SPIRITS OF THE BLACK CAT TAVERN: HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AT A TENNESSEE CAVE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF PROHIBITION

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This research is dedicated to my daughter, Jillian.

We started this journey together in August 2013, you in high school and me in graduate school. In May 2017, I watched you graduate with top honors in English, math and science. I am incredibly proud of the young lady that you are becoming. I hope that you are equally proud of me as I graduate with a master's degree in history. We truly did it together. You were my biggest cheerleader. I never wanted you to see me quit . . . so I never did. I hope that you feel inspired to chase your dreams. It feels so amazing when you catch them! Never, ever give up! I love you!

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This thesis marks the end of an era. In 2008, my family relocated to Murfreesboro, Tennessee for my husband's job. Once my two children started school the next year, I thought that I would take a class or two at MTSU to occupy my mind. What began as a little hobby grew into a passionate goal that I pursued for the next eight years. I earned my bachelor's degree in December 2012. I knew right away, based on my wonderful experience as an adult learner, that I wanted to come back for a master's degree. I returned to MTSU in 2013, and through a graduate teaching assistantship, got the chance to pursue the next step in my academic journey.

Flash forward four years, thousands of pages read, endless pots of coffee, and at minimum, hundreds of pages written, edited, and rewritten. I learned that in order to survive graduate school and write a master's thesis with a family, you have to be a warrior, a ninja, a night owl, and an early bird. Having kids and a traveling salesman husband complicates matters when you factor in appointments: dentists, doctors, orthodontists, and don't even get me started on high school band practice rides! Every week presented a new set of challenges. So many days I wanted to quit. I learned that balance is key. For each low point in the journey, there was a family member or a friend who picked me up, fed me or cheered me, whatever it was that I needed. I am grateful.

To my neighbor/friends, thank you for all the times that you fed my family throughout the years. You made me feel welcome even when I was that awful guest who always ate and ran! To my dear friend Catherine Zamniak, seriously, I do not know how you put up with me all these years? I forced you to read every terrible first draft, second draft, and all of the subsequent drafts after that, since we met in class in 2010. Thank you for being a tremendous source of support and positivity in my life and in this long journey.

To my family, Brad, Jillian, and Gavin, thank you for your unwavering love and support. Even when I was most unlovable, grouchy, tired, hungry, or just plain mean, you loved me anyway. It goes without saying that I could not have accomplished my dreams without you! I am eternally grateful.

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ABSTRACT

Local folklore in Rutherford County, Tennessee suggests that the Black Cat Cave archaeological site (40RD299) concealed an illegal speakeasy during the prohibition era. In 2014, MTSU students and professors conducted an archaeological investigation at the heavily disturbed cave site. This thesis focuses on testing local reports of the cave's use as a speakeasy through an examination of the modern, twentieth-century bottle glass and metal bottle caps recovered during the 2014 investigation. Using historical archaeology methods, this thesis incorporates: archaeological laboratory procedures, including cataloguing the historic bottle glass and cap collection, archival research into earliest possible manufacture dates, primary source archival research into contemporaneous newspaper articles, and folklore or oral accounts of people who shared their personal experiences at the Black Cat Tavern during prohibition. This thesis recognizes the equal importance of artifact analysis and social historical context and combines them in a material culture study that addresses the local stories of illegal drinking that took place in the subterranean environment.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Alcoholics Anonymous……..……..AA

Applied Color Label……..ACL

Anti-Saloon League……..……..ASL

Bureau of Land Management……..…..BLM

Daily News Journal……..……..DNJ

Field Specimen……..……..FS (#)

Middle Tennessee State University……....MTSU

Smithsonian Trinomial Identifier for the Black Cat Cave Site……..40RD299

Society for Historical Archaeology……..…….SHA

Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database……..SHARD

Tennessee Department of Archaeology……..…TDOA

Tennessee State Library and Archives…….……TSLA

Terminus Post Quem……..…TPQ

University of Tennessee…….……..UT

Women's Christian Temperance Union……...……..WCTU

Works Progress Administration……WPA

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"People who are not and never have been cavers (. . .) are convinced that caves are unnatural places for human beings and that normal people do not enter them except under duress (seeking refuge) or for secret (deviant or ritual) purposes."[1]
—Patty Jo Watson

Tennessee history is infused with spirits. Many of its solemn memorials, like the Stones River National Battlefield and Cemetery, pay respect to lost spirits through moving visual tributes, which invite the observer to reflect upon the past, aided by the landscape in the present. When we think about the "spirits" of Tennessee's past, it seems only natural to assume that we are talking about ethereal beings, and maybe even telling ghost stories. This thesis focuses on a different type of spirit, a "demon," in fact, the "demon" alcohol.[2] It compares the archaeological and archival evidence for local alcohol consumption under prohibition in the early 1900s through the 1940s at Black Cat Cave in Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Local folklore suggests that Black Cat Cave once concealed a speakeasy, an illegal drinking establishment throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[3] During the Civil War, the cave allegedly served as a hiding place for a variety of things that locals attempted to

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[1] Patty Jo Watson, "Theory in Cave Archaeology" *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 26, no. 2, Cave Archaeology in the Eastern Woodlands (Fall 2001): 139-143, accessed October 13, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20708156.

[2] Poem, "All Demons," *Nashville Tennessean*, December 14, 1918, accessed May 2, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3694096/the_tennessean/.

[3] Greg Tucker, "Caves Concealed Runaways, Rebels & Revelers," *Murfreesboro (TN) Daily News Journal*, February 24, 2013, accessed February 3, 2017. http://rutherfordtnhistory.org/caves-concealed-runaways-rebels-revelers/

keep away from occupying troops, such as livestock, fruits and vegetables, and other assorted belongings. The cave, a naturally occurring land feature, is composed of Ridley limestone and is one of 129 caves documented in Rutherford County. Local historian and author, Greg Tucker notes an apparent contrast between Rutherford County's most well-known and "spectacular" cave, Snail Shell Cave, and what he calls "the most fabled and neglected," the Black Cat Cave.[4]

The "Rainbow" Cave

The cave is located on a 2.4-acre crescent of property that was part of the John Thomas Sullivan family farm for at least three generations by the 1930s. The main entrance to Black Cat Cave is located at the bottom of a sinkhole situated alongside busy U.S. Highway 231, which is an historic connection between Murfreesboro and Lebanon, Tennessee. Scores of people unwittingly drive by the cave daily, as the site lies just west of the Alvin C. York VA Medical Center campus.[5] The cave, which lies beneath the surface, hidden from plain view, has been the site of various secretive activities for thousands of years. The sinkhole that contains the cave entrance is approximately 12 feet deep and measures nearly 150 feet by 70 feet wide, according to archaeologist, Dr. Tanya M. Peres. Before extensive modifications to the cave in the historic period, the cave entrance was about 70 feet wide and 6.6 feet high. Inside the cave, the ceiling height of

[4] Tucker, 2013; also Thomas Calhoun Barr, *Caves of Tennessee*, Tennessee Division of Geology Bulletin (Nashville, TN: Tennessee Dept. of Conservation and Commerce, 1961), 401.

[5] Tucker, 2013.

the single room varied from 4 feet to 7.8 feet according to Peres' assessment. The interior cave room is dry, but there is an underground stream that flows through the back of the cavern.[6]

Murfreesboro author and historian, Greg Tucker, conducted an interview with Marian Sullivan Webb, granddaughter of farm owner John T. Sullivan, in which Webb recalled that across the street from the farmhouse was a long bluff of limestone beneath a rock overhang. Painted on the bluff face was the colorful image of a rainbow. Webb remembered, "It was the Rainbow Cave."[7] Tucker notes a lack of clarity in whether the rainbow painting predated the cave name, or whether the cave name inspired the rainbow painting. In *Caves of Tennessee*, Thomas Calhoun Barr indicates that the names given to caves are always the names by which they are known locally.[8] It is therefore feasible to assume that both names are correct, and that the cave came to be known locally as Black Cat Cave only after the cave entrance was enclosed and the Black Cat Tavern took up residence.

According to Tucker, by the 1930s Murfreesboro Power and Light Company supplied electricity to the Water Hill (a.k.a. Walterhill) area of Murfreesboro. The early 1900s Walter Hill Hydroelectric Station and Dam, located just over three miles north on

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[6] Peres, Tanya M., Aaron Deter-Wolf, Joey Keasler, and Shannon Chappell Hodge. "Faunal Remains from an Archaic Period Cave in Southeastern United States." *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 8 (2016): 187-189.

[7] Tucker, 2013.

[8] Thomas Calhoun Barr, *Caves of Tennessee*, Tennessee Division of Geology Bulletin. (Nashville, TN: Tennessee Dept. of Conservation and Commerce, 1961): 57.

U.S. Highway 231, generated electricity that flowed through power lines running alongside the busy corridor, which leads directly into the city of Murfreesboro.[9] In 1990, the Walter Hill Hydroelectric Station gained a listing among the National Register of Historic Places in Rutherford County Tennessee.

At some point in the 1930s, temporary walls were built out of rocks and concrete blocks, which enclosed the entrance to the cave and separated the interior cavern room into three distinct spaces. The main room had a poured concrete floor with hardwood laid over top that served as a dance floor. The main room also had a large built-in fireplace, and in the northeast corner was a raised stage for bands or other performers. The middle room served as the kitchen, and also had a custom-built fireplace along with cedar paneling on the walls.[10] Figure 1 below, a photograph taken circa the mid-1930s, shows the man-made façade of the Black Cat Tavern constructed across the cave opening. Inside the cave, Webb recalls, "there was a dance floor, a 'big' fireplace, a small dining room and a kitchen."[11] The automobile in the bottom left of the photograph

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[9] In handwritten correspondence with Dr. Carroll Van West, Tennessee State Historian and Director of the Center for Historic Preservation, June 2017; also Staff, "Snakes, Crickets, Visit Black Cat Tavern" *Columbia (TN) Daily Herald*, December 30, 2012, accessed January 23, 2017, http://www.columbiadailyherald.com/article/20121230/NEWS/312309948.

[10] Peres, et al., 2016.

[11] Tucker, 2013.

is a 1928 Star Automobile. The "Star Car," produced by Durant Motors, sold for around $450.[12]

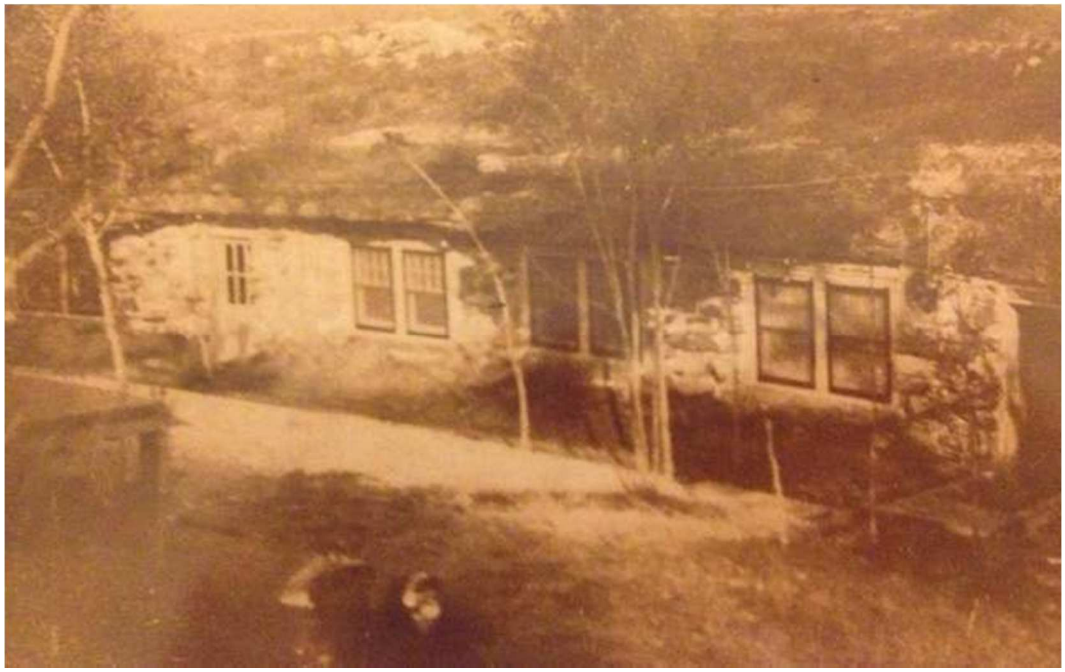

Figure 1. The Black Cat Tavern, circa 1933.
Source: A daughter of cave owner, John Thomas Sullivan gave this photograph to local author and historian, Greg Tucker. Photo reprinted with permission.
Greg Tucker, "Caves Concealed Runaways, Rebels & Revelers" *Murfreesboro (TN) Daily News Journal*, February 24, 2013. http://rutherfordtnhistory.org/caves-concealed-runaways-rebels-revelers/

The owner of the 1928 Star Car shown parked in front of the man-made cave façade was the last known operator of the Black Cat Tavern. Her name was Pauline Lannom Neely, a Wilson county native born on February 11, 1895 to James Monroe

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[12] John Stahley, "My First Car: 1928 Star Car, Amy Moninghoff Shoudt," *Tampa Bay Times*, March 15, 2009, http://www.tampabay.com/news/business/autos/my-first-car-1928-star-car-amy-moninghoff-shoudt-submitted-by-john-stahley/984004

Lannom and Tennessee Allen Bell.[13] In the 1920 United States Federal Census, Pauline Lannom is identified as the spouse of Edwin E. Neely of Lebanon Pike in Civil District 5, Rutherford, Tennessee, and she is the mother of Alice B. Neely, age five and Sara M. Neely, age two.[14]

In the 1930 United States Federal Census, Edwin and Pauline Neely's address is listed as Lebanon Highway, District 9, Rutherford County, and two additional children, Mildred R. Neely, age 8, and James E. Neely, age 7 are listed as residing within the household.[15] By 1940, Pauline's youngest child, James Neely was 17 years old. Pauline is listed in the census as a married mother of four children, who worked 48 hours in the week prior to recording the census information. The 1940 census indicates that Pauline completed her second year of high school. Her place of employment, however, remains a mystery.[16] Tucker suggested in his article, "Caves Concealed Runaways, Rebels & Revelers," *Murfreesboro (TN) Daily News Journal*, February 24, 2013, that Pauline's

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[13] "Tennessee, Delayed Birth Records, 1869-1909," *Ancestry.com* online database, Provo, UT, entry for Pauline Lannom, Wilson County, Tennessee, accessed June 29, 2017, http://www.ancestry.com.

[14] "1920 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry.com* online database, Provo, UT, *1920 Civil District 5, Rutherford, Tennessee*, entry for Pauline Lannom, accessed June 29, 2017, http://www.ancestry.com.

[15] "1930 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry.com* online database, Provo, UT, *1930 District 9, Rutherford, Tennessee*, entry for Pauline Lannom Neely, accessed June 29, 2017, http://www.ancestry.com.

[16] "1940 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry.com* online database, Provo, UT, *1940, Rutherford, Tennessee*, entry for Pauline Lannom Neely, accessed June 29, 2017, http://www.ancestry.com.

patrons at the Black Cat Tavern knew her as "Ma Neely."[17] While that moniker eludes to criminal activity and suggests that perhaps Pauline Neely participated in illegal "gangster" activities, including the sale and distribution of illegal alcohol, there is nothing in the census documents to indicate that she was anything other than a hardworking woman doing her best to feed and clothe her four children.

Edwin Neely, Pauline's husband and head of their household, is recorded as a farmer in the general farm industry in the 1920 census. By 1930, however, Edwin's occupation changed and the census records indicate that he was now a "master" in the restaurant industry who worked on his own accord. The 1940 census shows Edwin and Pauline Neely living on East Main Street in Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Edwin's occupation is listed as "proprietor," but there is no indication as to what business he operated or the location.[18]

Farm owner, John T. Sullivan, leased the cave to Pauline and Edwin Neely and she reportedly took over as operator of the Black Cat Tavern sometime in the 1930s. It is unclear who might have operated the tavern before Pauline and Edwin Neely, but she is reportedly not the original tavern operator. Doug Davis of the *Murfreesboro (TN) Daily*

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[17] Tucker, 2013.

[18] "1920 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry.com* online database, Provo, UT, *1920 Civil District 5, Rutherford, Tennessee*, entry for Edwin E. Neely, accessed June 29, 2017; also "1930 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry.com* online database, Provo, UT, *1930 District 9, Rutherford, Tennessee*, entry for Edwin E. Neely, accessed June 29, 2017; also "1940 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry.com* online database, Provo, UT, *1940, Rutherford, Tennessee*, entry for Edwin E. Neely, accessed June 29, 2017, , http://www.ancestry.com.

News Journal, points to a 1976 news story about the cave in which Pauline Neely indicated that she and her husband talked John Sullivan into allowing them to make modifications to the cave interior and façade.

The Neelys constructed a new front entrance, with windows, and partitioned the cavernous interior into three rooms.[19] They also installed hardwood flooring over top of the concrete slab for a dance floor and paneled the walls with cedar.[20] Webb recalled that square dances were often held in the cave on Saturday nights and also, that the cave had a bad reputation as a rough place. Webb remembered that the Sullivan children were not allowed to go into the cave because it was a place for "drinking, gambling, and risqué women."[21] Greg Tucker notes that many people have suggested that the Black Cat Tavern "was a rough place."[22]

Murfreesboro Parks and Recreation Department employee, Bart Fite, heard stories about Black Cat Tavern from his father, Clyde Fite, a former city manager of Murfreesboro, who had firsthand knowledge of the cave. Clyde, his sister, Evelyn Anderson, and two or three other people, were in a band that played jazz music in the cave. Clyde Fite described the Black Cat Tavern as "kind of a nightclub, a speakeasy kind of place." Former Black Cat Cave neighbor, Gus Webb, remembered two specific

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[19] Doug Davis, "Black Cat Cave Operated Underground," *Murfreesboro (TN) Daily News Journal*, May 30, 2005.

[20] Tucker, 2013.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Staff, "Snakes, Crickets, Visit Black Cat Tavern," 2012.

details about the cave. First, "how good the hamburgers were down there," and second, "how often there were fights down there."[23]

At the turn of the twentieth century in Tennessee, as in the rest of the nation, there was a strong focus on improving roadways for an ever-expanding pool of motorists. The "Good Roads Movement" spanned from the 1880s to about 1926, and was initially brought about through the efforts of farmers and those connected to the railroad industry.[24] What began as improvements to "farm to market" roads gave way to the development of roads that would eventually connect key towns to one another through interstates and transcontinental highways.[25]

In 1937, the Sullivan family sold part of their farm to the Veteran's Administration for the development of a new hospital facility that was about to be built in the outskirts of Murfreesboro in Walter Hill. U.S. Highway 231 was the focus of a Works Progress Administration upgrade in the late 1930s as well, right around the same time that the Black Cat Tavern supposedly closed its doors.[26]

According to Doug Davis, a fight broke out at the Black Cat Tavern one night in 1939, which resulted in the peculiar speakeasy's permanent closure. Soon after the VA

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Carroll Van West, ed., *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture* (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 425.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Carroll Van West, handwritten correspondence, June 2017.

Campus opened its new hospital, Pauline Neely allegedly relocated her business to a new facility closer to downtown Murfreesboro.[27] Marian Sullivan Webb does not recall anyone else running a business out of the cave after Mrs. Neely vacated the premises. In 1971, the property deed for the 2.4-acre plot of land containing the cave was transferred to the city of Murfreesboro. The city paid one dollar for the land, which came with a caveat that requires the land be maintained as a public park.[28] Nate Williams, recreation superintendent for the Murfreesboro Parks and Recreation Department, says of the cave, "Up until the '70s and '80s there was still furniture in here."[29] Past usage of the cave ranges from recently identified prehistoric burials, to concealment of food, supplies, and other assorted goods, a public park, and an abandoned hangout, forever linked to a dubious past in the minds of many locals.

In September 1971, the General Services Administration of the United States government deemed the 2.4-acre plot including the cave surplus land. The property was transferred to the Department of the Interior, which in turn, designated the Murfreesboro Recreation Commission as the administrator of the property.[30] The land grant specified that the intended use of the land be for the purpose of public recreation, and that a small

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[27] Tucker, 2013.

[28] Staff, "Snakes, Crickets, Visit Black Cat Tavern," 2012.

[29] Ibid.

[30] State of Tennessee, Rutherford County, "Quitclaim Deed," Book no. 205, Page no. 549, September 22, 1971.

sign be erected indicating that the area was open to the public. Over the next seventy years, the property attracted the attention of spelunkers, vandals, and looters, leaving the inside of the cave littered with an intimidating mix of broken glass, eroding concrete, loose rock, uneven terrain, and graffiti.

In 2004, a spelunker filed a report with the Rutherford County Sheriff's Office indicating the presence of a human skull inside the cave. The skull, found among broken pieces of the concrete floor, came to light through illegal digging activity according to investigators from the Sheriff's Department. Believing they had a crime scene investigation on their hands, the Sheriff's Department collected physical remains from several individuals and a few artifacts, which were held as evidence until 2010. Officers sent the remains to the University of Tennessee (UT) in Knoxville for further analysis. The results of that investigation indicated that the remains included a minimum number of five individuals who were likely of Native American origin.[31] UT staff completed subsequent radiocarbon dating in 2010, indicating the artifacts and remains were deposited in the cave at some time in the Middle Archaic period of prehistory, circa 6460-6360 B.P.[32] Tennessee Department of Archaeology (TDOA) archaeologist Aaron Deter-Wolf, along with representatives from the Sheriff's Department, visited the site in

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[31] Peres, et al., 2016, 190.

[32] Ibid., 191; also, for an explanation of radiocarbon dating see "AD, CE, BC, BP, Calendar Years, Radiocarbon Years, and All That," University of Georgia, January, 2013, accessed April 7, 2017, http://www.gly.uga.edu/railsback/Fundamentals/ADBCYears01.pdf.

mid-2010 in order to document and record the cave as site number 40RD299 in the state of Tennessee.[33]

The discovery of additional skeletal remains by a concerned citizen in 2014 prompted archaeologists from the TDOA to enter into discussions with officials from Murfreesboro Parks and Recreation, other city representatives, and engineers, along with MTSU archaeologists Dr. Tanya M. Peres (now at Florida State University) and Dr. Shannon Chappell Hodge, in order to devise a preservation plan. The plan included the salvage of artifacts and lingering skeletal remains, both human and faunal, from existing looters pits and backdirt piles already dug illegally within the cave. Archaeological salvage work at the heavily damaged site began in May 2014, with a second phase concluding in November 2014. Because illegal digging profoundly disturbed the contents of the cave, the site lacks stratigraphic integrity. Twentieth-century artifacts in the Peres and Hodge assemblage, however, provide us with an opportunity to test the theory that the cave once concealed an illegal speakeasy.

Middle Tennessee State University anthropology students and volunteers, under the direction of Peres and Hodge, collected what Peres calls, "substantial amounts of modern garbage" from Black Cat Cave.[34] As William Rathje points out in his monograph with Cullen Murphy, *Rubbish! The Archaeology of Garbage*, "Archaeologists have been picking through ancient garbage ever since archaeology

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[33] Peres, et al., 2016, 190.

[34] Ibid.

became a profession, more than a century ago . . . the creation of garbage is an unequivocal sign of human presence."[35] Faced with a lack of relevant documentation related to the cave and the alleged illegal activities that took place there, the material culture of Black Cat Cave offered great learning potential. Professor Emeritus in the History of Art and Material Culture at Yale University, Jules David Prown, described material culture as "the study through artifacts, of the beliefs—values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions—of a particular community or society at a given time." Material culture involves using artifacts (objects or pieces of objects created or altered by human hands) as primary data.[36] The million-dollar question in this investigation became, what story would the artifacts tell? Could reading the landscape of the built environment at the cave, in conjunction with analysis of the material culture (the physical artifacts), confirm the existence of an illegal prohibition era speakeasy?

This thesis considers the cave as a place in time and geography and what its use as a tavern in the 1920s and 1930s can tell us about rural life in early twentieth century Rutherford County, Tennessee. The focus is on testing local reports of the cave's use during prohibition through an examination of Peres' and Hodge's 2014 archaeological assemblage in conjunction with primary source archival research and analysis of the

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[35] William Rathje and Cullen Murphy, *Rubbish! The Archaeology of Garbage* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2001): 10.

[36] Prown, Jules David. "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method." *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 1-19, accessed January 23, 2017. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/pdf/1180761.pdf

existing historiography regarding prohibition and the historic use of caves. My thesis research that follows examines key identifying attributes of historic glass artifacts contained within the 2014 Black Cat Cave assemblage, and determines earliest possible dates of bottle manufacture, where possible.

Among the research questions that this project considers: What drove people to gather in an underground cave to consume alcohol? What state liquor laws were in effect in Tennessee that might have influenced people to convert a space like the Rainbow Cave into an illegal drinking establishment? Does an assemblage pattern emerge showing a large proportion of bottle glass in the cave that was manufactured before the end of the prohibition era? Where the documentary evidence is lacking for Black Cat Tavern, does archaeological evidence (for instance a large number of prohibition-era bottle glass fragments) support the notion that Black Cat Cave housed a speakeasy? If the bottle glass research concludes that the majority of the fragments were manufactured at a date later than the end of the prohibition era, does any documentary evidence support the possibility of Black Cat Cave serving in the capacity of a speakeasy? Do the artifacts in this assemblage support what the historical record says about speakeasies and their secret existence out of the sight of the law? Did the impact of the Good Roads Movement and more specifically, the development of a rural area like Walter Hill for a new VA hospital, cause the ultimate demise of the Black Cat Tavern? More broadly, this thesis considers the archaeological record at Black Cat Cave in the context of the prohibition era and the

dramatic cultural changes that ensued when the government imposed life-altering restrictions on people's way of life.

This thesis expands the growing body of knowledge that MTSU is developing concerning Black Cat Cave's cultural resources. Archaeologists are able to date people's historical activities through the study of manufacture dates of artifacts left behind. Some of the commercial marks that appear on glass vessels, which can be traced through documentary research (into factory manufacture records, for instance), include: embossed markings, paper labels, applied color labels (ACL), acid etchings, engraving, and gilding.[37] Archival research into manufacture dates for the historic-period bottle glass in the Black Cat Cave assemblage can potentially inform us whether or not there is an unusually high percentage of prohibition-era glass, as opposed to glass that dates to more recent decades.

Because documents can be fraught with bias and error, it is always in our best interest to employ a multidisciplinary approach to serious historical inquiry. Archaeological examinations of patterns of landscape and material culture may counter or even distort the documentary record that offers the historian written details of past events and experiences. This thesis employs historical archaeology methodologies and practices in the laboratory, despite heavy disturbance due to looting at the site. There is a focused consideration of multiple lines of evidence that includes: the archaeological

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[37] Olive Jones and Catherine Sullivan, *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary*, rev. ed., Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, National Historic Parks Service Environment Canada, (Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Parks Service, 1989), 16.

record, the documentary record, and the oral accounts of people with first-hand knowledge of the Black Cat Tavern during its heyday. It is important to note that because the initial investigation at the site was not specifically dedicated to the archaeological recovery of historic artifacts, but rather to the recovery of disturbed human remains, no stratigraphic data were recorded from the salvage operation.

