

**RECONNAISSANCE CULTURAL RESOURCES  
SURVEY OF CANTEY BAY PLANTATION,  
CLARENDON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA**



**CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 494**

# RECONNAISSANCE CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY OF CANTEY BAY PLANTATION, CLARENDON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

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**CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 494**



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## ABSTRACT

This study reports on a reconnaissance cultural resources survey of an approximately 4,000 acre tract located in southern Clarendon County, South Carolina, near the town of St. Paul. The work was conducted to assist Mr. Kevin O'Neill and Beach Lake Properties, LLC in determining the probable cultural resource implications of development. This study, conducted at a reconnaissance level, is not intended to satisfy Section 106 requirements and additional investigations will be required to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and the regulations codified in 38CFR800.

The investigation included background research at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History to check for any National Register sites in the project area, as well as for information on any previous architectural surveys that may have been conducted in the general vicinity. As a result, no National Register properties are in the project area, however, one National Register site, listed in 1969, is located about 0.75 mile from the tract – the Santee Mound/Fort Watson.

We also reviewed the site files of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, which identified three sites (38CR1/1002, 38CR39, and 38CR111) within 1.0 mile of the project area. Site 38CR1/1002 is the Santee Mound/Fort Watson, which has already been mentioned as being on the National Register of Historic Places. Site 38CR39 is a Late Woodland to Mississippian site associated with the Santee Mound and site 38CR111 is a Middle Woodland site located on an exposed shoreline of Cantey Bay. No National Register determination has been made for the later two sites.

To further evaluate the potential for historical and archaeological sites, a number of maps and plats were examined for the area. Projected site locations were identified and are recorded for the tract.

A model has been produced to show the areas of highest probability for producing prehistoric sites. Theoretically, these sites would exist in the moderately to well drained soils on the edge of poorly drained soils or wetlands.

The examination of the maps and plats identified at least 46 areas with the potential to produce historic remains. The earliest map found with structures on the project area dates to 1860. The latest map shows structures dating to 1950, but we cannot discount their potential significance until a survey has been conducted. Similar sites have been found eligible for inclusion on the National Register elsewhere in South Carolina.

The reconnaissance incorporated both shovel testing in areas of high probability for sites (performed at 100-foot intervals until a site was encountered, then testing at 50-foot intervals within a site area) and a pedestrian survey where logging had revealed significant ground visibility (i.e. over 50%).

As a result of this study, three cemeteries (38CR138-140) and six domestic sites (38CR132-137) were identified. Site 38CR138 is a nineteenth century cemetery; site 38CR139 is the nineteenth century Ragin Cemetery; site 38CR140 is a nineteenth to twentieth century African-American cemetery; 38CR132 is a twentieth century tenant site; 38CR133 is a nineteenth century house site; 38CR134 is a small nineteenth century domestic site; 38CR135 is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CR136 is a twentieth century scatter; and

38CR137 is a nineteenth to twentieth century site. Additional survey work is needed before any conclusive judgment may be made on the eligibility for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

While reconnaissance studies are not able to provide definitive eligibility determinations, they are able to suggest the need for additional research. This is especially the case with this study, which found archaeological remains in several areas targeted based on research. Additional, more intensive, investigations on the tract are necessary to identify other archaeological sites. It is highly likely that a relatively large number of sites will be identified in the 4,000 acres.

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## INTRODUCTION

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Mr. Kevin O'Neill of Beach Lake Properties, LLC, the owner and developer of the study parcel. The work, conducted at a reconnaissance level, is not intended to satisfy Section 106 requirements, but only to assist the firm better understand the probable cultural resource implications of development. While ultimately development of the parcel will likely require compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and the regulations codified in 36CFR800, we know of no permits that would initiate Section 106 review of the property at this time.

tract (Figure 2). Lake Marion is located to the west of the project area, which promotes this property as prime real estate.

Examination of the soil survey shows approximately 65% of the property exhibiting relatively well drained soils.

Development plans are not finalized, but the area is intended to be used as a residential neighborhood. Many roads, while currently graded, are not paved. There is currently no city water and sewer, so all houses have wells and septic fields. Even these rustic features will impact any archaeological sites that may be present.

Given the nature of the tract, it is likely that there will be road construction, placement of utilities, excavation of wells and septic tank fields, as well as house lot construction and landscaping. Thus, there is a significant potential for the development of the tract to affect archaeological resources should they exist on the property.

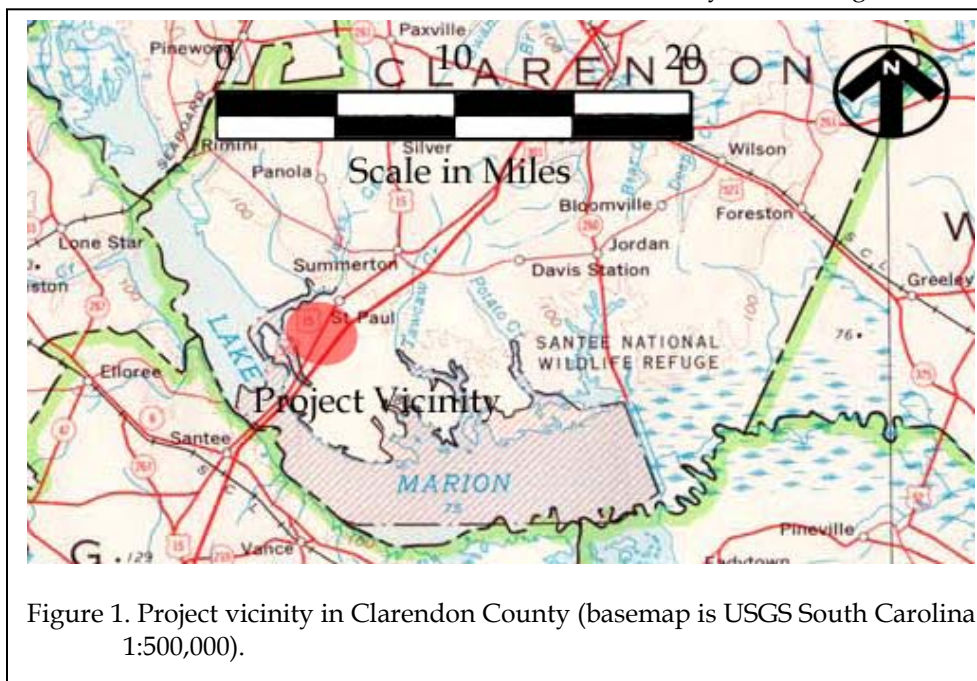
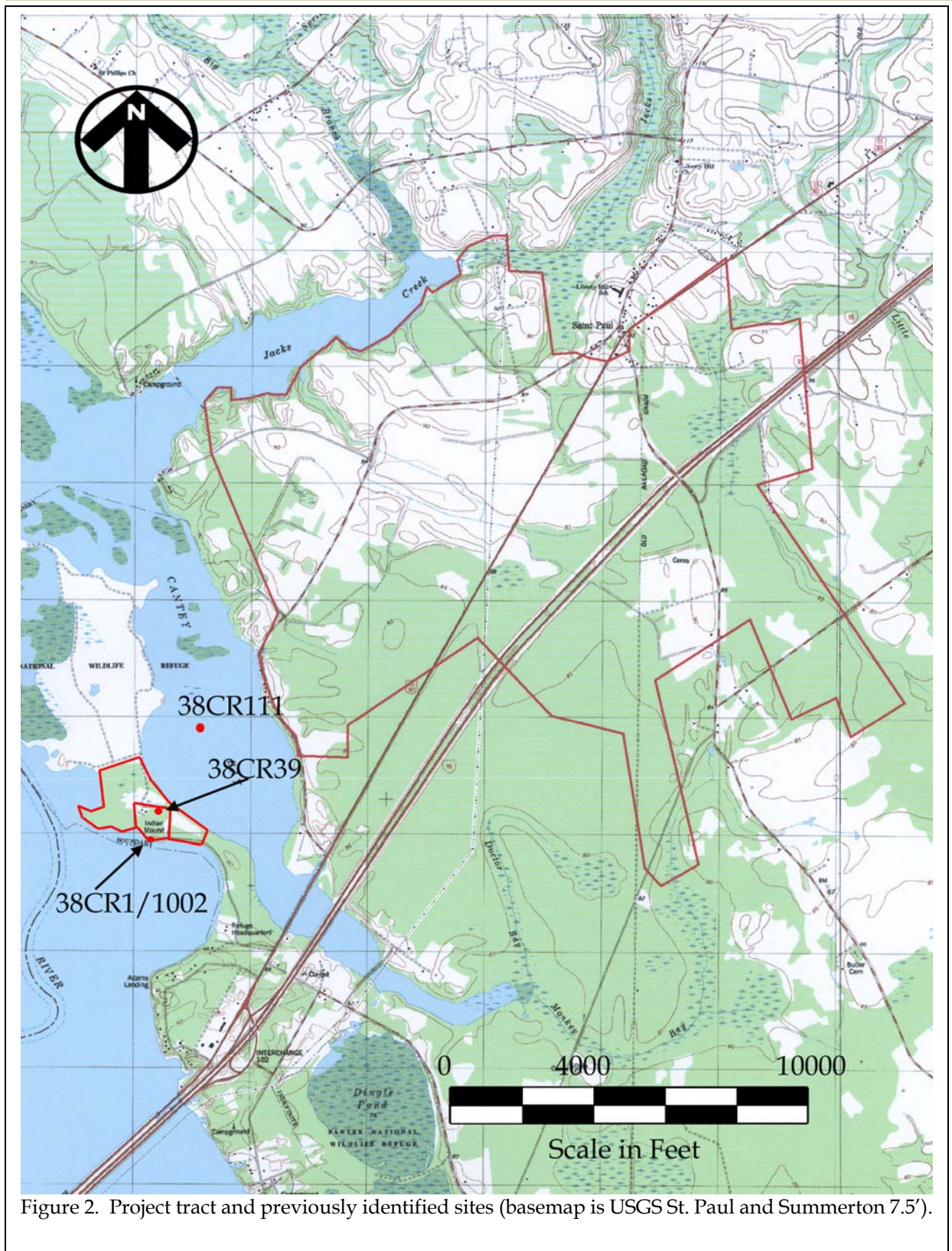


Figure 1. Project vicinity in Clarendon County (basemap is USGS South Carolina 1:500,000).

The parcel consists of about 4,000 acres of highland situated in southern Clarendon County, near the town of St. Paul (Figure 1). This is an area of limited development with farming still dominating the county. The property is easily accessible by I-95 and SC 15/301, which bisects the

We were initially contacted by Mr. Kevin O'Neill of Beach Development with a request to provide a proposal for the investigations on January 14, 2008. A proposal for both a reconnaissance level survey and an intensive survey was provided on

RECONNAISSANCE CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY OF CANTEY BAY PLANTATION





## INTRODUCTION

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January 30, 2008. The proposal for the reconnaissance level survey was accepted on March 13, with the agreement signed on March 19, 2008. Preliminary investigations began shortly thereafter.

Initial background investigations included an examination of previously recorded archaeological sites at the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA). Very few sites were found near the project area. The background work also incorporated a review of the GIS data base at the S.C. Department of Archives and History (SCDAH). No standing architectural structures or historic sites on the National Register of Historic Places were identified on the property, however, the National Register Santee Mound/Fort Watson is located less than a mile from the tract. Moreover, Clarendon County has not received a comprehensive architectural survey.

Archival and historical research began with the maps located in the Chicora Foundation library. Additional research was conducted by Ms. Sarah Fick, including one day of research at the Clarendon County Register of Mense Conveyance (RMC), the Charleston County RMC, and the South Carolina Historical Society.

The archaeological field reconnaissance was conducted from March 31 to April 4, 2008 by Ms. Nicole Southerland and Ms. Ashley Guba under the direction of Dr. Michael Trinkley.

This report details the findings of these studies and provides our recommendations for the identification and evaluation of cultural resources on the study tract.



## NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

### Physiography and Geology

Clarendon County is situated in the Middle Coastal Plain of South Carolina, south of the Fall Line. Elevations in the Middle Coastal Plain range from 220 to 350 feet above mean sea level (AMSL), with the topography being gently rolling. As Kovacik and Winberry (1987:20) observe, it can be very difficult to distinguish the Middle Coastal Plain from that of the Sand Hills to the north or even the lower Piedmont. You find the flatter, and almost featureless Coastal Plain topography further to the south and southeast, south of the Citronelle Escarpment (Orangeburg Scarp).

The Carolina Sand Hills to the north are an area of discontinuous hilly topography characterized by rounded hills with gentle slopes, moderate relief, and sandy soils. Although technically part of the Coastal Plain geology, the Sand Hills are distinct geographically. Much of the sand was blown into dunes during the Miocene, although weathered clays and very old river deposits lie directly on the crystalline rocks of the Piedmont (Kovacik and Winberry 1987; Murphy 1995).

Clarendon County is situated in the south-central part of South Carolina. It is bounded to

the north by Sumter County, to the northeast by Florence County, to the east by Williamsburg County, and to the south by Orangeburg and Berkeley counties. A small portion of Calhoun County borders to the west. Lake Marion forms the border between Clarendon and Orangeburg counties, which was created in the 1930s from damming the Santee River.

Several drainages flow through the project area, including a portion of Little Tawcaw Creek and

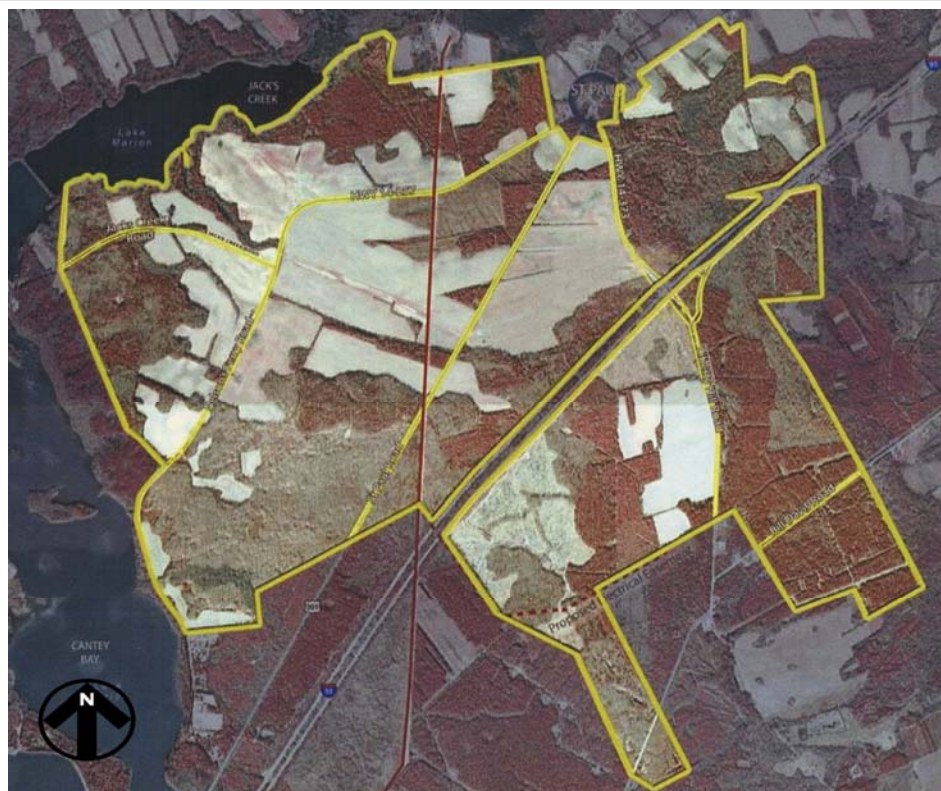


Figure 3. Aerial photograph of the project area.

Figure 4. Soil series and drainage in the project tract.

## NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Table 1.  
Soils found in the project area

Soil Symbol	Name	Drainage	Slope
BP	Borrow Pits	Well drained	
Ca	Cantey loam	Poorly drained	
Cd	Clarendon loamy sand	Moderately well drained	
DoA	Dothan loamy fine sand	Well drained	0-2%
DoB	Dothan loamy fine sand	Well drained	2-6%
Fo	Foreston fine sand	Moderately well drained	
FuB	Fuquay fine sand	Well drained	0-6%
Ly	Lynchburg loamy sand	Somewhat poorly drained	
Oc	Ocilla loamy sand	Somewhat poorly drained	
OrA	Orangeburg loamy sand	Well drained	0-2%
OrB	Orangeburg loamy sand	Well drained	2-6%
Os	Osier loamy fine sand	Poorly drained	
Pa	Paxville loam	Very poorly drained	
PeA	Persanti very fine sandy loam	Moderately well drained	0-2%
Ra	Rains sandy loam	Poorly drained	
RbA	Red Bay sandy loam	Well drained	0-2%
SuA	Summerton fine sandy loam	Well drained	0-2%
SuB	Summerton fine sandy loam	Well drained	2-6%
TrB	Troup sand	Somewhat excessively drained	0-6%

soils with sandy surface layers and loamy subsoils (Gerald 1972).

The project area encompasses 15 different soils types (Figure 4), the results of which can be found in Table 1.

In general, the western portion of the property exhibits more well drained soils, while the eastern portion of the tract has more poorly drained soils.

### Floristics

In the early nineteenth century Mills comments that the river lands were dominated by “the magnolia, beech, willow, ash, elm, oak, birch, walnut, and hickory” while the deeper swamp

were “large groups of cypress, loblolly, bay, sweet bay, maple, tupelo, and poplar trees of an immense height and circumference” (Mills 1972[1826]:658).

The project area covers a variety of different systems including mixed pine and hardwood forests, planted pines, wetlands with hardwoods, and planted fields. The majority of cultivated fields were planted in wheat (Figure 5) at the time of the reconnaissance.





Figure 5. View of wheat planted at the time of the reconnaissance.

## HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

### Previous Research

Clarendon County has received very little archaeological attention, with Derting et al. (1991) citing only 26 different studies. Most of the studies appear to be compliance reports. However, a few of the reports are from Leland Ferguson's (1973) work at the nearby Santee Indian Mound/Fort Watson.

More recently, and within 1.0 mile of the current survey, is a portion of a 2002 survey for the Santee Cooper Hydroelectric Project (Bailey 2002). No sites were found in the portion of this survey closest to the survey corridor. In addition, a 2005 transmission line survey was conducted that crosses north-south through the current project area (Trinkley and Southerland 2005). Only one site was found during this survey, north of the current project.

### Prehistoric Overview

The Paleoindian period, lasting from 12,000 to 8,000 B.C., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notched projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points; side scrapers; end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Michie 1977). The Paleoindian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Points usually associated with this period include the Clovis and several variants, Suwannee, Simpson, and Dalton (Goodyear et al. 1989:36-38).

At least one Paleoindian point has been found in the nearby Calhoun area, reportedly from the Little Bull Swamp Creek drainage (Goodyear et al. 1989:33). This pattern of artifacts found along major river drainages has been interpreted by Michie to support the concept of an economy "oriented towards the

exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna" (Michie 1977:124).

Unfortunately, little is known about Paleoindian subsistence strategies, settlement systems, or social organization. Generally, archaeologists agree that the Paleo-Indian groups were at a band level of society, were nomadic, and were both hunters and foragers. While population density, based on the isolated finds, is thought to have been low, Walthall suggests that toward the end of the period, "there was an increase in population density and in territoriality and that a number of new resource areas were beginning to be exploited" (Walthall 1980:30).

The Archaic period, which dates from 8000 to 1000 B.C., does not form a sharp break with the Paleoindian period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. The chronology established by Coe (1964) for the North Carolina Piedmont may be applied with little modification to the Clarendon County area. Archaic period assemblages, characterized by corner-notched, side-notched, and broad stemmed projectile points, are common in the vicinity, although they rarely are found in good, well-preserved contexts.

The Woodland period begins, by definition, with the introduction of fired clay pottery about 2000 B.C. along the South Carolina coast, about 1000 B.C. in the Upper Coastal Plain, and much later in the Carolina Piedmont, perhaps 500 B.C. It should be noted that many researchers call the period from about 2500 to 1000 B.C. the Late Archaic because of a perceived continuation of the Archaic lifestyle in spite of the manufacture of pottery. Regardless of terminology, the period from 2000 to 500 B.C. was a period of tremendous change.

# HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

			Regional Phases		
Dates	Period	Sub-Period	COASTAL	MIDDLE SAVANNAH VALLEY	CENTRAL CAROLINA PIEDMONT
1715	HIST.	EARLY	Altamaha		Caraway
1650		LATE	Irene / Pee Dee	Rembert Hollywood	Dan River
1100	MISS.	EARLY	Savannah	Lawton Savannah	Pee Dee
800	WOODLAND	LATE	St. Catherines / Swift Creek		Uwharrie
A.D.		MIDDLE	Wilmington	Sand Tempered Wilmington?	
B.C.			Deptford	Deptford	Yadkin
300		EARLY		Refuge	Badin
1000	ARCHAIC	LATE	Thom's Creek Stallings		
2000			Savannah River Halifax		
3000		MIDDLE	Guilford Morrow Mountain Stanly		
5000	PALEOINDIAN	EARLY			
8000			Kirk Palmer		
10,000			Hardaway		
12,000			Hardaway - Dalton Cumberland      Clovis      Simpson		

Figure 6. Generalized cultural sequence for South Carolina.

The subsistence economy during this early period was based primarily on deer hunting and fishing, with supplemental inclusions of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and shellfish. Various calculations of the probable yield of deer, fish, and other food sources identified from some coastal sites indicate that sedentary life was not only possible, but probable. Further inland it seems likely that many Native American groups

continued the previous established patterns of band mobility. These frequent moves would allow the groups to take advantage of various seasonal resources, such as shad and sturgeon in the spring, nut masts in the fall, and turkeys during the winter.

The South Appalachian Mississippian period, from about A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1640 is the most elaborate level of culture attained by the native inhabitants and is followed by

cultural disintegration brought about largely by European disease. The period is characterized by complicated stamped pottery, complex social organization, agriculture, and the construction of temple mounds and ceremonial centers. The earliest coastal phases are named the Savannah and Irene (known as Pee Dee further inland) (A.D. 1200 to 1550).

However little we know about the various small coastal tribes, considerably less is known about the protohistoric and historic tribes in the Upper Coastal Plain. The study area is, in very general terms, situated between the Pocolaligo and Santee. Mooney (1894:80) devotes a modest few paragraphs to the Santee.

## **Historic Overview**

### **Protohistoric**

The area which is today Clarendon County was primarily occupied by the Santee and Wateree Indians, with the earliest accounts taken from the Spanish explorers in 1526 (Quattlebaum 1956). During the Yemassee War of 1715 both the Wateree and Santee joined the Indian conspiracy, only to have their power broken. Afterwards the remnants apparently joined together, possibly with the Catawba (Swanton 1946). A few may have become settlement Indians, resulting in today's currently state recognized group of the Santee Indian Organization. Gregorie (1954:7) mentions that Sumter County remained part of the Catawba hunting territory at least as late as 1748, with a camp existing near "The Raft" in the Wateree River Swamp until 1750. Mills, in the early nineteenth century, expressed the situation concisely,

[a] number of tribes of Indians inhabited this country originally; but little care has been taken to preserve either their names or locations (Mills 1972:749 [1826]).

### **Parish and Administrative Divisions**

By 1733 the area of Clarendon was situated at the frontier of Craven County (created in 1682 as one of the original three counties). Craven, however, was effectively eliminated when the seven original judicial districts were created in 1769. The Camden Judicial District encompasses over 6,000 square miles, running from today's Clarendon County northwest to York County.

Clarendon County was created in 1785. Although its boundaries changed with the creation of Salem in 1792, our study tract in the southwestern part of the county was unaffected. Clarendon, however, was collapsed into Sumter District in 1800, not reemerging until 1857 (Long 1997).

In addition to the judicial districts, South Carolina was also divided into a series of parishes as a result of the 1706 Church Act. Our study area of Clarendon falls within Prince Frederick Parish, created in 1735 to take in a broad area of northeastern South Carolina interior from Prince George. By 1757, however, Clarendon was lost by Prince Frederick with the creation of St. Mark, which continued until eliminated as a governmental unit by the 1865 state constitution.

### **Eighteenth Century Life**

These legal changes did little to alter the basic framework of frontier life. Mills (1972:740 [1826]) observes that the earliest settlers were herdsmen who raised cattle in the vast open woods and savannahs, noting that one of the most permanent were the Nelsons, situated near the ferry by that name, directly south of the study parcel. He notes that they branded between 800 and 1,000 calves every spring - suggesting a very large herd.

