CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY OF MULLET HALL PLANTATION, JOHNS ISLAND, CHARLESTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 498

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July 28, 2008

This report is printed on permanent paper ∞

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ABSTRACT

This study reports on an intensive cultural resources survey of a nearly 1,427 acre tract, located on Johns Island in Charleston County, South Carolina. The work was conducted to assist Mr. Kevin O'Neill of Kiawah River Plantation, LP comply with Section 106 of the National Preservation Act and the regulations codified in 36CFR800.

The tract, which is located at the southern edge of Johns Island, bordering the Kiawah River, will be developed for single family occupancy. While still relatively rural, the surrounding area is being developed with neighborhoods and commercial structures.

The proposed undertaking will require the clearing of the tract, followed by construction of various infrastructure elements, such as roads, stormwater drainage, and utilities. Individual lot construction will involve grading, additional utility construction, and subsequent building of structures. These activities have the potential to affect archaeological and historical sites and this survey was conducted to identify and assess archaeological and historical sites that may be in the project tract. For this study, an area of potential effect (APE) 0.5 mile from the proposed tract was assumed.

An investigation of the archaeological site files at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology identified four previously recorded sites (38CH629, 38CH1730, 38CH1731, 38CH1732) in the APE. An additional 13 sites (38CH487, 38CH487A, and 38CH1539-1549) were identified on the Mullet Hall Property during a 1994 reconnaissance by Chicora Foundation.

The four sites outside the Mullet Hall property (38CH629 and 38CH1730-1732) were identified during a 1999 survey for an adjacent residential development. Site 38CH629 is a Mississippian and nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CH1730 is an unidentifiable prehistoric and eighteenth century site; 38CH1731 is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; and 38CH1732 is a Woodland and nineteenth to twentieth century site. All four of these sites were recommended not eligible for the National Register.

Of the sites previously identified on the Mullet Hall property, 38CH487 is described as a nineteenth century slave row; however, there is some confusion about the site described as 38CH487A. The site shown on the topographic maps at SCIAA was recorded in 1980 during a seventeenth century survey by Stanley South and Michael Hartley. While the site did not contain any seventeenth century materials, it was described a "house ruin," although no other description was given. The 1994 reconnaissance of the property revisited 38CH487A and reassigned the site number as 38CH1540, however the locations of 38CH487A and 38CH1540 are still shown in separate locations. It is believed that 38CH487A is shown incorrectly on the 1980 site form.

Other previously identified sites on the property include 38CH1539, an area of redeposited materials; 38CH1540, a plantation complex; 38CH1541, an eighteenth to nineteenth century main house; 38CH1542, two nineteenth century slave rows; 38CH1543, an eighteenth century main house; 38CH1544, a nineteenth century tenant site; 38CH1545, and late nineteenth century house; 38CH1546, a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CH1547, an eighteenth to nineteenth century slave row; 38CH1548, Bishop Cemetery, and 38CH1549, a cemetery. Although only examined at a reconnaissance level, five sites (38CH1540,

38CH1541, 38CH1542, 38CH1547, and 38CH1548) were thought to be eligible for the National Register. Four sites (38CH487, 38CH1543, 38CH1545, and 38CH1549) were potentially eligible and three sites (38CH1539, 38CH1544, and 38CH1546) were recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

The S.C. Department of Archives and History GIS was also consulted for any National Register of Historic Places sites were in the vicinity of the project area. There is one NRHP property, the Bass Pond Site, located south of the Mullet Hall Property. In addition, twelve historic structures (365-0380, 1391, 1392, and 1464-1468 and 1470-1473) were identified in the vicinity; they were recorded either during a survey of James and Johns islands (Fick et al. 1989) or Charleston County (Fick 1992). Site 365-0380 are the c. 1808 Shoolbred graves; 1391, 1392, 1472, and 1473 are unidentified structures that have all been recommended not eligible for the National Register. Site 1464 is the St. John AME Church Cemetery; 1465 is the Hope Plantation Cemetery; 1466 is the Freeman House; 1467 is the James and Hattie Freeman House (Brickley House); 1468 is the Mt. Hebron Presbyterian Church (St. Francis Center); 1470 is the Promised Land Reformed Episcopal Church; and 1471 is the Lee Glover House. All resources are not eligible for the National Register except 1468, which was recommended eligible.

In preparation of the field investigation, a detailed historical context for Johns Island was prepared using a variety of primary sources. Areas of special interest include the military history of the island, as well as the development of a plantation economy. Careful attention was paid to comparing the agricultural schedules for Johns Island with surrounding areas in order to explore events specific to the island setting. An area of the island's history that has received far too little attention is the development of truck farming. The tract specific history took ownership back to the late eighteenth century, identifying that today's Mullet Hall consisted of three primary properties during the antebellum -- from west to east, the plantation of James Legare, Solomon Legare, and Benjamin Roper (The Oaks). This historical research addressed the economic activities of each of these owners, as well as the convergence of the properties under the modern ownership of Limehouse. Detailed plats and maps were found to be invaluable in the identification and assessment of the archaeological resources on the property.

The archaeological survey of the tract incorporated shovel testing at 100-foot intervals on transects that were placed at 100-foot intervals along the roads running throughout the tract. All shovel test fill was screened through ¼-inch mesh and the remains were recorded. A total of 4,199 shovel tests were excavated along 375 transect lines.

Sites Identified on the Mullet Hall tract

Site No.	Site Type	Eligibility
38CH487	slave settlement	E
38CH487A	not identified	-
38CH1539	redeposited	NE
38CH1540	plantation settlement	E
38CH1541	plantation settlement	E
38CH1542	slave settlements	E
38CH1543	plantation settlement	PE
38CH1544	tenant	PE
38CH1545	late 19th c house	PE
38CH1546	historic scatter	NE
38CH1547	slave settlements	E
38CH1548	Bishop Cemetery	PE
38CH1549	cemetery	PE
38CH2240	pottery scatter	NE
38CH2241	historic scatter	NE
38CH2242	prehistoric & historic scatter	PE
38CH2243	prehistoric & historic scatter	NE
38CH2244	prehistoric & historic scatter	PE
38CH2245	historic scatter	NE
38CH2246	prehistoric scatter	NE
38CH2247	prehistoric scatter	NE
38CH2248	historic settlement	E
38CH2249	prehistoric scatter	NE
38CH2250	prehistoric & historic scatter	PE
38CH2251	20th c trash dump	NE
38CH2252	historic scatter	PE
38CH2253	prehistoric & historic scatter	NE
38CH2254	historic scatter	NE

As a result of these investigations, 26 sites were identified. These include eleven originally identified sites (38CH487, 38CH1539-1543, and 38CH1545-38CH1549) and fifteen newly identified sites (38CH2240-2254). The area of 38CH487A was revisited, but no remains were found. In addition,

site 38CH1544 was found to be located off the Mullet Hall property, so no further work was performed.

For the newly identified sites, 38CH2240 is a prehistoric pottery scatter; 38CH2241 is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CH2242 is a prehistoric and eighteenth century scatter; 38CH2243 is a prehistoric and eighteenth to nineteenth century scatter; 38CH2244 is a prehistoric and eighteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CH2245 is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CH2246 is a prehistoric pottery scatter; 38CH2247 is a Middle Woodland scatter; 38CH2248 is an early nineteenth century site; 38CH2249 is a prehistoric scatter; 38CH2250 is a prehistoric and eighteenth century scatter; 38CH2251 is a twentieth century trash dump; 38CH2252 is an eighteenth to twentieth century scatter; site 38CH2253 is a prehistoric and nineteenth century scatter; and 38CH2254 is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter.

The National Register assessment for the sites recommends five sites eligible (38CH487, 38CH1540, 38CH1541, 38CH1542, and 38CH2248), 12 not eligible (38CH1539, 38CH1546, 38CH1549, 38CH2240-2241, 38CH2243, 38CH2245-2247, 38CH2249, and 38CH2253-2254**)**, and nine potentially eligible (38CH1543, 38CH1545, 38CH1547-1549, 38CH2242, 2244 , 38CH2250, and 38CH2252).

Finally, it is possible that archaeological remains may be encountered in the project area during clearing activities. Crews should be advised to report any discoveries of concentrations of artifacts (such as bottles, ceramics, or projectile points) or brick rubble to the project engineer, who should in turn report the material to the State Historic Preservation Office or to Chicora Foundation (the process of dealing with late discoveries is discussed in 36CFR800.13(b)(3)). No construction should take place in the vicinity of these late discoveries until they have been examined by an archaeologist and, if necessary, have been processed according to 36CFR800.13(b)(3).

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INTRODUCTION

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Mr. Kevin O'Neill of Kiawah River Plantation, LP in Charleston, South Carolina. The work was conducted to assist the client with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and the regulations codified in 36CFR800.

The project site consists of a 1,427 acre tract proposed to be used for residential development on the southern tip of Johns Island, South Carolina (Figure 1). The tract, irregular in shape, is in an area of Charleston County already seeing significant growth. At least three large tracts have been surveyed for residential development in the vicinity within the last decade.

The tract consists of low, level topography with marsh and creeks encompassing the southern half. Currently used as a hunt club, much of the once cultivated fields have been allowed to grow up into a mixed pine and hardwood forest, although several fields are still being cultivated. Some fields have been turned into planted pines. Multiple ponds are also found on the property.

While still in the planning stages, the property will likely include several phases of residential housing, as well as several commercial areas and golf courses. This work will require the construction of utilities such as electrical lines, sewer, and water, as well as an expanded road system and possibly even connector routes. There will also be construction on the individual house lots. As with any development there is the possibility of increased short-term noise, traffic, and dust levels associated with construction activities. All have the potential to damage or otherwise affect cultural resources that may be present on the tract. This study, however, does not consider any future secondary impact of the project, including increased or expanded development of this section of Charleston County.

We were requested by Mr. Kevin O'Neill of Kiawah River Plantation, LP to provide a proposal for a cultural resource survey on January 9, 2008. A proposal was provided on January 30. An agreement was signed on March 18, 2008. The survey, which involved background investigations at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance, and the South Caroliniana Library, and subsequent fieldwork, was begun shortly thereafter.

An investigation of the archaeological site files at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology identified four (38CH629, 38CH1730, 38CH1731, 38CH1732) previously recorded sites in the 0.5 mile APE. An additional 13 sites (38CH487, 38CH487A, and 38CH1539-1549) were identified on the Mullet Hall Property during a 1994 reconnaissance (Adams and Trinkley 1994).

The four sites off the Mullet Hall property (38CH629 and 38CH1730-1732) were identified during a 1999 survey for an adjacent residential development (Bridgman et al. 1999). Site 38CH629 is a Mississippian and nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CH1730 is an unidentifiable prehistoric and eighteenth century site; 38CH1731 is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; and 38CH1732 is a Woodland and nineteenth to twentieth century site. All four of these sites were recommended not eligible for the National Register.

Of the sites found on the Mullet Hall

property, 38CH487 is described as a nineteenth century slave row; however, there is some confusion about the site described as 38CH487A. The site shown on the topographic maps at SCIAA was recorded in 1980 during a seventeenth century survey by Stanley South and Michael Hartley (South and Hartley 1980). While the site did not contain any seventeenth century materials, it was described a "house ruin," although no other description was given. The report that includes the site (South and Hartley 1980:59) describes it as early nineteenth century. The 1994 reconnaissance of the property revisited 38CH487A and reassigned the site number as 38CH1540, however the locations of 38CH487A and 38CH1540 are shown in separate locations. It is believed that 38CH487A is shown incorrectly on the 1980 site form and is in fact 38CH1540.

Other sites on the property include 38CH1539, an area of redeposited materials; 38CH1540, a plantation complex; 38CH1541, an eighteenth to nineteenth century main house; 38CH1542, two nineteenth century slave rows; 38CH1543, an eighteenth century main house; 38CH1544, a nineteenth century tenant site; 38CH1545, and late nineteenth century house;

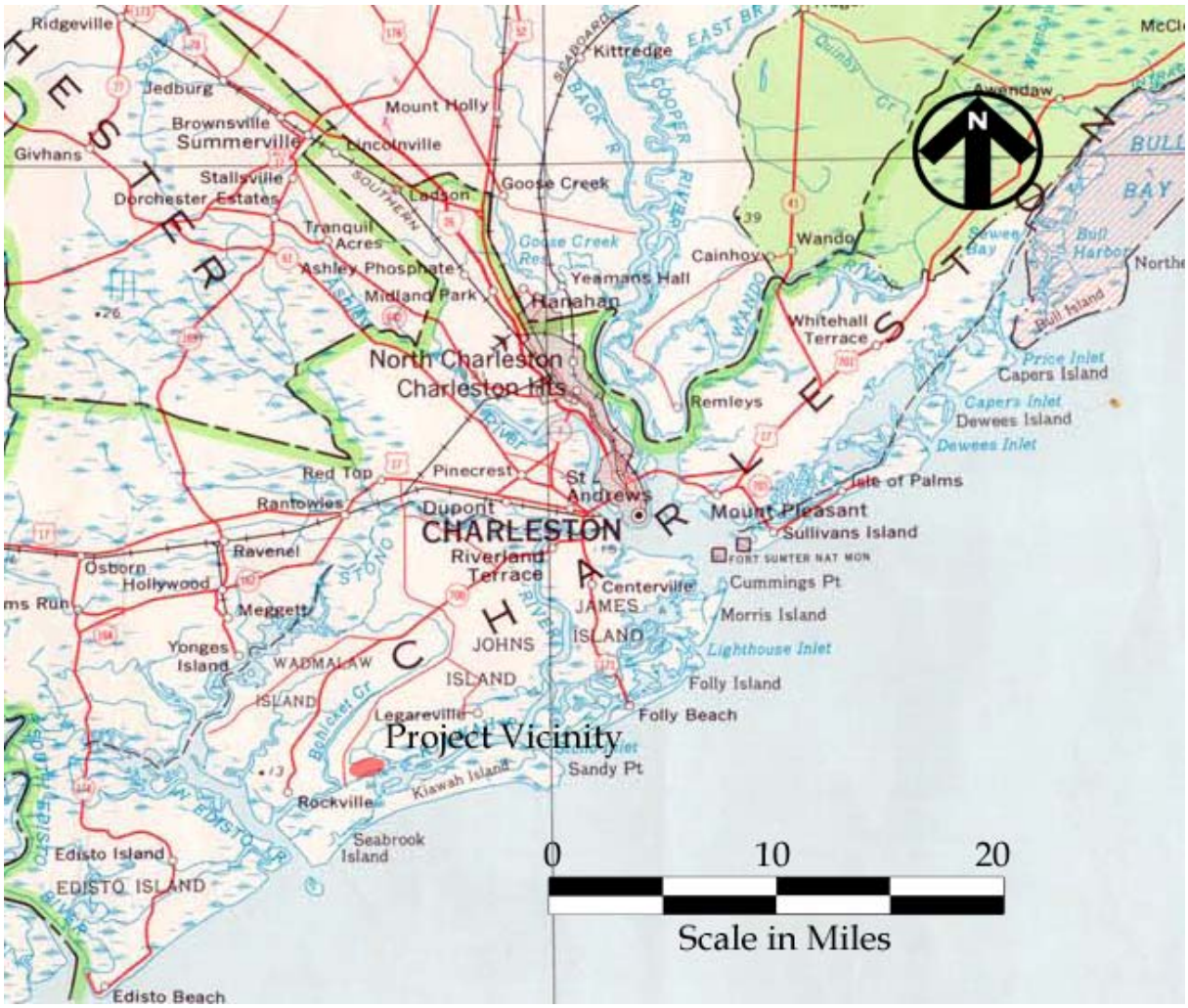


Figure 1. Project vicinity in Charleston County (basemap is USGS 1:500,000).

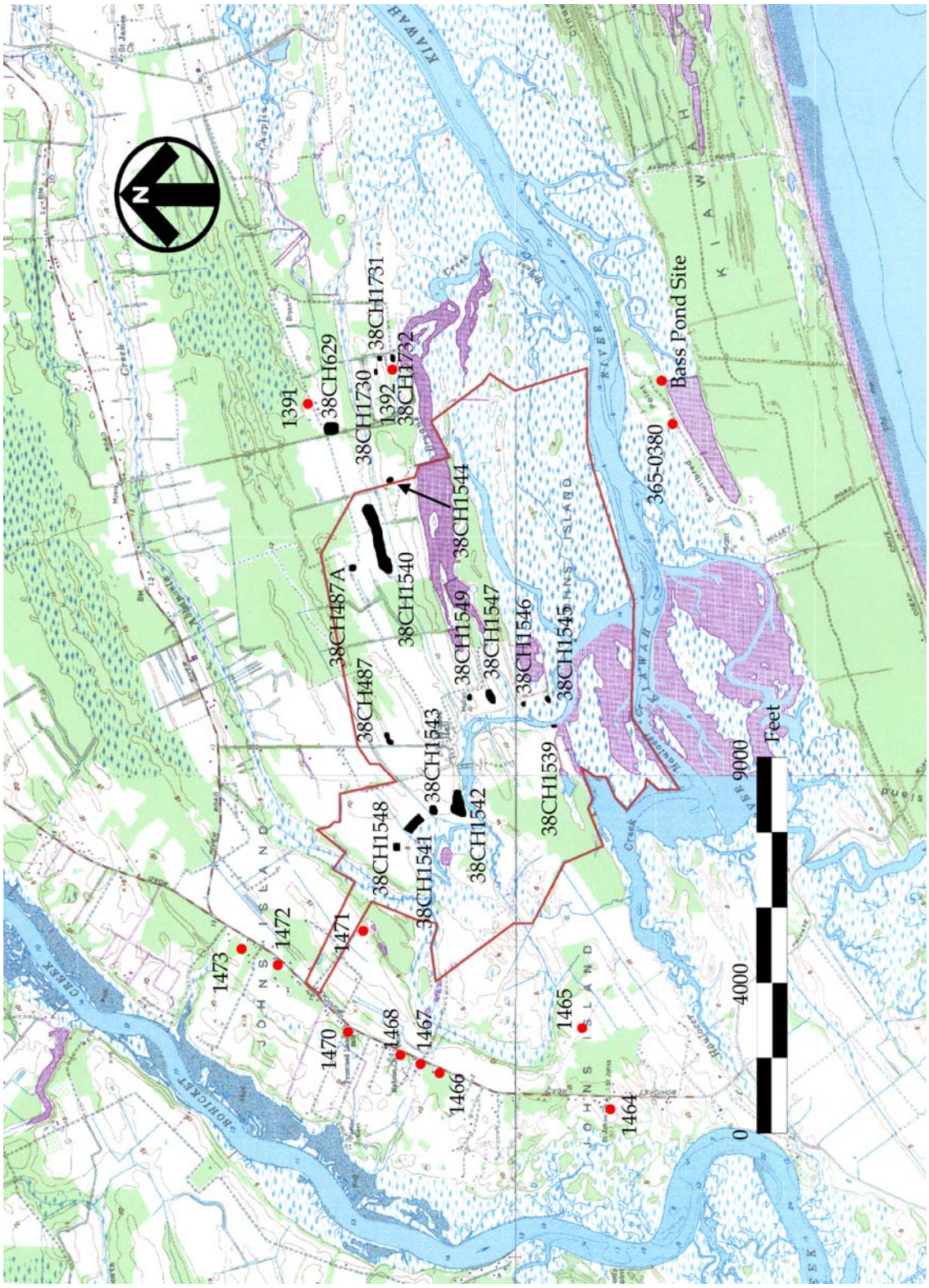


Figure 2. Project tract and previously identified sites (basemap is USGS Wadmalaw Island, Legareville, Rockville, and Kiawah Island 7.5').