MTSU Students and volunteers recovered all debris and glass by screening excavated soil from the cave floor and separating the contents into collection bags, which were labeled with general provenience descriptions ("northwest corner," for example), and brought to the MTSU lab for washing and sorting. The result of this lack of precise stratigraphic and locational information normally available for archaeological assemblages is that spatial patterns reflecting historical activity areas within the cave are not observable. Relative dates of artifact discard are also obscured for this reason. Only dates of manufacture providing earliest possible dates of discard remain visible for the purposes of this research.

Interpretive Framework

The inspiration and model for this thesis research is Audrey J. Horning's monograph, *In the Shadow of Ragged Mountain: Historical Archaeology of Nicholson, Corbin, & Weakley Hollows*. Horning's extensive study of Blue Ridge Mountain culture is based on a similar comparison of archaeological evidence, oral history, and documentary evidence, and makes an argument against the existing historiography that claims Great Depression era people of the Blue Ridge Mountains were somehow

"backward and illiterate."[38] Through careful analysis of the material culture (the artifacts) from the archaeological record juxtaposed against examples of sensationalized outsiders' primary accounts of mountain "hollows," Horning challenged stereotypical caricatures of mountain residents. Newspaper accounts, images produced for tourism, and hearsay all presented mountain residents as backward and trapped in a bygone century and living in extreme poverty. Horning's archaeological excavations, however, produced evidence of recovered toys, shoes, tin cans, license plates, and broken record albums from domestic contexts in the relevant time period, belying popular cultural assertions and sensationalism that suggested "Hollow folk" had never played with toys, driven cars, or used U.S. currency to participate in national patterns of consumption.

My research into the multiple and varied uses of Black Cat Cave combines archaeological evidence (bottle glass and bottle caps), documentary research into manufacture dates, primary source archival research (contemporaneous newspaper articles), and oral accounts of people who had experiences at the Black Cat Tavern. With Horning's work as an example, I intend to analyze the remnants of the Black Cat Tavern and its connections to illegal alcohol consumption from the turn of the twentieth century throughout the prohibition era and beyond. Historical archaeology provides an insider perspective, in this case through the "garbage" collected from the cave, which, in turn, has the power to generate a persuasive argument either for or against existing oral

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[38] Audrey J. Horning, *In the Shadow of Ragged Mountain: Historical Archaeology of Nicholson, Corbin, & Weakley Hollows* (Shenandoah National Park Association, 2004), 11.

accounts and documentary evidence (or lack thereof) associated with the cave. Do the artifacts (the material evidence) confirm or deny the existence of an illegal speakeasy at Black Cat Cave as described by locals? Do the artifacts confirm or deny a speakeasy as it was described in the historical document record? If the archaeological evidence points to illegal drinking in the time period when alcohol consumption was prohibited in Tennessee, is there a specific reason, such as geographical location of the cave, which would make it an advantageous choice for Pauline Neely to conceal and operate the Black Cat Tavern? In answering these questions, I adopted a three-tiered perspective to historical inquiry for my research and thesis, following the work of Paul A. Cohen.

Cohen, Wellesley College Professor Emeritus, and author of *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*, suggests that history can be best understood when we take a three-perspective approach to historical interpretation. Cohen identifies the "three keys": event, experience, and myth.[39] First, we should examine and interpret history as an "event"—in this case, from the turn of the twentieth century through the adoption of federal alcohol prohibition from 1920 to 1933, and beyond, as Tennessee's local option law did not pass until 1939. It is necessary to consider the rules and regulations that befell the American people as alcohol consumption and its aftermath rocked the foundations of America. An unprecedented level of government involvement and a cavernous divide among the ranks of "wets" and "drys" created chaos and disruption not only in Tennessee, but also on a national scale. Second, we should

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[39] Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1997),

examine history as an "experience"—the fallout that the people experienced because of government intervention and regulation of such a widespread and prevalent substance and lucrative business opportunity such as alcohol production. Lastly, Cohen stresses that we should examine history from the perspective of "myth"—the stories that are generated, whether true or not, based on the event and the experiences that people have.

In the case of this historical inquiry into Black Cat Cave, the event under investigation is local response to state and federal alcohol prohibition. This thesis considers how people, both locally and nationally, experienced the effects of prohibition, and how their experiences with prohibition shaped the ideas that they had, and dictated how they adapted or modified their surroundings in response to these experiences. Finally, it explores local myth making and lasting cultural changes that were set into motion in the prohibition era.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the prohibition era at the local, state, and national levels through an examination of historical actions and reactions. Chapter Three presents my primary archival research into local contemporaneous newspaper articles, which help to establish the political, economic, and social context of Black Cat Cave during the prohibition era. Chapter Four discusses the methodologies (plans and procedures) that were established and executed in the archaeology laboratory. Chapter Five examines the findings based on historical and archaeological analyses of the available evidence. Lastly, Chapter Six draws conclusions addressing the original research questions posed above.

CHAPTER TWO: HIDDEN SPACES, PROHIBITION AND AMERICAN CULTURE

"There'd never been a more advantageous time to be a criminal in America than during the 13 years of Prohibition. At a stroke, the American government closed down the fifth largest industry in the United States—alcohol production —and just handed it to criminals—a pretty remarkable thing to do."[1]
--Bill Bryson

Tennessee is well known for its lush, inviting natural landscape, rich with flowing waters, fertile soil, and plentiful caves, which provide an excellent source of privacy and shelter. Archaeologists, geologists, and other scholars have long recognized the significance of deep caves and the potential that they have to inform us about the environment and the past.[2] Thomas C. Barr, zoologist, and Professor Emeritus from the University of Kentucky, and author of *Caves of Tennessee*, noted that most caves maintain a moderately regular interior temperature that is dependent on the average land surface temperature. In Tennessee, the average land surface temperature is usually between 56° to 59° F. Caves also maintain a high relative humidity, and are shrouded in complete darkness.[3] According to the Nature Conservancy, Tennessee is home to twenty percent of the nation's caves, boasting more than 10,000 of them, a greater concentration

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[1] Bill Bryson, *One Summer: America, 1927* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2013).

[2] Sarah C. Sherwood and Jan F. Simek, "Introduction: Cave Archaeology in the Eastern Woodlands," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 26, no. 2, Cave Archaeology in the Eastern Woodlands (Fall 2001): 135-137.

[3] Thomas Calhoun Barr, *Caves of Tennessee*, Tennessee Division of Geology Bulletin (Nashville, TN: Tennessee Dept. of Conservation and Commerce, 1961): 25-26.

than any other state in the nation. Caves in the lower 48 states are home to approximately 1,000 species, and, Tennessee caves shelter hundreds of extraordinary and unique species.[4] Aside from the many fascinating environmental facts related to Tennessee caves, perhaps one of the most intriguing aspects is a long tradition of use by people for covert or subversive purposes.

In "Miners and Moonshiners: Historic Industrial Uses of Tennessee Caves," archaeologist Douglas C. Joseph identifies three distinct phases of use in the history of Tennessee caves, but stresses there are no firm dates and that certainly, "chronological overlap" did occur.[5] In the first phase, which began in the late 1700s and continued to be dominant well into the mid-1800s, the focus was on extractive industries like saltpeter mining. Saltpeter (potassium nitrate) mined from Tennessee caves was an important resource in the manufacture of gunpowder. According to Barr, "An anonymous author writing in the Medical Repository in 1805 stated that Tennessee abounded in saltpeter caves to such a degree that the price of gunpowder in Nashville was only 1 dollar for 3 pounds!"[6] Saltpeter mining continued to dominate cave usage throughout the Civil War,

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[4] The Nature Conservancy, "Tennessee Caves: Over 10,000 Documented Caves in Tennessee," last modified 2017, accessed January 27, 2017 (Nashville, TN: Tennessee Dept. of Conservation and Commerce, 1961), http://www.nature.org/ourinitiatives/regions/northamerica/unitedstates/tennessee/placesweprotect/tennessee-caves.xml

[5] Douglas C. Joseph, "Miners and Moonshiners: Historic Industrial Uses of Tennessee Caves," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 26, no. 2 (October 1, 2001): 251-267, *JSTOR Journals*, EBSCO*host*, accessed April 29, 2017.

[6] Barr, 54.

and only when it was no longer profitable did the focus shift to illicit activities, like making moonshine whiskey.

Tennessee is riddled with cracks and crevices on the landscape, and the enforcement of National Alcohol Prohibition in 1920 drove whiskey makers into these hidden spaces, forever linking the two in Tennessee history. At the same time, the concept of "industrial cave tourism" developed into a means of capitalizing on the commodification of the naturally occurring landscape.[7] Whether or not Black Cat Cave was ever subjected to extractive industries like nitrate mining lies beyond the scope of this research. The argument could be made, however, that the use of the cave as a speakeasy throughout the Prohibition era does fall in line with the connection to whiskey production, storage, and consumption being forced into secrecy, and also to the concept of industrial cave tourism. By setting up shop in Black Cat Cave, the operator(s) of the speakeasy capitalized on the marketable oddity of the cave itself, and at the same time, took advantage of the natural shelter in order to provide a modicum of discretion and privacy for patrons.

Tennessee's exceptional natural landscape appealed to alcohol entrepreneurs early on and was responsible for attracting some of the state's earliest settlers. Newcomers foresaw capitalistic opportunity based on an abundance of the ingredients necessary to sustain the lucrative production and distribution of alcoholic spirits. In the *Annals of*

[7] Ibid.

Rutherford County 1799-1828, prominent Murfreesboro businessman John C. Spence wrote:

> Almost every portion of the state is well adapted to the cultivation of grape and wine making. Fruits of every kind are known to do well in different localities, there being soil and climate suiting all . . . No doubt, in time to come it will be one of the industries of the country.[8]

The natural landscape was also favorably suited for the establishment and operation of whiskey distilleries. Research conducted by the Tennessee State Library and Archives suggests that the earliest distillery in the state, Evan Shelby's East Tennessee distillery, was in operation by 1771.[9] Despite the fortuitous conditions that allowed Tennessee to become an ideal target location for the production of alcohol, by the early 1800s, those in favor of temperance and/or prohibition, particularly family matriarchs, perceived a link between drinking and poverty. Americans longed for drastic reform and they were willing to go to extreme measures to achieve it.

Alcoholism: A National Problem

America has a long-standing relationship with alcohol. From the beginning, American colonists consumed large quantities of alcohol in the form of beer, wine, and whiskey, and they have been brewing and distilling alcoholic concoctions for centuries.[10]

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[8] John C. Spence, *Annals of Rutherford County*, Volume One, 1799-1828 (Nashville, TN: The Rutherford County Historical Society, 1991), 4.

[9] Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, 2011, http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/legal.htm.

Oftentimes, those alcoholic beverages posed less of a threat to the consumer than potentially contaminated water or milk. According to David E. Kyvig, late historian and Research Professor Emeritus at Northern Illinois University, during the years 1911 through 1915, the American per capita consumption rate for those of drinking age (15 years or older) was 2.56 gallons of absolute alcohol. Distributed among distilled spirits, wine, and beer, the breakdown was equal to 2.09 gallons of distilled spirits (containing 45% alcohol), 0.79 gallons of wine (containing 18% alcohol), and 29.53 gallons of beer (containing 5 % alcohol).[11]

With such high consumption rates, there was great concern for morality and the detrimental impact of alcoholism on the family. Excessive drinking was expensive, often leading to poverty. Women were especially vulnerable to abusive, alcoholic husbands, so they sought new methods of counterbalancing and lashing out against what they saw as the biggest problem: the saloon. Women were a driving force in the movement to promote temperance, a marked decrease or the complete elimination of the use of alcoholic beverages. National alcohol prohibition was not achieved overnight, but was

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[10] Peter Carlson, "Uneasy about alcohol: hard drinking is a tradition that came over on the Mayflower. 400 years later we're still struggling to find a balance between revelry and righteousness," *American History* 43, no. 5 (Dec., 2008): 32. *Academic* OneFile, EBSCO*host*, accessed June 6, 2017.

[11] David E. Kyvig, *Repeal of Prohibition*, second ed., (Kent, OH & London: The Kent State University Press, 2000), 19-20. Retrieved from Google Books.

the result of more than a century of campaign by several key organized groups bolstered by large numbers of women all across America.[12]

The Temperance Movement

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was formed in 1873 to bring Protestant women together as a coalition focused on the fight against alcohol. Women were heavily involved in the Prohibition Party and the Anti-Saloon League, which formed in 1893 and was the "political arm of the Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches."[13] Reformers began to press heavily for societal improvement when Americans' drinking habits soared between 1900 and 1913. Production of beer skyrocketed from 1.2 billion to 2 billion gallons, and the amount of "tax-paid spirits" shot from 97 million to 147 million gallons.[14] In only thirteen years, per capita consumption of alcohol grew by nearly a third, a substantial and alarming amount over such a short period of time, according to Jack S. Blocker, Jr., History Professor Emeritus at Huron University College, London, Ontario. Blocker argues that there were four "levers" that prohibitionists maneuvered to their advantage.[15]

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[12] Kyvig, 114-115.

[13] Mark Thornton, *The Economics of Prohibition*, 1991. Reprint, (Auburn, AL: The Mises Institute, 2014), 48.

[14] Jack S. Blocker, Jr. "Did Prohibition Really Work? Alcohol Prohibition as a Public Health Innovation," *American Journal of Public Health* 96, no. 2 (February 2006): 235, EBSCO*host*, accessed September 9, 2015. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1470475/.

[15] Blocker, 235-236.

The first lever that Blocker identified was public health concern. The annual ethanol consumption rate rose to 2.6 gallons per capita, the highest level the nation had seen since the Civil War. Public health concern grew to an unprecedented level, spurred on by physicians, ministers, and women. The death rate due to cirrhosis of the liver was 15 per 100,000, and the rate of chronic alcoholism stood at 10 per 100,000.[16] The second lever was political unrest. It was a politically turbulent period that included a budding socialist movement and heated disputes between workers and capitalists. The third lever was national "uplift." Progressive era ideals embraced moral law, material progress, science, humanitarian causes, and national "uplift," and vehemently opposed a government ruled by the wealthy. Progressivism was actively concerned with the betterment of public health and welfare, along with boosting the human spirit. Finally, the fourth lever that Blocker identifies was the crumbling relationship between brewers and distillers, which began to unravel and become vulnerable. As soon as the alliance showed signs of weakening, the Anti-Saloon League was able to swing the "balance of power" in their favor, and seize an opportunity to enact change like never before.[17] Prohibitionist organizations argued that alcohol consumption was the root cause of "poverty, abuse, and ill health," and they drafted legislation that sought to completely eradicate what they viewed as a demon.[18]

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Blocker, 236.

[18] Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Passage of Prohibition," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, 2011,

In Tennessee politics, as throughout the nation, temperance was a hotly contested issue with a rather lengthy past. By 1830, the earliest temperance societies had formed and held meetings in Kingsport and Nashville. Temperance support grew throughout the 1830 and 1840s, and in 1853, Nashville was the site of a temperance convention that advocated for complete statewide prohibition following the example of Maine. The following year, temperance made its way to voters, and the year after that, "the liquor question" became the focus of a gubernatorial race, "foreshadowing its major importance in politics at the turn of the century."[19]

Groups allied against alcohol in Tennessee attempted to ban the sale of liquor near churches, schools, and hospitals. The first law of its kind, passed in 1824, constrained the sale of liquor near churches. In 1877 Tennessee lawmakers introduced a law that banned the sale of alcohol "within four miles of chartered rural schools."[20] A decade later, in 1887, an amendment to the Four-Mile-Law changed the language to read "within four miles of any country school," thus effectively thwarting the establishment of alcohol related business anywhere in rural areas of Tennessee.[21]

In 1899 The Peeler Act extended the reach of the Four-Mile-Law to "towns 'hereinafter incorporated' with populations less than 2,000." The Adams Bill of 1903

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http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/passage.htm.

[19] W. Calvin Dickinson, "Temperance," in *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, ed. Carroll Van West (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 912.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

extended the reach of the Four-Mile-Law even further to include "all towns of 5,000 population or less, which incorporated or reincorporated after passage of the bill."[22] Many towns were eager to eliminate liquor and rechartered in order to do so. In the majority of towns where the liquor question was put to a vote, the people voted in favor of prohibition. By mid-1903, all but six towns with a population of 5,000 or less voted to go dry, embracing alcohol prohibition. In 1907, the Pendleton Act expanded the Four-Mile-Law to reach larger cities, leaving only Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga, and La Follette wet.[23]

Statewide prohibition became the focus of the Tennessee General Assembly in 1909, when Putnam County Senator O. K. Holladay presented a bill that would prohibit the sale of alcohol within four miles of any school in the state. Governor Malcolm Patterson vetoed the bill declaring: "For a State . . . to attempt to control what the people shall eat and drink and wear . . . is tyranny, and not liberty." Despite his veto, the bill passed and became Tennessee law in 1909. Compounding the blow to the liquor industry was a second law that passed forbidding the manufacture of intoxicating beverages.[24]

The 1917 "bone-dry-bill," introduced by Governor Thomas C. Rye was the final nail in the coffin that stripped the liquor industry of its life in Tennessee. The bill made it illegal to receive, possess, or transport alcoholic beverages into or out of the state. By 1919, ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was

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[22] Ibid., 914.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

simply business as usual in Tennessee, a state that had widely supported prohibition for nearly a century.[25]

National Alcohol Prohibition: Death of an Industry

"Overnight, the single most popular pastime in the country—a massive industry in its own right, and the single largest source of domestic tax revenue —was banished from legal legitimacy."[26]

The Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, ratified on January 16, 1919, resulted from the ongoing efforts of organized temperance movement groups including: the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Prohibition Party, and the Anti-Saloon League.[27] These groups, which attributed all of society's problems to alcohol, organized campaigns and fought fervently for the complete eradication of alcohol consumption at the local, state, and federal level. The Anti-Saloon League attracted the attention of businesses by pitching the health benefits of national prohibition. They envisioned fewer illnesses, a reduction in employee absenteeism, and fewer job site accidents and injuries, all leading to increased spending on consumer

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[25] Ibid., 915.

[26] Kevin W. Caves, "The Bottle and the Border: What can America's failed experiment with alcohol prohibition in the 1920s teach us about the likely effects of anti-immigration legislation today?" *Economists' Voice* 9, no. 1 (June 2012): 1, accessed September 9, 2015, file:///Users/susansherer/Downloads/1553-3832.1911%20(1).pdf.

[27] US Constitution, amend. 18, sec. 1-3, "U.S. Constitution Amendment XVIII," *Legal Information Institute*, Cornell University Law School, accessed April 30, 2017, https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxviii

products.[28] Wayne Wheeler, leader of the Anti-Saloon League, composed the language in the act and despite President Woodrow Wilson's veto, the article passed.

> U.S. Constitution, Amendment 18, Section 1.
> After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.[29]

The National Prohibition Act was commonly known as the Volstead Act, in honor of its advocate, Minnesota Representative Andrew Volstead, chair of the Judiciary Committee. In August 1917, the act passed the Senate with a vote of 65 to 20. In December 1917, the act passed in the House with a vote of 282 to 128.[30] Mississippi's Legislature was the first to ratify the amendment, on January 8, 1918. Other states followed suit until a three-fourths majority was reached when Nebraska became the thirty-sixth of forty-eight states to ratify the amendment on January 16, 1919, thus allowing for the criminalization of alcohol in the U.S. Constitution.[31]

In the ten-year period from 1919 to 1929, federal tax revenue from distilled spirits plunged from $365 million to less than $13 million. Fermented liquor revenues also

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[28] Wayne Hall, "What are the policy lessons of National Alcohol Prohibition in the United States, 1920-1933?" *Addiction* 105, no. 7 (July 2010): 1165, EBSCO*host*, accessed September 9, 2015.

[29] US Constitution, amend. 18, sec. 1.

[30] Article, "Prohibition is Ratified by 35 States of Union," *Nashville Tennessean*, January 16, 1919; also Hall, 1165.

[31] Caves, 1.

fared poorly, plummeting from $117 million in 1919 to virtually nothing in 1929.[32] Few established breweries, distilleries, and wineries survived National Alcohol Prohibition. Those that did manage to stay afloat, such as Coors Brewing Company, Anheuser Busch, and Miller, all resorted to making other products like near beer and malted milk. Some even switched to manufacturing porcelain containers to survive.[33] Not only did prohibition create extreme economic conditions for the government and for business, but it also generated substantial shockwaves socially.

Women became involved with illicit drinking during Prohibition in other, more pervasive ways as well. By 1927 a major cultural shift in gender was underway, influenced in part by the prolific writers of the Lost Generation, whom historian Jack S. Blocker, Jr. refers to as, "the shapers of mass culture."[34] Writers like Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, T.S. Eliot, and F. Scott Fitzgerald helped to persuade the population, through novels and poetry, that drinking alcohol in the secrecy of a speakeasy, or under the cover of a private party, was somehow glamorous. The days of the male-dominated saloon were over, and the way of the future was the speakeasy, where women and young, often college-aged people could comfortably drink in a semi-public atmosphere. Blocker indicates that a combination of factors—women coming out of the home to drink

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[32] Blocker, 236.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Jack S. Blocker, Jr. "Did Prohibition Really Work? Alcohol Prohibition as a Public Health Innovation," *American Journal of Public Health* 96, no. 2 (February 2006): 38.

publicly, young college students rejecting the stifling status quo of Progressive Era reform, and the "wet attitudes disseminated by cultural media"—exacerbated a process that social scientists refer to as "the normalization of drinking." Normalization of drinking in the 1920s was one more step in the "long history of decay in Victorian social mores."[35]

Although prohibition did manage to effectively reduce the rate of alcohol consumption and alcohol-related injury by potentially as much as 60 percent "in the short term," those results deteriorated in the long term as substitutions in supply chain sources developed and became more readily available, and as peoples' willingness to abide by the law deteriorated.[36] Social changes came in the form of: increased violence, development of an extensive black market controlled by criminal gangs, rising costs associated with enforcing the law, and a considerable amount of blatant police and government corruption at all levels.[37] Economist Mark Thornton, author of *The Economics of Prohibition*, points out that prohibition caused prices to rise, and in turn, innovators began to develop substitutions that were often more dangerous than the prohibited product itself.[38] As the availability of the product in demand decreased due to rising cost, people shifted their focus to acquiring close substitutes, which oftentimes led to dire

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Hall, 1170.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Thornton, 5-6.

consequences. Thornton stresses that prohibition directly harmed both the producers and the consumers of goods.[39]

In the thirteen years of national alcohol prohibition, 1920-1933, Americans witnessed a dramatic increase in crime, the growth of illegal activities and economies based on the production and distribution of illegal alcohol, and the incarnation of the notorious "gangster" figure in American popular culture. *Wall Street Journal* contributor, Cynthia Crossen, underscores the dangerous nature of moonshine in her 2005 article, "Why We'll Never Know If Imbibing Really Rose After Prohibition Began." Crossen reported a 317 percent increase in the death rate due to alcoholism, from 1920 to 1927, in the few states that had comparable statistics available.[40] The wealthy could still afford to drink bootleg liquor, but they had to adjust the ways in which they did so, to avoid brushes with the law. Speakeasies cropped up in secret locations, hidden in plain sight, all over America. In 1922, New York City had a reported 5,000 speakeasies. By 1927, that number grew to more than 30,000 illegal speakeasies, easily doubling the total combined number of all legal bars, restaurants, and nightclubs in the city before 1920.[41]

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[39] Thornton, 74.

[40] Cynthia Crossen, "Why We'll Never Know If Imbibing Really Rose After Prohibition Began," *Wall Street Journal (NY)*, April 6, 2005, accessed January 18, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB111275377223099216.

[41] Ibid.

Corruption: "The Man in the Green Hat"

Former *Washington Post* reporter and author Peter Carlson's recent work offers an eye-opening exposé on the life of George Cassiday, "Congress' favorite bootlegger," whom Carlson identifies as "a living symbol of congressional hypocrisy and the follies of Prohibition."[42] Cassiday had a wife and children, and a job in which he excelled. Everyday, he got up, dressed, put on his easily identifiable green hat, and went to work at the U.S. House of Representatives Office Building, where he delivered illegal alcohol to thirsty congressmen for ten years during national prohibition. Five years into his stint as a bootlegger in 1925, Cassiday was arrested, pled guilty, and served his time: 60 days in jail. When he was released from jail, he discovered that he was permanently banned from the House Office Building, so he set up shop at the Senate Office Building, where he continued to sell bootleg alcohol for another five years, until 1930.

Cassiday's business boomed, but he was not the only entrepreneur peddling his wares to congressmen and senators.[43] Congress was overwhelmingly in favor of prohibition publicly, but behind closed doors, many of them craved what Cassiday had to offer. In order to keep his customers happy, Cassiday traveled to New York City by bus to load two suitcases full with up to 40 quarts of bootleg alcohol at one time. When he

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[42] Peter Carlson, "A capitol offense: Congress enacted Prohibition but lawmakers didn't go dry, thanks to bootlegger George Cassiday—the "Man in the Green Hat"—who set up shop on Capitol Hil," *American History*, no. 2 (June 2015): 46, accessed September 9, 2015, http://www.historynet.com/a-capitol-offense.htm.

[43] Carlson, "A Capitol Offense," 47.

could no longer keep up with his customers' demands, Cassiday looked for ways to make more money from the limited supply of alcohol that he could access, and his solution was one that became normalized as prohibition continued. Cassiday mixed up a concoction that looked similar to the desired product but, oftentimes, was a recipe for disaster. In Cassiday's own words, he described how he stretched his investment:

> Using one gallon of pure rye whiskey as a base, adding a gallon of pure grain alcohol and one gallon of hot water from the spigot, and adding a little bouquet coloring. I found it was possible to turn out 12 quarts of 86 to 96 proof that was entirely satisfactory . . . Few of them could really tell good liquor from bad.[44]

He was correct in his assessment of his customers' lack of ability to tell the difference between good alcohol and bad, and as Carlson points out, Cassiday was only one of many businessmen who were in the business of deceiving their clients with "dreadful concoctions."[45]

Because of prohibition enforcement, the cost of attaining illegal alcohol became inflated. Inflation exacerbated smuggling and bribery, which in turn, left many poor or working-class people unable to afford market prices for alcohol. They were not wealthy enough or lucky enough to be customers of "The Man in the Green Hat," whose alcohol was merely cut with water and bouquet coloring. People drank concoctions cut with

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[44] Ibid., 48.

[45] Ibid.

antifreeze, rubbing alcohol, and embalming fluid.[46] "Moonshine" is a nonspecific term for high-proof distilled liquor that is typically made illegally, and oftentimes with the intent to avoid taxation. According to the Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Moonshine and Law," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, moonshiners focused on quantity instead of quality, and many consumers of their products were "blinded, paralyzed, or even killed," by poisonous runs of moonshine that contained paint thinner and manure, among other things.[47]

Widespread consumption of hazardous contaminated alcohol led to tangible risk and disastrous consequences throughout the prohibition era. One key concern was the development of new forms of disease based on illegal consumption practices. The late physician John Morgan of the City University of New York Medical School was an expert on what has been referred to as "the largest mass poisoning in US history."[48] A new type of paralysis, which commonly came to be known as "Jake walk," or "Jake leg,"

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[46] Cynthia Crossen, "Why We'll Never Know If Imbibing Really Rose After Prohibition Began," *Wall Street Journal (NY)*, April 6, 2005, accessed January 18, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB111275377223099216.