Clowse (1971:60-61) suggests that cattle raising began as a response to the initial inability to find salable tropical or semitropical crops.

Although it might take three years to build a sizable herd, little capital was required and the herds were allowed to roam free in the forests, tended by only a few slaves. The slaughtered meat, once salted, found a ready market in the West Indies where the focus on sugar prevented planters from feeding their slaves. The tanning of the resulting hides supplied additional income (as well as supplying local needs). Moreover, the herds represented a food reservoir, providing a buffer for the colonists themselves.

Weir also comments on the prevalence of cattle raising throughout colonial Carolina, with at least 60,000 head present as late as 1751. He notes, however, that as lucrative as it might be for a few, it was not a source of fortunes for many. In fact, those that prospered during the earliest years, "appear to have done so mainly by the aggressive and simultaneous pursuit of various opportunities" (Weir 1997:142).

Although accounts are not clear, it seems equally likely that early eighteenth settlement in Clarendon focused on naval stores (such as lumber and tar) and Indian trade (prior to 1715).

Settlement increased about 1700, with early land grants for the area bearing names such as DuBose, Gaillard, Des Champs, Richbourg, Lesesne, Guerry, Millette, and Mouzon. Many represented French Huguenots who fled their country in order to avoid persecution in France because of their religious beliefs. One of the three distinct Huguenot communities was established along the Santee. This semi-isolated area was controlled by Huguenots as wealthy as their Charleston kin, although the Santee community was more provincial (Van Ruymbeke 2001:38).

Upland rice was the first valuable commodity that the Carolina planters identified. The development and evolution of this crop on interior swamps in the eighteenth century is discussed at length in Trinkley et al. (2003:13-42)

and it relied on a complex network of drained and diked interior lowlands combined with interior reservoirs. Beginning about 1720, rice exports climb dramatically, with the price increasing from 5.17 shillings per hundredweight in 1722 to 8.98 shillings in 1750 (Trinkley et al. 2003:33). There were downturns, but overall interior swamp rice brought the first staple commodity to Carolina and created planters of great wealth.

There were, however, unintended consequences. Prior to the 1720s there was a natural increase in African American slaves in Carolina. With the onset of rice production, however, malaria-ridden rice fields replaced the healthier sandy uplands used in cattle ranching. The increased slave mortality brought on new pressures to import Africans. It wasn't until the 1760s that birthrates stabilized and achieved consistent increases (Morgan 2001:190).

Early experiments with indigo in Carolina were abandoned in the face of West Indian competition. Beginning in the first decades of the eighteenth century, however, Jamaica and the other islands turned to sugar, which was more profitable. Leaving the English dyers without a British supplier, they turned to the French islands. However, about 1740 tensions with France threatened to cut off "French Blue" and Carolina was presented with a second opportunity. This was further buttressed by English bounties that made the production – even given its rather mediocre quality (typically the cheapest "copper indigo" quality) – profitable. South Carolina enjoyed the luxury of this second staple for about three decades before the American Revolution interrupted shipments and the bounty that supported inferior Carolina indigo was lost.

If processing was difficult, cultivation was fairly simple. The crop was planted from seed in middle April, with a preference for dry, loose soil typical of "hickory lands and pine barrens." The plant was harvested in late June or early July, immediately after it blossomed, by



cutting it off at ground level. This allowed the roots to produce a second, and sometimes a third, crop before it was killed by frost.

The plants were hauled to the indigo vats and placed in a steeper made from pine or cypress planks measuring 16 feet square and 3½ to 5 feet deep. The plants were weighted down, covered with water, and allowed to ferment for 10 to 14 hours to remove the dye. The "liquor" was drained off to the wooden beating vats, which were typically 15 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 5 feet deep. There the solution was oxidized by beating. After visible precipitation began, limewater was added from the adjacent lime vat to aid coagulation of the dye. Agitation was continued for about an hour. Afterwards the liquid was drained from the vat and strained through woolen cloth to catch the dye. As Carman notes, "indigo has a very disagreeable smell, while making and curing; and the foeces, when taken out of the steeper, if not immediately buried in the ground (for which it is excellent manure) breeds incredible swarms of flies" (Carman 1939:288 [1775]).

The wet dye was carried to the curing shed where it was pressed to remove as much water as possible and cut into cubes about 2 inches square. It was dried on trays in the shade, then placed in barrels with damp moss, where it was allowed to mold for several days. Afterwards it was brushed off and graded into four categories -- fine blue, ordinary blue, fine purple, and ordinary copper, the least desirable (Copenhaver 1930:895).

### The Revolution

The Clarendon area saw several battles during the Revolution. Three actions took place in Clarendon during 1780. The first, at Great Savannah, also known as Nelson's Ferry, took place on August 25 when General Francis

Marion freed 150 American prisoners, while killing or capturing 26 British. On October 25 Marion again routed the British at Tearcoat Swamp, capturing critical supplies. The third occurred on December 13 at Halfway Swamp and Singleton's Mill when Marion again forced a British retreat.

While not an actual battle, some also refer to the actions at Richburg's Mill on November 5, 1780. Marion and his forces were camped at Jack's Creek - in the immediate vicinity of the study tract. British General Banister Tarleton attempted to engage Marion by setting a large fire in the hope that Marion would think that "Big Home" (the ancestral home of the Richardson family) was on fire. Marion, however, escaped across the Richburg's Mill Dam. Tarleton gave chase, but was unable

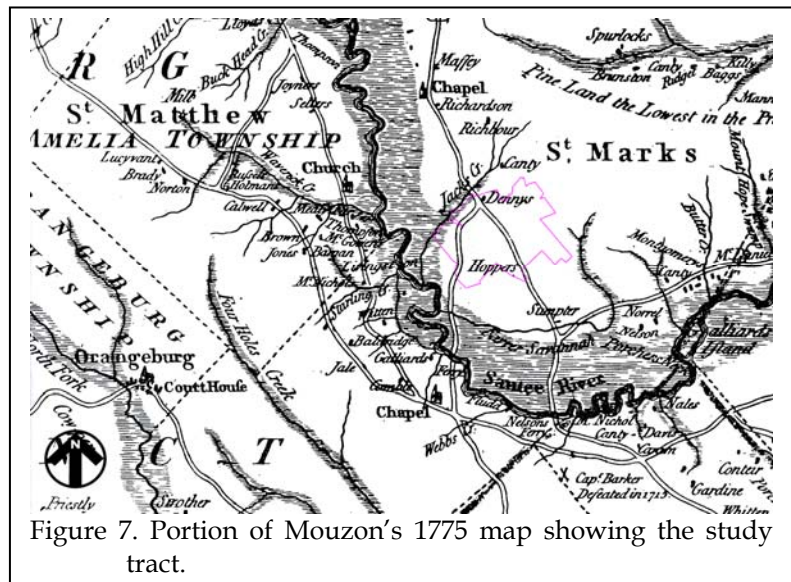


Figure 7. Portion of Mouzon's 1775 map showing the study tract.

to engage Marion.

Fort Watson, situated atop an Indian Mound not far from the study tract, was part of the communication chain linking the British outpost at Camden with Charleston. In February 1781, General Thomas Sumter attacked Fort Watson, but was defeated. An engagement was fought at Wiboo Swamp on March 6. In April, an outnumbered Marion again attacked the British at Fort Watson. This time the Americans

## HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

Table 2.  
Agricultural Census Data from 1850 through 1940

		Land Occupied or Improved						Livestock										
		Farms	Acres improved	Acres Unimproved	Value of farm	Value of farm (2006\$)	Value of implements	Horse, asses, mules	Milch cows	Working oxen	Other cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of livestock				
Sumter	1850	1,343	226,274	651,935	3,749,065	93,726,625	NR	6,154		198,949		13,931	50,742	NR				
Clarendon	1860	NR	98,602	267,376	2,281,227	53,051,790	89,497	2,495	2,218	37	5,138	1,095	17,838	407,704				
Clarendon	1880	2,725	86,731	215,151	1,046,622	19,747,585	46,723	1,324	3,349	835	5,336	1,457	20,620	261,233				
Clarendon	1890	3,204	113,151	150,170	1,068,250	22,728,723	66,600	2,805	1,545	851	2,226	446	14,036	381,210				
Clarendon	1900	4,006	131,492	149,385	2,285,630	51,946,136	143,400	3,930	2,324	NR	4,997	687	20,036	443,493				
Clarendon	1910	5,209	145,030	110,906	7,815,242	159,494,735	313,591	5,294	3,445	NR	1,213	254	24,982	1,060,329				
Clarendon	1920	5,058	145,045	90,464	18,093,657	182,764,212	1,239,848	8,107	6,429	NR	3,102	99	27,800	2,549,966				
Clarendon	1930	4,256	116,727	78,140	6,480,339	78,076,373	392,153	4,809	2,312	NR	1,873	203	18,806	767,408				
Clarendon	1940	3,270	127,340	89,892	6,725,016	97,464,000	2,915	4,348	3,100	NR	4,298	120	21,030	NR				
Agricultural Products																		
		Wheat, bu	Rye & oats, bu	Corn, bu	Irish potatoes, bu	Sweet potatoes, bu	Peas & beans, bu	Butter & cheese, lbs	Hay, tons	Cane molasses, gal	Sorghum molasses, gal	Rice, lbs	Tobacco, lbs	Cotton, bales	Wool, lbs	Beeswax, lbs	Honey, lbs	Value animals slaughtered
Sumter	1850	7,410	45,334	750,520	376,815	87,984	65,897	575				833,651		18,799	24,809			176,807
Clarendon	1860	4,032	6,560	341,987	50	109,881	23,043	31,267			224	734,582	100	9,568	5,955	285	6,106	112,166
Clarendon	1880	624	28,841	222,274	660	59,190	24,424	17,067	7	734	86	691,357		8,589	3,327	222	2,935	NR
Clarendon	1890	121	47,648	340,284	732	69,553	19,202	13,411	525	4,670	1,658	116,287	12,000	15,274	1,055	658	11,841	NR
Clarendon	1900	860	58,440	460,630	2,852	111,043	35,111	41,193	1,135	38,258	3,183	358,342	1,355,280	24,092	1,680	550	8,940	57,965
Clarendon	1910	202	182,419	640,958	5,405	168,861	15,999	65,929	6,417	35,614	182	29,925	1,921,341	37,004	NR	353	7,806	84,458
Clarendon	1920	2,937	159,665	850,276	8,746	165,242	20,532	80,383	11,151	NR	10,123	16,605	5,409,698	38,809	290	44	1,785	NR
Clarendon	1930	543	1,440	605,186	13,103	197,238	11,162	7,805	4,694	22,665	1,441	9,765	4,692,203	14,893	767	NR	5,171	NR
Clarendon	1940	22,261	51,463	781,711	8,248	152,557	7,473	81,130	11,356	12,375	1,109	1,296	5,667,458	20,408	314	NR	4,245	NR

were successful, forcing the surrender of the British and breaking the chain between Camden (which was deserted by the British shortly thereafter in May) and Charleston (Cohen 1990:2:564-565; Edgar 2006:185; Lipscomb 1991).

The 1775 Mouzon map (Figure 7) shows this portion of South Carolina and identifies two colonial settlements in the vicinity of the study tract.

One is labeled “Dennys” and this may be either John or Zachariah, both of whom received several grants for lands in Craven County during the 1760s (SC Department of Archives and History, Combined Alphabetical Index). One grant, in 1771, to John Jennings on Jacks Creek mentions both Zachariah Denny and Josiah Cantey as adjoining property owners (SC Department of Archives and History, Memorial Books (Copy Series), vol. 10, pg. 496). A grant is identified for Zachariah Denny on Jack’s Creek in 1772 (SC Department of Archives and History, Memorial Books (Copy Series), vol. 12, pg. 226). Additional lands were granted to an Andrew Denny in 1770s.

The other is labeled “Hoppers” and this may be James Hopper who was granted land on the Santee in 1765 (SC Department of Archives and History, Memorial Books (Copy Series), vol. 6, pg. 408). Hopper apparently bordered the property of Thomas Sumter, who is shown (as Sumpter) to the south on the Mouzon map (SC Department of Archives and History, Colonial Plat Books (Copy Series), vol. 11, pg. 466).

Two ferries across the Santee are also shown to the south of the study parcel. The more northern, with no name, was called Vance’s Ferry by the early antebellum. The downriver location is Nelson’s Ferry, with the road continuing south to Charleston.

### Recovery and the Early Nineteenth Century

The post-Revolution search for a new cash crop led to cotton, which was introduced to the area about 1785. The area’s gently sloping hills and loamy soils were well adapted to cotton.

The new crop, however, began to dramatically change the area’s population. In 1790 Clarendon’s total population of 2,392

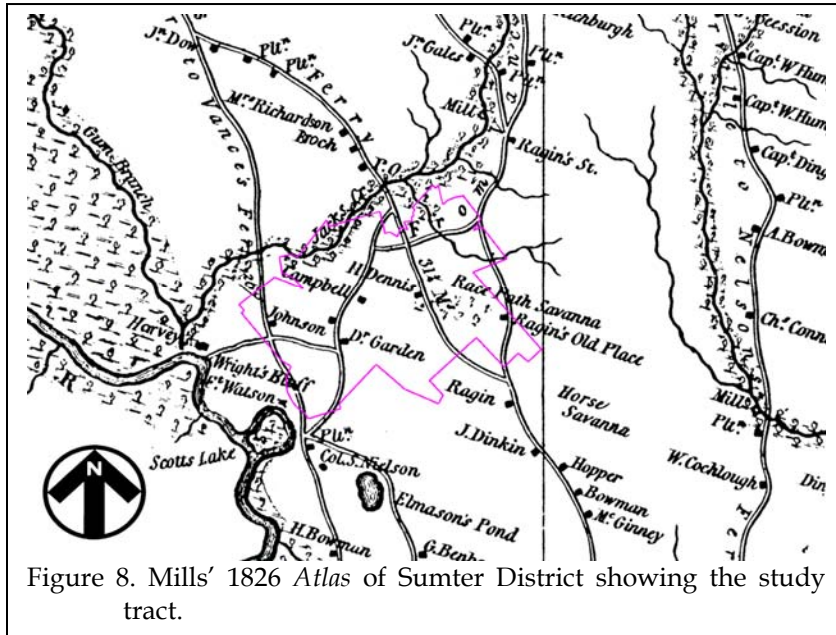


Figure 8. Mills' 1826 Atlas of Sumter District showing the study tract.

included only 602 enslaved blacks (25%). Just a decade later, African Americans represented 53% of the population – and by 1810 that proportion had increased to 61%. The proportion of African American slaves increased to 69% in 1850, dropping to 65% in 1860 on the eve of the Civil War.

In 1790 only 24% of Clarendon's 330 families owned slaves and the average number of slaves per household was eight. In contrast, 67% of Charleston District's 3,709 families owned slaves and the average holding was 20 individuals. Clarendon was even lower than the statewide average of 34% slave owners, with an average holding of 12 "head" as they were euphemistically called. By 1850 the average of slaves per family had increased to 12 and in 1860 that number rose to 16.

These slaves were primarily engaged in plantation agriculture, although detailed census data don't begin until the late antebellum in 1850. By that time Sumter District (in which Clarendon was enumerated) contained 1,343 farms, with an average size of 654 acres (168 acres of which were improved). The dominant crops were rice (833,651 pounds) and cotton (18,799 bales), with the former planted in the

swamps and the latter on the black loamy soils of the area (see Table 2). Mills commented that, "the soil is well adapted to the cultivation of cotton (which is almost the whole staple of the district)" in the 1820s (Mills 1972:741 [1826]). Nevertheless, the district also produced 750,550 bushels of corn and 376,815 bushels of sweet potatoes – testifying to the area's ability to produce significant quantities of subsistence crops.

The 1850 data, however, is not directly comparable to other years, since it includes all of Sumter District, while

Clarendon began to be enumerated beginning in 1860. Thus, we see a significant decline in cotton. However, if we examine production per acre, we see that in 1850 about 0.08 bale was produced per improved acre in Sumter. In 1860 0.06 bale was being produced in Clarendon. While still a decline, it is not as significant as first glance suggests. In addition, rice production actually increased – from 3.7 bushels per improved acre to over 7.4 bushels per improved acre. In addition, while the value (in 2006\$) of the farms in 1850 was \$16.56 per improved acre; the Clarendon value in 1860 was \$23.13 – indicating that many of the most productive plantations once in Sumter were later in Clarendon.

The 1826 Mills' *Atlas* (Figure 8) for the project area shows that the Revolutionary War Fort Watson was still recognized. A settlement for Hopper, seen on Mouzon's 1776 map, is still present, but clearly outside the boundaries of the current study area. Potentially within the study tract (or close to it) are settlements for Campbell, H. Dennis, Dr. Garden, and Johnson. Also present is "Ragin's Old Place," with Ragin's apparently new settlement to the south and Ragin's St. to the north.



Off the tract, in the vicinity of Wright's Bluff on the Santee, Mills shows a "Harvey." This may be Charles Harvin, who owned at least two tracts in this area in 1820. A parcel of 837 acres included a strip to provide river access, and frontage along Jacks Creek. The road to Vance's Ferry crossed the tract. A very small portion of this may fall within the study area. Although no settlements are shown, it does reveal that the the "Est. of N. Johnson" was the adjacent owner to the southeast, while the "Est. of Brock" is shown as an owner to the northeast (SC Department of Archives and History, State Plats, Columbia Series, vol. 46, pg. 339).

Just a few year later, in 1825, a plat of 1,000 acres was prepared for Edward Benbow (SC Department of Archives and History, State Plats, Columbia Series, vol. 47, pg. 355). This tract was situated along the Santee, at Scott's Lake, immediately southeast of Charles Harvin. The property to the north is revealed to "Thomas N. Johnson or Est. of Dr. Garden."

Dr. Garden may be Dr. Alexander Garden, the naturalist, although he died in 1791. His son, who was alive in the 1820s, is typically referred to as Major Alexander Garden. Thomas N. Johnson is listed in the 1800 census, living in Clarendon and he owned 65 slaves.

The H. Dennis may be Richard H. Dennis, who we have identified as owning a tract on the south side of Jacks Creek, immediately opposite Big Branch around 1771 (SC Department of Archives and History, Colonial Plats, vol. 13, pg. 525). He, too, is listed in the 1800 census for Clarendon, although he apparently owned no slaves. The 1830 census shows him in Sumter District, with eight slaves.

The only Campbell we have identified is Alexander Campbell, who owned a tract in Clarendon (SC Department of Archives and History, State Plat Books, vol. 51, pg. 325). Ragin may be Richard Ragin, discussed at greater length in the tract specific history.

The Santee River has played a major role in the history of Clarendon County, not only providing water access, but also necessitating ferries to allow use of the few roads available. Mills had little good to say about the district's roads commenting, "the roads, in winter, are exceedingly bad; scarcely passable to Nelson's Ferry; cut up by narrow-wheeled wagons, and seldom worked on more than once a year, for three or four days, or at most a week. . . . A place can hardly be conceived more horrible than Nelson's swamp, in winter; yet it is the direct route to Charleston" (Mills 1972:747 [1826]).

This was elaborated on by the Superintendent of Public Works 1825 report,

[the Santee River] presents great obstacles to travelers from the whole country to the North and East of it on their way to Charleston. There is not a bridge over it, nor is there a ferry but what is troublesome to pass, sometimes dangerous, and always attended with delay. The swamp at each of these ferries [Vance's, Nelson's, Murray's, Lenud's, and Mazyck's] is very wide, being nowhere less than three, and at some of them seven miles wide, following the course boats are compelled to take in high water. In a dry season the roads through these swamps may be travelled, but they are always rough or boggy. When the river rises, the whole distance of the swamps at most of these ferries are travelled in mud and water, until the swell is so great as to enable boats to run entirely through them. When this is the case, the distance is so great that the delays are intolerable;

carriages and wagons sometimes having to wait many days on the banks of the river before their turn for passing arrives (Kohn and Glenn 1938:393).

The Grand Jury, in 1849, complained that the, "system of Road Working generally oppressive, onerous, and unjust as it is (to the planting interest particularly) imperfectly and illy attended to, in practice neglected everywhere, and totally inadequate to the purposes for which it was instituted." In particular they complained about the road across Vance's Swamp. The presentation went on to also complain about the appropriate for private use of the Wright's Bluff public landing, as well as the "ruinous, dilapidated, and almost loathsome condition" of the jail and courthouse (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Records of the General Assembly, Grand Jury Presents, No. 28, 1849).

In addition to road improvements, canals were thought to be an alternative solution. The earliest and most notable of these canal enterprises was the Santee (or Clarkson's) Canal. Chartered in 1783, construction began in 1793. The 22 mile long canal opened in July of 1800. However, by 1823 two serious deficiencies in planning were noted. The first was that during the dry season there was so little water that the canal was closed. The second involved the size of the locks; they were found to be too small to allow passage of many boats that operated on the river (Kohn and Glenn 1938:257). Although a plan of improvement was proposed, no work was done, primarily because of the Santee Canal Company's lack of adequate capital. Given the fixed operating cost of the canal, coupled with the limited traffic, tolls dropped yearly and by 1823 there were only two steam boats were operating between Columbia and Charleston using the canal (Kohn and Glenn 1938:267). With the coming of the railroad by 1850, the canal closed.

## The Civil War

Edgar comments that Clarendon District assembled three companies during the Civil War, the Manning Guards, Keel's Company, and the largest, Sprott Guard under the command of Colonel H.L. Benbow. We know that Benbow owned at least 499 acres (SC Department of Archives and History, State Plat Books, vo. 57, pg. 222; this was eventually deeded to Adger Smyth) and owned 23 slaves, including three mulatto children. The 1860 census reveals that he was 29 and listed \$29,000 in real estate and \$24,642 in his personal estate (probably slaves). He was living with his father and mother, an overseer, and a 90 year old house slave.

Benbow went on to serve as a conservative Democrat in the South Carolina Senate between 1878 and 1885 (Bailey et al. 1986:128). He was not, however, without controversy. During his run for the Senate in 1878, Wright's Bluff neighbor H.R. Thomas published a broadside "reflecting upon the mode of life of Col. Benbow," claiming that Benbow had a black wife and children (South Caroliniana Library, John H. King Papers).

The Civil War did not directly affect Clarendon until April 8, 1865, when Union forces consisting of a provisional division of two brigades and associated units of cavalry, artillery, and engineers under the command of General Edward E. Potter arrived in Manning. Potter attempted to cross the Pocotaligo at Brewington Swamp, today S-50. Finding the bridge burned and calculating it would take too long to rebuild, Potter turned west, taking what is today SC 261 into Manning, about 10 miles distant. His entire account of activities in and around Manning is that,

the cavalry drove a small force of the enemy out of Manning. A causeway, a mile in length, with six bridges, here crossed the Pocotaligo River and swamp.

These bridges had all been fired by the enemy, but were not entirely destroyed. During the night of the 8th Hallowell's brigade was crossed on the stringers which remained of the

cavalry had a skirmish in the edge of town, and lost one man killed, said to have treacherously shot by a rebel who had surrendered to him.

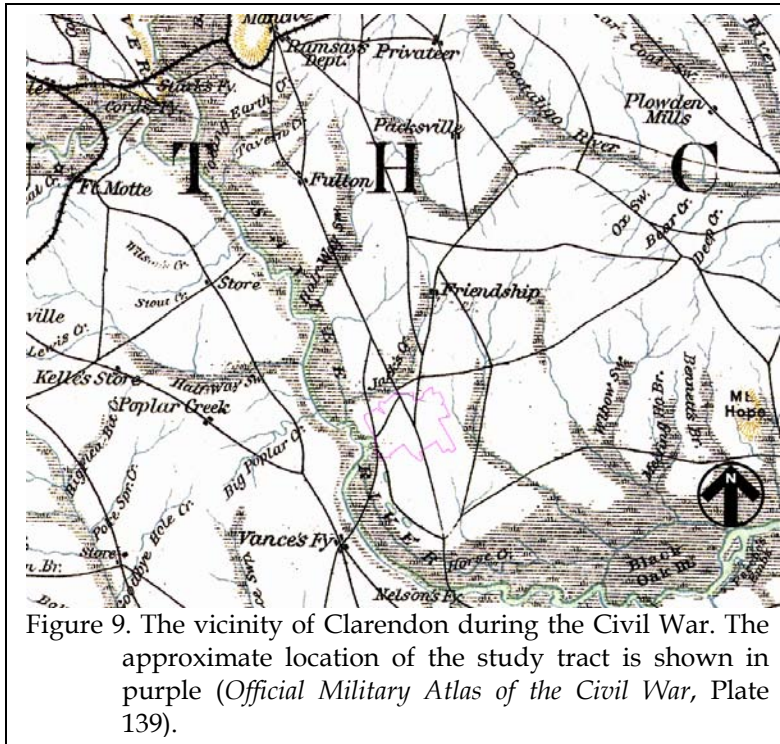


Figure 9. The vicinity of Clarendon during the Civil War. The approximate location of the study tract is shown in purple (Official Military Atlas of the Civil War, Plate 139).

bridges, and the bridges themselves rebuilt under the direction of Major Place, First New York Volunteer Engineers, and the whole force crossed on the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> (OR 98:1028).