38CH1546, a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter; 38CH1547, an eighteenth to nineteenth century slave row; 38CH1548, Bishop Cemetery, and 38CH1549, a cemetery.

Although only examined at a reconnaissance level, five sites (38CH1540, 38CH1541, 38CH1542, 38CH1547, and 38CH1548) were thought to be eligible for the National Register. Four sites (38CH487, 38CH1543, 38CH1545, and 38CH1549) were potentially eligible and three sites (38CH1539, 38CH1544, and 38CH1546) were recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

Table 1.
Sites identified at Mullet Hall and eligibility recommendations

Site Number	Description	Size (in feet)	Central UTM[1] Easting	Central UTM[1] Northing	Soil	Eligibility
38CH487	18th-19th c. scatter	900 x 600	582408	3610894	Seabrook	E
38CH1539	19th c. scatter	50 x 10	582480	3609560	Kiawah	NE
38CH1540	18th-19th c. plantation complex	2,400 x 950	583972	3610963	Seabrook	E
38CH1541	18th-20th c. domestic	700 x 900	581720	3610682	Seabrook	E
38CH1542	19th-20th c. settlement	1,200 x 500	581841	3610310	Seabrook	E
38CH1543	18th-19th c. scatter	300 x 300	581842	3610534	Seabrook	PE
38CH1545	prehistoric/20th c. scatter	350 X 200	582743	3609623	Kiawah	PE
38CH1546	prehistoric/18th-19th c. scatter	200 x 250	582671	3609837	Seabrook	NE
38CH1547	prehistoric/18th-19th c. scatter	650 x 450	582686	3610045	Kiawah	PE
38CH1548	19th-20th c. cemetery	200 x 200[2]	581509	3610818	Kiawah	PE
38CH1549	cemetery	250 x 250[2]	582734	3610249	Wando	PE
38CH2240	prehistoric scatter	150 x 200	584231	3610883	Seabrook	NE
38CH2241	19th-20th c. scatter	150 x 200	582369	3609721	Kiawah	NE
38CH2242	prehistoric/18th c. settlement	400 x 300	582376	3610096	Wando	PE
38CH2243	prehistoric/18th-19th c. scatter	1,850 x 400	583003	3609935	Seabrook	NE
38CH2244	prehistoric/18th-20th c. scatter	500 x 250	582663	3610209	Wando	PE
38CH2245	19th-20th c. scatter	150 x 150	583345	3610070	Seabrook	NE
38CH2246	prehistoric scatter	150 x 50	583482	3610108	Seabrook	NE
38CH2247	Middle Woodland scatter	50 x 50	583702	3610141	Seabrook	NE
38CH2248	Early 19th c. scatter	150 x 100	584432	3610336	Seabrook	E
38CH2249	prehistoric scatter	500 x 200	582899	3610344	Wando	NE
38CH2250	prehistoric/18th c. scatter	1,000 x 550	583944	3610691	Seabrook	PE
38CH2251	20th c. trash dump	200 x 200	582704	3610444	Wando	NE
38CH2252	18th-20th c. possible overseer	450 x 250	580877	3610417	Yonges	PE
38CH2253	prehistoric/19th c. scatter	550 x 350	582682	3610696	Seabrook	NE
38CH2254	19th-20th c. scatter	100 x 200	580916	3611205	Wando	NE

[1] Zone 17, NAD27 datum

[2] Includes buffer as discussed

The S.C. Department of Archives and History GIS was also consulted to see if any National Register of Historic Places sites were in the vicinity of the project area. There is one NRHP property, the Bass Pond Site, located south of the Mullet Hall Property. In addition, twelve historic structures (365-0380, 1391, 1392, and 1464-1468 and 1470-1473) were identified in the vicinity, which were recorded either from a survey of James and Johns islands (Fick et al. 1989) or Charleston County (Fick 1992). Site 365-0380 are the c. 1808 Shoolbred graves; 1391, 1392, 1472, and 1473 are unidentified structures that have all been recommended not eligible for the National Register. Site 1464 is the St. John AME Church Cemetery; 1465 is the Hope Plantation Cemetery; 1466 is the Freeman House; 1467 is the James and Hattie Freeman House (Brickley House); 1468 is the Mt. Hebron Presbyterian Church (St. Francis Center); 1470 is the Promised Land Reformed Episcopal Church; and 1471 is the Lee Glover House. All resources are not eligible for the National Register except 1468, which was recommended eligible.

The fieldwork took place from May 7 through June 13 by Ms. Nicole Southerland and Ms. Ashley Guba under the direction of Dr. Michael Trinkley. Ms. Sarah Fick prepared the historical overview of the study tract. The results of the archaeological and historical investigations are included in this report.

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Physiography

Charleston County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the east by the Atlantic Ocean and a series of marsh, barrier, and sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:133). Elevations in the County range from sea level to about 70 feet above mean sea level (AMSL).

The mainland topography consists of subtle ridge and bay undulations, characteristic of beach ridge plains.

Seven major drainages are found in Charleston County. Four of these, the Wando, Ashley, Stono, and North Edisto, are dominated by tidal flows and are saline. Nearby portions of the Stono were historically used for the cultivation of rice by plantations such as Fenwick Hall. The three drainages with significant freshwater flow are the Santee, forming the northern boundary of the County, the South Edisto, forming the southern boundary, and the Cooper, which bisects the County.

Johns Island is a sea island consisting of about 84 square miles. It is located south of the City of Charleston, bordered to the north and east by the Stono River and James Island, to the northwest by Church Flats and the mainland, to the west by Church and Bohicket creeks and, beyond them, Wadmalaw Island. To the south of Johns Island is the Kiawah River and the barrier islands of Seabrook and Kiawah. Johns Island has a crescent shape (Figure 4), with its western neighbor, Wadmalaw, about half its size (42 square miles). Extensive tidal marshes occupy the low-lying area immediately between Kiawah and Johns Island.

At a general level, elevations on Johns Island range from sea level at Kiawah River to about 30 feet above mean sea level (AMSL) in the center of the island. However, when topography is more carefully examined, the island consists of well preserved Pleistocene barrier island ridges separated by troughs. These troughs are characterized by broad, low gradient interior drains. The larger ones, such as Hut and Abbapolla, are named and consist of well defined creeks. Many others, however, are unnamed and appear only a swampy sloughs. The ridges follow a southwest-northeast orientation and the largest runs from Bohicket Creek northeast to the Johns Island airport. A second area of high ground is found along Maybank Highway, while a less well

Figure 3. View of typical forest on the property.

defined third area is situated in the Hickory Hill area of the island.

The tidal range on the Stono varies from about 5.3 feet at it is mouth (Snake Island) to 6.4 feet at Church flats. The Wadmalaw has a tidal range of 6.9 feet at the Church Creek bridge.

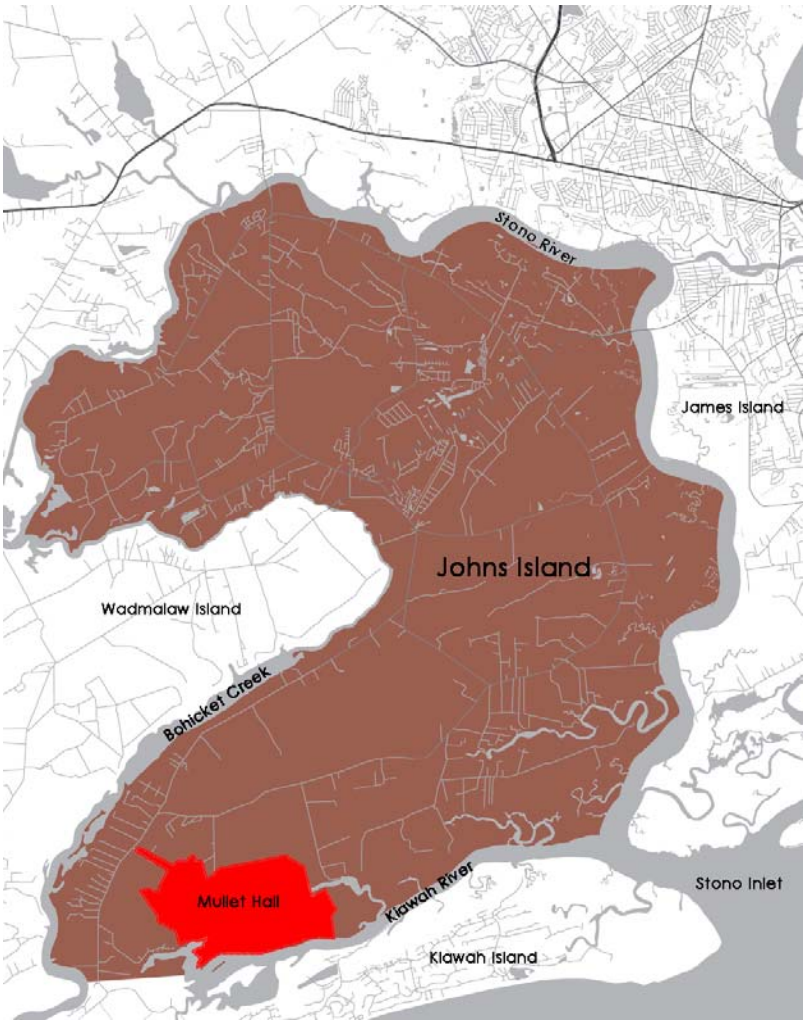


Figure 4. Map of Johns Island showing the project area.

Throughout this area the creeks vary from very high salinities to brackish water. For example, the salinity of the lower Stono is about 32‰, but drops to about 9‰ at its upper end.

Because of the low topography, many broad, low gradient interior drains are present as either extensions of the tidal rivers or as flooded bays and swales. Extensions include Bryans Creek, which flows into the Kiawah River.

Geology and Soils

Coastal Plain geological formations are unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of very recent age (Pleistocene and Holocene) lying unconformably on ancient crystalline rocks (Cooke 1936; Miller 1971:74). The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar, geomorphic units, or terraces, parallel to the coast. The sites are located in an area identified by Cooke (1936) as part of the Pamlico terrace, which includes the land between the recent shore and an abandoned shore line about 25 feet AMSL. Cooke (1936:7) notes that evidence of ancient beaches and swales can still be seen in the Pamlico formation and this likely contributed to the ridge and trough topography present in some areas.

Within the coastal zone, the soils are Holocene and Pleistocene in age and were formed from materials that were deposited during the various stages of coastal submergence. The formation of soils is affected by this parent material (primarily sands and clays), the temperate climate, the various soil organisms, topography, and time.

The mainland soils are Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizon development and diversity than the younger soils of the sea and barrier islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The island soils are less diverse

and less well developed, frequently lacking a well-defined B horizon. Organic matter is low and the soils tend to be acidic. The Holocene deposits typical of barrier islands and found as a fringe on some sea islands, consist almost entirely of quartz sand, which exhibits little organic matter. Tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. The soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet of saltwater during high tides. Historically, marsh soils have been used as compost or fertilizer for a variety of crops, including cotton (Hammond 1884:510) and Allston mentions that the sandy soil of the coastal region "bears well the admixture of salt and marsh mud with the compost" (Allston 1854:13).

Figure 5. View of field planted in corn.

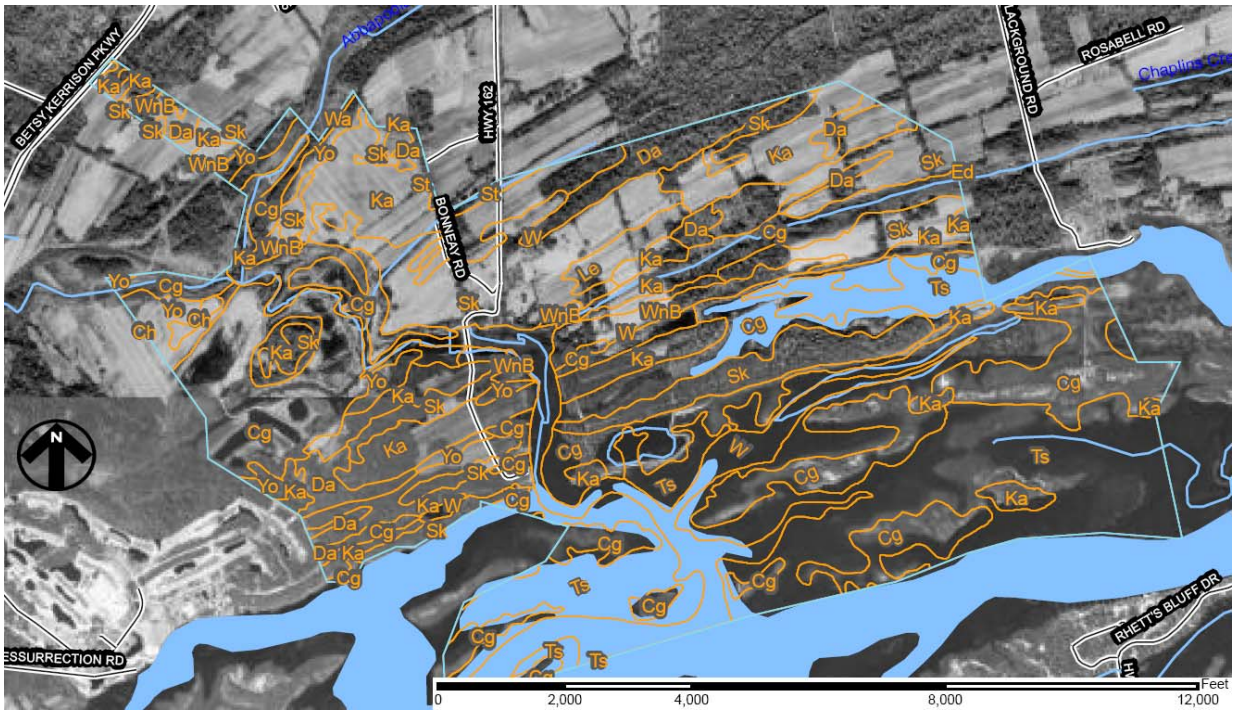
Eleven soil types are found in the survey area (Figure 6) including one excessively drained soil, Wando; two moderately well drained soils, Charleston and Seabrook; three somewhat poorly drained soils, Edisto, Kiawah, and Leon; three poorly drained soils, Dawhoo/Rutledge, Wadmalaw, and Yonges; and two very poorly drained soils, Capers and Stono.

Wando soils have an Ap horizon of dark brown (10YR4/3) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot in depth over a brown (7.5YR5/4) loamy fine sand that extends to 2.7 feet. These soils account for 2.2% of the entire Mullet Hall property.

Charleston soils have an Ap horizon of dark brown (10YR3/3) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot over a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.3 feet. Seabrook soils have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet. The moderately well drained soils cover approximately 16% of the entire property.

The somewhat poorly drained soils cover about 17.3% of the entire property. These include Edisto, which have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to 0.8 foot in depth over a pale brown (10YR6/3) loamy fine sand; Kiawah soils, which have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot over a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to 1.2 feet in depth; and Leon soils, which have an A horizon of very dark gray (10YR3/1) fine sand to 0.8 foot in depth over a gray (10YR6/1) coarse sand to 1.7 feet in depth.

The Dawhoo and Rutlege Series has an Ap horizon of black (10YR2/1) loamy fine sand to just under 1.0 foot over a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.5 feet. Wadmalaw soils have an A horizon of black (10YR2/1) fine sandy loam to 0.4 foot in depth over a very dark gray (10YR3/1) fine sandy loam silty clay to a depth of 1.5 feet. Stono soils have an Ap horizon of black (10YR2/1) fine sandy loam to 0.8 foot in depth over a black (10YR2/1) fine sandy loam to 1.4 feet in depth. These soils will exhibit water at grade or within the upper foot during most periods.



Key:
Cg – Capers silty clay loam
Ch – Charleston loamy fine sand
Da – Dawhoo & Rutlege loamy fine sand
Ed – Edisto loamy fine sand
Ka – Kiawah loamy fine sand
Le – Leon fine sand
Sk – Seabrook loamy fine sand
St – Stono fine sandy loam
Ts – Tidal marsh, soft
Wa – Wadmalaw fine sandy loam
WnB – Wando loamy fine sand, 0-6%
Yo – Yonges loamy fine sand

Figure 6. Soils in the study tract.

to 0.8 foot in depth. The Yonges Series has an Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to 0.8 foot over a light brownish gray (10YR6/2) loamy fine sand to 1.2 feet in depth. The poorly drained soils account for 6.6% of the Mullet Hall property.

The very poorly drained soils are the most common soils within the tract and account for 27.3% of the property. Capers soils have an A horizon of dark gray (5Y4/1) silty clay loam to 0.4 foot in depth over a dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2)

In addition, tidal marsh accounts for 22.4% of the property while water covers 8.4% of the property.

Climate

John Lawson described South Carolina in 1700 as having, "a sweet Air, moderate Climate, and fertile Soil" (Lefler 1967:86). Of course, Lawson tended to romanticize Carolina. In December 1740, Robert Pringle remarked that Charleston was having "hard frosts & Snow"

characterized as "a great Detriment to the Negroes" (Edgar 1972:282), while in May 1744 Pringle states, "the weather having already Come is very hot" (Edgar 1972:685).

The major climatic controls of the area are latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones. Charleston's latitude of 32°37'N places it on the edge of the balmy subtopical climate typical of Florida, further south.

Figure 7. View of a pond in the project area.

As a result, there are relatively short, mild winters and long, warm, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a marine climate, which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather. The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block the shallow cold air masses from the northwest, moderating them before they reach the sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:46).

The average high temperature in Charleston in July is 81°F, although temperatures are frequently in the 90s during much of the month (Kjerfve 1975:C-4). Mills noted:

> in the months of June, July, and August, 1752, the weather in Charleston was warmer than any of the inhabitants before had ever experienced. The mercury in the shade often rose above 90°, and for nearly twenty successive days varied between that and 101° (Mills 1972:444).

The area normally experiences a high relative humidity, adding greatly to the discomfort. Kjerfve (1975:C-5) found an annual mean value of 73.5% RH, with the highest levels occurring during the summer. Pringle remarked in 1742 that guns "suffer'd with the Rust by Lying so Long here, & which affects any Kind of Iron Ware, much more in this Climate than in Europe" (Edgar 1972:465).

The annual rainfall in this portion of Charleston is about 49 inches, fairly evenly spaced over the year. While adequate for most crops, there may be periods of both excessive rain and drought. The Charleston area has recorded up to 20 inches of rain in a single month and the rainfall over a three month period has exceeded 30 inches no less than nine times in the past 37 years. Likewise, periods of drought can occur and cause considerable damage to crops and livestock. Mills remarks that the "Summer of 1728 was uncommonly hot; the face of the earth was completely parched; the pools of standing water dried up, and the field reduced to the greatest distress" (Mills 1972:447-448). Another significant historical drought occurred in 1845, affecting both the coastal areas and the piedmont.

The annual growing season is 295 days, one of the longest in South Carolina. This mild climate, adequate rainfall, and long growing season, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as cotton and sugar cane.

Floristics

The survey area exhibits three major ecosystems: the maritime forest ecosystem, which consists of the upland forest areas, the palustrine ecosystem, which consists of essentially fresh water, non-tidal wetlands, and the riverine ecosystem, which is derived from salt water and is characterized by a tidal influence (Sandifer et al. 1980:7-9).

Figure 8. View of alligators on the property.

