largely silent.

Overlooking the Valley of the Middle River

In 1832, Robert and Elizabeth's eldest son Harvey, "having become a proficient penman," received offer of a position in the office of Callaway County Circuit Court Clerk Irvine O. Hockaday, in Fulton, Missouri, "which position he [Harvey] held for

several years, and during which time he lived and made his home at Hockaday's" (Newsom 1896:3). Shortly thereafter, Robert moved Elizabeth and their seven remaining children into the recently completed brick-walled home (Newsom 1912:106). On January 1, 1833, David Newsom was born inside, amidst the scent of freshly sawn timbers and newly plastered walls (Newsom 1893:87; 1912:105). The Newsom's original log house was purportedly abandoned to Conrad and his family for the remainder of their stay in Callaway County (Newsom 1971:6).

What provisions were made for housing Robert Newsom's bondspeople following the family's move are not known, though various scholars (Burke 2010:72, 143, 154; Fitts 1996:56) write that it was not uncommon for families on small slaveholdings to board their bondspeople within the home or within structures in close proximity to them, such as exterior kitchens or quarters a short distance behind the main house. Upon occasion, slaveholders were also known to consign their rough-hewn cabins to resident bondspeople following construction of finer dwellings. Whether either applies to the enslaved individuals held by Newsom is not known.

Robert and Elizabeth's tenth child, Mary "Polly" Newsom, was born on November 4, 1835 (Norman 1958a:1). In the course of what must have been anticipated as a time of promise to follow, heartbreak would fall on the Newsom household. During the winter of 1835–36, David Newsom's older brother William, then six years old, lost his life. In his journal, David (1912:101) wrote: "I recall when my older brother William died in 1835. I also recall that my cousin Ira Jarret took me into the big room[16] and told

[16] Use of the phrase "big room" implies the presence of a smaller room in the house, said arrangement being typical of the hall-and-parlor style of construction (Marshall 1981:48).

me as he held me up to look into the coffin, 'There is your poor little dead brother.' [In the margin] I was 3 years of age."

The available documents have not revealed the cause of William's death or the precise location of his interment, though David Newsom (1912:107) places his burial in Township 46 North, Range 10 West, Section 13, the general location of what would eventually become the Newsom family cemetery. Although accidents certainly took their toll among children on the western frontier, infectious diseases such as whooping cough, measles, scarlet fever, and respiratory infections claimed a majority of the victims (King 1991:26, 28-29). Whatever the cause of his passing away, reference to young William's death is the first documented incidence of mortality amongst those inhabiting the Newsom landholding.

The Newsom family burying ground occupies an acre of broad, partially forested ridgetop overlooking the valley of the Middle River, several hundred paces northeast of the site upon which Robert constructed his brick-walled residence. It is not known if establishment of the cemetery was founded upon William Newsom's presumed burial there or if he joined others interred at that location before him; nor is it known why the cemetery was situated on public domain lands approximately 600 feet beyond the boundary of Robert Newsom's original 1825 land entry. It may simply be that the physical setting overlooking the valley of the Middle River was deemed appropriate from an emotional standpoint. Title to the cemetery and additional lands within the southwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 13, Township 46 North, Range 10 West, Fifth Principle Meridian, was obtained by the Newsoms on November 11, 1837, approximately two years after William's death; at that time, the General Land Office in St. Louis,

Missouri, issued a patent for the property to Harvey Newsom (GLO Document No. 6012, November 7, 1837), then twenty-four years of age.

The following several years would be a time of continued growth and additional loss for the Newsom family. Between 1833 and 1837, Robert purchased additional properties, acquiring a minimum of 336 non-contiguous acres (Norman 1958b:3). Whether or how those lands were actively managed is not known; their purchase, however, is representative of Robert's ability to profit by his business.

John Jackson and Kitty Newsom were born to Robert and Elizabeth during 1837 and 1839, respectively; neither child survived past infancy (Grover 2013a:27; Norman 1961a:5). It is presumed, though not verified, that the infants were laid to rest beside their brother William in the small family burying ground. By the time of Kitty's passing, Robert and Elizabeth had been man and wife for more than a quarter of a century and both were in their late forties. It is not known if they attempted to bear additional children; the available records are not informative in that regard.

I Recollect in April or May

The Population Schedules of the Sixth Census of the United States for Callaway County, Missouri, enumerated beginning in June 1840, indicate that there were twenty-one individuals residing on the Newsom landholding at the time of the assistant marshal's visit (U.S. Census Bureau 1840:206B-207A). Twelve occupants were "free white persons," including five males and seven females, numbers seemingly at-odds with the available family history. While the names of free whites would not be enumerated under the U.S. Census for another decade, the resident age categories in use at that time were

relatively narrow, allowing for assignment of probable identities to the various inhabitants via a process of elimination.

Among the five free white males enumerated in 1840, two can be readily identified: one, of fifty years of age but under sixty, was Robert, then fifty; the second, of five and under ten years of age, would have been David, then seven years old. The remaining three males were all of twenty years but less than thirty, which poses a bit of difficulty. Fortunately, a posthumous sketch of the life of Harvey Newsom, composed by his brother David during the late 1890s, describes the return of Harvey (then twenty-seven) to his father's home during the spring of 1840, the victim of bankruptcy stemming from a failed business venture (Newsom 1896:3). The identity of the remaining two males of twenty years but less than thirty will be set aside for the time being.

All of the seven free white females resident in the Newsom home as of June 1840, are readily identifiable, however there should have been eight, not seven; one daughter is missing from the "of twenty and under thirty" age category. Again, fortune has been kind in providing clarification.

One of the female occupants in the Newsom home was of forty years but under fifty (Elizabeth, then forty-nine); two were of fifteen years but under twenty (Ruth Ann, eighteen, and Susan, sixteen); one was enumerated as being of ten years old but less than fifteen (Sarah, or "Sally," then fourteen); and one child was tallied as being under five (Polly Newsom, then four years old). Given the established birthdates of the three remaining daughters known to exist, all should have been enumerated within the "of twenty years but less than thirty" age category: Rebecca, then twenty-five; Julia

Franklin, twenty-three, and Virginia Robinette, then twenty-one years old. Perplexingly, however, only two were listed. Where is the third?

An out of sequence entry in Robert Newsom's account book appears to make all plain: beginning on March 30, 1840, Julia Franklin Newsom "commenced boarding at Jno H Cooks in Fulton @ $1.25 pr week & going to school" (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). As a consequence, we are able to determine that it was Rebecca and Julia who were still at home with the Newsom family.

Lastly, how do we account for the two unidentified males in Robert's dwelling at the time of the 1840 U.S. Census, each of whom were recorded as being of twenty years but less than thirty? During the spring and summer of 1838, Rebecca Newsom and her younger sister, Ruth Ann, married their respective intendeds, Thomas Reynolds and James Noonan Langley (Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Norman 1958a:1). Although one might have expected the young women to depart the shelter of their parents' abode to establish homes of their own following the nuptials, it appears that all remained in the Newsom household, at least through the summer of 1840. At the time of the census enumeration, Thomas Reynolds was ca. twenty-six years of age, and James Noonan Langley, twenty-seven (Grover 2013a:11,23).

The Population Schedules for the 1840 Census of Callaway County also indicate an increase in the total number of Newsom bondspeople to nine, several times higher than the 1830 documents specified (U.S. Census Bureau 1830:58A; 1840:207B). During the period of enumeration, Robert possessed five enslaved males, one of whom was less than ten years of age; four were of ten and less than twenty-four. He also held four

enslaved females, three of whom were under ten; one was reckoned at being at least twenty-four but less than thirty-six years of age.

The data presented within the Population Schedules as well as the personal recollections preserved in the writings of David Newsom converge precisely on the year 1840, as do a number of entries within the account book of Robert Newsom. The end result is an ability to reliably provide names for all of Newsom's male bondspeople at that time in addition to as many as three of the females. The will of Elizabeth Newsom's father, Samuel Gwinn, also helps to clarify the likely mechanism by which several members of Newsom's enslaved population were acquired.

Writing in a firm, clear hand during what appears to have been the final decade of his life, David Newsom looked back across more than seventy years to recount the following (Newsom 1912:101-102):

> I recollect on my birthday of 7 years of creeping through the creep hole in the fence south of the house 40 steps, and lingering a moment in a lying down way I said to myself, "I am 7 years old today."
>
> I recollect when I was 7 years old of walking among the ripening wheat which grew on the ridge east of the house well in company with negro boy George (same age as myself.)
>
> I recollect in April or May 1840 when my father started to Virginia on a steam boat from Smiths Landing and I, Bro Harvey and negro boy George went down with him to the landing (Smiths landing is now Mokane) and when in a mile of the landing we heard the puffing of a boat coming down, we got there in time to hail the boat which landed. My father took me aboard, we passed the engine room & on up to the hurricane roof – I saw the pilot at his wheel and the big bell on the fore front top; –then the Captain rang the bell to start and father rushed with me down ashore – hugged me and shook my hand, a goodby, and ran aboard. The boat slowly and majestically turned her prow downstream and was soon lost to sight below. – However after my father went aboard he ran up to the top of the boat and waved at me as long as in sight. – On about June my father returned and brought with him from Virginia 3 slaves (male) Jingo, Louis[17]– & Milt. – Louis was 14 years old, Milt was 11and Jingo was over 20. Louis was

[17] Alternatively referred to as "Lewis".

> willed to my mother by her father Samuel Gwinn of Greenbrier County, West Virginia – Louis is yet living – born in 1827, Christmas day, and has continued here in the same neighborhood since 1840, a straight upright man, – even though his skin is a little colored.

An excerpt from another ledger journal kept by David Newsom contains nearly word-for-word duplicates of the above remembrances which indicate that Robert returned to Missouri on "about the 1st to the 15th of June," that Jingo was "20" years old at the time, and that Lewis was yet living when the recollections were inscribed in 1905 (Newsom 1905:2).

Seven years prior to his death in 1839, Elizabeth Newsom's father, Samuel Gwinn of Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia, executed a will through which he was eventually to dispose of nine bondspeople, six of them to grandsons and three to his daughters. Among those eventually to receive a bequest, Gwinn's daughter Elizabeth was willed "a negro boy, Lewis, [in 1832] aged about two years"; one of the six grandsons was willed a "negro boy" called Jingo (Keller 1951:158-159; Norman 1958a:1).

It is not known if Robert intended to acquire additional bondspeople when he set forth to (West) Virginia to collect his wife's inheritance, nor is it certain that the youth willed to Elizabeth's nephew was the same "Jingo" that was in Robert's possession upon his return to Missouri. It does seem a striking coincidence, however, and it is reasonable to posit that Robert had arranged to purchase both Jingo and possibly Milt from his in-laws prior to departing Greenbrier County.

We are able to more reliably deduce from David Newsom's narratives that the male bondsman recorded in the U.S. Census of 1840 as being less than ten years of age was in fact George, then seven years old and clearly in Robert's possession prior to the

early summer of 1840. Furthermore, Newsom identifies Milt (sometimes documented as "Milton"), Louis, and Jingo as well as the approximate date of their acquisition "on or about" June 1840. David's account also provides the three bondsmen's estimated ages—two of which are consistent with those described in Samuel Gwinn's will, and all of which fall within the broad "ten to twenty-four" age category provided in the 1840 census data (U.S. Census 1840:207B). As will be demonstrated through additional documentation (Newsom 1888b:46, 50-52; Newsom 1905:4), the fourth bondsman within that age group was almost certainly Dick, first revealed by name in Robert Newsom's daybook entries of the early 1830s (Newsom 1888b: 46, 50-52). The account book also holds the identities of three of Newsom's four enslaved females, including the aforementioned Harriet as well as the three female youths described by the assistant marshal for the U.S. Census of 1840 as being less than ten years of age.

To Oversee the Others in Their Toil

In the latter third of Robert Newsom's aforementioned account book is a cluster of hand-written reports delineating the farm work accomplished during the summer of 1839 as well as the spring and summer of 1840. Following the section of chronologically ordered daybook entries, Newsom's book has at times been rotated 180 degrees from its standard orientation, and notations inscribed from what was formerly the back of the manuscript forward. While each report is unique to some extent and has the potential to provide information of interest to multiple research domains, the focus here is on their value in helping to identify the Newsom's bonded population, to formulate reasonable

inferences about the interactions among those—both free and enslaved—who lived on Newsom's lands, and to garner additional information about their combined way of life.

The first report (Newsom 1888a:n.p.) appears under the simple heading of "Wheat Crop," and refers to work accomplished during four days in July 1839, excluding Sundays. The text is worth describing here because it sets the standard in some respects for the documents that follow. The page has been divided into a ruled matrix listing the names of those performing work on one axis and the days worked by them on another. A notation at the end of the document states that a total of ninety-one bushels of wheat were harvested from the thirteen acre field, yielding $56.87 to the family account.

Among the six individuals who endeavored to harvest the July 1839 wheat crop were at least four free white persons, including Robert's son Harvey; George Herring, a neighbor; and Robert Newsom's sons-in-law, Thomas Reynolds and James Noonan Langley. The two remaining laborers were Dick and Harriet, almost certainly the previously identified Newsom bondspeople, neither of whom were referred to by anything other than given name.

According to an additional report (Newsom 1888a:n.p.), several weeks following completion of the wheat harvest there began a run of production at the Newsom brick kiln that lasted from the 15th of August until nearly midnight on the 3rd day of October, 1839, a duration of some forty-two days (excluding Sundays) as well as the final five consecutive nights. More than fifty-four *thousand* bricks were molded during a period lasting nearly 400 person-days. Whether this was a personal enterprise, a commercial venture, or a combination of the two is not specified in the documents.

Among the laborers molding brick, who at different times numbered between eight and fourteen, were a minimum of twelve free white persons, many of whom appear to have been members of neighboring families (U.S. Census Bureau 1840:205B-207B; Edwards Brothers of Missouri 1876:34, 41). Of the two remaining hands, the status of one person is particularly ambiguous; the notation for that individual reads, "J[as] Grant [illegible, perhaps "Blk"] Jim" (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). It is possible that "Jim" could have been a relative, a hired worker, or a bondsperson of James Grant, a neighbor who was assisting with molding brick. Robert Newsom's bondsman Dick was also employed in the production effort.

Robert's account book indicates that during the summer and fall of 1839, the Newsoms appear to have retained in their possession at least two bondspeople: Harriet and Dick (Newsom 1888b:46, 50-52; Newsom 1888a:n.p.). David Newsom's journal reveals that the enslaved youth George entered into Robert's possession no later than the spring of 1840 (Newsom 1912:102). "Mart," or Martin, is absent from period records. In turn, the accomplishment reports chronicling the 1840 work season disclose the identities of two additional Newsom bondspeople, who along with Dick, George, and Harriet were referred to exclusively by given name: Netty and Lucinda (or the latter's apparent diminutive, "Cindy"). It is probable that these two were counted by the census taker of 1840 as among the three enslaved females then less than ten years of age (U.S. Census Bureau 1840:207B), although their inclusion in Newsom's accomplishment reports indicates that they were viewed as being old enough to be put to work. If Harriet was the bondswoman listed in 1840 as being between 24 and 36 years of age, it is not unreasonable to suggest that she may have been the mother of George, Netty, Lucinda,

and/or and the remaining female, possibly an infant; however, the existing records provide no corroborative evidence in that regard.

Also present during the spring of 1840 was a laborer called "Ned B," later noted to have been "willing, but awkward" in some aspects of his work (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Ned B was almost exclusively referred to in writing by given name as well as a following initial, though the reason is not clear. Doing so could indicate that he was the bondsperson of a neighbor intermittently jobbed out to Newsom during that period; however it is also possible that he was a free person in Robert's employ. In either case, although he was a member Newsom's labor force at least into the second week of July 1840, the assistant marshal preparing the Population Schedules of the U.S. Census for Callaway County did not count Ned as a member of the Newsom household, either free or enslaved (U.S. Census Bureau 1840:207A).

The series of eight succeeding accomplishment reports, some of which describe activities or portions thereof being implemented concurrently, chronicle work performed during March through July 1840; they are concerned with activities typical of those who farm, including building and repairing fence lines and the cultivation of various crops, such as oats and corn (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Compared to earlier reports, including the two examples summarized above, there is a clear shift in the number of (presumably) enslaved laborers being utilized to carry out the activities recorded in Newsom's account book.

Following Robert's return from (West) Virginia with Lewis, Jingo, and Milt, who first appear in the accomplishment reports on June 17, 1840 (Newsom 1888a:n.p.), the primary labor force chronicled in the existing documents was comprised of Dick, Ned B,

Harriet, Netty, Jingo, Lewis, and Milton, with occasional contributions from Lucinda. The youth George may have been utilized elsewhere on the site; the remaining unidentified female bondsperson may have been too young to contribute substantively to the undertakings documented in the reports. Clearly, however, as Newsom's population of enslaved individuals increased his reliance on "free white" labor diminished proportionately; while Robert himself as well as several of the Newsom children intermittently assisted with plowing, planting, and the like (Newsom 1888a:n.p.), only Harvey was present on all workforce tally sheets, save one. As Robert's eldest son, he likely served at his father's behest as a surrogate to oversee the others in their toil.

It may have been during this period that Newsom constructed what would later be referred to as "the negro cabin," a low, two-roomed brick structure approximately 50 yards, or sixty steps, from the Newsom residence.[18] Robert's acquisition of Milton, Lewis, and Jingo during the summer of 1840 brought the total number of bondspeople on the landholding to nine, altogether including five adults and four children, a population that may have warranted construction of additional quarters.

Eighteen Barrels of Whiskey

The fall of 1839 and the ensuing year would be a time of growth and prosperity for the Newsoms, if not for their bondspeople. The site appears to have reached its apotheosis with regard to population, and Robert had imposed order on the wilderness through pursuit of a nineteenth century agrarian ideal shared by many with roots in the Upper South. During the first year of the new decade, Robert continued with

[18] Harvey Newsom letter to the editor, Daily Missouri Republican, August 2, 1855, Volume 33, No. 181, p.2; Celia, File No. 4,496: June 25, 1855 Statement of William F. Powell at Inquest; Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of Virginia Winscott at trial, October 10, 1855.

improvements to his landholding. As David Newsom (1912:84) recalls: "I think it was about the year 1840 that my father built the brick still house down the well branch – Wilkersons were the brick masons who did the brick work and Thomas Ming did the carpenter work on it."

Newsom constructed his brick still house on the western bank of the stream that passed on a northerly course through his landholding on its way to the Middle River. Although no longer standing, the structure, possibly comprised of bricks molded during the late summer and fall of 1839, was once situated in a relatively deep, cool hollow a short distance from the family burying ground. It lay just downstream of a substantial bedrock exposure and a falls pool where fresh water would have been in abundant supply during most seasons of the year (Annie B. Norman, personal communication, June 23, 2014).

Eventually, Newsom intended to expand his production through construction of a larger distillery and purchase of a high-capacity boiler, the latter to be incorporated into his distilling apparatus. Martin Baskett Dunham (Nd:1) addressed the anticipated improvements as communicated to him by his mother, Polly Newsom:

> On his return to Virginia, after he had been in Missouri a good many years, he stopped in Cincinnati and there bought a large steam boiler for use in a larger distillery that he expected to establish, this was shipped down the Ohio river and thence down the Mississippi to St. Louis and up the Mo to old Cotes San Dessein from whence it was hauled by ox team to his farm east of Dixie but for some reason or other it was never installed nor the larger distillery built and it lay here still on the day of his [estate] sale…

For reasons unknown, that boiler would never be used for its intended purpose, though it remained a fixture of Newsom's property for the remainder of his life (Tincher

and Newsom 1855:2; Hyten et al. 1855:4). Nevertheless, it is apparent that distillation of spirits was an ongoing source of revenue for Newsom: in addition to paper notes, gold and silver specie, and outstanding debts collected from a number of individuals, an April 1, 1843 assessment of Newsom's capital assets appearing in his account book includes eighteen barrels of whiskey, valued at $270; the final entry in that list was a deduction of $100 against Robert Newsom's total assets "for trip to Virg" (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Whether this was Robert's "return to Virginia" noted in Dunham's account is unclear; reference to at least one more journey east exists, and is addressed, below.

Gone to Marry

While Robert labored to advance his business prospects, he and Elizabeth witnessed the relatively abrupt dispersal of their family as several of the children married and/or established homes of their own. While some remained close at hand, others would come to reside in different regions of Missouri and, eventually, adjoining states.

Married since 1838, Rebecca (Newsom) Reynolds and her husband Thomas were the first to take their leave. In November 1840, they departed the Newsom farmstead to settle lands along the Spring River, in Jasper County, Missouri, though they would later establish themselves in Caldwell and finally Daviess County (Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Newsom 1905:3; Newsom 1912:107). Rebecca's younger sister Ruth Ann and her husband James Noonan Langley, also married in 1838, would reside on her father's lands until September 20, 1841, before they too relocated to Jasper County (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Julia Newsom, who had been educated as a school teacher, is thought to have followed her sisters to Jasper County by the end of 1841, where she abided for a

time in the home of Ruth Ann and her husband James Noonan Langley. The latter purportedly fathered two natural children by Julia during 1842 and 1844 (Grover 2013a:12; McNamee 1959:4-5; Norman 1959:1); that, however, is a story for a different telling.

Harvey Newsom courted and married Miss Jemima Caldwell, "a beautiful young woman twenty-two years of age," in August 1842; the couple settled into their own home near his father's the following November (Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Newsom 1893a:1). Virginia Robinette Newsom wed Jesse Baker Winscott in mid-June 1843 at the Jasper County home of Virginia's sister, Rebecca (Newsom) Reynolds, following which the Winscotts may have settled in Henry County before moving on to Johnson County, Missouri (GLO Document No. 6893, August 15, 1850; Grover 2013a:23; McNamee 1959:2; Newsom 1888a:n.p.). A year afterward, in July 1844, Sarah "Sally" Newsom married John Howard James; the two would remain in the old neighborhood before eventually settling in Clinton County, Missouri (McNamee 1959:6; Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Newsom 1912:107; U.S. Census Bureau 1850a:395). Finally, three months later, in October 1844, Susan Newsom wed a local man, Hugh A. Tincher; the couple would come to reside near Hatton, Missouri, less than 20 miles from the home of her birth in Callaway County (Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Newsom 1912:107).

The Missouri State Census was established under Article III, Sec. IV of the State Constitution (July 19, 1820), and called for enumeration of the inhabitants of the state in 1822, 1824, and every four years thereafter; modifying legislation defining the parameters of the data to be collected was passed in 1824, with enumeration of the revised state census set to commence on September 1, 1828 (General Assembly of the

State of Missouri 1825:197-198). While a majority of these records have been lost, two enumerations made prior to 1850 are available for Callaway County, though their specific utility differs widely.

Regrettably, much of the 1844 Missouri State Census for Callaway County is essentially unreadable. While difficult to interpret, the microfilm available at the Missouri State Archives in Jefferson City does appear to show that Newsom maintained possession of both male and female bondspeople during the period of enumeration, including an indeterminate number of males—possibly four—and two females, the latter figure having declined by two since the summer of 1840, the former number by one (State of Missouri 1844:13-14; U.S. Census Bureau 1840:206B-207A).

Robert's eldest son Harvey and his wife Jemima (Caldwell) Newsom, by that time occupying a home of their own on property adjacent to Robert's, were themselves shown to have been in possession of two enslaved females, though the specific notation was partially obscured by an unfortunate drop of ink. It is not inconceivable that Robert had conveyed two bondspeople to Harvey and Jemima in celebration of their nuptials, a relatively common phenomenon (Burke 2010:219; Megginson 2006:141) and one that would again be fulfilled by Robert at a later date.

By New Year's Day 1845, only David Newsom, twelve years old, and his younger sister Polly, then nine, remained in the home of their parents. During the course of just under four years, seven of Robert and Elizabeth's nine children had departed the immediate confines of the Newsom landholding; whether the exodus was purely a matter of coincidence and coming of age or was a response to unknown pressures is not indicated in the available literature.

With the limited exception of the Missouri State Census of 1848, there are few detailed references specific to the Newsom bondspeople during the following period, an interval not chronicled through work accomplishment reports or the meticulous enumerations of the U.S. Census. Couched in a personal recollection or a second-hand account, however, even a casual reference can lend modest depth to what would otherwise be comprised of mere numeric recitation.

For all its limitations, Martin Baskett Dunham (1873–1951) provides us with a glimpse, albeit a sentimentalized one, of life on the Newsom landholding, particularly as it related to Robert's enslaved people. Communicated to him by his mother Polly Newsom, the brief second-hand account is undated, and there is no mention therein of the specific period being referred to; however, given that Dunham purports to recount events witnessed first-hand by his mother, born in November 1835, the following reminiscence likely corresponds with the decade following the mid-1840s. Dunham (Nd:1) writes:

> [Robert Newsom] was a man of good business sense and had a large holding of personal property in addition to his land and I have heard my mother say often that it took two days to sell his property at his [estate] sale and much of his property was represented in the value of the negroes…how often were these stories told me and how much was I impressed by them…a negro boy by the name of Milty it seems was quite a musician and how he sat up on top of the barn on summer evenings and played the bugle, the singings and preaching they used to have in their "quarters" their many folklore stories, and their superstitions and beliefs my mother was able to repeat with an accuracy and detail that was only equaled by her ability to visualize and describe whatever had come within her observation.

Clearly, the painfully abbreviated narrative cited above was conveyed by Dunham from a nostalgic perspective that fails to acknowledge the condition of state-sanctioned enslavement within which Newsom's bondspeople lived. The account is included here

not as a complete or necessarily accurate depiction of life on the Newsom site, but as one of the very few representations we have that describes—to *any* extent—the day-to-day existence of those so thoroughly underrepresented in the historical record.

As has been broadly established, seemingly inconsequential details of personal narratives, casually written by unsuspecting participants in the events described, can provide a measure of historical dimensionality not obtainable through surviving tax lists and census records alone. The writings of David Newsom (1905:3-4) again prove a case in point.

During June 1847, Robert, Elizabeth, and David, then fourteen years of age, set forth from Callaway County on a five-day journey to visit Rebecca (Newsom) Reynolds, then living with her husband Thomas "near the old Mormon town Far West" in Caldwell County, Missouri. Robert and David eventually made their way home, leaving Elizabeth behind at the home of her daughter; she remained with Rebecca and Thomas for several months, returning by steamboat down the Missouri River that fall. Newsom continues:

> …with her came Cousin Alex and also his bro Nathan Newsom[19] who was low with consumption. Cousin Nathan lay on his death bed at my father's & died on Dec 5th 1847 and was buried at Old Log Providence 4 miles west of father's. His wife's maiden name was Rebecca Kippers of Monroe Co. W. Virginia. Father took her to her kin folk in Monroe County…a few days afterward in Dec 1847. –Father knew the Kippers family in W. Virg. –good people. Our old negro man Dick & I went to Fulton (deep snow on ground) and bought Nathan's shrouding at Wm Broadwell's store. I went to his burial.

David's account of his cousin's passing is helpful in two ways: Firstly, and of relatively minor import, it specifies another journey by Robert to what would become West Virginia, comprising another opportunity by which Newsom may have purchased

[19] Alex and Nathan were children of Robert's older brother John and his wife Sally McClung (Grover 2013a:1).

the boiler he intended to use in his improved distillery. More significantly, however, it confirms that the enslaved man Dick continued to remain with the Newsoms some fourteen years after he is first mentioned by name in an October 1833 entry in Robert's daybook (Newsom 1888b:46). That the he served as a companion-cum-guardian for David as the adolescent travelled to Fulton in deep snow for his cousin's burial shroud indicates that the Newsoms must have held him in some regard, though there is no mistaking the fact that under Missouri law Dick was not a free man.

According to the 1848 Missouri State Census for Callaway County, in comparison to previous years the Newsom home was sparsely populated. In addition to Robert and Elizabeth, David Newsom, then fifteen years of age, and Polly, thirteen, remained at home. The enumerator recorded one male bondsperson at that time (Weant 2005:31). The latter figure is misleading, however: subsequent to enumeration of the 1848 Missouri State Census, the historical record clearly demonstrates that the Newsoms were at least briefly in possession of no less than four of their previously documented enslaved males, including Dick, George, Lewis, and Milton (Newsom 1912:101; Norman 1958b:4; Weant 2005:31; Williamson 1967:13-15; 19-21).

What accounts for the discrepancy? Although it is not specifically noted in the available documents, it is possible that Robert Newsom had "hired out" several of his bondspeople during the period in which the 1848 state census was taken. If the practice of the 1848 state enumerators was consistent with instructions provided to the assistant marshals implementing the 1850 U.S. Census, it is probable that any of Newsom's enslaved population who had been hired out at the time would have been regarded as being in the possession of those upon whose property they resided. The 1850 instructions

to enumerators specified that "the person in whose family, or on whose plantation, the slave is found to be employed, is to be considered the owner—the principal object being to get the number of slaves, and not that of masters or owners," (Wright 1900:153). Once the period of hire had elapsed, the bondspeople would have returned to the Newsom landholding.

The enumerator for the 1848 Missouri State Census next visited two homes that neighbored Robert's farmstead. The first belonged to Harvey and Jemima (Caldwell) Newsom; the second to Howard and Sarah "Sally" (Newsom) James. Both couples had managed to establish families of their own, though not without grief: Jemima and Harvey lost two of their three young children during 1845; John Howard and Sally (Newsom) James would have a son and a daughter. Neither family was recorded as being in possession of bondspeople at that time (Grover 2013a:11, 24; Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Weant 2005:31).

Although a number of Callaway County Circuit Court record books were examined in order to identify instances of litigation involving the Newsoms or their bondspeople, most of the procedural transcripts had been moved to an off-site facility in Columbia, Missouri, for curation, where they remain in a state of disarray pending indexing (Judy Groner, personal communication, January 30, 2014). A fortuitous visit to the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society in Fulton, Missouri, proved more fruitful. While few original court documents are housed at that location, the Society does possess excerpts of Newsom-related judicial records transcribed by a locally renowned judge nearly fifty years ago.

In 1967, Callaway County Magistrate Court Judge Hugh P. Williamson (1904–1980), an outspoken Missouri native with a keen interest in the county's past, produced a self-published history of the "Kingdom of Callaway". Within the manuscript is a chapter addressing Callaway County "slave crimes" committed between 1820 and 1861, a majority of the material having been derived from court documents which, according to Annie B. Norman (personal communication, June 23, 2014), Judge Williamson was in the habit of removing from the courthouse for leisurely study.

One such case was brought before the Grand Jury at the April 1849 term of the Callaway County Court, which returned an indictment against "Dick, a slave, the property of Robert Newsom" (Williamson 1967:13-15). The indictment charged that Dick had unlawfully killed a valuable steer belonging to one John Howard James, husband of Sarah "Sally" Newsom. Shortly after Dick's arrest, Robert Newsom secured his release from the jail in Fulton by posting a $300 surety; the steer itself was valued at $6.00. The following October, a startling forty-two witnesses appeared at trial to give their testimony which, according to the custom of the day, was summarized by the clerk of the court instead of taken down word-for-word (Williamson 1968:172-173). Questions posed by the attorneys were not recorded, and must be inferred.

As an example of the proceedings, Williamson (1967:14) provides a portion of the testimony of John Howard James, the owner of the steer, with respect to his identification of Dick by the bondsman's shoe-tracks. Williamson then quotes directly from the court clerk's record of James' testimony:

> I hauled stock corn that evening late and the cattle were not in that field that evening, but I saw them there the next morning I measured the track I think on the 18th. From what I could discover the Shoe on the left foot had been newly halfsoled with a tolerably high heel the other shoe had scarcely any heel at all

> and no halfsole. I have since measured the shoes that Dick wears and I believe them to be the shoes that made the track that we traced from my steer which had been killed to Mr. Newsom's kitchen.
>
> The half sole of Dick's shoes comes over the old shoes.
>
> The old sole of Lewis' Shoes come over the halfsole.
>
> I believe Dick had envy and Malice toward me because he told me that he understood that I disbelieved what he said. He said I want you to attend to your business & I will attend to mine in a very impudent manner. I told him I did, and after his attacking me a second time I became very mad and told him that he made an accusation against Julia Newsom only to get her away from there and from that he walked out in front of the barn & pulled off his hat & dared me to strike him. Dick has since that time passed by me as large as the King of England daringly and contemptuously.

Williamson (1967:14) aptly observed that there must have been considerably more involved in the case than the value of a steer, and that James' testimony contained "intimations of loves and hates, frustrations, scandals, emanations of the dark and obscure workings of the human heart." With that, Judge Williamson closes his narrative by providing the cost of the proceeding, which was $161.02, and writes that there was no evidence in the record as to the termination of the case (Williamson 1967:15). On the final point, the judge must be respectfully corrected.

In Record Book D of the Callaway County Circuit Court (1851:526) is found the following entry dated Saturday, October 14, 1849:

> State of Missouri against Dick a slave} Upon an indictment this day come the parties aforesaid and the court being now sufficiently advised do order and adjudge that the defendant receive on his bare back thirty lashes, and that the sheriff of this county execute the judgment of the court agreeable to law, and it is further ordered that the sheriff detain said Dick and if the cost of this prosecution is not paid within sixty days of the date they become due, then he is ordered to sell said slave agreeable to law to pay the same.

To date, the trial record itself remains unavailable for review, and for the time being we can only imagine what the full extent of James' testimony—and that of the other forty-one witnesses—might have revealed about Newsom's landholding and the interactions among those residing in the neighborhood. If nothing else, the extract of testimony cited above confirms the continued presence of Dick and Lewis, the former by that point having been in the service of Robert Newsom for no less than sixteen years. Lewis, who had been bequeathed to Elizabeth (Gwinn) Newsom upon her father's passing in 1839, had been with the family for nearly a decade, though his life with Elizabeth was nearing its end. For some time, Robert had intended to give Lewis to his eldest son, Harvey; however Elizabeth, Newsom's wife of nearly thirty-seven years, forbade the transfer (Norman 1958b:4).

Her Untimely Loss

During the late spring and summer of 1909, David Newsom (1912:8, 31) wistfully recollected the uncomplicated days of his youth; dipping his pen in red mail-order Diamond Dye ink, he wrote:

> May June & July – I hear the birds sing which I used to hear sing out on the wild prairies of North Callaway & Audrain Counties in May & June 1846, 47 - & 48, when I herded my father's cattle out there. Setting on the dry tumble or rosin weed the bird would sing or chirp for hours at a time his lonesome song which would make me feel so lonesome and solitary away out there alone. It was a sort of cheep-cheep-cheep-cheep-cheep. In hearing this bird now it carries me back in mind to my boyhood days when life was young & far from care.

Although Robert Newsom had apparently acquired lands in Audrain County, a region of gently rolling tallgrass prairie bordering Callaway County to the north (Nigh and

Schroeder 2002:44), he disposed of them sometime during 1849 (Newsom 1912:84), perhaps in response to dual hammer-blows of loss the family experienced during that long summer.

By mid-1849, Elizabeth Newsom appears to have been suffering the final decline of an illness that had extended over a period of several years. Robert's niece, eighteen year old Sarah "Sallie" Boggs, arrived at Newsom's landholding to assist David and his younger sister Polly with the responsibilities of the household and to help care for Elizabeth as she stubbornly yielded the last of her remaining vigor (Grover 2014a:1; Norman 1959:2). Without any documented forewarning, however, at half-past midnight on Thursday, May 17, 1849, "the day of the great fire in St. Louis," Harvey's young wife Jemima (Caldwell) Newsom passed away at the age of twenty-nine. Her death pitched Harvey into a deep despair, leaving husband and the couple's only surviving child, son John Caldwell Newsom, to mourn her "untimely loss" (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Less than two months later, on the afternoon of July 3, 1849, Elizabeth "Betsy" (Gwinn) Newsom expelled her final breath at the age of fifty-eight years, four months, and eleven days. Of his mother's passing, David Newsom (1912:38) later wrote: "1909, July 3d It is 60 years this afternoon since my mother died – I did not see her die, for I and nigger-boy George (same age as myself) were in the field binding oats. I was then 16 years of age. – Dear mother. How quickly those 60 years have flown." Elizabeth's parting words were reportedly "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," (Newsom 1912:72).

Schedule 3 of the 1850 U.S. Census, frequently referred to as the "Mortality Schedule," called for an accounting of every person who had died during the year ending June 1, 1850, including not only the deceased's name and other data, such as age, gender,

color, place of birth, and occupation, but also the month of death, the disease or cause of death, and the duration of the final illness (Wright 1900:45). While both women were entered on the 1850 return for Callaway County, Missouri (U.S. Census Bureau 1850b:338), there is no indication on the Mortality Schedule as to the cause of Jemima or Elizabeth's deaths, nor have any references to such factors been encountered in the family record.

Regardless of what triggered their passing, Jemima and Elizabeth would be interred less than two months apart in the Newsom family cemetery. Five other close family members are known to have expired before them, including three of Robert and Elizabeth's children: William Newsom (1829–1835) and infants John Jackson (1837) and Kitty Newsom (1839); Jemima and Harvey lost two children as well, including their firstborn, Robert H. Newsom (1843–1845), and an unnamed infant child (1845) (Grover 2013a:11: Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Nevertheless, the carved headstones wrought for Jemima and Elizabeth (Figures 18 and 19, respectively) are the earliest formal monuments to have been identified in the cemetery thus far.

Eighteen Horses at Pasture

The instructions for the Population Schedules of the 1850 U.S. Census required not only the age, gender, and color of every free person in each family as of June 1, 1850—including those temporarily absent—but also each of their names (Wright 1900:151). According to the U.S. Census enumeration for Callaway County, there were ten free white persons dwelling in the Newsom home in 1850, including (in the order enumerated): Robert, sixty years old; Harvey, thirty-seven; and Polly Newsom, fourteen;

Figure 18. Displaced burial Marker of Jemima (Caldwell) Newsom (May 16, 2014), as found. Newsom Family Cemetery, Callaway County, Missouri.

Virginia Winscott, thirty-one, and her children James Coffee, six years old; Thomas, four; and Amelia Elizabeth Winscott, two; Harvey and Jemima's only surviving son, John Newsom, five; Robert's niece, Sarah Boggs, eighteen; and David Newsom, seventeen years old (U.S. Census Bureau 1850a:393). Accounting for the sudden increase in those living at the Newsom home is relatively straightforward.

Desolate after the death of his wife, Harvey Newsom abandoned the home he had shared with Jemima and returned for a time to the dwelling of his father. There are two

Figure 19. Burial marker of Elizabeth (Gwinn) Newsom (July 6, 2013). Newsom Family Cemetery, Callaway County, Missouri.

conflicting accounts (Newsom 1896:4; 1912:103) of what was to follow: in the late summer or fall of 1850, Harvey travelled either to White Sulphur Springs in eastern Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia, or to White Sulphur Spring in St. Clair County, Missouri; David Newsom specifically recalls travelling with Harvey to the latter place and returning home with horse and carriage (Newsom 1912:103). Perhaps Harvey made both journeys; we simply do not know. Regardless, he would abide at the springs for a

time, taking the waters for the benefit of his health before returning home in 1851, much improved (Newsom 1896:4).

Virginia Robinette Newsom had been married to Jesse Baker Winscott since June 1843, and had by him three children: James Coffee (b. 1844), Thomas D. (b. 1845), and Amelia Elizabeth (b. 1847). By August 1850, Virginia was expecting another child, and had returned to her father's home pending the return of her husband Jesse, who is reputed to have set forth on a journey westward to earn his fortune (Grover 2013a:23; Norman 1959:2; Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Again, two seemingly contrary accounts (McNamee 1959:2; Norman 1959:2; Winscott 1999:1) purport to describe what became of Jesse following his departure from Callaway County, though they are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

According to Newsom family lore, Jesse Winscott, caught up in the fever of the 1849 California Gold Rush, set off for the western gold fields while Virginia and the children went to stay with Robert and the others to await Jesse's eventual return (McNamee 1959:2). Gauging by the late October 1850 birthdate of Virginia and Jesse's last child William, Winscott would have left his wife and children sometime after January 1850 (Grover 2013a:23). Upon his arrival in Independence, Missouri, one of the great staging-grounds for westward migration, Jesse is purported to have been among the many thousands who succumbed to cholera as it devastated the area and routes west between 1849 and 1851 (Agnew 2010:62; Federal Writer's Project 1939:41; Gillette 1987:139; LeMay 2006:41; Norman 1959:2). Harvey Newsom (1888a:n.p.) observes that Jesse died sometime during 1850, though a cause of death is not provided.

John L. Winscott (1999:1), a great-grandson of Jesse Winscott, writes that his forbearer is thought to have been traveling overland with thirty wagons to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, freighting goods under contract for the U.S. Army when he met his end. As in the above account, he died of cholera following his arrival in Independence, Missouri, and was later buried there. John L. Winscott (1999:1), however, provides the specific date of his great-grandfather's passing: June 3, 1850.

There is at least one documented instance of Jesse having previously transported goods on behalf of the U.S. Army: on July 15, 1842, a Jesse B. Winscott was contracted by the army to deliver 250 tons of hay to Fort Scott (Kansas Territory) for a fee of $4.98 per ton (Barry 1931:442-443). It is plausible, though entirely speculative, that Winscott may have been travelling among a party delivering material to Fort Leavenworth and that he fully intended to continue onward from that location, following the California Trail of the "Great Platte River Road" westward to the gold fields of California (Mattes 1984:181-183).

In addition to the names of slaveholders, instructions for the enumeration of enslaved inhabitants pursuant to the 1850 U.S. Census called for the total number of bondspeople and the details of various descriptors for each, including a specific age or approximation thereof instead of the range previously required (Wright 1900:45). The return for 1850 shows that Robert held five male bondspeople, aged thirty-one, twenty-four, twenty-three, eighteen, and five (U.S. Census Bureau 1850c:230).

As discussed above, it is believed that following enumeration of the 1848 Missouri State Census, at a minimum Robert had maintained possession of Dick, George, Lewis, and Milton. Beyond that time, the continuing presence of George, Lewis, and

Milton among the Newsoms can be verified through Union Army draft registration records, personal recollections, and legal documents (National Archives and Records Administration 2010:339; Newsom 1912:102; Newsom and Tincher 1855:1). Dick, however, is entirely absent from the written record following his October 1849 trial and conviction (Williamson 1967:13-15); Jingo is not mentioned by name in any of the available documents after early July 1840 (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Does this mean that by 1850 one or both of them were no longer in the Newsoms' service? Not necessarily; however, neither can be conclusively identified or excluded as a member of Newsom's bonded population during that period.

The identity of the five year-old cannot be determined; he may have been the child of an enslaved female not in Robert's possession or a bondsperson belonging to Harvey or Virginia, both counted as Newsom household residents during the 1850 census. It seems unlikely that Robert Newsom, by then a man of relatively substantial means, would have intentionally sought after and acquired an enslaved juvenile "to raise up for help" as he did prior to his journey to Missouri during 1820. From an economic standpoint, positive returns on the capital expended in raising the child would not be realized until the accumulated cost of maintaining him was exceeded by the accumulated income he generated through labor or eventual sale, a process which could take many years (Fogel and Engerman 1995:153-155).

Despite the family's recent losses, Robert Newsom continued to manage his lands well and was liberally rewarded not only for his own efforts, but for those of his sons, daughters, and bondspeople. The Agricultural Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States for Callaway County, Missouri, enumerated on August 3, 1850 (U.S.

Census Bureau 1850b:343-344), indicate that by the end of that census year Newsom, then nearly sixty-one years of age, possessed 826 acres of land, better than a five-fold increase since 1830. Nearly half of those lands (44 percent) were improved, while the entire cash value of his farm was adjudged to be $3,550. Grounds cleared nearly 30 years before had been broken afresh through the plodding strength of Robert's working oxen; once plowed, they were planted by hand and patiently tended according to the science of the day, ultimately yielding a crop measured at 1,367 bushels of Indian corn, winter wheat, oats, rye, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, and flax. Orchards that had been established from seedling stock had slowly matured and were bearing fruit for the table, the cider press, and the market.

From his seventy sheep Newsom obtained 160 pounds of wool, and his six milch cows provided some 200 pounds of butter. Market value and sustenance were derived from amongst his herds of beef cattle and swine, each numbering in the dozens; and it is likely that the entire population of the landholding, both free and enslaved, admired the sinew and grace of Newsom's eighteen horses at pasture. As McLaurin (1991:9) observes, although Robert was not among the county's high gentry, his holdings "placed him solidly amid the ranks of Callaway's residents who were comfortably well-off."

Interred Near Together

The history of the Newsoms for the period 1850–55 has largely been extracted from Callaway County Circuit Court documents and newspaper accounts, all of which were generated in response to events that transpired on the Newsom landholding during the latter half of 1855. Limited personal recollections and family lore, second-hand

references to subsidiary judicial proceedings, returns of the Missouri State Census, and records of the estate of Robert Newsom do contribute to the narrative, but lack the dramatic element infusing the legal documents and contemporaneous newspaper accounts. The value of the historical assemblage's mundane fraction is in its potential to provide context, not only for later events of a dramatic nature, but for the site as a whole and ultimately its historiography.

The Missouri State Census of 1852 indicates that in September of that year there were eight "free white persons" resident in the Newsom dwelling house (Weant 2006:25). Robert Newsom, then nearly sixty-three years of age, continued to shelter his thirty-three year old widowed daughter Virginia and her four children, including James Coffee Winscott, eight years old; Thomas, six; Amelia Elizabeth, four; and William Jessie Winscott, just under two years of age (Grover 2013a:23). Nineteen year-old David Newsom remained in his father's house, as did his sister Polly, sixteen. Robert's niece, Sarah Boggs, appears to have returned to her own home.

Harvey Newsom (Figure 20) and his son John had departed Robert's farmstead during the summer of 1852 following his eventual recovery from Jemima's untimely passing. Harvey, then in his late thirties, courted a local widow two years his senior; in July 1852, he married Mrs. Miranda (Powell) Griggs and settled on lands owned by his father, just on the western side of the old Cote Sans Dessein-to-Fulton road (Edwards Brothers of Missouri 1876:41; Newsom 1893b:4-6). In addition to enumerating Harvey as the head of his own household, the census taker for the 1852 Missouri State Census indicated that Harvey and his recent bride were in possession of a single male bondsperson (Weant 2006:25).

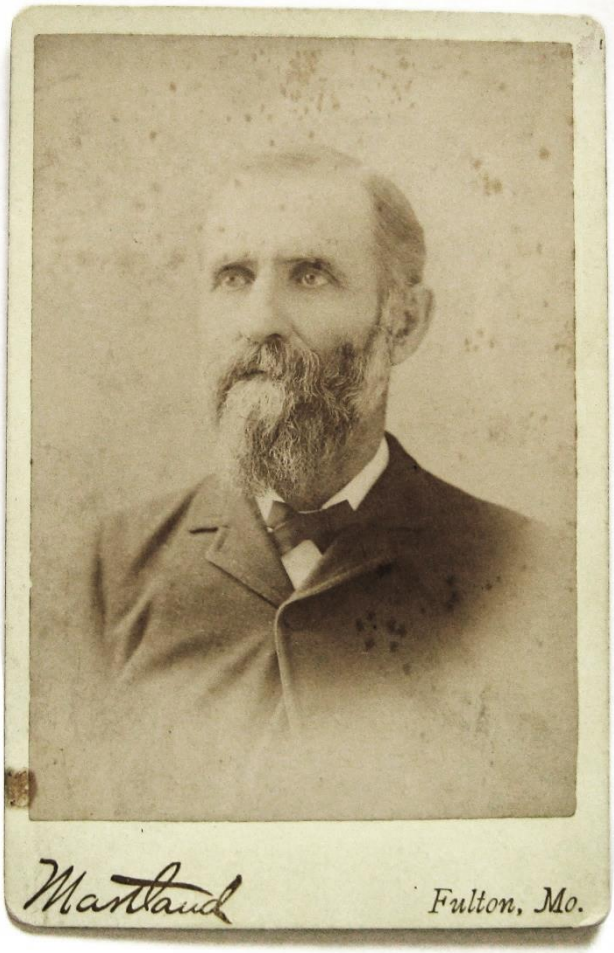


Figure 20. Harvey Newsom, ca. 1870s. From the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

By September 1852, Robert Newsom's population of enslaved males had been substantially reduced from five to two. While Milton and George are referenced in legal and family documents as being among Robert's holdings in the years to follow (e.g., Tincher and Newsom 1855:1; Newsom 1912:102), Lewis no longer appears as a resident on Newsom's property. Neither does the unidentified adult male described in the 1850 U.S. Census—provisionally identified as Dick or Jingo—or the anonymous juvenile bondsperson referenced in the same return.

The mechanism of Lewis' departure from the Newsom home is relatively clear, though not without a degree of uncertainty. Following the death of Robert's wife Elizabeth, who had strongly opposed Newsom's desire to transfer Lewis to their eldest son Harvey (Norman 1958b:4), the prohibition against doing so no longer applied. While the precise date of Lewis' relocation is unknown, it does not appear to have occurred prior to the 1848 Missouri State Census (Weant 2005:31), at which time Harvey's household did not possess any bondspeople. It is more likely that Lewis' transfer postdated Elizabeth's passing in July 1849, and may have been associated with Harvey's July 1852 marriage to Miranda (Powell) Griggs and establishment of his own household. By the time of the September 1852 enumeration of the Missouri State Census, a single male bondsperson was already in Harvey's possession (Weant 2006:25). What became of the missing enslaved youth noted above is far less certain.

Annie B. Norman (personal communication, June 23, 2014), great-great-granddaughter of Robert Newsom, recalls a narrative passed down to her concerning Virginia Winscott, though the time period during which the events related is not defined.

> Aunt Ginny was not feeling well, but…she was outside reclining in the yard on a pallet, and…she heard one of the little children hollering out that one of them [an enslaved child] had fallen down the well, and she jumped right up and climbed down on the rocky edges of the well which was on ground level and rescued the child, and rolled the child over a barrel…she had heard that…but anyway, the child could not be saved…this was told to me by one of the cousins on the Dunham side.

Over the course of the site's history, there must have been many opportunities for accident, disease, and other forms of misadventure to claim their victims, both free and enslaved. Whether the above-related tale accounts for the absent youth is not known, nor

is it likely to be confirmed or refuted barring discovery of a textual reference. The anecdote is included here for two reasons: firstly, it helps contextualize life—and death—on the Newsom landholding while providing an additional measure of dimensionality to Virginia Winscott, difficult tasks given the nature of the documents available for review. Secondly, and more significantly, it is the only known reference to the passing of a bondsperson on the landholding, and may help explain one of several features observed within the Newsom family burying ground.

The September 1852 Missouri State Census (Weant 2006:25) indicates that Robert's population of enslaved males had declined by sixty percent following the United States Census of 1850, although Milton and George continued to remain in Newsom's possession. By that time, both had resided on the landholding for approximately 12 years (Tincher and Newsom 1855:1; Newsom 1912:102). The 1852 state return also documents the presence of a comparatively recent addition to the Newsom farmstead: a solitary female bondsperson whose troubled life would see her swept in a few short years from the auction block to the gallows.

A Negro Woman

The headline simply reads, "FIENDISH MURDER"; the byline, "Correspondent of the *Daily Missouri Republican*," a St. Louis broadsheet.

Fulton, June 25, 1855

> A most violent act was committed on the person of Robert Newsom, of this county, on Saturday night last, 23d inst., at his residence, eight miles South of this. He was murdered by one of his own slaves, a negro woman, in the kitchen—supposed, some time during the night—and his body entirely consumed by fire in the kitchen fire-place, and the ashes taken up next morning and deposited in the back yard. His body appears, so far as discovery can be

made, to have been entirely consumed, except a few small bones, found in the pile of ashes, including a part of his skull bone and the extremities of some of his fingers. The murder was committed without sufficient cause, so far as I can hear. Mr. Newsom was an old citizen of the county, about sixty years of age, and very active and energetic in his business. He possessed a valuable farm, and had accumulated a very valuable estate. The woman confessed to the murder on Sunday (yesterday) evening, and is in the hands of the law.

Later.—Mr. Newsom, when the family retired, was left at his table reading a newspaper. None of the family heard any disturbance during the night, although the kitchen was within a few feet of the dwelling. He was absent at breakfast on Sunday morning (yesterday) and the family, for the first time, became alarmed, and called in the neighbors, who continued to look for him until the afternoon, when suspicion fell on the woman, who confessed, and showed the ash pile, where the remnant of bones were found. The ash pile had not before been noticed, and would not have been, if she had not directed attention to it.

Daily Missouri Republican, June 28, 1855[20]
Volume 33, No. 152, p. 2

Between the August enumeration of the 1850 United States Census for Callaway County and the Missouri State census taker's visit to his home in September 1852, Robert Newsom made the twenty-three mile trip north to Audrain County, and therein acquired a young bondswoman called Celia.[21] It is not known if she was offered for sale in the courthouse yard at the county seat in Mexico, Missouri, or if she was acquired elsewhere, possibly from an acquaintance familiar to Robert as a result of his previous landholdings in the county. The precise date of her acquisition is not recorded in the available documents; however she was a resident of the Newsom landholding by September 1852 (Weant 2006:25).

[20] The above article was also printed in the Monday, July 2, 1855 edition of the *New York Times* (Grover 2013b).
[21] State of Missouri vs Celia, a Slave, File No. 4,496 (hereafter referred to as "Celia, File No. 4,496"); Testimony in chief of Jefferson Jones, October 10, 1855.

The record of Celia's trial for the murder Robert Newsom, contained in the files of the Callaway County Circuit Court for the October 1855 Term as well as in newspaper accounts capitalizing on the case's notoriety, were considered during the current research for two purposes of equal import. Firstly, witness statements and summaries of testimony were examined in order to clarify our current understanding of the physical layout of the Newsom Farmstead site through references to structures that may have been present there. Secondly, the record was evaluated in hopes of obtaining further understanding of the lives of those dwelling on the landholding, both free and enslaved. The purpose was decidedly not to litigate the case or to provide a technically nuanced legal analysis of the multiple issues addressed therein, though pursuit of such analyses continues to be worthwhile. As a consequence, witness statements, trial testimony, and newspaper accounts are referred to primarily with respect to their capacity to inform our understanding of the site and the lives of those who lived there and as a means of contextualizing the tumult that resulted from Robert's killing.

The earliest known scholarly reference to Robert Newsom and Celia appears in the Ph.D. dissertation of Harrison Anthony Trexler (1914:72-73), though it is literally a footnote in the published manuscript. The earliest widely distributed work is a 1956 chronicle of events by Callaway County Magistrate Judge Hugh P. Williamson (1956:408-420) based on the original case file compiled during Celia's trial for the murder of Robert Newsom, held in October 1855. First appearing in the *Midwest Journal*, "The State against Celia, a Slave" was published several more times under various iterations (Williamson 1960:11-37; 1964:78-87; 1967:17-19; 1968:158-173).

In attempting to construct a dramatic narrative of events that transpired on the Newsom landholding, Melton A. McLaurin, author of the 1991 book-length study "Celia, a Slave," also relied heavily on the records of judicial proceedings found in the archives of the Callaway County Circuit Court in Fulton, Missouri. He did so by necessity: then as now, very few additional historical sources relating to the young bondswoman's existence have been identified, most of those being newspaper accounts of questionable basis. While the popular success of McLaurin's work has ensured widespread awareness of the Newsom-Celia case, it has also resulted in a perpetuation of assumptions about their lives made by those who have depended so heavily on the court documents or works stemming from them—assumptions that while certainly reasonable, are not necessarily factual. Celia herself was prohibited from testifying in her own defense, both as a function of her race (Frazier 2001:31, 66, 77) and due to the "Interested Party Rule" under common law; as a consequence, with limited exceptions her statements were conveyed to the court second-hand by free white witnesses presumed to have their own agendas.

Celia is frequently depicted as having been thirteen or fourteen years old when Robert procured her from Audrain County (e.g., Burke 2010:189; Frazier 2001:185; Green et al. 1993:48; Higginbotham 1989:680; McLaurin 1991:11; Williamson 1956:408). Oft-cited estimates of the young bondswoman's age at the time of her purchase appear to have been deduced from legal testimony referencing Celia's July 1855 jailhouse interrogation, during which she purportedly claimed to be "about" nineteen years of age.[22] The calculation presumes that Celia arrived on the Newsom landholding shortly after the August 1850 enumeration of the U.S. Census. While her assumed age

[22] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of Jefferson Jones, October 10, 1855.

may be entirely accurate and/or documented within sources not currently available, it is also theoretically possible that Celia was procured from Audrain County closer to the September 1852 enumeration of the Missouri State Census, when she would have been approximately sixteen years old.

As pointed out by McLaurin (1991:11), the existing record reveals very little of Celia's history prior to her arrival on the Newsom landholding, save her county of purchase; little more than that is known of her day-to-day interactions with those who dwelled at the Newsom farmstead following her arrival there. References to Celia or the events that followed her acquisition are conspicuously absent from the family journals/journal excerpts that have been reviewed to date.

Presumably, the young bondswoman was expected to assist Robert's daughters, Virginia Winscott and Polly Newsom, with domestic responsibilities and to help tend Virginia's four young children, who in 1852 ranged from eight to two years of age (Grover 2013a:23). It has also been reasonably assumed that at least a portion of Celia's assigned duties on the farm included kitchen-work (McLaurin 1991:11, 28). Referring to his role in the June 24, 1855, search for Robert Newsom, William F. Powell, a brother of Harvey's second wife Miranda (Newsom 1896:3), testified at Celia's trial that he "went into the cook-house where Celia was" to question her as to Newsom's whereabouts.[23] Not only does Powell's statement hint at a portion of Celia's possible day-to-day responsibilities on the landholding, but it also appears to confirm the existence of an exterior kitchen, as implied by the December 1832 "Waugh and Dorsey" list in Robert's account book, which detailed items fabricated for Newsom's brick home during its construction (Newsom 1888b:6).

[23] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of William Powell, October 10, 1855.

The constraints of limited source material, particularly as it relates to the Newsom bondspeople, have required those researching the history of the landholding to perform leaps of intuition which at times are mildly acrobatic. Occasionally, however, the historical record is relatively unambiguous.

