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Historical Archaeology of the Pine Level Site (8DE14), DeSoto County, Florida

Jana Futch
University of South Florida

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Historical Archaeology of the Pine Level Site (8DE14), DeSoto County, Florida

by

Jana J. Futch

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Anthropology
College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida

Major Professor: Brent R. Weisman, Ph.D.
Thomas J. Pluckhahn, Ph.D.
Nancy Marie White, Ph.D.

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Dedication

To my dad, Travis, and Grandma Mimi, the three most important people in my life. Without your support, I never would have made it this far. Thank you all.

Acknowledgments

An incredible number of people helped me during the research, fieldwork, and analysis stages of this project. Many were simply people who told me what they thought about Pine Level, offered a kind word about the project, or helped me to pass information along to others. While they are unnamed here, they are still remembered for their thoughtfulness. Pam Gibson offered help and support during my first foray into historical research, at the Manatee County Central Public Library. Cindy Russell, at the Manatee County Historical Records Library, provided me with untold hours of research assistance, as well as aid in demystifying particularly cryptic historic documents. Without her, much of the research presented in this thesis would not have been possible. Betty Phillips, at the DeSoto County Commissioners office, generously allowed me to sit in her office for hours, reading and recording from their oldest book of minutes. Bill Lindsey provided invaluable information about historic bottles, culled from years of experience. Robert Johnson and Raymond Willis indulged me by answering my questions about a site that they hadn't seen or worked on in 30 years, and were more helpful than they gave themselves credit for. Diane Coates and Dr. Odell Miley at the Pine Level United Methodist were also extremely helpful, opening up the church's facilities for field workers on Saturdays.

John Reynolds and Clyde Hollingsworth provided me with oral history interviews, graciously answered all of my questions, and allowed me to record them for posterity. Mr. Hollingsworth also gave me permission to survey, excavate, and collect

artifacts from his property. Without this permission, none of the fieldwork presented in this thesis could have occurred. Mr. Hollingsworth's love of history and pride in his home made this work possible, and I am truly indebted to him.

I am also beholden to other members of the DeSoto County Historical Society, whose interest and support provided the backbone of this public archaeology project. I particularly need to thank Howard Melton, Mitzie McGavic, and Carol Mahler, for their on-going assistance. Ms. Mahler was also the author of numerous newspaper articles about the project, which, despite my ramblings during interviews, were always wonderfully written and informative, allowing countless DeSoto County citizens to keep up with the project's progress and findings. I also had the benefit of a truly dedicated group of Society volunteers, who hated to miss a field day, and loved to help, even on the hottest days of summer. They included John and Forrest Reynolds, Carol Mahler, and Bebe Bradbury. I have rarely had so much fun working in the field as I did with this group, along with the many undergraduate and graduate students who assisted us.

I also want to acknowledge the incredible amount of assistance I was given by the members of the West Central Regional Office of the Florida Public Archaeology Network. Jeff Moates taught me how to slow down, listen closely, and learn from the people I was working with. Jeff, along with Zaida Darley and Rae Harper, also provided me with the experience, and much-needed logistical support, that I could not have done without. I cannot thank them enough for taking me on as an intern. I want to thank my committee, Nancy Marie White and Thomas J. Pluckhahn, for agreeing to help me with this thesis, and for always providing their insights. To Brent R. Weisman, my major

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Abstract

In 1866 the seat of Manatee County was moved to Pine Level, a newly-formed town in the wilderness of south Florida. By the 1880s, it contained stores, boardinghouses, churches, and government buildings. In 1887, Pine Level became DeSoto County's first seat. However, when it lost county seat status to Arcadia only 18 months later, in 1888, Pine Level rapidly declined in population and importance, and eventually died out. The investigations of the Pine Level site detailed in this thesis were carried out as a public archaeology project, involving the DeSoto County Historical Society, University of South Florida, and the Florida Public Archaeology Network West Central Region.

As a public archaeology project, one central goal of this work was to involve the local community in the fieldwork and ongoing research. The efforts of community volunteers, along with graduate and undergraduate students, were critical to several phases of this project, which is presented in this thesis. The second goal of the project was to learn as much as possible about the little-studied site of Pine Level and its inhabitants, and to contextualize its founding, growth, and downfall within the development of the south Florida region. Specifically, one goal was to learn more about the people who moved to this rural town, including their ethnicity, social status, livelihoods, and political outlook. The second research question was discovering how Pine Level had been spatially organized, whether this layout had changed over time, and

what this spatial patterning could reveal about the town's function within greater south Florida.

Historical and archaeological research methods were used to try to answer these questions. Historical research into the Reconstruction era placed Pine Level in context within the tumultuous changes of this period. Study of primary documents revealed information about how the town was organized, and how several buildings at the site were probably constructed. Oral history interviews were also conducted with community members who had knowledge of Pine Level. Archaeological investigations at the site included a surface survey, artifact collection, shovel testing, and unit excavation. This work was focused on ground-truthing the information gathered during the historical research and oral histories. Last, analysis of the ceramic, glass, and metal artifacts at the site added to the interpretation of the social status of Pine Level's citizens, contributed to an evaluation of the site's spatial patterning, and underscored functional differences between certain areas of Pine Level.

The research presented in this thesis shows that Pine Level was the creation of a Republican politician, and that it functioned as an enclave of Republican power during the Reconstruction era. During this time, Pine Level's growth was sluggish, and it remained unpopular with many citizens in Manatee County. It consisted of a few government buildings in the center of the town, but little else. However, with the fall of the Manatee County Republicans in 1876, Pine Level suddenly began to prosper, adding many new landowners and businesses. A distinct business district developed, and areas of the town near the major roads garnered particularly high prices. Artifact analysis shows that the income level of these newcomers was probably modest, but that they had

access to consumer goods from across the United States and as far away as England. The town's prosperity was short-lived, though. As detailed in this thesis, once Pine Level lost county seat status, it immediately began to decline, and businesses quickly moved to Arcadia. The town continued on as a small community through at least the first decade of the twentieth century, but eventually became a nothing more than a spot on a map.

Chapter 1:

Introduction and Research Goals

Pine Level in Modern-Day DeSoto County

On typically warm, clear day in March, 2010, I traveled to Arcadia, in DeSoto County, Florida, to take part in Pioneer Day. This is a historically-focused event that has been steadily growing in size since its inception. The event is put on by the members of the DeSoto County Historical Society and features many different types of booths and hands-on activities. Most of the attractions have a historical tie-in of some kind, such as pioneer craft-making activities, demonstrations of historic skills like writing with a quill pen, or even letting kids hunt for fossils in a sandbox. The event had just been relocated from the previous year to a new venue, a park next to the Peace River, which would allow for larger crowds. With favorable weather and an idyllic location under sprawling oak trees, the event that day was able to attract an estimated 5,000 people.

I was there to help run a booth devoted to archaeology, and specifically, to the Pine Level site. This site is located only a few miles west of where Pioneer Day was being held, and though it used to be a county seat, it is now made up of mostly orange groves and cattle pasture (Figure 1.1). The work being done at the site, the topic of this thesis, had been ambitiously organized as a public archaeology project. Every attempt had been made to encourage local participation in the project and recruit anyone who was interested. While I had been somewhat disappointed by the number of local volunteers I had attracted, I had been able to gather a small, enthusiastic group of resident history

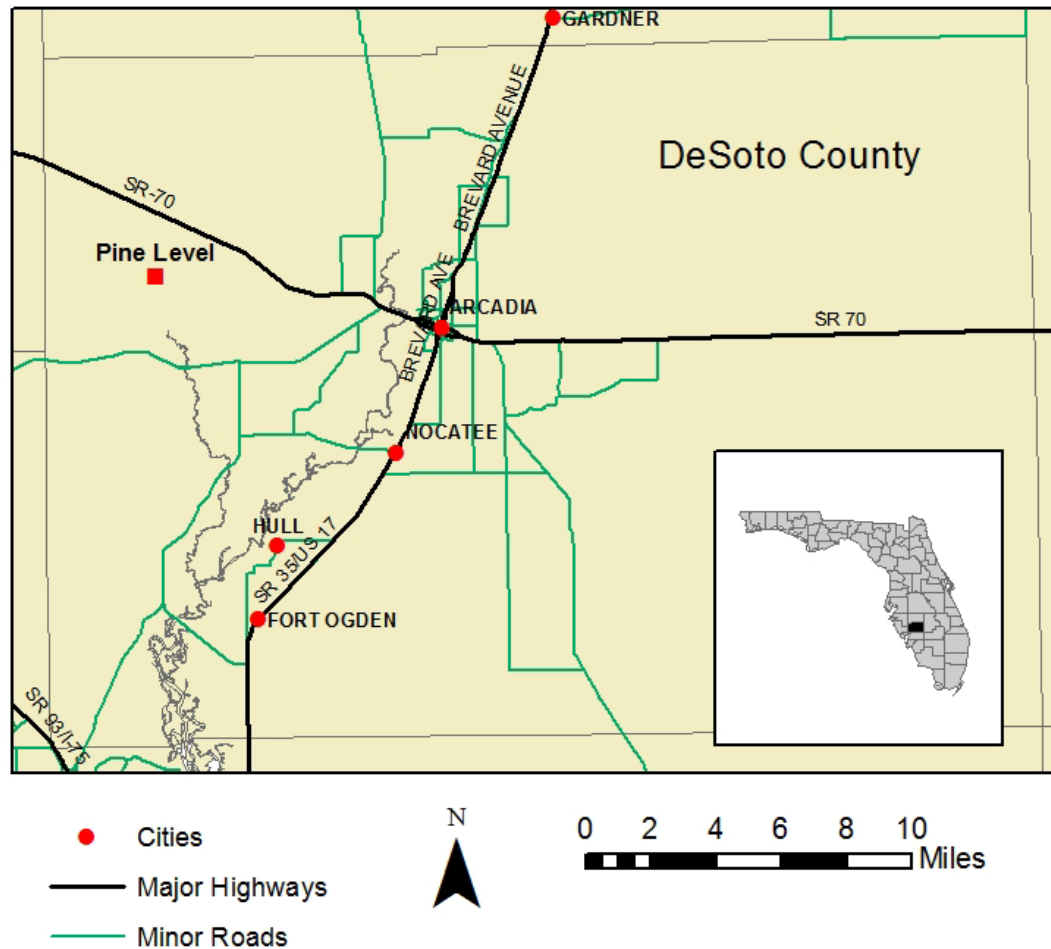


Figure 1.1. Map of DeSoto County showing the location of the Pine Level site.

buffs for field days. Because these volunteers were also members of the DeSoto County Historical Society, they were at the event that day, and were happy to see the set-up at my table, despite the fact that they were already well aware of the project's goals and progress.

As I came to find out, however, many people I had never met were also aware of, and excited about, the investigations that had been taking place at the Pine Level site. Over the course of day, I talked to a seemingly endless stream of residents, each of whom had been following the project's progress either through word of mouth or by reading about it in the newspaper. These were individuals of all ages, from small children, to

middle-aged and older folks, and even teenagers. Some of these were people who lived only a couple miles from the site, and many informed me that their forebears had lived in the area when Pine Level was still an active town. In fact, their relatives' names were recognizable as the very same people I had been studying throughout the course of the project.

As the day wore on, and my throat became hoarse from talking, it became clear that the importance of this project to this community was far greater than I had previously imagined. On most field days, I had only been able to attract my small coterie of regular volunteers. However, despite this lack of participation in the day-to-day archaeological field work, I came to understand that this community had in fact been actively engaged all along. People were reading about the project in the newspaper, and they were talking about it to their friends, family, neighbors, and fellow church members. As we spoke, I learned that these residents felt a deep connection to the Pine Level site as a part of their local history, and to many, as a part of their own family histories. Indeed, as one of the first settlements in this part of Florida, some of the residents seemed to indicate that they view Pine Level as the beginning of their very community.

Today, many of the people who live in and around Arcadia, and in Central Florida in general, proudly self-identify as “crackers.” While the etymology of the word “cracker” is disputed, there is no disputing the fact that the term was often used derisively in the past to refer to poor white southerners “who represented the lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder” (Ste. Claire 1998:51). By the mid-1800s in Florida, the term cracker had become permanently bound to those groups of whites engaged in the stock-raising industry, and the frontier areas that could support their vast herds of cattle (Ste.

Claire 1998: 51). While often the butt of jokes in the past because of their country manners and hard-scrabble existence, the Crackers successfully carved out a niche for themselves in south Florida through hard work and self-sufficiency, in turn creating a cultural legacy that many in this area are proud to continue today.

If Pine Level was one of the first towns in this area, and people in Arcadia view it as marking the beginning of their community, then as a corollary, Pine Level must have been an epicenter of Cracker culture. But was it? Did the people who moved to Pine Level share a single vision of who they were, or of what this town could become? What, in fact, was Pine Level? In this thesis I examine the old town from several angles. Historical research is presented that explores the time period in which Pine Level was founded, in order to understand why people would choose to move here, and whether this motivation changed over time. The historical record also contributes insights into how Pine Level was organized through deed records, plat maps, and tax rolls. By performing archaeological investigations at the Pine Level site, I am able to ground-truth the spatial information from the historical research, and examine the Pine Level's extant deposits. Last, an analysis of the site's artifacts is presented, which provides information about the lifestyle of the people who lived here in the past, through the artifacts that they left behind.

Introduction to Pine Level

Manatee County was created in 1855, a mere 10 years after Florida was granted statehood. It was a huge 5,000 acre swath of land from which several other Florida counties would eventually be subdivided (Matthews 1983:213). Homesteaders had been trickling into the Manatee County area since Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act

in 1842. This land grant specified that 160 acres of land were to be given to any man over the age of 18 who would defend the parcel against the Seminoles, clear five of the acres, and live in a home on the property for at least five years (Matthews 1983:127-128). Manatee County's first seat was the Village of Manatee, located in the upper northwest corner of the large county. However, the courthouse and jail were not built in this first county seat until 1858, when active conflict with the Seminoles had ceased (Matthews 1983:247-248).

From 1860 until 1865, the residents of Manatee County, like people in most other parts of the United States, were embroiled in the Civil War. This was a complicated time in Florida history that is discussed further in a subsequent chapter. After the war's conclusion, in 1866, there was a call for a new county seat in Manatee County. The reasons for moving the county seat are also somewhat complicated. According to some, the Village of Manatee, in the upper northwest corner of the county, was not centrally located and as a result was too far away from many residents (McDuffee 1961).

However, other authors have suggested that the move took place for political reasons as well as the need for centrality (Johnson and Willis 1980; Matthews 1983). The Village of Manatee has been described as a haven of "Rebel sympathizers" (Johnson and Willis 1980) and it therefore may have been prudent for the new Republican leadership of the state, in the midst of Reconstruction, to relocate the county seat away from this hotbed of potential resistance. Indeed, it was James D. Green, a Manatee County representative and former Unionist, who enacted a law requiring the removal of the county seat (Brown 1991:185). Whether for one reason or the other, or both, in 1866 a location on Horse Creek in the sparsely populated interior was chosen as the new

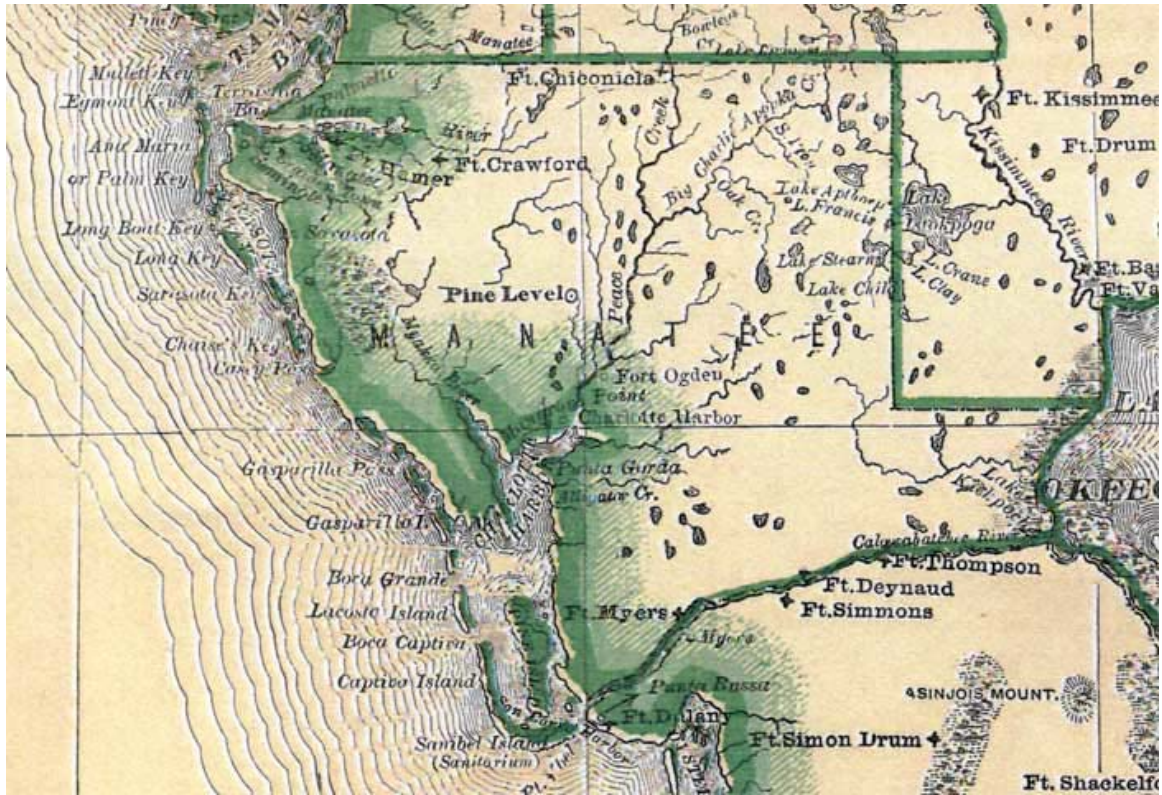


Figure 1.2. Map of Manatee County, 1880. (Rand, McNally, and Company, from <http://fcit.usf.edu/%E2%80%8Cflorida/default.htm>)

county seat and named Pine Level (Matthews 1983:299). As is apparent from a map of Manatee County (Figure 1.2), Pine Level's location is almost in the exact center of the old county.

So it was in this newly minted town that all deeds, voters, and legal claims were registered, where prisoners were jailed, and where all trials and Manatee County business took place. In many ways, Pine Level acted as the gateway to the new frontier of south Florida, as anyone who moved to the county would have had to travel there for any number of reasons. However, despite its importance to the area, Pine Level had only attracted five permanent families in its first ten years as county seat (Bartholf 1876a; Matthews 1983:299). People who traveled to Pine Level on business, even those who did so regularly, like the county commissioners, may have simply stayed in a hotel for the

duration of their visit (Andrews 1950). In 1876, John Bartholf, self-proclaimed first resident of Pine Level, attempted to draw people to the town by writing an open letter to a Jacksonville magazine praising the area's climate, soils, lifestyle, and safety, and urging potential settlers to come see the Manatee County for themselves (Bartholf 1876b). In 1881, Bartholf (Bartholf and Boggess 1881) co-wrote a full-length pamphlet dedicated to guiding new settlers to Manatee and Polk counties, explaining how to establish new stock-raising or agricultural businesses, and elucidating various aspects of the culture and politics of the area.

Bartholf's efforts may have been successful, as 20 years after it was founded, in 1886, Pine Level had apparently become a vibrant town with a population of around 200 people, and rising land prices (Matthews 1983:299). The county seat is said to have had many of the conveniences of town life, from a post office to churches, a school, a newspaper, a doctor, lawyers, several stores, warehouses, two hotels, boardinghouses, a restaurant, and many saloons (Johnson and Willis 1980; Matthews 1983; The Pine Level Times 1886; Warnke 1971). A cattle brokerage, real estate brokerage, and a steam saw mill added to commercial and industrial activity in the area (Matthews 1983:299-300). Moreover, as a governmental center it had a courthouse, jail, government offices, and even a jury house (Manatee County Commissioners 1866, 1869, 1871; Matthews 1983).

But for whatever reason, Pine Level does not merit much description in books about the history of Florida, or even of Manatee County. When it is described, Pine Level is often depicted as a rowdy place: "It was a frontier town, complete with Saturday night brawls at a place called Saul's Bar Room" (Matthews 1983:300). One of the most popular accounts of Pine Level comes from Charles Hagan, who was raised in the town

and continued to live next to the site for many years, occasionally giving interviews to various writers who came to visit. As he tells it: “We had the wild west right here. Tombstone, Abilene and Deadwood had nothing on us! We probably had more blood spilled right in Pinelevel [sic] than in all the Seminole Wars combined...” (Warnke 1971:54). It has been claimed that saloons out-numbered other businesses 14 to 1, and that beyond just brawls, Saturday nights were also known to feature “gambling, drinking, shootings and just plain ‘raisin’ hell” (Warnke 1971:54).

While these accounts sound somewhat outlandish today, the vast reaches of Manatee County were difficult to police efficiently. Even by 1890, Florida remained the only state east of Mississippi that could claim large areas of land that contained less two people per square mile (Brown 1991:240). With only one sheriff, who could live anywhere in the county, and only one jail, located at Pine Level, it is easy to understand the difficulties of effecting regular law and order throughout the county. Indeed, violence in this part of Florida was not unusual, whether it was through organized gangs of “Regulators” harassing freedmen and Union veterans, or through the acts of individuals settling personal differences (Brown 1991; Matthews 1983). In terms of dealing with the violence, people in this part of Florida were also known to take justice into their own hands in lieu of official law enforcement (Brown 1991). In fact, despite the platitudes of John Bartholf (1876b; Bartholf and Bogges 1881) to the contrary in his various writings directed at potential immigrants, violence continued to be a problem in Manatee County and surrounding areas until at least the late 1800s (Brown 1991:240).

The county’s rough and tumble atmosphere gained notoriety on a national level during the trial of the then-famous Sarasota Vigilante Society. The Society consisted of a

group of nine men who were accused of killing two of their fellow Manatee County residents, and were put on trial at the Pine Level courthouse in 1885. The reasons for the killings may have been rooted in animosities between long-time residents and affluent area new-comers, many of whom were from the North (Matthew 1983). The trial became something of a media circus (Manatee County Historical Society 1983), and was written up in newspapers as far away as San Francisco (San Francisco Bulletin, 23 January 1885). Descriptions of the antics of the prisoners, who were held in the Pine Level jail, were widely disseminated. One prisoner is reported to have escaped through the roof of the jail, but was thoughtful enough to leave his jailor a thank you note before absconding (Warnke 1971). Though two of the nine men were convicted, they later had their sentences commuted, and in the end every member of the Society was released (Matthews 1983).

Narratives of wild episodes such as these in Pine Level's history have certainly added to the frontier nostalgia that surrounds memories of the old town, and Manatee County in general. While these stories are certainly interesting and colorful, they also contain a darker element that points toward significant tensions within this community. The very existence of groups like the Regulators and the Sarasota Vigilantes, who were organized for political and class-based reasons, indicates some very serious and troubling issues in nineteenth-century Manatee County surrounding race, class, and political ideology. That Pine Level's first residents, and some of the most prominent individuals in Manatee County, may have been a mix of Unionists and Confederates, blacks and whites, cattlemen and clerks, brings up interesting implications for how these groups organized, ran, and understood their community. As these issues are particularly linked

to Pine Level's position in time, having been created in the midst of Reconstruction, the following chapter devoted to this era deals with these topics in more detail.

By 1887, the size of Manatee County, with an ever-growing population, appears to have become cumbersome to many of its residents. Part of the problem, once again, may have been the distance some people had to travel in order to reach Pine Level in the interior. "For twenty-one years Pine Level had remained the county seat and the people of this section had grown weary of the long trips back and forth over poor roads and impassable streams in their discharge of the county's affairs..." (McDuffee 1961:277). A meeting was held in March, 1887 to discuss splitting Manatee County into a more manageable size, with the division itself promptly taking place one month later in April (McDuffee 1961). The new county was called DeSoto, and Pine Level became its first county seat. Unfortunately for Pine Level, this did not last. In fact, the County Commissioners began holding elections for a new county seat almost immediately (Desoto County Commissioners 1887).

There could be several reasons why Pine Level was considered undesirable as a county seat. For one thing, it was not located on a navigable waterway, and people had always been required to trudge over poor, sandy roads reach it. However, neighboring Arcadia, only eight miles to the east, is conveniently located on the Peace River. As an added benefit to Arcadia, phosphate was discovered in the Peace River in 1881 (Brown 1991:313), which quickly lead to the growth of an industry that still thrives in this area today.

Pine Level had other problems as well. Despite a concerted effort by several of the town's most prominent citizens (The Pine Level Times 1886), the Florida Southern

Railway, which started laying track in the area in 1885 (Brown 1991:277), declined to build a stop in Pine Level. That honor was instead bestowed on the increasingly vital town of Arcadia (Brown 1991; Johnson and Willis 1980). The coming of the railroad was a long-awaited and much-needed addition to Manatee and surrounding counties (Bartholf and Boggess 1881), ensuring that both ranchers and farmers could get their goods to markets and other transportation in towns on the coast like Charlotte Harbor (Brown 1991). Being bypassed by the railroad may have been a serious blow to Pine Level, one that potentially caused its eventual demise (Brown 1991; Johnson and Willis 1980). It is perhaps not surprising that, given its access to both river and rails, Arcadia became the new county seat of DeSoto County in 1888, only 18 months after the creation of the new county (DeSoto County Commissioners 1888).

Arcadia remains the county seat to this day, and now comprises a population center that is the only incorporated community in DeSoto County. In stark contrast, almost nothing is left of the town of Pine Level except for a state historical marker identifying the site on Northwest Pine Level Street, which lies within the environs of present-day Arcadia. Pine Level's original 40 platted acres appear to be nothing more than a scenic piece of countryside, complete with old oaks and a lazy stream. Though it has been described as a "ghost town" in the past (Warnke 1971), given the lack of almost any building remnants or foundations, Pine Level hardly seems to fit this moniker now.

There is life and community here, though. The Pine Level United Methodist Church, founded in 1868, only a couple years after the start of the town itself, still boasts a thriving congregation that continues to use Pine Level's original schoolhouse for meetings. This used to be a two-story structure, but in 1930, after a hurricane ripped off

the upper story, the church, which had acquired the building in 1923, simply roofed the first story (Adams 1976:15; Johnson and Willis 1980:107). The church now has three buildings on this property, which sit in the southeast corner of Pine Level's original 40 platted acres. These buildings are surrounded to the north and west by an "L" shaped orange grove that takes up approximately six acres. Directly west of this orange grove lies a small, single family mobile home. Beyond this, the rest of the original town site is only improved cattle pasture.

Writings from the 1970s and 1980s indicate that there used to be evidence of buildings visible on the surface, and that even old landmarks, like the so-called "hanging tree" were still in existence (Johnson and Willis 1980; Warnke 1971). Today, however, there is little more than an assortment of glass and ceramics on the surface of the orange grove, and some scattered bricks in the cattle pasture, to indicate that that this area was inhabited in the past. Standing in the middle of the site now, it is hard to imagine that an entire town used to sit on the property, especially one that should have been such a hub of activity. Seeing Pine Level today, the visitor immediately begins to ponder some very basic questions about site and the people who used to live here. As outlined below, several of these questions can be addressed by performing historical background research and archaeological investigations.

Theoretical Concepts and Research Goals

In investigating Pine Level, I rely on several broad theoretical concepts. My primary framework will be the various concepts surrounding frontier theory. Within this frontier framework, however, I will also be touching on issues related to capitalism and consumer culture studies, and landscape archaeology theory. In this section, I broadly

outline some of these concepts, and explain how they will inform my general research goals. This information prepares the reader for the historical analyses that are presented in Chapters 3 and 4. Specific information about how these research goals are examined archaeologically is included in the archaeological research design in Chapter 5.

It seems obvious to investigate Pine Level through the lens of frontier studies, as Pine Level is often spoken of as a frontier town. But what does it mean to say this was a “frontier” town? The most famous definition of the frontier comes from Frederick Turner, who formulated his “Frontier Thesis” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To Turner, the existence of the American West, a wilderness outside of civilization, was critical to forming the American identity, an identity that Turner (1893) believed to be separate and distinct from that of Europe and the Old World.

While Turner’s Frontier Thesis is now largely rejected as being too simplistic (Parker and Rodseth 2005), the study of frontiers continues. In fact, there are numerous studies that have centered on identifying and explicating different types of geographical and temporal frontier and boundary situations that can go far beyond Turner’s definition (Green and Perlman 1985; Hardesty 1985; Parker and Rodseth 2005). Within these, the terms “frontier,” “boundary,” and “borderland” can sometimes be confusingly applied.

Before going further, it is important to understand which term best applies to Pine Level.

First of all, borderlands usually include some sort of physical line, like a political boundary, that separates nations or political spheres (Cusick 2000; Parker and Rodseth 2005). A frontier, on the other hand, is “a *region* rather than a line” (Parker and Rodseth 2005:10). A frontier can be the area between two political centers, or simply the “leading edge of settlement and civilization” (Parker and Rodseth 2005:10). In addition, Parker

has stated that the presence of overlapping geographic, demographic, economic, cultural, and political boundaries makes up “the very essence of frontiers” (Parker 2006:80). The brief description of Pine Level provided in this chapter has suggested that Pine Level is likely to have contained a broad sample of people living together on just such a “leading edge” of south Florida settlement. Therefore, it should be appropriate to examine Pine Level within the framework of frontier theory.

Scholars who research frontiers are interested in many different aspects of culture and social organization, which can make this wide-ranging framework difficult to pare down. However, two basic areas of research recur frequently in frontier studies. First, researchers often want to understand more about the people and groups who inhabit frontiers. Can different groups be distinguished ethnically, linguistically, economically, or some other way, and how do these groups relate to each other? There are several different ways to parse this question.

Studies of capitalism and consumer culture offer one way to examine different groups of people. These types of studies have been a fertile line of inquiry for many historical archaeologists (Leone 1995; Leone and Potter 1999; Mrozowski 2000). In these investigations, capitalism is often thought of as a process of modernity that affects how people see themselves, not just as an economic system. Because material culture is seen as an active means of communicating one’s social class, through clothing and other material possessions (Miller 2005; Little and Shackel 1992), the archaeologist’s study of artifacts can tap into that communication of status. If people in Pine Level attempted to differentiate themselves socially, it should be possible to detect this through the artifacts that they have left behind. Measuring the socioeconomic status of Pine Level’s residents

should also help us to understand if there were different groups of people who lived and worked here. Information related to this research is presented in Chapter 5, and thoroughly explored in the ceramics section of Chapter 6.

Another way to try to delineate different social or cultural groups is through historical research. Historical resources, while capable of pointing out economic differences between people, can also delve into realms that can be difficult to distinguish archaeologically. For example, Chapter 3 focuses on the Reconstruction Era in Florida and Manatee County, and discusses political differences among groups of people that would be difficult, if not impossible, to quantify through material culture studies alone.

Once differences between historic groups in a frontier context have been located, scholars are often interested in understanding how these different groups interact. Researchers who study frontiers have long recognized that, when two or more groups encounter one another, multiple outcomes are possible. One result is that those two (or more) groups can create a creole, or hybrid, culture that incorporates aspects of the original cultures, but is distinctly new and different from them (Deagan 1983; Dawdy 2000; Ferguson 1992).

However, creolization and hybridization are only one possible outcome of ethnically and socially distinct cultures that live and work in close proximity on frontiers and borderlands. Indeed, an opposite outcome is also possible. In these situations, the possibilities of cultural exchange in frontier environments can actually cause people to reinforce and reassert their group identities in an attempt to maintain them (Barth 1969; Parker 2006). If strong group identities can be found among Pine Level's residents, it will then be interesting to explore whether these groups were sharing ideas and creating

new identities, or if their individual economic, political, and ethnic identities were carefully guarded and circumscribed.

One way to study how different groups interact with each is to look at the way that they create and order the space, or landscape, around them. Landscape archaeologists have shown that “men and women, rich and poor, native and immigrant, built their cultural environments and organized space in ways that served to assert their identities” (Nassaney et al. 2001:222). In this way, people’s use of space is codified, and meant to visually convey meaning to others (Leone 1984). An analysis of spatial meaning can be done on the level of the homesite, townsite, or over the expanse of an entire region. For Pine Level, I examine the layout and organization of the entire town, and tracked its growth and development over time. Information about how Pine Level was organized is presented in Chapter 4 through the study of plat maps, deed records, tax records, and county commissioner minutes related to the construction of government buildings. Having an understanding of how the town grew and developed, I am able to locate broad patterns pertaining to where certain people located themselves in relation to others, and note how this changes over time.

Also within landscape archaeology, some researchers have investigated the spatial aspects of frontier sites in order to learn their relationship to the core. This can be done on a very large scale by looking at regional settlement patterns (Lewis 1999; Rubertone and Thorbahn 1985), on the relatively smaller scale of the townsite, or even a household (Cressey et. al 1982). Lewis (1985), while operating at both the regional and town scales, proposes an interesting for distinction between “frontier towns,” which are economically important to the core, and “nucleated settlements,” which are smaller and contain less

specialized activities (Lewis 1985:263). According to Lewis (1985), these two settlement types will differ in population size and spatial layout, which it should be possible to assess and determine archaeologically.

A closely-related concept is Steffen's (1979, 1980) distinction between the "insular" frontier, which maintains few links to the core, and the "cosmopolitan" frontier, where sites are specialized economically and closely tied to the core. One way to distinguish between these two types of frontiers archeologically is that the insular frontier was isolated, spread out, and "mosiaclike" (Hardesty 1985:214). The cosmopolitan frontier, however, was linked to the core by transportation networks, which had the effect of standardizing the environment and culture (Hardesty 1985:214). Good examples of cosmopolitan frontier sites are industrial mining towns and large-scale fur trading and ranching operations (Hardesty 1985: 213).

A related method for studying the relationship between core areas and peripheral frontiers is to investigate the amount of core-produced goods that are imported to a frontier site. The idea here is that a self-sufficient, insular frontier area will not import and use a large amount of goods produced elsewhere, whereas a cosmopolitan frontier, which only produces one or two specialized products, will be reliant on a core area to supply the majority of its goods. There are ways to measure this archaeologically. A peripheral site can be considered fully integrated into the capitalist world system if it can be shown to have a high percentage of essential goods, like clothes and food, that are supplied by a core area (Hardesty 1998: 56). This type of research is obviously related to the consumer culture studies mentioned earlier. In studying Pine Level, then it should be

possible to identify how people obtained their goods, which can then contribute to our understanding the town's relationship to the outside world.

A final research goal for this thesis is not directly related to any theory, but has to do with addressing the present state of the site, and whether it has the potential to be placed on the National Register of Historic Places. DeSoto County residents have shown an interest for years in trying to get the site studied and commemorated (Johnson and Willis 1980), including initiating the present study. Johnson and Willis (1980), who undertook a survey of the area for the AMAX Corporation, did find the site potentially eligible for the National Register 30 years ago. Possible placement on the Register would be a positive outcome of this project in the eyes of many of the site's proponents, but can only happen under certain circumstances. The results from surface and subsurface surveys done during this project are evaluated in the conclusion to this thesis to decide whether the site meets any of the four criteria of the National Register of Historic Places.

The Importance of Investigating Pine Level

There are numerous reasons why a study of Pine Level is important. Many of these reasons have already been mentioned in this chapter, such as the fact that so little is currently known about this once-important county seat. Furthering our understanding of Pine Level holds the promise of advancing our understanding of the Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction periods in Florida in general, and especially the cultural, demographic, and geographic upheavals that were ensuing in south Florida specifically. The last section explained how Pine Level will be investigated within the framework of frontier theory, and though many of the ideas surrounding this theoretical concept seem to be thoroughly developed, it is important that the type of core-periphery relationships

that were outlined above not be assumed. Instead, “local communities must be studied in their specific social and historical contexts as a step toward the understanding of regional and world-historical phenomena” (Parker and Rodseth 200:8). An investigation of Pine Level, then, has much to offer towards the study of frontier theory in south Florida specifically.

Of course, the study of Pine Level also has the ability to contribute to the field of historical archaeology more generally. While it may seem surprising, very few historic archaeological sites have been investigated that are comparable in size to Pine Level. Most investigations of historic sites have either been on the scale of the single household, or an entire region. Town-sized sites, like Pine Level, have rarely been studied (Groover 2003; Nassaney et al 2001). The area under investigation for this thesis is about 40 acres. Good comparisons, at least in terms of size and type, can be made to a project currently being undertaken at the site of New Philadelphia in Illinois, which was a 42 acre, multiethnic, antebellum town founded by a freedman (Shackel 2008), and to the town of Rincon/Prado, a nineteenth-century site in California (Stern 2004). Both of these sites are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Outside of this recent work, however, Pine Level has few comparables in scale.

One of the reasons that so little work has been done on whole town sites may be that most historic town sites are eventually swallowed up within their own development. Being located in a rural area, on the outskirts of the Arcadia, the town that usurped it, Pine Level has the benefit of being relatively undeveloped. Very little construction has occurred on most of the town’s original 40 platted acres, though some substantial earthmoving activities have taken place in parts of the site. Specifically, approximately

five acres have been leveled for the erection of two Pine Level United Methodist Church buildings, and mounded rows for orange trees have been created over approximately six acres. In addition, the Mosaic Company, a phosphate producer, has surface rights to about 12 acres, or one third, of the site. While little industrial or residential development has occurred at Pine Level thus far, it is always possible that in the future some areas of the site will be substantially disturbed, making it important to undertake investigations of Pine Level before this occurs.

There is another, very basic, way that this study of Pine Level can contribute to historical archaeology. Pine Level is located in a part of south Florida where, unfortunately, very few historical archeology sites have received in-depth investigation. When performing background research for this thesis, it was astonishing to discover that there are hardly any archaeological books, articles, gray literature, dissertations, or theses that focus on this area and time period. While the study of some topics, such as Spanish Florida and the Seminoles, are well represented in the archaeological literature, almost no one has tackled the study of the relatively recent frontier settlers of south Florida in a systematic way. This thesis has the potential to start the conversation about what frontier life was like for those first (non-Indian) inhabitants of south Florida, and will provide a point of comparison for any future work focused on the latter half of the nineteenth century in this area.

Investigating Pine Level using a Public Archaeology Model

Over the years, residents who live near the site of Pine Level, many of whom are descended from the original inhabitants of the town, have often attempted to bring attention to the site. Being the main source of information about the town, they have

been featured in many of the books and articles that discuss Pine Level (Andrews 1950; Warnke 1971; Frisbie 1976; Manatee County Historical Society 1983). Newspaper articles about the town started appearing as early as the 1930s (Kastory 1938) and usually describe Pine Level as a “ghost town,” or something equally romantic, a trend that has continued to this day in online sources (Woodfin 2009). Any references to Pine Level in books are almost always cursory, and usually only long enough to explain its status in early Manatee County. For most of the twentieth century, enthusiasm for the site remained relatively limited and typically confined to those who lived close to Pine Level or were direct descendants of its residents.

However, this appeared to be changing when, in 1980, Johnson and Willis (1980) found that the Pine Level site was potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places during a Phase I survey. They also recommended that a museum be built to house the artifacts that they had collected (Johnson and Willis 1980:118). However, their recommendations were not heeded, and in the 30 years since this survey was conducted, most of these artifacts have disappeared and many of the people originally interviewed for this report, as well as for other stories about Pine Level, have died. Even after all these years though, Bob Johnson, the co-author of the 1980 report, can still remember how the site itself was “particularly favored by the locals” (Robert Johnson, personal communication 2009).

Recently, John Reynolds, the former president of the DeSoto County Historical Society, again picked up the cause of trying to get Pine Level studied. He informed Jeff Moates, director of the Florida Public Archaeology Network’s (FPAN) West Central Region, that Pine Level was an important place and that information about it should be

more generally known. I was brought into this project on the advice of Brent Weisman, of the University of South Florida, Department of Anthropology, where the FPAN office is housed. Through an internship with FPAN, I was able to begin researching background information about the site, and to initiate a public archaeology project centered on studying and disseminating information about the history and archaeology of Pine Level, simply called “The Pine Level Project.”

There many reasons why studying Pine Level is important, which were outlined in the research questions section. These include the site’s former county seat status, frontier history, probable mix of people, and the fact that it represents a whole town in a relatively undisturbed context. While all of these reasons make it appealing for archaeological study, one of the best reasons to examine Pine Level may simply be that it is important to people in the area. Archaeologists often find themselves researching obscure topics that few in the public appreciate, or that certain groups actively oppose. In contrast, the Pine Level Project represents a situation in which people who know and care about the site have actively reached out to archaeologists, and given this fact, I believe it is clearly incumbent upon the archaeological community to take notice of them.

Although first suggested by McGimsey and Davis (1977) decades ago, there has only recently been a growing awareness that archaeologists need to make their work relevant to various publics (McManamon 1991) by reaching out to them through a new, more interactive type of archaeology, usually called public, or community, archaeology (Jameson 1997; Little 2002; Merriman 2004). Projects conducted under the title of public archaeology try to actively engage members of the public and descendant communities in many, if not all, stages of the project, from developing research questions

(Reeves 2004), to carrying out fieldwork (Heath 1997), and even contributing to the final research report (Hantman 2004). The benefits of this type of public-oriented archaeology project have been noted by many researchers, and are explored throughout this thesis.

Public, or community-based, archaeology has also spurred researchers to collaborate with a wide range of stakeholder groups, from the Doukhobor of Saskatchewan (Brooks 2007) to the various descendants of a plantation community in Brazoria, Texas (McDavid 1998). Each of these groups represents a slice of the “public” that archaeologists are trying to reach, making each of them potential protectors of cultural resources and potential contributors to, and beneficiaries of, public archaeology projects based in their own communities. While archaeologists working in the United States have traditionally studied and worked with Native American groups, “there are many other ethnic and social groups that want to participate in the development of their own heritage” (Shackel 2004:2). Usually archaeologists locate these groups once a site has already been chosen for investigation, but there is no reason why communities cannot themselves reach out to archaeologists, as was the case with Pine Level.

Beginning with a talk at the DeSoto County Historical Society, this project has progressed with the enthusiastic help of several community members. This small cadre of local volunteers has been involved in every aspect of the fieldwork for this project, from oral history collection, to surface survey, artifact collection, shovel testing, and unit excavation. Staff from FPAN were always on hand to provide assistance and guidance, and much of the fieldwork was also done in conjunction with professors, undergraduate, and graduate students from the University of South Florida. This means that on any given field day, the Pine Level Project could boast volunteers who represented the full

range of experience in archaeology, from complete novices to those with a Ph.D. in the field. Chapter 5 details how data were collected with the help and support of these various volunteers, and how fieldwork was designed to include them.

Without these volunteers, especially the local residents, this project could never have been a success. On many occasions, the insights gained from the various “publics” who came to work at Pine Level proved invaluable. This, in combination with their hands-on contribution to fieldwork, meant that the student, local, and professional volunteers were able to provide a great deal of material benefit to the project. Perhaps more important, however, the support of these various groups is proof of what archaeology has to gain from partnerships in public archaeology, as well as a constant reminder of an archaeologist’s responsibility to all of these intersecting communities.

Chapter 2:

Environmental and Geographic Setting

“Most of the territory referred to is a vast prairie country, interspersed with pine ridges, bay-heads, swamps, and dense hammocks. These prairies are generally low, and, during what is known as the rainy season, are under water” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:8).

This chapter explores the climate, soils, physiography, flora, fauna, and water resources in and around the site of Pine Level as they are defined in the current literature. In addition to understanding the modern landscape surrounding Pine Level, it is also imperative to understand how this area was perceived in the past, as well as how these perceptions were able to attract new settlers, who in turn built new communities. With this in mind, references in this chapter tack between modern and historic sources of information about the area under study. To be clear, the area in and around Pine Level can be variously referred to as present-day DeSoto County, old Manatee County, the Peace River Valley, present-day central Florida, or in the past, as south Florida. Indeed, knowing that the geographic nomenclature of the area has changed adds to our understanding of how perceptions about the area, in general, have changed.

Climate

DeSoto County lies within south central peninsular Florida, an area that is considered subtropical and humid (Wilson 1977:10). In and around Arcadia, only eight miles from Pine Level, it is coolest in January, when the average recorded temperature is 62.9 Fahrenheit, and hottest in August, which averages 82 degrees (Wilson 1977:10).

For John Bartholf (1881), one of the greatest benefits of living in Florida were the mild

winters, which he stresses as being healthful, especially to invalids. As he notes, the winters are generally "...spring-like, and coats and fires superfluous" (Bartholf and Bogess 1881:22). Though no regular records were kept at that time, Bartholf comments that the temperature in winter was about 60 degrees Fahrenheit, though frosts occurred on rare occasions, and that summer temperatures hovered around 90 degrees, and rarely exceeded 96 degrees (Bartholf and Bogess 1881:22-23). These estimates put the historic author in general agreement with modern climate records. Average relative humidity for the county, which Bartholf (1881) never mentions, has been recorded as 57 percent in mid-afternoon (USDA 1989:2)

DeSoto County averages about 55 inches of rainfall per year (Wilson 1977:10), but the county's weather pattern is notable for the significant difference between the rainy and dry seasons. Though a full 70 percent of the year's rainfall occurs between the months of April through September (USDA 1989:2), the summer months of June through September are the wettest (Wilson 1977:10). In fact, the "average June precipitation is more than double that of May, and average October rainfall is about half that of September" (Wilson 1977:10). Bartholf likewise writes that the rainy season lasts from about July to September and that "Persons not interested in the cultivation of the soil consider this the most disagreeable time of the year, as owing to the character of the country (being mostly low), travel is rendered difficult, by reason of their [sic] being so much water on the ground..." (Bartholf and Bogess 1881:23). Indeed, the rainy season in DeSoto County continues to be an issue, as even modern archaeologists have had to put off survey work until the drier months (Johnson and Willis 1980).

Physiography, Geology, and Water Resources

Driving on State Route 70 through DeSoto County, it is easy to believe that the entire county is flat. However, elevation in the county does rise from near sea level in the southwest corner to around 90 feet above sea level in the northeast corner (USDA 1989:3). Located within the mid-peninsular physiographic zone identified by White (1970), most of DeSoto County, except for the southwest corner, falls within the boundaries of the subdivision called the DeSoto Plain (USDA 1989:2). The DeSoto Plain itself is fairly flat, or as some have described it, “gently rolling” (Wilson 1977:8), and encompasses parts of not only DeSoto County, but also Manatee, Highlands, Hardee, Charlotte, and Glades Counties (USDA 1989:3). The DeSoto Plain is believed to have been formed as a submarine terrace during the Pleistocene Epoch (Wilson 1977; USDA 1989).

Most of the land within DeSoto County is also within the Peace River drainage basin (Johnson and Willis 1980; Wilson 1977), which flows south and empties into Charlotte Harbor. Buzzard (Roost) Branch and Horse Creek, both located adjacent to Pine Level, are tributaries of the Peace River (see Figure 2.1). Of the two, only Horse Creek can be counted on to flow in the dry season (Johnson and Willis 1980), with a much heavier flow in the rainy season that made it difficult to cross in historic times (Knetsch 1989; Matthew 1983). While Bartholf implies that Horse Creek was never large enough for “the navigation of vessels of any size” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:8), research by Knetsch (1989) suggests that it might have been used by a schooners or small sloops during the Civil War, and for pleasure-boats and fishing during the time of Pine Level.



Figure 2.1 Map showing Pine Level, adjacent streets, and Peace River tributaries. (Murdock NE Digital Orthographic Quarter Quad (DOQQ) 2004 from the Florida Department of Environmental Protection (FDEP), Division of State Lands, Bureau of Survey and Mapping)

Geologically, DeSoto County includes sediments that date from the Oligocene to the Holocene, consisting of quartz sand, clay, limestone, and dolomite, which are all located near, or on, the surface (USDA 1989:3). The Oligocene series in DeSoto County is Suwanee Limestone, which is white to light yellowish-gray in color and highly fossiliferous (USDA 1989:3). DeSoto County's Miocene series is the Hawthorn Group, which is made up of the Arcadia and Peace River Formations (USDA 1989:3). The latter

formation is closer to the surface and contains clastic sediments that are made up of dolomite stringers, phosphatic sand, clayey sand, and clay (USDA 1989:5). The Pliocene-Pleistocene series are mostly undifferentiated surficial sands and shell, and the Holocene series are simply the sand, silt, and clay sediments and organic materials deposited by modern streams, marshes, and flood plains (USDA 1989:5).

Phosphate, which is used to fertilize crops, is abundant here. Indeed, the Hawthorn Group described above is a major source of the chemical, and currently supplies around 25 percent of the world's phosphate, and 75 percent of the phosphates used in the United States (Hodges et al 2001). The Peace River Formation within the Hawthorn Group is especially heavy with phosphates, and it is this material that is actively being mined today (Lazareva 2004). Phosphate was first discovered in the Peace River in 1881 by Captain Francis LeBaron of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Schrader 1891). While LeBaron himself was unsuccessful in starting a phosphate mining company, other entrepreneurs quickly established mining operations up and down the Peace River (Schrader 1891).

A pamphlet written in 1891 that details the burgeoning Peace River phosphate industry appears to be describing a phenomenon analogous to a gold rush:

“As previously stated, there were but three companies operating in DeSoto county [sic] in June of last year, and not one in Polk county! ...How great is the contrast between now and then. Just fifteen months have elapsed since that report and we have a new plant to show for every month” [Schrader 1891:34-35].

It is interesting to note that of the eight DeSoto County phosphate companies listed in this pamphlet, two with substantial relative capacity and capital were operating out of Arcadia, the town that took the county seat title from Pine Level in 1888. The geological

presence of phosphate has clearly had an enormous economic and cultural impact on the area surrounding Pine Level, both today and in the past. The historic phosphate boom was responsible for bringing money and people into the Peace River Valley, and it may have even played a part in the decline of Pine Level as towns along the river became more economically important.

Soils, Flora, and Fauna

The soils in and around Pine Level are Myakka, Immokalee, and Smyrna fine sands (USDA 1989). All three of these soils are deep, poorly drained, and nearly level, with a slope of only 0 to 2 percent (USDA 1989:30,33,42). Where these three soils are mapped together, Immokalee fine sands will have the highest position on the landscape and the deepest subsoils, Myakka fine sands will have a lower position on the landscape and slightly shallower subsoils, and Smyrna fine sands will have the lowest position of the three, and the shallowest subsoils (USDA 1989:30,33,42).

According to the USDA, all three of these soils are appropriate for pasture, but are generally poor soils that would need significant water management if they are to be used for growing crops or citrus (USDA 1989:30-31,33-34,42-43). Of course, the area's biggest booster, John Bartholf, would have heartily disagreed with this assessment, as he claims that, with proper cultivation and some drainage in the wet season, these soils could grow tropical and semi-tropical fruits, as well as "immense crops of vegetables, rice, sugar cane, corn, Irish potatoes, &c" (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:8). Of Pine Level specifically, he says the location is "one of the finest that can be found in this section of country – being a large body of first class pine land, every foot of which will make orange trees without fertilizers..." (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:10). A letter written from

Pine Level to the Tampa *Sunland Tribune*, signed only “Fulano,” likewise stresses that with “little or no grubbing...these lands produce fine crops of corn, potatoes, sugar-cane, &c, as also the tropical fruits, to great perfection” (Fulano 1878). While they may disagree on crop yields, both modern and historic sources agree that the country around Pine Level is well suited to stock-raising, especially cattle, which has been important to the economy of the area both in the past and today (Bartholf and Boggess 1881; Fulano 1878; Johnson and Willis 1980; USDA 1989).

In terms of natural plant communities, the Immokalee, Myakka, and Smyrna fine sands are all found on flatwoods, and more specifically, they are characterized by the South Florida Flatwoods range site (USDA 1989:30-31,33,42-43). The USDA (1989:30-31) says that this type of range can be identified by an area of scattered pine trees with an understory consisting of saw palmettos and grasses. These are mostly longleaf, slash, and pond pines, and the understory can also contain wire grass and other kinds of scrub vegetation (Johnson and Willis 1980:5). Beyond pines, many oak trees also grow in and around Pine Level today. This was likely true in the past as well, as Fulano says “Instead of Pine Level, the name Oak Level would have been much more appropriate, on account of the predominance of the tree here” (Fulano 1878).

Many different types of animals live on the flatwoods habitat in and around Pine Level. Game species noted today include white-tailed deer, feral hogs, wild turkey, quail, and cottontail rabbits (Johnson and Willis 1980:8; USDA 1989:57). There are also armadillos, squirrels, gray foxes, skunks, raccoons, opossums, bobcats, a variety of reptiles like gopher tortoises and pond turtles, and birds such as wood-peckers, bald eagles, sand-hill cranes, and songbirds (Johnson and Willis 1980:8; USDA 1989:57).

Horse Creek has been recorded as containing bream, catfish, garfish, and largemouth bass (Johnson and Willis 1980:8). Little mention is made of the kinds of animals one would encounter near Pine Level in any of the historic sources, except to say that the hunting and fishing in the area was very good, and that man who is fond of it can “live better at this place than do many of the epicures of our great hotels” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:15).

While the area’s historic boosters may disagree, Johnson and Willis have suggested that the “piney flatwoods” actually contain relatively few plant or animal resources that would have been easily obtainable by either Native Americans or white settlers (Johnson and Willis 1980:8). They point to the relative scarcity of aboriginal or historic sites in the flatwoods as an indication of this “barrenness” (Johnson and Willis 1980:9). As an area with soils that are poorly drained during the wet season, yet conversely lack reliable, potable water in the dry season (Johnson and Willis 1980:8-9), the South Florida Flatwoods probably presented numerous problems to new immigrants hoping to make a life here. The next chapter, dealing with the Civil War and the Reconstruction Eras in Florida, examines how the forces of cultural change during this time may have led many people to gamble on a life in Pine Level.

Chapter 3:

The Reconstruction Era in Florida and the Peace River Valley

To understand more about the people who lived and worked in Pine Level, as well as how the town came into existence, it is necessary to understand the monumental forces of change that Florida encountered in the Civil War and Reconstruction Eras. Without properly contextualizing Pine Level and its citizens within these momentous years in American history, it will be difficult to comprehend people's motivations in moving to Pine Level, or their subsequent lives and interactions within the county seat. The following chapter illuminates the broad patterns of the Civil War and Reconstruction Eras at the nationwide level, while simultaneously describing events of importance at the smaller scales of Florida, the Peace River Valley region, and Pine Level itself.

The Impact of the Civil War in Florida

The situation in Florida, both during and after the Civil War, was an interesting one. While Florida was one of the original six states that seceded from the United States to form the Confederacy, Florida's citizens were never wholly unified in their allegiance to the Rebel cause (Shofner 1974). Confederate sympathies were strongest in the north central section of the state, known as Florida's plantation belt, where the vast majority of the state's slave-owners resided (Brown 1996). Though this area contained only about one third of the state's whites, it was also home to two thirds of its black population and a full 65 percent of its wealth (Brown 1996:232). In contrast to this density of people and capital, the vast majority of the state's residents were poor and lived in rural, frontier

conditions (Brown 1991). Pockets of Union supporters existed in all parts of Florida, but were greatest in the more racially tolerant area of eastern Florida generally (Brown 1991:232), and in the population centers of Jacksonville, Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Key West, specifically (Shofner 1974:3).

During the war Florida could actually boast both Union and Confederate forces, the former of which was often swelled by desertions from the latter (Brown 1991). In fact, Confederate deserters often formed bands that raided plantations and even provided information to the Union about the Rebels' activities (Shofner 1974). Of course, some of the deserters joined the Union side outright, with one popular choice in south Florida being the Union Second Florida Cavalry (Brown 1991). This unit was headquartered in Fort Myers and Cedar Key and lead in part by Captain James D. Green (Figure 3.1) (Brown 1991), later to become a prominent and early resident of Pine Level. The Second Florida Cavalry gained many of its recruits when the Confederate army attempted to conscript south Florida's cattlemen (Brown 1991), which engendered resentment from people who were far removed from the plantation belt and thus may have felt they had little to gain from fighting on the Rebel side.

However, it would be inaccurate to say that all, or even most, of south Florida's families were Unionist. In fact, many south Floridians were Confederate supporters and some helped to produce salt for that Army at surreptitious salt works established along the coast between Pensacola and the Village of Manatee (Matthews 1983). Others joined commissary units organized to supply beef to the Confederates, called the Cow Cavalry. The largest Cow Cavalry company was based out of Fort Meade and led by cattle baron



Figure 3.1 James Dopson Green, Union Captain and Radical Republican politician. (Image reproduced with permission of Canter Brown, Jr.)

Francis Hendry (Brown 1991). It is interesting to note that even Hendry himself had originally opposed secession (Stone 2010), though he later became instrumental in leading the effort to supply beef to the Rebel army. It is apparent then that the Crackers and other south Floridians were not a monolithic group that could have been pegged to support one side or the other, but rather they were made up of people who held various opinions, beliefs, and desires for themselves and their families.

The divided sympathies and actions of the people of south Florida in many ways mirrored the turmoil that was taking place in other parts of state until the war finally ended in 1865. While Florida is usually considered to have been peripheral to the greatest conflict and violence during the Civil War (Shofner 1974:3), this was a difficult time for Floridians as many people lost family members and property in the war. In

south Florida, many were also driven to poverty by their attempts to fulfill the Confederate Army's incessant demand for supplies (Matthews 1983).

In all, it was not a time that many who lived through it took joy in remembering. In *Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives*, which contains the writings of George Gillett Keen, an early settler in south Florida who wrote prolifically about his experiences, the editors note that "Tellingly, his series of reminiscences omits reference to the Civil War, an occurrence so complicated for Floridians, generally, and the Keen family, in particular, that George decided to leave well enough alone" (Denham and Brown 2000:75). Unfortunately for the people of Florida, though, the end of the war did not bring an end to the complicated emotions the war had inflamed. Indeed, the confusing and contrasting allegiances of Florida's citizens would help to confound efforts to rebuild post-war Florida during the era known as Reconstruction, as most Unionists morphed into Republicans and Confederates into Democrats.

The Problem of Reconciliation

On January 1st, 1863, two years into the bloody and protracted Civil War, President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring slaves held by the Confederates to be free (Foner 1988:1). The signing of the Emancipation Proclamation was a clear signal to both slave-holders and the enslaved that their lives would soon change, but it was only the beginning of what would become the incredibly complicated and emotionally-charged Reconstruction era in America, generally considered to have lasted from 1865 to 1877. Lincoln's initial attempt at reconciliation between the North and South, the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, also known as the "10 Percent Plan" (Foner 1988), was poorly received by the liberal Republicans in Congress.

This group, called the Radical Republicans, consisted of well-educated men who sought rights for freedmen (Slap 2006) as well as punishment for secessionists. They felt the 10 Percent Plan was simply too lenient, and instead proposed and passed their own plan for Reconstruction in the form of the Wade-Davis Bill (Foner 1988). Lincoln promptly vetoed the Wade-Davis Bill (Stampp 1965), angering his fellow Republicans and showcasing the divisiveness of the issues surrounding reconciliation even within the Republican Party. These events would foreshadow the weaknesses and discord inherent in the Republican Party, vulnerabilities that would continually erode this group's ability to govern effectively, and eventually lead to the failure of Reconstruction (Slap 2006).