The maritime forest ecosystem has been found to consist of five principal forest types, including the Oak-Pine forests, the Mixed Oak Hardwood forests, the Palmetto forests, the Oak thickets, and other miscellaneous wooded areas (such as salt marsh thickets and wax myrtle thickets).

Of these, the Oak-Pine forests are most common, constituting large areas of Charleston's original forest community. In some areas palmetto becomes an important sub-dominant. Typically these forests are dominated by the laurel oak with pine (primarily loblolly with minor amounts of longleaf pine) as the major canopy co-dominant. Hickory is present, although uncommon. Other trees found are the sweet gum and magnolia, with sassafras, red bay, American holly, and wax myrtle and palmetto found in the understory.

Mills, in the early nineteenth century, remarked that:

> South Carolina is rich in native and exotic productions; the varieties of its soil, climate, and geological positions, afford plants of rare, valuable, and medicinal qualities; fruits of a luscious, refreshing, and nourishing nature; vines and shrubs of exquisite beauty, fragrance, and luxuriance, and forest trees of noble growth, in great variety (Mills 1972:66).

The loblolly pine was called the "pitch or Frankincense Pine" and was used to produce tar and turpentine; the longleaf pine was "much used in building and for all other domestic purposes"; trees such as the red bay and red cedar were often used in furniture making and cedar was a favorite for posts; and live oaks were recognized as yielding "the best of timber for ship building"; (Mills 1972:66-85). Mills also observed that:

> in former years cypress was much used in building, but the difficulty of obtaining it now, compared with the pine, occasions little of it to be cut for

> sale, except in the shape of shingles; the cypress is a most valuable wood for durability and lightness. Besides the two named we have cedar, poplar, beech, oak, and locust, which are or may be also used in building (Mills 1972:460).

The "Oak and hickory high lands" according to Mills were, "well suited for corn and provisions, also for indigo and cotton" (Mills 1972:443). The value of these lands in the mid-1820s was from $10 to $20 per acre, less expensive than the tidal swamp or inland swamp lands (where rice and, with drainage, cotton could be grown).

Today, virtually all of the project area's higher ground evidences some form of disturbance. Many of the trees on the tract are young pines and hardwoods that have recently grown into previously cultivated fields (Figure 3). There are still cultivated fields on the property, which were planted in corn (Figure 5), tomatoes, squash, zucchini, and cabbage. Some fields have been converted into planted pines. There are also several dug ponds on the property (Figure 7).

The palustrine ecosystem, which includes all wetland ecosystems, such as the swamps, bays, savannas, pocisins, and creeks where the salinities measure less than 0.5 ppt, is found throughout the project area. These palustrine ecosystems tend to be diverse, although not well studied (Sandifer et al. 1980:295). Many of these freshwater areas are likely associated with the various troughs scattered across the area. A number of forest types may be found in the palustrine areas which would attract a variety of terrestrial mammals. The typical vegetation might consist of red maple, swamp tupelo, sweet gum, red bay, cypress, and various hollies. Also expected in these areas would be wading birds and reptiles. It seems likely that these freshwater environs were of particular importance to the prehistoric occupants, but posed only a passing hindrance to the historic plantation owners.

Being managed as a hunt club, the property played host to numerous animals including deer, turkey, and alligators (Figure 8).

PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

Previous Research

Charleston County has received a significant amount of archaeological attention. Nearly two decades ago, Derting and his colleagues listed over 430 reports for the county (Derting et al. 1991:127-182). A very large number of these studies represent cultural resource surveys conducted by agencies such as the U.S. Forest Service and the S.C. Department of Transportation. Many others have been conducted by various consultants, such as Carolina Archaeological Services and Brockington and Associates. Others focus on the urban archaeology of downtown Charleston, conducted primarily by The Charleston Museum. Recently, Chicora Foundation completed a major data recovery project on a small Thom's Creek site in Mount Pleasant (Trinkley and Hacker 2007).

There seems to be little research specific to Johns Island. Jordan and Stringfellow (1998:10-13) deal with the 10,000 plus years of prehistory in three pages. Most cultural resource studies – such as this – review prehistory in very generic terms (as we do below).

Nevertheless, both nearby Kiawah and Seabrook have produced prehistoric sites worthy of brief mention. Investigations on Kiawah resulted in data recovery excavations at the Bass Pond Site (38CH124) (Trinkley 1993). Those investigations compared the site to another Thom's Creek occupation on Kiawah, 38CH125/126, revealing striking differences in the Thom's Creek ceramics. At CH124 Thom's Creek Finger Pinched dominated and the radiocarbon date was 2090 B.C. At CH125/126 Thom's Creek Reed Punctate was the dominant pottery (and no finger pinched wares were recovered). Pottery, however, was not the only difference. At CH124 structural features, relatively dense shell middens, and a diverse artifact assemblage including projectile points, flakes, bone awls, atlatl weights, fired clay objects, hones, shell tools, and antler tools were recovered. Well preserved floral and faunal materials were also recovered. In contrast, CH125/126 produced a very Spartan assemblage, lacking structural remains and the variety of tools found at Bass Pond (for a detailed examination of non-shell ring Thom's Creek sites, see Trinkley and Hacker 2007:7-24).

Also examined on Kiawah was a Deptford midden, 38CH1219 (Trinkley et al. 1995). At this site excavation revealed that the "midden" actually consisted of multiple small piles, each with low artifact density. Almost immediately adjacent to the midden piles, however, were areas with appreciably higher artifact density. Both Deptford and St. Catherines pottery was found in the middens. The lithics were limited, with most specimens appearing to represent unsuccessful experimentation with local mudstone or siltstone. Floral remains, exclusively from non-midden areas, included both hickory nutshell and palmetto seeds.

Investigations on nearby Seabrook Island explored a poorly documented site (38CH1257) that produced not only Deptford remains, but also Mississippian materials (Trinkley 1999). The latter were of special interest, being associated with at least one structure and a feature filled with peach pits – dating the settlement to the protohistoric.

To the east, on James Island, Chicora archaeologists examined one feature – a 12 foot diameter shellfish steaming pit (Trinkley and Hacker 1997). This work, while limited to one feature, is nevertheless notable since the level of analysis is exceptional and the work demonstrates the level of detail that can be obtained from even limited archaeological data.

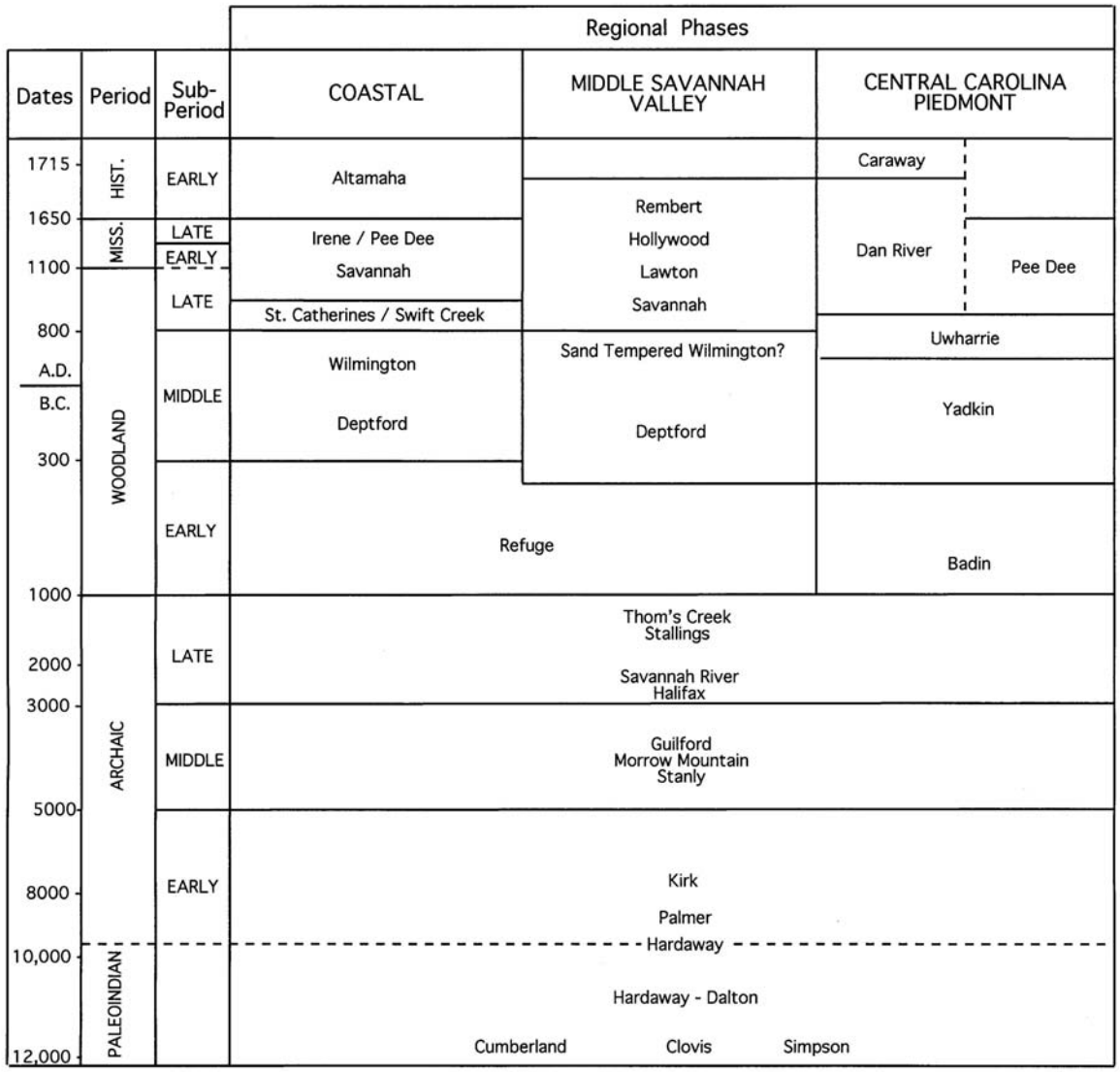


Figure 9. Generalized cultural sequence for South Carolina.

Taken together these studies help provide a good overview of the types of prehistoric sites likely to be identified on Johns Island.

Prehistoric Overview

Paleoindian Period

The Paleoindian Period, most commonly dated from about 12,000 to 10,000 B.P., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notch projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points; side scrapers; end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Michie 1977; Williams 1965). Oliver (1981, 1985) has proposed to extend the Paleoindian dating in the North Carolina Piedmont to perhaps as early as 14,000 B.P., incorporating the Hardaway Side-Notched and Palmer Corner-Notched types, usually accepted as Early Archaic, as representatives of the terminal phase. This view, verbally suggested by Coe for a number of years,

has considerable technological appeal.[1] Oliver suggests a continuity from the Hardaway Blade through the Hardaway-Dalton to the Hardaway Side-Notched, eventually to the Palmer Side-Notched (Oliver 1985:199-200). While convincingly argued, this approach is not universally accepted.

The Paleoindian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Artifacts are most frequently found along major river drainages, which Michie interprets to support the concept of an economy "oriented toward the exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna" (Michie 1977:124). Survey data for Paleoindian tools, most notably fluted points, is somewhat dated, but has been summarized by Charles and Michie (1992). They reveal a widespread distribution across the state (see also Anderson 1992b:Figure 5.1) with at least several concentrations relating to intensity of collector activity. What is clear is that points are found fairly far removed from the origin of the raw material. Charles and Michie suggest that this may "imply a geographically extensive settlement system" (Charles and Michie 1992:247).

Although data are sparse, one of the more attractive theories that explains the widespread distribution of Paleoindian sites is the model tracking the replacement of a high technology forager (or HTF) adaptation by a "progressively adaptation" accompanied by increasingly distinct more generalized band/microband foraging regional traditions (perhaps reflecting movement either along or perhaps even between river drainages) (Anderson 1992b:46).

Distinctive projectile points include lanceolates such as Clovis, Dalton, perhaps the Hardaway, and Big Sandy (Coe 1964; Phelps 1983; Oliver 1985). A temporal sequence of Paleoindian projectile points was proposed by Williams (1965:24-51), but according to Phelps (1983:18) there is little stratigraphic or chronometric evidence for it. While this is certainly true, a number of authors, such as Anderson (1992a) and Oliver (1985) have assembled impressive data sets. We are inclined to believe that while often not conclusively proven by stratigraphic excavations (and such proof may be an unreasonable expectation), there is a large body of circumstantial evidence. The weight of this evidence tends to provide considerable support.

Unfortunately, relatively little is known about Paleoindian subsistence strategies, settlement systems, or social organization (see, however, Anderson 1992b for an excellent overview and synthesis of what is known). Generally, archaeologists agree that the Paleoindian groups were at a band level of society, were nomadic, and were both hunters and foragers. While population density, based on 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).

Archaic Period

The Archaic Period, which dates from 10,000 to 3,000 B.P.[2], does not form a sharp break

[1] While never discussed by Coe at length, he did observe that many of the Hardaway points, especially from the lowest contexts, had facial fluting or thinning which, "in cases where the side-notches or basal portions were missing, . . . could be mistaken for fluted points of the Paleo-Indian period" (Coe 1964:64). While not an especially strong statement, it does reveal the formation of the concept. Further insight is offered by Ward's (1983:63) all too brief comments on the more recent investigations at the Hardaway site (see also Daniel 1992).

[2] The terminal point for the Archaic is no clearer than that for the Paleoindian and many researchers suggest a terminal date of 4,000 B.P. rather than 3,000 B.P. There is also the question of whether ceramics, such as the fiber-tempered Stallings ware, will be included as Archaic, or will be included with the Woodland. Oliver, for example, argues that the inclusion of ceramics with Late Archaic attributes "complicates and confuses classification and

with the Paleoindian Period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. Associated with this is a reliance on a broad spectrum of small mammals, although the white tailed deer was likely the most commonly exploited animal. Archaic period assemblages, exemplified by corner-notched and broad-stemmed projectile points, are fairly common, perhaps because the swamps and drainages offered especially attractive ecotones.

Many researchers have reported data suggestive of a noticeable population increase from the Paleoindian into the Early Archaic. This has tentatively been associated with a greater emphasis on foraging. Diagnostic Early Archaic artifacts include the Kirk Corner Notched point. As previously discussed, Palmer points may be included with either the Paleoindian or Archaic period, depending on theoretical perspective. As the climate became hotter and drier than the previous Paleoindian period, resulting in vegetational changes, it also affected settlement patterning as evidenced by a long-term Kirk phase midden deposit at the Hardaway site (Coe 1964:60). This is believed to have been the result of a change in subsistence strategies.

Settlements during the Early Archaic suggest the presence of a few very large, and apparently intensively occupied, sites which can best be considered base camps. Hardaway might be one such site. In addition, there were numerous small sites which produce only a few artifacts — these are the "network of tracks" mentioned by Ward (1983:65). The base camps produce a wide range of artifact types and raw materials which has suggested to many researchers long-term, perhaps seasonal or multi-seasonal, occupation. In contrast, the smaller sites are thought of as special purpose or foraging sites (see Ward 1983:67).

Middle Archaic (8,000 to 6,000 B.P.) diagnostic artifacts include Morrow Mountain, Guilford, Stanly and Halifax projectile points. Much of our best information on the Middle Archaic comes from sites investigated west of the Appalachian Mountains, such as the work by Jeff Chapman and his students in the Little Tennessee River Valley (for a general overview see Chapman 1977, 1985a, 1985b). There is good evidence that Middle Archaic lithic technologies changed dramatically. End scrapers, at times associated with Paleoindian traditions, are discontinued, raw materials tend to reflect the greater use of locally available materials, and mortars are initially introduced. Associated with these technological changes there seem to also be some significant cultural modifications. Prepared burials begin to more commonly occur and storage pits are identified. The work at Middle Archaic river valley sites, with their evidence of a diverse floral and faunal subsistence base, seems to stand in stark contrast to Caldwell's Middle Archaic "Old Quartz Industry" of Georgia and the Carolinas, where axes, choppers, and ground and polished stone tools are very rare.

Among the most common of all Middle Woodland artifacts is the Morrow Mountain Stemmed projectile point. This type was originally divided into two varieties by Coe (1964:37,43), based primarily on the size of the blade and the stem. Morrow Mountain I points had relatively small triangular blades with short, pointed stems. Morrow Mountain II points had longer, narrower blades with long, tapered stems. Coe suggested a temporal sequence from Morrow Mountain I to Morrow Mountain II. While this has been rejected by some archaeologists, who suggest that the differences are entirely related to the life-stage of the point, the debate is far from settled and Coe

interpretation needlessly" (Oliver 1981:20). He comments that according to the original definition of the Archaic, it "represents a preceramic horizon" and that "the presence of ceramics provides a convenient marker for separation of the Archaic and Woodland periods (Oliver 1981:21). Others would counter that such an approach ignores cultural continuity and forces an artificial, and perhaps unrealistic, separation. Sassaman and Anderson (1994:38-44), for example, include Stallings and Thom's Creek wares in their discussion of "Late Archaic Pottery."

has considerable support for his scenario.

The Morrow Mountain point is also important in our discussions since it represents a departure from the Carolina Stemmed Tradition. Coe has suggested that the groups responsible for the Middle Archaic Morrow Mountain (and the later Guilford points) were intrusive ("without any background" in Coe's words) into the North Carolina Piedmont, from the west, and were contemporaneous with the groups producing Stanly points (Coe 1964:122-123; see also Phelps 1983:23). Phelps, building on Coe, refers to the Morrow Mountain and Guilford as the "Western Intrusive horizon." Sassaman (1995) has proposed a scenario for the Morrow Mountain groups which would support this west-to-east time-transgressive process. Abbott and his colleagues, perhaps unaware of Sassaman's data, dismiss the concept, commenting that the shear distribution and number of these points "makes this position wholly untenable" (Abbott et al. 1995:9).

The controversy surrounding Morrow Mountain also includes its posited date range. Coe (1964:123) did not expect the Morrow Mountain to predate 6500 B.P., yet more recent research in Tennessee reveals a date range of about 7500 to 6500 B.P. Sassaman and Anderson (1994:24) observe that the South Carolina dates have never matched the antiquity of their more western counterparts and suggest continuation to perhaps as late as 5500 B.P. In fact they suggest that even later dates are possible since it can often be difficult to separate Morrow Mountain and Guilford points.

The MALA point was defined over 20 years ago. The term is an acronym standing for Middle Archaic and Late Archaic, the strata in which these points were first encountered at the Pen Point site (38BR383) in Barnwell County, South Carolina (Sassaman 1985). These stemmed and notched lanceolate points were originally found in a context suggesting a single-episode event with variation not based on temporal variation. The original discussion was explicitly worded to avoid application of a typology, although as Sassaman and Anderson (1994:27) note, the "type" has spread into more common usage. There are possible connections with both the Halifax points of North Carolina and the Benton points of the middle Tennessee River valley, while the "heartland" for the MALA appears confined to the lower middle Coastal Plain of South Carolina.

The available information has resulted in a variety of competing settlement models. Some argue for increased sedentism and a reduction of mobility (see Goodyear et al. 1979:111). Ward argues that the most appropriate model is one which includes relatively stable and sedentary hunters and gatherers "primarily adapted to the varied and rich resource base offered by the major alluvial valleys" (Ward 1983:69). While he recognizes the presence of "inter-riverine" sites, he discounts explanations which focus on seasonal rounds, suggesting "alternative explanations . . . [including] a wide range of adaptive responses." Most importantly, he notes that:

> the seasonal transhumance model and the sedentary model are opposite ends of a continuum, and in all likelihood variations on these two themes probably existed in different regions at different times throughout the Archaic period (Ward 1983:69).