A perhaps more complete account is offered by Edward C. Culp,

The next morning, April 8<sup>th</sup>, we marches at the usual hour, 7 o'clock the enemy hovering in front and on our flanks, but making no serious resistance and, after a march of twenty miles, we reached Manning. Our small detachment of

Manning was a very pretty place, and contained some handsome public buildings. The leading paper of the two was called the "Manning [sic., Clarendon] Banner," and recommended the assassination of General Potter. One side of the paper had been printed and the other side was ready for the press. Major Culp took possession of the office and with the assistance of Col. Cooper, of the 107<sup>th</sup>, and some printers in the 25<sup>th</sup>, got out during the night a revised edition of the Banner, changing the name to the "Banner of Freedom." Before leaving Manning the printing office was destroyed (Edwards

2003:150).

No mention is made of any wholesale destruction of the town and the town's newspaper was again publishing two days after the town fell. Clark (2005:53) quotes an October 27, 1865 article from the *Clarendon Banner* that discussed the April raid, "in the business district of stores, once well-stocked, and St. Peter's Masonic Lodge, all is now a blank, 'ashes to four winds.' The courthouse and jail are ruined."

Regardless, the loss of the Civil War caused exceptional social and economic disruption throughout South Carolina. A labor force that had been previously depended on to make planters wealthy was no longer available. In fact, the entire credit system had collapsed.

Table 3.  
Agricultural Statistics for Clarendon by Township  
(adapted from Butler 1883:Table V)

Township	No. Farms	Acres Tilled	Cotton		Rice, bu.	Corn, bu.
			Acres	Bales		
Brewington	80	3,453	321	95	252	3,913
Calvary	171	9,166	3,126	998	810	17,582
Concord	118	5,046	1,526	516	1,132	12,605
Douglas	114	2,407	526	135	1,530	9,195
Friendship	242	9,150	3,838	1,353	985	16,976
Fulton	168	3,711	1,743	512	190	8,809
Harmony	85	2,917	855	256	990	8,118
Manning	107	3,201	1,032	327	1,685	13,920
Midway	164	5,125	1,152	398	1,925	15,976
Motts	120	4,075	971	321	6,999	14,822
Mount Zion	100	1,928	524	172	775	7,295
New Zion	144	3,288	1,060	303	1,784	8,505
Plowdens Mill	165	3,909	1,406	439	640	11,321
St. James	170	4,483	1,521	451	1,350	12,908
St. Marks	61	1,617	471	141	1,202	6,190
St. Pauls	213		2498	788	2925	20784
(% of aggregate)	(7.8%)	7082 (8.6%)	(9.4%)	(9.2%)	(10.2%)	(9.3%)
Sammy Swamp	191	4,138	1,817	630	629	14,626
Sandy Grove	112	2,197	729	214	1,317	8,538
Santee	200	5,403	1,557	514	1,570	10,241
Totals	2,512	75,214	24,175	7,775	25,765	201,540

### Postbellum

A view of the region is offered by the State Board of Agriculture. In 1883 they reported 10 towns and 51 stores in Clarendon. These included Manning with 24 stores; Summerton with nine; Forrester with eight; Fulton with five; McFadden with two stores; and Dudley, Enterprise, and Packsville each with one. There were two liquor stores in the county, three drug stores, and one millinery. The rest were all general merchandise stores. Although the Lower Pine Belt, in which Clarendon is situated, produced large quantities of rice (both in the uplands and in the swamps), Butler commented that, "besides a considerable amount of lumber and naval stores, about four thousand bales of cotton are shipped to Charleston (Butler 1883:691).

A detailed discussion of the St. Paul's area was offered,

1<sup>st</sup>. Light sandy soil; near the river swamp, not subject to overflow; contains lime, and is very productive. 2d. Inland from last, a belt of stiff clay land, called "bay land," produces a bale of cotton to the acre, without manure. 3d. The highlands, comprising the body of the township, known under the name of "clay lands," low and somewhat rolling, a sandy loam with small gravel in it, subsoil, yellow clay. . . . yields 700 pounds of seed cotton, ten to twenty bushels corn, and the same of rice. Sugar-cane two to three hundred gallons of syrup per acre; potatoes two to four hundred bushels. Half the landholders reside outside the township; land mostly rented to negro farmers for four hundred pounds of lint for one mule farm; two hundred pounds for one ox farm. White farmers do their own field work; labor only to be had by the job or by the day, at forty cents to one dollar. Land sells cheap for cash; on time at from \$4 to \$6 per acre (Butler 1883:67-68).

The usual size of most cotton farms in Clarendon was reported to be about 80 acres. Labor agreements typically involved one-third of the crop to the landlord, as well as repayment for all advanced supplies (Butler 1883:60). Butler also indicates the prevalence of the lien system – in 1880 the county recorded 2,716 with a total value of \$283,317.18. This represented all but nine of the county's farms.

Table 3 provides a breakdown of agricultural production by township. St. Pauls, in which the study tract was located, appears to be slightly more productive than some of the other townships. It produced slightly more



cotton, rice, and corn than it should have based on tilled acreage alone.

### **Postbellum Labor**

Farmers in the Clarendon area, like elsewhere in South Carolina, experimented with wage labor immediately after the Civil War. Faced with uncertainty, but the need to begin planting immediately, many accepted the wage labor solution begun by the Union Army and latter espoused by the Freedman's Bureau. To support the wage system no less than seven major types of contracts were used by Southern planters (see Shlomowitz 1979). This system, however, was doomed to failure, being disliked by both the Freedmen, who found it too reminiscent of slavery, and the plantation owners, who found that it gave the Freedmen too much liberty. While discussing the task system characteristic of the low country, Morgan observed that, "the preferences and ambitions of the freedmen reflected, above all, a desire for autonomy not only from the impersonal marketplace but also from individual whites" (Morgan 1982:596).

In a September 9, 1868 letter, John J. Ragin in Summerton complained about the difficulties of farming with "Free Negroes." He went on to discuss his warning to blacks in his employment that they not vote the radical ticket and commenting that many blacks were joining the Democratic party out of fear of being dismissed from their plantations (South Caroliniana Library, John H. King papers).

Ninety five percent of the farm labor was African American, and local plantation owners complained that not only was adequate labor generally unavailable, but the quality of the labor had decreased by 60% since 1878.

The monthly wage for farm labor was between \$8-\$10 for males and \$4-\$6 for females (although the latter rarely hired out). The study reported that most were on contracts as labor, suggesting that tenancy had not yet become a

significant means of operating Clarendon's farms. There were 372 farms operated entirely by whites averaging about 33 acres and their progress was "looking up rapidly." There were many more operated exclusively by African Americans (670) and they averaged about 25 acres. Black farmers were reported to be kept "under a heavy load" by the stores and lien law. South Carolina's lien law was passed in 1878 during Wade Hampton's administration. It was intended to help farmers get credit in order to allow them to plant - it bolstered an economy that had been struggling since the end of the Civil War by allowing merchants to take a lien on the crop being raised.

However valuable this may be, it caused serious pain for the small farmer, especially blacks. The merchants who offered loans for planting also sold their goods for two prices - a lesser price being charged for cash. Goods bought on credit, in anticipation of a successful harvest, were more expensive and the interest charges were not assessed separately, but were buried in the inflated credit price. Estimates of these credit charges range from 30% to 110% (Woodman 1968:303).

Labor contracts from the period generally provided careful division of the crops. For example, an 1875 contract from Marion County specified that the planter would furnish the land. The guano would be applied at the "credit market country prices." In exchange, the tenant was to not only tend the farm and gather the crops, but must also "repair the fencing," "clean out all ditches," "be sober and not allow any drinking at or about" the farm or allow any "frolicking." In fact, the agreement specifically denied the tenant visitors that might not be approved by the landlord. In exchange, the tenant was to receive all crops in excess of "one thousand lbs. good white lint cotton and enough of balance of said crop to pay for all advances, rendered by Planter in full during the year" - even if it should "take the whole crop."

Table 4  
Lumber and Turpentine Mills in Clarendon County, 1884

Lumber Mills		Turpentine Mills	
Company	Township	Company	Township
J.O. Brock	Friendship	Weeks & Lesesne	Friendship
C.M. Davis	Santee	Land & Wells	Santee
Isaac Johnson	Santee	S.M. Nickson	Santee
W.S. Park	Santee	Grantham & Johnson	Summerton
J.M. Spratt	Santee	Cole & Cantey	Mt. Zion
R.R. Dingle	St. James	C.S. Land	Brewington
W.S. Harvin	Manning	S.E. Conyers	Brewington
B.R. Gibson	Sammy Swamp	J.H. Johnson	Brewington
O.F. Goodwin	Mt. Zion	Land & McFadden	Plowden's Mill
Wilson & Co.	Mt. Zion	Brown & Co.	Plowden's Mill
B.R. Hudgens	Brewington	Pierson & Co. (2)	New Zion
W.W. Stulis	Brewington	P. Hinson	Sandy Grove
A.S. Boyle & Co.	Plowden's Mill	Tuberville & Green	Douglass
F.W. Cooper & Co.	Plowden's Mill	W.P. Hinson	Mott's
S.E. Ingram	Plowden's Mill	J.W. Kennedy	Mott's
D.M. Bradham	Harmony		
J.E. Brunson	Midway		
J.J. Dickson	Mott's		

These reveal that tenants, most of whom were African American, operated under an oppressive system that was not all that far removed from slavery, with the owner directing virtually every aspect of the tenant's life (including even "frolicking"). The last several decades of the nineteenth century began with the Black Codes, intended to curtail African American freedoms and culminated with the 1895 South Carolina Constitutional Convention that almost entirely disenfranchised blacks, largely removing them from the political process and re-asserting white supremacy. The Federal government's retreat from its duty to protect the freedom of black citizens was symbolized by the 1896 Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* which established the doctrine of "separate but equal."

### The Timber Industry

By 1884 we have a glimpse of the county from the *Charleston News and Courier*. The document reported that the county could boast of 44 grist mills, 18 lumber mills, 16 turpentine stills, and two other manufactories, employing 74 whites and 502 African Americans (Anonymous 1884:23).

The lumber and turpentine industries were raw extractive efforts, such as phosphate, on the lower coast. Eventually logging became one of the largest industries in Clarendon County. In 1884, Thomas Wilson began Santee River Logging, based out of Wilson's Mill (today Wilsons Crossroads on the Black River, about 8.5 miles northeast of Manning) (Fetters 1990:106). He eventually added a spur that ran to Coskereys (today St. Paul). This line ran both logging and carrier trains and the portion from Wilson's Mill through Summerton was

part of the Wilson & Summerton (W&S) Railroad. It tied into the Charleston, Sumter & Northern (CN&S) Railroad which ran through St. Paul northward to Sumter. The Atlantic Coast Lines (ACL), in an effort to prevent competition from Seaboard Air Lines, purchased the CN&S, selling it to W&S in 1895 (Fetters 1990:106).

Another large logging operation was the Brooklyn Cooperage Company, based out of Sumter (Fetters 1990:111). The company was established in the 1850s with plants in Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. Controlled by the American Sugar Refining Company, which used the barrels for the shipment of cane sugar, the company opened a facility in Georgetown after the First World War. In 1927 the company bought lands near St. Paul and started an operation in Sumter. This logging near St. Paul lasted from 1928 to 1934. The Brooklyn Cooperage Mill used the roadbed that once belonged to the CS&N south of St. Paul, with its area operations at Logsport, located where the tracks crossed the Old River Road. This would likely have been in very close proximity to the study tract. Eventually the mill

moved to Rimini, then to Williamsburg, where it remained until 1947.

The lumber mills enumerated by the *News and Courier* were rather primitive enterprises. Only two engines were used on tramways compared to 124 horses and mules. Labor was predominately African American, with 202 blacks employed to the 78 whites. The mills produced \$180,000 of product annually. The turpentine mills employed more hands: 60 whites and 252 African Americans, although the annual production was only \$114,500. And while the lumber mills reported profits of 10-20%, the turpentine distillers reported no profits, with a 15% decrease in business.

### Postbellum Agriculture

It was, however, agriculture that attracted the most attention. The study revealed few agricultural implements in the county, even 15 years after the Civil War. Present were four sowers, two reapers, 12 guano distributors, and 12 harrows – suggesting that mechanization and the use of fertilizer had not yet made a significant impact on Clarendon. Other indicators of agricultural progress were also lacking – for example, there were only two head of improved stock – both Jerseys (dairy cattle).

Tobacco was a growing concern during this period, although it was almost exclusively an upstate product until the very end of the century. The first tobacco growers association was formed in 1895 and in nearby Florence County, tobacco was referred to "Our Nicotiana Tobacum – Pearl of the Pee Dee." By the mid 1890s the average profit on an acre of tobacco was \$150 to \$200 an acre, well over the \$10 an acre provided by cotton. Yet Clarendon did not participate until the twentieth century.

Clarendon continued to plant rice into the twentieth century, although its influence began to wane. Hilgard (1884:23) remarks that the swamp lands of the Lower Pine Belt were the "rice lands of Carolina . . . . excelled in

productiveness by few lands in the world." He describes the dry and wet cultivation of rice in the late nineteenth century.

The dry culture took place on uplands and low grounds incapable of irrigation, with its cultivation very much like cotton. Yields varied from 15 to 50 bushels per acre, with the crops yielding high prices since the seed is free of red rice that volunteers under water cultivation.

The wet cultivation took place on two types of fields in the Clarendon area – flats which were irrigated by ponds or water reserves at higher levels and the river swamps where the water is moved by canals.

### Cotton

Cotton was the cash crop, with one respondent reporting 3,200 pounds of seed cotton per acre. The cost of raising cotton was \$40 per 500 pound bale. With cotton selling at 12¢/pound in the mid-1870s, a bale would bring about \$60, providing a reasonable margin of profit. By 1880 cotton was averaging about 9.8¢/pound, cutting the profit on a bale to only \$9 (Woodman 1968:343).

In spite of the vast acreage of suitable land, Hilgard (1884:25) reports that relatively little of the Lower Pine Belt – including Clarendon – was cultivated or producing cotton. He attributes this "paradox" to the fact that the area was thinly peopled and "scarcely reclaimed at all from the dominion of the waters for man's uses."

He was, however, able to provide salient details concerning cotton cultivation for Clarendon, using M.M. Benbow, at nearby Wright's Bluff, as his informant.

He reported that about a third of the land cultivated before the Civil War was again being planted. Plowing varied from 4 to 7 inches in depth, based on the use of either a single or double horse plow. Subsoiling was little

practiced. Although fall plowing would be advantageous, there was too little labor to allow it. Crop rotation, when used, consisted of cotton followed by corn and after corn, oats or pease. Fertilizer saw limited use, consisting of manure, some Charleston phosphates, turned under pease, and cottonseed (Hilgard 1884:51-52).

Plowing and manuring typically took place in February and March, with planting following about April 10. Using a cotton planter, a "good hand and mule will easily plant six acres a day, and do it in the best manner." Yet informants complained that "as simple and easy as it is, practically it is found they [the hands] allow the seed to give out, plant them too deep, or neglect to cover them – such carelessness, which may escape notice at the time, resulting in irreparable loss, in injury to the stand" (Hilgard 1884:55). As a result, much of the planting was actually done by hand, often using a hoe.

The seeds, with good rain, would sprout in about five to ten days and the stand would be thinned by hoe, with this process being completed in early June. There would then be four hoeing and four plowings to control weeds completed by late July or early August.

Blooms would begin during the first several weeks of July, with the plants about 15 inches high. Bolls would begin to open between the last of July and the middle of August. Picking begins between the middle of August and the middle of September, with the process continuing until frost – sometimes as late as December, but usually around the middle of November.

Hilgard's (1884:56) informants explained that fresh uplands, unmanured, would yield between 300 and 1,000 pounds of seed cotton, with the average about 600 (1,425 pounds of seed cotton would yield about 475 pounds of lint). Under good cultivation, even without manure, the Clarendon lands would support five crops (i.e., five years) without any noticeable reduction in the yield – a fact that no

doubt discouraged the use of expensive manures and fertilizers.

Unfortunately, Hilgard does not provide any particular details concerning the ginning and baling of cotton in Clarendon, noting that it "presents no peculiar features" (Hilgard 1884:58). The News and Courier reported that Clarendon had 101 gins, with an average outturn of 3 bales a day (Anonymous 1884:23). Hilgard does note that a roller gin, with steam power, makes about 500 pounds of lint in a 10 hour run. This cotton is then packed in a bag using hand pressure, with a weight of about 500 pounds per bag (Hilgard 1884:58).

### **The Nineteenth Century Political Context**

In spite of these statistics, at the end of the nineteenth century the sad state of the state's agricultural economy is clearly outlined by Edgar (1998:428), who notes that the economy was in shambles. Not only were cotton prices down dramatically from the immediate post-war boom; but intent on cashing in, the state's farmers planted cotton at the expense of provision crops, further compounding their problems. Add to this the near total disregard for the land and a series of droughts, and the situation was bleak.

Edgar also observes that in spite of these problems, South Carolina's governors were out of touch with reality. For example, in 1882 Governor Johnson Hagood extolled to the Legislature the virtues of the state, with "happy and prosperous" citizens and a "well-ordered, smooth working, and economic" government. Four years later Governor John R. Richardson was equally out-of-touch by proclaiming that the "sun of prosperity" had "arisen from the dark clouds" (quoted in Edgar 1998:429). Yet during the 1880s thousands were losing their farms – statewide in just two years over a million acres went on the auction block, with almost 8% of the farmland being foreclosed and auctioned (Edgar 1998:431). These frustrations



Company	City
J.P. Tucker	Wilson
C.C. Way	Silver
A.S. Briggs Mill	Summerton
A.S.M. Parker	Remini
D.W. Anderson & Son	Alcolu
Cousar & Kennedy	New Zion
Black River Cypress Co.	Sardinia
C.M. White Mills	Manning
F.C. Thomas	Bloomville
Kelley's Saw Mill	Manning

helped propel Edgefield's Ben Tillman into the governor's seat in 1890.

Although a populist and appealing to the rural agrarian farmer, Tillman offered no substantial programs to address the needs of the debt-ridden farming class. What he did offer was an uncanny ability to identify and viciously attack those who seemed to pose the greatest threat to the farmer's independence. As a result he was one of the nation's most violent and outspoken supporters of lynching. He described those white politicians favoring biracial politics as "white negroes." And he was perhaps the most successful of the architects of the oppressive Jim Crow south (Kantrowitz 2000).

Tillman openly encouraged the paramilitary groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and, earlier, Hampton's Red-shirts. He was openly proud of his own ability to gain power through force and fraud and insisted that white men would (and should) always violently resist attacks on their power.

## The Beginning of the Twentieth Century

Figure 10 shows the study area in 1910. A variety of features are shown, including the

rail line running through the parcel, the variety of roads existing at the time, and 41 structures. Most of these are situated to the west of the rail line (the portion to the west tends to be less well drained and was likely far less suitable for cultivation).

In 1915 Clarendon remained rural and almost exclusively focused on agriculture. Absent were industries such as brick or tile firms, canneries, carriage or wagon works, clothing manufacturers, confectioneries, fertilizer plants, furniture firms, patent medicine companies, or navel store brokers. The only foundry or machine shop in the county was J.G. Senn in Summerville. Electricity was limited to that supplied by the three employees of the Manning Light and Ice Company (Watson 1916).

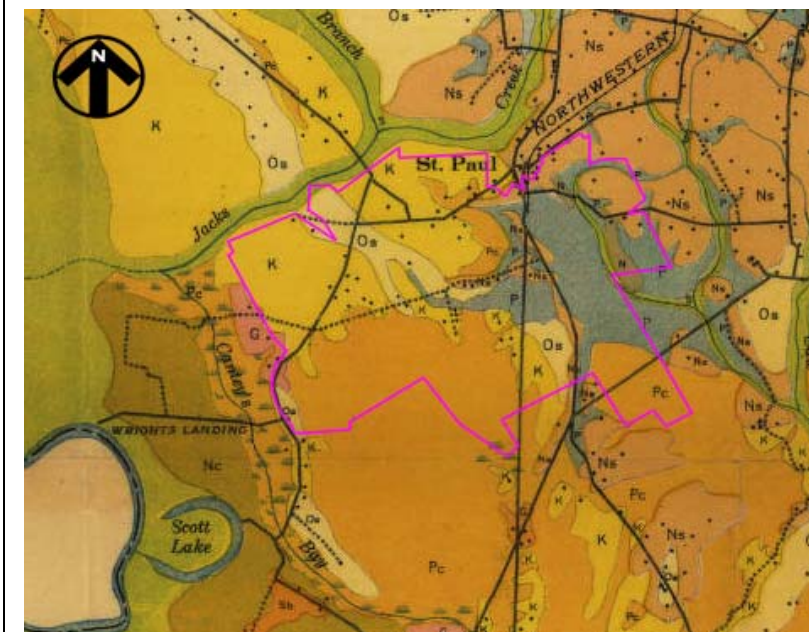


Figure 10. Portion of the 1910 Soil Survey of Clarendon County.

There were four gasoline stations in the county – two in Manning (Standard Oil and Gulf Refining) and two in Summerton (Standard Oil and Charleston Oil).

The bulk of the business enterprises were related to agricultural activities. There were two cotton seed oil mills in the county – the Manning Oil Company, in Manning, and the

Clarendon Cotton Oil Company in St. Paul. These two plants operated an average of 135 days a year and, when operating, employed 68 males. The average wage was \$132 (\$2,640 in 2006\$); the average annual product was valued at \$240,000 (\$4,800,000 in 2006\$). The one flour mill – Clarendon Roller Flour Mill in Manning – produced only \$6,656 a year, employing only seven hands. There were four grist mills still operating in the county – J.C. Land in Foreston, C.M. White in Manning, W.M. Mitchem in Alcolu, and Reardon’s General Repair Shop in Manning.

The 1902 R.G. Dun Mercantile Agency identified two businesses in St. Paul – the Clarendon Cotton Oil Company previously mentioned, and King Bros., a general store.

Forestry products, while still important, were losing their hold. In 1915 there were 10 lumber mills in the county – down from 18 three decades earlier (Table 5). Watson attributed this to the World War (Watson 1916:250). However, the naval stores industry was suffering at the turn of century. There was a 40% decline in the number of turpentine establishments and an 81% decline in the number of employed hands between 1900 and 1905 (Watson 1907:550) and by 1915, “the naval stores industry has almost entirely disappeared from the State as an industry worth considering” (Watson 1916:250).

By 1925 there were four motion picture theaters in Clarendon, although there was no hospital and no library. There were also 35 general stores, 20 groceries, nine dry goods stores, four clothing stores, five hardware stores, 10 drug stores, nine garages, and one jewelry store (Hager 1927:307, 430). Clarendon’s weekly paper had a circulation of 1,600. In comparison, nearby Sumter had a daily paper, with a circulation of nearly 2,000 (Hager 1927:440). As a gauge of wealth, in 1924, 146 income tax returns were submitted from Clarendon. Of these, 136 were for under \$5,000. Seven were income ranging from \$5,000 to \$10,000, and three were for income over \$10,000. In neighboring Sumter

County there were 752 returns, with 700 being for under \$10,000. Ten of the returns were for income in excess of \$10,000 (Hager 1927:467).

Hindering both agricultural and industrial development was the antiquated road system. South Carolina lacked a state highway department of any central revenue collection authority. The “obsolete elective county board and supervisor system” did little beyond “fill mud holes to make bigger ones” (Watson 1916:150).

As a result South Carolina’s roads were among the worst in the country and Clarendon’s were among the worst of the worst. Clarendon appropriated only \$5,000 for its roads – tying it with Bamberg for third place behind Abbeville and Florence. The county had 200 miles of sand clay roads, 200 miles of graded and drained (ditched) earth roads, and 400 miles of unimproved, ungraded, soil roads.