When he went to the Fulton jail to convene with Celia at the request of several citizens in early July 1855, the intent of "Colonel" Jefferson F. Jones, a prominent Callaway County member of the bar, political figure, and eventual militia leader (Bell 1913:302), was to "ascertain whether she had any accomplices" in Newsom's alleged murder.[24] In response to questions put to him by counsel for the defense during Celia's trial, none of which were recorded by the court clerk, Jones replied: "She said the old man had had sexual intercourse with her. Her second child was his. The deceased bought her in Audrain County. Can't say positively whether Celia said that deceased had forced her, on the way home from Audrain County. Have heard that he did, but do not know with certainty whether she told me so."[25]

Article III, Section 26 of the State Constitution of Missouri, passed on July 19, 1820, required the state general assembly to pass laws to "oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, and to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life or limb" (General Assembly of the State of Missouri 1825:3, 48); however, during the slavery period no jury in the state would impose a felony conviction on any white person accused of any crime, no matter how monstrous, against a person of color, enslaved or free (Frazier 2001:127). In practice, therefore, Robert Newsom's absolute power over Celia's physical being left her fully vulnerable to his assaults, and he availed himself of

[24] Celia, File No. 4,496: Testimony in chief of Jefferson Jones, October 10, 1855.
[25] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of Jefferson Jones, October 10, 1855.

her person on more than one occasion; that he did so has never been credibly repudiated, neither during her trial in October 1855 nor since. It also appears that Robert's abuse of Celia began immediately following her acquisition, prior even to their arrival at Newsom's Callaway County farmstead.

We have no way of knowing if Newsom's conduct toward the young bondswoman affirms that he had deliberately "set out to purchase a replacement for his wife" when he traveled northward into Audrain County to acquire her, or if he regarded Celia "primarily as his concubine" instead of a domestic servant, as has been suggested by McLaurin (1991:21, 28). Whether Robert Newsom's treatment of Celia required the overtly predacious aspect he has been imbued with at times is beyond the capacity of the existing historical record to clarify; there is no doubt, however, that Newsom viewed Celia as his personal property to do with as he chose, notwithstanding her lack of consent. Across the South, physical encounters of the sort that occurred between Celia and Robert resulted from "vastly unequal relationships of power that at their foundations rested on the threat of violence" (Burke 2010:189). Given the state's complicity in establishing such relationships, Celia had no feasible recourse under the law through which to peaceably assert the inviolability of her person.

The inventory of Robert Newsom's estate was prepared following assignment of administrators in July 1855;[26] it was filed with the Callaway County Probate Court in September of that year. The document reveals that in addition to the other bondspeople held at the time of his death, Newsom possessed one three year-old enslaved girl named Vine (or possibly "Vina") and a second bonded girl one and a-half years old, called Jane

[26] Probate Court of Callaway County, Missouri Permanent Index of Estates, Record Book F, Page 7; July 14, 1855. Callaway County Circuit Court, Fulton, Missouri.

(Tincher and Newsom 1855:1). The birth of Celia's first child, Vine, almost certainly post-dated the Missouri State Census enumeration of September 1852, though it must be presumed that Celia was pregnant with her at that time and gave birth shortly thereafter, during the late summer or early fall of 1852. If such was the case, Vine would indeed be approximately three years of age by the time Newsom's estate was inventoried during the summer or early fall of 1855; it also presumes that the child was conceived during the winter of 1851. Because the date of Celia's acquisition is uncertain, there is simply no way of knowing if the opportunity existed for Vine to have been fathered by Robert or either of his adult sons, by one of his bondsmen, or by someone dwelling at or near her prior residence in Audrain County. If Celia's second child, Jane, was indeed approximately one and a-half years old when Newsom's estate was inventoried during the summer of 1855, her conception would have occurred sometime during the mid-summer of 1853; her birth during the early spring of 1854.

According to the trial testimony of Jefferson Jones noted above, Celia stated to him that her *second* child had been fathered by Robert Newsom;[27] no attempt appears to have been made by counsel for the defense to clarify the paternity of Vine, Celia's first child, which may indicate that they saw little benefit to their case in doing so. Apparently, however, the fact that Robert was the father of Jane was relevant to their defense.

Taken Sick

During the spring of 1855, seven family members continued to reside in Robert Newsom's dwelling house, including his daughter Virginia Winscott and her four

[27] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of Jefferson Jones, October 10, 1855.

children: James Coffee, Thomas, Amelia Elizabeth, and William "Billy" Winscott. David Newsom and Robert's youngest daughter Polly also remained in the home (Norman 1964:5).

Of Robert's bondspeople, Milton—at one time purported to be fond of playing his bugle from atop the Newsom barn on quiet summer evenings (Dunham Nd:1)—had "become rebellious as a slave," and was sold by Newsom to a gentleman named Jo Saufley, of Saline County, Missouri, for $1,000 (Newsom 1912:103). George continued on at the farmstead, as well as nineteen year old Celia and her two children: Vine, approximately three years of age, and Jane, one and a-half. Celia was expecting a third child, and was described by Virginia Winscott as having "taken ill" in February of that year; she had remained sick ever since, and had been unable to work.[28] While it is not stated in the available records, it seems likely that the onset of Celia's "illness" followed conception of her third child in almost as many years.

Amongst the papers of Newsom's estate was a bill for fees due "A. Kemper," possibly Absalom Kemper, a local property-owner frequently appearing in Robert's account book (Newsom 1888b:15, 19, 23). Made out to the estate of Robert Newsom, one of the entries upon it reads, "1854 [for] medical attention to dau. Mary," for which Newsom was billed $10; a second entry reads, "1855 [for] medical attention to negro woman," representing a debit of $1.50.[29] Although the bill is marked "Paid," it is not known if Kemper was able to provide for either Mary or Celia's relief.

Meanwhile, David Newsom (Figure 21) was busily preparing to marry the daughter of a local farmer, and may have had his eye out for neighboring lands upon

[28] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of Virginia Winscott, October 10, 1855.
[29] Estate Papers of Robert Newsom, Callaway County Probate Court Box 141, Bundle 16; Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, Fulton, Missouri.

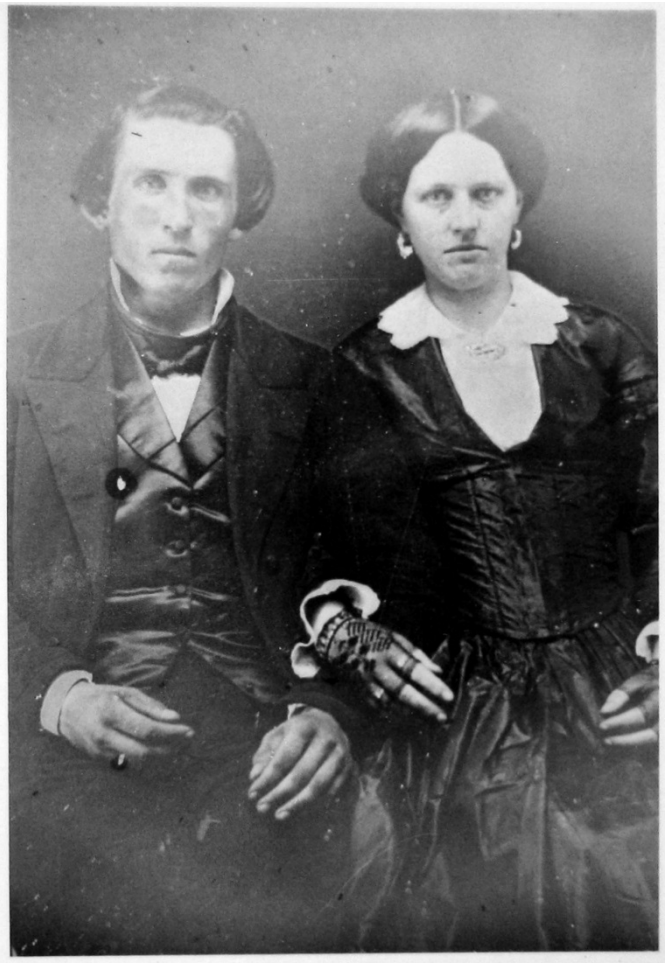


Figure 21. David and Mary Ann (Dunham) Newsom, April 27, 1855. Photographic reprint of daguerreotype from the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

which to establish his own household. On April 26, 1855, at five o'clock P.M., he was joined in marriage to Miss Mary Ann Dunham at the home of her father, Daniel Dunham, two miles east of Fulton (Newsom 1912:36). Nearly three decades after their wedding, David Newsom (1912:6) wrote of his wife Ann:

> Today 28 years ago I was married. Many are the changes and many the cares since then. I have no desire to go over the same road again. It is too hard. Then I was young—now I am old. But the race will soon be o'er and I shall be done and return to my Father, God. It was a happy union between Ann & myself. She still lives to cheer me. She has been my only joy during all this

> time, and may she be spared longer than myself. She is as true a wife as ever blessed any man and I am still after 28 years trial in love with her as when she was young and my sweetheart.

Following the wedding, Robert made a gift of the proceeds of Milton's sale to his son and new daughter-in-law; shortly thereafter, David traveled to Saline County to collect the amount due. He brought the money home two weeks before his father's death.

She Made Threats

Although the original documents are not currently available (Judy Groner, personal communication, January 30, 2014), Judge Hugh P. Williamson's chronicle of Callaway County "slave crimes," included in his self-published history of the "Kingdom of Callaway" (1967), again proves useful by providing a verbatim account of events not addressed elsewhere. On July 18, 1855, Newsom's bondsman George was called before the Callaway County Grand Jury to testify in the matter of Malinda (Williamson 1967:20-21), a neighboring bondswoman under suspicion of being an accessory to the murder of Robert Newsom. As inscribed by the clerk of the court and transcribed by Williamson from the original, the record states:

> George, a Slave of the Estate of Robert Newsom, Deceased, being Produced sworn and examined on the part of the State deposeth, and saith that I am acquainted with Malinda slave of Jordan Bush of Callaway County State of Missouri and saw her at Mr. Robert Newsoms about the time of Sheep Shearing last Spring Malinda came there on Tuesday and left on Friday or Saturday following. Malinda stayed in the same room that the girl now charged with murder of Mr. Newsom did while she remained there I stayed in an adjoining room where Malinda and Celia the girl above mentioned did the rooms we stayed in were separated by a brick wall the wall did not reach the roof. I could hear from my room any conversation going on in the room where Malinda & Celia was if there was no noise I heard them talking to each other during Several nights they appeared to be talking about something they did not want

> me to hear. I heard them say they would do something to he or him I was at that time playing my fiddle and when I stopped playing they would say to me play on that they did not want me to hear what they were talking about and said they were not talking about me (towit) Witneys [witness] the above conversations were going on every night Malinda was at Mr. Newsoms, these conversations took place about four weeks before Mr. Newsom was killed, the girl there was talking with Malinda is the same girl now charged with the murder of Mr. Newsome. Malinda came back to Mr. Newsoms about one week after the time above mentioned. She stayed until evening, and I Witneys went home with her, on the way home Malinda said to me that if she was in Celias place she would knock Newsom so dead he would not know himself…further this [affiant] saith not.

Again, one can only imagine what the complete record of testimony adduced in the case might disclose were it available for study. Still, the clerk's notes of George's remarks yield several facts about life on the Newsom landholding during the spring and early summer of 1855. For a time, at least, Celia, Malinda, and George were openly occupying two separate rooms of what appears to have been a single, partitioned brick structure, presumably Celia's cabin. Given George's fiddle-playing lack of surreptitiousness, his presence in those quarters was likely known or mandated by Newsom, whose repeated assaults on Celia had extended well into her third pregnancy. The young bondswoman unambiguously communicated the facts of her mistreatment to Malinda, who appears to have been a sympathetic audience; George, who had been "staying with Celia," purportedly informed her that "…he would have nothing more to do with her if she did not quit the old man."[30] Ultimately, Malinda was not indicted by the Grand Jury.

At some point prior to the evening of June 23, 1855, Celia attempted to bring a halt to her violation by confronting Newsom directly; she also warned Newsom's family

[30] Celia, File No. 4,496: Testimony in chief of Jefferson Jones, October 10, 1855.

members that she would no longer tolerate his abuse. William F. Powell, describing his June 24, 1855 questioning of Celia, testified as follows:[31]

> She [Celia] said she had made threats. Said she'd threatened him that she would hurt him on the condition that he would not leave her alone. Threatened to hurt him, not kill him. She said she wanted to hurt him, not to kill him. I asked her if she had told anyone she would hurt him, said she had told the white family. She said that she had threatened that she would hurt him if he did not quit forcing her while she was sick.

It is not known how openly these events were being played out on the Newsom family stage. As Burke (2010:190-191) and McLaurin (1991:32-33) write, it is likely that Virginia Winscott and Polly Newsom, at the very least, were aware of their father's treatment of Celia; while such knowledge may have created tremendous strain within the family, the two were largely powerless to do anything to thwart Robert's behavior. Virginia and Polly were also subordinates in their father's household, each of them—including Virginia's four children—economically and socially dependent on Newsom and therefore unlikely to intervene decisively against him on Celia's behalf. Whether Milton's "rebelliousness as a slave" and his sudden removal from Callaway County after approximately fifteen years on the landholding had anything to do with an attempt to halt Celia's misuse is not known.

The Negro Cabin

On July 29, 1855, Harvey Newsom composed a letter to the *Daily Missouri Republican* in which he took issue with a June 25, 1855, article that appeared in the St. Louis paper, transcribed above. Newsom writes:

[31] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of William Powell, October 10, 1855.

Fulton, Mo., July 29, 1855

Editor Missouri Republican:

In your issue of July 3d, headed "Fiendish Murder," and dated Fulton, June 25th ult., an article in regard to said murder needs correction. It reads thus: "Mr. Newsom, when the family retired, was left reading a newspaper, at his table." So far, correct. "None of the family heard any disturbance during the night," (correct) "although the kitchen was within a few feet of the dwelling." Now, I suppose the kitchen above alluded to is intended to mean the negro cabin where the process of burning and destroying the body of the murdered man took place. It is therefore incorrect. The negro cabin where the burning of the body of Mr. Newsom took place, is distant from the dwelling about fifty yards, and surrounded by cherry and pear trees. One door, only half fronting the dwelling, and no windows, the building of brick, one story and low. This, although unintentional on the part of your Fulton correspondent, is calculated to give a wrong impression to the public mind, and I hope, in justice to the family, you will make a correction.

Yours, H. NEWSOM.

Daily Missouri Republican, August 2, 1855
Volume 33, No. 181, p.2

The purpose of Harvey's correspondence was to establish that the killing of Robert Newsom and burning of his remains did not occur in a blatantly conspicuous location that should have fallen within the family's notice, as implied by the *Daily Republican*. In so doing, he has also provided a very specific though somewhat limited description of the site's core area. Newsom confirms that Robert's death occurred not in the kitchen/cook-house, but in Celia's quarters, referred to here as the "negro cabin," a distinct, one story brick structure located about fifty yards from Robert's house in a grove of cherry and pear trees. His words, presumably chosen with care, indicate that the cabin had a single entrance that faced the dwelling house only obliquely, there being no windows on that side of the structure.

By What Mechanism: Inquest

Selectively annotated transcriptions of the original records of statements and testimony given at both inquest and trial concerning the events of June 23–24, 1855, are included below. After extended consideration, said format was determined to be more useful with regard to the goals of the current research than construction of a linear narrative of the proceedings against Celia, several of which have been composed by capable researchers. For the reader desiring far more thorough and eloquently written discussions of the social, political, and legal issues surrounding "The State of Missouri against Celia, a Slave" than are provided herein, Frazier (2001:184-194), Higginbotham (1989:680-696), McLaurin (1991), and Williamson (1956; 1964; 1967; 1968) should be considered valued sources. The original records of the State of Missouri against Celia, a Slave, File No. 4,496, have been professionally conserved and are in the care of the Callaway County Circuit Clerk in Fulton, Missouri.

The inquest into Robert Newsom's death was convened by warrant of two justices of the peace for Cedar Township, Callaway County, Missouri, on June 25, 1855. Charged to inquire into how and by whose hands or by what cause Newsom came to his death, a jury of "six good and lawful men, householders," was summoned to consider the testimony of four witnesses before rendering its finding of fact.[32] Held the day following discovery of Newsom's death, the inquest lacked an adversarial system of questioning designed to elicit contrary or exculpatory evidence on behalf of the accused. Its sole purpose was to determine by what mechanism the bodily remains of Robert Newsom came to be before its members and whether Newsom's death likely resulted from a

[32] Celia, File No. 4,496: Records of Inquest, June 25, 1855

felonious act, nothing more (General Assembly of the State of Missouri 1845:589-592). The following affidavit and statements of witnesses were filed with the clerk of the Callaway County Circuit Court on June 28, 1855.

[Affidavit]

State of Missouri County of Callaway} David Newsom being duly sworn says he has reason to believe and does believe that on or about the 23rd day of June 1855 at the County of Callaway aforesaid Robert Newsom late of said county was feloniously and willfully murdered and this affiant has cause to suspect and believe and does suspect and believe that one negro woman named Celia a slave of the said Robert Newsom did at the County aforesaid feloniously, willfully and of her malice aforethought, with a club or some other weapon strike and mortally wound said Robert Newsom of which wound or wounds the said Robert Newsom instantly died.

David Newsom

[Statements of Witnesses]

In an inquest over the body or remains of a body before DM Whyte & IP Howe Justices of the Peace taken at the late residence of Robert Newsom June 25th 1855

William F Powell being duly sworn says hearing on the 24th day of June 1855 that Mr Robert Newsom was missing I went over to his house with other neighbors to assist in searching for him, after looking about for him I asked his negro boy George where he thought he was, he stated that he did not believe it was worthwhile to hunt for him anywhere except close around the house for he had reasons to believe he was not far off. I told him he had better go and show us the old man if he knew where he was, he stated he did not know where he was but stated he believed the last walking he done was along this path pointing to the path leading from the house to the negro cabin. From the statements of George I believed he had been destroyed in the negro cabin. I went to the cabin with others to search, but we made no discovery, after searching we called up Mr Robt Newsoms negro woman Celia and asked her if she knew anything of her master she first denied knowing anything of him, but finally acknowledged that she struck him on the head with a stick and knocked him down, and then struck him once after he was down she said she found out she had killed him and thought she would throw him out at the door, but got afraid she would be hung for it & concluded she would try and burn him up so that he could not be found. She said she burnt him ~~in the fire place~~[33] in the negro cabin, with one stick of wood [possibly the weapon] and some boards. She said she found she

[33] Where it is legible, overstruck testimony has been included in the transcriptions.

could not entirely consume the bones ~~by morning~~. She then pummeled them to pieces and her and Coffee Wainscott Mr Robt Newsoms grandson [illegible] carried the contents of the fireplace out and emptied them by the side of the path running from the cabin to the stable[34] myself & others then went and examined the said ashes and contents & found bones which we believed to be human bones. The bones here presented was part of them that I saw, which I believed to be the bones of Mr Robt Newsom as we found them where she said she had put them. She said there was no person at the cabin that night but Mr Robert Newsom and her children, and that she had no assistance in killing him.

W^{m} F Powell

James Coffee Wainscott being duly sworn deposeth and saith that it was after broad day light when he helped Celia take the ashes out of the fireplace in the cabin on Sunday morning of June the 24th 1855 and that she gave him over two dozen walnuts to help her carry them out and that they emptied them on the right hand of the path leading from the cabin to the stable. I did not notice any bones in the ashes when we emptied them out.

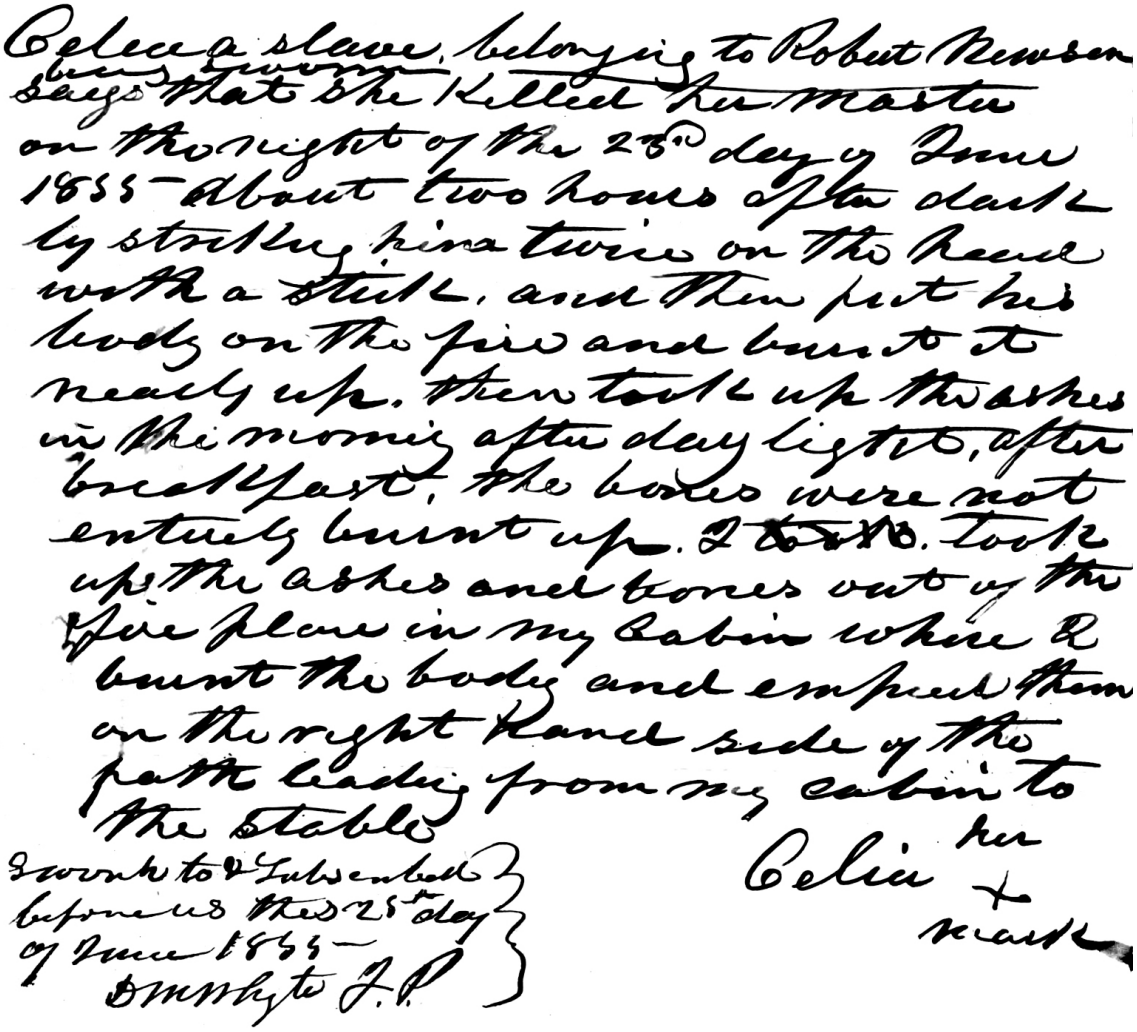
his
James X C Wainscott
mark

Celia a slave belonging to Robert Newsom being sworn says that she killed her master on the night of the 23rd day of June 1855 about two hours after dark by striking him twice on the head with a stick, and then put his body on the fire and burnt it nearly up, then took up the ashes in the morning after day light, after breakfast. The bones were not entirely burnt up. I took up the ashes and bones out of the fire place in my cabin where I burnt the body and emptied them on the right hand side of the path leading from my cabin to the stable.

her
Celia X
Mark

The statement Celia put her mark to during the inquest into Robert Newsom's death (Figure 22) was not intended as a comprehensive version of the events that transpired on the evening of June 23, 1855; it merely provided the barest facts as they were then known. Unable to sign her name and without representation, Celia may or may

[34] The location of said stable has not been determined, to date.



Celia a slave, belonging to Robert Newsom being sworn says that she killed her master on the night of the 25th day of June 1855 – about two hours after dark by striking him twice on the head with a stick, and then put his body on the fire and burnt it nearly up. then took up the ashes in the morning after day light, after breakfast. the bones were not entirely burnt up. I took up the ashes and bones out of the fire place in my Cabin where I burnt the body and emptied them on the right hand side of the path leading from my cabin to the stable

Celia her + mark

Sworn to & subscribed before us this 25th day of June 1855 –
D M Whyte J.P.

Figure 22. Transcribed statement of Celia given during the inquest into Robert Newsom's death, June 25, 1855. Black & white rendering of scanned image. State of Missouri against Celia, a Slave; File No. 4,496. Callaway County Circuit Court, Fulton, Missouri.

not have understood the substance of the document that bore her wavering endorsement; she would have to wait for the trial to which she was entitled under Article III, Section 28 of the Missouri State Constitution (General Assembly of the State of Missouri 1825:48) for a legal defense to be mounted on her behalf. Until such time, she was remanded to the common jail in Fulton, Missouri, to await her trial.

We Think the Whole Story Very Improbable

Although the calculation falls short by two days, a single entry in the account book/family bible passed by his father to Harvey Newsom reveals all that is known with certainty about Robert's death. Newsom (1888a:n.p.) writes, "Robert Newsom fourth son of Wm Newsom / born October 6 1789 & died June 23 AD 1855 / aged sixty five years 8 months 15 days".

Formal and informal discussions with descendants of the Newsom family, interested historical researchers, and an extensive though non-systematic review of cached electronic exchanges on descendant genealogical boards and other websites focusing on Celia's prosecution have revealed a wide variety of opinions regarding Robert's death and the young bondswoman's role in it. Two themes are common among them: it is assumed that the human interactions occurring at the Newsom landholding must have been far more complicated than is apparent in the available historical record, and nearly all question whether Celia acted alone in dispatching Newsom and disposing of his physical remains.

Nor are such views limited to twentieth and twenty-first century interpretations of the case. An article originally appearing during late June or early July 1855 in the weekly *Fulton Telegraph*, a publication of which very few examples of which have survived, was featured in the *Missouri Whig* (Palmyra, Missouri) on July 12, 1855, in which Newsom's alleged murder and subsequent events were described. As quoted by the *Whig*, the unnamed correspondent for the *Telegraph* wrote of Celia's professedly single-handed role in the matter: "We think the whole story very improbable, and believe

that she must have had some assistance. She stoutly denies having had any aid, and says she has disclosed all the facts in the case."[35]

The skepticism expressed by the correspondent for the *Fulton Telegraph* was not limited to journalists contemporaneously writing about the case. As indicated by a brief reference in Hugh P. Williamson's "Kingdom of Callaway" (1967), action against Newsom's bondsman George, accused of being complicit in the murder of Robert Newsom, was initiated on October 18, 1855, in the Justice of the Peace Court, Thomas Patton, J.P., presiding. Williamson (1967:19-20) quotes directly from the original record, currently unavailable:

> The warrant issued in this cause was this date returned by the sheriff served by bringing the body of the said George before me. The justice proceeded into the examination of the cause, William Powell examined, and it is considered by the justice that the evidence is insufficient to convict the defendant and that he is discharged from custody and the cause continued.

Lives of Their Own

In the midst of turmoil resulting from the alleged murder of Robert Newsom, Newsom's adult children endured and continued forging lives of their own. Whether her courtship and engagement were lengthy or of relatively brief duration is not known; however Robert's youngest daughter Polly, then nineteen, married Irvin Hockaday Dunham, her brother-in-law by David's wife, on July 26, 1855, a scant month after her father's death (Grover 2013a:26; Norman 1958a:1). Absent a historical record describing the event, one is left to speculate as to whether the occasion was a joyous one, a solemn one, or perhaps a little of both.

[35] Missouri Whig, July 12, 1855. Volume 37, No. 1, p. 2

Meanwhile, David Newsom and his brother-in-law Hugh Tincher were appointed administrators of Robert's estate. They began the invasive and tedious process of examining Newsom's "books, papers, and monies";[36] the resultant inventory of Robert's real property, personal assets, and debts was used to prepare a comprehensive appraisement of the estate, its value to be calculated by neutral third-parties. In accordance with Missouri statute (General Assembly of the State of Missouri 1845:100), because Robert had died intestate and an equal division of his lands, remaining bondspeople, and personal property could not be made in kind, his estate was liquidated item-by-item; once all outstanding debts had been settled, the proceeds were divided equally amongst his heirs, a process that would take several years.

Winnifred B. Rothenberg (1984:106), an economics historian, describes the informative power of such probate inventories in addressing broad issues of social science, such as their utility in comparative studies involving standards of living as well as examination of the pace and diffusion of technological change. She also describes their limitations, writing, "Even at its very best, an inventory is but the still life of an enterprise, farm, or household stopped in time, its 'ongoingness' frozen at the moment of death." In Rothenberg's view, property and possessions flow from person to person over time; in the case of probate inventories, however, such flows are "stilled, observable only after the fact" as static catalogs of possessions, oftentimes diminished by what may have been prolonged illness prior to death.

Had Robert Newsom suffered the extended decline of a long, wasting illness, it is possible that his assets could have been reduced or otherwise modified through sale or

[36] Probate Court of Callaway County, Missouri Permanent Index of Estates, Record Book F, Page 7; July 14, 1855. Callaway County Circuit Court, Fulton, Missouri

distribution prior to their itemization, as Rothenberg cautions. Due to the suddenness of Newsom's passing, however, the inventory and appraisement of his estate provide a glimpse of Robert's assets and obligations as they existed during the course of his day-to-day existence. The data captured therein, at times nearly an eerie tour of his property, are complimentary to those preserved in Robert's daybook, and serve not only to confirm the portrait of everyday life on the Newsom landholding revealed through account transactions and journal entries, but to extend them. Transcriptions of Newsom's personal property inventory and appraisement are presented in Appendix C and D, respectively.

Interminable and Frightening

Lingering in the Fulton common jail since June 25, 1855,[37] separated from her young children Vine and Jane and possibly still suffering the ill effects of her pregnancy, Celia's wait for the October term of the Callaway County Circuit Court must have been an interminable and frightening one. During the first week in July 1855, she was interviewed by Colonel Jefferson Jones[38] in company with Mr. Thomas Shoatman[39] at the request of several citizens of the county to determine whether Celia had indeed acted alone, as she'd maintained since the 24th of June. It is not known if Jones stood over Celia, who was seated in a Windsor chair while being questioned in the common jail,[40] or if Jones assumed a more sympathetic posture and addressed her from a less threatening

[37] Celia, File No. 4,496: document signed by Judge William A. Hall and Circuit Attorney R. G. Prewitt on April 18, 1856. Includes costs for "boarding prisoner," commencing from "25th June 1855."
[38] Celia, File No. 4,496: Testimony in chief of Jefferson Jones, October 10, 1855, during which Jones described his July, 1855 jail house interview with the defendant.
[39] Celia, File No. 4,496: Testimony in chief of Thomas Shoatman, October 10, 1855.
[40] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross examination of Jefferson Jones, October 10, 1855

vantage. Regardless, Celia did not change her story, and whether Colonel Jones departed satisfied in his understanding of the facts of the case or with remaining questions, the record does not specify.

The courthouse building in Fulton, Missouri, was constructed during 1827–28 and remained in service until 1856, at which time it was sold for $400, dismantled, and replaced. The original thirty-six-foot-square structure was built of brick and stood a full two stories high; the lower level, purported to have housed the courtroom, had brick floors. Comprising what many considered the finest courthouse west of the Mississippi River at the time, it was said to be a "model of neatness, comfort, and convenience." By the summer of 1855, however, the structure had been deemed obsolete, plans for its replacement had been drawn up, and its demolition had been approved (Bell 1913:289; Ohman 1981:1).

At half-past one o'clock on the afternoon of Wednesday, August 15, 1855, a Grand Jury was empaneled at a Special Term of the Callaway County Circuit Court, the Honorable William A. Hall presiding. After receiving a charge from the court in the matter of the State of Missouri against Celia, a Slave, the Grand Jury retired to consider its business. At half-past ten o'clock the following morning, Thursday, August 16, 1855, the Grand Jury returned a true bill against Celia for murder in the first degree, a crime punishable by death under Missouri law.[41] Upon issuance of the indictment secured by Circuit Attorney R. G. Prewitt, the administrators of Robert Newsom's estate, David Newsom and Hugh A. Tincher, refused to employ counsel to defend Celia. As a consequence, the Court appointed John Jameson, P.B. Reed, I.W. Boulware, and Nathan

[41] Revised Statues of the State of Missouri, Chapter 47, Article II, Section 3, p. 344.

Kouns, Esqrs, to consult with Celia in determining what course she would pursue: whether to plead "guilty" or submit to a prosecution.[42]

This Day Come

Record Book E of the Callaway County Circuit Court[43] contains the following entry, dated Tuesday, October 9, 1855:

> State of Missouri against Celia a Slave} Upon an indictment for murder in the first degree – This day come the Circuit attorney and the prisoner being brought into court in the custody of the Sheriff and being required to answer to Indictment says she is not guilty in manner and form as charged in the said indictment and for her trial puts herself upon the country, and thereupon come a jury, to wit, Geo. Hosman, Wm Givens, Wm Selby, Stephen Gilbert, Wm Loyd, Benja Sheets, Thos J Pratt, Jno Culburtson, W^{m} L Craig, W^{m} J Ficklin, W^{m} P Selby, & Saml Mattees, who being elected, tried and sworn well and truly to try the issue joined & there not being time to proceed farther today, the jury is adjourned until tomorrow morning 8 O clock & delivered into the custody of the sheriff after being charged by the Court not to separate and the prisoner is remanded to jail.

On the morning of Wednesday, October 10, 1855, Celia was escorted from the common jail to the aging confines of the Callaway County Circuit Court, there to stand trial for the murder of Robert Newsom, Judge William A. Hall presiding. The State of Missouri was represented by Circuit Attorney R. G. Prewitt; Celia's court-appointed counsel included John Jameson, Nathan Kouns, and Isaac Boulware.[44] Nine witnesses offered their testimony during the course of the proceedings,[45] which beginning to end

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[42] Callaway County Circuit Court Record Book E, 1851-1860, pp. 207-208; Celia, File No. 4,496: True Bill, filed August 16, 1855; *Fulton Telegraph* article appearing in the Hannibal Missouri *Tri-Weekly Messenger*, August 23, 1855, Volume 3, No. 135, p.2

[43] Callaway County Circuit Court Record Book E, 1851-1860, p. 216.

[44] Celia, File No. 4,496: Motion to Set Aside Verdict & Grant New Trial, Filed October 11, 1855. The motion was signed "Jameson, Kouns, & Boulware attys for Defendant." P. B. Reed appears to have been absent or otherwise reassigned.

[45] Celia, File No. 4,496: Record of Witness Testimony, October 10, 1855.

encompassed but a single day. Having endured nearly four months in the common jail awaiting trial, the culmination of Celia's legal ordeal must have seemed ineffably swift and final. The record begins:

> The State of Missouri Against Celia, a Slave} In the Callaway Circuit Court, October Term, 1855.
>
> Be it remembered that on the trial of the abovementioned cause in said court, the jury were empaneled & sworn to try the issue whether Defendant was guilty of the crime of murder charged against her, & that she having pleaded not guilty to said charge and announced herself ready for trial & put herself upon her God & her country, the following witnesses were introduced on the part of the state to testify against her.
>
> Jefferson F. Jones being sworn, stated on his examination in chief
>
> I went to the jail to convene with Celia (defendant) at the request of several citizens. The object of my conversation was to ascertain whether she had any accomplices in the crime. This was 8 or 10 days after she had been put into the jail.[46] I asked her whether she thought she would be hung for what she had done. She said she thought she would be hung. I then told her to tell the whole truth. She said the old man (Newsom, the deceased) had been having sexual intercourse with her. That he had told her he was coming down to her cabin that night. She told him not to come, and ~~if~~ that if he came she would hurt him. She then got a stick and put it in the corner. He came down that night. There was very little fire in the ~~kitchen~~ cabin. When she heard him coming she fixed the fire to make a little light. She said his face was towards her~~. She saw his face.~~ and he was standing talking to her when she struck him. He did not raise his hand when she went to strike the first blow but sunk down ~~towards~~ on a stool ~~or~~ towards the floor. Threw his hands up when he sunk down. She struck him with one hand – her right hand. The stick with which she struck was about as large as the ~~top~~ upper part of a Windsor chair, but not as long. She thought she did not kill him the first blow at the time of striking, but thought now that the first blow must have killed him. She said she struck the second blow because he groaned, ~~or because he~~ She was afraid he was not dead [~~illegible~~]. His face was towards her when she struck. I told her that it had been said she had struck the old man while he was getting in at the back window of her house,[47] and that he had fallen back on the outside. She answered that she had said so, but was in a state of excitement at the time, and that she had told two (or three) stories

[46] Celia was incarcerated on June 25, 1855, therefore Jones questioned her between July 3-5.
[47] Consistent with Harvey Newsom's description of the "negro cabin" as having no windows on the side facing Newsom's dwelling house; Harvey Newsom letter to the editor, *Daily Missouri Republican*, August 2, 1855, Volume 33, No. 181, p.2.

about it. Said he was standing in the middle of the room when she struck. I asked her whether she had told anyone that she intended to kill the old man. She said that she never had. I told her that George had run off, and that she might as well tell if ~~if~~ he had had anything to do with killing the old man. She said that George need not have run off, for that he knew nothing about it. I asked her if George had advised her to kill the old man said he never had. Said that George had told her that he would have nothing more to do with her if she did not quit the old man. Said that George had been staying with her.[48] She said that after she killed him, the body laid a long time – she thought an hour. She did not know what to do with it. Said she thought she would try & burn it. She put the body on the fire-place and kindled the fire over & around it with some staves that were made for hogs-heads,[49] and were in the yard. She burned the body up, and put some of the bones under the hearth, and under the floor between a sleeper & the fire-place.[50] She said she took out the ashes before day I don't recollect where she said she put the ashes. It was late when he came down, late bed-time. She doubled him up when she put him on the fire-place.[51]

Cross examined by the defense

She said the old man had sexual intercourse with her. Her second child was his. The deceased bought her in Audrain County. Can't say positively whether Celia said that deceased had forced her, on the way home from Audrain County. Have heard that he did, but don't know with certainty whether she told me so. Said she was about nineteen years old at the time we were conversing. The stick with which she struck was about as large as the top part of the back of a Windsor chair, but not so long. She turned around in her chair to show me the size of the stick. Not so long as the part above the seat of the chair. ~~Cannot say [illegible] that she said he came in at the back window.~~ Said she struck with the right hand on the right side of his head. I asked her if she did not know that she could not have struck him as she said, and if George had not struck the old man from behind. She said he did not – that he knew nothing about it & was not there at the time. ~~Asked her if she did not know she could not have killed him with the stick in one hand. Said she did know & did not intend to kill but only to hurt him.~~

[48] See George's July, 18, 1855 testimony to the Grand Jury pursuant to its investigation of the bondswoman Malinda (Williamson 1967:20-21); George had been openly quartered in the "negro cabin" during that period. Whether there was anything more than a platonic relationship between George and Celia is not known, but it has been commonly inferred that there was.
[49] Barrels typically used to store a liquid, such as alcoholic beverage or cider.
[50] Indicates that the "negro cabin" had a raised wooden floor laid upon wooden cross-members, i.e., "sleepers".
[51] Possibly indicates a "normal" sized fireplace instead of a larger one proportioned for kitchen use.

Harvey Newsom being sworn, states as follows

I am the son of Robert Newsom. My father was missing on the morning of Sunday, the 24th of June. I heard of it, and went down to his house. Other persons were there when I got there. I examined the cabin in and about, in the yard. Some bones were found a short distance from the cabin along a path in some ashes. The path led to the stable. No buttons were found then. Portions of the bones were found. The company picked bones out of the ashes – about a handfull, and placed them in my hands. I carried them home. I wrapped them in paper & put them into a box. Then bones found by Mrs Winscott were put into the same box (box produced) this is the box I left them with Mr Bartley, the circuit court clerk. Since August the county clerk has had them. My sister put the bones she found into the same box. These are some of the pieces I put into the box. The bones that I picked up, I put into the box. I saw no bones picked up in the cabin – saw nothing picked up there. I saw nothing picked up out of the ashes but bones. The path led to the stable.

Virginia Winscott [Figure 23] being sworn, states as follows

I am a daughter of Robert Newsom. I was living at his house. I saw him the last time on the evening of the 23d of June, at bed time. I hunted in all the paths & walks & every place for him next day – looked in caves & along the creeks. This was on Sunday. I found no trace of him. That evening I learned where the bones were put. I found the bones under the hearth in the cabin. Turned the large stone over to find them. I found a gallows-buckle[52] in the ashes. I have more bones in a box which I have kept myself. Found the bones in the house where Celia lived. Found them under the hearth and put them on a bureau until the next day. I gave them to my brother after the inquest. He took the bones home. I picked them up from under the hearth-rock. These are the bones, and these are the buttons my sister sewed on my father's breeches a few days before his death. Found them out ~~before~~ near the ~~door~~ cabin in the ashes with the bones. Sister Mary [Polly] sewed metal buttons on his pants. George found the knife. I did not see it. (second box produced) This is the box I kept. This is father's knife. The handle is burned black, but this is the knife. The ashes were caked up in the fire-place. I broke the lumps open, and they had a strange smell. Looked as if something had been burned in them. I saw no flesh – nothing like flesh. The ashes were caked up in the fire-place. Celia (defendant) had been sick, and had not taken the ashes out for a long time.

Cross examined by defense

The cabin is about 60 steps from the house. I saw my father in the evening about twilight, reading at a window. We all went to bed leaving him in the

[52] Also a "gallus buckle"; a suspender buckle or clip.

Figure 23. Virginia Robinette (Newsom) Winscott holding her eldest grandchild, ca. 1870. Reprint. From the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

room. He slept in the room he was reading in. My son slept with the old man. My son was there in the morning. I did not notice anything father was wearing. Did not notice the bed. Sister made the bed up. We went to bed early. Celia had been sick. Took sick in February. Had been sick ever since. Had not been able to work since February. The cook-house joins the dwelling house.[53]

[53] Additional corroboration of an external kitchen on the back-side of the Newsom dwelling.

Coffee Winscott [Figure 24] being sworn, states as follows

I am eleven years old. Was living in grandpa's house when he died. I was up in the cherry tree early in the morning grandpa was missing. Celia said she would give me two dozen walnuts if I would carry the ashes out. I said good lick. I put them out along side of the path. I do not know whether there was any path there or not – only beat down like. I did not show where I had put the ashes. I saw people picking up bones out of the ashes I carried out. I got the ashes out of the house she lived in.

Cross examined by the defense

I slept with mother. Billy slept with grandpa. Didn't go to bed in the same room with grandfather. Billy is my brother. Billy is four years old.

William Powell being sworn, states as follows

I was at Newsom's house the day the bones were found. I found the bones ~~60 or 70 steps~~ not far from the cabin ~~door~~. I did not see any bones found anywhere else. The bones were found in the ashes. I think these are the bones found. I saw three or four persons picking up bones. I did not see any bones got from out of the cabin. I was there on the fourth Sunday in June. Celia was at the house. Robert Newsom lived in this county. I found the bones where Celia said I would find them.

Cross examined by defense

I was at Newsom's about 10 o'clock on the morning after he was missing. There were other persons there. I did not examine the room he slept in. Don't recollect of having noticed the bed. ~~Sometime in the morning I noticed that his hat was missing.~~ I had been there some time. I went into the cook-house[54] where Celia was. I told her she knew where her master was – that George had said enough to make me believe she knew where he was. She denied it. Said she knew nothing about him. I told her that it would be better for her to tell – that her children should not be taken away from her if she would tell, and that I had the rope provided for her if she did not tell. She still refused to make any confession. At last she said he came to the back window of her house and that she struck him, and he fell back on the outside, and that she saw nothing more of him. Refused for some time to tell anything more; but said at length that if I would send the two men[55] out of the room, she would tell me. They went out.

[54] The exterior kitchen
[55] Almost certainly Harvey and David Newsom

Figure 24. James Coffee Winscott (center) with wife "Molly" (James) Winscott (center right) and children, ca. 1896. From the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

> She said he came into her house – think she said he came in at the door was talking to her when she said she struck him twice. She became alarmed. Said she became afraid she would be hung for it, and thought she would try to burn him. She got a stick of wood and laid it on the fire, and got some staves for hogsheads near the cabin. She said it was bed time, or about 10 o'clock when he came down to her house. She said she had made threats. Said she threatened him that she would hurt him on condition that he would not let her alone. Threatened to hurt him, not to kill him. She said she intended to hurt him, not to kill him. I asked her if she had told anyone she would hurt him. Said she had told the white family. She said she threatened him that she would hurt him if he did not quit forcing her while she was sick. I do not know what her condition was as to health – had heard she was sick. Do not know that she was pregnant. Judge from her appearance that she was.[56] She said she did not intend to kill him – struck twice but did not intend to kill.

[56] This statement may indicate that Celia was observably pregnant while Powell was testifying in her October 10, 1855 trial; if she had conceived shortly prior to onset of "taking ill" in February, 1855, as discussed in Virginia Winscott's testimony, Celia would have been very near full-term by October of that year.

Doctor Smith being sworn, states as follows

These bones ~~appear to be~~ are the bones of an adult human – ~~I suppose~~ they are bones of an adult beyond a doubt.

Doctor Young being sworn states as follows

I can speak with certainty & say these are human bones.

Here the case was closed on the part of the state.

The following witnesses were introduced on the part of the Defendant

Doctor Jas W Martin, M.D. was sworn[57]

~~1. Can the body of a human being be destroyed by burning in a common fire-place from 10 o'clock P.M. until 4 o'clock A.M.?~~

~~2. What time would be required to destroy or consume the body of a man by a wood fire in an ordinary fire-place?~~

~~3. In your opinion, as an adept, or scientific physician, what length of time would be required to destroy or consume the body of a man, in an ordinary fire-place, by wood fire?~~

To each and all of these questions the state objected, and the court sustained the objection, to which opinion of the court Defendant ~~excepted~~ objected.

Thomas Shoatman being sworn, stated as follows

I was present with Mr Jones at the jail. Celia said she struck Newsom two blows with a stick. After she struck the first time, he fell & he groaned & threw his hands ~~out towards her~~ up. The reason she gave for striking him the second blow, was that he threw his hands up ~~towards her to catch her~~ that she was afraid he would catch her. She said she did not intend to kill him when she struck him, but only to hurt him, ~~to keep him from having sexual intercourse with her~~. She was rather at, or towards his back – not immediately before him. He sunk down on, or towards a stool. ~~She said he did not [illegible] after the~~

[57] All of the questions put to Doctor Martin by Celia's counsel were objected to by Circuit Attorney R. G Prewitt; each of Prewitt's objections was sustained by Judge Hall. In turn, the defense objected to the judge's rulings; their original questions were therefore included in the clerk's record in the event of later appeal.

> ~~second lick.~~ After she struck the second blow, she examined to see whether he were dead. He was dead. Waited a long time – did not know what to do. She thought she would try to burn him, and put him in the fire-place and burned him. The stick with which she struck was ~~[illegible]~~ as large as the top-part of the chair-part of a Windsor chair above the seat, but was not so long.
>
> Here the case was closed on the part of the Defense.

Any Woman

While there is no record of the closing arguments made before the jury, the intended substance of those arguments can be inferred from the competing legal instructions proposed by the state and counsel for the defense that, if approved by Judge Hall, would have been provided to the jury in order to guide its deliberations. Celia's attorneys, Jameson, Kouns, and Boulware, made no attempt to argue that Celia had not struck the blows that killed Newsom; what her counsel hoped to establish was that under a straightforward interpretation of Missouri law the jury would be precluded altogether from finding her guilty of murder in the first degree.

Citing Hugh P. Williamson's 1956 article, "The State against Celia, a Slave," Third Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., continued the discussion of Celia's trial initiated by Williamson thirty-three years before. Higginbotham's (1989:682-683) analysis was both concise and accessible: under Missouri law, women were explicitly protected from attempts to "rape, ravish, or defile" them; at least two statutes guaranteed women the protection of the law against such abuse. Section 29 of Chapter 47, Article II of the Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri (General Assembly of the State of Missouri 1845:349) states: "Every person

who shall take *any woman*,[58] unlawfully, against her will, with intent to compel her by force, menace or duress…to be defiled, upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment," a felony under Missouri law. Chapter 47, Article II, Section 4 (General Assembly of the State of Missouri 1845:344) asserts: "Homicide shall be deemed justifiable, when committed by any person…in resisting any attempt to…commit any felony upon him or her…"

In essence, Celia's counsel was trying to prove that the death of Robert Newsom was an act of justifiable homicide perpetrated by Celia while resisting Newsom's felonious attempts to "defile" her, or at the upmost a case second degree murder—a non-capital offense (Williamson 1956:416). According to Higginbotham (1989:683), in those instances where the Missouri legislature intended to statutorily limit the freedoms of blacks or expose them to harsher criminal penalties than whites, it unambiguously used the term "negro," "slave" or "mulatto." Similarly, when the legislature intended to protect only white females, it expressly used the phrase "white female." The failure of the Missouri legislature to include language specifically limiting Section 29 solely to white females suggests that lawmakers intended to criminalize the rape of "any woman"; consequently, Celia's defense was profoundly reliant on the presumption that Judge Hall would instruct the jury accordingly.

Four of the thirteen instructions composed and submitted to the court by counsel for the defense were ultimately heard by the jury; three of those[59] were variations on a "presumption of innocence" instruction which, according to the custom of the courts in 1855 as well as today, were habitually provided to the jury when requested to do so

[58] Emphasis added.
[59] Celia, File No. 4,496: Defense Requested Instruction Nos. 2, 3, and 13; October 10, 1855.

(Williamson 1956:416). The fourth instruction Judge Hall read to the jury dealt with the manner in which they should consider Celia's statements under questioning; it reads: "The confessions of the prisoner must be taken altogether, the jury giving such weight to each part as they may deem it entitled to."[60] With the latter instruction, it appears as though Celia's counsel was suggesting that the jury should consider not only her admission to having struck Newsom, but also her assertions that she had not intended to kill him; had they done so, the jury could not have found Celia guilty of murder in the first degree, which required said killing to be "willful, deliberate, and premeditated"[61] (General Assembly of the State of Missouri 1845:344).

The nucleus of Celia's defense was incorporated by her counsel within three instructions meant to focus the jury's attention on the unequivocal right of "any woman," enslaved or free, to defend herself from commission of a felony under Missouri law. They included the following:[62]

> [Defense Requested Instruction] 10. Any attempt to compel a woman to be defiled by using force, menace, or duress, is a felony within the meaning of the fourth section of the second [article] concerning crimes & punishments, in Missouri statutes for 1845.
>
> [Defense Requested Instruction] 11. The using of a master's authority to compel a slave to be by him defiled, is using force, menace, and duress, within the meaning of the 29th section of the 2nd article of Missouri statute for 1845 concerning crimes and punishments.
>
> [Defense Requested Instruction] 12. The words *any woman*[63] in the first clause of the 29th section, of second article of Laws of Missouri for 1845, concerning crimes & punishments, embrace slave women, as well as free white women.

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[60] Celia, File No. 4,496: Defense Requested Instruction No. 7, October 10, 1855.
[61] Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri, 1845: Chapter 47, Article II, Section 1.
[62] Celia, File No. 4,496: Defense Requested Instructions, October 10, 1855.
[63] Emphasis added.

Each of the above instructions was objected to by the state and ultimately refused by Judge Hall, effectively dismantling the central thesis of the defense's argument.

One additional instruction proposed by Celia's attorneys is of note; refused by Judge Hall following the state's objection, it reads:

> [Defense Requested Instruction] 9. Although the jury may believe from the evidence, that Newsom & ~~others~~ another had had sexual intercourse with Celia, prior to the time of the said alleged killing, yet if they further believe from the testimony, that said Newsom at~~, or just before the time~~ the time of said killing, attempted to compel her against her will to have sexual intercourse with her, they will not find her guilty of murder in the first degree, unless they further find that Celia killed Newsom feloniously, willfully, deliberately, & of her malice aforethought…

The above proposed instruction was intended to emphasize Celia's right to defend herself from commission of a felony upon her person as well as her lack of intent in Newsom's killing, combining elements of both the justifiable homicide and second degree murder defenses. Whether it was intended to be a central issue in their legal argument or not, authors of the ninth instruction requested by the defense acknowledged that Celia had had prior sexual intercourse with Newsom and "another" unnamed individual; the issue of her willingness to do so was not raised. It is not known if the allusion was meant to reference a hypothetical Audrain County father of Celia's first child or a different individual entirely—possibly Newsom's bondsperson George, as some have long suspected. Regardless, even during 1855, the defense's position affirming a woman's right to deny others the use of her body—no matter her perceived sexual history—appears intended to counter notions of "victim blaming" still prevalent today (Ryan 1976:7).

Nine instructions[64] were submitted by the Circuit Attorney to Judge Hall; of those nine, eight were given to the jury. The lone state instruction that was refused following defense objection reads simply: "[State Requested Instruction] 7. There is no evidence before the jury that she [Celia] was acting in self-defense."

While it was appropriate for Judge Hall to refuse that particular instruction given Celia's purported statements in the case, any isolated appearance of equitable treatment was summarily undone by inclusion of a notoriously harmful instruction proposed by the state and approved for delivery to the jury over defense objection; it reads:

> [State Requested Instruction] 5. If Newsom ~~went to the cabin of defendant who was his slave~~ was in the habit of having intercourse with the defendant who was his slave and went to the cabin on the night ~~in question~~ he was killed to have intercourse with her or for any other purpose and while he was standing in the floor talking to her she struck him with a ~~dangerous weapon~~ stick which was a dangerous weapon and knocked him down, and struck him again after he fell, and killed him by either blow, it is murder in the first degree.

Callaway County Magistrate Court Judge High P. Williamson (1956:417) writes that the wording of the above instruction allowed the jury to find Celia guilty of murder in the first degree without also finding that the killing was "willful, deliberate, or premeditated," conditions required by Missouri statute for a conviction on that charge.

The contrast in jury instructions requested by Celia's counsel and those ultimately given by the court at the request of the state reveal what were, as phrased by Higginbotham (1989:681), "polar perceptions as to the rights of a slave woman." Celia's attorneys objected to the above instruction but were overruled by Judge Hall, and it was included among the twelve given to the jury. Late in the day on October 10, 1855, the

[64] Celia, File No. 4,496: State Requested Instructions, October 10, 1855.

jury found Celia guilty of the only charge they were permitted to consider: murder in the first degree (Frazier 2001:192).

On Thursday, October 11, 1855, Celia's attorneys filed a motion with Judge Hall[65] requesting that he set aside the jury's verdict and grant Celia a new trial; they did so based on what they perceived to be seven critical faults in the proceedings, chief among them the following: "[4th] Because the Court granted and allowed illegal instructions as to the law of the case at the instance of the State. [5th] Because the Court refused to give to the jury legal instructions as to the law of the case prayed for by the defendant."

As Frazier (2001:192) writes, a majority of defense motions requesting a new trial are doomed to failure when submitted to the very judge who presided over the proceedings being challenged. Filed jointly by Jameson, Kouns, and Boulware, the motion to set aside the verdict of the jury was expectedly unsuccessful.

The following Saturday, October 13, 1855, Judge William A. Hall issued Celia's sentence, as follows:[66]

> State of Missouri against Celia, a Slave} Indictment for murder. This day comes the Circuit attorney and the prisoner being brought into court in custody of the Sheriff, and the Court being now fully advised do consider, order and adjudge that the prisoner Celia be hanged by the neck until dead on the sixteenth day of November 1855 and that the Sheriff of Callaway county execute the foregoing sentence, and that the prisoner be remanded to jail and kept in close confinement until the time of execution. The defendant produced her bill of exception which was examined, signed sealed and allowed by the Court and ordered to be filed, and made a part of the record.

[65] Celia, File No. 4,496: Motion to Set Aside Verdict & Grant New Trial, October 11, 1855.
[66] Callaway County Circuit Court Record Book E, 1851-1860, p. 228.

According to Higginbotham (1989:681-682, 684), the jury had "followed the court's dehumanizing instruction, which made Celia a person without any rights over her body," including the right to defend herself against violation at her master's will.

Immediately after her sentencing, Isaac W. Boulware requested an appeal to the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri on Celia's behalf, which request was granted. Williamson (1956:418) observes that Boulware's appeal had to be allowed, as Judge Hall had no discretion in a capital case; significantly, however, Hall issued no stay of execution pending the outcome of Celia's appeal to the higher court.

The Prayer of the Petitioner

With less than thirty-four days until the date of her scheduled hanging, Celia was returned to the common jail in Fulton, Missouri, to await her sentence. At a boarding expense of 40¢ per day in the jailhouse,[67] one may speculate as to why the state did not hasten Celia's execution. Firstly, as McLaurin (1991:121) points out it was illegal under Missouri law to execute a pregnant woman.[68] Higginbotham (1989:684) submits that it was most likely out of "mercy" to Celia's unborn child, though he wonders if it was not also to preserve the potential value of said child as an asset to Robert Newsom's estate. In either case, the affair ended sadly: filed during the spring of 1856, the Bill of Costs for Celia's trial and all connected actions includes an entry that reads, "Medical attendance of prisoner during sickness & delivering her of dead child by Dr Coll_r[69] allowed by

[67] Celia, File No. 4,496: Bill of Costs; document signed by Judge William A. Hall and Circuit Attorney R. G. Prewitt on April 18, 1856.
[68] Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1845; Chapter 138, Article VII, Sections 21-23, p. 886.
[69] Celia, File No. 4,496: Bill of Costs; may refer to Dr. John T. Collier, a physician whose family was listed in the 1860 U.S. Census for Callaway County, Missouri, as a resident of "Moor's Hotel" in Fulton (U.S. Census Bureau 1860:877).

court." While rumors have circulated that Celia's third child may have been delivered alive and sold by corrupt county officials for a modest fee (Annie B. Norman, personal communication, June 23, 2014), no corroborating evidence supporting that hypothesis has been identified, to date.

On Sunday, November 11, 1855, presumably after recovering from the reported stillbirth of her third child and with five days remaining before her planned execution, Celia—her defense team still awaiting a response to her appeal from the state supreme court—escaped the confines of the common jail in Fulton, Missouri, possibly with outside assistance.[70] Under the byline of the *Fulton Telegraph* and carried in the Hannibal *Tri-Weekly Messenger*, a story describing the events of that evening reads:

From the Fulton (Mo.) Telegraph 17th

ESCAPED FROM JAIL

> Two of the prisoners confined in the jail at this place, made their escape on Sunday night last, about 11 o'clock—Matt and Celia. They effected it by burning a hole in the door around the lock. A large quantity of shucks which had been the woman's bed were found about the door, some of them considerably charred. These were perhaps used for the purpose of making a light while the door was being burnt with some more solid substance. The boy, Matt,[71] only went a short distance from town, and was brought back by a gentleman at whose house he stayed. The woman has not yet been caught. They were, most likely, assisted in their effort to escape from the outside. Celia was sentenced to be hung to-day (Friday.)

Hannibal Tri-Weekly Messenger, November 22, 1855
Volume IV, No. 18, p. 3

[70] Hannibal *Tri-Weekly Messenger*, November 22, 1855, Volume IV, No. 18, p. 3; Jameson, Kouns, and Boulware letter to the State Supreme Court, dated December 6, 1855. Transcription on file at the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, Fulton, Missouri.
[71] For information on Matt, see Frazier (2001:212-218).