[47] Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Moonshine and Law," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, 2011, http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/moonshine.htm.

[48] Emily Friedman, "'Jake Leg,' Other Poisonings, Physicians as Canaries, and the FDA," *The Medscape Journal of Medicine* 10, no. 4 (April 28, 2008): 1, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www-ncbi-nlm-nih-gov.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/pmc/articles/PMC2390711/; also Dan Baum, "Jake Leg," *The New Yorker*, September 15, 2003, 1-6, *Literary Resource* Center, accessed April 14, 2017 http://go.galegroup.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/ps/i.do?p=LitRC&sw=w&u=tel_middleten&v=2.1&id=GALE%7CA107801309&it=r&asid=b254a25ddc2ce307dbd48fefe3a5457d.

developed in 1930 from drinking a high alcohol content patent medicine called Jamaican Ginger, but known as "Jake." A Boston manufacturer began the practice of cutting the Jamaican Ginger with an "adulterant" to avoid prohibition regulations. What resulted was widespread neurological damage due to the ingestion of poison, which produced a recognizable limp known as "Jake leg," which affected nearly 50,000 victims.

While the devastating effects of Jake leg can be observed in many folk and blues songs from the 1930s, many members of society chose to ignore the problem because those suffering from Jake leg were often poor men who were alcoholics and minorities.[49] According to Dan Baum's 2003 article in *The New Yorker* magazine, The Johnson City, Tennessee area seemed to have a disproportionate population afflicted with the Jake leg. The disease was given the moniker based on one of its easily identifiable symptoms, a "high-stepping, foot-slapping" gait.[50] The fact that *The New Yorker* article focused on Johnson City highlights just how embroiled Tennessee was during prohibition, with its many camouflaged hiding places and its long-standing tradition of alcohol production.

Local Alcohol Prohibition: Old Traditions Die Hard

Tennessee's history with spirits is long-standing and the connection to alcohol production runs deep. There were productive vineyards in Knox and Polk counties in the mid-1800s, and the state produced 200,000 pounds of grapes for wine per year before

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Baum, 3.

Prohibition decimated the winemaking industry in 1919.[51] German immigrants were responsible for many of the breweries that cropped up across the state after the Civil War, like the Tennessee Brewing Company in Memphis and the William Gerst Brewery in Nashville.[52] The TSLA exhibit "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," points out, however, that Tennessee is conceivably most notorious for its relationship with distilleries.

By 1771, Evan Shelby's East Tennessee distillery was operational, likely making it Tennessee's first, and by 1787; Nashville was also home to a distillery.[53] Future president, Andrew Jackson, was a significant contributor to the whiskey production industry in the state along with his business partner Thomas Watson. The men co-owned two stills, which had a combined output, between December 1802 and February 1803, of approximately 500 gallons of whiskey.[54] The next generation of whiskey distillers after Jackson, however, was the one that ensured Tennessee's long-lasting link to notoriety through alcohol production, and intertwined moonshine and caves in the minds of

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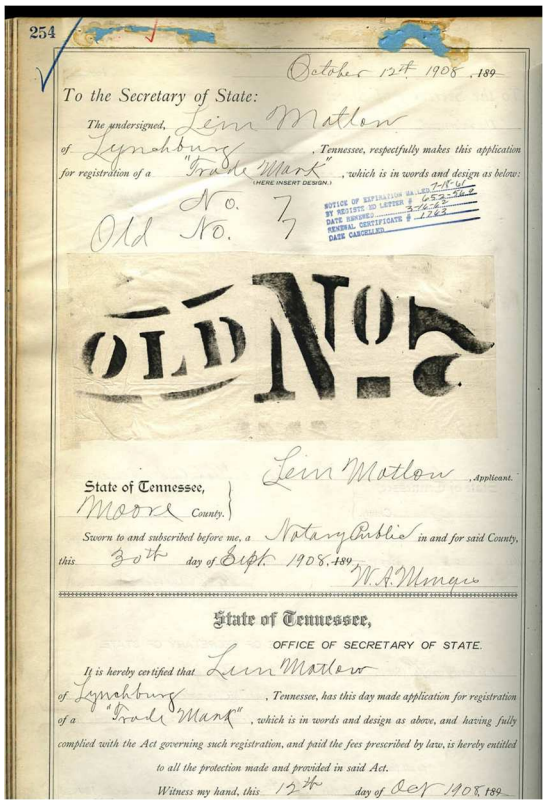
[51] Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, 2011, http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/legal.htm#jd.

[52] Ibid. Note: The William Gerst Brewing Company earned a favorable reputation as the source of some of the "best ales and lagers in the South." The brewery managed to survive Prohibition by switching production to sodas and malt beverages. The brewery, whose slogan was, "Brewed in Dixie," was located at 821 6th Avenue South, and remained in operation until 1954. The building that housed the brewery was torn down in 1963.

[53] TSLA, "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," 2011.

[54] Ibid.

Tennesseans. Jack Daniel's "Old No. 7" Tennessee Whiskey helped forge that bond.[55] Figure 2 below, shows Lem Motlow's Trademark Registration for the term "Old No. 7," dated October 12, 1908.


254

October 12th 1908, 189

To the Secretary of State:

The undersigned, Lem Motlow

of Lynchburg, Tennessee, respectfully makes this application for registration of a "Trade Mark", which is in words and design as below:

(HERE INSERT DESIGN.)

No. 7

Old No. 7

NOTICE OF EXPIRATION GIVEN
BY REGISTERED LETTER
DATE RENEWED
RENEWAL CERTIFICATE
DATE CANCELLED

OLD No. 7

Lem Motlow, Applicant.

State of Tennessee, Moore County.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, a Notary Public in and for said County, this 30th day of Sept. 1908. 189

W. A. Munger

State of Tennessee,

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE.

It is hereby certified that Lem Motlow

of Lynchburg, Tennessee, has this day made application for registration of a "Trade Mark", which is in words and design as above, and having fully complied with the Act governing such registration, and paid the fees prescribed by law, is hereby entitled to all the protection made and provided in said Act.

Witness my hand, this 12th day of Oct 1908. 189

Figure 2. Lem Motlow Trademark Registration for the Phrase "Old No. 7," Lynchburg, Tennessee. Source: Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, *RG 225, Trademark Registrations*, 2011. http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/legal.htm#jd.

Jack Daniel went into the business of alcohol production when he became a licensed distiller at the young age of twenty years old, in 1866. He initially leased a property and water source in Lynchburg, Tennessee, but was later able to purchase the

[55] TSLA, "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," 2011.

property outright in 1884. Included in the purchase price was the land, called the "Hollow," the water source, called "Cave Spring," plus 142 additional acres, which has been the home of the Jack Daniel Distillery ever since.[56] Jack Daniel, who had no children to leave his business to, took his nephew, Lem Motlow, under his wing and relinquished operation of the distillery to him in 1907. The Tennessee General Assembly passed a law in 1909 that outlawed alcohol production in the state, and Motlow was forced to move the operation out of state, first to St. Louis, Missouri, and later on to Birmingham, Alabama, not to return to Lynchburg until the state liquor production ban was repealed in 1937.[57]

Today, the Jack Daniel Distillery still operates out of the iconic cave that appears in the company's advertising campaigns, and still utilizes the Cave Spring stream, as shown in Figure 3 below, for the production of whiskey. According to archaeologist Douglas C. Joseph, there is evidence that Woodward's Distillery used a stream in a cave in Robertson County, Tennessee, in association with whiskey production as early as 1873.[58] Joseph emphasizes that there is a long history of the use of cave waters for whiskey production in Tennessee. Currently, there are ninety caves with suspected ties to moonshine production or storage, and likely many more which have yet to be identified

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[56] TSLA, "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," 2011.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Joseph, 255.

in the future. Joseph claims that such usage can be thought of "as an extension of subsistence and domestic practices into a commercial sphere."[59]

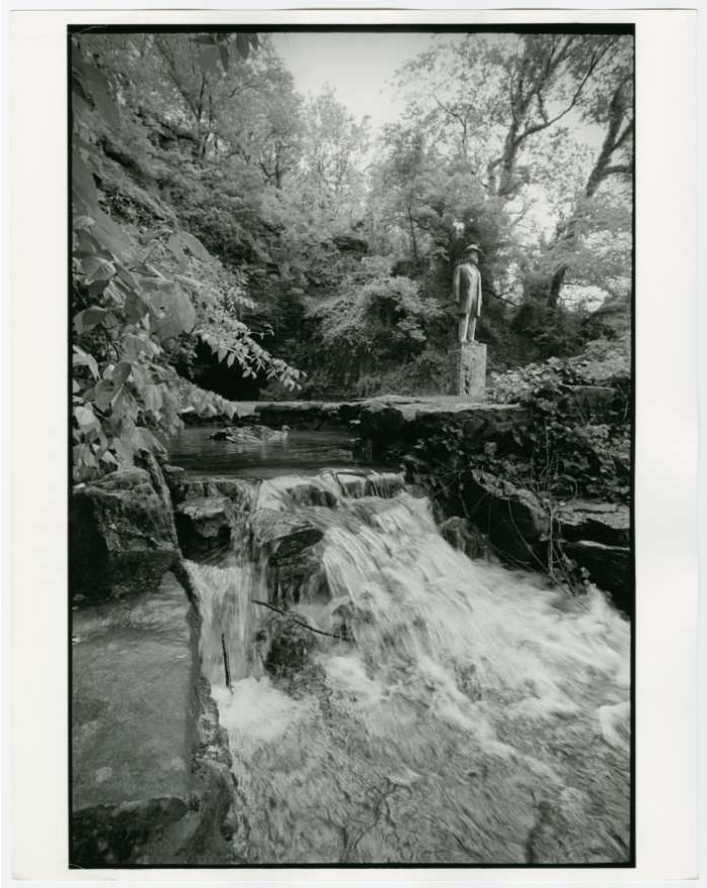

Figure 3. Jack Daniel's Cave Spring with Ducks, photograph, 1972.
Source: Junebug Clark, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, accessed May 23, 2017, texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc172325/.

Charles Nelson was a German immigrant who found great success as a Nashville businessman. In 1870, he bought the Green Brier Distillery in Robertson County, and grew it into one of the most productive distilleries in Tennessee. By 1885, the Green Brier Distillery shipped its whiskey all over, to destinations like California, and as far

[59] Ibid.

away as Paris, France. Each year, the distillery paid the state of Tennessee approximately $341,000 in taxes on the 380,000 gallons of whiskey it produced.[60] The 1909 statewide alcohol ban shut down the Green Brier distillery, but, one hundred years later, in 2009, two of Charles Nelson's great-great-great grandsons resurrected the distillery. John F. Brown and F. E. Cunningham established the Cascade Hollow Distillery near Tullahoma, Tennessee, in 1877. Nashville merchant George Dickel purchased the distillery in 1884. He produced George Dickel "Tennessee Whisky," opting for the Scottish spelling of whiskey, and he successfully ran the distillery until the 1909 statewide ban sent the production operation to Kentucky. Passage of the Eighteenth Amendment shut the distillery down completely until its resurrection in 1958.[61]

Throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Tennessee General Assembly passed laws concerning liquor sales in the vicinity of schools, hospitals, and churches. The Four-Mile Law (1877), an amendment extending its reach (1887), the Peeler Act (1899), the Adams Bill (1903), the Pendleton Act (1907), and the 1909 bill that banned the sale of alcohol within four miles of any school within the state, sparked spirited debate between the interests of the "wets" and the "drys," and dominated Tennessee politics. It was a murder late in 1908 though, that eventually tipped the political scales in favor of the "drys" and led to the complete alcohol production ban in 1909.[62]

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[60] TSLA, "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," 2011.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Dickinson, "Temperance," 914.

Edward Ward Carmack, editor of the *Nashville Banner* and "staunch prohibitionist," and Duncan Brown Cooper, his onetime friend and leader among the "wet" forces, were in a bitter dispute.[63] Carmack ran against Malcolm Patterson in the Democratic primary race for governor in 1907, and he came to despise his longtime friend when Cooper supported Patterson instead of himself. In retaliation, Carmack published an inflammatory attack against Cooper in the *Nashville Banner*. On November 8, 1908, Cooper and his son Robin coincidentally encountered Carmack walking down the street at the corner of 7th and Union in Nashville, and although accounts of what actually happened differ, it was Carmack that was shot dead at the scene, and "the drys had a martyr."[64]

The next year, in 1909, Tennessee passed two pieces of legislation regarding prohibition in advance of the eighteenth amendment. The first, Senate Bill No. 1, made consumption of alcoholic beverages within a four-mile radius of any public or private school illegal.[65] The second, Senate Bill No. 11, prohibited the manufacture of any

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[63] TSLA, "Brewing and Distilling in Tennessee," 2011.

[64] Ibid.

[65] To view an image of Senate Bill No. 1, Nashville, Tennessee, January 12, 1909, see: Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Passage of Prohibition," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, *RG 60, General Assembly Original Bills*, 2011. http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/passage.htm.

alcoholic beverages within Tennessee.[66] Governor Malcolm Patterson vetoed both proposed Senate bills, but his vetoes were overruled by the General Assembly.

On the National scene, Congress passed the "Original Packages Act," also known as the Wilson Act in 1890, and the Webb-Kenyon Act in 1913, which protected "dry" states from neighboring "wet" states by banning the import of alcohol across state lines.[67] For people whose family businesses involved the production of alcoholic spirits in Tennessee, prohibition meant the demise of the legally obtained distillery license, like the one Jack Daniel acquired in 1866, and in many instances, the formation of a new identity as a moonshiner, a bootlegger, or even a gangster.

While moonshining was certainly popular in Tennessee before prohibition, the national alcohol ban that went into effect in January 1920 ushered in what is often considered "the golden age of moonshining."[68] Where bootleggers and moonshiners sought to capitalize on opportunity; however, they often cut corners on quality, and always to the detriment of the end consumer. Before the end of 1920, an article in the

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[66] Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Passage of Prohibition," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, 2011, http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/passage.htm.

[67] For a discussion of both the Wilson Act (1890) and the Webb Kenyon Act (1913) see: Washington University Law Review, "The Present Status of the Webb-Kenyon Act," *St. Louis Law Review* 1, no. 1, Washington University Open Scholarship (January 1915), accessed April 29, 2017, http://openscholarship.wustl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5623&context=law_lawreview.

[68] Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Moonshine and Law," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, 2011, http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/moonshine.htm.

Nashville Tennessean warned, "Deaths from 'Moonshine' May Exceed War Toll."[69] According to the Washington State Health Department, seizure of stills and stiff fines did not deter moonshiners, and did not appear to decrease the output of "wild whiskey." The state director of the federal prohibition forces, Donald A. McDonald, issued a warning:

> There is no such thing as 'pure' moonshine. The fermentation of mash from raisins, sugar, prunes, grains and potatoes generates fusel oil and other dangerous chemicals. The metal containers in which the mash is cooked give off deadly poisons. One run of whisky form a homemade still may be relatively harmless, and the next highly dangerous.[70]

True chemical whiskey was aged for years to achieve purification. In contrast, moonshiners and bootleggers aged their products haphazardly overnight in an attempt to unload them on the market as quickly as possible. Because the liquor trade became a lucrative, though dangerous endeavor, it attracted large numbers of young immigrant men, who formed violent gangs, and participated in turf wars in large cities.[71]

Southern moonshiners, according to Wilbur R. Miller, author of *Revenuers & Moonshiners*, "resembled Eric Hobsbawm's 'primitive rebels' and 'social bandits' on American soil."[72] In Miller's characterization:

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[69] Lee J. Smits, "Deaths from 'Moonshine' May Exceed War Toll," *Nashville Tennessean*, October 12, 1920, accessed November 20, 2015, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3669531/the_tennessean/.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Marc Mappen, *Prohibition Gangsters: The Rise and Fall of a Bad Generation* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 3-6.

> They were rebels, supported by their neighbors but not politically organized. They were outlaws but only because a distant central government 'criminalized part of their way of life by imposing a tax on home-distilled whiskey they had produced for generations.[73]

As technology advanced through modernization, many moonshiners took advantage of the way of the future, while still honoring their traditional mountain moonshine culture. Railroads opened up a whole new expansive market for bootleg liquor enabling delivery far and wide. Improved roadways and automobiles inspired innovation that focused on both concealment and speed of delivery of illegal spirits. Gadgets to conceal a car's identity like smoke screens, or to aid in escape, like a can of oil dropped in the roadway to form an oil slick became increasingly more sophisticated. For people who were already on the wrong side of the law, prohibition offered unique opportunities to profit in a variety of different ways. Al Capone was in the illegal business of prostitution and gambling before prohibition allowed him to expand his bottom line bootlegging.[74] The quality of life that Progressives imagined when they embraced the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment was a far cry from the brutal reality that played out across America.

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[72] Wilbur R. Miller, *Revenuers & Moonshiners: Enforcing Federal Liquor Law in the Mountain South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 15.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Thornton, 117.

Prohibition: The "Noble Experiment"

Prohibition, a hotly contested political issue in Tennessee since the 1880s, was a central issue leading up to the 1928 United States presidential election. Herbert Hoover defeated Al Smith in order to become the thirty-first president, ensuring that what Hoover called, an "experiment, noble in motive" would continue for the foreseeable future.[75] The "Noble Experiment," as prohibition came to be known, was "something of an enigma, embodying a series of apparent historical anomalies," according to political scientist Mark Lawrence Schrad.[76] First, it was the middle of the progressive era, yet the concept of prohibiting alcohol production and consumption to control the actions of free citizens could be characterized as distinctly anti-progressive. Second, there were two unprecedented constitutional amendments that bookended the prohibition era, the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, "the only constitutional amendment to circumscribe individual liberty," and the Twenty-First Amendment in 1933, "the only amendment to nullify another."[77]

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[75] Peter H. Odegard, "Mr. Hoover's Noble Experiment," *Nation* 153, (July 29, 1931): 102. *Readers' Guide Retrospective: 1890-1982 (H. W. Wilson)*, EBSCO*host,* accessed June 6, 2017.

[76] Mark Lawrence Schrad, "Constitutional Blemishes: American Alcohol Prohibition and Repeal as Policy Punctuation," *The Policy Studies Journal* 35, no. 3 (August 2007): 437.

[77] Ibid; also US Constitution, amend. 18, sec. 1-3, "U.S. Constitution Amendment XVIII," *Legal Information Institute*, Cornell University Law School, accessed April 30, 2017, https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxviii; also US Constitution, amend. 21, sec. 1-3, "U.S. Constitution Amendment XXI," *Legal Information Institute*, Cornell University Law School, accessed April 30, 2017,

What developed in the years in between passage of the eighteenth and twenty-first amendments was not the anticipated bliss that people had hoped for. Instead, America was gripped by criminal activity and violence. The homicide rate soared as officials attempted to enforce prohibition laws. As Harvard Economics professor Jeffrey A. Miron clearly demonstrates in his *American Law and Economics Review* article, "Violence and the U.S. Prohibitions of Drugs and Alcohol," prohibition had lasting effects over much of the past century. Vast amounts of wealth and power were transferred to criminal networks that continued to operate throughout the Great Depression, and illegal, oftentimes immoral activities became normalized in every day life, resulting in the persistence of a significantly raised homicide rate in the U.S.[78]

The Wickersham Commission

President Herbert Hoover established the U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement in 1929 in accordance with an act of Congress. The eleven-member group, popularly known as the Wickersham Commission after its appointed leader, former U.S. Attorney General George Wickersham, was tasked with a monumental goal. They were to study "exhaustively the entire problem of the enforcement of our laws and the improvement of our judicial system, including the

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https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxxi.

[78] Miron, Jeffrey A. "Violence and the U.S. Prohibitions of Drugs and Alcohol." *American Law and Economics Review* 1, no. 1/2 (October 1, 1999): 78.

special problem and abuses growing out of the prohibition laws."[79] The Report that the Wickersham Commission ultimately produced was an across-the-board assessment of the criminal justice system that was arranged into multiple volumes and published in 1930 and 1931.[80] While President Hoover likely hoped to use the report to strengthen prohibition forces, what the report actually revealed was the extreme futility in continuing to even try to enforce the National Prohibition Act. The Commission concluded that a substantial portion of the population was not in favor of prohibition. Not only were they against it, but also they were outwardly flouting the law with little to no concern of repercussions. The Commission noted, "People of wealth, businessmen and professional men and their families . . . are drinking in large numbers in quite frank disregard of the National Prohibition Act."[81]

Economically, prohibition was equally unsustainable. First, tax revenue on alcohol production was severely restricted. Second, the cost of trying to enforce a law governing such a pervasive problem as alcohol abuse was astronomical. More alcohol-related arrests meant more prisoners to house and feed, even more money was necessary to pay extra law enforcement officers and corrections officers, federal tax revenue agents,

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[79] David J. Hanson, "Wickersham Commission: Pro- or Anti-Repeal? You Decide," *Alcohol Problems and* Solutions, State University of New York, Sociology Department, accessed February 27, 2017, https://www.alcoholproblemsandsolutions.org/wickersham-commission-pro-or-anti-repeal/.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Crossen, 2005.

judges, court employees, administrators, and the list goes on and on. According to the Wickersham Commission, the cost to even attempt to enforce prohibition alone was two-thirds of the complete federal law enforcement budget, excluding additional costs to local and state governments. Despite the scathing Report, the Wickersham Commission's eleven members failed to reach a consensus on what the solution to the prohibition problem was. Even though a majority of the members claimed to be opposed to prohibition, the Commission could not reach a consensus on repeal of the National Prohibition Act. The government's inability to concede that enforcement of an unenforceable law, which nearly 75 percent of the population found ineffective and in violation of their own personal rights and freedoms, rightfully earned the public's scorn.[82] *New York World* columnist Franklin P. Adams famously mocked the Wickersham Commission with his poem entitled, "Prohibition."

Prohibition
By Franklin P. Adams
1931
Prohibition is an awful flop.
We like it.
It can't stop what it's meant to stop.
We like it.
It's left a trail of graft and slime,
It don't prohibit worth a dime,
It's filled our land with vice and crime.
Nevertheless, we're for it.[83]

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[82] Hanson, 1.

[83] Ibid; also Schaffer Library of Drug Policy, "Prohibition, a Poem by Franklin P. Adams, 1931," accessed February 27, 2017, http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/history/e1930/adamsprohibition.htm.

In the 1932 presidential election, the Democratic Party candidate, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, campaigned on overturning prohibition. Roosevelt won the election by a large margin and Congress proposed the Twenty-First Amendment to the Constitution on February 20, 1933.[84] The purpose of the Twenty-First Amendment was to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment, the first time in United States history that a constitutional amendment was enacted to rescind a previous amendment. Ratification of the amendment occurred on December 5, 1933, and after thirteen tumultuous years of the National Prohibition Act, liquor was free to flow legally once again in America.[85] In Tennessee, the Twenty-First Amendment neither affected the ban on alcoholic beverages statewide, nor overturned any existing laws immediately, as Tennessee's liquor ban remained in effect statewide until 1939, when local option went into effect. Local option allowed individual cities and counties to permit the sale of packaged liquor and wine by referendum, and still governs liquor sales in Tennessee today.[86]

Historians sometimes claim that widespread cultural change was the reason for the failure of prohibition. National Alcohol Prohibition in America, though noble in concept, proved unsustainable economically, politically, and socially, in the long run. In *The Economics of Prohibition*, Mark Thornton argues that history supports the notion that

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[84] US Constitution, amend. 21, sec. 1-3, "U.S. Constitution Amendment XXI," *Legal Information Institute*, Cornell University Law School, accessed April 30, 2017, https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxxi.

[85] Crossen, 2005.

[86] Dickinson, "Temperance," 915.

economically, prohibition is impossible to achieve. Further, the outcome of prohibitions in any form, are never desirable in a social sense. Increased prices on illegal alcohol led to dangerous substitutions. New diseases developed from ingesting poisons, and increased crime, and rampant government corruption became the new normal.[87] In "The Bottle and the Border: What can America's failed experiment with alcohol prohibition in the 1920s teach us about the likely effects of anti-immigration legislation today?" Economist Kevin W. Caves agrees with Thornton's assessment of prohibition as impossible to accomplish, and indicates that Prohibition "failed to achieve its intended consequence."[88] Prohibition did not stop the illegal production and transportation of beer and spirits in the 1920s and 1930s, and illegal drinking establishments like speakeasies sprung up all over America. Caves suggests that New York City alone was home to anywhere from 30,000 to 100,000 speakeasy clubs.[89]

While national prohibition did reduce alcohol consumption and death and disease related to alcohol consumption, these improvements came at a high social price. An unwieldy black market developed at the hands of criminal gangs. Violence increased and government corruption was rampant. In "Violence and the U.S. Prohibitions of Drugs and Alcohol," Jeffrey A. Miron examines the most extreme end of the spectrum by analyzing the correlation between prohibition and violence by looking at the behavior of

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[87] Thornton, 5-6.

[88] Caves, 1.

[89] Ibid.

the homicide rate in America. Miron claims his results indicate that an increase in enforcement of alcohol prohibition leads to an increase in the homicide rate, and "auxiliary evidence suggests this positive correlation reflects a causal effect of prohibition enforcement on homicide."[90]

In "What are the policy lessons of National Alcohol Prohibition in the United States, 1920-1933?" University of Queensland research professor Wayne Hall agrees with Thornton and Caves that any policy as far-reaching as national prohibition was bound to have a broad range of social effects, both bad and good. Hall claims that in order to evaluate whether or not National Prohibition was good or bad in the terms of social policy though, we must ask whether or not any public health benefits were achieved, and if so, at what social and economic cost? Hall notes that in order to form public policy, tradeoffs concerning what he identifies as "incommensurable social values (adult liberty, public health, respect for the law and so on)" must be made, and there is rarely complete public consensus concerning such human affairs.[91]

Historian Jack S. Blocker, Jr. argues that even though organized crime and corruption flourished under the influence of prohibition, the government policy was not responsible for its appearance, as indicated by the persistence of organized crime even after repeal in 1933. Blocker acknowledges several ways in which national prohibition did achieve positive results and fulfill expectations. First, the liquor industry was

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[90] Miron, 78.

[91] Hall, 1166.

virtually annihilated, which created a unique opportunity to raise a generation of children who were not socialized in homes where alcohol abuse was commonplace. Second, prohibition did away with the old-time saloon, a symbol of machismo and male drinking culture. Blocker indicates that the most powerful legacy of national prohibition, however, is the widely accepted belief that it was a failure. On the contrary, prohibition did lower per capita consumption, and it did socialize a significant portion of the American population in alcohol abstinence, making it partially successful in the terms of a public health initiative.[92]

Prohibition did leave an indelible mark on history in many regards, with several tangible positive results. Prohibition increased consumption of beverages that did not include alcohol like carbonated sodas and fruit juices. Initially, non-alcoholic drinks were added to poor-quality liquors to make them more palatable. The cocktail evolved over time, from a "namby-pamby" sign of weakness, to an ingenious, even stylish way to imbibe inferior alcohol in an illegal speakeasy.[93] As cocktails became more acceptable, juices and sodas also grew in popularity. Roadside stands that sold products like A & W Rootbeer popped up instead of saloons. Acceptance of the cocktail throughout Prohibition gave way to what Blocker calls the "cocktail culture of the 1940s and 1950s.[94]

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[92] Blocker, 241.