Looking at southern states, South Carolina ranked sixth out of six for state, county, and local road expenditures between 1923 and 1926. In 1926, South Carolina was spending about \$8,040,000, while the fifth ranked state, Georgia, was spending over \$20,324,000 – 2½ times more (Hager 1927:239). In contrast, South Carolina ranked fourth in its gasoline tax revenue, taking in nearly \$4,497,000 in 1926, compared to Tennessee’s \$3,852,524 and Alabama’s \$2,558,651 (Hager 1927:241).

With the arrival of the twentieth century Clarendon County’s farms continued to be focused on cotton. By 1910 the number of farm units reached an all-time high, although the maximum value wasn’t reached until a decade later, in 1920.

The proportion of farms being operated by tenants increased between 1900 and 1910 (from 68.3% to 74.2%), decreased slightly in 1920 (to 72.1%), spiking at the height of the depression in 1930 (77%), and then showing a significant decline as a result of Agricultural

Adjustment activities in 1940 (66.1%). Over 80% of all tenant farmers were African Americans in Clarendon County (statewide the proportion was significantly lower – about 69% were African Americans).

The 1920 census also allows us to explore the nature of tenancy in Clarendon County. There were four basic types of tenancy found in South Carolina (with the first three most common throughout the region):

1. *Cash Renting, also called Cash Tenants:* The landlord furnished the tenant only with land, a house, and fuel at a fixed rental to be paid either in cash, which is most often the case, or its equivalent in crop value, typically lint cotton. The tenant furnished labor, work stock, feed for the work stock, tools, seed, fertilizer, and receives all income after his rent is paid. The landlord only exercised supervision to prevent depletion, damage, or deterioration of the land and associated structures. This type of tenant was slightly better off than most since the defined agreement on the amount of rent to be paid made him somewhat more independent. The landlord had no lien on his crop and he could market his lint cotton wherever he chose.
2. *Crop-Share Renting or Share Tenancy:* The landlord furnished the land, house, fuel, and in addition, one-fourth or one-third of the fertilizer. The tenant furnished labor, work stock, feed for the work stock, tools, seed and three-fourths or two-thirds of the fertilizer. The landlord received one-fourth or one-third of the crop, with the tenant receiving the balance. The share tenant is distinct from the cropper (below) in the sense that he owns part of the means of production and makes an investment in the enterprise.

3. *Share Cropping, sometimes called simply Croppers:* The landlord furnished land, a house, fuel, tools, work stock, seed, feed for the work stock and one-half of the fertilizer. The tenant provided labor and the remainder of the fertilizer. The landlord would receive one-half of the crop, with the cropper receiving the remainder half. Since the cropper owns no means of production, he is less a tenant than wage labor. However, his relation to the landlord and the land kept him in a state of peonage nearly that of slavery.
4. *Standing Rent* is a rarer form of payment which was most common in Georgia and South Carolina. In this system the landlord receives a fixed amount (a set number of bales, for example) of the crop *regardless* of how large or small the tenant's crop may be. Thus the landlord is free from the risk of loss due to bad seasons or bad management.

In addition, under the last three arrangements the return to the tenant was usually minus "interest" on indebtedness, and minus a so-called "cost of supervision" (Woofter 1936:10).

In South Carolina as a whole, the most common tenants were the croppers or share croppers, accounting for about 35%. These were followed by the share tenants or share renters at 31%. Standing renters comprised an additional 20% and cash tenants another 13%. In Clarendon County, however, the most common form of tenancy – with the proportion fluctuating from a high in 1900 of 93.4% to a low in 1920 of 58.8% – were the cash tenants. Consistently the next most common were the share croppers, who accounted for 14.5% of the tenants in 1920.

Consequently, Clarendon County was unusual throughout its history in the proportion of cash renting tenants who were able to exercise relatively significant control over their future. Statewide cash renters comprised only

12.8% of the tenants, compared to 59% in Clarendon. The proportion of those tenants having the least protection – the standing renters – was only slightly lower than statewide, being 17.4% compared to 19.8%. Statewide, those working on shares and the croppers was 67%. In Clarendon these two groups comprised only 21.8%.

Any way that it was examined, tenancy created a class from which escape was nearly impossible. Using the power of the state, owners created contracts to protect their interests – and these contracts were often so broad that they prevented the cropper or tenant from leaving the plantation without permission. In order to maximize profits and limit the mobility of the labor, owners of larger holdings often began commissaries or made arrangements with local merchants, limiting the options of croppers and tenants and ensuring indebtedness. One period commentator remarked:

The cropper has no control over the nature of his crops, the acreage, methods of cultivation or marketing of his crop, and is at all times under direct supervision by the landlord or his agents. The “settlement” at the time the crop is sold amounts to no more than this: After having received barely enough for subsistence from the landlord in the “furnishes” to enable him to continue working, he is occasionally granted a small cash bonus at Christmas during a good year. But usually the cropper finds himself in debt to the landlord after the cotton is picked and sold and is forced to remain until the debt is worked off. This state of affairs is legalized by means of vagrancy statutes and laws penalizing agricultural workers for failure to complete

cultivation of a crop after having entered into a contract with a landlord. The oppression and degradation of the masses under this form of economic bondage is little better than those experienced under chattel slavery (Birchman 1939: 347).

Blacks, however, were taking action against both oppressive labor contracts. During the there was a growing flood of African Americans leaving the South – voting with their feet – and migrating to the better paying jobs of northern factories. Mississippi, for example, saw a 7.4% loss.

South Carolina, however, actually saw a 3.5% increase in its African American population. Clarendon County saw a 7.3% increase in its black population between 1910 and 1920. Upstate the condition was far different. For example Fairfield and Newberry counties saw their African American workforce decline by 24% and 22% respectively. Clarendon in 1920 was 72% African American. While racial classification for St. Paul is not available, that township also grew in population – from 1508 in 1910 to 1688 in 1920. Similar growth was seen in the county’s largest communities, such as Manning (1854 to 2022) and Summerton (678 to 957).

Cotton prices, like production, fluctuated (Figure 11). In general, American agriculture prospered during World War I and cotton prices were typically higher than they had been in years. Southern agriculture, however, contracted after the war, as European farmers recovered. Nevertheless, cotton farming was “not highly prosperous even during the war years.” Although most sectors of the economy recovered relatively quickly, “agriculture did not ever fully recover,” and in the “years following 1920, the cotton industry experienced little, if any, prosperity” (Dimsdale 1970:5).



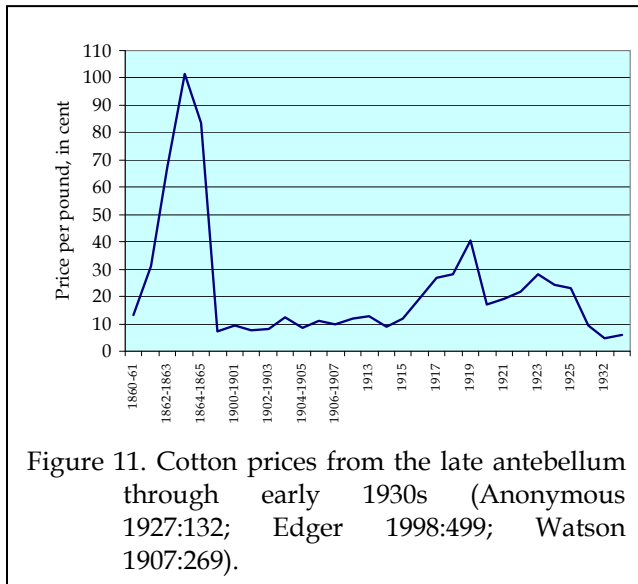


Figure 11. Cotton prices from the late antebellum through early 1930s (Anonymous 1927:132; Edger 1998:499; Watson 1907:269).

One of the disruptions in South Carolina agriculture was the arrival of the boll weevil. At the door to Savannah in 1917, the weevil had spread through much of South Carolina by 1919 (including Clarendon County) and by 1922 had covered most of North Carolina as well. Planters paid their tenants a penny per weevil in an effort to slow the spread and millions of pounds of arsenical dusts (primarily calcium arsenate) were applied. In spite of these efforts losses ranged between 30 and 60% of a crop (Haney et al. 1996). The most devastating year was 1922, when production statewide was only 30% of that it had been two years earlier (Anonymous 1927:130).

The boll weevil, the flight of black labor, the rise of the mills – all were viewed as the reason for the cotton farmer's predicament. The decline in cotton production, however, was more than anything else the result of the expansion of cotton growing in the West and abroad. Southern farmers were competitively handicapped by worn out land, expensive fertilizer, small farms, eroded lands, weeds, the boll weevil, and undependable rainfall. Speculators and a shaky economy added to these fundamental problems. The South's dependency on cotton has been claimed to be perhaps the most important factor leading to the agricultural depression of the 1920s (Holmes 28

1974:316). Forty-five banks failed in 1926 alone and between 1921 and 1929, 225 South Carolina banks, or roughly half of those active at the end of WWI, had failed. These failures were largely the result of the decline in the value of lands that served as loan collateral (Schultz 1992:3).

With the economic upheaval of the 1920s also came social unrest. Although legally dry since 1915, many chose to ignore the law and throughout the state there were often stills producing moonshine. The state's "Blue Laws" that prohibited the sale of a wide variety of merchandise on Sundays were frequently ignored and when the Bleasite Governor John G. Edwards attempted to enforce the laws he was roundly ignored and ridiculed in the press. His efforts to outlaw the teaching of evolution died quickly in committee. There was, however, a revival of the Ku Klux Klan and their power was great enough in the South Carolina General Assembly to defeat the reelection of Jewish businessman August Kohn to the University of South Carolina's Board of Trustees.

In spite of its problems, the state continued to hold an almost delusional sense of optimism. The 1927 state handbook's motto was, "South Carolina: The Comfortable State," and it extolled the state's virtues. Clarendon County expressed pride at erecting its Confederate monument in 1914 and by 1927 there were five banks operating in the county and the "Manning hotel has been adjudged by the state inspector among the best." There were three canneries, two tobacco warehouses, several lumber and planing mills, a fertilizer factory, and even a manufacturing plant for oil stoves (Anonymous 1927:302-303).

One of the needs recognized for the area and its improvement was the discontinuation "of long-time consumption credit, based on the mortgaging of crops and labor, which so long has operated to limit the accumulation of wealth by individuals working the soil" (Hager 1927:244).

Table 6.  
Net Income per Family by Tenure Status and Region, 1934  
(Woofter 1936:Table 38) (2006\$)

Region	Wage Hands	Croppers	Share Tenants	Renters
Atlantic Coastal Plain	199 (3,015)	519 (7,863)	833 (12,621)	536 (8,121)
Upper Piedmont	153 (2,318)	336 (5,090)	440 (6,667)	444 (6,727)
Black Belt	156 (2,363)	334 (5,060)	313 (4,742)	471 (7,136)

### Arrival of the Depression

Edgar notes that in 1930 the situation among South Carolina farmers was dire. Having gone on a spending spree when money was flowing, they had no reserves, and the decade of the 1920s was so bad that:

South Carolina agriculture was about to go under. Farmland and buildings had lost more than one-half their value. One-third of the state's farms were mortgaged, and 70 percent of the state's farmers survived on borrowed money (Edgar 1998:485).

Schultz remarks that many remember the Depression years not for the "coming" of hard times, but instead "recall those days as a continuation of long-standing hardship" (Schultz 1992:3). By 1933 state government itself was on the verge of collapse – state employees were laid off and those that remained were paid with "state I.O.U.'s."

In Clarendon County the value of land and buildings dropped by nearly 60%, from \$3,577 per farm in 1920 to \$1,522 in 1930. In St. Paul Township the drop was even more severe, with the value in 1930 being only \$943. The number of farms, as well as the improved acres, also declined significantly. The value of livestock plummeted from \$2,549,966 to only \$767,408. Corn production fell by nearly 30% and cotton production – on which the entire economy was based – fell by nearly 65% between 1920 and 1930.

In Clarendon County 39.6% of the farms were mortgaged – compared to the statewide figure of "only" 33.6%. Another way of evaluating the economic condition of South Carolina's farmers is to examine the value:debt ratio. This is the ratio between the value of the

land and the improvements to the amount of debt on the property. Lower numbers are better than higher numbers. Statewide the ratio was 37.76%. For Clarendon farms the value:debt ratio was 44.5% -- nearly half of the property's value had been mortgaged.

Between 1920 and 1930 the number of farms operated by tenants increased to 3,278 – 77%. The average farm size remained nearly constant (46.6 acres in 1920 and 45.8 acres in 1930, although the average size in St. Paul was considerably smaller – only 26.8 acres). The proportion of African American tenants also declined slightly (from 87% to 83.6%), indicating that the worsening economic conditions were driving more small white farmers into tenancy.

The 1930 census also gives us a view of the living conditions in Clarendon County. Of the 4,256 farms, only 978 reported having automobiles and only 46 (about 1.1%) had electricity. Telephones were found in 72 farms and 96 had piped water into their houses. Road conditions had not noticeably improved, with 63% of the farms being located on unimproved dirt roads; only 20% were adjacent to sand-clay roads. The average cash rent for farms in Clarendon County was \$84 (\$1,012 in 2006\$).

The situation is made even clearer by the Bureau of Home Economics (1939). This research surveyed over 15,000 tenant homes in South Carolina to arrive at a profile of the "typical" tenant house. They found that 38% of these houses were 25-49 years old, with another third between 10 and 24 years old. Nearly 80% were of unpainted frame construction (and slightly over 2% – as late as 1939 – were still

constructed of logs). Foundations were generally in fair to poor condition and roofs were largely in poor condition. Exterior walls were about evenly split between good, fair, and poor conditions. Doors and windows were typically in poor condition. Window screens were largely absent and, where present, were in poor condition. Interior walls and floors were generally in fair to poor condition.

Turning to household facilities statewide, less than 1% had gas, less than 4% had electricity, and only 0.1% had piped heating (meaning that virtually all depended on either fireplaces or wood stoves). In terms of refrigeration less than 1% had mechanical units (refrigerators). An additional 14.5% could boast of ice boxes, while the remaining 85% had no refrigeration at all. Only 0.1% had a power washing machine. Cooking was almost

of all tenants used a wood or coal stove. Over two-thirds of all tenants used an “unimproved” outdoor privy and over 28% had no toilet facilities whatsoever. As late as 1934, 72.1% of South Carolina tenants had a dug or bored well. An additional 13% relied on a spring for fresh water. The typical tenant house in South Carolina had 2.7 bedrooms and 1.8 “other” rooms, including kitchens and parlors. In these 4.5 rooms there was an average of 1.3 occupants per room.

The disparity between black and white was clear. The average South Carolina value of white tenant houses was \$454 (\$4,880 in 2002\$), compared to \$238 (\$2,560 in 2002\$) for black tenants. In Richland County the proportion of tenants was about 56% African American and 44% white.



Figure 12. Clarendon County tenant in a better class of structure. A smokehouse is seen to the right. The cotton comes up to the house in the foreground. To the right is a corn crop. FSA photo 8c10397u[1].

universally done using wood or coal stoves since less than 0.5% had either a gas stove or electric range.

Woofter (1936) also provides similar details, recounting that in South Carolina 97.4%

Woofter (1936:Table 38) also provides information on the average tenant incomes by region in South Carolina. These are shown in Table 6 – where we can begin to see the reality of tenancy. The modern HHS poverty level for a family of six (an average tenant family) would be just less than \$26,000 – over eight times what a wage hand might be making in Clarendon County and three times what a renter would be making.

Nearly two-thirds of the tenant’s income was spent on food. The bulk of the food budget was spent on three items – flour (or cornmeal), lard and meat (almost universally fat salt pork). What may be surprising is the relatively significant portion of the income spent on condiments – 5.4%.

Presumably this was an effort to make otherwise bland food palatable or it was because condiments could not be made at home. Woofter and others comment on the absence of vegetables – either purchased or home grown

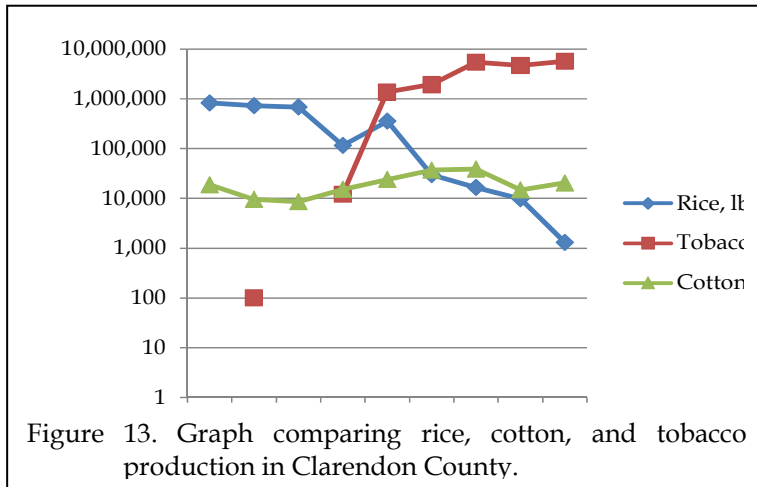


Figure 13. Graph comparing rice, cotton, and tobacco production in Clarendon County.

and Woofter (1936:102) comments that “the practice of tending a garden is foreign to the habits of most tenants.”

These dietary habits – responsible for a variety of health ailments, such as the dietary deficiency pellagra – were deeply rooted in Southern tenants. Two studies from the late nineteenth century found African American diets dominated by “bacon, flour, corn meal, and molasses,” and per man per day costs averaged between 8¢ and 11¢ (\$1.86 and \$2.56 in 2006\$) (Atwater and Woods 1897, Frissell and Bevier 1899).

Using even the lowest figure for the two adults in an average tenant family and assuming only one meal a day, a year’s food would cost approximately \$1,324 – about 60% of the wage hand’s net family income. When we factor in children and at least some minor supper meal costs, we can sense the depth of poverty that tenants faced.

### The Rise of Tobacco

Beginning in 1900 tobacco in Clarendon County became a significant cash crop, competing with cotton (see Figure 13). The rise of tobacco in South Carolina – where it had previously been largely ignored – was the result of several factors. Certainly one of the most important was the dramatic decline of cotton prices during the late nineteenth century. With

an average price of 8¢ a pound and an average yield of 400 pounds an acre, a South Carolina farmer in 1885 might gross about \$32 from a typical acre of cotton. Net profits on tobacco, however, could run as high as \$116 an acre. In addition, the demand for tobacco increased with the introduction of a cigarette rolling machine in 1882 – which made manufactured cigarettes affordable and attractive to the general public. In addition, the federal government reduced the excise tax on cigarettes from \$1.75 per thousand to a mere 50¢ per thousand.

The tobacco seeds would be sown in a specially prepared seedbed in January or February. The seeds are so small that they would be mixed with wood ashes or corn meal to aid in their distribution (at the rate of 1 or 2 teaspoons per 100 square yards). Afterwards they would be lightly pressed in the soil and a cloth shade or tent would be used to warm the bed and prevent frost damage.

As the seeds were sprouting, the farmer would begin preparing the field. The seedlings would be transplanted when the danger of frost was past, placing them in the field about 3 feet apart.

Plants would be hoed and cultivated to reduce weeds. The plants would be topped to increase the size of the remaining leaves and to make the crop mature more uniformly. Soon after topping, however, the plant would put out suckers from the axils of the leaves. These would have to be removed by hand, often several times. Plants were also dusted with “Paris green” – the same arsenical that was being used to control the boll weevil.

About three months after the plants were set, and about a month after topping, the tobacco would be ready for harvest. Sometimes the leaves would be harvested, at others the



stalk could be cut with the leaves attached. The material was allowed to wilt slightly in the field before being taken to the tobacco barn.



Figure 14. Clarendon County tobacco barn in 1939. FSA 8c10406u[1].

Once strung in the barn, the curing process would begin. The temperature of the barn was elevated to about 90°F and maintained for about 24 hours, or until the leaves became a bright yellow color. Then the temperature was raised to 120°F and maintained for 15 to 20 hours, a process known as “fixing the color.” The temperature would be gradually increased to 125°F, at which point it would be maintained for about 48 hours. At the end of this the leaves would be entirely yellow, although the stalk would be green. In order to cure the stalk the temperature would be raised to 175°F at the rate of 5°F an hour, where it would remain until the stalks were totally dried.

The heat source for the curing process was a fired kindled in a furnace outside the barn. Flues were used to carry away smoke and fumes. Barns were typically square or rectangular, measuring between 16 and 24 feet. Inside the structures, about 6 to 9 feet above the earth floor, were four equally spaced horizontal tier poles dividing the barn into five “rooms.” Tier poles continued these “rooms” to the

ceiling (upwards of 20 feet high) at vertical distances of several feet. Tobacco was strung on sticks that were hung across the tier poles, allowing the leaves to be well exposed to the heat of curing. A filled barn might contain up to 5 tons of tobacco.

The tobacco barns were typically wood frame or log, tightly constructed to seal in the hot air. The early flues were made of mud and stone, or by cutting trenches in the earthen floor and covering them with sheet iron. A wood-burning furnace was located outside the building, with a brick chimney extending up the outside wall. Coal fired furnaces were introduced in the 1920s and in the 1940s oil fired furnaces placed inside the barns came into use. Most barns had shed extensions on at least one or two sides. These sheds protected the furnace and operator from the weather, and provided

shade for the stringing process. They also served as storage areas when the barns were not in use (Tilly 1948).

### Cane: A New Crop

Cane – both sugar cane and sorghum – became increasingly important Clarendon crops in the late nineteenth century. Sugar cane syrup peaked in 1900, sorghum in 1920. Neither were ever cash crops, being almost entirely consumed by the producers.

Duggar observes that even where sugar cane grows well, some sorghum is often grown for two reasons. Sorghum, because of its drought resistance, grows on poorer land than sugar. Sugar cane requires much greater quantities of rainfall. Sorghum also allows syrup to be produced one or two months earlier than sugar cane (Duggar 1921:235). While Watson (1907:340) comments that sugar cane production was reviving, much of the planting took place along the Savannah River.

Sorghum could be planted without fertilizer and provide a respectable crop, with the planting occurring several weeks later than the earliest corn, with most planted in May. A



Figure 15. A South Carolina sorghum cane mill with a tenant house and open well in the background.

critical step was to ensure that the soil was thoroughly drained, so sensitive was sorghum to water on its roots (Anonymous 1903:6).

Sorghum could be planted rather thinly – about a plant every foot – since it has “great power for suckering” and it was necessary to closely cultivate the stand to prevent more than three plants per linear foot (Anonymous 1903:7). When the crop is entirely ripe – based on the seed heads and the sweetness of the juice, the seed head and leaves would be cut off for forage. The stalks could then be converted to syrup in essentially the same manner as sugar (Duggar 1921:237). However, no more would be harvested than could be converted into syrup in about two days.

The production of the syrup, conducted during the fall and early winter months, required a press and a means of reducing the liquid. Often growers would process their crop

at a small, local mill, often on a share arrangement with the mill owner. Cottage industries, there don’t seem to be any data on these mills available from the various census publications. One study, however, reported that cane syrup brought about 25¢ a gallon. Another suggested that an acre of sorghum would produce about 125 gallons of syrup (Bryan 1913:13). However, the 1920 South Carolina census reveals an average yield of 44 gallons per acre – suggesting that local processing was especially primitive.

One of the earlier agricultural experiment station pamphlets explained these mills consisted of two small iron rollers with a crank to which a wooden lever was attached, pulled by one or two horses or other animals. This would crush the cane, allowing the extraction of the juice which would be collected. This juice was then placed in an evaporator pan, mounted over a furnace. The heat would reduce



Figure 16. Feeding sorghum into a three roller mill. The juice is being collected at the lower right. FSA 8a03608u[1].

the juice to syrup. Scum would collect along the sides of the pan, and this would be scooped off (Anonymous 1903:8). This process, however, was “primitive” and allowed little provision for the clarification or purification of the juice.