On the evening of Saturday, November 17, one day following the date scheduled for her execution, Celia purportedly turned herself in at the home of Harvey Newsom, located on lands owned by his father's estate, not far from Robert's former dwelling house. Under the byline of the *Fulton Telegraph*, The *Boonville Weekly Observer* ran the following story:

> Recovered.—The negro woman, Celia, whose escape from jail was noticed in our last, was brought to town last Sunday by Mr. H. Newsom, to whose house she came on the previous night. She had been out nearly a week, and during that time, as she states, she had lived on raw corn which she gathered from the fields. She was driven in by cold and hunger. Being thinly clad and without shoes, and the nights very cool, she must have suffered considerably during the time of her absence. The time for her execution has not yet been appointed.—
>
> *Boonville Weekly Observer*, December 1, 1855
> Volume XVI, No. 37, p. 1

It is not known if the fugitive Celia had an opportunity to bid farewell to her two surviving children, Vine (or "Vina") and Jane, who appear at that time to have remained in the care of the Newsom estate.[72] Upon her recovery by the authorities, Celia's execution was rescheduled for the third week in December 1855 (Jameson et al. 1855); no longer pregnant and absent a stay of execution pending her appeal, there was a very real possibility that Celia could be executed before the state supreme court had an opportunity rule on her case. As a consequence, Jameson, Kouns, and Boulware composed a final plea to Justice Abiel A. Leonard of the Missouri State Supreme Court, then in its October Term at St. Louis, praying for a stay in their client's execution:[73]

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[72] Probate Court of Callaway County, Missouri; 1st Annual Settlement, Hugh A. Tincher and David Newsom, Administrators; Tuesday, August 19, 1856. Record Book F, p. 181.
[73] Jameson, Kouns, and Boulware letter to the State Supreme Court, dated December 6, 1855. Transcription on file at the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, Fulton, Missouri.

Fulton, Mo Dec 6, 1855

Hon. A Leonard
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir, Enclosed we send you a copy of the record in the case of State vs Celia a Slave which we wish you to examine, and if you think it proper order a Stay of Execution until the case can be tried in the Supreme Court in January next. You will see by the record that she was sentenced to be hung on the 16th of last month but in consequence of the escape from prison, or in other words, taken out by someone – a few days before her execution, and her not being taken until after the 16th of Nov, another day the 21st of this month has been set for her execution. We face more than ordinary interest in behalf of the girl Celia, believing that she did the act to prevent a forced sexual intercourse on the part of Newsom. Indeed, the greater portion of the community here are much interested in her behalf, and we feel satisfied that you will upon examination of the record find that the court gave illegal instructions as well as refused such as were plainly the law, indeed cut out all means of defense – you will please give the matter your earliest attention and much oblige.

Yours

Jameson Kouns & Boulware

Eight days later, Missouri State Supreme Court Clerk William S. Glanville prepared a transcript of the high court's ruling. Dated December 14, 1855, and penned in a very fine hand, the "prayer of the petitioner" for a stay of execution and a hearing before the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri was politely and conclusively refused, "there being seen…no probable cause for such an appeal." The Supreme Court's ruling in the matter of the State of Missouri against Celia, a Slave, was received by Callaway County Circuit Clerk George Bartley on Tuesday, December 18, 1855, and entered into File 4,496. With that, the stage was set for Celia's execution three days hence.

Winter in Earnest

The *Weekly Brunswicker*, a broadsheet published approximately seventy-five miles northwest of Fulton in Brunswick, Missouri, reported that ice first appeared in the Missouri River on the morning of Tuesday, December 18th, 1855, threatening to impede shipping. That evening, the region saw its first snowfall, while the following day, Wednesday the 19th, "had the appearance of Winter in earnest." Meteorological observations made on Friday, December 21, and reported the following day in the *Daily Missouri Republican*, a paper circulated approximately 100 miles due east of Fulton in St. Louis, Missouri, describe winds out of the west early, shifting to the northwest by mid-afternoon. Although morning temperatures on the 21st started above the freezing mark, they fell steadily throughout the day.[74]

Fulton, Missouri, with its courthouse, jail, and gallows, lay between the two extremes. The morning of December 21, 1855, may have dawned dreary and raw or blustery with scudding clouds and intermittent sun, but there was probably no mistaking winter's arrival. That afternoon, Celia, her legal options exhausted, would likely have been escorted to the gallows by Sheriff William Snell,[75] the official charged with executing her death warrant. Whether Snell's recitation of her sentence was the last voice Celia heard is not known, nor if onlookers called out to her or remained silent, save for a cough or sniffle in the cold winter air. There is no reference whatsoever to the events of that day in the journals of David Newsom or the writings of his brother Harvey. The most detailed account reviewed to date is perhaps also the most widely published;

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[74] *The Weekly Brunswicker*, Saturday, December 22, 1855, Volume IX, No. IX, p. 2; *Daily Missouri Republican*, Saturday, December 22, 1855, Volume XXXIII, No. 303, p. 2.
[75] Celia, File No. 4,496: Writ of Mandamus executed and signed "William T. Snell, Sheriff," June 25, 1855.

with slight variations, it was printed under the byline of the *Fulton Telegraph* in the *New York Times*[76] and the *Missouri Whig*, in the latter case presented as follows:

Articles crowded out last week

> Hung.— Celia, a negress, who has been under sentence of death, since the 14th October, for the murder of her master Robert Newsome, in June last, was executed near this place on the 21st ult. The evening previous to her execution, and while under the gallows, she made what she said was a full confession of the crime. She has, at various times, implicated several persons; but by her dying confession all of them are exonerated from any participation in the murder. She said that on the evening of the occurrence she procured a large stout stick (much larger and heavier than that before described by her,) and took a position behind the door, leaving it slightly ajar; that her master came to the cabin, pushed the door open and entered; as soon as he entered she struck him with the stick, felling him to the ground. She did not at first intend to kill him, but, she said, "as soon as I struck him, the Devil got into me, and I struck him with the stick until he was dead, and then rolled him into the fire and burnt him up. She denied that anyone assisted her, or aided or abetted in any way. She was hung at half past two o'clock, on Friday, 21st December last. Thus has closed one of the most horrible tragedies ever enacted in our county.— Fulton Telegraph.

Missouri Whig, January 24, 1856.
Volume XVII, No. 29, p. 1.

No record describing what became of Celia's body following her hanging has been identified, to date. The Bill of Costs for her trial and associated actions included a charge of $15 marked "paid" for executing the death warrant;[77] whether that fee included the cost of an anonymous burial in some nondescript institutional grave or if her remains were conveyed to heritors of the Newsom estate is not specified.

Regardless of her place of internment, it is almost certain that there would have been few tangible remnants of Celia's brief existence were it not for her profound

[76] Edition of January 16, 1856 (New York Times 2013).
[77] Celia, File No. 4,496: Bill of Costs; document signed by Judge William A. Hall and Circuit Attorney R. G. Prewitt on April 18, 1856.

misfortune and conclusive response to events that played out at the Newsom farmstead. Absent that response, it is likely that she would have been born, lived under the staggering weight of her circumstances, and died just as countless others did in her position, lost in historical silence.

The Present Occasion

Given the sensational nature of the final act in the lives of Robert Newsom and Celia, it is far too easy to lose sight of the fact that the Newsom landholding was inhabited by Robert's heirs for more than seventy years after his passing. Although the temporal focus of the current research is closely aligned with the antebellum history of the site, the uninterrupted occupation of the farmstead following Newsom's death had a direct bearing on site formation processes. Nevertheless, given the practical scope of these investigations, a regretful but necessary summing up of the later period will have to suffice for the present occasion.

Expenses in Sale of 2 Children

Following the commotion of his father's death and all of the events leading up to Celia's execution, David Newsom's twenty-third birthday, commemorated on January 1, 1856, in the brick dwelling house in which he was born and raised, must have been a day of considerable reflection for him. Perhaps any solemnity David observed in the occasion was offset by the knowledge that his wife Ann was expecting their first child, due later that summer. David's older sister Virginia Winscott and her four children

remained in the home as well, the latter of whom must have produced a considerable din in the close confines of Newsom's house, shuttered tightly for the winter.

Of Robert Newsom's former bondspeople, only Lewis, still in Harvey's possession as of 1863, appears to have remained with the family (National Archives and Records Administration 2010:339). Robert Newsom's longtime bondsperson George, remembered often in David's journals, had been transported to Saline County and sold for $1,150.[78] Although the precise date of his sale is unknown, it must have occurred between dismissal of the October 18, 1855, allegations against him on suspicion of being an accomplice in Robert's death (Williamson 1967:19-20) and the date Newsom's estate was due to collect the proceeds of George's sale from his unknown purchaser, December 1, 1855.

Where Vine and Jane resided during the months following their mother's arrest and eventual hanging is not clear, though they apparently remained in the care of the Newsoms or their in-laws for some time. During the First Annual Settlement of Robert Newsom's estate, filed by Hugh Tincher and David Newsom on Tuesday, August 19, 1856, the administrators sought $50 for "keeping 2 little orphaned negro children 5 months." If the written statement was meant literally, the Newsom estate pursued compensation for housing the girls from the date of Celia's execution on December 21, 1855, until late May 1856, at which time they were apparently sold to a single party for the combined sum of $495.50, payment being due on September 1, 1856. Newsom and Tincher were also credited $5.00 for "expenses in sale of 2 children." As far as can be

[78] Probate Court of Callaway County, Missouri; 1st Annual Settlement, Hugh A. Tincher and David Newsom, Administrators; Tuesday, August 19, 1856. Record Book F, p. 181.

determined, Vine and Jane were the last enslaved individuals to reside on the Newsom landholding.

Found Amongst the Ashes

The Missouri State Supreme Court's refusal to intervene in Celia's case not only triggered the mechanism of her execution, but it brought about a required accounting of the pecuniary expenses incurred by the state in Celia's prosecution and implementation of her death sentence. The Bill of Costs approved by Judge William A. Hall and Circuit Attorney R. G. Prewitt on April 18, 1856, amounted to $210.85, and included procedural charges associated with the indictment and trial, travel reimbursements for witnesses, as well as the cost of jailing the prisoner and executing her death warrant.[79] Settlement of all outstanding payments and resolution of other loose ends appears to have been completed by late April, 1857.[80]

The physical remains of Robert Newsom, comprised of a few scorched and battered handfuls of bone wrapped in paper and placed into a small box, were in Harvey Newsom's possession for a brief time following their discovery; however evidentiary custody of the bone fragments had been maintained by Circuit Clerk George Bartley since August 1855, as had safekeeping of the metal buttons, gallus buckle, and burned pocket knife found amongst the ashes outside of Celia's cabin.[81] Because appeals before the state supreme court would have been limited to consideration of procedural rather

[79] Celia, File No. 4,496: Bill of Costs; document signed by Judge William A. Hall and Circuit Attorney R. G. Prewitt on April 18, 1856.
[80] Celia, File No. 4,496: Bill of Costs: Juror Fees; document signed by Judge William A. Hall and Circuit Attorney R. G. Prewitt on October 15, 1856. The latest date acknowledging receipt of payment from the court is April 24, 1857.
[81] Celia, File No. 4,496: Testimonies in Chief of Harvey Newsom and Virginia Winscott; October 10, 1855.

than evidentiary issues, Newsom's remains and the associated items were most likely returned to Robert's family soon after the verdict was announced in Celia's case, on October 10, 1855.

Within what is believed to be his final volume of journal entries, David Newsom (1912:106-107) recorded in a clear hand the specific birth and death dates of his immediate family by year, month, and day, if known. He also recorded the burial location of each family member who preceded him in death, providing the county, town, and/or cemetery within which those relations not buried in the Newsom family cemetery were interred. There was, however, one exception: although David would make note of the year in which Robert Newsom died, nowhere in the journals available for review does he discuss his father's final resting place or the circumstances of his death. Given Newsom's meticulousness in chronicling other details of his life and family history, these seem rather conspicuous omissions.

During a June 23, 2014, visit to the Newsom family burying grounds, Ms. Annie B. Norman, Robert's great-great-granddaughter, provided a possible explanation for the silence with which David confronted his father's death, as related to her through family legend (Annie B. Norman, personal communication, June 23, 2014):

> This is what was told to me by two of my daddy's first cousins who lived…have always lived in the area: Alice [1887–?] and May Mosley [1892–1959[82]]. This is what they heard growing up, and this is what was told to me.
>
> They kept [Robert's] bones in a box, and that's verified in the trial record. They said that they put the bones in a box at the Newsom house in this corner cupboard until the trial. My daddy's first cousins had been brought up being told that they could not do anything with them until after the trial because that was evidence. But anyway, his bones were put in a jar…a small crock, and

[82] Grover 2013a:25.

> brought out here. Well, they didn't want…they would not allow him to be put by her [Elizabeth]. I mean, the family would not allow it…they put Robert… he was buried about sixty…sixty feet from Elizabeth, the mother. There was no tombstone…there was nothing there.

It appears from Ms. Norman's account that Robert's surviving children may have felt it inappropriate to bury Newsom's physical remains beside those of Elizabeth, their beloved mother and Robert's wife of thirty-seven years. Similarly, David Newsom's reluctance to contemplate his father's death in writing or to specify the location of his burial may have been engendered by a collective familial uneasiness with the chain of events leading to Robert's demise and/or the public spectacle surrounding it. Although Celia's professed justification for lashing out at Newsom was never mentioned in newspaper accounts of the day, Robert's actions were explicitly discussed in open court which, in light of mid-nineteenth century mores, must have been a humiliating experience for Newsom's adult children as well as a betrayal of their mother's memory. Absent a historical record addressing the family's ostensible silence about the circumstances of Robert's death, it is likely that the reasoning behind their avoidance of the issue will never be definitively established.

On April 15, 1856, Harvey Newsom deeded the family burying ground to the elders and deacons of the Old School Presbyterian Church of New Bloomfield, Missouri. According to Newsom's instructions, the conveyance was to be "laid off in a square form so as to contain one acre of land covering and including the Grave Yard…To Have and To Hold to the said Elders and Deacons aforesaid as a Burying Ground forever."[83]

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[83] Abstract of Title: Hervey [*sic*] Newsom, Grantor. April 15, 1856. Mark Twain National Forest land records (microfiche) on file at the Forest Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri. 5490 Land Title File: William Woods College, Tract No. 119, 1-3.

Called to Go Hence

On October 30, 1857, Virginia Winscott entered from the U.S. Government at the General Land Office in Plattsburg, Missouri, 120 acres located in far western Caldwell County, just beyond the county line and slightly over two and one-half miles northwest of lands entered eight months earlier by John Howard James, husband of Sally (Newsom), in Clinton County, Missouri (GLO Document No. 2294, October 30, 1857; GLO Document No 20088, February 20, 1857). On December 11, 1857, Sally James, fifth daughter of Robert Newsom, died of unreported causes at the age of thirty-four years, two days, leaving John Howard James, her husband of thirteen years, a widower (Newsom 1888a:n.p.). Three months and seven days later, on March 18, 1858, James was joined in matrimony to Virginia (Newsom) Winscott (Ellsberry 1960:50; Norman 1958a:2). Family lore has it that Polly (Newsom) Dunham could not understanding why her older sister ever consented to marrying Howard James, for he was often spoken of as being "no account" (McNamee 1959:3). It can be imagined that Robert's former bondsperson Dick would have felt similarly: the 1849 accusation that he had killed one of James' valued steers had cost him 30 lashes on his bare back (Record Book D of the Callaway County Circuit Court, 1851:526; Williamson 1967:13-15).

The marriage did not last; Virginia "was so disillusioned" that she not only secured a divorce, but purportedly appealed to the state legislature at a later date to have her name changed back to Winscott (McNamee 1959:3). Virginia James was enumerated during the Eighth United States Census for Callaway County on August 2, 1860, in the neighborhood where she grew up as the head of her own household, within which also resided her four children: James Coffee, Elizabeth, Thomas, and William (U.S. Census

Bureau 1860a:94). She eventually returned to Caldwell County, there to live out the remainder of her life. The Population Schedules for the U.S. Census of 1880, enumerated on June 15th of that year, show a "Virginia James," then sixty-one years of age, living in that place with James C. Winscott, his wife Mary, and their five children (U.S. Census Bureau 1880:338A). Virginia passed away in late April 1899 (Norman 1961b:6); her tombstone, located in Highland Cemetery near Hamilton, Missouri (Grover 2014b), reads:

VIRGINIA R.
WIFE OF JESSE B. WINSCOTT
BORN MAR. 23,
1819
DIED APR. 25,
1899

Following Robert Newsom's death in late June of 1855, Harvey purchased "of the heirs and administrators" of Robert's estate the lands upon which he had resided since his 1852 marriage to his second wife, Miranda (Powell) Griggs (Newsom 1893b:5-6). The Population Schedules for 1860 confirm that Harvey, his son John, and Miranda had maintained residency there (U.S. Census Bureau 1860a:872). In Harvey's possession were two enslaved persons, the eldest a thirty-seven year old "mulatto" male, presumably Lewis; the youngest a nine year old female (U.S. Census Bureau 1860b:104A), who as McLaurin (1991:136) observes was roughly the same age that Celia's first child, Vine (or "Vina"), would have been at that time. The Slave Schedules for 1860 also called for enumeration of stand-alone slave houses present on a property; no such housing was noted on Harvey's lands, indicating that Lewis and the young bondsperson may have boarded in the Newsom residence or an attached structure.

In the account book/family diary that Harvey had received from his father some years before and continued to make use of is the only entry of its kind in the available Newsom documents. In Harvey's flowing script (Newsom 1888a:n.p.) is written:

Married at Geo H Thomas' Callaway Cty
Mo. January 11th AD 1862 by Revd D. Cooper
(Mulatto Man) Lewis Newsom
To
Black Girl Ann, belonging to
Geo H Thomas

As Burke (2010:204), Pfifer (1962:148), and Raboteau (1978:229) write, although marriage ceremonies joining enslaved couples carried no legal status whatsoever, they were sometimes tolerated or encouraged by slaveholders as well as the church. While many couples simply "jumped the broom," white landowners occasionally performed marriage services for their bondspeople; nor was it unheard of for such observances to be held by enslaved preachers, county officials, or white ministers. Although Lewis and Ann lived less than two miles apart[84] and may have been able to reside together as man and wife, so-called "abroad marriages," where each spouse lived on separate landholdings, were the norm in Missouri; nearly sixty percent of slave marriages in the state were between men and women who lived at some distance from one another, a considerably higher percentage than was found in other regions (Burke 2010:201).

Lewis remained in Harvey's possession at least through July 1, 1863, as indicated by the bondsperson's entry on the rolls of the Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registration Records, wherein his "owner" is shown to be one Harvey Newsom (National

[84] This estimate is based on information derived from an historical atlas of Callaway County, Missouri (Edwards Brothers of Missouri 1876:24,41) and one of several patents in Thomas' name filed at the Government Land Office in St. Louis, Missouri, Document No. 4016, issued October 1, 1835.

Archives and Records Administration 2010::339). Upon obtaining his freedom from enslavement, reportedly granted to him by Harvey prior to 1865 (Norman 1958b:4), Lewis claimed the Newsom name as his own and keep it thereafter; his first child, a son born in 1863, was named "Harvey" (U.S. Census Bureau 1880:556B; 1900:41B). Whether he named the child so on his own initiative cannot be determined from the available records, though Lewis' ongoing relationship with the Newsoms following his lifetime of enslavement may indicate development of a mutual friendship, of sorts.

Although Harvey Newsom served two years as a judge on the county court bench during the late 1860s, his primary occupation continued to be farming; his brother David described him as "frugal, sober, and unpretentious," a man who "sought not after office" (Bryan and Rose 1876:362; Newsom 1896:4; U.S. Congress 1868:15-16). Harvey remained on his property across the old Cote Sans Dessein-to-Fulton road from his late father's lands until Miranda's passing in May 1881, after which he sold his holdings and lived his life "drifting as it were" from place to place. By 1893, he had alighted at the home of his nephew, Ed Dunham, with whom he proposed to remain until being "called to go hence" (Newsom 1893b:5). Near the end of his life, Harvey composed the following journal entry, excerpted from his ledger (Newsom 1894b:6): "Life with the decrepitude of Eighty odd years is not to me very enjoyable. Were it God's Will I am satisfied to leave this world in hope of a better. I feel not distressed in view of the change."

Harvey Newsom passed away on January 5, 1895, at the age of eighty-one years, ten months, twenty-four days (Norman 1958a:1). According to Ms. Annie B. Norman (personal communication, June 23, 2014) and Hugh P. Williamson (1956:409), prior to

Harvey's death he made an allowance to his former bondsperson Lewis Newsom for $500, attached to a request that his favorite sitting-stone, a large fieldstone boulder upon which he had often taken his ease, be moved to the Newsom family burying grounds, there to mark his grave. This was apparently accomplished with no little effort, and as Williamson wrote in 1956, "…there it may be seen today with the rough, but perfectly clear engraving" purportedly carved by Lewis himself, naming he who was interred beneath it (Figure 25).

The Loved Dead

The journals of David Newsom currently available for review are largely silent with respect to the three decades following the death of his father; as a consequence, it is necessary to rely on the bare metrics of the U.S. Census and the occasional personal recollection or corroborative reference to help flesh-out the narrative of David Newsom and his immediate family. The census documents in particular seem an insubstantial alternative to the richly toned historical descriptions and every-day details provided in David's later writings; however, there is little else to work with.

By 1860, David and Ann had brought two children into the world, Mary Elizabeth (b. 1856) and Robert (b. 1858), the latter born three years and one day after the death of his namesake grandfather; Ann was well-along with their third child, Charlotte, who was born in October of that year (Grover 2013a:24; U.S. Census Bureau 1860a:871A). As did Lewis Newsom, so David registered for the U.S. Army draft between 1863 and 1865 (National Archives and Records Administration 2010::338). There is no indication in the

Figure 25. Burial marker of Harvey Newsom, partially cleared; March 15, 2014 (facing east). Newsom family cemetery, Callaway County, Missouri.

Slave Schedules of the United States Census for 1860 that he possessed any bondspeople at that time.

The Population Schedules for the Ninth United States Census, enumerated on June 23, 1870, indicate the presence of four children in the home of David Newsom and Ann, his wife of some fifteen years (Norman 1958a:1; U.S. Census Bureau 1870:324A). The youngest of the couple's children at that time, Miranda (b. 1868), would in the course of time grow up to marry George McClellan Brown, bear him children, and become the grandmother of Ms. Annie B. Norman (personal communication, June 22, 2014).

Among the countless details that the census documents fail to reveal are significant life events that occurred between enumerations, such as the loss of a child: David Newsom (II) was born on May 17, 1865; he passed away of unknown causes on September 19, 1867 (Grover 2013a:25). Four decades after his young son's death, David wrote of him (Newsom 1912:38): "May 17 1909 – It is forty four years today since our little son David Newsom was born. He was two years, four months, and two days of age at death. — 'This was too rude a clime for thee, sweet blossom of the skies.' D.N."

The Tenth United States Census for Callaway County, Missouri, enumerated in early June 1880, recorded the presence of David Newsom, his wife Ann, and six of their seven surviving children—Mary Elizabeth having wed and left home the year before (Grover 2014c). Still present in the aging brick dwelling house were Robert, twenty-two years old (Figure 26); Charlotte, nineteen; Ellen, seventeen; Miranda, twelve; Hubert, nine; and Rosine, five years of age (U.S. Census Bureau 1880:556B, 557A). Rosine would be the final child born to David and Ann, both of whom were then forty-seven years old. Charlotte and Ellen would marry their respective husbands in a double ceremony held on February 9, 1882 (Grover 2014d; 2014e), and would remove to the Missouri Bottoms the following Christmas, a day remembered by their father as being cold, snowy, and muddy (Newsom 1893:3).

By January 1884, it is evident from his writings that David Newsom, a grandfather several times over, was becoming increasingly aware of time's mounting toll. On the fifty-first anniversary of his birth, he composed the following in consideration of the many people he had known, both free and enslaved, who no longer orbited in his sphere. Newsom (1893:14) wrote:

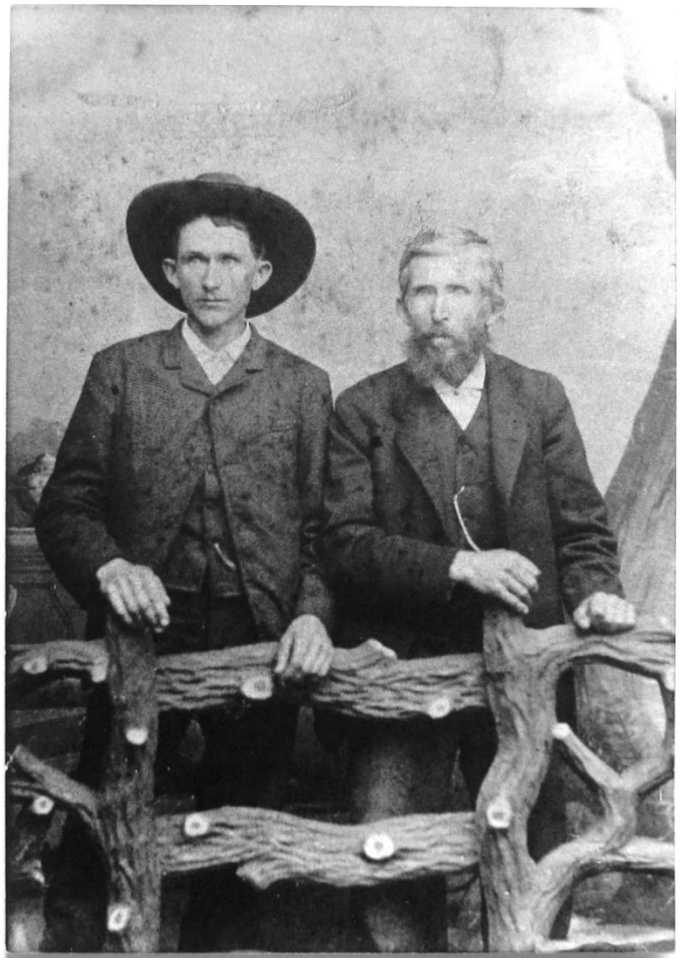

Figure 26. Robert Newsom, II (left) and his father David, ca. 1880. Reprint from the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

1884 Jan 1st, Well – Here we are, for the 52d time, having finished up 51 years of Earth's pilgrimage – and who is here today that was here 51 years ago this morning – that father, that mother into whose arms and care I was thrown, those sisters & brothers – those family, friends and neighbors – those servants, yes all who were here then – where are they now – the old story so often told whispers in my ear, "Earth to Earth & dust to dust" with many of them, while others still linger on the shores of time, yet drifted apart – so it is – but why? – Many fallen, others still doing the battle of life – soon t'will all be gone –. Why are we not able to turn aside from such a destiny? – Why not be able to rise up this morning and in loving tones greet that father, that mother and all who were present, when I was ushered into existence – My Almighty Creator only knows – I do not know – I start out again – but with faltering steps. Almighty Creator protect & save thy lost & erring child – D. N.

As the passage of years continued unabated, David Newsom aged in measure with the home of brick and wood that his father had completed in December 1832. Life on the Newsom farmstead was dictated in large part by the ebb and flow of the seasons, just as it was in earlier times.[85] Crops were planted and harvested in turn; fences were built, split rails eventually being replaced with barbed wire; aged outbuildings of hand-hewn timbers were torn down and rebuilt with milled lumber. The wonders of Alexander Graham Bell's telephone arrived, as did the first rural mails; medicinals were ordered by post, and goods were procured from the catalogues of Montgomery Ward, Sears & Roebuck, and the John M. Smyth Company. Sustenance was derived from Newsom's cattle, hogs, chickens, and sheep; wool was shorn from the latter each spring and carted to Fulton for sale. Mature apple, plum, pear, and peach trees blossomed and bore fruit; new grandchildren were born, and longtime acquaintances were lost.

On April 21, 1890, in an underlined script, David Newsom (1893:93) observed in simple terms, "Lewis Newsom's wife died last night." Harvey's former bondsperson and his wife Ann, residing on lands adjacent to David's in the old neighborhood (Newsom 1905:2; Ogle 1897:28, 35), had been man and wife for twenty-eight years, three months, and ten days; from their union were born at least eight children (U.S. Census Bureau 1880:556B; 1900:41B). Five days later, David took note: "35 years to-day Ann & I were married. Eventful, joyful, sorrowful years!" (Newsom 1893:93).

The Twelfth United States Census for Callaway County, Missouri was enumerated on June 12, 1900. At the turn of the twentieth century, David and Ann, married for some forty-five years, continued to reside in the old Newsom dwelling with

[85] In addition to personal recollections and musings, David's journals (Newsom 1893 and 1912) contain a variety of references to catalog acquisitions, farming activities, weather observations, and use of new technology, to include the telephone.

their son Hubert, Agnes, his wife of six years, and their infant child Edith (U.S. Census Bureau 1900:41A). The remainder of the Newsom children had married and established homes of their own, some nearby, others far distant.

In September 1889, David and Ann's son Robert purchased eighty-five acres from his father and began construction of a home there, less than a half-mile east of the Newsom family cemetery; on October 13, 1889, Robert married Miss Medora Hopkins, staying on with David and Ann until his house was completed (Newsom 1893:86-87). Newsom's daughter Miranda married George McClellan Brown on September 6, 1893; the newlyweds soon set off on the long trip to Anthony, Florida, where they settled (Newsom 1893:133). Finally, on December 31, 1894, the day before her father's sixty-second birthday, Rosine Newsom was joined in marriage to Hugh Tincher Cottrill; the young couple removed to Tebbetts, Missouri, not far from Cote Sans Dessein (Grover 2014f).

Sadly, tragedy once again befell the family of David and Ann Newsom. The Population Schedules for the U.S. Census of 1900 (U.S. Census Bureau 1900:40B-41A) list a "Medora Newsom" as a widowed head of household in the home enumerated immediately prior to David's; additional occupants included Medora's son David Edward, then eight years of age; Susan, seven; Marion, five years old; a young male domestic, and Medora's aging father. The only trace of her late husband was his surname and the children he had left behind some five years before.

According to Ms. Annie B. Norman (personal communication, June 23, 2014), on the last day of November 1895, David Newsom asked his son Robert to put an incurably "lump-jawed" cow out of its considerable misery. Armed for the unpleasant but

necessary task, the thirty-seven year old father of three was climbing over a fence to reach the stricken animal, lost his footing, and discharged his firearm into his own body. He died almost instantly. More than a decade afterward, Newsom (1912:79) wrote of his son's death:

> 1906 Nov 30 I visited the spot this morning where our poor dear son Robert Newsom drew his last breath. There he fell 11 years ago to-day. Oh-Oh! How quickly that time has passed. We have fond recollections of him.
>
> Dec 1st 1906 I visited the grave where we buried our dead son Robert 11 years to-day – there to drop sorrows, tears.

David's son was interred close by his grandmother Elizabeth in the Newsom family burying grounds; the gravestone McLaurin (1991:136) appears to refer to as memorializing Robert Newsom (1789–1855) is that of Newsom's grandson.

Approximately five years later, on November 14, 1900, David and Ann lost their daughter Ellen due to unreported causes at the age of thirty-seven years, eleven months, and twenty-six days; Mary Elizabeth followed her younger sister on March 18, 1906, several months shy of her fiftieth birthday (Grover 2013a:24-25). With each successive year, the Newsoms (Figure 27) witnessed the passing of additional family and friends, many marked by an entry in one of David's journals; by the time of Virginia's passing in April of 1899, Newsom had lost all of his siblings, save his little sister Polly. In mid-January 1907, he inscribed the following in his journal: "The loved dead visit us only in dreams" (Newsom 1912:135).

On February 1, 1907, David paid a visit to Lewis Newsom, whose apparently declining health warranted a journal record; of the family's former bondsperson, David wrote: "He may not live until spring" (Newsom 1912:79). In fact, Lewis would linger

Figure 27. Ann and David Newsom, ca. 1900. Reprint from the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

until spring and beyond, though he began to fade in earnest during the summer of 1908: "June 15 I visited Lewis Newsom – he is weakening down" (Newsom 1912:62). Finally, just a few weeks later, Newsom (1912:82) wrote:

> 1908 July 8 Lewis Newsom died, just before sunrise.
> July 9 Was buried on south side of his son Harvey.
>
> Hubert [David's son] as executor of his will inventoried his property – sic transit gloria mundi.[86]

[86] "Thus passes the glory of the world."

> And now I David Newsom being in the 76th year of my age, am the last one that remains who were living here in 1840, in fact the last one living on this the Cote Sans Dessein road from that place to Fulton, in 1840. – the last leaf upon the tree in the season of life. Oh! Oh! –

But as death follows life, so life follows death; in early January of the following year, a daughter of David and Ann's late child Ellen gave birth; Newsom marked the occasion thusly: "1909 Jan 8 Rosene Mosley Herring had born to her a girl babe…Ho-Ho! I am 'Great Grandfather' now" (Newsom 1912:85).

Rooms of Light and Air

Hubert Newsom, the youngest of David's four surviving children, departed David and Ann's home on November 20, 1909, one day after he sold his share of the family's telephone line to his father, "with all the rights of exchange to which he was entitled." With his wife Agnes and their ten year old daughter Edith, Hubert removed to New Bloomfield, Missouri (Missouri State Board of Health 1912; Newsom 1912:67, 87). Shortly thereafter, on December 21, 1909, David Newsom and Ann shifted their lodgings from his late father's house to the tidily constructed folk-Victorian addition David had built adjacent to the earlier home (Newsom 1912:39). By that time, the brick dwelling constructed by Robert during 1832 was nearing eighty years of age, and though David had labored to maintain it over the years, laying new floors, seeing to the soundness of its roof, and periodically renewing the wall plaster (Newsom 1893:87, 107; 1912:79), the passage of time must have begun to overtake Newsom's efforts; perhaps the old brick home had simply grown overly damp and oppressive in comparison to the rooms of light and air promised by his new addition.

The Population Schedules for the Thirteenth Census of the United States for Callaway County, Missouri (U.S. Census Bureau 1910:38B), enumerated in late April of 1910, corroborate the departure of Hubert and his family from the Newsom dwelling. For the final time, the assistant marshal took note of David Newsom as the "head of household". In the adjacent brick home, the enumerator recorded Letus Herring, husband of David's granddaughter Rosene, as head of household, wherein he resided with his wife and infant daughter Lucille. That David and Letus were each noted as being heads of distinct households appears to confirm the continuing existence of Robert Newsom's 1832 brick dwelling. The supposition is further substantiated by a journal entry David composed seven months later, in which he wrote: "Letus & Rosie Herring quit their board here," after which they presumably departed the area (Newsom 1912:87).

The most recent photograph of David Newsom in Ms. Norman's possession during her June 2014 visit to Missouri was captured by his then nineteen year old grandson David Edward Newsom, the oldest child of Robert and Medora (Hopkins) Newsom. It was printed on a simple postcard and mailed to David Newsom at his Rural Free Delivery address on October 28, 1910. Upon the "message" side of the card is written, "David Newsom standing on south side of his barn in 1910," beneath which is inscribed, "This picture was taken by D. Ed. Newsom. Kodac." The face, or "billboard side" of the postcard, bears David's photograph (Figure 28); the subject is seen standing in front of what appears to be his new dwelling rather than a barn, a curtain visible in the window over his right shoulder; the simple inscription reads, "David Newsom 1910."

Figure 28. David Newsom, seventy-seven, standing in front of his newly constructed residence. Photograph by David E. Newsom, 1910. From the personal collection of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

I Retrospect

David Newsom (1912:151) observed the seventy-ninth anniversary of his birth on January 1, 1912. On that day, in a clear, steady hand he penned the following:

> Today I stand at the mile post which separates or stands between 1911 and 1912.
>
> I look back through the long vista of years – I retrospect. I see much to disapprove and not much to approve, and the question comes to my mind, if I

had to live it over again would I make any improvement? Alas! I fear not.

I look forward – peering into the future. Tis all dark.

"All without is dark and drear. All within is doubt and fear."

On Friday, February 16, 1912, Newsom's forty-eight year old physician, Charles H. Christian, was summoned to David's home where he was suffering an acute worsening of his health. For at least five years, Doctor Christian had been attending to David and Ann's well-being under a variety of circumstances, treating them for bronchial afflictions, broken bones, and unspecified illnesses (Newsom 1912:71, 80, 85; U.S. Census Bureau 1910:60B). For two years, Doctor Christian had been attempting to treat David for "chronic gastric catarrh," a condition of the stomach and digestive system characterized by changes in appetite, anorexia, anemia, occasional vomiting, painful heartburn, and various mental manifestations of the illness, such as hypochondriacism and depression; patients frequently expressed "the most dismal reflections as to their future" (Eichhorst 1901:214-215; Missouri State Board of Health 2012). At times, emaciation could become so pronounced that latent gastric carcinoma would be suspected, though the condition could also stem from excessive use of alcohol, tobacco, and in association with chronic diseases of the lungs, heart, and liver, especially cirrhosis (Eichhorst 1901:212-213).

On September 23, 1908, David wrote in his journal, "I weigh 115 lbs in light clothes today – Hubert 145 lbs" (Newsom 1912:81). On June 21, 1910, Newsom (1912:49) composed the following entry: "I weigh today barefoot, bare head, thin cotton pants & shirt – 106 lbs – the most I weighed when young was 145 lbs – but my working

weight for many years was 135 lbs – deducting 106 present weight from my working weight 135 lbs there is a loss of 29 lbs. — getting quite thin you see."

On Friday, February 23, 1912, at ten minutes past five o'clock in the afternoon, David Newsom died at the age of seventy-nine years, one month, twenty-two days (Missouri State Board of Health 1912; Norman 1958a:1). According to Newsom's Certificate of Death, signed by Doctor C. H. Christian on February 24, 1912, the cause of David's passing was "chronic gastric catarrh". David Newsom, last son of Robert and Elizabeth "Betsy" (Gwinn) Newsom, was laid to rest on Sunday, February 25, 1912, approximately twenty-five feet from his mother in the Newsom family cemetery.

Nearly fifteen years later, on January 6, 1927, David's widow Mary Ann (Dunham) Newsom passed away at the age of ninety-three years, four months, three days (Grover 2013a:24; Missouri State Board of Health 1927). By all evidence the final resident of the Newsom landholding, Ann was laid to rest beside her husband in the Newsom family burying ground overlooking the valley of the Middle River, there amidst the others to endure the passing ages.

RESULTS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Summary of Efforts

Archaeological investigations aimed at identifying the location, possible function, and temporal association of structures and activity areas at the Newsom Farmstead Site (23CY497) were undertaken intermittently between July 2013 and May 2014. Fieldwork included pedestrian surface survey; datum and grid establishment; metal detection; shovel testing; artifact collection; and recordation of investigations through field notes, digital photography, and mapping.

In order to benefit from the improved period of visibility arising from dormancy of pasture grasses, woodland forbs, and deciduous trees, field investigations were anticipated to begin in earnest during the early winter of 2014. Regionally unfavorable conditions characterized by threats of ice or snow prevailed throughout January and February 2014; however, a window of relatively moderate weather opened on the weekend of March 14 and held for the following six weeks. With the exception of a single day in May spent completing recordation of the Newsom Cemetery, the greater part of field investigations concluded on April 23, 2014. Results of those investigations are summarized below.

Pedestrian Survey

An opportunistic walkover of Robert Newsom's former landholding was performed over portions of eight noncontiguous days during the summer of 2013 and the winter/spring of 2014. Efforts to identify surface features were focused within a ca. fifty-

nine acre area that included the site habitation core, adjacent slopes and ridgelines, various wooded zones, ephemeral drainages, the Newsom Cemetery, and portions of the unnamed Middle River tributary that passes through the northern half of the property (Figure 29). Where appropriate to do so, metal detection and limited opportunistic shovel testing were used to augment visual surface inspection in promising areas.

An informal walkover of the site core and neighboring landforms was performed on July 6, 2013. Intended primarily as an "orientation visit," local vegetation types, previously recorded structural components, and a number of additional features were observed at that time, including the old Cote Sans Dessein-to-Fulton road and the probable location of Newsom's still house. Follow-up pedestrian surveys undertaken between March 14 and April 18, 2014, revealed the possible location of historical fence lines, possible remnants of several fieldstone foundations on the periphery of the currently defined habitation area, a small number of widely dispersed individual artifacts, and elements of considerable interest within the Newsom family burying ground. The more prominent features observed during walkover, both previously recorded and newly described, are discussed below.

Foundation Remnants. Beginning with the July 1985 recordation of the Newsom Farmstead by Heritage Preservation Associates, researchers have taken note of the haphazardly strewn foundation stones occupying the central portion of the site habitation core area, thought to have been distributed there in no apparent pattern "by earth moving machinery" (Kandare 1985:1). Since that time, additional foundation remnants and other indicators of mechanical disturbance have been observed in various locations within the habitation core area and on its periphery, including two low

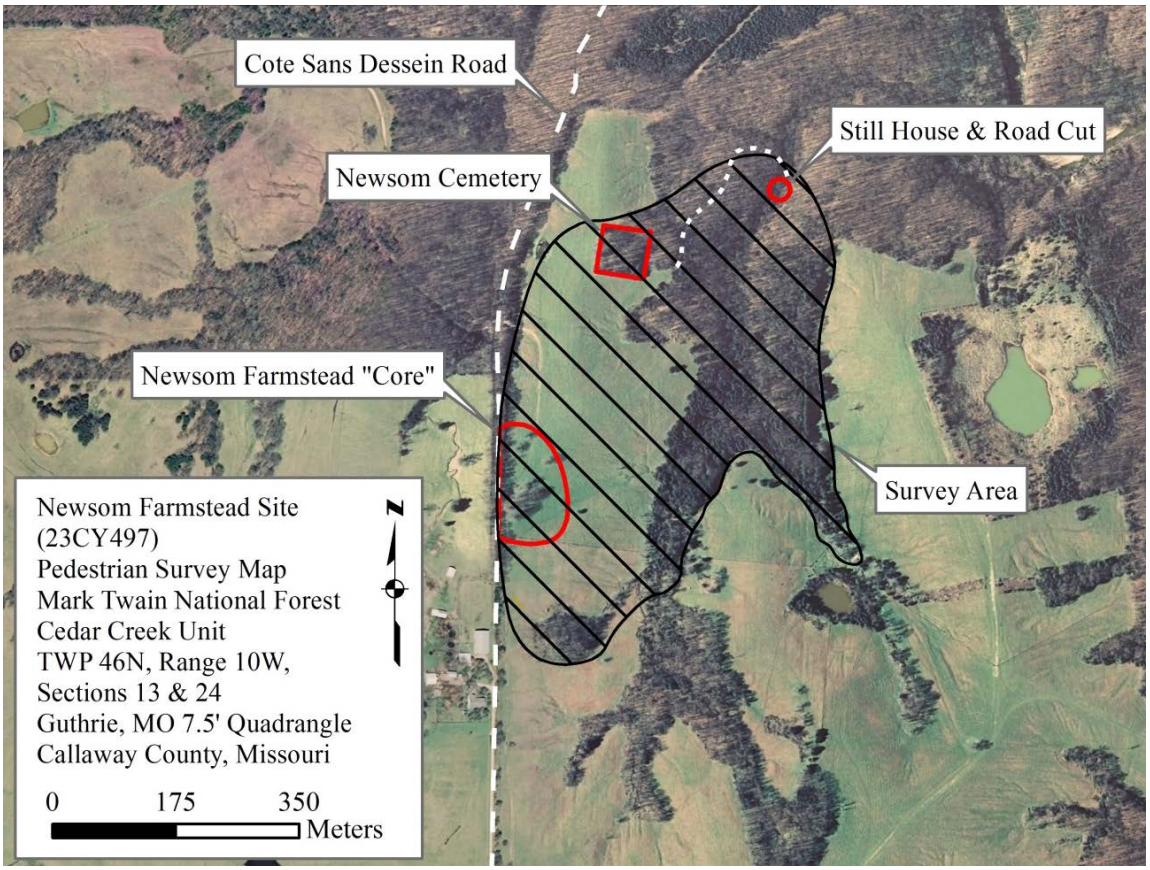

Figure 29. Aerial photograph showing currently identified Newsom Farmstead activity loci and extent of the pedestrian survey area.

"push-piles" of debris adjacent to the dwelling locations and a mix of limestone slabs and associated material displaced into the deeply entrenched Cote Sans Dessein road on the site's western margin (Figure 30). More significantly, however, investigators have also described the presence of *in situ* footing/foundation remnants in several locations, including the late-period barn area, the well house location, and the presumed location of Robert Newsom's 1832 brick dwelling (Hamby 2002; Hill 2005c; Rideout et al. 2012).

Among the historical documents reviewed to date, Robert's dwelling comprises the primary reference point to which all other structures are spatially related. For

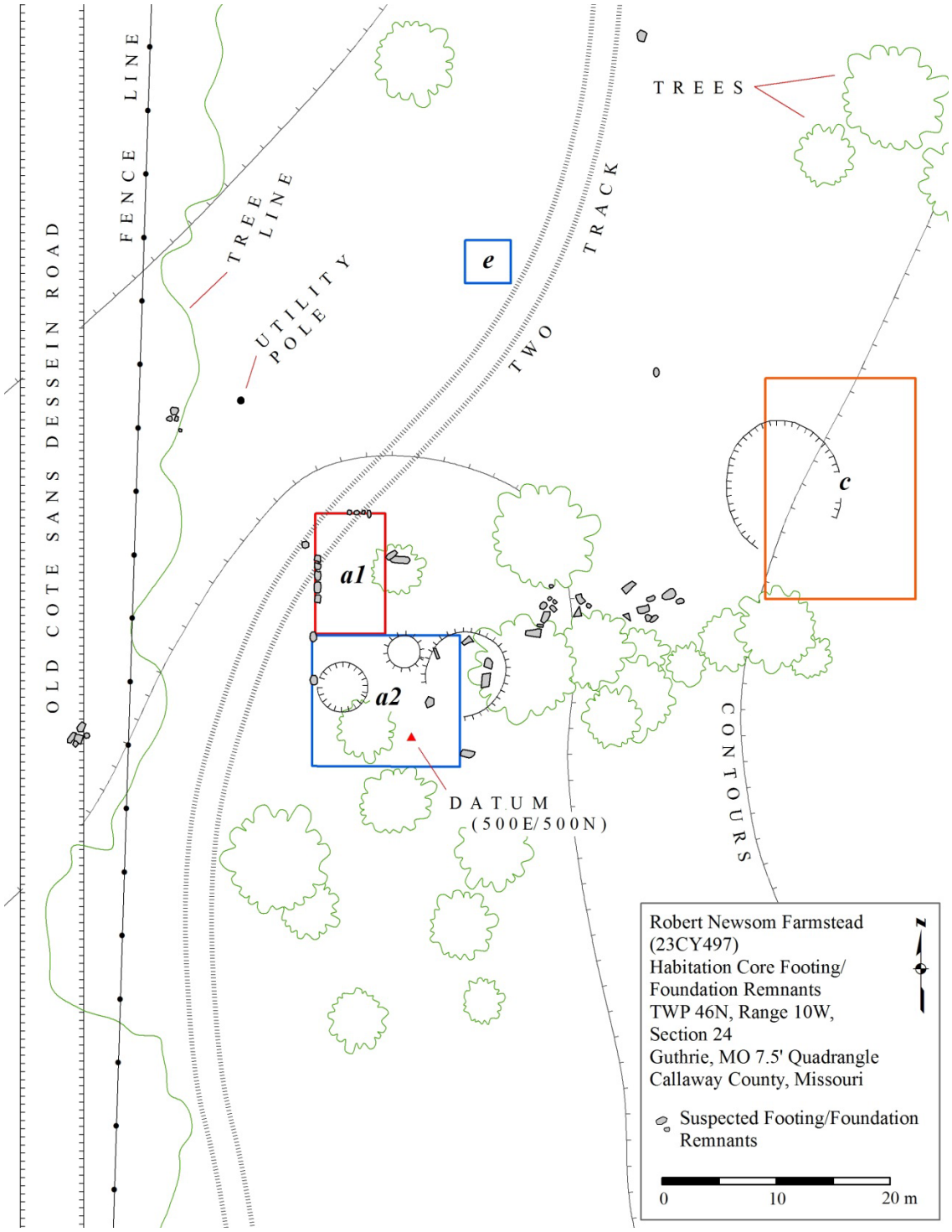

Figure 30. Sketch map of the primary habitation area showing the distribution of suspected native stone footing/foundation remnants, mechanical disturbance "push-piles," and surface depressions (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *c,* possible locale of Celia's cabin; *e,* unidentified small structure; the late-period barn and well house locations are not shown).

example, in his August 2, 1855 letter to the editor of the *Daily Missouri Republican*,[87] Harvey Newsom contends that the cabin where his father's mortal remains were destroyed "is distant from the dwelling about fifty yards". During Celia's October 1855 trial, Virginia Winscott testified that the bondwoman's quarters were "about 60 steps from the house," while the kitchen, she stated, "joins the dwelling house."[88] Half a century later, David Newsom (1912:84) again made use of his father's home as the site's referential locus, writing, "On July 9th 1828 my father Robert Newsom raised his log barn 42 x 20 ft South of the [future location of the] brick house".

The scattered foundation stones and push-piles described above signify unmistakable mechanical disturbance within the site core area, the extent of which has a direct bearing on assessments of site integrity and the potential informational value of artifact distribution analyses within the habitation core. Conversely, the intact remnants of Newsom's home constitute a tangible link to the site's inhabitants and the events which transpired there. In context, their presence situates Robert's dwelling on the existing landscape and allows for preliminary reconstruction and subsequent consideration of the spaces around it. Additional discussions of site integrity are presented later in the chapter.

The House Well. There are several references in the historical documents to wells on the Newsom property (Newsom1893:63; 1912:76, 84, 101), though only one such feature has been located, to date. Approximately 70 meters east of where Robert Newsom's 1832 brick dwelling once stood is a functioning rock-lined well with a concrete and aggregate superstructure that appears to have been added during a later

[87] Harvey Newsom's letter to the editor, Daily Missouri Republican, August 2, 1855, Volume 33, No. 181, p.2.
[88] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of Virginia Winscott, October 10, 1855.

period (Figure 31). The well is located on the gentle slope behind/east of the habitation area within the grassy, upper-most portion of a shallow ephemeral drain that extends from the home ridge northeast to the "well branch," which in turn winds its way northward to the Middle River. Whether the well described above is the original "house well" constructed by Robert and Harvey during 1827 (Newsom 1912:84) or a separate feature built concurrently with the brick home has not been determined, though it appears to have been a fixture of the landscape by 1840.

Reflecting on his childhood, David Newsom (1912:101) writes, "I recollect when I was 7 years old of walking among the ripening wheat which grew on the ridge east of the house well in company with negro boy George (same age as myself)".[89] If the existing well was constructed by the Newsoms in 1827, it would be a fairly reliable indicator that the log house occupied by the Newsoms until late 1832 lay fairly close by. The journal entry cited above regarding the construction of the Newsom barn "south of the [future location of the] brick house" (Newsom 1912:84) hints obliquely at that possibility; it is unlikely that Robert would have constructed his log barn any great distance from the family dwelling (Newton 1974:151), nor the dwelling any great distance from the house well (Moir 1987c:231).

The Cote Sans Dessein-to-Fulton Road. As previously noted, the old Cote Sans Dessein-to-Fulton road passes south-to-north approximately seventy-five feet west of what would have been Robert Newsom's housefront, and its presence would have significantly impacted quality of life for the Newsoms and their bondspeople. The earliest map of the road located to date is an 1864 plat map of Township 46 North, Range

[89] Newsom was born on January 1, 1833, so is referencing events that occurred sometime during 1840.

Figure 31. Overview of site core area showing location of well (concrete and aggregate well superstructure, lower right). The mixed stand of mature trees at center marks the location of the Newsom dwellings/habitation core area. Facing west (April 18, 2014).

11 West prepared by the Federal Army during its occupation of Callaway County (reproduced in Douglas 2001:193); it clearly depicts the road passing immediately to the west of "D. Newsoms" residence. David Newsom himself (1912:82), reflecting on the 1908 death of his family's former bondsperson Lewis Newsom, reliably places his dwelling beside the road as early as 1840, writing in his journal, "I…am the last one that remains who were living here…on this the Cote Sans Dessein road from that place to Fulton, in 1840."

The precise age of the roadway is uncertain. The village of Cote Sans Dessein had been established by 1808 (Wetmore 1837:47), though Fulton wasn't formally laid out until the mid-1820s (Bryan and Rose 1876:301; Parker 1867:204). Nevertheless, it is possible that what would eventually become the Cotes Sans Dessein-to-Fulton road existed as a trail or series of trails extending between the two loci at the time Robert Newsom settled his property during 1822–23. That Newsom later chose to construct his 1832 brick dwelling adjacent to and facing such a road is consistent with notions of farmstead organization typical of the Upland South during that period (Adams 1990:94; Glassie 1986:417-418; Newton 1974:151); doing so would not only have afforded the Newsoms and their bondspeople proximity to the road's shared social space and a view of those passing along it, but improved market access, as well.

The Still House Location. In one of several journal entries that describe specific attributes of the Newsom Farmstead, David Newsom (1912:84) writes: "I think it was about the year 1840 that my father built the brick still house down the well branch – Wilkersons were the brick masons who did the brick work and Thomas Ming did the carpenter work on it." Although Robert Newsom's still house was not constructed until ca. 1840, his association with the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors was by that time one of long standing. The historical record indicates that Newsom possessed and traded modestly in various distillery components and accoutrement during the early 1830s; as of April 1843, he had eighteen barrels of whiskey on hand—567 gallons, according to standard measures of the day—valued at a combined $270 (Botham 1837:235; Newsom 1888b:8, 30, 55; Newsom 1888a:n.p.). In addition to a "steamboat boiler" once intended for use in an improved distilling apparatus, the September 1855

appraisal of Newsom's estate includes a number of relatively valuable copper still components, including a still cap and a condensing coil, or "worm" (Dunham Nd:1; Hyten et al. 1855:3). In light of David Newsom's above recollection, it is evident that by 1840 Robert felt construction of a brick structure dedicated solely to the production of liquor to be a worthwhile capital investment.

An exploratory walkover of the "well branch" and adjoining slopes was undertaken during the summer of 2013 in hopes of identifying the location of Newsom's still house and signs of any other features that may have been situated along the drainage or adjacent landforms. Approximately 450 meters downstream of the farmstead core, the stream channel descends rather abruptly from an overhanging bedrock exposure into a relatively deep, cool hollow (Figure 32); visual examination of the space beneath the overhang revealed a number of handmade bricks and brick fragments very similar to specimens noted in the Newsom site core area. Further inspection yielded what appeared to be a fairly recent "collector's pile" of intact bricks arrayed haphazardly at the foot of the northwest wall of the hollow, a broad scatter of bricks and brick fragments on the adjacent terrace, and two low piles of construction materials in a soil matrix; one pile mostly of brick, the other primarily of rough stone. No intact structural remnants were observed.

A regrettably cursory follow-up visit to the suspected still house location during the afternoon of March 22, 2014, with metal detector and leaf rake in-hand, yielded a number of ferrous "hits," though only two surface finds were investigated at that time: a ca. 20d wire nail and a length of what appears to be Baker's Two-Point barbed wire, patented in 1883 (Clifton 1970:90); neither artifact was collected. A final walkover of

Figure 32. Dry season photograph of the "falls area" adjacent to which Robert Newsom appears to have constructed his still house in ca. 1840 (Newsom 1912:84). Facing southeast (July 6, 2013).

the area revealed several widely scattered water-worn fragments of stoneware in the stream channel as well as an old road cut that ascends from the location of the still house toward the Newsom family cemetery and the farmstead core several hundred meters farther to the southwest (see Figure 29). Establishment of such a road cut on the steep hillslope indicates that the area likely saw relatively intensive use for a time, though neither the purported still house nor the path leading to it are readily apparent on the 1941 aerial photographs reviewed to date,[90] possibly signifying abandonment of those features some years prior. Given the lack of formal investigations at the well branch falls area, what evidence other than consistency with David Newsom's journal entry suggests an

[90] Aerial Photographs TK-2B-72 (9-22-41) and TK-5B-48 (11-28-41), on file with the Mark Twain National Forest and Natural Resources Conservation Service, Fulton, Missouri.

association between that location and the still house he described? Land ownership records, material culture, and oral history.

The ostensible site of Robert Newsom's still house appears to rest on or very close to the forty acres issued by patent to Harvey Newsom on November 11, 1837, upon which the family burying ground is located (GLO Document No. 6012, November 7, 1837). The exact boundary between those lands and the adjacent aliquot part cannot be determined without a more precise geographic survey; however the latter acreage was issued by patent to Robert Newsom as an assignee of Lewis Courtney on December 10, 1853 (GLO Document No. 27111, December 10, 1853). In either case, therefore, the Newsoms would have eventually held clear title to the still house property.

David Newsom refers to use of barbed wire on his lands in an August 9, 1884 journal entry, in which he observes, "…bought 290 lbs barbed wire at 6 ½ cts per lb of W.B. Berghauser also 6 lbs staples @ 8c = .48cts & 1 wire stretcher @ $1.50" (Newsom 1893:22). On February 7, 1887, he writes, "Commenced still house fence." Four days later: "Finished still house fence" (Newsom 1893:55). Whether the above enclosure was constructed of split rails or barbed wire is not specified; both were in use by David Newsom during that period, suggesting that his adoption of wire fencing was a gradual one. Although identification of the barbed wire found at the still house's supposed location as "Baker's Two-Point" is provisional, the product's 1883 patent date is consistent with its possible use by Newsom in construction of what he would call "the still house fence" during February 1887.

While touring the Newsom family cemetery on June 23, 2014, Ms. Annie B. Norman, Robert Newsom's great-great granddaughter, recalled a visit to the site during

the summer of 1974, following her daughter's graduation from college (Annie B. Norman, personal communication, June 23, 2014). Gesturing in an easterly direction, Ms. Norman stated: "The still house was farther away that way and it had…uh…and the water flowed over…The still house was not standing, but there was a pool…where the water overflowed. And that's where my kids got in…It was…They pulled off their clothes and went in, in their undies." Asked if she happened to recall scattered brick and stone in the area, she replied, "That was down where the still house was…That still house was down there."