Others suggest increased mobility during the Archaic (see Cable 1982). Sassaman (1983) has suggested that the Morrow Mountain phase people had a great deal of residential mobility, based on the variety of environmental zones they are found in and the lack of site diversity. The high level of mobility, coupled with the rapid replacement of these points, may help explain the seemingly large numbers of sites with Middle Archaic assemblages. Curiously, the later Guilford phase sites are not as widely distributed, perhaps suggesting that only certain micro-environments were used (cf. Ward [1983:68-69] who would likely reject the notion that

substantially different environmental zones are, in fact, represented).

Abbott et al. have argued for a combination of these models, noting that the almost certain increase in population levels probably resulted in a contraction of local territories. With small territories there would have been significantly greater pressure to successfully exploit the limited resources by more frequent movement of camps. They discount the idea that these territories could have been exploited from a single base camp without horticultural technology. Abbott and his colleagues conclude, "increased residential mobility under such conditions may in fact represent a common stage in the development of sedentism" (Abbott et al. 1995:9).

From excavations at a Sandhills site in Chesterfield County, South Carolina, Gunn and his colleague (Gunn and Wilson 1993) offer an alternative model for Middle Archaic settlement. He accepts that the uplands were desiccated from global warming, but rather than limiting occupation, this environmental change made the area more attractive for residential base camps. Gunn and Wilson suggest that the open, or fringe, habitat of the upland margins would have been attractive to a wide variety of plant and animal species.

The Late Archaic, usually dated from 6,000 to 3,000 or 4,000 B.P., is characterized by the appearance of large, square stemmed Savannah River projectile points (Coe 1964). These people continued to intensively exploit the uplands much like earlier Archaic groups with, the bulk of our data for this period coming from the Uwharrie region in North Carolina.

One of the more debated issues of the Late Archaic is the typology of the Savannah River Stemmed and its various diminutive forms. Oliver, refining Coe's (1964) original Savannah River Stemmed type and a small variant from Gaston (South 1959:153-157), developed a complete sequence of stemmed points that decrease uniformly in size through time (Oliver 1981, 1985). Specifically, he sees the progression from Savannah River Stemmed to Small Savannah River Stemmed to Gypsy Stemmed to Swannanoa from about 5000 B.P. to about 1,500 B.P. He also notes that the latter two forms are associated with Woodland pottery.

This reconstruction is still debated with a number of archaeologists expressing concern with what they see as typological overlap and ambiguity. They point to a dearth of radiocarbon dates and good excavation contexts at the same time they express concern with the application of this typology outside the North Carolina Piedmont (see, for a synopsis, Sassaman and Anderson 1990:158-162, 1994:35).

In addition to the presence of Savannah River points, the Late Archaic also witnessed the introduction of steatite vessels (see Coe 1964:112-113; Sassaman 1993), polished and pecked stone artifacts, and grinding stones. Some also include the introduction of fiber-tempered pottery about 4000 B.P. in the Late Archaic (for a discussion see Sassaman and Anderson 1994:38-44). This innovation is of special importance along the Georgia and South Carolina coasts, but seems to have had only minimal impact in the uplands of South or North Carolina.

There is evidence that during the Late Archaic the climate began to approximate modern climatic conditions. Rainfall increased resulting in a more lush vegetation pattern. The pollen record indicates an increase in pine which reduced the oak-hickory nut masts which previously were so widespread. This change probably affected settlement patterning since nut masts were now more isolated and concentrated. From research in the Savannah River valley near Aiken, South Carolina, Sassaman has found considerable diversity in Late Archaic site types with sites occurring in virtually every upland environmental zone. He suggests that this more complex settlement pattern evolved from an increasingly complex socio-economic system. While it is unlikely that this model can be simply transferred

to the Sandhills of South Carolina without an extensive review of site data and micro-environmental data, it does demonstrate one approach to understanding the transition from Archaic to Woodland.

Woodland Period

As previously discussed, there are those who see the Woodland beginning with the introduction of pottery. Under this scenario the Early Woodland may begin as early as 4,500 B.P. and continued to about 2,300 B.P. Diagnostics would include the small variety of the Late Archaic Savannah River Stemmed point (Oliver 1985) and pottery of the Stallings and Thoms Creek series. These sand tempered Thoms Creek wares are decorated using punctations, jab-and-drag, and incised designs (Trinkley 1976). Also potentially included are Refuge wares, also characterized by sandy paste, but often having only a plain or dentate-stamped surface (Waring 1968). Others would have the Woodland beginning about 3,000 B.P. and perhaps as late as 2,500 B.P. with the introduction of pottery which is cord-marked or fabric-impressed and suggestive of influences from northern cultures.

There remains considerable ambiguity regarding the pottery series found in the South Carolina Sandhills and their association with coastal plain and piedmont types. The earliest pottery found at many sites may be called either Deptford or Yadkin, depending on the research or their inclination at any given moment.

The Deptford phase, which dates from 3050 to 1350 B.P., is best characterized by fine to coarse sandy paste pottery with a check stamped surface treatment. The Deptford settlement pattern involves both coastal and inland sites.

Inland sites such as 38AK228-W, 38LX5, 38RD60, and 38BM40 indicate the presence of an extensive Deptford occupation on the Fall Line and the Inner Coastal Plain/Sand Hills, although sandy, acidic soils preclude statements on the subsistence base (Anderson 1979; Ryan 1972; Trinkley 1980). These interior or upland Deptford sites, however, are strongly associated with the swamp terrace edge, and this environment is productive not only in nut masts, but also in large mammals such as deer. Perhaps the best data concerning Deptford "base camps" comes from the Lewis-West site (38AK228-W), where evidence of abundant food remains, storage pit features, elaborate material culture, mortuary behavior, and craft specialization has been reported (Sassaman et al. 1990:96-98; see also Sassaman 1993 for similar data recovered from 38AK157).

Further to the north and west, in the Piedmont, the Early Woodland is marked by a pottery type defined by Coe (1964:27-29) as Badin.[3] This pottery is identified as having very fine sand in the paste with an occasional pebble. Coe identified cord-marked, fabric-marked, net-impressed, and plain surface finishes. Beyond this pottery little is known about the makers of the Badin wares and relatively few of these sherds are reported from South Carolina sites.

Somewhat more information is available for the Middle Woodland, typically given the range of about 2,300 B.P. to 1,200 B.P. In the Piedmont and even into the Sand Hills, the dominant Middle Woodland ceramic type is typically identified as the Yadkin series. Characterized by a crushed quartz temper the pottery includes surface treatments of cord-marked, fabric-marked, and a very few linear check-stamped sherds (Coe 1964:30-32). It is regrettable that several of the seemingly "best" Yadkin sites, such as the Trestle site (31An19) explored by Peter Cooper (Ward 1983:72-73), have never been published. The Yadkin series in South Carolina was first observed by Ward (1978, 1983) from the White's Creek drainage in Marlboro County, South Carolina. Since then, a large

[3] The ceramics suggest clear regional differences during the Woodland which seem to only be magnified during the later phases. Ward (1983:71), for example, notes that there "marked distinctions" between the pottery from the Buggs Island and Gaston Reservoirs and that from the south-central Piedmont.

Yadkin village has been identified by DePratter at the Dunlap site (38DA66) in Darlington County, South Carolina (Chester DePratter, personal communication 1985) and Blanton et al. (1986) and have excavated a small Yadkin site (389SU83) in Sumter County, South Carolina. Research at 38FL249 on the Roche Carolina tract in northern Florence County revealed an assemblage including Badin, Yadkin, and Wilmington wares (Trinkley et al. 1993:85-102). Anderson et al. (1982:299-302) offer additional typological assessments of the Yadkin wares in South Carolina.

Yadkin ceramics are associated with medium-sized triangular points, although Oliver (1981) suggests that a continuation of the Piedmont Stemmed Tradition to at least 1650 B.P. coexisted with this Triangular Tradition. The Yadkin in South Carolina has been best explored by research at 38SU83 in Sumter County (Blanton et al. 1986) and at 38FL249 in Florence County (Trinkley et al. 1993).

Over the years the suggestion that Cape Fear might be replace by such types as Deep Creek and Mount Pleasant has raised considerable controversy. Taylor, for example, rejects the use of the North Carolina types in favor of those developed by Anderson et al. (1982) from their work at Mattassee Lake in Berkeley County (Taylor 1984:80). Cable (1991) is even less generous in his denouncement of ceramic constructs developed nearly a decade ago, also favoring adoption of the Mattassee Lake typology and chronology. This construct, recognizing five phases (Deptford I-III, McClellanville, and Santee I), uses a type variety system.

Regardless of terminology, these Middle Woodland Coastal Plain and Coastal Zone phases continue the Early Woodland Deptford pattern of mobility. While sites are found all along the coast and inland to the Fall Line, shell midden sites evidence sparse shell and artifacts. Gone are the abundant shell tools, worked bone items, and clay balls. Recent investigations at Coastal Zone sites such as 38BU747 and 38BU1214, however, have provided some evidence of worked bone and shell items at Deptford phase middens (see Trinkley 1990).

In some respects the Late Woodland (1,200 B.P. to 400 B.P.) may be characterized as a continuation of previous Middle Woodland cultural assemblages. While outside the Carolinas there were major cultural changes, such as the continued development and elaboration of agriculture, the Carolina groups settled into a lifeway not appreciably different from that observed for the previous 500-700 years. From the vantage point of the Middle Savannah Valley Sassaman and his colleagues note that, "the Late Woodland is difficult to delineate typologically from its antecedent or from the subsequent Mississippian period" (Sassaman et al. 1990:14). This situation would remain unchanged until the development of the South Appalachian Mississippian complex (see Ferguson 1971).

South Appalachian Mississippian

As Schnell and Wright (1993:2) observe, "Mississippian" means different things to different people — even to its earliest researchers. To Willey (1966) it meant a particular group of traits. To Griffin (1985) it meant a complex social and technological interaction sphere. To Smith (1986) it was defined as an adaptive strategy. The meaning is further distorted, or at least affected, when the issue is viewed from a strict temporal or chronological orientation, such as this presentation (since to us, the period covers the time span from about A.D. 900 to A.D. 1500).

The Mississippian may be viewed rather basically by focusing on a simple coastal chronology based almost entirely on the results of excavations at Irene (Caldwell and McCann 1941) and the resulting synthesis by DePratter (1979:Table 30; 1991:183-193). In this scenario the Savannah Phase, consisting of three subphases, is followed by the Irene, broken into two subphases.

The Savannah I Phase, characterized by cord marking, is seen as developing from earlier

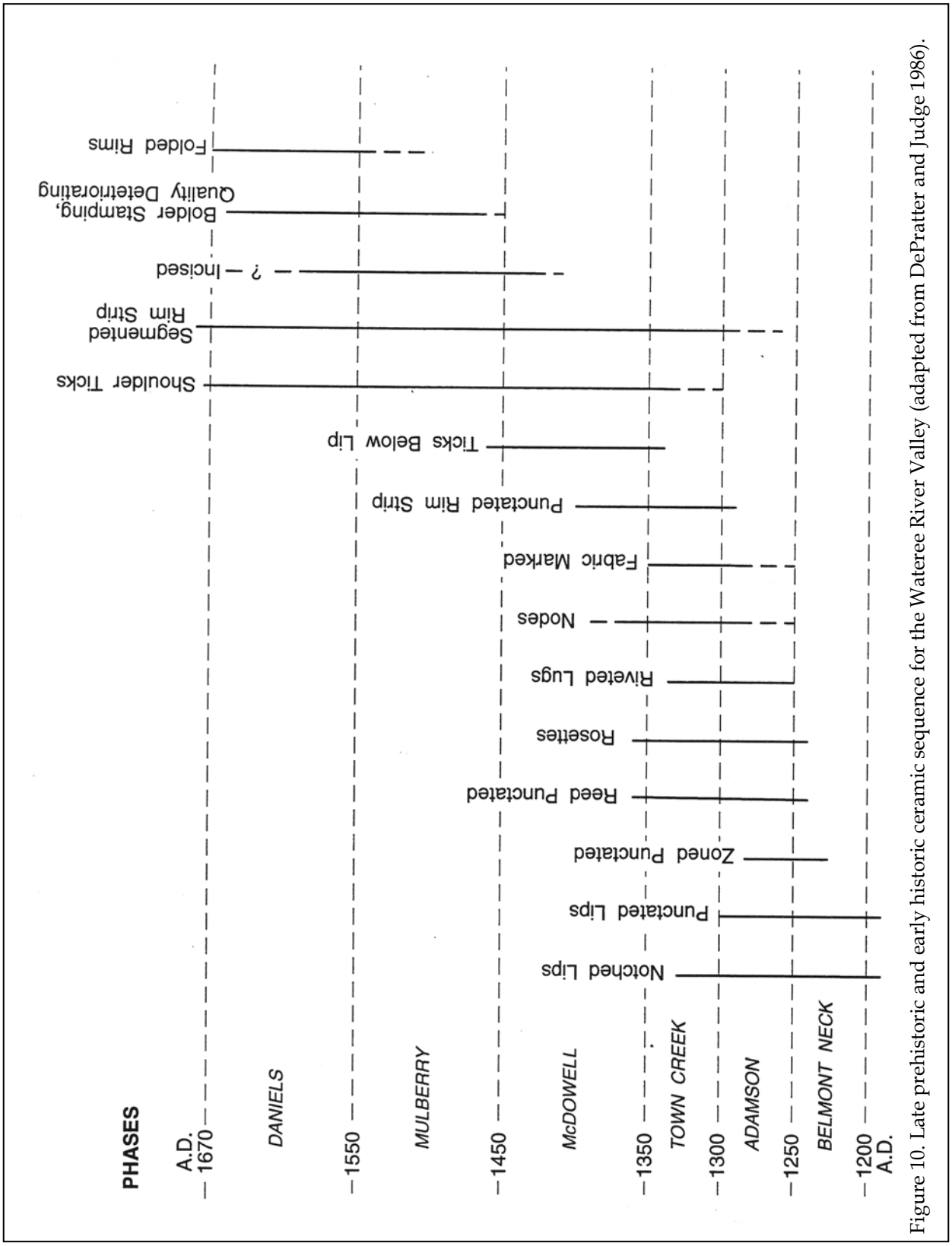


Figure 10. Late prehistoric and early historic ceramic sequence for the Wateree River Valley (adapted from DePratter and Judge 1986).

cultures. Present are flat-topped temple mounds, although these seem to decline dramatically from the mouth of the Savannah River northward. While the settlement system is very similar to that of the Late Woodland, there are also nucleated settlements found near estuaries and along freshwater rivers further inland. Although agriculture is seen by many as almost essential, there is no good evidence for corn or other domesticated crops.

Savannah II is distinguished by the introduction of check stamping and Savannah III is defined by the presence of complicated stamping. The Savannah III Complicated Stamped pottery is primarily curvilinear, often of concentric circles or oval motifs. Sassaman et al. (1990:207) suggest that the current temporal ranges are likely too restrictive for these subphases and suggest instead broader period of perhaps A.D. 1100 to 1200 for Savannah II and perhaps A.D. 1200 to 1300 for Savannah III.

The Savannah phase gives way to what is often called the Irene Phase, probably beginning about A.D. 1300. The Irene I Phase is identified by the appearance of Irene Complicated Stamped pottery using the filfot cross and line block motifs. Not only are these motifs different from the earlier Savannah Complicated Stamped designs, but the Irene ware is characterized by grit inclusions and a coarse texture, compared to the Savannah's sandy inclusions and fine to medium-grained paste.

Also present in Irene collections are a range of rim decorations, including nodes, rosettes, and fillet appliques. Although incising is found in very low quantities during this early period, the succeeding Irene II phase is characterized by bold incising. The mouth of the Savannah River, however, was likely abandoned by the end of the Irene I Phase since little incising is found in this area.

From the more northern region, the Pee Dee culture was defined through the excavations of Joffre Coe at Town Creek which is located about 150 miles due north of Charleston (Coe 1995; Reid 1967). The site, generally accepted to represent a northern intrusion of a Mississippian chiefdom, was originally dated from about A.D. 1550 to 1750, although more recent analyses suggests a date more likely between A.D. 900 and 1400 (Coe 1995:159).

In the Charleston area the only reasonably documented Mississippian excavations are those undertaken by Stanley South at the moundless ceremonial center at Charles Town Landing (South 1971). Anderson (1994:115) notes with regret that there has been "no broad-scale comparative analyses of Mississippian ceramics" for the South Carolina area, although there has been some effort to untangle the typology of the Middle Wateree valley. In particular DePratter and Judge (1986, 1990:56-58) have proposed a fairly detailed six phase division encompassing the period from A.D. 1200 through 1670. Although it is unclear how well their chronology and associated ceramic changes can be transposed from the Middle Wateree to the coast, it seems to be an excellent starting point (Figure 10 provides a generalized scheme).

The Belmont Neck Phase pottery (A.D. 1200-1250) is characterized by complicated stamped motifs with plain or notched rims. In the Wateree Valley these motifs are primarily concentric circles, with other various curvilinear designs and perhaps a cross bar diamond motif. Burnishing, while present, is a minority. Tempering ranges from fine to coarse sand.

The Adamson Phase pottery (A.D. 1250-1300) becomes dominated by the filfot motif, along with a minor amount of line block stamping. Burnished pottery is about twice as common as in the earlier Belmont Neck Phase. Lip notching and reed punctates below the lip are more common. There doesn't seem to be any significant change in tempering, although there may be a trend for the fine sands to drop out.

During the Town Creek Phase (A.D. 1300-1350) the pottery motifs are similar to those found earlier, with the addition of punctated and

segmented rim strips. Fabric marking, which is rare in earlier phases, becomes more noticeable during the Town Creek Phase and then drops out quickly. Burnishing is only slightly more common and the temper does not seem to change.

The McDowell Phase (A.D. 1350-1450) is characterized by pottery with larger, bolder stamped motifs. The filfot motifs are still most common, although DePratter and Judge seem to suggest that simple stamping increases during this phase. Burnishing now accounts for nearly a quarter of the typical collection.

The most noticeable change during the Mulberry Phase (A.D. 1450-1550) is the addition of incising. In addition, there may be a shift away from the filfot to other motifs, apparently at the expense of plain burnished pottery, which declines in frequency. Segmented applique strips are the most common rim decoration.

During the final Daniels Phase (A.D. 1550-1670) the pottery is recognizable by a deterioration in stamping quality and larger, more abstract motifs (or perhaps just less recognizable motifs?). Burnished pottery is again more common with incising remaining stable. Applique rim strips are larger and located farther down from the lip. Tempering remains a medium sand.

After A.D. 1670 we have virtually no information since no well documented coastal sites have been excavated and adequately reported.

HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

Overview of Johns Island

Protohistoric

There are three Native American groups that may have been on the sea islands in the study area during the protohistoric and early historic periods, including the Kiawah, Stono, and Bohicket. Regrettably little is known about any of these groups.