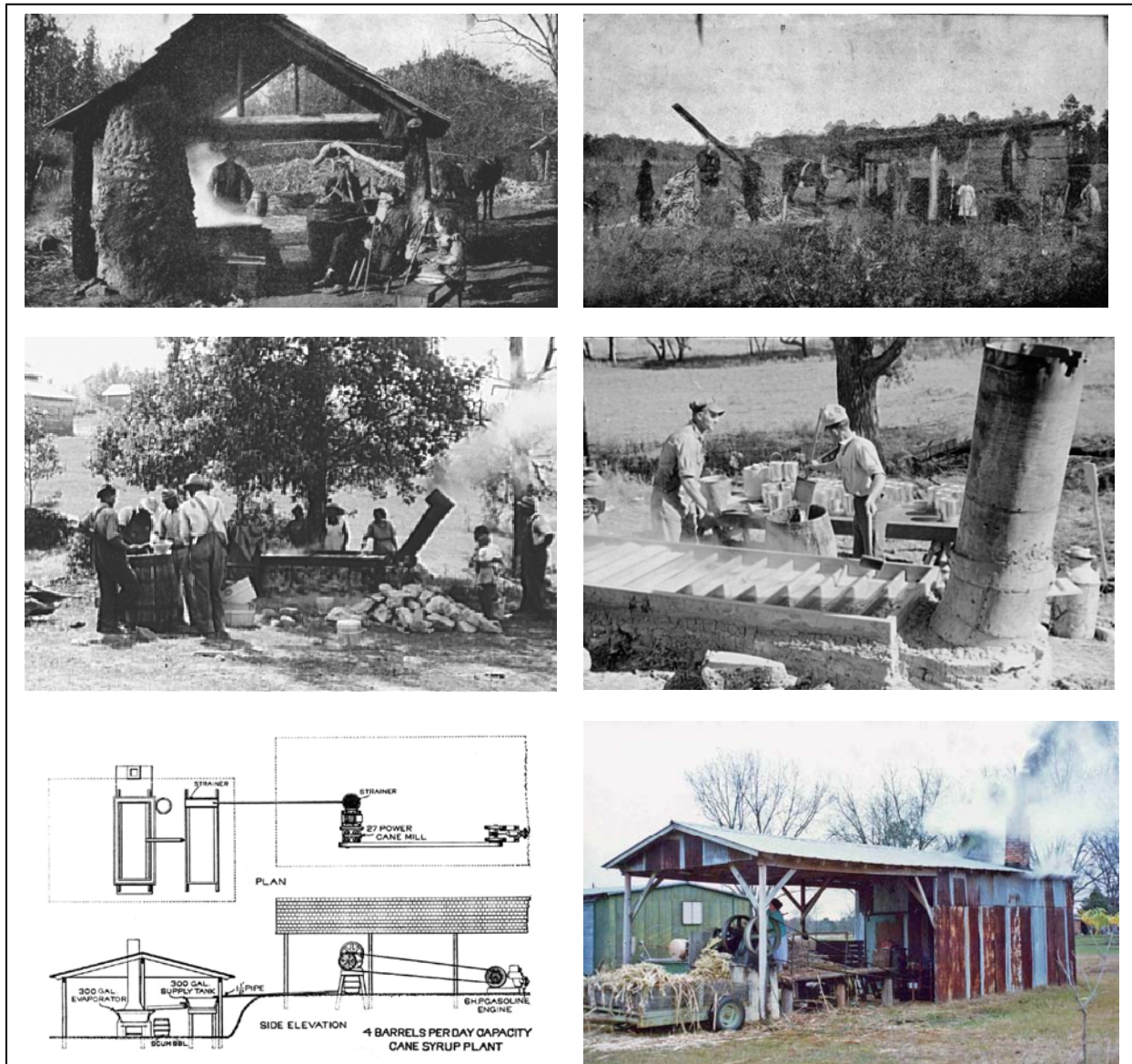


Figure 17. Examples of cane mill operations. Upper left is a 1903 photo showing the mule powered mill in the background. In the foreground is a clay furnace; behind it is the evaporator pan. Upper right is another 1903 mill, again showing the horse powered mill. The structure to the right would house the evaporator and other equipment. Middle left shows the evaporator pan in the background with the furnace underneath. Middle right is another clay furnace under the evaporator. The barrel in the background is probably the scum barrel. Lower left is a diagram of a typical operation. Lower right is a modern photograph of a small family belt operated mill powered by a gasoline engine. The evaporator and other processing is taking place within the metal building.

Much of the contaminants, even including dirt, escaped skimming and give the syrup a dark color. Not only was this unattractive, but the resulting impurities caused the syrup to ferment within a few months. Thus, most of the home processed sorghum syrup was consumed by the end of the winter (Ross 1895:186-187).

By the turn of the century three roller mills were introduced, with an increase in juice production. Most farm mills, however, continued to have two rollers and likely recovered less than 50% of the juice in the cane. The degree of pressure could be set by adjusting the gap between rollers, although farmers were warned, "syrup made from moderate pressing is generally better flavored than that from the heavy pressing" which also introduces more impurities (Bryan 1913:16).

Although best methods used fine screens to filter the resulting juice, some farmers used readily available materials such as straw, hay, sand, or shavings. One of the best (at least according to one observer) was compacted Spanish moss (Anonymous 1903:9). The juice would next be placed in a galvanized evaporator pan about 6 feet in length that was fitted with baffles. The pan was filled with water and a hot fire was built. As the water began to boil, a small stream of juice would be introduced from the holding tank. The plug at the end of the pan would also be slightly opened. Gradually the juice would pass down the pan. The heat would drive off the water, creating a syrup. Bryan explained, "when the raw juice is heated there occurs a coagulation of the albuminous matter which rises to the surface and can be skimmed or brushed off" (Bryan 1913:20). This scum was initially green, becoming lighter in color as the juice flows through the channels.

### **Partial Recovery**

The effect of the Great Depression was devastating to all sectors of South Carolina's economy. Between 1920 and 1935, 80% of all

high school and college graduates left the state. The value of the state's timber industry declined by 68%, its cotton mill industry declined by 33%, and mineral products declined by 63%. One reporter commented, "in almost every form of human progress South Carolina has sunk about as far as a state can sink" (quoted in Edgar 1984:4).

A number of Depression era programs were initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. One critical effort for the state's rural farmers and tenants was the Farm Security Administration. It began in 1933 as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) and was initially responsible for the efforts to pay farmers to reduce agricultural production. This effort was successful - 10 million acres of cotton were plowed under and 5 million hogs were butchered. South Carolina was expected to plow under 30% of her 1.77 million acres of cotton (Clarendon County's share was 11,087 acres). The AAA graduated payment was about \$14 per acre (Hayes 2001:122). Ultimately 68,200 contracts were negotiated and 424,000 acres were taken out of cotton production, 24% of the crop.

Initially the AAA made payments to landowners, not tenants, for whom the reduced production meant the elimination of their tenancy or livelihood. In Clarendon County the early efforts failed to reduce tenancy - the number held essentially stable between 1930 and 1935. By 1935, however, the AAA required that cash renters (the bulk of Clarendon tenants) were to receive the entire payment - parity plus rental (Hayes 2001:126). With this incentive tenancy was significantly reduced, with Clarendon losing 1,100 tenants (the number dropping from 3,273 in 1935 to 2,106 in 1940). Statewide, tenancy was reduced by nearly 30,000 farmers (Cooper and Terrill 1991:648).

Table 7 shows the fortunes of tobacco in Clarendon County. Tobacco prices peaked in 1918 at 31.1¢ in 1918, although in 1920; the price per pound was still high - 23.8¢ (compared to

7¢ in 1900 and 8.5¢ in 1910). Clarendon had increased acreage from 2,259 in 1910 to 7,415 in

Table 7.  
Tobacco in Clarendon County, 1900-1940

	Tobacco Prices ¢/lb.	Acres Planted	lbs Harvested	\$ Value	Value in 2007\$
1900	7.0	1,836	1,355,280	94,870	2,313,900
1910	8.5	2,259	1,921,341	163,314	3,550,300
1920	23.8	7,415	5,409,698	1,287,508	13,411,500
1925	16.5	6,600	4,818,000	794,970	9,463,900
1930	15.5	6,735	4,692,203	727,291	8,978,900
1935	18.6	3,436	2,331,983	433,749	6,571,900
1940	14.5	6,406	5,667,458	821,781	12,085,000

1920. The increase in leaf prices, coupled with the increase in acreage made the tobacco crop extremely valuable – \$1,287,508 compared to \$163,314 a decade earlier.

The tobacco prices dropped to only 11.2¢ in 1921, recovering to 20.5¢ the following year. By 1925 tobacco prices had declined to 16.5¢, and continued low to the 1930 price of 15.5¢. Acreage dropped, but not a great deal – 6,600 acres in 1925 and 6,735 in 1930, up a little since 1925.

The value of the crop, however, was depressed compared to 1920 – \$794,970 in 1925 and \$727,291 in 1930. Then there were acreage reductions with the AAA, and in 1935 only 3,436 acres were planted in Clarendon. However, the AAA managed to increase leaf prices to 18.6¢. Regardless, the crop value in 1935 was only \$433,749 given the dramatic reduction in acreage. By 1940 leaf prices were down to 14.5¢, but acreage was up to 6,506 – so the value of the crop that year was \$821,781.

Perhaps the most momentous event in the area during this period was the rise of the Santee Cooper project. Originally proposed in the first quarter of the twentieth century by the Columbia Railway and Navigation Company, in 1934 the South Carolina legislature created the South Carolina Public Service Authority. Among other things, it was empowered to build

dams and the Santee Cooper project was approved by President Roosevelt in July 1935.

Almost immediately the project was challenged in court by the Carolina Power and Light Company, South Carolina Power Company, and Broad River Power Company, with the case eventually being taken to the Supreme Court. The established power companies lost their bid to stop the development of cooperative utilities and work began on the Santee Cooper project in 1939 (Edgar 1984:7).

Land clearing began on April 18, 1939 and 22 work camps were established – 11 permanent and 11 portable to allow movement where needed. Each camp was designed for 275 workers and were complete with military style barracks and mess halls. The WPA employed 9,672 men on the project and at its peak the project employed 12,670 workers. By June 1939 title had been obtained to 1,326 tracts of land totaling 177,000 acres. Nine hundred one families (all African American) were moved to new locations, often with their houses. Ninety-three cemeteries with over 6,000 graves were also moved (apparently some graves were not moved). Excavation began at Pinopolis in Berkeley County on May 15, 1939. Construction was completed by late 1941, with the spillway gates closed on November 12, beginning the filling of the reservoirs. The first electricity was generated on February 17, 1942 (Edgar 1984:9-10; Zeigler 1944:198, 232).

In spite of improvements, the 1940 census still revealed that two thirds of the 3270 farms in Clarendon continued to be operated by tenants. Of course, the total number of farms – as well as the proportion operated by non-owners – had dropped dramatically as a result of agricultural adjustment programs. In addition, the average farm size increased from 45.8 acres in 1930 to 66.4 acres in 1940. While 459 farms were electrified in 1940, up considerably from the 46 reported in 1930, that still accounted for only 14% of the county's farms. The mortgage rate was down from nearly 40% in



1930 to 31.8% in 1940. Still, two-thirds of the county's farmers lived on unimproved dirt roads.

In 1940 St. Paul contained 291 dwellings, 30 of which were classified as non-farm (signifying their presence clustered in the "mercantile" area of St. Paul). Of the 261 farm units, 232 or 88.8% were occupied by tenants. The others were occupied by owners. The community was predominately African American - 94.1% of the dwellings were occupied by blacks. Even as late as 1940, 14% needed major repairs, 99.6% lacked indoor toilets and 98.6% had no running water. Although only 32 miles from the Santee Cooper generating station, 99.2% of the St. Paul structures lacked electric lighting.

Cash tenants in Clarendon were paying the second highest rent per \$100 of farm value in the entire state - \$8.48 (behind Georgetown at \$9.71). The state average was only \$6.16. Ignoring value, the cash rent in Clarendon, at \$2.28 per acre, ranked 8<sup>th</sup> in the state, with a statewide average of \$1.64/acre. Thus, rents were not only high in Clarendon, but the farms were in poor condition.

Even as late as 1950 the census study of farm housing units (conducted by economic subregions and looking at African American dwellings) found that 45% of the occupied units were dilapidated. Regardless of condition, 92% of farm houses in the area still lacked running water. Nearly 97% of the occupants, in 1950, were making less than \$1,000/year (\$8,333 in 2006\$).

### **Tract Specific History**

Cedar Grove Plantation, also known as Smythe Plantation, was the residence of members of the Lawson and Ragin families for most of the antebellum. Although parts of the title search and tract history are incomplete, we have developed a good understanding of the use and occupancy of the property.

### **Antebellum to Modern Ownership**

Most of the subject property is depicted on two plats from the 1860s. In 1860, surveyor R. K. Rutledge made a plat of 4,484 acres owned by the Estate of Richard Ragin (Clarendon County RMC, DB C3, pg. 155). A second plat "resurveyed" by Rutledge on February 20, 1864, shows the tract that Henry L. Benbow of Clarendon District conveyed to J. Adger Smyth two days previously (Clarendon County RMC, DB C3, pg. 153). Smythe was married to Ann Ransom Briggs, who inherited the 4,484 acres from her grandfather, Richard Ragin. The combined plantations, 4,989 acres total, passed to their children.

In the early twentieth century, the family began clearing the title for reasons that are currently unknown. Surveyors Buckner & Richards made a plat in 1914 for the "heirs of Annie L. Smythe [Ann Ransom Briggs Smyth]." This plat, supposedly filed in 1972, although referenced (Clarendon County RMC, DB A50, pg. 403), has not yet been found. This plat is reported to include both the land that had been in Richard Ragin's estate, and also the tract that Smyth had purchased from H. L. Benbow in 1864.

In 1915, Smyth conveyed the parcel he had purchased from Benbow to his living children, Sarah Ragin Smyth, Grace A. Smyth [wife of his son Ellison Adger Smyth], Margaret Smyth Johnson, and Robert A. Smythe [this son had altered the spelling of his surname], and four heirs of his deceased son Richard Briggs Smyth. It was described as the,

tract in Clarendon County, 500 acres, heretofore incorporated in plantation of heirs of Annie R. Smythe but still in the name of J. Adger Smyth. Butting and bounding east, northeast, and west by heirs of Annie R. Smyth, north formerly R. R. Briggs, south formerly Henry L.

Benbow and W. L. Ragin. As by Benbow to Smyth, 1864 (Clarendon County RMC, DB K5, pg. 607).

During the twentieth century, parts of the Smyth heirs' tract were sold in several transactions, two conveyances to SC Public Service Authority (see SCPSA Tract Maps SR 420 [157.9 acres] and SR 296 [1,292.8 acres]), and three small lots in the village of St. Paul. By 1970, the plantation known as Cedar Grove comprised 3,400 acres "less acreage" (Clarendon County RMC DB A35, pg. 328), and in 1972 it was conveyed to the Springs Company as 3,400 acres "less acreage" (Clarendon County RMC, DB A50, pg. 403). The plat made by Duvalle Elliott for the Beach Company in 2005 depicts the 3,400 acres, "less acreage," as 2,494.4 acres, identifying it as Parcels 1 – 9 (Tax Map 037-00-00-003).

We have assembled the twentieth century tract history with reference to the title abstracts prepared by Land, Parker and Welch, PA. Their term, "less acreage" refers to parcels whose acreage has been reduced through re-surveys and conveyances without affecting the chain of ownership.

According to the 1860 plat, Tracts 10, 11, and 12 on the 2005 plat were part of the holdings of Dr. T. W. Briggs (grandfather of the Smyth heirs). Briggs is shown in the 1850 census for Sumter District as a 40-year old head of household, living with his wife, Margaret (27), two young children, and Elizabeth Spain (22), presumably his wife's sister. The slave schedules for that year show him owning more than 60 slaves.

Tract 10 (Tax Map 059-00-03-008) was conveyed as 103.5 acres by W. H. Anderson to G. W. Bennett in 1911; by Sheriff's decree to Lizzie C. Lesesne as 103.5 acres in 1923, and then by will to Elizabeth Lesesne Collins of Miami.

Mrs. Collins' 1968 will devised to her daughter Eugenia C. Blackwell "an undivided one-half interest in the tract known as Rockland Plantation, as devised to me by will of my father A. LaMotte Lesesne." In 1991 Eugenia Blackwell conveyed this parcel to Springs Company as 89.46 acres.

Tract 11 (Tax Map 059-00-02-003), either 127.9 or 128.3 acres (county records differ slightly), was conveyed in 1900 by Aaron Weinberg to Rosa Weinberg as 134 acres, and then to Irma Weinberg in 1928 in a partition of Rosa Weinberg's estate. In 1972 the Estate of Irma Weinberg conveyed the parcel to Hodge Properties as 134 acres "less acreage." Hodge Properties sold it the next year to Clarence E. Coker Jr., who conveyed it to Springs Company in 1985.

Tract 12 (Tax Map 059-00-00-02-001) is shown as 87.56 (88) acres on the 2005 plat. It is part of a tract surveyed in 1889 as 345 acres and conveyed as 345 acres in 1900 by David Levi to Ida Levi. After several partitions among Levi heirs, it was conveyed as 87.56 acres by the Estate of Ruby P. Levi to the Springs Company in 1999.

Also included in the subject property is a parcel (Tax Map 038-00-002-003) of 36.614 acres, which is not part of the 2005 Elliott plat. This is a portion of a 48.6 acre tract of "Marginal land, portion of Tract SR 420 on Land Map 37" owned by SC PSA and leased for 50 years to Springland Inc. in 1975 (Clarendon County RMC DB D24, pg. 530). As part of Tract SR 420, this acreage falls within the Cedar Grove/Smyth Plantation.

In summary, the subject property was in the ownership of three parties in 1860: the estate Richard Ragin (4,484 acres), J. Adger Smyth (505 acres), and T. W. Briggs (east of Ragin).



### Lawson as an Earlier Owner

The son of John and Sarah Ragin, Richard Ragin (1790-1853) seems to have inherited land from his family. He also gained ownership of a large parcel in 1817 when he married into the Lawson family. John Lawson

had died intestate ca. 1793; he and his wife, Elizabeth Billups (1757-1820), are thought to have lived near the extant family cemetery at Jack's Creek (Girardeau) where Elizabeth Billups Lawson was buried in 1820 (Guerry 1986:41; Brunson and Davis 2002:660).

Lawson, the earliest property owner we have identified, was referred to as "John Lawson, Esq., of South Carolina" upon his marriage to Elizabeth Billups of Virginia in the *Virginia Gazette* of June 27, 1777, implying that he was a man of property (Elizabeth Lee Girardeau, personal communication 2008). In 1786 he received a grant for 2,160 acres on Jack's Creek that was bounded by land he already owned (SC Dept. of Archives and History, State Plan Books, vol. 1, pg. 70).

The Lawson family cemetery was in use at least by 1810, indicating that the subject property had become the family's plantation "seat." In 1807, Virginia Lawson, younger daughter of John and Elizabeth Lawson, married Joseph Galluchat, a Methodist minister (Brunson and Davis 2002: 660). His career kept them away from her home, but a family Bible records that several of their children were born at the Lawson plantation (in 1810, 1811, ca. 1824). Buried in the family cemetery was an infant who died in Charleston in 1810 and another who "died at this place" in 1811. Joseph Galluchat died in St. Augustine in 1825 and his body returned for burial, and in 1840, upon Virginia Lawson Galluchat's death in Summerville, she too was buried in the family plot (Brunson and Davis 2002:441-442; Guerry 1986:41).

### Acquisition by Ragin

Ann Ransom Lawson, Virginia's sister, married twice. Her first husband, married in 1801, was John P. Felder. He died in 1814; seven of their children lived to adulthood (Brunson and Davis 2002: 408). Her second husband, Richard Ragin, assumed ownership of some, if not all, of the Lawson land as a result of their marriage in 1817 (Brunson and Davis 2002: 913). Ann Ransom Lawson Felder was not a young woman when she married Richard Ragin, but she became a new mother. Sarah Ann Ragin was born in 1819 and there were two sons. In June 1821 an infant son died, in July 1821 Ann Lawson Ragin died of childbed fever, and the next year the third child died (Brunson and Davis 2002: 913, 915). Neither Ann Ransom Lawson Ragin nor these two sons are known to have been buried at Cedar Grove. However, Richard Ragin retained ownership of the property, where he was buried in 1853, and in 1860 it was held by his estate.

It seems that Ragin had inherited land adjacent to the Lawson plantation, and he seems also have added land to the Lawson's tract. In 1824 he purchased 604 acres from Narcissus Graham, paying \$2,200 (\$3.64/acre) for the parcel, which was part of a tract on Jack's Creek that Graham had acquired in 1805 (Carpenter 1942: 158). The price is difficult to understand in light of Robert Mills' *Statistics*, which claims that (in 1824) land in Sumter District was "reduced as of late," with pine lands selling for \$4-\$5/acre, bluff and river edge selling for \$10-\$15, and swamp or unsecured bottomlands for \$7-\$10. The best land, bottomlands secured from freshets, were selling for \$50/acre (Mills 1972:742 [1826]).

Further research in the Sumter County RMC should clarify how tracts labeled by Mills as Johnson, Campbell, Garden, and Dennis became part of the Ragin estate.

In 1837, Sarah Ann Ragin, daughter of Ann Lawson and Richard Ragin, married Dr.

Thomas Whitaker Briggs (Brunson and Davis 2002: 119). In January 1840, the month after her

the Green Revival “Mansion”? Which house did Richard Ragin use after the death of his

Table 8.  
Agricultural Schedules for 1850-1870

	Slaves	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Horses	Mules	Milk Cows	Other Cattle	Swine	Sheep	Wheat (bu)	Corn (bu)	Rice (lbs)*	Cotton (bales)	Peas	Sweet Potatoes	Butter (lbs)
1850																
R. Ragin	157	1,400	2,900	5	14	25	75	present	36	3,500	400	5,400	120	300	2,500	200
TW Briggs	65							Not Found								
H.L. Benbow	-							Not Found								
1860																
Est. R. Ragin	not listed	1,500	2,000	8	30	30	50	present	25	5,500	150	1,800	225	100	500	150
T.W. Briggs	100	750	1,250	12	15	20	60	100		4,000	200	6,750	45			
H.L. Benbow	23	350	2,649	7	5	21	80	250		900			24	present	present	100
1870																
J.A. Smythe	-	250	3,350	1	4	1		6		400		9,000	23		300	
T.W. Briggs	-	500	1,500									27,000	10			
H.L. Benbow	-	550	3,300									82,800	12			

\* Bushels, where reported, have been converted to pounds, using a ration of 1:45. All rice is recorded as rough (threshed, but not milled) rice.

\* Bushels, where reported, have been converted to pounds, using a ration of 1:45. All rice is recorded as rough (threshed, but not milled) rice.

second child was born, Sarah Ann Ragin Briggs died and was interred in the family burial ground (Brunson and Davis 2002:913; Guerry 1986:41). According to the *Southern Christian Advocate* (Holcomb 1979:37) “Sarah Ann Briggs, wife of Dr. Thomas, died in her 23<sup>rd</sup> year, at her father’s [Richard Ragin] residence in Sumter District.”

Questions about white occupancy of the subject property have not been fully explored. There must have been a colonial Lawson residence. Where was it located? Did Richard Ragin and his daughter Sarah Ann live in that house? When was it lost?

There are early twentieth century photographs of the “Cedar Grove” house, which show a Greek Revival dwelling that was probably built during the first half of the nineteenth century. Its architectural style suggests a construction date of ca. 1840 (for the 1837 marriage of Sarah Ann Ragin to T. W. Briggs?), but an earlier date is possible (for the 1817 marriage of Ann Ransom Lawson to Richard Ragin?).

What is the “House” shown on the northeast side of the 1860 plat, which also shows

granddaughter Sarah Ann Briggs?

Sarah Ann Ragin Briggs left two children, Ann Ransom Briggs and Richard Ragin Briggs (Brunson and Davis 2002:915-916). In 1843 their father, T. W. Briggs, was remarried to Margaret Susan Spain of Charleston (Betts 1952:66-67). In 1850 the US Census shows the two children of Sarah Ann Ragin living with their grandfather, Richard Ragin (Brunson and Davis 2002:120). Upon Ragin’s death in 1853, he bequeathed his entire estate to his grandson, Richard Ragin Briggs, and granddaughter, Ann Ransom Briggs (Brunson and Davis 2002:913; Guerry 1986:41; Sumter County WB D11, pg. 450, roll 202). This would include not only his real estate, but also his slaves – 180 according to the 1850 Sumter District Slave Schedules.

### Smyth/Smythe Tenure

After Ragin’s death, his grandchildren next appear in Charleston, where their father lived. In 1859 Richard Ragin Briggs married in Charleston, and in 1860 Ann Ransom Briggs married James Adger Smyth. Although the Smyth family lived in Charleston, J. Adger Smyth assumed ownership of the Ragin plantation. We have not yet found a conveyance



## HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

or partition agreement between Ann ransom Briggs Smyth and her brother Richard Ragin Briggs which would explain the division of their grandfather's assets between them.