Researchers (e.g., Burke 2010:6; Green et al. 1993:33) have cited the ability of enslaved individuals to occasionally traverse the nineteenth century landscape unsupervised while performing errands and the capacity to take on odd jobs for pay during one's "free time" as examples of the qualified autonomy sometimes permitted bondspeople under Missouri's system of slavery. Whether Newsom's bondspeople were allowed to tend his distillery without direct supervision is not known; however the remote location of the still house with respect to the farmstead proper could have afforded them a welcome respite from what Robert K. Fitts (1996:60, 64-65) describes as the "constant surveillance" of enslaved individuals living in the relatively close confines of small-scale slaveholdings. According to Fitts, who investigated power relations on the small plantation farms of Narragansett, Rhode Island, even a temporary reprieve from such scrutiny would have allowed for the free exchange of information or the sharing of a simple joke at the slaveholder's expense, small but important acts of resistance that may have been difficult to achieve in more closely monitored spaces (Fitts 1996:58).

The Newsom Burying Ground. The earliest reported death on the Newsom landholding was that of Robert Newsom's son William (1829–1835). In a journal kept during his later years, David Newsom (1912:101) writes, "I recall when my older brother William died in 1835. I also recall that my cousin Ira Jarret took me into the big room and told me as he held me up to look into the coffin, 'There is your poor little dead brother.'" Several pages further on, Newsom (1912:107) recorded the approximate location of William's burial: "Bro W^{m} in sec 13 T. 46, R. 10".

The Newsom Family Cemetery (23CY496), overgrown and enclosed by a barbed wire fence with no point of entry, occupies an acre of broad, partially forested ridgetop in the southwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 13, Township 46 North, Range 10 West. It is not known if the graveyard was founded upon William Newsom's presumed 1835 burial at that location or if William joined others interred there prior to his death. Although the families of Robert and Harvey Newsom would lose four additional children between 1837 and 1845 (Grover 2013a:11, 27; Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Norman 1958a:2), the historical record does not indicate where those children were laid to rest, nor have any of the Newsom Cemetery burial markers identified to date been associated with William or any other child. Indeed, all of the inscribed gravestones memorialize adults. The earliest dated monument commemorates Harvey's wife Jemima (Caldwell), who passed on May 17, 1849; the most recent is a shared red granite bevel marker inscribed with the given name of David Newsom's wife Mary Ann (Dunham), who breathed her last on January 6, 1927.

Excluding present investigations, the Newsom burying ground has been formally documented at least five times since 1982. During the course of those site visits,

investigators recorded the presence of up to nine legibly inscribed gravestones and several possible burial depressions (see Ewens and Lawson 1982; Henley and Harris 1984b; Hill 2003b; Klinger and Kandare 1988; Rideout et al. 2012b). These previous works primarily described the cemetery as an individual cultural resource associated with the Newsom farmstead but distinct from it; however, it is essentially an outlying activity area representative of mortuary behavior. Accordingly, cemetery walkovers and supplemental documentation of the property were undertaken not only as a means of verifying historical accounts of the Newsom family history, but also to assess the potential for the Newsom graveyard to further inform our understanding of interpersonal relationships and power relations on the landholding.

Pedestrian survey, photo-documentation, and site mapping were implemented over portions of four days during the 2013–14 field investigations. In addition to relocation of the inscribed monuments, seventeen possible funerary markers of unadorned fieldstone, four of which are associated with what appear to be burial depressions, were observed in regularly spaced though imperfect rows amidst the heavy undergrowth on the margins of and outside the Newsom family "core burial area" (Figures 33–37). Reliable quantification of interments within the cemetery is difficult, however: wooden markers long since gone may once have stood among the gravestones, several of which possibly correspond with head/footstone pairings; still other burials are likely to remain unobserved beneath the dense ground cover. Even so, more than a dozen graves may be represented by the anonymous stone markers and associated depressions that have been recorded to date. Although the individual identities of those resting there

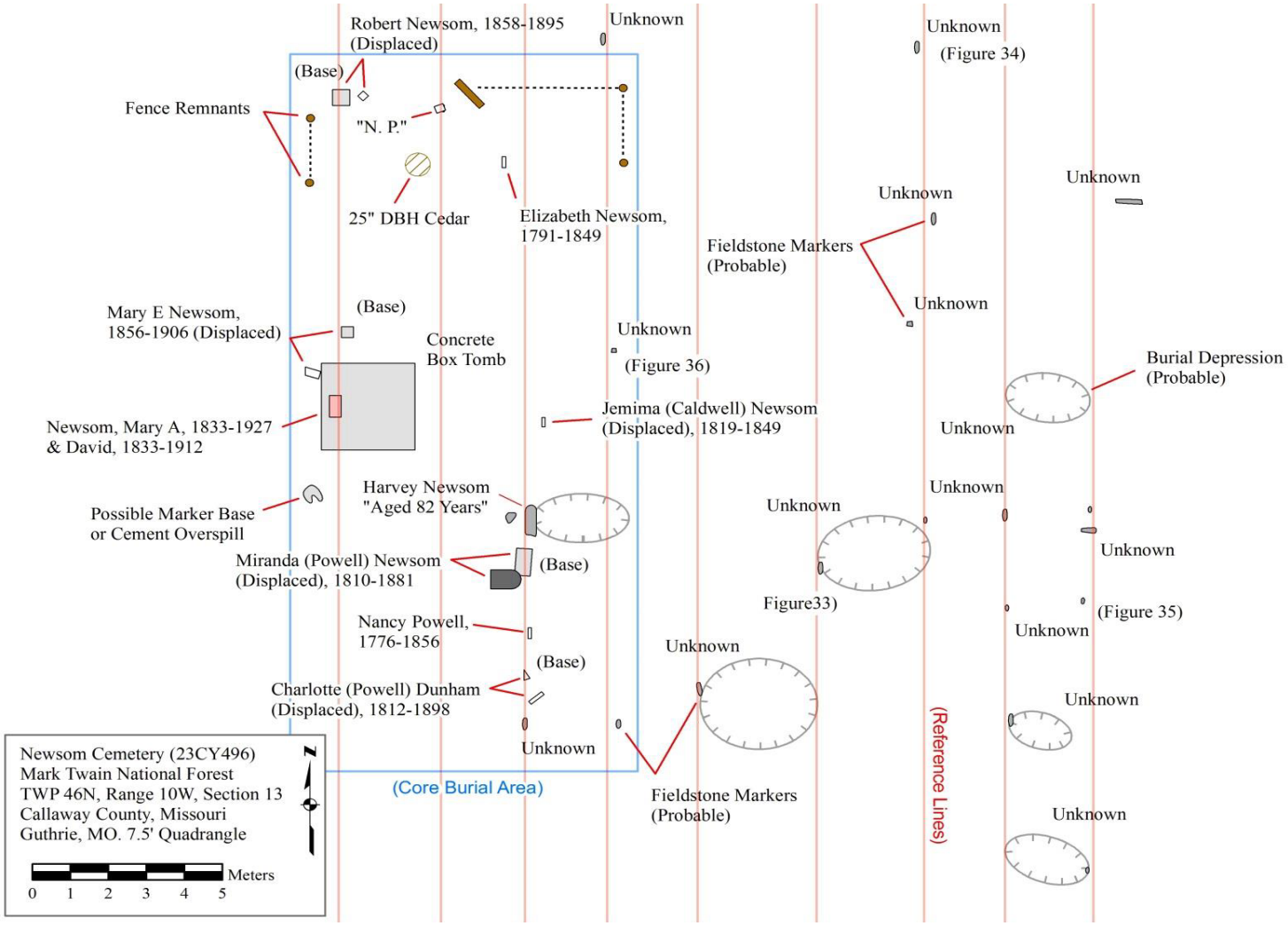

Figure 33. Sketch map of the Newsom Cemetery (23CY496). Burial markers recorded between July 6, 2013 and May 16, 2014. Note "core burial area" and fairly symmetrical alignment of observed rows.

Figure 34. Vertical fieldstone marker. Newsom Family Cemetery, Callaway County, Missouri.

are not currently determinable, several of the interments closest to the currently defined family core burial area may be those of the Newsom children discussed above.

A number of the outlying graves might also be those of Newsom family bondspeople. Recent historical narratives and the oral history of Newsom descendants support the contention that enslaved individuals were buried within the graveyard, as currently defined. Judge Hugh P. Williamson, writing of events at the Newsom site in the *Midwest Journal*, accurately described the cemetery as being "some four hundred

Figure 35. Roughly dressed semi-vertical fieldstone marker. Newsom Family Cemetery, Callaway County, Missouri.

yards farther on" from Robert's home (Williamson 1956:409); he continued by characterizing the burying ground as a place "where Negroes and whites were interred near together, as was the general custom." During a June 2014 visit to the Newsom landholding and family cemetery, the subject was broached to Ms. Annie B. Norman; she responded quite simply and with no equivocation: "There's…some of the slaves were out here…that's where they were buried" (Annie B. Norman, personal communication, June 23, 2014). Barbara Huddleston, curator at the

Figure 36. Vertical fieldstone marker. Newsom Family Cemetery, Callaway County, Missouri.

Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society in Fulton, Missouri, writes of the unidentified Newsom graves as follows (personal communication, June 13, 2014):

> [These] sound like slave burials, to me…We know that the Sayers had a separate cemetery for their slaves but he was the largest slave owner when he died in 1855. It really was a plantation farm as much as we could have in this county. The Hawkins/Casons are supposed to have slaves on the outside of their cemetery and White Cloud Presbyterian Church has an area to the side of the big cemetery where blacks are buried. There is another cemetery with slaves buried very near the whites and the descendants have listed them on the big stone marker they placed there.

Figure 37. Vertical fieldstone marker. Newsom Family Cemetery, Callaway County, Missouri.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, use of unadorned fieldstones to mark the final resting place of the deceased was by no means limited solely to the graves of enslaved African-Americans. Such monuments are also found in the cemeteries of free whites throughout portions of the South, the Mid-Atlantic States, and other regions where fieldstone markers abound, their use likely dictated by practical considerations (e.g., Crissman1994:121:122; Finch 2004:66; Heinrich 2011:30; Helsley 1997:6, 8; Jordan 2010:43-44; Richards 2007:34; Sobel et al. 2012:9-10). Professionally carved gravestones were not immediately available on the frontier, and following settlement

their expense often put them beyond the reach of the underprivileged, both free and enslaved alike. Where markers indicating the location of slave burials have survived, however, a number of researchers have observed a high proportion of interments commemorated with simple fieldstone monuments (e.g., Cloues 1986:4; Fitts 1996:62-63; Machiran 2013:28; McCausland and Jourdan 2000:7, 10-11; Rine and Van West 1994:14, 23; Sobel et al. 2011:10).

Additional considerations may have influenced their usage in the context of slave burials. Fitts (1996:62-63) and Machiran (2013:28) postulate that contrasts of the sort observed between the ornately carved stones often used by planters and the fieldstone monuments frequently marking burials of the enslaved represent attempts on the part of the slaveholder to reinforce notions not only of their superiority, but of the essential "otherness" of their bondspeople, two concepts fundamental in maintaining rationalizations for slavery. The segregation of other common ritualized activities, such as seating at table and Sunday religious services, was intended to convey similar meaning (Fitts 1996:58-61).

Segregation of cemeteries according to enslaved status or race appears to have been the norm throughout the slaveholding states as well as the free ones (Bryant 2003:750), and could either be physical or notional, achieved by means of measurable geographic separation or through construction of symbolic barriers, such as low walls or fences. Machiran (2013:28) documented the Coleman Slave Cemetery in Wildwood, Missouri; it was found to be ca. 250 meters distant from the Coleman family cemetery. Sobel et al. (2011:7) recorded the African American cemetery at the Nathan Boone

Homestead State Historic Site near Ash Grove, Missouri; it rests ca. 60 meters from the Boone family graveyard.

Although the relative proximity of the Newsom family burials to those of their bondspeople differs considerably from the examples cited above, placement of the enslaved burials outside but adjacent to the family core area is consistent with practices of notionally segregated interment reported elsewhere. According to Elizabeth Sobel (personal communication, July 12, 2015), the historic sections of several private cemeteries located in towns around Springfield, Missouri, exhibit patterns of interment similar to that of the Newsom burial ground. The Danforth Cemetery in Stafford, Missouri, is one such case; therein, slaveholders and other free whites are buried within a clearly demarked core area, while their former bondspeople and comparatively more recent free blacks are interred just outside.

As Fitts (1996:63) observes, segregation of burial spaces may have symbolically marked the enslaved as being excluded from white society, thereby emphasizing their "otherness". Because of the religious weight attendant to funerals, however, segregated burying grounds may have been intended to convey additional meaning: not only were bondspeople different in the slaveholder's eyes, they were different in the eyes of God. That a majority of the enslaved actually internalized this "ideology of alienation" is doubtful; however such messages almost certainly reinforced beliefs previously held by a majority of slaveholders, thus providing an additional rationale for the ongoing existence of slavery and helping to justify the constant threat of physical force to maintain it (Fitts 1996:67-68).

Whether the fieldstone burial markers identified within the Newsom Cemetery designate the interments of Newsom children, family bondspeople, or both cannot be definitively established at this time; unless and until additional historical information comes to light they will remain anonymous. At the very least, however, their existence has been recognized and can be taken into account with respect to future endeavors.

Subsurface Testing

Shovel testing at the Newsom Farmstead was a significant component of the current research strategy and was used for the following exploratory purposes: to recover a sample of metallic artifacts located through metal detection; to opportunistically search for subsurface archaeological deposits in high-probability areas; to systematically investigate the distribution of artifacts within a substantial portion of the site habitation core; and as a means of evaluating site formation processes. All test matrices, typically composed of sediments and other deposits excavated from shovel test loci, were sifted using archaeological sieves fitted with ¼" hardware cloth and were swept with a powerful hand-held magnet to aid in collection of ferrous artifacts before being cleared from the screen. Each shovel test hole was then backfilled following artifact recovery and completion of descriptive field notes.

With the exception of brick, a majority of which was field quantified, all artifacts were washed, analyzed, and entered into a Microsoft Excel 2010 database for preliminary tabulation. Relative artifact frequencies, functional group metrics, and artifact frequency contours were calculated using SAS JMP 11.0.0 Statistical Discovery Software for the grid-point testing area as a whole and for various areas of interest, such as the location of

Robert and David Newsom's dwellings and the proposed location of the cabin where Celia and other bondspeople may have been quartered. Frequency contours were then incorporated into digitized site sketch maps depicting each positive shovel test (according to artifact type) using ESRI ArcGIS 10.2 software.

A total of 239 shovel tests were excavated over portions of fourteen days during March and April of 2014. The 239 shovel tests include 21 at select locations of previously identified metal detector "hits," several of which were excavated in an attempt to relocate the University of Tennessee's 2001 datum and benchmarks; 10 opportunistic tests placed in the vicinity of suspected native stone foundation/pier remnants and topographically promising locations (i.e., topography often associated with structures); and 208 shovel tests systematically placed on a grid established within the currently defined site habitation core area. Of these 239 shovel tests, 152 (63.60 percent) were positive for cultural resources while 87 (36.40 percent) were negative, producing no identifiable cultural material. Itemized results of individual shovel tests are summarized in Appendix E.

Metal Detection and Opportunistic Testing. Intended primarily as "spot-checks" of various areas, metal detection shovel tests and opportunistically placed shovel tests comprised 13 percent of all shovel test loci excavated as part of the current study, yielding a combined 114 artifacts. As expected, many of the metal detection shovel tests produced the ferrous artifacts that had been indicated by the metal detector as well as associated non-metallic artifacts. Exceptions included several tests implemented while unsuccessfully searching for the University of Tennessee's 2001 site datum and benchmarks, purportedly metal reinforcing bar left in-place at the site (Brooke Hamby,

personal communication, July 2013).[91] In the interests of minimizing unnecessary ground disturbance, each of these tests was abandoned once it became apparent that the 2001 datum/benchmarks were not reasonably close to the ground surface, and hence not likely to be present at those locations.

Due to the relative ubiquity of ferrous artifacts within the site habitation core, metal detection with the equipment on-hand was not particularly informative with respect to identifying explicit patterns in the distribution of ferrous artifacts there. Conversely, broad scale metal detector sweeps of surrounding landforms performed in conjunction with pedestrian survey were helpful in determining where ferrous artifact scatters were notably absent, thus helping to guide subsurface investigations.

Opportunistically placed shovel tests comprised a minority of tests implemented during the current study, primarily due to temporal constraints and a consequent reliance on the July 1985 broad scale survey of the area by Heritage Preservation Associates (Klinger and Kandare 1988:85). Nevertheless, 10 opportunistic shovel tests were excavated during 2014, two of which yielded cultural resources; the remaining eight tests were negative, indicating a lack of high-density artifact concentrations at those immediate locations. The results of opportunistic testing, while limited in scope, are consistent with those reported by Klinger and Kandare (1988:83-87) following their broad scale survey of the area.

Despite the narrow application of metal detection sampling and opportunistic testing due to practical considerations, use of both methods did in fact contribute incrementally to our understanding of the site: each test not only indicated the presence

[91] The record of this communication, including its precise date, was lost due to an August 2013 computer hard drive failure.

or absence of cultural material, but also provided an opportunity to observe the characteristics of archaeological matrices at particular locations within the site. A tabular summary of the artifacts recovered through metal detection and opportunistic testing during 2014 is presented in Table 8.

Grid-Point Testing. Shovel testing at regular grid-point intervals within the previously documented site habitation core and portions of the surrounding area accounted for 87 percent of the 239 shovel tests excavated at the Newsom Farmstead during 2014. Of the 208 grid-points excavated, 129 (62.02 percent) were positive for cultural resources, yielding a total of 773.5[92] artifacts; 79 tests (37.98 percent) were negative. On two occasions, grid-point shovel tests intersecting subsurface feature locations were opportunistically expanded into squared test units measuring 50 centimeters per side. In each case, artifacts recovered from the expanded portions of the original shovel test probes were collected and analyzed separately from the remainder of the grid-point location sample.

Cultural materials recovered from grid-point shovel tests (Figure 38) were investigated in three principal ways: by examining the gross spatial distribution of various artifact classes across the entire testing grid; through distributional analyses of artifacts recovered from specific areas within the sample area; and through estimation of the chronological periods during which artifacts were likely manufactured and used. Furthermore, systematic testing served as an additional means to assess the physical integrity of the site's archaeological component and to substantiate interpretations of the

[92] The fraction is a result of having quantified brick according to estimated percentages of complete brick specimens, recorded in 0.24-brick increments.

Table 8. Artifacts recovered from metal detection and opportunistic sampling tests at the Newsom Farmstead Site (continued on next page).

Ware/Product	Count	Percentage of Total
Metal Detection Sampling Tests[1]		
Glass, Container	25	22.88
Nail, Wire	17	15.56
Brick[2]	7.25	6.64
Nail, Machine Cut	8	7.32
Whiteware	8	7.32
Glass, Window	5	4.58
American Stoneware	4	3.66
Cast Iron, UID[3]	4	3.66
Sheet Metal	4	3.66
Ironstone	3	2.75
Ferrous, UID	3	2.75
Clinker/Smithing Slag	2	1.83
Nail, UID	2	1.83
Staple, Fencing	2	1.83
Wire, Barbed	2	1.83
Beverage Can, Aluminum and Steel	1	0.92
Bone China	1	0.92
Buckle, Ferrous	1	0.92
Clevis	1	0.92
Earthenware, Refined UID	1	0.92
Glass, Lantern Chimney	1	0.92
Glass, Milk	1	0.92

[1] Of 21 metal detection sampling tests, 21 (100.00 percent) were positive for cultural resources.
[2] Count of brick based on estimated percentages of complete specimens, in 0.24-brick increments.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Of 10 opportunistic tests, 2 (20.00 percent) were positive for cultural resources; 8 (80.00 percent) were negative

Table 8 continued. Frequency of artifacts recovered from opportunistic and metal detection sampling tests at the Newsom Farmstead Site.

Ware/Product	Count	Percentage of Total
Metal Detection Sampling Tests (continued)[3]		
Flat Iron	1	0.92
Iron Pipe/Tube	1	0.92
Poss. Control Plate, Throttle	1	0.92
Shoe, Horse	1	0.92
Thimble Skein, Cast Iron	1	0.92
Wire, Fencing	1	0.92
All	109.25	100.00
Opportunistic Tests[4]		
Stoneware, American	2	42.11
Brick[2]	0.75	15.79
Glass, Container	1	21.05
Rivet, Harness	1	21.05
All	4.75	100.00

[1] Of 21 metal detection sampling tests, 21 (100.00 percent) were positive for cultural resources.
[2] Cumulative count of brick based on estimated percentages of complete specimens, in 0.24-brick increments.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Of 10 opportunistic tests, 2 (20.00 percent) were positive for cultural resources; 8 (80.00 percent) were negative.

historical record. Finally, testing of the site habitation core was of considerable value in formulating recommendations for future research.

Preliminary Assessment of Site Disturbance. At this juncture it would be premature to advance discussions of artifact distribution at the Newsom Farmstead without first addressing the potential effects of various processes, particularly gross

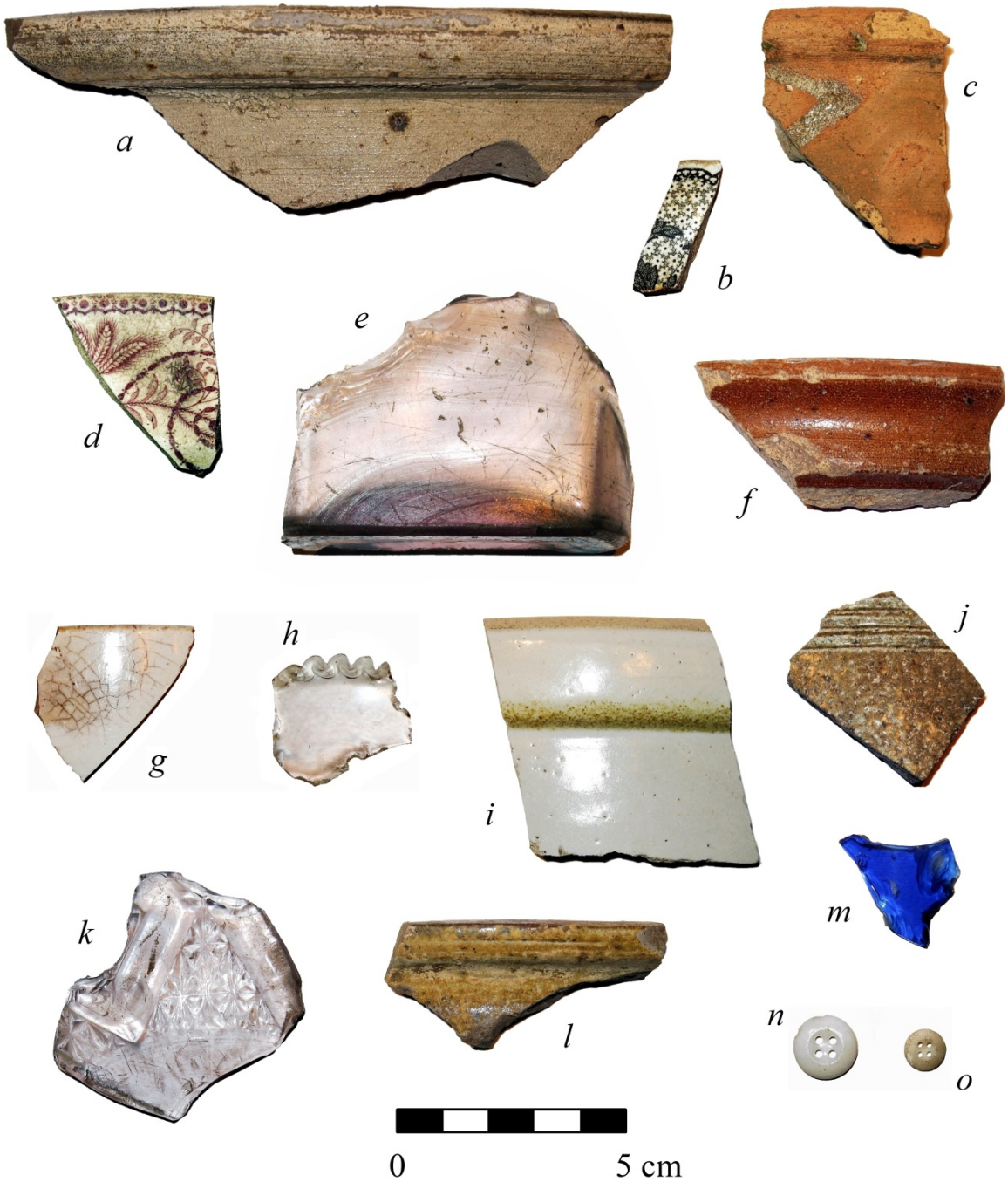

Figure 38. Sample of artifacts recovered through grid-point shovel testing of the Newsom Farmstead core area. Items *a*, *c*, *f*, and *l*, stoneware vessel rim sherds; *d* and *b*, transfer printed refined earthenware rims; *e*, basal fragment from glass "shoo-fly" flask; *g*, undecorated earthenware rim sherd; *h*, molded glass "pie crust" oil lamp chimney fragment; *i*, zinc emulsion "Bristol" glazed stoneware rim sherd; *j*, incised stoneware body sherd; *k*, press molded glass hollowware fragment; *m*, fragment of cobalt-colored container glass; *n* and *o*, "Prosser-type" buttons, *n* most likely from an adult's shirt, *o* from a child's garment.

mechanical disturbance, on archaeological deposits there. While a number of relatively prominent ground surface depressions observed at the site cannot be definitively attributed to cultural activity, the asymmetrically distributed footing/foundation remnants and push-piles described above comprise unambiguous evidence that heavy equipment was used at some point to clear above-ground structural remnants from portions of the site habitation core.

The available historical documents and aerial photographs do not indicate that the habitation area was subjected to intensive agricultural operations immediately following abandonment; however, the site, acquired by the William Woods College during the 1930s and transferred to the federal government in 1941,[93] was converted to pasturage by the 1950s or early 1960s and has been grazed and hayed under managed permit ever since. While artifact breakage as a result of surface trampling by cattle within the well-shaded core area and by occasional vehicle use elsewhere may be ongoing, broad scale effects of controlled grazing and haying seem to have been relatively minimal. Associated activities have taken a more significant toll.

Prior to the modern concern for historic preservation, above-ground architectural remnants at the Newsom site were likely viewed as obstructive nuisances to be avoided during pasture seeding and haying; in consequence, they appear to have been pushed into the lightly timbered site core area as a means of centralizing existing obstacles. Use of a small bulldozer or bladed tractor to perform the task would have resulted in a concomitant disturbance to associated topsoil, the magnitude of which would have

[93] Mark Twain National Forest land records (microfiche) on file at the Forest Supervisor's Office in Rolla, Missouri. 5490 Land Title File: William Woods College, Tract No. 119, 1-3.

depended on the skill and/or care of equipment operators. Where such activities were most intensive, evidence of topsoil loss might be expected.

Typically, shovel tests excavated as part of the 2014 grid-point location testing regime extended downward from the ground surface until obstructions or culturally sterile subsoils were encountered. Among the 208 test points excavated on the grid, measured depths ranged from 11 to 44 centimeters below surface (cmbs). The average depth to subsoil was approximately 29 cmbs, a figure consistent with the 30 centimeters reported as characteristic of partially eroded Gorin silt loams (Horne 1992:26-27; Soil Survey Staff 2014:3). Following completion of systematic testing, shovel test depths were entered into a JMP 11.0.0 Statistical Discovery Software database and used to plot a shaded contour map depicting relative test depths as recorded across the testing area (Figure 39).

Although the resultant image was derived from interpolated grid-point data and is therefore only generally representational, it offers a graphic portrayal of apparent soil displacement in various locales, particularly in the vicinity of the Newsom dwellings and the suspected location of Celia's quarters, historically referred to as "the negro cabin".[94] Shovel tests excavated in the former locale reached an average depth of ca. 20 cmbs, while those excavated in the latter, ca. 22 cmbs. In surrounding areas where deeper soils predominate, the average depth was ca. 33 cmbs. If heavy equipment was indeed used to clear above-ground structural remnants from these areas, it may be that as much as 13 centimeters (ca. 5 inches) of associated, potentially artifact-bearing topsoil was redistributed as well.

[94] Harvey Newsom letter to the editor, Daily Missouri Republican, August 2, 1855, Volume 33, No. 181, p.2; Celia, File No. 4,496: June 25, 1855 Statement of William F. Powell at Inquest; Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of Virginia Winscott at trial, October 10, 1855.

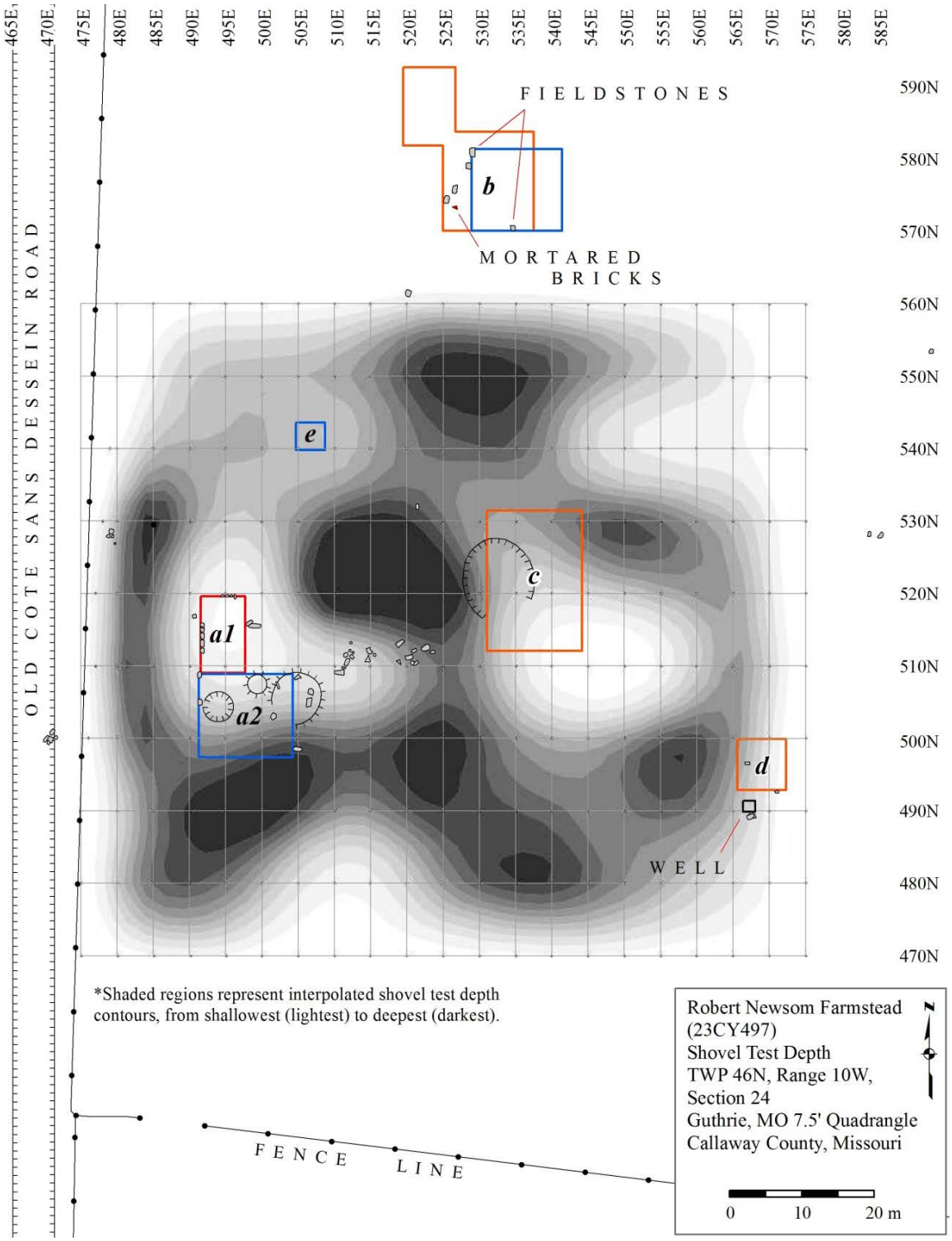

Figure 39. Sketch map depicting relative depths of shovel tests excavated across the gridded sample area during 2014, ranging from a minimum of 11 cmbs to a maximum of 44 cmbs (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

Grid-Point Testing and Artifact Group Distributions

At the broadest level of observation, the distribution of positive and negative shovel tests within the sampling area indicates that the testing grid was well situated to capture a substantial fraction of the suspected habitation core. Artifacts are widely scattered across the testing area; however the incidence of positive tests visibly diminishes in relation to relative steepness of the terrain and radial distance from presumed structure locations. Tests containing cultural material are most concentrated along the broad ridgetop extending from the Newsom dwellings to the late-period barn location and across the gently descending slope to the east, toward what would have been the rear of the property (Figure 40). A tabular summary of artifacts recovered through grid-point location testing during 2014 is presented in Table 9.

Where their function could be reasonably ascertained, artifacts recovered from the 2014 grid-point location tests were assigned to one of six groups based on South's (1977:92-102) functional classification system, including Architectural, Kitchen, Household Furnishings, Clothing, Personal Items, and Activities Groups. Artifacts which could not be classified according to function (n=80), such as fragments of unidentifiable metal, were excluded from functional analyses.

Attempts to compare resultant functional artifact group distributions with those recorded elsewhere were complicated by a number of factors, including differences in sampling strategy, site type, occupation length, reporting, and analysis. Among these factors, the type of site under study appears to be the most significant.

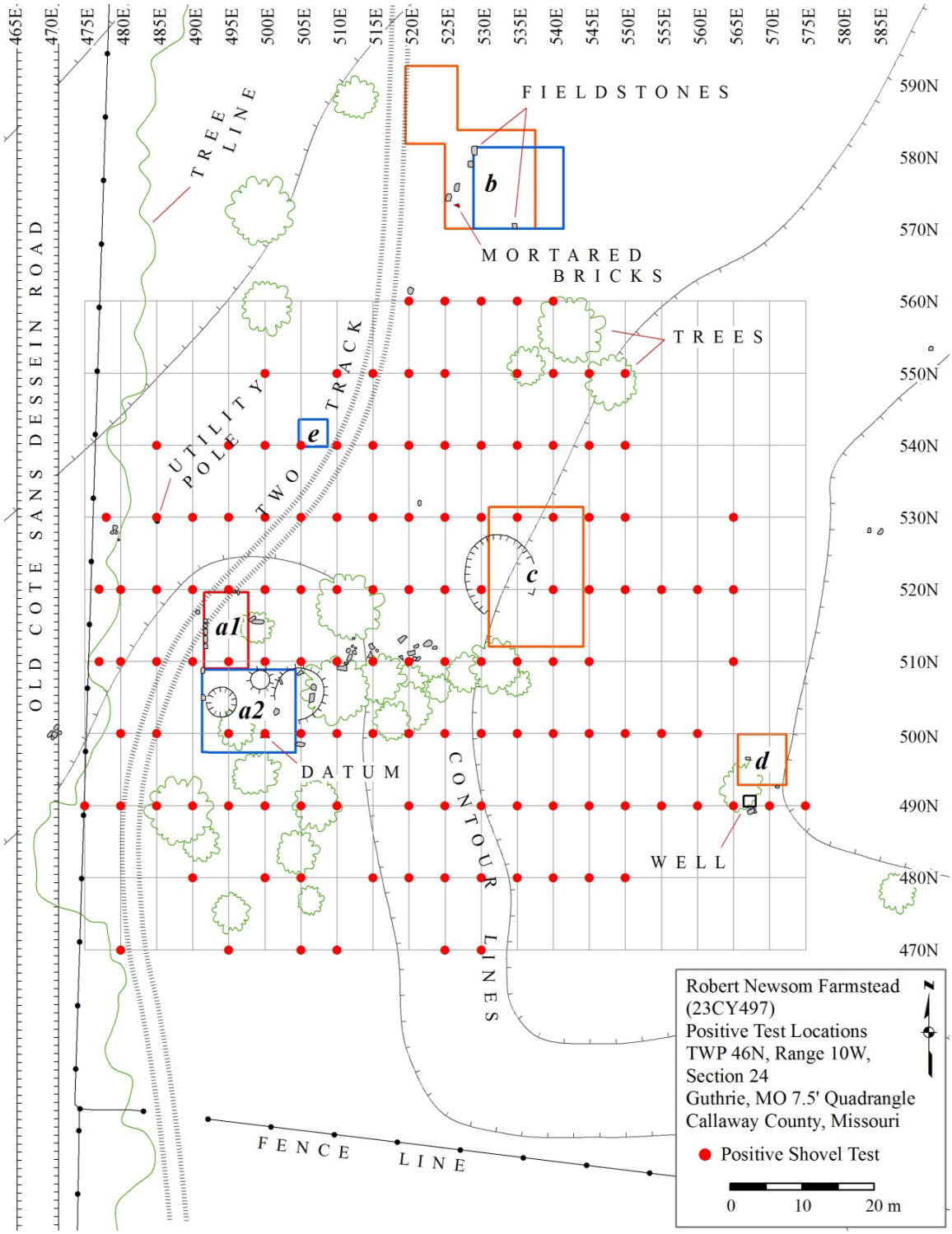

Figure 40. Site sketch map showing the location of positive (n=129) grid-point shovel tests excavated during the 2014 field season (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

Table 9. Artifacts recovered from grid-point shovel tests[1] at the Newsom Farmstead Site (continued on next page).

Ware/Product	Count	Percentage of Total
Nail, Machine Cut	126	16.29
Glass, Container	83	10.73
UID[2] Ferrous	71	9.18
Glass, Window	61	7.89
Nail, Wire	60	7.76
Nail, UID	59	7.63
Whiteware	59	7.63
Brick[3]	52.5	6.79
American Stoneware	50	6.46
Clinker/Smithing Slag	41	5.30
Wire, UID Fencing	28	3.62
Coal, Cannel	10	1.29
Wire, Barbed	8	1.03
Bone China	6	0.78
Ironstone	6	0.78
Glass, Lantern Chimney	5	0.65
Glass, Lid Liner	4	0.52
Band/Strap, Ferrous	2	0.26
Bone, UID Unmodified	2	0.26
Bone, UID Burned	2	0.26
Button, Prosser	2	0.26
Cap, Bottle (Crown)	2	0.26

[1] Of 208 grid-point tests, 129 (62.02 percent) were positive for cultural resources; 79 (37.98 percent) were negative.
[2] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[3] Cumulative count of brick based on estimated percentages of complete specimens, in 0.24-brick increments.

Table 9 continued. Artifacts recovered from grid-point shovel tests[1] at the Newsom Farmstead Site (continued on next page).

Ware/Product	Count	Percentage of Total
Lid, Jar	2	0.26
Pail, Handle	2	0.26
Battery Core, Carbon	1	0.13
Bracket, Corner	1	0.13
Bracket, Straight	1	0.13
Button, Plastic	1	0.13
Cast Iron, UID[2]	1	0.13
Comb, Possible Tortoiseshell	1	0.13
Eye, Iron	1	0.13
Fastener, UID	1	0.13
Glass, UID Burned	(Batched)	(N/A)
Glass, Flat (etched)	1	0.13
Glass, Faux Crystal Hollow Ware	1	0.13
Glass, UID Spall	1	0.13
UID Hook and Bracket, Forged	1	0.13
Horn Fragment (Faunal)	1	0.13
Nut, Castle	1	0.13
Pail, Rim/Body Fragments	(Batched)	(N/A)
Pearlware	1	0.13
Pin, Cotter	1	0.13

[1] Of 208 grid-point tests, 129 (62.02 percent) were positive for cultural resources; 79 (37.98 percent) were negative.
[2] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[3] Cumulative count of brick based on estimated percentages of complete specimens, in 0.24-brick increments.

Table 9 continued. Artifacts recovered from grid-point shovel tests[1] at the Newsom Farmstead Site.

Ware/Product	Count	Percentage of Total
Pin, Safety	1	0.13
Iron Pipe/Tube	1	0.13
Porcelain, UID[2]	1	0.13
Rivet	1	0.13
Slag, Welding	1	0.13
Slipware	1	0.13
Staple, Fencing	1	0.13
Stone, Rough Dressed Corner	1	0.13
Tack, Brass (Half-Round)	1	0.13
Tooth Fragment, UID Faunal	1	0.13
Plastic, UID	1	0.13
Washer	1	0.13
Zipper Pull, Brass (Talon)	1	0.13
All	773.5	100.00

[1] Of 208 grid-point tests, 129 (62.02 percent) were positive for cultural resources; 79 (37.98 percent) were negative.
[2] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[3] Cumulative count of brick based on estimated percentages of complete specimens, in 0.24-brick increments.

Investigators of Southern plantations are generally able to identify and thus distinguish between the geographically separated dwellings of planters, overseers, and the enslaved (e.g., Fairbanks 1972; Otto 1984; Singleton 1980; Wheaton and Garrow 1985). However, such conditions differ considerably from those one might expect to encounter among the shared interior and exterior domestic spaces typical of the small non-plantation farmsteads of Missouri, the Mid-Atlantic States, and portions of the Old South,

where many bondspeople were housed in slaveholder residences or in structures relatively close to them (Burke 2010:143, 154; Enscore et al. 2014:61; Fitts 1996:55-58; Strutt 2010:226-230). Because they may have been used variously by both free whites and enslaved African Americans, the potential for archaeological investigation of such spaces to inform our understanding of status differentiation and power relations is limited, particularly where relevant evidence may have been obscured through successive occupation or post-abandonment disturbance, though it should be noted that a clear absence of visible differentiation would be informative in its own right. As a consequence, South's functional system is used here primarily as the basis of an artifact classification scheme, though some efforts have been made, where possible, to use South's functional system to explore intra- and intersite archaeological variation.

Considering the grid-point testing sample as a whole, Architectural Group artifacts comprised a clear numeric majority of materials recovered during 2014, representing 57.61 percent of the entire collection. The Architectural Group was followed in turn by Kitchen (31.87 percent), Activities (8.51 percent), Household Furnishings (1.15 percent), Clothing (0.72 percent), and Personal Group (0.14 percent) artifacts. A summary of group frequencies for the 2014 systematic testing is presented in Table 10. Majority artifact groups, general artifact distribution, chronologically sensitive materials, and other items of particular interest are considered below.

The Architectural Group. Artifacts assigned to the Architectural Group are those associated with the construction and maintenance of the Newsoms' built environment. As South (1977:100) observes, this group typically represents those items most often not intentionally discarded, but directly related to the architecture on a given

Table 10. Grid-point location testing sample: comprehensive artifact group distributions.

Artifact Group	No. of Artifacts in Sample	Percentage of all Groups
Architectural	399.5[1]	57.61
Kitchen	221	31.87
Activities	59	8.51
Household Furnishings	8	1.15
Clothing	5	0.72
Personal Items	1	0.14
All	693.5[2]	100.00

[1] The fraction is a result of having quantified brick according to estimated percentages of complete brick specimens, recorded in 0.24-brick increments.
[2] Artifacts that could not be reasonably identified with respect to function (n=80) have been excluded from functional analyses.

site. As such, Architectural Group artifacts are uniquely relevant to understanding constructed space in the present context. While it is possible for Architectural Group materials to enter the archaeological record as a result of intentional discard, for example as components of a scrap heap, they generally occur individually as a consequence of loss, or as a broadcast deposit of architectural remnants following intentional demolition of a structure, destruction by accident, or structure abandonment and decay.

In part, dominance of the Architectural Group reflects the Newsom family's use of relatively durable construction materials throughout the site's ca. 104 year inhabitation; however the widespread distribution of Architectural Group artifacts may also be attributable to the demolition, extensive fragmentation, and subsequent redistribution of structural elements by heavy equipment during clearing operations.

Still, as potential indicators of structure location, brick, nails, and window glass deserve particular consideration here. The distribution of Architectural Group artifacts by positive shovel test across the gridded sampling area is depicted in Figure 41; a summary of all Architectural Group items is presented in Table 11.

Handmade Brick. Handmade brick, most commonly produced before the mid- to late nineteenth century (Gurcke 1987:13, 148; Peres and Connatser 2008:108), occurs across a significant portion of the site core area (Figure 42), yet it accounts for only 13.14 percent of the Architectural Group assemblage.[95] Nevertheless, handmade brick is present in 88 (68.22 percent) of the 129 positive tests encountered during systematic testing, or 38.46 percent of the total 208 grid-point location tests excavated. As quantified, 69 (86.25 percent) of the 80 shovel tests positive for brick each contained brick fragments totaling up to 0.50 percent of a brick. The remaining 11 shovel tests each contained brick fragment totals ranging from slightly over 0.50 percent of a brick up to 4 bricks, the latter occurring as a subsurface feature in the possible vicinity of the exterior kitchen or other outbuilding (Figure 43).

According to the historical record, brick was manufactured on-site and was broadly used in construction of at least two buildings within the site habitation core: Robert Newsom's 1832 hall-and-parlor style dwelling (Newsom 1912:106) and Celia's quarters, or what was sometimes referred to as "the negro cabin," a low, two-roomed structure wherein Celia, her children, the bondsman George, and the visiting

[95] Brick is significantly underreported as a fraction of the entire collection because it was field quantified according to estimated percentages of complete specimens rather than as counts of individual fragments.

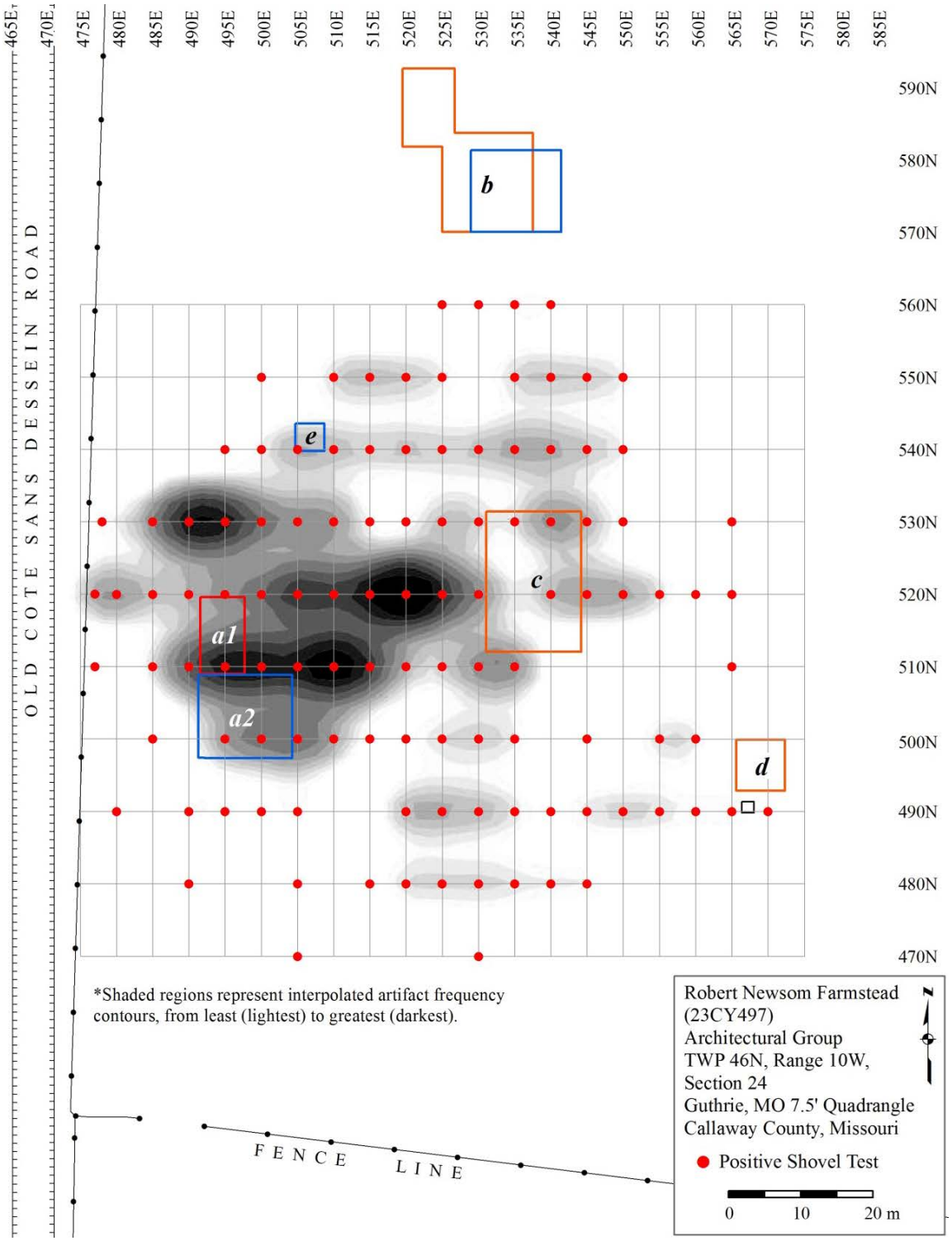

Figure 41. Distribution of Architectural Group Artifacts across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

Table 11. Architectural Group artifact distributions: grid-point location testing sample.

Architectural Group Artifacts	No. of Artifacts in Group	Percentage of Group Total
Nail, Machine Cut	126	31.54
Glass, Window	61	15.27
Nail, Wire	60	15.02
Nail, UID[1]	59	14.77
Brick[2]	52.5	13.14
Wire, Fencing	28	7.01
Wire, Barbed	8	2.00
Bracket, Corner	1	0.25
Bracket, Straight	1	0.25
Hook and Bracket, Forged	1	0.25
Staple, Fencing	1	0.25
Stone, Rough Dressed Corner Fragment	1	0.25
All	399.5	100.00

[1] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[2] Estimated total number of bricks based on estimated percentages of a brick in 0.24-brick increments.

bondswoman Malinda were reportedly housed for a time.[96] Furthermore, brick likely figured as a constituent of several additional structures located within the core area, including the well house (Hamby 2002:16-17), the suspected exterior kitchen adjoining the Newsom dwelling, and David Newsom's folk-Victorian residence, built adjacent to

[96] July, 18, 1855 testimony of George pursuant the Grand Jury's investigation of the bondswoman Malinda (Williamson 1967:20-21); Harvey Newsom's letter to the editor, Daily Missouri Republican, August 2, 1855, Volume 33, No. 181, p.2.

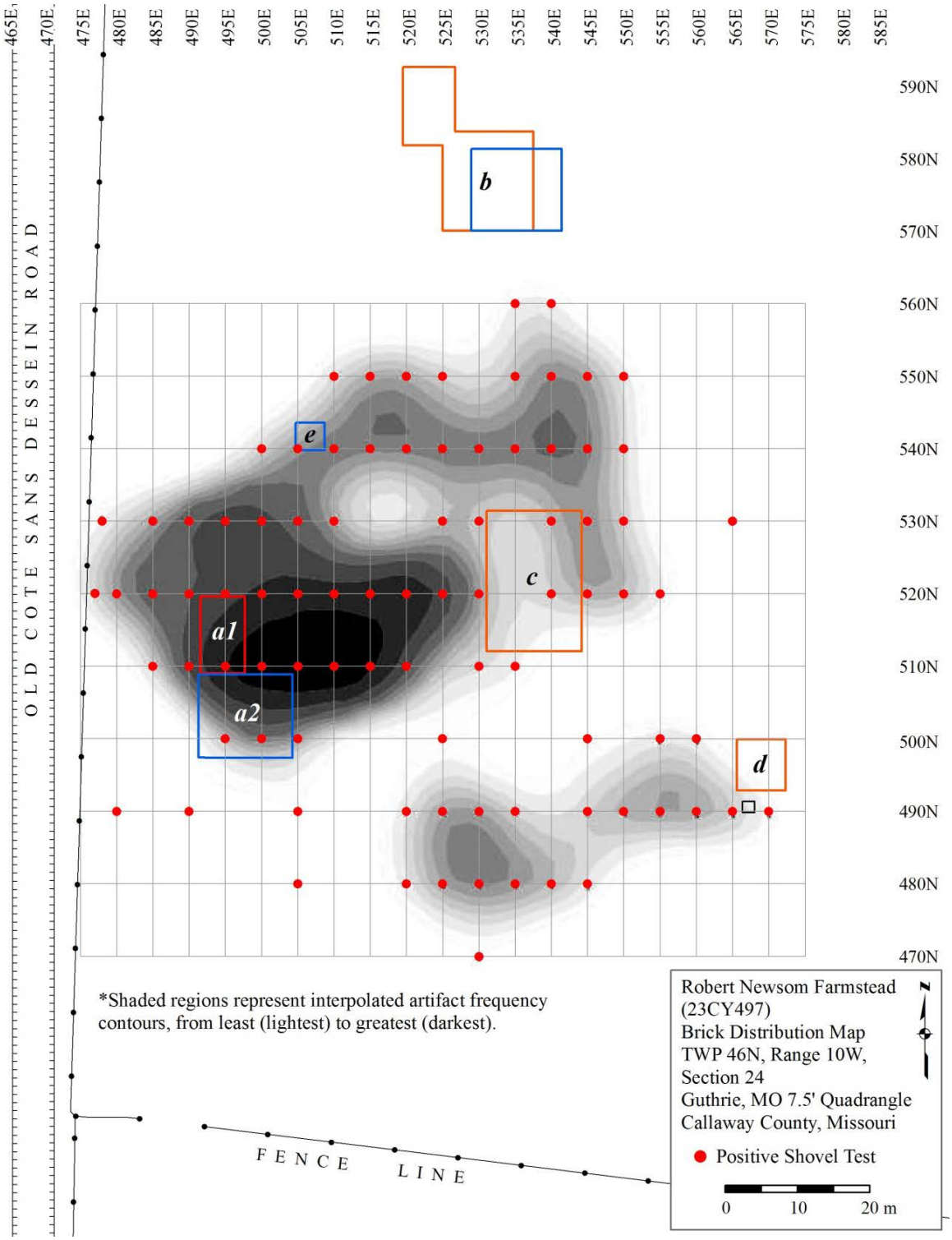

Figure 42. Distribution of brick across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

Figure 43. Plan view of brick feature encountered in Shovel Test 510E/510N. The upper courses apparently were forcibly driven toward the push-piles a scant two meters to the southwest. The shovel test was expediently widened into a 50 x 50 cm test unit and excavated down to clay (March 22, 2014).

his father's home during 1909 (Newsom 1912:39).[97] Despite its extensive use, relatively little intact brick has been observed on the site; as a consequence, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that much of the brick may have been reclaimed and

[97] Celia, File No. 4,496: Cross-examination of Virginia Winscott, October 10, 1855; see also the ca. 1910 photograph of the Newsom dwellings, courtesy of Ms. Annie B. Norman, Ocala, Florida.

incorporated into more recent structures built elsewhere, either on-site or off. According to descendant history, Robert's dwelling was reportedly salvaged in just such a manner.

Sometime between capture of the ca. 1910 photograph of the Newsom dwellings and the 1941 aerial photographs of the landholding,[98] Robert's 1832 brick residence was torn down. Decades after its removal, a family member observed, "…nothing remains but the foundation. There is a house in Fulton built with the old brick" (Grover 2012). While the latter claim has not been corroborated, salvage could account for the seemingly low quantity of intact brick encountered on-site, particularly in light of what one might expect had the entire masonry constituent been left in place.

Unsurprisingly, what brick remains appears most concentrated in the vicinity of Robert Newsom's 1832 dwelling and the contemporaneously built kitchen behind, or to the east of it. Conversely, relatively little was encountered at the suspected location of "the negro cabin". Possible salvage and mechanical clearing of above-ground structural remnants there may account for the observed difference; however, previous archaeological investigations may be a contributing factor, as well. During July 2001, researchers from the University of Tennessee excavated 35 shovel tests, 11 augur tests, and four 3-foot square test units within the area, resulting in collection of 725 artifacts, approximately 71 percent of which were brick fragments (Hamby 2002:4-16). No intact subsurface architectural remnants were encountered during the University of Tennessee's excavations.

Several additional concentrations of fragmentary brick are indicated within the sample area. Each of these concentrations generally corresponds with loci of relative soil

[98] See Figure 17; Aerial Photographs TK-2B-72 (9-22-41) and TK-5B-48 (11-28-41), on file with the Mark Twain National Forest and Natural Resources Conservation Service, Fulton, Missouri.

depth as suggested in Figures 39 and 42. One of these concentrations extends westward from the supposed well house location (Hamby 2002:24). A second concentration is located on a gently-sloping area to the rear of the Newsom residences. A third concentration of fragmented brick is present across the north-central portion of the testing area along the ridgetop south of the late-period barn locus. Whether these scatters of brick represent former structure locations, areas of relatively intact soils and associated archaeological deposits, or secondary deposition of materials redistributed from elsewhere is unclear at this time.

Nails. Just as brick remnants can serve as potential indicators of structure location, so can nails, though caution must be taken to distinguish architectural dump features from structure locations, both of which can result in relatively dense nail concentrations (Young 1991:17). Nails and nail fragments recovered during 2014 grid-point location testing were sorted into one of three categories: machine cut nails, drawn wire nails, and heavily corroded nails for which a mode of manufacture could not be determined. Viewed as a single group, nails were present in 69 (53.48 percent) of the 129 positive tests encountered during systematic testing, or 33.17 percent of the total 208 grid-point location tests excavated.