The state of the Republican Party in Florida exhibited the same problems as it did in Washington. Reconstruction efforts in Florida had actually begun before the end of the war, but for various reasons, had proved unsuccessful (Shofner 1974). This should not be surprising, given the state of affairs in the nation's capitol, where Congress was at odds first with Lincoln, before reaching similar impasses over Reconstruction plans with President Johnson (Shofner 1974). A confusing political climate in Florida was only made worse by the confusing cross-signals emanating from Washington.

At the close of the Civil War, Florida had additional problems. The Governor, John Milton, seeing an unsatisfactory end to the war in sight, had killed himself (Shofner 1974). Property throughout the state had been destroyed, the economy was depressed, the structure of society had been radically altered by the abolition of slavery, and there was no governor to lead the way out of the morass. As was the case in all Southern states, Florida was occupied by the United States military (Shofner 1974), and would continue under some form of military rule until the state was reinstated in the Union.

It was the military then, who had to find a way to get crops in the ground so that people would not starve the following year (Shofner 1974; 1996). Without waiting to get the go-ahead from the President or Congress, on July 3rd, 1865, General John Newton set guidelines in Florida for labor relations between plantation owners and newly-freed African Americans, including the use of written contracts and share-cropping to pay black laborers (Shofner 1974:26). While Newton and other Union officers' measures had been created to meet the exigencies of the immediate post-war months, these policies, which included "ruinous credit arrangements" (Shofner 1974:26) for freedmen, became the unfortunate base for labor relations for many years to come. As one writer summed up the situation in Florida "There was scant money in circulation to pay for hired help, hence the negroes who were willing to work did so on shares... but by the time of harvest his share was exhausted for living expenses and he was not better off than before, and often was worse off" (McDuffee 1961:175). As in many other the parts of the South, relations between blacks and whites in Florida would be a continuing source of conflict, affecting not only labor issues, but reaching into the cultural and political spheres as well.

Only 10 days after General Newton had issued his regulations, President Johnson named conservative Republican William Marvin the provisional governor of Florida (Shofner 1974:35). One of Marvin's first priorities was to get Florida reinstated to the Union, and to be rid of the federal troops, and especially black soldiers, that most white Floridians abhorred (Shofner 1974). To do so, the state was required to hold a constitutional convention to write a new constitution whose wording would contain certain prerequisites, such as the repudiation of slavery and Confederate debts (Shofner 1996). Marvin traveled the state to explain to Florida's citizens the requirements that the

state would have to meet in order to be reinstated, which to his understanding did not include enfranchising the 62,000 new freedmen, who he believed should remain on the plantations as they had before (Shofner 1974:25, 36, 38). In late 1865, an election was held so that the newly registered voters could elect their delegates for the convention, with the resulting convention taking place soon after in Tallahassee, on October 25th (McDuffee 1961:172).

This would be the first of two post-war constitutional conventions in the State of Florida, both of which occurred with significant political battling over key topics, like black enfranchisement. Surprisingly, these battles were just as virulent within the Republican Party, between Radicals and Moderates, as they were between the Republicans and the Democrats. At the first constitutional convention, there were no African Americans in attendance, and one of the only Unionists was James D. Green of Manatee County, a former leader of the Second Florida Cavalry, who was well known as a liberal Republican (Brown 1991; Shofner 1974:40). In the end, the constitution the convention wrote only met the minimal requirements that had been laid out by President Johnson, and did not include black enfranchisement (Shofner 1974). However, Floridians believed they had fulfilled their requirements to be reinstated into the Union (Shofner 1974). In the nation's capitol, Congress did not agree (Shofner 1996).

In fact, it appeared to members of Congress that the Southern states, Florida included, had gone back to being run by ex-Confederates, as conservative Democrats, and that these representatives were doing only the bare minimum under President Johnson's reconstruction plan, which they already disdained for being too lenient (Shofner 1996). As one author put it "The new Southern governments also looked a lot

like the old ones” (Slap 2006:75). Congressional Republican’s main issue with the Southern states, apart from being run almost completely by ex-Confederates, was that they were not guaranteeing equal status to freedman, a point on which they refused to accede to President Johnson (Shofner 1996). In December of 1865, Florida’s representatives were refused recognition in Washington, along with the representatives from every other Southern state (Shofner 1996:251-252).

Another important outcome of this first convention was the recommendation that Governor Marvin reinstall certain civil officials and call for elections for congressmen and state officials (Brown 1991:182; Shofner 1974:43). Marvin honored the request, and on November 29th, 1865, David Walker, a former Whig, was elected the new Governor of Florida (Shofner 1974:46). Interestingly, Republican James D. Green was elected Manatee County’s representative in the Florida house while his war-time rival, Democrat Francis Hendry of the Cow Cavalry, was elected to a senate seat for neighboring Polk County (Brown 1991:183). South Florida appears to have continued being a home to people of differing viewpoints and political leanings, but it would be Green, and his extreme liberal ideology, who would exert the most power and influence in south Florida over the next few years (Brown 1991).

Congress was right to be suspicious of the intentions of the new Southern legislatures on the issue of African American equality. By this time, the newly-elected legislature in Florida had already moved to create so-called “Black Codes” that regulated almost every aspect of the freedmen’s lives and severely limited their rights (Brown 1991; Slap 2006:75). Indeed, when the Florida legislature first met on December 18th, 1865, almost all agreed to the need for separate laws pertaining to whites and blacks, with

one notable exception being James D. Green, who even opposed other Unionists on this point (Shofner 1974:47). Violence against African Americans was on the rise in Florida, and frequently went unpunished, even in cases of extreme violence and unwarranted aggression (Shofner 1974).

The Freedman's Bureau, first created in 1865 under President Lincoln, had been tasked with protecting the rights of both the freedmen and refugees, such as Unionists, in Florida and other Southern states (Shofner 1974:59; Slap 2006:7). The bureau's duties were many. It was supposed to provide relief to destitute freedmen, help in contract negotiations between land-owners and freedmen, reconnect families that had been scattered during slavery, handle issues surrounding abandoned lands, set up free schools for black children, and provide a level of judicial and military protection for both freedmen and refugees (Shofner 1974; Slap 2006:78). The bureau was also allowed to establish independent courts to provide some of these protections when regular courts would not, though this was rarely done (Shofner 1974). Military courts were supposed to ensure these protections as well, but as with the bureau courts, they were rarely used (Shofner 1974:90). The bureau was initially only supposed to be in operation for one year after 1865, but its life was extended several times and it continued to operate in Florida, in some capacity, until 1871 (Shofner 1974:59-60).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Freedman's Bureau had a difficult time performing its duty in Florida, especially in northern Florida (Shofner 1996). The fact that most incidents of racial injustice and violence occurred in the northern counties was likely a direct result of these areas containing the majority Florida's black population. It was in this "plantation belt" that the most dramatic societal changes had taken place, both in the

lives of former slave-owners and the formerly enslaved. But the Freedman's Bureau also had difficulty protecting and supporting former Unionists in south Florida.

In Manatee County, returning Union families had attempted to regain land and property that had been confiscated during the war. However, the courts were not operating in their favor, and the Freedman's Bureau had been unable to help (Brown 1991). In January of 1866, representative James D. Green had succeeded in getting a referendum held to move the Manatee County seat, and importantly, Pine Level was subsequently chosen as the new county seat (Brown 1991:185). As suggested by Johnson and Willis (1980), this move may have been made to dislodge the county seat from ex-Confederate power in the Village of Manatee.

So it was within the small, log-hewn courthouse at Pine Level that the Union litigants attempted to win back their property or at least win fair compensation for its loss. The Freedman's Bureau agent in charge of Manatee County, the indefatigable James D. Green, had lost hope by June of 1866 that the Unionists would ever receive their "just dues by a corse [sic] of Civil Law" (Green in Brown 1991:186). A special Freedman's Bureau court was finally established in Tampa at the end of 1866, but by then President Johnson had terminated the Bureau's ability to render judgments in such courts (Brown 1991:187). If the Union families of Manatee County and the legions of African Americans throughout the state were to see justice, it would not happen under the conditions that existed in the state, and indeed, the entire South, at that point.

In August of 1866, President Johnson issued a proclamation that appeared to imply that martial law and federal occupation had ended in the South, causing much rejoicing among white Floridians (Shofner 1996). Military commanders knew that

martial law still existed, but the misunderstanding among the populace only made their duties, such as protecting the freedmen from injustice, all the more difficult (Shofner 1974). Also at this time, the election of 1866 saw a two-thirds majority of Radical Republicans voted into Congress and the House of Representatives, (Shofner 1974:157), meaning that the Radicals would finally be able to override their deadlock with President Johnson.

Soon thereafter, in early March of 1867, Congress issued the First Reconstruction Act, which stated that there were no legal governments in any of the 10 Southern states, and divided all of them into one of five military districts (Brown 1991:187; Shofner 1974:158). Under the First Reconstruction act, the military was accorded greater power than civil and state officials, and it had the right to convene military courts at any time (Shofner 1974). If Floridians had been confused about the power of civil authority in past, it must have been clear now.

The Effect of the Reconstruction Acts

In order to end the military occupation, the rules were much the same as they had been before: register voters, elect delegates, and hold a constitutional convention. The difference now, however, was that African Americans would have to be allowed to register to vote, and that the new constitution had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, which recognizes all races as citizens with equal rights before the law (Shofner 1974:158). While the reaction to the First Reconstruction Act was mixed, apparently Floridians had begun to come to terms with black suffrage, and had gamely seen an advantage to being readmitted to Union in time to influence the upcoming 1868 elections

(Shofner 1974). The Second Reconstruction Act, passed in late March, 1867, made the U.S. military responsible for registering voters (Shofner 1974:159).

In south Florida, Republican Ossian B. Hart, a lawyer in Tampa, was put in charge of the registration process, which was to involve three registrars in each district: two whites, and one freedman (Brown 1991). While there was some initial difficulty in finding a freedman in the area who could read and write, three registrars were ultimately chosen: Enoch E. Mizell, a former Cow Cavalry member and highly respected judge and resident of Pine Level, Stepney Dixon, the required freedman, and John F. Bartholf (Brown 1991). The last individual (Figure 3.2), who the reader may remember as the first resident of Pine Level and a south Florida booster, was originally from New York. He resided “continuously there until the outbreak of the war, when he joined the Union forces, and, drifting along on the ‘tide of war,’ found himself at the close a captain of



Figure 3.2 John Bartholf, Union Captain and Manatee County Clerk. (Image reproduced with permission of Canter Brown, Jr.)

colored troops in Florida” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:6). It was these three individuals- a freedman, a former Unionist, and a former Confederate- who registered a total of 190 voters in Manatee County by October of 1867, 16 of them freedmen (Brown 1991:188).

When the election was held on November 14-16th, 1867, the only voting precinct in all of 5,000 acre Manatee County was at Pine Level, with the voting itself being monitored by a small detachment of federal soldiers (Brown 1991:189). A Republican and Freedman’s Bureau agent named C.R. Mobley was elected for the constitutional convention by Manatee County, receiving 77 votes to his ex-Confederate competitor’s paltry 6 votes (Brown 1991:189). From this voting outcome alone, it would appear that Manatee County was dramatically Republican-leaning at this time. However, it is important to keep in mind the difficulty that many county residents would have had in getting to the county seat during the three-day voting window, and that of the 190 registered voters, only 83 voted in the election. Perhaps those who voted simply lived closer to Pine Level and therefore had an easier time getting to the voting precinct. If this is the case, it suggests that, instead of all Manatee County being Republican-leaning, perhaps those who lived in and around Pine Level were the Republicans, which is an intriguing possibility.

This idea is in fact echoed by Brown (1991:191), who states that around this same time, a petition was signed by hundreds of Manatee River-area Democrats who wished to divide the county in two, allowing for Democratic control of the eastern half, and ceding the western half to the Republicans. However, Green was Manatee County’s Representative in the legislature, and he was able to ensure that this petition never gained traction (Brown 1991). Pine Level, it seems, was a stronghold of Republican power, but

it was surrounded by Democratic opponents in Polk and eastern-Manatee Counties (Brown 1991).

On a state-wide level, the Republicans triumphed in the elections for the second constitutional convention (Shofner 1974). Of the 46 representatives who would go to the convention, a full 44 were Republicans, with 18 of those being African Americans (Shofner 1974:176). The Republican landslide only occurred, however, because many white Floridians, in protest to having to write another constitution, boycotted the election (Shofner 1974:176). The convention, which began in Tallahassee in January, 1868, became a drawn-out, unorganized, acrimonious affair where Republican in-fighting led to a split between Radical and Moderate Republicans (Shofner 1974). The chaos of this convention, which was made up almost entirely of delegates from the same political party, displayed an incredible amount of animosity, and ended with the creation of two separate constitutions. The Moderate Republicans' version of the constitution was eventually chosen by the Congressional Committee on Reconstruction in Washington, partly because it had the minimum number of votes required (Shofner 1974:186). In June, 1868, the new constitution was ratified, and Florida, along with five other southern states, was readmitted the Union (Shofner 1974:193).

The constitution created by the Moderates could still be considered liberal in that it provided equal rights and protection to all men, regardless of their race, and established a system of free schools (Shofner 1974). The most interesting part of the constitution was the creation of a very strong governor, who would be allowed to elect almost every public official in the state, except for constables, senators, and representatives (Brown 1991:189). This meant that the governor had minute control over even county politics,

given that he could appoint county judges, sheriffs, commissioners, and even the court clerks. Controlling the governorship essentially meant controlling the entire state.

Harrison Reed, a Moderate Republican, was soon elected the new Governor of Florida (Shofner 1974), and in south Florida, James D. Green was elected Manatee County's State Representative. This was a position of considerable power, as Green was charged with recommending appointees to the Governor for almost every office in both Manatee and Polk Counties (Brown 1991). Most of Green's appointees, especially in Manatee County, were fellow Republicans, such as John Bartholf, Lewis B. Platt, and Henry Messer. Interestingly, the latter two both were Confederate deserters who later served in the same company as Green in the Second Florida Cavalry (Stone 2010). In Polk County, Green suggested Archibald Hendry, another member of his former Union company (Stone 2010), as tax collector and sheriff (Brown 1991). But in Polk County, Green also may have been forced to recommend a number of Democrats, for the simple reason that there were fewer Republicans to choose from in that county. For example, Felix Seward and N. S. Blount, both members of the Confederate Infantry "Bulldogs," became county treasurer and county commissioner, respectively, and were also likely recommended by Green (Brown 1991; Polk County Tax Collector Web Page).

Green's power was at its zenith. In 1870, after various questions were raised about railroad deals that Governor Reed had been involved in, Green was able to pass a resolution for an investigation into charges against the Governor, and was then put in charge the investigatory committee (Brown 1991:201; Shofner 1974:211). Amazingly, after completing his report, Green called for Reed's impeachment (Brown 1991). While this resolution never passed, and Green had to renew his support for the governor (Brown

1991), this round of Republican in-fighting must have done further damage to party unity and likely caused Republican leaders a great deal of embarrassment. Green, however, was undaunted.

Returning to Pine Level later in 1870, Green ran for state senate as an Independent, and chose a popular Democrat to run for Manatee County house representative on his ticket (Brown 1991:202). This move angered many Democrats who rallied against Green to put together a superior ticket (Brown 1991). Then, angering even fellow Manatee County Republicans, Green supported State Senator Josiah Walls, an African American, for Congress (Brown 1991). While he later tried to renege on his endorsement of Walls, Green had made several choices that were unpopular with the Manatee County electorate and consequently suffered defeat in the elections held at the end of 1870 (Brown 1991).

After this, Green would never again exert the amount of control over south Florida that he once had. While he continued to be appointed to various county positions by John F. Bartholf, the county clerk who had taken over the responsibility of recommending individuals to the governor (Brown 1991:209), Green would never again hold that power himself. With Green's downfall, the Manatee County Republican Party as whole began a precipitous decline. While the party was able to hold on to some county seats for several years, the Manatee County Republicans were all but finished after the elections of 1874 (Brown 1991:209). The reasons behind this sea change in prevailing political attitude were, like many things in south Florida, complicated.

New Immigrants on the South Florida Frontier

Before the Civil War, most of the south Florida's settlers were involved, in one way or another, with the cattle industry (Brown 1991:196). These were people from areas like northern Florida and southern Georgia, who, being attracted to south Florida's range land and the cattle-raising industry, took advantage of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842 to begin a new life on the frontier (Ste. Claire 1998:51). They were, in sum, Crackers. Of course, this group was not politically monolithic, as they would demonstrate during the Civil War by supporting both the Union and Confederacy. The Crackers did share a number of socio-cultural ties: they all relied on the same industry, many had similar ethnic roots (Ste. Claire 1998), and they all had to be independent, self-sufficient, and hard-working to survive in south Florida. But for all these social and cultural similarities, they were not all "poor whites" (Ste Claire 1998:49) anymore. After the Civil War, a profitable market for cattle had developed in Cuba, and the stock-raising industry had made some Crackers quite rich (Brown 1991). This was especially true as "the cost of raising cattle in Florida was very small" (McDuffee 1961:197).

During Reconstruction, the composition of the population of south Florida began to undergo other changes beyond the growing affluence of the cattle barons. It started when commissary captain George F. Thompson completed a tour of Manatee County for the Freedman's Bureau in 1865 and reported that the area was ripe for agriculture and citrus growing, and that it was safe for northern immigration (Matthews 1983:271-272). Added to reports like Thompson's was the impact of the Homestead Act of 1862, which provided 160 acres of public land to any man who had not been a Confederate (Matthews 1983:272). Florida, being well-endowed with an abundance of publicly-owned land,

became a mecca for Northerners lured by the opportunities that people like John Bartholf and George Thompson so avidly described.

Some of these northern immigrants made it all the way to south Florida, but many more new-comers to the Manatee County area actually came from other parts of the South, like Georgia, Alabama, and northern Florida (Brown 1991; Ste. Claire 1998). A portion of these southern immigrants were poor whites who were seeking the same opportunities as their northern brethren (Ste. Claire 1998), as well as an escape from places that had been ravaged and left destitute by the war (McDuffee 1961). Others had previously been well-off slave-holders who, “because of the intolerable conditions of their sections thrust upon them by the Federal Bureau... longed to be as far removed from such conditions and scenes as possible” (McDuffee 1961:177), and by “scenes and conditions” this writer means “carpetbag rule and negro domination” (McDuffee 1961:177).

With “the flood of settlers” (Matthew 1983:272) who arrived in “unprecedented numbers” (Matthew 1983:272) during Reconstruction, south Florida increasingly became home to many different groups of people: Crackers, Southerners, Northerners, ex-Confederates, and ex-Unionists, some rich (McDuffee 1961), and many more poor (Brown 1991; Ste. Claire 1998). The newcomers were distinct from the old south Florida pioneers in many ways, not least of which was the fact that most of them established themselves primarily as farmers instead of stock-raisers (Brown 1991). Given the differences between them, the interests of the old south Florida families, especially cattlemen, “were clear and distinct from those of the newcomers” (Brown 1991:196).

There was one group that over time continually left south Florida, however: the freedmen and their families. This group, of course, was just as desirous of a new start in life as everyone else at the end of the Civil War, but during Reconstruction African-Americans became the target of groups of Regulators whose aim was drive the freedman out of south Florida (Brown 1991). Though little is known about this part of south Florida history, Cantor Brown (1991) does an admirable job of tracking the violence against freedmen that occurred between 1869, when federal troops left south Florida, and the mid-1870s, when most of the freedmen had left Manatee and Polk Counties. This emigrant trend can be illustrated clearly by looking at the difference in the number of black voters in Manatee County before federal troops left, and after the close of Reconstruction. In the 1867 elections for the first constitutional convention, Manatee County had registered 190 voters, 16 of whom were black (8.4 percent) (Brown 1991:188), but in 1880, of 913 voters in Manatee County, only 30 were black (3.2 percent) (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:58).

In Manatee County, this efflux of the freedmen and influx of immigrants from other parts of the South swelled the ranks of the Democratic Party to the detriment of the once-robust Republican Party (Brown 1991). According to John Bartholf, Florida's Republican Party (and one can assume that of Manatee County as well) was also unfairly blamed for the necessarily high taxes that were critically needed to rebuild the state in the aftermath of the Civil War (Bartholf and Boggess 1881). "The consequence was that when 'reform and retrenchment' was promised by the Democracy, the people, after maintaining two successive Republican administrations, flocked into the Democratic party in sufficient numbers to give them a bare majority" (Bartholf and Boggess

1881:58). The influx of new southern settlers, along with switches in party affiliation, likely contributed to the downward slide that James D. Green and the Manatee County Republicans were experiencing by 1870, and from which they would never fully recover (Brown 1991). Their decline would lead to a series of desperate decisions in the mid-1870s that would have shocking repercussions, and ultimately, contribute to the failure of Reconstruction in the United States.

South Florida's Contribution to the Downfall of Reconstruction

In 1876, Republicans were still in control of the Florida government, with a Republican as governor who still had the ability to appoint various county officials (Shofner 1974). As 1876 was a presidential and state election year, this meant that the people in charge of registering voters and running the election were also likely to be Republicans (Shofner 1974). In Manatee County, this duty fell to the clerk of the court, John F. Bartholf (Brown 1991). While Republicans in Manatee County were in charge of the voter apparatus, they were now living in a county that “would vote overwhelming Democratic in the fall elections that afforded Democrats their first real opportunity since the Civil War to regain control over state and national government” (Brown 1991:210). The stakes for the 1876 elections, then, were high in south Florida, the state at large, and the entire nation. Eleven years after Reconstruction began, the Democrats finally had a chance to put it to an end.

A few weeks before the election was to be held, John Bartholf resigned as the clerk of court (Shofner 1974). While a staunch Democrat at the time declared that Bartholf had resigned “thinking this would thwart our [the Democrats] plans and defeat the Democratic party” (Josiah Gates in McDuffee 1961:231), others have claimed that

Bartholf was actually very ill (Brown 1991). However, what happened next did represent quite a bit of political maneuvering, and was very much intended to thwart the Democrats. When Governor Stearns received Bartholf's resignation, he was on the verge of simply allowing a replacement of Bartholf's choice to take over, but was persuaded by James D. Green to take a different tack (Brown 1991). Green knew that Manatee County was likely to swing Democrat, but he also understood that without a clerk to run the Manatee County election, it would be impossible to hold a legitimate election (Brown 1991). In this way, Manatee County could be prevented from returning votes that would hurt the Republicans in the state and national elections.

Instead of giving the clerk position to the man Bartholf had suggested in his resignation letter, Governor Stearns, apparently swayed by Green's ideas, appointed Green's own 24 year old son, Andrew Green, to the Manatee County Clerk of Court (Brown 1991:211). Andrew Green then refused to post the bond necessary to take his commission (Shofner 1974), leaving Manatee County without a legal clerk to run the election. Incensed, Manatee County Democrats decided that they would hold the election themselves, with or without a legal clerk, and proceeded to create ballots and distribute them along with the announcement that the election would take place on the already appointed date of November 7th (Brown 1991:211). For his part, James D. Green warned Republicans in the county to boycott what he regarded as an illegal election (Brown 1991).

Of the 305 ballots cast in Manatee County on November 7th, only 26 were from Republicans, and a full 25 of those were cast at Pine Level after the head of the Democratic Party in that county made a stump speech explaining that the election was

indeed legal (Brown 1991:212). In this controversial election, Manatee County had gone Democratic. In truth, the elections that happened all over Florida would be considered questionable, and in the months to come, the results of many of these counties would be fought over by the two political parties (Shofner 1974). Irregularities continued even after the election. When two Republicans dispatched by the state party attempted to investigate the returns from Manatee County, they were stopped by armed men in Polk County who insisted the Republicans need a pass from the Democratic executive committee to proceed (Shofner 1974). “Unaccustomed to such frontier hospitality, the two returned to Tallahassee” (Shofner 1974:317).

All over Florida, the election results were very close, and the accusations of election fraud on both sides made deciding who had won the election even more difficult (Brown 1991; Shofner 1974). While Floridians fretted over who would win the governorship, Marcellus Stearns or his Democratic rival George Drew, on the national level the votes for Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel J. Tilden were also very close. Having four votes in the electoral college, Florida’s results suddenly became important for the outcome of the presidential election (Brown 1991:213). As has happened in recent memory, “the eyes of the whole nation turned upon Florida” (McDuffee 1961:232). Of course, the irregularities of the Florida elections were also on display.

By December, Florida’s canvassing board, which was controlled by Republicans, in trying to decide who had won the governorship, decided to exclude the results from Manatee County and several other Democratic-leaning precincts (Shofner 1974). However, the Democrats fought back, taking their case all the way to the Florida

Supreme Court, which decided in their favor by counting the Manatee returns (Brown 1991). By a slim 195-vote margin (Brown 1991:213), Democrat George Drew beat Stearns and went on to become Florida's next governor. On the national level though, the presidential election was still undecided because of serious irregularities that had occurred in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana (Brown 1996).

The problems surrounding the presidential election of 1876 were so critical that a national commission had to be put in place to decide the outcome (Brown 1991; Shofner 1974). This commission eventually decided that they had no reason to discount the Florida results certified by Governor Stearns (Shofner 1974)- in other words, the results that excluded the Manatee County votes. This gave Hayes the edge in Florida, and the state's four electoral results were duly awarded to the Republican candidate (Shofner 1974). The results from Louisiana and South Carolina were decided according to the precedent set in the Florida case, thereby giving Rutherford B. Hayes the electoral votes from all three states. Hayes went on to become the 19th President of the United States. Incredibly, Florida had managed to elect a Democrat for governor based on one method of counting election returns, and elect a Republican for president based on another method for counting the same returns. Even more amazingly, the machinations of James D. Green in Pine Level had contributed to the fiasco of the 1876 election.

Many historians believe that an unofficial deal was struck to allow for a return to peace after the turmoil of the 1876 election, which has become known as the "Compromise of 1877" (Foner 1988: 581; Stamp 1965:210). As part of the compromise, Democrats were supposedly promised the removal of federal troops from Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina (Foner 1988; Stamp 1965). While historians

argue over whether or not this deal actually happened, one of Hayes' first actions as president was to remove federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina, though they had already left Florida (Brown 1996). With the removal of federal troops from the South, the Compromise of 1877 is usually pointed to as the end of Reconstruction (Brown 1996; Foner 1988; Stamp 1965). In the South, Republicans had lost the ability to control public policy. In the years to come, Florida Democrats would work to reverse the gains made by the Republicans during Reconstruction (Brown 1996), and the political stars of James D. Green, John Bartholf, and the other Manatee County Republicans would fade into the background.

Five years after the end of Reconstruction, Bartholf wrote honestly about what it was like for him, a hard-line Republican and Unionist, to live in south Florida where so many people were opposed to his social and political ideology. Speaking in the third person Bartholf says:

...his interests have not, as a matter of course, pecuniarily [sic] and perhaps socially, been furthered to that extent that they undoubtedly would have been could he *possibly* and *consistently* have taken a course more in accordance with the prevailing sentiment of the people... it would be unreasonable to expect that they would look with the same regard and consideration upon one who had opposed them in their efforts to acquire their imaginary 'Freedom' – helped to dispossess them of their 'so-called' property slaves – and then allied himself with the party that they were led to believe was seeking to 'put the nigger' over them – as they would upon one of their 'own people,' and as a consequence business and private interests suffered materially... [emphasis in original, Bartholf and Boggess 1881:60-61].

While still trying to entice northern settlers by claiming that south Floridians were becoming more liberal and did not “require acceptance of their peculiar political views as a passport to their good will” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:61) as much as they had

before, there appears to be bitterness in Bartholf's words. By the time of this writing in 1881, Bartholf had left Pine Level, and he would never live there again (Stone 2010).

An interesting story that involves Bartholf, though peripherally, shows up in a book written 80 years after his own. The story, recorded by southern sympathizer and apologist Lillie McDuffee, offers an interesting insight into how ex-Confederates and ex-Unionists may have lived side by side in south Florida, through the argument of two children. Set in an orange grove in the Village of Manatee, where Bartholf had moved by 1883 (Stone 2010), nine year-old John F. Bartholf Jr. gets into a quarrel with similarly-aged Bertie Gates as to whether the North or South had won the war:

John remarked that the North had won the war, that southern people were lazy and no account and made the negroes do all the work and that the northern people had to come down and 'lick 'em.' This brought an angry retort from Bertie whose propensity for epithets aided him in hurling such terms as scamp, carpetbagger, blue-bellied Yankee and scalawag and 'we wa'n't licked by 'em neither.' This was too much for John and the young Republican charged. Bertie countercharged, they clinched - a fight ensued in which there was much hair pulling and scattering of oranges. Finally the boys were separated, neither the worse for the fracas which was happily soon forgotten in the joys of childish play and reconstruction days were over [McDuffee 1961:236].

Whether this story is true or not is debatable, as the children seem to act as perfect stand-ins for the beliefs and identities of their parents, with John Jr. even referred to as "the young Republican." Instead, the story appears to be a telling reminder that, though there had been serious political and social differences between south Floridians in the past, Reconstruction days, and the animosities they had inflamed, were indeed over.

For Pine Level, created by James D. Green, and once a stronghold of Republican power in Manatee County, the dimmed prospects of Bartholf, Green, and the Manatee County Republicans likely translated into diminished power and lowered expectations for

the remote town. Though still the Manatee County seat, Pine Level was an artifact of an ambitious Republican era that had failed. Though its height was still to come, this patina of failure only added to several other disadvantages that the town possessed. Ultimately, Pine Level would only enjoy 11 more years as the county seat. Information about those remaining years, as well as research into how the town was organized and other particulars, are presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4:

Historical Research of the Pine Level Site

Chapter 3 discussed the history of the Reconstruction Era in Florida, with specific references to its effects in the Peace River Valley area and Pine Level. That chapter laid the groundwork for understanding the changes that were happening in the 1860s through mid-1870s that led to Pine Level's founding and early growth, or lack thereof. That chapter also explored the likely motives and beliefs of Pine Level's first inhabitants. This chapter explores specific details about Pine Level that have been able to gleaned from historical research into deeds, tax rolls, county commissioners minutes, and census records.

In sum, this section will present the history of Pine Level. It features the kinds of information that Pine Level's citizens saw fit to write down, whether that be the specifications for a government building, or the details of a land sale. While this information has existed in the dusty annals of the Historical Records Library in Bradenton for more than a hundred years, no one has ever compiled it into one place. Furthermore, much of this information about the history of Pine Level contributed to the development of my archaeological research design, which is presented Chapter 5. It also provides a lens through which to interpret the results of the archaeological investigation, in Chapter 7, and the artifact analyses in Chapter 6. The information presented in this chapter proceeds, as much as possible, chronologically, beginning with the founding of Pine Level.

The Founding and Slow Growth of a Frontier Outpost

There is some confusion about when Pine Level was founded. Several sources say that the town was founded in the 1850s (Melton 2002:6; Warnke 1971:52; Woodfin 2009), a misconception that I believe arose in one source and was repeated as truth in later sources. The most specific reference to an 1850's date comes from Colonel Read B. Harding in a *Tampa Tribune* column by D. B. McKay (1959), who may or may not have been the first to misstate the date of Pine Level's founding. According to Harding, a post office was opened in Pine Level on February 16, 1855, only to close five years later in 1860 (McKay 1959). He goes on to say that the post office later reopened on June 7, 1871 (McKay 1959). Unfortunately, Harding is only partially correct. The Pine Level post office that lasted from 1855 to 1860 was actually located in Sumter County (Bradbury and Hallock 1962:67), not Manatee. The Manatee County Pine Level post office was in business from 1871 to 1928 (Bradbury and Hallock 1962:67). While it is possible, and indeed even likely, that someone lived in the Pine Level area in the 1850s, I do not believe that a town of any description was here in the 1850s. Beyond the fact that there was no post office in this location before 1871, I have other reasons to suspect that Pine Level was founded in 1866.

As described in Chapter 3, in 1866 James D. Green passed a referendum to relocate the county seat, and after a majority of Manatee County's residents approved, a commission was created to locate the new seat (Brown 1991:185). It was this commission, consisting of eight men from eight different precincts around the county, who settled on the location in the center of the county near Horse Creek for the new county seat (Manatee Board of County Commissioners Minutes [hereafter MBOCC] May

29, 1866). The county clerk reported that they had located it “on Range 23 E Township 37 S. Southwest quarter of Southwest quarter of Section 22 and that they [the commission] had named the site Pine Level” (MBOCC May 29, 1866).

There are two important items in this statement. First, the commission did not say that they had located the county seat at a particular town that was already in existence. Indeed, they actually state they themselves named it Pine Level. Second, a map of Manatee County from this time period clearly shows that the location that the commission had marked was almost directly in the center of the county. This indicates, as others have suggested (Johnson and Willis 1980; Matthews 1983), that the county seat was purposely relocated from the Village of Manatee so that it would be centrally-located. However, even if the underlying motive for the relocation was political, as I believe it to be, by locating the new seat in the center of the county, the initiators of the move could claim that it was being done for the good of all Manatee County citizens, thereby providing sturdy political cover. Taken together, these two points indicate that Pine Level was actually created by the 1866 commission. The new town was really just an invention; it was a point on a map whose physical properties were indistinguishable from the surrounding countryside.

But, as the new county seat, Pine Level would need to have a courthouse from which the transaction of county business could take place. During same meeting wherein they named and located the new county seat, the Manatee County Commissioners laid out their plans for a new courthouse in Pine Level (MBOCC May 29, 1866). It was to be a 20 by 30 foot log hewn building, which was to contain two 10 by 10 foot jury rooms and a single 20-by-20 foot courtroom (Figure 4.1) (MBOCC May 29, 1866). It was also



Figure 4.1. Layout of the 1867 Pine Level courthouse as described by the Manatee Board of County Commissioners. (Drawing by the author)

described as a “rough log house 20 x 30 -- clapboard roof and puncheon floor – with seats of the same material” (Bartholf 1876a). All building plans that are presented in this section have been transcribed and are included in Appendix A.

Money to construct the new courthouse was raised through the auction of the old courthouse and courthouse square in the Village of Manatee (MBOCC May 29, 1866). Together, these were sold for 128 dollars to John Curry (MBOCC July 2, 1866). After presenting the lowest bid, the county commissioners chose David N. Townsend to construct the new courthouse (MBOCC July 2, 1866). While the exact location of this structure was not named, an 1878 survey map of Pine Level’s original 40 acres (Figure 4.2) (Manatee County Deed Book [MCDB] B:203) clearly shows that Blocks 8 and 13 were retained by the county and marked “county building.” Therefore, is likely that all of

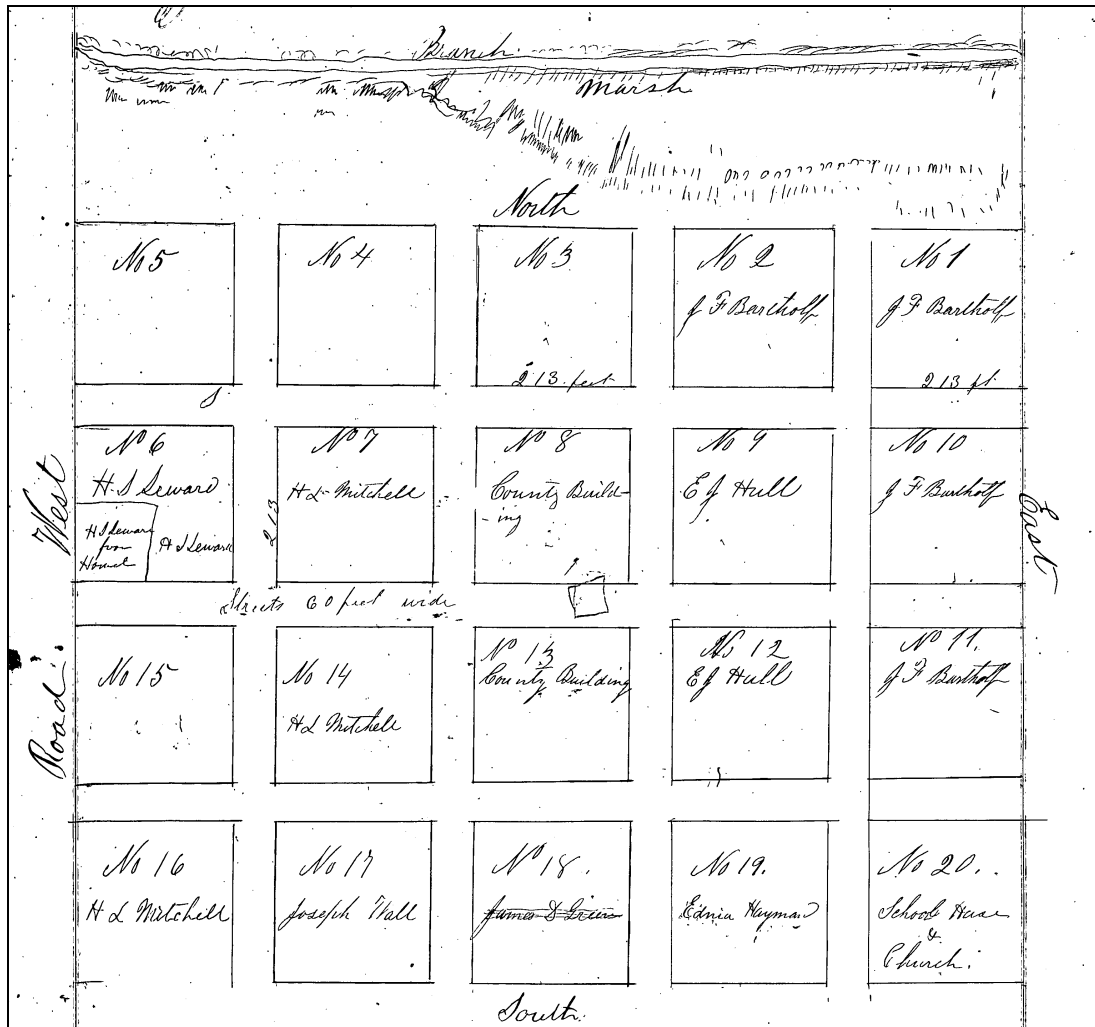


Figure 4.2. Plat map of Pine Level, 1878. (Deed Book B:203, Manatee County Historical Records Library, Bradenton, Florida)

the county buildings discussed throughout this chapter were located somewhere within these two acres.

In January of 1867 the first county commissioner meeting was held in Pine Level, though not within a completed courthouse (MBOCC January 18, 1867). David N. Townsend had apparently not finished the structure “according to contract” (MBOCC January 18, 1867) and the commissioners refused to pay him any more money until it was done properly. Their rebuke of Townsend’s work would, unfortunately for them, be repeated numerous times with other contractors in the years to come. It was in this same

January meeting that the commissioners ordered the town lots of Pine Level surveyed and advertised for sale, for the first time.

However, it was not until June 1, 1867, that Manatee County actually purchased the 40 acres of the new county seat in Township 37 S, Section 22 (State of Florida Tract Book:97). The commissioners ordered the sale of the lots at Pine Level to be held few months later, on September 7, 1867 (MBOCC June 15, 1867), but extant records do not indicate that any were purchased. Indeed, while it is always possible that people were squatting at the county seat, no one purchased land within the town's original 40 acres until the late 1870s, and no land was purchased adjacent to the Pine Level's acreage until 1872 (State of Florida Tract Book:97).

This must have been a mostly vacant, little-seen part of the county. There is no record of any building in Pine Level except the courthouse, and in the first couple years, the only people likely to travel to it would have been the county commissioners, who were obliged to do so for their job, and people who needed to complete court business. When the election for delegates to the constitutional convention was held in Pine Level in November of 1867, the area was probably strewn with tents and other temporary housing, as both voters and federal soldiers would have camped out near the courthouse over the several days of the election. The Pine Level United Methodist Church was founded in 1868, but did not have a permanent building until the 1884 (Adams 1976). Before that time, church members (of whom there were only 24 by 1882) met up for regular camp meetings at the Camp Ground, an area just north of Pine Level (Adams 1976).

John Bartholf, the ex-Union officer and Republican from New York, moved to Pine Level in 1869 and claims to have been its "first settler" (Bartholf 1876a). Bartholf

must have lived as a squatter for the first few years of his residency, however, as he did not purchase land in Pine Level until 1873 (State of Florida Tract Book:97). Also, if Bartholf truly was the first settler, then this would argue against the presence of any earlier squatters, and prove how desolate a place Pine Level was from 1866 to 1869. Indeed, Bartholf states that Pine Level “remained as found a barren unsettled wilderness, with nought to distinguish it from the surrounding country save the rude Court House... its nearest settler a mile distant for several years” (Bartholf 1876a).

Bartholf probably made his home within the original 40 acres of Pine Level, as he says that he “settled near the Court House and hewed (?) from the stump a rude log house – and the necessary fencing material to enclose a few acres of land” (Bartholf 1876a). It is not surprising that Bartholf would choose to settle near the courthouse, as he would have worked in this building as the circuit court clerk for several years, from 1868 until 1876 (www.manateeclerk.com/AboutUs.aspx 2009). Bartholf’s locational information, while vague, is important in trying to relocate his home during the archaeological component of this investigation.

In 1869, the same year that Bartholf moved to Pine Level, it was becoming clear that many Manatee County residents were unhappy with the location of the courthouse and the county seat. The displeased residents must have been vocal enough that the county commissioners felt the need to address the issue. In order to put the matter to rest, the board stated that “in lieu of the much talked of desire to move the Court House that if no petition be presented by the next meeting of the Board for the removal of the Court House, that it remain where it is” (MBOCC May 3, 1869). The issue of the moving the county seat away from Pine Level is linked clearly to its slow growth, as Bartholf plainly

states: “Owing to the continuous agitation of the question of removal of the county-seat, the growth of Pine Level has not been as rapid as it otherwise would have been” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:10). Interestingly, the county commissioners seemed more concerned with taking steps “to build a proper Court House and Jail” (MBOCC May 3, 1869), than with taking the county seat title away from Pine Level. Instead of having qualms with the location, they simply took issue with the apparent shoddiness of their workspace, the courthouse, and the fact that the county had no jail.

The issue of removing the county seat from Pine Level came to a head in September, 1869, when the commissioners examined a petition for its removal that was signed by 49 Manatee County citizens (MBOCC September 7, 1869). However, according to the board, eight of the petitioners were not registered, and one signature had been duplicated. As 40 signatures was not enough to order an election to push the issue further, the board considered the matter shelved. Out of what seems like exasperation, they also moved to make the courthouse’s location permanent by an Act of Legislature.

As noted in Chapter 3, at the same time that the petition was presented to move the county seat away from Pine Level, another petition, signed by Manatee River Democrats, had been sent to the state legislature asking to split Manatee County in two, thereby leaving the eastern side to the Republicans (Brown 1991:191). As with the petition sent to the board of commissioners, this second petition was promptly ignored, with the help of Representative James D. Green (Brown 1991:191). Both the petitions just discussed, if they had succeeded, had the potential to take power away from Manatee County Republicans. Neither did succeed, however, precisely because of the power of

those Republicans on the Manatee County board of commissioners, and in the state legislature.

After dealing with the second petition, the commissioners in Pine Level bemoaned that the issue of removing the county seat had caused them to put off the “erection of suitable public buildings during the whole year (MBOCC September 7, 1869)” and that it was now necessary for them to “erect a jail, County offices, and repair and improve the Court House (MBOCC September 7, 1869).” Instead of moving the seat away from Pine Level, then, the commissioners seem to be cementing Pine Level’s tenuous role by constructing more government buildings in the little outpost. On the same day that they buried the petition to move the county seat, the commissioners moved full steam ahead by listing their specifications for the new buildings.

The county offices were to be placed in a double pen house, each pen being 10 by 12 feet, with an 8 foot passage between them, and raised on lightwood blocks (MBOCC September 7, 1869). While the commissioners describe this design as a double-pen, given the addition of the passage, it bears a closer resemblance to an enclosed dog-trot house (Haase 1992), which is a classic Cracker architectural style. The courthouse was to be modified by adding lightwood blocks underneath, removing the room partitions, adding another door opposite the first, and adding new windows (MBOCC September 7, 1869). These changes were probably meant to make the courthouse into a one-room structure (hence the need for additional county offices) and create more cross-ventilation.

The specifications given for the jail are striking. The commissioners called for a 10-by-20 foot structure two stories tall, with eight foot high ceilings, “entered by means of a ladder through door in upper story, trap door in roof of each roof of cell 3 ft. square,

and ladder furnished for under in hole in upper corner” (MBOCC September 7, 1869). The board was apparently trying to construct a secure wooden jail without the use of iron cells, and they did so by putting the entrance on the second story, and forcing prisoners to lower themselves into their cells by means of a ladder.

In fact, this type of jail design is known from other frontier contexts. Two log jails in Texas, one of which was destroyed by a fire in 1866, also required that prisoners be lowered into their cells from an attic (Jordan 1978:151). The Pine Level jail was to be built with “floors of heart timber well hewed, to extend one floor underground” (MBOCC September 7, 1869). This likely meant that the jail was to have a double layer of hewn boards, a feature that likewise existed at one of the Texas log jails (Jordan 1978). This double layer of boards would make it more difficult for a prisoner to dig himself out of the jail than a single layer of boards. For archaeologists, this design feature has the added benefit of creating a more diagnostic archaeological signature than a building that was simply placed on blocks. The number of cells inside of the jail is not specified, but if each cell was 3 feet square, then one imagines that there could have been several of them within the 10 by 20 foot floor plan.

A drawing of the jail was made by Anna Zerviah Webb Griffith (Figure 4.3), who moved to Pine Level with her husband Robert Griffith, probably in the mid-1870s when Robert became the clerk of the circuit court (Matthew 1983; MCDB B:136-137). Anna’s small sketch is enlightening because it shows that the Pine Level jail was indeed built so that the entrance was on the second floor, and that the first floor (at least from the view of the drawing) is completely enclosed except for one small window. Anna’s drawing cannot help to determine how many cells were inside the jail, but it does give the



Figure 4.3. Pencil on paper sketch of the first Pine Level jail by Anna Zerviah Webb Griffith, published in *Edge of Wilderness: A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay*, © 1983 Janet Snyder Matthews. Reprinted by express written permission of the author.

impression that the structure was small, and located in a barren place devoid of other buildings, or even healthy-looking trees.

A census for the year 1870 provides some information about just how desolate Pine Level actually was at this time, four years after it was founded. This census lists everyone who lived in all of Township 37 together, though, meaning that we cannot pinpoint if individuals were living in or near the county seat itself. Despite this caveat, the 1870 census is interesting. There were 13 families in the township, totaling 71 people. From the listed occupations of the male heads of household, we can surmise who would have had regular business in the county seat, even if they did not live in it, or close to it. For example, Enoch E. Mizell is listed as the Judge of the Circuit Court, Bartholf is

listed as the clerk of the Circuit Court, and Andrew Garner is listed as the Sheriff. All other men on the census for Township 37 are listed as farmers. Bartholf was settled in Pine Level at this time, and at some point Enoch E. Mizell had land and a home just south of the county seat in Section 28 (Manatee County Tax Roll 1881), but whether Andrew Garner was also a Pine Level resident is unknown.

Early in this same year, 1870, the county commissioners attempted to raise money for the new county buildings that had requested by holding an auction of the lots at Pine Level (MBOCC January 3, 1870). But the seeming snail's pace of work at the county seat meant that it was not until August of 1872 that the surveyor completed his report for his work at Pine Level (MBOCC August 19, 1872). Without a proper survey, it would have been difficult for the commissioners to sell lots at the site, so it does not appear that they were able to raise money for the new county buildings through an auction. Probably through a lack of funds, the alteration work on the courthouse was a long time in coming. While the alterations were ordered in September of 1869, the board did not accept proposals to do the work until December of 1871, more than two full years later. They then chose J.A. Platt who had presented the "lowest reliable bid... for the Sum of Fifty Dollars" (MBOCC December 19, 1871).

By this point, in 1871, the commissioners had also decided that they required a Jury House, probably because the removal of the partitions in the courthouse would leave them without a jury room. For the Jury House, they requested a 10 by 14 foot log structure with two doors and a window, to be filled with four 10-foot long benches and a stand (MBOCC December 19, 1871). The commissioners added that a four foot square well should be dug (MBOCC December 19, 1871), and though they do not specify a

location for the well, it is likely that they intended it to be near the Jury House. In April of 1872, neither new structure had been completed, as James A. Jones, who had been chosen to build the Jury House and dig the well, had failed to do so (MBOCC April 19, 1872).

When Jones had been selected to complete this task is unknown, and demonstrates that, while the county commissioners and clerk wrote down many decisions and events, they did not record all of them, leaving the record with several gaps. However, the board had begun to get fed up with the slow rate of work, as they insisted that it be completed by “some competent person...at a sum not to exceed Seventy Five Dollars” (MBOCC April 19, 1872) by the Fall term of the Circuit Court. Lucky for the researcher, they also provide the exact location where they want the Jury House built, in the northeast of the northeast of Block 13 (MBOCC April 19, 1872), pinpointing the location of this building more closely than any of the other government buildings in Pine Level. By November of 1872, the Jury House and well were near completion, having been constructed by Simpson Johnson (MBOCC November 15, 1872), and marking an occasion when the board almost got a building by the time they asked for it.

The year 1872 is important for marking the first year that anyone purchased land within a mile of Pine Level. Extensive deed research was performed for Section 22, Township 37, Range 23 E, where Pine Level is located, and for Sections 21, 27, and 28, the three sections that, in addition to Section 22, surround the county seat for approximately a mile on each side (Figure 4.4). By studying the deed records in these four sections, I have been able to gain insight into what areas changed hands often, cost the most, increased or decreased in value, and who valued these properties. The

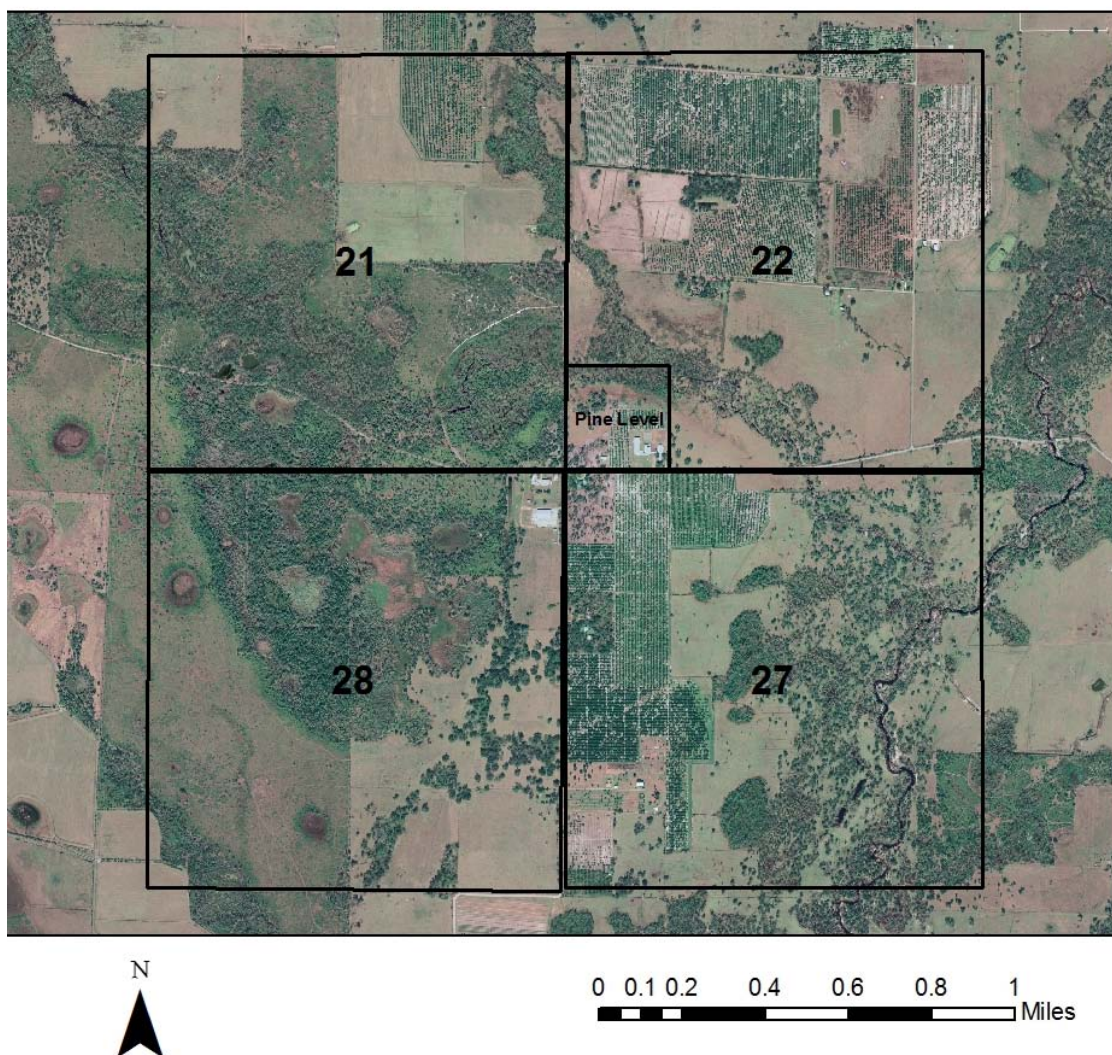


Figure 4.4. Map showing sections surrounding the Pine Level site. (*Murdock NE DOQQ 2004 from FDEP*)

following deed research provided in this chapter is extensive and detailed, and may be more than is strictly necessary for an historic archaeology thesis. However, it is my contention that this information will be a boon to future Pine Level researchers, including archaeologists. This study identifies areas that are more likely to contain archaeological remains, and in at least one case, pinpoints the probable location of a particular individual's grocery store within a quarter acre parcel. Information like this will allow

future archaeological investigations to key in on areas of interest to answer specific questions. Certain deeds of interest are highlighted throughout this chapter, but a more complete listing of deed sales, prices, and dates are provided in Appendix C.

While the deeds are informative, it is important to remember two key caveats to this research. First, many people, for whatever reason, did not register their deeds (Cindy Russell, Manatee County Historical Records librarian, personal communication 2009). Unregistered deeds create a break in the property chain and gaps in the record. Second, many people did not buy the property they lived on because if they did, they would then be required to pay taxes on their homes and other improvements (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:57), which many settlers could ill afford. In addition, the Vose injunction of 1871 required that homesteaders pay cash to purchase property from the state of Florida, which was also next to impossible for these poor residents (Brown 1991:259). Many of these issues would not be cleared up until the 1880s, when the state's circumstances changed and there was a sudden run on available lands in south Florida.

In May of 1872, when James D. Green bought 160 acres from the State of Florida, comprising the entire northwest quarter of Section 27 (MCDB Misc.:526), he became the first registered purchaser within a mile of Pine Level. Green's acquisition, for which he paid \$1.25 per acre, was a huge block of land immediately south of Pine Level, and in the coming years he would benefit from selling off many portions of this property. Indeed, this land just south of Pine Level's original 40 acres would go on to become some of the best real estate in the area. Green's first customer was E. O. Morgan, the first postmaster of Pine Level (Matthews 1983:306), who purchased an acre from Green for 5 dollars in

1873, located a quarter mile south of Pine Level's southwest corner (MCDB Misc.:290), and bordered to west by present-day NW Tom Mizell Avenue.

It is telling that the first person to secure purchase of land here was Green, as he was the politician who succeeded in passing the referendum that removed the county seat from the Village of Manatee in the first place (Brown 1991:185). Therefore, Green's large purchase of land here not only solidified his tie to the new county seat, but also showed his confidence, or hope, of its eventual success. Green had already been damaged in the polls of 1870 (Brown 1991), so perhaps by moving to Pine Level (which he presumably did around the time of his land purchase, but not in time for the 1870 census), Green was also hoping for a fresh start. Living at Pine Level until his death, Green would hold several offices, including county commissioner, sheriff, and postmaster (Stone 2010; Manatee County Sheriff's book:9). Though he would make another try for political relevance, described later, Green would never regain the power that he had held before 1870 (Brown 1991).

Other events occurring around this time include the construction of the trap-door-design Pine Level jail. Though it must have been built sometime between 1870 and 1873, the precise date is something of a mystery. Either the commissioners did not write about when they paid this contractor, or I simply missed this entry when reading through the script of the commissioner's minutes. However, by June of 1873 the board was already considering making changes to the jail's design so that it would be sturdier and more secure (MBOCC June 2, 1873). James D. Green stepped down as a member of the board temporarily so that he could make a bid to do the work, but the contract was instead awarded to the lowest bidder, John M. Bates, for 550 dollars, (MBOCC June 2,

1873). The changes to the jail were completed and approved by the board in September of 1873 (MBOCC September 15, 1873).

As evidence of just how undeveloped the county seat remained, in 1873 the board was allowing people to cut down any trees on public streets in Pine Level (MBOCC May 9, 1873), and one imagines that they were probably happy to have this done. By the end of this same year, John Bartholf purchased 40 acres of land from the state of Florida in the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 22. This was the entire 40-acre block adjacent to the east side of Pine Level's 40 acres. While Bartholf may have purchased this land for farming or stock-raising purposes, given its proximity to the still-undeveloped county seat, it is probable that he hoped to be able to sell off portions of it, as James D. Green would do with his large tract immediately to the south of Pine Level. Bartholf and Green, then, appear to have been Pine Level's first land speculators, and it is likely that the names of these Republicans, who were large land owners near Pine Level as well as government officials, were closely associated with the county seat itself in the minds of Manatee County's citizenry.

Nothing of import appears to have happened to the buildings or governance of Pine Level again until 1876, when the board held a special meeting to discuss the jail and courthouse. Apparently, "the Jail was rendered wholly useless by the breaking of the same by one Alonzo Johnston, and the Sheriff protesting against any responsibility for persons, unless it was strengthened" (MBOCC April 29, 1876). The repairs included laying a new double floor of one and a half inch-thick seasoned heart pine, and pounding 10d nails into all the walls, no further than an inch apart in any direction, in a zig-zag

pattern (MBOCC April 29, 1876). Driving so many nails into the walls was intended to make it more difficult for prisoners to saw their way out of the wooden jail, a technique that was used at the two other log county jails in Texas (Jordan 1978:152). John M. Bates was chosen to make the repairs for a total of 81 dollars (MBOCC April 29, 1876).

The state of the courthouse was of equal concern to the commissioners, as a Grand Jury presentment had recently called it “a disgrace to the County” (MBOCC April 29, 1876). Instead of attempting to fix said disgrace, the board, after “mature deliberation” (MBOCC April 29, 1876) selected courthouse Plan No. 1 from John A. Graham of the Village of Manatee as being the most suitable. Graham had, in fact, sent his plans for the future Manatee County courthouse to the board in January of 1876, and specified in the accompanying letter that the construction would not exceed the commissioner’s limit of two thousand dollars (Graham 1876). Given the early date of this letter, and Graham’s knowledge of the board’s monetary requirements, it is likely that general disgust with the courthouse, and talk of building a new one, had been widely known for some months before the special meeting was called in April.