[93] Crossen, 2005.

[94] Blocker, 240.

Another positive result of prohibition was marked improvement in American's drinking patterns. One of those improvements was a reduced yearly per capita consumption rate, which was down to approximately half the pre-Prohibition consumption rate.[95] Historian David E. Kyvig claims that in 1934, the per capita consumption rate (for adults over 15 years of age) measured 0.97 gallons of alcohol distributed as: 0.64 gallons of spirits, 0.36 gallons of wine, and 13.58 gallons of beer (4.5% alcohol after repeal). These rates, drastically reduced from the 1911-1915 rates, indicate total alcohol consumption decreased by more than 60% due to national prohibition. Kyvig notes that it is impossible to decipher whether the same number of drinkers each consumed less alcohol or, if fewer people drank alcohol. The vital point is that national alcohol prohibition caused a significant decrease in the collective alcohol consumption rate.[96] The number of deaths from cirrhosis of the liver decreased in accordance with the declining consumption rate.

The Prohibition Era transformed what it meant to be a habitual drinker. There were no resources available for alcoholics in need of help during prohibition. By 1935, a new self-help group formed with the goal of addressing the lingering problem of alcoholism in America. Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) combined old, traditional self-help

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[95] Ibid.

[96] David E. Kyvig, *Repeal of Prohibition*, second ed., (Kent, OH & London: The Kent State University Press, 2000), 19-20, accessed April 28, 2017, Google Books, https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=XsYi06oDpHMC&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA24.w.1.1.0

ideas with new concepts, gained through years of experience with prohibition at the state and national level. AA founders arrived at the conclusion that alcoholism was not something that people chose to be gripped by, but rather, it was a disease, which should be treated as such by the medical community.[97] Prohibition therefore profoundly affected popular American culture in the 1920s and 1930s, and its lasting effects can be seen today, nearly a century after the adoption of the National Prohibition Act.

Prohibition generated significant changes in American culture that not only allowed for, but also wholeheartedly accepted the existence of places like speakeasies, allowing them to flourish in the most extreme nooks and crannies of America. People who rejected the notion that the government should have control over a popular vice, especially one with such deep economic and social roots as alcohol, populated speakeasies. Speakeasies were places where young, college-aged people could dabble in drinking or where women could enter the semi-private drinking world. The political, economic, and social climate of the era was ripe with secrecy, corruption at all levels, and a festering anger towards the government and the status quo.

Deteriorating Victorian social mores allowed for and encouraged the normalization of drinking, which was exacerbated by the rising Jazz Age and the increasing number of secretive speakeasy clubs like the Black Cat Tavern. Throughout prohibition, raids on secret drinking establishments and other alcohol-related crimes were the focus of sensationalized newspaper headlines and daily front-page stories from coast to coast. The press voraciously followed the fight against alcohol as the bitter struggle

[97] Blocker, 240.

between the “wets” and the “drys” played out not only in Tennessee, but across the country. Bootlegging and moonshining stories became the main fodder for newspapers nationwide. Chapter three endeavors to examine the daily lives of people as they experienced the effects of prohibition regulation and enforcement through analysis of contemporaneous newspaper articles.

CHAPTER THREE: EXTRA! LOCAL RESPONSES TO PROHIBITION IN THE NEWS

The goal of this chapter containing my primary archival research is to provide a glimpse into the daily lives of people in the prohibition era, as recounted in contemporaneous newspaper articles, retrieved by microfiche at the Rutherford Country Archives, or through the online database Newspapers.com. The scope of this archival research is restricted to a sixty-year period from the 1880s to approximately the 1940s. Prominence is given to the year 1927, the midpoint of national alcohol prohibition in America, and a period that U.S. President Herbert Hoover termed "the noble experiment."[1] The main focus is on Rutherford County, Tennessee and the nearby city of Nashville, but other cities around the nation are included to highlight parallel experiences of sensationalism in journalism that occurred on a daily basis.

Ratification of the National Prohibition Act changed life dramatically for everyone in the United States, enhancing the already great divide between the feuding political factions of "wets" (drinkers) and "drys" (non-drinkers or prohibitionists). A headline in the *Nashville Tennessean* on January 16, 1919, anxiously proclaimed an "Amendment is Expected to Become Part of Federal Constitution Today."[2] The *Tennessean* reported on February 11, 1919 that Miss Gordon proudly displayed the pen that the Hon. Frank Lyon Polk, State Department assistant counselor, used to sign the

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[1] Peter H. Odegard, "Mr. Hoover's Noble Experiment," *Nation* 153, (July 29, 1931): 102. *Readers' Guide Retrospective: 1890-1982 (H. W. Wilson)*, EBSCO*host,* accessed June 6, 2017.

[2] Article, "Prohibition is Ratified By 35 States of Union," *Nashville Tennessean*, January 16, 1919, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3418117/the_tennessean/.

Eighteenth Amendment, "which sealed the great prohibition victory."[3] In Miss Gordon's account of the signing in Philadelphia, she graphically described "old Independence Hall with the Liberty Bell ringing out the chimes of victory—liberty from the curse of alcohol."[4] One month later, an article appeared in the *Nashville Tennessean* on March 16, 1919 with a headline proclaiming, "Wets Organize to Wage Fight on Prohibition: Association Plans Branches in Many States—Claims Thousands Enrolled."[5] The battle lines were clearly established as the countdown began to January 17, 1920, when the National Prohibition Act would go into effect, and the United States government would attempt to enforce the act.

The Death of Old John Barleycorn

A headline in the *Nashville Tennessean* on the eve of national prohibition, January 16, 1920, proclaimed, "Dry Law's Eve Finds New York on Final 'Spree'." The story states that it was the "Wettest Celebration on History in Metropolis," and "Every Saloon Wide Open and Selling Good Liquor to All Comers."[6] Old John Barleycorn was the personification of liquor, like whiskey or beer, which was made from barley or corn,

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[3] Article, "Pen Presented Miss Gordon," *Nashville Tennessean*, February 11, 1919, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3254721/the_tennessean_11_feb_1919_tuesday/.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Article, "Wets Organize to Wage Fight on Prohibition: Association Plans Branches in Many States—Claims Thousands Enrolled," *Nashville Tennessean*, March 16, 1919, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3254631/the_tennessean_16_mar_1919_sunday/.

[6] Augustin Lardy, Article, "Dry Law's Eve Finds New York on Final 'Spree'," *Nashville Tennessean*, January 16, 1920, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3669225/the_tennessean/.

and "wets" and "drys" alike, saw January 17, 1920 as the day of his death. Elsewhere around the country, Americans approached the end of an era as if literally mourning at the funeral of an old friend. In Norfolk, Virginia, famous evangelist Billy Sunday conducted a real funeral service for John Barleycorn with a "corpse," in an oversized casket 20 feet long, in front of 10,000 people, and with "Satan as Mourner."[7] In Kentucky, a headline in the *Louisville Courier Journal* on January 16, 1920, noted, "Midnight is Death to All Hope of Wets."[8] The news declared, "Twenty pallbearers placed the casket on a carriage and marched beside it through the streets to Sunday's tabernacle, while His Satanic Majesty trailed behind in deep mourning and anguish."[9] In the nation's capital, the *Washington (DC) Herald* reported on an interview with Senator Thomas Sterling, South Dakota, in which he proclaimed, "John Barleycorn is not only dead and buried, but he will never be resurrected!"[10] Senior economist, Kevin W. Caves points out in his analysis in "The Bottle and Border," people "envisioned an imminent utopia." He references the account of a "former baseball legend," and evangelical preacher, who proudly declared to his parishioners:

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[7] Article, "Our Old Friend 'Billy' Buries John Barleycorn," *Scranton (PA) Republican*, January 17, 1920, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3418304/the_scranton_republican/.

[8] Article, "Midnight is Death to All Hope of Wets," *Louisville (KY) Courier Journal*, January 16, 1920, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3417706/the_courierjournal/.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Article, "Liquor Gone for Good, Says Senator," *Washington (DC) Herald*, January 19, 1920, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3418387/the_washington_herald/.

> The reign of terror is over. The slums will soon be only a memory. We will turn our prisons into factories and our jails into storehouses. Men will walk upright now, women will smile, and the children will laugh. Hell will be forever rent.[11]

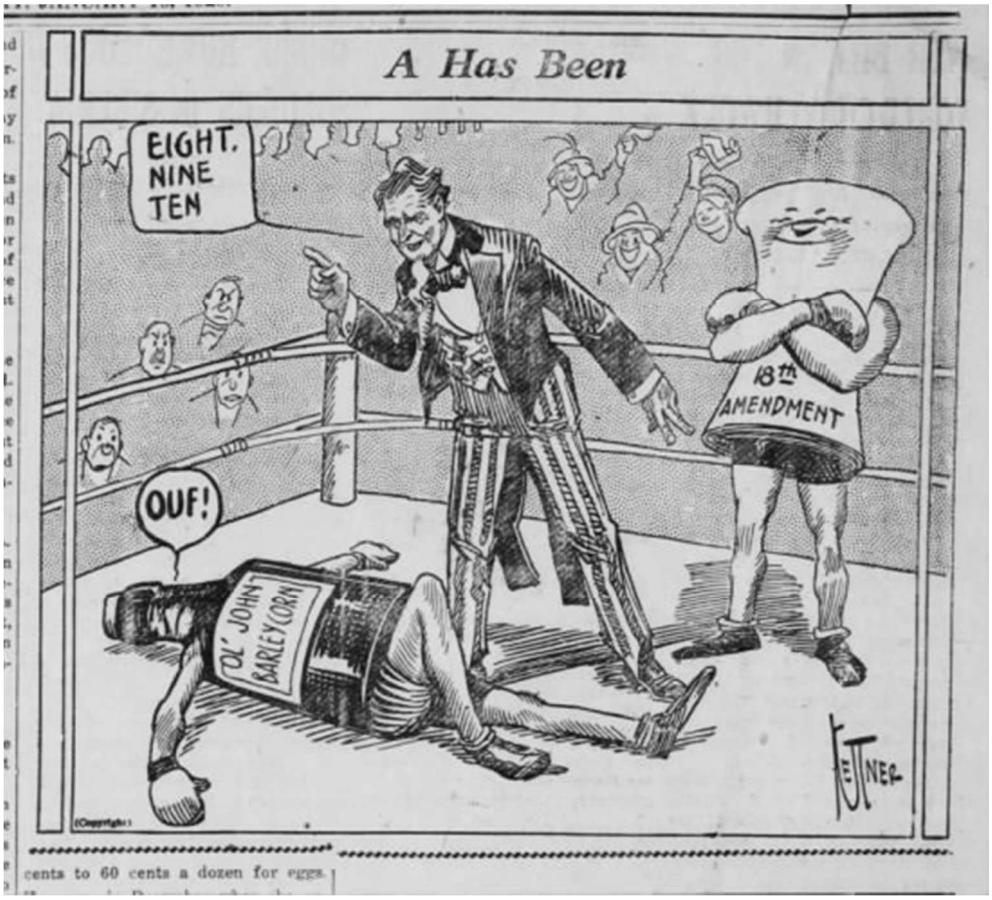

Figure 4. "A Has Been."
Source: *Kingsport Times (TN)*, January 16, 1920, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3417887/kingsport_times/.

National prohibition began at the stroke of midnight on January 17, 1920. The previous day, the *Louisville (KY) Courier Journal* reported that 177,790 saloons, 1,092 breweries and 226 distilleries became illegal businesses at exactly that minute, according

[11] Kevin W. Caves, "The Bottle and the Border: What can America's failed experiment with alcohol prohibition in the 1920s teach us about the likely effects of anti-immigration legislation today?" *Economists' Voice* 9, no. 1 (June 2012): 1.

to figures provided by the Internal Revenue Department.[12] The article also laid out the hierarchy of law enforcement, which indicated that a Prohibition Commissioner would maintain headquarters in Washington, D.C., and each state would have a director in charge of subordinates located throughout the state, and whose purpose was to be in charge of enforcing the law. The article reported:

> The Government will lose between $400,000,000 and $500,000,000 in revenue from fermented and distilled liquors, and similarly, States and cities will lose the huge sums they have heretofore collected from this source, losses which must be made up by initial taxation for the absence of liquor and the consequent decrease in crime will not effect a material reduction in the State or municipal budget.[13]

1927: Midway through the "Noble Experiment"

Deception and evasion were key themes of the prohibition era at its midpoint, and a number of problems as well as clever solutions to the era's problems came to light in the daily news. Dramatic shootouts between law enforcement officials and bootleggers played out daily in the press. On April 14, 1927, the *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner* ran the story, "Rum Runners Start Battles With Police," in which a "freighter load of liquor" was "captured in a pitched battle off Hoboken" (NJ).[14] The story goes on to detail a shoot out between "two boatloads of police" and rum runners

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[12] Article, "Midnight is Death to All Hope of Wets," *Louisville (KY) Courier Journal*, January 16, 1920, accessed April 29, 2017, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/3417706/the_courierjournal/.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Article, "Rum Runners Start Battles With Police," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, April 14, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

aboard the Fort Gaines, a freighter with 4,000 cases of smuggled moonshine aboard. If the dangerous side effects of smuggling illegal liquor did not jeopardize enough lives, surely the increasingly poor quality of the product did. On May 23, 1927, the *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner* reported on a story out of Miami, Florida concerning a U.S. chemist who tested eighteen samples of illegal liquor without finding any "standard stuff."[15] Dr. H. G. Alford, a government chemist, analyzed what were alleged "good liquors," and found that none of the samples contained standard whiskey. All eighteen samples were "made largely with cheap Cuban alcohol and colored with burn sugar." Even more disturbingly, Alford urged extreme caution when consuming moonshine liquor in particular, which he declared "not sanitary" because of the frequency with which the chemist found "small pigs, bugs, rats, and mice in barrels used to mix the mash," and because analyses of moonshine samples yielded trace amounts of both animal and vegetable.[16]

Crime statistics show that the number of prisoners incarcerated in the federal prison system rose from 3,889 in 1920 to 13,698 just twelve years later, in 1932.[17] Violent crime and especially heinous crime became normalized in local daily newspapers. On April 25, 1927, the *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner* ran the story of Grace Vare, an innocent fourteen-year-old girl whose father sold her into marriage to

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[15] International News Service, "No Real Whiskey To Be Found in Miami," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, May 23, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Mark Thornton, *The Economics of Prohibition*, 1991. Reprint, (Auburn, AL: The Mises Institute, 2014), 123.

Isaac Williams in exchange for ten dollars and a bottle of whiskey in 1913.[18] At the time the journalist interviewed Vare for the story, she was sitting in a jail cell on charges of bigamy. After thirteen years in an arranged marriage with her abusive husband (eighteen years older) and the births of two children, Vare ran away and fell in love with another man, Lewis Odell, whom she also married. Isaac Williams pressed charges against Vare and Odell, and they were both incarcerated. The story never mentioned who would care for Vare's two young children ages ten and seven.[19]

The "Good Roads Movement" Assists Bootlegging

Police raids on illegal moonshine operations dominated the news both locally and nationally in 1927. On the morning of April 12, 1927, local officers in Murfreesboro, Tennessee chased down and captured a Cadillac on the Dixie highway, a road constructed between 1915 and 1927 (now U.S. Highway 41) running from Ontario, Canada south through Chicago, 5,706 miles to Miami, Florida.[20] The Dixie Highway was a product of a new system of roadways built in response to a growing population of motorists who wanted to hit the highway and see America. According to Martha Carver with the

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[18] Article, "Money and Whisky Price Paid For Girl," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, April 25, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Tammy Ingram, *Dixie Highway: Road Building and the Making of the Modern South, 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 1, accessed February 25, 2017, http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/chapter/1564253; also Leslie N. Sharp, "Dixie Highway Association," in *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, ed. Carroll Van West (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 250.

Tennessee Department of Transportation, the "Good Roads Movement" "splintered" in 1910 when people with interests in tourism and the automobile industry endorsed connecting "primary towns" through the development of transcontinental and interstate roads.[21]

The Dixie Highway Association, conceived from the mind of Carl G. Fisher, an Indiana land speculator and entrepreneur, endeavored to garner support from motor enthusiasts to construct a north-south highway.[22] In 1914, Fisher and W. S. Gilbreath, a Michigan businessman, brought their idea to the American Road Congress annual meeting in Atlanta, Georgia. Two spurs of the Dixie Highway, an eastern and a western branch of the north-south highway pass through Tennessee. The western spur, driving from north to south, meanders through Springfield, Nashville, Murfreesboro, Shelbyville, Tullahoma, Winchester, Cowan, Monteagle, and Chattanooga. The eastern spur, from north to south, passes through Cumberland Gap, Knoxville, Rockwood, Dayton, and Chattanooga.[23] By 1927, the midpoint of national alcohol prohibition, the Dixie Highway was the second most traveled interstate highway in the South, crossing the state with north-south branches in the middle and eastern portions of the state.[24]

In 1911, Tennessee businessmen established the Memphis-to-Bristol Highway, a 500-mile long east-west stretch of roadway that the Tennessee State Highway

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[21] Martha Carver, "Historic Highways," in *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, ed. Carroll Van West (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 425.

[22] Sharp, "Dixie Highway Association," 250.

[23] Ibid., 251.

[24] Carver, "Historic Highways," 425.

Department designated as State Route 1 in 1915. In 1926, the state of Tennessee identified certain highways as top priorities for improvement and growth within the state. Tennessee renamed about two-thirds of State Route 1 (Memphis-to-Bristol Highway) changing it to U.S. 70, which became the premier east-west corridor in the area, earning the status of number one road priority. The Dixie Highway earned the second place priority designation.[25] According to Tennessee State Historian, Dr. Carroll Van West, the most direct route from Woodbury, the next county seat to the east of Murfreesboro, and the Memphis-to-Bristol Highway to the north of Murfreesboro was to take Hall's Hill Pike, an old historic route and a major spur of the Trail of Tears. Hall's Hill Pike connected with the Lebanon Turnpike at the VA Hospital and within a couple hundred yards of the Black Cat Tavern.[26]

The *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner* reported in the April 12, 1927 story that police opened fire on, and captured, a Cadillac transporting sixty gallons of white corn whiskey. Even though the front tires were shot out by police, "the daring blockaders continued their reckless flight."[27] Perhaps most astonishing about this illegal alcohol transport was the lengths the criminals went to in order to ensure that they would get away. The Cadillac was equipped with a tank filled with oil. When the oil was ignited, it was meant to produce a thick, dense smoke screen that would block the view of any

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Carroll Van West, in written correspondence, June 2017.

[27] Article, "Capture 60 Gallons White Corn Whisky: An Exciting Chase," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, April 12, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

pursuing police officers.[28] On April 15, 1927, The *News-Banner* reported 38 people arrested in the Woodbury, Tennessee area, near Martin's branch. Police were actively searching for two suspected liquor stills near Clear Fork in Cannon County, which, as the paper indicated, was "an ideal place for the bootlegger."[29]

Bootleggers set up shop in isolated spots and ran their illicit stills for long periods of time, going undetected, untaxed, and unrestricted. The *News-Banner* reported on the shooting of a man on April 16, 1927, in a raid in La Vergne, Tennessee that captured "a complete distilling outfit, 25 gallons of whiskey, 50 barrels of mash and two of the operators."[30] The arresting officers believed that the still had been in operation for a long period of time, as it was discovered in an area three miles northeast of the city of La Vergne, a section notorious for large scale whiskey distilling.[31] In Sparta, Tennessee, Revenue agent Tom Burges was busy exploring the "labyrinths" in the mountain region of the upper Cumberland, in search of "the illicit moonshiner and his holdings," according to the *News-Banner* on May 6, 1927.[32]

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Article, "Two Stills Captured No Arrests Are Made," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, April 15, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

[30] International News Service, "Officers Captures Distillery Plant," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, April 16, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Article, "Owners of Stills Brought Into Court," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, May 6, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

The causes and effects of a new life of crime were not limited to the male sphere. Women were both victims and perpetrators of illegal moonshining crimes. On April 19, 1927, the *News-Banner* reported on the "brutal assault" made on two sisters and their brother by "three drunken hoodlums."[33] The day before, there had been a news story about a woman offender "caught with goods" during a raid at the home of Clark Bottoms in the sixth ward. His wife, Mrs. Bottoms, and another woman, Miss Hayes, were charged with illegal whiskey possession, and Mrs. Bottoms was ordered to serve a six-month sentence working on the county road project, as she was a repeat offender, having already been convicted of a similar prior offense.[34]

Moonshining was often considered a family business, so when a raid on a home distilling operation ensued, women were often the first line of defense for their husbands or fathers. Mollie Miller, a Tennessee native, first came into contact with revenuers and authorities during a raid on her father, Sam Miller's illegal stills. During the raid, three tax revenuers were killed, while others fled for their safety under heavy fire. Sam Miller died in a separate raid shortly thereafter at the hands of a man who supposedly "had a grudge against" Sam. Several days after Sam's death, the marshal received a coffin delivery. Inside the coffin was the body of the informant. In total, Mollie Miller was

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[33] Article, "A Dastardly Crime is Highway Hold-Up," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, April 19, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

[34] Article, "More Bootleggers Arrested Sunday," *Murfreesboro (TN) News-Banner*, April 18, 1927, Rutherford County Archives, Murfreesboro News 1858-1927, Roll No. MUR 102.

implicated in the deaths of three tax revenuers and as many as five informants.[35] While many women protected their men in the family business, some dabbled in "wildcat whiskey" entrepreneurship themselves.

Bootlegging inspired innovation and entrepreneurship locally and nationally, but oftentimes new inventions or dangerous practices benefitted criminals, not law enforcement officials or end consumers. Early bootleggers smuggled foreign liquor into the United States from Canada and Mexico, and along the eastern and western seacoasts in boats designed to outrun U.S. Coast Guard cutters. On land, smuggled liquor often traveled through Middle Tennessee on the Memphis-to-Bristol Highway in cars with stock bodies and modified engines under the hood to help escape local law enforcement and the federal agents from the U.S. Treasury Department's Bureau of Internal Revenue. Today, we can look back on the history of bootleggers running moonshine up and down the eastern branch of the Dixie Highway or the Memphis-to-Bristol Highway to see the earliest roots of NASCAR racing.[36]

Based on the geographical and historical context of the State of Tennessee in the prohibition era, it seems likely that a place like Black Cat Cave would have been a logical choice for a secret speakeasy in Rutherford County. The subterranean environment provided secrecy for covert or subversive behavior, the location on the northern outskirts

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[35] Wilbur R. Miller, *Revenuers & Moonshiners: Enforcing Federal Liquor Law in the Mountain South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 17.

[36] Tennessee State Library and Archives, "Moonshine and Law," in *The Saloon and Anarchy: Prohibition in Tennessee* online exhibit, 2011, http://share.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/prohibition/moonshine.htm.

of town was near the junction of two major roadways that were the number one and number two priority roads for proposed improvements, and the location was far enough out of the center of Murfreesboro to likely skirt the reaches of the Four-Mile-Law.

Perhaps it is possible to gain an even better understanding of the prohibition period and the places that appeared on the cultural landscape by delving into holistic, inclusive studies like this historical archaeological inquiry into the intriguing Black Cat Cave. Toward this end, the next chapter of this thesis presents my methodology and procedures for the original laboratory research and analysis of the archaeological collection from the 2014 Black Cat Cave salvage excavation. The goal of chapter four is to expand upon this chapter's archival investigation of Middle Tennessee's local activities under alcohol prohibition through analysis of the historic period bottle glass and bottle caps.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

"Methodology – How does one extract information about culture, about mind, from mute objects?"[1]
—Jules David Prown

Speakeasies were secretive by design and are therefore poorly represented in the archival record. Shrouded in mystery, hidden from plain sight, and operating strictly through word of mouth advertising, speakeasies are mysterious places that pique our interest and inspire sensationalized stories of illegal alcohol, illicit activities, jazz music, gambling, flappers, and gangsters. Despite romanticized impressions left behind in popular culture via the media and Hollywood movie producers, speakeasies were actually places that left a very faint footprint in terms of perceptible physical evidence. The myth and mystique of Black Cat Cave as an alleged prohibition era speakeasy in the Walter Hill section of Murfreesboro, Tennessee is the focus of this historical archaeological investigation.

Historical Archaeology: Material Culture and Black Cat Cave

Historical archaeologists draw upon a number of lines of evidence when they investigate a particular place during a specific period of time. The use of archaeological evidence enhances any historical investigation, adding depth to our level of understanding and allowing for more nuanced analyses and interpretations of the available evidence. Artifact analysis is of equal importance to analysis of the social

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[1] Prown, Jules David. "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method." *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 7, accessed January 23, 2017. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/stable/pdf/1180761.pdf

history that created the need for a secret cave speakeasy. Chapter two provided the national historical context of the prohibition era, politically, economically, and socially. Chapter three examined the regional historical climate of the prohibition era through my analysis of contemporary newspaper accounts. This chapter discusses the methodology, or the plans and procedures, established and executed in order to provide a substantial, well-rounded study of the material culture of Black Cat Cave throughout prohibition.

This chapter reviews the procedures and methods I employed in the laboratory and archaeological analysis of the Black Cat Cave bottle glass and bottle cap collection. The 2014-salvaged collection forms the available material record of local responses to the prohibition era. This chapter also includes a complete description of which standards I followed and why, and how this research uses artifacts as alternative primary sources in conjunction with documentary sources. Conclusions drawn at the end of this thesis will be based on multiple lines of evidence as they relate to one another.

The Black Cat Cave 2014 assemblage under investigation here includes thousands of pieces of bottle glass, metal bottle caps, concrete, rock, metal nails, wood, plastic, and window glass. All human and faunal remains were previously separated from the bulk of the collection and are not part of this investigation. Most of the artifacts recovered from the cave have little potential to further inform us of happenings that took place in the cave. As the oral tradition related to Black Cat Cave indicated, there was a poured concrete floor with a wood dance floor laid on top of it. As such, there are large amounts of concrete, rock, metal nails, and wood in the collection. These artifacts, although confirmation of what oral tradition reveals about the cave, are outside the scope of this

master's thesis, and are therefore excluded from this investigation of alcohol consumption. Window glass is flat with no markings and is also not relevant to this investigation. Bottle glass and bottle caps, however, are manufactured items that contained beverages, often marked with some form of identification by their makers. That means that they have great research potential for an investigation of prohibition drinking activities through the identification of their year and place of manufacture.

Charles E. Orser, Jr., author of *Historical Archaeology*, asserts that historical archaeologists learn a great deal of information from reading the artifacts, and they frequently use those artifacts "to date specific occupation layers in the soil."[2] Because of significant disturbances at the Black Cat Cave site, due to looting and vandalism, it is not possible to use these artifacts for the purpose of dating specific soil layers. It is possible, however, in isolated instances where visible markings exist, to ascertain the earliest possible manufacture dates. Glass manufacturers often mark bottle glass with numbers, letters, or symbols. These makers' marks or manufacturer's dates, such as those used by Owens-Illinois Glass for example, can serve as valuable indicators of time in any archaeological investigation of this nature.[3] The goal of the laboratory portion of this thesis is to, whenever possible through makers' marks, establish an artifact's *terminus post quem* (TPQ) date, which is the earliest possible date that the artifact could have been

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[2] Charles E. Orser, Jr., *Historical Archaeology*, 2nd ed., (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004), 95.