Machine cut nails most frequently occur on North American sites constructed between ca. 1805 and 1885 (Nelson 1968:6-7); given that ca. 60 percent of the Newsom site's 104 year occupation occurred during this period, it is not surprising that cut nails (n=126) account for a majority (67.74 percent) of identifiable nails recorded in the gridded sample area. As illustrated in Figure 44, a moderate density scatter and

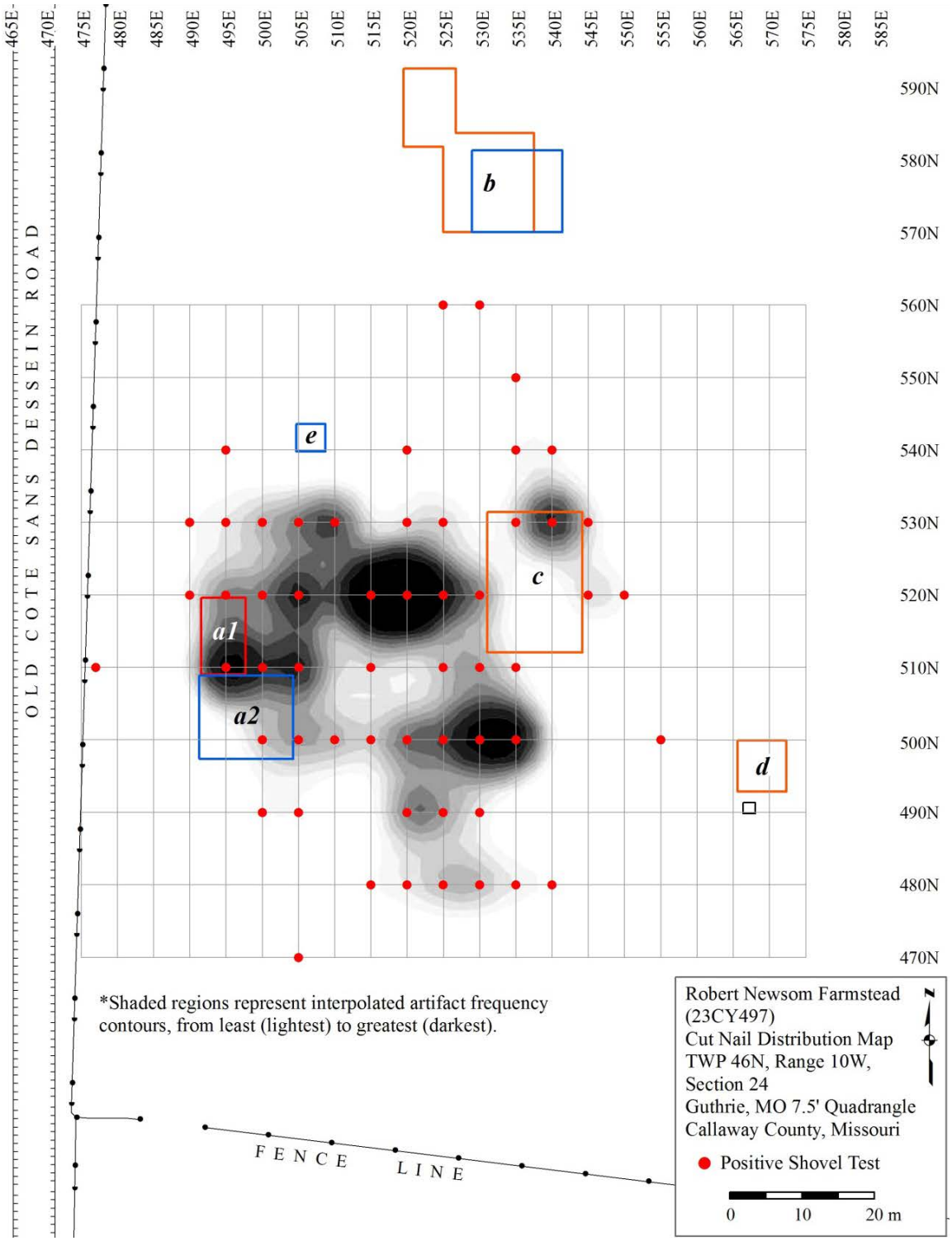

Figure 44. Distribution of machine cut nails across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

several pronounced concentrations of machine cut nails were observed in the vicinity of Robert Newsom's dwelling and in three principle areas behind that location.

Of the 23 cut nails recovered through shovel testing in the immediate area of Newsom's brick dwelling, 6 (26.09 percent) were sufficiently intact to estimate the "pennyweight" size of the nail, which can be correlated with most likely use (Lees 1986:96-96). Five of the six (83.33 percent) were "threepenny" nails, a length frequently used to secure wooden shingles to open lath or sheathing boards. While the sample is extremely small, this result is consistent with historical accounts of long term maintenance carried out on the Newsom dwelling. On May 3, 1907, David Newsom (1912:79) wrote in his journal: "Finished covering [i.e., roofing] west side of brick house. It was covered first in 1832 – Next in 1852 – Next in 1875 – Next in 1896, (next 1901, tar) & lastly 1907 with Washington cedar."

If most of the nineteenth century structures on the Newsom site had wooden shingles that were replaced every ca. 20 years, one might expect that a large number of the measurable cut nails observed would occur in sizes appropriate for shingling. Of the 35 intact machine cut nails recovered across the 2014 sample area, 27 (77.14 percent) were either twopenny (n=5), threepenny (n=15), or fourpenny (n=7) sized nails, all suitable for nineteenth century roofing applications.

Several additional concentrations of machine cut nails were observed in the sample area, two of which may correspond with structure locations while a third may be associated with an architectural dump location/fill area. Among the former is a relatively small concentration of machine cut nails encountered to the north and east of the area provisionally identified as the locale of Celia's cabin (Hamby 2002:19). Ten machine cut

nails were recovered from five grid-point shovel tests in the area, including one intact threepenny nail; as with brick, however, it should be noted that a number of machine cut (n=53), wire (n=31), and unidentifiable nails (n=12) were recovered during testing of the area by the University of Tennessee in 2001 (Hamby 2002:9, 12-16), and thus removed from the available sample. A second area characterized by relatively deep soils and a high frequency of cut nails is situated due-west of the well house location near a brick concentration. In total, 11 machine cut nails, including a single intact threepenny nail, were recovered from two shovel tests in the area. A more widespread scatter extends south from that location; this scatter contains an additional 11 cut nails, including one intact twopenny and three intact threepenny nails. It remains unclear whether the co-occurrence of brick, machine cut nails, and comparatively deep soils in the area indicates the locus of a previously undocumented nineteenth century structure in the vicinity or simply a relatively intact deposit of sheet refuse.

The highest incidence of machine cut nails encountered during 2014 occurred in the central portion of the testing grid in an area of previously documented late nineteenth and early twentieth century fill just west of the purported "negro cabin" location. This subsurface feature was provisionally interpreted by University of Tennessee researchers as the "possible filled cellar of the slave quarters" (Hamby 2002:3, 6, 19). Three grid-point shovel tests (515E/520N, 520E/520N, and 525E/520N) were excavated in the area during 2014, yielding unusually high concentrations of nineteenth and early twentieth century artifacts (n=128). Combined, nearly half (46.60 percent) of the items recovered from these three shovel tests were nails and/or nail fragments, including 21 machine cut, 11 wire, and 28 unidentifiable nails. While the area seems to contain a fairly deep

concentration of both nineteenth and early twentieth century materials, the prevalence of nails may indicate a secondary architectural dump within a previously existing depression; however the origin of that depression cannot be determined at this time.

By the late 1880s, drawn wire nails were beginning to supplant machine cut nails nationally in availability and general use (Nelson 1968:7), and it is likely that they became available to Newsom site inhabitants during that period as they continued to maintain existing structures and to build new ones. As delineated through grid-point testing across the habitation core, wire nails (n=60) are somewhat less widely distributed than their machine cut antecedents, accounting for a minority (32.26 percent) of identifiable nails recovered during systematic testing. The relatively low percentage of wire nails within the identifiable nail sample almost certainly corresponds with their relatively late period of introduction, which occurred during the final ca. 40 percent of the site's occupation.

As demonstrated in Figure 45, the greatest concentration of drawn wire nails occurs in the vicinity of the cross-gabled folk-Victorian style residence David Newsom constructed adjacent to his late father's house during 1909 (Newsom 1912:39). Six grid-point shovel tests were excavated in the area during 2014, yielding a combined 22 wire, 19 machine cut, and 5 unidentifiable nails. Of the 22 wire nails recovered, 15 (71.43 percent) were sufficiently intact to estimate their "pennyweight" size, a relatively high proportion possibly indicative of their historically recent deposition. Of these, approximately 60 percent are of a size commonly used in early twentieth century roofing applications or for securing wall and ceiling lath, while 20 percent are appropriate for use

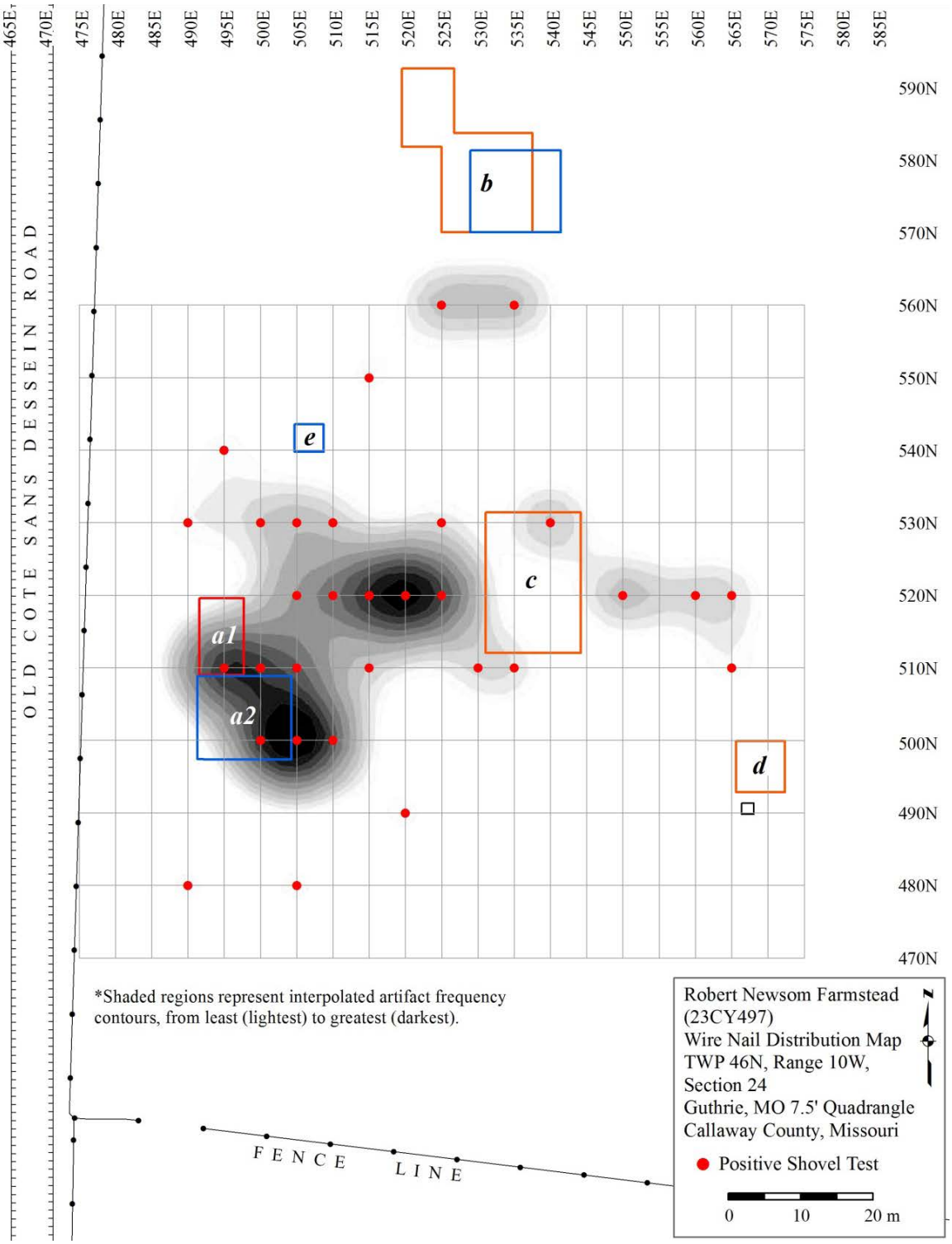

Figure 45. Distribution of drawn wire nails across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

on flooring, lap siding, and exterior trim (Lees 1986:95-96). The remaining 20 percent were smaller nails or tacks of unknown usage.

A second pronounced concentration of wire nails occurs in the central portion of the testing grid in the previously described area of late nineteenth and early twentieth century fill disturbance recorded by the University of Tennessee during 2001 (Hamby 2002:3, 6, 19). A total of eleven drawn wire nails (18.33 percent) were among the 60 nails and unidentifiable nail fragments recovered from three grid-point shovel tests excavated in the area during 2014. As discussed above, the relatively high incidence of nail types as well as the broad assortment of additional artifacts in the area may indicate previously discarded materials deposited within an existing depression, though shovel testing alone is insufficient to reveal either the full extent or etymology of the fill feature.

Window Glass. Similarly to brick and nails, window glass can serve as a potential indicator of structure location, though it also has more precise chronological value. Sixty-one fragments of window glass were recovered during the 2014 grid-point testing. A majority of window glass fragments were concentrated in the vicinity of the Newsom dwellings and the previously described area of fill adjacent to the supposed location of Celia's cabin (Figure 46). The greatest window glass concentration (n=29 fragments), accounting for nearly 50 percent of the sample, was encountered in a single shovel test located ca. 10 meters north of the Robert Newsom house feature. These 29 fragments appear to consist almost exclusively of sherds from a single pane of glass deposited into the archaeological record during an isolated event, possibly during salvage or demolition activities.

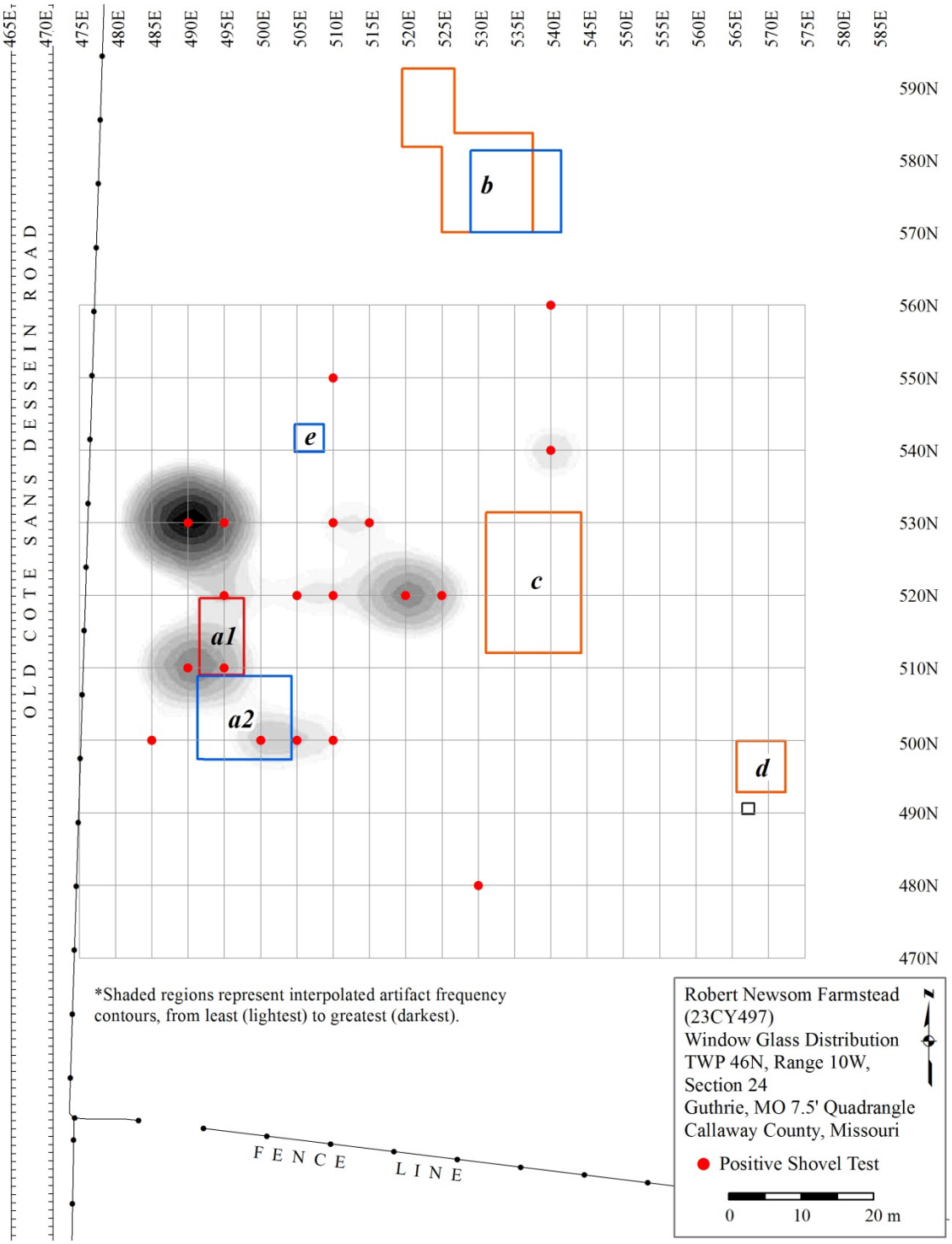

Figure 46. Distribution of window glass across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

Three additional concentrations and a diffuse scatter of window glass were observed during testing, and display a somewhat broader degree of variability than the above example of single-incidence breakage; accordingly, these other deposits appear to be more representative of the gradual accumulation of window glass over time. Eight fragments of window pane were recovered from two tests near what would have been the southern gable-end of Robert Newsom's 1832 brick dwelling; seven sherds were identified in two shovel tests excavated in the nineteenth and twentieth century feature fill, and four fragments of window glass were recorded in three shovel tests flanking what would have been the southeast corner of David Newsom's 1909 folk-Victorian residence. The remainder consists of a subsurface scatter of window glass fragments deposited along the ridgetop between the dwellings and the late-period barn, at the possible site of an exterior kitchen behind Robert's house, and in the southern portion of the testing area. None of the shovel tests excavated during 2014 within or adjacent to the purported location of Celia's cabin were positive for window glass.

Historical and archaeological research has provided strong observational evidence that window glass gradually increased in thickness during the nineteenth century, and the potential of window glass as a dateable artifact has been recognized since the early 1970s. In consequence, archaeologists have used pane thickness data in concert with various analytical approaches to establish relative dates for sites with historic structures (Gross and Meissner 1995:239; Moir 1987b:80; Weiland 2009:29).

Using the method of least squares linear regression, Moir (1987b:77-80) proposed one such approach by which mean window pane thickness could be used to calculate approximate site construction dates. In order to assure maximum reliability of the

method, a number of preconditions must be satisfied. Firstly, sites must have been constructed between 1810 and 1915; secondly, glass must be collected from within 4 meters of the structure(s) being investigated. If these two precautions are followed, estimated dates of initial construction should be accurate to ± 7 years. Reliability may be alternatively improved or compromised depending on a number of factors. For example, absent rigorous stratigraphic control, a site's period of occupation should be less than 70 years, while non-window pane "specialty glass," feature fill, and atypical influxes of sherds due to post abandonment breakage should be excluded from analysis; also, structural additions should be recognized and tested separately. Finally, ideal samples ought to be collected from more than one or two locations and be comprised of no fewer than 11 fragments (Moir 1987b:73, 78-81). Even when window glass samples do not satisfy all strictures, this associative dating method still has utility—provided results are contextualized by other dating methods whenever possible (Weiland 2009:32, 39).

Moir's (1987b) method was used to calculate dates based on window glass recovered from four areas within the site habitation core: the Robert Newsom dwelling locus; the David Newsom dwelling locus; the suspected locale of the exterior kitchen to the rear, or east, of Robert's house; and the purported locale of Celia's quarters (or the "negro cabin") tested by the University of Tennessee during 2001 (Hamby 2002:9, 13, 15-16,19). As prescribed by Moir (1987b:77, 80), mean pane thickness of window glass sherds found within four meters (13.12 feet) of projected structure locations was calculated to the nearest 0.01 mm and used in the following equation: $ID = 84.22(T) + 1712.7$ (where ID = the initial date of construction and T = mean pane thickness).

As shown in Table 12, a majority of the window glass analysis results appear highly accurate. Calculated initial construction dates are within three years of those indicated by historical data for the Robert Newsom dwelling, the exterior kitchen, and the "negro cabin". However, the calculated date for construction of David Newsom's folk-Victorian residence is far less precise: window glass analysis yields a date of 1883.67, whereas historical documents specify a construction date of ca. 1909, a difference of slightly more than 25 years. While this discrepancy is most likely related to insufficient sample size, the ca. 1910 photograph depicting both Newsom dwellings (Figure 17) indicates that David Newsom chose a style of large-paned window that became increasingly popular during the late nineteenth century (Moir 1987b:74); it is therefore possible that some of the window panes Newsom used may have been manufactured several years prior to construction of his home. Regardless, both the window glass data and the historical documents concur in placing David Newsom's residence as the most recent of the four structures to be examined using this method. Thus, window glass analysis appears to provide an accurate relative chronology for the built environment on the Newsom landholding. Furthermore, apart from David Newsom's house, window glass analysis yields exceptionally accurate absolute dates for construction at the site, the assumed confidence in which is bolstered through historical documentation.

Non-Architectural Artifact Groups. Contrary to Architectural Group artifacts, artifacts comprising the general scatter of occupational debris typically identified in the yard areas around farm houses and associated support structures are often observed in contexts that may differ considerably those of their primary use. As outlined by Moir (1987a:54-56), the behavioral processes that contribute to the ultimate disposition of such

Table 12. Results of Newsom Farmstead window glass analysis using Moir's (1987b) least squares linear regression equation.

Test Grid Coordinates	Structure Area	No. of Sherds	Mean Thickness	Moir Date	Historical/ Inferred Date
490E/510N 495E/510N 495E/520N	Robert Newsom Dwelling	10	1.41 mm	1831.45	1832[1]
500E/500N 505E/500N	David Newsom Dwelling	3	2.03 mm	1883.67	1909[2]
505E/520N 510E/520N	Exterior Kitchen	2	1.45 mm	1834.82	1832[3]
N/A[4]	Celia's Quarters/ "Negro Cabin"	10	1.52 mm	1840.71	1839–40[5]

[1] Journal reference describing completion of brick structure in December 1832 (Newsom 1912:79, 84).
[2] Journal reference describing move into folk-Victorian style house during December 1909 (Newsom 1912:39).
[3] "Waugh and Dorsey" reference to purchase of a "kitchen window" made in an 1832 daybook entry during construction of Robert's brick residence (Newsom 1888b:6), completed during December 1832 (Newsom 191284).
[4] Window glass sample recovered during shovel testing and excavation of the supposed cabin area by the University of Tennessee during 2001 (Hamby 2002:9, 13, 15-16, 19).
[5] Inferred date based on references to a large brick making effort during the summer and fall of 1839 (Newsom 1888a:n.p.), construction of the brick still house during the following year (Newsom 1912:84), and an apparently marked population increase of Newsom bondspeople during the period (Newsom 1912:102; U.S. Census 1840:207B), possibly necessitating construction of the additional quarters.

materials, at times referred to collectively as "sheet refuse" or "midden," can be highly varied: some items may have been intentionally cast-off or accidentally mislaid where last used; others may have been collected elsewhere and dumped at their present location. Still other artifacts may have been extensively redistributed across exterior domestic spaces by site inhabitants as a result of landscaping or other yard maintenance practices, such as sweeping. Such materials are nevertheless capable of revealing significant occupational patterning, though the ability to discern spatial variation in their distribution

is largely dependent on the sampling design employed during investigations (Majewsky and O'Brien 1987:176).

With respect to specific examinations of sheet refuse, the literature is dominated by studies that have made use of broad scale excavation and/or analyses of soil chemistry to abstract meaningful patterning in exterior spaces (e.g., Bon-Harper 2009; Fesler 2010:32-44; Gibb and King 1991:109-131; King and Miller 1987:37-59; Moir 1987a:53-67; Pogue 1988b:1-15), both of which are beyond the scope of current investigations. At the Newsom Farmstead, the influence of successive occupations and apparent post-abandonment mechanical disturbance further complicates the yardscape portrait which—defined through wide-interval shovel testing alone—is impressionistic at best. As a consequence, non-Architectural Group artifacts are considered here from a general perspective with a particular emphasis on broad distributional trends.

Kitchen Group Artifacts. The second-most abundant artifact group observed during the present study includes those recovered from contexts indicating a primary use in the storage, preparation, service, and consumption of food and drink, including both ceramic and non-ceramic artifact types. Kitchen Group artifacts account for 31.87 percent of the functionally identifiable assemblage recovered across the core area during 2014 grid-point testing, and are comprised chiefly of mixed ceramic types (57.08 percent) and fragments of bottles, jars, and related components (41.55 percent). The distribution of Kitchen Group artifacts by positive shovel test is depicted in Figure 47; a listing of Kitchen Group items, including minority artifact types not mentioned above, is presented in Table 13.

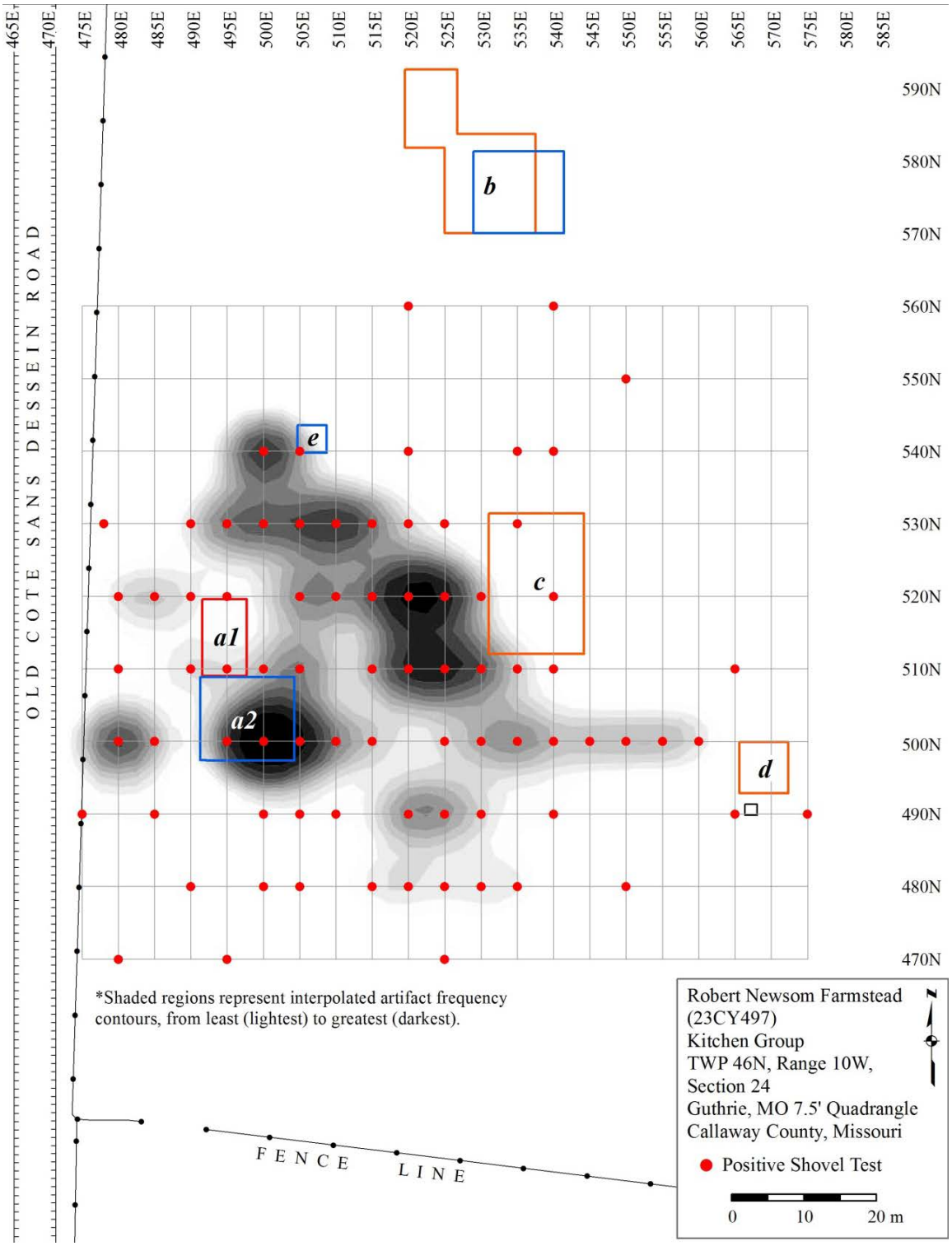

Figure 47. Distribution of Kitchen Group artifacts across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

Table 13. Kitchen Group artifact distributions: grid-point location testing sample.

Kitchen Group Artifacts	No. of Artifacts in Group	Percentage of Group Total
Ceramics	125	57.08
Glass, Container	83	37.90
Milk Glass, Lid Liner	4	1.83
Metal Cap, Crown	2	0.91
Metal Lid, Jar	2	0.91
Handle, Wire Bail	2	0.91
Pail, Rim/Body Fragments	(Batched)	N/A
Glass, Faux Crystal Tableware	1	0.46
All	219	100.00

Ceramics. Because ceramics are relatively durable materials that persist for a long time in or on the ground, they often figure prominently in archaeological investigations and, depending on the level of analysis pursued, can be used to make chronological determinations as well as a number of inferences about various aspects of human behavior, including trade, lifeways, and socioeconomic status, or class (Majewsky and O'Brien 1987:174; Orton et al. 1993:23-29; South 1977:230). Ceramics recovered through grid-point testing at the Newsom Farmstead were considered in three respects: Firstly, descriptions of ceramic functional classes and ware types provide an overview of the composition of the ceramic artifact assemblage. Secondly, the mean ceramic date is reported and discussed in regard to its chronological implications. Thirdly, spatial analyses of ceramics are used to gain insight into patterned cultural behaviors of site inhabitants.

Although the 2014 grid-point testing ceramic assemblage is fairly small (n=125), examples of both refined, non-utilitarian tablewares and relatively coarser utilitarian kitchenwares are well represented (Table 14). Kitchenwares are typically used in the preparation and storage of food and/or drink; vessel forms commonly encountered at historical archaeological sites include lidded jars, bottles, bowls, cups, pitchers, jugs, and churns. Of the 125 ceramic sherds recovered during the 2014 grid testing, 50 (40 percent) fall into the utilitarian category, in this instance comprised exclusively of stoneware (Figure 38), a ceramic type formed of natural clays fired at temperatures ranging from 1200° to 1400° C, resulting in vitreous-bodied, nonpermeable containers that require no glaze to make them water-tight. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, it had become customary in the United States to coat vessel interiors and exteriors with alkaline or vaporized salt glazes, often in combination with clay slips or slip washes (Aultman et al. 2003:10, 43; Tennis 1995:16). Characterized by its hardness and easy-to-clean glossy finish, stoneware became the preferred ceramic medium for utilitarian needs prior to the widespread availability of metal and glass alternatives during the early twentieth century (Lebo 1987:121; South 1971:171).

It is likely that much of the stoneware encountered on the Newsom site was produced locally, as a stoneware manufactory was located close by. Thomas Caldwell, an emigrant from Kentucky, settled in Callaway County during 1826 and quickly established a pottery there (Bryan and Rose 1876:320). Wheeler (1896:278) writes: "At the old Caldwell pottery, the clay used for making stoneware is from the Fulton seam of fireclay. It was dug from an old pasture one-eighth of a mile to the north." An unattributed reminiscence published in the *Fulton Telegraph* further describes the works

Table 14. Kitchen Group ceramic distributions: grid-point location testing sample (continued on next page).

Use Category	Ware	Decoration/Type	Count	Percentage of Total
Kitchenware (Utilitarian)	Stoneware, American	Salt Glazed	23	18.39
		Possible Alkaline Glazed	11	8.80
		Possible Alkaline Glazed with Incised Line	1	0.80
		Bristol/Zinc Emulsion Glazed	4	3.20
		Brown Slip	4	3.20
		Brown Wash	1	0.80
		Unglazed	3	2.40
		UID[1] (Spall)	3	2.40
Tableware (Non-Utilitarian)	Whiteware	Glazed, Clear	36	28.79
		UID (Spall)	14	11.20
		Transfer Printed, Purple "Wheat" Design with Stippling	2	1.60
		UID Transfer Printed, Linear Blue	1	0.80
		Glazed, Light Gray – Possibly Stained	1	0.80
		UID Light Brown Underglaze Band	1	0.80
		Hand Painted Underglaze, Dark Green Linear	1	0.80
		Hand Painted Underglaze, Green and Black Floral	1	0.80
		Molded, Hand Painted Underglaze Green, Purple/Red, and Black Floral	1	0.80
		Yellow Slip/Glaze (Interior Only)	1	0.80

[1] "UID" denotes "unidentified".

Table 14 continued. Kitchen Group ceramic distributions: grid-point location testing sample.

Use Category	Ware	Decoration/Type	Count	Percentage of Total
Tableware (Non-Utilitarian)	Porcelain, UID[1]	Unglazed	1	0.80
	Bone China	Glazed, Clear	6	4.80
	Ironstone	Glazed, Clear	5	4.00
		Partial Black Transfer Print Makers Mark (Royal Arms)	1	0.80
	Poss. Pearlware	Glazed, Clear with Cobalt Tint	1	0.80
	Slipware, UID	UID Slip, Rust Brown, White, Blue	1	0.80
	UID Refined Earthenware	Glazed, Dark Brown	1	0.80
All			125	100.00

[1] "UID" denotes "unidentified".

as "a noted old place for crockery ware—from a pipe to a six-gallon jar."[99] The Caldwell Pottery appears to have been located approximately one-and-a-half miles southwest of the Newsom landholding.[100]

Fragments of non-utilitarian tablewares comprise a slight majority (75 sherds, or 60 percent) of the 2014 grid-point location ceramic sample. These white-bodied, refined earthenware and porcelain tablewares were likely produced in England (Majewsky and O'Brien 1987:181), and represent types manufactured from the late eighteenth century through the present day. Non-utilitarian vessel forms indicated by ceramic artifacts recovered at the Newsom site include plates/platters, bowls, mugs, and teaware, configurations associated with the service and consumption of food and/or drink rather than their storage or preparation (Aultman et al. 2003:9). These tablewares can be described in more detail according to specific ware type.

Among the oldest recovered tableware types, representing 1.33 percent of the tableware assemblage, is a single sherd of what appears to be pearlware, a late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century British product characterized by an off-white clay body and a clear, blue-tinted lead and cobalt oxide glaze most evident where it has pooled (Aultman et al 2003:39; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:118; Sussman 1977:105-106). Other isolated type specimens, each of which also accounts for 1.33 percent of the tableware collection, include a thin spall of what appears to be a factory-made underglaze slipware in rust-brown, white, and blue, a late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century decorative type

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[99] "Meanderings". *Fulton Telegraph*, April 9, 1880. Volume XXXV, No. 21, p. 1.

[100] Page 35 of the 1897 Standard Atlas of Callaway County, Missouri (Geo. A. Ogle & Company: Chicago, Illinois), depicts a large, unnamed pottery adjacent to the Caldwell Cemetery on lands once owned by that family. The Newsom and Caldwell lineages were joined through the marriage of Thomas Caldwell's niece, Jemima (1820–1849), to Harvey Newsom on August 11, 1842 (Newsom 1888a:n.p.; Newsom 1893c:1). Newsom later became financially embroiled with his Caldwell in-laws via a substantial loan to them, the matter only being settled shortly before his passing in 1895 (Newsom 1894c:2).

generally limited to bowls, mugs, and jugs (Bates and Cooper 2014:18-19; Miller 1991:6); a white bodied earthenware sherd exhibiting a glassy, extremely thick dark brown glaze; and a thin-walled sherd of undecorated porcelain, a fully vitrified, relatively high-value translucent-bodied ware comprised of kaolin and petuntse (Miller 1991:11; Singleton 1980:151).

Additional types of tableware recovered during 2014 include six sherds (8.0 percent) of undecorated bone china, a semivitrified, highly translucent variety of softpaste porcelain first marketed in Britain during the 1790s and continuing to this day (Majewsky and O'Brien 1987:126-128; Miller 1991:11), as well as six sherds (8.0 percent) of ironstone/white granite china, a semivitreous tableware initially developed during the early nineteenth century as an English response to foreign competition from porcelain manufacturers. By the 1840s, ironstone was being heavily imported into the United States, where the relatively heavy, frequently undecorated ware remained ubiquitous in frontier households until its popularity began to wane during the latter part of the nineteenth century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:120-123; Miller 1991:10).

The majority (78.67 percent) of tableware recovered through grid-point testing is comprised of highly fragmentary, variously decorated nonvitreous white-bodied earthenwares collectively referred to as whiteware. According to Majewski and O'Brien (1987:120), whiteware is almost always decorated, with over- and underglaze hand-painting and underglaze transfer printing in a variety of colors being the most common decorative methods. Aultman et al. (2003:40) note that whiteware evolved "more or less" from pearlware; the paste is very dense and white with a clear lead glaze exhibiting overall, large-patterned crazing. While hand-painting was a familiar decorative style in

whiteware, transfer-printed designs are the most commonly seen form of decoration up to ca.1860; undecorated pieces are most common thereafter (Figure 38). The wide variety of aesthetic treatments found on whiteware bodies were differentially introduced and remained popular during different periods, and thus can serve as temporal markers within the type.

The chronological sensitivity of whitewares and other ceramic types enables use of these artifacts to calculate occupation dates for the Newsom Farmstead site. This is accomplished using South's (1977:217-218) "mean ceramic date" formula, a method widely employed in historical archaeology to help gauge the mean date of a site's ceramic assemblage, and by extension the median date of a site's occupation; it can also be of value in determining whether site inhabitants may have used older, outmoded ceramics in frequencies great enough to appear as more than anomalies in the archaeological record (e.g., Fairbanks 1972:79-82; Otto 1984:61; Singleton 1980:155-157). South's (1977:217-218) mean ceramic date formula makes use of well-documented production dates for historic ceramic types to calculate the median date of each type's manufacture; the average of those median dates (weighted by the count of sherds within each type) results in a mean ceramic date that purports to approximate the median date of the ceramic assemblage, and by association the mid-point of a site's period of occupation (Wesler 2002:5).

The mean ceramic date (MCD) for the Newsom Farmstead 2014 grid-point testing ceramic assemblage was calculated using median dates of manufacture for identified ceramic types—some of which are still being produced today—abstracted from Bates and Cooper (2014:18-19), DAACS (2006:1, 15, 18, 33-36), and Miller et al.

(2000:13). In order to calculate the MCD, the count for each ceramic type[101] was multiplied by the mean production date for that type; resulting products were then summed (n=227,237) and divided by the total count of ceramics used in the calculations (n=121), yielding a MCD of 1877.99 (Table 15). The historical research undertaken as part of the current study indicates that the Newsom Farmstead site was occupied from ca. 1823 to 1927, with a median occupation date of 1875. The relatively good correspondence between the MCD and the median occupation date for the Newsom site supports existing interpretations of the site's material and historical record, although these interpretations could be modified through future research.

Examination of the ceramic assemblage sheds light not only on site chronology, but also on land-use patterns at the Newsom landholding. Although widely scattered sherds were encountered in outlying areas, the 2014 grid-point testing sample of utilitarian kitchenwares was most concentrated within a clearly defined curvilinear band that passes north to south through the Newsom Farmstead core area, approximately mid-way between the house well to the east and the principal habitation area toward the western edge of the site (Figure 48). Tablewares are similarly arrayed across the site core area (Figure 49), and exhibit the curvilinear banding described above; however, there also appears to be a pronounced linear distribution of non-utilitarian ceramics that passes east to west between the house well and the location of David Newsom's early twentieth century dwelling, possibly corresponding with the former location of a pathway or fence line. Interestingly, some of these concentrations appear to correlate with the relatively deep deposits of remnant soils depicted in Figure 39. However, as defined through

[101] Only ceramics which could be identified according to type were included in the calculations.

Table 15. 2014 grid-point location testing ceramic assemblage: mean ceramic date calculation (continued on next page).

Ware/Type	Begin Date	End Date	Mean Manufacturing Date (mmd)[1]	No. of Sherds (n)	Product (mmd x n)
Stoneware, American	1750	1920	1835	46	84,410
Stoneware, v. Bristol	1835	2000	1917	4	7,668
Whiteware, Glazed (Clear)	1820	2000	1910	36	68,760
Whiteware, UID[2] (Spall)	1820	2000	1910	14	26,740
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Purple "Wheat" Design with Stippling	1828	2000	1914	2	3,828
Whiteware, UID Transfer Printed, Linear Blue	1820	2000	1910	1	1,910
Whiteware, Hand Painted Underglaze, Dark Green Linear	1820	1830	1825	1	1,825
Whiteware, Hand Painted Underglaze, Green and Black Floral	1830	1920	1875	1	1,875
Whiteware, Hand Painted Underglaze, Green, Purple/Red, and Black Floral	1830	1920	1875	1	1,875

[1] Only ceramics which could be identified to type were included in the calculations.
[2] "UID" denotes "unidentified".

Table 15 continued. 2014 grid-point location testing ceramic assemblage: mean ceramic date calculation.

Ware/Type	Begin Date	End Date	Mean Manufacturing Date (mmd)[1]	No. of Sherds (n)	Product (mmd x n)[3]
Whiteware, Yellow Slip/Wash (Interior Only)	1820	1840	1830	1	1,830
Bone China	1794	2000	1897	6	11,382
Ironstone	1840	2000	1920	5	9,600
Ironstone, Transfer Print (Black)	1840	2000	1920	1	1,920
Pearlware	1775	1830	1802	1	1,802
UID[2] Slipware	1795	1830	1812	1	1,812
Total:				121	227,237

[1] Only ceramics which could be identified to type were included in the calculations.
[2] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[3] The products (mmd x n) of the mean manufacturing date (mmd) and the number of sherds of each type (n) were summed and then divided by the total count of sherds used in these calculations (n = 121), yielding a MCD of 1877.99.

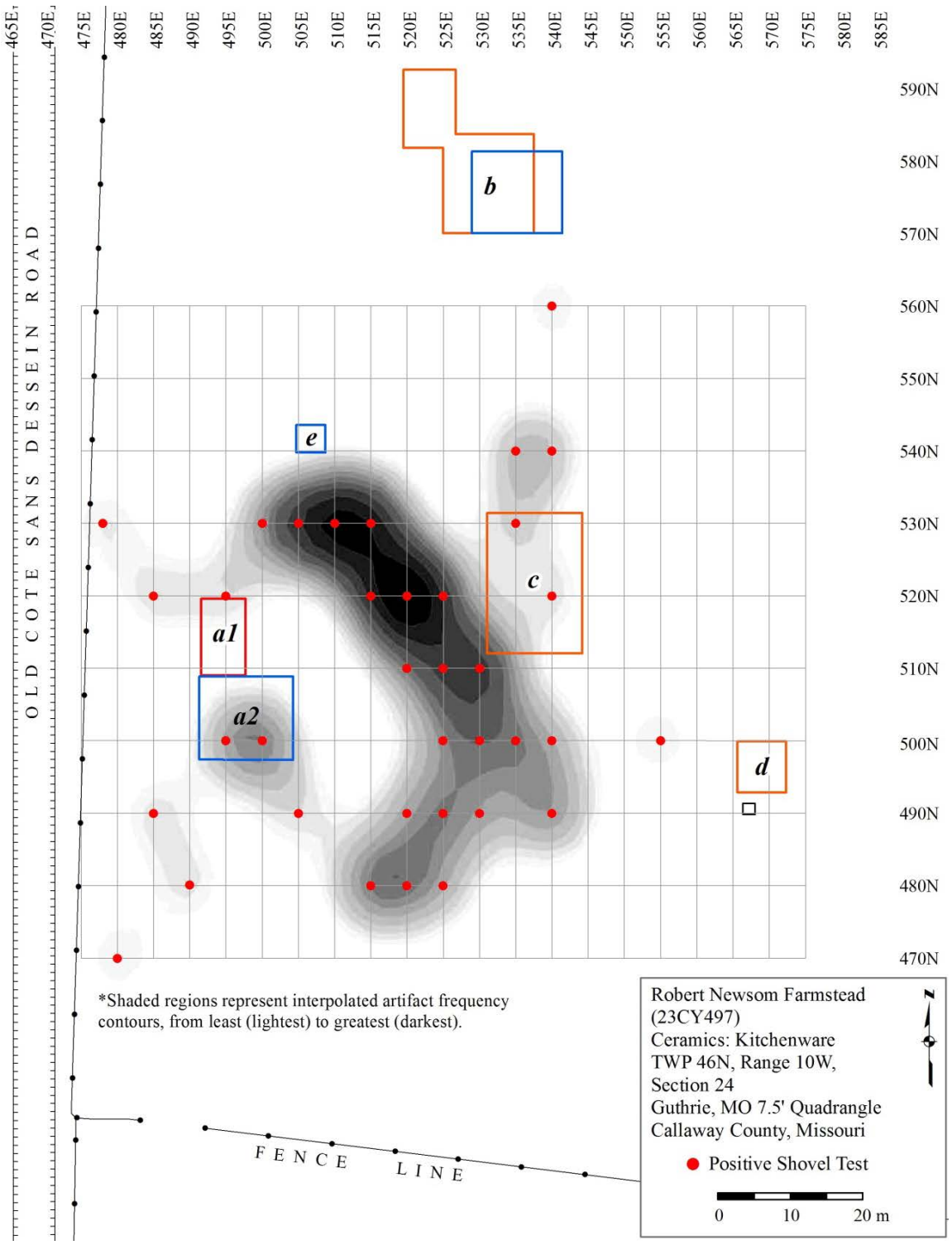

Figure 48. Distribution of utilitarian kitchenware ceramics across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

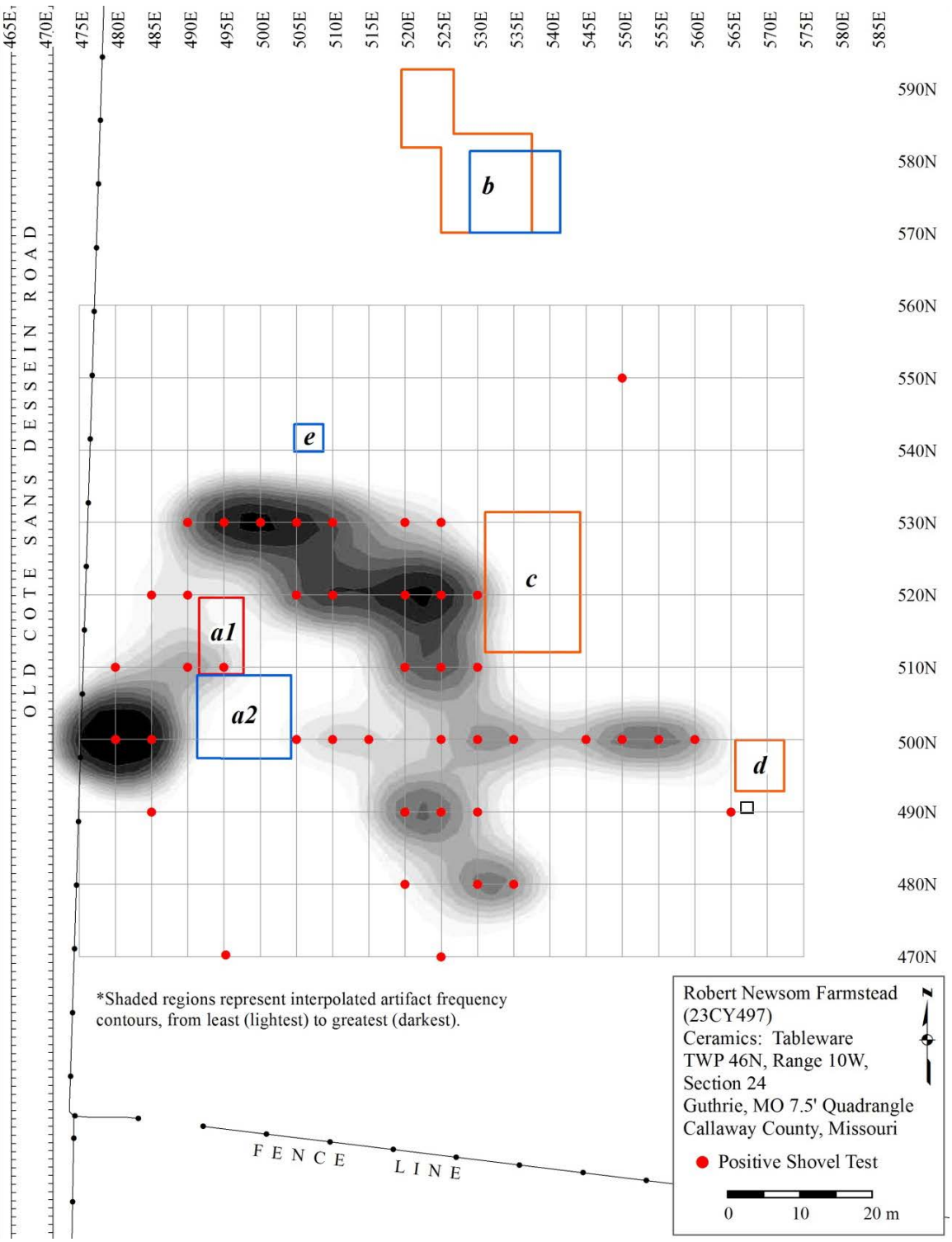

Figure 49. Distribution of non-utilitarian tableware ceramics across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

shovel testing alone, it is not possible to definitively attribute the observed distribution of ceramics across the yard area to any particular factor, be it the result of inhabitant behavior, post-abandonment site disturbance, or a combination of both.

In some respects, the banded distribution of ceramics observed within the Newsom Site core appears similar to patterns of refuse disposal on a number of intensively excavated seventeenth to the early twentieth century farmsteads described by Lebo (1987:129) and Moir (1987a:56; 1987c:231-234). At those sites, vessel fragments and personal items were clustered in relatively high frequencies at distances of six to eighteen meters (±3) from farmstead residential buildings. On some sites, these bands were incomplete or formed a partial horseshoe encircling the dwelling, and seemed to correspond with the boundary between "inner active yards," areas periodically maintained and occasionally swept to remove refuse and combustible materials, and "outer active yards," less well maintained and/or more actively utilized spaces containing higher artifact frequencies and major domestic support structures (Moir 1987c: 233-234).

Comparable patterns of refuse disposal have also been observed at the loci of plantation slave quarters. A number of researchers (e.g., Betti 2014:43-45, 96; Bon-Harper 2009; Fesler 2010:37-43) have demonstrated that the yards adjoining the quarters of some bondspeople were regularly swept clear of refuse, a cultural behavior that Heath and Bennett (2000:39) propose may have been conveyed to the New World from Central and West Africa via the slave trade. Historically, the practice was not limited solely to those of African descent, nor does it remain so today: Moir (1987c:231-234) and Westmacott (1992:79-82, 103) observe that rural whites maintained swept yards as well,

the latter opining that the practice was likely adopted from African-Americans as Southern culture became creolized (Fesler 2010:33).

Sara Bon-Harper (2009) has used artifact size as an indicator of site maintenance among the slave dwellings at Monticello's Site 8 by assessing the degree to which artifact sizes from excavation units varied from the site-wide average of the proportion of small to large artifacts. In essence, she theorized that maintenance of yard spaces would result in redistribution of large artifacts to unmaintained areas, possibly through sweeping, while smaller artifacts "escaped the broom" and remained in place. Bon-Harper's Artifact Size Index (ASI) is calculated using a formula that measures the extent to which observed numbers of small artifacts (<15 mm) recovered from particular excavation units depart from the expected number, an estimation based on the site-wide proportion of small to large artifacts and the total number of artifacts found in each unit. ASI values calculated across a site can then be used to produce interpolated contour/distribution maps to identify spaces where higher proportions of small artifacts remain in place following site maintenance activities, such as yard sweeping.

The ASI method was applied to the historic ceramics recovered from shovel tests excavated during the 2014 grid-point testing at the Newsom Farmstead and plotted using Surfer Surface Mapping Software, v. 8.08 (Golden Software, Inc.). Although the sampling strategy used at the Newsom Site differs considerably from that used by Bon-Harper at Monticello, at a superficial level the results appear to be similar. As shown in Figure 50, the darker areas on the ASI map purportedly represent deposits of secondary refuse containing relatively high proportions of large artifacts per test; these encircle a central area comprising the rear yard of the site core, wherein a higher proportion of

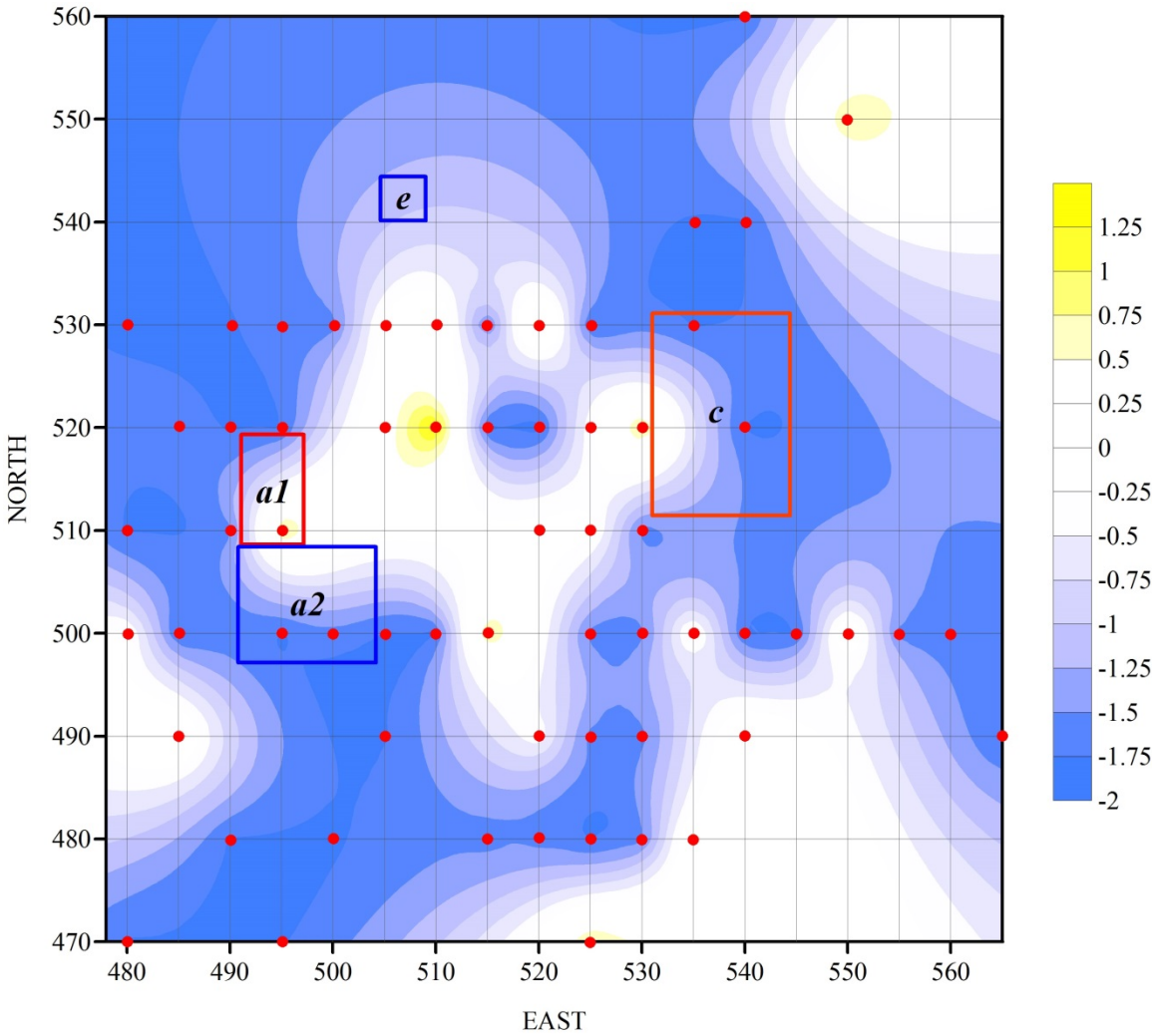

Figure 50. Ceramic-positive shovel tests (red point marker symbols) and interpolated ASI contours for the 2014 grid-point testing sample of all historic ceramics. Lower ASI values (darker colors) represent higher proportions of large artifacts (≥15 mm) per shovel test (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *e,* unidentified small structure). The twentieth century barn and well house locations (previously labeled *b* and *d*, respectively) are not shown.

small ceramic artifacts—or no ceramic artifacts at all—are indicated. If the seeming prevalence of smaller artifacts behind the Newsom residences is a result of traditionally African-derived yard maintenance practices appropriated by the Newsoms rather than mechanical clearing or the long-term trampling of cattle, it could have implications

regarding the extent to which the Newsoms were influenced by their bondspeople in other ways—not only during the antebellum period, but long after.

Non-Ceramic Kitchen Group Artifacts. The non-ceramic component of the Kitchen Group accounts for a combined 42.92 percent of the Kitchen Group assemblage (see Table 13), and is comprised of artifacts which, considered under a relatively broad analytical regime, possess only a general diagnostic utility. These include a collection of highly corroded fragments of what appears to be a galvanized rolled-rim pail and two segments of a steel wire bail handle; two steel "crown" bottle caps, patented in 1892 and in widespread usage by the second decade of the twentieth century (Lief 1965:17); two fragments of knurled canning jar lids, produced at least from the late 1890s through the present day (Lindsey 2015a); and four pieces of white opaque "milk" glass canning jar lid liners, two of which are marked "BOYD'S GENUINE PORCELAIN" (or traces thereof), patented in 1869 and produced well into the twentieth century (Lindsey 2015a). The remainder of the Kitchen Group artifacts (38.36 percent of the Kitchen Group assemblage) consists of container glass fragments (n=83) and a single sherd of press molded faux crystal tableware.

Meaningful classification of container glass from archaeological sites is largely dependent on complete vessel specimens or substantial portions thereof; a wide variety of minute fragments lacking diagnostic features is not particularly informative, and in many cases can be summarized in a few short sentences (Lindsey 2015b; Lorraine1968:43). Nevertheless, a measure of general chronological information can be derived from such collections, while broad inferences about site usage may be obtainable through examination of their distribution. Analysis of the highly fragmentary 2014 Newsom

Farmstead grid-point location sample of container glass is based on physical attributes including color and, where discernable, form and apparent method of manufacture. The distribution of container glass and glass tableware across the gridded sampling area is presented in Figure 51.

Lindsey (2015c) and Lorrain (1968:43) agree that glass color is worthy of description despite its somewhat limited value in classifying bottles with respect to specific age or type. Color—or the relative absence of it—remains a potentially important descriptive attribute as it is associated with a number of temporally sensitive trends that can be useful in dating glass fragments, particularly those related to the development of decolorization processes.

As Lockhart (2006a:45) writes, throughout much of history container glass was often produced in various shades of green or aquamarine, hues engendered by natural iron impurities in the sand used to create the glass. During the nineteenth century, however, a gradual movement occurred in the glass-making industry toward production of lighter shades of aqua and colorless glass. Relatively inexpensive means were sought to produce colorless wares, primarily through the inclusion of chemical decolorants of complementary hue that effectively masked or "bleached" the historic greens and aquas of natural glass, resulting in a "colorless" product (Lockhart 2006a:46; 2006b:2). Manganese dioxide was commonly used as a decolorant in affordable glass tablewares by 1865 and in glass containers by the late 1880s. For technical reasons, as automatic and semi-automatic bottle making machines began to dominate the industry during the early 1920s, manganese was largely replaced with a selenium decolorant, often in combination with arsenic; it remains in use to this day (Lockhart 2006a:52-54; 2006b:2).