Graham’s Plan No. 1 called for a two-story building with offices on the first floor for the Circuit Clerk, Probate Judge, Grand Jury, and Sheriff (Figure 4.5, left, and Figure 4.6), and a courtroom on the second floor (Figure 4.5, right, and Figure 4.7), accessible via a double staircase to a second-floor balcony (Graham 1876). Two more jury rooms and judge’s retiring room that were to be placed behind the courtroom were deemed unnecessary by the board (MBOCC April 29, 1876), who appear simply to have shortened the length of the building on the first and second floor. The building was then 30 feet wide in the front, and 32 feet long towards the back, was to sit two feet off the

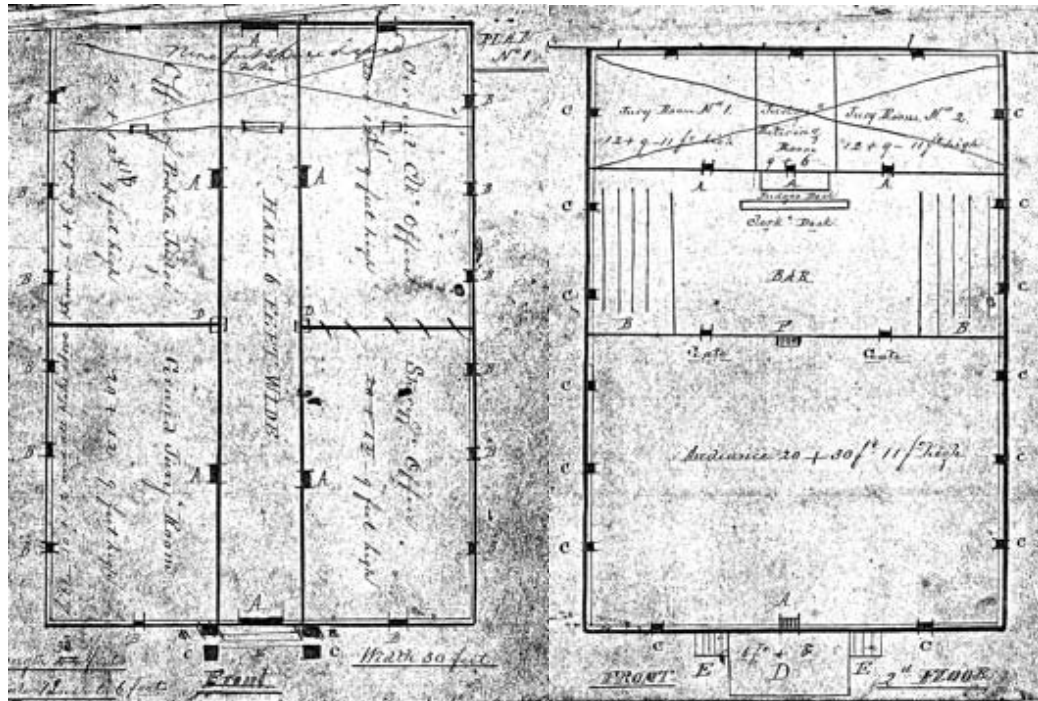


Figure 4.5. Plans for the first floor (left) and second floor (right) of the 1876 courthouse in Graham’s Plan No. 1. (Pine Level folder, Manatee County Historical Records Library, Bradenton, Florida)

ground on blocks, and contain 32 windows (Graham 1876). The elevation shows the planned courthouse to be rather grand, especially with the striking double staircase on the front (Figure 4.8). The board advertised for a contractor to build the new courthouse, and in May chose William S. Curry, who proposed to complete the work for 1,795 dollars (MBOCC May 16, 1876). The commissioners specified that the new courthouse must be ready for the Fall session of the court, and be finished “in all respects by January 1st, 1877” (MBOCC April 29, 1876).

Mr. Curry appears to have completed construction of most of the courthouse by July of 1876, as he was paid almost his whole sum, with the rest to be dispensed when the building was furnished (MBOCC July 3, 1876). An extant 1887 photograph of several Manatee County officers standing in front of the second courthouse partially reveals what this structure looked like (Figure 4.9). This shows that it was a clapboard building



Figure 4.6 Drawing of the first floor of the 1876 Pine Level courthouse. (Drawing by the author)



Figure 4.7. Drawing of the second floor of the 1876 Pine Level courthouse. (Drawing by the author)

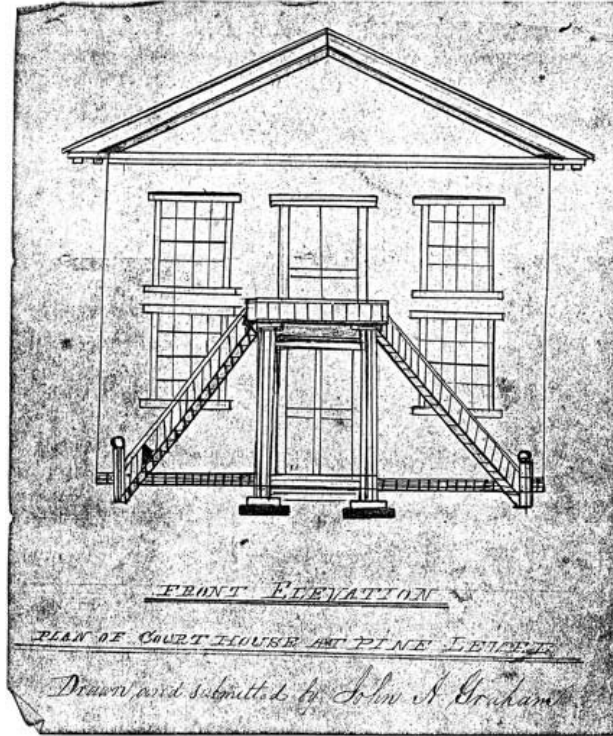


Figure 4.8. Elevation of the 1876 courthouse in Graham's Plan No. 1. (Pine Level folder, Manatee County Historical Records Library, Bradenton, Florida)

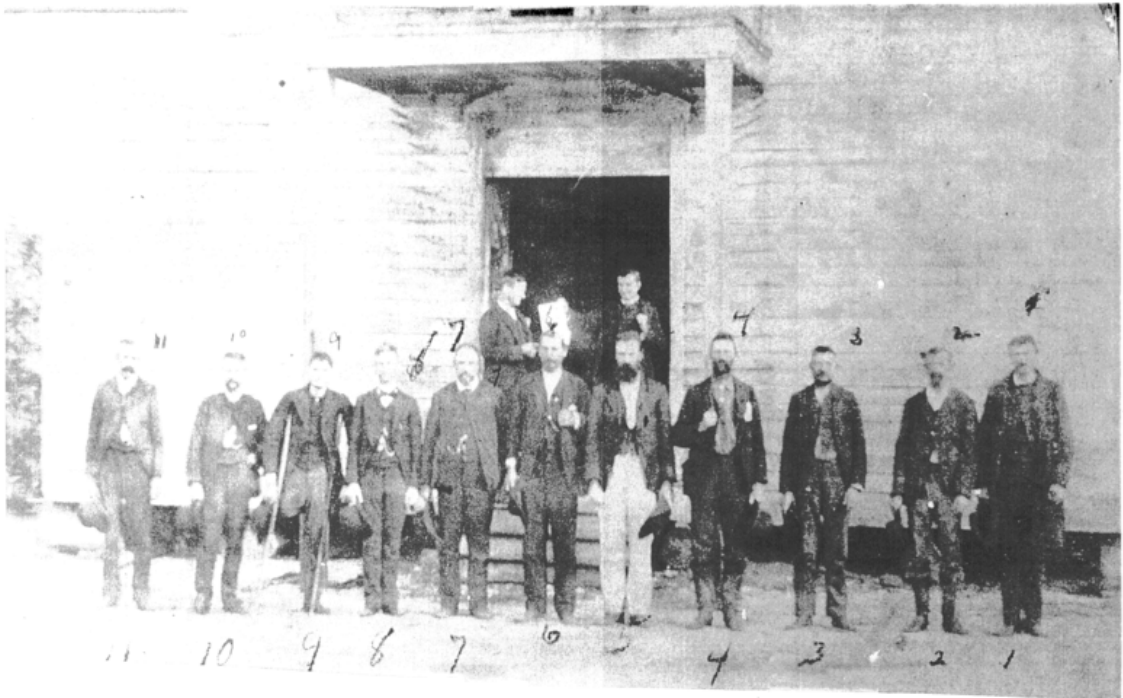


Figure 4.9. 1887 photograph of DeSoto County officers in front of the 1876 Pine Level courthouse. (Image reproduced with permission of Howard Melton)

with steps, a doorway, and supports for a balcony (or porch roof), just as depicted by Graham (1976). However, the part of Graham's design depicting the stairs on either side of the balcony, and for four large front windows, was clearly not used. The stairs were probably placed inside the central hallway in the building, making the front of the courthouse considerably less grand than the depiction in Graham's elevation drawing. There is a small opening apparent above the "balcony" though, which may indicate that a door, or at least one large window, was placed in this location. So while the second courthouse that was constructed in Pine Level bears a resemblance to its original plans, its actual construction appears to have been largely different, at least on the exterior.

Less a Republican Colony, More a Democratic Town

The relatively speedy erection of the new courthouse may have been spurred by the upcoming, antagonistic, national election of 1876, which pitted Tilden and Hayes for the presidency, and Drew and Stern for the governorship of Florida. By the mid-1870s, Democratic support had swelled in Manatee County, putting the Republicans at a disadvantage, and making it likely that Manatee County would vote Democratic for the first time since before the Civil War (Brown 1991:210). As discussed in Chapter 4, these events precipitated the complete downfall of the Republican Party in Manatee County.

Three months before this election was to be held on November 7, John Bartholf resigned as the clerk of the Circuit Court, and soon after moved to Charlotte Harbor where he took up the position of postmaster (Stone 2010). Meanwhile, the influx of new, Democratic, settlers into south Florida, along with the immigration of the Republican freedmen out of the area, had been occurring for several years. The 1876 election, though, was a definite turning point in Pine Level's history. At this moment in time there

is concrete evidence of the shift Pine Level had begun to make from a Republican stronghold to a county seat run by Democrats. Along with this shift, Pine Level begins to change from a sparsely-settled hamlet, struggling for legitimacy, to a blossoming, full-fledged town. No longer deterred by its Republican reputation, many people, particularly business owners, would begin to set up shop in Pine Level in the latter years of the 1870s and the early 1880s, betting on a bright future for the county seat.

Andrew Green is never listed as a Manatee County Clerk, in 1876 or any other year, so it can safely be assumed that he never posted his bond for the position after the tumult of the 1876 election. Instead, in 1877, Robert S. Griffith took up the clerk's position, which he would hold through 1878 (www.manateeclerk.com/AboutUs.aspx 2009). In need of some land to build a proper home, in December of 1877, Griffith purchased a little over seven acres of land from James D. Green, located 417 feet to the south of the southwest corner of Pine Level, in Section 27, at five dollars an acre (MCDB B:136-137). This price appears to have been the going rate for property in Section 27 owned by James D. Green at this time, as William P. Sims had paid the same rate for several acres in the same area, also in 1877 (MCDB Misc.:538-539; MCDB B:130-131).

It is also important to point out that Griffith's new property, just like E.O. Morgan's before, was bordered on the west by present-day NW Tom Mizell Avenue. At the time, this road would have simply been known as the route to Fort Ogden, a town ten miles south of Pine Level. Fort Ogden was "in the heart of the great stock-growing country, and but a short distance from deep water navigation on Peace Creek" (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:12). Given the variable water levels of the Peace River closer to Pine Level, where the waterway was not always navigable, the road to deeper waters near Fort

Ogden would have been an important conduit for trade and travel. It would make sense, then, for land along this road, but near Pine Level, to have been prime real estate.

Almost unbelievably, it was not until 1878, 12 years after being named the Manatee County seat, that land within the original 40 acres of Pine Level itself was purchased. Finally making use of the Pine Level survey completed in 1872, the county commissioners were able to hold a successful public land auction on April 4, 1878. A total of six people purchased blocks of land in Pine Level, with most buying at least one acre apiece. Taking a close look at who bought land where, and how much each lot cost, is illuminating. This auction provides us with key information about what areas of the town were considered more desirable at a single point in time, based on how much people were willing to pay for them (Figure 4.10)

To begin, John Bartholf, though he no longer lived in Pine Level, purchased Blocks 1, 2, 10, and 11 (MCDB B:317), all located on the east side of the town, close to the 40 acres of land he had purchased in 1873. Bartholf paid 42 dollars for all four blocks (MCDB B:317), which equates to 10.50 dollars per acre. E. J. Hull bought Blocks 9 and 10 for a total of 24 dollars, or 12 dollars per acre. Ednia Hayman purchased block 19, adjacent to the schoolhouse on Block 20 and located on Northwest Pine Level Street, for the higher price of 16 dollars. Farther west on Northwest Pine Level Street, Joseph Wall bought Block 17 for the even higher price of 17.50 dollars. Henry Laurens Mitchell purchased Block 16, located at the crossroads of NW Tom Mizell Avenue and NW Pine Level Street, for 15 dollars, Block 14 for 13 dollars, and Block 7 for 10 dollars (MCDB C:26).

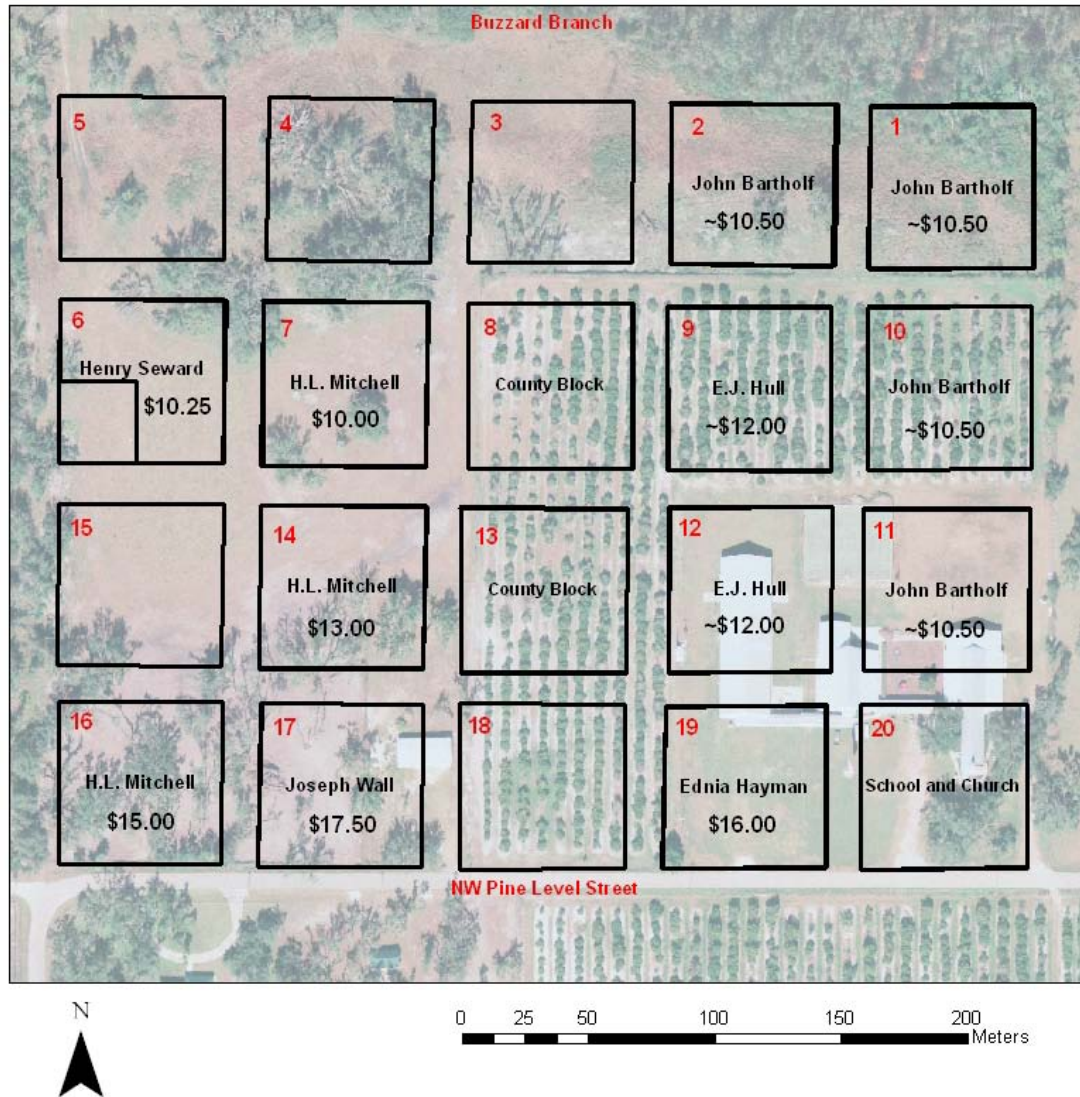


Figure 4.10. Map showing the results of the 1878 Pine Level land auction. (*Murdock NE DOQQ 2004* from FDEP)

It should be noted here that Henry Laurens Mitchell was well-known figure in south Florida, having been a state attorney, a member of the Confederate Infantry, a state legislator, and a circuit court judge, and would go on to become the sixteenth governor of Florida (Matthews 1983:359). In politics, Mitchell was a hard-line conservative Democrat who greatly disliked, among other things, “opposition [Republican] newspapers, the opposition party, [and] carpetbaggers” (Church 1978:21). There is no

evidence that Mitchell ever lived at Pine Level, so it is possible that his purchase of land here was purely for speculation purposes.

The last person to buy land in the May, 1878 auction was Henry Seward, who purchased three quarters of Block 6 for 10.25 dollars (MCDB B:293). Seward owned a general merchandise store in Pine Level at least as early as 1883 (Melton 2002:211). The store was advertised as having “Flour, Grits, Meal, Bacon, Corn, Etc. /Ready-Made Clothing, Boots and Shoes/ A Nice Stock of Dress Goods ! (The Pine Level Times, no date). While the location of Seward’s general store is unknown, it is possible that it was located somewhere within his 1878 land purchase. Blocks 3, 4, 5, 15, and 18 were left unsold.

This auction provides some indication of which land was considered more desirable based simply on price per acre. That Blocks 3, 4, 5, 15, and 18 did not sell suggests that they were less desirable than the blocks that did sell. Without exception, the blocks that commanded the highest prices were located along NW Pine Level Street. In fact, the section of town adjacent to the intersection of NW Pine Level Street and Tom Mizell Road (hereafter “the crossroads”) would come to be very popular, particularly among people who are known to have been merchants. The desirability of the crossroads, especially among business people, makes sense, as these roads were the two main routes into and out of Pine Level.

Given that the southwest section of Pine Level commanded the highest prices in the 1878 auction, it is somewhat perplexing that neither Block 15 or 18 sold at this time. However, both of these blocks would be purchased in the near future. Henry Seward bought Block 15 from the county in 1879 for an undisclosed price (MCDB B:538),

making this block another possible location for his store. After several parties expressed interest in buying Block 18 in 1881 (MBOCC July 5, 1881), it was sold at auction and became divided into an east and west halves, each of which sold for the relatively high price of 12 dollars (MCDB C:494-496). John Haygood, a druggist (The Pine Level Times, no date) and owner of a general merchandise store (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:7), bought the east half, from which he may have operated his business or businesses.

The least expensive blocks in the 1878 auction were, by and large, located to the north and east of the higher-priced blocks. Blocks 3 and 4 were not purchased until 1882, when Robert Griffith bought them. He also bought all of the land to the north of Blocks 3 and 4 that was owned by the county, amounting to about four acres of land total. However, Griffith only paid 15 dollars for the whole, which makes each acre worth a relatively paltry \$3.75. This low price may be partly attributable to the fact that the northern part of town was near Buzzard Branch, and therefore lower and marshier than other areas of the county seat. In 1886, Griffith sold part of Block 5 (MCDB I:47), meaning that he must have also purchased this block at some point, but when, or how much he paid, is unknown. Griffith built and owned a steam sawmill (Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory 1886: 369; Matthews 1983), and while the location of the sawmill has been lost to time, it could have been constructed on any of the land Griffith purchased in the Pine Level area.

The May, 1878 auction was a strong indicator of progress for Pine Level. While only five people had purchased any land within a mile of Pine Level before 1878, five new people owned land here after that one day alone. That so many new people suddenly

had the confidence to buy land at the county seat shows movement in a positive direction for the still-struggling town. However, the change from dusty hamlet to bustling frontier town was not overnight. I found only one purchase in the area in 1879 (when Seward bought Block 15), and none at all 1880. This picture changed dramatically in 1881, but several other incidents occurred before this milestone was reached.

In 1879 John G. Spottswood became the circuit court clerk (Manatee County Clerks site), replacing John Griffith. Spottswood would have a short term as clerk, however, as he was found guilty of altering the jury list in November, 1879. The incident merited a special meeting of the county commissioners, and a full write-up. Apparently, the names of Harrison “Tip” Riley and J. Redd had been erased from the jury list, and replaced with G.C. Patten and W.C. Platt (MBOCC November 5, 1879). The clerk’s motivation for altering the jury list was distinctly political, but it is doubtful that he acted alone.

At the time, James D. Green was trying to regain a foot-hold in Manatee County politics by running for the legislature (Brown 1991). Even though he lost the election, Democrats in the area seemed to be intent on burying his political aspirations for good, and did so by bringing extortion charges against him (Brown 1991). The jury members selected for Green’s trial were drawn from John Spottswood’s altered jury list, which, according to Brown (1991:293), was simply a list of Green’s enemies. Green was indicted, but when the machinations behind the case became public, Spottswood was singled out as the individual responsible for the incident (Brown 1991). The person who wrote down the proceedings quoted Spottswood as saying “I intended to break up the court,” and that it was the “devil in me that made me do it” (MBOCC November 5,

1879). Both quotes, especially the latter, are overly dramatic, and were probably intended to paint Spottswood as the lone responsible party. Spottswood was allowed to resign without being brought up on charges, and Green's case was eventually forgotten (Brown 1991). While it ended quietly, this incident demonstrates how far the Republicans had fallen, and to what lengths Manatee County Democrats would go to keep them from returning to power.

In the wake of the Spottswood scandal, Robert Griffith would regain the post of circuit court clerk, which he would hold from 1880 until 1888 (www.manateeclerk.com/AboutUs.aspx 2009). In 1880, James Green continued to try to reorganize the Republican Party in Manatee County (Brown 1991), and make his comeback. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Green chose his old political ally John Bartholf as his candidate for the state house of representatives (Brown 1991:294). Bartholf, however, had become weary of the incessant in-fighting of the Florida Republicans, and shockingly, switched sides to become a Democrat (Brown 1991:294). This surprise announcement essentially sank Green's last attempt at resurrecting both his political career and the once-strong party that he had helmed (Brown 1991).

By 1880 then, The Republican party, weakened ever since the 1876 elections, no longer held any sway in Manatee County. Given the overall downfall of the Republicans, it is doubtful that Pine Level, once considered a hotbed of Radical control, continued to be regarded as a Republican entity of any kind. Though Green continued to live there, he was politically impotent, and neither his presence, nor that of any other Republican, was likely to be seen as an impediment to Democrats. While some people may have been motivated to move to Pine Level after the 1876 elections showed a decrease in

Republican control at the county seat, even more Democrats and Confederate sympathizers may have been emboldened after seeing Green's last failure. Starting in 1881, new settlers began to move into Pine Level as they never had before. Indeed, in this year, Bartholf wrote that "settlers have been pouring in there... and the cry is still 'they come'" (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:10). By the beginning of the 1880s, Pine Level was a far different place than it had been at the beginning of the 1870s. It had a larger population, more Democratic-leaning residents, and a brighter future: "...it will remain a county-seat, or at least a great place of trade and importance, for all time to come" (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:10).

Along with its growing and changing population, Pine Level, and Manatee County in general, was in need of a larger and more secure jail. In 1880, the county commissioners had begun to realize that their log jail had expended its utility, stating that it was "utterly worthless, and beyond repair" (MBOCC February 3, 1880). Starting in 1878, board member John G. Webb had begun to correspond with jail cell manufacturers about the feasibility of purchasing a secure metal cell for a jail in Pine Level (MBOCC June 3, 1878). By 1880, the board desired an entirely new building, described as an "iron jail with four cells, which are clean, healthy, and secure; said sells [sic] to be placed in a comfortable house all for amount not exceeding the sum of \$800" (MBOCC February 3, 1880). Manatee County citizens, though, voted down bonds to raise money for the new jail a few months later, 129 to 8, distinctly demonstrating that residents were tired of paying for more government buildings (MBOCC April 4, 1880).

However, the county commissioners must have raised the money needed by 1881, because they gave a thorough description of how they wanted the new facility to be

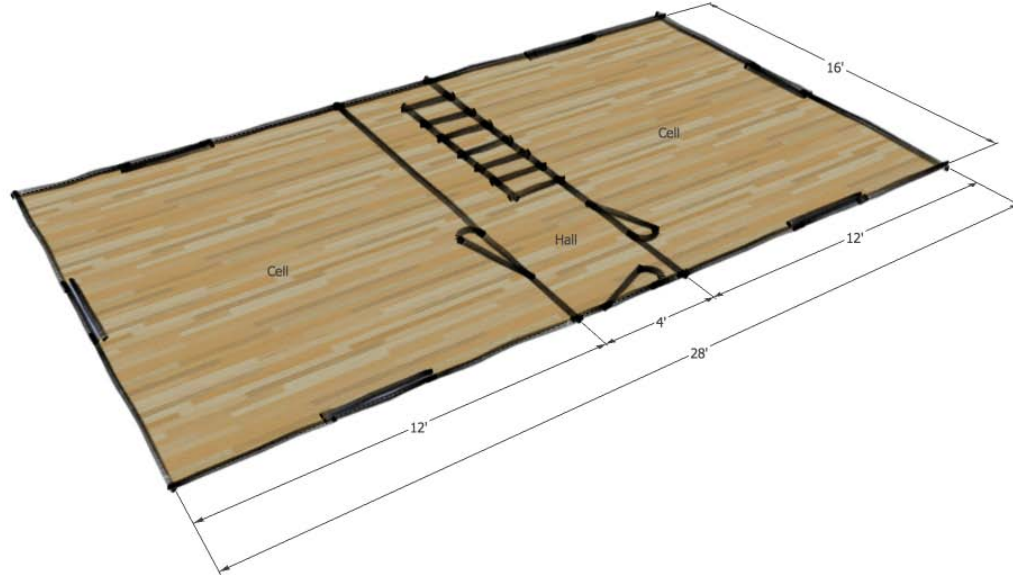


Figure 4.11. Drawing of the first floor of the 1881 Pine Level jail. Note that the second floor would have had the same layout. (Drawing by the author)

constructed (Figure 4.11). What the board describes for their new jail is an I-house, another classic Cracker-style structure (Haase 1992) that could indeed be a “comfortable house.” It was to be two stories tall, with two rooms and a hall on each floor. Each room was to be 12 by 16 feet, but “one of the upper rooms to be studded so as to be four inches solid thickness and ceiled [sic] inside” (MBOCC July 5, 1881). The building was supposed to sit on blocks, and have six windows on the first floor and seven on the second.

Fortunately, we have a good deal of documentation for this county building. A photograph of the second Pine Level jail (Figure 4.12) was taken, at an unknown date, when it was being used as a home by Mr. and Mrs. David. W. Mizell (Andrews 1950; Melton 2002). The photo confirms that this was an I-house sitting on blocks, though the



Figure 4.12. Undated photograph of the 1881 jail when it was used as a private home. (Image reproduced with permission of Howard Melton)

balcony was likely added after it became a family home. Interviewed in 1983, a Mr. Thigpen described the building as “just an old country house...old-fashioned frame house” (Manatee County Historical Society 1983). During the same interview, Maria Mizell Petrie, who had lived in the house as a child, recounted that the places where the bars went into the window frames were still evident when she lived there.

David W. Mizell gave a tour of his home, the former jail, to Allen Andrews (1950) in 1936. Mizell told Andrews that the west room on the first floor had been used by the jailor, while the east room had been used for “negro prisoners” (Andrew 1950:310) and that there was an extant ring in the floor to which they were “sometimes shackled” (Andrew 1950:310). Upstairs, David Mizell stated that both rooms had been prison cells with “barred and crossbarred” (Andrews 1950:311) windows, solid walls of

2-by-4 timber nailed together, and that each was sealed with tongue-and-groove lumber (Andrews 1950:311). In the upper east room, Mizell pointed out where repairs had been made to the ceiling after one of the infamous Sarasota Vigilantes had cut his way through the ceiling and escaped (Andrews 1950:311).

In all, the structure described by each of the interviewed individuals, and seen in Figure 4.12, closely matches the description given by the Manatee County Board of Commissioners in 1881. In addition, the commissioners must have been able to purchase at least one iron cell to place in one of the upper rooms of the jail, because a visiting journalist described this cell in 1885. In Pine Level to document the Sarasota Vigilante trial, the journalist said the cell was a “cage...about ten feet square and the same height, made of iron bars” with three beds placed in it (Hammond in Matthews 1983:358). Information about when the county acquired the cell, and what company manufactured it, is unknown.

In August of 1881, after advertising for bids, the board chose S. G. Cabrigh to construct the new jail, for the very exact price of \$661.86 (MBOCC August 2, 1881). The clerk, Robert Griffith, was ordered to locate a suitable location for the new building on “lot 8” (MBOCC August 2, 1881). This provides us with locational information for the second jail within the one-acre area of Block 8. Interestingly, the same journalist who described the jail cell in 1885 also said that the jail and courthouse were “side by side in about the centre [sic] of the settlement” (Hammond in Matthews 1983:358). However, he later also describes the jail as being “across from” the courthouse (Hammond in Matthews 1983:358). Whether they were side by side, or sat across from each other, it is

likely that the second courthouse was also located within Block 8 if it was so near to the second jail.

Pine Level's growing size in the early 1880s necessitated several other structures that are also likely to have been constructed on Block 8 by the county commissioners. In 1880, the board had requested that a well be dug near the courthouse "on one of the lots reserved for the county" (MBOCC April 5, 1880) and that a fence should be built to enclose it. If the second courthouse was within Block 8, as I have speculated, then the well and accompanying fence could also have been constructed in Block 8. Conversely, the well could also have been dug on Block 13, the other county block. In 1882, the commissioners asked that a privy be built "for the use of the Public at the North East corner of the lot on which the Jail is built" (MBOCC March 6, 1882). With this locational description, we can be fairly positive that, if a privy was built, it was constructed in the northeast corner of Block 8.

The privy the commissioners describe is a 6-by-12 foot structure sitting two feet off the ground, with a screen on the front, and open in the back (MBOCC March 6, 1882). The privy occupants would not be visible from the back of the structure, however, because the board also requested that a fence be built around the courthouse, jail, well, and privy, and therefore the privy back would face this fence. The fence was to be made of planks, and have three sets of stiles set on the south, east, and west walls of the fence "at points most suitable to accommodate the public" (MBOCC March 6, 1882). Again, this fence would have had to be located on Block 8 if it was to enclose the jail. The description of this large fenced-in area adds further credence to my contention that the courthouse and well would also have been on Block 8, if it was indeed to enclose all of

these structures. It is doubtful that the board would have ordered that a fence be built crossing the road between Blocks 8 and 13. Also, we can surmise that if this fence encircled a privy that was located in the northeast corner of Block 8, then it may be possible to find evidence of this fence in this area of the site. This point will become particularly salient in discussing a feature located during unit excavations at the site.

The sudden uptick of county building construction around 1881 and 1882 matches well with the efflorescence of Pine Level's real estate market, as people who moved here suddenly needed land for homes, farms, and businesses. In 1881, at least seven new individuals registered deeds for property either within Pine Level's original 40 platted acres or in closely adjacent areas. These areas include the land located in Section 27 that was being sold by James D. Green. Interestingly, by the 1880s many deeds refer to properties located along Tom Mizell Road, whether on the east side (Section 27) or the west side (Section 28), as lots "in the town of Pine Level" (MCDB F:234-235).

These properties, of course, are not actually located within the original 40 platted acres of Pine Level, but that made no difference to residents at that point in time. Without fail, if a deed referred to a property as being "in Pine Level," it was either on the original acreage of the town, or it was adjacent to Tom Mizell Road (Figure 4.13). Conceptually, it appears that Pine Level's citizens thought of the town as existing on its original 40 acres, and extending southward from the crossroads down along Tom Mizell Road. Indeed, as many deeds show, the land at, and south from, the crossroads was some of the most expensive in the area, and therefore probably the most desirable.

A good example of a pricier property near the crossroads comes in 1881, when Henry Roan and J. W. Davis paid James D. Green 10 dollars for a small, quarter-acre lot

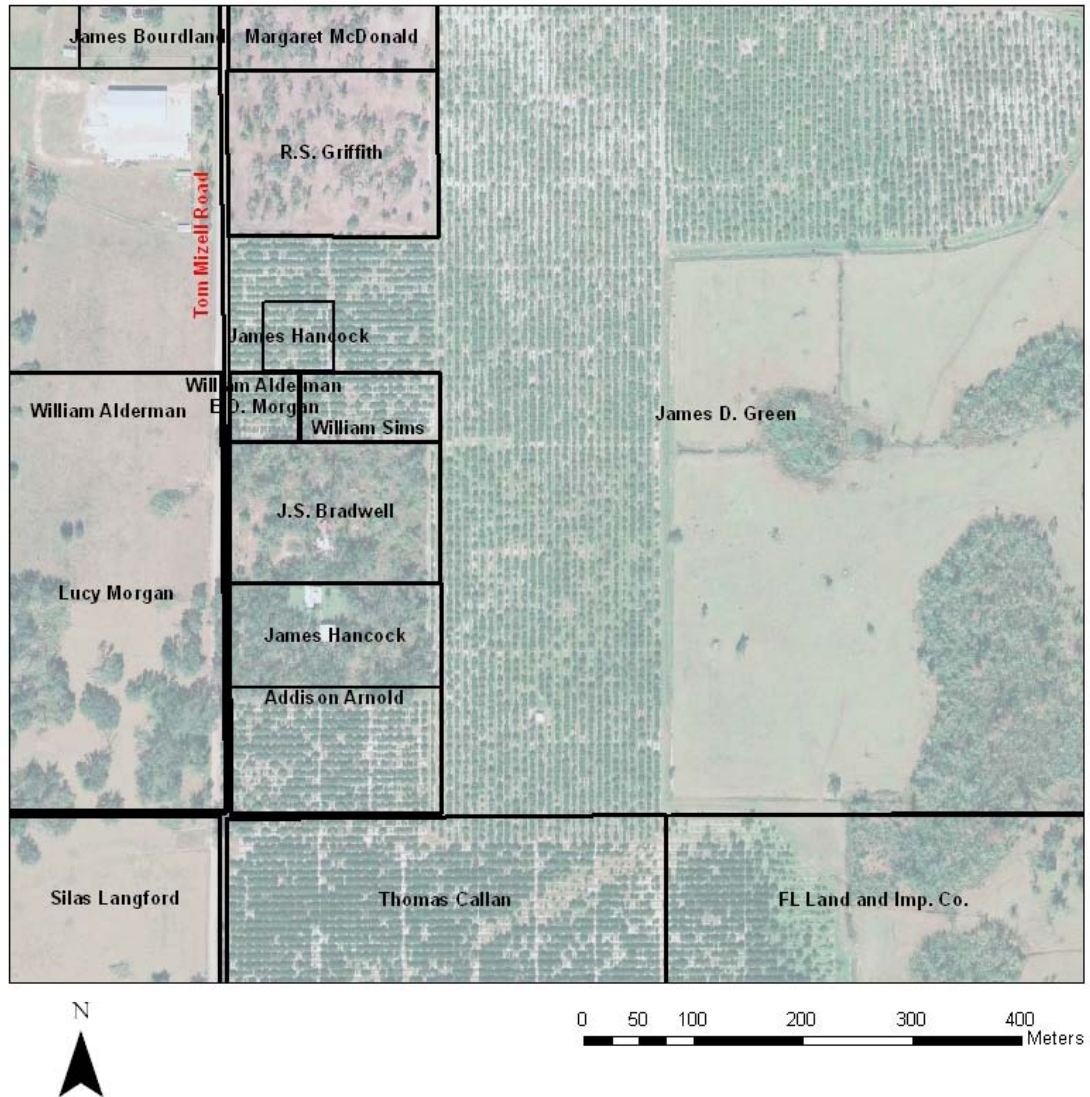


Figure 4.13. Landowners south of Pine Level along Tom Mizell Road, 1872-1887. (Murdock NE DOQQ 2004 from FDEP)

on the south side of Northwest Pine Level Street, located directly across from Pine Level's Block 17 (MCDB C:397-398). This amount for a quarter of an acre is far higher than the five dollar per acre rate that several individuals paid for Green's land in the 1870s. Remembering that Joseph Wall paid \$17.50 for the whole acre of Block 17 in 1878 (equaling \$4.37 for a quarter of that acreage), and that that amounted to the highest price paid for any Pine Level land up to that time, it is interesting to point out that 10

dollars for a quarter of an acre in 1881 means that land value in this part of Pine Level had more than doubled in three years. This indicates that the property near, or at, the crossroads was desirable, but also points to the overall fruition of the Pine Level real estate market.

Also important to note here, a blurb in *The Pine Level Times* from 1886 describes a G. W. Roan as a boardinghouse keeper in Pine Level, and a “Roan House” was listed as one of the businesses in Pine Level in 1886 (Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory 1886:369). Though I do not know how Henry Roan was related to G. W. Roan, given the small-town nature of Pine Level, it is likely that they were related. If G.W. Roan and Henry Roan were in business together, then a boardinghouse may have been located on the quarter-acre property purchased by Henry Roan and J. W. Davis.

A very large and very expensive purchase that happened in the same year, 1881, came from William Alderman purchasing 81 acres from the old postmaster, E. O. Morgan, for 2,000 dollars. This land included the entire east half of the northeast quarter of section 28 (80 acres), and the one-acre lot Morgan had bought from Green several years before, which came complete with a house. Even taking into account the fact that Alderman was paying for a house, 2,000 dollars was a substantial sum of money for this acreage. In fact, this amounts to nearly 25 dollars per acre (not including the worth of the house). Compare that price with the \$1.25 per acre that James D. Green had paid for his 160 acres, in the same area, back in 1872, and the sum appears to be even more monumental. The 80 acres that Alderman purchased may have commanded a relatively high price because it included areas at or near the crossroads, which I have previously discussed as being a prime location for businesses. Alderman’s willingness to pay such a

high price also points to the how much land, in general, had come to be worth near Pine Level.

Other land near the crossroads began to be snapped up, much of it by Melvina and John Sloan in 1882. For example, John Sloan paid Henry Laurens Mitchell 30 dollars for the south half of Block 16 in Pine Level (MCDB D:407), while Melvina Sloan bought a quarter-acre directly across the street for 10 dollars from James D. Green (refer to Figure 4.14). Thirty dollars for the south half of Block 16 was exactly double what Mitchell had paid for the entire acre in 1878. Interestingly, a “Carleton and Sloan” ran a general merchandise store in Pine Level that they advertised in 1881 as having “everything kept in a first-class General Store, to suit the times” (advertisement in Bartholf and Boggess 1881:77). Where this store was located within the several lots of land owned by Sloans, however, is anyone’s guess.

Between 1882 and 1883, the Sloans quickly turned around and sold all of their lots to Carlton and Company, which was comprised of William Carlton and William Alderman (MCDB D:218-219; MCDB F:54-55). The Sloans sold some of their property for more than they had paid, but they also sold some of it for less. Whether the Sloans also sold their stake in the “Carleton and Sloan” store to “Carlton & Company” is unknown. William Alderman, half of Carlton & Company, was the proprietor of Alderman House, which was identified as operating within Pine Level by 1886 (Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory 1886:369). Again, where Alderman House was located is currently unknown, but it is possible that it was built on one of the Carlton & Company properties. Alternately, Alderman House could have been located on land

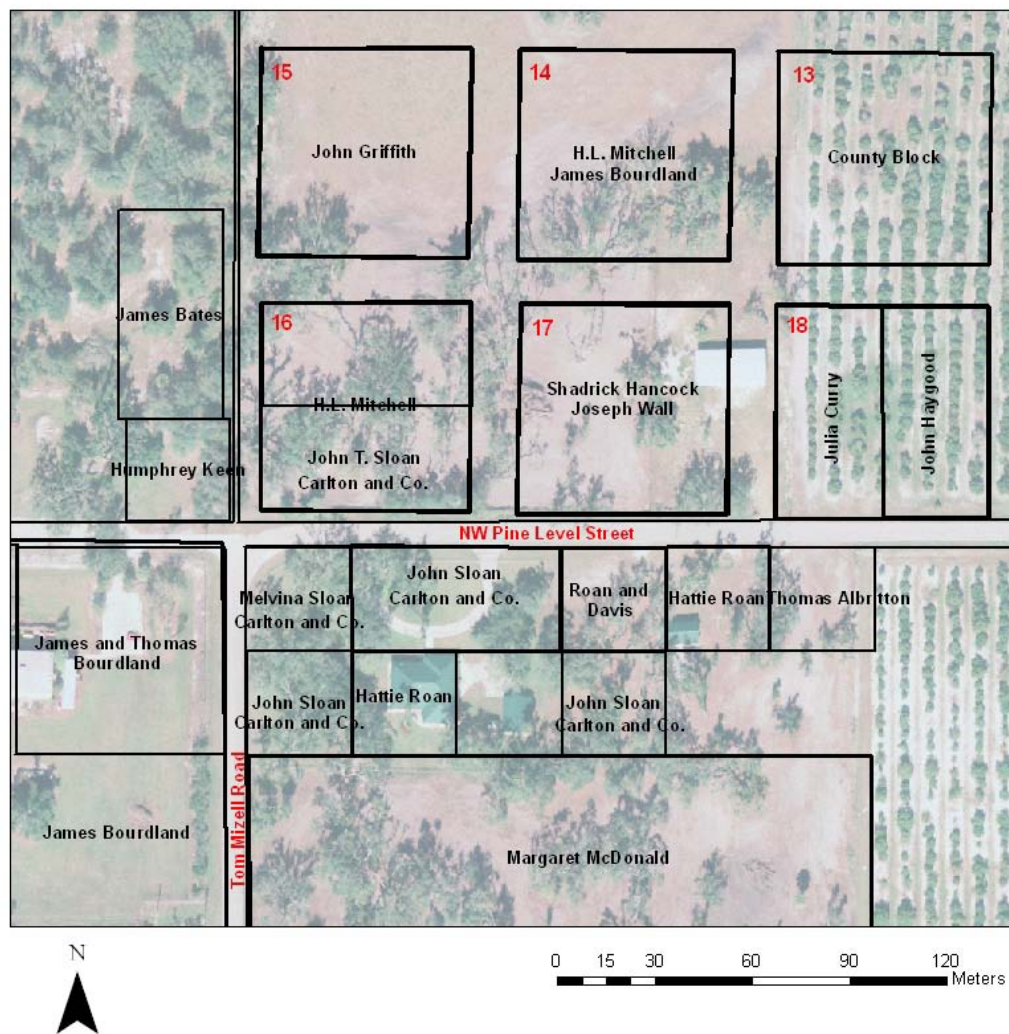


Figure 4.14 Landowners at the Pine Level “crossroads,” 1878-1887. (*Murdock NE DOQQ 2004* from FDEP)

purchased by Alderman alone in 1884 about a quarter mile south of Pine Level in Section 28 (MCDB E:552). It should also be mentioned that, in 1883, Carlton and Company paid 260 dollars for the quarter acre lot in the extreme northwest corner of Section 27 (MCDB H:145-146), the highest rate paid for any property in or around Pine Level. This substantial sum speaks not only to the high value of the crossroads property, but also the likelihood that this parcel had been improved by the construction of a building.

Not all land in Pine Level was as valuable as that near the crossroads. In contrast to the prices that the Sloans, Alderman, and Roan and Davis were paying, in the same year, 1882, Robert Griffith was able to buy approximately four acres of land on the north side of Pine Level's original 40 acres for only 15 dollars. This included Blocks 3, 4, and all the land owned by the county to the north of these blocks (MCDB D:403-404). The relatively cheap price of only \$3.75 per acre for this property once again demonstrates how undesirable land on the northwestern end of Pine Level was in comparison to land on the southwestern end.

There is additional evidence that the northern side of Pine Level, as a whole, was considered less desirable. When the commissioners requested that a large fence be built to enclose the courthouse, jail, a privy, and a well, they specified the building of stiles on every side except for the north side. These stiles, which are steps that allow people to cross over a fence but keep animals out, were supposed to be placed where they would be most convenient for the public. This apparently did not include putting one on the north side of the fence. Therefore, we can conclude that there was not a good deal of foot traffic coming from the north side of Pine Level.

In the northwestern section of town, however, John Bartholf was able to sell Blocks 1, 2, 10, and 11 in 1883 to O. T. Stanford for the remarkably high price of 300 dollars, (MCDB E:360). This equates to 75 dollars per acre. Was the northwestern end of town a desirable section to be in? Bartholf only paid 42 dollars for these same blocks five years earlier in 1878. It is possible that this section of Pine Level was suddenly more desirable than it had been five years before, but I believe it is more likely that these blocks commanded a high price because they were improved. Bartholf (1876a) had

stated that he had built a house and fenced-in several acres somewhere near the courthouse. It is reasonable to assume that that home and fence were located somewhere on the four blocks that Bartholf later purchased. This home could also have been built close-by on the 40 acres that Bartholf bought to the east of Pine Level, but the price Stanford paid for Bartholf's blocks is suspiciously high. Tax rolls also show that Bartholf was paying for improvements on at least one acre as early as 1877 (Manatee County Tax Roll 1877). Just like William Alderman before, who paid a very large sum for land that included a house, I believe that a large part of Stanford's payment was for Bartholf's old home (and any associated out buildings, animal enclosures, and other improvements), located somewhere on one of those four blocks.

O. T. Stanford, who made his real estate entry into Pine Level by purchasing Bartholf's blocks, was a lawyer (McDuffee 1961) and the editor and proprietor of *The Pine Level Times* (no date), the town's weekly newspaper. Four pages of this newspaper were found in the files of a county clerk in 1938, and have been preserved since this time (Kastory 1938). Though at least two different issues are represented by the four sheets of newspaper, only one is clearly dated. Despite these problems, the newspapers provide us with valuable insights into Pine Level via advertisements and local notices and anecdotes. Stanford would go on to solidify his monopoly of the northwestern section of town in 1883 by purchasing the land between Blocks 10 and 11 (originally reserved for the street) for 2 dollars (MCDB E:382), and then buying the land/street between Blocks 10 and 1 for 5 dollars (MCDB E:383).

The fact that Stanford was able to purchase the land that was supposed to be used as the street demonstrates that the western side of Pine Level was not a hive of

commercial, or other, activity. This is further proof that Bartholf's four blocks did not command a high price because the area itself was desirable, as seems to be the case at the crossroads. Rather, they were expensive because of improvements Bartholf had made to them. If any more proof is needed to make this case, it should also be noted that E. J. Hull sold Blocks 9 and 12 in 1883 for only 50 dollars (MCDB E: 155). While this made Hull a profit of \$26 over what he had paid in 1878, the equivalent of 25 dollars per acre is nowhere near the price Bartholf received for his land, despite the fact these properties are right next to each other.

At the close of 1883, Stanford turned around and sold Blocks 1, 2, 10, and the two former street properties, to James Bourdland for \$350 (MCDB E:395) (Figure 4.15). In 1884, Bourdland purchased a quarter-acre of land along the northern edge of Block 11 for 20 dollars (MCDB F:336), but it appears that Stanford kept the rest of this block for himself. New to Pine Level, at least in terms of land purchases, Bourdland ran a real estate agency here with his son, probably Thomas Bourdland, (The Pine Level Times, no date) and was the owner of a general store in Pine Level that sold "Groceries, Provisions, Feed, and Hardware" (The Pine Level Times, no date) and boasted that "we will sell as cheap as the cheapest" (The Pine Level Times, no date).

Expanding his new little empire in the northwest section of Pine Level in 1884, Bourdland paid the county commissioners 5 dollars for all the land north of Blocks 1 and 2 owned by the county, amounting to about three acres. Again, this price seems to be inexpensive because it was an undesirable location, and is actually identified as marsh on the 1876 survey of Pine Level (MCDB B:203). While Bourdland may have located his business or businesses somewhere on his property in the northwestern section of Pine

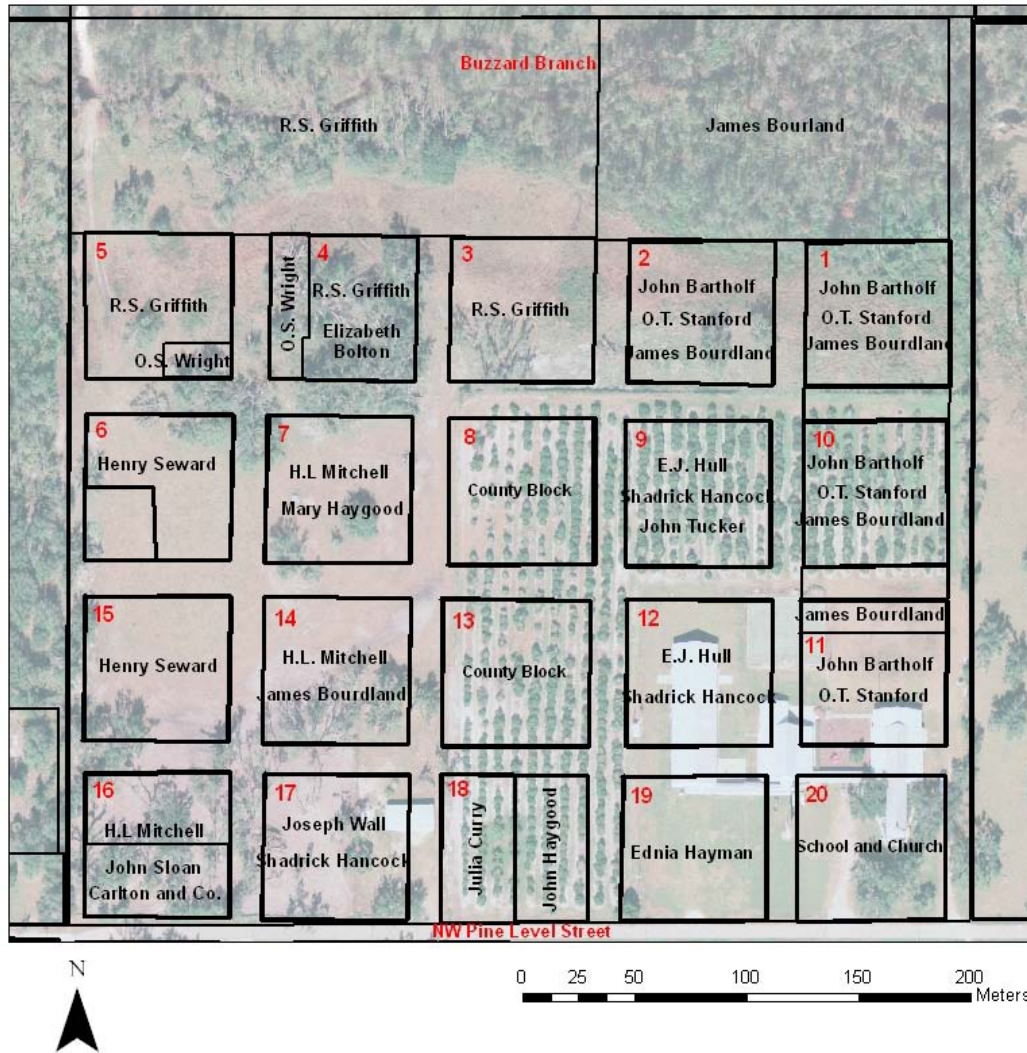


Figure 4.15. Landowners within Pine Level’s original acreage, 1878-1887. Landowners are listed chronologically. (Murdock NE DOQQ 2004 from FDEP)

Level, it is also possible that he located them on Block 14, which he bought from Henry Laurens Mitchell for 50 dollars in 1883 (MCDB E:446). This acre of land was far closer to the crossroads and likely business section in Pine Level. As an absentee landowner, Mitchell probably did not make many improvements to his property in Pine Level. Therefore, the \$50 price of Block 14 was probably a function of the property’s desirable location. Bourdland could also have put his businesses right on the crossroads, however,

as he bought three acres in the extreme northeast corner of Section 28 for 200 dollars in 1884.

There are a couple other Pine Level residents whose property purchases are of interest to this study. One is Thomas Albritton, who owned a grocery store in Pine Level, advertising “a fine and well selected supply of Groceries of every description, which I am selling at astonishingly cheap prices” (The Pine Level Times, no date). In 1885, Albritton purchased a quarter-acre of land along Northwest Pine Level Street, to the east of a quarter-acre owned by Hattie Roan, and right across the street from Julia Curry’s west half of Block 18. Albritton paid James D. Green the considerable sum of 37 dollars for the property. Thomas Albritton does not appear to have purchased acreage anywhere else in or near Pine Level, so his grocery store was almost certainly located on this quarter-acre along one of the town’s main thoroughfares.

The other resident of interest is Dr. Olin S. Wright, a physician and surgeon in Pine Level (The Pine Level Times, no date) who received his degree from the University of Michigan (MCDB G:349). In 1885 Dr. Wright paid only \$4 for about a quarter-acre of land along the west side of Block 4 (MCDB G:349). Many business owners in Pine Level owned lots that were a quarter-acre in size, probably because the land only needed to be large enough to accommodate a storefront, not a farm, fruit grove, or stock animals. The land Dr. Wright purchased is probably no different, except that instead of a store, he might have run a doctor’s office from his property on Block 4.

By the mid-1880s, Pine Level was beginning to look like a prosperous town. Using information from historical records, I have been able to locate the likely whereabouts of several stores, two hotels, a doctor’s office, a druggist, a real estate

broker, the courthouse, jail, and other public facilities, and several homes. Other sources such as Bartholf, stress that there were saloons here, saying that “at Pine Level and Fort Ogden spirituous liquors are sold in any desired quantity” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:62-63). However, the locations of these saloons are still unknown.

We can now broadly understand the structure and organization of Pine Level. There was a clear commercial section of town, as the most desirable areas for businesses were along Northwest Pine Level Street, Tom Mizell Road, and the intersection of these two roads. The town of Pine Level itself was understood to stretch south down Tom Mizell Road, far outside of the original 40 acres set aside by the county commissioners. A civic and government-oriented area existed around Block 8, where most of the county buildings were located. Blocks on the northern side of town, and land to the north of those blocks, were all eventually purchased, but generally for less than properties elsewhere in Pine Level. Some houses may have been located along the outer blocks in Pine Level, such as John Bartholf’s, with many more probably located on farms dispersed around the rest of Township 37.

Fighting for the Frontier

By the 1880s, Pine Level had a larger population and was more Democratic-leaning than it had ever been before, and there were other changes happening in the area as well. There was talk of railroads coming to south Florida (Bartholf and Boggess 1881; The Pine Level Times, no date), making it easier for farmers to get their crops to market, and for people to travel to and from the south Florida interior. Phosphate, first discovered in the Peace River in 1881, had become an important new market and more and more phosphate plants sprung up throughout the Peace River Valley every year.

Also in 1881, Hamilton Disston became the largest landowner in Florida after purchasing four million acres of south Florida swampland, which he hoped to drain in order to create more arable farmland (Brown 1991:261; Proctor 1996:268).

Many in south Florida were enthusiastic about the area's prospects for the future, both in drawing new settlers and in attracting monumental ventures such as Disston's plan to drain the Everglades. "Instead of the howling of the wolf and hooting of the owl, we will hear the ax and saw, and this vast unknown region will become one grand scene of enterprise and industry" (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:51). But not everyone was happy about south Florida being overrun with new settlers and buzzing industry. For one thing, the newcomers often came from radically different backgrounds than the pioneers of previous years. Indeed, "lifestyles of some of the depressed 'Crackers' contrasted starkly against those of the incoming capitalists and educated farmers" (Matthews 1983:319). Many pioneers felt threatened by the changes they were beginning to see around them.

This situation was not helped by the fact that many long-time residents viewed the state government's dealings with large, alien corporations such as Disston's as unseemly and underhanded. Desperate for cash, the state of Florida was willing to sell these companies huge swaths of land at heavily-discounted prices (Proctor 1996), which the companies then had the ability to resell themselves (Brown 1991). While most of the discounted land sold to Disston was supposed to be flooded or underwater, it was actually some of the best land in the state (Proctor 1996). Worse, much of the acreage sold to both Disston and the railroad companies was already inhabited and under cultivation by pioneer settlers. Derided as squatters, these residents were forced to purchase their land from the large companies or risk losing their homes and the land they had spent years

improving (Brown 1991). Their very way of life threatened by “land-grabbers” (The Pine Level Times, no date), many long-time residents were furious with the state government for selling their land out from under them (Peeples 1966). Even Bartholf, the cheerleader for development, decried this situation as a

...great injustice to some hard-working men...[who] have found out recently that they were *too slow*, and unfortunately, *too poor*, as speculators and capitalists abroad having money to spare have not hesitated to *enter them out* [i.e. claim title to their land][emphasis in original, Bartholf and Boggess 1881:57].

The anger and resentment engendered by the land conflicts extended to individual newcomers (Matthews 1983), and came to a head with the widely-publicized murders of Charles Abbe and Harrison “Tip” Riley. The latter was a long-time resident of Manatee County, and his was one of the names removed from the altered jury list in the Spottswood scandal. Abbe was different though. A Republican originally from Illinois, Abbe had arrived in Manatee County with his family in 1877, and quickly accumulated land throughout the area that is now Sarasota (Matthews 1983:315-316). An industrious individual, Abbe established the first post office in Sarasota (thereby naming the community), farmed, owned a store, and worked to attract other new settlers to the area (Matthews 1983). In sum, Abbe was everything that many south Florida pioneers were not: a well-off Yankee Republican. And perhaps worse, Abbe was attempting to bring more people like him into Manatee County.

The aforementioned Sarasota Vigilante Society (also known as the Sarasota Assassination Society) was formed by a well-known group of Manatee County residents in a directed effort to keep out, or drive out, individuals like Abbe from south Florida. As Republican carpetbagger, Abbe already had one strike against him in the eyes of the

Society. In addition, they also came to believe that Abbe, and Riley, were informants for the land-grabber companies and that they were actively assisting these corporations in stealing the pioneers' land (Peeples 1966; Warnke 1971). Riley was ambushed and killed while riding his horse in the early summer of 1884 (Peeples 1966). Abbe was shot and killed later in the same year (Peeples 1966). This latter event instigated a man-hunt for the perpetrators by outraged Manatee County citizens (Matthews 1983).

With a heavy price put on their heads by the Manatee Board of County Commissioners (MBOCC January 5, 1885) and the governor of Florida (Peeples 1966), the perpetrators were eventually rounded up by a posse and placed in the jail at Pine Level. The number of men held at Pine Level varies depending on the account, but was probably somewhere between nine (Matthews 1983) and twelve (Peeples 1966). News of a politically- and economically-motivated "assassination society" was tabloid gold for journalists, who flocked to the Manatee county seat from all over the country to cover the trial. Henry Laurens Mitchell acted as the trial judge, and presided over a courtroom that had a floor that one journalist described as "one part sawdust, two parts fleas" (F. N. Horton in Matthews 1983:358). At this point, another fence was built around the jail, this one 10 feet high, presumably to make it even more difficult for the prisoners to escape (MBOCC October 6th, 1885). After being convicted of the murders, some of the men were handed death sentences, while others were given life behind bars (Matthews 1983). Two of the men famously escaped from the Pine Level jail after their convictions and were never seen again (Peeples 1966). Through pardons initiated by the pleas of Manatee County residents, all of the gang members were out of prison by 1892

(Matthews 1983:364), and a couple even went on to become well-respected and wealthy men (Andrews 1950; Melton 2002).