[3] George L. Miller et al., "Telling Time for Archaeologists," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 29 (2000): 1-2.

manufactured.[4] By identifying the earliest manufacture date, it is possible to confirm that the artifact could not possibly have been deposited in the cave at a date earlier than the manufacture date, but it could have been deposited any time afterward. For example, a glass bottle manufactured at a Coca-Cola Bottling facility in 1960 could not have been discarded any place or any time prior to 1960, but it could have entered the archaeological record in 1967.

All TPQ dates assigned in this thesis are available on the Society for Historical Archaeology's (SHA's) Bottle Identification website, which is compiled by Bill Lindsey, in collaboration with the U.S. Bureau of Land Management (BLM).[5] Additional information used in the identification process came from *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary for the description of containers, tableware, flat glass, and closures*, by Olive Jones and Catherine Sullivan.[6] These compilations of TPQ research reflect countless hours of time spent by different historical archaeologists studying factory records, account books, sales catalogs, and any number of other available sources. Makers' marks, patents, design registrations, and even changes in shape, size, or design of a manufactured bottle over time (Coca-Cola bottles, for example), are all useful tools in establishing TPQ dates in archaeological assemblages. Makers' marks can also

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[4] Orser, 98.

[5] Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website*. ONLINE. 2010. Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 22, 2017, http://www.sha.org/bottle/index.htm.

[6] Jones, Olive and Catherine Sullivan. *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary for the description of containers, tableware, flat glass, and closures*, rev. ed., (Ottawa, Ont: National Historic Parks and Sites, Canadian Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1989).

potentially indicate an artifact's city of manufacture, which can lead to the identification of any distribution networks that Middle Tennessee might have been connected to. Finally, makers' marks help identify companies that produced certain products, like Coca-Cola or Rolling Rock beer for example, along with identifying the original contents packaged within the bottle.[7]

The use of bottle glass to aid in assigning dates of activity in a place like Black Cat Cave does have limitations, however, especially considering the context of the historic time period under investigation. The artifacts in the Black Cat Cave collection are associated with a place that is linked to presumed illegal alcohol distribution and consumption. It is highly probable that bottle reuse occurred during prohibition, and that the content of any given bottle, at the time it was discarded, was not necessarily the same as the original content. It was in the best interest of both the smuggler and the drinker to conceal alcohol in non-alcohol related containers in order to avoid prosecution. Jane Busch, author of "Second Time Around: A Look at Bottle Reuse," emphasizes the importance of beer and soda bottles to home brewers and people who practiced home preservation. In 1922, a news source called the *National Bottlers' Gazette* speculated that a soft drink bottle shortage was due "almost entirely" to people using them for home brew.[8] In this study, I am therefore particularly interested in TPQ dates that are

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[7] Miller, 1-4.

[8] Jane Busch, "Second Time Around: A Look at Bottle Reuse." *Historical Archaeology* 21, no. 1 (1987): 71, accessed October 13, 2015, http://www.jstor/org/stable/25615613.

significantly earlier than prohibition because they may still reflect activities that took place during the period of study due to bottle reuse.

In addition to makers' marks, other potential time markers found on manufactured glass bottles can be found in the manufacturing processes that produced each bottle's unique characteristics. Mold seams, vent marks, bottle bases, bottle finishes and rims are all potentially informative characteristics of bottles that can lead to identification of the date and place of manufacture.[9]

Laboratory Procedures

The laboratory portion of this master's thesis is concerned with reading the clues provided by the 3,290 pieces of historic period container glass and bottle caps recovered from the Black Cat Cave site (40RD299) in 2014. When I first gained access to the collection, it was contained in 17 storage boxes marked "Black Cat Cave" and lettered "A" through "Q" in the Peck Hall archaeology laboratory. A handwritten "Field Specimen (FS) Log Book" with 29 entries accompanied the boxes.[10] The first step was to conduct a preliminary inventory of the collection exactly "as is" on the shelf in the storage area of the lab. I began by opening each box, examining and noting the contents, and indicating whether or not the box contained bottle glass or bottle caps. Boxes M, N, O, P, and Q were eliminated from the study at this point, as they contain artifacts related

[9] Jones and Sullivan, 35-49.

[10] The original Field Specimen (FS) Log is stored in the MTSU archaeology lab, on the shelf, alongside the Black Cat Cave collection. A copy of the SHARD Database, the new Field Specimen Log Key, and the FS Number Lab Map, generated from this research, can also be found on the shelf with the collection for future researchers.

to the prehistory of the cave and are beyond the scope of this study. Box B and Box H did not contain any bottle glass or bottle caps and were also eliminated from the study. At the end of this process, ten boxes with bottle glass and/or bottle caps remained.

I was then ready to begin the process of resorting the Black Cat Cave collection in order to identify the artifacts with the most research and learning potential: the machine-manufactured bottle glass and the bottle caps, in preparation for cataloguing the artifacts in the study in a queryable database. The criteria established for the new sorting process and what determined an artifact bag's contents came down to glass color, vessel part (e.g. base vs. lip), and identifying attributes (e.g. a traceable ACL or makers' mark). At this point, all of the windowpane glass was separated from the bottle glass and returned to the original 2014 collection in the original artifact bags. The reason the windowpane glass (discarded architectural debris) is not included here is because it does not have great potential to inform our understanding of the drinking practices that were going on at the cave. Other than proving what the 1933 photograph of the Black Cat Tavern already shows; that the place had windows in the cave entrance façade, the windowpane glass is of little archaeological value. In addition to sorting out the windowpane glass, the remaining glass in each interior bag was sorted by color, into colorless, amber, green, cobalt blue, or opaque white. At this point, the metal bottle caps were also separated out.

With the above steps taken, the next step was to organize the artifacts into logical groupings within each provenience (or FS) corresponding to lot numbers. Groupings were based on color and whether or not the glass was marked in any way. If an artifact had a mark it was then placed into an individual artifact bag with a count of one, and

designated for further document research. Placement within the vessel (e.g. base, heel, lip) for fragments that are not body shards is noted under the Remarks field in the database. Unremarkable fragments with like characteristics were grouped together in lots with multiple fragment counts.

The next step in the process was to count, weigh, and label the contents of the 325 new individual artifact bags (lots). Under the direction of Dr. Tanya M. Peres, as Principal Investigator, I labeled lots with the following information:

FS #001 – Lot #001
40RD299
Black Cat Cave
Location Collected
Date Collected
Initials of Finder
Glass (Material)
Fragment Count
Weight

During the 2014 archaeological salvage excavation, students labeled the existing bags of artifacts using a "Field Specimen (FS) Log" system. Each FS number in the original 2014 logbook corresponds to a non-stratigraphic location at the Black Cat Cave site. For example: FS #001 corresponds to the northwest corner, FS #002 corresponds to the backdirt pile, and FS #025 corresponds to the front entry room. See Figure 5 below, for a Plan Map of site 40RD299.

The next step in the research plan was to assign a triple-digit lot number for each new artifact bag within each FS number. For example: FS #025-#001, FS #025-#002, FS #025-#003, etc. Lot numbers were assigned consecutively within each FS number.

Each of the 325 artifact bags is now easily identified by its FS number and Lot number combination (FS #001-123, for example). This is the key identifier in the next step of the research plan, which was cataloguing the collection in the Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database (SHARD).

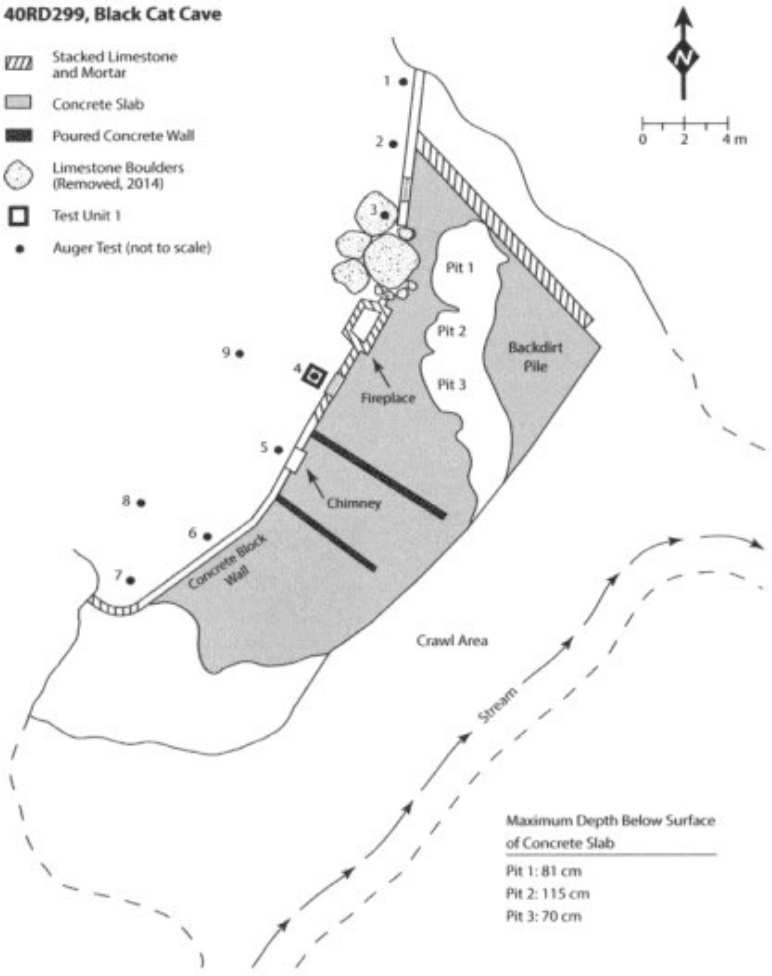

Figure 5. Plan Map of Black Cat Cave, 2014. Map reprinted with permission of Dr. Tanya M. Peres. Source: Peres, Tanya M., Aaron Deter-Wolf, Joey Keasler, and Shannon Chappell Hodge. "Faunal Remains from an Archaic Period Cave in Southeastern United States." *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 8 (2016): 189.

The final steps in the laboratory portion of this research were to enter the 325 new lots into the SHARD database, and as that process unfolded, to conduct any historical document research necessary to fill in the gaps in each lot's data. SHARD is a Microsoft Access database that is used to catalog historic artifacts from mid-nineteenth to twentieth century archaeological sites. The purpose of this database is to "create data tables that facilitate intra- and inter-site comparisons."[11] Once the bottle glass and metal bottle caps were resorted and reorganized out of the 2014 collection, the new artifact bags, identifiable by assigned FS numbers and Lot numbers, were entered into the SHARD database.

See Appendix A for Table 1: Field Specimen (FS) Log Key and Lab Map, for a complete list of the original 29 FS numbers assigned at the Black Cat Cave site (40RD299) during the 2014 operation, and the Lot numbers assigned within them during this investigation. Table 1 is a comprehensive list that includes the FS number and Lot number for each of the historic period bottle glass fragments and metal bottle caps included here. Additionally, Table 1 includes information about how to locate each artifact within the laboratory storage system. For example, FS #001-008 can be found in Box #1, Bag Letter G on the shelf in the archaeology lab. Other information significant to the lab environment, such as count, weight, and color of artifact, along with provenience or location the artifact was collected are also provided.

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[11] Erica Gibson, Mary Praetzellis, and Bryan Much, "SHARD Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database," Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, 2008, accessed July 8, 2016. http://www.sonoma.edu/asc/shard/.

See Appendix B for Table 2: Black Cat Cave (40RD299) SHARD Database. Certain categories that were recorded for each entry in the lab are not included here due to repetition and size requirements. For example, every lot has the same Project Name (Black Cat Cave), the same Accession Number (10-90), and the same state-assigned Site Trinomial (40RD299), so those columns are indicated here, within the text, but are not shown in Table 2. The Accession Number was previously assigned to the entire collection by the curatorial facility (in this case, MTSU's Anthropology Program). The Site Trinomial (40RD299) comes from the Smithsonian trinomial system for identifying archaeological and other historic sites in the United States and includes three standard segments. The prefix assigns each state a number. Tennessee is number 40, the first segment of the trinomial. The second segment, RD, means that the site is located in Rutherford County, and the last segment of the trinomial is the consecutive number in which the site was listed as an archaeological site within the county.

Each of the 325 lots (Line Item) has its own catalog number, which for the purposes of this study is the Field Specimen number (FS) assigned during the 2014 operation, followed by the Lot number (Lot) assigned in this investigation. Provenience information (Prov. Info) is noted if the artifact was discovered through a bucket auger test or through a test excavation unit. The next four database entries: Artifact Category (Art. Cat.), Artifact Type (Art. Type), Artifact Description (Art. Desc.), and Material, are "hierarchical classifications based on functional categories."[12] They all consist of dropdown boxes to help guide selections. Artifact Group does not appear in Table 2, but

[12] Gibson et al., 5.

the selection made in the lab was "Domestic," for all 325 lots, which reflects that this assemblage consists of glass storage vessels that were used mainly in a domestic setting.

The next column, Artifact Category (Art. Cat.) illustrates the limitations of any database that is based on functional categories. In this case, the options forced the assumption that all amber glass in this study had the Artifact Category designation "Social Drugs—Alcohol." The other option available to choose was for sodas, but selecting that option would have removed all amber glass from the final count of alcohol related glass. In order to capture all potential alcohol, it was necessary to assume that all of the amber glass in the Black Cat Cave collection came from beer bottles. In fact, it is not possible to prove, for instance, that all of the amber glass in the collection did indeed come from an alcoholic beverage, and not a root beer, for example.

The next column in Table 2, Artifact Type (Art. Type), identifies the artifact as either a "Container" or a "Closure." For Artifact Description (Art. Desc.), the next category, possible choices are: "Beer Bottle," which indicated all amber glass, or any other color of glass that is obviously a beer bottle, as indicated by a logo or partial logo, or other identifying mark. Other choices in this category include Bottle/Jar, Tumbler, Flask, Soda Pop Bottle, and Alcoholic Beverage Bottle. The next column is (Material), which is where glass, as well as its color, or metal (bottle cap) is indicated. Examples are: Amber glass, Green glass, Colorless glass, Cobalt glass, Opaque White glass, and Metal.

The next group of information in the SHARD database, Table 2, helps describe the artifact, including any markings (Mark), information about the maker (Maker), and a

range of potential manufacture dates for the bottle. There are entries for (Begin Date) and (End Date) and these correspond to the earliest possible date that the item could have been manufactured, and the date that the manufacturer ceased production of that particular design. All machine-made bottles have a begin date. As Jones and Sullivan discuss extensively in *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary*, in the late nineteenth century, there was a shift by glassmakers toward mechanization in bottle making. In 1881, Philip Arbogast patented a semi-automatic machine that made wide-mouth jars in the United States. Several other glass bottle machines were developed, but the most successful of these was the first fully automatic machine, developed in 1903 by Michael Owens. Some of the recognizable characteristics of machine-made bottles include: visible mold seams on the finish (top of the bottle/lip), visible body seams running vertically down the side of the container, and visible base and heel mold seams.[13]

The next two columns of Table 2, (References) and (Origin), include a URL link to any pertinent research information for that particular lot or artifact, and identify a potential city of origin for the artifact if it was readily available within the TPQ date research. The final section of the database is where the (Remarks), fragment count (Frag. Ct.), and weight (Wt. (g)) categories were recorded for all lots. Upon completion of the data entry portion of the lab work, tables and reports can be generated to closely examine temporal and functional patterns in the identifiable artifacts in the Black Cat Cave assemblage as a whole.

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[13] Jones and Sullivan, 38.

Many of the lots with large fragment counts were simply entered into the database, as they have no further research potential beyond adding to the fragment count. All of the fragments in the collection that are now isolated as single artifacts with lot numbers have the potential to enhance our understanding further with document research. There are also several lots with multiple fragments that are obviously from the same bottle, which are different fragments of the same logo. These lots also warrant further research. The intended purpose of this lab work is that upon completion of sorting, reorganization, labeling, and cataloguing the artifacts, the SHARD (database), once exported, will offer a glimpse into some of the behavior that might have taken place in the cave, based on the assemblage level patterns and the results of research into manufacturers' marks and available TPQ dates. The laboratory work portion of this thesis took approximately one hundred hours to complete, and the analysis and findings are discussed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS—A REVIEW OF AVAILABLE EVIDENCE

Upon completion of the laboratory analysis portion of this thesis, cataloguing of the Black Cat Cave 2014 assemblage yielded 3,290 artifacts sorted into 325 new lots, labeled for easy identification and future reference, along with the queryable SHARD database. Of the total artifacts, 3,269 were historic bottle glass fragments, two were complete glass vessels, and perhaps surprisingly, only 19 were metal bottle caps, a relatively small number in relation to the amount of glass recovered. Of the 325 new lots, 217 (66.8%) contained unmarked glass fragments, which have no further learning potential within this inquiry. The other 108 lots (33.2%) contained bottle glass with some type of marking that warranted further research.

The 108 marked lots that entered the next round of study to determine TPQ dates through document research yielded 80 lots (24.6% of 325 lots) in which the earliest possible manufacture date was determined. The combined fragment count within these 80 lots is only 161, which is just 4.9% of the total artifacts included in this study. Of the 80 lots where TPQ dates were established, 50 lots (62.5%) were attributed to food preparation and consumption, and 30 lots (37.5%) were attributed to social drugs or alcohol, based on selections made in SHARD (see Appendix B, Table 2: Black Cat Cave (40RD299) SHARD Database). What follows is a chronological presentation of the 80 dated lots (Line Items one to 80), beginning with the earliest TPQ dates, with discussion of how those dates were determined, and how they can potentially inform our understanding of the activities that took place in Black Cat Cave during prohibition.

Identifiable Artifacts Predating Prohibition Repeal

The first four line items in Appendix B, Table 2: Black Cat Cave (40RD299) SHARD Database, correspond to the four artifacts with the earliest possible TPQ dates in this investigation. These four lots (FS 021-013, 021-014, 025-029, and 025-030) contain markings that led to their identification as fragments of "Boyd's Genuine Porcelain Lined Caps."[1] Even though the name, which is embossed on the glass, indicates that the cap was lined with "porcelain," the liners were actually made of opaque/white milk glass, which was more commonly used in the cosmetics industry, and not for soda, beer, or liquor bottles. These white milk glass discs were inserted into Mason jar lids, where they acted as a protective barrier between the metal lid and the contents of the jar in order to prevent a metallic taste. In the SHARD database, these four lots were attributed to food preparation and consumption rather than to social drugs and alcohol. After 1902, the Hazel-Atlas Glass Company in Wheeling, West Virginia manufactured large quantities of Boyd's Genuine Porcelain Lined Caps.[2] Whether using the 1869 patent date or the

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[1] Bill Lockhart et al., "Consolidated Fruit Jar," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 24, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ConsolidatedFruitJar.pdf; also Bill Lindsey, "Mason's Patent Fruit Jar caps & related," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Bottle Finishes and Closures Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 24, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/closures.htm#MasonsPatent; also Lewis R. Boyd, "United States Patent: 88,439 – Design for an Improved Mode of Preventing Corrosion in Metallic Caps," March 30, 1869, accessed May 4, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/Boydsinsert1869.pdf.

[2] Bill Lockhart et al., "Hazel-Atlas Glass Co.," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed May 4, 2017. https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/Hazel-Atlas.pdf.

historical documentary account of mass production of the milk glass liners after 1902, these four artifacts are potentially some of the oldest in this study.

The next eight line items or lots (FS 001-103, 002-050, 002-014, 011-004, 017-002, 025-050, 025-049, and 027-001) contain (19 total) Crown bottle caps. Although all of the metal bottle caps in the collection are corroded beyond recognition of any markings, their shape, along with documentary research, led to their identification as Crown caps.[3] These eight lots contain the artifacts with the second oldest TPQ date in the collection: 1892. William Painter was granted a U.S. Patent for a "Bottle Sealing Device" on February 2, 1892. According to Painter, he called his closure the "crown cap" because it "gives a crowning and beautiful effect to the bottle."[4] Bill Lindsey notes on the SHA Bottle Identification website that by about the mid-1910s, the "crown finish quickly gained supremacy."[5] The eight lots containing Crown caps were all designated to the social drugs or alcohol category in the SHARD database. It is entirely possible, however, that one or all of the caps could have been from a soda. In order to detect them in this study, the decision had to be made to assume they were alcohol related in the SHARD database. It is interesting to note that the first twelve line items (15% of the 80

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[3] Bill Lindsey, "Crown Cap," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website Bottle Closures Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed May 4, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/closures.htm.

[4] Ibid., also William Painter, "United States Patent: 468,226 –Bottle Sealing Device," February 2, 1892, accessed May 4, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/crowncappatent1892.pdf.

[5] Lindsey, "Crown Cap," 2017.

new lots) in Appendix B, all belong to closures, and are not fragments of historic bottle glass.

The next eleven line items (lines 13-23 in Appendix B) contain fragments of Coca-Cola bottles. The first three lots (FS 021-006, 021-005, and 021-004) have the earliest TPQ date of all of the Coca-Cola fragments, which is 1916 based on markings on the glass. These identifying marks include partial early trademarks and embossed lettering. In 1915, the Coca-Cola Company asked their bottlers to help them design a new, memorable bottle to be "so distinct that it could be recognized by feel in the dark or identified lying broken on the ground."[6] Alexander Samuelson, an employee of the Root Glass Company of Terre Haute, Indiana sketched the design, and applied for and was granted United States Patent number 46,180 for the earliest version of the "contour" or "hobble-skirt" bottle on November 16, 1915.[7] Samuelson was one of four people involved in the design of the bottle, and there was some confusion concerning his name being the one associated with the patent. The Coca-Cola Company did not start using the

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[6] "The Contour Bottle," A Short History of the Coca-Cola Company, accessed March 15, 2017. www.coca-colacompany.com/our-company/history-of-bottling.

[7] Ibid; also Ned L. Irwin, "Bottling Gold: Chattanooga's Coca-Cola Fortunes," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (winter 1992): 227; also Bill Lockhart and Bill Porter, "The Dating Game: Tracking the Hobble-Skirt Coca-Cola Bottle," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, 47, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 21, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/coca-cola.pdf.

new hobble-skirt bottle design, nicknamed the "Mae West bottle," until some time in 1916.[8]

The next eight line items (lines 16-23 of Appendix B) (FS 025-036, 025-034, 024-020, 025-019, 025-018, 025-016, 025-014, and 028-010) are also Coca-Cola bottle fragments. These fragments have a later TPQ date of 1917, based on the comparison of identifiable markings on the artifacts to information compiled on the SHA's Historic Bottle Identification website. For example, FS 025-018, Figure 6 below, is a body fragment of a Coca-Cola "hobble skirt" bottle.

Figure 6. FS 025-018 Coca-Cola Hobble Skirt Bottle Fragment, TPQ 1917.
Artifact shown with a centimeter ruler for scale

[8] Lockhart and Porter, "The Dating Game," 48; also "The Contour Bottle," A Short History of the Coca-Cola Company, accessed March 15, 2017, www.coca-colacompany.com/our-company/history-of-bottling.

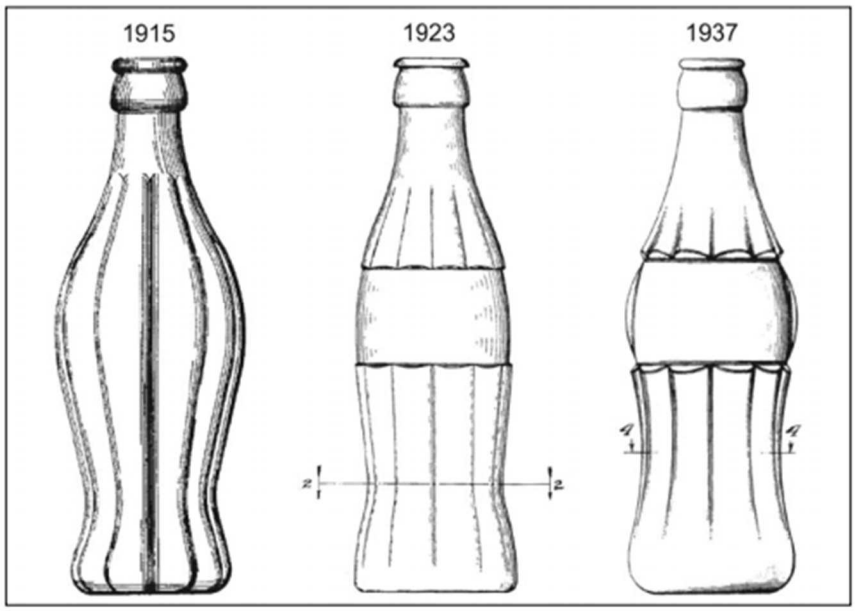

Figure 7. Comparison of Three Coca-Cola Bottle Patent Drawings (1916, 1923, 1937).
Source: Bill Lockhart and Bill Porter, "The Dating Game: Tracking the Hobble-Skirt Coca-Cola Bottle," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 21, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/coca-cola.pdf.

Lot FS 025-018 was identified because most of the trademark and characteristic "MIN CONTENTS" are visible on this particular fragment, therefore assigning it a TPQ date of 1917, according to Lockhart and Porter's previous research on the SHA website.[9] The SHA provides links to assist in the identification process based on subtle changes that occurred in the appearance of bottles produced over time. In the case of the Coca-Cola hobble skirt bottle, the design changed, ever so slightly, ten times between 1916 and 1965. In 1960, the hobble skirt, or contour bottle, was recognized and registered as a

[9] Bill Lockhart and Bill Porter, "The Dating Game: Tracking the Hobble-Skirt Coca-Cola Bottle," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, 58, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 21, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/coca-cola.pdf.

trademark by the United States Patent Office.[10] There were two more lots in Black Cat Cave's assemblage that contained Coca-Cola fragments, discussed further below as their TPQ dates were later in time.

Chronologically, the next earliest TPQ date is from line item 24, FS 001-165, containing what the SHA website refers to as a "medium cobalt blue" bottle heel and base fragment.[11] The 2014 Black Cat Cave assemblage contained 33 cobalt blue glass fragments in all, but only one was marked with pertinent information conducive to further research. The base of this fragment is marked with a capital letter *M* in a circle. This mark indicates that the glass vessel that the fragment came from was manufactured by the Maryland Glass Corporation in Baltimore, Maryland sometime between 1921 and 1971.[12] The early 1921 TPQ date does not, however, imply that this fragment was deposited in the cave during Prohibition, just that it potentially could have been discarded any time after 1921. Varying shades of blue glass were used for a number of common items including: beer bottles, food bottles/jars, figured flasks, and inks. From about 1840 until

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[10] Bill Lockhart, "Chapter 7: Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Alamogordo (1955-present)," in *Soda Bottles and Bottling at Alamogordo, New Mexico* (Alamogordo, NM: Bill Lockhart, 2011), 113, Society for Historical Archaeology, Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website, accessed March 15, 2017. https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf.