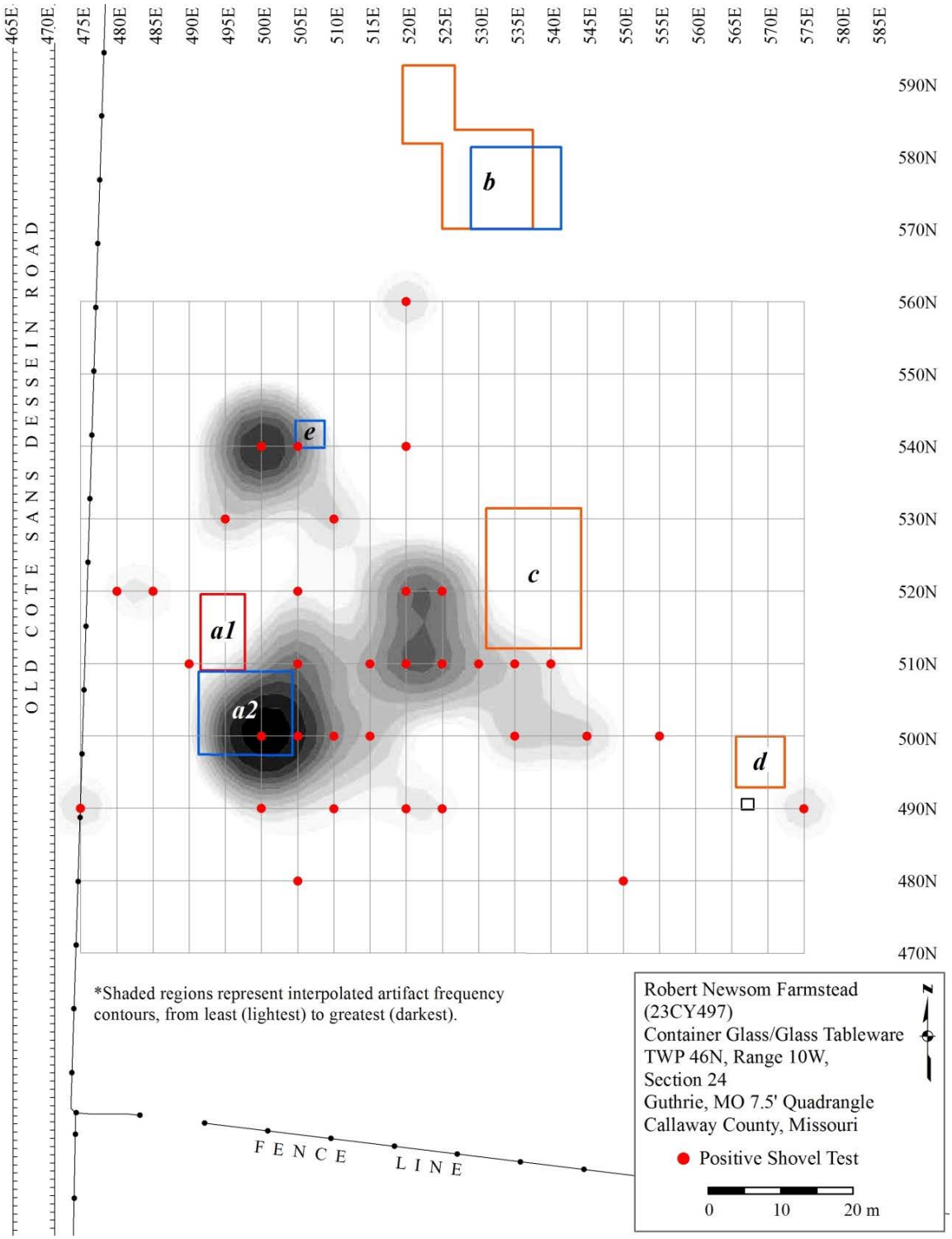

Figure 51. Distribution of container glass and glass tableware across the gridded sample area by shovel test and relative frequency (Features: *a1,* Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2,* David Newsom dwelling; *b,* twentieth century barn; *c,* possible location of Celia's cabin; *d,* well house; *e,* unidentified small structure).

As early as 1880, industry specialists reported that some varieties of colorless glass tend to change hue upon lengthy exposure to the ultraviolet (UV) radiation in sunlight (Gaffield 1880:180). Glass decolorized with manganese dioxide exhibits varying shades of a purple or amethyst tint in accordance with the amount of manganese present and the degree/intensity of UV exposure; where selenium has been used, a very faint amber or "straw" color is produced (Lindsey 2015c; Lockhart 2006a:45-46). As a consequence, glass fragments displaying these characteristics can often be dated to the period during which each decolorant was in general use by industry.

Thirteen (15.66 percent) of the 83 container glass fragments recovered through grid-point testing exhibit the amethyst tint indicative of manganese decolorization, and likely were manufactured between the late 1880s and the early 1920s. Ninety-two percent of these (n=12) occur in two principal concentrations: one in the vicinity of the David Newsom 1909 folk-Victorian dwelling feature (shovel test 500E/500N); the second in the area of nineteenth and twentieth century fill situated in the central portion of the testing grid (tests 515E/510N, 520E/510N, and 520E/520N). Two fragments (2.4 percent) found in the same general area display the straw-colored tint indicative of selenium decolorization, and are unlikely to date prior to the early 1920s. However, subsurface testing yielded an additional 43 fragments of colorless container glass (51.81 percent of the container glass assemblage) for which no specific mode of decolorization was apparent, possibly due to insufficient exposure to ultraviolet radiation (Gaffield 1880:180; Lockhart 2006a:46-47). While the date of manufacture for these colorless fragments could not be more precisely estimated, it is generally accepted that vessels of decolorized glass were relatively uncommon prior to the 1870s (Lindsey 2015c). Given

that such colorless or decolorized glass accounts for nearly three-quarters of the 2014 glass assemblage, the use of glass containers at the Newsom site was likely most prevalent during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, a trend consistent with the exponential growth in the production of consumer glass during the same period (Busch 1987:67-69).

With several minor exceptions, the remainder of the container glass assemblage is of a considerably more general diagnostic utility in terms of color. Seventeen fragments in varying natural shades of pale green or aqua account for 20.48 percent of the container glass sample; as described by Lindsey (2015c), these colors are common in all types of bottles manufactured prior to the second decade of the twentieth century, though aqua-colored Ball canning jars continued to be mass-produced at least through the late 1930s and soda bottles in various shades of green to greenish-aqua are still made today. Additionally, four dispersed fragments in a medium to medium-dark amber tone were also recovered, comprising 4.82 percent of the collection. Ambers have been common from at least the nineteenth century through the present day and, due to the capacity of amber glass to shield contents from adverse photochemical effects, are customarily used in beer and spirit bottles. Three sherds of cobalt blue container glass (Figure 38), comprising 3.61 percent of the sample, were also recorded. While not as common as the amber, green, aqua, cobalt can be found to some degree in virtually all types of bottle; however, because of its prominent color, cobalt was most frequently used in medicine and poison bottles. Cobalt was also a common color for soda and mineral water bottles produced from the 1840s into the early 1900s, and in ink bottles from the 1840s into the 1930s or later (Lindsey 2015c; Polack 2008:147, 312). Finally, a single fragment of

heavily patinated, very dark olive or light "black glass" (comprising 1.2 percent of the sample) was recovered from shovel test 510E/530N. So-called "black glass" bottles of any type, particularly those of American manufacture, were uncommon after ca. 1880; most were made to contain alcoholic beverages for which protection from light was critical in retaining quality. This color can also be found in pre-1870s ink bottles, ink wells, mineral waters bottles, snuff bottles, a number of early medicinal bottles, and—much more rarely—food bottles (Lindsey 2015c).

Due to the highly fragmentary nature of the container glass assemblage and the somewhat limited scope of the present analysis, relatively little can be said with respect to vessel form and manufacture method. No complete specimens or substantial portions thereof were recovered; on average, sherds measured only 24 mm in length, and the vast majority were body sherds (n=77, or 92.77 percent). One unidentifiable glass spall was also recorded. Twenty-one (25.3 percent) of the 83 fragments display joint seams or other indications of having been mold-blown, a technology in widespread use since ca. 1810 (Lorrain 1968:34).

Although the 2014 container glass sample lacked complete specimens, several fragments were large enough to reliably indicate vessel form. One of these large fragments is a portion of a pale aqua, machine-made external thread finish canning jar rim (1.2 percent of the collection), most likely post-dating ca. 1900–1915 (Lindsey 2015d). A second large fragment (1.2 percent) is the base of a small, machine-made panel type medicinal or flavoring extract bottle of pale aqua glass exhibiting a faint suction scar, dating from ca. 1905–1920s (Lindsey 2015e). A third large fragment is the amethyst tinted base of a manganese decolorized "shoo-fly" style flask (Figure 38)

embossed with a widely spaced "T C," a maker's mark that could not be identified. The shoo-fly flask is a form most popularly used for spirits and medicinal products from the 1880s into the second decade of the twentieth century (Lindsey 2015f).

The sole example of readily identifiable glass tableware is a fragment of press molded glass in a ribbed, geometric pattern (Figure 38). While the introduction of the pressing machine in ca. 1827 enabled manufacturers to produce large quantities of attractive, inexpensive tableware, pressed glass was not common in American households until the mid-1840s (Lorrain 1968:38-39). The fragment recovered during 2014 at grid-point 555E/500N exhibits the fire polishing most typical of later pressed wares as well as an amethyst tint indicative of manganese dioxide decolorization, a process not commonly seen in glass tablewares prior to the mid-1860s, and most common ca. 1880s–1920s (Lockhart 2006a:54; Lorrain 1968:39).

Minority Artifact Groups. The remainder of the 2014 grid-point testing artifacts comprises a clear minority of the combined assemblage (see Table 10), and includes those items counted among the Activities (8.51 percent), Household Furnishings (1.15 percent), Clothing (0.72 percent), and Personal Items (0.14 percent) groups. Although these minority group artifacts are a mixed-bag with respect to defining site chronology and/or delineating particular activity areas within the Newsom Farmstead core area, they do provide additional detail to our understanding of the site and are thus worthy of brief description. A summary of minority group artifacts is presented in Table 16.

The Activities Group. The Activities Group it is a broad classificatory grouping that encompasses a wide range of functional associations. Activities Group artifacts recovered during the 2014 field season include miscellaneous hardware and samples

Table 16. Minority group artifacts: 2014 grid-point location testing sample (continued on next page).

Artifact Type	No. of Artifacts in Group	Percentage of Group Total
Activities Group		
Ferrous Clinker/ Smithing Slag	41	69.49
Coal, Cannel	10	16.95
Eye, UID[1]	1	1.69
Fastener, UID	1	1.69
Nut, Castle	1	1.69
Pin, Cotter	1	1.69
Pipe/Tube, Ferrous	1	1.69
Rivet	1	1.69
Slag, Welding	1	1.69
Washer	1	1.69
All	59	100.00
Household Furnishings Group		
Lamp Chimney, Glass	5	62.50
Carbon Core, Dry Cell Battery	1	12.50
Etched Glass, UID Flat	1	12.50
Brass Tack, Half-Round/ Square Shank	1	12.50
All	8	100.00
Clothing Group Artifacts		
Button, Prosser 4-Hole	2	40.00
Possible Button, Plastic	1	20.00

[1] "UID" denotes "unidentified".

Table 16 continued. Minority group artifacts: 2014 grid-point location testing sample.

Artifact Type	No. of Artifacts in Group	Percentage of Group Total
Clothing Group Artifacts (continued)		
Pin, Safety (Clasp)	1	20.00
Zipper Pull, Brass "Talon"	1	20.00
All	5	100.00
Personal Group Artifacts		
Side Comb, Possible Tortoiseshell[2]	1	100.00
All	1	100.00

[2] So-called "hot point" needle testing was inconclusive with respect to composition of the comb; UV florescence would be more definitive.

of coal, but are dominated by ferrous clinker and/or smithing slag. These materials comprise nearly seventy percent of the group sample. They were recovered from widely scattered locations across the testing grid, but were most concentrated among atypically dark soils in the area behind the supposed exterior kitchen, as was a majority of recovered coal. Ferrous clinker and smithing slag are not always easily distinguishable (F. Scott Worman personal communication, September 2014); however, both can form as a result of activities that were likely common on the Newsom site: the combustion of coal in typical residential stoves and/or use of portable smithing forges there.[102] It is probable that the unusually dark soils encountered in association with the greatest concentration of

[102] The journals of David Newsom contain multiple references to the purchase of various stoves (Newsom 1893:87; 1912:4, 11, 79) and coal (Newsom 1893:108; 1912:1, 43, 79) during the period 1893–1908. Smithing activities are noted in Robert Newsom's daybook (1888b:27, 47), and apparently refer to work performed at the Newsom site by visiting smiths.

these artifacts resulted from repeated dumping of incompletely burned coal in the area over an extended period of time.

The Household Furnishings Group. Artifacts included in the Household Furnishings Group include several items associated with furnishings typically used in a domestic context. More than 60 percent of the group sample consists of glass kerosene lamp chimney fragments (Figure 38), a majority of which were recovered in and about the Newsom dwellings. Such lamps became common in American households during the 1860s (Lorrain 1968:44; Miller et al. 2000:15) and served as a mainstay of rural illumination well into the twentieth century. A single carbon core from a dry cell battery similar to those used to power David Newsom's early telephone was also recovered, as was an early style half-round brass tack with a square-cut, solder reinforced shank found south of the Newsom dwellings; the latter likely functioned to secure upholstery or as a decorative component of the brightwork detailing on a wooden trunk.

The Clothing Group. Items associated with the Clothing Group include those relating to the manufacture, use, and/or maintenance of clothing. Only five such artifacts were recorded within the sample area, a majority located in the vicinity of David Newsom's dwelling and the nineteenth/early twentieth century fill feature in the central portion of the site core. These include two four-hole Prosser-type ceramic buttons (Figure 38), common between 1840 and the mid-twentieth century (Sprague 2002:111, 113), and one folium-shaped, dark purple button-like object of thinly molded plastic featuring the Great Seal of the United States; while this object could not be definitively identified, buttons of similar plastic material have been in production since the 1930s (IMACS 2001:475/4). The remaining Clothing Group artifacts include what appears to

be a heavily corroded twentieth century steel safety pin clasp and a brass "Talon" zipper pull dating from the mid- to late 1930s (Stewart:2014).

The Personal Items Group. Artifacts from the Personal Items Group include non-clothing items or portions thereof that would typically be used for personal grooming or adornment. One such artifact was identified during the 2014 testing at the Newsom Farmstead: a fragment of possible tortoiseshell tuck comb excavated at grid point 510E/500N (Figure 52). This artifact is of particular interest due to mention of similar combs in Robert Newsom's daybook: on September 11, 1833, the Newsoms spent the day in Fulton, where they purchased from John C. Smith five pounds of coffee, one tuck comb, and one piece of lace; they next visited the establishment of Payne & Broadwell, where they acquired eight ounces of indigo, one pound of alum, two finger rings, and two additional tuck combs (Newsom 1888b:43).

It is unclear at this time whether the archaeologically recovered comb fragment is composed of genuine tortoiseshell or is a facsimile made of molded horn or an early plastic, such as celluloid nitrate. If tortoiseshell or horn, the comb fragment could date to any time during the Newsom occupation, including the period referenced in Newsom's daybook; if the latter, the comb would have been produced no earlier than ca. 1868 (Miller et al. 2000:16). The fine crazing of the comb's fabric evident under magnification as well as an absence of structural layering normally present in deteriorated tortoiseshell and horn appear most consistent with a cellulose nitrate origin (O'Connor et al 2014:5-6, 13; National Park Service 2010:5).

Figure 52. Dorsal and ventral surfaces of comb fragment recovered from shovel test 510E/500N during 2014 grid-point location testing, Newsom Farmstead site habitation core area.

Comparative Pattern Assessment

Comparison of Newsom Farmstead artifact group frequencies to those derived from investigations of other slaveholdings would appear to be problematic due to variation in the methods employed and a tendency of past researchers to focus on slave quarters at large Southern plantations, where the dwellings of planters, overseers, and the enslaved can be readily distinguished and individually explored (e.g., Fairbanks 1972; Otto 1984; Singleton 1980; Wheaton and Garrow 1985). Such conditions differ

significantly from those of the shared domestic spaces more characteristic of small non-plantation farmsteads, where bondspeople were frequently quartered within slaveholder residences or in structures fairly close to them (Burke 2010:143, 154; Enscore et al. 2014:61; Fitts 1996:55-58; Strutt 2010:226-230).

During the spring of 1855, Celia and her two children shared a cabin with the visiting bondswoman Malinda, apparently on-hire from a neighboring landholding, and with Newsom's bondsman George, who occupied an adjoining room. While as many as five enslaved individuals resided in her quarters at that time,[103] it is possible that the so-called "negro cabin" was constructed as early as 1839–40 to accommodate nearly twice as many bondspeople.[104] The historical record states that Celia and her family were housed in a low, two-roomed brick structure located about fifty yards from Robert's dwelling.

It is not known what became of Celia's cabin following the death of Robert Newsom and destruction of his mortal remains there during June 23–24, 1855. David Newsom does not appear to have been a slaveholder thereafter, and the structure could have been repurposed. However, if Celia's quarters were largely abandoned or razed during that period and the remnants left largely undisturbed, the cabin locale, including any associated features and artifacts, may have escaped significant dispersal, mixing, or other disturbances resulting from continued occupation of the site. If so, the "negro cabin" feature would be similar to the slave quarter features investigated on large

[103] July, 18, 1855 testimony of George pursuant the Grand Jury's investigation of the bondswoman Malinda (Williamson 1967:20-21); Harvey Newsom's letter to the editor, Daily Missouri Republican, August 2, 1855, Volume 33, No. 181, p.2.
[104] The Sixth U.S. Census of Callaway County, Missouri, indicates that Robert possessed nine bondspeople as of June 1840 (U.S. Census 1840:207B).

Southern plantations, many of which saw little domestic use following the American Civil War.

During the 2001 University of Tennessee investigations of the Newsom site, Brooke Hamby and her colleagues excavated 35 shovel tests, 11 augur tests, and four 3-foot square test units in the hypothesized location of Celia's quarters, an area approximately fifty yards east of Robert's dwelling (Hamby 2002:4-16). A total of 725 artifacts, including a relatively large number of brick fragments and nails, were recovered and categorized according to South's (1977) functional classification system. Hamby's 2001 archaeological testing and excavations of the "negro cabin" locale are the most locally intensive sampling of the Newsom site, to date; however, the project report does not compare their findings to those reported by investigators of other slaveholdings. In consequence, a final component of the current study is comparison of the 2001 University of Tennessee functional artifact group frequencies to a small sample of those recovered from slave quarters located at several eighteenth and nineteenth century commercial plantation sites in coastal Georgia and far northern Florida.

As shown in Table 17, there are several marked differences between the 2001 Newsom artifact group frequencies and those reported for the four other sites. The most substantial difference is in the Architectural Group measure, wherein the Newsom assemblage considerably exceeds that reported elsewhere. This is likely due in part to the use of handmade brick in the construction of the "negro cabin" and other structures, which as we have seen resulted in the broad distribution of highly fragmented brick remnants across the site. Conversely, the Kitchen Group percentage is somewhat below that reported for the other locales. If this disparity reflects differences in the behavior of

Table 17. Comparison of functional group artifact patterns: Newsom Farmstead "Negro Cabin" feature (2001 data) and four quarters from sites in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, by number of artifacts and percentage of total.

Artifact Group	Newsom "Negro Cabin"[1]		Butler Island[2]		Cannon's Point (South)[3]		Cannon's Point (North)[4]		Kingsley Plantation[5]	
	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)
Architectural	612	84.41	4494	67.90	3824	71.38	3789	70.60	3950	73.22[6]
Kitchen	105	14.48	1325	20.01	1388	25.91	1383	25.77	1385	25.67
Activities	1	0.14	26	0.39	13	0.24	12	0.22	12	0.22
Household Furnishings	0	0	1	0.01	5	0.09	0	0	0	0
Clothing	3	0.41	111	1.68	45	0.84	67	1.25	18	0.33
Tobacco	2	0.28	642	9.70	71	1.33	107	1.99	15	0.28
Firearms	1	0.14	15	0.23	2	0.04	6	0.11	10	0.19
Personal	1	0.14	5	0.08	9	0.17	3	0.06	5	0.09
All	725	100.0%	6619	100.0%	5357	100.0%	5367	100.0%	5395	100.0%

[1] Newsom Farmstead, purported location of the "Negro Cabin"/Celia's quarters (Hamby 2002:4-16).
[2] Butler Island Plantation slave dwellings, settlement #4, McIntosh County, Georgia (Singleton 1980:214).
[3] Cannon's Point Plantation, south end slave cabins, St. Simon's Island, Georgia (MacFarlane 1975, abstracted in Singleton 1980:214).
[4] Cannon's Point Plantation, north end slave cabin, St. Simon's Island, Georgia (Otto 1975;1977, abstracted in Singleton 1980:214).
[5] Kingsley Plantation slave cabins, Duval County, Florida (Fairbanks 1974 [1972], abstracted in Singleton 1980:214).
[6] Because poured tabby was used at Kingsley Plantation rather than nails/frame construction, Singleton (1980:213-216) corrected for differences in the Architectural Group frequency; the Architectural figure presented herein for Kingsley Plantation thus includes a correction factor.

enslaved occupants rather than site formation processes, it may indicate that meal preparation and consumption were less intensive in the vicinity of Celia's cabin, which was situated a handful of paces away from the Newsoms' exterior kitchen, than at the quarters located at the other sites, where the dwellings of bondspeople were purportedly "central to slave cooking and eating activities" (Singleton 1980:217).

The Tobacco Group also displays a relatively wide percentage range. As Singleton (1980:217) observes, this may reflect variation in the provisioning of tobacco; it may also reflect differences among the bondspeople in tobacco consumption methods, whether the leaf be chewed, formed into a cigar, or smoked in a pipe. Of the three, the latter method is most likely to be represented artifactually.

Other functional artifact groups, such as those pertaining to specialized activities, household furnishings, clothing, firearms, and personal effects, are poorly represented across the board, and their manifestation in the archaeological record appears to have been infrequent at the comparison sample of quarters investigated in coastal Georgia and Florida. While it is reasonable to infer that many bondspeople had limited access to certain furniture and clothing components, firearms, and a broad assortment of personal items, preservation bias may also be a significant factor. It is probable that the possessions of enslaved peoples included high proportions of ephemeral materials that would have begun to decompose shortly after loss or disposal, long before archaeologists arrived on scene with trowel and measuring tape in hand.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Goals and Findings

Goals. Archaeological and historical investigations of eighteenth and nineteenth century slaveholdings have focused primarily on sites in the so-called "plantation belt" geographic region of the Old South, yet throughout the southern states a majority of slaveholders and nearly half of the enslaved lived on farms rather than on plantations (Burke 2010:4; Otto 1980:35; Singleton 1990:70). Thus, despite the prevalence of this form of enslavement there have been relatively few studies of slavery at the scale of the household or family farm. A primary goal of the present study is to address this lack of focus on small slaveholdings through archaeological and historical research of the Robert Newsom Farmstead (23CY497), sometimes referred to as the "Celia site," a nineteenth century slaveholding farmstead located on National Forest System lands in Callaway County, Missouri. In addition, this work has an applied goal, which is to produce information that will aid the U.S. Forest Service in management of the site.

Results of Historical and Archaeological Investigations. Critical assessment of the site's historical record has helped fill many gaps in previous reports about this important site, including those associated with the use of space and social relations there. Analyses of historical documents from both archival and personal collections as well as descendant oral history interviews have shed new light on those who once inhabited the Newsom landholding. Moreover, they have helped clarify site chronology and have brought details of the construction, design, location, and function of various structures

and features into a clearer focus, particularly the setting of Robert Newsom's dwelling, Celia's quarters, the still house, and the Newsom family burying ground.

In addition to addressing the specific research questions driving this study, historical investigations have yielded a wealth of information associated with, but not directly germane to, the goals presented above. While not immediately relevant, much of that information is reported here for the benefit of others who may be actively conducting research into the historically significant Celia case and/or the history of slaveholding farmsteads in general, as well as those who may seek to do so in the future.

Archaeological survey and testing at the Newsom site have provided additional lines of evidence useful in corroborating and subsequently expanding upon the knowledge obtained through historical research. Pedestrian survey (walkover) of the landholding was invaluable in relocating indications of disturbance within the site core area and in identifying vestiges of the Cote Sans Dessein-to- Fulton road, the still house location, and what are believed to be previously unrecorded burials within the Newsom family cemetery (23CY496). Subsurface testing was employed to recover a sample of metallic artifacts located through metal detection, to opportunistically search for archaeological deposits in high-probability areas, and to investigate the distribution of artifacts within a substantial portion of the site core. Both pedestrian survey and subsurface testing were critical to evaluating site formation processes.

Systematic testing was the most labor-intensive component of current field investigations, but was essential in identifying horizontal patterning in the distribution of artifacts and relatively intact soils within the habitation area. Subsurface concentrations of construction materials were found to correspond with the purported loci of the

Newsom dwellings, the exterior kitchen, and the "negro cabin" feature, thus lending support to spatial descriptions of the site present in the historical record. Analysis of the ceramic and glass artifacts recovered through testing was helpful in several ways, particularly with respect to inferring site chronology and residents' use of space on the property.

The "mean ceramic date" of the 2014 ceramic assemblage, calculated using South's (1977:217-218) methodology, corresponds closely with the historically indicated median occupation date of the site. Similarly, an analysis of window pane thickness using Moir's (1987b:77-80) linear regression formula yielded dates that are nearly identical to historically indicated initial construction dates of Robert Newsom's dwelling, the exterior kitchen, and the "negro cabin". Application of Bon-Harper's (2009) "Artifact Size Index" to the 2014 ceramic assemblage may have revealed evidence of yard sweeping, a characteristically African practice thought to have been conveyed to the New World via the slave trade and adopted by rural whites through creolization of Southern culture (Fesler 2010:33; Heath and Bennett 2000:39; Westmacott 1992:79-82, 103).

It remains to be seen whether the location of the Newsom Farmstead "negro cabin" has indeed been confirmed archaeologically. The general correspondence of the functional groups calculated for the artifacts recovered there by the University of Tennessee during 2001 with those reported for several other quarters located at sites in coastal Georgia and Florida tends to support Hamby's contention that her investigations were focused within the "most likely area for the remains of Celia Newsom's house" (Hamby 2002:19). Ironically, the mechanical site disturbance that appears to have led to

a loss of topsoil within portions of the habitation core also helps delineate the location of Celia's quarters, reputed to have been about fifty yards distant from Robert's 1832 brick dwelling.[105]

A simple arc drawn using a fifty yard radius as measured from the Newsom residence location was superimposed onto a sketch map depicting structural features and relative soil depth contours within the farmstead core. As can be seen in Figure 53, that arc passes through the heart of an area with atypically shallow soils immediately south of the proposed location of Celia's cabin. If that topsoil was displaced during removal of above-ground structural remnants or while moving earthen fill into a possible cellar depression nearby, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that the apposition of these two features further supports the claim that Celia's quarters were located in that vicinity.

Implications for the Study of American Slavery

Although results of this study are largely specific to the Newsom Farmstead and its inhabitants, they are also bear modestly on the history of American slavery in general, particularly with respect to variation between small and large slaveholdings. It is apparent that Robert Newsom viewed slave labor as a tool to be wielded in establishing his home, working his land, and in the progressive expansion of his fortune. Upon his departure from Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia for the Missouri Territory during the autumn of 1820, Newsom brought with him on the nearly thousand-mile journey not only his wife and their four young children, but also "four little negroes (slaves) he planned to

[105] Harvey Newsom's letter to the editor, Daily Missouri Republican, August 2, 1855, Volume 33, No. 181, p.2.

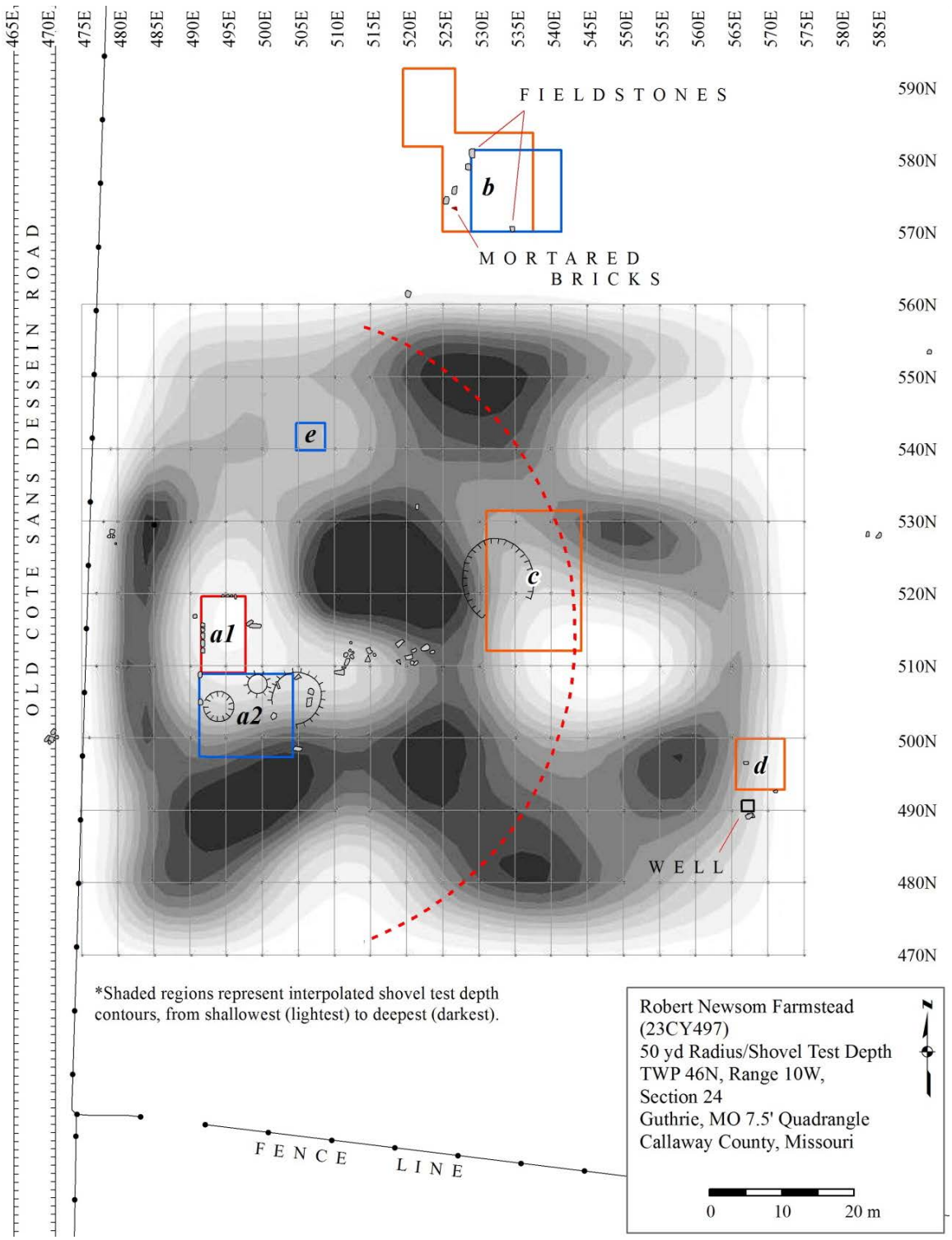

Figure 53. Sketch map depicting an arc drawn with a scaled radius of fifty yards (measured from Feature *a1*) and the relative depths of shovel tests/soils excavated across the gridded sample area during 2014 (Features: *a1*, Robert Newsom dwelling; *a2*, David Newsom dwelling; *b*, twentieth century barn; *c*, possible location of Celia's cabin; *d*, well house; *e*, unidentified small structure).

raise up for help," two boys and two girls, all less than eight years of age (McNamee 1959:7; Newsom 1894a:2; U.S. Census Bureau 1820:186). His having done so is significant to our understanding of slavery at the Newsom site in two respects, one practical and the other symbolic.

Firstly, it indicates that Robert viewed the expense of obtaining the enslaved youths and the effort required to foster them as worthwhile long-term investments. Furthermore, given their gender distribution (two boys and two girls) it is probable that Newsom expected to oversee the natural increase of his bondspeople in due course of time, a widespread practice following ostensible closure of the international slave trade during the early nineteenth century (Bridgewater 2001:12-15). Not only was this a clear exertion of Robert's power over the enslaved youths' bodies and reproductive rights, it was an implicit "privilege" that under different circumstances would lead to his violent end some thirty-five years later.

A second point of significance is the notable absence of an enslaved adult to serve as caregiver for the young bondspeople, from which it may be inferred that the Newsoms intended to rear the enslaved children within their own household, albeit unequivocally as chattel. The comparatively intimate domestic arrangement between slave and slaveholder that would have resulted is consistent with that proposed for the small non-plantation farmsteads of Missouri and elsewhere by a number of researchers (e.g., Burke 2010:143, 154; Craven 1930:20; Enscore et al. 2014:61; Fitts 1996:55-58; Haskell 1902:31; and Strutt 2010:226-230). Such intimacy was also reflected in the relative proximity of the Newsom residence to the quarters of their bondspeople—positioned close enough to have allowed for the possibility of near-constant surveillance—as well as

the apparent contiguity of their interments within the family burying ground. The waxing and waning of both free and enslaved populations reflected in the historical record help explain the evolution of the landholding as it occurred during its entire period of occupation.

Applied Contributions and Recommendations

From an applied perspective, historical archaeological investigation of the Newsom landholding has helped define the horizontal extent of its activity loci, including the habitation core, the still house location, and the Newsom burying ground, thus expanding the physical boundaries of the site and demarcating additional areas of the landholding to be protected from potentially destructive management activities. Pedestrian survey and subsurface testing have also provided the means to gauge the extent of site disturbance and the potential for intact subsurface archaeological deposits in various areas, forming a basis from which to assess the physical integrity of the site and its ability to yield additional historical information. Both criteria are important in determining the site's eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Finally, this study has generated a variety of historical and physical data that land managers can use to guide future research and to interpret the site for the public.

Although the present study constitutes a small measure of progress in describing and analyzing the history, cultural landscape, and archaeological structure of the Newsom Farmstead, the effort to do so is by no means complete. Much remains to be accomplished, and there are ample opportunities to expand upon and/or revise the

conclusions presented herein. Neither should management of the Newsom property end with its description, particularly if one hopes to extract meaning from its story.

The grid-point location testing implemented during 2014 encompassed a substantial portion of the site habitation core area measuring approximately 90 meters south-to-north by 100 meters west-to-east. Although several areas of interest were encountered during 2014, the locations of various structures specifically referenced in the historical records as well as those expected to be present as a result of custom and practice remain unidentified. These structures include the log house reportedly built by Robert "on the east side of the ridge" during ca. 1822–23; the 1828 double-pen log barn reportedly constructed south of Newsom's brick dwelling (Newsom 1912:77, 105); the stable mentioned by multiple parties in the records of Celia's prosecution;[106] and various domestic support structures typical of nineteenth and early twentieth century farmsteads, such as a smokehouse, a corn crib, a chicken house, and a succession of privies (see Groover 2008; Marshall 1981; Vlach 1993). As a consequence, future investigators hoping to identify archaeological remains of those structures might consider expanding the testing grid to incorporate a broader area, particularly to the south and east of the currently identified habitation core.

While additional shovel testing within the 2014 gridded sampling area would narrow the intervals between tests and might help to locate additional structural remnants therein, future researchers might be better served pursuing a course of geophysical survey through the application of ground-penetrating radar or electrical resistivity survey, two forms of remote sensing capable of defining a range of subsurface feature types and

[106] The stable was referenced in the statements of William F. Powell, James Coffee Winscott, and Celia Newsom at the inquest into the death of Robert Newsom, June 25, 1855, and during the cross-examination of Harvey Newsom at Celia's trial, October 10, 1855 (Celia, File No. 4,496).

activity areas in an efficient and cost effective manner (Weymouth 1986:388). The equipment and expertise required to effectively implement geophysical surveys are not as widely available as shovels and archaeological screens. However, the efficiency and potential precision of geophysical methods can make up for their lack of convenience (Conyers 2006:64). The relatively open ground within the Newsom habitation core area and the surrounding terrain should lend itself well to the application of both ground-penetrating radar and electrical resistivity survey; however, the geochemical properties of the relatively shallow Gorin silt-loams on the site, desired survey resolution, and expected feature types should be taken into account in choosing a particular method.

In addition to its efficiency, geophysical survey would be advantageous in this context because it is a non-invasive method of site exploration. Previous subsurface investigations of the Newsom site (Hamby 2002) were largely focused on the hypothesized location of Celia's cabin. Following those investigations, Hamby (2002:24-25) recommended additional excavations of the "negro cabin" locale and adjacent cellar feature in order to identify the perimeter of the structure and its intended usage. However, it might be wise to delay additional excavation of the cabin locale until geophysical survey has been conducted. The geophysical results could then be employed to guide subsequent excavations, enabling researchers to efficiently target areas of interest while minimizing the destructive effects of broad scale excavation.

The location of Robert Newsom's 1832 brick dwelling has already been determined. As a consequence, excavations designed to reveal the dimensions of the structure and associated features would be appropriate. Additional test excavations placed within the surrounding area could also be informative, including the locations of

artifact concentrations and possible features in the vicinity of grid locations 505E/500N, 510E/500N, 510E/510N, 520E/520N, and 510E/530N. Whether or not such excavations are undertaken following geophysical survey or additional shovel testing, all should be executed to a professional standard with regard to vertical and horizontal control, description, photographic recordation and mapping, artifact collection, and curation.

Archival investigations comprised a significant portion of the current study and were as exhaustive as possible; however, additional resources—significant ones—exist in various locations and should be pursued wherever possible. While new avenues for web-based historical research will continue to become available, many Newsom records are still to be found only in bound volumes and boxes located in basements, attics, museums, and libraries scattered throughout the Midwest and elsewhere.

A number of relevant legal documents remain in the archives of the Callaway County Circuit Court. Some of these documents are stored in Fulton, while many of the older records were sent to Columbia, Missouri, where they are reportedly undergoing indexing and long-term storage (Judy Groner, Callaway County Circuit Clerk, personal communication January 30, 2014). The latter collection may include a comprehensive record of testimony adduced in the October 1849 trial of Newsom's bondsman Dick for killing a steer belonging to John Howard James, as well as the July 1855 Grand Jury testimony of the bondsman George and others in its investigation of Malinda, both cases referenced by Judge Hugh P. Williamson (1967:13-15; 20-21).

Still other papers reside among the collections of the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society (KCHSOC) in Fulton, Missouri, including Robert Newsom's original probate documents, tax record transcriptions, and Newsom journal excerpts. In addition

to documents that relate specifically to the Newsoms, the KCHSOC museum also curates a great deal of historical material useful in contextualizing nineteenth century life in Callaway County.

The Chadwick Library at Iowa Wesleyan University, in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, houses the Earl Newsom Collection of John Edward and Emma Day Newsom letters and papers. While many of these documents relate specifically to Iowa Wesleyan University, Methodism, and missionary work in India by Newsom family members, some detail the early history of the Newsom family, including the lines of Robert and Conrad Newsom. Additional material continues to be donated to the library by Newsom descendants, and indexing of the collection is an active, ongoing process (Joy Lynn Conwell, personal communication March 5, 2014).

Some of the most significant resources are likely in the private collections of Newsom descendants living in and around Fulton, Missouri, and the numerous locations where members of that widely scattered line have alighted and taken root. These documents may include family journals, daybooks, ledgers, personal letters, photographs, and compilations of genealogical research. The personal records available for review as part of the present effort have proven invaluable in reconstructing the history of the Newsom site and its inhabitants; those currently unremarked have substantial potential to clarify and extend that history.

In 1956, Callaway County Magistrate Judge Hugh P. Williamson published what appears to be the earliest widely circulated account of the confrontation between Robert Newsom and Celia (Williamson 1956:408-420). The events Williamson chronicled are

based almost exclusively on the records of Celia's prosecution, though he departs from a strict historical retelling and concludes his narrative as follows (Williamson 1956:420):

> A century has now gone away since the passing into death of the slayer and the slain, but even now there walk in the world those persons, those descendants of the second child of Celia, in whose veins course, in all amity, the comingled blood of the white master and the Negro slave girl. So perhaps in time [will] all conflicts, all bitternesses and hatreds, be thus resolved.

Nearly sixty years have passed since Williamson tendered his concluding remarks, and it remains unknown whether or not Celia's bloodline endures. If so, the extent to which her descendants might be aware of their family history is equally unknown, or if such persons would be willing to publicly reflect on that history. Although much has been learned about the Newsom site and its occupants from family accounts, the perspective of Celia's descent has been entirely absent from the historical record. Accordingly, that record will remain significantly deficient until they are provided an opportunity to participate in its creation.

Ongoing management of the Newsom Farmstead Site as currently defined includes a number of physical protections, administrative actions, and recommended activities. Each of what follows is either currently mandated or readily achievable within existing forest budgets and staffing limitations.

Firstly, U.S. Forest Service (USFS) land managers and USFS permittees should avoid implementation of any activities that could result in adverse effects to components of the Newsom site that contribute or might contribute to its historic significance without first completing effects analysis and regulatory consultation with the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) pursuant to 36 CFR 800.3(c)(3). In particular,

ground disturbing activities within the currently defined site core area, the still house location, and the Newsom family burying ground should be avoided.

Additional activities that could lead to adverse effect include the removal of healthy, mature canopy within the family cemetery, which could lead to a significant increase in undergrowth, as well as prescribed burning within the cemetery absent prior identification of all burial markers and removal of adjacent fuels. A reasonable schedule of site monitoring should also be established in order to identify deteriorating site conditions or vandalism as early as possible, thereby maximizing the potential for effective remediation.

Secondly, a draft National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Nomination Form should be prepared and submitted to the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office. The nomination form should incorporate the Robert Newsom Farmstead (23CY497) and the Newsom Family Cemetery (23CY496) into a historic district considered "eligible" for listing on the NRHP under Significance Criteria A and D, defined under 36 CFR 60.4 as applying to properties that "…possesses integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and/or association, and are (A) associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, and (D), have yielded, or may be likely to yield, [archaeological] information important in…history". The site's Areas of Significance include Social History, Ethnic Heritage/Black, Exploration/Settlement, and Archeology/Historic—Non-Aboriginal.

Finally, efforts should be made to interpret the Newsom Farmstead for the public without endangering those qualities that make it eligible for listing on the National Register. Although the site is located well within a gated, active grazing allotment, it lies

on National Forest System lands that are open to the public as a walk-in area, and the location of the site is generally known to area residents. Consequently, placement of an interpretive marker in the vicinity of the site would be appropriate. Furthermore, occasional guided walkovers of the landholding should be made available to interested researchers or groups upon request through the Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society in Fulton, Missouri.

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Appendix A. Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Newsoms Monday Nov 5th 1832	1	James Langley	Balc brot on	$3.04		
		Freedom Stinson	Amt brot on	$40.16		
		Robert Boyd	Balc due	$0.25		
		Danial Nolley [?]	Credit to Newsom / By balc due		$0.54	
		Freedom Stinson	Balc brot up		$2.00	
		Josiah Ramsey	4 b potatoes @ .25	$1.00		
		Robert Newsom	Balc brot up	$36.57		
		James Langley	150 choice brick / 50 [.005]	0.75		
		Thos N Ming	By balc due you		$5.30	
Newsoms Nov 5th 1832	2	William Jones	By balc due		$6.37	
		James Langley	Overplus on bricks	$0.95		
			2 b nails @ .10	$0.20		
			1 gl Tar	$0.32		
						$1.47
		Henry Holeman	Balc on brick	$0.12		
		John C Smith	By balc due		$3.50	
		James Chafin	By bal on fodder		$0.50	
		Ligh [?] Grant	1 qt brandy [illegible] / cash paid	$5.00		
		Payne & Broadwell	2 doz glass		$2.00	
			Balc brot up		$3.14	$5.14
Newsom's Nov 12 1832	3	Lanil [?] Dyer	Balc brot up	$3.21		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
	3	Same	1 b powder		$0.50	
			1 [?] allum		$0.25	
			½ [?] salts		$0.12	
			1 knob latch		$0.63	
			Balc on thumb [ditto]		$0.06	
			Precipiti [?]		$0.25	$1.81
		Jas. L Henderson	1 knob lock [illegible]	$2.00		
		Same	By goods pr Bill		$11.49	
		Waugh & Dorsey	Keeping horse week	$0.75		
			6 ¾ yd Janes	$6.75		$7.50
		John Yates	By balc due		$23.85	
		Wells	Balc on grinding	$0.50		
Nov 14th 1832	4	James Langley	Balc on apc [account payable credit?]	$0.59		
		William Morgan	To 1 b meal	$0.35		
Nov 16		William Jones	To 1 calf	$2.00		
		Benjamin Mosley	Amt balc brot up	$0.63		
Nov 21			Grinding 2 ½ corn	$0.32		$0.95
		Same Cr	By 1 door hinge		$0.25	
		George Wells pr son	Balc on 2 b meal	$0.25		
		Conrad Newsom	To 2 ½ corn @ .30	$0.75		
	4		Grinding same	$0.32		$1.07

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Nov 23	4	George Wells	To 2 trips moving	$2.00		
		Conrad Newsom	To 12 hogs sows	$33.33		
Nov 24th 1832	5	Thos N Ming self	To 1 ½ b meal @ .5	$0.75		
Nov 27		James Atkinson	200 choice brick	$0.80		
			2/3 day hauling	$0.83		$1.63
Nov 28			Balc on act	$3.95		$5.58
		Thos N Ming wife	3 b [?] flax @ .25	$0.75		
Dec 1		James S Henderson	By order pr Davis		$4.00	
Dec 4		Benj Mosely	To grinding 2 corn	$0.25		
		Elkanah Smith	By amt balc		$8.52	
		Nathan Winscott	Balc on act [?]	$1.87		
		Same Cr	By cash		$0.87	
		Edmund Smart	Balc brot up	$30.75		
Newsoms Decr 9th 1832	6	Thomas N Ming	To ½ b potatoes	$0.16		
			" 1 ½ b meal	$0.60		$0.76
		James Grant	To balc on act	$30.50		
		Same	By brickmaking		$19.00	
		Waugh & Dorsey	693 1/3 [illegible unit] flooring		$20.80	
			108.11 casings		$6.53	
			331.5 archatraves		$19.88	
			87 ½ sash linings		$2.64	
			87 ½ sash hangings		$2.64	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
	6		186 1/3 chair & wash [illegible]		$18.63	
			4 door sills		$1.75	
			1 kitchen window		$1.00	
			3 chimney pieces		$11.50	
			1 stair case		$14.00	
			123 lights [?] Sash @ 8 1/3		$10.25	
			4 pannel doors @ 3.00		$12.00	
Newsoms Decr 10th 1832	7	Waugh & Dorsey	2 batton doors @ 1.00		$2.00	
			Hanging door locks		$2.00	$125.62
		James S Henderson & Co	By goods pr Bill		$1.15	
		James Langley	To 62 brick pr son	$0.31		
		Douglas Smith	Grinding 2 ½ corn @ .12	$0.32		
		John Yates	To 11,716 [lb?] pork @ 1 7/8	$214.89		
		James A Henderson	Order pr Davis [wife?]	$4.00		
		Robert Newsom	To 187 pork @ 2 1/4	$4.20		
Newsoms Decr 22d 1832		John Blount	Grinding 2 corn @ .12	$0.25		
		Frederick Nichols	By making table		$6.50	
Newsom's Decr 22d 1832	8	Douglas Smith	Grinding 3 ½ corn @ .13	$0.43		
		Saml McClure [?]	Feeding team	$1.00		
			Help at hog killing	$1.50		$2.50
		John C Smith	To cash pd	$3.50		
		John Yates	By cash pd		$100.00	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		James S Henderson	By 5 coffee @ .20	$1.00		
	8		" 4 sugar @ .13	$0.50		
			" 1 Bed cord	$0.25		$1.75
		Robert Newsom	By cash pd McKinney [?]		$0.75	
		John Blount	By 1 little chain		$0.63	
		Waugh & Dorsey	To cash pd Dorsey	$65.00		
Newsoms Decr 24th 1832	9	James S Henderson	By 2 coats pr order @ 2.00		$4.00	
		Thos N Ming	By error in act [?]		$0.25	
		Same	To cash pd	$3.50		
		Same	By error in change		$0.30	
		Benjamin Mosley	Grinding 2 corn @ .13	$0.25		
		William Jones	To cash pd son	$2.50		
		William Morgan	By corn pd pr meal		$0.37	
		Benj. Mosley	By corn & [?]arriage		$6.00	
			" 1 band			
		Same	Grinding 2 corn	$0.25		
Newsom's Decr 31 1832	10	John Prine	Grinding 4 corn	$0.50		
		George Wells	By cash pd		$2.00	
		Benj. Mosley	By shoing horses &c		$0.75	
		George Wells	By balc on whiskey		$0.25	
		John Prine	By wood choping		$0.25	
		James M Atkinson	To 6 [lb?] Lime pr Daniel & [?]	$0.60		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		Benj Mosely	Hauling pork	$1.00		
			2 [?] potatoes @ .31	$0.63		$1.63
Newsoms Jany 5th 1833	10	Elkanah Smith	To cash pd	$8.50		
		Jas. L Henderson	By balc on suspenders		$0.12	
Newsoms Jany 5th 1833	11	Payne & Broadwell	By goods previous to apc		$1.49	
		Same	To cash in full	$6.63		
		John Yates	By note		$24.00	
		Same	" Cash		$37.89	
			" Order pr [illegible]		$53.00	$114.89
		Josiah Ramsey	By cash in full		$1.00	
		David Meyers	To 1 ½ day hauling 1830	$1.75		
		Same	By cash pr wife 1832		$1.50	
Sept 17th 1832		John Charlton	Balc on sheep	$2.00		
		Waugh & Dorsey	To order pr Yates	$53.13		
		Benj Mosely	By butcher knife	$0.08		
Newsom's Jany 8th 1833	12	J L Henderson	By 351 [lb?] Salt @ .02		$7.02	
			" 4 b sugar @ .12		$0.50	
			1 phial drops		$0.25	$7.77
		Same	To cash	$3.88		
		William Jones	To cash pr sow	$0.37		
Newsoms Jany 12th		John Prine	½ [?] Meal & ½ [?] potatoes	$0.36		
		Conrad Newsom	To 28 [lb?] salt @ .28	$0.56		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Newsoms Jany 18th		Thos N Ming	To 81 [lb?] pork @ 2 1/4	$1.82		
		Douglas Smith	To due mule	$18.00		
		Same	By grinding 1 corn		$0.12	
Newsom's Jany 19 1833	13	John Prine	To grinding 2 corn	$0.25		
		Thos N Ming	By casing making and hanging 1 door		$3.00	
		Freedom Stinson	Interest on mare	$4.00		
Newsom's Jany 23d		John Prine	To ½ [?] potatoes @ .31	$0.16		
			" 1 young sow			
		Same	By 2 days grubing @ .50		$1.00	
		James Henderson	By 1 vial Baitman drops		$0.25	
		Douglas Smith	By cash		$18.00	
		John R Blount	To 1 Jar @ .50 grinding 2 corn	$0.70		
		Same	By 1 chair		$0.50	
Newsoms Jany 28 1833	14	James Grant	By this amt pr Smith	$0.50		
Newsom's Feb 1st 1833		Payne & Broadwell	By 1 choping axe		$2.50	
		Same	To 2 ½ ? meal @ .40	$1.00		
		Saml Dyer	By 8 [lb?] sugar @ .12		$1.00	
			" 1 Blk silk cravat		$1.37	$2.37
		James S Henderson & Co	By ½ [?] Impl tea		$0.50	
		Conrad Newsom	To 2 [?] meal @ .40	$0.80		
		Same	By service as witness		$0.50	
		John R Blount	To rent of 24 gals castings @ .12 1/2	$3.00		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		John Prine	By 1 day grubing		$0.50	
Newsoms Feby 12th 1833	15	John Prine	To ½ [?] meal @ .40	$0.20		
		J L Henderson	By 2 almanacs @ 6 1/4		$12.50	
		Absalom Kemper	To hauling slabs	$2.00		
	15	John Foster	To 1 pr bridle bits	$0.25		
		John Prine	Grinding 2 [?] corn @ .13	$0.25		
		Same	By 1 day grubing		$0.50	
			" 2 days ditto		$1.00	$1.50
		George Wells	To hauling	$1.50		
		James S Henderson	By paid taxes		$4.43	
			" Postage on 10 papers		$0.15	$4.58
		Payne & Broadwell	By 1 Mill sawfile		$0.50	
Newsoms Feby 12th 1833	16	Thomas N Ming	By making 1 pr shoes		$0.50	
		Benj Mosley	To 2 geese @ .40	$0.80		
			" 1 almanac @ .06 1/4	$0.06		
			Grinding 2 ½ corn	$0.32		$1.18
Newsoms Feby 19th		James S Henderson	By 1 sugar Hhd [?]		$0.25	
			" 1 Salt bll @ .12 1/2		$0.12	
			" 1 Plow line @ 12 1/2		$0.12	
			" 2 ½ [?] nails		$0.25	$0.75
		Saml McLure	" 1 Choping axe		$2.50	
		Thomas N Ming	To 135 [?] Pork @ 2 1/2	$3.37		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		Same	By making door		$0.50	
		James Grant	To 600 brick self 40 [@ .004]	$2.40		
Newsom's February 26	17	Conrad Newsom	To 1 bu [bushel] meal @ .40	$0.40		
		John Prine	To grinding 2 corn @ .12 1/5	$0.25		
		Thos N Ming	To 1 [?] Nails	$0.12		
	17	John R Blount	By 3 ½ [?] sugar @ .12 1/2		$0.43	
		William Jones	Order pr Winscott 2	$2.00		
		Nathan Winscott	By order pr Jones 2		$2.00	
		Thos N Ming	To ½ [?] potatoes @ .33	$0.16		
Newsoms March 2d		Benj Mosely	Grinding 2 [?] corn	$0.25		
		Conrad Newsom	To 2 ½ meal @ .37 1/2	$0.93		
Newsom's March 8th	18	Elkanah Smith	By stocking 2 plows @ 1.50		$3.00	
		James S Henderson	By 1 pr cast butts @ 18 3/4		$18.75	
		George Wells	By husks		$1.50	
		Jacob McNeal	To 25 gal vinegar stuff (Apl 1831)	$1.00		
			Grinding 1 corn (aug--) [1831]	$0.12		
			Grinding 1 corn	$0.12		$1.25
		James Grant	To 1000 brick Lang [?]	$4.00		
		Conrad Newsom	To 27 [?] Salt @ .02	$0.54		
		James Suggett Jr	To cash for Lymes [blacksmith?]	$8.00		
		John Hays	To 1 bll whis 36 g @ .25	$9.00		
			" 6 Gal ditto & 1 whis Bl	$3.00		$12.00