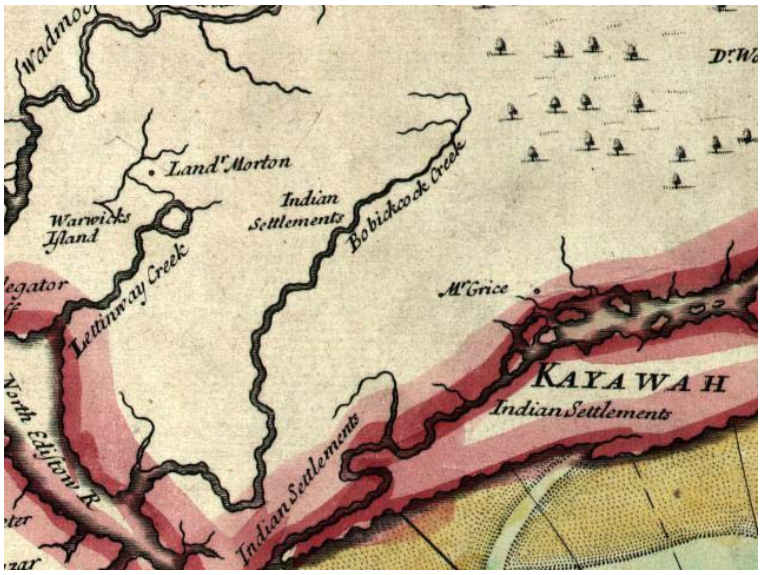


Figure 11. Portion of the 1711 Crisp map, *A Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina*, showing three "Indian Settlements." None, however, are identified.

It seems likely that Sandford first saw the Bohicket Indians and their agricultural fields along Bohicket Creek in 1666 (Waddell 1980:95-96) — a location they continued to hold for a number of years. In ca. 1685, for example, they are shown by Mathews east of the head of Bohicket Creek and by ca. 1695 they are shown on the Thornton-Morden map on the north side of the creek near the headwaters (Waddell 1980:96) — a location they held on the Crisp map of 1711 (Waddell 1980:97; Figure 11). In 1707 an act establishing Indian lookout posts reveals that the "Jones Island" outlook was to be manned by "Bohicott Indians." Waddell (1980:97) suggests that Jones Island was likely Seabrook.

The early location of the Kiawah is problematic, although it seems likely that by the early 1670s they were on the Ashley, in the immediate vicinity of the Albemarle settlement. Waddell (1980:236) comments on an early account by Cheves, which points out that there was an Indian village just beyond the palisade and that an Indian grave (with "trade beads") had been found near "Old Town" (Waddell 1980:234). The Kiawah were still on the banks of the Ashley in 1682 when Ferguson made his account of Indian tribes (Waddell 1980:237) and Gaycoyne shows them, in 1682, about two miles south of the Stono, on an island. Waddell points out that the map is far too crude to allow any accurate placement, and suggests that the most important feature of this map is that it indicates some movement of the Kiawah southward had taken place by this time. Mathews, in 1685, places the Kiawah directly on Kiawah Island and Waddell suggests a location near where the Kiawah flows into the Stono (Waddell 1980:238). Although there is uncertainty, it may be that their location remained unchanged a decade later, when they are still shown on Kiawah Island by the Thornton-Morden map.

Perhaps the best evidence pointing to a Kiawah settlement is provided by the Diamond

plat of Trescott's Plantation east of the Cooper River. Waddell comments that the plat may even show an Indian mound and the historic documents reveal that Trescott even dug through Indian burials in laying out his plantation house (Waddell 1980:241-242). This may be the only clear link to the Kiawah that remains.

In 1671 the Stono were reported to be living north of the Edisto and south of the Kiawah (at the English settlement) (Waddell 1980:303). The location seems to remain constant, in spite of their problems with the English, since in 1682 Ferguson remarks that the Stono were south of the Kiawah, "upon the River Stonoh, adjoining to Edisto" (Waddell 1980:305). By 1695, however, the Thornton-Morden map shows the Stono on Seabrook Island, at the mouth of the North Edisto River (Waddell 1980:307). In fact, the Stono continue to be closely associated with Seabrook through at least the first decade of the 1700s, when Seabrook Island was even called "Stonoe" Island (Waddell 1980:307).

In spite of the Seabrook Island connection, it seems that the most promising lead for a Stono settlement might be the Frances Hext plantation known as Indian Graves on Johns Island. It doesn't appear that too much has been made of the name of the plantation (see Jordan and Stringfellow 1998:246, 263, 280).

These brief discussions clearly point out the frequent movement of low country Indians. For example, the Kiawah moved away from the pressures of the Ashley River settlement, eventually to Kiawah Island. The Stono may have moved from along the Stono River to Seabrook. The Bohicket seem to have been the most stable, largely staying north of Bohicket Creek, although perhaps sharing some of Seabrook Island with the Stono. In spite of the maps and review of the historical documents, none of these settlements have been found and we have no real information on any of these early tribes.[1]

One of the earliest accounts, by Maurice Matthews in 1671, lumps them all together,

> The Indians all About us are our friends; all y^{t} we have knowledge of by theyre Appearance and traid with us) . . . . some of these have 4 or 5 Cassikaes . . . . I finde no tributaries among them, butt intermarriages & poverty causeth them to visitt one Another; never quarelling who is ye better man; they are generally poore & Spanish; Affraid of ye very foot step of a Westoe; A sort of people y^{t} live up to the westward [which these say eat people and are great warriors] (Cheves 2000:334)

In 1696 Governor Archdale signed a law requiring Indians, including the Stonoe, Kiaway, and others, to pay one deerskin yearly to the government. This resulted from the colonists noting that the Indians had been "furnished with clothes and all sorts of tools necessary for making their provisions and have from time to time as often they have had need thereof been protected and defended." Yet the bill complained that these same Indians, "have not hitherto been any ways useful or serviceable or contributing to the inhabitants of this province" (Hicks 1998:75).

Mills, in the early nineteenth century, expressed the situation concisely,

[1] It may be that South's "moundless ceremonial center" uncovered at Charles Towne Landing is a Kiawah settlement, but unfortunately these excavations have never been fully reported.

> [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]).

Nevertheless, as late as 1847 there was at least one settlement Indian, William Beamer, living on Johns Island. He had served with American forces during the Revolution and afterwards had been an overseer for various planters, including William Sams (Hicks 1998:275).

Although contact period archaeological studies have not been conducted on Johns Island, Polhemus (1972) did report on the accidental discovery of four burials with trade goods. No archaeological study of the site, however, was conducted and when this site was recently developed, the site was quickly dismissed (Bridgman et al. 1999).

Parish and Administrative Divisions

The study area falls within the Proprietary county of Colleton, created in 1682. The 640 square mile Colleton County, however, was effectively eliminated with the creation of the seven original judicial districts in 1769. The Charleston District included 4,180 square miles and incorporated today's Charleston, Colleton, Dorchester, and Berkeley counties, as well as a small portion of Orangeburg County.

The boundaries of Charleston were constantly changing. For a few years, between 1785 and 1791 Charleston was reduced to the peninsula, James Island, and Sullivans Island, with Johns Island being subsumed by Colleton County. By 1791, however, the boundaries were restored and although Charleston changed in shape and size, Johns Island remained in Charleston District until 1882, when the southern portion of the area, including Johns Island, was lost to Berkeley County. The islands returned to Charleston in 1893 and there has been no substantive change since that time.

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 Johns Island falls within the original St. Paul Parish. The boundaries ran from the South Edisto River to the Stono River. In 1734, however, St. Paul lost to the creation of St. John-Colleton. This new parish included the sea islands of Edisto, Seabrook, Kiawah, Johns, and Wadmalaw, with the mainland north of the Stono being retained by St. Paul. James Island has remained part of St. Andrews Parish from the 1706 division through the present. These parishes were eliminated as governmental units by the 1865 state constitution, although some local government and public service districts are still parish based in unincorporated sections of St. Andrews and St. Pauls.

Given the instability of political boundaries throughout the nineteenth century, the more stable parish boundaries – used by nineteenth century census takers – provide more accurate statistics for researchers than county-level data (Fick 1992:1).

Eighteenth Century Life

The English established the first permanent settlement in what is today South Carolina in 1670 on a low rise on the west bank of the Ashley River. This original settlement encompassed about 9 acres; just beyond was a spring and a Kiawah Indian village (Cheves 2000:173). Like other European powers, the English were lured to the New World for a variety of reasons, including the acquisition of land and the promotion of agriculture. The Lord Proprietors, who owned the colony until 1719-1720, intended to discover a staple crop, the marketing of which would provide great wealth through the mercantile system.

By 1680 the settlers of Albemarle Point had moved the village across the bay to the tip of the peninsula formed by the Ashley and Cooper rivers. This new settlement at Oyster Point would become modern-day Charleston.

The original settlement became part of Old Town Plantation owned by Lynch Horry in the antebellum. Evidence of the earlier Kiawah settlement, however, was still obvious as late as the 1880s, when a burial containing trade beads was uncovered (Cheves 2000:353).

The move provided not only a more healthful climate and an area of better defense, but:

> the cituation of this Town is so convenient for public Commerce that it rather seems to be the design of some skillful Artist than the accidental position of nature (Mathews 1954:153).

Early settlers came from the English West Indies, directly from England, and from other colonies. But perhaps more than any others, it was the Barbadian elite who would set the Carolina culture apart from that of the more northern colonies, such as Virginia, and who would also establish the roots of cash monoculture and slavery (Sirmans 1966; Waterhouse 1975). Coclanis notes that almost as many Carolina settlers came from the small island of Barbados in the decade of the 1670s as from England herself, remarking that:

> Carolina - alone among the English colonies on the mainland of North America - felt the heat of the tropics from the start. Those that wish to understand the torridity of South Carolina's later history, its passion and its zeal, would do well to remember this point (Coclanis 1989:22).

Clowse (1971:60-61) suggests that cattle raising began as a response to the initial inability to find salable tropical or semitropical crops. Ranching, especially on the islands, was an easy way to exploit the region's land and resources, offering a relatively secure return for very little investment. Few slaves were necessary to manage the herd. The mild climate of the islands made winter forage more abundant and winter shelters unnecessary. The salt marshes, useless for other purposes, provided excellent grazing and eliminated the need to provide salt licks. Further, the islands were self-contained, eliminating the need for fences (Coon 1972; Dunbar 1961). Fick et al. (1989:9) comment that the estate inventory of Bernard Schenckingh, who died in 1692, included "134 head of cattle" and "one negro man."

Production of cattle, hogs, and sheep quickly outstripped local consumption and by the late seventeenth century beef and pork were principal exports of the Colony to the West Indies (Ver Steeg 1975:114-116).

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).

Other early eighteenth century economic activity around Charleston focused on naval stores (such as lumber and tar) and Indian trade (prior to 1715) (Fick 1992:10). Weir notes that deerskins paled in comparison to the value of tar and pitch. By 1699 a royal official noted that Carolina was the only source for these commodities in America and in 1705 parliament granted a subsidy for their production (Weir

1997:143). Large amounts were easily produced and shipped from South Carolina.

Clowse provides details on Charleston exports. Deerskins fluctuate widely by year, beginning with 64,488 skins in 1699, dipping to 22,133 the following year and peaking at 121,355 in 1707. The Yemassee War dramatically reduced the trade in 1717 and it took five years for the levels to return to pre-war levels of around 50-60,000 skins.

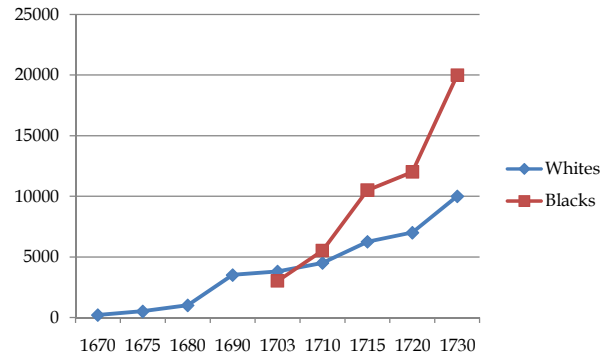


Figure 12. Growth of the African American slave population in Carolina during the early eighteenth century.

The Yemassee War left its mark on Johns Island when a band of Apalachee Indians, allies of the Yemassee, crossed the Edisto and raided as far north as the Stono River in July 1715. About 20 plantations were destroyed before the Indians retreated southward, burning the Pon Pon River bridge behind them (Milling 1969:145, 174).

Two forts were constructed as a result. One was LaRoche's Bridge Fort. It was constructed to guard the bridge (named for nearby planter James LaRoche) that connected Wadmalaw and Johns islands. Situated on Johns Island, just north of where Maybank Highway crosses from Johns to Wadmalaw, the fort was garrisoned from August 1715 to March 1716 (Fick et al 1989:9; Ivers 1970:55). A second fort, known as Stono Bridge Fort, was constructed on John Beamer's (or Beamor) plantation.[2] This fort was also garrisoned from August 1715 to March 1716 (Ivers 1970:74).

By 1720 the naval stores market was glutted. In addition, British ropemakers complained that Carolina tar "scorched" the rope and preferred tar from Sweden. The most significant difference was that Swedish tar was rendered from live or green trees, Carolina tar was taken from deadwood. The Carolina producers refused to change production because of the cost and by 1724 parliament allowed the bounty on naval stores to lapse. Lobbyists for Carolina producers and British merchants succeeded in getting a new, albeit lower, bounty passed by parliament in 1729. Significant quantities continued to be shipped throughout the colonial period (Clowse 1971:Table III).

Development of A Market Economy

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, consequences. One of these was the dramatic increase in African American slaves during the early

[2] We have found no obvious connection between this individual and the Indian, William Beamer. John Beamer was likely the son of James Beamer, who Baldwin (1985:18) identifies as immigrating to South Carolina in 1682.

colonial period. Although the number of enslaved Africans can't be readily determined prior to about 1703, Figure 12 shows the dramatic rise of the black population beginning about 1710.

This rise in the black population brought increasing concern over the possibility of a slave rebellion. In 1739 this fear became reality with the Stono Rebellion. Lead by the Angolan slave Jemmy, a band of 20 slaves began their rebellion on Johns Island south of the vicinity of the Limehouse Bridge and Chisolm Road (Fick et al. 1989:14). They attacked the Hutchinson warehouse or store, killing the two guards and gaining access to weapons and ammunition (Stono Rebellion National Register of Historic Places Nomination, SCDAH). The band swelled to about 80 slaves marching southward to seek their freedom in Spanish St. Augustine. They were overtaken by the Provincial militia in the vicinity of Parkers Ferry close to the Edisto River crossing. About thirty slaves were killed outright; about the same number escaped, but were gradually captured over the next months and executed. One, however, remained a fugitive for three years.

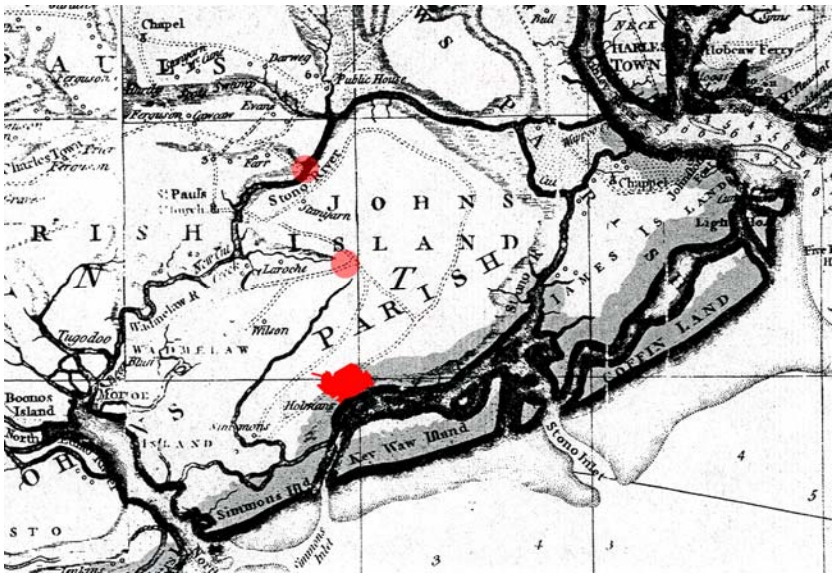


Figure 13. Portion of Stuart's 1780 map showing the vicinity of the two Yemassee War forts and the study tract.

The primary result of the rebellion was the development of a "negro act" that severely limited the privileges of the slaves. African American slaves were no longer allowed to grow their own food, assemble in groups, earn their own money, or learn to read. While some restrictions were in force prior to the Negro Act, the rebellion caused stricter enforcement.

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.

Indigo 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.

If cultivation was simple, processing indigo was difficult. 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).

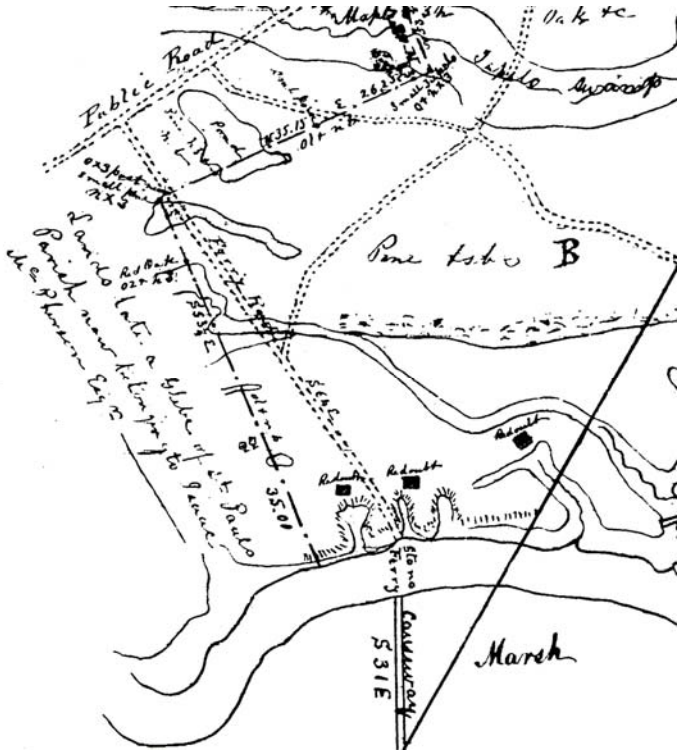


Figure 14. Portion of a 1786 plat showing the three redoubts at Stono Ferry from the 1779 battle (McCrady Plat 6528).

Early Settlement on Johns Island

The earliest warrant for land that specifically mentions Johns Island (called St. Johns Island) dates from 1707 (Salley and Olsberg 1973:640). Fick et al. (1989:8) mention early grants on Johns Island to Thomas Stanyarne (1698), Thomas Weatherly (1707), and Elizabeth Godfrey (1710). Clowse reports that the first land grants for Colleton County, created in 1682, did not occur until 1694. By 1700, the 63 grants known for Colleton totaled 33,635 acres – averaging 534 acres each. Between 1710 and 1719 an additional 151 grants were entered, totaling 71,506 acres. Nevertheless, Mathews comments that in 1680 the land between the Ashley and Stono Rivers to the west was populated fairly thickly (Mathews 1954).

The Holman shown on early maps of Johns Island (see Figure 13) is likely Thomas Holman, who is known to have at least 500 acres by 1718 (SCDAH, Colonial Plat Book (copy series), vol. 12, pg. 171).