[11] Bill Lindsey, "'True' Blues," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website Bottle Colors Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed May 4, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/colors.htm.

[12] Bill Lockhart et al., *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Question #18, Bottle Dating: Machine-made Bottles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 22, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/MLogoTable.pdf.

the 1930s, cobalt blue glass was frequently used to make ink bottles as well as soda and mineral water bottles.[13]

The next artifact chronologically, with a TPQ date of 1928, is line item 25, FS 025-004, a glass fragment from a decorative soda bottle. The fragment has a distinctive pattern meant to look like bricks in a wall. This fragment was the most challenging one in the collection in terms of identification. Embossed lettering on the fragment reads: [DO]UBLE STR[ENGTH] (note that letters in brackets are assumed, and do not actually exist on the fragment). Based on the distinctive brick shape imprint on the glass, and on the partial embossed lettering on the fragment, it appears to have come from a Chattanooga, Tennessee company called the Seminole Fruit Flavor Company from 1928 until 1932, after which they were known as the Seminole Flavor Company. The company manufactured a line of products that were drink "concentrates," which were sold to businesses that bottled soft drinks. These concentrates were sold under several *Double* names like Double-Orange and Double-Cola.[14]

Line items 26 and 27 (FS 025-037 and 025-035) are the other two lots that contain Coca-Cola bottle fragments. According to Lockhart and Porter, the markings on these two fragments, *Coca-Cola Trademark Registered Pat'd Dec. 25, 1923,* identify them as

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[13] Ibid.

[14] *Seminole Flavor Company v. Commissioner*, 4 T.C. 1215, Docket Nos. 1060, 2332, (U.S. Tax Court, April 30, 1945, http://www.leagle.com/decision/194512194entc1215_11076/SEMINOLE%20FLAVOR%20CO.%20v.%20COMMISSIONER; also Bill Lindsey, "Soda & Mineral Water Bottles," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website -- Bottle Typing/Diagnostic Shapes Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed May 4, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/soda.htm.

"Christmas" Coca-Cola hobble skirt bottles. They were referred to as Christmas bottles because of their December 25th patent date. Although patented in 1923, these bottles were not manufactured until 1928 and remained in production for ten years until 1938.[15] These Christmas Coca-Cola bottle fragments were potentially manufactured at either Laurens Glass Works in Lauren, South Carolina or at Chattanooga Glass Company in Chattanooga, Tennessee.[16]

Line item 28, FS 001-090 is a machine-made glass base fragment with a visible seam and a distinctive maker's mark on the bottom: *K* inside of a keystone shape. Bill Lockhart's compiled chart, "Manufacturer's Marks and Other Logos on Glass Containers," on the SHA website, identifies the manufacturer of this maker's mark and vessel as the Knox Glass Bottle Co. of Knox, Pennsylvania, sometime between 1932 and 1968. A 2008 article entitled "The Knox Glass Bottle Co. appears to confirm 1932 as the TPQ date, making it the next in line chronologically from oldest to most recent.[17]

The eight lots that represent line items 29 through 36 (FS 001-158, 001-106, 001-101, 001-061, 002-017, 002-012, 002-005, and 025-031), were all designated as social

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[15] Bill Lockhart and Bill Porter, "The Dating Game: Tracking the Hobble-Skirt Coca-Cola Bottle," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, 58, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 21, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/coca-cola.pdf.

[16] Ibid., 55.

[17] Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Question #18, Bottle Dating: Machine-made Bottles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 22, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/KLogoTable.pdf; also Bill Lockhart, "Knox Glass and the Marks Toulouse Missed," Winter 2004 https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/KnoxGlas.pdf; also Bill Lockhart, "The Knox Glass Bottle Co.," May/June 2008, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/Knox2_BRG.pdf.

drugs or alcohol in the SHARD database as they are all identifiable lots of amber glass, which as earlier mentioned, were all relegated to the category of social drugs or alcohol. Unlike other lots of amber glass, which could potentially be soda bottles, these eight lots are most certainly beer bottles. Each of these lots of amber glass contains either a whole or a partial logo of a bird entwined in a capital letter *A*. Upon further research, the logo was identified as the Anheuser Busch Eagle.[18]

Figure 8. Anheuser Busch Eagle Logo.
Source: "For the Love of Lager: The History of Anheuser Busch," December 14, 2016, accessed April 22, 2017, http://www.anheuser-busch.com/about/heritage.html.

The Anheuser-Busch Company had planned ahead of time and diversified in order to survive national alcohol prohibition. In 1916, they had released a beverage called "Bevo," which was a non-alcoholic beverage. In all, they made and marketed a number of different things including: 25 different non-alcoholic soft drinks, ice cream, and even truck bodies. The Anheuser-Busch Company began bottling beer in bottles

[18] "For the Love of Lager: The History of Anheuser-Busch," Anheuser-Busch, December 14, 2016, accessed March 14, 2017, http://www.anheuser-busch.com/about/heritage.html.

with the eagle logo in 1933 and continues to do so today.[19] Due to the 1933 TPQ date, it is possible that some, or even all eight lots in the Black Cat Cave collection could have been deposited in the cave before the end of national alcohol prohibition, which did not occur until December 1933. Alcohol prohibition remained in effect in Tennessee until 1939 when the state endorsed local option, which made it possible for cities and counties to allow the sales of packaged wine and liquor by referendum.[20] Thus making it possible that any of the eight fragments could still have been deposited in the cave while drinking was illegal in Tennessee, in the period from 1933 to 1939.

Line items 37 through 66 (see Appendix B for a list of specific FS and Lot numbers) represent lots with a TPQ date of 1934. All but one of these lots contain historic bottle glass fragments marked with what appears to be an enamel or painted-on logo. The process that creates "applied color labeling (or lettering)," also known as "pyroglazing," or by the abbreviated "ACL," was first used commercially in the United States in 1934. ACL was a popular way for a company to permanently label their bottles instead of using paper labels, which could easily be damaged or peeled off. The most prevalent use of ACL was among milk bottles and soda bottles, but by the early 1940s, ACL was widely accepted by many bottle manufacturers, and it remains in use today. Corona beer bottles are a good example of modern-day ACL use in beverage bottling.[21]

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[19] Ibid.

[20] W. Calvin Dickinson, "Temperance," in *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, ed. Carroll Van West (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 914.

[21] Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Question #13, Bottle Dating: Machine-made Bottles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 22, 2017,

One single lot that is part of the 29 lots with TPQ dates of 1934 (line item 40 in Appendix B, FS 025-047) was not dated using an ACL logo. This lot contains a base and heel fragment that was once part of a colorless glass liquor flask. The base contains an embossed *Diamond O/I* logo, which links it to the Owens-Illinois Glass Company, and the base is also embossed with codes *D10* and *56-6*.[22] The company's *Diamond O/I* logo is called a *Saturn* mark because of its resemblance to the planet Saturn. It was a common maker's mark that appeared on glass bottle and jar bases from 1929 until the mid-1950s. Lockhart and Hoenig explain in "The Bewildering Array of Owens-Illinois Glass Co. Logos and Codes," that beginning in 1934, the Treasury Department had passed a law requiring specific code sequences to be imprinted on liquor and flask bottle bases. The *D* on base fragment FS 025-047 corresponded to a federally acquired distiller number that was awarded only to licensed distillers, and the *56* prefix has also been associated with the Owens-Illinois Glass Co.[23]

There are two additional lots of marked liquor flask fragments in the collection, line items 67 and 68 (FS 001-086 and 001-084). These two lots are not base fragments with identifying codes, but rather, they are shoulder fragments that contain parts of a

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https://sha.org/bottle/machinemadedating.htm.

[22] Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Question #10, Bottle Dating: Machine-made Bottles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 22, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/OLogoTable.pdf.

[23] Bill Lockhart and Russ Hoenig, "The Bewildering Array of Owens-Illinois Glass Co. Logos and Codes," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, 15-16, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed May 5, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/OwensIll_BLockhart.pdf.

federally mandated alcohol-warning inscribed on liquor and flask bottles after January 1, 1935. The federal government required that the inscription *FEDERAL LAW FORBIDS SALE OR RE-USE OF THIS BOTTLE* appear on all legally purchased liquor bottles as a deterrent for bootlegging and bottle reuse. Figure 9 below shows this inscription in full on an artifact from an unknown assemblage pictured on the SHA Glass Bottle Identification web guide. This requirement was repealed in 1964, but as Bill Lindsey points out in his discussion on liquor and flask bottles, the bottles remained in circulation, some unopened and still containing the original contents for ten or more years in the population. [24] Bottle fragments from Black Cat Cave with portions of this embossed statement on the shoulder area of a machine-made liquor bottle have a TPQ date of 1935.[25]

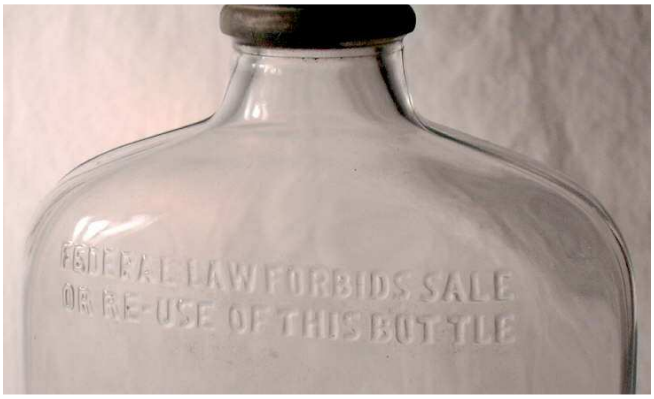

Figure 9. Federal Law Forbids Sale Or Re-Use of This Bottle.
Source: Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Question #10, Bottle Dating: Machine-made Bottles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 22, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/machinemadedating.htm.

[24] Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Question #10, Bottle Dating: Machine-made Bottles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 22, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/machinemadedating.htm.

[25] Ibid.

Identifiable Artifacts Postdating Prohibition Repeal

The five lots representing line items 69 through 73 of Appendix B (FS 001-164, 001-155, 001-117, 001-116, and 001-115) were all designated social drugs or alcohol in the SHARD database as they were all identified as Rolling Rock beer bottle fragments. These five lots all have varying degrees of the ACL visible on the fragments. Although the TPQ date for ACL labels is 1934, these Rolling Rock fragments were assigned a later date of 1939, the year the Tito Brothers of Latrobe, Pennsylvania began bottling and selling Rolling Rock beer. On each "iconic green bottle" of Rolling Rock, there is a number *33* that appears on the bottle.[26] For an example, see Figure 10 below, an ACL *33* from a green Rolling Rock beer bottle included in this investigation.

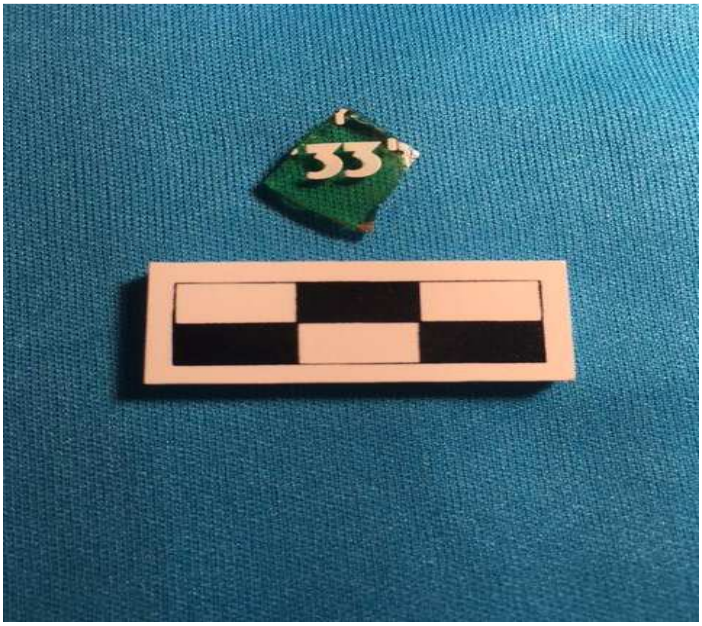

Figure 10. FS 001-155 Rolling Rock Beer Bottle Fragment, TPQ 1939.
Artifact shown with a centimeter ruler for scale.

[26] "Rolling Rock History," 2016, accessed March 15, 2017. www.rollingrock.com/history.html.

The Rolling Rock *33* stamp is the source of myth and speculation concerning its significance on each bottle of beer. The Latrobe Brewing Company has never revealed the actual reason for the appearance of the *33*, and there is speculation that the reason might never have been recorded at all by the Tito Brothers. Many have guessed, however, that the *33* stands for 1933; the year the federal government repealed the Eighteenth Amendment and beer could flow freely once again. The ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States allowed beer sales to resume legally, and the story seems to make sense, yet there is no documentary evidence on which to base this claim.

Line items 74, 75, and 76 (FS 001-138, 028-012, and 001-085) were relegated to the social drugs and alcohol category because these lots consist of amber glass bottle bases that are each marked with a *Duraglas 1-way* logo. These fragments have what is referred to as a "knurled" or "stippled," rough texture, and were manufactured by the Owens-Illinois Glass Company sometime between 1940, when they began using their "proprietary *Duraglas* bottle making process," and the mid-1950s.[27] *Duraglas* is a branded name, which stands for a manufacture process. The process involved spraying a "stannic chloride vapor" on the body, shoulder, and neck of bottles.[28] The sprayed-on

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[27] Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Question #17, Bottle Dating: Machine-made Bottles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 22, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/machinemadedating.htm.

[28] Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Glossary Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 21, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/glossary.htm#Duraglas.

vapor provided durability and scratch resistance to the bottles. These two lots are most likely fragments from beer bottles and have a TPQ *date* of 1940.

Line item 77 (FS 029-001) also has a *Duraglas* logo on its base, but it has a TPQ date of 1941, and it was relegated to food preparation and consumption in the SHARD database. The bottle base (FS 029-001) is marked with the term *Duraglas* and displays *U. S. PAT. 127,618*.[29] Through research into that United States patent number, it was possible to determine that this particular patent, a "Design for a Bottle," was granted to Brooks D. Fuerst of the Owens-Illinois Glass Company on June 3, 1941 for bottles that eventually held Karo Syrup.[30]

Line item 78 (FS 001-131) is a colorless glass base fragment with an embossed capital letter *B* maker's mark contained within a circle . There are four different identifying marks embossed on this fragment base, and laid out according to compass directionals. The *B* within a circle occupies north, the number *8* occupies south, the number *4* is west, and the number *81* is in the east position. The number in the west position (*4* in this case) represents a code number that identifies which Brockway Glass Company produced the vessel. According to Lockhart et al., in "Brockway Machine Bottle Co. and Brockway Glass Co.," the number *4* represents a Brockway Glass Co. factory in Lapel, Indiana that was once known as Sterling Glass Co. This factory

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[29] Brooks D. Fuerst, "United States Patent: 127,618 – Design for a Bottle," June 3, 1941, accessed April 20, 2017, file:///Users/susansherer/Downloads/USD127618%20(3).pdf.

[30] Ibid.

produced vessels with this maker's mark and code combination between 1951 and 1988, giving this artifact a TPQ date of 1951.[31]

Line item 79 (FS 001-122) was identified as a Pepsi-Cola soda bottle fragment from a 12-ounce basket weave bottle produced nearly twenty years after Prohibition ended. The Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company bottled soda in the 12-ounce basketweave bottle from 1952 until 1958, and the Owens-Illinois Glass Company manufactured the bottles. This particular bottle was likely manufactured at a Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company franchise in El Paso, Texas, sometime after the TPQ date of 1952.[32]

The last artifact listed in Appendix B, line item 80 (FS 029-002) is the second complete bottle/jar in the collection. This artifact was identified as a jelly jar from the markings on the base, which include a *Saturn* maker's mark. See figure 11 below, for an author's computer-generated replica of the base of FS 029-002. The letter *I* in the oval (a *Saturn* maker's mark (north) indicates that the jar was manufactured in an Owens-Illinois Glass Company factory. The number *10* to the left of center (west) indicates which factory produced the glass jar, in this case, a factory in Atlanta, Georgia. The number *5* to the right of center (east) is an Owens-Illinois date code, which dates to 1954, based on

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[31] Bill Lockhart et al., "Brockway Machine Bottle Co. and Brockway Glass Co.," in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, 316, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed May 5, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/Brockway.pdf; also Bill Lockhart et al., https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/BLogoTable.pdf.

[32] Bill Lockhart, "Bottles on the Border: The History and Bottles of the Soft Drink Industry in El Paso, Texas, 1881-2000," Chapter 7c, Rev. Ed., in *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – pdffiles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed April 21, 2017: 278, http://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/EPChap7c.pdf.

Lockhart et al., "Manufacturer's Marks and Other Logos on Glass Containers," on the SHA website. The number *13* located at the bottom center (south) of the jar base, is a mold cavity code, and, according to the SHA website, is of little value to the archaeologist. With the knowledge that this particular jar was produced in 1954, we can then establish 1954 as the TPQ date for this artifact.[33]

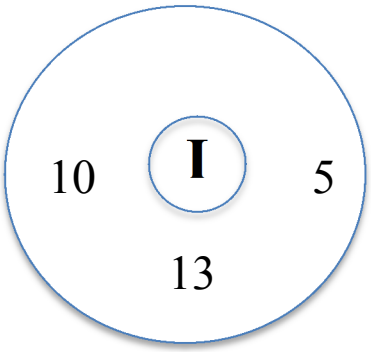

Figure 11. FS 029-002 Diagram of Complete Jelly Jar Base.
Illustration by author, not to scale.

Figure 12 below, shows a breakdown by color of the 325 new lots of bottle glass (and bottle caps) resorted and reorganized into the new 2017 Black Cat Cave historic bottle glass (and cap) collection. The lots are broken down here into six broad categories (colorless, amber, green, cobalt, opaque/white, and metal. The one entry under the category "other" represents a plastic bottle cap, which was of no benefit to this

[33] Bill Lindsey, *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website – Question #18, Bottle Dating: Machine-made Bottles Page*, ONLINE, 2017, Society for Historical Archaeology and Bureau of Land Management, accessed May 6, 2017, https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/OLogoTable.pdf.

investigation as it contained no markings and has a TPQ date well beyond the Prohibition target date of this investigation.

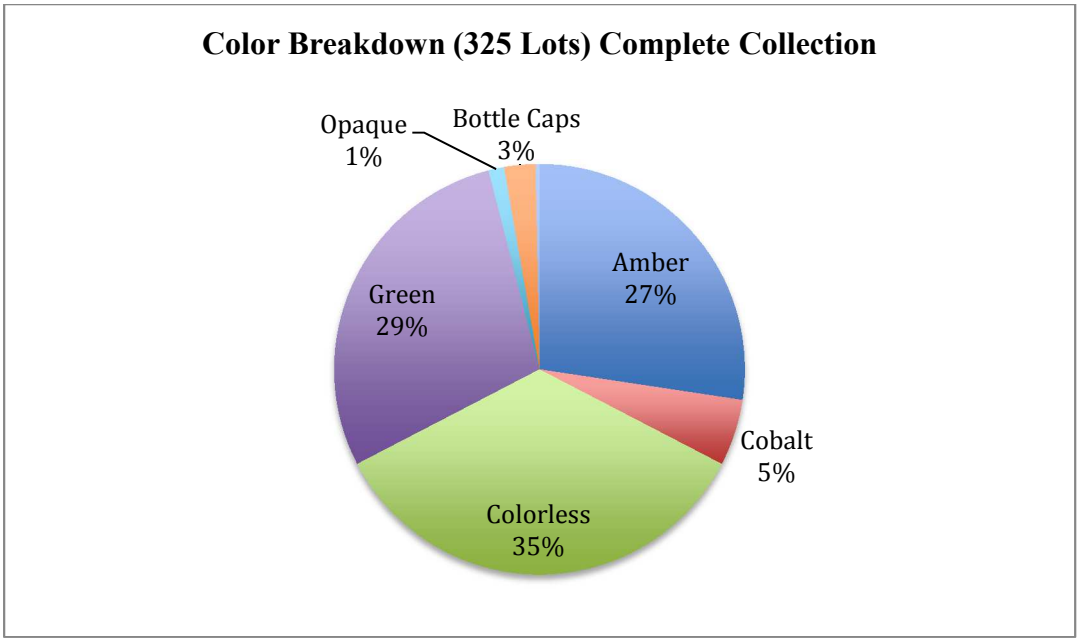

Figure 12. Color Breakdown - 325 New Lots - 2017 Black Cat Cave Assemblage.

Figure 13 below, shows the color breakdown of the 80 significant lots with established TPQ dates. It is interesting to note that in Figure 12, which illustrates the entire collection (3,290 artifacts), the artifacts are somewhat evenly distributed among colorless (35%), green (29%), and amber (27%) glass. Figure 13, however, which illustrates only the 80 significant lots, consisting of 161 artifacts, shows that more than half of the artifacts that were assigned TPQ dates, were green glass (55%). Colorless glass decreased to 15%, and amber glass decreased to just 14% of the lots.

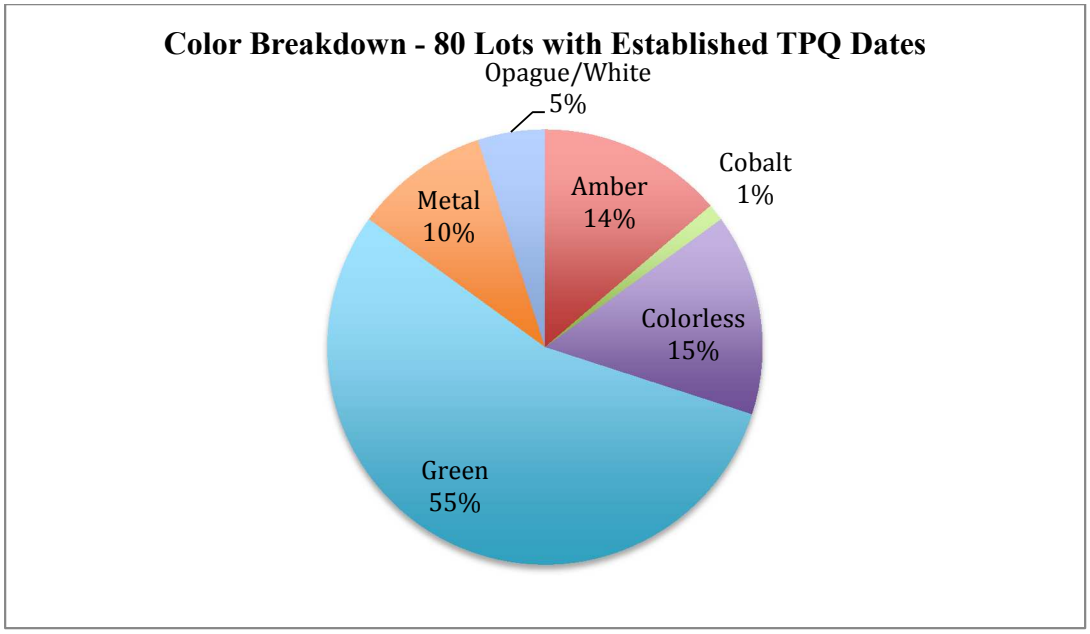

Figure 13. Color Breakdown - 80 Lots with Established TPQ Dates.

Glass color is potentially indicative of beverage contents, and shows a wide variety. While the initial breakdown by color of the 325 lots showed a fairly even distribution pattern between amber glass (27%), which is all assumed to be beer related despite the possibility of other options such as root beer, colorless glass (35%), and green glass (29%), once the lots were narrowed down to 80, the distribution pattern became skewed in favor of green glass, which jumped to 44 lots (55%), making green glass the most frequently dated in this investigation. There were 11 amber glass lots (14%) and 12 colorless glass lots (15%) showing that they were identified with almost identical regularity among the lots, but nowhere near as frequently as green bottle glass.

Figure 14 below, shows a breakdown of how the 80 lots with established TPQ dates were categorized in the SHARD database according to the supposed contents of the bottle upon its first filling. Even though it is possible to determine the initial contents of

a marked, dated bottle fragment, it is not possible to definitively determine whether or not that bottle contained alcohol at the time it was discarded in the cave.

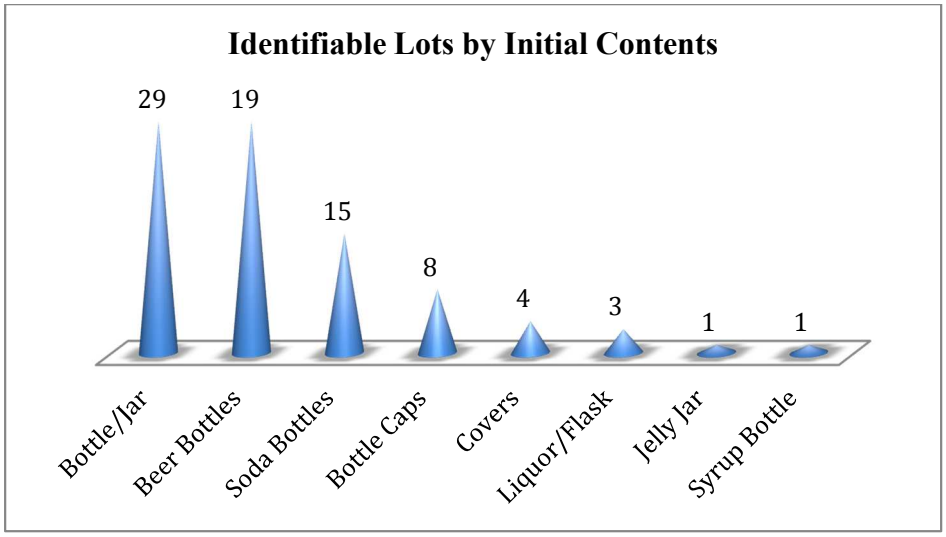

Figure 14. Identifiable Lots by Initial Contents

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

At the turn of the twentieth century most rural places like Murfreesboro, Tennessee already had years of experience with alcohol prohibition. Ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment and enforcement of national alcohol prohibition beginning in 1920, however, precipitated an underground growth spurt nationwide. Illegal drinking establishments (speakeasies) were hidden away from plain sight and operated discretely, through word of mouth advertising rather than written documents that leave an historical trail. There are no bills of sale, no tax records, and now in 2017, no living people left to inform us about the prohibition era and what took place inside Black Cat Cave. The 2014-salvaged archaeological collection, the "garbage," from the Black Cat Tavern clearly establishes the cave's use as a hidden spot for drinking during this time period, though how much of this beverage consumption related specifically to alcohol is not always clear.

Assemblage patterns show that based on established TPQ dates, 68 of the 80 lots with established TPQ dates (85% of significant lots within this investigation) of the 2017 historic bottle glass and bottle cap collection), have a TPQ date that is earlier than 1939, the year that Local Option Law went into effect in Tennessee. Only twelve of the 80 lots with established TPQ dates (15% of significant lots within this investigation) have earliest possible manufacture dates of 1939 and later. Even though the significant, datable artifact count from this investigation was relatively small (161 artifacts out of 3,290), 144 of those 161 artifacts (89% of artifacts with established TPQ dates) could potentially have been deposited in Black Cat Cave while alcohol prohibition was still in effect in Tennessee. Furthermore, the Black Cat Cave data confirms that the cave was

used throughout the prohibition era, and that people consumed beverages there. Whether or not those beverage containers definitively held alcohol at the time they were discarded is not ascertainable.