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Newsoms March	19	Absalom Kemper	To 1 rolls pr wife	$0.50		
		Richard D Renoe	To balc on ape [?]	$1.97		
		Madison Lymes	By making 1 plow		$2.50	
			" Sharpening ditto @ .18 5/9		$0.18	
			" 1 bell claper @ .06 1/4		$0.06	$2.75
		Same	To cash pd	$1.50		
	19	James Grant	By 3 days work sigh [?] .75		$2.25	
		Robert Newsom	By 1 heifer 5		$5.00	
		John R Blount	To 2 geese @ .40	$0.80		
			Grinding 2 corn	$0.25		$1.05
		Benj Mosley	By work in shop		$0.87	
			" Upset axe		$0.12	$1.00
Newsoms March 12th 1833	20	G B Hopkins	To hauling plank @ 2.92 1/2	$2.92		
			" 1 hide 29 1/4 [?] @ .10	$2.92		
			" 1 fallen [?] 24 1/4 @ .10	$2.42		
			" 1 Kip 13 @ 15 [untanned hide]	$1.95		
			" Yearling skins 16 [?] @ .15	$2.40		
			" Horse 31 1/4 @ 1	$2.00		$14.62
		John R Blount	By 24 [?] sugar .12 1/2		$3.00	
		George Thomas	To 5 ½ oats @ .31 1/4	$1.71		
		Polly Ratekin	To 6 [?] oats .31	$1.87		
		John Prine	To grinding 2 corn	$0.25		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		James Suggett	By pd Majors [?] 3		$3.00	
		Payne & Broadwell	To 1 millsaw file	$0.50		
Newsom's April	21	James S Henderson	By 1 vial cordial .25		$0.25	
		James M Lymes	To cash pd Constable	$1.25		
		John Prine	By 1 day work		$0.50	
		Conrad Newsom	To 2 ½ meal @ .40	$1.00		
		Thomas N Ming	To 250 [?] flax @ .40	$1.00		
	21	Benj Mosley	To 5 [?] oats @ .31 1/4	$1.56		
			"1/2 [?] flaxseed @ .75	$0.37		
			" 1 [?] potatoes @ .37	$0.37		$2.31
		Polly Ratekin	To 3 [?] Oats @ .31 1/4	$0.94		
		Conrad Newsom	To hauling loom	$1.25		
		Felis Nichols	To balc on oats	$0.37		
Newsoms April	22		[Margin: Robt Newsom Versailles Mo; Facing: Sic transit gloria mundi / Versailles Missouri]			
		Benj Mosely	To 1 salt bll	$0.25		
		Lucy Langley pr son	To 3 [?] oats @ .31 1/4	$0.94		
		John Prine	By 1 days choping		$0.50	
		Nathan Winscott	To cash .62 1/2	$0.62		
			" ½ [?] flaxseed @ .75	$0.37		$1.00
		William Morgan	To 1 [?] flaxseed @ .75	$0.75		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		Benj Mosely self	To grinding 2 corn	$0.25		
		Conrad Newsom	To 4 ½ [?] oats @ .31 1/4	$1.40		
			" 2 [?] powder @ .40	$0.80		
			" Lead & bullets .12 1/2			$2.32
		Same	By cash pd		$0.12	
Newsom's April	23	George Thomas	To 4 [?] oats @ .31 1/4	$1.25		
		James Langley pr son	To 1 [?] oats @ .31.1/4	$0.31		
		Absalom Kemper	To 1 peck flax seed [@.18 3/4]	$0.18		
		Conrad Newsom	To breaking 4 A [acre] old ground	$3.00		
	23		" ~ ¼ ANew do [ditto?]	$0.25		$3.25
		Bonaparte Ferguson	To cash pd on filly	$2.00		
			" Tar pr self [@ .12 1/2]	$0.12		$2.12
		Same	By posting filly		$4.37	
		William Morgan	To 3 [?] oats pr son @ .31 1/4	$0.94		
		Douglas Smith	To 3 ½ [?] oats @ .31 1/4	$1.09		
		Same	By cash pd		$0.56	
Newsom's April 1st 1833	24	Robert Boyd	By cash in full		$0.25	
		James Thomas	To hauling plank	$1.50		
		Same	By amt on calf		$0.50	
			1 Vest made		$0.50	$1.00
		John R Blount	To grinding 2 [?] corn @ .12 1/5	$0.25		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		Same	By assumset [assumpsit] pr Conrad [18 3/4]		$0.18	
		Conrad Newsom	To grinding pr Blount [.18 3/4]	$0.18		
		James M Atkinson	To cash lent	$4.00		
		Douglas Smith	To ½ u oats pr Harry	$0.16		
		William Morgan	To 3 ½ oats pr son .31.1/4	$1.08		
Newsom April 1833	25		[Margin: Sic transit gloria mundi thus passeth away the glory of the world]			
		James Langley	To ½ [?] Flaxseed @ .75	$0.37		
		John Prine	To grinding 2 u corn	$0.12		
		Benj Mosley	By welding 1 plowbar		$0.25	
	25		" Sharpning 2 plows		$0.25	
			" 2 open rings		$0.12	
			" Mending 2 clevis		$0.13	
			" 1 heelscrew		$0.06	
		John R Blount	To use of hogshead	$0.25		$0.81
			" Returning castings	$0.25		$1.00
		Same	By 1 chairframe		$0.40	
		Thos N Ming per boy	To ½ [?] Flaxseed @ .75	$0.37		
		Richard Humphreys	To 16/1/2 [?] Sheet lead @ .12[?]	$2.12		
Newsoms April 10th 1833	26	James Chafin	To 1 singletree lost	$0.50		
		Benj Mosley	To grinding 2 ½ corn	$0.32		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		James M Atkinson	To 1 bedcord	$0.25		
		William Morgan	To 3 ½ [?] oats pr son @ .31 1/4	$1.09		
		John R Blount	By 1 chairframe		$0.50	
			Amt on frame		$0.10	$0.60
		Thomas N Ming	By making 1 pr shoes [.87 1/2]		$0.87	
		Frederick Nichols	To 5 [?] meal @ .40	$2.00		
		James S Henderson	By 1 phial paregoric		$0.25	
			" 2 palmeto hats		$0.75	
			" 3 yo domestic @ .25		$0.75	
			" 1 pocket knife		$0.50	$2.25
Newsoms April 1833	27		[Margin: 26 August 1883 /Poor old uncle Conrad Newsom/ I suppose gone to his rest long long ago H Newsom]			
		Benj Mosely	By mending chain [.12 1/2]		$0.12	
			" Sodering bell [.06 1/4]		$0.06	$0.18
May 2d 1833		Conrad Newsom	To breaking 10 acres @ 1	$10.00		
			" Laying off same	$2.00		
			Horsefeed 1 1/2	1.50 [?]		
			Seedcorn 1/2	$0.50		
			Hauling rails	$2.00		$16.00
		Same	By 2 ½ acres [illegible] 2		$5.00	
		Benj Mosley	By pointing 1 plow		$0.13	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
			Sharpt 2 plows		$0.25	
			Mending chains		$0.25	$0.63
		Richard Humphreys	To 1 ½ [?] oats @ .31	$0.46		
		Jas M Atkinson	By 1 bed cord		$0.25	
Newsoms May 3d 1833	28	James Grant	To 34 [?] Salt @ .02	$0.68		
		James Langley	By grinding 1 corn		$0.12	
		John Prine	To grinding 2 ¾ @ .12 3/4	$0.35		
		John R Blount	To grinding 2 corn @ .12 1/2	$0.25		
May 4th 1833		James S Henderson & Co	By balc on goods pr bill		$2.00	
		John Prine	By ½ days rolling 25C		$0.25	
	28	Same	To 3 gals seed corn @ .06	$0.18		
		Frederic Nichols	To 2 ½ meal @ .40	$1.00		
		Polly Ratekin	To 10 [?] Salt pr girl .02 1/2	$0.30		
Newsoms May 8th 1833	29	Benj Mosley	To grinding 2 corn	$0.25		
			" 1 [?]potatoes .31 1/4	$0.56		
		Frederick Nichols	To 2 ½ bus meal @ .40	$1.00		
		James S Henderson & Co	“ 1 palmeto hat			
			To this amt pr day	$3.00		
		Same	By 2 wool hats .75		$1.50	
		Richard Humphreys	To 15 ½ bus oats @ .31 1/4	$4.84		
		Benj L Mosley	To grinding 2 corn	$0.25		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Newsoms May 18th		James S Henderson	By 1 doz fish hooks		0.12 1/2	
		Thomas N Ming	To 350 [?]hay @ .40	$1.40		
Newsoms May 20th 1833	30	George B Hopkins	To 1 cowhide to tan	$2.00		
		John Prine	To 1 pr uppers (leather)	$0.25		
			" 1 pr insoles @ .16 3/4	$0.16		$0.41
		Same	By 146 rails a ½ c [looks like "apc"]		$0.73	
		Thomas N Ming	To 1 bu meal pr wife	$0.40		
		Benj Mosley	To use of one cow [illegible] calf			
Fulton May 25th 1833		Payne & Broadwell	By bal e on cotton thrd		$1.00	
			" 10 [?] Sugar @ .10		$1.00	
			" 1 oz indigo		$0.25	
	30		" Ribbons		0.37 1/2	$2.63
		James S Henderson	By 2 spelling books .12 1/2		$0.25	
Fulton May 25th 1833	31	Elkanah Smith	By carding wool		$7.36	
		Frederic Nichols	To 2 ½ bu meal @ .40	$1.00		
		John Prine	To grinding 2 corn	$0.25		
			To 3 dog skins @ .25	$0.75		
			" 2 deer skins	$0.37		$1.12
		Benj L Mosley	To grinding 2 bu corn	$0.25		
Newsoms June 1st		Thomas N Ming	To 2 bu meal .43 3/4	$0.87		
		John R Blount	To grinding 2 bu corn	$0.25		
		Conrad Newsom	To 1 bu meal pr Father .43 3/4	$0.43		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		John Foster	To 1 ¼ bu potatoes .37 1/2	$0.37		
Newsoms June 7th 1833	32		[Unintelligible, see Appendix B]			
		Thomas Brooks	By season of 1 mare		$2.00	
		Thomas N Ming	By making 1 pr shoes		$0.50	
		John Prine	To 2 ½ bu meal @ .43 3/4	$1.12		
		George Thomas	By saving [sawing?] This amt		$2.96	
		Polly Ratekin	By 10 [?] Salt a 2 ½	$0.30		
		Benj L Mosley	To grinding 2 bu corn	$0.25		
Newsom's June 10th 1833	33	Thomas N Ming	By making 1 pr shoes		$0.50	
		John Prine	By 195 rails a ½		$0.98	
		Thomas N Ming	To 2 bu meal a .40	$0.80		
	33	James L Henderson & Co	By 3 yd lasting a 1 ¼		$3.75	
			Trimmings for pants		$0.37	
			1 vest pattern		$1.00	$5.12
		John Prine	To 2 bu meal a .50	$1.00		
			[Unintelligible cipher, see Appendix B]			
June 27th 1833		Bonaparte Ferguson	To failure in duty of filly	$2.25		
Newsoms July 1833	34	Freedom Stinson	By 3 days work		$2.12	
		John Prine	By 1 day binding		$0.50	
		George B Hopkins	To 1 oxhide (brite) [?]	n/a		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		John Foster	By making 1 pr shoes		$0.50	
		Thomas N Ming	To 16 lbs Flour pr self @ 3 1/2	$0.56		
		James Grant	By 34 [?] Salt @ .02		$0.68	
		Benj L Mosley	To grinding 2 bu corn 12 ½ 25	$0.25		
		Conrad Newsom	To 2 ½ meal a .50	$1.25		
			Dr - To use of horse to plow during crop / about 3 weeks.			
		Same	Cr - By pasturing 1 sow in wheat stubble and attention to hogs &c &c			
Newsom's July 3d 1833	35	Thomas N Ming	To 1 bu meal a .50	$0.50		
		Same	By making 1 pr shoes		$0.50	
		John Prine	By 2 days binding [oats?] @ .50		$1.00	
		Freedom Stinson	By 3 days at wheat		$1.62	
	35	Same	To 4 days plowing @ .8	$3.20		
			To grinding 2 bu wheat			
		Benj Mosley	To 1 bu wheat	$0.25		
			" Grinding same [@ .12 1/2]	$0.12		$0.62
		Same	By 130 rails a ½		$0.65	
		Robert Newsom	To Hervy Newsom/ (July) To cash us[?] of Yates for care of hogs[?]	$2.00		
Newsom's July 13, 14, 15, 16	36	Thomas N Ming pr boy John	To 13 lbs flour a 2 ½	$0.32		
		Same per self	To 24 bacon a 6 ¼	$1.50		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
			" 2 bu meal	$1.00		
		Richard D Renoe	By 100 ? Salt a .02		$2.00	
		Thomas Brooks	By season of 1 mare		$2.00	
		John R Blount	To grinding 2 bu corn .12 ½	$0.25		
		Samuel Beavers	To 1½ bu wheat self 3/9	$0.93		
		Benj L Mosley	By repairing boulster chair	$0.25	$0.25	
Friday July 25th		Thomas N Ming	By making 1 pr shoes {william		$0.18	
July 24th Thursday	37	John Prine	To 2 bu meal a .40	$0.80		
		Same	By 1 days work at hay		$0.50	
			" 1 mill sweep		$0.50	$1.00
		Conrad Newsom	To 2 bu wheat @ 3/9	$1.25		
			" Grinding same	$0.25		$1.50
		Benj L Mosley	To grinding 2 bu corn	$0.25		
		Thomas N Ming	To 14 lbs Flour	$0.31		
	37	Same	By making 1 pr shoes {Ruth		$0.50	
		James M Atkinson	By cash on apc		$2.81	
		James Langley [Jr?]	To cash pd Dick Smart	$1.00		
Newsom's July 27th 1833	38	James S Henderson & Co	By 1 phial calomel		$0.25	
			" 1 oz alloes [?] [.12 1/2]		$0.12	
			" ½ Gr papers [.12 1/2]		$0.12	
			Postage on 13 papers [.19 1/2]		$0.19	$0.69

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		Payne & Broadwell	By 1 oz rheubarb		$0.25	
			" 1 oz camphor		$0.37	
			" 1 bottle laudanum		$0.25	
			" 1 " peppermint		$0.12	
			[Unintelligible cipher, see Appendix B]		$0.25	
			" 1 qt whiskey		$0.25	$1.50
		John Prine	By 1 day pitching hay		$0.50	
			" 135 rails @ 1/2		$0.67	$1.17
		Silas King	By making pantaloons 10/6			
			" Westcoat [waistcoat?] Ditto 10/6		$3.50	
		Thomas N Ming pr John	To 21 lbs Flour 2 1/4	$0.53		
Newsom's Aug 9th 1833	39	John M Allen	To 850 bundles of oats @ .01	$8.50		
		John Prine	To 2 bu wheat @ 3/9	$1.25		
			Grinding same	$0.25		$1.50
		Patrick Ewing	To 2 gals timothyseed @ .37 1/2	$0.75		
	39	Thomas N Ming	To 16 lbs Flour pr John @ .02 1/4	$0.36		
Monday Aug 12th 1833		James Langley	By cash on ap c		$1.00	
		James S Henderson	By reading book 1 1/2		$1.50	
		Same	To cash pd	$0.18		
		Conrad Newsom	To 2 1/2 bu wheat 3/9	$1.56		
			Grinding same	$0.31		$1.87

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
			[Cipher key, see Appendix B]			
Newsom's August 14th 1833	40	Saml Day pr son	To 2 days hauling @ 1	$2.00		
		John M Allen	To 25 bundles oats not chgd	$0.25		
Thursday Aug 15th 1833		Thomas M Ming pr John	To 21 lbs Flour .02 1/4	$0.47		
		Frederick Nichols	By 2 ½ bu meal a .40		$1.00	
Sunday August 18th		Thomas N Ming pr self	To 17 ¼ lbs Flour @ .02 1/4	$0.39		
Monday August 19th		Freedom Stinson pr Dick	To 1 ½ bu wheat @ .50	$1.75		
			" 1 whiskey barrel	$0.75		$1.50
		Robert Boyd	To 2 bu wheat 3/9	$1.25		
		Same	By ½ bu wheat [.31 1/4]		$0.31	
Newsom's August 20th 1833	41	Thomas N Ming [illeg]	To 2 bu meal @ .50	$1.00		
			To 20 ½ lb flour @ 2 1/4	$0.47		$1.47
		James S Henderson	By 106 lb iron * 1/2		$9.01	
			" Balc on letter book		$0.06	
			" 2 papers needles		$0.25	$9.32
		Payne & Broadwell	By 3 papers pins		$0.25	
	41	Benj L Mosley	To grinding 1 ¾ corn	$0.20		
		Same	By upset [thicken] stone hammer		n/a	
			" Shoeing horse 2 shoes		n/a	
		David Myers	To pd sheriff citation	$0.50		
			" pd Hockaday .50	$0.50		
		William Day	By 2 days hewing @ .75		$1.50	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Newsom's August 30th 1833	42	John Prine pr self	To 1 bus meal @ .50	$0.50		
		James S Henderson & Co	By trimmings for vest		$0.50	
			" 1 bottle antimonial iron [?]		$0.25	$0.75
September 1st 1833		James Langley [Jr?]	To Hervy Newsom/ To cash borrowed	$0.25		
Middle River August 31		Patrick Ewing pr self	By cash in full [out of sequence]		$0.75	
September 6th 1833		Robert Newsom	To Hervy Newsom/ To cash pd Dick Smart [illegible] Captain Ewing for timothyseed	$0.50		
Sept 7th 1833		George B Hopkins	To 1 hide Elis to tann	n/a		
Newsom's September 10th 1833	43	John R Blount	To 1 salt barrel pr self	$0.25		
		Thomas N Ming pr John	To 2 bus meal .40	$0.80		
			" 77 lb flour @ 2 1/3	$1.73		$2.53
Fulton Sept 11		John C Smith	By 5 lb coffee a .20		$1.00	
			" 1 tuck comb		$0.37	
			" 1 ps [?] Lace		$0.25	$1.62
		Payne & Broadwell	By 8 oz indigo		$1.50	
			" 1 lb allum		$0.18	
			" 2 finger rings		$0.12	
	43		" 2 tuck combs		$0.37	$2.18
		Same	To timothyseed	$1.81		
Sept 16th 1833		John Foster for Jno Langley	To 2 bu wheat 3/9	$1.25		
Newsom's September 18th 1833	44	Conrad Newsom	To 1 choping axe	$3.00		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Fulton Sept 20th 1833		Elkanah Smith	By carding 7 ¼ rolls @ 10 c	$0.72		
Sept 24th 1833		Lucy Langley pr son	To 2 bus wheat 3/9	$1.25		
		Thomas Caldwell self	To 3 bus wheat 3/9	$1.87		
		John Prine	To 1 bus meal	$0.40		
Wednesday Sept 25th		Saul beavers pr self	To 2 bus wheat 3/9	$1.25		
		Mordecai Bell [Jr?]	By 2 buckskins for hauling		$0.75	
		Same cr	By 7 deerskins		$1.75	
Newsom's September	45	Conrad Newsom	To 1 bus meal self	$0.40		
			" Grinding 2 ½ wheat .32	$0.72		
		Thomas N Ming	To hauling flax	$0.25		
			" Threshing and spreading	$0.75		$1.00
		Conrad Newsom	By 3 bushels rye 33 1/3		$1.00	
		Richard Humphreys	By assumset to J S H & Co		$7.45	
Sept 30th 1833		Benj L Mosley	To grinding 2 bus corn /9	$0.25		
		Thomas N Ming	To grinding I bushel corn 12 1/2	$0.12		
			" 20 lb flour 2 1/4	$0.45		$0.57
		John Prine	To grinding 2 wheat	$0.25		
Newsom's October 3d 1833	46	Conrad Newsom	To Father {to 2 two year old sows of nonpartnership [?] [to] 4 hogs of those in partnership			
Newsom's Oct 4th 1833		Samuel Day pr boy Dick	To 1 day hauling stone	$1.25		
Oct 5th 1833		Thomas Caldwell	By 75 lb salt @ .02		$1.50	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Oct 6th 1833		James Langley [Jr?]	By cash borrowed		$2.00	
		Same dr	To 1 pr ripper [?] Leathers [?] Pr son	$0.50		
		Conrad Newsom	By harrow timber		$0.32	
		George B Hopkins	To 1 hog skin to tan	n/a		
		John Prine	By sawing 44 scantline .01 1/4	$0.55		
Newsoms October 7th 1833	47	Conrad Newsom	To 10 sheep on shares for 2 years	n/a		
		John Foster	By 1 pattern soal leather		$0.50	
October 12th 1833		Thomas N Ming pr John	To grinding 2 bus wheat	$0.25		
		Same cr	By making 1 pr shoes Heny [?]		$0.62	
October 15th 1833		Benjamin L Mosley pr Hervy	To 3 bushels corn meal .40	$1.20		
		John Hays	By sundries smithwork repairing chains upseting hoes &c			
Fulton October 18th 1833		Payne & Broadwell	By 1 cow hide		$0.12	
		James Grant	By 3 days work [illegible] .75		$2.25	
Newsoms October 1833	48	Thomas N Ming	By making 1 pr [temples?]			
		James S Henderson & Co	By padding buckram lining /Buttons and twist for trimings for coat [1.18 3/4]		$1.18	
			½ Lb [?] Madder [.18 3/4]		$0.18	
	48		1 oz wafers [.12 1/2]		$0.12	$1.50
			Same dr /To assumset pr Humphrey[s?]	$7.45		
		Freedom Stinson	To 1 ½ bus wheat .50	$0.75		
			Grinding same [.18 3/4]	$0.18		$0.93

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
Wednesday October 23d		Conrad Newsom pr Bro	To 1 bus meal .40	$0.40		
			" 13 lb Flour 2 ¼	$0.30		$0.70
			[Note in bottom left margin: On condition of $8.. / By gathering $]			
		Lawrence E Davis	To 3 scholars subscribed at $8	$24.00		
Fulton October 30th 1833	49	J S Henderson & Co	By 5 lb coffee .20		$1.00	
			" 1 box caps		$0.50	
			" 1 paper tacks [.18 3/4]		$0.18	$1.68
November 1st 1833		John C Smith	By 1 bunch of cotton thread		$2.00	
		Obedience Bruntson [?]	By making coat		$1.50	
			" help at Fathers coat		$1.00	$2.50
Newsom's November 2d 1833		John R Blount	To help at grinding	$0.12		
		John M[?] pr self	To 800 bricks @ .35 CT. [per 100]	$2.80		
		Thomas N Ming	To ½ bu meal	$0.20		
			" 4 lb flour .02	$8.00		$0.28
		Thos Day	To 15 lb Pork at 3 cts	$0.45		
Newsom's Nov 6th 1833	50	John R Blount pr self	To 3 young sows @ 2	$6.00		
		Thomas Day self	To 34 flour @ .02 1/4	$0.76		
			" Grinding 1 bus corn .12 1/2	$0.12		$0.89
	50	James Grant pr girl	To 4 lb salt .02	$0.08		$0.08
Nov 6th 1833		Freedom Stinson pr Dick	To 1 ¼ days hauling corn	$1.75		
		Thomas N Ming pr Dick	To hauling 2 loads to Fulton	$2.00		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		James M Atkinson	To 1 day hauling corn	$1.50		
		Same CR	By 2 days choping Danl [?] .50		$1.00	
		George B Hopkins	B 2 pr horsehide [illegible]		[?]	
		Mordecai Bell [Jr?]	To 7 [gallons?] Timothyseed	$0.65		
Newsom's Nov 8th1833	51	Robert Boyd pr Mart	To 2 bushels wheat 3/9	$1.29		
		Same Cr	By 1 calf		$3.75	
		James M Atkinson pr Dick	To 1 day hauling corn	$0.50		
		Thomas N Ming	To 2 bush wheat @ .40	$0.80		
			" 22 lb flour a 2 ¼	$0.50		$1.30
November 20th 1833		John R Blount	To work of Dick at corn	$1.00		
		Benjamin L Mosley	To balc on hauling corn	[illegible]		
			Mosely 3 days hauling corn / use of wagon without driver	$3.37		
		Blount	3 days of Mart & Dick [overstruck]	n/a		
November 22d 1833		Thomas Day self	To 1 midling of pork	$0.50 [?]		
Newsom's Nov 9th 1833	52	Thomas N Ming	To moving family	$1.00		
		James M Atkinson	By 1 load of husks		$0.50	
		Same Dr	To 1 ps [?] Of day hauling corn	$0.25		
November 14th 1833		Mordecai Bell [Jr?]	By 4 fawn skins @ .12 1/4		$0.50	
			" Venison		$0.50	$1.00
Nov 15th 1833	52	Benjamin L Mosley	To 2 days hauling corn @ 1 1/2	$3.00		
		John R Blount	To 1 hand at corn 2 days	$1.00		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
November 24th 1833		Conrad Newsom self	To grinding 2 ½ bu corn	$0.32		
		James S Henderson & Co	By postage on letter Conrad		$0.18	
1831 Newsom's Nov 1833	53		[Pg 53 of account book appears to describe debts and credits amassed over a period of time between 1831 and 1833]			
		James D Fisher				
January			To Robert Newsom			
8th			To 2 bushels meal a 33	$0.66		
15th			" 6 bus --- do – "	$2.00		
			" 244 lb flour a .02	$4.88		
Feby 15th			" 5 bu meal @ .32	$1.66		
May 2d			" 2 " meal .37 1/2	$0.75		
Aug 25th			" 2 whiskey blls 4/11	$1.50		
			" 2 blls pr Yates	$1.75		
May 18th 1833			" Amt pr Ramsey 268 ¼	$2.68		$15.90
1831			Contra [?] Cr [?]			
Jany 15th			By 3 whiskey blls 4/6		$2.25	
			" amt pr Dyer		$1.37	
Feby 15th			" 2 blls		$1.50	
17th			" 1 brandy bl		$1.00	
			" 1 wine bl		$0.75	
April 15th	53		" 4 blls pr Grant		$3.00	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
May 2d			" 1 bll -- --		$0.75	
			Amt of CR over			$10.62
Newsom's Nov 19th 1833	54		By amt over --- $10..62 ¼			$10.62
Aug 25th			" 1[?] keg tar		$3.25	
			" cash pd Harvey		$1.00	
May 17			"Balc on tin bucket [.18 3/4]		$0.18	
Sept 11			By 2 lb madder @ 2/3		$0.75	$15.68
			Amt of Dr	$15.90		
Nov 9th			Balc due Newsom is [.21 ¼]		$0.21	
Nov 21st 1833			Amnt of pork sold to Langley /delivered at Portland at 2 ½		$146.85	
Nov 22nd 1833		Benj L Mosley	To grinding 3 bu corn .12 1/3	$0.37		
		John W Blount	To 2 ½ bu corn .20	$0.50		
			" Grinding same	$0.32		$0.82
		John Hays	By revits [rivets] For gate		$0.25	
Newsom's Nov 24th 1833	55	Mordecai Bell [Jr?] pr son	To grinding 2 ½ bu corn .12 1/2	$0.32		
		James M Atkinson	To 1 still tub	$1.00		
		James Grant	To 1 still tub	$1.00		
		George Thomas	To 1 still tub	$1.00		
		Thomas N Ming	To lifting & hauling flax	$0.75		
		Conrad Newsom	To pd postage on letter	$0.18		
Nov 26th 1833		William Day	To 60 lb pork sets .2 1/5	$1.50		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
	55	Ezekiel Day pr self	To 113 lb pork .2 1/2	$2.82		
		Same Cr	By 1 ½ days hewing @ .75		$1.12	
		James Langley	To 40 lb flour @ .12 1/2	$0.25		
Newsom's Nov 26th 1833	56	John [?] Blount	By 50 bu corn in full .20		$10.00	
		Benjamin L Mosley	By 3 bu corn .20	$0.60		
Fulton November 28th 1833		John C Smith	To cash pd in full	$3.55		
		Same Cr	By 2 lb madder .27 1/2		$0.75	
			" 2 lb alum .25		$0.50	$1.25
		Daniel Nolley	To cash in full	$0.54		
		Frederick Nichols	To cash in full	$2.50		
		Saml Dyer	To cash in full	$0.26		
		Grant & Buchanan	To 4 bu sweet potatoes .37 1/2	$1.50		
		Mordecai Bell [Jr?]	By cash for [illegible]		$0.65	
Newsom's Nov 28th 1833	57	J S Henderson & Co	To 20 yd. Janes [?] A .75	$15.00		
			By 1 bunch cotton yarn		$1.75	
			" 1 pr shoes 1.75 & 1.50		$3.25	
			" 7 yds calico a .25		$1.75	
			" 4 yds blue cambric a .25		$1.00	
			" 2 belt ribbons [?] A .25		$0.50	
			" 2 hanks [?] Silk		$0.13	
			" 1 life of Franklin		$0.50	
			" 1 Bennets letters		$0.62	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
			" 385 lb salt meat		$7.70	
	57		" 40 andirons .6 ¼		$2.50	
			" 12 paper		$0.25	
			" Bottle castor oil .37 ½		$0.37	$20.32
November 30th 1833		John W Blount	To grinding 3 bu corn	$0.38		
		Thos Day	To 11 ½ lb salt .02	$0.23		
Newsom's Decr 10th 1833	58	John Charlton	By cash on ap @ [?]		$1.00	
		Thomas Day	To amt on Mm [?] Ratekin	$2.81		
		Polly Ratekin	By amt pr Thos Day 2..81		$2.81	
		Thos N Ming self	To grinding 3 bu corn 2/3	$0.37		
		Saml Beavers [?] self	By husks & [forage?]		[?]	
Fulton Decr 16th 1833		Jas S Henderson & Co	By 6 yds beaverteen .50		$3.00	
			"Buttons & thread .12		$0.12	
			" 3 ½ yd calico at .20		$0.70	
			" 1 [?] domestic .25		$0.25	$4.07
		Thos Caldwell self	To 2 bu wheat .50	$1.00		
		John M Allen	To 18 chickens	$1.50		
Newsom's 12 20	59	John M Allen	By 1 bedstead & turning posts		$9.25	
Fulton Decr 28th 1833		Cash cr				
			By JS Henderson & co		$18.18	
			" Payne & Broadwell		$6.69	
			" Elkanah smith		$5.00	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
			" Irving C. [?] Hockaday		$1.37	$31.24
Decr 28th	59	James S Henderson & Co	By balc due today		$1.58	
		Payne & Broadwell	To cash on ap@ [?] In full	$6.63		
		Elkanah Smith	To cash on apc	$5.00		
		Obedience Bruntson [?]	To 2 bu wheat delivered	$1.00		
		Conrad Newsom	To postage on letter Lewis	$0.25		
			Pr Harvey 19.44			
Newsom's Decr 29th 1833	60	George B Hopkins	By 1 side upper leather			
			" " " Soal "			
		David Meyers	By cash on a/c			
		David Meyers	By cash on a/c[?] 1/6		$0.25	
			By cash in full of a/c [pen-playing?]			
		Schooling	By Jessie [?] C Barnet		$4.00	
			Criswell		$5.75	
			L E Davis		$1.06	$10.81
Newsom's Decr 30th 1833		Thomas Day	To 35 lb flour 3/9	$0.79		
		James Langley [?]	To 12 flour .02/1/4	$0.27		
		Thomas N Ming	To 2 bu meal .40	$0.80		
		Thomas Day	To grinding 1 1/2 bu corn	$0.18		
Newsom's Jany 1st 1834	61	Thomas Day pr brothers	To 2 bu of wheat @ .50	$1.00		
		Same Cr	By making 1 gate 8		$8.00	

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

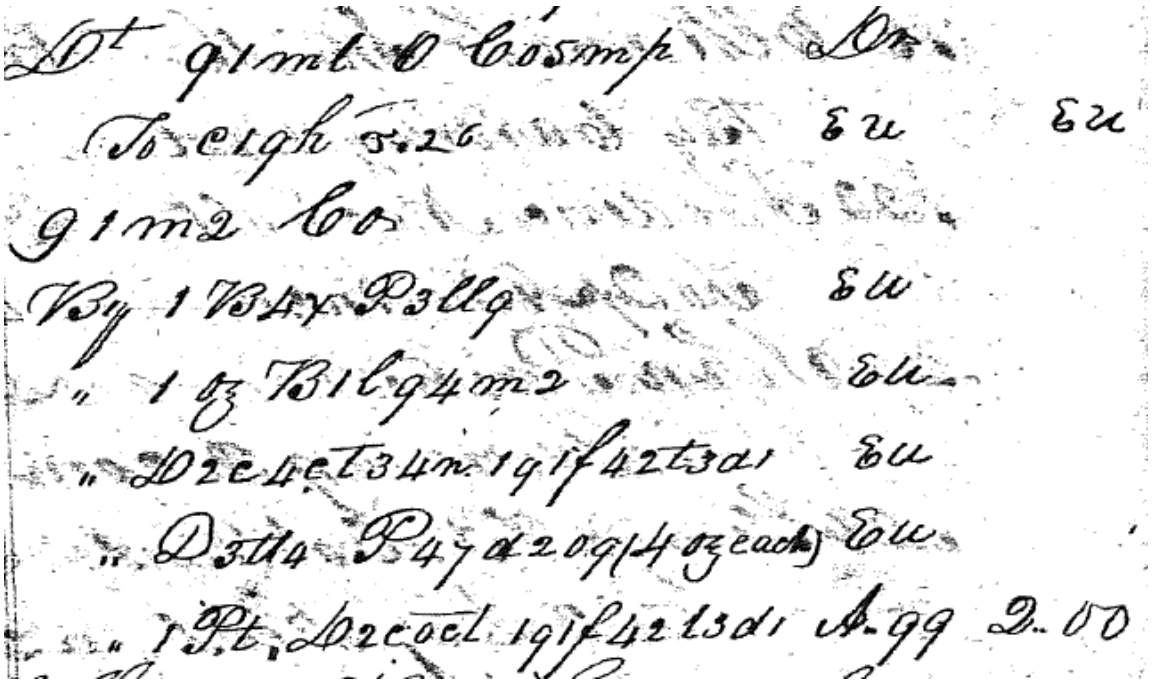
Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		John W Blount	To grinding 2 bu corn .12 1/2	$0.25		
		Benjamin Mosley	To grinding 2 1/4 bu corn .12 1/4	$0.28		
		Thomas Day	By work on gate		$0.50	
	61	Thomas N Ming	To grinding 2 bu corn	$0.25		
		Thomas Day	To grinding 2 1/2 corn .12 1/2	$0.32		
		James S Henderson & Co	By 3 yds domestic .18 /34		$0.56	
			" Buttons & thread		$0.06	$0.63
		Saml Day pr daughter	To 14 lbs flour .02 1/4	$0.32		
Newsoms Jany 27th 1834	62	Benjamine Mosley	To grinding 2 1/2 corn .12 1/2	$0.32		
		Same Cr	By 1 ring & 2 nails		$0.06	
			" Sundry work		$0.68	$0.75
		John W Blount	To grinding 2 1/2 meal	$0.32		
		Robert Boyd	To 2 wheat .50ct	$1.00		
		Thomas Day	To 3 bu wheat .50	$1.50		
Newsoms Feby 15th 1834		Benj Moseley	By mending 2 rings and sharpt & pointing hoe		$0.12	
		Same Dr	To grinding 2 bu corn	$0.25		
		James M Atkinson	By 1 day work pr self		$0.50	
Newsoms Feby 1834	63	Thomas Day	To 2 bu wheat in advance for cradleing next summer	$1.00		
		Thomas N Ming	Hauling flax	$0.50		
		Freedom Stinson	To hauling flax	$0.25		

Appendix A (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook Entries, 1832–1834 (Newsom 1888b; continued on next page).

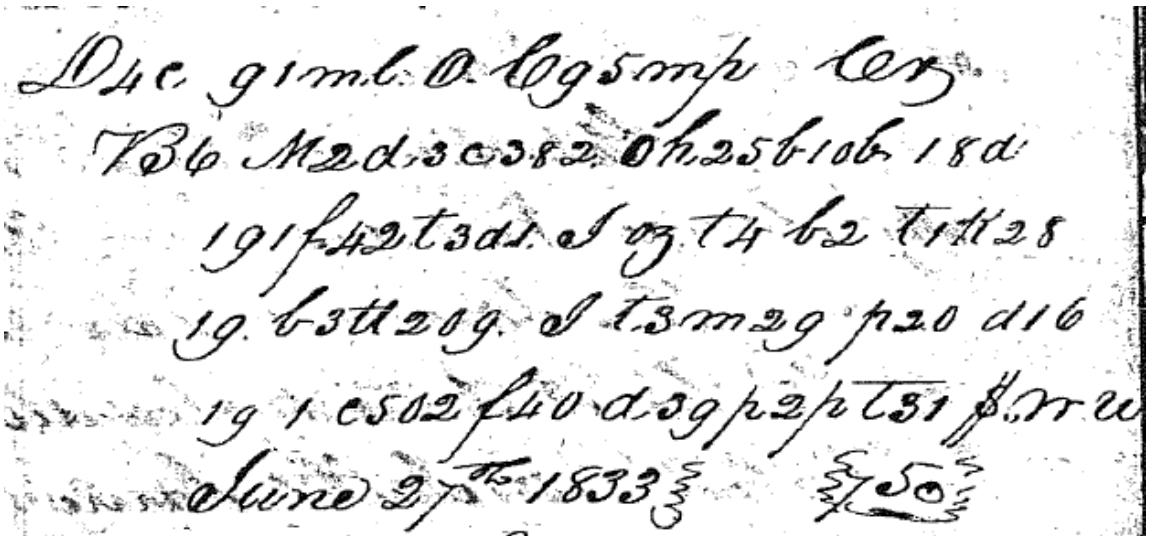
Date	Page	Name	Entry	Dr	Cr	Totals
		James M Atkinson	By husks &c		$2.75	
Newsom May 10th 1834						
May 27th		Benj L Moseley	To grinding 2 1/2 corn .12	$0.31		
Apl 14			" Grinding 2 1/2	$0.32		
Mch 10	63		" Grinding 2 1/2 ditto	$0.31		
May 10			2 days hauling	$2.50		
			James M Atkinson to Newsom two hundred and eighty two dolls [$]			
Newsoms April 14th 1834	64	J S Henderson & Co	By 6 yd gingham .37c		$2.25	
			" 5 " calico .31		$1.56	
			" 4 yd brown domestic		$0.50	
			" 9 yd calico pr Mother .16		$1.50	
			4 pr cast butts		$0.66	$6.47
May 10		Same Dr	To 1 1/4 flax seed .50	$0.62		
			" 4 lb feathers .30	$1.20		$1.82
April 14		Payne & Broadwell	By 5 lb flooring brads .10		$0.50	
			" 3 bofs [“boss”] balls [of heavy cotton quilting/mending thread]		$0.12	$0.62
April 14th 1834		John C Smith	By 1 bunch cotton		$2.00	
			" 1 pr suspenders		$0.12	$2.12

Appendix B. Robert Newsom Daybook "Cipher".

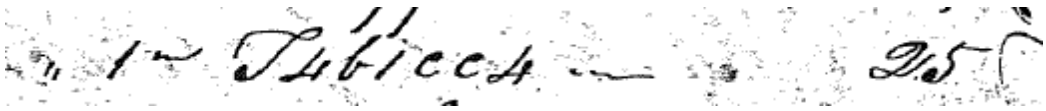
Excerpted Cipher (Newsom 1888b:32).



Excerpted Cipher (Newsom 1888b:33).



Excerpted Cipher (Newsom 1888b:38).



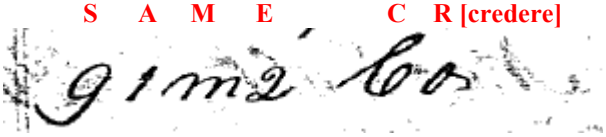
Appendix B (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook "Cipher".

Excerpted Cipher (Newsom 1888b:32).

D T S A M L O C R U M P D R [debere]

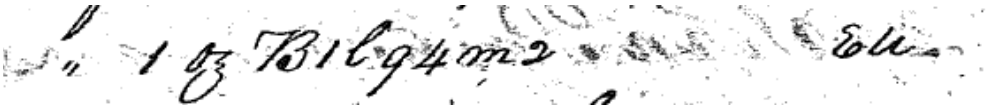
TO C A S H 2 5 2 5

S A M E C R [credere]



B Y 1 B O X P I L L S 2 5

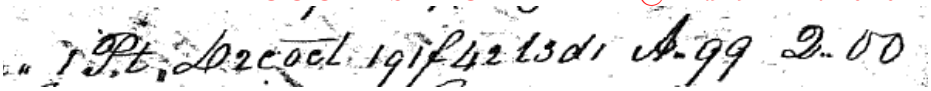
1 OZ B A L S O M E 2 5



D E C O C T I O N A S A F O E T I D A 2 5

D I T T O P O W D E R S (4 OZ EACH) 2 5

1 PT D E C O C T A S A F O E T I D A @ .9 9 2. 0 0



Appendix B (continued). Robert Newsom Daybook "Cipher".

Excerpted Cipher (Newsom 1888b:33).

D O C S A M L O C S U M P C R [credere]

B Y M E D I C I N E R H E U B A R B A N D

A S A F O E T I D A 3 O Z T O B E T A K E N

A S B I T T E R S 3 T I M E S P E R D A Y

A S A C U R E F O R D I S P E P T I A $ .7 5

Excerpted Cipher (Newsom 1888b:38).

T O B A C C O

Excerpted Cipher Key in Center Margin (Newsom 1888b:39).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
A	E	I	O	U	Y	W	N	S	R[107]

[107] Although conjectural, "W," "N," "S," and "R" could stand for William, Nathan, Susannah or Sarah, and Robert, all Newsom siblings.

Appendix C. Inventory of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only (continued on next page).
(Tincher and Newsom:1855)

Inventory of the Estate of Robert Newsom Decd made by the Administrators Hugh Tincher and David Newsom

No.	Description	No.	Description	No.	
1	Negro man George	2	Boxes of tools	1	Axe and pick
1	Do girl three years old "Vine"	4	Hoes mattick fork & rake	3	Large kettles
1	Do Do one and a half Do "Jane"	2	pr of tongs 2 shovel plows &c	1	Lot old irons & castings
1	Do woman "Celia" (not appraised)	1	Do " nippers tongs & hooks	1	Half barrel of vinegar
1	Lot gate slats 44	1	Sifter coffee mill & strainer	1	Large gate
1	" Jars & barrel	1	Candle mould & keeler [tub]	1	Copper still cap &c
1	Copper stove boiler	4	Axes 1 mill riddle [sifter]	1	Axe belt & door shutter
1	[Lot] of sundries & churn	1	pr fire irons & 2 iron wedges	1	Half side upper leather
1	" of walnut planks	2	Shovels & box of old irons	1	Conk shell &c
1	Box of old irons	2	Iron forks & grab hooks	1	Large trough
1	Cross cut saw	1	Stove kettle box &c	1	Lot 1 1/4 inch oak plank
2	Barrels & gum	1	Sledge can [?] & hook & wrench	2	Two horse plows
2	Do & 2 kegs	1	Cultivator & lime riddle	1	Harrow
1	Lot castings	1	Scythe & cradle	1	Double shovel plow
1	Bell	1	Singletree strechers &c	1	pr strechers & singletrees
4	Old chairs	1	Large log chain	1	[illegible] & doubletree
1	Lot jars & sundries	1	Medium Do Do	1	Dry hide & lot of barrels
1	pr of old breeching & leathers	1	Small Do Do	2	Pieces of scantling
1	Do steelyards [beam balance]	3	Shovel plows strechers &c	1	Lot of seasoned walnut
1	Do " staves	1	Do " oak Do	4	Hand stack of rye

Appendix C (continued). Inventory of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only (continued on next page).

No.	Description	No.	Description	No.	
1	Work bench & screw	1	pr of [log] sled runners	1	Slide plank & barrel
1	Lot of threshed rye	1	Wheat fan	1	Lot of sugar crocks
1	Do strechers & slide	1	Cutting box	1	Field of corn say 9 acres
1	Scythe & cradle	1	Box clevis & fork	1	Acre of corn
1	Slide & clevis	3	Barrels & one gum [?]	1	Saddle
1	Ox yoke	1	Keg tar saddle & box	123	Head of sheep
1	Old wagon & bed	1	Set of wagon breeching	1	Small lot of old corn
1	Large ox wagon	2	pr of plow gear	1	Long ladder
1	Plow celvis & coulter [cotter?]	1	Lot of bridles & leathers	1	Corner cupboard
364	feet oak plank	1	pr harnes & chains & net [/] pack saddles bridle & rope	1	Large table
1	Steamboat boiler	1	Lot of bran & bag [/] part of 2 log chains	1	Lot cupboard ware
1	Old horse [house?] mill	1	Mowing scythe	1	Bed bedstead & bedding
1	Log chain	1	Kettle & tub	1	Loom 1 big wheel
1	Lot white walnut [butternut] plank	1	Grind stone	1	Flax hackle
1	Do of mixed plank	1	Walnut trough	1	pr of swiffs [swifts]
3	Old plows 2 singletrees	2	Hay stacks	1	Reel 4 reeds 1 lot of spools
3	Pieces of fellow [?] timber	1	Do Do	4	pr of sheep shears
6	Oak plank	3	Do Do	1	Press 2 table cloths
23	[?] " Do oak think	1	Lot of hay in barn	8	Chairs
6	Pieces of scantling	1	Rick of rye & wheat	1	Yoke work cattle

Appendix C (continued). Inventory of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only (continued on next page).

No.	Description	No.	Description	No.	
3	Thick plank 20 ft long	2	Do " wheat	1	Do Do
1	Lot of scantling	1	Do mare	2	Wter buckets
2	Fat cows	1	Field of corn 15 1/2 acres	1	Grubbing hoe & hatchet
2	Dry Do	1	Writing desk	1	Do young Do
3	Cows & calves	1	Bed & bedstead	1	Half bushel measure
2	three year old steers	1	Walnut bureau	1	Broke kettle
3	Cows and calves	1	Small cherry table	7	Bacon sides
6	Two year old cattle	1	Rifle gun	1	Interest of 1/2 in broadaxe
9	One year old Do	1	Sugar chest	1	Lot of clothing
6 [?]	Geese	1	Trundel bedsted	1	Apple mill
1	Sorrell mare	1	Large Do	2	Wagon boxes
1	Ball [bald] face Do	80	lbs wool rolls	1	Large trough
1	Black two year old stud	1	Cheese box & nails	1	Trough
1	Do Do filley	1	Box & window glass	1	Grind stone
1	yearling bay Do	1	Old clock	1	Red bull } not appraised
1	Bay 2 year old colt	1	Half whiskey barrel & keg	1	Black cow } not appraised

Appendix C (continued). Inventory of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only.

No.	Description	No.	Description	No.	
1	Bay horse	3	Bbls [/?] sugar whiskey &c	7	Hogs (supposed) } not appraised
1	Sorrell horse	1	Bag bran & shorts [of grain]		[Inventory Ends]
1	Gray filley	1	Meal bag		
1	Bay filley	1	Small sack of coffee		
1	Black 2 year old stud	2	Old barrels		
1	Gray mare	1	Old stove &c		
1	Bay Do	2	Trays & meal gum [?]		
1	Black horse	1	Pot & kettle		

Appendix D. Appraisement of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only (continued on next page).
(Hyten et al.:1855)

State of Missouri/ County of Callaway/ We the undersigned Simpson Hyten George H. Thomas and Elijah Adams appraisers appointed by Hugh Tincher and David Newsom sons of the Estate of Robert Newsom Decd do solemnly swear that we are not interested nor of kin to any person interested in the Estate of Robert Newsom Decd and that we will to the best of our ability, view [?] & appraise the slaves and other personal estate to them produced by said admins. Subscribed and sworn to before me, the undersigned and acting Justice of the Peace of said county the 30th [?] day of July 1855/ I P Howe Justice of the Peace/ Appraisers Names { Simpson Hyten/ George H. Thomas/ Elijah Adams

The following is an appraisement of the slaves and other personal estate belonging to the Estate of Robert Newsom Decd made by the above appointed and sworn appraisers. Articles of property appraised

No.	Description	Value	No.	Description	Value
1	Negro man Georg	$900.00	1	Bell	$0.25
1	Negro girl name Vine 3 years old	$150.00	1	Brier scyth	$0.50
1	Do " " Jane 1 ½ "	$150.00	4	Old chairs	$0.50
1	Lot of gate slats 44	$2.00	1	Lot of jars & sundries	$0.50
1	Lot of jars & barrel	$0.60	1	pair of breeching & old leathers	$0.25
1	Copper stove boiler	$0.25	1	pair of steelyards	$1.00
1	Lot of sundries and churn	$0.25	2	Boxes of tools	$5.00
1	Lot of 9 walnut plank	$2.50	4	Hoes madick fork & rake	$1.50
1	Box of old irons	$0.50	2	pairs of tongs 2 shovel plows & clevis	$1.00
1	Crosscut saw	$3.00	1	pairs of nippers & pairs of tongs & hooks	$0.375
2	Barrels & gum	$0.25	1	Sifter coffee mill strainer	$1.25
2	Barrels & 2 cags [sic/kegs]	$0.25	1	Candle mole & keler	$0.50
1	Lot of castings	$1.50	4	Axes	$1.50
1	Mill riddle [sifter]	$0.50	1	Large trough	$1.00
1	pair of fire irons & 2 iron wedges	$2.00	1	Lot of 1 1/4 inch oak plank	$2.50

Appendix D (continued). Appraisement of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only (continued on next page).

No.	Description	Value	No.	Description	Value
3	Shovels	$0.50	2	Two horse plows	$7.00
1	Box of old irons & castings	$0.25	1	Large harrow	$3.00
2	Iron pitch fork & grab hook	$0.75	1	Doble shovel plow	$1.00
1	Stove kettle box &c	$0.25	1	Stretchers & singletrees	$1.25
1	Sledge cant [?] hook & rench	$1.00	1	Drag rake & dobletree	$0.75
1	Cultivater snead [scythe-like handle] & lime riddle	$0.50	1	Dry hide & lot of barrels	$0.50
1	Scythe & cradle	$0.50	1	Lot of bords & 2 pieces of scantling	$0.50
1	Singletree stretchers & snead [scythe handle]	$1.25	1	Lot of seasoned walnut	$4.00
1	Large log chain	$3.00	1	Lot of staves [7?]	$0.50
1	Medium chain	$1.50	1	Work bench & screw	$0.50
1	Small Do Do	$0.50	1	Lot of threshed rie	$1.00
1	3 shovel plows stretchers & clevis	$3.00	1	pair of stretchers & slide	$0.25
1	Chopin axe & pick	$1.00	1	Scythe & cradle	$0.50
3	Large kettles	$5.00	1	Slide and clevis	$0.25
1	Lot of old irons & castings	$0.50	1	Old ox yoke	$0.25
1	Half barrel of & [?] vinegar	$0.50	1	Old waggon & bed	$10.00
1	Large gate	$2.00	1	Large ox waggon	$30.00
1	Copper still cap & part worm [coil]	$25.00	1	Plow clevis & cotter	$1.00
1	Axe lots [?] dore shutter	$0.50	364	ft oak plank	$4.00
1	Half side upper leather	$1.25	1	Steam boat boiler	$5.00
1	Conk shell &c	$0.25	1	Old house [horse?] mill	$20.00
1	Log chain	$1.00	1	Lot of bran & bag [/] part of 2 log chains	$0.50

Appendix D (continued). Appraisement of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only (continued on next page).

No.	Description	Value	No.	Description	Value
1	Lot of whit walnut plank	$5.00	1	Part of two log chains	$0.75
1	Lot mixt planks	$1.00	1	Moing scyth	$0.75
3	Old plows	$3.00	1	Kettle & tub	$1.50
2	Singletrees	$0.75	1	Grine stone	$0.75
3	pieces of fallow timber	$1.00	1	Walnut trough	$0.50
6	Oak plank in mill loft	$1.00	2	Hay stack at cross fence	$10.00
25	Thick oak plank	$4.50	1	Hay Do at meadow well	$5.00
6	Pieces scantling	$1.50	3	" "	$12.00
3	Thick planks 20 ft long	$1.00	1	Lot of hay in barn	$2.50
1	Lot of hickory scantling	$2.00	1	Rick of rie & wheat	$5.00
1	Lot of oak Do	$1.00	2	Ricks of wheat	$35.00
1	pair of log sled runners	$0.50	1	Field of corn say 19 acres	$95.00
1	Wheat fan	$5.00	1	Field " say 7 acres	$28.00
1	Cutting box	$1.50	1	Han stack of rie	$0.50
1	Box clevis & fork	$1.50	1	Slide plank and barrel	$1.00
3	Barrels & one gum [?]	$0.375	1	Lot of shugar crocks	$3.00
1	Cag [keg] of tar saddle & box	$1.00	1	Field of corn say 9 acres	$25.00
1	Set of gear britchin & lions [?]	$5.00	1	Acre of corn in orchard	$2.50
2	pair of plow gear	$1.25	1	Saddle	$3.00
1	Lot of bridles & old leathers	$1.50	120	Head of sheep more or less at 1.25	$150.00
1	pair of harness chains & net	$0.50	1	Small lot of old corn	$2.00
2	Pack sadle bliw [blue?] bridle & rope	$1.00	1	Long ladder	$0.50

Appendix D (continued). Appraisement of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only (continued on next page).

No.	Description	Value	No.	Description	Value
1	Corner cubord	$8.00	80	lbs wool rolls	$30.00
1	Large table	$3.50	1	Cheese box & nails	$0.50
1	Lot of cubbord ware	$1.50	1	Box and window glass	$0.25
1	Bed bedstid & beding	$10.00	1	Old clock	$0.25
1	Loom	$7.00	1	Half whiskey barrel & cag	$0.25
1	Big wheel	$1.50	3	Barrels containing shugar molasses & flour	$7.75
1	Flax hackle	$2.00	1	Bag with bran & shorts [of grain]	$0.50
2	pair of swifs [swifts]	$1.50	1	Meal bag	$0.25
1	Reel	$1.00	1	Small sack of coffee	$1.25
4	Reeds	$1.00	2	Old barrels	$0.25
1	Lot of spools	$0.50	1	Old stove & old crocks &c	$1.00
4	pair of sheep shears	$1.50	2	Trays & meal gum [?]	$0.50
1	Press	$2.00	1	Pot & one kettle	$2.00
2	Table cloths	$1.00	2	Water buckets	$0.25
8	Chairs	$3.50	1	Grubing hoe & hatchet	$0.50
1	Writing desk	$3.00	1	Half bushel measure	$0.25
1	Bed bedstid & beding	$10.00	2	Old kettles brok	$0.50
1	Walnut bureau	$5.00	7	Bacon sides	$12.00
1	Small cherry table	$2.00	1	Interest of half in broadaxe	$1.50
1	Rifle gun	$3.00	1	Lot of clothing	$10.00
1	Shugar chest	$4.00	1	Apple mill	$1.50
1	Trundl bedstid	$1.50	2	Waggon boxes	$0.25

Appendix D (continued). Appraisement of the estate of Robert Newsom, personal property only.