The very existence of the Sarasota Vigilante Society, and the fact that the criminals were all later released based on the pleas of their fellow residents, demonstrates how people here were struggling over the identity and future of the south Florida frontier. These men committed cold-blooded murders, but were they not still south Floridians? Had they not, in fact, done these horrible deeds for the benefit of their neighbors? And ultimately, if the Society had been wrong to try to claim this land as their own, who was allowed to claim it? In the future, would this remain Cracker country, to be possessed and utilized by stock-raisers, or would it become the domain of northern-born gentleman farmers? What part was politics to play among the vast expanse of the frontier, and who had more right to that expanse, rich companies or poor families? Who benefited from the economic development bestowed by those companies, and who lost out? These were questions that residents in the Peace River Valley would continue to try to answer in the years to come.

One thing was certain: the vicious murders, widely reported upon, had exposed Manatee County as a violent and disorderly stretch of countryside. There were simply too few lawmen throughout the county, and they were too widely dispersed to be effective (Brown 1991). Put succinctly, “the population had outgrown its civil organization” (Matthews 1983:320). To continue to attract settlers and create economic growth, some fundamental changes would be needed in Manatee County.

The End of The Line For Pine Level

At the same time the Sarasota Vigilante Society trial had been taking place in 1885, prominent men in Pine Level had been meeting to discuss trying to lure the Florida Southern Railroad to their town (The Pine Level Times, no date). Back in 1881, John Bartholf had optimistically written that “the railroad will not miss [Pine Level] *very far*, if at all, or if disposed to pass it, with sufficient inducement, might come by and make Pine Level an important depot” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:10). Unfortunately for Pine Level, though, Bartholf was wrong. Whatever the men in Pine Level were offering must not have been lucrative enough for the Florida Southern Railroad, which instead chose to put a railroad stop eight miles east in Arcadia, in 1886.

With the railroad and the fully dredged and navigable Peace River, Manatee County residents in the Peace River Valley no longer needed to transport their goods to market in towns along the coast (Brown 1991). Whereas residents on the western side of the county had often complained in the past about having to travel over poor roads to reach Pine Level on the sparsely-populated interior, now residents in the eastern half likewise viewed their western counterparts as superfluous. At a March, 1887 meeting of Manatee County citizens at Pine Level, the decision was made to split Manatee County in half (Brown 1991:298; McDuffee 1961:276). DeSoto County was formed from the western half of Manatee County in April of 1887 (Brown 1991:299; McDuffee 1961:276). Only three months later, on July 18, 1887, the DeSoto County Board of Commissioners held their first meeting at Pine Level (DeSoto Board of County Commissioners [hereafter DBOCC] July 18, 1887).

There must have been a general distaste for Pine Level within the Peace River Valley, as immediate moves were made to relocate the county seat. By September of 1887, the board had already decided to hold an election for a new county seat, to take place shortly thereafter on November 3rd (DBOCC September 5, 1887). As is so often, and frustratingly, the case with historic documents, the county commissioners never mention the precise reason for relocating the county seat, only that elections were being held to do so. Perhaps it is simply too obvious though: other towns had larger populations and access to a navigable riverfront and/or the railroad. Arcadia, for instance, had all of these things. Pine Level had none, though it did have government infrastructure already in place. Unfortunately, Pine Level also carried the burden of the painful history of Reconstruction, having been the site of elections guarded over by federal troops, and the domain of Republican politicians. Arcadia, by contrast, was essentially a brand new town, standing “where nothing resembling a town had stood less than four years before” (Brown 1991:301). Maybe the taint of Reconstruction, combined with its other disadvantages, was simply too much for Pine Level to overcome.

In the November, 1887 election, Pine Level was not even on the ballot as an option for the county seat. Instead, Nocatee (224 votes), Arcadia (159 votes), and Zolfo (60 votes) led as the prime contenders for the honor (Brown 1991:300). However, there was some issue with this election, possibly having to do with people voting in the wrong precincts or not being properly registered, and the results from this election were thrown out (DBOCC November 7-9, 1887). A new election was to be held December 29, 1887 (DBOCC November 7-9, 1887), but by January of 1888 the board decided to completely defer any new elections until they had been petitioned to do so by one third of the county

(DBOCC January 2-5, 1888). A proper petition was apparently not submitted until July, when a new election date of August 4, 1888 was decided upon (DBOCC July 2, 1888). The August election results were also thrown out, however, though Arcadia had handily beat its nearest competitor of Fort Ogden, 295 to 186 (DBOCC August 6-8, 1888). Pine Level, which was included in this election, received 59 votes (DBOCC August 6-8, 1888). Yet another, final, election was held on November 6, 1888. In this one, Arcadia only won by 21 votes, garnering 448 out of 875 votes, but it was deemed the winner and declared the new county seat of DeSoto County (DBOCC November 12, 1888).

The commissioners must have been eager to disembark from Pine Level, as they held their first meeting in Arcadia only two months later (DBOCC December 10-12, 1888). They quickly authorized someone to transport the jail fixtures, cell, door, blankets, and iron grates to Arcadia (DBOCC January 7, 1889), and auctioned off all the county property in Pine Level. Coming in as the lowest bidder, James Bourdland purchased the old courthouse and jail, and two acres of land, for 202 dollars (DBOCC February 12, 1889). While the commissioners minutes do not name the blocks they had sold, the two acres sold to Bourdland were almost certainly Blocks 8 and 13, that had been owned by the county.

After this point, the historical record relating to Pine Level goes quiet. There is very little information about what happened to the town after it lost county seat status. Some sources seem to indicate that it declined rapidly after Arcadia was named the new county seat (Melton 2002; Johnson and Willis 1980: 109), while others suggest Pine Level slumped only gradually into oblivion (Warnke 1971:56). There is some proof of the former theory, as many of Pine Level's business leaders did move from Pine Level to

Arcadia very soon after the final 1887 vote. For example, Henry Seward, the owner of a general merchandise store operating in Pine Level from 1883, moved his business to Arcadia in 1888 (Melton 2002:211). William Carlton likewise transferred his general merchandise business from Pine Level to Arcadia immediately following the latter's being named the new county seat (Brown 1991:288; Melton 2002:211). Melton (2002:49) also records O. T. Stanford and Elam Carlton, both formerly of Pine Level, as Arcadia's first lawyers, thereby suggesting that both they also made the switch from Pine Level to Arcadia soon after 1887.

One surprising source of information about Pine Level after 1887 comes from an Englishman who was traveling through the area on business. Benjamin Newlands of London was a chemist and an expert in sugar refinery who visited the United States in 1893, likely to discover areas prime for growing sugar beets (Peter Newlands, personal communication 2009). After reaching south Florida he stayed at Arcadia House in Arcadia and then spent about a week boarding with Eliza Green, James D. Green's widow, in Pine Level. Newlands wrote two letters home to his daughters in England, detailing many particulars of south Florida life in general, and of Pine Level and Arcadia specifically. His observations, often quite humorous, range from economic activity to dining fare. Both letters can be read in their entirety in Appendix A.

Arriving in Pine Level on April 4, 1893, Newlands describes it rather harshly as a "place which consists of a few houses which are really wooden sheds in a pine wood" (Newlands 1893a) and "a region of swamp abounding in alligators snakes & other equally disagreeable companions" (Newland 1893b). However, he did not think much more of Arcadia, which he says would be called a village in England, but in south

Florida, was regarded as a city. Being from London, it is not surprising that Newlands was a little biased about the “rough and ready” (Newlands 1893b) houses he saw in the area. It is telling, however, that the traveler records Pine Level as having a few houses, and does not make any reference to a business district of any kind.

Newlands provides some other remarkable insights about life in the area. He says that Eliza Green, though she had citrus trees, 200 head of cattle, and innumerable pigs, still seemed to be “exceedingly poor” (Newlands 1893b). Indeed, Newlands states that her house had no furniture except for “some rough bedsteads & a few broken chairs” (Newlands 1893b). Green was probably attempting to make some extra money simply by taking in Newlands for a week. A final, compelling comment from the traveler regarded a Methodist church service he had attended, probably at Pine Level United Methodist Church. At the service he heard the minister talk about that fact that everyone knew that there were murderers among them in the church, but that the law was not strong enough to hang them (Newlands 1893b). These words from the minister apparently made Newlands nervous, probably because he had been unaware of the violence that had occurred during Manatee County’s prime, and which was apparently still alive in DeSoto County.

Some additional, scattered information about Pine Level comes from *The Champion*, an historic local DeSoto County newspaper that often printed “dispatches” from the old town. The dispatches would include chitchat about the weather, crop health, and the comings and goings of Pine Level’s residents as they traveled about the area. From these, it is clear that Pine Level existed as a small community at least through the

first decade of the 1900s. The last mention of Pine Level in the newspaper is from 1908 (The Champion, 22 October 1908), though *The Champion* stayed in print through 1911.

The most concrete information about Pine Level after the turn of the last century comes from the *Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory* [FSGBD], which dutifully listed each of Pine Level's attractions. In 1911, Pine Level, which had come to be known by the shortened name of "Pinelevel," had a post office, the Baptist and Methodist churches, and a single general store run by D. W. Mizell (FSGBD 1911:359). In 1918, Pinelevel had far more businesses, including an apiarist, two saw mills, blacksmiths, turpentine still, and a grocery store, along with a post office, and the Baptist and Methodist churches (FSGBD 1918:484). The little town almost seemed to be making a small comeback. However, by 1925 Pinelevel was only listed with the apiarist, a grocery store, a cross tie builder, the post office, and two churches (FSGBD 1925:761). In 1928 the post office was discontinued (Bradbury and Hallock 1962:67), and with it, the town of Pine Level seems to have disappeared as a separate entity.

Today, if you want to send a letter to someone at the Pine Level United Methodist Church, you must write "Arcadia" in the address line for the city. Once an upstart village, Arcadia has permanently surpassed, and usurped, Pine Level. While this town was created as a Republican enclave, an attempt to redefine the frontier and the future of south Florida, Pine Level only prospered when its Republican promoters were pushed out of power. Placed where it was within the vast wilderness of old Manatee County, Pine Level was in the middle of it all, yet existed nowhere: not on a river, not on a railroad, and not central to any one group of people. And perhaps most important, Pine Level could not, and did not, fit into the evolving narrative of the people of DeSoto County.

Chapter 5

Archaeological Research Design and Data Description

Past Work at Pine Level

Though the Pine Level site was once the location of an entire town, very little attention has been paid to it archaeologically. In fact, the site has only been surveyed once, and that survey did not include any excavation. A proposed mining operation in western DeSoto and eastern Manatee Counties by the AMAX Corporation initiated a large survey project in the Pine Level area in the late 1970s. Acting as co-Principal Investigators, Raymond F. Willis and Robert E. Johnson surveyed a total of 28,250 acres over two field seasons in 1978 and 1979 (Johnson and Willis 1980:1).

They located 28 aboriginal sites, ten of which they deemed eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, and 28 historic sites, of which they believed three to be eligible for the Register (Johnson and Willis 1980:1-2). The investigators state that “of these three, the most clearly eligible is APLS #29, town site of ‘Old’ Pine Level. This site is judged to be important and historically significant on both a local and statewide level and should be preserved from any kind of impact” (Johnson and Willis 1980: 2). Johnson and Willis believe that complete adverse impact mitigation of the site would be necessary if preservation is impossible (Johnson and Willis 1980:2).

However, Johnson and Willis did not come to these conclusions by performing subsurface investigations at Pine Level. Faced with an extremely large survey tract, they performed their work in several phases, including excavating shovel tests along transects

spaced one mile apart, intensive walkover of particular areas of interest, and systematic shovel testing of selected areas (Johnson and Willis 1980:25). The Pine Level site was not located on one of the transects in the survey area, and it was not selected for intensive, systematic shovel testing. However, Johnson and Willis did perform a walk-over survey of the site, and conducted thorough research into the history and importance of the town of Pine Level. Given the fact that the surface survey of the site clearly showed numerous artifacts, including glass, brick, ceramics, and metal (Johnson and Willis 1980:107), and the fact that the historical research had pointed to Pine Level being important archaeologically for many reasons (Johnson and Willis 1980:109-110), the investigators did not deem it necessary to perform any subsurface work at Pine Level. In other words, they could demonstrate that it was eligible for the National Register of Historic Places without having to perform any subsurface investigations. Also, when I spoke to Robert Johnson about his work at Pine Level 30 years ago, he said that he distinctly remembered that the place was “favored by the locals” (Robert Johnson, personal communication 2009). Therefore, the local community’s regard for the site was another reason to avoid performing unnecessary shovel tests.

According to Johnson and Willis, Pine Level has several areas of significance, from agriculture to religion, politics to community planning, and many more. Perhaps most intriguing, they felt that, given Pine Level’s rather short occupation from 1866 to about 1890, the site could have a “relatively closed context, in effect [a] ‘time capsule,’ of mid- to late 19th century material cultural remains” (Johnson and Willis 1980: 109). The investigators realized that the Pine Level site, though clearly significant, could still be destroyed by phosphate mining operations. In the event that this occurred, Johnson

and Willis' mitigation plan called for an intensive archaeological and historical investigation of the site, the establishment of a Pine Level museum (possibly in the old Hagan house, 8DE15), and the creation of a physical reconstruction of the old town (Johnson and Willis 1980:110). They note that a reconstruction of Pine Level, and the site's designation as a historical park, were key goals of the DeSoto County Historical Society at that time (Johnson and Willis 1980:110-111). The Hagan house has apparently been torn down, and the DeSoto County Historical Society is no longer aiming for a reconstruction, but they are still attempting to gain recognition for the Pine Level site.

Part of the reason that Pine Level has not been placed on the National Register, despite the strident recommendation of Johnson and Willis (1980), may have to do with a supplemental report on archaeological and historical resources on the AMAX property that was completed in 1985. While prepared by Environmental Science and Engineering, Inc., the same firm that employed Johnson and Willis during their work on the AMAX property, this supplemental report does not have a named author. Or rather, the company itself is author. In any case, this second report seems to simply summarize Johnson and Willis' 1980 report, and much of the text in the 1985 report is lifted verbatim from the 1980 one. Most important, though, it does not appear that any additional work was performed in the survey area in preparation for this supplemental report. Despite this, the author/s of the supplemental report come to the exact opposite conclusion from that of Johnson and Willis (1980): "Of the 28 historic sites, none were considered eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places" (Environmental Science and Engineering, Inc. 1985:96). This opinion is perplexing, to say the least.

About one third of the Pine Level site is owned by Mosaic, a phosphate company that is the byproduct of several phosphate company mergers, including that of AMAX. When I contacted Mosaic about getting permission to survey the section of the Pine Level site that the company owns, I was put into contact with Diana Youmans, Mosaic's public relations manager. Ms. Youmans never obtained permission for me to survey Mosaic's section of Pine Level. However, she did tell me about the 1985 report, and that it had concluded that the Pine Level site was not eligible for the National Register. At the time I did not know about this report, because, for whatever reason, it is not in the Florida Master Site File. While Ms. Youmans said she would provide me with the report, I never received it from her. Instead, I obtained a copy of part of the supplemental report from a local DeSoto County resident and environmental activist who came to a public archaeology event at the site in 2009.

The fact that this report refutes the recommendations of Johnson and Willis (1980) without having the benefit of any additional work is disturbing. That it is not available on the Florida Master Site File, yet is simultaneously being used as proof that Pine Level is not archaeologically significant, is deeply troubling. In sum, the existence of this potentially-specious report may be the reason why the members of the DeSoto County Historical Society have been unable to obtain recognition for the Pine Level site. The recommendations of this report also ensure that a large section of the Pine Level site continues to be in danger of destruction from mining operations, and leaves the rest of the site vulnerable to the affects of visual and auditory damages from those mining operations.

Archaeological Investigations at Sites Similar to Pine Level

As was mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, Pine Level has few parallels in the archaeological literature. It is a site that was inhabited immediately following the Civil War, and one whose creation was, most likely, politically-motivated. While the Reconstruction Era has been extensively documented by historians, the warring of Republicans and Democrats from 1865-1877 has not been a prime subject for archaeologists. Instead, in historic archaeology the investigation of politics is often subsidiary to discussions of race, class, and gender, all of which, of course, may contribute to the political leanings of a particular individual. For this reason, I was not able to locate a site similar to Pine Level in terms of its ability to contribute to our understanding of politics of the Reconstruction Era in historic archaeology.

Located in a “barren wilderness” (Bartholf 1876a) within the sparsely-populated Florida interior, Pine Level was on the frontier. While American electoral politics has been little studied by archaeologists, the concept of the frontier has been the subject of numerous archaeological investigations. These studies have been undertaken all over the world, and span many different historic time periods. As a frontier site, Pine Level can contribute to this growing body of literature and theory surrounding how people adapt to, and manipulate, their frontier environments. In order to do this, though, it is first important to locate frontier sites that are as similar as possible to Pine Level, and find out what specific questions archaeologists are asking at these related sites. By focusing on similar questions, the work at Pine Level can contribute to the ongoing conversation about the lives of people on the frontier.

Within the United States, work on frontier sites have been performed at locations as diverse as South Carolina (Lewis 1977), the Southwest (Riley 1982), and Central Illinois (Mazrim 2007), to name a few. However, many of these studies focus on sites that are on scale of the individual household, such as homesteads and farms. Investigations at the larger scale of an entire frontier town, such as Pine Level, are few and far between. However, two frontier-type archaeological sites that are very similar to Pine Level have been studied. One is the Rincon/Prado site in southern California, and the other is the New Philadelphia site in Illinois. The following takes a closer look at how these sites are similar to Pine Level, and what kinds of questions researchers at these sites are asking.

Located in Riverside County, California, the town of Rincon/Prado was originally known as the El Rincon Rancho, and was founded in 1839 (Bischoff and Sterner 2004:11). Later, a land boom in Southern California in the 1880s led to the development of the town of Rincon at the location of the old rancho, which could boast approximately 200 residents at this time, most of them farmers (Bischoff and Sterner 2004:23). This population size is directly comparable to that of Pine Level, which is also thought to have had around 200 residents in the 1880s (Matthews 1983: 299). By the turn of the last century, Rincon had lost most of its population, and was apparently subsumed by the nearby town of Prado, that had been named for a new railroad stop (Bischoff and Sterner 2004:26). Of course, Pine Level suffered a similar downward slide during the same time period, and was eventually overtaken by Arcadia, its more successful neighbor that had also been blessed with a railroad stop.

One focus of research at the Rincon/Prado site is land-use and economic issues (Stern et al 2004:60). For example, what was the residential composition of the area, and did it change over time? What was the transportation network surrounding Rincon/Prado, and did the network (or lack thereof) contribute to the town's eventual demise? The investigators also study ethnic and status differences between the residents of Rincon/Prado (Stern et al 2004:61). They wonder if they can determine the socioeconomic status and cultural background of residents by studying the material culture from the site. If artifacts reveal cultural and status differences between residents, the archaeologists also want to know if it is possible to examine how these different types of people related to each other.

In Pike County, Illinois, archaeologists, students, and community members are currently working together to learn more about the New Philadelphia site. Frank McWorter, a former slave who had bought his own freedom, founded this town in 1836 (Shackel 2010:7). In the ensuing decades, both blacks and whites purchased lots at New Philadelphia, with the town reaching its peak of 160 residents in 1865 (Shackel 2010:10). However, only a few years later, New Philadelphia was bypassed by the railroad, and it gradually lost population to urban centers like Chicago and St. Louis (Shackel 2010:10). The town only had a few households by the turn of the last century, and it was nearly abandoned by the 1930s (Shackel 2010:10). While the town of New Philadelphia predates Pine Level by several decades, the occupation periods of the two sites overlap, and they suffered similar downward trajectories after being bypassed by the railroad.

The archaeologists working at New Philadelphia have several goals. First and foremost, they wish to bring attention to the story of this biracial frontier town, not least

because of its extraordinary founding by a freedman decades before the Civil War. Through this attention, they hope to make the story of New Philadelphia a “part of the national public memory” (Shackel 2010:7). For the archaeologists, it is also important that this project have the help, input, and support of the local community, and that they work in conjunction with undergraduate students. By incorporating a diverse group, Shackel believes the project will be able to explore and critically analyze the diversity, and racism, of the past, as well as examine the narrative that currently exists for New Philadelphia (Shackel 2010:7).

The research goals for the project are fairly broad, but all revolve around understanding “the physical and social development of the town and exploring social relations there” (Shackel 2010: 7). This general research goal can be broken down into more specific questions. So far, the investigators have tried to understand how the town was organized, how ideas about race and gender affected New Philadelphia’s residents, and the role that consumerism played in this community on the western frontier. This project is ongoing, so the archaeologists, students, and community may pose new questions in the future.

The focus of research at the Rincon/Prado and New Philadelphia sites is enlightening. At both, investigators are interested in how people physically organized their towns. By understanding how people oriented and laid out roads, businesses, and houses, they hope to learn more about land-use patterns and transportation networks, and maybe even be able to interpret relationships between people. At both sites, investigators are also interested in questions surrounding the socioeconomic status, cultural, and ethnic background of residents. If these sorts of differences are discernable in the

archaeological record at the sites, they hope to gain insights into how these different people lived, worked, and related to each other on the frontier. The role of consumerism is also a theme of the studies at both New Philadelphia and Rincon/Prado. By learning about the goods that people chose, and were able, to import, purchase, and use, the archaeologists hope to learn about how people in these settlements on the frontier related, or did not relate, to far-off centers of culture. At the New Philadelphia site, it is also important that the work involve not only archaeologists, but also the local community and undergraduate students, and that they work together to critically analyze the past and present narrative of New Philadelphia.

The next section presents my research design, and demonstrates how the study of Pine Level will complement the work that has already been done at the frontier sites of Rincon/Prado, New Philadelphia, and elsewhere. While it will not be possible to hit upon every question that researchers have investigated at these related sites, through this project, I address several of them. It is hoped that this contribution, while small, will be a meaningful addition to research on frontier sites in the United States and beyond, and will help to jump start the work on frontier sites in South Florida specifically.

Archaeological Research Design

As presented in the last section, little archaeological work has been done at the Pine Level site. The paucity of information about this frontier town means that there are many potential avenues for research. Reviewing the work performed at sites that are similar to Pine Level has helped to narrow down some of the potential themes that any research here could tackle, within two broad outlines, which are presented below. The

goal is then to key in on more specific questions about this town site, and state how archaeological work done at the site can address these questions.

1. A prime area of research in this study is to understand how the town of Pine Level was organized, and how it developed over time. The historical research presented in Chapter 4 already established a great deal of information about Pine Level's layout, including the probable location of business and civic districts, important roads, and the fact that the town appears to have extended to the south of its original platted acreage. The locations of homes were more difficult to discern from the deed and tax roll information, but it is likely that the general location of John Bartholf's homestead was discovered.

By performing a surface survey of the site, we were able to locate areas with more, and with fewer, artifacts. Finding and studying these artifact patterns gives a better idea of where buildings may have been located, perhaps even more precisely than the historical information was able to tell us. Studying the artifacts themselves also explains more about what types of occupations or buildings stood at those locations. For instance, artifact analysis can be used to try to discern between different habitation types, like a business or a household. Analysis of window glass can even be used to determine periods of building construction at a particular site. In addition, subsurface excavations, performed at locations of interest, may locate features that can be associated with buildings or other structures that once stood in Pine Level, such as the courthouse or jail.

2. A second, very important area of research for this project is to learn more about who lived and worked in Pine Level. There are innumerable attributes that can be used to describe groups or individuals, both within those groups, and as they are seen from the

outside (Orser 2007). In historical archaeology, the most studied attributes of groups and individuals are race/ethnicity, class/socioeconomic status, and gender. My decision to focus on one characteristic or another for this project is heavily influenced by the information I gathered from the historical research, input from the community around Pine Level, and the type of archaeological information that it is possible to collect and study from the site itself.

The historical research presented previously demonstrated that Pine Level began as an enclave of Republican power, though it is likely to have become more Democratic over time. As has already been discussed, though, studying features and artifacts for evidence of something as ambiguous as political ties would be extremely difficult. Therefore, I was not able to study the political associations of Pine Level's citizenry. However, where certain buildings were placed, and overall landscape use in and around the town, adds some insight into the relationships between different political factions.

The historical research also pointed to significant racial tensions in Manatee County, and noted that the actions of groups like the Regulators caused most freedmen and their families to leave the Peace River Valley during Reconstruction, and in its immediate aftermath. However, without a location that can be positively associated with a black family, and one that can be associated with a white family, any attempts to study racial differences and tensions within Pine Level would be tenuous, at best. For this reason, I do not attempt to study race and race relations at Pine Level.

Another area of tension in this community, according to my historical research, was between different socioeconomic groups, specifically between those who were poor (or very poor) and those who were more well-off (but also may have been somewhat

poor). The poorer individuals were sometimes, though not always, southern-born Crackers, and those with more means were sometimes, though not always, non-southern farmers and entrepreneurs. The issue of status and means is a complicated one in this part of Florida. For example, some Cracker cattlemen, like Ziba King, were very wealthy (Melton 2002), while some well-known political scions, like James D. Green, may have been very poor, as suggested in the critique of Eliza Green's home by Benjamin Newlands.

Separating the various, interrelated, layers of class, status, and wealth is very complex at Pine Level. However, research for this project should at least be able to start this process. A large number of artifacts were collected from the site, including ceramics and glass, making it possible to analyze them to determine the socioeconomic status of Pine Level's inhabitants, and even compare this to other sites of the same time period. At least one individual household appears to have been located during this project, and should others be located during a future investigation of the site, this could prove be an especially fruitful avenue of inquiry.

According to interviews with community members (presented later in this chapter), people in this part of Florida grew, raised, or made almost everything that they had. They may have done this because they were poor, and therefore could not afford to purchase goods, or because they were in such a remote location that it was not possible to buy everything that they needed. In either case, the idea that nineteenth-century South Floridians were independent and self-sufficient is a point of pride for modern community members. Indeed, it is an important part of the ethos of what it was (and is) to be a Cracker.

Whether or not people were purchasing and using commercially-made goods in Pine Level has other interesting implications, ones that are important in the study of frontiers in general. If people here were buying many of their household items, it would indicate a reliance on, and connection to, markets located in cultural centers. Archaeologists who study frontier environments often look to purchased and consumed goods to understand how connected, or remote, any given location was from centers of commerce, and Pine Level is no different. Analysis of artifacts from Pine Level, presented in Chapter 6, gives insight into whether people here were tied to trade networks and markets far outside Pine Level or not.

The questions being asked of the Pine Level site in this thesis require specific types of archaeological data to answer them. The next section describes how these data were collected. It will proceed chronologically, starting with the collection of oral histories, then a description of the surface survey, artifact collection, shovel testing, and unit excavation at the site. Each subsection first describes how the work was performed, and then presents the results from each of these methods.

Data Description

Oral History Collection

From the outset of this project, a primary goal was to gather information about Pine Level from local residents who might be able to answer questions about their pioneer forebears, and the locations of Pine Level's buildings. Towards this end, a considerable amount of effort was expended in attempting to locate individuals who could relate any information about Pine Level, with the idea that they would all be interviewed at the same event, called Oral History Day, at the Pine Level site. Also in

preparation for these interviews, the author and her advisor, Dr. Brent Weisman, received permission to record and discuss individuals' family history through the Institutional Review Board of the University of South Florida. All interviewees signed informed consent papers allowing the information that they provided to be recorded on videotape, and used in any future research for the Pine Level project, including this thesis.

Despite much effort and many phone calls, though, the turn-out for the Oral History Day event, held on October 3rd, 2009, was low. Several people came to listen and watch, but only a couple people were actually able to give an interview. The lack of available interviewees for this project is regrettable, but not unexpected. Many of the people that had been contacted for an interview had either recently passed away or were ill and living in nursing homes. While Johnson and Willis (1980) were able to discuss Pine Level with several knowledgeable people, 30 years later most of these individuals are gone, and their invaluable information with them.

The two interviews that were conducted, however, were extremely informative. The first was with Clyde Hollingsworth (Figure 5.1), who owns about two thirds of the original 40 acres of Pine Level, was an early supporter of this project, and has lived in the Pine Level area his whole life. The second interview was with John Reynolds, also a long-time resident of the area, and the former president of the DeSoto County Historical Society. Also, Mr. Reynolds was the individual who first suggested a study of Pine Level to Jeff Moates of FPAN.

Both men were asked a series of questions relating to where buildings used to stand at the site, what they looked like, and if they could identify buildings that are visible on a 1943 aerial of the Pine Level site. Next, they were asked about the kinds of



Figure 5.1 The author interviewing Clyde Hollingsworth, Pine Level landowner.

people who had lived in Pine Level, and what their lives had been like. They were also questioned about who would have been considered important in the past, and if people made distinctions between those who came from Florida and the South, and those who came from elsewhere. Last, I was curious about why Pine Level was bypassed by the railroad, and if either of them knew what had happened to the town once it lost its county seat status. The full transcripts of these interviews are included in Appendix B of this thesis.

Oral History Results

To begin, the interviewees stated that they only knew information about the area and Pine Level second-hand, having learned about it from family members, as Mr.

Hollingsworth had, or from area stories and local books, in Mr. Reynolds' case. However, several important pieces of information came out of these interviews. First, both men emphasized that the first settlers in South Florida were extremely independent individuals, mostly because they had to be. Almost everything that a family needed was made by people in the family. Settlers were either too poor, or too remote to do otherwise. Also, Mr. Hollingsworth and Mr. Reynolds made it clear that many people here pursued multiple opportunities at once. Instead of just raising cattle, they diversified their investments by also raising pigs, cultivating citrus groves, and maybe even farming, all at the same time. It was not possible for the interviewees to give me specific information about who was considered important, or whether it made a difference where new settlers had come from. Mr. Hollingsworth did, however, make some ominous comments about Klu Klux Klan-like activities, and the difficulties encountered by African-American residents in the area around the turn of the last century.

In regards to where exactly different buildings had been located, the informants were again not able to give me specific information. They both indicated that the people who would know this information are long since gone. Even so, Mr. Hollingsworth was able to identify the two buildings displayed on a 1943 aerial of the Pine Level site (Figure 5.2). He said that the structure to the north was a shed, and that the building to the south, though it is technically smaller than the one to the north, was the courthouse, after it have been converted into a barn. This was the first time that I had heard that the former courthouse had been used as a barn. More important, however, Mr. Hollingsworth's identification placed the courthouse in a completely different location from that of the



Figure 5.2. 1943 aerial of the Pine Level site. Red circles indicate the locations of buildings; the red box indicates where the 1876 courthouse should have been located. (Tile 152, George A. Smathers Library, University of Florida, available online at <http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/>)

historical research. Given this odd incongruity, the location of this courthouse/barn on the 1943 aerial was flagged for closer inspection during the subsurface excavations.

Surface Survey Methods

After collecting oral histories, the next planned step of this project was to hold a public archaeology day, in which members of the local community could participate in locating and recording artifacts. On previous visits to the site, Jeff Moates and I had noted large numbers of artifacts lying on the surface of the orange grove at the site. Being about 6 acres, this grove covers a fairly large area of the original 40 acres of the Pine Level site. The relatively large grove, with easily visible artifacts, presented a good opportunity to have area residents participate in data collection for the project by performing a “public” surface survey of the grove.

At this point in the project, I had not yet received permission to collect artifacts and transport them back to a laboratory at the University of South Florida. In addition, there was some concern that removing artifacts at this early stage of the project would give a negative impression to the residents with whom we were working. Mr. Hollingsworth, the landowner of the orange grove, and most of the rest of the Pine Level site, had told me about several metal detector enthusiasts, who, once he had given them permission to find and collect artifacts from the site, had disappeared with their finds even after promising to share them, or give them, to Mr. Hollingsworth. While Mr. Hollingsworth hopes to recover these artifacts eventually, and put them on display, he has so far been unsuccessful. Not wanting this archaeology project to appear to mirror the work of the previous metal detector enthusiasts, Jeff Moates and I decided to perform a simple surface survey of the orange grove. We felt that this survey could provide us with a great deal of information about potential artifact patterns, and had the added benefit of showing community members how we could learn about Pine Level without removing a single piece of it.

For this surface survey, as in all phases of the project, we invited local area residents, including members of the DeSoto County Historical Society and Pine Level United Methodist Church, as well as students and professors from the University of South Florida. The first day of the survey was held on October 10th, 2009, and was attended by USF graduate students, professors, employees of the Florida Public Archaeology Network, and several area residents (Figure 5.3). However, the grove was too large for us to complete in one day, so the surface survey continued, and was finished, on October



Figure 5.3. Pine Level surface survey with community members and student volunteers. Jeff Moates, on the far right, is wearing a Trimble GPS device.

31st, 2009. Attendance on the second day was similar to that of the first, and included the same group of community members.

Surface survey information was collected in two different ways. A Trimble Geographic Position System (GPS) was used to record the locations of artifacts and their type. For logistical reasons, where clusters of the same artifact type, such as ceramics, occurred in very close proximity, such as within a few centimeters, a single GPS point was taken to represent all the artifacts. The second method of information collection involved tracking artifact locations and types by hand on a form. While the Trimble could only be worn and used by a single FPAN employee, the surface survey forms were designed by the author so that they could be filled out by anyone who chose to participate

in the survey, including members of the public who had never been involved in archaeological project before.

Figure 5.4 shows an example of one of these forms, filled out by a group of students and residents working together to find and record artifacts. Instead of attempting to establish our own transects for this survey, we used the rows of the orange grove as transects. The transects were numbered 1-30, and as we began work on the east side of the grove, the transects were numbered from east to west. Transect 1 was on the east side of the most eastern row of orange trees, and transect 30 runs along the west side of the extreme western line of trees.

A base line was established at the north and south end of the orange grove rows. We set a midline through each transect, and placed pin flags every five meters along this line. This was done so that the midline would be easily visible, and so that the survey volunteers could figure out far they had walked from the baseline of the row. Transect width varies from seven to eight meters wide, and while row length is also variable, most short rows are 70 meters long, and most long rows are approximately 210 meters long. A grid on the left side of each form is eight meters wide by 35 meters long, with a midline that runs down the center. For every 70 meter short row, then, two survey forms were used.

Volunteers worked in groups of two to four to survey each transect. Each group was given a clipboard with survey forms and a measuring tape, and asked to walk down the orange grove rows looking for artifacts. When an artifact was located, the volunteer would flag the artifact, and then determine how far the artifact was along the midline (using the 5-meter interval pin flags and the measuring tape), and how far the artifact was

from the midline, using the measuring tape. The recorder would then mark this artifact's location on the form grid, using the appropriate artifact type symbol (metal, ceramic, glass, or other). While this process was slow at first, as the volunteers became more confident in locating artifacts and measuring their distance, it sped up significantly.

<p>35 m. -</p> <p>30 m. -</p> <p>25 m. -</p> <p>20 m. -</p> <p>15 m. -</p> <p>10 m. -</p> <p>5 m. -</p> <p>Midline</p>	<p>Pine Level Surface Survey Form</p> <p>Name(s) <u>Travis L., Alicia A., Sean N., Shannon M.</u></p> <p>Date <u>10/31/09</u> Weather <u>Sunny, slight cloudy</u></p> <p>Transect # <u>25</u> Form # <u>1</u> of <u>6</u></p> <p>Direction that transect was walked N <input checked="" type="radio"/> S</p>
	<p>Notes</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> at ~ 14m partial "OB" & "P"</p>
	<p>Legend</p> <p>○ = Ceramic If diagnostic, draw a box around symbol</p> <p>× = Glass</p> <p>M = Metal</p> <p>□</p> <p>1 meter = 3.3 feet</p>

Figure 5.4. Example of a filled out Pine Level Project surface survey form.

After a row had been surveyed by the volunteers, and all the artifacts flagged, the Trimble operator would also walk the row, taking GPS points at each artifact (or cluster of artifacts) before pulling the flag. In this way, each row was surveyed using both survey methods.

Surface Survey Results

After getting back from the field, it was possible to instantaneously download the surface survey results from the Trimble, and view them using the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) program ArcMap 9.1 (Figure 5.5). A hand-drawn map of the Pine Level orange grove artifacts was also made using the forms filled out by the volunteers, but displays extremely similar results to Figure 5.5, so it is not included here.

Figure 5.5 shows that they are very clear patterns among the artifacts in the orange grove. On the east side of the grove, right where Block 10 used to be located, is a grouping of glass and ceramic artifacts. This area was named Area A. A second area with a high proportion of glass and ceramics is located in the northwestern section of the grove, where Block 8 was located. This was named Area B. The last area of interest is located the extreme southern section of the grove, at and just the north of what was Block 18, where a large number of glass artifacts were found. This is called Area C.

The historical research presented in Chapter 4 pointed out specific owners of each of these blocks where the artifact clusters are located, providing an opportunity to explore whether the clusters are related to certain activities and occupation types. Area A is on property that was owned by several people, including John Bartholf, and I have already speculated that Bartholf's home was built somewhere in this particular area. Area B, located on Block 8, is where most of the civic structures in Pine Level were probably

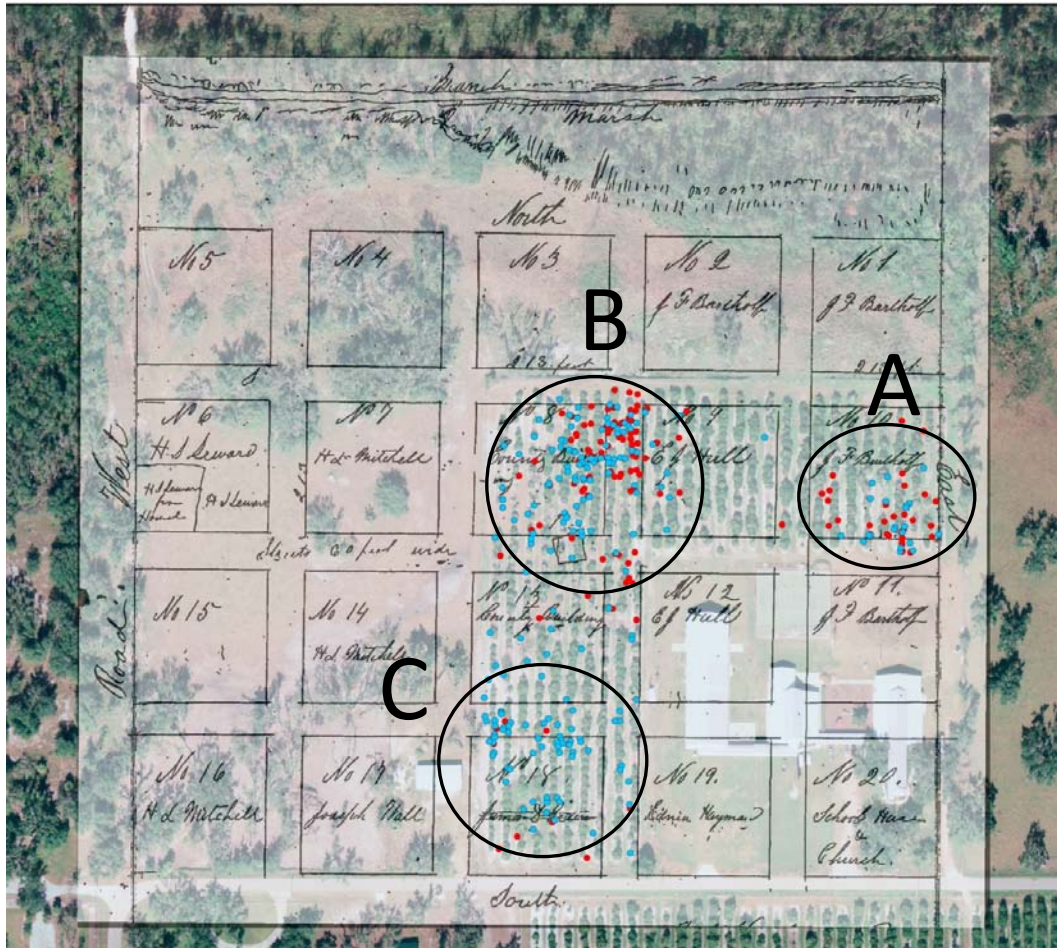


Figure 5.5. 2004 aerial of the Pine Level site with overlay of the 1878 plat map, showing GPS locations of artifacts, and Areas. Red points are ceramics, blue are glass. (Murdock NE DOQQ 2004 from FDEP; plat map from Deed Book B:203, Manatee County Historical Records Library, Bradenton, Florida)

built, including the courthouse, jail, jury house, public privy, and a large fence enclosing these buildings. Area C is located just within and to the north of Block 18, which was previously split in two and occupied by John Haygood on the eastern half, and Julia Curry on western half. I previously identified this part of Pine Level, running along Northwest Pine Level Street, as a probable location for businesses. Also, I already noted that John Haygood was both a merchant in general goods, and boasted of operating as a druggist. It is also interesting that Area C appears to have three separate clusters of

artifacts, one behind the eastern lot, one behind the western lot, and one in the very middle of Block 18.

Each cluster, then, can be correlated with a specific type of occupation: store, government center, or household. After collecting artifacts from each of these clusters, it was possible to examine them for similarities and differences, to determine if these can be correlated with their occupation type. Several different questions can be asked of these materials. For example, is the type of glass found in Area C consistent with this being the location of a store or druggist? Are the artifacts in Area A consistent with a household deposit? Area B may be the remains of the government buildings in Pine Level, where some of the richest and most influential people in the county congregated, but do the ceramics from this area appear to be more expensive than those found elsewhere? In addition to these types of the questions, the identification of these clusters provided a focus for other stages of this project, specifically as an area to put in shovel tests and units.

Artifact Collection Methods

Once we had performed the surface survey and identified the artifact clusters, there was clear justification for collecting the artifacts from the orange grove, in order to answer questions like those posed above. Mr. Hollingsworth readily gave his approval for this phase of the project, and artifact collection occurred on December 17th, 2009 and January 7th, 2010. As before, area residents were invited to participate in collecting the artifacts, and the core group of volunteers that had come out for previous field days also joined in for this part of the project. Much like the surface survey, the procedures for the

artifact collection were designed to be easy for a non-archaeologist to perform, but still maintain effective spatial control.

We again used the orange grove rows as transects for the artifact collection. However, for collection purposes, it was not necessary to have or maintain a midline down the orange grove rows. Instead, starting from the baseline at the north end of the rows, blue flags were placed every 10 meters. The edges of the rows were the tree lines on either side. Therefore, the size of the collection unit was approximately 8 by 10 meters. During the survey, some volunteers would flag the artifacts on a given row using orange flags, while another volunteer would write the provenience and other information on an artifact bag, and then collect all the artifacts from within one 10-meter section of the row. If artifacts were located in the next 10-meter section, then they would fill out another bag, and put those artifacts in that bag, and so on. Using this method, we bagged every visible artifact from the entire orange grove. Given our level of spatial control, it is possible to relocate where any particular artifact was found within an approximately 8 by 10 meter area.

Artifact Collection Results

A total of 1,134 artifacts was collected during the Pine Level surface survey, including 705 glass, 335 ceramics, 19 metal, and even 7 prehistoric lithics. Far more artifacts were collected during this stage of the project than were located and mapped during the surface survey. This is likely due to the heavy rains that occurred in the Pine Level area between these two stages of the project. Indeed, it was very apparent to all the volunteers that many more artifacts were visible on the surface of the grove than before, during the surface survey. For this reason, I felt it was important to map the results of the

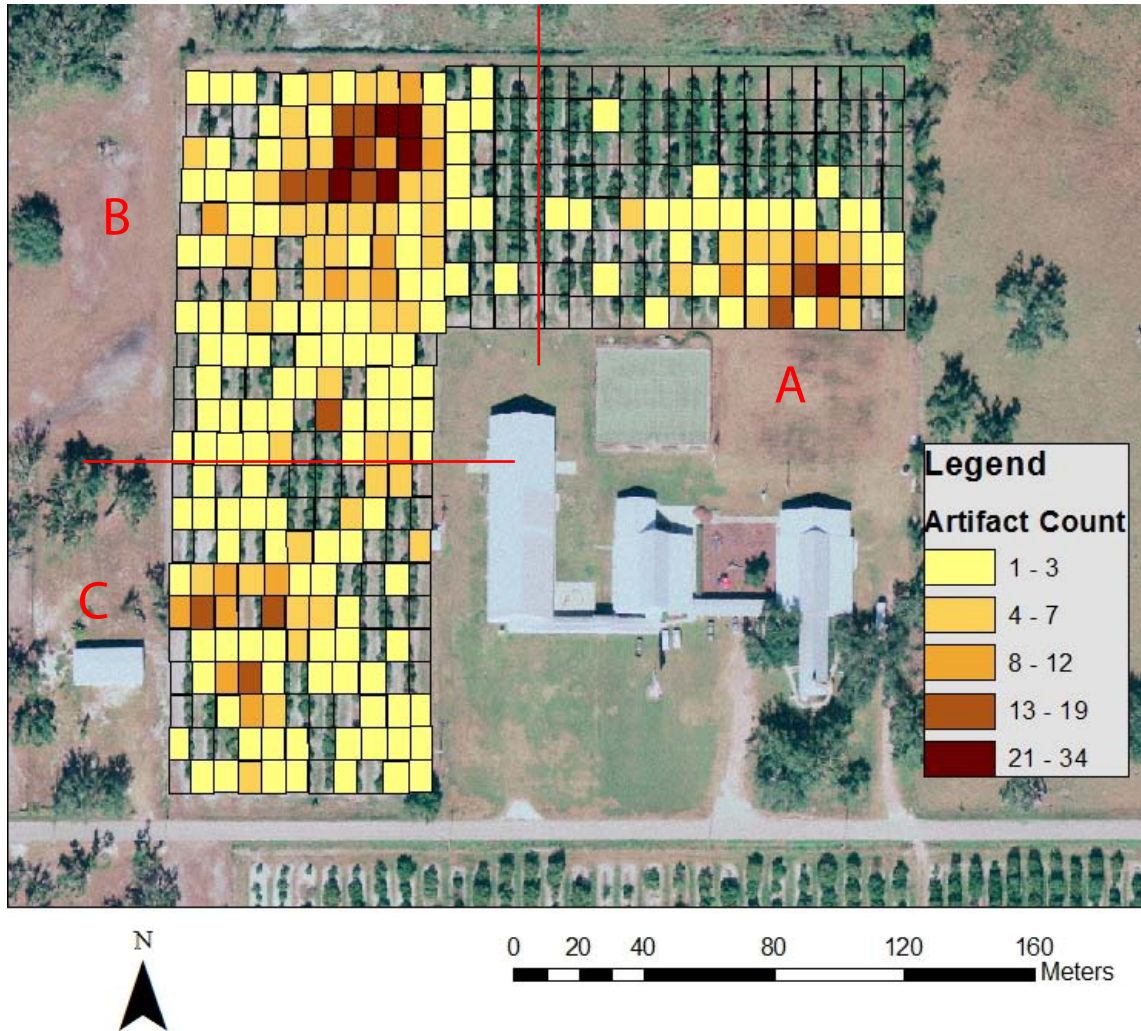


Figure 5.6. Map showing the results of artifact collection. The red lines indicate how the orange grove artifacts were divided between Areas A, B, and C for analysis. (Murdock NE DOQQ 2004 from FDEP)

artifact collection, to understand if they would show different artifact patterns than had been identified during the surface survey.

Figure 5.6 is a map that shows the density of artifacts within each 8 by 10 meter location. While these results do not dispute those from Figure 5.5, they do show more robust artifact clusters. For example, there are more artifacts in Area C, and more artifacts between Areas B and C. Also, Figure 5.6 shows that Area B is more accurately located farther to the west than Figure 5.5 displays. Area B, then, is really more within

Block 8 than previously thought. Additionally, it should be noted that Area C appears to have three separate areas with high densities. The squares with especially high concentrations of artifacts became the focus of the shovel tests and units in the next phases of this project.

Appendix D lists the counts and weights of all the artifacts recovered during this surface collection, the shovel tests, and the units, by provenience and artifact type. To be clear, the proveniences for the surface collection are the approximately 8-x-10 meter squares that are shown in Figure 5.6, with meterage measured south from the north baseline, while the provenience for shovel tests and units was by depth. The red lines in Figure 5.6 show how artifacts recovered from the orange grove were grouped into one of the three Areas, for the purpose of artifact analysis, described in Chapter 6.

Shovel Test Excavation Methods

The next part of this project was to start to explore subsurface deposits at the Pine Level site by performing shovel tests. This was cleared with Mr. Hollingsworth, who gave his permission for any excavation that was deemed necessary for the project. The point of these shovel tests was to identify occupation layers within each of the three artifact clusters, find out if certain deposits correlate with the historic artifacts, see how deep these deposits extend, and if the high artifact concentrations on the surface extend to the subsurface. In addition to the areas of interest in the orange grove, which were identified during the surface survey, I decided to place shovel tests in two areas outside of the grove. Area D is located where the 1943 aerial showed the two small buildings, including the one Mr. Hollingsworth said was the converted courthouse/barn. Area E is just to the northeast of the crossroads. I chose to put shovel tests here in an attempt to see



Figure 5.7. Shovel testing at the Pine Level site with community members and student volunteers. From left to right, Shannon McVey, Bebe Bradbury, and Kyle Freund are pictured.

if artifacts, features, or cultural deposits would appear in an area that had been identified as part of the business district by the historical research in Chapter 4.

As in previous phases of this project, the shovel tests were performed with the help of community volunteers, USF students, and FPAN employees (Figure 5.7). The community volunteers, though they declined to excavate themselves, enjoyed helping to find artifacts in the screen and making sure they were properly bagged. As no subsurface work has ever been performed at this site, I felt it was important to excavate all the shovel tests down to a meter, despite the fact that the historical deposits were likely to be much more shallow. Each test then, was 50 cm by 50 cm, and extended down to one meter.

All excavated dirt was put through ¼ inch mesh screens, and artifacts were bagged by 10 cm levels. Photographs were taken of each completed shovel test, usually showing the south wall.

A form designed by the author specifically for the Pine Level shovel tests was filled out for each of these excavations. A GPS point was taken at each shovel test using a Trimble GPS device. The results of these shovel tests are discussed by area. It should

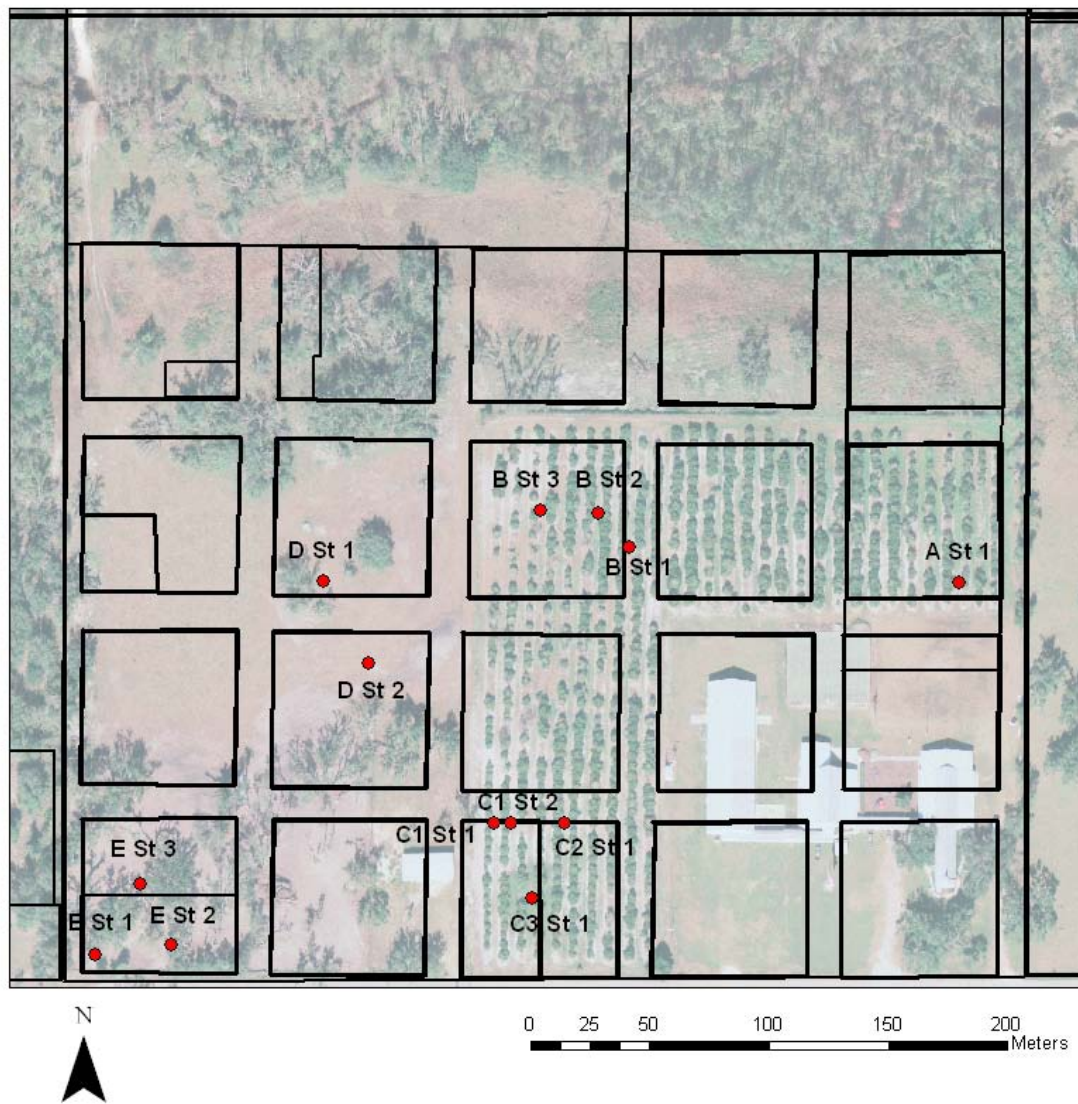


Figure 5.8. Location of all shovel tests excavated at the Pine Level site. (*Murdock NE DOQQ 2004 from FDEP*)

be noted that within each area, shovel tests were numbered separately. This means that each Area has its own “shovel test 1,” and so on. Thirteen shovel tests were excavated at the site, one by mistake when it was excavated in a place other than the one specified by the author. The shovel tests were all judgmentally placed on top of the areas where the highest number of artifacts had been recovered during artifact collection. The location of each shovel test is displayed in Figure 5.8. A total of 168 artifacts was collected during the shovel-testing phase of this project, including 92 metal, 65 glass, one historic ceramic, one prehistoric lithic, and one prehistoric ceramic.

Shovel Test Excavation Results

Area A

Only one shovel test was excavated in Area A (Figure 5.9). It was placed in the approximate center of the artifact scatter, where the concentration of artifacts had been the highest. The first 10 centimeters below surface (cmbs) were dark gray sand, with a total of 14 recovered artifacts, mostly glass. From 10 to 20 cmbs was a much lighter gray sand, with a total of 12 artifacts, which were mostly metal. This layer was followed by a darker gray layer of sand until 50 cmbs, then yellow brown sand until 70 cmbs, and finally yellow sand that extended to 100 cmbs. A single prehistoric lithic was also located at 30 to 40 cmbs.

The most interesting part of this shovel test is the stratum between 10 to 20 cmbs, which I believe is a historic living surface. No historic artifacts were located below this layer, and it is a distinctly different color than the rest of the deposits in this excavation. Unfortunately, this layer was not found in any of the other shovel tests at the Pine Level



Figure 5.9. South profile of Area A, Shovel Test 1.

site. Further investigation of this likely cultural living surface will be discussed in the section on unit excavations below, for Area A.

Area B

Three shovel tests were placed in Area B, all of them on or near high artifact concentrations, but set far enough apart that each sampled a different part of this large artifact cluster. See Figure 5.10 for an example of one of these tests. All of these shovel tests had roughly similar soil profiles, though significant mottling in some of the soils indicates that this area of the site may have been subject to more subsurface disturbance than Area A. All three shovel tests have a dark grayish layer from about 0 to 10 cmbs. Several artifacts were found in this layer, including 11 total in shovel test 1. All the tests then have a mottled layer that extends to approximately 60 cmbs, and consists of yellow brown sand mixed with a brown gray sand, and was noted as having a large amount of charcoal. Artifacts were found at various levels within this mottled layer, until at least 50 cmbs in shovel test 2. Shovel Test 3 had only one artifact, a piece of glass that was located at 20 to 30 cmbs within the mottled layer. After the mottled layer, all three of these shovel tests had a light yellow brown sand that extended to 100 cmbs. While historic artifacts were not found below 50 cmbs in Area B, a single prehistoric ceramic was found at 50 to 60 cmbs within Shovel Test 2.

Area C

This area was subdivided for the purpose of excavating shovel tests, into three separate areas: C-1, C-2, and C-3. This was done in attempt to understand what appears to be three separate clusters at this location, as identified in the surface survey and artifact collection, and clearly shown in Figure 5.6. Area C-1 refers to the cluster of artifacts



Figure 5.10. South profile of Area B, Shovel Test 2.

found just north of Block 18, on the west side. This grouping of artifacts may be associated with Julia Curry, who owned this half of Block 18. Area C-2 refers to cluster of artifacts located just north of Block 18 on the eastern side, which could be associated with John Haygood, who owned the eastern half of this block during Pine Level's heyday. Area C-3 is the name for the grouping of artifacts that are highest in concentration in the very middle of old Block 18. Incidentally, this area is located on a small rise in the orange grove that has more grass growing on it than the area around it. This difference in vegetation is visible in the 2006 aerial of the site (see Figure 5.5). I felt that Area C-3 may be the remnants of twentieth century occupation. Each sub-area in Area C has its own Shovel Test 1, but only Area C-1 has more than one shovel test.

There is more than one shovel test in area C-1 because the field workers accidentally placed their first test here in the wrong place (i.e. not where it was supposed to be placed according to the author). See Figure 5.11 for an example of one of these tests. Both these shovel tests have a gray sand layer that extends from 0 to about 20 cmbs. Shovel Test 1 had 2 pieces of glass in this layer, and Shovel Test 2 had 3 pieces of glass and 1 piece of metal within this first layer. No artifacts were found below this layer in either test. Both shovel tests then had a light gray layer from 20 to about 80 cmbs, before hitting a dark brown layer that extended to 100 cmbs. In Figure 5.8 it is clear that part of the second, light gray, layer extends into the last 20 cm of the test. I think that that this is from root action, and shows that trees had been growing in this second layer before being removed. This assertion is backed up by old aerials of the site (like Figure 5.2), that show trees (not orange trees) growing in this part of the site.



Figure 5.11. South profile of Area C-1, Shovel Test 2.

The single shovel test in Area C-2 (not pictured) is very similar to those excavated in Area C-1, in that it also shows the effects of root action at the bottom of the test. Here, there is a shallow humic layer of darker gray sand from 0 to 5 cmbs, that becomes a lighter gray sand layer, extending to about 60 cmbs. Only four artifacts, almost all glass, were found throughout the first 60 cm of this shovel test. A dark brown layer extends from 60 to 100 cmbs. Again, old aerials of the site do show that trees used to stand here.