In addition to confirming that beverage consumption took place in Black Cat Cave throughout the prohibition era, the data also suggests that consumption of alcohol in the secret, subterranean atmosphere was more common in the prohibition era than at any other time later in the twentieth century. During Modern era use, when the threat of prosecution from alcohol consumption and distribution dissipated, the need for secret drinking establishments like the Black Cat Tavern waned as well. The assemblage patterns examined in this thesis investigation reflect that trend in a declining need for secrecy in regards to American culture and alcohol consumption.

As is common for archaeological evidence, some data is not specific enough to definitively answer the research questions proposed. Despite the ability to provide TPQ (earliest possible manufacture) dates for the 80 significant lots in this study, it is not possible to infer the exact dates that the bottle fragments or bottle caps were discarded in the cave. There was always the possibility of bottle reuse, especially considering documented, widespread bottle shortages and bottle reuse throughout prohibition. The motive to conceal alcohol from the law was immense and widespread. Every type of non-conspicuous bottle, whether originally containing mineral water, soda pop, or even cosmetics, was a potential vessel in the concealment of intoxicating, alcoholic beverages.

Within the 80 significant lots, which contain 161 artifacts with established TPQ dates, 50 lots (62.5%) were designated food preparation or consumption related, and 30 lots (37.5%) were designated alcohol related in the SHARD database. This is a

significant finding, which potentially confirms what oral tradition says about the place; that it had a kitchen and a dining room after the main cavern room was partitioned into three distinct spaces for the patrons of the Black Cat Tavern. A lack of spatial data, however, due in part to both disturbances at the site and to excavation methodology, makes confirmation of the design layout of these rooms impossible based on the assemblage pattern shown in this salvaged collection.

Archaeological evidence clearly demonstrates the cave's use for beer drinking during prohibition. Where the documentary evidence is lacking in regards to primary sources in the form of business or tax records that prove the Black Cat Tavern existed as an illegal speakeasy, 85% (68/80 lots) of the small but significant 2017 historic bottle glass collection could indeed have been discarded in the cave before the end of the prohibition era, according to the previous chapter's research into TPQ dates. It is also interesting to note that the next five lots in the collection (line items 69-73 in Appendix B) also contain alcohol related artifacts; the Rolling Rock beer bottle fragments with a TPQ date of 1939, which is one year later than the January 1, 1938 date, on which the VA hospital reportedly took possession of the property containing the cave.[1] Marian Sullivan Webb, granddaughter of the cave owner, did not recall anyone occupying the cave after Mrs. Neely vacated the premises, possibly impacted by the new Local Option

[1] Greg Tucker, "Caves Concealed Runaways, Rebels & Revelers" *Murfreesboro (TN) Daily News Journal*, February 24, 2013. http://rutherfordtnhistory.org/caves-concealed-runaways-rebels-revelers/;also, Staff, WGNS, "Black Cat Cave May Have Prehistoric Ties," WGNS News Radio FM 100.5, February 21, 2014, accessed January 23, 2017. http://www.wgnsradio.com/black-cat-cave-may-have-prehistoric-ties-cms-18396

Law, and moved her business to an above-ground location closer to downtown Murfreesboro.[2]

The last seven significant entries in Appendix B, Table 2 (line items 74-80), are beyond the 1939 Tennessee Local Option Law date, but they certainly suggest that not only was the Black Cat Tavern an illegal drinking establishment during the prohibition era, but that even after the tavern vacated the premises, the tradition of clandestine drinking in the cave continued for years. Line items 74 and 75 are fragments from amber glass beer bottles with the *Duraglas* mark on their bases with a TPQ date of 1940. Line item 76 is a clear *Duraglas* marked fragment also with a date of 1940. Two of the last four line items are the two complete glass vessels in the collection; the Karo Syrup bottle (1941) and the Owens-Illinois Glass Company jelly jar (1954). Even though the prohibition era had ended, the oddity alone of these two specific items turning up fully intact inside the cave could suggest bottle reuse. Equally possible, however, is that the two jars contained jelly and Karo syrup at some point in time when they occupied space in the kitchen of the Black Cat Tavern.

This thesis research focused primarily on establishing TPQ dates, and was limited in size and scope to pursuing only research avenues that fulfilled certain criteria related to that end. Future research potential remains within this investigation in terms of identifying potential cities of manufacturing origin and plotting them in relation to the middle and eastern spurs of the Dixie Highway, and the Memphis-to-Bristol Highway, the main routes of transport for illegal alcohol from the Midwest to the Southeastern states, and across Tennessee and back throughout prohibition. It is interesting to note that

[2] Ibid.

eight origin cities were established here: Lauren, South Carolina, Chattanooga, Tennessee, Streator, Illinois, Lapel, Indiana, Atlanta, Georgia, El Paso, Texas, Baltimore, Maryland, and Latrobe, Pennsylvania. The first five cities plot relatively close to the Dixie Highway. The last three, however, appear off the beaten path, and suggest that perhaps other routes for illegal alcohol transport from the northeastern states and the southwestern states coexisted in addition to the noted north-south Dixie Highway and the east-west Memphis-to-Bristol Highway within Tennessee.

In conclusion, this thesis research makes clear that in Murfreesboro, Tennessee at Black Cat Cave as nationwide, the law under prohibition simply did not do what it was intended to do: stop people from drinking alcohol. Alcohol consumption went underground nationwide, and quite literally at Black Cat Cave. People still found ways to consume alcohol; they just did it in secret at speakeasies, places where an entrepreneur/operator like Pauline Neely and her husband Edwin found a way to capitalize on oppressive government restrictions that sought to cleanse the population of the demon alcohol.

The archaeological assemblage suggests that in addition to liquor consumption, there was also food consumption at the Black Cat Tavern like previous patrons recalled. The Neelys, rather than being unfairly characterized or stereotyped as "gangster" figures who ran an illegal speakeasy, are perhaps better described as shrewd entrepreneurs. When Tennessee politics created tightening restrictions on alcohol consumption in the shape of the Four-Mile-Law, the Neelys found a location far enough out of town to skirt the law. Not only did Black Cat Cave offer privacy for the illegal bar and restaurant to hide out, but the location sat near the Murfreesboro junction of two major highways in

Middle Tennessee, providing easy access to bootlegging routes in all four directions. Given the political, economic, and social climate of the time period, the location was ideal for a number of reasons. With four children to feed and clothe, Pauline and Edwin Neely appear to have made a number of wise business decisions allowing their family business to survive at the location, at least until 1939.

While Peres and Hodge et al. have published the results of their investigation into ritual activities at Black Cat Cave during prehistory, this investigation is the first to test the stories of the cave's use as an illegal speakeasy in the historic prohibition period.[3] This thesis used the combined techniques of: archival research into contemporaneous newspaper articles to highlight the people's prohibition experiences, along with archaeological analysis of the material culture of the cave to see if the garbage (artifacts) would confirm or deny that drinking took place there throughout prohibition. All of the available evidence clearly points to drinking in the cave and the historical context of the time period offers us a glimpse into how a local family adapted to their circumstances. By modifying the environment of the cave to conceal an illegal speakeasy, the Neelys ensured the survival of their family through a challenging, economic, political, and social time period.

The historiography surrounding caves, including the more than 10,000 in Tennessee, tells us that they are not only varied and fragile ecosystems and home to many diverse species, but they are also inextricably associated with "(seeking refuge) or for

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[3] Peres, Tanya M., Aaron Deter-Wolf, Joey Keasler, and Shannon Chappell Hodge. "Faunal Remains from an Archaic Period Cave in Southeastern United States." *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 8 (2016): 187-189.

secret (deviant or ritual) purposes."[4] Peres and Hodge et al. have presented prehistoric ritual activity at Black Cat Cave, and Joseph has suggested a tradition of exploitation of caves in the form of saltpeter mining at first, followed by a shift to illicit activities like making moonshine, and, in the 1920s to a focus on industrial cave tourism.[5] The modifications made to Black Cat Cave in the 1920s that enclosed the mouth of the cave fall directly in line with both the illicit moonshine connotation and the trend towards the commodification of caves in the budding tourism industry.

Public history practice and scholarship is a multidisciplinary and inclusive endeavor. Black Cat Cave exists within a thriving community of diverse members, some perhaps with their own family story of a relative who had a drink or a hamburger at the Black Cat Tavern. The cave is of interest to people from different backgrounds and for different reasons, but all with a vested interest in a unique land feature with a rich and varied past. Historians, archaeologists, geologists, and biologists among others, all have the potential to enhance our knowledge concerning the intriguing past of Black Cat Cave. The exemplary effort put forth thus far by MTSU professors, the city of Murfreesboro Parks and Recreation Department, local engineers, students, and community volunteers to preserve this valuable historic site sets a shining example that encourages future collaborative investigations.

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[4] Patty Jo Watson, "Theory in Cave Archaeology" *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 26, no. 2, Cave Archaeology in the Eastern Woodlands (Fall 2001): 139, accessed October 13, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20708156.

[5] Peres, et al., 2016; also Douglas C. Joseph, "Miners and Moonshiners: Historic Industrial Uses of Tennessee Caves," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 26, no. 2 (October 1, 2001): 251-267, *JSTOR Journals*, EBSCO*host*, accessed April 29, 2017.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: FIELD SPECIMEN (FS) LOG KEY AND LAB MAP

Table 1: Field Specimen (FS) Log Key and Lab Map

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
001	001	Y	1	D	1	0.63	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	002	Y	1	D	6	4.11	green	Northwest Corner
001	003	Y	1	D	22	35.11	brown	Northwest Corner
001	004	Y	1	G	1	8.90	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	005	Y	1	G	4	13.41	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	006	Y	1	G	60	72.48	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	007	Y	1	G	62	54.61	brown	Northwest Corner
001	008	Y	1	G	55	46.06	green	Northwest Corner
001	009	Y	1	G	1	4.92	green	Northwest Corner
001	010	Y	1	G	1	4.26	green	Northwest Corner
001	011	Y	1	G	2	4.19	green	Northwest Corner
001	012	Y	1	G	2	18.73	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	013	Y	1	G	1	6.65	green	Northwest Corner
001	014	Y	1	G	1	5.31	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	015	Y	1	G	1	4.96	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	016	Y	1	G	12	24.69	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	017	Y	1	G	1	8.92	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	018	Y	1	G	2	6.67	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	019	Y	1	G	1	4.44	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	020	Y	1	G	1	4.10	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	021	Y	1	G	1	7.17	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	022	Y	1	G	1	5.37	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	023	Y	1	G	2	5.18	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	024	Y	1	G	2	6.18	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	025	Y	1	G	1	5.55	green	Northwest Corner
001	026	Y	1	G	1	3.56	green	Northwest Corner

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
001	027	Y	1	G	5	4.78	green	Northwest Corner
001	028	Y	3	A	25	23.87	brown	Northwest Corner
001	029	Y	3	A	1	5.97	brown	Northwest Corner
001	030	Y	3	A	1	4.33	brown	Northwest Corner
001	031	Y	3	A	26	14.42	green	Northwest Corner
001	032	Y	3	A	2	3.78	green	Northwest Corner
001	033	Y	3	A	2	3.75	green	Northwest Corner
001	034	Y	3	A	2	3.55	green	Northwest Corner
001	035	Y	3	A	1	3.86	green	Northwest Corner
001	036	Y	3	A	1	3.59	green	Northwest Corner
001	037	Y	3	A	1	3.37	green	Northwest Corner
001	038	Y	3	A	1	3.78	green	Northwest Corner
001	039	Y	3	A	1	4.17	green	Northwest Corner
001	040	Y	3	A	1	3.69	green	Northwest Corner
001	041	Y	3	A	1	4.14	green	Northwest Corner
001	042	Y	3	A	68	102.05	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	043	Y	3	A	4	28.38	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	044	Y	3	A	1	8.22	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	045	Y	3	A	1	32.65	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	046	Y	3	A	1	9.43	brown	Northwest Corner
001	047	Y	3	A	1	10.56	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	048	Y	3	A	1	10.83	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	049	Y	3	A	1	3.93	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	050	Y	3	A	1	4.38	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	051	Y	3	A	1	5.04	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	052	Y	3	A	1	3.86	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	053	Y	3	A	1	3.89	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	054	Y	3	C	2	4.90	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	055	Y	3	C	1	12.76	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	056	Y	3	C	4	7.21	green	Northwest Corner
001	057	Y	3	C	1	3.48	green	Northwest Corner

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
001	058	Y	3	C	48	57.60	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	059	Y	3	C	56	37.72	brown	Northwest Corner
001	060	Y	3	C	1	3.87	brown	Northwest Corner
001	061	Y	3	C	1	8.17	brown	Northwest Corner
001	062	Y	3	C	1	5.16	brown	Northwest Corner
001	063	Y	3	E	49	76.17	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	064	Y	3	E	25	17.18	green	Northwest Corner
001	065	Y	3	E	1	3.96	green	Northwest Corner
001	066	Y	3	E	1	3.36	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	067	Y	3	E	1	4.36	brown	Northwest Corner
001	068	Y	3	E	1	3.74	brown	Northwest Corner
001	069	Y	3	E	1	3.44	brown	Northwest Corner
001	070	Y	3	E	1	8.20	brown	Northwest Corner
001	071	Y	3	E	85	91.29	brown	Northwest Corner
001	072	Y	3	E	1	34.66	brown	Northwest Corner
001	073	Y	4	A	2	11.86	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	074	Y	4	A	60	39.02	brown	Northwest Corner
001	075	Y	4	A	50	26.85	green	Northwest Corner
001	076	Y	4	A	3	3.85	green	Northwest Corner
001	077	Y	4	A	1	4.00	green	Northwest Corner
001	078	Y	4	A	1	3.46	green	Northwest Corner
001	079	Y	4	A	1	4.41	green	Northwest Corner
001	080	Y	4	A	1	3.75	green	Northwest Corner
001	081	Y	4	A	1	3.61	green	Northwest Corner
001	082	Y	4	A	1	4.11	green	Northwest Corner
001	083	Y	4	A	1	3.29	green	Northwest Corner
001	084	Y	4	A	1	5.26	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	085	Y	4	A	1	18.49	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	086	Y	4	A	1	8.16	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	087	Y	4	A	1	6.27	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	088	Y	4	A	1	4.50	colorless	Northwest Corner

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
001	089	Y	4	A	1	11.56	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	090	Y	4	A	1	17.26	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	091	Y	4	A	49	186.01	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	092	Y	4	B	14	6.96	green	Northwest Corner
001	093	Y	4	B	12	16.23	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	094	Y	4	B	64	22.63	brown	Northwest Corner
001	095	Y	10	A	2	3.87	green	Northwest Corner
001	096	Y	10	A	30	19.91	brown	Northwest Corner
001	097	Y	10	A	1	11.40	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	098	Y	10	B	125	121.36	brown	Northwest Corner
001	099	Y	10	B	136	143.15	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	100	Y	10	B	12	20.81	green	Northwest Corner
001	101	Y	10	B	1	12.79	brown	Northwest Corner
001	102	Y	10	B	1	16.80	green	Northwest Corner
001	103	Y	10	B	1	9.13	cap/metal	Northwest Corner
001	104	Y	10	B	1	9.96	brown	Northwest Corner
001	105	Y	10	B	36	29.32	green	Northwest Corner
001	106	Y	10	B	1	10.62	brown	Northwest Corner
001	107	Y	10	C	1	23.65	brown	Northwest Corner
001	108	Y	10	C	87	90.64	brown	Northwest Corner
001	109	Y	10	C	34	30.73	green	Northwest Corner
001	110	Y	10	D	126	97.08	brown	Northwest Corner
001	111	Y	10	D	1	8.33	brown	Northwest Corner
001	112	Y	10	D	1	7.54	brown	Northwest Corner
001	113	Y	10	D	5	21.28	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	114	Y	10	D	1	12.89	green	Northwest Corner
001	115	Y	10	D	1	7.65	green	Northwest Corner
001	116	Y	10	D	3	7.62	green	Northwest Corner
001	117	Y	10	D	2	7.26	green	Northwest Corner
001	118	Y	10	D	1	7.31	green	Northwest Corner
001	119	Y	10	D	1	7.42	green	Northwest Corner

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
001	120	Y	10	D	1	7.12	green	Northwest Corner
001	121	Y	10	D	1	7.16	green	Northwest Corner
001	122	Y	10	D	1	20.34	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	123	Y	10	D	50	37.32	green	Northwest Corner
001	124	Y	10	D	43	106.16	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	125	Y	10	E	88	63.85	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	126	Y	10	E	89	92.95	brown	Northwest Corner
001	127	Y	10	E	36	41.74	green	Northwest Corner
001	128	Y	10	F	94	139.39	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	129	Y	10	F	1	7.37	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	130	Y	10	F	1	16.02	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	131	Y	10	F	1	34.85	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	132	Y	10	F	1	7.55	green	Northwest Corner
001	133	Y	10	F	1	7.02	green	Northwest Corner
001	134	Y	10	F	36	43.83	green	Northwest Corner
001	135	Y	10	F	93	94.86	brown	Northwest Corner
001	136	Y	10	H	1	7.98	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	137	Y	10	H	28	29.22	green	Northwest Corner
001	138	Y	10	H	1	32.72	brown	Northwest Corner
001	139	Y	10	H	1	11.22	brown	Northwest Corner
001	140	Y	10	H	1	17.44	brown	Northwest Corner
001	141	Y	10	H	110	105.53	brown	Northwest Corner
001	142	Y	10	H	1	15.67	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	143	Y	10	H	1	20.39	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	144	Y	10	H	1	19.50	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	145	Y	10	H	106	108.24	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	146	Y	10	J	43	65.85	brown	Northwest Corner
001	147	Y	10	J	1	9.51	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	148	Y	10	J	1	12.35	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	149	Y	10	J	1	8.95	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	150	Y	10	J	1	14.62	colorless	Northwest Corner

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
001	151	Y	10	J	206	215.49	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	152	Y	10	J	18	12.40	green	Northwest Corner
001	153	Y	10	J	1	7.42	green	Northwest Corner
001	154	Y	10	J	1	7.48	green	Northwest Corner
001	155	Y	10	J	1	7.68	green	Northwest Corner
001	156	Y	10	J	1	7.36	green	Northwest Corner
001	157	Y	10	K	1	7.61	brown	Northwest Corner
001	158	Y	10	K	1	8.56	brown	Northwest Corner
001	159	Y	10	K	1	21.52	brown	Northwest Corner
001	160	Y	10	K	178	103.54	brown	Northwest Corner
001	161	Y	10	K	2	8.11	green	Northwest Corner
001	162	Y	10	K	1	7.34	green	Northwest Corner
001	163	Y	10	K	22	49.13	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	164	Y	10	K	6	9.56	green	Northwest Corner
001	165	Y	10	K	1	41.28	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	166	Y	10	K	36	24.63	green	Northwest Corner
001	167	Y	10	K	13	39.71	cobalt	Northwest Corner
001	168	Y	10	K	1	14.46	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	169	Y	10	K	1	10.90	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	170	Y	10	L	5	5.44	green	Northwest Corner
001	171	Y	10	L	12	16.10	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	172	Y	10	L	17	24.91	brown	Northwest Corner
001	173	Y	10	M	1	1.60	colorless	Northwest Corner
001	174	Y	10	M	17	26.22	green	Northwest Corner
001	175	Y	10	M	16	31.43	brown	Northwest Corner
002	001	Y	1	I	1	16.97	colorless	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	002	Y	1	I	19	32.45	colorless	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	003	Y	1	I	4	11.17	cobalt	Large Mound/Backdirt

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
								Pile
002	004	Y	1	I	32	60.11	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	005	Y	1	I	1	8.36	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	006	Y	1	I	2	12.88	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	007	Y	1	I	1	6.73	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	008	Y	1	I	4	13.89	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	009	Y	1	K	20	38.40	colorless	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	010	Y	1	K	1	4.87	cobalt	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	011	Y	1	K	11	27.31	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	012	Y	1	K	1	4.91	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	013	Y	1	K	3	17.50	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	014	Y	1	L	2	5.63	cap/metal	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	015	Y	1	N	1	4.20	colorless	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	016	Y	1	N	1	30.76	green	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	017	Y	1	N	1	6.96	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	018	Y	1	N	2	9.42	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	019	Y	1	N	1	9.55	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
002	020	Y	1	N	1	15.56	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	021	Y	5	A	2	11.55	colorless	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	022	Y	5	A	1	3.46	cobalt	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	023	Y	5	A	1	3.79	green	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	024	Y	5	A	4	7.64	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	025	Y	5	B	11	25.55	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	026	Y	5	B	8	29.85	green	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	027	Y	7	A	2	8.04	cobalt	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	028	Y	7	A	5	11.96	colorless	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	029	Y	7	A	1	3.89	green	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	030	Y	7	A	9	54.13	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	031	Y	7	B	1	10.04	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	032	Y	7	B	2	31.28	colorless	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	033	Y	12	A	3	7.73	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	034	Y	12	A	1	2.89	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	035	Y	12	A	1	3.63	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	036	Y	12	A	1	3.08	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
								Pile
002	037	Y	12	A	1	2.24	green	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	038	Y	12	A	1	1.30	cobalt	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	039	Y	12	A	1	3.80	colorless	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	040	Y	12	A	5	7.05	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	041	Y	12	A	2	3.59	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	042	Y	12	A	1	1.96	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	043	Y	12	A	1	5.28	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	044	Y	12	A	1	0.72	cobalt	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	045	Y	12	A	3	3.08	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	046	Y	12	A	1	0.68	green	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	047	Y	12	A	1	3.16	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	048	Y	12	A	2	5.42	brown	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	049	Y	12	A	2	1.60	green	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	050	Y	12	A	4	13.20	cap/metal	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
002	051	Y	12	A	1	2.22	cap/metal	Large Mound/Backdirt Pile
003		N						Northern Wall

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
004		N						Eastern Extension Crawl Area
005	001	Y	9	A	1	11.64	brown	Doorway Stairs
005	002	Y	9	A	2	5.13	brown	Doorway Stairs
005	003	Y	9	A	2	16.64	colorless	Doorway Stairs
006		N						Bucket Auger Test #1
007		N						Bucket Auger Test #2
008	001	Y	9	B	1	4.15	colorless	Bucket Auger Test #3
008	002	Y	9	B	1	3.81	brown	Bucket Auger Test #3
008	003	Y	9	B	1	6.85	green	Bucket Auger Test #3
009		N						Bucket Auger Test #4
010		N						Bucket Auger Test #5
011	001	Y	9	G	1	14.14	colorless	Bucket Auger Test #7
011	002	Y	9	G	1	5.01	brown	Bucket Auger Test #7
011	003	Y	9	G	1	4.10	green	Bucket Auger Test #7
011	004	Y	9	G	2	8.89	cap/metal	Bucket Auger Test #7
012		N						Bucket Auger Test #8
013	001	Y	9	I	1	1.55	brown	Bucket Auger Test #9
014	001	Y	6	A	1	18.79	colorless	Test Unit #1-Level 2

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
015		N						Test Unit #1-Level 3
016	001	Y	6	C	1	11.80	colorless	Test Unit #1-Level 4
017	001	Y	6	D	1	4.97	colorless	Test Unit #1-Level 5
017	002	Y	6	D	1	7.90	cap/metal	Test Unit #1-Level 5
017	003	Y	6	D	1	4.63	colorless	Test Unit #1-Level 5
017	004	Y	6	D	1	2.60	brown	Test Unit #1-Level 5
018		N						Test Unit #1-Level 6
019	001	Y	9	J	1	5.42	brown	Entrance Stairs Wall Scraping
020		N						South Mini Test Unit #1
021	001	Y	1	E	1	31.96	brown	Entry Room West Wall
021	002	Y	1	E	2	84.77	brown	Entry Room West Wall
021	003	Y	1	E	1	91.95	green	Entry Room West Wall
021	004	Y	1	E	1	45.67	green	Entry Room West Wall
021	005	Y	1	E	1	41.68	green	Entry Room West Wall
021	006	Y	1	E	1	31.36	green	Entry Room West Wall
021	007	Y	1	E	4	160.51	colorless	Entry Room West Wall
021	008	Y	1	E	1	84.94	colorless	Entry Room West Wall
021	009	Y	1	E	1	85.37	colorless	Entry Room West Wall
021	010	Y	1	E	1	107.09	colorless	Entry Room West Wall
021	011	Y	1	E	2	61.98	colorless	Entry Room West Wall
021	012	Y	1	E	1	97.26	colorless	Entry Room West Wall
021	013	Y	1	M	1	32.91	white/opaque	Entry Room West Wall
021	014	Y	1	M	1	13.51	white/opaque	Entry Room West Wall

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
024		N						Test Unit #1-Level 1
025	001	Y	1	A (1)	8	91.58	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	002	Y	1	A (1)	1	10.66	green	Front Entry Room
025	003	Y	1	A (1)	1	9.56	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	004	Y	1	A (1)	1	22.80	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	005	Y	1	A (1)	1	171.22	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	006	Y	1	A (1)	1	272.41	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	007	Y	1	A (1)	1	186.40	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	008	Y	1	A (2)	1	42.94	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	009	Y	1	A (2)	1	77.19	brown	Front Entry Room
025	010	Y	1	A (2)	7	6.55	brown	Front Entry Room
025	011	Y	1	A (2)	1	33.12	brown	Front Entry Room
025	012	Y	1	A (2)	1	145.97	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	013	Y	1	B	9	72.40	brown	Front Entry Room
025	014	Y	1	B	1	20.94	green	Front Entry Room
025	015	Y	1	B	1	5.29	green	Front Entry Room
025	016	Y	1	B	1	52.04	green	Front Entry Room
025	017	Y	1	B	1	15.75	green	Front Entry Room
025	018	Y	1	B	1	23.69	green	Front Entry Room
025	019	Y	1	B	1	14.86	green	Front Entry Room
025	020	Y	1	B	1	9.87	green	Front Entry Room
025	021	Y	1	B	5	57.70	green	Front Entry Room
025	022	Y	1	B	1	89.12	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	023	Y	1	B	1	145.49	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	024	Y	1	B	1	72.14	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	025	Y	1	B	1	34.90	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	026	Y	1	B	1	46.46	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	027	Y	1	B	1	15.11	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	028	Y	1	B	4	43.79	colorless	Front Entry Room