No.	Description	Value	No.	Description	Value
1	Large " "	$1.50	1	Large walnut trough	$0.25
1	Trough	$0.60	1	Yearling bay Do	$35.00
1	Grinestone	$0.10	1	Bay two year old colt	$75.00
1	Yoke of work cattle	$50.00	1	Bay horse	$50.00
1	Yoke " Do	$50.00	1	Sorrel horse	$60.00
1	Yoke young Do	$70.00	1	Gray filly one red	$60.00
2	Fat cows brindle & speckled	$50.00	1	Two year old bay filly	$80.00
2	Cows one red one gray	$35.00	1	Black two year old stud colt	$50.00
3	Cows & calves	$65.00	1	Gray mare	$140.00
2	Brindle thee year old steers	$45.00	1	Bay Do	$125.00
3	Cows and calves	$60.00	1	Black horse	$100.00
6	Two year olds 3 steers & 3 heifers	$105.00	1	Black mare	$100.00
9	One year ols 5 Do 3 " 1 bull	$100.00		[Appraisal ends]	
1	Lot of gees 60 or 65	$8.00		Total amount of aprsmt. $3759.04/ George H. Thomas/ Elijah Adams	
1	Chestnut sorrel mare	$80.00			
1	Ball [Bald] face Do	$90.00			
1	Black 2 year old stud colt	$65.00			
1	Do filly	$65.00			

Appendix E. Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
OP	493	388	27						No cultural resources		
OP	493	398	24	1	3.6	8.5	ACT		Copper rivet (horse tack?)		
OP	490	460	31						No cultural resources		
OP	595	470	31						No cultural resources		
OP	492.50	504.00	12	0.75			ARC		Brick, handmade		
OP	492.50	504.00	3	1	51.0	72.6	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID[3] glazed (brown) with brown Interior (cross-mends with below; recency unknown)	8.0	
OP	492.50	504.00	3	1	2.7	32.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; olive green	4.1	
OP	492.50	504.00	12	1	25.0	71.3	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed (brown) with brown interior (cross-mends w/ above; recency unknown)	8.1	
OP	648.00	556.00	31						No cultural resources		
OP	585.70	585.50	22						No cultural resources		
OP	586.00	557.00	29						No cultural resources		
OP	594.00	552.00	32						No cultural resources		
OP	633.00	556.00	30						No cultural resources		
MD	515.00	511.70	6	1	11.1	35.4	KIT	Base	Whiteware, undecorated; molded, orientation uncertain	15.2	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
MD	515.00	511.70	6	0.25	4.2	20.6	ARC		Brick, handmade (sample)	13.2	
MD	515.00	511.70	6	1	5.9	35.1	KIT	Finish	Glass, Container; aqua	6.9	
MD	515.00	511.70	6	1	1.2	15.4	KIT	UID[3]	Glass, Container; aqua (spall only)		
MD	515.00	511.70	6	1	5.7	40.1	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; aqua	2.6	
MD	515.00	511.70	6	1	3.9	26.6	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; aqua	3.4	
MD	515.00	511.70	6	1	3.0	42.2	KIT	Body	Glass, Container, embossed "…T…" and "…TH…"; aqua	3.1	
MD	515.00	511.70	11	0.50	139.9	59.4	ARC	Edge	Brick, handmade (sample)	43.2	
MD	515.00	511.70	11	0.25	19.5	38.8	ARC	Edge	Brick, handmade (sample)	22.3	
MD	515.00	511.70	11	1	2.9	27.9	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; aqua	2.8	
MD	515.00	511.70	11	1	2.2	24.6	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; aqua	2.9	
MD	515.00	511.70	11	1	2.7	29.3	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; aqua	4.0	
MD	515.00	511.70	11	1	2.4	25.6	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; pale green	2.2	
MD	515.00	511.70	11	1	1.7	19.6	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; pale green	2.9	
MD	515.00	511.70	11	1	0.8	15.5	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; solarized amethyst	2.9	
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	2.3	29.3	KIT	Base	Ironstone, undecorated	5.0	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	1.1	17.4	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; aqua	2.7	
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	2.3	22.8	KIT	Finish	Glass, Container; pale aqua	8.8	
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	0.8	12.1	KIT	Body	Glass, Container, embossed UID letter fragment; colorless	3.5	
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	7.7	28.0	UID[3]	UID	Shell, Nacreous (possibly modified: smooth cut/grinding on one edge)	6.0	
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	5.0	63.8	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	4.0	65.6	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	3.7	63.7	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	5.4	65.8	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	515.00	513.30	7	1	0.7	24.3	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	515.30	512.70	6	1	2.5	30.4	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; aqua	2.4	
MD	515.30	512.70	6	1	1.2	24.7	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; colorless	2.2	
MD	515.60	512.20	7	1	1.3	18.2	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	5.3	
MD	515.60	512.20	7	1	3.4	33.8	KIT	Body	Glass, Container; solarized amethyst	4.7	
MD	515.60	512.20	7	1	7.2	50.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
MD	515.60	512.20	7	1	2.6	53.7	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	515.60	512.20	7	1	2.2	47.5	ARC		Nail, UID		
MD	514.70	511.20	13	1	0.7	14.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; pale green	4.2	
MD	514.70	511.20	13	1	2.8		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
MD	514.70	511.20	13	1	1.9	54.6	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
MD	514.70	511.20	13	1	530.0	88.9	ACT		Thimble skein, cast iron (distal portion)	14.9	
MD	517.60	512.40	7	1	8.2	30.5	KIT	Base	American Stoneware, zinc emulsion glazed (Bristol)	6.5	
MD	517.60	512.40	7	1	4.7	31.8	KIT	Base	Whiteware, undecorated	5.3	
MD	517.60	512.40	7	1	1.3	27.0	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.5	
MD	517.60	512.40	7	1	1.1	19.2	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.5	
MD	517.60	512.40	7	1	1.0	19.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.6	
MD	517.60	512.40	7	1	1.8	26.6	ARC		Nail, UID		
MD	517.60	512.40	7	1	4.5	38.0	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
MD	517.60	512.40	7	1	0.3		UID		Ferrous, UID		
MD	514.30	513.10	6	1	1.1	19.0	KIT	Body	Ironstone, undecorated	5.2	
MD	514.30	513.10	6	0.25	3.5	16.6	ARC		Brick, handmade (sample)	14.0	

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
MD	514.30	513.10	6	0.25	25.0	35.5	ARC		Brick, handmade (sample)	25.4	
MD	514.30	513.10	11	1	6.7		KIT	Knob, lid	Brown-glazed refined earthenware knob handle, jar type	16.9	
MD	514.30	513.10	11	1	28.3	46.8	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	8.0	
MD	514.30	513.10	11	1	8.2	40.4	KIT	Body	Glass, container; fragment with UID[3] embossed pattern, possibly geometric; colorless	5.0	
MD	514.30	513.10	11	1	1.5	24.2	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst	2.7	
MD	514.30	513.10	11	1	1.0	25.1	HOU		Glass, lantern chimney; colorless	1.6	
MD	514.30	513.10	11	1	0.5	20.7	ARC	Twist	Barbed wire fragment, barb-twist		
MD	514.30	513.10	11	1	3.9	27.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
MD	514.30	513.10	11	1	12.9		KIT	Can top	Aluminum and steel pull-top beverage can		
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	1.6	20.2	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, zinc emulsion glazed (Bristol)	4.4	
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	0.5	11.9	KIT	Body	Porcelain, bone china	2.4	
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	4.8	38.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; pale aqua	2.9	
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	1.7	22.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; aqua	4.9	
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	3.9	61.1	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	21.4	80.7	UID		Sheet metal, UID (possibly vehicle body related)	1.0	

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	19.6	76.4	UID		Sheet metal, UID (possibly vehicle body related)	1.4
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	8.4	47.1	UID		Sheet metal, UID (possibly vehicle body related)	1.0
MD	513.90	511.80	7	1	4.6	41.1	UID		Sheet metal, UID (possibly vehicle body related)	1.2
MD	497.40	508.20	14	1	493.0	150.0	ACT		Clevis, iron	14.0
MD	497.40	508.20	14	1	2.8	51.3	ARC		Nail, drawn wire	
MD	497.40	508.20	14	1	0.8	25.6	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, drawn wire	
MD	497.40	508.20	14	1	0.4	16.6	ARC		Nail, drawn wire	
MD	497.40	508.20	14	1	0.3	14.0	KIT	Lid liner	"Milk" Glass with "…S…"	3.9
MD	497.40	508.20	14	1	1.6	36.3	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.0
MD	497.40	508.20	14	1	0.6	17.0	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	1.9
MD	497.40	508.20	14	1	6.2	32.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; pale green	3.2
MD	498.10	511.50	19	1	2466	160.0	CLO	Base	Iron, sad (flatiron); base, no handle.	37.4
MD	500.85	511.50	17	0.75			ARC		Brick, handmade	
MD	500.85	512.15	17	1	932.0	350.2	ACT		Pipe/Tube, UID; with two drilled holes ca. 3 mm, placed ca. 60 mm from each end	5.8
MD	500.85	512.15	17	1	0.6	9.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut	

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
MD	500.85	512.15	17	1	5.7	66.7	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	501.30	510.00	4	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
MD	501.30	510.00	22	1	139.8	53.8	UID[3]		Cast iron, UID	17.8	
MD	501.30	510.00	22	1	43.2	50.9	ACT	Side wall	Horseshoe fragment, grooved	7.9	
MD	501.30	510.00	22	1	22.0		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
MD	501.30	510.00	22	1	0.9	34.4	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	501.30	510.00	22	1	0.7	32.5	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	500.67	513.20	17	2.75			ARC		Brick, handmade		
MD	500.32	516.70	22	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
MD	500.32	516.70	22	1	248.0	150.0	ACT		Possible throttle control plate, iron	13.0	
MD	500.32	516.70	22	1	1.7	40.7	ARC		Glass, window, slightly patinated; pale green	1.3	
MD	529.60	486.00	4	1	7.2	89.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	529.60	486.00	24	1	1.7	22.5	KIT	Base	Whiteware, undecorated	4.1	
MD	529.60	486.00	24	1	1.3	25.5	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
MD	529.60	486.00	24	1	1.2	25.0	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
MD	529.60	486.00	24	1	1.3	25.5	ARC		Nail, machine cut		

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
MD	529.60	486.00	24	1	0.8	14.7	ACT		Buckle, ferrous (fragment)	1.6	
MD	529.60	486.00	24	1	54.4	126.4	UID[3]		Cast iron, UID		
MD	530.00	488.70	9	1	54.6	50.3	UID		Cast iron, UID	9.3	
MD	525.63	477.00	24	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
MD	525.63	477.00	24	1	2.4	19.2	KIT	Base	Ironstone, undecorated	5.9	
MD	525.63	477.00	24	1	1.6	37.1	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
MD	525.63	477.00	24	1	4.6	65.3	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	537.70	476.30	36	0.75			ARC		Brick, handmade		
MD	537.70	476.30	36	1	21.3	46.6	KIT	Body	American Stoneware	8.8	
MD	537.70	476.30	36	1	3.5	22.6	KIT	Base	American Stoneware	7.1	
MD	537.70	476.30	36	1	0.7	15.4	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	3.7	
MD	537.70	476.30	36	1	1.3	18.5	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, undecorated	6.1	
MD	537.70	476.30	36	1	0.4	18.2	KIT	Base	Whiteware, undecorated; shallow profile foot ring		
MD	537.70	476.30	36	1	0.4	22.1	KIT	Base	Whiteware, undecorated; shallow profile foot ring		
MD	537.70	476.30	36	1	0.3	9.4	UID[3]		Ferrous, UID	2.0	
MD	537.70	476.30	39	1	1.3	29.6	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
MD	538.30	489.40	14	1	116.8	74.7	UID		Cast iron, UID	8.9	
MD	737.00	679.00	19	1			ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
MD	737.00	679.00	19	2			ARC		Fencing staples (ridge-point test; not collected)		
MD	730.00	683.00	24	1			ARC		Barbed wire fragment (ridge-point test; not collected)		
GP	475	470	33						No cultural resources		
GP	480	470	2	1	41.3	61.9	KIT	Rim	American Stoneware, UID glazed (clear)	17.9	11.0
GP	485	470	31						No cultural resources		
GP	490	470	27						No cultural resources		
GP	495	470	28	1	0.8	22.3	KIT	Body	Refined earthenware, possible slipware (spall)		
GP	500	470	26						No cultural resources		
GP	505	470	12	1	4.1	43.3	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	510	470	16	1	0.6		HOU	Head/shank	Half-round brass tack; soldered square-cut shank		
GP	515	470	22						No cultural resources		
GP	520	470	27						No cultural resources		
GP	525	470	18	1	0.2	8.4	KIT	Body	Whiteware, UID[3] dark green underglaze linear design	3.5	
GP	530	470	17	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
GP	535	470	30						No cultural resources		
GP	540	470	27						No cultural resources		
GP	545	470	27						No cultural resources		
GP	550	470	33						No cultural resources		
GP	555	470	20						No cultural resources		
GP	560	470	30						No cultural resources		
GP	565	470	25						No cultural resources		
GP	570	470	25						No cultural resources		
GP	575	470	25						No cultural resources		
GP	475	480	33						No cultural resources		
GP	480	480	32						No cultural resources		
GP	485	480	32						No cultural resources		
GP	490	480	31	1	0.7		ARC	Head	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	490	480	31	1	8.3	42.9	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed		6.5
GP	495	480	30						No cultural resources		
GP	500	480	22	1	2.6	27.9	KIT	Body	Refined earthenware, UID[3] dark brown glaze		6.1

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	505	480	17	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	505	480	17	1	0.7	22.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.5	
GP	505	480	17	1	1.2	29.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	510	480	18						No cultural resources		
GP	515	480	17	1	51.2	65.0	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed	9.2	
GP	515	480	17	1	2.7	21.1	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed (gray)	6.8	
GP	515	480	17	1	6.4	32.5	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	480	19	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	520	480	5	1	0.6	18.8	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, light gray glaze, press molded	3.7	
GP	520	480	19	1	2.1	30.8	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	480	19	1	38.0	59.5	KIT	Base	American Stoneware, salt glazed	11.3	
GP	525	480	23	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	525	480	23	1	7.1	33.9	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID[3] glazed, brown interior wash	7.5	
GP	525	480	23	1	1.4	29.1	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	525	480	23	1	0.5	15.1	ARC	Tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	480	31	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	530	480	4	1	2.2	27.0	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua	2.2	
GP	530	480	31	1	3.1	32.2	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated, hollowware fragment	6.8	
GP	530	480	31	1	1.3	19.2	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	6.6	
GP	530	480	31	1	2.1	23.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	480	31	1	1.0	21.9	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	480	31	3	3.1		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	530	480	31	1	0.8	14.1	UID	UID	Bone fragment, UID cortical	3.1	
GP	535	480	23	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	535	480	23	1	1.6	26.7	KIT	Body	Porcelain, bone china	2.6	
GP	535	480	23	1	0.8	13.7	KIT	Body	Porcelain, bone china	3.1	
GP	535	480	23	1	1.4	26.7	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	535	480	23	1	0.3	17.8	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	540	480	35	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	540	480	35	1	4.2	36.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	545	480	30	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	550	480	30	1	0.6	15.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; pale aqua	2.5	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	555	480	29						No cultural resources		
GP	560	480	29						No cultural resources		
GP	565	480	22						No cultural resources		
GP	570	480	28						No cultural resources		
GP	575	480	31						No cultural resources		
GP	475	490	31	1	2.8	23.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; cobalt	3.5	
GP	475	490	31	1	0.6	13.4	KIT	Shoulder	Glass, container; cobalt	2.5	
GP	480	490	27	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	485	490	30	1	121.9	133.6	KIT	Rim	American Stoneware, UID[3] glazed (gray) with brown interior	9.0	16.0
GP	485	490	30	1	0.6	12.7	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	2.7	
GP	490	490	32	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	490	490	32	1	0.7		CLO		Button, 4-Hole Prosser-Type, 13.6 mm diameter		
GP	495	490	33	1	0.8	20.2	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	495	490	33	1	0.7	24.7	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	495	490	33	1	0.4	20.5	ARC		Fencing wire strand		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
GP	495	490	33	1	9.1		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	500	490	5	1	0.4		CLO		Button, folium-shaped molded purple plastic w/ Great Seal of the United States on face		
GP	500	490	27	1	1.8	35.0	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	500	490	27	1	0.8	16.0	KIT	Body	Glass, container; pale aqua		2.7
GP	500	490	27	4	2.0		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	505	490	30	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	505	490	30	1	9.3	40.0	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed with brown interior		6.6
GP	505	490	30	1	1.9	43.3	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	510	490	27	1	3.1	28.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless		4.6
GP	515	490	29						No cultural resources		
GP	520	490	27	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	520	490	6	1	1.1	22.0	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	520	490	27	1	20.8	50.3	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed with brown interior		9.9
GP	520	490	27	1	4.4	31.8	KIT	Body	Ironstone, undecorated		5.6
GP	520	490	27	1	0.4	13.2	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	520	490	27	1	0.6	14.5	KIT	Neck	Glass, container; colorless	2.1	
GP	520	490	27	1	0.5		ARC	Head	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	520	490	27	1	1.9	22.5	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	490	27	1	1.3	25.0	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	490	27	1	1.5	29.6	ARC		Nail, machine cut, annealed		
GP	525	490	28	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	525	490	28	1	7.7	40.4	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	5.4	
GP	525	490	28	1	2.4	21.3	KIT	Body	Ironstone, undecorated	3.7	
GP	525	490	28	1	1.3	16.8	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed with brown interior	4.9	
GP	525	490	28	1	2.1	39.0	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	525	490	28	1	0.8	12.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	490	28	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	530	490	28	1	98.1	77.4	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed (brown)	12.1	
GP	530	490	28	1	0.9	18.6	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, purple transfer printed "wheat" pattern		
GP	530	490	28	1	2.5	47.4	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	535	490	28	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	540	490	28	1	98.8	54.3	ARC	Corner	Stone, rough dressed corner fragment	31.2	
GP	540	490	28	1	0.1	9.7	KIT	UID	American Stoneware, UID[3] glazed with brown interior (these cross-mend; recent break)		
GP	540	490	28	1	16.3	38.3	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed with brown interior	7.5	
GP	545	490	26	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	550	490	30	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	555	490	30	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	560	490	31	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	565	490	31	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	565	490	31	1	1.5	28.0	KIT	Body	Whiteware, Undecorated (these cross-mend; recent break)	4.9	
GP	570	490	27	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	575	490	26	1	1.3	17.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; dark amber	2.6	
GP	575	490	26	1	1.0	13.9	KIT	Body	Glass, container; dark amber	3.1	
GP	476	500	30						No cultural resources		
GP	480	500	3	1	9.3	41.7	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, purple transfer printed "wheat" pattern	5.6	12.0
GP	480	500	3	1	5.5		KIT	Rim	Whiteware, press molded (darts?)		11.0

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	480	500	28	1	0.1	7.4	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, UID blue transfer printed		
GP	480	500	28	1	5.5	47.1	KIT	Body	Whiteware, molded, hand painted (underglaze) floral in green. red, black; recent break	4.2	
GP	480	500	28	1	0.6	19.4	KIT	Body	Whiteware, hand painted underglaze, green floral	2.8	
GP	480	500	28	1	1.1	18.0	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, undecorated molded	4.9	
GP	480	500	28	1	1.6	34.2	KIT	Body	Porcelain, bone china	3.1	
GP	480	500	28	1	1.3	15.5	KIT	Body	Porcelain, bone china	3.3	
GP	480	500	28	1	0.3	14.8	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, undecorated (spall)		
GP	485	500	3	1	1.2	25.0	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.1	
GP	485	500	3	1	0.3	12.2	HOU		Glass, flat, UID[3] specialty (etched) ; colorless	2.4	
GP	485	500	16	1	28.4	54.5	KIT	Base/foot ring	Whiteware, undecorated	4.8	
GP	485	500	16	1	1.1	26.7	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	490	500	7						No cultural resources		
GP	495	500	22	1.00			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	495	500	22	1	13.7	34.3	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed	10.8	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	500	500	24	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	500	500	11	1	11.3	51.6	KIT	Base	American Stoneware, salt glazed	6.6	
GP	500	500	11	1	1.3	23.2	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.0	
GP	500	500	11	1	0.4	11.2	KIT	Body	Glass, container, "whittle marked"; colorless	1.8	
GP	500	500	11	1	2.4	25.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container, "v" bubble; solarized amethyst	2.6	
GP	500	500	11	1	1.2	29.5	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst	4.1	
GP	500	500	11	1	1.4	22.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; pale aqua	2.4	
GP	500	500	11	1	6.1	32.2	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.9	
GP	500	500	11	1	3.4	27.2	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.1	
GP	500	500	11	1	2.8	27.5	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	4.5	
GP	500	500	11	2	2.7		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID (flat)		
GP	500	500	11	1	1.9	35.3	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	500	500	24	1	168.4	97.6	KIT	Body/base	American Stoneware, UID glazed	13.9	9.0
GP	500	500	24	1	4.7	33.0	KIT	Base	Glass, container, small panel-sided medicine/extract bottle; suction mark; pale aqua	3.3	
GP	500	500	24	1	3.4	32.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst	3.3	

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[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	500	500	24	1	1.5	23.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst	2.8	
GP	500	500	24	1	1.0	15.0	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst	2.9	
GP	500	500	24	1	0.5	14.5	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst	2.4	
GP	500	500	24	1	1.5	17.9	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.4	
GP	500	500	24	1	1.3	19.1	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.1	
GP	500	500	24	1	0.8	19.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container, whittle marked	2.0	
GP	500	500	24	1	0.3	12.8	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.0	
GP	500	500	24	1	0.4	14.0	KIT	Base	Glass, container; colorless	1.9	
GP	500	500	24	1	0.3	11.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst	2.7	
GP	500	500	24	1	0.2	13.5	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.2	
GP	500	500	24	1	0.9	34.6	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	500	500	24	1	4.8	31.7	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	500	500	24	1	1.3	18.3	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	500	500	24	3	3.4		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID (flat)		
GP	505	500	24	1	4.9	60.8	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	500	16	1	1.4	32.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
GP	505	500	16	1	1.9	37.0	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, drawn wire	
GP	505	500	16	1	28.4		ACT		Castle nut, iron	16.1
GP	505	500	16	2	1.4		UID		Ferrous, UID	
GP	505	500	16	1	2.9		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)	
GP	505	500	16	1	0.6		ACT		Coal fragment (sample)	
GP	505	500	16	1	3.5	36.3	HOU		Glass, lantern chimney; colorless	1.5
GP	505	500	16	1	3.4	39.8	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.5
GP	505	500	16	1	1.3	19.0	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.3
GP	505	500	16	0.50	1162	127.4	ARC		Brick, handmade; bears mortar with structural timber impressions and roofing tar	61.2
GP	505	500	32	1	1.7	17.7	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, undecorated	4.0
GP	505	500	32	1	7.5	45.5	KIT		"Milk" glass canning jar lid liner, "GENUINE POR…" (Boyd's Genuine Porcelain)	4.0
GP	505	500	32	1	4.4	28.4	KIT		"Milk" glass canning jar lid liner, "...UINE P…" (Boyd's Genuine Porcelain)	4.0
GP	505	500	32	1	6.9	37.0	UID		Ferrous band/strap; perforated	2.1
GP	505	500	32	1	9.3	42.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire	

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	505	500	32	1	6.2		ACT	Head	Large rivet head	7.3	
GP	505	500	32	1	6.2	52.7	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	500	32	1	0.6	13.6	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	500	32	1	0.4	14.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	500	32	1	1.7	26.7	ARC	Shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	500	32	1	1.3	37.4	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	500	32	1	0.4	16.4	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	500	32	1	1.1		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (non-ferrous)		
GP	505	500	32	1	1.0	25.1	HOU		Glass, lantern chimney; pale aqua	1.5	
GP	505	500	32	1	0.2	10.2	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.1	
GP	505	500	32	1	0.4	20.1	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.0	
GP	505	500	32	1	0.3	18.4	HOU		Glass, lantern chimney; colorless	1.6	
GP	505	500	32	1	0.2	13.6	UID[3]		UID glass spall; colorless		
GP	510	500	3	1	2.8	27.4	KIT	Base	Ironstone, black transfer printed makers mark (partial rampant unicorn)	4.5	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	510	500	3	1	188.1	92.0	ARC		Hand forged UID hook & bracket with drilled perforations, including 1 false start	5.4	
GP	510	500	3	1	0.8	29.6	PER		Side/tuck comb, tortoiseshell pattern	2.8	
GP	510	500	16	1	0.1	10.4	UID	UID	Bone fragment, burned UID cortical	1.2	
GP	510	500	16	1	1.8	27.4	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	510	500	16	1	1.7	28.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	5.0	
GP	510	500	16	1	3.5	37.0	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	510	500	16	1	0.7	17.0	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	510	500	16	1	0.7	28.5	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	510	500	16	1	0.6	21.3	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	510	500	16	1	0.7	17.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	510	500	16	1	0.5	27.5	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	510	500	16	1	0.5		UID		Ferrous, UID (flat)		
GP	510	500	16	3	4.0		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	510	500	24		6.9		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous); bulk collection		
GP	515	500	5	1	8.3	33.8	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	6.6	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	515	500	23	1	3.3	29.8	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized, pale straw	3.7	
GP	515	500	23	1	0.8	14.7	KIT	UID	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	515	500	23	1	1.2	14.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	500	23		11.5		UID	Rim	Ferrous, UID (folded metal/possible rolled rim fragments); bulk collection		
GP	520	500	30	1	1.0	16.5	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	500	30	1	1.0	18.4	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	500	30	1	1.1	23.2	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	525	500	7	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	525	500	7	2	0.8		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	525	500	18	1	1.4	21.7	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	525	500	18	2	1.2		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID		
GP	525	500	26	1	13.1	40.1	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed (brown)	7.6	
GP	525	500	26	1	1.8	24.7	KIT	Base/ foot ring	Whiteware, undecorated	5.9	
GP	525	500	26	1	1.3	26.5	ARC		Nail, machine cut		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	525	500	26	1	2.6	68.5	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	530	500	18	1	34.9	47.0	KIT	Rim	American Stoneware, unglazed exterior w/ clear-glaze linear element	18.7	11.0
GP	530	500	18	1	1.4	21.8	KIT	UID	Whiteware UID treatment (paste spall)		
GP	530	500	18	1	1.6	25.4	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	500	18	1	1.9	24.6	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	500	18	1	0.9	20.4	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	500	25	1	2.5	29.0	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	500	25	1	0.7	13.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	500	25	1	3.7		ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	535	500	11	1	4.6	32.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container, exterior graduated markings; colorless	3.0	
GP	535	500	11	1	1.8	34.8	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	535	500	11	1	0.7	11.4	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	535	500	11	1	0.8	12.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	535	500	11	3	0.9		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID		
GP	535	500	23	1	10.0	27.1	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed	13.8	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	545	500	23	1	1.0	23.2	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	545	500	23	1	0.9	19.5	ACT		Fastener, UID		
GP	550	500	31	1	3.1	29.0	KIT	Rim	Ironstone	4.1	12.5
GP	550	500	31	1	0.1	8.6	KIT	UID[3]	Ironstone, undecorated		
GP	555	500	20	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	555	500	8	1	2.2	34.2	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	555	500	20	1	1.1	16.8	KIT	UID	Whiteware, UID treatment (paste spall)	4.5	
GP	555	500	28	1	15.5	30.6	KIT	Base	American Stoneware, salt glazed	13.3	
GP	555	500	20	1	20.7	48.1	KIT	Body	Press molded faux crystal hollowware with ribbed geometric pattern; solarized amethyst	5.1	
GP	560	500	8	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	560	500	23	1	0.6	16.7	KIT	UID	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	560	500	33	1	0.8	19.0	KIT	Base/ foot ring	Pearlware (cobalt pooling around foot ring); spall only		
GP	565	500	30						No cultural resources		
GP	570	500	28						No cultural resources		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
GP	575	500	29						No cultural resources		
GP	477	510	20	1	0.5	15.6	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	480	510	6	1	1.1	20.6	KIT	UID[3]	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	485	510	24	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	490	510	6	1.00			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	490	510	6	1	1.4	21.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless		4.8
GP	490	510	6	1	0.6	18.6	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua		1.3
GP	490	510	6	1	0.7	20.5	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua		1.1
GP	490	510	14	2	41.8	66.7	KIT	Base/ foot ring	Whiteware, undecorated		4.7
GP	490	510	14	1	0.9	18.9	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		3.4
GP	490	510	14	1	2.0	36.0	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua		1.3
GP	490	510	14	1	0.7	21.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua		1.1
GP	490	510	14	1	0.9	16.5	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua		1.5
GP	490	510	14	1	0.3	20.1	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua		1.4
GP	495	510	25	1.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	495	510	10	1	0.3	14.3	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua	1.1	
GP	495	510	10	2	1.7	34.3	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	495	510	10	1	0.3	20.1	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	495	510	30	1	4.3	42.6	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	495	510	30	1	0.6	14.9	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, undecorated	5.2	
GP	495	510	30	1	6.5	36.5	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	510	30	1	3.0	50.0	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	510	30	1	3.1	43.0	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	510	30	1	1.3	22.3	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	510	30	1	1.2	19.7	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	510	30	1	0.8	24.6	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	510	30	1	0.5	26.0	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	510	30	1	4.4	62.3	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	495	510	30	1	1.5	39.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	495	510	30	1	1.3	28.4	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	495	510	30	1	2.2	42.0	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, drawn wire		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
GP	500	510	17	2.25			ARC		Brick, handmade	
GP	500	510	9	1	0.9	35.6	ARC		Nail, drawn wire	
GP	500	510	9	2	0.5	20.0	KIT	Edge	Crown Cap (these cross-mend)	2.5
GP	500	510	17	1	1.4	29.5	ARC		Nail, machine cut	
GP	505	510	27	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade	
GP	505	510	7	1	4.8	44.0	KIT	Body	Glass, container; dark amber	3.5
GP	505	510	7	1	0.4	13.2	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.1
GP	505	510	7	1	3.1	30.0	ARC		Fencing staple	
GP	505	510	7	1	2.9	32.1	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut	
GP	505	510	7	1	1.6	31.1	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut	
GP	505	510	7	1	1.1	29.7	ARC		Nail, drawn wire	
GP	505	510	7	1	0.4	10.9	ARC		Nail, UID	
GP	505	510	7	3	1.8		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID	
GP	505	510	15	1	2.1	28.8	KIT		Crown cap	1.9
GP	505	510	15	1	1.8	24.9	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.5
GP	505	510	15	1	1.3	29.5	ARC		Nail, machine cut	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	505	510	15	1	2.1	36.4	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	510	15	1	0.2	11.1	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	505	510	15		1.4		UID		Ferrous, UID; bulk collection		
GP	505	510	27	1	2.5	27.1	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.5	
GP	505	510	27	1	1.1	25.9	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.5	
GP	505	510	27		10.8		UID[3]	UID	Glass, UID burned; colorless; bulk collection		
GP	505	510	27	1	9.9	80.3	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	505	510	27	1	4.5	34.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	510	27	1	4.0	23.4	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	510	27	1	4.2	69.9	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	510	27	2	0.8		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	510	510	12	4.00			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	515	510	28	1.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	515	510	7	1	3.1	37.8	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	515	510	7	1	1.5	31.0	ARC	Shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	515	510	20	1	1.4	22.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst; colorless	2.7	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	515	510	20	1	1.9	33.6	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	510	20	1	1.2	16.6	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	510	20	1	0.7	21.2	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	515	510	20	3	2.8		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	515	510	20	4	3.2		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	520	510	9	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	520	510	9	4	1.8		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID		
GP	520	510	9	1	2.2	25.2	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	510	20	1	8.0	36.1	KIT	Rim	Ironstone, undecorated	5.0	15.0
GP	520	510	20	1	3.6	32.1	HOU	Rim	Glass, lantern chimney, molded "pie crust" rim; colorless	1.4	
GP	520	510	20	1	2.1	24.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized amethyst	2.7	
GP	520	510	20	1	1.3	16.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container, canning jar fragment; aqua	3.6	
GP	520	510	20	1	1.5	22.3	KIT		"Milk" glass canning jar lid liner	3.0	
GP	520	510	20	2	18.9		UID		Ferrous, UID (flat)		
GP	520	510	29	1	52.2	50.8	KIT	Rim	American Stoneware, zinc emulsion glazed (Bristol)	13.4	14.0
GP	520	510	29	1	15.3	59.2	KIT	Rim	Glass, container, continuous threads/canning; pale aqua	4.4	4.0

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	520	510	29	1	1.2	19.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.1	
GP	520	510	29	1	0.2	13.4	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	520	510	29	4	1.6		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	520	510	29	4	7.0		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	525	510	23	1	11.8	43.7	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed, incised	7.7	
GP	525	510	23	1	7.0	24.5	UID		Cast iron, UID	5.2	
GP	525	510	23	1	1.0	18.9	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	525	510	23	1	0.5	13.2	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	525	510	23	1	0.8		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	525	510	30	1	2.5	25.0	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	4.0	
GP	525	510	30	1	0.5	11.0	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	4.5	
GP	525	510	30	1	1.9	27.2	KIT	Body	Glass, container; aqua	1.9	
GP	525	510	30	1	2.6	21.8	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.9	
GP	525	510	30	1	1.1	17.9	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.8	
GP	525	510	30	1	0.8		UID		Plastic, UID burned (circular)	5.4	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
GP	525	510	30	1	2.3	26.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut	
GP	525	510	30	1	0.7	17.2	ARC		Nail, UID	
GP	525	510	30	2	3.2		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)	
GP	530	510	20	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade	
GP	530	510	8	1	0.5	18.9	KIT	Body	Glass, container; aqua	2.5
GP	530	510	20	1	21.6	48.3	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, brown wash	9.1
GP	530	510	20	1	50.8	105.6	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed (brown); unglazed interior	9.5
GP	530	510	20	1	3.2	82.4	ARC		Fencing wire strand	
GP	530	510	20	1	1.6	35.2	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, drawn wire	
GP	530	510	20	1	0.8	11.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut	
GP	530	510	20	1	0.7	16.8	ARC		Nail, UID[3]	
GP	530	510	20	1	1.5		ACT		Coal fragment (sample)	
GP	530	510	29	1	3.2	72.9	ARC		Fencing wire strand	
GP	530	510	29	1	1.3	17.3	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut	
GP	530	510	29	1	0.5	17.1	UID		Ferrous, UID	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	530	510	29	1	2.7	22.7	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed, unglazed interior	5.0	
GP	530	510	29	1	0.3	15.7	KIT	UID	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	535	510	8	1	1.0	24.4	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	535	510	19	1	2.3	28.7	ARC	Shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	535	510	19	1	1.5	23.8	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	535	510	19	1	1.6	22.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	535	510	19	1	0.7	17.5	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	535	510	19	2	0.5		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	535	510	19	3	1.1		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	535	510	19	0.75	1.9	23.7	ARC		Brick, handmade	2.5	
GP	535	510	19	1	0.8	15.5	KIT	Body	Glass, container; aqua	2.5	
GP	540	510	6	1	0.5	9.8	KIT	Body	Glass, container; leaf green	2.8	
GP	545	510	17						No cultural resources		
GP	550	510	14						No cultural resources		
GP	555	510	21						No cultural resources		
GP	560	510	26						No cultural resources		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	565	510	22		35.3		KIT	Rim/body	Pail, rolled rim and body fragments; bulk collection		
GP	565	510	22	1	3.9	73.8	KIT	Bail, wire	Pail, wire bail handle with loop		
GP	565	510	22	1	2.3	27.9	KIT	Bail, wire	Pail, wire bail handle with loop		
GP	565	510	22	1	0.4	18.7	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	565	510	22	1	1.4	35.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	565	510	22	1	0.8	26.5	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	575	510	33						No cultural resources		
GP	570	510	29						No cultural resources		
GP	477	520	6	0.75			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	480	520	23	0.75			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	480	520	10	1	3.4	26.8	KIT	Body	Glass, container; dark amber	3.1	
GP	480	520	23	1	3.9	26.7	KIT		"Milk" glass canning jar lid liner	4.2	
GP	485	520	17	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	485	520	8	1	1.2	26.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.9	
GP	485	520	8	1	2.5	56.0	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	485	520	8	1	0.2		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	485	520	17	1	3.9	45.7	ARC		Fencing wire strand, looped		
GP	485	520	17	1	3.4	23.9	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	5.0	
GP	485	520	27	1	6.4	32.3	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed	8.3	
GP	490	520	14	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	490	520	14	1	1.0	24.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	490	520	14	1	0.1	19.1	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	UID	
GP	495	520	15	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	495	520	15	1	10.4	43.4	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed, brown interior	10.9	
GP	495	520	15	1	2.0	20.5	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	520	15	1	1.9	15.2	ARC	Head	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	520	23	1	4.0	41.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	520	23	1	1.3	24.8	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.6	
GP	495	520	23	1	0.5	19.0	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.3	
GP	495	520	23	1	1.9		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	500	520	11	0.75			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	500	520	11	1	0.8	32.9	ARC		Nail, machine cut		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	500	520	11	1	4.9		ARC		Nail, UID[3]	5.6	
GP	515	510	28	1.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	500	520	11	1	15.7	52.6	ACT		Welding slag, ferrous	5.3	
GP	505	520	32	1.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	505	520	9	1	1.1	17.8	KIT	Body	Porcelain, bone china	3.1	
GP	505	520	9	1	0.1	9.7	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	505	520	9	1	0.5	14.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; aqua	2.6	
GP	505	520	9	1	5.4	75.9	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	520	9	1	1.2	29.7	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	520	9	1	1.2	26.7	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	520	9	3	2.3		ARC		Fencing wire strands		
GP	505	520	9	1	0.4		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	505	520	17	1	7.5	31.3	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	520	17	1	0.8	15.2	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	505	520	17	1	0.4	22.1	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	505	520	17	1	0.3	13.2	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	505	520	17	1	0.2	15.5	KIT	Edge	Canning jar lid fragment, knurled edge	1.5	
GP	505	520	17	1	0.7	19.5	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.3	
GP	505	520	32	1	3.3	62.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	505	520	32	1	1.1	29.9	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	520	32	1	0.3	10.1	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	505	520	32	1	0.2	12.3	KIT	Edge	Canning jar lid fragment, knurled edge	1.2	
GP	510	520	9	1	1.3	32.5	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	510	520	9	2	0.5		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	510	520	9	1	0.3	8.1	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated; teaware (?)	2.6	
GP	510	520	23	1.00	4.3	24.4	ARC		Brick, handmade, manufacturing sample (sand glazed)	14.5	
GP	510	520	23	1	3.0		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	510	520	23	1	0.4	16.7	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.6	
GP	510	520	34	1	0.6	20.1	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	510	520	34	1	0.2		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	510	520	34	1	0.4	10.9	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	3.0	
GP	510	520	34	1	0.4	7.0	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	4.2	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
GP	515	520	12	1	0.5	21.8	ARC		Nail, UID[3]	
GP	515	520	12	3	0.9		UID		Ferrous, UID	
GP	515	520	12	4	2.3		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)	
GP	515	520	37	1	7.1	29.4	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed	8.9
GP	515	520	37	0.50	6.3	23.6	ARC		Brick, handmade, manufacturing sample (sand glazed)	17.3
GP	515	520	37	3	22.2		ACT		Coal fragments (samples)	
GP	515	520	37		39.6		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous); bulk collection	
GP	515	520	37	2	0.5		UID		Ferrous, UID (flat)	
GP	515	520	37	1	2.2		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (non-ferrous)	
GP	515	520	37	1	1.7	39.2	ARC		Barbed wire fragment	
GP	515	520	37	1	6.6	31.6	ARC		Nail, UID	
GP	515	520	37	1	0.8	15.2	ARC		Nail, UID	
GP	515	520	37	1	0.6	17.0	ARC		Nail, UID	
GP	515	520	37	1	0.2	12.1	ARC		Nail, UID	
GP	515	520	37	1	0.4	14.6	ARC		Nail, UID[3]	
GP	515	520	37	1	1.3	21.1	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	515	520	37	1	0.4	15.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	515	520	37	1	0.9	13.1	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	515	520	37	1	1.5	31.7	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	520	37	1	1.8	23.7	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	520	37	1	1.0	13.7	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	520	37	1	0.8	13.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	520	37	1	0.8	11.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	520	37	1	0.5	15.6	ARC	Tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	520	37	1	0.4	15.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	515	520	37	1	0.9	22.3	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	9	1	1.2	22.4	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	520	520	9	1	2.5	35.0	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	9	1	1.3	23.6	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	9	1	5.6	29.5	ACT		Cotter pin		
GP	520	520	9	3	2.5		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	520	520	9	1	0.8	19.3	UID[3]	UID	Possible shell/horn; UID faunal	2.5	

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	520	520	27	1	55.6	70.5	KIT	Base	Glass, Container, "shoo-fly" flask base with "t" and "c" on base; solarized amethyst	7.1	
GP	520	520	27	1	4.4	36.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; solarized straw	2.6	
GP	520	520	27	1	11.7	60.3	ARC		Glass, window, corner; pale green	2.4	
GP	520	520	27	1	1.7	35.2	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	520	520	27	1	1.4	23.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	520	520	27	1	1.1	15.4	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	520	520	27	1	0.3	3.8	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.2	
GP	520	520	27	1	1.7	34.0	KIT	Body	Glass, container, molded; solarized amethyst	3.9	
GP	520	520	27	1	0.4	11.9	KIT	UID	Glass, container; solarized amethyst		
GP	520	520	27	0.50	3.8	20.0	ARC		Brick, handmade, manufacturing sample (sand glazed)	11.1	
GP	520	520	27	1.25	2.3	18.4	ARC		Brick, handmade	10.1	
GP	520	520	27	3	17.4		ACT		Coal fragments (samples)		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.6	16.4	CLO		Zipper pull, brass ("talon")	1.0	
GP	520	520	27	1	222.0		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	520	520	27		9.0		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous); bulk collection		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	520	520	27	4	2.5		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	3.9	28.7	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed (gray)	6.3	
GP	520	520	27	1	1.4	15.3	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed	5.8	
GP	520	520	27	1	2.2	30.6	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID exterior (spall), brown interior		
GP	520	520	27	1	3.0	20.6	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, zinc emulsion glazed (Bristol)	5.8	
GP	520	520	27	1	1.0	17.8	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, zinc emulsion glazed (Bristol)	4.9	
GP	520	520	27	1	2.7	24.2	KIT	Rim (partial)	Whiteware, undecorated	5.2	UID
GP	520	520	27	1	1.5	16.2	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	4.5	
GP	520	520	27	1	11.1	40.0	KIT	Base/ foot ring	Whiteware, undecorated	4.3	
GP	520	520	27	1	0.6	23.2	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	520	520	27	1	16.8	77.0	ARC		Fencing wire strand; heavily encrusted		
GP	520	520	27	1	7.5	96.0	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.2	13.8	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.1	
GP	520	520	27	1	3.7	29.7	ARC		Nail, UID		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
GP	520	520	27	1	1.8	27.2	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.1	31.7	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.0	29.1	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.2	15.6	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.8	21.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.8	14.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.6	15.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.6	17.2	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.0	18.7	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.0	22.6	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.6	16.5	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.5	11.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.5	15.2	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.5	17.2	UID		Ferrous, UID (possible staple fragment?)		
GP	520	520	27	1	10.3	88.0	ARC	Shank	Nail, drawn wire		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
GP	520	520	27	1	1.8	25.8	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.8	11.5	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.0	12.6	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.5	26.0	ARC	Shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.9	34.3	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	520	520	27	1	7.5	51.0	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	10.8	51.6	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	4.7	33.6	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	6.4	34.6	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	2.1	35.1	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	2.5	42.0	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.8	28.0	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.2	17.0	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.5	18.8	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	520	520	27	1	1.3	12.6	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	520	27	1	0.9	25.3	ARC		Nail, UID		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
GP	525	520	32	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	525	520	7	1	1.5	23.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; aqua		2.2
GP	525	520	7	1	3.1	50.8	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	525	520	7	1	0.6	13.6	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	525	520	32	1	1.1	18.9	KIT	Body	Whiteware, underglaze pale brown band		3.1
GP	525	520	32	1	1.6	18.0	KIT	Body	Whiteware, yellow interior		
GP	525	520	32	1	0.5	12.3	KIT	Body	Porcelain, bone china		2.3
GP	525	520	32	1	1.5	15.0	UID	UID	Bone fragment, burned UID cortical		4.7
GP	525	520	32	1	1.7	19.5	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless		2.8
GP	525	520	32	1	0.5	19.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless		2.8
GP	525	520	32	2	0.6		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	525	520	32	4	1.4		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	525	520	32	1	0.6	17.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	525	520	32	1	0.7	15.9	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	525	520	32	1	0.5	8.3	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	525	520	32	1	2.1	33.8	ARC		Nail, machine cut		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	525	520	32	1	1.5	35.9	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	525	520	32	1	1.0	16.6	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	525	520	32	1	0.7	16.9	ARC	Tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	525	520	38	1	8.6	33.5	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed	7.6	
GP	525	520	38	1	1.1	29.6	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua	1.9	
GP	530	520	7	1	0.7	18.9	UID	Non-occlusal	Tooth, faunal fragment; UID[3] non-occlusal surface	6.0	
GP	530	520	7	1	1.0	21.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	530	520	7	3	0.8		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	530	520	7	2	4.6		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	530	520	28	1	0.2		CLO		Button, 4-Hole Prosser-Type, 8.94 mm diameter	2.4	
GP	530	520	28	1	0.7	14.2	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, undecorated	5.8	
GP	530	520	28	1	0.4	26.8	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	530	520	28	1	3.3	52.4	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	520	28	1	5.3	30.3	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	530	520	28	1	0.9	16.7	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	530	520	28	1	0.8	15.8	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	530	520	28	1	0.4	9.8	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	530	520	28	1	0.2		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	530	520	28	0.50	106.0	59.0	ARC		Brick, handmade, manufacturing sample (sand glazed)	41.1	
GP	535	520	22						No cultural resources		
GP	540	520	5	1	2.3	61.1	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	540	520	16	1	2.8	57.7	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	540	520	16	1	0.5	9.4	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	540	520	16	0.50	0.6	9.9	ARC		Brick, handmade	3.9	
GP	540	520	16	1	23.3	45.7	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed	15.0	
GP	545	520	6	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	545	520	6	1	1.7		ARC	Barb twist	Barbed wire fragment, barb-twist		
GP	545	520	18	1	1.9	40.0	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	545	520	18	1	4.3	43.0	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	545	520	18	1	1.0	12.0	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	545	520	18	2	2.6		UID		Ferrous, UID		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	550	520	22	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	550	520	22	1	1.6	23.5	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	550	520	22	1	0.6	21.7	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	550	520	22	1	0.8	18.6	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	555	520	22	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	560	520	20	1	1.8	34.7	ARC	Shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	565	520	32	1	4.7	52.5	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	565	520	32	1	0.4	20.4	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	565	520	32	1	0.4		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID		
GP	570	520	28						No cultural resources		
GP	575	520	29						No cultural resources		
GP	478	530	4	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	478	530	18	1	27.5	59.0	KIT	Rim	American Stoneware, salt glazed with brown interior	17.5	12.0
GP	480	530	32						No cultural resources		
GP	485	530	28	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	490	530	25	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
GP	490	530	18	1	27.4	77.2	ARC	Corner	Glass, window, manufactured corner; pale green	2.6
GP	490	530	18	1	13.5	65.4	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4
GP	490	530	18	1	15.7	73.5	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3
GP	490	530	18	1	16.9	76.2	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3
GP	490	530	18	1	7.7	52.5	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3
GP	490	530	18	1	6.4	41.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4
GP	490	530	18	1	7.9	57.7	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4
GP	490	530	18	1	3.9	35.3	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4
GP	490	530	18	1	4.2	49.8	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3
GP	490	530	18	1	3.1	50.5	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3
GP	490	530	18	1	3.4	52.3	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3
GP	490	530	18	1	2.4	40.7	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4
GP	490	530	18	1	2.1	30.7	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3
GP	490	530	18	1	1.6	20.3	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4
GP	490	530	18	1	2.8	28.6	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3
GP	490	530	18	1	2.8	28.6	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] “UID” denotes “unidentified”.
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	490	530	18	1	2.9	39.0	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.7	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.6	28.5	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.8	35.6	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.6	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.5	20.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.0	21.4	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.2	30.3	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.5	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.2	20.8	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.4	20.2	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.4	24.6	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.0	21.6	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.3	
GP	490	530	18	1	0.6	17.4	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.4	
GP	490	530	18	1	0.6	15.2	ARC		Glass, window; very pale green	2.4	
GP	490	530	18	1	0.7	14.8	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	2.2	
GP	490	530	18	1	0.3	13.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.2	
GP	490	530	18	1	2.1	31.6	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	4.2	
GP	490	530	18	1	1.7	33.3	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	490	530	18	1	5.1	65.2	ARC		Nail, machine cut, L-head type flooring nail		
GP	495	530	23	1.75			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	495	530	5	1	0.6	13.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.9	
GP	495	530	23	4	5.8		ARC		Barbed wire fragments		
GP	495	530	23	1	112.7	86.2	ARC		Corner bracket, iron; expedient with wire nail		
GP	495	530	23	1	1.8	29.4	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	530	23	1	7.6	39.8	UID		Ferrous, UID (modified cylindrical)	7.2	
GP	495	530	23	1	1.5		UID		Ferrous, UID (flat)		
GP	495	530	23	1	1.7	26.4	KIT	Body	Glass, container; pale green	2.5	
GP	495	530	23	1	0.7	13.1	KIT	Body	Glass, container, molded "…LS"; very pale green	2.3	
GP	495	530	23	1	2.5	25.0	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	495	530	23	1	8.2	40.5	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, undecorated	6.8	12.0
GP	495	530	23	1	2.7	34.0	KIT	Rim (partial)	Whiteware, black transfer printed floral pattern	4.3	UID
GP	495	530	23	1		450.0	ACT		Pipe/tube; UID[3] perforated; not collected		
GP	500	530	23	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	500	530	7	1	4.4	33.1	KIT	Base/ foot ring	Whiteware, undecorated	4.2	
GP	500	530	23	1	3.3	29.7	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, uid glaze with brown interior	7.0	
GP	500	530	23	1	2.9	25.7	KIT	Base/ foot ring	Whiteware, undecorated	8.0	
GP	500	530	23	1	0.8	20.8	KIT	Rim (partial)	Whiteware, undecorated	4.3	UID
GP	500	530	23	1	1.6	24.7	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	500	530	23	1	0.5	22.9	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	500	530	23	1	0.3	12.7	ARC	Tip	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	500	530	23	1	142.0	253.6	ARC		Straight joint brace/bracket, iron; machine made	3.5	
GP	505	530	19	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	505	530	6	1	1.6		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID		
GP	505	530	19	1	9.2	32.6	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glaze (brown) with unglazed interior	9.0	
GP	505	530	19	1	0.8	19.5	KIT	Body	Porcelain, UID undecorated	2.6	
GP	505	530	19	1	0.3	10.5	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID exterior with red/brown interior		

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	505	530	19	1	0.5	17.9	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	530	19	1	1.6	29.7	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	505	530	19	1	4.7	66.5	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	510	530	25	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	510	530	10	1	4.6	23.4	KIT	Base	American Stoneware; unglazed exterior with brown interior	6.2	
GP	510	530	25	1	64.4	58.9	KIT	Base	American Stoneware, UID glazed with brown interior	11.5	
GP	510	530	25	1	0.5	13.6	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID exterior with glazed interior		
GP	510	530	25	1	0.8	22.6	KIT	Rim (partial)	Whiteware, undecorated	2.7	UID
GP	510	530	25	1	0.4	20.1	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	510	530	25	1	0.2	13.2	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	510	530	25	1	8.1	33.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container, heavily patinated, olive green, light "black glass"	5.3	
GP	510	530	25	1	1.8	28.8	KIT	Body	Glass, container; aqua	4.0	
GP	510	530	25	1	0.2	15.8	ARC		Glass, window; very pale green	1.3	
GP	510	530	25	1	4.0	48.6	ARC		Nail, machine cut		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	510	530	25	1	1.7	32.6	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	510	530	25	1	1.3	34.1	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	510	530	25	1	1.4	27.1	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	510	530	25	1	0.8	26.9	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	510	530	25	1	0.5	15.6	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	515	530	24	1	55.2	60.0	KIT	Base	American Stoneware, salt glazed with brown interior	9.5	
GP	515	530	24	1	1.5	18.4	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, UID glazed	5.7	
GP	515	530	24	1	8.2	31.4	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed with brown interior	7.9	
GP	515	530	24	1	9.3	31.4	ACT		Eye, iron		
GP	515	530	24	1	4.9	35.8	ACT		Washer	3.1	
GP	515	530	24	1	0.2	11.2	ARC		Glass, window; very pale green	1.4	
GP	520	530	24	1	2.0	35.0	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	530	24	1	0.2	14.2	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated		
GP	525	530	24	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	525	530	6	1	1.1	15.8	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated; molded exterior relief	2.5	
GP	525	530	6	1	10.5	66.9	ARC		Nail, machine cut		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
GP	525	530	6	1	1.1	15.0	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	525	530	6	1	12.7	97.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	530	530	19	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	535	530	19	1	14.4	38.6	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed		8.1
GP	535	530	19	1	1.0	22.1	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	540	530	27	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	540	530	7	1	1.8	19.0	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	540	530	27	1	1.9	30.9	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	540	530	27	1	0.4	17.3	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	540	530	27	1	0.4	16.5	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	540	530	27	1	0.3	14.1	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	540	530	27	1	1.6	33.7	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	540	530	27	1	0.6	12.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	540	530	27	1	0.8	21.3	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
GP	540	530	27	1	0.3	3.0	ARC		Nail, UID		2.1
GP	545	530	25	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	545	530	25	1	1.6	16.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	550	530	33	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	555	530	32						No cultural resources		
GP	560	530	31						No cultural resources		
GP	565	530	25	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	570	530	30						No cultural resources		
GP	575	530	29						No cultural resources		
GP	479	540	23						No cultural resources		
GP	480	540	23						No cultural resources		
GP	485	540	23	1	0.3	12.1	CLO	Head/clasp	Safety pin clasp		
GP	490	540	29						No cultural resources		
GP	495	540	19	1	1.7	39.3	ARC		Nail, machine cut		
GP	495	540	19	1	0.2	16.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	495	540	19	1	2.2	20.4	UID		Ferrous band/strap	1.8	
GP	500	540	28	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	500	540	28	1	1.4	43.7	ARC		Fencing wire strand		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
GP	500	540	28	1	0.3	19.4	UID	UID[3]	Bone, UID; colorless	2.1
GP	500	540	28	1	2.7	29.2	KIT	Body	Glass, container, mold seam; colorless	4.5
GP	500	540	28	1	6.6	43.4	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	5.0
GP	500	540	28	1	4.3	26.2	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	4.5
GP	500	540	28	1	1.4	27.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.7
GP	500	540	28	1	1.2	17.9	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	4.3
GP	500	540	28	1	0.7	15.6	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	4.0
GP	500	540	28	1	0.6	18.0	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	4.1
GP	500	540	28	1	0.3	12.0	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	3.8
GP	500	540	28	1	0.3	9.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	4.4
GP	500	540	28	1	0.5	13.7	HOU	Body	Glass, lantern chimney; very pale aqua	1.7
GP	500	540	28	1	2.0	20.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container (these cross-mend; recent break); colorless	2.4
GP	505	540	22	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade	
GP	505	540	22	1	8.0	38.9	KIT	Body	Glass, container, mold seam; colorless	4.1
GP	505	540	22	1	2.8	57.1	ARC		Barbed wire fragment	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	505	540	22	1	0.9	33.1	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	505	540	22	1	0.6	24.8	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	505	540	22	1	0.5	27.0	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	505	540	22	1	0.4		UID[3]		Ferrous, UID (flat)		
GP	510	540	12	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	515	540	22	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	520	540	27	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	520	540	7	1	1.8	30.5	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	520	540	7	1	0.5		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
GP	520	540	7	1	0.2	8.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; cobalt	3.2	
GP	525	540	21	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	530	540	29	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	535	540	34	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	535	540	5	1	2.5	28.5	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut		
GP	535	540	5	1	4.5	25.0	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, salt glazed	5.2	
GP	535	540	26	1	1.2	32.7	ARC		Fencing wire strand		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
GP	535	540	26	1	1.0	27.1	ARC		Fencing wire strand	
GP	540	540	23	1	2.6	37.9	ARC		Nail, machine cut	
GP	540	540	23	0.50	26.2	36.3	ARC		Brick, handmade, manufacturing sample (sand glazed)	21.1
GP	540	540	23	1	6.8	26.4	KIT	Base	American Stoneware, unglazed exterior with brown interior	7.1
GP	540	540	23	2	19.6		ACT		Coal fragments (samples)	
GP	540	540	23	1	0.3	17.3	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.3
GP	540	540	23	1	0.2	9.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale green	1.1
GP	545	540	18	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade	
GP	550	540	15	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade	
GP	555	540	23						No cultural resources	
GP	560	540	23						No cultural resources	
GP	565	540	22						No cultural resources	
GP	570	540	30						No cultural resources	
GP	575	540	21						No cultural resources	
GP	480	550	28						No cultural resources	

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	485	550	29						No cultural resources		
GP	490	550	29						No cultural resources		
GP	495	550	28						No cultural resources		
GP	500	550	5	1	0.5	27.0	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
GP	505	550	30						No cultural resources		
GP	510	550	25	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	510	550	22	1	0.6	18.8	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua	1.4	
GP	515	550	20	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	515	550	28	1	3.6	63.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	520	550	23	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	525	550	20	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	530	550	32						No cultural resources		
GP	535	550	23	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	535	550	18	1	7.4	33.5	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	540	550	31	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	545	550	31	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade		

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
GP	550	550	22	0.50			ARC		Brick, handmade	
GP	550	550	22	1	0.2	11.1	KIT	Body	Whiteware, undecorated	
GP	555	550	28						No cultural resources	
GP	560	550	27						No cultural resources	
GP	565	550	27						No cultural resources	
GP	570	550	25						No cultural resources	
GP	575	550	25						No cultural resources	
GP	480	560	24						No cultural resources	
GP	485	560	26						No cultural resources	
GP	490	560	29						No cultural resources	
GP	495	560	27						No cultural resources	
GP	500	560	24						No cultural resources	
GP	505	560	30						No cultural resources	
GP	510	560	25						No cultural resources	
GP	515	560	30						No cultural resources	
GP	520	560	24	1	6.5	42.7	KIT	Body	Glass, container, mold seam; colorless	3.9

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	520	560	24	1	1.4	18.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	4.6	
GP	520	560	24	1	2.2	25.3	HOU		Dry cell battery core (graphite)		
GP	525	560	29	1	1.2	17.7	ARC	Barb twist	Barbed wire fragment, barb-twist		
GP	525	560	29	1	1.3	19.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	525	560	29	1	3.4	53.3	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	525	560	29	1	21.2	115.4	ARC		Nail, drawn wire		
GP	530	560	21	1	8.1	40.7	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
GP	535	560	30	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	535	560	30	1	3.9	37.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	535	560	30	1	9.3	45.5	ARC	Shank	Nail, drawn wire		
GP	540	560	28	0.25			ARC		Brick, handmade		
GP	540	560	28	1	6.3	25.3	KIT	UID[3]	American Stoneware, zinc emulsion glazed (Bristol)	5.6	
GP	540	560	28		6.8		ARC		Barbed wire fragments; bulk collection		
GP	540	560	28	1	0.4	13.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
GP	540	560	28	2	0.9		UID		Ferrous, UID		
GP	540	560	28	1	0.3	9.8	ARC		Glass, window; very pale green	1.7	

[1] OP = Opportunistic Shovel Test; MD = Metal Detector Prospection; GP = Grid-Point Shovel Test; EX = Excavation Unit (50 x 50 cm).
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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
GP	545	560	29						No cultural resources		
GP	550	560	27						No cultural resources		
GP	555	560	30						No cultural resources		
GP	560	560	28						No cultural resources		
GP	565	560	25						No cultural resources		
GP	570	560	27						No cultural resources		
GP	575	560	28						No cultural resources		
EX	510	510	12	7.00			ARC		Brick, handmade		
EX	520	520	9	1	0.5	18.2	KIT	UID[3]	Whiteware, undecorated	2.5	
EX	520	520	9	1	0.3	15.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	2.0	
EX	520	520	9	1	1.4	70.3	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
EX	520	520	9	1	0.9	11.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
EX	520	520	9	1	0.6	16.3	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
EX	520	520	9	1	0.5	14.7	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	9	1	0.3	15.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	9		1.5		UID		Ferrous, UID; bulk collection		

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Thickness (mm)	Radius (cm)[4]
EX	520	520	9	4	5.8		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous)		
EX	520	520	30	1	1.3	32.6	KIT	Base	Whiteware, black transfer printed (partial makers mark: "...ME…" (or "MB") "…L…" & "…A")	4.1	
EX	520	520	30	1	0.6	17.9	KIT	UID	Whiteware, undecorated		
EX	520	520	30	1	1.5	15.4	KIT	Rim	Whiteware, undecorated	4.4	
EX	520	520	30	1	16.7	56.1	KIT	Body	American Stoneware, zinc emulsion glazed (Bristol)	7.0	
EX	520	520	30	1	5.9	28.8	KIT	Base	American Stoneware, UID glaze (brown)	11.1	
EX	520	520	30	1	2.6	20.4	KIT	Rim	American Stoneware, salt glazed		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.2	10.8	UID[3]	UID	Shell flake, UID nacreous	0.8	
EX	520	520	30	1	0.3		CLO	Face	Button, Plastic (Bakelite "sleeve"; 4-hole	3.9	
EX	520	520	30	1	5.3	43.1	ARC		Glass, window; aqua	2.3	
EX	520	520	30	1	1.4	33.9	ARC		Glass, window; pale aqua	2.5	
EX	520	520	30	1	0.3	16.5	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	1.6	
EX	520	520	30	1	0.6	15.3	KIT	Body	Glass, container; colorless	1.7	
EX	520	520	30	1	22.0	61.7	KIT	Body/neck	Glass, container, mold seam; aqua	6.6	
EX	520	520	30	4	17.9		ACT		Coal fragments (samples)		

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
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Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4] Thickness (mm)
EX	520	520	30	1	263.0	70.5	ACT	Head	Hammer, claw (fragment), iron	31.8
EX	520	520	30	1	1.6	20.2	ARC		Fencing staple	4.8
EX	520	520	30	1	3.3	38.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire	
EX	520	520	30	1	2.5	34.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire	
EX	520	520	30	1	5.3	63.9	ARC		Nail, drawn wire	
EX	520	520	30	1	2.7	50.0	ARC		Nail, drawn wire	
EX	520	520	30	1	2.2	27.6	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire	
EX	520	520	30	1	0.8	15.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, drawn wire	
EX	520	520	30	1	0.7	16.8	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, drawn wire	
EX	520	520	30	1	6.5	63.8	ARC		Nail, machine cut	
EX	520	520	30	1	3.5	50.3	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut	
EX	520	520	30	1	1.8	21.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut	
EX	520	520	30	1	1.7	36.2	ARC		Nail, drawn wire	
EX	520	520	30	1	0.4	17.2	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut	
EX	520	520	30	1	2.8	26.8	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut	
EX	520	520	30	1	1.1	22.4	ARC	Shank/tip	Nail, machine cut	

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
EX	520	520	30	1	1.2	11.9	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
EX	520	520	30	1	2.0	20.2	ARC	Head/shank	Nail, machine cut		
EX	520	520	30	1	3.3	34.5	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
EX	520	520	30	1	4.7	69.8	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	2.0	27.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	2.1	27.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	2.2	34.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.7	19.1	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
EX	520	520	30	1	3.3	41.1	ARC	Shank	Nail, drawn wire		
EX	520	520	30	1	3.0	41.9	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	3.0	37.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	2.4	33.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.7	28.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	1.8	20.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	1.4	19.0	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	1.8	26.1	ARC		Nail, UID		

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[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season (continued on next page).

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
EX	520	520	30	1	1.1	25.4	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.4	14.5	ARC	Shank	Nail, machine cut		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.8	18.7	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.6	14.3	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.5	22.1	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.5	16.7	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	0.7	17.5	ARC		Nail, UID		
EX	520	520	30	1	11.3	138.8	KIT	Bail, wire	Pail, wire bail handle		
EX	520	520	30	1	1.5	47.3	ARC		Nail, UID[3]		
EX	520	520	30	1	6.2	97.2	ARC		Fencing wire strands, twisted		
EX	520	520	30	1	11.9	63.0	ARC		Fencing wire strands, twisted and looped		
EX	520	520	30	1	4.8	71.4	ARC		Fencing wire strands, twisted		
EX	520	520	30	1	3.9	50.5	ARC		Fencing wire strands, twisted		
EX	520	520	30	1	6.0	62.8	ARC		Fencing wire strands, twisted		
EX	520	520	30	1	8.5	72.8	ARC		Fencing wire strands, twisted		

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[3] "UID" denotes "unidentified".
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.

Appendix E (continued). Results of shovel testing and test excavations, by type and location; 2014 field season.

Test Type[1]	Easting	Northing	Test Depth (cm)	Count	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Artifact Group[2]	Part	Artifact Description	Radius (cm)[4]	Thickness (mm)
EX	520	520	30	1	4.2	86.8	ARC		Fencing wire strand		
EX	520	520	30		48.3		UID		Ferrous, UID (bulk collection)		
EX	520	520	30		136.6		ACT		Clinker/smithing slag (ferrous); bulk collection		

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[2] ARC = Architectural; KIT = Kitchen; HOU = Household Furnishings CLO = Clothing; PER = Personal; ACT = Activities; IND = Indeterminate Function.
[3] “UID” denotes “unidentified”.
[4] Radii were estimated by applying a "radius chart" to rim fragments with a length ≥20 mm.