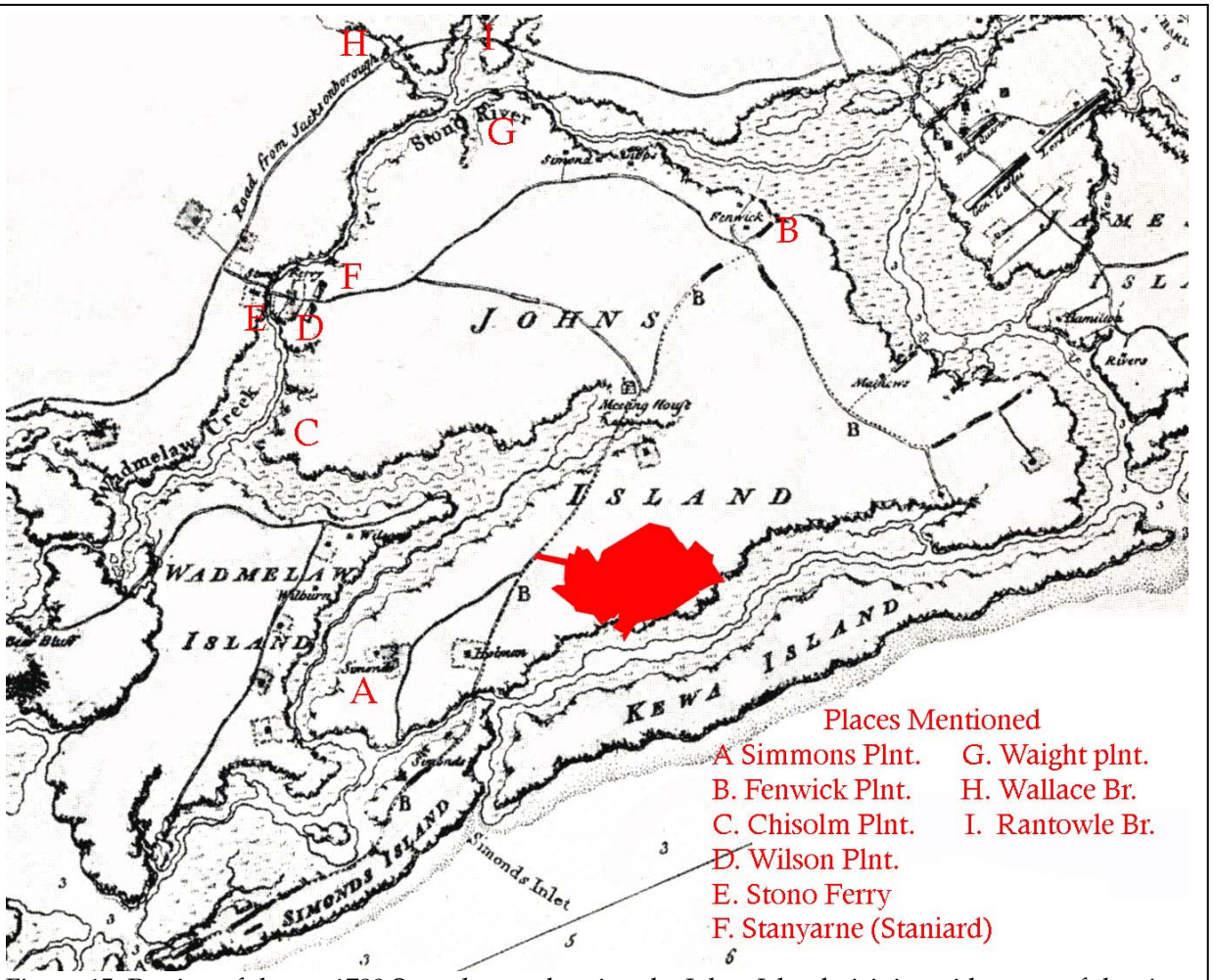


Figure 15. Portion of the ca. 1780 Sproul map showing the Johns Island vicinity with many of the sites mentioned in the British accounts.

The Revolution

After the abortive attempt by the British to take Charleston in June 1776, the American Revolution was largely fought in the North. However, in May 1779, a British Army marched from Savannah to besiege Charleston. On May 10, Augustine Prevost reached Ashley Ferry on the Ashley River about 7 miles north of the city, crossed the river and defeated a small cavalry detachment sent by Francis Marion to delay their advance. The British camped at the Ferry for about two weeks and then marched southward across James and Johns islands to Stono Ferry. During this crossing of Johns Island a number of plantations were burned, including those of Abraham Bosomworth and Robert Gibbes (Fick et al. 1989:17).

Fludd offers a brief mention of a lookout post established by the Johns Island planters on Chaplin's Point on the Kiawah River, near the Stono Inlet (Fludd 1886:81). There do not, however, appear to have been any fortifications at this point.

The bulk of the British forces crossed the Stono and continued along the coast to Beaufort. Prevost, however, left about 900 troops at a series of three redoubts that were enclosed in an

abatis on the eastern shore.[3] American general Benjamin Lincoln mounted an attack on June 20. He was able to obtain only 1,200 men, mostly militia units that were unable to match the resolve and discipline of professional soldiers in a defensive position. The battle lasted only an hour and half. During that time the two forces were within easy killing range of one another – less than 60 yards. The British lost 26 killed and 103 wounded. The American forces suffered 34 killed, 113 wounded, and 18 missing.

Lincoln realized that he would be unable to force the British out and retreated to Charleston. Their mission of shielding Prevost's retreat accomplished, the British forces broke camp and also marched to Beaufort, arriving there on July 8, 1779 (Morrill 1993:53-54). Lincoln put a positive spin on the campaign, writing to Governor Rutledge, "Our men now see that little is to be feared either from musquetry or field pieces; they are full of spirit, & are sure they can beat the enemy on equal grounds at any time" (Mattern 1995:74). Ramsay, however, observed that, "immediately after this attack, the American militia impatient of absence from their homes returned to their plantations" (Ramsay 1990:446 [1789]).

In the fall of 1779 the combined American and French armies failed to liberate Savannah (and Georgia) from Prevost. The heavily fortified British suffered relatively few losses. The American forces, however, lost nearly a fifth of the entire allied army (Morrill 1993:64). If this wasn't bad enough, it laid the groundwork for the second Royal invasion of South Carolina.

On December 26, 1779 Sir Henry Clinton debarked from New York with a British armada of 90 transports under Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot. After briefly anchoring off the Georgia coast to make repairs and final preparation, the fleet set sail for the North Edisto River on February 11, 1780. They arrived off Simmons (today's Seabrook) Island the evening of the 11th and began putting troops ashore, with the process not completed until the following day. Those disembarking included English grenadiers and light infantry under General Leslie, Hessian grenadiers, a Jäger detachment, and the 33rd Regiment.

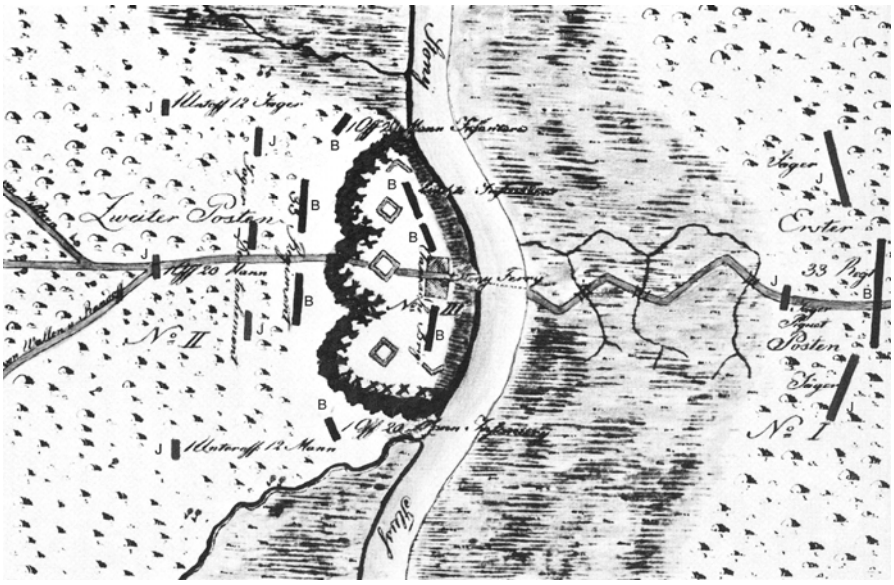


Figure 16. Plan of Stono Ferry in 1780 (Tustin 1979). J = Jäger Corps, B = British troops.

One account reports that,

> towards ten o'clock the troops set out through a pathless and marshy wood, which continued

[3] These redoubts and their associated archaeological remains were destroyed by development of Stono Ferry Plantation at the north side of the ferry, opposite Johns Island, in 1985. No archaeological study was conducted.

> with the greatest difficulty until five o'clock in the evening. A path often had to be cut through the bushes with axes and bayonets in water up to the waist.
>
> By this time we reached a prepared road and discovered a plantation, from whose owners this island had derived its name (Tustin 1979:196)

Another diarist, Captain Johann Hinrichs, reported that Simmons Island "is a part of Johns Island, desolate and salty, and full of cabbage trees" (Ulhendorf 1938:181). This account also remarks on the dense thickets, marshy conditions, and "impenetrable woods where human feet had never trod!" (Ulhendorf 1938:183). A third account by General Von Huyn reported, "All the white inhabitants were on their way to the city with their guns, arms, and ammunition, leaving behind their wives and children, as well as their Negroes" (Ulhendorf 1938:371).

Some of the troops continued, crossing over onto Johns Island, where they took camp,

> The jäger detachment and the 33rd Regiment . . . occupied a road leading to Stono Ferry . . . the remaining troops encamped on Simmons Island.
>
> At midnight we had to move forward over a mile to Wilson's plantation, where the landing place for the provisions and baggage ships was situated. We had nothing but stinking water in this area (Tustin 1979:196).

In addition to his diary, Ewald also wrote at least one letter that describes these events. He adds that on February 13 and 14 the armies advanced to Stono Ferry, as well as to the houses of Chisolm and Fenwick. On the 16th part of the army crossed the Stono at what he called White's house, probably the settlement of Abraham Waight, while the remainder crossed at Stono Ferry. They occupied the old redoubts constructed the year before. Additional troops cross over to James Island from Fenwick's plantation (Ulhendorf 1938:27). Other accounts suggests that the British crossed the Stono at a variety of other locations, including "Sucky Staniard's" and landing at "Ingles' plantation on pleasant, rising ground" (Ulhendorf 1938:187). Additional troops camped at William Ashley's plantation on Johns Island, where they were joined by the 71st Scottish Regiment (Tustin 1979:203). In February 1780, Captain John Peebles of the Scottish Grenadiers, was briefly headquartered at the Simmons estate, "a large Plantation and house" (Gruber 1998:339) at the south tip of Johns Island, the former home of James Simmons (d. 1775) and his wife Ann Holmes (d. 1773). Francis Simmons (ca. 1765-1814), the heir to the property, had been sent abroad by his trustees for his safety and education. Peebles mentioned two other Johns Island landmarks, describing Headquarters (Fenwick Hall) as "a large modern house with offices" and the nearby Gibbes House (Peaceful Retreat) as "a good house on the bank of Stono River" (Gruber 1998:339).

For their part, the few American forces present retreated toward Charleston using Wallace's and Rantowle's bridges, destroying them both after crossing (Ulhendorf 1938:187). The British appear to have been proceeding slowly, at least in part because of the "horses, cattle, and Negroes" that they had removed from plantations. In fact, a portion of the British forces remained on John's Island and Hinrichs' diary comments that daily foraging parties scoured the island, "thus great quantity of livestock has been driven in" (Ulhendorf 1938:197). In fact, the British spread out, raiding plantations on Wadmalaw (Ulhendorf 1938:199). Hough reported that "Major Hay and Captain Moncrieff are appointed Commissaries of all captured Goods, and the Troops are amply

supplied with fresh Provisions and Rice by them" (Hough 1867:37). At least some plantations – like the Vanderhorst house on Kiawah – were burned during the British advance on Charleston (Trinkley 1993:57). Even the Anglican church on Johns Island was not spared. The assessment was bleak, "not a door, window, shutter, or pew to be seen, a large part of the floor missing, aisle pavement in many places destroyed" (quoted in MacCallum 1970:12).

The accounts reveal that a number of British fortifications dotted the area surrounding Charleston. For example, two are noted at Peronneau's house at the Wappoo River (on James Island, just south of the better known McLeod plantation) which were "heavily fortified." At least two redoubts were constructed at Fenwick's Point on Wappoo where nine 32 pounders were put into position (Ulhendorf 1938:375, 379). [4]

By March 29, 1780, Clinton had moved from Johns to James Island, occupied Fort Johnson, crossed the Wappoo Cut, and arrived at Drayton Hall, about 7 miles northwest of Charleston. The British navy with its 216 guns had blocked Charleston harbor. On April 10 Clinton called on Lincoln to surrender Charleston; Lincoln refused. Rather than retreat, the patriots continuing sending troops into Charleston; in fact civil officials in Charleston threatened to help the British destroy Lincoln's army should he attempt to flee the city (Morrill 1993:70). The Charleston battle lasted one evening, May 9, and on May 12 Lincoln surrendered, allowing Clinton to capture 5,466 armed troops, 391 artillery pieces, 5,916 muskets, 33,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, over 8,000 rounds of shot, and 376 barrels of powder. Charleston – and the surrounding countryside – was held by British forces for the next 2½ years.

Clinton issued a proclamation allowing his troops to seize "all such Valuable Property as shall be found belonging to any person in Rebellion" for the armies' use. He declared all unoccupied property to be forfeited under the assumption that if the owner had fled, he must have been fighting against the Crown. Brannon notes that one British captain remarked that the local population "hated us from the bottom of their hearts because we carried off their belongings" (Brannon 2007:37).

On September 16, the British announced that the real and personal estates of 83 "wicked and dangerous traitors" would be sequestered. It was seen by the conquerors as "both just and expedient" that the property of those defying the King should be used to put down the revolution.

When these names(McCowen 1972:153-154) are compared to those offered by Jordan and Stringfellow (1998:237) as residing on Johns, Seabrook, Wadmalaw, and Kiawah islands, the only certain matches are those of Arnoldus Vanderhorst on Kiawah and William Gibbes on Johns Island.

This does not mean, however, that the British were the masters of South Carolina. The active war shifted to the upstate, but American raids in the low country continued. At first the British sought to bring Loyalist estates back to productivity. They found that most were so damaged by war that their productivity was low. As the frequency of raids increased, the British abandoned many of these plantations. The British also abandoned efforts to ship goods overland and used heavily armed boats instead. Eventually even this effort proved useless (Cruden 1890:13; McCowen 1972:94).

When Charleston was finally abandoned by the British in December 1782, McCowen estimates that of the 9,127 civilians, over 5,000 were African Americans. He observes, "this loss of manpower at a critical period of reconstruction greatly undermined the economy" (McCowen 1972:109).

[4] These fortifications have never been identified archaeologically.

The Jacksonboro Assembly, meeting in January 1782, approved the confiscation and amercement of various properties. The Confiscation Act was directed toward those who were British subjects or steadfast Loyalists. Based on the official lists, 239 Loyalist estates were confiscated. In contrast, amercement was directed toward those who had wavered in their allegiance, but had repented and taken a loyalty oath. Again based on the published lists 47 estates were amerced at 12% of their value (McCowen 1972:135-137). However, it has been shown that these lists are incomplete and there were at least 400 estates either confiscated or amerced (Brannon 2007:172).

Table 2
Population and Wealth in St. Johns Colleton in 1860

	Acres	White Population	Slaves	No. of Slave Owners	Average No. Slaves per owner	Value of Real Estate	No. Reporting	Average Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	No. Reporting	Average Value of Personal Estate
Johns Island	48,605	129	2,346	62	38	$594,500	34	$17,485	$1,796,203	36	$49,895
Edisto	38,447	301	4,506	123	37	$2,246,850	50	$44,937	$4,585,285	75	$61,137
Wadmalaw	27,433	190	2,800	80	35	$720,500	39	$18,474	$2,137,811	46	$46,474

At least five Johns Island planters were affected. Richard Russell Ash, Alexander Chisolm, John Freer, William Sams, and John Wells all petitioned the Assembly requesting relief from amercement. Chisolm and Freer were even able to provide petitions from other residents on Johns Island in support of their requests. In Freer's case the petitioners explained that they knew "of no Act that he has Committed whereby to deserve, Amercement, unless his having taken British protection" (SCDAH, Petitions to the General Assembly, 1783).

After the Revolution a number of citizens came forward with claims for supplies, service, loans, and other issues. At least 14 of those reported to be on Johns Island by Jordan and Stringfellow (1993:237) appear to have submitted claims (Ravill 1941).

Recovery and the Antebellum

The period from 1790 through the early 1800s was one of reorganization and expansion. Indigo was no longer a profitable crop, although rice continued to be the gold upon which much of the low country was built. Gradually, however, cotton came to replace indigo, although it too was based on specialization in the production of a staple crop using slave labor. As Coclanis notes, "such specialization, under prevailing market conditions, generally proved highly profitable to those individuals in both the low country and in Europe with capital directly involved in the production or distribution of such staples" (Coclanis 1989:130).

Cotton planting spread throughout the south after the Revolution, encouraged by improvements in ginning machinery (the best-known being Eli Whitney's wire-toothed saw gin, patented in 1794). Sea Island cotton, a distinct type characterized by its long staples and black seeds, became the pre-eminent crop on Johns Island. Unlike the more common upland green-seed cotton, distinguished by its short fibers, Sea Island cotton was not ginned with Whitney's machine. Its long fibers required planters to continue using the traditional roller gins usually in the form of slave-powered foot gins. Only in the 1850s, with the development of the improved Fones McCarthy gin, did mechanical equipment become popular (Porcher and Fick 2005:221).

Sea Island cotton was developed on the Georgia Sea Islands in about 1785, and in 1790 William Elliott grew South Carolina's first commercial crop on Hilton Head Island. By the

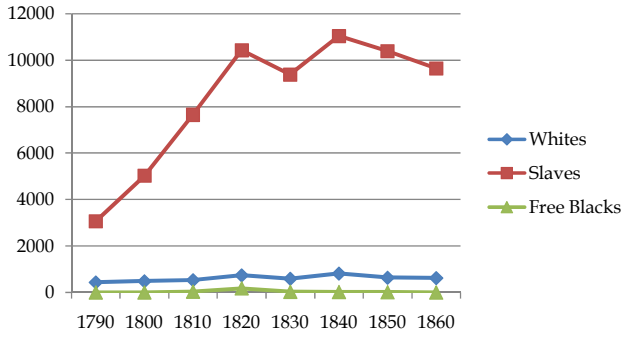


Figure 17. Comparison of white, slave, and free blacks on Wadmalaw, Edisto, and Johns islands (St. Johns Colleton) between 1790 and 1860.

early 1800s, several planters, notably Kinsey Burden of Johns Island, had developed improved strains that commanded the highest prices on the European market (Porcher and Fick 2005: 95-96).

The new emphasis on cotton dramatically changed the area's racial makeup. Figure 17 shows that African American slaves – other than a slight dip in 1830 (perhaps the result of the crash of cotton prices in 1819), steadily increased in numbers, from 3,065 in 1790 to their peak in 1840 at 11,044. There was a slight decline in slaves after 1840, with St. Johns Colleton containing 9,652 slaves at the eve of the Civil War.

In contrast, the white population increased from 433 to only 819 in 1840, declining in St. Johns Colleton to 620 in 1860. The free black population in the district was small – peaking at 179 in 1820, then declining to only four in the 1860 census. In spite of the fluctuation in raw numbers, the proportion of black slaves to whites steadily increased from 7:1 in 1790 to 16:1 in 1830. This ratio held fairly stable until the Civil War.

We are able to obtain an even better view of slave holding on the islands that compose St. Johns Colleton when we look at the 1860 census. Johns Island was the most heavily populated by African Americans – with 2,346 slaves and only 129 whites, the ratio was 18:1 compared to the 15:1 found on both Wadmalaw and Edisto. While the difference in average slave holds between Edisto and Johns Island is not significant, owners on both islands held more slaves than did those on Wadmalaw.