The single shovel test at Area C-3 was placed directly on top of the small rise in this part of the site, and is dramatically different than the other tests excavated in Area C (Figure 5.12). From 0 to about 10 cmbs there is a light gray layer of sand. A substantial number of artifacts were found in this layer, including 1 piece of glass, 1 bone, and 23 pieces of metal, including one very long metal blade that is likely from a piece of farm machinery. The next layer extends from 10 to 30 cmbs, and consists of a very dark brown to black layer of sand, with heavy amounts of charcoal. Seven more pieces of metal and 2 more pieces of glass were found in this layer. No artifacts were located below 30 cmbs. A second light gray layer of sand went from 30 to 45 cmbs, then came a layer of very light gray sand from 45 to 80 cmbs, then a layer red brown sand from 80 to 90 cmbs, before finally reaching a layer of yellow brown sand from 90 to 100 cmbs.

The field work performed for this shovel test, as well as during the surface survey and artifact collection, points towards Area C-3 representing the remains of a twentieth century building. Many of the artifacts here are simply more recent in age than those found elsewhere in the site. In addition, while discussing this area with Howard Melton, a local DeSoto County historian, he indicated that this had been the site of a house owned by Charles Hagan, which he visited in the mid-1950s (Howard Melton, personal



Figure 5.12. South profile of Area C-3, Shovel Test 1.

communication 2010). This conclusion will be explored further in Chapter 6, in the analysis of Pine Level's metal artifacts.

Area D

Two judgmental shovel tests were placed in Area D, each located as close as possible to the points in the 1943 aerial where buildings were located. Area D, Shovel Test 1 was placed near where the northern building appeared to be located, the one that had been identified by Mr. Hollingsworth as a shed. Area D, Shovel Test 2 was placed where the southern building was believed to have stood, the one that Mr. Hollingsworth had said was the converted courthouse/barn.

These two shovel tests were very different. Area D, Shovel Test 1 (not pictured) only had three layers in its soil profile, and was culturally sterile throughout. In this shovel test, a light gray layer extended from 0 to 10 cmbs, then became a mottle of yellow brown and brown sand to about 50 cmbs, before becoming simply brown sand until 100 cmbs.

Shovel Test 2, however, was far more interesting (Figure 5.13). Here, the light gray layer extended from 0 to about 25 or 30 cmbs. This layer held a total of 49 artifacts: four glass, six architectural (like brick and mortar), and 39 metal. Almost all of these metal pieces are nails, or bits and pieces of nails. No artifacts were found below 30 cmbs in this shovel test. The rest of the shovel test was a yellow brown sand with some darker mottling. This second shovel test in Area D appears to have hit upon the remains of a structure, though whether it is the old Pine Level courthouse, a barn, or some combination of the two, will be examined further in Chapter 6 in the analysis of the metal artifacts.



Figure 5.13. South profile of Area D, Shovel Test 2.



Figure 5.14. East profile of Area E, Shovel Test 1.

Area E

Three judgmental shovel tests were placed in Area E, a location that I believe was in the center of Pine Level's business district. All three displayed similar soils, but at somewhat different depths. See Figure 5.14 for an example of one of these shovel tests. Each test had a light gray layer of sand at the top, extending to a depth of between 20 and 45 cmbs, depending on the test. While Shovel Test 3 was culturally sterile, all the artifacts from the other two tests were recovered from this light gray layer. Shovel Test 2 had a single glass bottle base within this layer, while shovel test 1 had 10 pieces of glass and two pieces of metal, including one bullet casing, within this layer. All the tests then had a layer of yellow brown sand that extended to about 60 and 80 cmbs, before hitting a layer of dark brown sand at the base of the shovel test, extending to 100 cmbs.

The Area E shovel tests were the only archaeological work that occurred at this part of the site. While these tests were not entirely convincing of a great deal of activity in this part of the Pine Level site, Shovel Test 1 did locate a relatively large number of glass sherds. In addition, these bottle glass remnants are historic, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. Therefore Area E, and this western part of the site, should not be ruled out as containing evidence of Pine Level's past.

Unit Excavation Methods

Six units were excavated at the Pine Level site over the course of two days, February 6 and 13, 2010. The goal in excavating these units was to try to locate subsurface features that could be associated with buildings or other structures at the site, as well as gain a greater understanding of the deposits throughout the site. Figure 5.15 shows where all six of the units were placed at the Pine Level site. In a bit of a departure

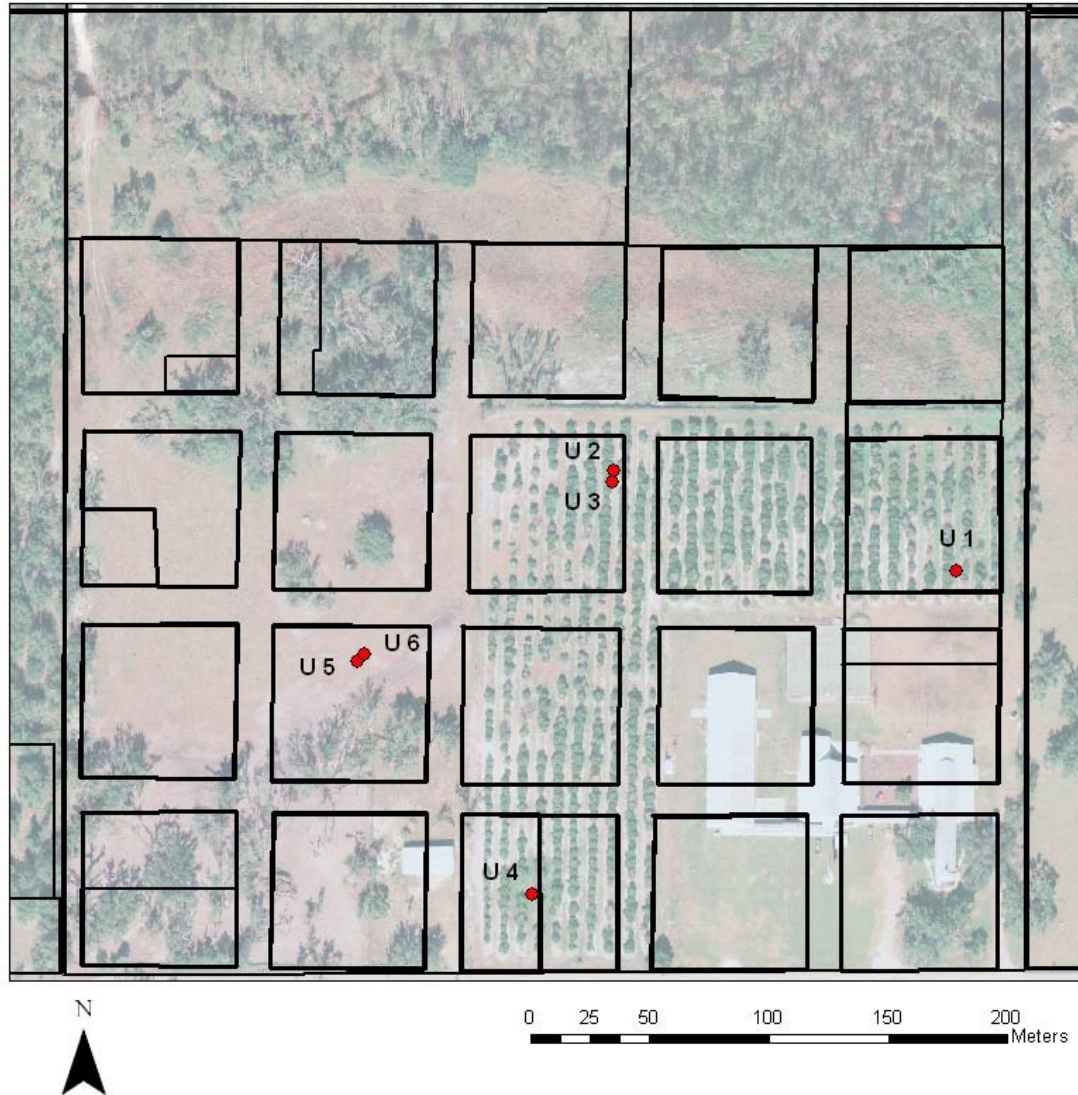


Figure 5.15. Location of all units excavated at the Pine Level site. (Murdock NE DOQQ 2004 from FDEP)

from the other phases of this project, USF undergraduate and graduate students in an archaeology methods class were responsible for excavating all the units (Figure 5.16).

As always, though, members of the public were invited to come out to the site and watch the excavations in progress, and several people who came also helped to look for artifacts in the screens. While the core group of community volunteers attended on these excavation days, this work attracted many newcomers to the site as well.

Each unit was one meter square, and each was excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels within natural strata, with all artifacts bagged by strata, or layer. All dirt was screened through ¼ inch mesh, and the units were considered complete when at least the previous 10 cm were culturally sterile, though usually 20 cm of sterile soil was required. Datum stakes were placed in the northwest corner of each unit, and a balk left around the datum. A GPS point was taken at each datum using a Trimble. Photographs were taken and profile drawings made of at least one wall in each unit when they were completed. Usually, this was the wall that the excavators felt showed the most information, or was the best example of a profile for that unit.



Figure 5.16. Students excavating a unit at the Pine Level site, Area D. The Pine Level UM church is in the background. From left to right, Jill Ficarrotta, Yvonne Falkner, Dr. Thomas Pluckhahn, and Anna Miller.

The students filled out unit excavation and feature forms (when applicable) that were specifically made for this project, and made plan view drawings of all the features encountered during the excavation. The six units were numbered sequentially across the whole site, regardless of where they were located. A total of 610 artifacts was collected during the unit excavation, including 320 metal, 218 glass, 25 ceramic, three prehistoric ceramics, and two prehistoric lithics. Each unit is discussed below by area.

Unit Excavation Results

Area A

Unit 1 was placed within Area A, about one meter north of the shovel test that had been excavated here. This part of Area A contained the highest concentration of artifacts, and the shovel test had located a possible living surface. It was hoped that this unit would also contain this layer, and potentially locate features related to a house, or some other structure.

Much like the shovel test dug here, Unit 1 had a dark gray layer of sand from 0 to about 10 cmbs (Figure 5.17). Sixty-nine artifacts were found in this first stratum, including nails, glass, ceramics, and pieces of slate. The second layer was a lighter gray sand that extended from about 10 to 20 cmbs. This layer matches the one found in the shovel test here, that I suspect may represent a historic living surface. This layer was even more dense with artifacts than the previous layer, having a total of 77 artifacts of various types. The next layer was composed of gray brown sand from 20 to about 30 cmbs, and contained only three nail fragments. The fourth layer was made up of gray brown sand mottled with red brown sand, from about 30 to 40 cmbs. Eight artifacts were found in this layer, including a bullet casing, glass and metal fragments, and a prehistoric



Figure 5.17. South profile of Area A, Unit 1. Note the large metal fragment in situ within the dark gray layer, indicated by the red arrow.

sherd. The fifth and deepest layer of Unit 1 contained heavily mottled brown gray sand to a depth of about 55 cm. Though several artifacts were found in this final layer, they were all contained within a root feature that is believed to have carried them down farther than they were originally deposited.

Still interested in the second, light gray layer here, I had two graduate student volunteers excavate cores in each cardinal direction radiating out from the Unit 1 datum, and spaced every five meters. In this way, I was hoping to understand the extent of this potential living surface, both horizontally across the site, and vertically, to see if it always appeared at 10 to 20 cmbs. Using a 36 inch tube sampler soil probe, the volunteers excavated 21 cores. They found that the light gray layer extended 15 m to the south of

the Unit 1 datum, 35 m west, 30 m north, and 20 m to the east. While it was usually encountered at about 10 to 15 cmbs, they determined that the layer could extend from about 20 cmbs to a much deeper 50 cmbs, though it was sometimes this transition was so poorly defined that they had a hard time pinpointing an absolute break. Usually, the layer ended at about 25 to 35 cmbs.

Area B

Units 2 and 3 were excavated in Area B. They were both located within the highest concentration of artifacts in Area B. This location was also considered ideal because it was near the northeast corner of Block 8, which had been identified as location of interest in the historical research. A public privy, the jail, and a fence are all suspected of having been located somewhere near this location. The units were placed within a few meters of each other, so that if a feature, like a fence, was encountered in one, it might be possible to locate the feature in the other unit as well.

Unit 2 was the more northerly of the two units in Area B (Figure 5.18). The first layer was from about 0 to 20 cmbs, and was made up of very dark gray brown sand. This first layer contained a total of 115 artifacts, ranging from nails and ceramics to glass. The next layer was from about 20 cmbs to about 40 cmbs, and was composed of light gray sand mottled with a brown sand. This layer contained only a couple artifacts, including one piece of glass and one prehistoric ceramic sherd. The unit was discontinued at about 50 cmbs.

However, the only feature that is likely to be associated with Pine Level, for this entire project, was a distinct discoloration found within the second layer in Unit 2. This



Figure 5.18. North profile of Area B, Unit 2. Note the dark gray feature to the east. feature, which can clearly be seen as a dark gray sand in Figure 5.19 (and less clearly in Figure 5.18), was excavated separately from rest of this unit, and artifacts found within it were bagged separately as well. In total, five nails were located within this feature. It was rectangular in shape, extended at an angle from 28 cmbs to 59 cmbs, and was variable in width. The bottom of the feature was relatively flat, though slightly angled, as the rest of the feature had been. I believe this feature represents a post hole for a fence, likely for a corner bracing post, which are often placed at angle to make them more sturdy. Unit 2's location, near the northeast corner of Block 8, would provide justification for this conclusion, as we know that the county commissioners asked that a



Figure 5.19. View of the dark gray linear feature in Area B, Unit 2, with in situ nail. fence enclosing the courthouse, jail, and other structures be built somewhere in this area. The feature in Unit 2, therefore, may be the northeastern corner of this fence.

Unit 3 was placed 5 meters to the south of Unit 2 (Figure 5.20). The first layer of this unit was a dark gray sand, as it had been in Unit 2, that extended from 0 to about 17 cmbs. This layer also contained a large number of artifacts, totaling 116 artifacts of various types, like ceramics, glass, and metal. One extremely interesting piece of metal from this layer, in the shape of a token or a button, and featuring a ship on one side, is discussed further in Chapter 6. The rest of this unit, from 17 to 50 cmbs, contained a mottle of yellow brown sand with intrusions of gray sand. Only 12 artifacts were located in this layer, and none in the last 10 cm.



Figure 5.20. West profile of Area B, Unit 3.

Area C

Unit 4 was placed within the area that was called C-3 for the shovel test phase of this project. While I was fairly sure that this area was related to a twentieth century occupation, I wanted to be sure of this conclusion, and to try to understand more about the deposits in this location. Unit 4 was one meter south of C-3, Shovel Test 1, and was therefore also on top of the small raised area of land in the orange grove (Figure 5.21).

The first layer in Unit 4 extended from 0 to about 18 cmbs, and was made up of very dark brown sand with a large amount of charcoal fragments. This layer contained 21 artifacts including melted glass, wire nails, historic ceramics, and pull-tabs.



Figure 5.21. South profile of Area C-3, Unit 4. Note the light colored lenses on the east side of the profile.

Underneath this first layer was an area containing several lenses and features (Figure 5.22). While these were excavated separately and carefully mapped, none of these features contained any artifacts, and what they represent is still unknown. Another layer extends from about 18 to 34 cmbs, and is composed of dark gray sand. About 13 artifacts were found in this layer, including glass, wire nails, and barbed wire. A third layer of lighter gray sand extends from 34 to 50 cmbs, where the unit was discontinued after 10 culturally sterile centimeters. Given the type of artifacts found in Unit 4, including pull-tabs, melted glass, and the large amount of charcoal, I believe that this area was probably the location of a twentieth century structure, possibly Charles Hagan's house, that was subject to at least one burning episode.



Figure 5.22. Plan view of Area C-3, Unit 4, Layer 2, showing the location of features and lenses.

Area D

Units 5 and 6 were located in Area D. These units were placed judgmentally around the second shovel test in Area D, in an attempt to locate features that could be associated with the converted courthouse/barn. Unit 5 was placed about four meters west of this previous shovel test, while Unit 6 was placed approximately 2 meters north of the shovel test.

Unit 5 had only two layers (Figure 5.23). The first layer was a dark gray loamy sand, and extended from 0 to about 23 cmbs. This layer contained 85 artifacts, all brick or nail fragments, with most being found in the upper 10 cm of this layer. The second



Figure 5.23. East profile of Area D, Unit 5.

layer was a brown loamy sand with some mottles of gray sand. It extended from 23 cm to 40 cmbs, and was completely sterile of cultural material. Unit 5 was discontinued at 40 cmbs.

Unit 6 (Figure 5.24) had a slightly more complicated soil profile than Unit 5, though they are roughly similar. The first layer here went from 0 to about 20 cmbs and was composed of dark gray brown sandy loam. A total of 78 artifacts was located, though oddly, most of them were found in the last 10 cm of the layer, exactly the opposite of Unit 5. In any case, this layer contained a mixture of nails, glass, and historic ceramics. The second layer here was a gray sandy loam mottled with some brown and yellow sand, that went from 20 to 30 cmbs, and contained only one nail. The deepest



Figure 5.24. South profile of Area D, Unit 6.

layer was a brown sandy loam that extended from 30 to 40 cm before the unit was discontinued. Unfortunately, neither of the Area D units were successful in locating any features. Conclusions relating to the converted courthouse structure will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 6:

Artifact Analysis

Laboratory Methods

All artifacts that were recovered from the Pine Level site were transported back to the University of South Florida for analysis. First, each provenience was assigned a unique field specimen (FS) number, and this number was written on the bag(s) for each provenience. The FS numbers were tracked on a FS log, complete with information about the provenience, date of collection, and the initials of the collector. Once each bag was recorded, the artifacts were taken out, washed, and left to dry on racks, with the exception of the metal artifacts. When dry, the artifacts were re-bagged in their original plastic bags, when possible.

Next, information about the artifacts was recorded in an artifact catalogue. This included artifact count and weight, for each provenience, by artifact type. At this point, the artifacts were bagged separately by type, and assigned an arbitrary catalogue number. This catalogue number was placed after the FS number on the bag of each artifact type. For example, FS 5 had both ceramic and glass artifacts. The glass was assigned the catalogue number 5.1, while the ceramic sherds were labeled 5.2, and each was bagged separately with the catalogue number written on the outside of the individual bags. Both smaller bags were then placed back inside the original plastic field collection bag with the rest of the provenience information.

Glass and ceramic artifacts from the Pine Level site were also hand-labeled with the initials “PL” and their catalogue numbers. The labels were accomplished by using a coat of clear nail polish, writing on each sherd with a Pigma Micron archival ink pen, and then sealing the writing with another coat of clear nail polish. Every attempt was made to avoid decoration, embossing, and other diagnostic features on the ceramic and glass artifacts. Note that some sherds were too small to be labeled.

At the request of Clyde Hollingsworth, the entire collection will be donated to the DeSoto County Historical Society, and housed within a their own dedicated facility. The collection will not only include all the artifacts, but also all the field forms, notes, drawings, FS log, artifact catalogue, and a copy of this thesis. Through a request to the Historical Society, the collection should be available to any future researchers who wish to study it.

Ceramic Analysis

Ceramics have long held a place of importance in historic archaeological studies. Even one historic ceramic sherd can hint at numerous aspects of life in the past, from the socioeconomic standing of the owner to his or her consumer habits. Studies of refined white earthenwares, in particular, have helped historic archaeologists to understand the lifeways of diverse groups of people. However, numerous scholars have pointed out serious complications regarding the proper identification and analysis of refined white earthenwares in the nineteenth century.

As this section details, these frequently-dismissed ceramics make up the vast majority of the ceramic assemblage from Pine Level (Figure 6.1). Therefore, it is important to outline here several of the largest problems archaeologists encounter when



Figure 6.1. Typical refined white earthenwares from the Pine Level site.

studying nineteenth-century refined white earthenwares. Specifically, this includes problems surrounding the identification and analysis of ware type, decoration, and form. Next, the Pine Level ceramics are divided into three different assemblages based on where they were located. These three assemblages will then be analyzed in an attempt to understand whether they display differences based on ware type, form, or decoration that can be explained as a function of their differing proveniences. Special attention will be given to Miller's (1991) CC (cream-colored ware) index, a popular method for analyzing historic ceramics and making comparisons of socioeconomic status between different sites, or between different assemblages within a particular site. Last, the Pine Level ceramics will be analyzed as a whole in an attempt to understand more about the people who used and discarded these wares.

Background

For a number of reasons, nineteenth-century ceramics, especially refined white earthenwares, can be difficult for archaeologists to study. Traditionally, historic ceramics are categorized based on firing temperatures into earthenware, stoneware, or porcelain, and then further sub-categorized into a specific ware types, such as creamware (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980). Using a ware-based system of this kind works well for historic archaeologists studying the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for a couple of reasons. First, ceramics from these periods are easily distinguishable, and second, the ware names used by archaeologists mirror those used in historic documents, which allows for an important linkage between these two sources of information (Miller 1980).

However, by the nineteenth century many potters had begun to experiment with different earthenware paste and glaze formulations as they sought to create whiter-bodied and more finely decorated ceramics that could mimic imported porcelains, and other potters (Miller 1980). Along with these new recipes and combinations, potters would often create new names. As a sign of how vast the problem is, what many archaeologists call "ironstone" was known by at least 61 different names historically (Wetherbee 1985:15). This profusion of ceramic recipes and names has made ware-based studies of nineteenth-century refined white earthenwares difficult. Different archaeologists use different definitions of the same ware type, and many archaeologists do not explicitly state their definitions at all (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). This situation leads to a great deal of confusion, but perhaps even worse, it makes it extremely difficult to compare ceramic assemblages that have been analyzed by different researchers.

In order to deal with the ware type nomenclature problem, some scholars have suggested that instead of discrete categories, ceramics such as creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone can be more accurately considered points along a continuum of increasingly more refined white-bodied earthenwares (Dutton 1989; Majewski and O'Brien 1987). With this in mind, certain technological aspects of how the pottery was made and fired, like vitreosity, can then help a researcher to determine where a particular white-bodied sherd falls along this continuum (Majewski and O'Brien 1987).

For instance, because whiteware is fired at a relatively low kiln temperature, it is nonvitreous and therefore porous. Ironstone, because is fired at a higher kiln temperature, is semivitreous and less porous (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). Using the well-known tongue touch method, and a little bit of skill, one can then determine porosity/vitreosity by touching the ceramic to the tongue and gauging how much it sticks (Brown 1982:19-20; Spargo 1926:31). The relative opacity and hardness of a ceramic sherd are also related to vitreosity, but unlike for porosity, there do not appear to be any easy (or well-tested) methods for determining either opaqueness or hardness, though various suggestions have been made (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). These include, for example, using the Mohs scale to rate the hardness (Grimshaw 1971). Given the difficulty, and possible unreliability, of determining vitreosity using tests for opacity and hardness, only the tongue touch method for porosity was in this study.

By focusing on certain technological aspects of ceramics, such as vitreosity, some archaeologists, such as Majewski and O'Brien (1987) have hoped to create criteria for objective ceramic ware categorizations. As the analysis below demonstrates, however, using the tongue touch method to determine porosity and vitreosity can be an

extremely subjective categorization test. Through trial and error, I have developed a method of using the tongue touch method that does distinguish between otherwise indistinguishable undecorated whitewares, but the method remains, to some extent, a subjective process. An additional issue with using the tongue touch method, or any other method that places ceramics in categories based on technological aspects of the sherd, is that these categories, having been created by archaeologists, will necessarily only reflect their classifications and will not be comparable with the ceramic names in historical documents. However, I believe that I have devised a simple classification method that is replicable by other researchers, and that I hope will contribute to the categorization of unmarked nineteenth-century refined white earthenwares.

Of course, there are aspects to a ceramic artifact other than its ware type or the technology behind its creation. In contrast to a ware- or technology-based system, Miller (1980; 1991) has suggested that archaeologists use a decoration-based system that better reflects the way that people bought, sold, and understood their own ceramics. Using historical pricing information, Miller (1991) has shown that potters' base prices for refined white earthenwares were determined by the type of decoration on the pottery. The price of the decoration was in turn regulated by its relative popularity with the buying public (Miller 1991). From this information, Miller (1980; 1991) created the "CC Index," where "CC" stands for "cream-colored," Miller's (1991) general term for any type of inexpensive, base-cost ceramic. By 1830, these ceramics had become white enough in appearance to graduate to the term "whiteware" (Miller 1991:5).

This index has been used extensively by historic archaeologists as means of comparing assemblages within or between sites for socioeconomic differences. Once a

researcher has calculated the CC index for his or her site by reference to Miller (1980; 1991), he or she can obtain almost instant analytical gratification by simply comparing that value to the CC index value of multiple other sites. However, this satisfaction can be deceptive, as issues surrounding the identification of ware type, decoration, and form, which are necessary to calculate the index, can easily make any assemblages that have been categorized by different analysts non-comparable. Another problem, as Miller (1991) himself points out, is that ceramic prices fell so drastically in the nineteenth century that only sites within certain time periods can be compared. It is inadvisable, then, to attempt a comparison of the CC index values of a site dating from the 1830s with one dating from the 1870s.

Despite these caveats, several researchers have attempted broad comparisons of the CC index values of different sites, especially in an effort to understand socioeconomic differences. An example of this type of study is the work of Spencer-Wood and Herberling (1987), who compared the CC index values of 11 assemblages from eight different sites. This study found that more expensively decorated teawares have been correlated with higher occupational status, making investigations of teaware decorations a fruitful avenue of inquiry if one is interested in examining relative socioeconomic status. In fact, Spencer-Wood and Herberling (1987) conclude that using CC index values for cups and saucers alone can be a reliable indicator of status, whereas plates and bowls are more related to food prep and processing.

Beyond the CC Index, another way to use decoration to characterize the socioeconomic level of an assemblage is to try to determine if pieces from a matching set are present. The idea here is that owning and displaying matched tea or table settings

would have carried more prestige than using odd lots or mismatched settings (Dutton 1989). The Pine Level ceramics were examined for any differences in decoration, and the CC Index was calculated for the assemblage.

While decoration-based systems are certainly valid, and have the added benefit of containing an emic perspective, they are not without their own pitfalls. Key among these is what to do with an assemblage that is mostly undecorated, which, as this analysis will show, is a factor with the Pine Level assemblage. Also at issue is the lack of information for ceramics after about 1870, which Miller (1991) was apparently unable to gather. In addition, Miller's (1991) wholesale pottery price information may not have directly translated to retail prices, and consumers in different areas may have experienced different pricing, making local sources of pricing information potentially more important than the English wholesale prices (Potter 1992). It should be noted here that I attempted to track down local ceramic pricing information in order to create a Florida-specific "CC Index," but was unable to locate the store ledgers, daybooks, or any other material that would carry this information. It certainly may be possible to obtain ceramic pricing information specifically related to Florida by making trips to different archives around the state, but that work is outside the realm of this thesis.

A third, non-exclusive, way to classify and analyze ceramics is to determine the form of the original, unbroken piece. Many studies have used differences in the proportions of certain forms as a starting point for understanding likely differences between the groups of people who created, or used, those assemblages. For example, Otto's work at the Cannon's Point Plantation showed that there were large differences in the percentage of bowls contained in the assemblages of the owner's family (8 percent),

the overseer's family (almost 25 percent), and the enslaved African Americans (over 40 percent) (Otto 1984:167). This pattern of high bowl percentages has since been noted at several other African-American sites from the same time period, though the cause of the pattern, whether socioeconomic status, ethnicity, or some other factor, has yet to be determined (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). Along the same lines, socioeconomic status can be investigated by calculating the proportion of utilitarian items, such as bowls and plates, versus specialized items, such as teaware, teapots, or tureens. The hypothesis here is that the ceramic assemblages of low-income families will contain only essential items, while the assemblages of wealthier families will display a wide range of items (Deetz 1996; Dutton 1989).

The drawback to analyzing ceramic forms comes from the problem of identification. While some assemblages, such as those excavated from privy features, may contain relatively complete vessels that are readily identifiable, most do not. A small flat sherd may have come from a plate, but it could also represent the basal portion of a bowl, serving platter, cup, saucer, or some other form. This was a particular problem with the Pine Level collection, as most of the ceramics in the collection are very small and fragmentary. In my experience, it is easiest to identify vessel form using rim and footer sherds (though even this can be tricky), and sherds from cups are the easiest to spot. While the cross-sections of nineteenth-century vessel forms provided in Price (1979) are an invaluable resource for archaeologists, more resources of this kind need to be published in the future in order to make analysis of ceramic form viable for heavily fragmented assemblages. Therefore, while analysis of form will be done for the Pine Level collection, it should be clear that any conclusions based on ceramic form, including

the results from the CC Index, which uses form to determine pricing, should not be regarded as definitive, but rather as one more method that can be used to examine refined white earthenwares.

Methods

A total of 356 ceramic sherds from the Pine Level orange grove was analyzed for this study. The orange grove, which covers approximately 6 acres of the site, was the focus of this project because it has good surface visibility and it contained an obvious scatter of artifacts. A controlled surface survey revealed three distinct artifact Areas in the grove, which have been labeled Areas A, B, and C. Background research has suggested that Area A may be related to a residential occupation, Area B may be where Pine Level's government buildings once stood, and Area C may be where businesses once existed. All the ceramics from the grove appear consistent with an 1850-1900 time period, encompassing the dates of Pine Level's occupation as a town. However, Area C may also be the location of a later, fully twentieth-century occupation.

The ceramics from the three Areas have been analyzed separately to investigate possible differences between them, and to see if these differences can be related to differing types of occupations or to any differential socioeconomic status that the occupants may have had. This section will present the results of this analysis along the three different lines discussed above: ware, decoration, and form. Results were analyzed using total sherd count (TSC) and a minimum number of vessels count (MNV). However, only the TSC results will be discussed here as the MNV results are overall in agreement with the TSC results. It should be noted that, despite a great deal of time and effort, no cross-mends were located for any of the sherds in the collection.

During analysis, each ceramic was classified as stoneware, porcelain, whiteware, ironstone, or other. The first two were easy to identify, but for reasons previously discussed, separating whiteware from ironstone was not. This was accomplished by using the tongue touch method. As discussed above, in theory, using the tongue touch method to determine vitreosity is supposed to be an objective means of categorizing ceramics based on their technological attributes. However, in practice, this method is highly subjective, as it is based purely on an unquantifiable feeling of how sticky a particular ceramic sherd feels at a particular moment to a particular analyst. This problem of subjectivity is of course linked to the likelihood that ironstones and whitewares simply exhibit different amounts of vitreosity along a continuum of vitreosity. However, the inability to distinguish between ironstone and whiteware becomes a problem if one is to use the CC index. This is because Miller's (1991) prices for ironstone, which he calls white granite, are about twice as high as those for whiteware, which he calls creamware, or "CC." Therefore, before delving into the results of this analysis, it is important to fully explain how I distinguished between different ware types.

In using the tongue touch method to distinguish between otherwise indistinguishable refined white earthenwares, I discovered that one of two things happened: either the sherd did not stick to the tongue at all, or it stuck to varying degrees. At first, I attempted to distinguish between those ceramics that stuck only a little bit and those that stuck to the tongue a lot, calling one whiteware and one ironstone, but I eventually realized that I could categorize the same ceramic sherd differently on different days or even at different times on the same day. The method was simply too subjective.

Instead, I decided to take another look at those refined white earthenwares that had not stuck to the tongue at all. These were sherds that were clearly not porcelain, based on glaze and body characteristics, yet they displayed a high degree of vitreosity. The vitreosity was so high, in fact, that they feel the same on the tongue as porcelain. As reported in Majewski and O'Brien (1987), ironstones were initially created to mimic imported porcelains: they are fired at higher temperatures (more vitreous), and they are finer-grained (less porous) than whiteware. While ironstones are only termed "semivitreous" by Majewski and O'Brien (1987), it is my contention that, using the tongue touch method, the vitreosity of some ironstones will be indistinguishable from the vitreosity of porcelain. Therefore, this method can be an objective way to separate ironstone from whiteware in an assemblage that lacks maker's marks or any other distinguishing features.

It is entirely possible, of course, that some ironstones do stick to the tongue, but if they do, they become incredibly difficult to distinguish, objectively, from any whiteware using this particular method. It is also entirely possible that some of the ceramics that I identified as ironstone are actually some form of whiteware, and would have been labeled as such with a maker's mark. However, it is doubtful this would be the case for one important reason, namely, cost. Simply put, it costs more to produce a high-fired, fine-grained, semi- to completely vitreous ceramic than it does to produce a low-fired, coarse-grained, nonvitreous ceramic. As Miller (1991) has discussed in regards to decoration, higher production costs are invariably passed on to the consumer. It would hard to imagine a potter producing a higher-cost ironstone, and selling it for the same as a lower-cost whiteware. In addition, Miller (1980:4) acknowledges that ironstones produced post-

1850, which he calls white granite and which are usually undecorated, should be placed near the top of his hierarchy as they cost the same as transfer-printed ceramics. Given that this analysis focuses on understanding the relative socioeconomic status of Pine Level's residents, it is this difference in price between whiteware and ironstone that is important.

For this analysis then, if a refined white earthenware sherd was clearly not porcelain, yet did not stick to the tongue, it was classified as ironstone. All other refined white earthenwares that did stick to the tongue were classified as whiteware. It is hoped that other researchers, tasked with categorizing nineteenth-century refined white earthenwares that are as highly fragmented, undecorated, and unmarked as those at the Pine Level site, can use the tongue touch method I have described above to distinguish reliably between the ceramics in their collections, and can then use that information to formulate inferences regarding socioeconomics at their particular site. For classification of ceramic decoration and form, I relied on illustrations and descriptions provided in the literature on these subjects (Brown 1982; IMACS 1992; Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980, 1991), as well as any reference collections that were available through the University of South Florida Anthropology Department.

Results

Results for ware type by Area are presented in Table 6.1. Clearly, Area A and B are quite similar in percentages of ware type, and even display the same rank orders. Area B, however, does contain slightly higher percentages of ironstone and porcelain than Area A. This may indicate that the ceramics deposited in Area B are of a slightly

Table 6.1. Summary of Pine Level ceramics from Areas A, B, and C, by ware type.

Ware Type	Summary of Ceramics by Ware Type					
	Area A		Area B		Area C	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Whiteware	95	75.40	145	70.04	18	78.26
Ironstone	19	15.08	39	18.84	2	8.70
Porcelain	7	5.55	15	7.24	3	13.04
Stoneware	3	2.38	7	3.38	0	0.00
Other	2	1.58	1	0.48	0	0.00
Total	126	100.00	207	100.00	23	100.00

higher quality, and denote more expense, than those deposited in Area A. Area C is different in percentages of ware types than the other two Areas, but it is important to remember that this Area contains a significantly smaller number of ceramics than the other Areas. Therefore, Area C is likely to display marked differences in its representation of different ware categories when compared to the much larger assemblages of Areas A and B.

A non-parametric statistical test called the Brainerd-Robinson Similarity Coefficient Analysis (Brainerd 1951; Cowgill 1990; Robinson 1951) was used in order to parse out exactly how similar or different the Areas are from each other in terms of ceramic ware type. This analysis compares two sets of data and produces a single value (*br*) between 1 and 0. Data sets that are more similar will have a value closer to 1, while those that are less similar will have value closer to 0. In terms of ware type Area A is more similar to Area B (*br* = .94) than it is to Area C (*br* = .90). Likewise, Area B is less similar to Area C (*br* = .86) than it is to A. This statistical analysis therefore confirms that Areas A and B are nearly identical when their ware types are compared. The Area C ware types, though much the same, are still less similar to Areas A and B than A and B are to each other.

Table 6.2. Summary Pine Level ceramics from Areas A, B, and C, by decoration type.

Decoration	Summary of Ceramics by Decoration					
	Area A		Area B		Area C	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Undecorated	124	98.41	183	88.40	21	91.30
Molded	0	0.00	12	5.79	2	8.69
Handpainted	1	0.79	6	2.89	0	0.00
Luster	0	0.00	4	1.93	0	0.00
Flow Blue	0	0.00	1	0.48	0	0.00
Overglazed	1	0.79	0	0.00	0	0.00
Transferprint	0	0.00	1	0.48	0	0.00
Total	126	100.00	207	100.00	23	100.00

One startling thing about this collection is its paucity of decoration, as illustrated in Table 6.2. Area A is almost devoid of decoration, containing only two decorated sherds. Area C contains the same number, though given its small number of ceramics, it has a much higher percentage of decoration compared to Area A. Area B, while also a largely undecorated assemblage, does contain 24 decorated sherds (11.59 percent of the total). These included several thick, molded pieces of ironstone, porcelain sherds with a hand-painted floral design, one sherd with the tea leaf design, and others. Clearly, Area B, though mostly undecorated, displays more variety than either of the other Areas. As decorated pottery often cost more than completely undecorated pottery (Miller 1991), it appears that the ceramics deposited at Area B probably were of a higher cost than those deposited in either Area A or C.

The Brainerd-Robinson Similarity Coefficient Analysis was performed to compare decoration types from the three Areas. A value close to 1 indicates more similarity between data sets, and a value close to 0 indicates less similarity. Interestingly, in terms of decoration types, Area B is more similar to Area C ($br = .94$) than to Area A ($br = .89$). Additionally, Area A is slightly more similar to Area C ($br = .91$) than to B.

Looking at only decoration types, then, it becomes clear that all three of the Areas are somewhat similar to each other, as all score at least .89 on the Brainerd-Robinson scale. However, this analysis also shows that Areas B and C are more similar to each other than either are to Area A, when only decoration type is being analyzed. Also, Areas A and B are less alike in terms of decoration type than they are in terms of ware type.

Analysis of form was the most difficult, especially as most of the sherds in this entire collection are only a few centimeters across. For about half of the sherds in the entire collection, it was relatively easy to assign one of seven categories: plate, cup, bowl, saucer, platter, (stoneware) bottle, or specialty. The last category includes items that clearly were not one of the previous six, and were likely for specific tasks, such as serving vessels. The other half of the ceramics were tentatively identified based on the author's best educated guess, though a small number remained unidentified. In order to present a robust study, all "best guesses" were combined with the positive identifications, and are presented in Table 6.3.

Here, it is clear that Areas A and B appear very similar as they contain comparable percentages of vessel types, and the relative frequencies of their respective

Table 6.3. Summary of Pine Level ceramics from Areas A, B, and C, by vessel type.

<i>Vessel Form</i>	Summary of Ceramics by Vessel Type					
	Area A		Area B		Area C	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Plate	76	60.31	109	52.65	16	69.56
Bowl	22	17.46	28	13.52	2	8.69
Cup	13	10.31	31	14.97	0	0.00
Saucer	2	1.58	5	2.41	0	0.00
Platter	2	1.58	3	1.44	1	4.34
Specialty	3	2.38	12	5.79	3	13.04
Bottle	2	1.58	2	0.96	0	0.00
Unidentified	6	4.76	17	8.21	1	4.34
Total	126	100.00	207	100.00	23	100.00

vessel types is nearly identical. However, Area B does contain twice as high a percentage of specialty items compared to Area A, and has a larger percentage of cups. It should be noted that one of the “specialty item” sherds in Area B appears to be the inner strainer of a teapot. This sherd classification is interesting when viewed in conjunction with the higher percentage of cups in Area B than in Area A, suggesting that perhaps more tea or coffee drinking was occurring in the former than in the latter. Area C is very different from the other two Areas as it does not contain a single cup, saucer, or bottle, but does have a relatively high percentage of specialty items. In all three Areas, specialty items are mostly serving dishes or platters. However, Area C does contain very high percentages of plates, which is similar to the other Areas, though higher.

As presented above, a Brainerd-Robinson Similarity Coefficient Analysis (was performed to determine how similar the different Areas are when looking solely at form type. In this case, Area A is very similar to Area B ($br = .93$), but much less similar to Area C ($br = .78$). Area B is also much less similar to Area C ($br = .74$) than to Area A. As was noted with ware types then, Areas A and B are extremely similar when their form types are compared. While Area B appeared, from the qualitative analysis above, to have more cups and specialty items than A, this statistical analysis clearly indicates that these two Areas are nearly identical. The Brainerd-Robinson statistic therefore appears to give little weight to any apparent differences related to cups and specialty items. Based on this analysis Area C is actually quite dissimilar to both of the other Areas.

CC Index Results

The analyses of all three lines of inquiry, ware, decoration, and form, were combined in order to calculate Miller’s (1991) CC Index for the Area assemblages. In all

cases, 1870 or 1871 prices were used. Since the small size of the sherds in this collection precluded the ability to determine diameters, following Dutton (1989), all the sizes of a particular category (i.e. 1871 handpainted plates sized 5-10 inches) were averaged together to produce a single price. Similarly, handled and unhandled cup prices were averaged together. Cups and saucers were combined into one category as these items were sold together in sets (Miller 1991). Platters, called “dishes” in Miller (1991), and other specialty items, are not included here.

One particular problem for calculating these CC indices was previously discussed in the background and methods sections above regarding the issue of ceramic ware type nomenclature and identification, especially for whiteware and ironstone. Miller (1991) is one of the researchers who distinguishes ironstone from whiteware, but he uses the term “white granite” to encompass all ironstone produced after 1850. This ware is usually undecorated, or only decorated with molding (Miller 1991). Given that the dates for Pine Level, and the ceramics found at the site, are consistent with a post-1850 date, and the fact that most of the sherds called ironstone in this analysis are undecorated, or only molded, it seems appropriate to use Miller’s (1991) “white granite” prices for Pine Level’s ironstone sherds. While this decision sounds mundane, because Miller’s (1991) prices for “white granite” are so much higher than for whiteware, using these higher prices increases the resulting CC indices substantially.

The fact that the white granite prices are so much higher is part of the reason this author struggled to identify and quantify the ironstone/white granite at Pine Level properly in the first place. If whiteware sherds are misidentified as ironstone, then this will lead to a CC index that is too high for a particular site, and will make it appear that

the site's occupants held a higher socioeconomic status than they actually did. If ironstone sherds are mistaken for whiteware, then the reverse situation will occur.

This is a troubling predicament for several reasons. First, as explained in this and numerous other works, it is very difficult to separate whiteware from ironstone. In fact, some researchers, such as Dutton (1989), while they use the CC index, do not separate ironstone from whiteware. Therefore, it is unlikely that they are using the higher white granite prices in their analyses at all. Given that one of the main purposes of using the CC index is to obtain a value for one site that can be compared to another, the fact that different researchers are potentially using different prices for the same ceramic essentially invalidates the use of the index. Ironically, another problem is that Miller (1991) probably never meant for the whiteware vs. ironstone debate to enter into the calculation of his CC index. This is because the index, and Miller's work in general, is predicated on the belief that *decoration*, not ware type, is the most important indicator of ceramic cost. However, Pine Level, like many other sites, contains a large percentage of undecorated ceramics, making the identification and quantification of ware types more important in the calculation of Miller's CC index than it is probably supposed to be.

Table 6.4 presents the CC index results for the entire Pine Level site. From looking at this table, it becomes clear that plates appear to have been purchased most cheaply, with a value that is very close to the base value of 1 used in the index. The category labeled "cups," which actually includes both cups and saucers, has been shown to usually contain the highest CC Index values in any given assemblage, a fact that Spencer-Wood and Herberling (1987) have related to historic use of tea sets as status items. However, at Pine Level, the cup category, while receiving a higher index value

Table 6.4. CC Index values for the Pine Level ceramic collection.

Summary of CC Index Values Pine Level	
<i>Index Value</i>	
Bowls	1.57
Cups	1.57
Plates	1.28
Average	1.47

than plates, has exactly the same value as bowls. The reason why this may be is not entirely clear, but it could be related to how difficult it was to distinguish ceramic form in this collection. It is possible that some cups were misidentified as bowls, which would have led to a higher bowl CC Index. While it would be preferable to not have this possible misidentification in the analysis, the fragmentary nature of this collection simply does not allow for more definitive ceramic form results.

There is another, more basic, issue with this CC Index calculation. Specifically, a single set of values for a site, in isolation, is not very informative. One needs a second set to compare it to in order to understand the relative socioeconomic status of the site. Given the caveats of working with Miller's (1991) CC index, this would mean that the Pine Level values would need to be compared to an assemblage whose values were calculated in the same way, to wit: 1) using Miller's 1991 Index prices, and 2) using the 1870 index prices. It might be possible to compare the Pine Level values to a site that was calculated using an index year that was not 1870, but was temporally close, like 1869 or 1871, but given the volatility of the ceramics market during this period (Miller 1991:4), even these index prices may not be truly comparable. Unfortunately, the search for a site that fits the criteria outlined above has been unsuccessful, though a site meeting the criteria is likely to exist somewhere in the literature.

Table 6.5. Summary of CC index values for the entire Pine Level site ceramic collection, and for the three separate Areas.

Summary of CC Index Values For Pine Level				
	Area A	Area B	Area C	Whole Site
<i>Index Value</i>				
Bowls	1.59	1.53	1.77	1.57
Cups	1.26	1.70	0.00	1.57
Plates	1.25	1.29	1.41	1.28
Average	1.37	1.51	1.59	1.47

While having a second site to compare Pine Level to would be ideal, the Pine Level collection does have the advantage of containing the three spatially distinct Areas that were examined previously in this chapter. In lieu of a second site then, it is possible to compare CC Index values that have been calculated for each of the three Areas, and the site as a whole. This information is presented in Table 6.5.

Delineating patterns within these data is difficult, as the data themselves are in some ways contradictory. While Area C clearly has the highest bowl, plate, and average values, it has no cups or saucers to speak of, and as previously noted, it also has a far smaller total sherd count than the other Areas. This makes it hard to readily compare this Area C to the others. Moreover, Area B, while it has cup and plate values that are higher than those of Area A, it has a lower bowl value than that of Area A. In fact, the high bowl value in Area A is even more perplexing because it is higher than the Area A cup and saucer value, which is an unusual situation. The values for the whole site are essentially an average of the three Areas taken together, so it is unsurprising that the whole site values are intermediary between those of the three Areas.

If Area C is excluded from our CC index analysis because of its very low number of sherds, then we are left with the competing values of Areas A and B, where each has at least one value that tops the other. How then, can one decide which Area has the highest

socioeconomic status? According to Spencer-Wood and Herberling (1987), the CC index values for cups and saucers alone can act as a reliable indicator of relative socioeconomic status. With this in mind, it becomes clear that the Area B assemblage should be considered to have the higher socioeconomic status. This perception is strengthened when one looks at the average values for both Areas, as Area B clearly has a higher average value than Area A.

Conclusion

From the analysis presented above, it appears that the Area A and B assemblages are quite similar in terms of ware type and form, but that Area B contains slightly more varied, decorated wares, and a higher CC index value in most cases. This may indicate that the ceramics found in the Area B assemblage were deposited by individuals who had a higher socioeconomic status than the people who created the Area A assemblage. As the Brainerd-Robinson Similarity Coefficient Analysis points out, however, it would be statistically inaccurate to infer too much difference between all three of the Areas. This statistic demonstrates that they contain a great deal of similarity in terms of their ware type, decoration, and form.

At this point, the slight differences between Areas A and B, while they exist, are hard to correlate with differential occupation types. Background information indicates that the Area A location may have contained a household occupation, while Area B may have been the location of Pine Level's government buildings. While there have been countless investigations of household ceramic assemblages, there has been far less work done on *civic* ceramic assemblages. In short, what kinds of ceramics should one expect to find at the location of government buildings, like a jail or a courthouse? This question

will be explored more in the conclusion to this thesis, where the ceramic analysis can be added to the glass and metal analyses. The question of whether or not Area C, which is located where businesses may have existed, actually reflects a commercial occupation, will also need to wait until all the investigatory strands can be pulled together in the conclusion to this thesis.

Overall, it appears that the people of Pine Level relied heavily on undecorated refined white earthenwares, the so-called “thrasher’s china” (Dutton 1989) that nineteenth-century people in frontier areas often utilized even when their non-rural contemporaries were using finer wares (Wetherbee 1985). The range of ceramic forms is also limited throughout the entire collection, which brings to mind Deetz’s (1996) idea that low-income people will only purchase and use the necessities.

This ceramic analysis, taken as a whole, could indicate one of several possibilities for Pine Level’s settlers. First, sticking simply with the idea of status and status indicators, the ceramics from all three Pine Level Areas may have been deposited by people with a relatively low socioeconomic status, with Area B (or possibly C) being created by people with slightly more means. This would signify that the people coming to Pine Level were unable, for financial reasons, to purchase the finer ironstones or porcelains of their contemporaries. However, there may be other reasons why the Pine Level assemblages contain so much “thrasher’s china.”

While several general merchandise stores existed in Pine Level, it is impossible, at this point, to know what kinds of ceramic goods they stocked. If Pine Level’s residents were only given access to undecorated refined white earthenwares, especially whiteware, then the assemblages they created are likely to contain an abundance of this material.

Shipments of goods on the frontier may have been few and far between, so when a store received a shipment, a family in need of plates, bowls, or other ceramics may simply have bought what was available. Of course, if undecorated and relatively cheap refined white earthenwares were what was available in this time of need, these would have been the product that the settlers would have purchased.

The last alternative that will be explored here is that the people of Pine Level made a conscious decision to bring large quantities of sturdy, inexpensive refined white earthenwares with them when they moved to the county seat. Indeed, the long journey by ox-cart alone, made exponentially more difficult in the rainy season, would have been reason enough to pack only the most hardy pieces of ceramics. Then, once settled, these ceramics were also more likely to be useful to Pine Level's residents, for longer periods of time, than delicate porcelains or even fine ironstones.

In addition, one should keep in mind that none of these "alternatives" are necessarily exclusive. Any one of these reasons for buying and utilizing whitewares, as well as numerous others that one could imagine, could have worked in concert with each other. For example, a Pine Level merchant who only received two shipments a year may have consciously decided to order only thick, undecorated whiteware because he knew these ceramics could survive the journey to his store, and because he knew his customers could afford it. Each one of these alternatives will be explored in greater depth in the conclusion to this work.

Glass Analysis

Glass comprises the largest artifact category from the Pine Level site, totaling 960 individual sherds. While numerous, most of the glass sherds from Pine Level are very

small. In fact, 320 sherds are so small that they weigh less than one gram, and the collection does not contain a single whole bottle. Given the site's use as an active orange grove, this level of fragmentation is to be expected. Obtaining meaningful information from such fragmented sherds, however, is difficult (Lindsey 2010; Sterner and Maxwell 2004), and it has been recommended that small sherds only be given a cursory description within larger analyses (Lorrain 1968). Despite the constraints placed upon this analysis by the size of the sherds, the glass collection from the Pine Level site still has the ability to contribute to our understanding of the people who imported, used, re-used, and discarded these artifacts.

There are several goals for this analysis. First, in looking at the glass, I want to ensure that the sherds fit the time period from 1850, a few years before Pine Level was established, to about 1910, which is around the time that Pine Level ceased to exist as a town. This date range covers several milestones in glass manufacture that should be identifiable on the artifacts. Second, window glass will be analyzed to determine the likely dates of its manufacture, which can highlight likely dates for construction of buildings in the three Pine Level Areas. The third goal of this analysis is to identify the date and function of as many pieces as possible by looking at diagnostic embossing and bottle shapes. A securely-identified bottle can provide a tight time-range, illuminate trade networks, and reveal the type of products people at a site were utilizing, as well as the types of activities that may have occurred in different areas of the site. Beyond positive identifications, my fourth goal is to analyze as many of the fragmented sherds as possible to understand general functional differences between the three orange grove Areas at the site.

Bottle Glass Dating

A number of attributes can be used to date a glass bottle, like the presence or absence of seams, pontil scars, and embossing, as well as the type of closure at the lip, or the type of mold used to produce it, among others (Jones 1971; Lindsey 2010; Lorrain 1968; Miller and Sullivan 1984). While many different attributes can be used to date any particular bottle, it is often important to note several of them on a single bottle in order to most accurately date the piece (Lindsey 2010). Given the highly fragmented nature of this glass collection, having several datable attributes on a single sherd was rare, thereby limiting my attempts at dating accuracy. However, this collection displays clear indications that most of it was produced between the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.

Of the 960 sherds, 64 (6.6 percent) display mold marks, or seams, that were created when a mold was used to produce the bottle. The three-part mold was created around 1810, but was surpassed by the two-part mold between 1840 and 1850 (Lorrain 1968:38,40). Bottles produced in one of these two molds will have rounded-off seams that run from the base up to the neck, and gradually taper off before the finish (Lorrain 1968), which is the term used to describe the lip and collar of the bottle (Lindsey 2010). In this case, the seam disappears before the finish because the finish was applied by hand using a lipping tool that would not leave a seam (Lorrain 1968). One can easily identify a three-part mold by the horizontal seam it creates on the shoulder of the bottle. While numerous shoulder sherds were identified in the Pine Level collection (n= 25), none displayed a horizontal seam that would indicate the older three-part mold had been used. It is therefore likely that many of the bottles that displayed seams were created in the later

two-part mold, or even by a semi-automatic or fully automatic bottle machine, which came into use in the early 1890s and 1904, respectively (Miller and Sullivan 1984:85).

One can further distinguish between a mold-blown and the semi-automatic and automatic machines by looking at seams along a bottle's finish. Because a lipping tool is used to apply the finish for a mold-blown bottle, the seams on these bottles will gradually disappear before the finish, whereas the seam on bottle made in a semi-automatic or fully automatic machine will have seams that run up the sides of the bottle and completely through the finish and lip (Lindsey 2010). Of the 24 pieces that displayed part of a lip or a whole finish, only two displayed seams that ran up through the finish, and both of these were noted as looking like pieces that were less than 50 years old. Taking the seam evidence all together, it appears that most of the Pine Level bottles were not created using a semi-automatic or fully automatic machine, but were mold-blown in a two-part mold. This places their likely date of manufacture between 1840 at the earliest, to about 1911, when the Owen's automatic bottle-making machine experienced a meteoric rise in use around the United States (Miller and Sullivan 1984:85-86).

Embossing on bottles can also be used to date their manufacture. Embossing began to be used on bottles in the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, and is still in use today (Lindsey 2010). While this is obviously a wide time span, Berge (1980) has noted that most bottles embossed with proprietary information pre-date 1910, when paper labels came into much wider use. Therefore, of the 40 bottle fragments from Pine Level that display some sort of lettered embossing, which does not include bottlers marks on the base or pieces marked with volume information (i.e. "quart"), it can be assumed that they all date from sometime in the nineteenth century. In addition, 16 of these

embossed pieces came from panel bottles, and Lorrain (1968:40) states unequivocally that lettered paneled bottles first appeared in 1867. This further narrows the time range for these embossed panel bottles from 1867-1910.

Also of note here, pressed glass was invented in 1827 (Lorrain 1968:38), but was not in widespread use until about 1845 (Lorrain 1968:39), when it became a common American household product. There are 16 pieces of pressed glass from Pine Level, including a pressed glass plate with a floral design, and several pressed glass tumblers with a raised dot design. Given Pine Level's remote location, the existence of pressed glass here suggests that this product was in widespread use by the time it reached the frontier, further indicating a post-1845 date for this glass collection. From the evidence of embossed panel bottles and the presence of pressed glass sherds, it can be assumed that the majority of non-flat glass in this collection dates from between the 1845 and 1910.

Window Glass Dating

Window glass analysis has also been directed at obtaining reliable dating information. Many analysts have recognized that window glass thickness increased with time throughout the nineteenth century (Ball 1983; Chance and Chance 1976; Ison 1990; Moir 1987; Roenke 1978; Walker 1971). Several of these researchers have also devised formulas that can date a piece of window glass using a simple measurement of its thickness (Ball 1983; Chance and Chance 1976; Moir 1982). Using a glass collection with known dates from Indian Key, Florida, Sykes (2003) determined that of these three formulas, Moir's (1982) is the most accurate method for dating window glass. The Moir method has also been endorsed by Weiland (2009) as a relatively quick and reliable window glass dating formula. Though it should not be used in isolation (Sykes 2003),

this method is considered useful in determining dates of building construction and remodeling (Day 2001), which are often of interest to an archaeologist.

Moir's (1982) formula comes with a few caveats. First, Moir (1987) states that his formula is most accurate when used at a site with an occupation span of less than 60 years, when more than one area of a site has been sampled, and when the building or buildings in question are not in an urban area, not specialized, and not upper-class dwellings (Moir 1987:78). Fortunately, Pine Level fulfills almost all of these specifications. The courthouse, and jail, and jury house, could however, be considered specialized buildings. In many parts of the United States government buildings like these often utilize monumental architecture and a specialized design. However, as explained in a previous chapter, Pine Level's two courthouses were relatively simple, wooden buildings lacking any monumental or specialized design, and the second, more substantial, jail was designed to be like a "comfortable house" (MBOCC February 3, 1880). The jury house as well was a small wooden structure that apparently contained only a single window (MBOCC December 19, 1871). Also, given Pine Level's remote location, and the deficiency of the Manatee County budget in the decades following the Civil War, I do not believe that any expensive or specialized window glass would have been used for any of these buildings. In all, Pine Level appears to be an ideal site for utilizing the Moir (1982) formula.

This formula, which should be accurate to plus or minus seven years in 60 percent of cases (Moir 1987:78), is shown below:

$$\text{Glass Manufacture Date} = 84.22 \times (\text{Glass Thickness in Millimeters}) + 1712.7$$

Only glass that was sufficiently large and flat enough to be distinguishable as window glass was used for this analysis. Of a total of 150 pieces of glass used in this analysis, 15 are from Area A, 111 are from Area B, and 24 are from Area C. Because window glass thickness can vary slightly from the middle of a pane to the edges, three separate thickness measurements were taken on each sherd, and the average of these measurements was used in Moir's (1982) formula. After computing the formula for each sherd in Excel, the date data were inputted into SPSS 16.0 to determine statistical frequencies.

Before delving into the statistical frequencies, however, several fundamental issues should be addressed. First, we know that the dates provided by Moir's (1982) formula can be up to seven years older or younger than the actual date of glass manufacture. This fact alone introduces a fair amount of "wiggle room" in the dates from the Pine Level window glass. Second, and perhaps more important, we do not know how Pine Level's contractors were obtaining their building materials, including glass. It is entirely possible that purchased window glass, even if previously unused, was already several years old by the time it was employed at Pine Level, given the distance that any window pane would have to travel simply to make its way down to this frontier environment. This was, after all, before trains and even efficient boat travel on the Peace River.

Even more important to keep in mind is that building materials were scarce on the south Florida frontier, and it was common practice to reuse building materials, and even whole buildings, during this time period. This point is particularly salient for Pine Level because two of its government buildings, the courthouse and the jail, were completely

rebuilt at least once. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the windows from the first courthouse were reused in the second courthouse, but because the second building had several more windows than the first, there would also be new (or previously used) window glass added to the second structure. For all the reasons explained above, I would predict that much of the window glass found at Pine Level is probably a few years older than the date of any particular building's construction, though how much older is impossible to say.

Other problems with this analysis also must be addressed. After computing the Moir formula, several of the sherds actually returned dates that are significantly younger than the site. One sherd dated to 1984. According to Sykes (2003:49), using window glass thickness to determine date of manufacture is most accurate for glass produced from the beginning of the nineteenth century to about 1920. Before the 1800s, the way window glass was manufactured was too variable, and after 1920, window glass thickness was standardized, leading to the end of its utility as a dating tool. For this reason, I decided to eliminate from the analysis any sherds that had returned a post-1920 date. I also removed a single early outlier, 1805, from the analysis, as it was almost a full 20 years older than any other date in the entire analysis. Removing these extraneous dates left 14 dates in Area A, 95 dates in Area B, and 21 dates in Area C. The statistical frequencies for the window glass dates can be seen in Table 6.6. Given the small sample size (less than 30 sherds) of the window glass in Areas A and C, this analysis should not be considered definitive, but merely an exploration of these current data.