*Accommodation Line.* By 1882 several lines regularly served the significant river port at Wrights Bluff, which featured a post office, freight depot, and cotton market (Orvin 1961:121, 129).

Table 9.  
Residents at Cedar Grove in 1923

Tenant	Rent	Fertilizer Note	1920 Census					
			Home	Age	Household	Race	Read	Write
Bennett, John	10.00		St. Paul	35	Julia (32), 1 child	Black	N	N
Benbow, Lucy			St. Paul	43	Abraham (63), 1 child	Black	Y	Y
Caldwell, Robert	13.05	35.09						
Cantey, Reuben	20.00							
Cantey, Reuben	140.00							
Gayman, Martha								
Green, Charlie	75.00		St. Paul	62	Mary E. (40), 7 children	Mulatto	Y	Y
Green, John M.	60.00		St. Paul	60	Idella (51), 5 children	Black	Y	Y
Horton, Focien			St. Paul	36	Rosa (35), 2 children	Black	N	N
Johnson, William			St. Paul		2 possibilities in census			
Jones, Cain	150.00	1.20	St. Paul	55	Charlott (52), 1 child	Black	N	N
Livingston, Julius			St. Paul	37	Tinnie (24), 3 children	Mulatto	N	N
McBride, E.L.			St. Paul	35	Anna (32), 4 children	Black	Y	Y
Palmer, Seyward	65.00	62.83	St. Paul	34	Louise (24), 4 children	Black	Y	Y
Pearson, Robert		50.45	St. Paul	53	Henrietta (37), 3 children	Mulatto	Y	Y
Ragin, Aaron L.	57.51	25.05	Friendship	44	Sarah (44), 6 children	Black	Y	N
Ragin, Jerry			St. Paul	62	May Jane (55), 2 children	Black	N	N
Ragin, McDonald	50.00	12.43	St. Paul	63	widow, 1 child	Mulatto	Y	Y
Richardson, Charlie			St. Paul	25	Laura (23), 1 child	Black	Y	Y
Seabrook, John A.		31.53	St. Paul	30	Eliza (25), 3 children	Black	N	N
Smyth, Sam		137.76	St. Paul	41	Annie (26), 7 children	Black	Y	Y
Tate, John M.			St. Paul	48	Alice (48), 5 children	Mulatto	Y	Y
Warley, J.D.			Calvery	49	Mittie (36), 6 children	Black	Y	Y
Watson, Edward								
Watson, Pink (Pinckney)			St. Paul	50	widow, 7 children	Mulatto	Y	Y
Watson, Sam (Samuel)			Friendship	30	Fannie (24), 3 children	Black	N	N
King, Joe H.			St. Paul	63	Mary M (27), 2 children	White	Y	Y

On February 17, 1864, J. Adger Smyth, "of Clarendon District" paid Henry L. Benbow of Clarendon District \$7,575 for a "tract in Clarendon District, waters of Santee River, 505 acres. Butting & bounding east and northeast by lands now owned by said Smyth, north by lands of R. R. Briggs, west by lands of said Smyth, south by said Benbow and D. L. Ragin" (Clarendon County RMC DB C3, pg. 153, plat included). The purchase price, \$15/acre, was surely denominated in Confederate dollars, although the deed does not specify the form of payment.

The seller, Henry Laurens Benbow (1829-1907), was serving in CSA 23<sup>rd</sup> Infantry (Brunson and Davis 2002: 69). After the Civil War, Benbow returned to Clarendon County where he farmed (in 1866 he paid excise taxes on his cotton, a buggy, and a watch at Wright's Bluff), as well as being employed as agent for the Charleston-based Ravenel & Holmes

### Postbellum Operation

J. Adger Smyth, the husband of Ann Ransom Briggs, operated the Benbow tract along with the family's inherited Ragin land. In 1866 he was taxed on \$7,354 of cotton and five swine (IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1866). Gradually his sons took over management. Youngest son Richard Briggs Smyth (1875-1911) managed the plantation from his home in Summerton until his death (Elizabeth Lee Girardeau, personal communication 2008), then his brother Robert Adger Smythe (1871-1962) assumed the responsibility. The 1915 deed by which J. Adger Smyth conveyed the Benbow tract to his children refers to Robert Adger Smythe (1871-1962) as "manager of the plantation." A resident of Atlanta, Smythe (who had changed the spelling of his family name) never lived on the property, but visited often and supervised planting and maintenance through his resident manager, Joe H. King.

Letters that R. A. Smythe wrote to his sisters and brother about the operation of Cedar Grove from 1920 through 1924 concern planting (cotton, corn, tobacco), ditching, draining, and fear of floods, cattle tick infestations, timber theft, and financial relations with the tenants. Most of these were African-Americans; all of them paid rent and fertilizer expenses, and for a portion of the cotton seed they planted.

In 1923 rents, ranging from \$10 to \$150 were paid by 10 tenants; three additional tenants are mentioned paying fertilizer notes (South Carolina Historical Society, Augustine Thomas Smythe Papers, RAS to King, September 28, 1923). These individuals, plus others rapidly identified in the correspondence, are listed in Table 9. Twenty-five tenants are identified, accounting for about three-quarters of the structures thought to exist on the tract. Most of the tenants are recognizable in the 1920 census and several were also still identified in the 1930 census. This provides an exceptional ability to conduct further research using the 1920 agricultural schedules. Incorporating lien data and further information in the Smythe letters will allow an even more complete understanding of the parcel.

The tenant's living situations were always being negotiated. "Robert Pearson's Roof. Please have Mr. Mason send me two copies of a Bill, for the shingles, nails and labor, for this, so I can take it up with the insurance company. John Bennett. He offered to put the shingles on the roof, if I furnished them, and the nails. I think we ought to do this for him" (South Carolina Historical Society, Augustine Thomas Smythe Papers, RAS to King, February 26, 1923). "What has become of John N. Tate? If he is going to live away, of course, I do not suppose he has old enough sons to keep up his farm properly" (South Carolina Historical Society, Augustine Thomas Smythe Papers, RAS to King, September 28, 1923).

Although Smythe appears fair and accountable in the correspondence reviewed, in one letter to his local manager he complains, "John Seabrook writes asking for 1 M of cheap boards for a shed for feed house. I think I have done handsomely by John, with his expensive barn, and that he ought to do this little himself. What do you advise" (South Carolina Historical Society, Augustine Thomas Smythe Papers, RAS to King, September 28, 1923). In another he complains of their misuse of the calcium arsenate, a poison for the cotton weevil, telling

King that if the tenants can't be responsible and insist on being lazy in its use, he will turn them off Cedar Grove (South Carolina Historical Society, Augustine Thomas Smythe Papers, RAS to King, August 2, 1922).

Although these resources have been only briefly examined, they provide critical information on the tenancy of the property and activities that left significant impacts on the landscape.



## METHODS

### Introduction

Based on the study of wetland maps, it appeared that prehistoric sites would have a higher probability of being found in the well drained to moderately well drained soils close to the poorly drained soils (see Figure 35).

The map research, however, has revealed a number of farm units on the property. The locations of these projected structures can be seen in Figures 36 and 37. While some of these structures were found in the field, namely those west of SC 15/301, planted fields made surface visibility difficult. The work started to suggest that the study tract may exhibit considerable disturbance, primarily from cultivation – which has been consistently performed since the nineteenth century.

### Field Survey

The field methodology sought to include systematic intensive survey coupled with some closer interval testing (Figure 20). Some areas of high probability for historic structures had transects placed at 100-foot intervals through the projected site. Shovel tests were performed at 100-foot intervals until a site was encountered, then testing was performed at 50-foot intervals along the transect. No additional transects were added for this level of reconnaissance.

All shovel tests were approximately one-foot square and were excavated to sterile subsoil, usually 1.0 to 1.5 feet below the surface. The areas of

cultivation exhibited slightly deeper soils. All soils were screened through ¼-inch mesh and soil profiles were recorded as appropriate, using Munsell soil colors.

In areas where cultivation had revealed significant ground visibility (over 50%), a pedestrian survey was conducted. If artifacts were found during the pedestrian survey, shovel testing may be conducted.

When evidence of archaeological sites was encountered during shovel testing, transects were added as necessary to determine more accurate boundaries. Boundaries were also determined through location of the extent of surface scatters. Archaeological sites in this survey were defined as consisting of three or more artifacts in an area. No isolated finds were located during this survey.

Information was collected from each site in order to complete site forms required by the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office.



Figure 19. Performing a pedestrian survey in a fallow field.

Since this study was conducted at a reconnaissance level, it was not possible to collect the quantity of data or detail necessary to allow the sites to be evaluated for their potential

Anthropology (SCIAA), the closest regional repository.

The site forms for the nine identified

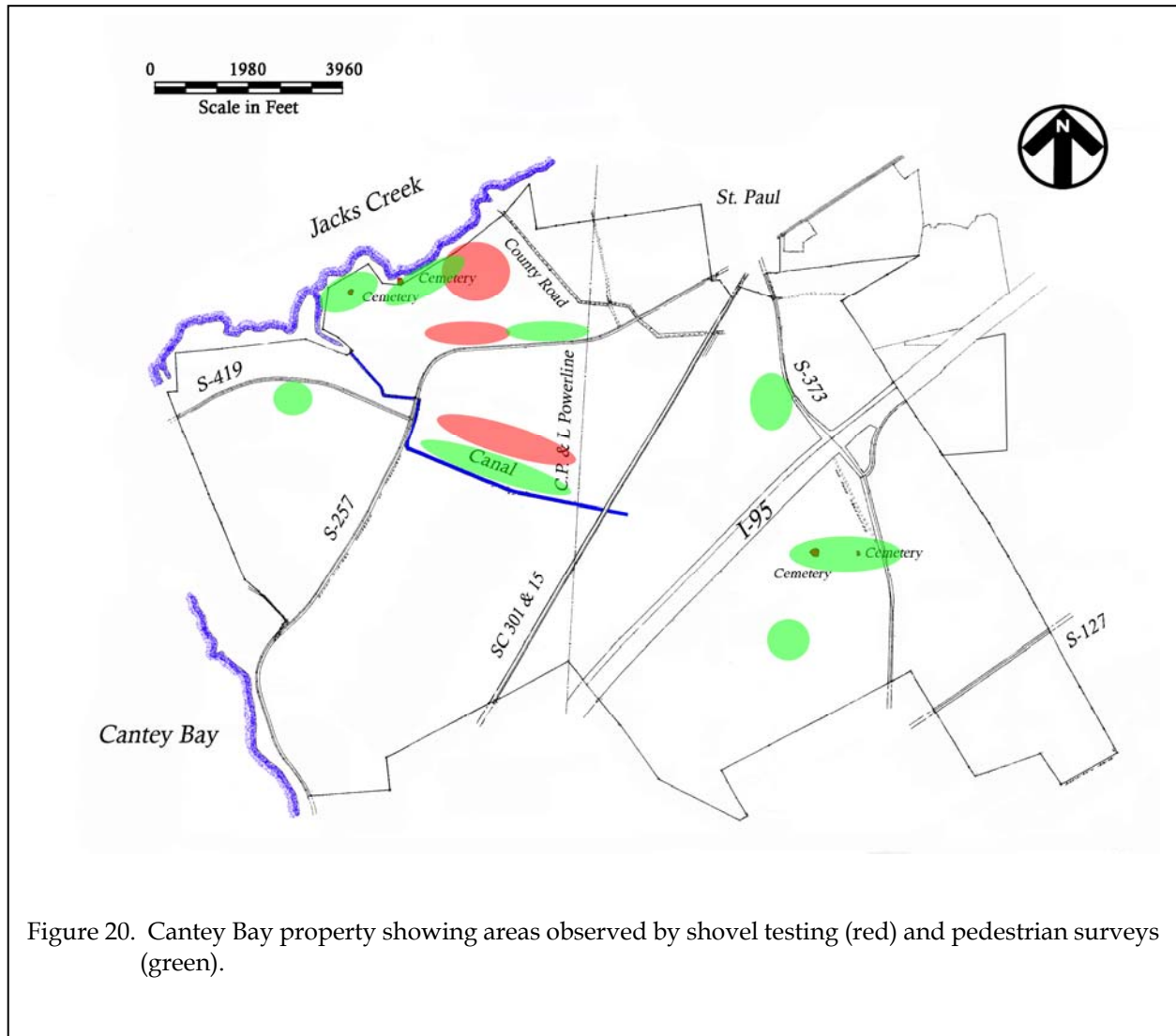


Figure 20. Cantey Bay property showing areas observed by shovel testing (red) and pedestrian surveys (green).

significance and eligibility for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

### Laboratory Analysis

The cleaning and analysis of artifacts was conducted in Columbia at the Chicora Foundation laboratories. These materials have been catalogued and accessioned for curation at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and

archaeological sites (three cemeteries and six domestic sites) have been filed with SCIAA. Field notes have been prepared for curation using archival standards and will be transferred to SCIAA as soon as the project is complete. Non-archival digital photographic materials will be retained by Chicora for 60 days.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of



intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. In general, the temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of historic remains follow such authors as Price (1979) and South (1977).



Figure 21. View of shoreline of the survey area with Jack's Creek.



## RESULTS OF SURVEY

### Introduction

As a result of this cultural resources survey six archaeological sites (38CR132-137) and three cemeteries (38CR138-140) were recorded (Figure 22). Site 38CR132 is a twentieth century tenant site; site 38CR133 is a nineteenth century house site; site 38CR134 is a nineteenth century domestic site; site 38CR135 is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; site 38CR136 is a twentieth century scatter; and\ 38CR137 is a nineteenth to twentieth century site.

For the cemeteries, sites 38CR138 and 38CR139 are nineteenth century cemeteries and 38CR140 is a nineteenth to twentieth century

African-American cemetery.

No intensive architectural survey was conducted during this reconnaissance level survey, however, no standing structures are found on the property. One National Register property, the Santee Indian Mound/Fort Watson, is within 1.0 mile of the current undertaking and may be visually impacted by development of the property.

### Archaeological Resources

#### 38CR132

Site 38CR132 is a twentieth century tenant

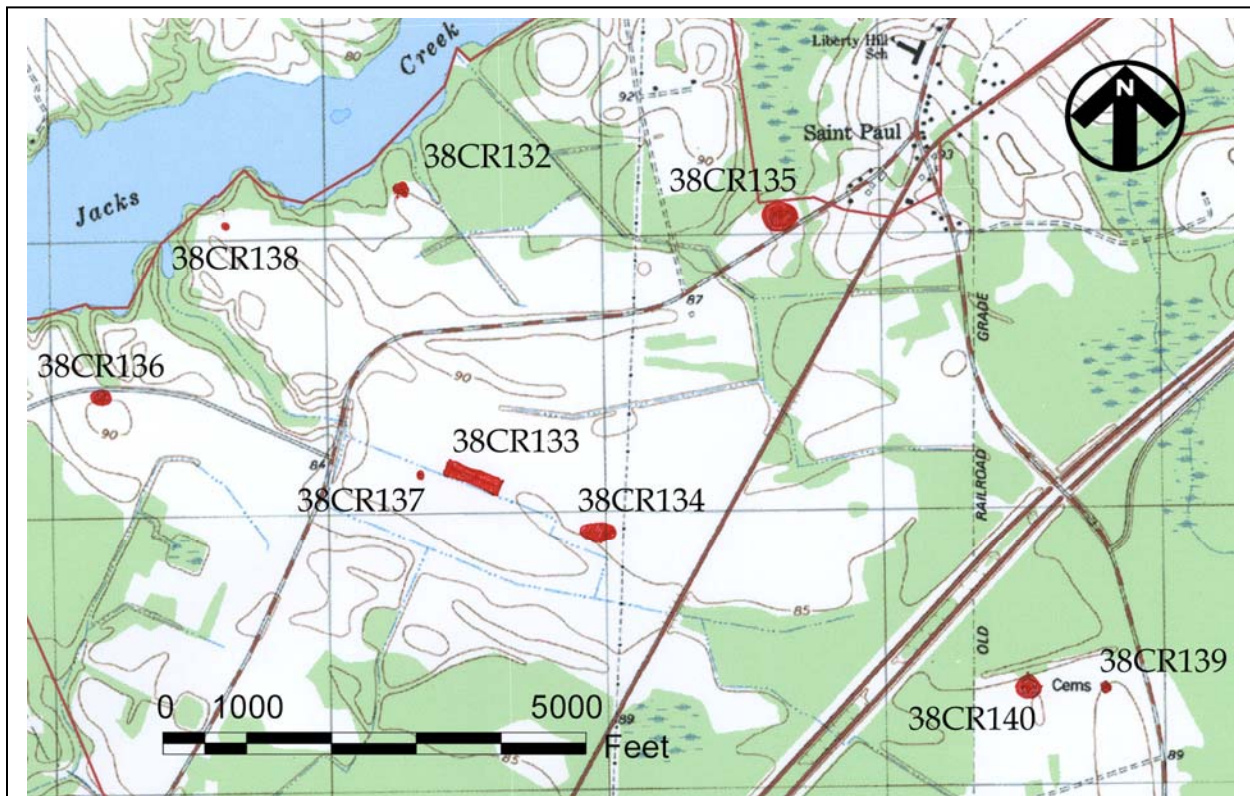


Figure 22. Topographic map showing the identified sites in the project area.

site located in a mixed pine and hardwood forest at an elevation of about 80 feet AMSL (Figure 23). The site, which is located on a ridge just south of Jacks Creek, has a central UTM coordinate of 554281E 3715186N (NAD27 datum).

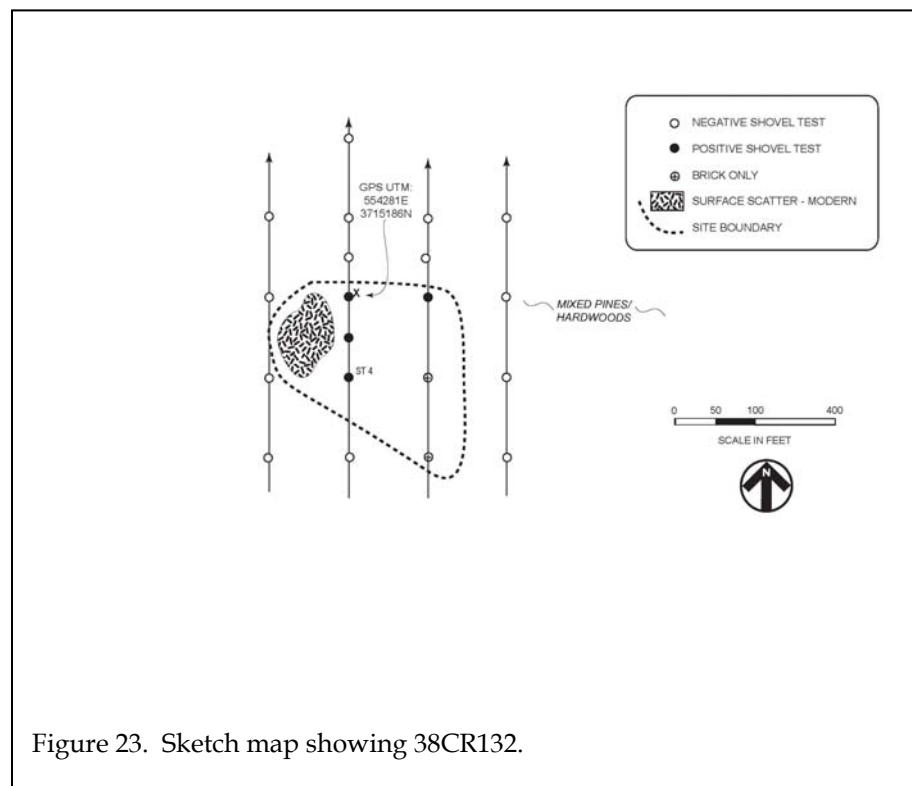


Figure 23. Sketch map showing 38CR132.

Shovel testing was performed in the northern portion of the site with Transect 4, Shovel Test 4 producing artifacts. Shovel testing continued along the transect at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were encountered. A total of 20 shovel tests were excavated at the site with four (20%) positive with artifacts and two additional tests with only brick. A small brick pile was also noted along with surface trash that appears to be modern.

The soils at the site resemble Persanti very fine sandy loam, which has an A horizon of dark gray (10YR4/1) very fine sandy loam to a depth of 0.5 foot over a brownish yellow (10YR6/6) clay, which occurs to a depth of 1.4 feet.

The density of artifacts was low with only

28 artifacts represented. In addition, the artifacts are commonly found in domestic sites, with many items post dating 1950, including plastic and batteries. The diagnostic artifacts included whiteware and wire nails, which, while possibly dating from c. 1910, may also post date 1950. While the site probably existed during the early twentieth century, modern trash was also observed. The estimated size of this site is about 200 feet square.

A reconnaissance level survey is not adequate to determine National Register eligibility. Similar sites have been found eligible for the National Register because of their wells or privies (Trinkley et al. 2006). While no well or privy was identified at this brief level of study, a more intensive survey may reveal such features. In addition, this structure is shown on the 1937 Land Map for

Clarendon County (see Figure 38) with several components to the property. Additional testing and research is needed before National Register eligibility is evaluated.

### 38CR133

Site 38CR133 is a nineteenth century domestic site located in a plowed field at an elevation of about 90 feet AMSL (Figure 24). A central UTM coordinate is 554591E 3714125N (NAD27 datum).

Shovel testing took place in this area after a pedestrian survey revealed a large number of nineteenth century artifacts on the surface. An 1860 plat (see Figure 18) of the area also shows a "mansion" in the vicinity. A total of eight

## RESULTS OF SURVEY

transects were set up at 100-foot intervals, which covered the area of surface artifacts. Shovel tests were performed to the north at 50-foot intervals and generally stopped at the planted portion of the field, which was about 200 to 250 feet from the road. The dense planted wheat prevented surface visibility, but no positive shovel tests were found at the initial portion of the wheat. A total of 46 shovel tests were performed at the site with nine (20%) positive with artifacts and an additional 11 (24%) containing only brick.

Shovel test profiles resembled Clarendon loamy sand, which has an Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy sand to 0.6 foot in depth over a pale brown (10YR6/3) loamy sand to 1.3 feet in depth. Below that is a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy clay loam, which can occur to a depth of 2.3 feet.

A total of 243 artifacts were recovered, with most (94%) coming from the surface collection. A mean ceramic date (MCD) for the site was estimated at about 1862, which is

consistent with the 1860 plat. While mostly Kitchen Group artifacts were found (95%), the collection also identified artifacts from Architecture (3.2%), Tobacco (0.8%), and Activities (0.8%) groups (Table 10).

While artifact size is consistent with years of cultivation, one area exhibits a concentration of brick. Some larger fragments, including one whole brick, were found. The entire site, including the surface collection, covers an area of about 700 by 200 feet.

### *Architectural and Historic Information for 38CR133*

We are fortunate that the main house was photographed on several occasions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These images show a Greek Revival antebellum plantation house that could date anywhere between ca. 1800 and 1862. This is consistent with the historical research that suggests construction after the death of John Lawson in 1793, but before

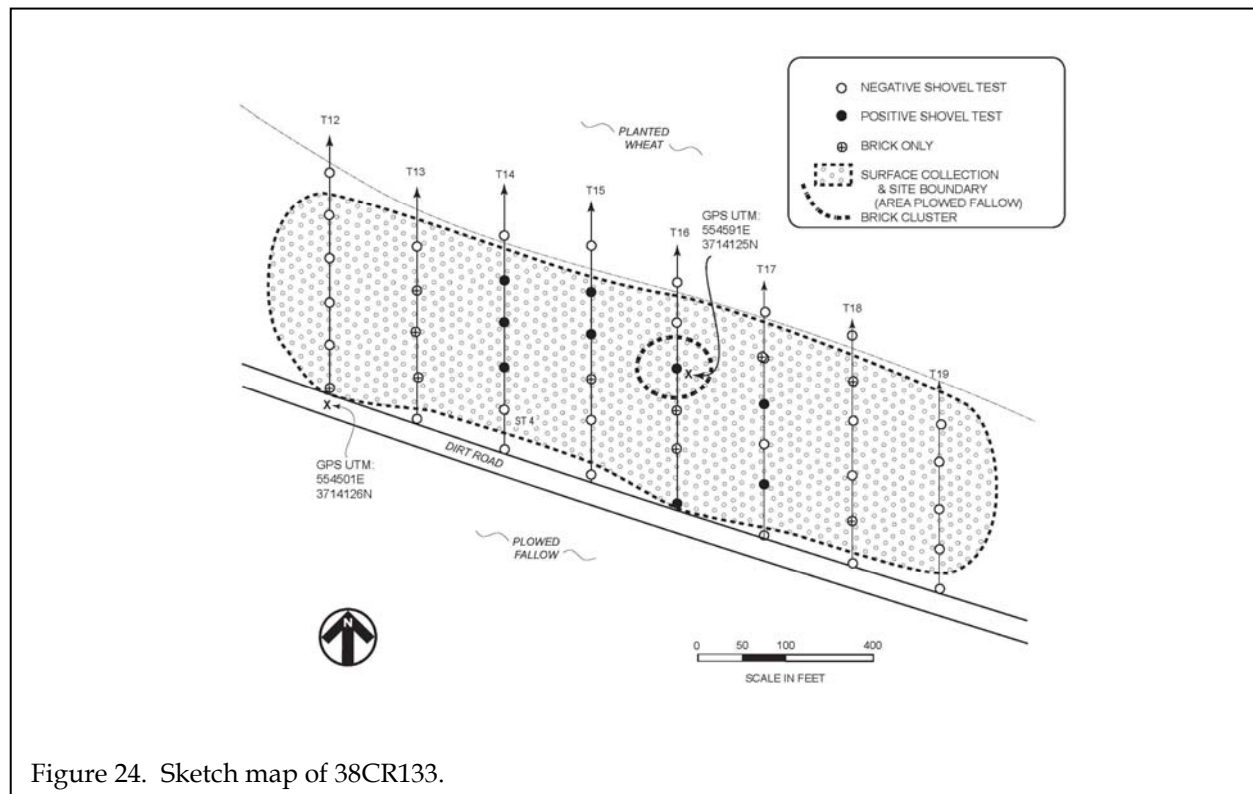


Figure 24. Sketch map of 38CR133.