The wealth of the Edisto planters is clearly revealed by their reported real estate holdings and personal estates. Johns and Wadmalaw islands come in distant second and third whether total value or average value is considered. Farm values on Wadmalaw were slightly greater than those on Johns Island, but the personal estate value was higher on Johns Island.

There are other changes in the district over time. For example, the 1840 census indicates the importance of agricultural pursuits – there are only 12 individuals enumerated that did not list their occupation as planter. All 12 were classified as "learned professionals,"

Table 3.
Occupations in St. Johns Colleton District from the 1850 and 1860 Federal Census

	1850		1860		1860 Johns Island		1860 Edisto Island		1860 James Island	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Planter	82	58.6	88	65.7	23	76.7	35	53.8	27	36.5
Farmer									7	9.5
Physician/Dentist	14	10.0	7	5.2	2	6.7	3	4.6	4	5.4
Overseer	12	8.6	12	9.0	1	3.3	10	15.4	9	12.2
Clergy	7	5.0	7	5.2	1	3.3	4	6.1	3	4.0
Lawyer									2	2.7
Carpenter	7	5.0	1	0.7			1	1.5		
Factor									1	1.4
Storekeeper	5	3.6	5	3.7			2	3.1	2	2.7
Blacksmith	3	2.1	1	0.7			1	1.5		
Clerk	3	2.1							3	4.0
Nurse			3	2.2			2	3.1		
Butcher	2	1.4								
Laborer	2	1.4							3	4.0
Boat Builder			2	1.5			2	3.1		
Mechanic			2	1.5	2	6.7	2	3.1	3	4.0
Seaman	2	1.4							2	2.7
Teacher	1	0.7	5	3.7	1	3.3	2	3.1	2	2.7
Mantua Maker			1	0.7			1	1.5		
Other									6	8.1
	140		134		30		65		74	

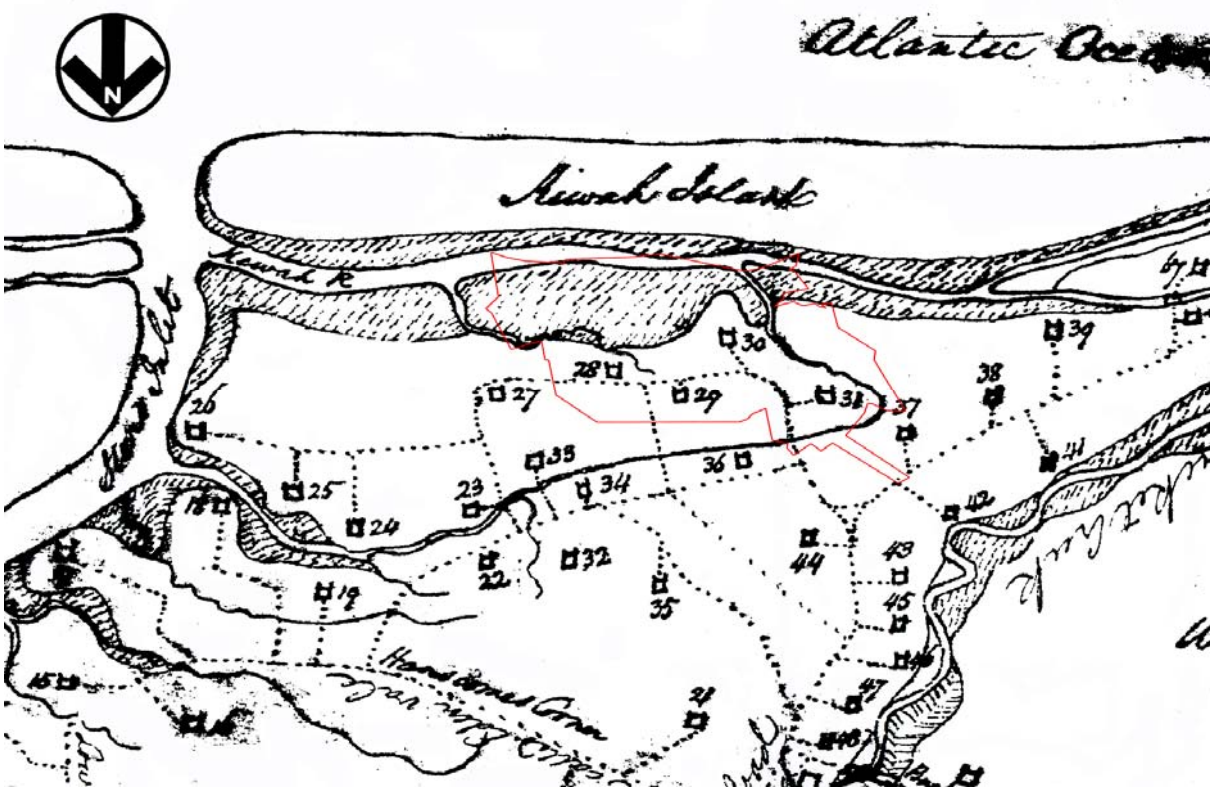


Figure 18. Portion of the ca. 1819 Kinsey Burden map of Johns Island, showing the project vicinity.

probably physicians and ministers (Johns and Edisto islands both had two year-round churches). Most, however, were also planters.

The 1850 and 1860 data are more revealing since they provide occupations. These are shown in Table 3. Although the category of physician continues to be prominent, it is clear from the census data that many of these physicians were also very successful planters. The quantity of overseers enumerated remains constant, as does the number of clergy and storekeepers or merchants. The number of teachers increases from 1850 to 1860.

Interestingly, we find three young Irish women in planter households with occupations listed as nurse, a task typically assigned to African American slaves. In England the nurse was not uniformly regarded, with many accused of drunkenness, thievery, and licentiousness. They were typically drawn from the working class and were domestic servants rather than medical staff (Olsen 1999:264). The mantua maker seen in 1860 was a mulatto woman living on Edisto Island. While this trade was common in cities such as Charleston, it seems uncommon on the islands where sewing was done by both plantation mistresses and slaves alike.

For the 1860 census we can separate out occupants on Johns Island and we get the impression that this island was more rural – or at least more agrarian – than other nearby islands. The community was composed almost exclusively of planters, with only two physicians, one clergyman, and one teacher. The proportion of overseers was also considerably lower, suggesting that more of the land owners either tended their own lands or used slave drivers. When we compare Johns Island to neighboring Edisto and James islands, we do notice that proximity to Charleston no doubt played a role. Edisto, which was further

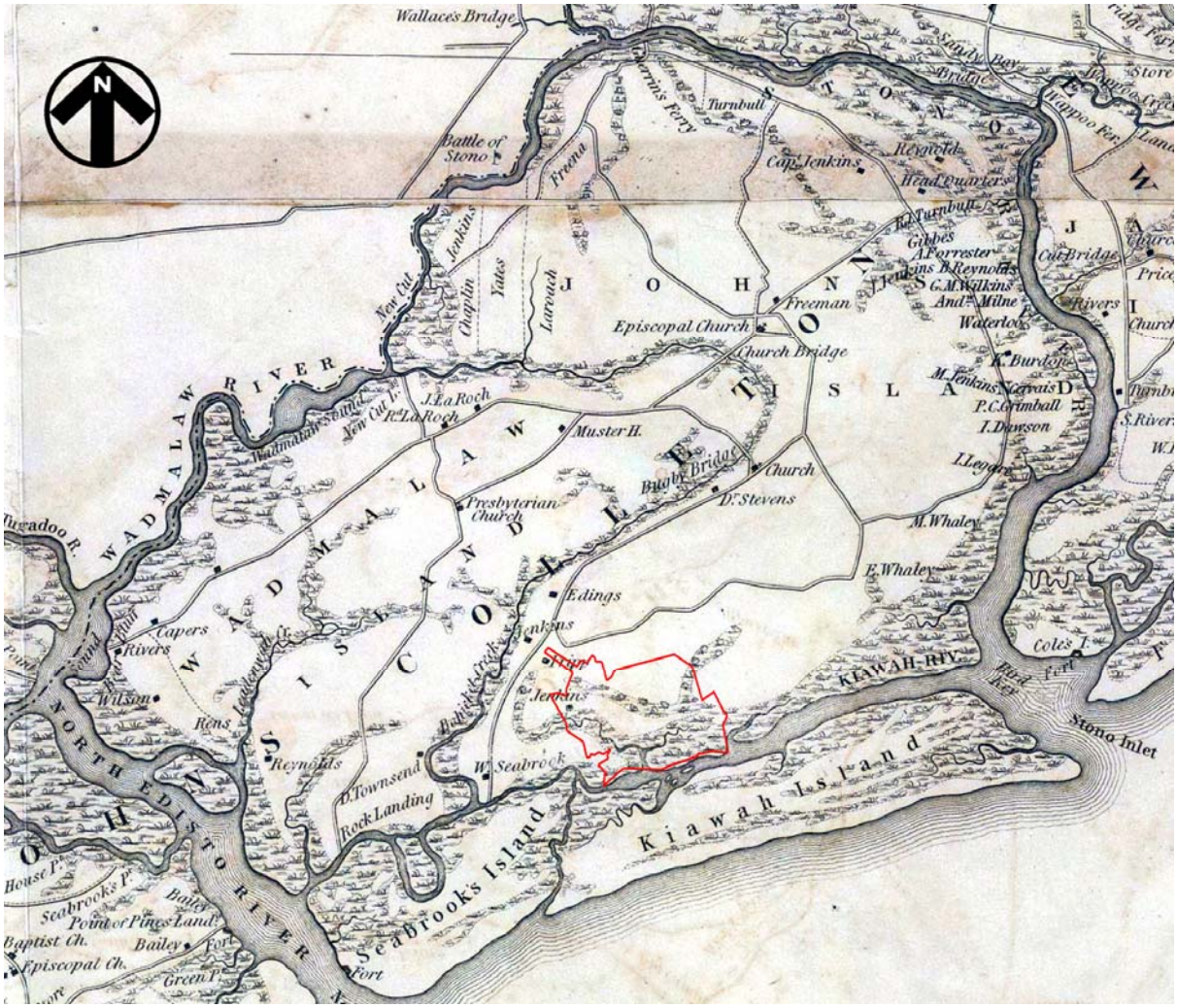


Figure 19. Portion of Mills' Charleston District showing Johns and Wadmalaw islands, and the study tract. Jenkins is not in the study tract, indicating some distortion in mapping.

removed from Charleston than Johns, had a lower proportion of planters and greater range of occupations.

The War of 1812 left little impact on St. Johns Colleton, although two fortifications were constructed in the area – one on the north end of Kiawah (shown on the 1822 "Map of South Carolina," by John Wilson) and another on Cole's Island. These two batteries were intended to maintain control of the Stono and Kiawah rivers, preventing British forces from repeating their Revolutionary War land assaults on Charleston. Mistakenly referred to in later years as a "tabby" fort, the Kiawah fortifications were little more than piled up shell embankments in the hard marsh at the edge of the river. The fortification was connected to the island's high ground by means of a causeway.

The ca. 1819 Kinsey Burden map and the 1826 Mills' *Atlas* provide two early antebellum views of the area. The Burden map must be viewed cautiously since it is uncertain if each numbered square designates a dwelling or if some may simply represent property owners. However, the map does provide us with a view of the island, showing 66 listed owners, as well

as the island's road system. The map must be seen as schematic since the shape of the island is significantly distorted.

In the vicinity of the study tract, Burden shows four owners: Hugh Wilson, B.D. Roper, S. Witter, and James Legare (from east to west).

Mills' map of Charleston District is more topographically correct and many of the same owners are shown. Mills' placement of these owners, while similar to Burden, is somewhat different. Thus, on Figure 19 we see that Jenkins and Fripp are both in the approximately correct locations, except that Jenkins has been shifted eastward. We know from detailed title examination that Jenkins was not an owner of the Mullet Hall tract. It is important to carefully interpret Mills' placement of properties. With Jenkins disposed of, we see that Mills fails to show any of the owners on the study parcel in the early antebellum. Although Mills does not show the Kiawah fort, he does show the Cole's Island fort. He also shows the two fortifications guarding the North Edisto – one on Seabrook and another close to Point of Pines on Edisto Island.

Speaking of the district as a whole, Mills explained that while rice and indigo were the staple crops of the eighteenth century, indigo lands, "being suitable for raising cotton" had been abandoned in favor of cotton, "being equally productive [and] being safer culture, both in regard to health and certainty of crops" (Mills 1972:389 [1826]). It may be that "certainty" was a euphemism for profitability, since by this time indigo was virtually extinct in South Carolina (Gray 1958:2:610-611).

While rice was still being grown, Mills suggests that many planters were turning their banked lowlands over to the cultivation of cotton, as well as "corn and pulse [legumes such as beans and peas] of various kinds" (Mills 1972:387 [1826]).

Mills explained that Charleston's sea islands had a "delightful" climate in the winter and spring. In the summer months, however, planters were obliged to "retire to the seashore, to enjoy the breezes of the ocean." Otherwise, the summer and autumn brought "bilious fevers and dysenteries" (Mills 1972:473 [1826]). Summer villages, such as Edingsville and Johnsonville, were developed all over Charleston District. Fick briefly mentions Rockville on Wadmalaw Island and Adams Run on the South Edisto (Fick 1992:30). Legareville was the retreat for Johns Island planters after 1838. Before that time it is suggested that planters erected summer cottages close to salt water, where mosquitoes were less common. Elias Vanderhorst on nearby Kiawah Island was routinely building a small house on the beach for a summer residence by at least the 1820s (Trinkley 1993:48-49), and the pattern of building "seashore houses" has been well documented on Waccamaw Neck (see Hobcaw Barony NRHP nomination, SCDAH, Columbia).

On nearby James Island, the plantation known today as McLeod was advertised for sale by the Estate of Mrs. Sarah P. Parker in 1850. On the tract was a dwelling house with outbuildings, accommodations for 90 slaves, and a "summer settlement" (advertisement in *Charleston Courier* beginning December 1850). Although the village of Rockville was well-established on Wadmalaw Island in 1851, when Benjamin S. Whaley bought Red House Plantation, the property description noted that the tract was bounded "east by William C. Bailey's summer residence and Bohicket Creek" – indicating that summer residences were still present. We even note their occurrence in Prince William's Parish. William Fripp's claim to the South Carolina State Auditor for losses during the Civil War included not only his winter residence, valued at $1,500, but also his summer residence, valued at only slightly less – $1,200 (SCDAH, Comptroller General/ State Auditor, Claims of property loss due to the enemy).

Although silent concerning Johns Island, Mills does provide a detailed discussion of Edisto, noting that like the rest of the district, indigo lands had been uniformly devoted to cotton and that the Edisto area was a poor producer of rice. Edisto lands sold for $30 to $60/acre. Mills commented that,

> The proximity of the island to Charleston, affords the planters an opportunity of disposing of the various productions of their plantations to advantage. They do not, however, in every case, make the most of these (Mills 1972:473 [1826]).

It would take another hundred years for the islands to turn to truck crops. He also mentions that the islands were major producers of sweet potatoes, with an acre typically producing about 300 bushels (Mills 1972:480 [1826]). On the other hand, he observed that Irish potatoes "are not planted in any quantity or extent" largely because "the negroes are averse to their use, and can hardly be prevailed upon to receive them as a substitute for the sweet potato" (Mills 1972:481 [1826]). The most common standing provision, however, was corn, with an acre producing between 15 and 25 bushels.

Mills also mentioned, for both the district and Edisto, that while the roads were in generally good condition most transportation was by boat except for travel on each island. Barely a decade before William Seabrook's inter-island steamboat, Mills notes that for Edisto,

> the islanders carry on their intercourse altogether by water. In transporting themselves, and the productions of their plantations to Charleston, &c they use boats made after the canoe models. These boats are built of cypress, and other curable materials; and are well adapted to the purposes of inland navigation; but ill calculated for encountering heavy seas., They are of various dimensions, from half a ton to six tons burden, and cost from one hundred to one thousand dollars. There are five or six workmen advantageously employed in constructing and repairing these boats [two were specifically mentioned in the 1860 census] (Mills 1972:476 [1826]).

Beyond these general observations, it is difficult to obtain good agricultural statistics for the early antebellum since published data has been merged by district. This blurs distinctions between areas such as Christ Church and Johns Island. For example, in 1860 the average value of Johns Island plantation was nearly $14,000, while a Christ Church plantation had an average value of less than $8,000. Edisto plantations had an average value of over $44,000. Consequently, we tabulated the agricultural census data for St. Johns Colleton. For 1860 it was possible to further refine the data, breaking St. Johns into Johns, Edisto, and Wadmalaw islands. James Island (St. Andrews) is also listed for comparison. These data are shown in Table 4.

For Charleston district as a whole, the number of farms increased by a mere 3% between 1850 and 1860 and acreage actually decreased (improved acreage by 30% and unimproved by 8%). The average farm value in 1850 was just over $7,100, declining by about $700 to $6,420 in 1860 – still significantly less than farm values in either Christ Church or Johns Island (in contrast, the average plantation value in St. James Goose Creek was only $3,007). This indicates that while there were pockets of very productive – and valuable – farm land in Charleston, there were also very modest farms on less than spectacular soils. On the other hand, we see that the value of farm implements per farm increased by 25% in the decade between 1850 and 1860. This suggests that the Charleston

Table 4.
Agricultural Census Data for Charleston District, 1850-1860

		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
Charleston	1850	786	183,236	636,056	5,599,093	147,344,542	265,377	5,023	14,887	2,482	24,564	13,415	30,247	663,250
St. Johns	1850	104	55,652	46,617	1,917,550	50,461,842	90,871	1,136	4,126	714	3,207	3,304	3,790	137,350
Charleston	1860	810	127,194	584,739	5,202,502	130,062,550	332,808	4,360	9,863	967	17,990	10,849	39,741	912,399
St. Johns	1860	132	63,183	175,010	3,559,010	88,975,250	111,972	1,239	3,725	1,039	4,531	4,303	5,014	294,511
Wadmalaw	1860	40	16,441	9,814	801,200	20,030,000	18,760	353	904	162	1,174	1,017	1,087	72,835
Edisto	1860	49	27,361	150,754	2,164,910	54,122,750	75,053	553	1,733	639	2,423	2,062	3,457	149,446
Johns Island	1860	43	19,381	14,442	592,900	14,822,500	18,159	333	1,088	238	934	1,224	470	72,230
Charleston Neck	1860	70	1,269	1,346	536,500	13,412,500	12,475	146	97	-	32	1	295	21,845
St. Andrews	1860	71	18,547	28,814	889,375	22,234,375	58,900	511	1,888	71	705	879	1,457	107,540

		Agricultural Products												
		Rye & oats, bu	Corn, bu	Rice, lbs	Cotton, bales	Wool, lbs	Peas & beans, bu	Irish potatoes, bu	Sweet potatoes, bu	$ Orchard Produce	$ Garden Produce	Butter, lbs	Hay, tons	Value animals slaughtered
Charleston	1850	40,664	416,577	16,906,273	7,757	18,636	77,673	7,728	657,172	-	-	104,847	2,440	97,084
St. Johns	1850	2,070	97,840	1,205,670	3,536	4,062	13,482	160	158,200	-	-	21,856	-	18,998
Charleston	1860	14,218	383,316	18,899,512	6,381	19,381	52,456	28,144	323,042	5,009	106,213	54,068	13,551	185,304
St. Johns	1860	280	102,666	1,500,000	4,265	16,297	15,894	2,135	223,858	500	4,900	29,860	2,665	132,104
Wadmalaw	1860	-	31,425	-	1,053	4,405	5,320	200	43,050	-	-	7,180	898	6,060
Edisto	1860	280	44,961	1,500,000	2,208	7,424	7,774	335	122,280	500	-	13,320	1,152	8,184
Johns Island	1860	-	26,280	-	1,004	4,468	2,800	1,600	58,528	-	4,900	9,360	615	117,860
Charleston Neck	1860	-	3,795	-	3		170	22,934	3,686	-	64,295	-	517	10,000
St. Andrews	1860	1,630	44,021	215,350	929	855	6,330	11,897	51,990	800	32,200	12,050	1,335	4,920

planters were active in seeking to maximize the profits from land that had been in cultivation for generations.