Removing post-1920s dates and the single 1805 outlier produces statistical frequencies that match up well with historical information about Pine Level. The mean

Table 6.6. Statistical frequencies for Moir (1982) formula window glass dates, by Area.

Statistics	A	B	C
Number	14	95	21
Mean	1870.6	1870.9	1873.3
Median	1864	1864	1877
Mode(s)	1855, 1864	1855	1864, 1889, 1897, 1900
Std Deviation	23.7	24.5	22
Range	75	93	65
Minimum	1839	1824	1835
Maximum	1914	1917	1900

for both Areas A and B is 1870, with the mean for Area D being a few years later, in 1873. The medians and modes of Areas A and B are also the same, with Area C coming in a few years later for these two measure as well. This suggests that, on average, buildings were constructed at about the same time in Areas A and B, and a few years later in Area C. Historical information, presented in a previous chapter, indicates that a building (John Bartholf's home) may have been constructed in Area A, around 1869. Government buildings were erected in Area B around the dates 1867, 1873, 1877, and 1882. The statistical frequencies for the window glass dates in Areas A and B echo historical sources in placing the first building construction in these Areas, at about the same time.

In regard to Area C, where businesses may have been located, historical research indicates that many people, business owners included, were slow to move out to Pine Level. John Bartholf (1876a) explicitly states that there were only two stores in Pine Level by 1876, leading me to believe that all the other establishments, including stores, saloons, and boardinghouses, must have appeared later, probably in the early- to mid-

1880s. The mean, median, and mode window glass dates for Area C, then, also correlate with the historical record.

Another way to look at these data is to place them in histogram form, which graphically displays likely periods of building construction and remodeling. In Figure 6.2, we see that Area A window glass dates peak between 1860 and 1870, and though the sample is small, this information fits well with what we know about Area A. Bartholf, the self-proclaimed first settler in Pine Level, states that he built a “rude log house” (Bartholf 1876a) near the courthouse after moving here in 1869. It is easy to imagine, then, that had Bartholf built his home in this location around that time, that he may have been using window glass produced a few years earlier. Given the several caveats I already presented regarding this formula and the reuse and likely age of window glass at Pine Level, exact dates are not as important here. What is important is to note that the dates, on the whole, are early, and around the time we could expect window glass to have

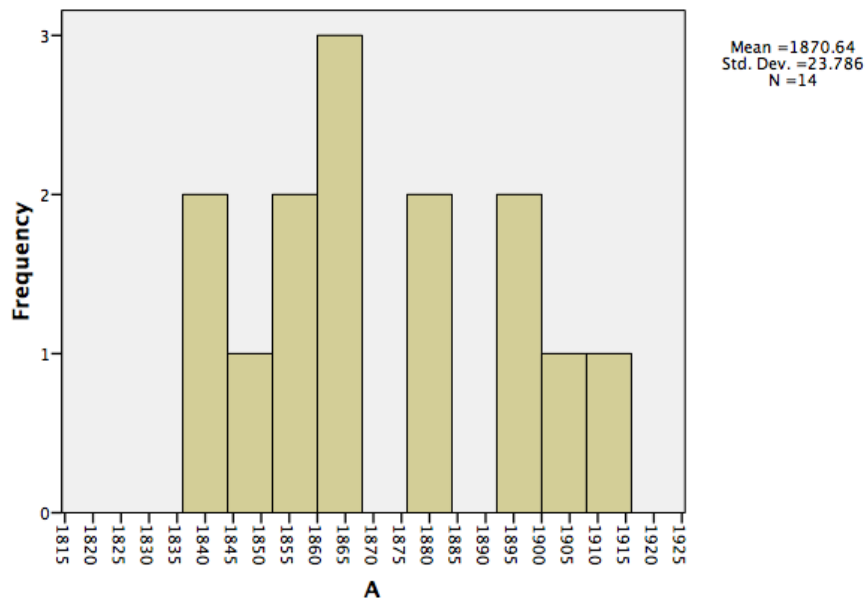


Figure 6.2 Histogram of Moir (1982) formula window glass dates for Area A.

been made before being transported to Pine Level. The information from this histogram distinctly indicates a construction period in Area A near the beginning of Pine Level's existence.

The window glass date histogram for Area B, Figure 6.3, with a far more robust sample, clearly indicates two peaks for window glass dates, the first from 1855 to 1860, and the second from about 1900 to 1915. This suggests there was a building phase right at the beginning of Pine Level, likely using window glass that was already several years old, just as we saw in Area A, though perhaps even a few years earlier. The spike around 1855 to 1860 is especially dramatic because there are no fewer than 13 glass sherds here that returned an 1855 date, far more than any other date at the entire site. This appears to be good evidence to support the idea that buildings at Pine Level were indeed using old glass, as the first building at the site was almost certainly the 1867 courthouse, a full 12

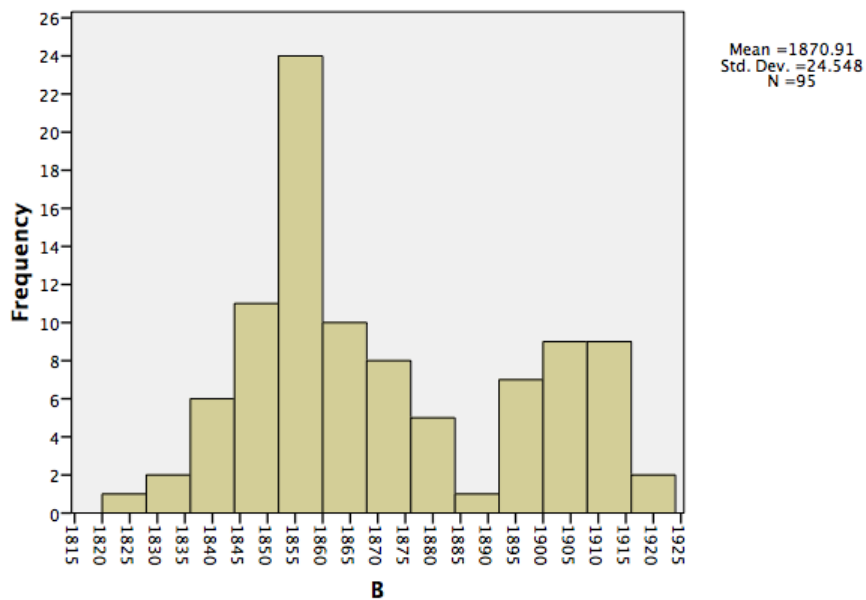


Figure 6.3. Histogram of Moir (1982) formula window glass dates for Area B.

years after the 1855 glass indicates. It also appears from this histogram that there was a second building phase quite a few years later, when Pine Level was far past its glory days.

In Figure 6.4, the histogram for Area C is more ambiguous, perhaps because this Area is also hindered by a small sample size. There is one peak of older glass, from 1840 to 1845, another peak from 1870 to 1875, and third, much larger peak in window glass dates from about 1885 to 1900. The 1840 to 1845 window glass dates are incongruous, and at this time unexplainable, though there are several possibilities. Perhaps very old glass was being used in a building here, maybe this is not really window glass at all, or this could indicate a problem with the Moir formula. The second peak at 1870 to 1875 signals a construction phase at about the time I suspected, around the early- to mid-1880s, if indeed the window glass in Area C follows the same general principle as seen in the other Areas, in that window glass was already several years old before it was used at the

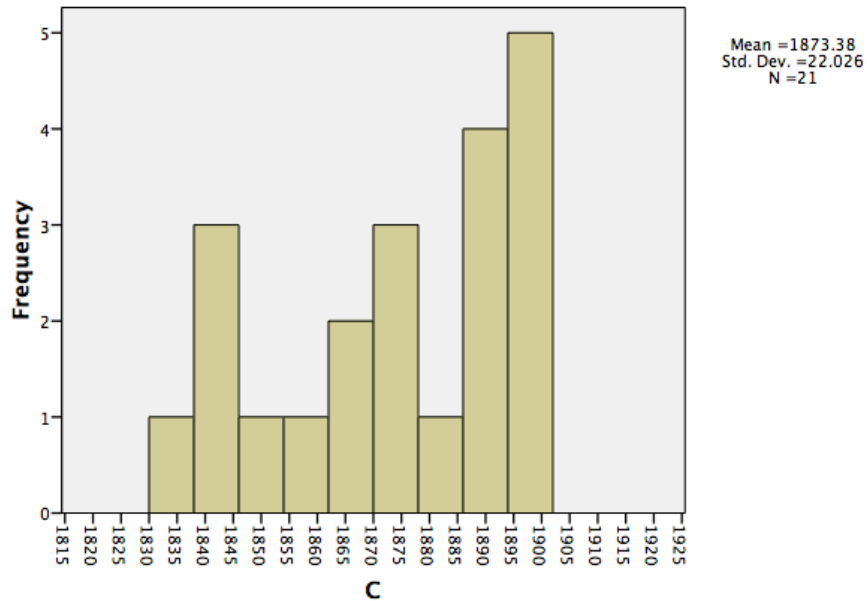


Figure 6.4. Histogram of Moir (1982) formula window glass dates for Area C.

site. The last Area C window glass peak from 1886 to 1900 suggests that, like Area B, there was a later construction period in this area, long after Pine Level's heyday had passed, though perhaps while the town of Pine Level was still in existence.

Identifiable Bottles

Another way to date and understand the site is to look at what kind of identified bottles appear in the collection. A positively-identified bottle can point to functional differences between areas of the site, and illustrate connections to trade networks, and a datable bottle can be very useful in pinpointing when the site was in use. However, even information gained from a positively-identified bottle must be viewed with some caution. Bottles are extremely useful items, but throughout the nineteenth century they were expensive to produce, and even after several innovations in bottle manufacture and a sharp increase in bottle-making in the late nineteenth century, the demand for bottles still outstripped supply (Busch 1987:68-69). For this reason bottles were often reused, sometimes for decades, and could hold any number of products until they broke and had to be discarded (Busch 1987). Imagine a sauce bottle purchased in 1870 that, once emptied, was cleaned and refilled with medicine by a druggist any number of years later. Once discarded, the old sauce bottle has the effect of making the site where it was discarded look older than it actually was, and to a modern-day archaeologist, it could even infer an erroneous food-oriented function to the discard site. These cautions are important to remember throughout the remainder of this section.

Unfortunately, no bottles from Area A were identifiable, despite my best efforts. There are, however, several identified bottles in Area B. There are three examples of an original Budweiser beer bottle, two of which could feasibly be from the same bottle



Figure 6.5. Two Budweiser bottle fragments, from Area B of the Pine Level site.

(Figure 6.5). One piece has a clear embossed monogram on the base that reads “CC&Co.” for Carl Conrad and Company (Figure 6.5, left). It is believed that this monogram was only in use from 1876 to 1882 (Lockhart et al 2006:2). By 1883, Conrad, the first person to use the Budweiser name, had gone bankrupt (probably caused by the overextension of his young company), and was forced to sell the company to one of his creditors, Anheuser-Busch (Lockhart et al 2006:3). The short six-year time span of the CC&Co monogram, as well as the other two “original Budweiser” bottles, serves as an extremely useful temporal marker. They also indicate that beer was probably being consumed in Pine Level, and suggest the presence of a saloon in the area.

Two probable food/non-alcoholic beverage bottles were located in Area B. The first is a partial panel bottle marked with “. LEGGE/W YOR” for Francis H. Leggett and Company, New York (Figure 6.6, right). This wholesale grocery company out of New York began in 1870, and was in business until at least 1980 (Zumwalt 1980:272). The

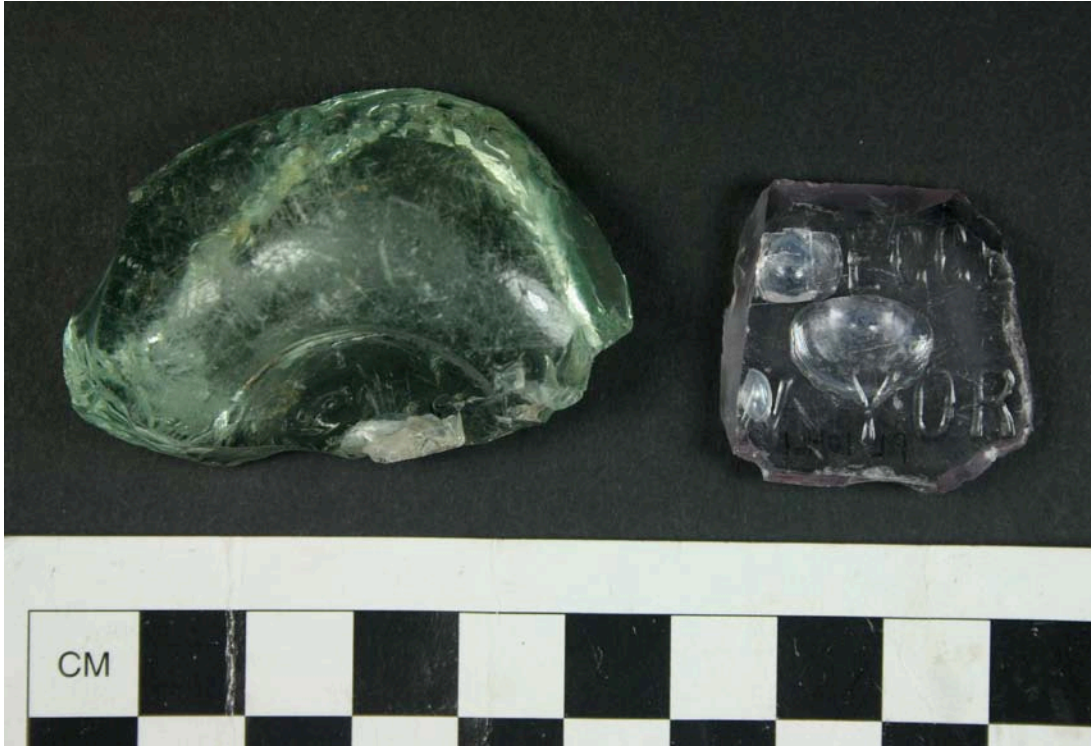


Figure 6.6. Two fragments of food-related bottles, from Area B of the Pine Level site.

original contents of this bottle are unknown. The second bottle is a round bottom soda/ginger ale bottle base embossed with “S WHEE” in horizontal letters on the side, and either a “6” or a “9” on the base itself (Figure 6.6, left). This bottle’s designation as soda/ginger ale bottle comes from Bill Lindsey (personal communication, 2010), a retired Rangeland Management Specialist with the Bureau of Land Management, whose historic bottles website is hosted by the Society for Historical Archaeology. Mr. Lindsey also indicates that the horizontal lettering on this type of bottle usually points to it being a product of England or Ireland.

Medicine bottles were also recovered from Area B. One is panel bottle with embossing that reads “RUP C/O C” for the California Fig Syrup Company, San Francisco, California (Figure 6.7, left). This product was marketed as “a simple, safe,



Figure 6.7. Two medicine bottle fragments, from Area B of the Pine Level site.

and reliable laxative which does not irritate or debilitate the organs on which it acts, and, being pleasant to the taste, is especially adapted to ladies and children, though generally applicable in all cases” (California Fig Syrup Company 1905). The length of time this company was in business for is currently unknown, though the company appears to have been prolific enough that today California Fig Syrup Company bottles are quite common among bottle collectors.

Another medicine bottle from Area B is a partial pint bottle with an illustration of a safe (Figure 6.7, right). This safe design was boldly embossed on the front of Warner’s Safe Cure bottles. H.H. Warner was the “king of patent medicines,” whose company first rose to prominence selling safes, but in 1879 purchased and marketed Warner’s Safe Kidney and Liver Cure out of Rochester, New York (Polak 2002: 281; Wikipedia 2010).

Warner would later go onto produce a number of other medicinal products, such as nervine, a diabetes cure, and bitters, with the company reaching its highest level of success in the 1880s (Polak 2002:281). The Warner's bottle found at Pine Level could have been produced anytime after 1879, likely through the twentieth century, and would have contained some sort of medicinal product. This bottle is considered rare among collectors (Polak 2002).

The last identifiable glass artifact from Area B might be the most interesting. While only represented by a small portion of a shoulder, it appears to be a Hayward's Hand Fire Grenade. Hand fire grenades were round glass containers a little larger than a baseball that held fire retardant and were supposed to be thrown at the base of fire to put it out (Young 2007:30). First patented in 1863, hand fire grenades were in use up until 1905 (Polak 2002:130). The color and shape of this hand fire grenade matches that of one produced by the Hayward company from 1875 to 1895 (Polak 2002:132). That this artifact was found in Area B adds the intriguing possibility that grenades of this kind had been purchased to protect Manatee County taxpayers' investment in their government buildings.

Three additional bottles were identified in Area C. One was part of another "original Budweiser" bottle, just as was found in Area B. The second was the edge, complete with threaders, of a Ball fruit jar, readily identified by its distinctive "Ball blue" color (Lindsey 2010). Ball fruit jars in this color were made from about 1909 into the 1930s (Lindsey 2010). These dates indicate that this canning jar was probably not discarded at the site during Pine Level's existence as a town, but might have been used by the Charles Hagan household, discussed previously as being in Area C.



Figure 6.8. Fragment of a food-related bottle, from Area C of the Pine Level site.

The final identifiable bottle in Area C is an oval-shaped base embossed with “H.K. & F.B. Thurber & Co., New York,” which was a well-known grocer in the second half of the nineteenth century (Edwards and Critten 1885)(Figure 6.8). This company shipped food products all over the country, though Bill Lindsey (personal communication, 2010) believes the bottle’s shape makes it more likely that it contained some kind of medicine, rather than food. This company’s name changed several times over the years, but the form that is displayed on the Area C bottle was only in use from 1875 to 1884 (Edwards and Critten 1885:112). Just as with the Budweiser bottles, then, this bottle’s tight time range of production solidly places it within some of Pine Level’s most popular years.

Functional Glass Analysis

Of the 960 pieces of glass recovered from Pine Level, only 11 were identifiable, but information can still be gained from the rest. Sixty-one pieces of glass were clearly of recent origin, and so were excluded from the rest of the analysis, leaving 899 sherds. Following an analysis done by Sterner and Maxwell (2004) on glass collected from the nineteenth century Rincon/Prado site in California, Pine Level glass sherds were classified into one of seven functional categories.

The “food/beverage/medical” category covers almost all container glass. The “food preparation/consumption” category includes canning jars and glass bowls, plates, and drinking glasses. The “personal” category consists of glass buttons and milk glass, as the latter is normally associated with cosmetic and toiletry products (Lindsey 2010). The “building maintenance” category for Pine Level is small, and only includes the hand fire grenade recovered from Area B. The “building furnishing” category is also small, consisting of a single decorative piece of glass, also located in Area B. Last, the “construction” category is made up of all window glass, and the “indeterminate” category includes all the pieces that were too small or broken to even generally identify.

Table 6.7 displays the results of this functional analysis for each of the Pine Level Areas. From this table, it is clear that a large amount of glass from each Area had to be placed in the indeterminate category, despite this analyst’s best efforts. This problem is most acute in Area A, where a full 44 percent of the glass sherds were too small and fragmentary to placed in any other category. This issue stems from the large number of extremely small glass sherds that were recovered from excavations in Area A, and it is these subsurface pieces that make up the bulk, 67 percent, of the indeterminate category

Table 6.7. Summary of glass artifacts for the Pine Level site, by Area and functional category.

<i>Category</i>	Area A		Area B		Area C		Area D		Area E	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Food/Bev./Medical	59	35.1	187	35.2	93	54	11	55	7	77.7
Food Prep/Consumption	12	7.1	6	1.1	6	3.4	0	0	0	0
Personal	3	1.7	3	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Building Furnishing	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Building Maintenance	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Construction	20	11.9	173	32.6	27	15.7	3	15	0	0
Indeterminate	74	44	159	30	46	26.7	6	30	2	22.2
Total	168	100	530	100	172	100	20	100	9	100

in this Area. Compare that figure with 40 percent subsurface indeterminates in Area B, and 28 percent subsurface indeterminates in Area C. Why there were so many small, broken fragments of glass recovered from subsurface work in Area A is not currently known.

Before delving further into this analysis, some explanation of the unwieldy “food/beverage/medical” category is necessary, in that it may seem strange to combine all these glass container categories. Though container glass color and shape were noted in the lab (i.e., light aqua blue panel bottle), at this time it is simply not possible to break this large category into smaller and more meaningful container glass categories, such as medicine bottles, or alcohol bottles. Many researchers have pointed out that container glass color and shape do not equate with single categories of bottles, and even when there are strong correlations, such as dark amber bottles often being used as beer containers, there can be just as many exceptions to the rule as the rule itself (Berge 1980; Lindsey 2010).

To further complicate this problem, it is often unproductive to separate categories like alcohol and patent medicine, as a high percentage the latter were mostly composed of

some form of alcohol (Polak 2002:184), and were probably utilized by people in similar ways. Added to these issues is the fact that people regularly reused bottles until they broke, filling and re-filling them with any number of new or different products. While it might seem obvious that a professional who uses a lot of bottles, like a druggist, would use mostly medicine-type bottles for his or her products, like small panel bottles or round vials, in reality, even druggists had to use whatever bottles they could come by, and would often simply refill bottles brought to them by their customers (Busch 1987). For all these reasons, it makes more sense in this analysis to simply group all container glass together, instead of attempting to break them apart into dubious categories with little informational value.

Going back to Table 6.7, it is obvious that the “food/beverage/medical” category composes the largest functional category in each of the Areas. In Areas A and B, this category is nearly identical, at just over 35 percent. Area C, on the other hand, contains a far higher percentage of the food/beverage/medical category, at 54 percent. Areas D and E also contain very high proportions of this container glass category, but due to their small sample sizes, which are dwarfed by the Areas from the orange grove, it is not possible to reach any definitive conclusions about them. For this reason, I concentrate on Areas A, B, and C as this analysis proceeds. Figure 6.4 below displays the information from Table 6.7 in histogram form, to provide a visual comparison of the functional categories in Areas A, B, and C.

The higher proportion of the “food/beverage/medical” category in Area C is readily apparent in Figure 6.9. The especially high percentage of this category in Area C

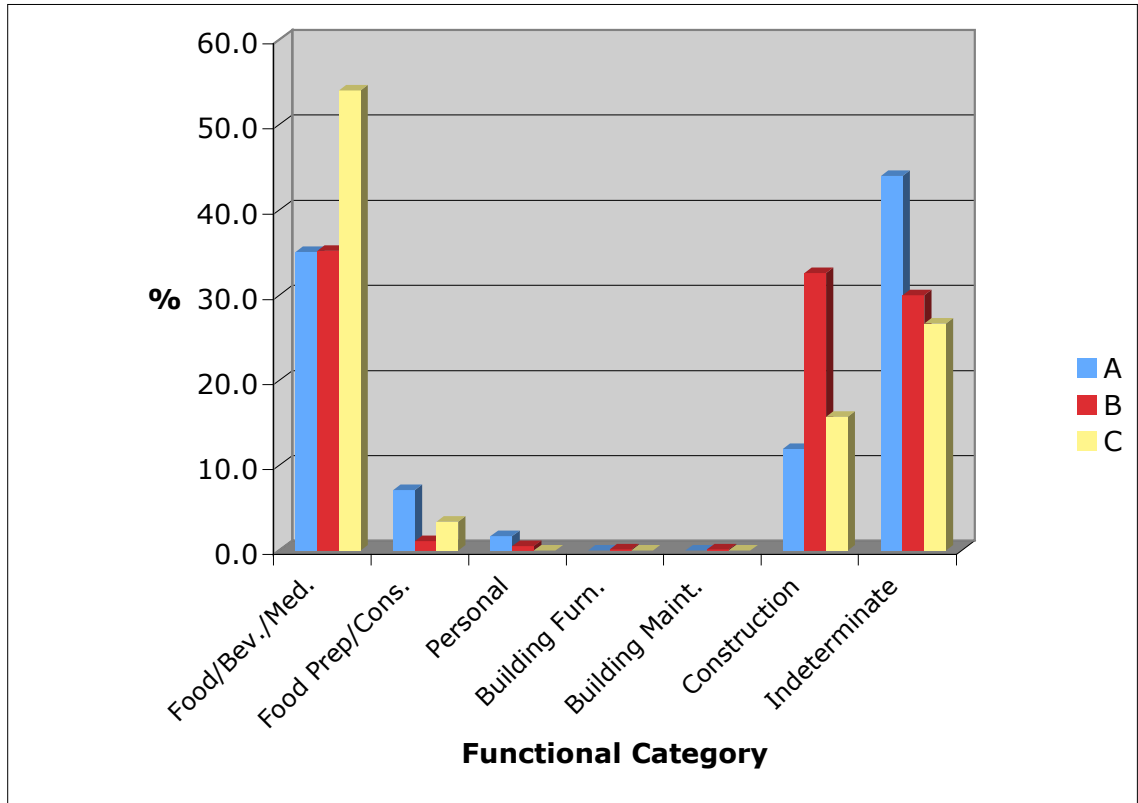


Figure 6.9. Histogram of functional glass categories for Areas A, B, and C.

is particularly intriguing because one of the known landowners of part of this plat of land was John Haygood, who was listed as a druggist in Pine Level in the 1886 copy of the *Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory* (1886: unnumbered). Robert Mazrim has performed extensive excavations on a variety of sites in the Sangamo section of central Illinois, including at frontier store sites. According to Mazrim, one would expect a frontier-context store assemblage to resemble a homesite, in that store owners often lived within their buildings, “but with exaggerated quantities of certain fragile goods” (Mazrim 2007:221). In Pine Level’s Area C, there appears to be a textbook case of what Mazrim describes. While the percentage of “food/beverage/container” glass is nearly equal in Areas A and B at just over 35 percent, Area C has 54 percent.

In addition, from the ceramic analysis presented previously, Area C did contain a small amount of Pine Level-era ceramics (23 sherds total), which could be related to household occupying the same area. But the number of ceramics here is minute in comparison with the 172 pieces of glass recovered from the same area. Indeed, it appears that, if a store did exist in Area C, it was not one that sold ceramics, but instead was one that probably sold glass bottles, or dispensed products within glass bottles, like a druggist. In this case, the historical record relating to John Haygood dovetails nicely with the archaeological findings of this analysis.

The “food preparation/consumption” category is also enlightening, in that the percentage of this category is much higher in Area A, at a little over 7 percent, than in either Areas B or C, at 1.1 and 3.4 percent, respectively. The reason for this is that Area A contains a relatively large number of glass tableware, especially drinking glasses, compared to the other Areas. While glass beverage containers could be purchased and consumed outside the home, it is unlikely that tableware would be found outside a residential setting. The overall number of glass tableware is small throughout the site, but its greater proportion in Area A certainly points to this being a likely location for a homesite.

This idea is solidified by Area A’s higher percentage of glass in the “personal” category. As with the “food preparation/consumption” category, I would expect a homesite to contain a relatively high proportion of personal items, like buttons and toiletry products. Though small, at 1.7 percent, Area A does indeed contain a higher percentage of artifacts in the personal category than Area B, at .5 percent, and Area C, which contains none. While not particularly convincing in isolation, when the “personal”

category is considered in conjunction with the “food preparation/consumption” category, it appears likely that the Area A assemblage is related to a homesite. The historical record is not at odds with this conclusion. Rather, the evidence from this analysis in fact adds weight to the suspicion that this is the location of John Bartholf’s home, which he built after moving to Pine Level in 1869. Of course, other individuals also owned this plat of land after Bartholf, including lawyer and *Pine Level Times* newspaper editor O.T. Stanford, and this assemblage could just as easily represent the home refuse of one of these later settlers. While it may not be possible to pinpoint the exact owner at this time, this glass analysis indicates that the Area A assemblage represents a homesite.

Both the “building furnishing” and “building maintenance” categories are exceptionally small, containing only one piece of glass each. For this reason, it is not necessary to extensively discuss them. However, it is notable that both of these anomalous pieces of glass, the single hand fire grenade sherd and what appears to be part of a flat, decorative piece of glass, were located in Area B. As this was the area where government buildings were located, it is possible that the hand fire grenade represents a higher level of care being taken with these buildings, and that the decorative glass is indicative of the prestige and status-oriented aspect of these buildings, the courthouse in particular. However, it is also possible that these categories appear in Area B simply because of this Area’s larger sample size, as obscure categories would have a higher chance of recovery in a large sample than in a small one.

The final functional category is the “construction” category, which for Pine Level is made up entirely of window glass. Both Table 6.7 and Figure 6.9 show that the percentage of window glass in Area B is more than twice the proportion of window glass

in Area C, and nearly three times that of Area A. This high proportion seems to suggest that there were either more buildings in Area B, or at least more, or larger, windows here than elsewhere. In fact, these suppositions may be affirmed by what we know from the historical record. By 1876, we know that at least three government buildings had been erected here: the first courthouse, the first jail, and the jury house (Barhoff 1876a). If the buildings' contractors followed the plans set out by the county commissioners, the number of windows from all these buildings only would have totaled about six (MBOCC May 29, 1866; December 19, 1871; June 2, 1883).

Plans for the second jail, however, with a building that was designed to be like a "comfortable house" (MBOCC February 3, 1880) called for 13 windows total. For the second courthouse, the county commissioners selected Plan number 1 presented by John A. Graham (MBOCC April 29, 1876), about which the architect says "You will notice that I have, perhaps, introduced too many windows in plan no. 1 which I have modified in plan no. 2, by redrawing their number" (Graham 1875). However, the county commissioners apparently had no issue with the window count, which was listed by Graham as being 32, each being three by five and a half feet (Graham 1875). Including the jury house, then, this adds up to 46 windows in the government buildings, any one of which could have been broken, repaired, or replaced over time, not counting the windows from the previous jail and courthouse (probably five). While it is not known how many buildings existed on or near Areas A and C, it is highly unlikely that any building other than a boardinghouse could have competed with the amount of window glass used in the second courthouse alone. Once again, the historical record fits well with the

archaeological record, as a much higher number and percentage of window glass was recovered in Area B than in any other area of the site.

Conclusion

Despite the highly fragmentary nature of this glass assemblage, it still contributed a great deal to our understanding of the site. The collection, as a whole, appears to reflect the type of glass that was being manufactured and used in the second half of the nineteenth century, based on the types of mold seams and embossing on the container glass, and the existence of pressed glass. Analysis of the window glass from the site shows correlations with the historic record, indicating that construction likely occurred first in Areas A and B, and a few years later in Area C. The window glass dates also pointed to later construction phases in both Areas B and C.

The identifiable bottles contributed to a tightened time range from the late 1870s to the late 1880s, when Pine Level was at its peak. They also showed that the settlers here were connected to larger trade networks, some stretching as distant as Europe, and importing and using medicinal and alcoholic products that have been found at numerous other sites throughout the United States. Last, by organizing the glass collection into functional categories, it was possible to see functional differences between the Areas within the orange grove that correspond well with the historic record. Namely, it now appears likely that the Area A assemblage represents a homesite, that the Area C assemblage represents store a site generally, and a druggist specifically, and that Area B contained more buildings, or at least more windows, than either of the other two Areas.

Metal Analysis

Very few metal artifacts were recovered from the Pine Level site. As previously discussed, Mr. Hollingsworth, the primary landowner at the site, has given several people permission to metal-detect on his property. None of these individuals returned any of their finds to Mr. Hollingsworth, as they had promised. Also, when new additions to the Pine Level United Methodist Church were constructed, an individual involved with the construction was also allowed to metal-detect on the property owned by the church. Given the well-known history of metal detection at the site, I had not been optimistic about locating metal artifacts during the Pine Level Project, or about what information such artifacts could provide in relation to my questions about the site.

However, a number of metal artifacts were found during the different stages of this project, especially during the subsurface explorations of the orange grove and cow pasture. In total, about 19 metal artifacts were recovered during the surface artifact collection, and approximately 363 pieces of metal were recovered during the shovel testing and unit excavations at the site. These numbers are only approximations due to metal's tendency to rust and fragment, which can sometimes appear to increase the total number of metal artifacts. While many of these artifacts are unidentifiable chunks and fragments, a large number are nails, and a small amount represent other types of identifiable artifacts, like barbed wire, chain links, and buttons. In this section, I describe the types of metal artifacts that were found in each area of the site, including a basic analysis of the types of nails recovered.

Background and Methods

Nails have been shown to have utility in establishing the age of particular sites by helping to establish the chronology of construction periods at a site, or the likely age of a building (Wells 1998). While the development and manufacture of different nail types overlap, hand-forged nails are understood to be the oldest type of nail. Hand-forged nails were widely used until the early nineteenth century, when the advent of machine-made cut nails made them obsolete (Wells 1998:83). Machine-made cut nails remained popular from the early nineteenth century through at least the 1880s (Wells 1998:87). However, machine-made wire nails, first commercially made in 1880 (Wells 1998:86), quickly rose in popularity during the 1890s, so that by the turn of the last century, wire nails had taken over the nail market in the United States (Wells 1998:87).

There are much finer-grained nail manufacture, material, and dating distinctions that Wells (1998) has been able to identify in his work on nail chronology in Louisiana. However, most of the nails recovered from the Pine Level site are highly fragmented, rusted over, or both. Given the nature of the collection, and the limited time and materials allotted for this analysis, classifying nail distinctions related to material type, grain, taper type, etc., is not possible here. Instead, in my laboratory identification I focused on being able to distinguish between cut nails, wire, and specialty nails, and tried to determine the size and possible function of different nails. The distinction between cut and wire nails is especially useful for this analysis, as generally we know that most cut nails are older than most wire nails.

Table 6.8 displays the results of this metal identification. Please note that “UID” stands for “unidentifiable,” and “other metal” indicates a range of different artifact types,

Table 6.8. Identification of metal artifacts from the Pine Level site by Area.

<i>Category</i>	Area A		Area B		Area C		Area D	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cut Nail	18	16	51	47.2	2	3.4	19	18.2
Wire Nail	1	0.9	5	4.6	2	3.4	68	65.3
Specialty Nail	2	1.7	2	1.8	1	1.7	2	1.9
UID Nail Frag.	48	42.8	23	21.9	6	10.3	N/A	N/A
Other Metal	5	4.4	9	8.3	12	20.6	6	5.7
UID Metal	38	33.9	18	16.6	35	60.3	9	8.6
Total	112	100	108	100	58	100	104	100

from buttons to barbed wire. Also, “UID nail frags” indicates metal fragments that were clearly pieces of nails, but could not be positively identified to nail type. The reason that the UID nail fragments from Area D are not listed on Table 6.8 will be discussed below. Specialty nails are any nails that are clearly not common cut or wire nails, such as brads and finishing nails. Many times during this analysis, I was less than sure about a particular nail identification, though I was always able to make a tentative guess as to whether the nail in question was (usually) a cut nail or a wire nail. However, in order to make this a more robust analysis, all of my tentative identifications have been included with the positive identifications. As only two metal artifacts were located in Area E, a shell cartridge and one unidentifiable piece of metal, this area will not be included in the remainder of this analysis. The following presents the kinds of metal artifacts that were found in each part of the Pine Level site.

Results

As Table 6.8 shows, the overwhelming number of identified nails in Area A were cut nails. In fact, the one wire nail that is listed on the table was one of my tentative guesses. The two specialty nails are both brads. Of the other artifact types found here, there was a hinge plate with two small holes (probably for tiny screws), a shell cartridge,

an old-fashioned metal shoelace loop, and what may be two parts of a single delicate heart decoration. These two pieces may not have been from a single piece, but according to the student excavators, they were found in nearly the same location, and recovered simultaneously, leading them to believe that the two pieces may have been part of one piece originally.

These two metal pieces, which were recovered in Unit 1 at a depth of 10 to 20 cmbs, are interesting (Figure 6.10). They are extremely thin, display a Victorian-like form of ornate decoration, and looks as if they both may have once been gilt on one side. The small heart seems to be the type of artifact that would be associated with a woman, whether as a decoration on a jewelry box or a piece of clothing. Finding this artifact within Area A adds some weight to my hypothesis that this was the location of a house,



Figure 6.10. Heart-shaped metal artifact located in Area A, Unit 1, 10-20 centimeters below surface.

as in this time period, artifacts associated with women were probably more likely to have been found in a house than in a government building, or even in some businesses.

In Area B, as in Area A, the overwhelming majority of the identified nails were cut nails (Table 6.8). In fact, cut nails make up nearly half of all the metal collected from Area B. In comparison, no other Area at the Pine Level site has so many cut nails, or such a high percentage of cut nails in their respective metal collections. This suggests that Area B may have had more structures, or a larger structure, than the other Areas, and that that structure or structures may have been constructed with a large quantity of cut nails. Of course, Area B is also where I posit that the Pine Level courthouse(s), jail(s), and several structures were built. The relatively large number of cut nails recovered in this location appears to correspond well with this assertion.

Along with the cut nails, several other interesting metal artifacts were located in Area B, including one possible finishing nail and one tufting or lining nail. Also found were two rusted metal buttons, like the kind found on pairs of jeans, a grommet, a chain link, and a shoe-lace loop that is identical to the one found in Area A. One unidentified artifact from Area B is a curious rectangular chunk of metal that was recovered on the surface of the orange grove. It has triangular notches that appear to be hand-carved into the shorter ends. While this artifact remains a mystery, I suspect it could have been used as a fishing weight.

The most extraordinary artifact found in Area B, and perhaps in the whole site, is a small (1.4 cm diameter) piece of metal in the shape of a disc (Figure 6.11, left). This artifact was recovered in Unit 3 at a depth of 10 to 20 cmbs. It has a very precise depiction of a boat on one side, and surprisingly, and somewhat amazingly, a Chinese



Figure 6.11. Metal disc located in Area B, Unit 3, 10-20 cmbs, left, and the Chinese symbol for “double happiness,” or *shuangxi*, right. Note that the metal disc is 1.4 centimeters in diameter.

symbol on the other (Figure 6.11, right). This symbol was identified by several members of an online Chinese language forum (www.chinahistoryforum.com) as the character for “double happiness,” which is known as *shuangxi* in Chinese (Knapp 1999). Instead of being a regular character that can be found in a dictionary, however, *shuangxi* is really a “pseudosymbol” (Knapp 1999:117) that is created by doubling *xi*, the character for joy. A special symbol that is considered very auspicious in Chinese culture, *shuangxi* is often used at weddings and other celebratory occasions, like New Years (Knapp 1999). The side of the object with the symbol also displays a central circle, with two protruding nubs of metal. These nubs appear to be places where a metal loop, like for a button, may once have attached. For this reason, I consider this mystery artifact as a button, though it could also be a coin, token, game piece, or something else entirely.

Project supervisor Jeff Moates, a maritime archaeologist, identified the boat on the opposite side of the artifact (Figure 6.12, left) as an ocean-going side paddle-wheel steamer of the type used in the mid-nineteenth century (Jeff Moates, personal



Figure 6.12. Metal disc from Area B displaying steamer, left, and the Japanese naval vessel, *Kanko Maru*, right. Note that the metal disc is 1.4 centimeters in diameter.

communication, 2010). However, Moates remains mystified by several characteristics of the boat, like the large rectangular block that sits above the deck on the right side of the boat, and the strange swooping sail on its left side. Intriguingly, long before the Chinese character was identified (or known to be a symbol at all), a member of an online metal detector forum had suggested that the boat could be the *Kanko Maru* (Figure 6.12, right). In 1855, the Dutch gave Japan a western-style steamer called the *Soeming*, which was renamed the *Kanko Maru* and used as a training vessel for Japan's new Imperial Navy (Schencking 2005:21, 235). Interestingly, a faint circle is visible on the flag to the left of the boat's steamstack, which looks very much like the design of the Japanese flag, also seen on the *Kanko Maru*.

Following the lead of the Chinese *shuangxi* symbol, I also researched nineteenth century steam-powered Chinese vessels. I discovered that the Chinese Navy also began to acquire and use western-style steamers in 1862, including those with side paddle-wheels (Wright 2000:16). Images of these ships, however, show that they have two

stacks, not one like the image on the metal disc. Also, the official Chinese naval ensign was a yellow cross on a green background, not a single line, as is clearly visible on one of the ship's flags displayed on the disc. The nationality of the ship, then, remains undetermined, even though we know the symbol is Chinese.

One aspect of the ship that is very helpful is its ability to help us date the object. While nations all over the world adopted paddle-wheel steamers in the early to mid-nineteenth century, they had "severe operational weaknesses" (Bruce and Cogar 1998:278). After the British tested a superior propeller alternative in 1845, paddle wheel steamers became less and less popular, eventually being phased out of worldwide (Bruce and Cogar 1998:278). Therefore, while there is not absolute end date for the use of paddle-wheel steamers like the one depicted on the disc, the image was probably created when these types of boats were in use, and this is likely to have been before or during the time period when Pine Level was inhabited, not after.

The purpose and function of the artifact are completely unknown. Was this disc minted for the purpose of celebrating a Chinese naval victory, a maritime good luck charm, or maybe some other reason entirely? Perhaps even more perplexing than the object's purpose and function, though, is the question of how it got to Pine Level. Given its depiction of a Chinese character, I would venture that this artifact was made in China, or at least made by a Chinese individual, even if not in China. Perhaps it was brought back from China by an American traveler. This person, who may or may not have understood the artifact's meaning, eventually brought it to Pine Level and subsequently dropped it near the government buildings. Alternatively, it could have been brought here by a Chinese immigrant. While I have been unable to find a record of Chinese

immigrants in the Peace River Valley in the nineteenth century, it is possible that the railroad that came through here in the mid-1880s employed Chinese workers, and that one of these workers may have come to Pine Level, for some reason or other, while the town was still inhabited. It is also possible that the artifact was deposited after Pine Level had disappeared as a town. I find this unlikely, however, given the artifact's recovery at 10 to 20 cmbs, at the same depth as other nineteenth-century deposits. For now, this small metal disc remains a mystery, though it does conjure intriguing possibilities about the cosmopolitan nature of Pine Level, or at least some of its visitors.

Far fewer metal artifacts were located in Area C than in any of the other Areas. This paucity of metal is especially apparent in the nail category. Only two cut nails and two wire nails were positively identified from here, along with a single twinhead nail. Other types of metal artifacts included a pull-tab, several pieces of barbed wire, some parts of a pipe, and a large fragment of some kind of cast iron grate. All of these artifacts appear to be from the twentieth century, and are probably associated with a later occupation on this part of the Pine Level site. The recovery of two cut nails, however, shows that at least some metal artifacts from the nineteenth century remain here.

Area D is located to the west of the orange grove in the cow pasture, where two buildings were visible in a 1943 aerial (Figure 5.2). Mr. Hollingsworth identified one of these buildings as the former courthouse, which had later been used as a barn. Apart from the identified nails in Area D, discussed below, excavations here also recovered hundreds of small nail fragments. In fact, so many minute nail fragments came from Area D shovel test 2, and especially Units 5 and 6, that I could not count them all. Indeed, many of these fragments deteriorated and broke every time I sorted through a

particular bag. For this reason, I did not attempt to count every one of these nail fragments, and instead listed these as “N/A” on Table 6.8.

While the sheer number of nails that came out of Area D is interesting, the ratio of identified wire to cut nails is even more intriguing. In stark contrast to Areas A and B, the nails that could be identified from Area D were mostly wire. In fact, more than 65 percent of all the identifiable nails located here were these wire nails. There are a surprising number of cut nails in Area D as well, though, comprising 18 percent of the entire metal assemblage. The admixture of wire and cut nails that appears in Area D is very different from that of Areas A and B, where mostly cut nails were recovered, with almost no wire nails. A comparison of the number of cut to wire nails in each Area is presented in Figure 6.13, and clearly shows that Area D is unique in its admixture of the two nail types. This combination of nail types is exactly what I would expect to find here, if the wood materials from an 1880s building, like the Pine Level courthouse, had

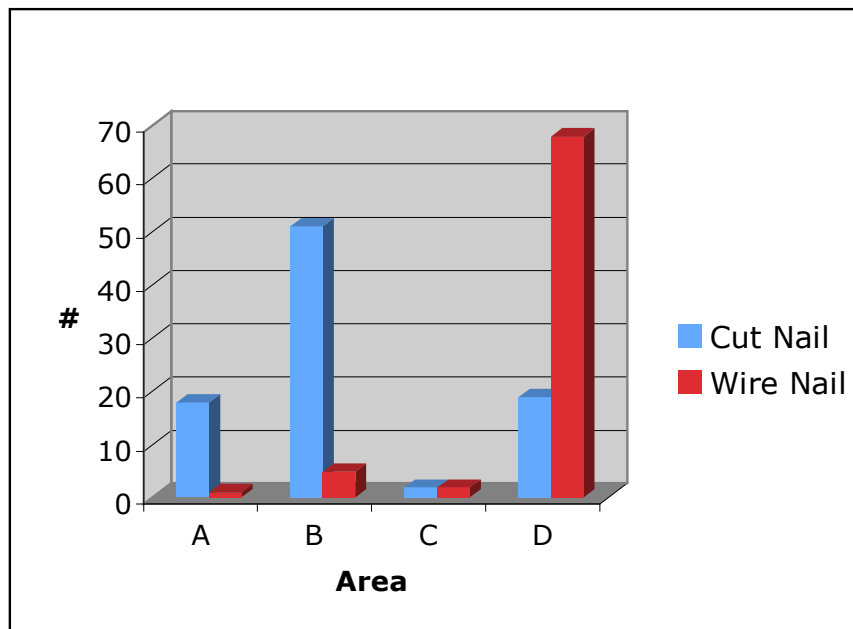


Figure 6.13. Comparison of cut to wire nails recovered in Pine Level, by Area.

been reused for a new building, like a barn, near or after the turn of the century. This is because someone who is reusing building materials may not take the time to remove every old nail before pounding new nails into place. The remnants of such a building would have both the older (cut) nails, and the newer (wire) nails.

The recovery of the cut nails in Area D was not evenly distributed throughout the shovel test and two units, however. Unit 5 only contained two of the 19 positively-identified cut nails, along with 12 wire nails, and innumerable UID nail fragments. Unit 6 also only had two cut nails, with 48 wire nails, and another batch of uncountable UID nail fragments. Area D shovel test 2 had 15 of the 19 cut nails, along with eight wire nails, two finishing nails, a chain link, and more innumerable UID nail fragments. This single shovel test, then, was the source of most of the cut nails found in Area D. Indeed, it almost appears to be a cache of the older nails. As strange as this seems, it is also important to note that the two types of nails were mixed up throughout the test as well. Nine cut and two wire nails were found at 0-10 cmbs, and five cut and six wire nails were found at 10-20 cmbs.

Why so many cut nails were found in this 50 cm square test, but not in the 1 meter square units, is unknown. While my shovel test placement in this location seems to have found a mixture of older and newer nails, my unit placement did not. Despite this incongruity, I believe it is possible that this shovel test located parts of the courthouse/barn building described by Mr. Hollingsworth. Other metal artifacts located in Area D include a large bolt with an attached washer, three pieces of chain link, a probable jeans button that displays the word “United,” and a cartridge that says “U Speed” on its end.

Conclusion

Even though the Pine Level site was heavily metal-detected in earlier years, many metal artifacts were still recovered here, and some have been able to contribute to our understanding of the site. The high proportion of cut nails that were located in Areas A and B suggest that these two Areas contained buildings that were constructed before the twentieth century, when wire nails supplanted the older cut nails. The mixture of cut and wire nails recovered in Area D indicates that an older building, probably pre-twentieth century, and a newer building, using wire nails, may both have been erected in Area D. This information matches well with the identification and location of the courthouse/barn from Mr. Hollingsworth, and does not contradict the possibility that the second Pine Level courthouse was dismantled, and its lumber used to build a barn in a new location. Most of the metal located in Area C reflects a twentieth century occupation, though the presence of two cut nails here indicates an older, pre-twentieth century occupation, as well. Several interesting individual metal artifacts were found at Pine Level, such as the heart-shaped decorative piece in Area A, and the truly mysterious disc from Area B with the Chinese character and the side wheel steamer.

The last chapter in this thesis will pull together information from the historical research, oral histories, surveys, excavations, and laboratory analyses of this project. I discuss how, in combination, these different methodologies have contributed to our understanding of the people that lived here, and how they built and understood their town. Recommendations are also provided for future work at the Pine Level site, for the people who continue to care about this place, and call it home.

Chapter 7:

Discussion of Results

Understanding Pine Level Through Historical and Archaeological Research

This thesis has explored Pine Level through multiple angles, both historical and archaeological. Chapter 1 was devoted to an introduction to the site, explaining why research should be conducted on Pine Level at this time, and what theoretical concepts this research would entail. Chapter 2 discussed the environmental and geographical context of Pine Level, and how features such as weather, soils, and natural resources could have attracted (or repelled) potential nineteenth century residents. Chapter 3 attempted to situate Pine Level within the dramatic and far-reaching sweep of Reconstruction in the southern United States. Chapter 4, on the other hand, focused solely on the town itself, using various historical documents to investigate the people who moved here, and how Pine Level grew and developed over time. In Chapter 5, I presented past archaeological work performed at Pine Level, compared the site to others of similar size, laid out an archaeological research design, stated what work I conducted at the site, and explained what this work revealed about Pine Level archaeologically. Last, Chapter 6 provided the results of analysis on the glass, metal, and ceramic artifacts, and offered my interpretation of each of those results. My purpose in this final chapter is to pull together all these strands of information into a coherent whole, and provide my recommendations for the future of the Pine Level site.

By combining all the previous research presented in this thesis, we can begin to piece together the story of Pine Level. In 1865, 10 years after the formation of Manatee County, Pine Level did not exist. This was simply a stretch of south Florida flatlands, with soils that were appropriate for cattle pasture, and with some water management, for growing citrus as well. The area was very sparsely populated by white settlers, who traveled to the county seat in the Village of Manatee to complete their court business. During the Civil War, families in Manatee County had been divided in their allegiance to the Confederates, but by the end of the war, those who had supported the Rebels found themselves nearly ruined financially. While money was scarce, though, land in this part of Florida was plentiful.

By 1866, Reconstruction was in full swing, and a Radical Republican by the name of James D. Green was able to pass a referendum to move the county seat away from the Village of Manatee. Ostensibly, this was to create a new county seat that would be more centrally-located for the good of all of Manatee County's citizens. On passage of the referendum, a committee placed the new seat near Horse Creek in the center of the county, and named it Pine Level. A new courthouse was built almost immediately, probably on Block 8 of the town plat. The window glass used in this construction may have been manufactured as early as a decade before it was placed in the window frames of this small, 10-x-20 foot courthouse. For years, this single, spare building was Pine Level, the only thing that differentiated the town from the surrounding rangeland. Despite its isolation, though, and the poor roads that one had to negotiate to reach it, all Manatee County citizens were forced to travel to Pine Level if they needed to complete court business, and in some cases, if they wanted to vote.

By 1868, members of the newly formed Pine Level United Methodist Church were meeting a couple miles north of the courthouse in a place known as the Campground. This same year, Florida was admitted to the Union, and federal troops began to leave south Florida and the rest of the state. In 1869, Republican county clerk John Bartholf became the first permanent resident of Pine Level, building his home, a log dwelling and its surrounding fence, near the courthouse. This home and enclosure may have been built on Block 10 of the town plat, which Bartholf would purchase, along with three other blocks, in 1878. Archaeological work has revealed a probable homestead here, in Area A. This was a family of modest means, with inexpensive, utilitarian pottery, some glass tableware, and perhaps a woman or child who owned an item with a delicate, gilt heart decoration. Window glass that was imported for this house was probably manufactured within a few years of its being used in the home's construction.

Also in 1869, attempts were made by some Manatee County citizens to move the county seat away from Pine Level, but James D. Green and the County Commissioners were able to make sure that those citizens were unsuccessful. Instead, the commissioners plowed ahead, requesting that county offices and a jail be built in Pine Level. The log jail was of an interesting construction, in that it required prisoners to climb down into their cells from the upper floor. This jail was likely placed in Block 8, like the courthouse, but the location of the county offices, if they were ever built, is unknown.

The 1870 census reveals that only 71 people, consisting of 13 families, were living in all of Township 37, where Pine Level was located. An auction of land in town the same year was apparently unsuccessful. Pine Level gained a post office in 1871, but no mention is ever made, in any historical resources, about its location. A jury house was

built in the northeast corner of the northeast quarter of Block 13 by 1872, and a small cluster of artifacts was located in this area during the surface survey and artifact collection phases of this project. The year 1872 was also the first year that anyone bought land within a mile of Pine Level. This new landowner was Green, who purchased the 160 acres immediately south of the county seat, and in the ensuing years, would make a tidy profit selling off portions of it. The whereabouts of Green's home, which was visited by a distinguished English scientist in the 1890s, is unknown. In 1873, Bartholf purchased the 40 acres to the east of the county seat, though he does not appear to have been as successful in selling off portions of it as was Green, if that was ever Bartholf's intention.

In 1876, a momentous nation-wide election foretold the beginning of the end for the Manatee County Republicans. Up until this point, they had been in firm control of the county, but the influx of new, Democratic, citizens, had begun to have an effect on their dominance. The success of racist groups like the Regulators, who had chased large numbers of African Americans from the county, did not help matters for the Manatee Republicans. The Green-influenced fiasco of the 1876 election in Manatee County, wherein Bartholf resigned and was never properly replaced, also meant the beginning of the end for Green, the once-mighty Radical Republican. Though Green would continue to live in Pine Level, he never regained his former power or influence, despite an attempt in the late 1870s.

Just before the 1876 election took place, a new, much grander courthouse had been constructed in Pine Level to replace the "disgrace" (MBOCC April 29th, 1876) of the old one. The new building was placed in Block 8, and archaeological evidence

suggests that the people who frequented the courthouse area were using pottery that was slightly nicer than that elsewhere, and had more range of pottery types, including teaware. These people were using medicinal products for various ailments, including Warner's Safe Cure and a California Fig Syrup Co. laxative, both found in Area B. The new courthouse probably had a plethora of windows, and some identifiable beer and food bottles were also located in the refuse in this area. The county commissioners may have attempted to prevent fires in this building using hand fire grenades, as part of one of these hand-thrown missiles was located in Area B. Visitors to, or users of, the Pine Level courthouse may have been world travelers too, as a mysterious metal disc with a Chinese character was found here during unit excavation.

It was toward the end of the 1870s, at the same time that the Manatee County party was losing power, that Pine Level finally began to attract investment, and potentially some new residents. An 1878 auction of town property was finally successful, with six people purchasing land from the town plat, including outspoken Democrat H. L. Mitchell, the future governor of Florida. Bartholf, though he had actually moved away to Charlotte Harbor by this point, also bought four blocks in Pine Level, probably doing so to protect the acreage he had already improved here with the addition of a house. The land prices were highest for those properties located near the crossing of Northwest Pine Level Street and Tom Mizell Road, the likely main thoroughfares into and out of town.

In the early 1880s, Pine Level began to blossom. Businesses were moving in, and most appear to have been placed on one of the two roads just described. One of these new businesspeople was John Haygood, who bought half of Block 18 in Pine Level in

1881. Haygood advertised himself as a druggist and owner of a general merchandise store, and archaeological evidence backs up this claim. A high proportion of glass bottles located in Area C, where Haygood purchased land, suggests that a store that sold bottled goods was located here. Window glass found here also supports the idea that building construction in Area C happened later than at Area A or Area B, where Bartholf's home and the government buildings are believed to have been located, respectively. While fewer ceramics were found in this part of the site, what was recovered also suggest that the individuals who inhabited or frequented the area near Haygood's property were of lower socioeconomic status. They also may have consumed some commercially-made food products, as glass containers for these goods were located in this area as well.

Also in 1881, a new jail with an I-house design was constructed on Block 8 of the county land. A public privy was constructed on the same block shortly thereafter, though no evidence of this privy was located during the excavation phases of this project. The new jail would be put to the test in 1885 when members of the Sarasota Vigilante Society were housed there during their trial. Though a large fence was constructed around the jail, courthouse, and privy in 1885, seemingly to make the area more secure, some members of the gang were able to escape, though one left a nice note for the jailor. The northeast corner post for this fence may have been located during unit excavations conducted in Area B.

By the mid-1880s, all of the land in Pine Level proper had been sold, including property on the northern, marshy, end of town that had not even been platted into blocks. There was a great deal of property along Tom Mizell Road to the south that had also been purchased by this time. In fact, tax rolls indicate that this land to the south of Pine Level

was known as “Pine Level,” indicating that people thought of the town as extending down this road, far outside of the original Pine Level plat. Research into the names of property owners on Tom Mizell Road and along Northwest Pine Level Street, and especially on the southern side of the latter street, indicate that many of these individuals were business owners. By 1886, Dr. Olin S. Wright may have located his practice on either part of Block 4 or 5. The proprietor of *The Pine Level Times*, a lawyer named O.T. Stanford, had purchased all of John Bartholf’s four blocks in the northeast section of town, and had consolidated his property by even buying the land reserved for the streets between some of his blocks.

Also in 1886, Pine Level was bypassed by the Florida Southern Railway, despite the efforts of some of the town’s leading men to lure the railroad to build a stop in the county seat. Instead, near-by Arcadia, formerly Tater Bluff, received this distinction. In 1887, perhaps spurred by an increasing population and the unwieldy size of the county, citizens in Manatee County opted to split the county in two. While Pine Level became the first seat of newly-formed DeSoto County, elections were underway almost immediately to replace it. For whatever reason, whether it be the lack of a rail stop or navigable river, or its old Republican reputation, Pine Level appears to have been distinctly unpopular among residents of the new county. After a messy set of elections, Arcadia was finally named the new county seat in 1888.

The county blocks and buildings in Pine Level were quickly auctioned off, with James Bourdland supplying the winning bids for the blocks and the courthouse. Bourdland also owned Block 14 (Figure 4.15). The 1943 aerial of the Pine Level site (Figure 5.2) displays a building on this block, which has been identified as the old

courthouse, later used as a barn, by Clyde Hollingsworth. Archaeological excavations here, in Area D, support this conclusion, as a mix of both older and new nails were recovered here.

While Pine Level probably continued to exist, at least as a community, for a couple of decades after losing county seat status, many of its businesspeople quickly moved to Arcadia. The Pine Level post office continued to operate until 1928, even though Pine Level's identity as a town had long since vanished. There is archaeological evidence of a post-1900s home located directly in the center of Pine Level's Block 18, in Area C. Howard Melton indicates that this was the home of Charles Hagan, which he personally visited in the 1950s (Howard Melton, personal communication 2010). The second Pine Level jail was moved from its original location and used as a family home by the David Mizell family, who gave a tour of it to Allen Andrews in the 1930s. These two homes, along with almost all other surficial evidence of Pine Level's buildings, are gone.

The archaeological and historical research has made it possible to follow the broad outlines of Pine Level's story. We now have a general idea of where some of its buildings were located, including the governmental structures, businesses, and at least one home. We have a more complete understanding of how Pine Level grew, and how its borders shifted far south of its original plat. We also know a great deal more about Pine Level's residents, from their relatively low socioeconomic status to their, at times, antagonistic political beliefs. We know that they had access to outside markets, based on the alcoholic and medicinal products that they were able to import and use, and we know that at least one person who lived in or visited Pine Level had contact with places as far away as China. In the next section of this chapter, I discuss how all this information fits

with current theoretical concepts of frontier societies, and how Pine Level can expand out understanding of these types of communities.