Table 10.  
Artifacts from 38CR133

	Surface	T14ST2	T14ST2.5	T14ST3	T15ST2.5	T15ST3	T16ST1	T16ST2.5	T17ST1.5	T17ST2.5	TOTAL
<b>Kitchen Group</b>											268
Creamware, undecorated	14										
Creamware, blue transfer print	1						1				
Creamware, annular	2										
Creamware, poly handpaint					1						
Pearlware, undecorated	50									1	
Pearlware, molded edge	3										
Pearlware, blue handpaint	1										
Pearlware, poly handpaint	2										
Pearlware, blue transfer print	4		1								
Pearlware, annular	5										
Pearlware, blue edged	3										
Whiteware, undecorated	54	1									
Whiteware, blue transfer print	13										
Whiteware, black transfer print	1										
Whiteware, green transfer print	1										
Whiteware, purple transfer print	1										
Whiteware, poly handpaint	2										
Whiteware, annular	1										
Whiteware, sponge paint	2										
Whiteware, blue edged	9										
Whiteware, tinted glaze	3										
Porcelain, undecorated	15								1		
Porcelain, blue hand paint	1										
Stoneware, bristol slip	4										
Stoneware, brown salt glazed	4					1					
Stoneware, brown	1	1	1								
Stoneware, green Alkaline glaze									1		
Stoneware, ginger beer	1										
Red course earthenware, black lead glaze	1										
Refined earthenware				1							
Yellowware	2										
Earthenware, burned	3										
Glass, brown	7									1	
Glass, black	21										
Glass, light green	1										
Glass, green									1		
Glass, aqua	7										
Glass, clear	13										
Glass, melted	1							1			
<b>Architecture Group</b>											9
Window glass	4			1						1	
Nail, handwrought	1				1			1			
<b>Tobacco Group</b>											2
Pipe bowl	1										
Pipe stem	1										
<b>Activities Group</b>											3
UID iron	3										
<b>TOTAL</b>											282

Richard Ragin's 1853 death. The house might have been built for John Lawson's daughter Ann, who married John Felder in 1801 and Richard Ragin in 1817 (Ann died in 1821). Its architectural style indicates that the date of 1817 is more likely than 1801, and does not rule out construction for Ann Ragin's daughter Sarah Ann, who married Dr. Thomas Whitaker Briggs in 1837 and was buried at Cedar Grove in 1840.

The structure was a two-story frame building set on brick piers with a broad side-gabled roof, evidently clad in wood shingles, having pedimented ends. The two-tier porch (presumed to be at the south elevation) had a similarly pedimented front-gabled roof, and extended across three of the façade's five bays. The oblique view shows four windows at the side elevation, implying that there were two main rooms at each side of a central entry hallway. This

suggestion is reinforced by the placement of the two interior brick chimneys. Set just behind the



Figure 25. View of 38CR133.

lateral roofline, the chimneys would provide fireboxes at each of four main rooms at both levels.

The house can be compared to the ca. 1843 Davis House near Manning (listed in the National Register in 1983; <http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/clarendon/S10817714002/index.htm>). The porches appear very similar (pillars in the photos of the Davis House might be later replacements; photos show that the columns of the Cedar Grove House were reworked in the late-19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century), although the three-bay wide porch at the Davis House seems narrow because of the width of the seven-bay façade. The two houses have similarly treated gable ends, pedimented and without attic-level openings, but the Davis House is only one room deep, with its chimneys set at the ridgeline. Sidelights at each house can be seen at both façade entries. The

Davis House also has transoms at both entries, but higher-resolution scans would be needed to verify that the Cedar Grove door openings had transoms as well. They would be likely because of the length of the entry hall/through corridor.

The steps, at least in one photo, appear to be wood. Figure 25, providing a left oblique view, seems to show a barren, swept yard with several young pines. Beyond the structure to the right is another building that may represent a kitchen. Its end chimney is visible. At the left side of the main house is a one-story rear gable wing which might have been an addition. Whether the right-side building was connected to the main house, cannot be determined from the photographs.

Figure 26 seems to represent a different time period, and shows the façade and part of the right elevation. The structure to the right is not



Figure 26. View of 38CR133 showing different yard features and a side structure.

visible. The vegetation appears much thicker, and part of the façade is obscured. White picket fencing is seen on the right side of the house, with

a wire fence extending to the foreground.

Figure 27 is a later view, showing some alterations to the porch. The columns had been replaced or reworked in the Victorian style, and trellises or jalousie blinds added at the first level. Wood balustrades at both levels, clearly visible in Figures 25 and 26, are not certain in Figure 27. The photo suggests solid-panel apron walls rather than balustrades, a question that could be resolved through higher-resolution scans. Yard vegetation is different again in Figure 27, with the left oblique view showing closely cropped grass and a shade tree growing along the left side of the house. A board and wire fence similar to that seen in Figure 26 is found along the left side of the front lawn.

Additional testing is needed to further evaluate the potential that underground features, including foundations or intact brick piers, may be found. No National Register evaluation can be made until sufficient testing is assumed. Regardless, the reconnaissance did identify materials in the area projected by the historic research.

### 38CR134

Site 38CR134 is a nineteenth century domestic site located in a fallow field at an elevation of about 85 feet AMSL. A central GPS UTM is 555007E 3713923N(NAD27 datum).

The site was initially discovered through a pedestrian survey of the fallow field. The surface collection encompassed an area of about 400 feet by 250 feet. No concentration of artifacts was found and no shovel testing was performed in the area.

Although no shovel testing was performed, soils in the area are associated with Orangeburg loamy sand, which has an Ap horizon of brown (10YR4/3) loamy sand to 0.8 foot in depth over a yellowish red (5YR4/8) sandy loam to 1.3 feet in

depth.



Figure 27. View of 38CR133 from a later period.

The surface collection, however, produced 45 artifacts, primarily from the Kitchen Group (95.5%), but also producing artifacts from the Clothing Group (4.5%) (Table 11). The MCD for the site is 1838, but additional testing may produce more artifacts and provide a more accurate date. This site is not shown on the 1937 Land Map for

Table 11.  
Artifacts from 38CR134

	Surface	TOTAL
<b>Kitchen Group</b>		
Creamware, annular	1	
Pearlware, undecorated	8	
Pearlware, blue transfer print	2	
Pearlware, edged	2	
Whiteware, undecorated	18	
Whiteware, blue transfer print	1	
Whiteware, blue edged	1	
Stoneware, brown salt glaze	1	
Stoneware, Rockingham	1	
Stoneware, ginger beer	1	
Glass, green	2	
Glass, black	1	
Glass, aqua	1	
Glass, brown	1	
Glass, milk	1	
<b>Clothing Group</b>		
button, milk glass	2	
<b>TOTAL</b>		44

Clarendon County (see Figure 38), so the site represents an early example of life in the County.

No National Register eligibility can be determined for this site until testing has been performed.

### **38CR135**

Site 38CR135 is a late nineteenth to twentieth century scatter, located in a fallow field at an elevation of 85 feet AMSL. The site is located on a ridge, south of Jacks Creek. A central UTM for the site is 555678E 3715051N (NAD27 datum).

The site was identified through a pedestrian survey of the recently plowed field. While no artifacts were collected and no shovel testing was performed, no concentrations of artifacts were noted. The site appeared to be sparse, with artifacts covering an area of about 400 feet square.

Artifacts identified included whiteware, Albany glazed stoneware, brown glass, manganese glass, window glass, and brick. Subsurface testing may reveal additional artifacts, but while the soils in the area generally represent the well drained Dothan Series, rain at the time of the reconnaissance made the field extremely muddy.

Dothan soils have an Ap horizon of grayish brown (10YR5/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.6 foot over a very pale brown (10YR7/4) loamy fine sand. The subsurface soil is a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy clay loam to 2.0 feet in depth.

While all structures that were still standing on the property in the 1970s were razed or moved (Larry Lee, personal communication 2008), it may be possible that other features, such as intact brick piers, foundations, wells, or privies may be found when the area is tested. The structure appears to have been gone by the production of the 1937 Land Map for Clarendon County (Figure 38). Shovel testing is needed to

properly assess the National Register eligibility of the site.

### **38CR136**

Site 38CR136 is a twentieth century domestic site. It is located south of Jacks Creek in a mixed pine and hardwood forest at an elevation of 90 feet AMSL. A central UTM for the site is 553176E 3714460N (NAD27 datum).

The site has been reported by Larry Lee, the caretaker of the property, to be one of the only structures on the property in which remains are present (personal communication, 2008). During the reconnaissance, we attempted to locate the remains, however, very thick undergrowth prevented any surface visibility and dense vines prevented intensive shovel testing.

The structure is shown on a c. 1937 Land Map for Clarendon County by the S.C. Public Service Authority (Figure 38). In addition to several structures being shown, the label "old cane mill" is also used to describe the site.

While no remains were initially found, this site has the potential to provide some information about a site that is not typically researched. Additional testing and research is needed before National Register eligibility is evaluated.

### **38CR137**

Site 38CR137 is a small nineteenth to twentieth century scatter, located in a fallow field at an elevation of about 90 feet AMSL. A central UTM coordinate for the site is 554356E 3714138N (NAD27 datum).

The site was identified through a pedestrian survey of the field. Surface density was sparse, but produced artifacts such as white porcelain, transfer print whiteware, and cobalt glass. No artifacts were collected, but the surface collection covered an area of about 100 feet square.



Shovel testing was not conducted, but soils in the area resembled Clarendon loamy sand,

3715058N (NAD27 datum).



Figure 28. View of 38CR138.

which have an Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy sand to 0.6 foot in depth over a pale brown (10YR6/3) loamy sand to 1.3 feet in depth. The subsurface is a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy clay loam to 2.3 feet in depth.

Although sparse in quantity and small in size, shovel testing will need to be conducted to accurately assess the possibility of finding intact subsurface remains or features. No National Register determination can be made at this reconnaissance level of study.

### 38CR138

Site 38CR138 is a nineteenth century cemetery located on a ridge south of Jacks Creek (Figure 28). The cemetery is in an undisturbed hardwood stand with a dense understory located in a cultivated field. A central GPS UTM is 553659E

The cemetery, labeled “private cem.,” is shown on a c. 1937 Land Map for Clarendon County by the S.C. Public Service Authority (Figure 38). The cemetery was recorded as #112 by the S.C. Public Services Authority and was inventoried on August 10, 1939. At that time, it measured 20 by 60 feet and was fenced. Nine marked graves were recorded (Guerry 1986:41). In addition, an 1860 plat of the northern portion of the survey area shows the cemetery (see Figure 18). The approximate area of the cemetery, which followed the wood line, is 100 feet square.

Due to the reconnaissance level of study, no attempt at identifying the boundaries of the cemetery was performed. In addition, while the names of visible tombstones were recorded, the dense understory may be covering other, fallen



Figure 29. View of headstones in 38CR138.

stones.



## RESULTS OF SURVEY

A total of four marble headstones and one marble ledger were identified in the cemetery, displaying the surnames of Galluchat and Briggs

be noted that the State Historic Preservation Office has mandated a minimum 25-foot buffer around all cemeteries. While the original fenced area was only 20 by 60 feet, today the area removed from cultivation is about 100 feet by 100 feet. We also recommend that once the accurate boundaries are determined, a fence be erected around the cemetery.

### 38CR139

Site 38CR139 is the nineteenth century Ragin cemetery. It is located at an elevation of about 90 feet AMSL in a small stand of hardwoods in a fallow field (Figure 30). A central GPS UTM is 556787E 3713352N (NAD27 datum).



Figure 30. View of 38CR139 in a fallow field.

(Figure 29). More recently, a granite memorial stone had been erected to Richard Ragin, who died in 1853. It is unclear, however, if Richard Ragin is buried in this cemetery.

If development is to occur on the property, we would recommend that the cemetery be accurately recorded with any unmarked graves, several of which were observed in the field, identified. The use of a penetrometer, which measures soil compaction, would be recommended to attempt to located burials that may not be obviously seen.

Cemeteries may generally provide good bioanthropological data about lifeways and give insight to diet, disease, and ethnicity. Additional research is needed, however, before a National Register of Historic Places determination can be made. Care has already been taken to avoid the cemetery during cultivation activities, however, if construction does occur, it should

The modern topographic map, which was dated 1980 and revised in 1987, shows the cemetery, as well as a larger cemetery (38CR140) about 850 feet to the west. The cemetery is approximately 100 feet by 100 feet in area.

At least five marble headstones and one



Figure 31. View of headstones at 38CR139.

fieldstone were observed at this cemetery. Four of



Figure 32. View of 38CR140.

the headstones displayed the surname Ragin, while the fifth stone had the surname Felder (Figure 31).



Figure 33. View of concrete headstone in 38CR140.

This cemetery was also identified by the S.C. Public Services Authority and was given the number 113 (it was called the Lawson Cemetery). It was identified as an African American Cemetery that had been abandoned for about 40 years (since about 1899). They reported no marked graves, but oral history revealed burials of Emily Beaton, Frank Beaton, Deamon Briggs, "John and Mary Doe" Briggs, Frank Caldwell, Ned Felder, and Charlotte Reagan (Guerry 1986:89).

We have been able to identify only two of these individuals in the 1880 Census - Frank Caldwell (26, St. Pauls) and Charlotte Reagan (12, St. Pauls).

As with the previous cemetery, this cemetery may provide good bioanthropological data about lifeways, as well as provide insight to diet, status, disease, and burial customs. Additional research would be needed, however, before a determination of National Register of Historic Places eligibility can be made.

Care should be taken to avoid the cemetery during cultivation, as it already appears to have been done. A penetrometer study, which measures soil compaction, is recommended to attempt to locate any unmarked graves that may be located beyond the woods line. The State Historic Preservation Office has mandated a minimum 25-foot buffer around all cemeteries if construction is to take place. Once the boundaries are accurately determined, a fence should be erected so construction crews will avoid the cemetery.

### 38CR140

Site 38CR140 is a nineteenth to twentieth





Figure 34. View of yucca at 38CR140.

century cemetery located at an elevation of about 85 feet AMSL in a sparse hardwood forest amidst a fallow field (Figure 32). A central UTM for the cemetery is 556511E 3713360N (NAD27 datum).

This cemetery, which measures about 300 feet square, is located about 850 feet west of another, smaller cemetery (38CR139). Unlike 38CR139, which appears to be a Euro-American cemetery, site 38CR140 appears to have more African-American features associated with it. For example, very few graves had a marker erected

compared to the large number of depressions in the area. In fact, only three commercial headstones were observed – two were made of concrete (Figure 33), while one was a large marble headstone. A funeral home marker (without a name) was also observed while numerous fieldstones and some yucca (Figure 34) were also seen marking depressions.

Given the lack of commercial markers, it is even more critical that unmarked graves be identified before construction takes place. It would have been common for this type of cemetery to evidence burials of kin-based groupings, meaning that the Euro-American typical way of burial in rows, may not be observed at this particular cemetery. Outliers would not be unheard of.

While not necessarily critical to identify every grave in the cemetery (the cemetery does appear to be well identified in the field), a penetrometer study would be recommended to find the boundaries of the cemetery. While the earliest death date for the marked stones is 1892, it is likely that the cemetery dates to a much earlier

time and it may be likely that the graves extend into the adjacent field.

Without numerous commercial headstones to identify this area as a cemetery, it is even more critical that the property be protected, which may mean the erection of a fence around the cemetery. In addition, if not already done, the property should be recorded with the Clarendon County Clerk of Court as a graveyard.

#### Projected Site Locations

A goal of reconnaissance studies is to synthesize available

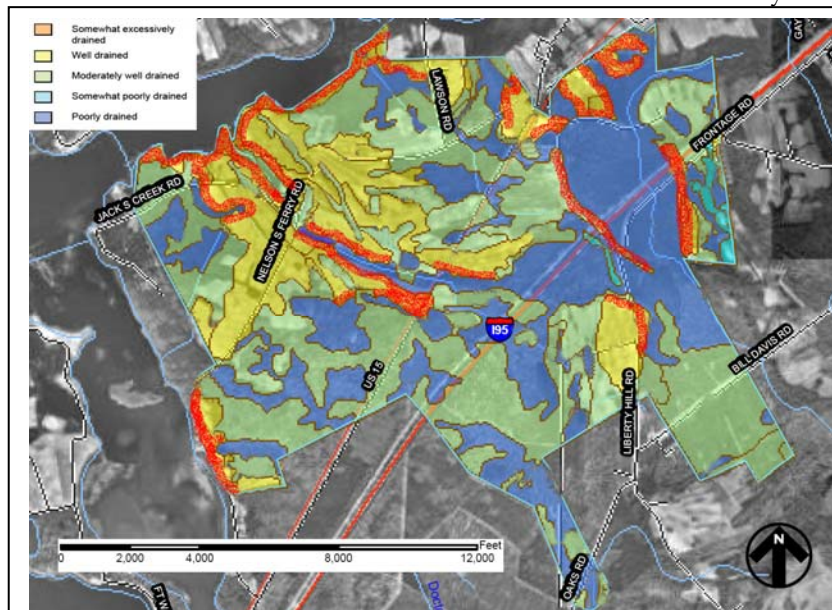


Figure 35. Soil drainage in the study tract. Areas of potentially high prehistoric occupation are shown in red.

data and offer predictions concerning probable site locations. This information is useful in helping property owners evaluate the potential cultural resource issues that a project may face.

### **Models of Prehistoric Site Location**

For the interior coastal plain we can predict that prehistoric sites will most likely be identified in locations where relatively well drained, sandy soils come into contact with less well drained soils.

For example, Ward commented that his study in the Whites Creek drainage of Marlboro County produced an ecotone, where sandy, well-drained soils came into contact with the more poorly drained swamps. He suggested that, "hickory nuts and acorns would have been plentiful on the bluffs flanking the flood plains while pine masts, acorns, and a variety of fruits and berries could have been exploited by man and best throughout the lower elevations (Ward 1978:57).

This same general concept was utilized for the model developed by the Charleston Harbor project. The authors were able to demonstrate that, in interior settings, increased site density was directly correlated with well-drained soils in close proximity to streams and swamp formations (Cable and Reed 1996).

With this in mind, those areas of the study tract where relatively well-drained soils meet patchy or swampy soils might be expected to exhibit higher frequencies of prehistoric sites. Figure 35 shows these areas highlighted in red.

Many prehistoric sites have been identified in the immediate area and the vicinity has been heavily collected since at least the 1960s. Most of these sites, however, have been in closer proximity to the Santee River – today flooded and part of the Santee-Cooper project. Many of the most notable site, such as the Fort Watson mound (or likely, originally, mounds), 38CR1, and the 25 burials found to the south (38CR35) seem to

cluster in proximity to the 75 foot contour that represents the flood pool. Relatively few sites have been reported in the uplands, although collectors have gravitated towards those sites that are periodically exposed by reservoir level fluctuations.

Nevertheless, future intensive survey in the study tract should focus on the ecotone areas as having the highest potential for the recovery of prehistoric sites.

The area along Jack's Creek is of special interest since the 75-foot contour left a bluff in this area and much of that bluff has been wooded, protecting any potential sites from cultivation.

A second area of special interest is that around the bay or swamp found in the northeast quadrant of the property. These interior swamps and bays have not been well studied, although elsewhere in South Carolina they often evidence prehistoric settlement.

The most significant limiting factor in the evaluation of prehistoric sites identified on the tract will be the amount of cultivation they have undergone and the ability to identify good integrity, consisting of subsurface deposits and/or sites that exhibit clear horizontal patterning.

While the location of prehistoric burials cannot be predicted with any certainty, it is important to point out that the human remains recovered during the 1973 work at 38CR35 were in good condition – indicating that human remains, even from prehistoric dates dating to perhaps A.D. 1500, are likely to be well preserved (Carter and Chickering 1973). This is almost certainly the result of the well-drained sandy soils.

### **Models of Historic Site Location**

The models of historic site settlement tend to focus on transportation routes. The historic overview clearly indicated that the Santee River was perhaps the most significant transportation corridor for the region, with the Wright's Bluff



landing remaining significant into the postbellum. With the flooding of the river, however, these sites – among many others – were lost.

While perhaps secondary in importance, the overland routes – for example, the roads to Vance's and Nelson's ferries – were of nearly equal importance. Mouzon's late colonial and Mills' early antebellum *Atlas* both indicate the large number of settlements clustering along these roads.

Mills' *Atlas* reveals that portions of three major north-south roads are likely found within portions of the study tract. This suggests the potential for a number of colonial or antebellum plantation settlements.

These settlements are recognized as exhibiting a main settlement and often one or more slave settlements, with the size of the latter determined by the number of African Americans working the land. During the colonial period,

when there was a focus on rice, settlements of owner and enslaved both tended to be located in proximity to the swampy rice lands. Slaves were housed there to be in close proximity to their work sites. Owners lived there in order to keep watch on their wealth.

Thus, colonial settlements are not always associated with well drained soils, but may be found in relatively inhospitable locations, at least by today's standards. By the antebellum settlement locations tended to change. The owner's settlement would typically be situated in an area of prominence, with access to transportation routes, such as the major roads. While slaves continued to be housed in less desirable areas – and in close proximity to their work – the shift to cotton brought them out of the swamps and onto at least somewhat better drained soils.

By the postbellum,

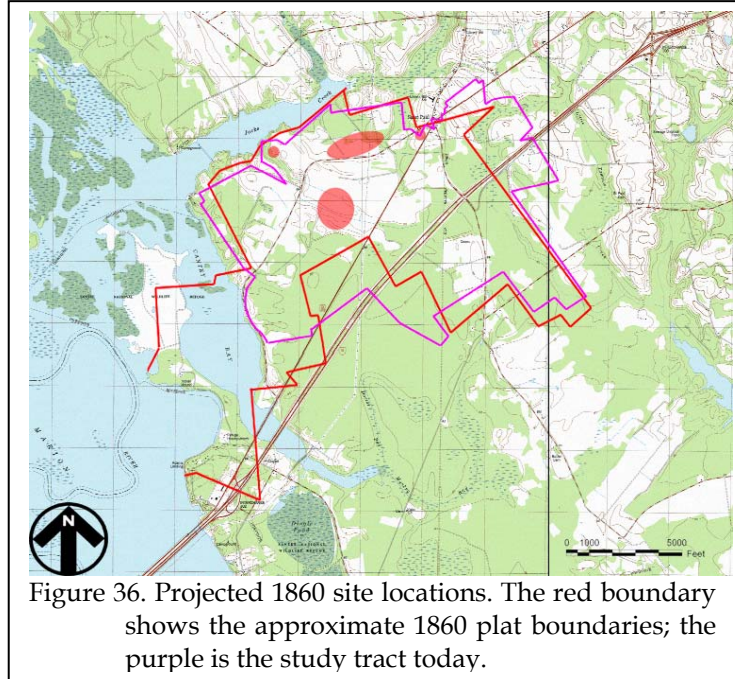


Figure 36. Projected 1860 site locations. The red boundary shows the approximate 1860 plat boundaries; the purple is the study tract today.