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
025	029	Y	1	B	1	10.13	white/opaque	Front Entry Room
025	030	Y	1	B	1	9.24	white/opaque	Front Entry Room
025	031	Y	1	B	1	10.54	brown	Front Entry Room
025	032	Y	1	B	1	71.16	brown	Front Entry Room
025	033	Y	1	B	1	56.18	brown	Front Entry Room
025	034	Y	1	F	4	167.72	green	Front Entry Room
025	035	Y	1	F	1	25.41	green	Front Entry Room
025	036	Y	1	F	1	42.54	green	Front Entry Room
025	037	Y	1	F	1	40.64	green	Front Entry Room
025	038	Y	1	F	3	37.18	brown	Front Entry Room
025	039	Y	1	F	1	41.70	brown	Front Entry Room
025	040	Y	1	F	1	47.92	brown	Front Entry Room
025	041	Y	1	F	6	92.99	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	042	Y	1	F	1	23.83	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	043	Y	1	F	1	30.66	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	044	Y	1	F	1	60.32	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	045	Y	1	F	1	51.63	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	046	Y	1	F	1	56.22	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	047	Y	1	F	1	69.50	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	048	Y	1	F	1	62.05	colorless	Front Entry Room
025	049	Y	1	H	1	9.24	cap/metal	Front Entry Room
025	050	Y	1	J	6	25.10	cap/metal	Front Entry Room
026		N						Fireplace Area
027	001	Y	7	C	2	9.95	cap/metal	S.E. Quadrant Main Room
028	001	Y	7	D (1)	1	136.67	colorless	Center Room
028	002	Y	7	D (1)	1	133.12	colorless	Center Room
028	003	Y	7	D (1)	1	43.05	colorless	Center Room

FS #	Lot #	Glass Y/N	Box #	Bag Ltr.	Count	Wgt. (g)	Color	Location
028	004	Y	7	D (1)	1	40.36	colorless	Center Room
028	005	Y	7	D (1)	1	142.46	colorless	Center Room
028	006	Y	7	D (2)	1	49.32	colorless	Center Room
028	007	Y	7	D (2)	1	60.79	colorless	Center Room
028	008	Y	7	D (2)	10	215.20	colorless	Center Room
028	009	Y	7	D (2)	1	24.77	green	Center Room
028	010	Y	7	D (2)	3	133.32	green	Center Room
028	011	Y	7	D (2)	1	39.00	green	Center Room
028	012	Y	7	D (2)	1	53.83	brown	Center Room
028	013	Y	7	D (2)	1	51.87	brown	Center Room
028	014	Y	7	D (2)	2	20.12	brown	Center Room
029	001	Y	11	A	1	601.16	colorless	General Collection
029	002	Y	11	B	1	201.06	colorless	General Collection

APPENDIX B: BLACK CAT CAVE (40RD299) SHARD DATABASE

Table 2: Black Cat Cave (40RD299) SHARD Database

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
1	025	-030		Food Prep/Consumption	Closure	Cover	Opaque-white Glass		Hazel-Atlas Glass Company (after 1902)	1871		www.glassbottlemarks.com/boyds-genuine-porcelain-lined-cap/		Milk glass cover	1	9.24g
2	025	-029		Food Prep/Consumption	Closure	Cover	Opaque-white Glass		Hazel-Atlas Glass Company (after 1902)	1871		www.glassbottlemarks.com/boyds-genuine-porcelain-lined-cap/		Milk glass cover	1	10.13g
3	021	-014		Food Prep/Consumption	Closure	Cover	Opaque-white Glass	..GENUINE..	Hazel-Atlas Glass Company (after 1902)	1871		www.glassbottlemarks.com/boyds-genuine-porcelain-lined-cap/		Milk glass cover	1	8.62g
4	021	-013		Food Prep/Consumption	Closure	Cover	Opaque-white Glass	BOYD'S GENUINE PORCELAIN LINED CAP	Hazel-Atlas Glass Company (after 1902)	1871		www.glassbottlemarks.com/boyds-genuine-porcelain-lined-cap/		Milk glass cover	1	32.91g
5	001	-103		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Metal			1894	present	lemelson.mit.edu/resources/william-painter		Partial bottlecap	1	9.13g
6	002	-050		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Metal			1894	present	lemelson.mit.edu/resources/william-painter		Complete bottle cap	4	13.20g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
7	002	-014		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Metal			1894	present	lemelson.mit.edu/resources/william-painter		Complete bottle cap	2	5.63g
8	011	-004	Bucket Auger Test #7	Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Metal			1894	present	lemelson.mit.edu/resources/william-painter		Complete bottle cap	2	8.89g
9	017	-002	Test Unit #1 - Level 3	Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Metal			1894	present	lemelson.mit.edu/resources/william-painter		Complete bottle cap	1	7.90g
10	025	-050		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Metal			1894	present	lemelson.mit.edu/resources/william-painter		Complete bottle cap	6	25.10g
11	025	-049		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Metal			1894	present	lemelson.mit.edu/resources/william-painter		Complete bottle cap	1	9.24g
12	027	-001		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Metal			1894	present	lemelson.mit.edu/resources/william-painter		Complete bottle cap	2	9.95g
13	021	-005		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass		Coca Cola Bottling Company	1916	present	www.coca-colacompany.com/our-company/history-of-bottling		Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam; Coca-Cola bottle	1	41.68g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
14	021	-004		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	///C 1	Coca Cola Bottling Company	1916	present	www.coca-colacompany.com/our-company/history-of-bottling		Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam; Coca-Cola bottle	1	45.67g
15	021	-006		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	Coca-Cola [TRA]DE MARK REGIST[ERED] [CO]NTENTS	Coca Cola Bottling Company	1916	present	www.coca-colacompany.com/our-company/history-of-bottling		Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; Coca-Cola bottle	1	31.36g
16	025	-034		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass		Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1917	1958	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; Coca-Cola bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	4	167.72 g
17	028	-010		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass		Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1917	1958	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; Coca-Cola bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	3	133.32 g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
18	025	-019		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	[COCA-]COLA[REG]ISTERED	Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1917	1958	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC orChattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; body fragment; Coca-Cola bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	1	14.86g
19	025	-018		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	COC[A-COLACola TRADEMA[RK] MIN CONTEN[TS]	Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1917	1958	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; body fragment; Coca-Cola bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	1	23.69g
20	025	-014		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	TRAD[EMARK] MIN C[ONTENTS]	Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1917	1958	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; body fragment; Coca-Cola bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	1	20.94g
21	025	-020		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	TRADE[MARK] ..BOTTL[E]	Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1917	1958	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; body fragment; Coca-Cola bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	1	9.87g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
22	025	-016		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-water Bottle	Green Glass	TRADE[MARK] ..BOTTLE	Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1917	1958	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; body fragment; Coca-Cola bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	0	
23	025	-036		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	TRADEMARK BOTTLE PA[T'D]	Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1917	1958	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; Coca-Cola bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	1	42.54g
24	001	-165		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass	///(M in a circle)2	Maryland Glass Corp.	1921	1971	https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/MLogoTable.pdf and https://sha.org/bottle/machinemadedating.htm	Baltimore, MD	Machine-made glass; embossed lettering, base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	41.28g
25	025	-035		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	[COCA-]COLA REGISTERED DEC. 23, 1923	Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1928	1938	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf Pg. 113	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; Coca-Cola bottle; "Christmas" bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	1	25.41g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
26	025	-004		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-water Bottle	Colorless Glass	[DO]UBLE STR[ENGTH]	The Seminole Fruit Flavor Company (1928)/ The Seminole Flavor Company (1932)	1928	Late 1930s	tazewell-orange.blogspot.com/2012/02/evolution-of-double.cola.html		Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; art deco soda bottle fragment	1	22.80g
27	025	-037		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Green Glass	COCA-COLA TRADEMARK REGISTERED PAT'D DEC 25, 1923	Coca-Cola Bottling Company	1928	1938	www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/ASchap7.pdf Pg. 113	Laurens Glass Works, Lauren, SC or Chattanooga Glass Company, TN	Machine-made glass; Coca-Cola bottle; "Christmas" bottle; Hobble-skirt bottle	1	40.64g
28	001	-090		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	22 6 K in Keystone logo	Knox Glass Bottle Company	1932	1968	https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/KLogoTable.pdf		Machine-made glass; base fragment with visible base seam;	1	17.26
29	001	-158		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1933	present	www.anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/history-of-aeagle/		Machine-made glass; bird wing entwined in letter "A"	1	8.56g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
30	001	-106		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1933	present	www.anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/history-of-aeagle/		Machine-made glass; bird wing entwined in letter "A"	1	10.62g
31	001	-101		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1933	present	www.anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/history-of-aeagle/		Machine-made glass; bird wing entwined in letter "A"	1	12.79g
32	001	-061		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1933	present	www.anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/history-of-aeagle/		Machine-made glass; bird wing entwined in letter "A"	1	8.17g
33	002	-017		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1933	present	www.anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/history-of-aeagle/		Machine-made glass; bird wing entwined in letter "A"	1	6.96g
34	002	-012		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1933	present	www.anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/history-of-aeagle/		Machine-made glass; bird wing entwined in letter "A"	1	4.91g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
35	002	-005		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1933	present	www.anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/history-of-aeagle/		Machine-made glass; bird wing entwined in letter "A"	1	8.36g
36	025	-031		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1933	present	www.anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/history-of-aeagle/		Machine-made glass; bird wing entwined in letter "A"	1	10.54g
37	001	-157		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); red and gold	1	7.61g
38	001	-091		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL)	49	186.01 g
39	001	-043		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white logo	4	28.38g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
40	001	-161		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lines	2	8.11g
41	001	-154		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); blue and white	1	7.48g
42	001	-120		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); indecipherable logo	1	7.12g
43	001	-083		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lines	1	3.29g
44	001	-076		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); blue and white	3	3.85g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
45	001	-065		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lines	1	3.96g
46	001	-057		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); blue and white	1	3.48g
47	001	-034		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	2	3.55g
48	001	-033		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lines	2	3.75g
49	001	-032		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); blue and white	2	3.78g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
50	001	-027		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass			1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); blue and white with stars	5	4.78g
51	001	-082		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	.. OR OF.. FR[O]..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	4.11g
52	001	-078		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	.. SHOULD NO[T] ..SE OF ..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	3.46g
53	001	-077		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass	..[B]EER ..A ..STE.		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	4.00g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
54	001	-037		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..EF..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); blue and white; white lettering	1	3.37g
55	001	-121		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..T..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	7.16g
56	001	-162		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..VT5..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	7.34g
57	001	-086		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Liquor Bottle	Colorless Glass	[FOR]BIDS SALE ..S BOTTLE		1934	1964	https://sha.org/bottle/machinemadedating.htm		Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; shoulder fragment	1	8.16g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
58	001	-156		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	[O]W'S		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	7.36g
59	001	-041		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	[OLD] [U]NDER T.. YOUR .. TO ..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	4.14g
60	025	-017		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	[OWN] BOTTLIN[G] [NAS]HVILLE, TENN		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL)	1	15.75g
61	001	-039		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	[S]PRINGS		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	4.17g
62	025	-047		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	///D10 //56-6 //Diamond OI logo	Owens-Illinois Glass Company	1934	1969	https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/OwensIll_Blockhart.pdf Pg. 15-16		Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	69.50g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
63	001	-036		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	400..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white numbering; white lines	1	3.59g
64	001	-133		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass	BECA..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	7.02g
65	001	-081		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass	GOVERNMEN[T] WOMEN ..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	3.61g
66	001	-079		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	T[H].. ..R ENJO[Y] ..O YOUR .. ..CO[M].. ..U..		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	4.41g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
67	001	-040		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	TO HON.. WE [QUOTE]		1934				Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	3.69g
68	001	-084		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Liquor Bottle	Colorless Glass	USE OF T[H]..		1934	1964	https://sha.org/bottle/machinemadedating.htm		Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; shoulder fragment	1	5.26g
69	001	-164		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass		Latrobe Brewing Company	1939	present	www.rollingrock.com/history.html	Latrobe, PA	Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); blue and white	6	9.56g
70	001	-116		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass		Latrobe Brewing Company	1939	present	www.rollingrock.com/history.html	Latrobe, PA	Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); blue and white	3	7.62g
71	001	-117		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass	..gRock ..	Latrobe Brewing Company	1939	present	www.rollingrock.com/history.html	Latrobe, PA	Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	7.26g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
72	001	-155		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass	"33"	Latrobe Brewing Company	1939	present	www.rollingrock.com/history.html	Latrobe, PA	Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	7.68g
73	001	-115		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass	[ROLL]IN[G] [ROC]K	Latrobe Brewing Company	1939	present	www.rollingrock.com/history.html	Latrobe, PA	Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); white lettering	1	7.65g
74	001	-138		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	///Duraglas ///1-WAY	Owens-Illinois Glass Company	1940	mid-1950s	www.sha.org/nottle/machinemadedating.htm		Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam; knurled base	1	32.72g
75	028	-012		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	///Duraglas //6 //29 //1-WAY	Owens-Illinois Glass Company	1940	mid-1950s	www.sha.org/nottle/machinemadedating.htm		Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam; knurled base	1	53.83g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
76	001	-085		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	Duraglas 9 5 CO[NTEN]TS 10 FL	Owens-Illinois Glass Company	1940	mid-1950s	https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/OwensIll_Blockhart.pdf and https://sha.org/bottle/machinemadedating.htm#Question 11	Streator, Il	Machine-made glass; base fragment; embossed Duraglas logo	1	18.49g
77	029	-001		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Syrup Bottle	Colorless Glass	Duraglas ///U.S. PAT. 127,618 //US PAT. OFF. //KARO 16 //SYRUP //1 1/2 LBS. NET WT.	Karo Syrup	1941		U.S. Patent #127,618 (1941)		Machine-made glass; complete bottle;	0	601.16 g
78	001	-131		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	///(B in a circle - North) ///(4 - West) ///(81 - East) /// (8 - South)	Brockway Glass Company	1951	1988	https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/Brockway.pdf and https://sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/BLogoTable.pdf	Lapel, IN	Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; base fragment; 1981	1	34.85g
79	001	-122		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Colorless Glass	PEPSI C..		1952				Machine-made glass; basketweave pattern	1	20.34g
80	029	-002		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Jelly Jar	Colorless Glass	///10 //I in circle logo //5 //13	Owens-Illinois Glass Company	1954				Machine-made glass;	0	201.06 g
81	001	-049		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	10							1	3.93g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
82	001	-048		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	26						Machine-made glass; base fragment	1	10.83g
83	001	-142		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	72						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; base fragment with concentric circles	1	15.67g
84	002	-042		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	95						Machine-made glass;base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	1.96g
85	001	-047		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	5-79						Machine-made glass; base fragment	1	10.56g
86	001	-175		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								16	31.43g
87	001	-172		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								17	24.91g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
88	001	-160		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								178	103.54
89	001	-146		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								43	65.85g
90	001	-141		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								110	105.53 g
91	001	-135		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								93	94.86g
92	001	-126		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								89	92.95g
93	001	-112		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); indecipherable logo	1	7.54g
94	001	-111		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; applied color label (ACL); indecipherable logo	1	8.33g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
95	001	-110		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								126	97.08g
96	001	-108		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; paper label remnants attached; illegible	87	90.64g
97	001	-098		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								125	121.36 g
98	001	-096		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								30	19.91g
99	001	-094		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								64	22.63g
100	001	-074		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								60	39.02g
101	001	-071		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								85	91.29g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
102	001	-070		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	8.20g
103	001	-069		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	3.44g
104	001	-068		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	3.74g
105	001	-059		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								56	37.72g
106	001	-046		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	9.43g
107	001	-030		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; incomplete logo	0	
108	001	-029		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; incomplete logo	0	

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
109	001	-028		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								25	23.87g
110	001	-007		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								62	54.61g
111	001	-003		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								22	35.11g
112	002	-048		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	5.42g
113	002	-047		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	3.16g
114	002	-045		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								3	3.08g
115	002	-041		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								2	3.59g
116	002	-040		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								5	7.05g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
117	002	-036		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	3.08g
118	002	-035		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment	1	3.63g
119	002	-033		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								3	7.73g
120	002	-031		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; paper label remnants attached; illegible	1	10.04g
121	002	-030		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; paper label remnants attached; illegible	9	54.13g
122	002	-025		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								11	25.55g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
123	002	-024		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								4	7.64g
124	002	-019		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	9.55g
125	002	-018		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	2	9.42g
126	002	-013		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam; knurled base	3	17.50g
127	002	-011		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								11	27.31g
128	002	-008		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	13.89g
129	002	-006		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	2	12.88g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
130	002	-004		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								32	60.11g
131	005	-002		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								2	5.13g
132	005	-001		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	11.64g
133	008	-002	Bucket Auger Test #3	Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	3.81g
134	011	-002	Bucket Auger Test #7	Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	5.01g
135	013	-001	Bucket Auger Test #9	Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	1.55g
136	017	-004	Test Unit #1 - Level 5	Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	2.60g
137	019	-001		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								1	5.42g
138	021	-002		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								2	84.77g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
139	025	-040		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	47.92g
140	025	-039		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	41.70g
141	025	-038		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								3	37.18g
142	025	-033		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment; small mouth external thread finish	1	56.18g
143	025	-032		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass					www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/IMACSfinishes.pdf		Machine-made glass; finish fragment; crown finish	1	71.16g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
144	025	-013		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								9	72.4g
145	025	-011		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	33.12g
146	025	-010		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass								7	6.55g
147	028	-014		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	2	20.12g
148	028	-013		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment; small mouth external thread finish	1	51.87g
149	001	-167		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								13	39.71g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
150	001	-136		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	7.98g
151	001	-129		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	7.37g
152	001	-113		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	21.28g
153	001	-097		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	11.40g
154	001	-073		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								2	11.86g
155	001	-066		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	3.36g
156	001	-004		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	8.90g
157	002	-044		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	0.72g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
158	002	-038		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	1.30g
159	002	-027		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	2	8.04g
160	002	-022		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	3.46g
161	002	-010		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	4.87g
162	002	-003		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass							Machine-made	4	11.17g
163	001	-173		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	1.60g
164	001	-171		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								12	16.10g
165	001	-168		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	14.46g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
166	001	-163		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								22	49.13g
167	001	-151		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								206	215.49 g
168	001	-145		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								106	108.24 g
169	001	-144		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	19.50g
170	001	-143		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	20.39g
171	001	-130		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	16.02g
172	001	-128		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								94	139.39 g
173	001	-125		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								88	63.85g
174	001	-124		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								43	106.16 g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
175	001	-099		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								136	143.15 g
176	001	-093		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								12	16.23g
177	001	-063		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								49	76.17g
178	001	-058		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								48	57.60g
179	001	-054		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragments	2	4.90g
180	001	-045		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment; attached metal screw top lid	1	32.65g
181	001	-044		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	8.22g
182	001	-042		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								68	102.05 g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
183	001	-023		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								2	5.18g
184	001	-019		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	4.44g
185	001	-018		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; basketweave pattern; Pepsi bottle	2	6.67g
186	001	-017		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	8.92g
187	001	-016		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								12	24.69g
188	001	-015		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	4.96g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
189	001	-014		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam; base vent marks	1	5.31g
190	001	-012		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragments	2	18.73g
191	001	-006		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								60	72.48g
192	001	-005		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								4	13.41
193	002	-039		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	3.80g
194	002	-032		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								2	31.28g
195	002	-028		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								5	11.96g
196	002	-021		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								2	11.55g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
197	002	-015		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	4.20g
198	002	-009		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								20	38.40g
199	002	-002		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								19	32.45g
200	005	-003		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								2	16.64g
201	008	-001	Bucket Auger Test #3	Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	4.15g
202	011	-001	Bucket Auger Test #7	Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	14.14g
203	014	-001	Test Unit #1 - Level 2	Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	18.79g
204	016	-001	Test Unit #1 - Level 4	Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	11.80g
205	017	-003	Test Unit #1 - Level 5	Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	4.63g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
206	017	-001	Test Unit #1 - Level 3	Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	4.97g
207	021	-012		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	97.26g
208	021	-011		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	61.98g
209	021	-010		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Canning Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment	1	107.09 g
210	021	-008		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	84.94g
211	021	-007		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								4	160.51 g
212	025	-045		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								1	51.63g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
213	025	-041		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								6	92.99g
214	025	-028		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								4	43.79g
215	025	-027		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment; small mouth external thread finish	1	15.11g
216	025	-026		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	Colorless Glass					www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/IMACSfinishes.pdf		Machine-made glass; finish fragment; straight brandy or wine finish	1	46.46g
217	025	-025		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	Colorless Glass					www.sha.org/bottle/pdffiles/IMACSfinishes.pdf		Machine-made glass; finish fragment; straight brandy or wine finish	1	34.90g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
218	025	-023		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	145.49 g
219	025	-022		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	89.12g
220	025	-012		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	145.97 g
221	025	-008		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment; shoulder fragment	1	42.94g
222	025	-007		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment;	1	186.40 g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
223	025	-006		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam; majority of bottle up to shoulder; no markings	1	272.41 g
224	025	-003		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass							Machine-made bottle; finish fragment	1	9.56g
225	025	-001		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass								8	91.58g
226	028	-008		Food Prep/Consumption	Tableware	Tumbler	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass;	10	215.20 g
227	028	-004		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; finish fragment; small mouth external thread finish	1	40.36g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
228	028	-002		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	133.12 g
229	001	-174		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								17	26.22g
230	001	-170		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								5	5.44g
231	001	-166		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								36	24.63g
232	001	-152		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								18	12.40g
233	001	-137		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								28	29.22g
234	001	-134		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								36	43.83g
235	001	-127		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								36	41.74g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
236	001	-123		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								50	37.32g
237	001	-114		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with concentric circles	1	12.89g
238	001	-109		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								34	30.73g
239	001	-105		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								36	29.32g
240	001	-102		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with concentric circles	1	16.80g
241	001	-100		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								12	20.81g
242	001	-095		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								2	3.87g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
243	001	-092		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								14	6.96g
244	001	-075		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								50	26.85g
245	001	-064		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								25	17.18g
246	001	-056		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								4	7.21g
247	001	-031		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								26	14.42g
248	001	-011		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass							Machine-made glass; engraved white bar code	2	4.19g
249	001	-009		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass							Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	4.92g
250	001	-008		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								55	46.06g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
251	001	-002		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								6	4.11g
252	002	-049		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								2	1.60g
253	002	-046		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	0.68g
254	002	-037		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	2.24g
255	002	-029		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	3.89g
256	002	-026		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								8	29.85g
257	002	-023		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	3.79g
258	002	-016		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	30.76g
259	008	-003	Bucket Auger Test #3	Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	6.85g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
260	011	-003	Bucket Auger Test #7	Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	4.10g
261	021	-003		Food Prep/Consumption	Tableware	Tumbler	Green Glass					https://sha.org/bottle/glossary.htm		Machine-made glass; paneled surface	1	91.95g
262	025	-021		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								5	57.70g
263	025	-015		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	5.29g
264	025	-002		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass								1	10.66g
265	028	-011		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass							Machine-made glass;	1	39.00g
266	001	-025		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	.. WE TENDE[R] FOR YO[U] [DIS]TRIBU[TE] T..							1	5.55g
267	002	-020		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	..-103496						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	15.56g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
268	001	-067		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass	..[2]2..						Machine-made glass; base fragment	0	
269	001	-140		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	..[BU]SCH							1	17.44g
270	001	-087		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	..[I]LL							1	6.27g
271	001	-119		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..[IE] ..T..							1	7.42g
272	001	-153		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..[TH]IS GREAT.. [ED]GE OF ..							1	7.42g
273	001	-139		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	..8S PL							1	11.22g
274	001	-132		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass	..A - ME - MA - N[Y] WARNING: .. ..LD NOT DRI[NK]							1	7.55g
275	001	-053		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	..AL..							1	3.89g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
276	001	-107		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	..DII 43						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering, base fragment	1	23.65g
277	001	-038		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..E B..							1	3.78g
278	001	-035		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..E..						Machine-made glass; engraved white lettering	1	3.86g
279	001	-050		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	..ff						Machine-made glass	1	4.38g
280	001	-024		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	..ff							1	6.18g
281	001	-052		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	..G..						Machine-made glass	1	3.86g
282	002	-034		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	..IL..							1	2.89g
283	001	-060		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	..ILL						Machine-made glass	1	3.87g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
284	001	-080		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..ION O.. ..GINA..							1	3.75g
285	001	-022		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Colorless Glass	..LA							1	5.37g
286	001	-088		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	..LI..							1	4.50g
287	001	-150		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	..NE P..						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering	1	14.62g
288	001	-062		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	..ON							1	5.16g
289	028	-009		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..ORO //TENN						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	24.77g
290	001	-051		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	..P..						Machine-made glass; base fragment	1	5.04g
291	001	-118		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	..R.. ..LS PR.. ..NJ..							1	7.31g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
292	001	-159		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	..S SALE//OR R[E]						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering	1	21.52g
293	002	-007		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	[42]						Machine-made glass; base fragment	1	6.73g
294	001	-020		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	[6]							1	4.10g
295	001	-010		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Green Glass	[DRINK] ALCOHO[L] THE RISK OF BIRTH D[EFECTS] BEVERAGES IMPAIRS ..MACHINERY, AND ..						Machine-made glass; engraved white writing	1	4.26g
296	001	-104		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	[E] DON'T							1	9.96g
297	001	-148		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Colorless Glass	[E]PS						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering	1	12.35g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
298	001	-089		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	[F]ULL						Machine-made glass; base fragment with visible base seam	1	11.56g
299	002	-043		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	[S]EP 11 01 56 K							1	5.28g
300	001	-149		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	[T]HIS						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering	1	8.95g
301	025	-046		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	///598 2						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	56.22g
302	028	-007		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	///64-8						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	60.79g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
303	025	-005		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	///77						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	171.22 g
304	025	-042		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	///85 // L-2							1	23.83g
305	028	-006		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	///9						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	49.32g
306	002	-001		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	///93						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	16.97g
307	028	-005		Food Prep/Consumption	Tableware	Tumbler	Colorless Glass	///A //H						Machine-made glass	1	142.46 g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
308	025	-043		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	///D // 72						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	30.66g
309	028	-048		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	///D-342 //67 //7						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	62.05g
310	025	-044		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	///D-8 //72 //5							1	60.32g
311	021	-009		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	///LD						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	85.37g
312	028	-003		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	///R-24l //6..						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	43.05g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
313	025	-024		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	///R159 56-7							1	72.14g
314	021	-001		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	10J						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	31.96g
315	001	-013		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	750 ML						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	6.65g
316	001	-055		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	84 0						Machine-made glass; base fragment with visible base seam	1	12.76g
317	001	-169		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Soda-pop Bottle	Colorless Glass	COL[A]						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering; basketweave pattern; Pepsi bottle	1	10.90g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
318	001	-021		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	F..							1	7.17g
319	028	-001		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Flask	Colorless Glass	FULL						Machine-made glass; finish fragment; shoulder fragment; straight brandy or wine finish	1	136.67 g
320	001	-072		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	LITTER W-I						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	34.66g
321	025	-009		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Container	Beer Bottle	Amber Glass	NO REFILL ///42						Machine-made glass; base heel fragment with visible base seam	1	77.19g
322	001	-026		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Green Glass	PLE.. ..IE.. ..							1	3.56g
323	001	-147		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Colorless Glass	STD						Machine-made glass; embossed lettering	1	9.51g

Ln. Item	FS	Lot	Prov Info	Art. Cat.	Art. Type	Art. Desc.	Material	Mark	Maker	Begin	End	References	Origin	Remarks	Frag Ct.	Wt. (g)
324	002	-051		Social Drugs - Alcohol	Closure	Cap	Plastic	Void in CA, UT, KY, PRWinner Every 60 Seconds!Www.smirnoffice.comMVPDY3TZ							1	2.22g
325	001	-001		Food Prep/Consumption	Container	Bottle/Jar	Cobalt Glass								1	.63g