Pine Level as a Political Colony

Chapter 1 outlined my goal of understanding Pine Level through a frontier theory framework, and through the use of some related concepts within capitalism and consumer studies, and landscape archaeology. In borrowing from these fields of study, I identified several broad research questions that we could ask of the site. Generally, these questions all revolve around understanding more about the people who came to Pine Level, how different groups of people related to each other, and how the town as a whole related to the outside world. After a thorough review of everything that has been learned about the site, it is now possible to answer many of these questions.

To begin, it appears that Pine Level fits many of the hallmarks of a frontier settlement. According to Lewis (1977), a frontier town is not likely to contain a large number of homes. Instead, “the majority of the structures there should be associated with the centralizing functions of the settlement” (Lewis 1977:173). Those functions could be activities associated industrial production, commercial trade, or “political and social activities associated with the periodic gathering of persons for collective purposes such as trials, markets, or tavern socializing” (Lewis 1977:173). From historical research, we know that, for the first three years of its existence, Pine Level was nothing more than a 20-by-30 foot log courthouse. In addition, many people probably only came here during court term to conduct certain business, and one of the small hotels in Pine Level “was always taxed during court sessions” (Andrews 1950:310). Of course, saloons for socializing were also reportedly numerous here (Warnke 1971).

If most of the structures in Pine Level were related to its government function, and also to later commercial activity, it would help to explain why I was unable to locate more information about houses in the town itself. Indeed, other than the likely homestead in Area A, that may have once belonged to John Bartholf, I did not find evidence of any other home within Pine Level's 40 platted acres, and only a couple references in the tax records and deeds to homes nearby. Indeed, excepting merchants who may have lived in the same buildings as their businesses, it is possible that most of the people who frequented Pine Level actually lived elsewhere, scattered throughout area on properties that were large enough to support their cattle, hogs, and citrus groves.

The way in which Pine Level developed also appears to fit model of a frontier settlement. Lewis (1977) predicts that, given the function of a frontier town as providing the means for trade and communication in a sparsely-populated environment, the densest occupation should be found "along the major transportation routes connecting it with the outside world" (Lewis 1977:172). Hardesty (1998) has observed that even though many frontier towns initially follow a set plan, usually set up by a speculator, buildings in the town will usually cluster around commercial and industrial nodes, and importantly, along transportation corridors.

While it was not possible to locate specific buildings with either historical or archaeological research, using the former, I was able to show that the most expensive lots in or near Pine Level were along Northwest Pine Level Street and Tom Mizell Road. Also, many of these lots were quite small, no larger than a quarter of an acre. This appears to be an indication of dense occupation, as buildings placed on these lots would probably have been closer to each than any other buildings in Pine Level. The placement

of the government structures in the center of the platted town suggests that the Republican-led county government was trying to make the civic buildings the center of the town. While these buildings may have been most people's primary destination in Pine Level when they were obligated to attend to court business, areas near the "crossroads," and along Pine Level's two roads, appear to have been the primary locations of real estate development, not areas near the government buildings. Therefore, Pine Level's primary development was along its major transportation corridors, and not near what was likely the planned center of the community.

A model of frontier settlement patterns developed by Lewis (1985) makes interesting distinctions among what he regards as different types of frontier settlement sites, which is of interest here. The benefit of this model is that it not only helps in the identification of a frontier site's function(s), but also points to the site's relationship to other settlements in the area and to the "homeland" of the particular culture under study. According to Lewis (1985), there are three hierarchical settlement types. The "entrepot" is located at the very edge of the frontier region, has a large population, and acts as the major point of collection and redistribution for goods in the area, as well as being the "primary link with the homeland" (Lewis 1985:255). The "frontier town," is located within the frontier being colonized, and is "the site of the greatest concentration of economic activity as well as one of the largest settlements in the area of colonization, second only to the entrepot" (Lewis 1985:263). Lastly, the "nucleated settlement" is smaller than the other two, and contains fewer specialized activities (Lewis 1985:263).

Lewis identifies several archaeological signatures that allow a researcher to distinguish between a "frontier town" and a "nucleated settlement." The former, perhaps

unsurprisingly, should be physically larger, and have evidence of a greater population, than a nucleated settlement (Lewis 1985). Also, the settlement pattern of a frontier town is likely to have a grid layout, much like in European colonial towns (Lewis 1985:266). The nucleated settlement, however, is not only smaller than the frontier town, but also usually develops as a row settlement, meaning that it extends linearly along a major transportation road.

Interestingly, Pine Level has a mix of these attributes. Though it was originally platted in a grid layout, like a “frontier town,” over time, the bulk of its development appears to have focused along its roads, like a nucleated settlement. So Pine Level was conceived as frontier town, though it may never had risen to meet these expectations. This may not be surprising, however, because Pine Level did not have the specialized economic activities that could make it a major or important hub of collection and redistribution. It had a sawmill, and during the early to mid-1880s, it had several commercial establishments, making it a middling economic center, at best. The most cogent argument for viewing Pine Level as a nucleated settlement comes from Lewis (1985). He states that “if established for a specialized purpose, such as the site of a court, these settlements might have contained a relatively small population similar to that found in the case of imposed political centers in contemporary Europe” (Lewis 1985:264-265). Indeed, the sole reason Pine Level was established was to contain a new court site, and I would argue that it was, in fact, an imposed court site, as well. This is an important point that is returned to later.

The identification of Pine Level as nucleated settlement, with a primarily administrative function, gives a greater insight into its relationship with the outside

world. This was not a place that was economically-important to the greater society of Florida. Without a navigable waterway, a railroad, or even decent road for a good part of the year, Pine Level could not act as a collection and redistribution center for south Florida citrus, timber, or animal products on a large scale. Instead, having been established as an administrative center, it continued to exist only so long as it contained its administrative functions. When Arcadia was given county seat status, Pine Level began to disappear rapidly.

Another way to understand Pine Level's relationship to larger cultural centers is the dichotomy of insular and cosmopolitan frontiers (Steffen 1980). Insular frontiers are usually understood to be agrarian-based and geographically isolated (Hardesty 1985; Lewis 1985). As a result, they are seen as self-sufficient and insulated from outside political or cultural upheavals (Hardesty 1985; Lewis 1985). In many ways, they are identical to Turner's conception of the frontier (Hardesty 1985), especially in their diverse nature and self-sufficiency. Cosmopolitan frontiers, on the other hand, are economically-specialized and usually short-term settlements (Steffen 1980). Being closely bound to the outside world, cosmopolitan frontiers are more standardized in nature, and also more prone to change as a result of upheavals from the cultural or political core (Hardesty 1985; Steffen 1980). A industrial mining town, which booms when it is considered economically important by the "core," and quickly busts as soon as it is not, is a good example of this type of frontier (Hardesty 1985).

Interestingly, the perception of Cracker culture as independent and highly self-sufficient corresponds remarkably well with Turner's, and the insular, type of frontier. I was told innumerable times by DeSoto county residents that the people who lived in the

area during Pine Level's time, made everything that they needed for themselves. It might be true that many of the "essential goods" of Pine Level's citizens, from clothes to food, were made and consumed at a household level. Unfortunately, many of these types of artifacts would be ephemeral, and therefore not likely to survive in the archaeological record. This would explain why homemade goods were not recovered from the Pine Level site. If we following this line of reasoning, then Pine Level would represent an insular frontier site.

However, Pine Level can also be viewed as a cosmopolitan frontier site. Though it was never economically important, and was not created for a specialized economic activity, the fate of Pine Level must be viewed as intrinsically bound to outside political forces. Indeed, its very creation, and disappearance, can be directly tied to its administrative role. Also, analysis of the artifacts recovered from Pine Level has shown that, far from making everything that they needed, the residents of Pine Level had access to and imported a number of goods from other parts of the world, from Staffordshire pottery to California Fig Syrup bottles. The people in Pine Level were consumers in the greater global economy. In turn, they were also attempting to establish reliable means of getting their goods to larger outside markets, which finally happened when the railroads arrived in the area. Following these lines of evidence, Pine Level should be considered a cosmopolitan frontier site. However, I find the insular vs. cosmopolitan frontier dichotomy somewhat limiting, and would instead argue that Pine Level displays some signatures of each. This point will be more fully developed subsequently.

The final way to try to understand what kind of place Pine Level was is to look at who lived here, and examine how different groups of people related to one another in this

town. Scholars have been able to show that, in some cases, different groups of people who live and work together in frontiers and borderlands will eventually create a creole, or hybrid, culture. In other cases, however, these different groups on the frontier will attempt to reassert and affirm their individual identities, thereby solidifying the differences between the groups. As discussed previously in this thesis, Pine Level was inhabited by people of various backgrounds and beliefs. There were black and white settlers, Republicans and Democrats, Southerners and Northerners, and perhaps, those of high and low socioeconomic status. I also believe, very strongly, that in this case the different groups chose the second course of action outlined above, that they solidified their group identities, and heightened inter-group differences. There are several instances that have been discussed in this thesis which I believe highlight this opinion.

First, there is was clearly conflict between the freedmen who moved into south Florida and the Peace River Valley, and some white residents. Called the Regulators, these whites used violence and intimidation to chase black families out of the area around Pine Level (Brown 1991). Those black families who remained in the area were continually subjected to violence, intimidation, and extra judiciary punishment well into the twentieth century. This was not a case of different racial groups merging to create a new group, indeed, it was the exact opposite.

The existence of the Sarasota Vigilante Society displays another set group identities in conflict. The Vigilantes, Florida-born and of modest means, are believed to have united against outsiders who were purchasing land in the area. Here, the low socioeconomic status of the south Floridians contrasts sharply with economic and cultural background of Charles Abbe, the main target of the Vigilantes. Again, this not a case

where different groups were coming together to create new cultural forms or identities. While Abbe and his family were flourishing in their new home, the Vigilantes set out to keep this new-comer from taking what they believed belonged to them, their families, and their community. The community at large must have agreed, or at least sympathized, with the Vigilantes, as people in the area were able to secure the release of even the convicted murders, who were then able to rejoin the community.

The most obvious conflict between groups in Pine Level specifically occurred between the Democrats and the Republicans. The creation of Pine Level was a product of the Reconstruction Era, and specifically, of Republicans. In addition, while Pine Level was controlled by Republicans, it struggled to gain acceptance among the many of the citizens of Manatee County, and it lacked businesses and population. It had only five permanent families by 1876, a full decade after it was founded (Bartholf 1876a), even as the population of the rest of the county continued to expand. The Republicans lost heavily in the elections of the same year, though, and soon after, Pine Level began to grow. This suggests that these two groups did not integrate well. In fact, Bartholf, who at one point switched political affiliations to become a Democrat, states that, as a consequence of being a Republican in this area, his “business and private interests suffered materially” (Bartholf and Boggess 1881:61). Clearly, being a Democrat in Pine Level at this time put you into a very different group than being a Republican, even if other group markers, like socioeconomic status and ethnic background, were exactly the same.

How Pine Level developed once it became Democratically controlled is also interesting. While all the land in the original platted acreage of Pine Level was

eventually purchased, the focus of development appears to have been along the two roads into and out of town, and not near the government buildings in the middle of the plat. Certainly, this fact can be partially attributed businesses needing to be located near traffic and potential customers. However, it does not fully explain why lots directly to the east and west of the government buildings remained relatively low in value. As the planned center of the town, one might expect these lots to have some commercial and residential value, though they seem to have remained less popular.

This inconsistency may be explained through continued the animosity between the two political groups, even after Pine Level became democratically-controlled, and though the active construction of meaningful space. This is because “the utilization of space, in fact, may be as much a tactic for the reproduction of the society and its values, as it is for facilitating production and exchange” (Rubertone 1989:51). The government buildings, having been constructed by Republicans, and placed within a town that was created to allow Republicans greater control, may have continued to represent Republican domination to Pine Level’s Democratic population. For this reason, it is possible that they opted to place their businesses and homes near locations other than the courthouse, jury house, and jail. Group differences, then, continued to create distinct spaces on the landscape, rather than merging to create a new, vibrant center.

This research has shown that Pine Level existed within a hybrid combination of an insular and cosmopolitan frontier. It’s economic ties to the outside world were weak initially, though they may have become moderately important by the mid-1880s, when Pine Level could boast many businesses. However, its administrative and political ties were strong, with this connection directly affecting the rise and fall of Pine Level’s

fortunes.

Generally, Pine Level fits the model of a frontier settlement quite well, and specifically, it appears to have been a what Lewis (1985) calls a nucleated settlement. Even more precisely, as an “imposed” (Lewis 1985:265) political center, Pine Level’s nucleated settlement can be accurately thought of as political colony. This is where Republicans attempted to create a new center of government in Manatee County, from which they could influence the direction and growth of south Florida. By 1876, though, they had failed. Clearly, other groups in south Florida were not interested in creating a new type of culture here, and found ways to reassert their own group identity.

The study of Pine Level has allowed a glimpse into the important conflicts that were taking place in the Peace River Valley in the second half of the nineteenth century. The frontier of south Florida was a place that presented myriad possibilities to those who sought to control it, sometimes resulting in violent conflicts. In this, the south Florida frontier was no different from many others, as “...broad historical patterns have taught us that social change often is most visible, and in some cases most active, on the peripheries of social systems” (Green and Perlman 1985:9-10). The story of Pine Level outlines important social conflicts, and ultimately, its disappearance as a separate entity highlights the eventual resolution of these conflicts, as Pine Level’s citizens, and the rest of Manatee County, moved on.

The Life of a Dead Town: Assessing Significance and Community Memory

The last section of this thesis is devoted to understanding the importance of Pine Level today, and in the future. Two different ways of assessing significance will be discussed. First, I examine Pine Level’s level of significance formally, by evaluating its

potential to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Second, I discuss how the study and preservation of Pine Level affects people in DeSoto County today, and the importance of Pine Level as a community memory.

The most common method in the United States for determining the significance of an archaeology site is to evaluate its eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). There are set standards and guidelines, issued by the United States Department of the Interior (1983), which evaluators use to determine if a property or properties meets the requirements for registration. Most basically, the site must be important under one of four significance criteria (36 CFR 60; 36 CFR 63; NPS 1991c), be at least 50 years old, have integrity, show significance at the local, state, or national level, or be of exceptional value if it does not meet one of these requirements (36 CFR 60.4; Hardesty and Little 2000). In addition, the four significance criteria, A-D, should be applied within the historic context of the site (Hardesty and Little 2000: 31; U.S. Department of the Interior 1983).

I believe the Pine Level site to be significant under Criterion D, indicating that the site has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important to history or prehistory (NRHP). Historically, the Pine Level site once represented an entire county seat, and parts of the site have yielded ceramic, glass, and metal artifacts, and subsurface excavations have documented intact cultural deposits. There are no extant structural remains at the site except the first floor of the original Pine Level schoolhouse, which was converted into a church building in the 1920s (Adams 1977:15). This research has also demonstrated that there is a prehistoric component present at the site, though an evaluation of this component is outside of the scope of this thesis.

The State of Florida has not developed any formal historical contexts as background for archaeological research for any part of Florida in the nineteenth century (www.flheritage.com/facts/reports/contexts/ 2011). However, I believe the Pine Level site should be understood within the historical context of the Reconstruction Era, as well as the expansion of the south Florida frontier in the nineteenth century. I have already demonstrated that the artifacts recovered from the site are from the second half of the nineteenth century, and Pine Level's occupation as a town. Therefore, this thesis has shown that the site is capable of yielding information that is important to our understanding of the above historical contexts. In addition, I believe the site to be significant on both the local and state-wide level, as it played a role in not only the history of Manatee and DeSoto Counties, but also history of Florida politics and interregional migration and settlement.

Assessing the integrity of the Pine Level site is a critical step in its evaluation for the NRHP. While some areas of the site have undergone significant alteration, specifically the property currently being used by the Pine Level United Methodist Church, much of the site has not suffered earthmoving or construction activities. The orange grove at the site has been affected by tree plantings and row maintenance, but a surface survey in this location was still able to identify clusters of artifacts that are likely to be associated with particular buildings and activity areas from Pine Level. Also, subsurface excavations in the orange grove, and elsewhere in the cow pasture, revealed what I believe to be intact deposits that are directly related to Pine Level's occupation as a town. In fact, a feature that I believe to be a bracing post for a fence that was erected around Pine Level's civic buildings was documented in the orange grove, thus verifying

the presence of intact subsurface deposits even in this partially disturbed environment. Artifacts related to Pine Level's time period also were recovered within these intact deposits.

The Pine Level site has already yielded important information about the socioeconomic status of the towns residents, and their access to global trade networks. The surface and subsurface remains have also helped to ground-truth information about the location of specific buildings and activities in Pine Level. In the future, information from the site has the potential to contribute to our understanding of specific questions about life on the south Florida frontier, and about changes that occurred during the political and social upheavals of the 1860s to 1890s. Historical research has indicated that numerous buildings and activity areas could potentially be found here, including remnants of an entire commercial district, a sawmill, a doctor's office, a public privy, and possibly individual houses. Finding and examining these locations in Pine Level could provide insights into myriad facets of frontier life, including commercial, economic, industrial, and medical practices, to name a few.

Indeed, the site is so large, and its potential so great, that is difficult to quantify its importance in a few sentences. In the only previous study done on the site, Johnson and Willis (1980: 109-110) determined that Pine Level had significance in a total of 12 areas: archaeology, agriculture, commerce, communications, community planning, economics, education, exploration/settlement, military, politics/government, religion, and transportation. They state that:

In view of the significance of the Pine Level district to irreplaceable cultural heritage, both locally and state-wide, the author [sic] recommends that it be nominated for the National Register of Historic Places, and that every possible means be used to protect its integrity and enhance the

natural wilderness state of its surroundings [Johnson and Willis 1980: 110].

My recommendations for the future of the Pine Level site follow Johnson and Willis (1980). I believe the site should be nominated for the NRHP as a site of local and state-wide significance, and that every effort should be made to preserve its current level of integrity.

There is a second, potentially more important way of gauging Pine Level's significance, and that is through its meaning to local residents, and its current life as a community memory. As outlined in the beginning of the thesis, people who live in DeSoto County have known and cared about the Pine Level site for decades. Some individuals here trace their family history back to the pioneer days of Pine Level, which gives the place personal meaning in their lives. Others explicitly view Pine Level as part of the cultural landscape of the south Florida frontier, where Cracker families carved a niche for themselves in an unforgiving environment. Stories of wild shoot-outs and lawlessness also illuminate some people's understanding of the kind of place Pine Level was in those days, adding a romantic, Western-style element to its story. To members of the Pine Level United Methodist Church, the site is significant because the town and the church congregation developed simultaneously, making the history of Pine Level synonymous with the history of the congregation.

All these different reasons for caring about the site, and different ways of understanding what Pine Level was, are equally important, and equally valid. Through this research, I have attempted to show that the history Pine Level, and its residents, is complex and intimately tied to broad social and political changes in this area in the second half of the nineteenth century. Though I found that many residents were not

Cracker cattlemen or Confederate veterans, that does not negate or invalidate an understanding of Pine Level that includes these individuals, and their contributions to the site. By simply examining Pine Level now, we are constructing its history in the present (Mullins 1998), and understanding it in our own terms. For this reason, there cannot be a single understanding of Pine Level, and each person's views remain important.

Therefore, the significance of the site cannot be understood in my terms alone, but must also be considered significant for all the reasons listed by the surrounding community.

Residents in the Pine Level area care deeply about the future of this site. Their ongoing interest in the information the site holds, and their continuing support throughout the various phases of this project illustrate their commitment. Community volunteers helped with archaeological survey and excavation on field days, and active and interested audiences attended various talks and events that were held over the course of the Pine Level Project. There are even plans for the future. Artifacts that were recovered during this project will be donated by Clyde Hollingsworth to the DeSoto County Historical Society, and will be housed in a new museum and repository in Arcadia. Mr. Hollingsworth would also like there to be a display of artifacts in one of the church buildings at the site, so that church members and visitors can appreciate them and understand the kinds of information the site still holds. Following the publication of this thesis, the Historical Society has expressed interest in finally getting the Pine Level site listed on the National Register of Historic Places. If this can be done, it will hopefully help to preserve Pine Level, and the fascinating story of its residents, for future generations.

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Appendix A:
Transcribed Historic Documents

Minutes of the MBOCC and the DBOCC

Please note: A [?] symbol indicates an indecipherable word. Other bracketed words indicate a synopsis or additional information from the entry. Words are **bolded** to help the reader find information about specific government buildings. All entries transcribed here are thought to be of future interest to researchers, and include all mentions of specific government buildings and structures that can be found in the county commissioner minutes. All efforts have been made to express the original content and layout of the historic documents.

April 7, 1866 (MBOCC)

...The following persons were appointed to Constitute a board to Locate the place and name of the County Site – of Manatee County to wit

From Manatee Precinct No 1 W. H. Vanderipe
From Rough & Ready Precinct No 2 Erasmus Rye
From Long Creek Precinct No 3 D. L. Hawkins
From Waldron Precinct 4 F. B. Hagan
From Cool & Easy Precinct No 5 Maxwell Whidden
From Soakes Creek Precinct No 6 W. A. Johnston
From Daniels Precinct No 7 William Coiens
From S E Green Precinct No 8 E. W. Thompson

The above named persons were appointed to represent the different Precinct of the County of Manatee to permanently locate the place and name of the County Site – aforesaid. Be it further ordered that they meet at Long Creek Precinct No 3 on the first Monday in May 1866 at which place they will have the Oath administered to them by the Judge of Probate as the Law requires and that they proceed --- immediately thereafter to located the place & name of the County Site as aforesaid

May 29, 1866 (MBOCC)

The Committee to Locate the County Site having wit [?] and received the amountas the law required of them proceeded to this business and having returned on the 7th day of April 1866 made to following report to wit that they had located the County Site – on Range 23 E Township 37 S. South West quarter of the South West quarter of Section 22 and that they had named the Site – Pine Level [sic]

...The County Site of Manatee County having been removed from Manatee to Pine Level it was ordered by the Court the following described **building** be built out the said new County Site (Pine Level) to wit:

One Log Hewn 20 feet Square in the Clear 10 foot Story with a Room added to the End Twenty feet by ten with a Partition [?] through Said Room making two ten feet – Jury Rooms to be covered with 2 foot Hart [?] Pine or Cypress boards and Floored with Plank or Hewed [?] Puncheon [?] One Door in each side and two windows in the end

Appendix A (Continued)

opposite the Jury Rooms and one Window in each of the Jury Rooms all the doors and windows to be cased and faced with Shutters the House to be furnished with 1 Table 4 feet wide and 8 feet Long 12 ten foot benches and one bar bench for the Judge.

Be it further ordered that to percome [?] money to pay for the execution of the above building that the Judge of Probate of Manatee County be and he is hereby ordered to proceed forthwith to advertise and Sell to the highest bidder on the 1st Monday in July 1866 the present Court House of Manatee County and that the Proceeds of said Sale to be appropriated to the building of the above named Court House...

July 2, 1866 (MBOCC)

[John Curry bought the Village of Manatee Courthouse and Courthouse Square at auction for \$128.50]

... Proposals for the building of the **Court House** at Pine Level was opened and examined and it was found that David N. Townsend had proposed to build the Court House for the Lowest price. It was ordered by the board that the Judge of Probate enter into a contract with the Said David N. Townsend for the building of the Court House aforesaid.

January 18, 1867 (MBOCC)

[First time that the MBOCC met at Pine Level. Also, Probate Judge McLeod authorized the Town lots to be surveyed and advertised for sale.]

... Be it further ordered that a Certain County Receipt issued by the Judge of Probate to David N. Townsend for One hundred and Twenty Dollars for part payment on the **Court House** be and the same is hereby revoked and that D. N. Townsend receive no more pay until the Court House is Completed according to Contract.

... Be it further Ordered that Henry R. McLeod be paid thirty – Dollars for Hauling the Bar Bench and Table from Manatee to the County – Site –

Henry R. McLeod Judge of Probate
Exofficio President of the board

James G. Williams
D. L. Hawkins

May 3, 1869 (MBOCC)

The Board then ordered that in lieu of the much talked of desire to move the **Court House** that if no petition be presented by next meeting of the Board for the removal of the Court House, it remain where it is, and steps be taken to build a proper Court House & Jail.

Appendix A (Continued)

June 15, 1869 (MBOCC)

Be it ordered by the board that the Judge of Probate Advertise and Sell the Lots of the County Site – on Saturday the 7th day of September AD 1867.

September 7, 1869 (MBOCC)

... They then proceeded to examine certain petitions presented by citizens of Manatee County for the removal of the County Site (the object of the meeting) and found them signed by forty nine persons, then on examining said petitions the Board discovered that eight of the same were not registered & one duplicated, the remainder not being a sufficient number to justify the Board in ordering an election, they were unable to act accordingly to law and consider that in lieu of the fact that the Board had delayed any action towards the erection of suitable public buildings during the whole year, and now it is made their duty to provide the same and they are held responsible under to law and further the presentation of the Grand Jury requesting the same, the Board do not feel justified on delaying action in the matter, and therefore ordered that the Clerk prepare advertisements for proposals to erect a **Jail, County offices**, and repair and improve the present **Court house**, and that its location be considered permanent and steps be taken to have it so declared by Act of Legislature. The Clerk accordingly prepared three notices to be advertised at Pine Level, Fort Ogden, & Manatee, for proposals to perform the work specified, and requiring the same to be presented by the 27th [?] and be further directed the Clerk to prepare and furnish specification of said work with all decisions of bidding on the same, according to the following directions. To wit:

Court House, to be raised two feet from the ground on lightwood blocks, three logs fixed in the body, repair and steady the floor remove partitions, new roof 21 in. shingles, another door opposite present one, two windows each end, with good shutter, and sealed outside, corners sawed down.

Offices – Double pen House, each pen 10 x 12 – with 8 ft. passage – 21 in. shingle roof eaves repaired at least 12 in. Lightwood Blocks, Sills & Sleepers, puncheon floor, well hewed and steadied, one door in each pen opening into passage, and windows at each end and side of each pen, with strong shutters, hung with Iron Hinges, and sealed with strong locks and fastenings, well sealed inside and out.

Jail – 10 x 20 – two stories height, 8 ft. between floors partition floor, of hewed heart of pine and of Pine logs 10 x 12 ins. dove tailed down, floors of heart timber well hewed, to extend one floor underground, all timbers under ground and on it of best lightwood- covered with 21 in. cypress Shingles – entered by means of ladder through door in upper story, trap door in roof of each roof of cell 3 ft. square, and ladder furnished for under in hole in upper corner of each cell 6 x 10 ins. Doors hung in Iron Hinges and well sealed with fastenings.

All to be done in the most workman like manner.

September 27, 1869 (MBOCC)

Appendix A (Continued)

The Board then [?] duly executed and transferred to the County Superintendent of Commission Schools the following lot of land at the County Site. [?] used for Educational purposes, the [?] assurance being given that the United States meant to erect a **School House** upon the Same. The following is a description of the land [?] – to wit – Lot No 1 – S. W. 2 of Sect. 25 [should this read 22? Transcriber's mistake?] of Township 37 – Range 28.

December 19, 1871 (MBOCC)

The Board then proceeded to consider the proposals for work on the **Court House**, and it appearing the lowest reliable bid was from J. A. Platt for the Sum of Fifty Dollars, it was decided that the job be given to him, and that the balance necessary over and above the amount of each in hand amount to Fifteen 100 [Hundred] Dollars (contributed by the people – J.F. Bartholf) be paid him in County Receipt, and he give Security for the faithful performance of the work.

...The Board then decided to erect a **building for the accommodation of Jurys** as follows, 10 x 14 peeled logs, covered with [?] in. boards, floor with puncheons good [?] two doors and a window, shutters being on iron hinges, with secure fastenings, finished with four 10 ft. benches, and one good stand, also a good well, 4 ft. square, good heart [?] [?] with good [?], L. B. Platt & J. F. Bartholf be appointed [?] a committee to superintend the work.

August 19, 1872 (MBOCC)

The report of county Surveyor, with accompanying Maps of the Survey of the County Site, was then received, examined and approved, and his account for services rendered, in connection with the same to amount of Forty Three Dollars ordered paid – And it was further Ordered that the Sheriff proceed to advertise Blocks 5- 6- 15- 16 for sale at public outcry before the Court House Door, on the first day of the next ensuing term of the Circuit Court (i.e.) the first day of Nov. A.D. 1872. Said Blocks to be subdivided into building lots of ¼ acre each, and to be sold by the Lot at not less than Five Dollars each cash or Scrip with the privilege of the Block at the same rate an to be sold commencing with the N. E. Lot, then the N. W., then the S. W. and lastly S. E.

It appearing to the Board that James A. Jones to whom the job of erecting a **Jury House**, and digging a Well at the County Site had been awarded, had failed to do such work, and had not given security as required the Board ordered that the Clerk communicate with him at an early day, and ascertain whether he intended to perform said work, and if so to require of him the requisite security at once, failing to do which, or in case of his declining to do the work, the Board authorize the Clerk to employ some competent person who would give security to do the work, at a sum not to exceed Seventy Five Dollars. The House to be erected by the Fall Term of Circuit Court, and the Well dug as soon as the wet season is ended. Said House to be erected on the N.E. of N.E. Lot of Block 13.

Appendix A (Continued)

November 15, 1872 (MBOCC)

The Clerk then reported to the Board that he had employed Simpson Johnston to erect the **Jury Room** and dig a **Well** at the County Site, and that the work was nearly completed, whereupon the Board allowed Mr. Johnston Thirty Dollars on account of the work, the balance to be paid on completion of the work.

June 2, 1873 (MBOCC)

...It was then decided to make the following changes in the plan of **Jail** to wit: Corners to cross; outside corners to be dove-tailed, inside notched down; space between walls, not less than eight inches; corners secured by posts between, primed [?] at top and bottom; gable to be ceiled [sic] on the inside with sawed lumber, put in with ten penny nails; studding not over twenty inches apart, outer door secured by heavy stock lock, rafters seven inches apart, with wide lathing no Window in gable.

Mr. Green then suggested to the Board his temporary withdrawal, as he wished to bid on the **Jail** which was agreed to. The Board then announced Bids in order, when ten [?] were handed in, and opening the same, it was found that the lowest being for the sum of Five Hundred and Fifty Dollars (\$550.00) was from John M. Bates. The job was accordingly given to him whereupon he came forward and filed his Bond in the sum of One Thousand Dollars for the proper performance of the Work, and the Clerk was directed to issue to him the sum of One Hundred Dollars, out of County funds in his possession [?] on account of said work.

Mr. Green then resumed his seat...

September 15, 1873 (MBOCC)

[The commissioners approved the jail work on this date, meaning it had likely been completed.]

April 29, 1876 (MBOCC)

[special meeting called to consider **courthouse** and **jail**]

[Andrew Green was noted as receiving \$10.70 for acting as a guard and feeding prisoners]

The Board then proceeded to consider the matter of the erection of a **Court House**, and the Presentment of the Grand Jury being laid before them, in which that Body pronounces the present building a disgrace to the County, the, after mature deliberation decided to erect a suitable building and selected Plan No. 1 offered by John A. Graham of Manatee, as one most adapted to he purpose and ordered that the Clerk of the Board put up notices, without delay, for the proposals to erect a Court House, in accordance with said Plan, with the exception that the Jury and Retiring Rooms on the 2nd floor, be

Appendix A (Continued)

dispensed with, and the building finished complete except seats for the Bar and Court and that the said work be given to the lowest bidder, at public notice, said Bidder to five good and sufficient security for the proper performance of said work, to be decided on the 15th day of May, and Contract entered into on that day, for the construction of the Building for the holding of Fall Court, and to be completed in all respects by January 1st, 1877, and that J. H. Tucker, John B. Key and John F. Bartholf be appointed a special committee to prepare the specifications in detail for said work.----for the purpose of defraying the expense, the Three will Tax authorized by law for the erection of Public Buildings, be assessed upon the County, and that the Tax Collector be required to collect the same in cash or orders issued in payment for said Work, and that the same be held and appropriated exclusively for the work on said Building.

...It being brought to the attention of the Board, that the **Jail** was rendered wholly useless by the breaking of the same by one Alonzo Johnston, and the Sheriff protesting against any responsibility for persons, unless it was strengthened, and the Grand Jury recommended repairs, Resolved, that in view of the urgency of the case steps be immediately taken to put the same in a safe, and satisfactory condition, whereupon the following appropriation was made for the purpose, and the amount required to be paid by the Tax Collector or County Treasurer, on presentation of Orders for the same, duly allowed by the Board, to wit:

Material to N. H. Decoster	43.00
Nails	18.00
Labor to John M. Bates	20.00
Total	81.00

The labor to be done as follows: Floor laid of seasoned heart Lumber 1 ½ inch thick; ---laid double--- walls of the same material and the whole studded with 10d nails, driven in not more than one inch apart in every direction, zigzag, to be completed by June first. Mr. John M. Bates agreed to the work completely in a Workmanlike manner, remaining subject to the approval of the Board.

Approved
N. H. DeCoster
Chairman, Board Co. Comm.

May 16, 1876 (MBOCC)

The minutes of the proceedings of the last Meeting being read were duly approved except, that the work on **Jail**, the contractors only be required to use two Kegs of Nails, to the best advantage.

The Board then proceeded to consider the matter of the erection of a **Court House**, and after careful deliberation, prepared a plan and specifications of the same to be filed with the Clerk of the Court, also, the terms on which said House should be built etc. and having decided on the same asked for proposals for building the same whereupon the

Appendix A (Continued)

work was offered to bidders for the sum of Twenty Five Hundred Dollars and bidding on the same was continued until finally the job was given to William S. Curry for the sum of Seventeen Hundred and Ninety Five Dollars (\$1795.00) whereupon a formal contract was entered into with the said William S. Curry for the erection of the same, and he required to enter with good and sufficient security for the faithful performance of said work.

July 3 [or 28?]1876 (MBOCC)

Messrs. Curry and Morgan paid \$600.00 [?] to pay them for part work on **court house**. The balance to be paid when court house is finished.

[New date?] Messrs. Curry and Morgan gave receipt for \$1650.00 in payment for building court house in according to contract and there remaining unpaid the sum of one hundred and forty five Dollars to be paid when the Court house is ~~ainted~~ furnished which is to be done in 60 days from date.

September 4, 1877 (MBOCC)

[Bartholf was given \$100 to buy paint for the **Courthouse**]

October 3, 1877

By agreement Albert Willits will paint the **Court house** the second Coat. With pure White lead. He Willits furnishing the Paint and oil and also is to Trace the sash and prime the inside of Window Frames & facings door and door facings. For [?] \$75.00 Seventy five Dollars. To be inspected by Robt. S. Griffith...

...Ordered the Auditor to Pay to Albert Willits the amount of \$100.00 Where said Willits brings order from Messrs. Curry & Morgan for payment for painting Court House first coat of paint.

... Ordered that R. S. Griffith be employed to have repairs on **Jail** made at the least possible Expense consistent with the security of prisoners.

June 3, 1878 (MBOCC)

John G. Webb a member of this Board is assigned [?] to correspond with a Manufacturing Company in regard to furnishing an apparatus for making more [?] secure persons confined in **Jail**.

February 3, 1880 (MBOCC)

Whereas, there is a necessity, that there should be immediately erected a new **Jail**, the old one being utterly worthless, and beyond repair; and whereas the County commissioners find that they can erect an iron Jail with four cells, which will be clean, healthy and secure; said sells [sic] to be placed in a comfortable house all for amount not exceeding the sum of \$800.00.

Appendix A (Continued)

[Then discusses issuing bonds to pay for new jail, how the county electors shall be called upon to vote on the (bond?) resolution on March 6th, 1880, and that the resolution should be published in the Sunland Tribune for four weeks proceeding the vote.]

April 5, 1880 (MBOCC)

[A. Rymer (correct spelling?) was contracted to dig a well near the **Courthouse** on “one of the lots reserved by the Co.” and fence the well, all for \$12.00. Also, the bonds for the new **jail** voted down, 129 to 8.]

April 4, 1881 (MBOCC)

[Chairman Webb was again authorized to communicate with **jail** cell manufacturers to ascertain prices on this date.]

July 5, 1881 (MBOCC)

Board then took up specifications for Building a **Jail** when the following was adopted by the Board.

The building to be two stories high, to have four rooms and a hall. The hall to be four feet by 16 two rooms on Ground floor 12 x 16 feet; the height of rooms on lower floor to be 9 and one half feet between floors. The second story two rooms, and a hall, of same dimensions as to size of Ground floor rooms, and (8'2) eight and one half feet between floor and ceiling.

The Sills of Ground plan to be 6 x 8 inches. The Corner posts 4 x 6 inches mortised into the Sills. The lower sleepers to be 2 x 8 upper floor or ceiling to be 2 x 6 inches. Roof “hip” with one foot of protection all around. To be covered with good Cypress Shingles. The blocks to be live oak seven feet apart and resting on lightwood pieces embedded in the Ground blocks to be on their sides hewn to a triangular shape fifteen inches thick or if of Pine to be made out of slash pine.

Stair-way to run through the hall, on lower floor (3) three doors and 6 windows, the doors to be galvanized [?] Windows to be 10 x 12 inch lights 12 light to the window The flooring 1 ¼ inches in thickness tongued and grooved, ceiling to be 3/11 [?] of an inch in thickness and put up perpendicularly.

One of the upper rooms to be studded [?] so as to be four inches solid thickness and ceiled [sic] inside. Seven Windows above 10 x 12 glass 12 lights to the window.

Weatherboarding to be horizontal.

All outside to be rough All the frames for windows and doors to be two inches solid. The doors upstairs to be double thickness. Proportional payment as the work progresses will be paid. The work to be completed by the first day of January 1882.

Specifications for Building of Jail to be Published in the Manatee News and proposals for building Jail will be received at Pine Level August 1st 1881. The Board holding the rights to refuse all bids.

Appendix A (Continued)

July 8, 1881 (MBOCC)

[The clerk requested that a rotten block under the west end of the **Courthouse** be replaced on this date.]

August 2, 1881 (MBOCC)

Proposals for building the **Jail** were opened and John S. G. Cabrich having offered to build the same for \$661.86 his offer was accepted and the clerk directed to inform him of the fact.

Ordered that the clerk be directed to have a contract executed with him.

Ordered that the clerk be requested to select a site for **Jail** on Lot No. 8.

March 6, 1882 (MBOCC)

Ordered by the Board that a **Privy** be built for the use of the Public at the North East corner of the lot on which the **Jail** is built. Privy floor to be at least two feet from the ground, and to be open on the back part and to be build so that the vault will be on the outside of fence enclosing **Court House well & Jail**. Building to be 12 ft x 6, of good material and covered with shingles. A screen to be built in front of Jail, bottom of screen to be not less than two feet from the ground so as to be on level with floor of Privy. Clerk ordered to make out specifications and advertize for proposals to build said Privy by notices posted on Court House Door.

...Ordered that a **fence** be built enclosing the **Court house, Well and Jail** to be construction of plank as follows, to wit Post to the eight feet from center to center plank to be 16 or 24 feet long, bottom plank (8) eight inches wide second and third 6 inches wide fourth and fifth 5 inches wide and top to be sloped and have a six inch plank nailed securely, plank to be placed at an angle of 35 [degrees] from horizontal. There are to be (3) three sets of steps [?] or stiles over the fence, steps to 6 feet or 8 ft long each step to be 10 inches wide with a rise of not more than 8 inches, steps to be placed on East South and West sides of enclosure at points most suitable to accommodate the public. Said steps to have their [?] Horses or supporters to each side of fence.

Joints of fence to break alternately. Proposal to be published at Court House Door.

...Ordered that the Clerk turn over to Capt. J. D. Green the old **Jail** as soon as the new Jail is complete. He Green paying for the same \$10.00 Dollars, and it is distinctly understood that Jail is to be removed completely and entire.

Ordered that as there will be no meeting of the Board until July and there have been Irons ordered and by contract with J. S. G. Rabric [?] money due it is therefore ordered that there be placed in the hands of the Clerk \$450.00 of Co. Building funds to meet said payments and that the clerk will show voucher for the expenditure of said funds.

July 3, 1883 (MBOCC)

Appendix A (Continued)

[The Clerk was ordered to put the old **jail** up for sale (did Green not take it then?) and all bids were to be held until the next meeting. Also, the clerk was supposed to fix the “broken room” of the jail (new jail?) to make it secure.]

March 3, 1884 (MBOCC)

[The clerk was ordered to get the public **well** deepened on this date.]

June 3, 1884 (MBOCC)

[Robert. S. Griffith was to repair the “much decayed” blocks and sills of the **Courthouse**. Also, he was to secure the Courthouse and protect the Courtroom]

December 1, 1884 (MBOCC)

[A jury recommended the erection of a **privy** and **water closet**, which was ordered to be done on this date (so the privy wasn’t built before?).]

January 5, 1885 (MBOCC)

The County Commissioners of Manatee County deeply impressed [?] with the disgrace which has come upon the reputation of the County by the recent homicides which have been committed within its borders hereby offer a reward of Two Hundred Dollars for the apprehension of Charles Willard the alledged [sic] Murderer of C. S. Abbe at Sarasota on Saturday Dec. 27. And also the same reward for the apprehension and conviction of the murderers of H. T. Riley at Bee Ridge in June last. And further the Clerk is directed to forward a copy of this resolution to his Excellency the Governor of the state, with a request that he offer the same reward, in behalf of the state.

October 6, 1885 (MBOCC)

Ordered that there be a **fence** constructed to surround the County **Jail**. 10 feet high each side to 70 feet Long Part to be 7 feet high and four feet on the ground. To have 3 set of stringers to be let into the posts one inch, and to have a stringer 2 + 4 at topp [sic] and to have the plank nailed securely to strip. To have a large gateway in front with double gates ~~and one gate to at rear~~ 9 feet wide.

...

Ordered that J. R. Durrance build **fence** around **Jail**.

September 5, 1887 (DBOCC)

[Ordered that an election take place on November 3rd to locate the county seat.]

Appendix A (Continued)

November 7-9, 1887 (DBOCC)

[Ordered another election held to locate the permanent county seat. Mentions an issue with people voting who were not supposed to vote. New election ordered held on December 29th. People to be properly registered from the December 7-17th.]

January 2-5, 1888 (DBOCC)

[The commissioners decided “to defer further proceedings in regard to the Court House election until petitioned by 1/3 of the citizens of the county.”]

March 5, 1888 (DBOCC)

[The commissioners refused a petition to permanently relocate the county seat as the petition only had 89 names.]

July 2-7, 1888 (DBOCC)

[The commissioners ordered that a new election to locate the county seat be held on August 4th, 1888.]

August 6-8, 1888 (DBOCC)

[The Board canvassed the results of the election and found that no one town had a majority. Results listed as follows:

Arcadia - 295
Fort Ogden - 186
Nocatee - 110
Pine Level - 59
Fort Bussinger - 1
Bowling Green - 1
Punta Gorda - 2
Zolfo - 1
Total 655]

September 3, 1888 (DBOCC)

[Some sort of problem with the registration caused the board to say that they could not hold another election at this time. Therefore, they advised “the people to meet in convention & nominate two places suitable for a permanent Co. seat, thereupon an election will be called & the matter decided.”]

October 1, 1888 (DBOCC)

Appendix A (Continued)

[The commissioners wanted to locate a county seat in as “rapid succession as the law will permit until a place elected.”]

November 12, 1888 (DBOCC)

[A vote to locate the county seat had been held on November 6th, 1888, though it was originally supposed to be held on October 2nd, 1888. On this date, the commissioners canvassed the returns of the county seat election and found that Arcadia had received 448 votes of a total of 875 votes. Arcadia had a “majority” of 21 votes, so it was declared the new county seat. The result was to be published in The Arcadian. The county records and furniture were to be transferred from Pine Level to Arcadia within 10 days.]

December 10-12, 1888 (DBOCC)

[This meeting held in Arcadia for the first time. J. W. Whidden and others donated \$3,000 to build the new courthouse in Arcadia, with the county contributing a matching amount of \$3,000.]

January 7, 1889 (DBOCC)

[Someone was authorized on this date to transport the jail fixtures, cell, door, and iron grates from Pine Level to Arcadia.]

February 12, 1889 (DBOCC)

[The Sheriff sold the old **Courthouse** and **Jail** to the highest bidder, James M. Bourdland, for \$202, plus two additional acres of land (likely the two acres of county-owned land in Pine Level).]

John A. Graham Plans for the 1876 Courthouse

Manatee January 27th 1875

To the Honorable
The Board of County Commissioners
Of Manatee County
Florida

I have the honor to submit to you the accompanying plans for the Court House proposed to be erected at Pine Level. I am not an architect, but I was for several years Clerk of the Circuit Court, and have had some experience of the inconveniences resulting from an ill planned Court House. The plan herewith submitted will, I believe, be found both handsome and convenient, and the cost of its erection, will not, I think, exceed your limit of Two thousand dollars. You will notice that I have, perhaps, introduced too many windows in plan no. 1 which I have modified in plan no. 2, by redrawing their number;

Appendix A (Continued)

and a further reduction might be made by omitting the Judge Room, in the rear of his desk.

The scale- six feet to an inch, will give the dimensions of the house- 42 + 30; and although the drawing is on a small scale, the builder can work by it, as well as he could from a larger one. I intended to make a larger drawing from the small rough one (next page) here submitted but was unable to procure large paper and I have not time to make clean copies, as I much send it by todays mail in order that it may reach you in time.

Hoping that the plan may please your honorable body. I am

Very respectfully (?)

John A. Graham

P.S. As this is a warm climate much the greater portion of the ceiling may be dispensed with, and the ^house still remain comfortable; and this may be done by making the partition walls of the Offices and Hall, of 1½ boards placed perpendicularly, and ceiling only the upper part of the court room.

I have made, in great haste, a bill of the lumber required, and if I have made an over or under-estimate, you can easily correct it, by referring to the plan.

If you should adopt either one of the plans submitted by me, and will notify me of your desire for a more full explanation of it, I will at once comply with your request. The cost of the material would not, I think, exceed \$600.00 or \$400.00 Dollars.

P.S. The drawings are mailed in a separate package.

Very resp.

John A. Graham

[Separate page]

Description and specification of the plan for a Court House proposed to be erected at Pine Level in Manatee County, Florida.

Dimensions

Length 42 feet
Breadth 30 feet
Height of Walls 21 feet
Height of Gables 7 feet
Elevation above the ground 2 feet
Total Height from the ground 31 feet

Material

6 Ground sills, as shown in diagram 10 + 12 42 feet long
4 Plates for 1st story 6 + 6 42 feet long
3 Plates for 2nd story 6 + 6 42 feet long
2 Plates for 1st story 6 + 6 30 feet long
2 Plates for 2nd story 6 + 6 30 feet long

Appendix A (Continued)

4 Corner Posts 10 + 12 – 20 feet long

3 Outside doors 4½ + 7½

7 Inside doors 3½ + 7½

32 or 23 Windows (as may be adopted) 3 feet + 5½

Balcony to court room 6 + 8 feet

Stairway to same as shown in front elevation 4 feet wide

2 Pillars to support balcony 6 + 6- 8 feet long

(next page)

2 Plates for balcony 4 + 5- 8 feet long

3 Sleepers(?) for balcony 4 + 5- 6 feet long

20 Sleepers(?) for 1st floor 2 + 8- 30 feet long

20 Sleepers for 2nd floor 2 + 8- 30 feet long

20 Sleepers for 3rd floor 3 + 5 (or 4)- 30 feet long

3000 feet of Flooring

3,168 feet of ~~Weatherboarding~~ Ceiling

4,100 feet of Weatherboarding

40 Rafters 3 + 5 18 feet long

53 feet(?) of Scantling 3 + 4 for studs set 2 feet apart – 10 feet long

53 feet(?) of Scantling 3 + 4 for studs set 2 feet apart – 12 feet long

20 feet(?) of Scantling 4 + 5 for door & window posts

12,000 Shingles

1,600 Sheathing

4”(?) Sash for windows (adopting plan having the least number)

4”(?) Window Blinds

Lumber for miscellaneous work say 2,000 feet

Respectfully submitted

John A. Graham

January 27 1875

The Benjamin Newlands Letters

Please note: Benjamin wrote two letters that describe his stay in Pine Level and Arcadia. Letter A was addressed to his younger daughter, which he illustrated with drawings (Figure A.1 and A.2). Letter B was addressed to his older daughter, and as it contains no drawings, no figures are provided for this letter.

Appendix A (Continued)

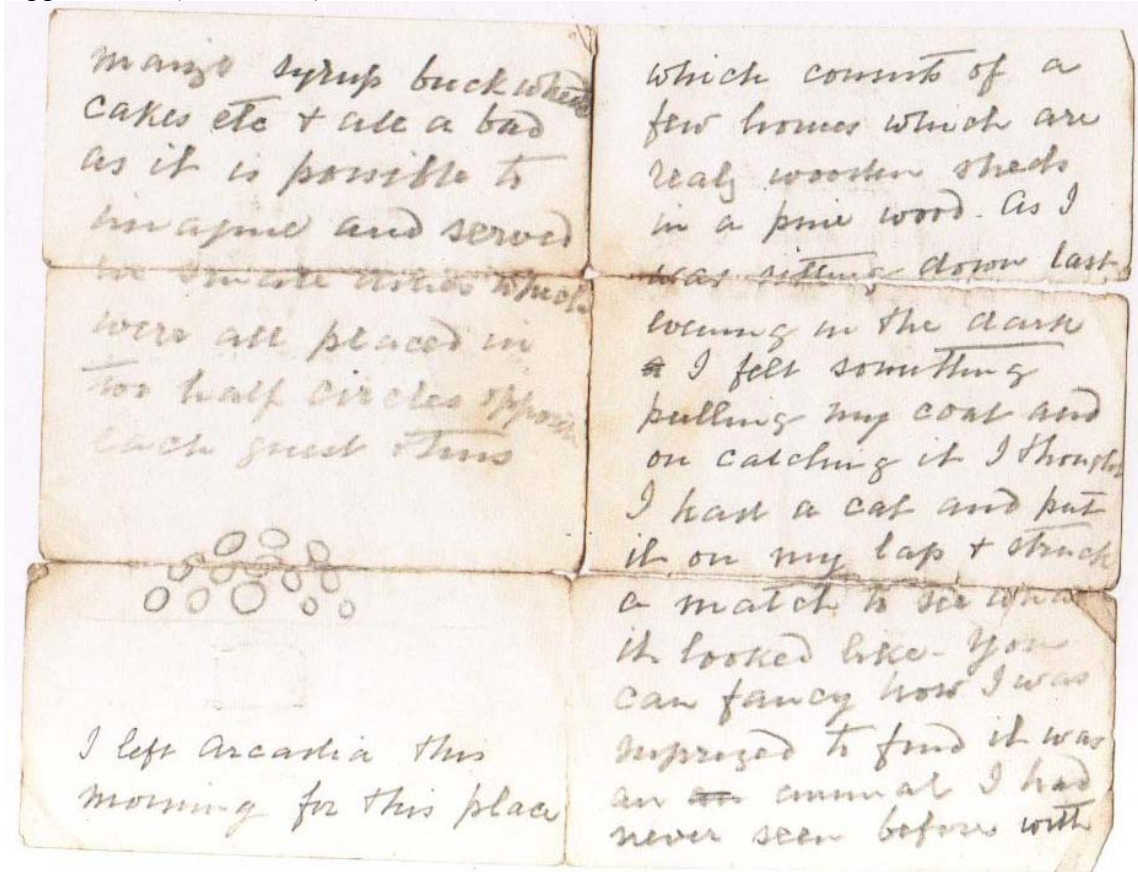


Figure A.1. Benjamin Newlands Letter A, page 2/3. Letter reproduced with permission of Peter Newlands. The drawing depicts plates of food arranged in semi-circles around a guest at the Arcadia House.

Letter A – Written April 4, 1893, to Ada from Pine Level

My dear Ada,

I arrived at Acadia yesterday evening and stopped for the night at the Hotel there. The food we had was of a somewhat mixed character thus for tea we had an orange & small portions of steak ham fish rice maize syrup buckwheat cakes etc & ale as bad as it is possible to imagine and served in several dishes which were all placed in two half circles opposite each guests chairs

(Picture of plates arranged in semi-circles, Figure A.1)

I left Arcadia this morning for this place which consists of a few houses which are really wooden sheds in pine wood. As I was sitting down last evening in the dark I felt something pulling my coat and catching it I thought I had a cat and put it on my lap & struck a match to see what it looked like – you can fancy how I was surprised to find it was an animal I had never seen before with a sharp nose and bushy tail.

Appendix A (Continued)



Figure A.2. Benjamin Newlands Letter A, page 1/4. Letter reproduced with permission of Peter Newlands. The house illustrated belonged to Eliza Green. A faint drawing of a raccoon can be seen below the house.

(Picture of house, Figure A.2)

(Continues with a picture of a raccoon)

I held him fast till the landlady came when [?] a tame raccoon as they are called here. Give my love to all & tell your dear mother I will write again in a day or two. Your loving father
BER Newlands

Letter B- Written April 10, 1893, to Fanny from Arcadia House

My dear Fanny,

I arrived here from Pine Level a region of swamp abounding in alligators snakes & other equally disagreeable companions on Saturday. Arcadia is what we would call a village, but here it is a city. The houses (if it is speaking the truth to so designate them as such) are all built of pine wood in a rough and ready way. The roads are made of fine white sand into which one sinks up to the ankles at every step. Considering the nature of the soil it is perfectly astonishing how things grow. Yet there are almost impassable forests of Pine Oak Cypress & Palms & many other trees well known at home. The farmers who appear very hard up & owing to the heat thin and miserable grow their own sugar tobacco sweet potatoes maize & in fact practically all they need except clothes. The

Appendix A (Continued)

principle crop here is oranges & everyone has what is called a grove or plantation varying from 50 to some thousands of trees. The orange grove takes about 10 years to attain perfection and then yields a crop of sometimes as much as 10,000 oranges.

Generally owing to bad cultivation or soil the crop is much less. Our landlady Mrs. Green at Pine Level had I should think about (twenty?) trees & she told me that they yielded only about 12,000 oranges for which she obtained 2/- per 100 the buyer picking them. Mrs Green although she was apparently exceedingly poor and her house was without furniture except rough bedsteads & a few broken chairs had 200 head of cattle and any quantity of pigs. One of the latter had a habit of stationing himself immediately under my bed & his sleep was evidently not that of the just as every now and then woke up & gave a grunt which as my door & window were wide open used to make me start up and fancy that some unwelcome visitor had arrived. Once or twice I noticed the head of some large insect peeping thro' the chinks of the walls and this did not conduce to sweet repose.

Yesterday morning I went to the Methodist Church in the morning & heard a peculiar address by the minister. He said that there were those in church who were known by all present to have committed murders & who if the law was strong enough would be hanged. He noticed me and told his hearers that they should treat the 'stranger within their gates' tenderly for by doing so they might be "entertaining an angel unawares." Everyone looked around at me and smiled and as they say here I felt mean. I am leaving for Punta Gorda on the Gulf of Mexico tonight and then go on to Bartow from which place I shall write again.

With love to you all

Your affect father

BER Newlands

Appendix B:
Transcribed Oral Histories

Interview with Clyde Hollingsworth

Note: This interview took place on October 3, 2009, on the grass in front of the Pine Level United Methodist Church. The abbreviation “JF” refers to the author, and “CH” is Clyde Hollingsworth.

JF: We’ll have to start out with some establishing questions, so if you could just say, for the camera, what your name is.

CH: Vernon Clyde Hollingsworth, jr.

JF: Ok, let me just grab my notebook. And um, how long have you lived here?

CH: All my life.

JF: All your life. And who told you any stories about Pine Level? Who were they and what were their relationship to you?

CH: Oh, probably my father.

JF: And his name was?

CH: Well, his nickname was Mose, but I’m junior so he’s V. C. Hollingsworth.

JF: How much have the buildings out here changed since you’ve been living here?

CH: Well, this part of the church is all new [points finger to indicate the church buildings on the west side of the church property]. And the back of the church is all new [waves hand to indicate the church structure to the north of the original church building]. Uh, when I started coming to this church, it was just like it is today, but you know, it’s been changed, painted, fixed, remodeled, so to speak.

JF: Right. Were there any other buildings that used to be standing out here on the site that are no longer here?

CH: As I... oh, well, years ago, way back years ago, when I was a teenager, there used to be a two story house, right across the road [points finger to indicate the south side of Northwest Pine Level Street]. That seemed like the Bullochs [?] lived there but I’m not certain about that.

JF: Ok.

CH: And then the Hagans they lived on the corner there [points to the intersection of Northwest Pine Level Street and Tom Mizell Road]. Sue Williams lived down where her grandson Bill lives now, course that house has been torn down. Uh, across the road there was an old two story house that I think was finally dismantled about 8 or 10 years ago.

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: Let me ask you if it's a house I've got a picture of. [Fumbles through papers, holds up picture of the Hagan house (8DE15)]. CH: That's it [nods assent].

JF: That's it, that one at the top right there [again indicating Hagan house at top of page]. What was that house called?

CH: You know I don't know if the Mizells had lived there in time, uh, I just really don't know.

JF: Uh huh. But that was round the corner there [pointing to intersection of NW Pine Level Street and Tom Mizell Road].

CH: [Nodding] Round the corner and down, mm hm.

JF: And it's gone now?

CH: It's gone now.

JF: Do you know when they took it down or where...?

CH: I'd say about...they, they jacked it up and uh, the plan was that they was going to give it to Dole Carter, and he was going to take it over to Tampa. You know, he's got that uh, Cracker Country over there, and so it stayed jack up there for several years, and uh, and I think the phosphate company, CMI, uh, eventually, I don't think they burned it, but I think they dismantled it, somehow it got torn down. It disappeared.

JF: It's gone, yeah.

CH: [Laughing] It's gone.

JF: Do you, um, do you recognize this other house [indicating a one-story structure also on a sheet of paper]?

CH: I believe that was Zula's house...

JF: Zula's?

CH: Zula Lee [?] where Bill lived down there. That kinda looks like it there. I know it had a front porch on it.

JF: Right. Do you know where that house was located?

CH: Well it was just across the road from that one [indicating the Hagan house].

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: Ok. Alright. Can you think of any other buildings that were uh, were here in the past and are gone, at this point?

CH: Well over where the old courthouse was, there was a shed there, you know, maybe like a, uh, metal [?] shed or like a feed shed for horses, or something. Then that uh, um, it stayed there till I guess Charlie or someone took it down and it disappeared.

JF: Let me uh, let me show you an aerial of the site area, and you can tell me where, um, the old courthouse was? [Takes out 2006 aerial photo] So here, here's the church, and we're sitting right here, so this is north, that's north, here's the orchard, here's the trailer house. Where was the courthouse?

CH: Uh, I'd say, I'd say somewhere about here [indicating an area to the west of the orange grove]. There's supposed to be a pump out by there.

JF: Right, and you said there's a shed next to it.

CH: There's a shed next to it.

JF: I have a 1943 aerial that has buildings about in that area [see figure 5.2], and I wondered if that's what those are. So this aerial is, goes like that [turning to orient the photo], and so here is again, here's the church right here, and there's NW Pine Level Street, and then those [pointing to two buildings circled on figure 5.2] are about exactly where you pointed out on the other one. Is one of those the courthouse, is it that one here or here [indicating the two buildings].

CH: Uh.

JF: If I'm looking at it right...

CH: Now this is south?

JF: This would be south [indicating the direction on the aerial], and this would be north.

CH: And the church is...?