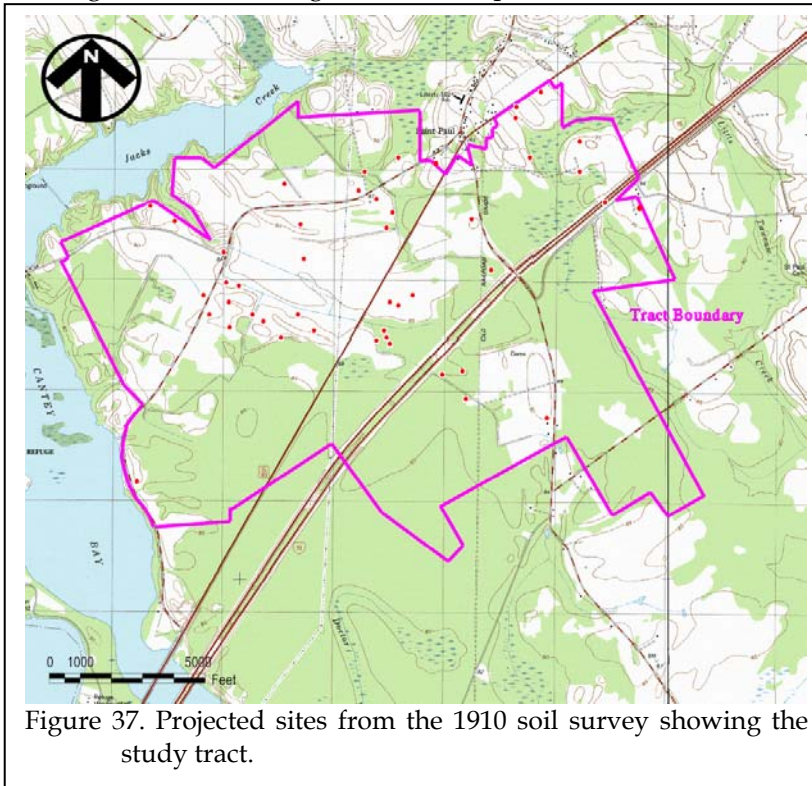


Figure 37. Projected sites from the 1910 soil survey showing the study tract.



however, the settlement system changed dramatically. Instead of housing being centralized (the “slave row”) tenancy brought about decentralized settlements, with houses scattered across the landscape allowing tenants to live on the acreage they worked.

### Historic Site Documentation

The historic research conducted during this reconnaissance has allowed relatively refined predictive modeling for much of the antebellum and postbellum using the maps, plats, and aerial photography that is available.

Figure 36 reveals the anticipated location of the cemetery, main dwelling, slave row, and another, perhaps summer, house shown on the 1860 plat of the Ragin property.

All of these sites are of special importance to our understanding not only of this particular parcel, but also antebellum settlements of the inner coastal plain. Like the prehistoric sites, integrity is a significant factor in determining site significance. This may include features, especially architectural remains – footings and foundations that will help identify the size and footprint of antebellum structures. However, none of the plantations identified during the Santee Cooper project, in spite of recommendations from the National Park Service (Anonymous 1939), were studied or documented. Given the very sparse data available for interior coastal plain antebellum plantation settlements in the area, any identified antebellum settlements from the study tract are likely to be considered significant and worthy of more intensive investigation.

Although the current study did not provide similar detailed documentation for earlier, colonial settlements, these too may exist on the study tract. If they can be identified they will assume considerable importance as well. However, colonial settlements may today be under the waters of Lake Marion, since they may have been in areas closer to the swamp rice fields. Additional historic research is needed in order to

define these areas.

The postbellum sites in the study tract are shown on several maps, the earliest of which is the 1910 soil survey. These 46 sites are shown in Figure 37, although the locations are approximate since the scale of the original map was 1 mile to the inch (the original map is shown as Figure 10).

Sites for at least a portion of the study tract are better documented by the Santee Cooper property maps, prepared by the South Carolina Public Service Authority. These maps (Figures 38 and 39) carefully document the landscape as it was perceived in 1937, prior to the creation of Lake Marion from Jack’s Creek westward to the area of US 15 – approximately half of the study tract.

These maps reveal 35 settlements, three cemeteries, four isolated structures, at least two cane mills, and possibly a grist mill. They provide a nearly complete overview of the tenant landscape during the depression (and certainly before the area saw any significant improvement). When compared with the earlier 1910 map the data suggests relatively little movement of structures over nearly three decades.

The detail of the mapping is extraordinary, with individual structures identified. Functional areas on the settlements are clearly defined. Distances between settlements can be identified either aerially or by the available road networks. In some cases it is possible to document actual fields, based on ditch lines. Since property lines and ownership is also provided, it is possible to compare the Smythe plantation to others in the same area, offering the potential to engage in more detailed studies that has been possible at other tenant sites elsewhere in South Carolina. These maps are further supplemented by the Smythe papers and letters, previously mentioned in the historic section.

The study tract also offers the potential to study sites that have not been adequately examined in the past. For example, we have been unable to identify any effort to examine cane mill

# RESULTS OF SURVEY

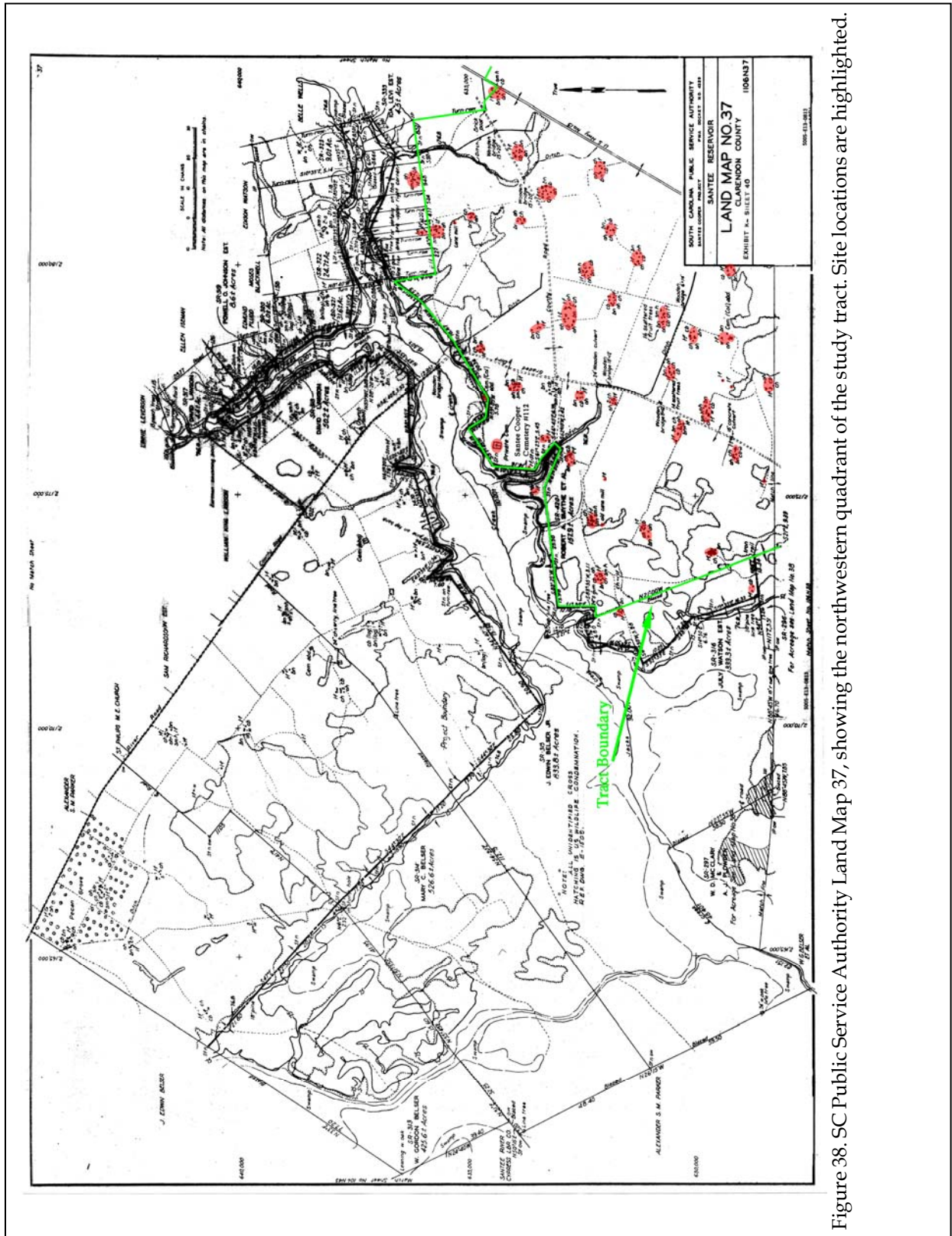


Figure 38. SC Public Service Authority Land Map 37, showing the northwestern quadrant of the study tract. Site locations are highlighted.

# RECONNAISSANCE CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY OF CANTEY BAY PLANTATION

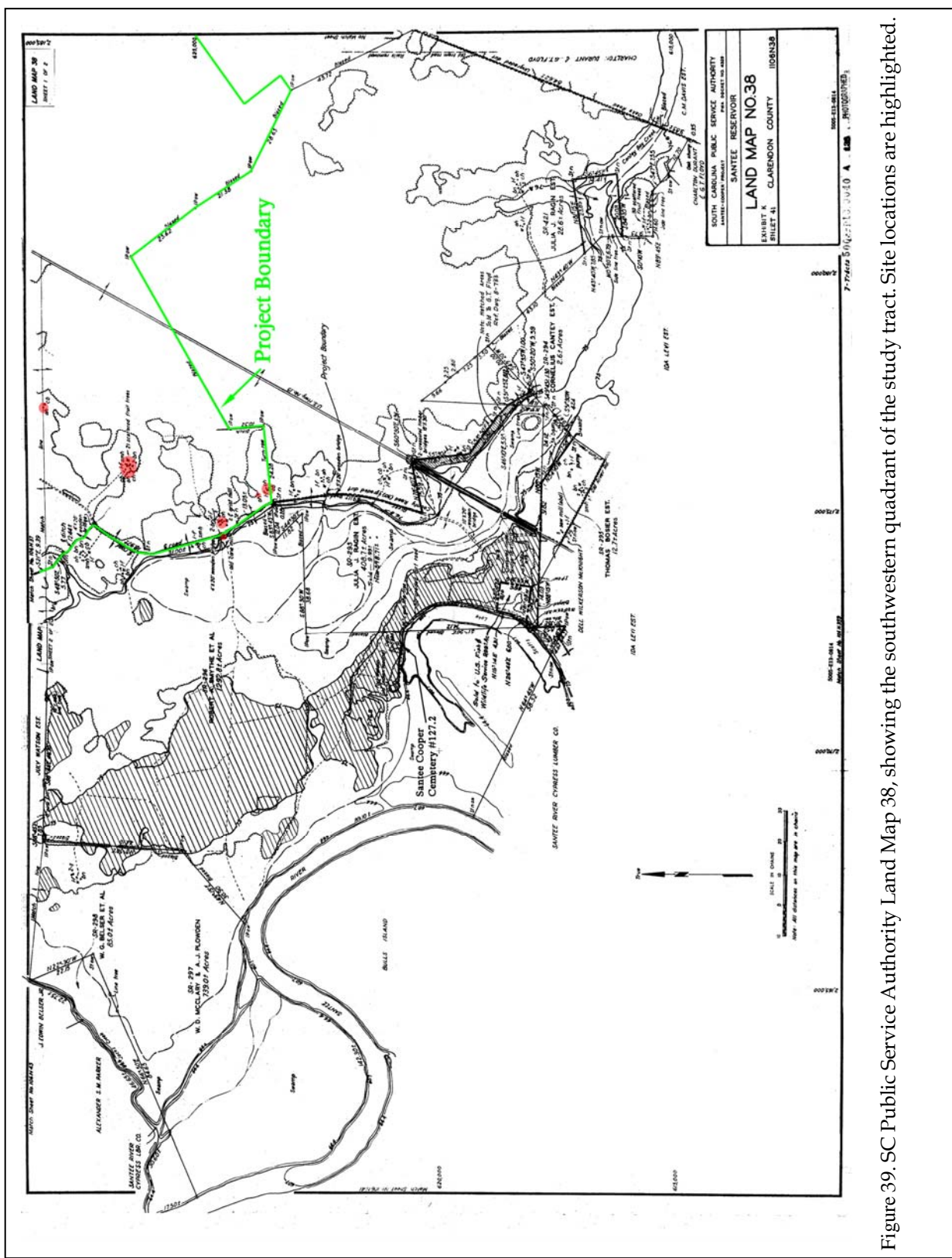


Figure 39. SC Public Service Authority Land Map 38, showing the southwestern quadrant of the study tract. Site locations are highlighted.



## RESULTS OF SURVEY

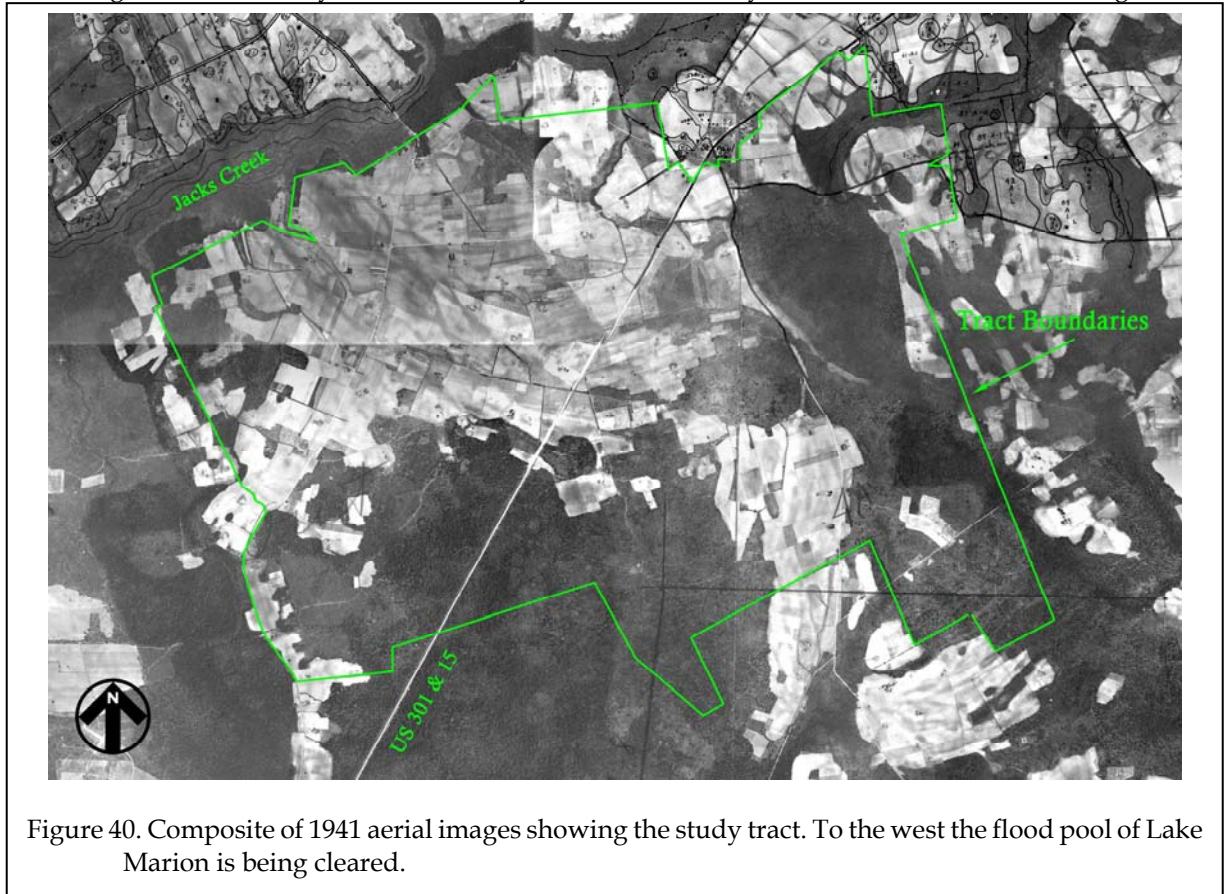
sites in the archaeological literature. Likewise, the study of grist mills is very limited and typically focuses on the largest sites.

Of considerable interest are the six cemeteries identified within the study tract. These include four African American graveyards, one white plantation graveyard, and one white cemetery. Given the good condition of prehistoric human remains in the immediate vicinity, it is likely that the remains in these cemeteries will also be in good condition.

As with other sites in the study tract, there are limiting factors. Certainly one is that many of

present, dug wells and privies remain as clearly identifiable archaeological features. Recent research by Chicora Foundation has demonstrated the extraordinary value of such features to the recreation of tenant lifeways – even when the architectural features and much of the archaeology, has been damaged or removed by land clearing (Trinkley et al. 2006).

Similarly, deep cultivation has taken place and this may affect archaeological integrity. Yet, research by Chicora at two Florence County tenant sites – 38FL235 and 38FL269 – reveal that significant data sets are recoverable using 100% recovery of surface artifacts using 25-foot



these tenant sites were intentionally removed from the landscape and this activity may have seriously damaged their archaeological integrity. However, removal – whether by demolition or moving the structures (both were done) – does not eliminate the archaeological footprint. Yard trash is still

collection units (Trinkley et al. 1993:58-69).

The Florence research also warned that redundancy was not a valid argument for dismissing tenant sites from investigation – our research found considerable “temporal, spatial,

and economic” variability, as well as “idiosyncratic differences which can be balanced only by having adequate samples to understand the expected variation” (Trinkley et al. 1993:68).

Although this detailed information is available only for the western half of the study tract, the entire tract can be examined using period aerial photographs. For example, Figure 40 shows the study tract in 1941 – still prior to the flooding the reservoir, although the photographs show the extensive logging that was taking place in the Santee Swamp.

When the 1941 images are compared to the 1937 land maps, relatively few differences in tenant settlements are noticed – indicating that lifeways changed slowly. In fact, even the 1963 aerials were examined and more than 95% of the structures shown on the land maps were still present. This may indicate considerable mixing of collections, but our work with privies and wells demonstrated that these remains can be sorted out in sealed contexts (Trinkley et al. 2006).

### **Recommendations**

This reconnaissance study clearly documents the variety of archaeological remains that may be expected on the study tract. We believe that an intensive survey of the parcel is appropriate and offer some more specific recommendations below.

The recommendations we offer break from traditional CRM shovel testing at set intervals. While this may seem radical, we believe there is good reason for this different approach. Most fundamentally, the data sets support these recommendations. We have excellent information on the location of historic sites. We also have an upland (albeit swampy) site that is unlikely to support a high density of prehistoric sites except in very specific areas. In addition, there is a precedence on the part of the State Historic Preservation Office supporting alternative survey methodologies – a very similar approach to what we propose has been approved for use on the

Longtown tract in Richland County.

The recommendations we offer maximize the potential to find significant sites worthy of research, while minimizing the costs associated with the project.

### **Prehistoric Sites**

Although prehistoric sites were not identified during the field investigation, many have been identified in the immediate area. Areas of high probability are well drained soils in proximity to poorly drained soils or watercourses. Special attention should be directed to these areas using shovel testing at 100 foot intervals. Elsewhere, given either poor drainage or distance from soil interfaces, we believe that a lower intensity may be appropriate, perhaps shovel testing at 200 foot intervals.

As previously explained, significance will largely depend on integrity – evidence that the identified sites contain intact deposits, such as subsurface features. Given intensive cultivation, these are most likely to be found at the woods line (where cultivation has not taken place) or at the edge of fields (where cultivation may have deposited additional plowzone soils, providing some protection to deposits).

### **Historic Sites**

The identification of historic sites is critically assisted by historic research; thus, completing the title search, especially for the early antebellum and colonial periods, is essential. With this information in hand it may be possible to identify areas of additional critical concern.

All areas of suspected colonial or antebellum sites should be surveyed using both surface collection and shovel testing at 100 foot intervals. It may also be appropriate to use closer interval testing, perhaps 50 feet. We believe that the identification of owner and slave settlements are of equal importance given the near absence of interior coastal plain research concerning these



people.

We believe that the available maps and aerial photography provides exceptional data on the location of postbellum settlements. It is unlikely that routine shovel testing will result in findings that make the efforts worthwhile. Thus, we recommend focusing efforts on identifying and assessing as many of the mapped historic settlements as possible. To achieve this, gridded surface collections after cultivation, coupled with very close interval (20-foot) shovel testing will be necessary.

Assessment of these sites will also rely on identification of integrity, although this may include the recovery of isolated features, such as wells or privies. Finding such sites may require alternative survey methods, such as the large scale use of geophysical discovery techniques. In addition, sites that have been heavily plowed may still provide significant data using careful recovery techniques, such as intensive grid collections.

There is also at least one type of historic site – the cane mills – for which there is no archaeological documentation. If these sites can be identified and are found to be in good condition, they are worthy of additional investigation.

### **Cemeteries**

We have identified at least six cemeteries on the study tract. Only two of these can easily have boundaries established. Several were already identified as “abandoned” over 60 years ago. Surface indications are ephemeral and it is unlikely that oral history will be useful given their age.

If precise boundaries are required, geophysical techniques seems to be the most useful technique. This would help ensure that development could proceed safely.

### **Architectural and Other Historic Resources**

Generally, an architectural survey, consisting of driving all the roads in the APE, would be conducted to determine if any buildings, structures, or objects were standing and potentially eligible for the National Register. An abbreviated survey was performed during this reconnaissance, which found very few standing structures within a 0.5 mile area and no structures that may be potentially eligible for the National Register. Within 1.0 mile of the property, the National Register Santee Indian Mound/Fort Watson site is located. Although located at a distance across Cantey Bay from the current survey tract, part of the integrity of the Mound is its surroundings, which are still mostly wooded and rural. If development is to take place on the property, this resource will need to be addressed in order to prevent the visual integrity (i.e. a neighborhood) is not damaged, seeing as the current project tract abuts Cantey Bay.

Of course, a more intensive survey is needed to verify these findings, however, the area is very rural with few standing structures, even post-dating 1950, in the area. No inhabitable structures are found on the project tract.



## CONCLUSIONS

The 4,000 acre survey tract is located in southern Clarendon County. This reconnaissance level survey was performed for Mr. Kevin O'Neill of Beach Lake Properties, LLC and is intended for the better understanding of probable cultural resource implications of development.

Much of the survey tract is covered in agricultural fields, many of which were planted during this reconnaissance. The southern portion of the tract was mostly fallow.

Historical research of the tract examined the property's potential for both prehistoric and historic sites. The model for prehistoric sites is not precise and often it is difficult to identify prehistoric occupations during a reconnaissance study. Nevertheless, in the vicinity of this particular study tract, multiple areas of prehistoric occupation spanning about 4,000 years and including Late Archaic through Proto-Historic settlements have been found.

A number of historic sites were also projected for the tract. While this brief level of survey failed to identify many of the projected structures, at least one potentially significant historic site was found, with many other potentially significant sites projected in the historic research, including a slave settlement, for this understudied portion of Clarendon County. As for the unidentified structures, our inability to find them during this reconnaissance does not mean they are destroyed, but that we may have been looking in the wrong area or examining the area under poor ground conditions.

During this week long reconnaissance,

nine sites (38CR132-140) were recorded. Site 38CR138 is a nineteenth century cemetery; site 38CR139 is the nineteenth century Ragin Cemetery; site 38CR140 is a nineteenth to twentieth century African-American cemetery; 38CR132 is a twentieth century tenant site; 38CR133 is a nineteenth century house site; 38CR134 is a small nineteenth century domestic site; 38CR135 is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CR136 is a twentieth century scatter; and 38CR137 is a nineteenth to twentieth century site.

The entire Cantey Bay Tract property has shown a high probability for producing archaeological materials. Minimally, we recommend that a more detailed historical overview be prepared and the tract be subjected to an intensive survey to identify archaeological sites. For prehistoric sites, we recommend survey of high potential areas using shovel testing at 100-foot intervals. Elsewhere, we believe shovel testing at 200 foot intervals or even pedestrian survey will be adequate. For historic sites, we recommend the use of existing mapping combined with targeted shovel testing at 50-100 foot intervals. Gridded surface collections may also be a useful assessment tool.

While there is evidence of agricultural damage, it is possible that some of these projected sites may possess sufficient integrity to be considered eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. This assessment will depend on what is found at these sites and the condition of those remains.



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