JF: Is right here [pointing out church building on figure 5.2].

CH: Right here. [Looks at the aerial and thinks for a few moments] Right, right about there I think [points to the southern of the two buildings on figure 5.2].

JF: [Nodding] Ok. That looks like, like such a little building. And the shed... where would the shed have been if that was the courthouse?

Appendix B (Continued)

CH: Uh, I don't know if that's it [pointing to northern of the two building on figure 5.2], but I think it is, right there.

JF: Ok, and I think...you were describing there was a two story house right across the road [points to the south side of NW Pine Level Street], and think that might be this right here [pointing out structure on the south side of NW Pine Level Street in figure 5.2].

CH: Yeah.

JF: Ok, that was gone by about '53. So, I, I didn't know, I had no idea what that was.

CH: [Nodding head]

JF: Great, well you solved the mystery of those buildings for me [laughing]. I was trying to figure out what those were! As time goes on, they get less and less tended for, it looks like [in reference to more recent aerials of the site]. It looks like there was a drive right here with some trees going up [indicating apparent drive and trees on figure 5.2], and that just ends up disappearing, that's really interesting. And you think that there's a pump around there [indicating a spot just to the south of the southern building on figure 5.2] somewhere as well?

CH: Let me see that... here's the church, there's the road right here [points to NW Pine Level street], am I right?

JF: Mm hmm.

CH: It comes here and turns [indicating where road turns south down Tom Mizell road].

JF: Yep.

CH: And the parsonage, would be sitting somewhere right in here [indicating current parsonage on the old aerial].

JF: Yeah.

CH: Yeah, that's it, that's the site.

JF: [Laughing] Alright. Great! Let's see here, hold on a sec. Do you know the locations of any, other than the one across the street [pointing to the south of Pine Level Street], any other homes that were in the area? That aren't here? I mean you've got the two there [pointing to the west and south]....

CH: Uh the Mizell place, only round about mile, and it's still... you can't see it from the road, but it's still there.

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: Has it been restored?

CH: No, it uh. You know I've not been back there in probably 15 years, but they tell me it's still... I don't think they use it, I think it's abandoned, but it's still, still there, is what I understand. And then, when you hit 72 there's a big two story house right there, I think they call the house of Zulu [?]. [Looks up, says something too quiet to hear] House, to the south, that's been restored. I think the use it for a hunting camp, right there.

JF: Alright. Do you um, can you describe for what the old courthouse used to look like?

CH: Yep, now, the part that my daddy used, to uh, show me, it was, [rubs cheek] best I can remember [unintelligible, wind too high] ... It was a log cabin, I mean it was made of logs, you know. It um, and I remember they were putting together with pegs, uh, instead of nails, like on the corners and what not. I remember that far.

JF: Was it two stories or one story?

CH: Hmm, you know it was all, it was all, they had moved it, and the man was using it for a barn.

JF: A barn.

CH: And uh, and then termites and I guess everything else got to the thing and, uh, when I was plundered [?] it was, it was, [nodding head] seventy percent down, you know. Scattered around and what not.

JF: So the location on that, um, that aerial where you located it, that was where it had been moved to, and used as a barn.

CH: Uh, it was picked up from here [points west] and carried about two miles [points behind him, east].

JF: Ok, so when you...ok.

CH: [Nodding head, says something too quiet to hear]

JF: Did you say you had a door?

CH: Yeah, and um, my daddy bought that piece of property the _____ [high wind, unintelligible,] was on the building, and um, and he said he was going to save it, give it to [shaking head] something, for the history.

JF: Right, right.

Appendix B (Continued)

CH: I think people [high wind, unintelligible. Probably talking about how the building the door had been in had burned, taking the courthouse door with it. Laughs].

JF: [Laughing] Well, you tried. You had it for a little bit.

CH: Well, we didn't, we didn't relish something like that in those days.

JF: Well, let me show you a drawing that was done for a plan for the courthouse [pulls out figure 4.8]. This is apparently, the second courthouse that was built out here, and I'm not sure about that, I heard there might be two. Did, did it look anything like this? Probably not maybe when you say it but...

CH: No, you really couldn't, you really couldn't tell.

JF: Ok.

CH: I've seen this drawing, though, before, and I think daddy had told me that they held court in the bottom, and they put the prisoners in the top.

JF: Really?

CH: Yup [nodding]. That's where they kept 'em.

JF: Ok, so it might have been a two story...

CH: Yeah I believe it was more two story than one story. Or the old first one might have been one story and they might have added a story to it...

JF: Right, right.

CH: Because, uh, he said they kept the prisoners upstairs.

JF: Ok. What about the jail, have you ever been told where the jail was located?

CH: Well I kinda think that was jail and uh, everything, upstairs, you know. They probably put them in there, then when they got ready for trial they brought 'em down and tried 'em, you know.

JF: Ok. So you're not sure if there was a separate jail building?

CH: No I'm not sure, he just said that they kept the prisoners up there, so I don't know if you can classify a man before trial. He's a prisoner.

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: Yeah, yeah [laughing]. Um, I think that pretty much covers the questions I had about the buildings out here, but can you tell me more about the people who were, uh, living out here? Back when this was a town?

CH: Well I just, I just knew the old-timers you know? Mizell, I knew him, and [unintelligible] him being a cattle man and whatnot, and they were just, [shakes head and smiles] southern Cracker people you know. Lives off the land, and uh, probably didn't really want for a whole lot. Good, good kind of folks. Um, and I told you that daddy always said that when they had court day they would take the horses across the road and tie 'em to the trees [indicates in the direction of the intersection of the two streets where the parsonage is located], you know, the studs, and they would chew on those trees [makes chewing gestures with his hands], and there used to be four or five of them [meaning the markings left on the trees by the tied-up studs]. I think I found one of them the other day but I'm not certain, I'm not certain. You know the tree's grown up and the cat-face, he called it, it's gone up so you know...[indicate up with his hands]. There were all blackjack [?] trees so, so the life on them is not like these live oaks, those kind of trees, they're about gone through there. Cycle.

JF: What about, were you ever told about anyone who owned any businesses out here?

CH: He, he told me that I think there was a grocery store and three bars [laughs], and you know I think that the bars had the uh, the greatest number. You know, but uh. And then he said that one time, I think there was like 900 people that lived out here.

JF: Really?

CH: [Nods] There were, you know the call this Old Pine Level [gestures out towards the site] and New Pine Level was up north [indicates north with his hand], and there were several houses in New Pine Level. And as he [his father] put land together, you would see where, um, somebody had lived there. The house was gone, but the bricks were still there.

JF: Right, right.

CH: And then we bought a place over there, or he did, and put stuff together [unintelligible] as the McCleod place. Uh, I remember that house, it was a two story house.

JF: Mm hmm.

CH: And uh, that's where, that's where, I don't know if I mentioned that night. But that's where the uh, the uh, nephew raped his aunt.

JF: Mm hmm, is that that story you were telling me...

Appendix B (Continued)

CH: Uh huh, yeah, he got hung...

JF: That was that house?

CH: [Nodding, adds nothing else]

JF: So those 900 people who were living out here, would you say there were living real close by the town or were they just kind of out in the area?

CH: They were... well you know, the government would give you 160 acres if you would build a house on it.

JF: Mm, right.

CH: And I don't know if it was, uh, predominately that way, or where if somebody just came by and tended 30 acres, or 40 acres. Uh, I know, I know my wife's family that when they moved over, uh, and they just live about a mile from here [indicates over his shoulder to the east], you know they moved on 80 acres, and that maintained them, they farmed, raised hogs, had a garden, stuff like that. So..

JF: It's more dispersed, we're not talking about, like a tight town...

CH: [Shaking his head] No. And you know, they had the no fence law, and everybody's cattle sort of roamed together, and you know, and when they had, this what my dad would say, when the had penning times, uh, the, like the Mizells or the Hagans, they'd all be in the cattle crew because their cattle, or the cattle, would end up in the pen and everybody would make sure they got their cows. [Laughing] And that's kinda the way they did it. You know, when they had uh, when they made syrup, what they called the cane grinding, that was kinda, uh, like looking for hunting season to open or something. Everybody came to syrup-making time and they all helped feed the meal, kids was used, helped cook, helped to eat the candy off of that boiling... They just had a big time. And drink that ferment, old juice, old skimmed-off juice that was fermented, that was their cheap beer, I think [smiling and laughing]

JF: [Laughing] Might as well use it. Uh, let me, let me pull you back to, you mentioned three stores and uh, three bars and a grocery store?

CH: Yeah.

JF: Do you know where those would have been?

CH: I'm saying there were right, from Mizell's down [pointing west towards the intersection and down Tom Mizell Road], between Mizell's and the two story house. That would be my, listening to him talk, that would be in that...

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: [Pulling out 2006 aerial of the site again] Here's NW Pine Level and here's Tom Mizell Road... what would you say?

CH: I would say, I'm saying from Mizell Road this mile coming down? I would say either, either or, on both sides of that road, was houses going down.

JF: [Repeating] Was houses going down...

CH: Yeah, and uh, the way he talked, most of your stores were close to the courthouse.

JF: Oh, ok. Actually that...

CH: They didn't have far to walk.

JF: That matches up with a lot of the stuff I was looking at in deed information.

CH: Yeah.

JF: I was finding out that while this was the town [indicating the original 40 acres], this is what was platted for the town, people were buying and selling a lot of land up around this area [indicating land to the south of the 40 platted acres].

CH: [Nodding] Mm hmm. Right.

JF: And it looked like there were little tiny, like half-acre plots that people were buying, and I thought, well, what were they buying those for unless they were putting stores up, you know?

CH: Stores, and homes, though, maybe they didn't need much to uh...

JF: Right, right.

CH: Had another job somewhere, or whatnot, so and uh, um, they had their own living, somewhere else.

JF: I'm trying to think if there's anything else I wanna cover...

CH: They tell me this is, this is one of their stories. They tell me that when they surveyed this country, the reason the land lines were so crooked, and they're terrible, they're off. That when the government sent the uh, surveyor in here, he, he came in here on a mule, or donkey [smiling]. And the creek [points over his shoulder towards Horse Creek] was out of its banks, you know [indicates over flowing water with his hands], and said that he knew just how far that mule would step [imitates stepping with his hands] so he counted so many steps as his surveying lines, you know...

Appendix B (Continued)
[Laughing off camera]

CH: And so, uh, in this part, from here [points towards intersection] going to the creek [lifts hand to indicate back towards Horse Creek], oh it's all off.

JF: It's all off right!

CH: Two or 300 hundreds yards off! And it's cause the way that mule stepped!

JF: That is, that answers a question for me because I went and I was doing all this research, and it seemed pretty clear to me of where the survey lines should have been, but then when the download the information online of where they actually are, it was off 200 yards.

CH: Two hundred yards... terrible, it was awful, that counting.

JF: Ok [laughing].

CH: That mule was walking in water. [Laughing] So his steps must have been longer or shorter, or some way.

JF: ...was thinking am I wrong? Why is this so off? [Laughing]. So I'm glad to know it wasn't me, might have been the mule.

CH: Yeah that was mule, donkey or mule, [laughing] you know? That's just hand-me-down you know... I ask daddy, how in the world can somebody make this kind of mistake, you know? And he said, well he said they had mule, they couldn't stretch out a cable, or measuring tape, in the water, so they just counted steps of that mule.

JF: Ok, well that makes perfect sense to me...

CH: [Laughing]

JF: I was wondering why that was so off, it didn't seem to match up very well.

CH: Yeah.

JF: Um, more about the people who were living around here... Most of the people who moved down into Pine Level, originally, were they from other parts of Florida? Were they from, like, other parts of the country? Who was coming into this area?

CH: Well I uh, I don't know. Now a lot of them were fourth and fifth generation people, you know, or third and fourth, we were. I guess we're fifth generation. And uh, my dad's folks came out of Georgia, I think. Uh, when they came across, when they came across the water I think they settled in Georgia, and from Georgia they settled into

Appendix B (Continued)

Lakeland, and from Lakeland on into DeSoto County. And, uh, I think it was a lot of Southern states people drifted on down.

JF: Not a lot of Northerners?

CH: No. No, I don't, I don't per say know, but I don't think it was a lot of Northerners. You look at the names and there's Smiths, Johnsons, and common names, you know. And so I think they were Southern people.

JF: The reason I'm asking is that one of the stories that's told about why Pine Level became the county seat to begin with, why it got moved from the town of Manatee, was that they were trying to get the center of the government away from former Confederates in the town of Manatee.

CH: [Nods head] Mm hmm, mm hmm.

JF: And so I wondered, who, who was moving out here, if they were moving it to get it away from Confederates, the people who were moving out here, were they running the county through people who were former Unionists, so were there Unionists out here? Or were, were there mostly still Confederates out here?

CH: He said that, I guess when the Klu Klux Klan was, uh, doing their thing...

JF: Yeah...

CH: And at the time that they were doing it, they weren't all that bad, you know? And not only did you have the Klu Klux Klan but you also had the, um, they called them um...[Thinking] Another group, and I forget what they were called. I guess the Vigilantes, Vigilantes group...

JF: Mm hmm.

CH: And uh, they were more, of those two organizations, they were more of your law, at the time. Say it was your sheriff, they had more to say and to do, and they did it. And they were respected. And he gives some instances of the Klu Klux Klan like a, uh, like a man who was abusing his family, they'd give him a warning, or maybe two, and then they'd take it in their own hands. And correct it. And most of the times when they'd correct it, they'd straighten the situation out.

JF: What time period would you say that was happening in?

CH: I'd say the whole county...

JF: But what time around do you think...is this before 1900 or...

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CH: Yeah, I'm saying 1875 to the 1900s, the teens, something like that. I think the Klu Klux Klan slowly went on out. He said they finally got rid of them, you know, um, they were doing things then that were profiting by instead of correcting but... But the Vigilantes he said they were, uh, they were mostly like your local, like the Mizells, they'd be part, maybe, part of it, some kind of way. They'd give them some kind of law, they had to have some kind of law, and most of the time the uh, the sheriff, he had a limited role. He had limited help too.

JF: Yeah.

CH: Until that part of the law enforcement got stronger, these Vigilantes defended, helped. He said if they hadn't been, there'd have been a world... there'd have been killings everywhere.

JF: Right. So it's your feeling that the people who were living out here originally were mostly other Southerners.

CH: Mm hmm. They were Southern from the South, maybe after the Civil War, maybe some of them drifted from the states up there to Florida, because I don't think Florida was wrecked, like there were up there. Whole towns were destroyed there, and they never that kind of battles in this part of the country.

JF: Right, this was an opportune place to...

CH: To get started again.

JF: Ok. Um, were you ever told the reason why Pine Level became the county seat?

CH: No, I never, I never was [shaking head]. I just don't know. They must have thought that maybe it was through, I think the trains coming through, or being built in the teens. Dad said he used to ride, he'd catch a train going [says something hard to hear, indicating over his shoulder to the east], catch as a boy, you know, and the old train beds, still went along the road there, but trains were going south. And uh, they had the river, and they were messing with kinds of phosphate, mining beginning, and the river. I don't know what years, but it was way back there. And I guess for all the activities it looked like the next best thing for growth and building.

JF: What about, were you ever told why Arcadia got the county seat, and it moved from Pine Level? What happened to Pine Level?

CH: I think it was because Arcadia was on the other side of the river, due to the trains and whatnot, Pine Level's population started to go down, and Arcadia started coming up.

JF: Do you know if it was fast, if Pine Level just died out really quickly or...

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CH: I don't think it died out real quick but I think it probably died out over 20 years, like 20 or 30 years.

JF: Were you ever told what all was out here when Pine Level was a bustling town, like what that meant?

CH: I think, daddy would say, it practically, you know, if a man had 40 acres he'd have a little small orange grove on it, five, 10 acres. And probably 10 acres back then was a big grove, you know. And uh, and then would have his own cows, and then he'd have his own hogs, and they would plant crops for the hogs, you know. And that was their, you know, people then had chickens and saved their eggs, sold their eggs, had gardens, and that was their groceries coming out of their garden, and whatnot.

JF: Right. When people would come into town, to Pine Level, to do business, do know like how many, what kind of businesses were here? Like was there a doctor's office....

CH: I think you had, I remember him talking about in Arcadia, now, not so much in...

JF: Right, not in Pine Level.

CH: But the stone breakers [?] they had a department store, and the feed store, I remember him talking about the feed store, and department stores, and there were drug stores. He used to tell us a story that back when he was a boy, about 16, and everybody's heard about Bone Mizell...

JF: Mm hmm.

CH: Him and Gene Way [?], which was a man, well, a boy, that he was going to school with, about 16, they uh [smiling]. His daddy run a drug store, and uh, Bone Mizell would come to town and they'd catch him on Saturday afternoon, and go back in an alley with him, and uh, they would go into the drug store and get a piece of cherry, or grape, mix. And they'd take it out to Bone Mizell, and he'd take it. It couldn't have been rubbing alcohol, it had to have been alcohol you could use, and he'd mix it [indicates mixing using a back and forth motion with his hands], put it in alcohol, and they'd get... He would drink it and smack his lips and tell them how wonderful it was, what good boys they were, and whatnot. And then Bone Mizell would tell them all his stories, you know, and you could read about old Bone Mizell's stories. So daddy said he heard all those stories before they ever got written. Think it shows what a man he was, or what kind of person he was, you know. But that was the drug store he used to talk about in Arcadia, and he was about 16, so that would have been 1916.

JF: So by then, Pine Level wasn't that place people were going to...

CH: [Shaking his head] No, they weren't, they were going to Arcadia.

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JF: Ok.

CH: [Says something softly about it being 20 years] And probably a lot of people moved from here [indicating Pine Level] over to Arcadia then.

JF: Yeah, I wondered about that, you know, it didn't seem to me like people were moving out fast, it seemed to me that people were moving into the area, maybe they just weren't coming into Pine Level to do their day-to-day stuff, after all that had moved over to Arcadia.

CH: Right, right. And the trains, they went to bypass Pine Level [next part unintelligible because of high winds]... And the homes, they were over there where the [?] area is, there were homes over there [pointing to the west]. And I think up and down the river, there were tracts, it was a pretty big area, you know, to generate population. Nine hundred or plus, there might have been more than 900. I've always heard 900.

JF: Right.

CH: And that was bigger than Arcadia at that time. And then Arcadia started to go up, and Pine Level started to go back down. [Pause] I remember the old two story house, but I also remember other houses [indicates east behind his back] like this grove over here. Murphy's had a place, and there was a bunch of houses right back in here [again pointing south and east], and back in yonder here [pointing due south]. This area [indicates around him] is what we call hard. The elevation here, oh, probably 72 feet or something, and then a mile from here, I'd say it readily falls off 50 to 30, 40 or 48, and then you go another mile north...

JF: Right.

CH: And so you kinda got an area here that we call well-drained. More than well-drained now. But back then, with all the rainy seasons and whatnot, it wasn't too long before it run off... [high wind again, unintelligible]. That's why I would say is one of the reason's why they probably picked this spot, cause of drainage, or it could be anything else. Then you had the creeks for fish, and had all the oak trees for acorns [?] and feeding the game, so um, that all helps.

JF: Yep.

CH: So, make it one day to the next. [Smiling] That's probably what they'd go for back then, one day to the next.

JF: Right.

CH: Churches. I knew the the Baptist Church was over there [pointing north] and this church here [indicating the Pine Level United Methodist Church], and I don't think there

Appendix B (Continued)

were any other churches. Then once a month, only had it once a month, every third Sunday. Then it got to be every to be twice a month, then they finally put it on to have it every Sunday. So, and that was over time, as the population gained, or as the people were willing to drive that far to church. Whatever it might have been.

JF: Well I think you answered all my questions.

CH: Did I?

JF: Yeah, you did! You were quite thorough.

CH: Well, ok.

JF: Thank you so much, I really appreciate it, and I think you really answered a lot of things that had been puzzling me for awhile, like those buildings that were over there [meaning on the west side of the grove in the 1943 aerial], why the surveying was so off form where I thought it should have been.

CH: That's what I heard. And it could have been, back then, you know, I guess a man get a contract, to survey, and the government probably wouldn't give him too much. And he figured that he wasn't gonna get it done unless the mule stepped it off for him [throws up his hands], take that till they complained. There's been a lot of complaints, and lot of lawsuits, threatenings and everything over that survey...

JF: So yeah, when you get that land off, it's hard to...

CH: It was awful. Lot of scraps over that, about it. I think that some judge finally made the ruling that you're going to have to live with the old original survey, give or take. There's going to have to be a meeting of the minds.

JF: Right.

CH: And that's the way that everybody settled.

Jeff Moates, from off camera: Well it's funny that you mention that because there's a story in Tallahassee when they were establishing the zero zero mark, the mark that everything starts from...

CH: Yeah.

JM: The two surveyors had a cart with the stone monument on the cart, and they had a donkey pulling it, and they were trying to get up Capital Hill to get it right on the Capitol, on the steps leading right up to the door, and they couldn't get the monument, because it was so heavy, up the hill, so it fell off the wagon. So wherever it fell...

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CH: That was it!

JM: They just decided that that was it!

CH: I imagine there were a lot of things back then that were handled that way. Wasn't meant to be, but it got to be.

JF: Right. Well, thank you

CH: You're welcome.

JF: That was great, thank you so much [shakes hands with CH].

Interview with John Reynolds

Note: This interview took place on October 3, 2009, also on the grass in front of the Pine Level United Methodist Church. The abbreviation "JF" refers to the author, and "JR" is John Reynolds.

JF: Could you just state for the camera, uh, your name?

JR: John Reynolds, John A. Reynolds, if you want.

JF: Ok. And how long have you lived out here?

JR: I've lived, I've never lived in Pine Level but I've lived in DeSoto County all my life.

JF: Ok. And who gave you information about Pine Level?

JR: I've done a lot of reading, and uh, I've talked to people that have lived here. Mainly reading and research.

JF: Ok. How much have the buildings out here changed since you've been living here?

JR: Well this church has changed a lot. I really haven't paid a whole lot of attention to the other buildings but my dad was preaching here when he died in 1963, and it was just a little wooden church here and the front part [raises hand to indicate the front of the church to the north] of the church here was all here. It was a very small church, all this others been added [waves hands towards the newer church buildings] since then.

JF: Were you ever told the location of other buildings that are no longer here?

JR: No [looking down and thinking].

JF: Like do you know about any other sites around here, building sites?

Appendix B (Continued)

JR: Not other than reading the signs [points to the Pine Level State Historical Marker to the west], and where the courthouse is and what have you.

JF: Mm hmm. Ok. So I showed you that aerial, do you want to take another look at it again and maybe think about what these places were? Here's that aerial again [pulling out figure 5.2], and north is at the top of the piece of paper. Lets turn it that way [adjusting photo], here's where the church building is [indicating church on photo with pen].

JR: Right.

JF: And you said that you know from the historical marker that this way is where the courthouse was [indicating area to the west of the orange grove on the aerial. Um, you're not sure what these buildings are, right here though, unless maybe it was the courthouse? [Pointing again at photo] This would be Northwest Pine Level Street here.

JR: Would this be going be going down that way [points west along NW Pine Level Street]?

JF: Yes sir, that's right.

JR: Ok. Courthouse would be wherever the uh, I guess this is the community center?

JF: Uh huh.

JR: The sign is right there [points to where marker would be located in the aerial], according to the sign the courthouse was about a hundred feet across the road.

JF: Ok. Do you know how long the courthouse was standing for? Do you know when it came down?

JR: No, I don't.

JF: Ok, cause I'm wanting, this is the 1943 and I'm just wondering if there's any possibility that that building is the courthouse.

JR: Uh, which building?

JF: This one right here, or this one right here [pointing out two circled structures in figure 5.2].

JR: I wouldn't really know.

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: Yeah, ok. I was just wondering if anyone knew how long that thing had been standing. Um, so you were also talking to me about the jail. Which is this picture right here [pulls out figure 4.3].

JR: Right.

JF: And you said that had been moved?

JR: Uh, I read a story somewhere to the effect that it had been moved. If you want me to do a little more research on that I think I can find out the details on that.

JF: Right. Um, my research led me to believe that there had been two different jails built, and that this might have been the first one, but that the second one was shaped more like a regular house, and then I wondered whether both had been moved, one had been moved, one had been torn down?

JR: I wouldn't know.

JF: Yeah. Um, I wonder about that too, because this was a drawing done at the time of what that jail looked like, and I had thought that by the time the Vigilante trail happened, another jail had been built, but I haven't been able to really untangle all the threads of that story.

JR: Right, right. I don't know. I'm sure you've read Canter Brown's book.

JF: Right. What about the people, what can you tell me about the people who lived out in Pine Level? Do you know anything about the different folks who were out here? And what they were doing out here?

JR: Well I knew the Mizells, I knew Tom, and I knew James Mizell, James Mizell was my teacher.

JF: He was your what?

JR: My teacher. And I knew Millard Mizell, his brother. They were sons of the people who owned the beautiful house on the phosphate land now [pointing to the west]. And they haven't been gone very long. James hasn't been gone long at all, shame you haven't been able to interview him.

JF: Yeah.

JR: Cause he hasn't been dead too many years. His wife may know, I think they have a sister that may still be living. You might want to try and check on that. Uh, she would know a lot about the area.

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: Ok.

JR: If she's still alive.

JF: Um, that house that you're referring to, is that the one at the top of this page right here [indicating the Hagan House (8DE15) on a piece of paper]? Is that the house?

JR: No.

JF: Different house?

JR: No, it's the house over here on 72 [indicating south with his hand], over to the left. Call it the Mizell house. It's a big two stories, beautiful house, been restored...

JF: And that's an original?

JR: ...By the phosphate company. Yeah.

JF: What about, what do you know about that house [indicating a one-story house on the paper]?

JR: Called the Jenkins house.

JF: Jenkins, ok.

JR: And uh, I got a little booklet, put together by a uh, Dolores Jones. Her class has a picture of the Jenkins House. I think she has a little bit of information about the Jenkins House in that. I think there were several people that lived in that house over the years, but uh, when we were taking kids on tours out here for the outdoor classroom we talked about it being the Jenkins House. And this house was right across the road from that house [contrasting the two houses on the paper].

JF: Oh really? Ok.

JR: And uh, it was a house commonly called a shotgun house. But architecture at that time, Cracker house, it was built so the doors open, all the rooms open and air would circulate through the hall. And they called it a shotgun house because you could shoot a shotgun all the way through the house without hitting anything.

JF: Right. And that was just called a shotgun house?

JR: That's what we called it.

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: Ok. Thank you. So I sort of side-tracked you cause you were telling me more about the people who were living out here. You told me about the Mizells. Do you have any other folks you know that were living out here?

JR: Uh, I know my dad was a preacher here and uh, I knew some of the parishioners out here. I'll tell you who you need to really talk to and that's Nell Gamage, she could give you a lot of history for you, for your area, and uh, she was uh, a person that spent a lot of time out, her family was in the cattle business and she knows where all the cow camps were, where the old railroads were, she knows where a railroad is not far from here [indicates west with his hand] that had wooden rails, and uh, so she could tell you a terrific amount about the area. And so you need to talk to her, you need to talk to her soon.

JF: Nell Gamich?

JR: Nell Gamage, G-A-M-A-G-E. And uh, another person that has relatives that lived in this area is Miss Beavis.

JF: Mmm. Yeah I spoke to her she was very nice.

JR: Sue Beavis. Uh, Russel King I think he's done a lot of research, and he's her half-brother, and you need to talk to him. Cause he can probably give you a lot more information that I can. I know when Pine Level became the county seat and things like that, you know, but I know you know that already [smiling].

JF: [Laughing] Well, there is plenty that I did not know that you have just told me. Do you um, have any idea of what happened to Pine Level after it lost the county seat status?

JR: Well Pine Level, probably... The railroad attracted people to move toward Arcadia after it became the county seat, and that's one reason they moved it to Arcadia. They had a vote, you know, to decide which, which town would become the county seat. I think Arcadia they claim one it by one vote, not real sure if that was true or not. But anyway, I think it was a gradual move to a more populous area because of the railroad. Same thing happened to Fort Ogden. Fort Ogden moved, gradually, when Arcadia became the county seat it kind of dwindled out to, to, it's growing again now but it's been down for a long time.

JF: So it was more gradual. I had wondered about that. From looking at the census records it doesn't look like people were just moving away from here. It looked like people were still moving into the area, so maybe they just weren't around Pine Level itself.

JR: Right. You know why Pine Level was moved from Manatee County I guess...I mean why the county seat moved.

JF: I've heard a couple of reasons. What's the one that you've got?

Appendix B (Continued)

JR: [Laughing] Well, it was such a huge county [raises arms wide to indicate immensity], Manatee County extended from Bradenton to uh, Lake Okeechobee and uh, if you had somebody who got arrested over on the lake it was kinda hard for the sheriff to get over there right away, you know? And uh, people didn't like, well, and then when they moved it out here they didn't like to have to go, come from Bradenton all the way over here.

JF: Yeah.

JR: Those were cow days, horse and buggy days, you know. So, uh, but Arcadia, when it became the county seat the railroad went over there, you know. That caused people to want to gravitate over that way. And I don't think it was an instantaneous thing. Uh, have you ever read the book about Bone Mizell?

JF: Yeah, I have...

JR: Bob Tinsley's book?

JF: Yeah, I've read parts of it, I don't think I've read the whole thing.

JR: Bone Mizell, in that book, according to Jim Bob Tinsley, he had a store here [meaning Pine Level] at one time. And that's kind of interesting to me. But, we used to take kids on tours here, take 'em to the Campground Cemetery, we started... They'd have camp meetings there uh, people would come from miles around, bring their family and friends. That's where a lot of people met their husbands-to-be and wives-to-be and so that was started, presumably, according to the sign [indicating towards the Pine Level State Historical Marker to the west], which was put up by the late Peace River Valley Historical Society. But anyway, there's a lot of interesting people buried out there.

JF: Yeah.

JR: And of course the Kenyon [?] Mounds Cemetery [indicating east over his shoulder with his hand] is not only an Indian mounds, it's right next to it. But uh, it was started a lot later. [Pause] Anything else?

JF: No, I [laughing], I think, I think you've covered it. I got through the different points that I wanted to get to...

JR: Right, well, contact some of the people that I've mentioned and I'll think, I'll try to think of more that would be more helpful than I am.

JF: That would be great.

JR: But anyway, thanks for interviewing me.

Appendix B (Continued)

JF: Thank you so much, I appreciate it, and I appreciate you coming out today [shaking hands].

JR: Just for the history, cause a lot of people don't know this. My dad's name was Sam Reynolds, he was a lay preacher, and he was also a teacher. He taught many different places in DeSoto County. He taught [raises arm to the north] at the school here.

JF: Yeah.

JR: Pine Level school. Before I was born.

JF: In this school, before it became a church?

JR: No, on the road down here [points back towards Florida Avenue]. It's still standing, it's a brick building. Right near the Baptist church.

JF: Ok.

JR: And uh, he taught school there, also taught school at Brownville where we're trying to get a museum started.

JF: Uh huh.

JR: That was the last school he taught at and he was principal too. And we moved from there when I was about six years old. [Laughs] That's a long time ago. Anyway, thanks for interviewing me and you have a great day.

JF: I appreciate you taking the time, it was great, thank you.

JR: You're welcome.

Appendix C
Deed Records

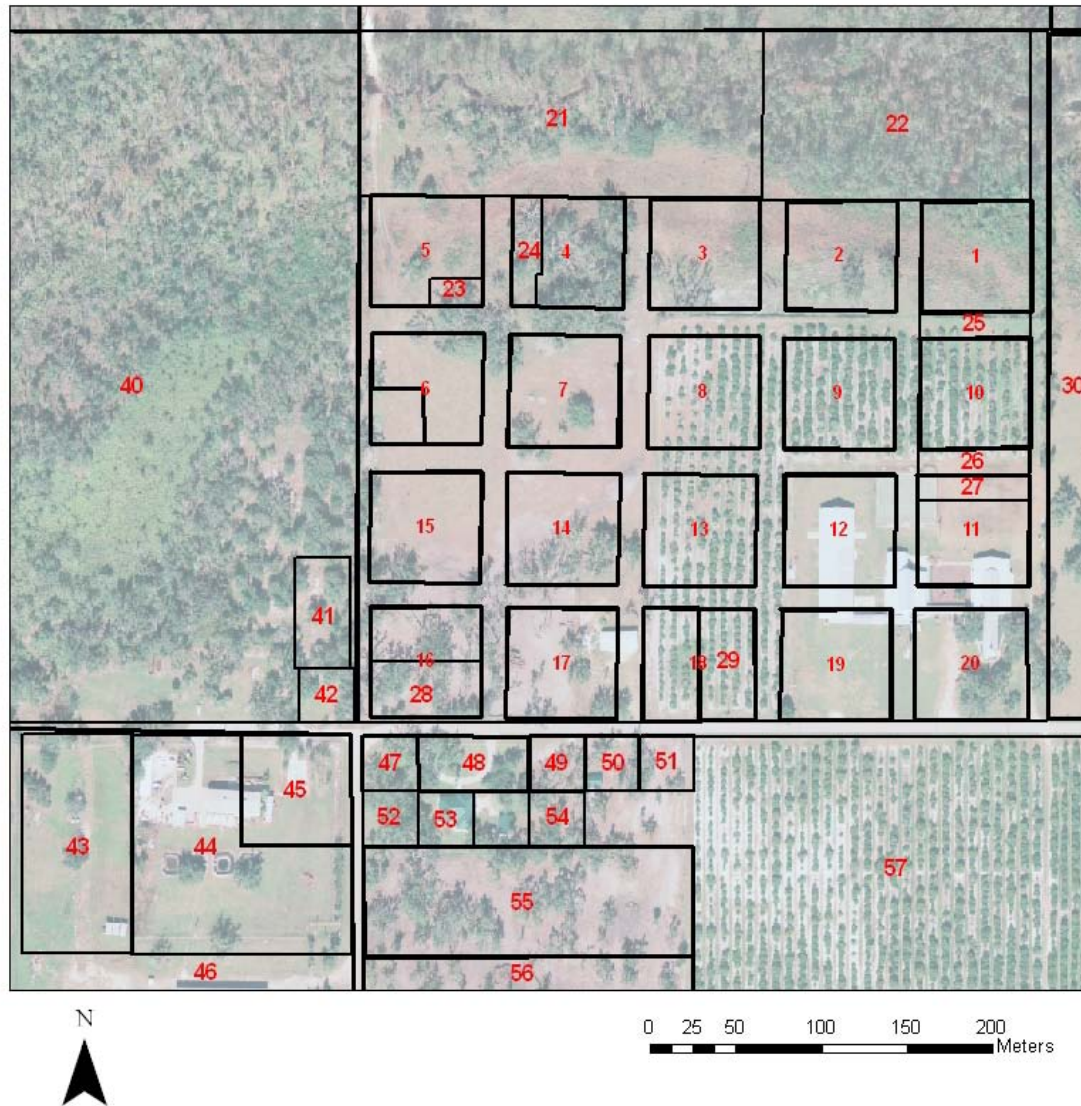


Figure A.3. Map showing land purchases at Pine Level, numbered to correspond with deed records. *Murdock NE DOQQ 2004* from FDEP.

Appendix C (Continued)

Note: The abbreviation “n.o.m.” means that the property in question is not on the map, because it is located somewhere outside of the area presented in figure A.3. The list below is presented in chronological order. Also, the lots numbered 8, 13, and 20 in figure A.3 do not appear on the below list because they were retained by Manatee (and later DeSoto) County.

Table A.1: Deed information for historic landowners at the Pine Level site.

Map #	Buyer	Seller	Year	M/D	Acreage	Price (\$)
57	James D. Green	State of Florida	1872	5/7	160	200
n.o.m.	E.O. Morgan	James D. Green	1873	5/22	1	5
30	John Bartholf	State of Florida	1873	12/14	40	?
40	J.B. Mizell	State of Florida	1876	11/9	40	?
n.o.m.	William P. Sims	James D. Green	1877	6/8	6	30
n.o.m.	William P. Sims	James D. Green	1877	11/24	2(?)	10
56	R.S. Griffith	James D. Green	1877	12/8	7 1/6 acre	36
1, 2, 10, 11	John Bartholf	Co. Clerk (R.S. Griffith)	1878	4/18	4	42?
19	Ednia Hayman	Co. Clerk (RSG)	1878	4/18	1	16
6	Henry Seward	Co. Clerk (RSG)	1878	4/18	3/4 acre	10.25
7, 14, 16	H.L. Mitchell	Co. Clerk (RSG)	1878	4/18	3	38
17	Joseph Wall	Co. Clerk (RSG)	1878	4/18	1	17.5
9, 12	E.J. Hull	Co. Clerk (RSG)	1878	4/18	2	24
55	Margaret McDonald	James D. Green	1878	5/21	3	20
n.o.m.	Joseph Bradwell	James D. Green	1878	12/2	6	30
15	Henry Seward	Co. Comm.	1879	11/4	1	?
48	John T. Sloan	James D. Green	1881	7/22	1/2 acre	1
18	Julia Curry	Co. Comm.	1881	8/2	1/2 acre	12
29	John Haygood	Co. Comm.	1881	8/2	1/2 acre	12
49	Henry Roan and J.W. Davis	James D. Green	1881	8/13	1/4 acre	10
n.o.m.	Addison Arnold	James D. Green	1881	10/19	10	50
46, n.o.m.	William Alderman	E.O. Morgan	1881	11/24	81	2,000
n.o.m.	Melvina Sloan	R.S. Griffith	1882	4/1	5	50
52, 54	John T. Sloan	James D. Green	1882	4/8	(2) 1/4 acres	10
48	Carlton & Co. (W. Alderman and W. Carlton)	John T. Sloan	1882	5/11	1/2 acre	25

Appendix C (Continued)

47	Melvina Sloan	James D. Green	1882	7/24	1/4 acre	10
3, 4, 5, 21	R.S. Griffith	Co. Comm.	1882	10/18	~6.5	15
28	John T. Sloan	H.L. Mitchell	1882	11/20	0.5	30
n.o.m.	Joshua Mizell	James D. Green	1883	3/23	40	80
n.o.m.	James Hancock	Melvina Sloan	1883	4/21	5	500
17	Shadrick Hancock	Joseph B. Wall	1883	6/7	1	40
1	O.T. Stanford	John Bartholf	1883	6/13	3	300
9, 12	S.L. Hancock	Ezekiel Hull	1883	8/18	2	50
					(1) 1/2 acre, (2) 1/4 acres	
28, 52, 54	Carlton & Co.	John T. Sloan	1883	8/27		30
26	O.T. Stanford	Co. Comm.	1883	10/3	~1/3 acre	2
47	Carlton & Co.	Hiram Ballard	1883	11/20	1/4 acre	260
25	O.T. Stanford	Co. Comm.	1883	12/4	~1/3 acre	5
1, 2, 10, 25, 26	James Bourdland	O.T. Stanford	1883	12/5	3	350
14	James Bourdland	H.L. Mitchell	1883	12/18	1	50
15	John Griffith	Henry S. Seward	1884	2/13	1	100
n.o.m.	James Bourdland	Silas Langford	1884	2/20	20	300
42	Humphrey Keen	Henry S. Seward	1884	2/27	0.25	12.5
22	James Bourdland	Co. Comm.	1884	4/6	~3	5
n.o.m.	William Alderman	Silas Langford	1884	4/19	5	200
7	Mary A.E. Haygood	H.L. Mitchell	1884	5/1	1	25
45	James and Thomas Bourdland	Hiram Ballard	1884	5/4	1	250
44	James Bourdland	William Alderman	1884	5/12	3	200
27	James Bourdland	O.T. Stanford	1884	6/24	1/4 acre	20
4	Elizabeth Bolton	R.S. Griffith	1884	8/20	1	142.76
n.o.m.	William Alderman	Hamilton Disston	1884	11/5	80	400
41	James M. Bates	Henry S. Seward	1884	11/11	1/2 acre	25
n.o.m.	Stephen Sauls	James Hancock	1884	11/19	5	125
n.o.m.	James Hancock	Angelina Rogers	1884	12/26	1	250
n.o.m.	Marth H. Bishop	Joseph Mizell	1885	1/8	11.25	150
9	John M. Tucker	Shadrick Hancock	1885	1/21	1	100
43	Thomas Bourdland	William Alderman	1885	1/26	2	100
24	Olin S. Wright	Elizabeth Bolton	1885	4/7	0.25	4
50	Hattie M. Roan	James D. Green	1885	5/21	1/4 acre	30
51	Thomas Albritton	James D. Green	1885	6/23	1/4 acre	37

Appendix C (Continued)

45, n.o.m.	James Bourdland	Thomas Bourdland	1885	11/23	41	237.5
n.o.m.	William Alderman	State of Florida	1886	1/25	80	.9 per acre
53	Hattie M. Roan	James D. Green	1886	2/1	1/4 acre	40
23	Olin S. Wright	R.S. Griffith	1886	5/29	50/441 acre	20
n.o.m.	Millard F. Mizell	R.S. Griffith	1886	10/3	6	150
n.o.m.	Andrew Green	Eliza Green	1887	6/27	40	1

Appendix D:
Artifact Counts and Weights

Artifacts Recovered from the Surface

Note for this appendix: Various abbreviations are used here. “Tran. #” is the transect number, if the provenience was located in the orange grove. A baseline was located on the northern side of the orange grove, and the location of surface artifact proveniences, shovel tests, and units were measured south from this baseline. “Meterage” indicates the location of the provenience south of this baseline, in meters. “FS #” is the individual field specimen number that was assigned to each unique provenience. “N” stands for the artifact count, and “W (g)” indicates the weight of the artifact(s) in grams. The “architectural” artifact category was used for brick, mortar, and slate roofing tiles.

Table A.2. Artifact counts and weights, by artifact type, for the Pine Level surface collection.

Area	Tran. #	Meterage	FS #	Total N	Hist. Ceramic		Glass		Metal		Architectural		Lithic	
					N	W (g)	N	W (g)	N	W (g)	N	W (g)	N	W (g)
A	1	50-60	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	1	60-70	2	3	0	0	3	17.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	2	40-50	3	2	2	9.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	2	50-60	4	2	2	7.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	2	60-70	5	4	2	13.2	2	4.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	3	40-50	6	1	0	0	1	4.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	3	50-60	7	6	2	5	4	22.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	3	60-70	8	8	7	40.8	1	1.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	3	70-80	9	4	1	3.5	3	13.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	4	30-40	10	2	1	3.3	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	4	50-60	11	5	0	0	5	15.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	4	60-70	12	64	37	205.5	21	42	2	4.2	4	6.4	0	0
A	4	70-80	13	12	8	32.7	4	11.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	5	40-50	14	3	1	1.7	2	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	5	50-60	15	9	4	23.8	5	7.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	5	60-70	16	15	7	43.4	6	25.8	1	2.6	1	2.9	0	0
A	5	70-80	17	3	0	0	2	6.8	1	0.3	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

A	6	40-50	18	3	1	1.4	2	3.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	6	50-60	19	6	2	9.6	4	14.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	6	60-70	20	12	7	44.4	5	19.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	6	70-80	21	13	3	11.9	9	12.7	0	0	0	0	1	3.1
A	7	40-50	22	3	3	21.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	7	50-60	23	4	2	3.7	2	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	7	60-70	24	1	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	7	70-80	25	4	3	20.9	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	8	40-50	26	2	2	9.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	8	50-60	27	7	4	44.8	3	5.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	8	60-70	28	9	4	18.9	5	26.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	8	70-80	29	1	0	0	1	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	9	30-40	30	1	1	2.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	9	40-50	31	2	2	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	9	60-70	32	1	1	13.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	10	40-50	33	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	10	50-60	34	1	1	11.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	10	60-70	35	5	3	6.9	2	5.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	11	40-50	36	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	11	70-80	37	1	1	15.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	12	50-60	38	5	2	18.9	3	7.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	13	10-20	39	1	1	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	13	60-70	40	1	0	0	1	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	14	40-50	41	1	0	0	1	4.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	15	40-50	42	1	1	20.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	17	60-70	43	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	>200	0	0
B	18	0-10	44	1	1	13.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	18	10-20	45	2	1	3.8	1	1.08	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	18	40-50	46	2	2	7.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

B	19	10-20	47	2	1	2.2	1	17.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	19	20-30	48	1	1	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	19	30-40	49	1	1	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	19	40-50	50	1	0	0	1	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	19	60-70	51	1	0	0	1	1.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	0-10	52	2	1	6	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	10-20	53	5	1	7.9	4	5.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	20-30	54	8	4	31.5	4	11.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	30-40	55	4	1	2.5	3	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	40-50	56	5	2	14.1	3	19	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	50-60	57	5	0	0	1	0.7	0	0	4	112.1	0	0
B	20	60-70	58	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	>200	0	0
B	20	70-80	59	1	1	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	90-100	60	3	0	0	3	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	100-110	61	3	0	0	3	17.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	20	110-120	62	1	1	3.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	20	140-150	63	5	0	0	3	10.3	0	0	2	38.4	0	0
C	20	190-200	64	2	1	1.3	1	3.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	20	200-210	65	1	0	0	1	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	20	210-220	66	3	0	0	3	11.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	0-10	67	9	5	52.3	4	37.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	10-20	68	22	5	54.4	17	107	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	20-30	69	21	11	80.8	10	78.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	30-40	70	7	2	34.1	5	12.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	40-50	71	3	2	19	1	9.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	50-60	72	3	1	4.1	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	1	10.8
B	21	60-70	73	1	0	0	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	70-80	74	4	1	2	3	6.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	80-90	75	1	1	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

B	21	90-100	76	3	2	1.3	1	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	100-110	77	3	0	0	3	12.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	21	110-120	78	6	0	0	6	39.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	21	120-130	79	4	0	0	4	4.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	21	150-160	80	1	0	0	1	9.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	21	170-180	81	2	0	0	2	3.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	21	190-200	82	2	1	21.2	1	5.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	21	200-210	83	2	0	0	2	1.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	21	210-220	84	1	1	2.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	0-10	85	4	4	30.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	10-20	86	21	9	94.4	11	53.7	0	0	1	5.7	0	0
B	22	20-30	87	12	6	25	6	26.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	30-40	88	27	6	17.5	19	58.4	1	1	1	0.5	0	0
B	22	40-50	89	4	2	13	2	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	50-60	90	8	3	11.8	5	14.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	60-70	91	11	3	38	8	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	70-80	92	7	2	33	5	4.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	80-90	93	2	2	2.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	90-100	94	1	1	3.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	100-110	95	3	1	14	2	27.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	22	110-120	96	7	6	33.8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	22	120-130	97	4	0	0	4	14.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	22	130-140	98	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	22	180-190	99	2	0	0	2	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	22	190-200	100	1	0	0	1	4.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	22	200-210	101	1	0	0	1	3.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	23	0-10	102	5	2	7.4	3	6.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	23	10-20	103	24	7	69.6	16	50.7	0	0	1	2.4	0	0
B	23	20-30	104	44	15	65.4	28	66.4	0	0	1	4.4	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

B	23	30-40	105	16	2	3.8	14	55.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	23	40-50	106	7	3	22.8	3	2.7	0	0	1	1.5	0	0
B	23	50-60	107	1	0	0	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	23	60-70	108	6	0	0	6	7.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	23	70-80	109	2	0	0	2	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	23	80-90	110	1	1	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	23	100-110	111	1	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	0	0
B	23	110-120	112	1	0	0	1	1.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	23	130-140	113	4	0	0	4	5.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	23	140-150	114	1	0	0	1	31.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	23	160-170	115	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	23	170-180	116	1	0	0	1	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	23	180-190	117	2	0	0	2	2.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	23	200-210	118	1	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	23	210-220	119	1	0	0	1	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	24	0-10	120	3	1	6.6	2	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	24	10-20	121	14	5	19.4	9	26.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	24	20-30	122	23	7	28.1	15	82.5	1	2.4	0	0	0	0
B	24	30-40	123	46	11	92.9	35	141.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	24	40-50	124	4	3	24.9	1	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	24	50-60	125	4	2	6.6	2	21.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	24	60-70	126	11	0	0	10	20.9	0	0	1	1.6	0	0
B	24	70-80	127	3	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	24	80-90	128	2	0	0	1	5.4	1	123.3	0	0	0	0
B	24	90-100	129	5	1	6	4	35.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	24	100-110	130	15	0	0	15	51.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	24	140-150	131	1	0	0	1	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	24	150-160	132	2	0	0	2	29.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	24	160-170	133	7	0	0	7	90.2	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

C	24	170-180	134	1	0	0	1	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	24	180-190	135	2	0	0	2	14.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	0-10	136	5	4	56.6	1	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	10-20	137	2	1	1.1	1	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	20-30	138	7	6	29.4	1	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	30-40	139	15	3	3.9	12	17.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	40-50	140	5	0	0	5	14.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	50-60	141	6	2	7.4	3	12.7	0	0	1	0.3	0	0
B	25	60-70	142	6	0	0	6	67.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	70-80	143	2	1	12	1	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	80-90	144	3	0	0	3	6.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	25	90-100	145	2	0	0	2	2.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	25	140-150	146	8	1	1.5	6	37	0	0	3	3	0	0
C	25	150-160	147	1	0	0	1	6.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	25	160-170	148	5	0	0	5	12.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	25	170-180	149	4	2	6.5	2	39.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	25	200-210	150	2	0	0	2	21.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	25	210-220	151	1	0	0	1	6.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	0-10	152	2	1	3.4	1	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	10-20	153	4	2	1.5	2	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	20-30	154	4	0	0	4	22.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	30-40	155	15	2	14.1	13	63.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	40-50	156	4	1	3	3	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	70-80	157	2	1	6.5	1	5.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	90-100	158	1	0	0	1	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	100-110	159	2	0	0	2	20.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	26	110-120	160	6	0	0	6	75.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	26	130-140	161	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	26	140-150	162	1	1	18.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

C	26	150-160	163	8	2	17.9	6	27.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	26	160-170	164	14	1	2.4	13	32.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	26	170-180	165	1	0	0	0	0	1	>200	0	0	0	0
C	26	180-190	166	3	0	0	2	22	0	0	1	25.6	0	0
C	26	190-200	167	5	0	0	3	40.2	2	18	0	0	0	0
C	26	200-210	168	1	0	0	1	4.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	26	210-220	169	2	0	0	1	13.2	0	0	1	8.1	0	0
B	27	10-20	170	1	0	0	1	19.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	27	20-30	171	2	0	0	2	6.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	27	30-40	172	3	1	7	1	5.6	0	0	1	>200	0	0
B	27	40-50	173	1	1	7.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	27	50-60	174	6	1	18.9	4	32.5	0	0	0	0	1	2.5
B	27	60-70	175	4	2	4.8	2	6.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	27	70-80	176	5	2	11.5	3	10.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	27	80-90	177	1	1	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	27	100-110	178	1	0	0	1	6.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	27	110-120	179	1	0	0	1	3.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	27	120-130	180	2	0	0	1	4.2	0	0	0	0	1	3.4
C	27	130-140	181	1	0	0	1	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	27	150-160	182	4	0	0	4	18.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	27	170-180	183	3	0	0	2	11.8	0	0	1	>200	0	0
C	27	180-190	184	12	0	0	5	36.2	4	>200	3	87.5	0	0
C	27	190-200	185	10	0	0	4	121.6	2	37.8	4	>200	0	0
C	27	200-210	186	2	0	0	1	13.2	0	0	1	1.2	0	0
C	27	210-220	187	5	1	7.5	0	0	0	0	4	17.7	0	0
B	28	0-10	188	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	28	30-40	189	3	0	0	3	4.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	28	40-50	190	3	1	6.4	1	1.1	1	0.6	0	0	0	0
B	28	50-60	191	5	3	8.3	2	8.2	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

B	28	70-80	192	3	0	0	3	3.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	28	80-90	193	2	0	0	1	3.2	0	0	1	0.8	0	0
B	28	100-110	194	1	0	0	1	14.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	28	110-120	195	1	0	0	1	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	28	130-140	196	2	0	0	2	3.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	28	140-150	197	2	0	0	2	20.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	28	150-160	198	11	0	0	10	91.2	0	0	0	0	1	0.4
C	28	160-170	199	10	0	0	10	42.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	28	170-180	200	3	0	0	3	60.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	28	180-190	201	10	1	0.6	8	62.2	0	0	1	37.5	0	0
C	28	190-200	202	3	0	0	1	34.1	0	0	2	7.7	0	0
C	28	210-220	203	11	1	5.6	0	0	0	0	10	53.2	0	0
B	29	0-10	204	1	0	0	1	3.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	29	20-30	205	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	29	30-40	206	1	0	0	1	4.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	29	40-50	207	8	0	0	8	13.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	29	50-60	208	1	0	0	1	10.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	29	70-80	209	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	29	80-90	210	1	1	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	29	90-100	211	2	0	0	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	1	0.8
B	29	100-110	212	3	0	0	2	27.9	0	0	1	0.6	0	0
B	29	110-120	213	1	0	0	1	21	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	29	120-130	214	2	1	0.5	0	0	1	88.7	0	0	0	0
C	29	130-140	215	2	0	0	2	3.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	29	150-160	216	4	4	9.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	29	160-170	217	13	2	7	9	115.6	0	0	2	58.4	0	0
C	29	170-180	218	1	1	41.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	29	180-190	219	1	1	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	29	210-220	220	2	1	7.3	1	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

B	30	0-10	221	2	1	3.1	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	30	20-30	222	1	0	0	1	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	30	30-40	223	1	0	0	1	8.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	30	50-60	224	2	0	0	2	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	30	70-80	225	2	0	0	2	4.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	30	110-120	226	1	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	30	130-140	227	1	0	0	1	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	30	150-160	228	3	0	0	3	14.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	30	160-170	229	10	0	0	10	73	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	30	200-210	230	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	202.6	0	0	0
A	18	70-80	271	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3.9
N/A	N/A	N/A	282	1	1	>200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Artifacts Recovered from Shovel Tests

Note: “Cmbs” is the centimeters below the surface in a shovel test. Artifacts from shovel tests were bagged by arbitrary 10 cm levels.

Table A.3. Artifact counts and weights, by artifact type, for the Pine Level shovel tests.

Area	St. #	Trans. #	Meterage	cmbs	FS #	Total N	Historic Ceramic		Glass		Metal		Architectural		Lithic		Prehistoric Ceramic	
							N	W(g)	N	W(g)	N	W(g)	N	W(g)	N	W(g)	N	W(g)
B	1	22	50	0-10	231	11	0	0	8	6.4	3	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	1	22	50	10-20	232	8	0	0	5	5.8	3	7.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	1	22	50	20-30	233	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	1	22	50	30-40	234	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	1	4	63	0-10	235	14	1	1.5	10	24.2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	1	4	63	10-20	236	12	0	0	4	3.1	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	1	4	63	30-40	237	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2	0	0
B	2	24	35	0-20	238	9	0	0	9	8.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

B	2	24	35	40-50	239	1	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	2	24	35	50-60	240	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.5
B	3	27	35	20-30	241	1	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-1	1	28	165	0-10	242	2	0	0	2	8.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-1	2	29	165	0-10	243	2	0	0	1	1	1	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-1	2	29	165	10-20	244	2	0	0	2	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-2	1	25	165	0-10	245	2	0	0	2	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-2	1	25	165	10-20	246	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-2	1	25	165	50-60	247	1	0	0	1	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-3	1	27	195	0-10	248	24	0	0	1	3.3	23	24.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-3	1	27	195	10-20	249	8	0	0	2	5.8	6	5.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-3	1	27	195	20-30	250	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	2	N/A	N/A	0-10	251	32	0	0	4	1.6	24	129.1	4	>200	0	0	0	0	0
D	2	N/A	N/A	10-20	252	16	0	0	0	0	14	39.2	2	2.2	0	0	0	0	0
D	2	N/A	N/A	20-30	253	1	0	0	0	0	1	5.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	2	N/A	N/A	30-40	254	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E	1	N/A	N/A	20-30	255	10	0	0	10	71.5	2	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E	2	N/A	N/A	0-10	256	1	0	0	1	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Artifacts Recovered from Units

Note: “Cmbd” is the centimeters below the datum in a unit. The datum was located 10 centimeters above the surface in the northwest corner of every unit. The units were excavated by 10 cm arbitrary levels within natural layers, or strata. Artifacts recovered from units were bagged by these natural strata. In the layer column below, “F” indicates a feature.

Table A.4. Artifact counts and weights, by artifact type, for the Pine Level units.

Area	Unit #	Tran. #	Meter-age	Layer	cmbd	FS #	Total N	Historic Ceramic		Glass		Metal		Architectural		Lithic		Prehistoric Ceramic	
								N	W(g)	N	W(g)	N	W(g)	N	W(g)	N	W(g)	N	W(g)
A	1	4	61	1	10-20	257	70	3	9	30	30.8	32	31.2	4	2.8	0	0	1	1.3
A	1	4	61	2	20-31	258	75	4	9	26	33.1	45	156.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
A	1	4	61	3	31-43	259	3	0	0	0	0	3	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix D (Continued)

A	1	4	61	4	40-50	260	8	0	0	3	4.4	4	4.5	0	0	0	0	1	4.5
A	1	4	61	F 2	50-53	261	2	0	0	0	0	2	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	2	23	20	1	10-20	262	66	4	32.5	37	43.1	21	36.2	3	1	1	<1	0	0
B	2	23	20	2	20-30	263	50	3	2.9	19	27.9	24	34.8	4	4.5	0	0	0	0
B	2	23	20	3	30-38	264	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12
B	2	23	20	4	38-51	265	2	0	0	1	0.7	1	1.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	2	23	20	F 1	38-69	266	5	0	0	0	0	5	10.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	3	23	25	1	10-20	267	101	8	17.6	60	70.3	28	32.8	5	6.8	0	0	0	0
B	3	23	25	2	20-27	268	15	0	0	5	2.4	10	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	3	23	25	3	27-38	269	9	0	0	2	0.9	4	11.1	2	2.8	1	0.2	0	0
B	3	23	25	4	40-50	270	3	0	0	1	1.1	2	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-3	4	27	198	1	10-20	272	14	1	2.6	4	11.5	9	69	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-3	4	27	198	2	20-28	273	7	0	0	7	62.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-3	4	27	198	3	28-40	274	11	0	0	1	0.8	10	44.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
C-3	4	27	198	4	40-50	275	2	0	0	2	10.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	5	N/A	N/A	1	10-20	276	72	0	0	9	13	45	44.9	18	138.9	0	0	0	0
D	5	N/A	N/A	2	20-26	277	13	0	0	1	3.6	12	6.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	5	N/A	N/A	4	37-50	278	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.2	0	0	0	0
D	6	N/A	N/A	1	10-20	279	9	0	0	3	5.7	6	80.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	6	N/A	N/A	2	20-30	280	68	2	10.4	7	7.8	56	131.4	3	2.7	0	0	0	0
D	6	N/A	N/A	3	30-40	281	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0

About the Author

Jana J. Futch received a B.A. in Anthropology from the University of Washington in 2005. She has participated in archaeological survey and excavation projects in Ireland, East Timor, Washington State, and throughout the Southeastern United States. While Ms. Futch has pursued a variety of interests in archaeology, from zooarchaeology to museum curation, her passion for public archaeology led her to enroll in the University of South Florida's Applied Anthropology Master's program. While earning her M.A. at USF, Ms. Futch has been able to work with the Florida Public Archaeology Network, a position that has given her the opportunity to work with individuals and communities on a wide range of archaeological projects. In the future, she hopes to be able to continue this type of work, either in the public or private sector.