Cattle and milk production declined over the period, although the value of the county's livestock increased by nearly 38%. Given the decline in cattle and sheep, this increase must be attributable to swine and horses. However, even the value of animals slaughtered countywide more than doubled, and horsed were not valued for slaughter.

Turning to crops, the decline from 1850 is dramatic. Cotton production was down by 18%, peas by 33%, and sweet potatoes by 49%. Corn production was the bright spot – it was down by only 8%. The decline in cotton production may be related to the spike in prices – from 27.8¢/pound in 1850 to 47.0¢/pound in 1860. In an 1826 letter from Johns Island planter Kinsey Burden to Whitemarsh Seabrook, Burden explains that the island's soils were "partly of a low, heavy loam and sand, on a clay foundation, and partly high brown mould on sand and clay" and that his favorite manure was a combination of "salt mud, salt marsh, and the compost of salt marsh and rushes combined with animal manure." Using this combination his average crop was about 98 pounds of cotton per acre (Seabrook 1826:27-30).

Production of the other staple, rice, increased by nearly 12% in Charleston District. The price of rice, however, declined from 3.4¢ to 3.2¢/pound (Gray 1958:2:1027, 1030-1031).

In 1850 St. Johns (composed of Edisto, Wadmalaw, and Johns islands) consisted of 104 enumerated farms – 15% of the total in Charleston District. These plantations, however, account for over 43% of the tilled land in the district and over half of the farm value. We find 30% of the horses and mules, 38% of the milk cows, 40% of the oxen, nearly 33% of the sheep, and 26% of the livestock value in this parish. Only cattle and swine are proportionate to the number of farms.

Looking at agricultural production, St. Johns produced nearly 84% of Charleston's cotton, 30% of the corn, and 32% of the sweet potatoes. Only 8% of the district's rice was produced in St. Johns Parish, however.

Between 1850 and 1860 there were significant changes. While the number of farms increased district-wide by about 19% (although improved acreage remained flat), the enumerated farms in St. Johns increased by 27% (with the improved acreage increasing by 13%). The value of the farms in St. Johns increased by 86% (this is about a 76% increase when inflation is factored in). The value of farm implements did not keep pace with the value of land, but there was still an increase of about 23% (in addition, the most valuable – and costly – farming "implements" were the enslaved African Americans who are not included in this tabulation).

Table 5.
Agricultural Wealth Comparisons, 1860

	$ Value/ Improved Acre	$ Average Value/Farm	$ Value Livestock/Farm	Acres per bale Cotton	Acres per bu Corn
Charleston	40.90	6,422	1,126	19.93	0.33
St. Andrews	47.95	12,526	1,515	19.96	0.42
St. Johns Colleton	56.33	26,962	2,231	14.81	0.61
Edisto Is.	79.12	44,182	3,050	12.39	0.61
Johns Is.	30.59	13,788	1,680	19.30	0.74
Wadmalaw Is.	48.73	20,030	1,821	15.61	0.52

The quantities of livestock in St. Johns Colleton did increase between 1850 and 1860 – horses and mules by 9%, oxen by 46%, cattle by 41%, sheep by 30%, and swine by 32%. In fact, only milch cows declined (by 10%) and in spite of this decline, butter production rose by nearly 37%. The increase in numbers alone, however, does not seem to account for livestock value more than doubling. As both McGaw (1984) and Gray (1958:2:856) note, livestock breeding advanced during the late antebellum. Gray suggests that major advances coincide with the cotton depression of the 1850s. Thus, we believe that, at least in part, the increased value may reflect improved breeds.

Agricultural production also increased in St. Johns Colleton, following the county-wide trend. While improved acreage increased by a modest 13%, cotton production increased by 21%, corn increased by 5%, pease by 18%, and sweet potato yields increased by 41%. Even Irish potatoes saw a 13 fold increase. The production of hay in St. Johns Colleton in 1860 was greater than the yield of all of Charleston County in 1850. Only oat production fell.

The 1850 census shows that St. Johns was a very wealthy parish. Much of this wealth, however, was concentrated on Edisto Island and this becomes clear when the more refined 1860 census is examined (Table 5). For St. Johns Colleton, Edisto has the highest value per improved acre and highest average farm value, Johns Island has the lowest. This same trend is found in the value of livestock on the three islands. Edisto also produced the most cotton on the fewest acres – Johns Island took the most acreage. Only in acres per bushel of corn did Edisto come in second to Wadmalaw – with Johns Island still ranking third. Johns Island compares best to St. Andrews Parish (which includes James Island).

The 1860 census also enumerates eight tracts totaling 53 improved acres (average of 7 acres) and 8 unimproved acres. No individual owned more than 24 acres and most owned 4 or less acres. Three tracts had no value listed; the remainder were valued at $29,000, with an average value of $5,800. Only three listed livestock – horses, mules, and (primarily) milch cows – although three others listed significant values for slaughtered animals – $35,000 to $40,000. Three showed production of Irish potatoes, one a very small quantity of sweet potatoes, two produced hay, and four reported yields ranging from $300 to $3,000 worth of garden produce.

Of the eight owners, seven could be found in the 1860 census. Four lived in the 7th Ward, two lived in the 5th, and one lived on the neck – none appear to have lived on Johns Island. The occupations included a policeman, butcher, four farmers, and a salesman. Five of the seven owned slaves. Although three owned only one slave each, one person – the butcher,

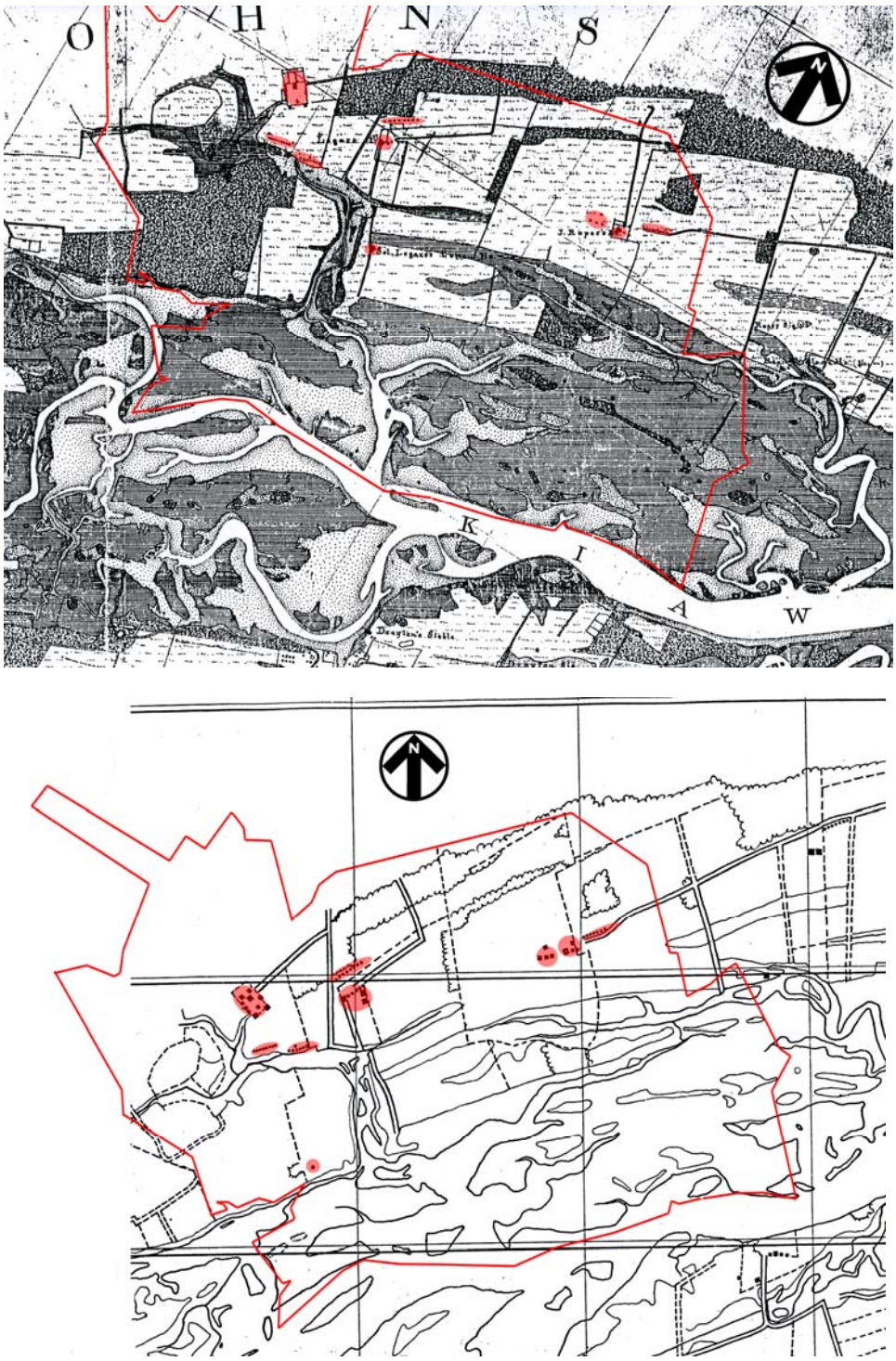


Figure 20. Two views of the project area at the end of the antebellum. Top is Coast Survey T491. Bottom is a tracing of T491 prepared during the Civil War. Structures or clusters are shown highlighted. From west to east these include James Legare, Solomon Legare, and M.J. Roper.

James Dunning – owned 17 and the farmer – W.R. Disher – owned 49. All of the slaves, however, are shown in Charleston.

Thus, while we have the large and small plantations on Johns Island, there are also small holdings for both intensive cattle production and an early form of truck farming – neither of which has been reported in any detail before.

Of course, the 1860 agricultural census for the Charleston Neck reveals significant truck farming of Irish potatoes and other garden produce.

By the eve of the Civil War we have two additional views of Johns Island, show in Figure 20. Shown are portions of three plantations: the "Legare" plantation belonging to the widow Lydia B. Legare, "Mullet Hall" or the "Home Place" of Solomon Legare, and Roper's plantation, The Oaks. The plans are most useful in helping to identify archaeological sites, but they also reveal the complexity of plantation landscapes at the time.

All three plantations consist of a network of interconnected roads and drainages in order to maximize the productivity of the fields for cotton. Relatively few areas have been retained in woods, in order that as much land could be cultivated as possible. As early as 1826 Mills warned that districts were "beginning already to experience a want of timber, even for common purposes" – the result of uncontrolled clearing for planting of cash crops (Mills 1972:383 [1826]).

A sea island cotton plantation was a commercial agricultural enterprise as well as the home of a sizeable residential community. Service buildings were required for every aspect of the plantation's operation. On every plantation were slave cabins, corn houses, pea houses, and blade houses (for the corn shucks used as animal fodder). There were other special-purpose buildings: kitchen, smoke house, meat house; wagon sheds and carriage houses; gin house, moting house, packing house. These last structures were crop-specific. Because high-grade cotton could be ruined by trash and fragments of seed, processing and storage buildings were kept free of dust and litter. The best cotton barns were two-story buildings with glassed windows to light the interior without admitting breezes (Porcher and Fick 2005:370-371). Surrounding these settlements were fences, suggesting orderly yards and perhaps kitchen gardens.

The majority of auxiliary buildings on every plantation were slave cabins. There might be a few close to the main house, but the dwellings of field laborers were grouped in clusters or lines set near the main house, along the entry drive, or near the working areas. Slave settlements laid out in single or double rows provided a tidy appearance while allowing convenient oversight and supervision (Porcher and Fick 2005:375). They also reinforced the world view of the planter, creating order and the appearance of a small English village.

At least four slave settlements are present on these plans, with 30 structures visible. The 1860 slave schedule for Johns Island enumerates 2,228 slaves living in 682 houses – yielding an average of 3.3 occupants per house, assuming that all houses were occupied at the time of the census. This average, however ranges from 2 slaves per structure up to almost nine per structure.

The Civil War

One regiment was raised on Johns Island, called Captain Walpole's Cavalry or the Stono Scouts. They were an independent company of mounted infantry composed largely of the sons of plantation owners. They patrolled Johns Island to prevent looting, acted as lookouts, and provide videttes (sentries on horseback) for the coast between the North Edisto and Stono rivers. A portion of the muster roll is reproduced by Haynie (2007:23) and the roll is also available online at

http://www.geocities.com/screbels_1864/StonoScouts.html.

With the fall of Hilton Head and Beaufort in November 1861, the entire coast of South Carolina was placed at risk. General Robert E. Lee was sent to South Carolina to assume command of the department of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida. Seeing the impossibility of holding the sea island, his strategy was to concede the islands – including Johns Island – and create a mobile defense relying on securing the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. In that way he hoped to protect the mainland and, in particular Charleston and Savannah. A string of fortifications were created to guard the railroad.

Johns Island was ordered evacuated in late November, although as late as May 22-23, 1862 Confederate forces moved to Johns Island to remove slaves that had been left behind – 200 were found and were sent to the Charleston "workhouse to be fed and taken care of by the owners." The Confederates were also destroying cotton on the island to prevent it from being seized by Union forces (OR20, pg. 18-19).

In March 1862 Lee was replaced by Major General John C. Pemberton, who set about devising a string of defenses on James Island. Meanwhile the Union forces were jumping from island to island, approaching Charleston. Edisto was almost continuously occupied by Union forces, with the William Seabrook house and Oak Island plantation used as the headquarters and for billeting officers.

In contrast, Seabrook, Kiawah, and Johns Island were less important to the Union strategy and were occupied repeatedly by both sides. In April 1862 the Third New Hampshire Infantry made a brief reconnaissance to Seabrook Island. Evidently little activity was found on either Seabrook or Kiawah, although Confederate troops were clearly established on John's Island (OR14, pg. 3-4). Johns Island in particular became a no-man's land. This resulted in destruction by troops from both sides.

When Arnoldus Vanderhorst IV visited Kiawah in March 1862 he told Adele (his wife):

> Our own troops had broken into the fine dwelling house [of his neighbor, Isaac Wilson] and maliciously destroyed the furniture, and left the house in such a condition that it scarcely ever will be habitable for a decent family. The Vandals were not satisfied with this shameful destruction of private property, but were low enough to rob the poor old negro who was left to take care of the place of all his chickens, and they even went in his house, and stole a new pair of shoes that his master had given him. Is it not melancholy to think that we have such Barbarians amongst us, and that these are the men that the country looks to to fight its battles (South Carolina Historical Society 12/200/12).

In October 1863 Confederate General Harry A. Wise complained of the constant movement of men through his area. He noted that many were involved in various "depredations" in the area (OR47, pg. 387; see also Jordan and Stringfellow 1998:149). Wise's headquarters on Johns Island were at the "Fripp House" (OR65, pg. 590), one of several plantations owned by members of the Fripp family on the island.

The Coles Island fort, constructed during the War of 1812, was apparently reworked in early 1861 to guard the Stono River entrance. A February 6, 1861 *New York Times* article remarks that on February 2 "Fort Palmetto, on Cole's Island, in the harbor of South Carolina, was completed, and the soldiers

there celebrated." The article explains that the work was conducted by "some fifty negroes."

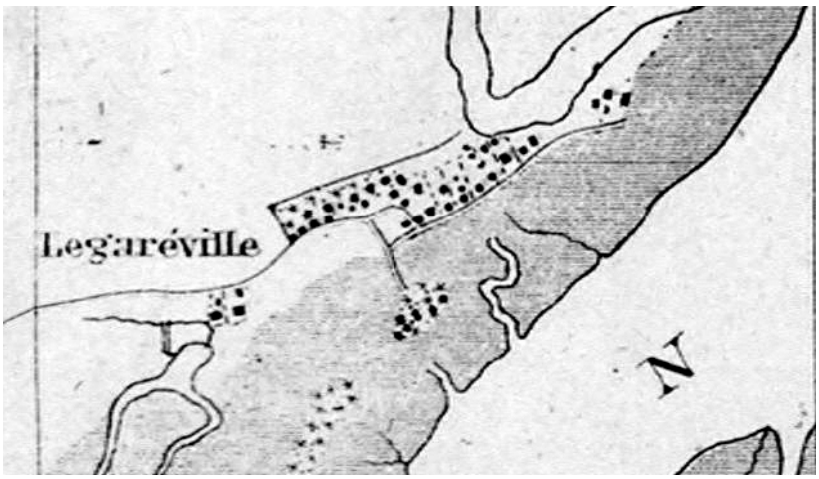


Figure 21. Legareville in 1863 (from US Coast Survey, Charleston Harbor and Its Approaches).

By March 7, however, the commanding officer, J.J. Pope, Jr. was complaining "the planters of John's Island, who volunteered to complete it, as I was informed, left it not half finished, and the troops have bestowed much labor upon it, to bring it to a defensible condition" (OR1, pg. 268). Of perhaps greater concern, the two 18 pound guns at the fort were unable to command the Stono. When fired their "balls failed to reach the Stono Channel."

Concerned that Charleston had insufficient men and artillery to protect itself, Confederate General John C. Pemberton ordered troops to abandon the Cole's and Folly Island defenses in March 1862 (Hagood 1910). The abandonment of these defensive lines allowed Union troops to move into the area without opposition in the Spring of 1862. It was at this time that the siege of Charleston began and the Civil War came to Johns Island.

The first major offensive on Charleston was the ill-fated June 1862 land attack of James Island. Just prior to this there was a brief skirmish on Johns Island with the Union troops overtaking a small party of Confederate pickets on June 7 at the "fork of the roads leading to Legareville and Haulover Bridge" (OR20, pg. 32). On June 9, Confederate troops sought to engage the Union forces in the vicinity of "Bryan's," but found that they had retired to Legareville (OR20, pg. 34).

On January 30, 1863 the Confederate batteries at Legare's Point Place on Johns Island (this was James Legare's "new" 1830 home west of Hancome's Point) and Grimball's on James Island, succeed in capturing the Union ship *Isaac Smith* on the Stono (OR20, pg. 201).

The second, equally disastrous, effort by the Union forces to take James Island was the combined naval and land attack in April 1863. In June 1863 the command of the islands around Charleston was given to General Quincy A. Gillmore and the previously defensive efforts were transformed into preparations to again launch an attack on Charleston. In July 1863 Union troops on Folly Island attacked adjacent Morris Island, easily establishing control over the southern end of the island. Three efforts to storm Battery Wagner were repulsed and the Union troops once again began siege tactics. In September the Confederate troops abandoned Morris Island, giving the Union forces a hollow victory and beginning the next phase in the long siege of Charleston. Union troops held a tenuous line along portions of Seabrook, Kiawah, Folly, and Morris islands, but failed to hold any significant portions of Johns or James Island.

The next mention of activities in the Johns Island area occurs on November 15, 1863. Union forces had been shelling the Haulover Cut area using a position at the bridge between Seabrook and Kiawah Island. A small contingent of Confederate forces sought to destroy the bridge, but discovered that the Union forces were much larger than anticipated. The Confederate dispatch revealed that Union

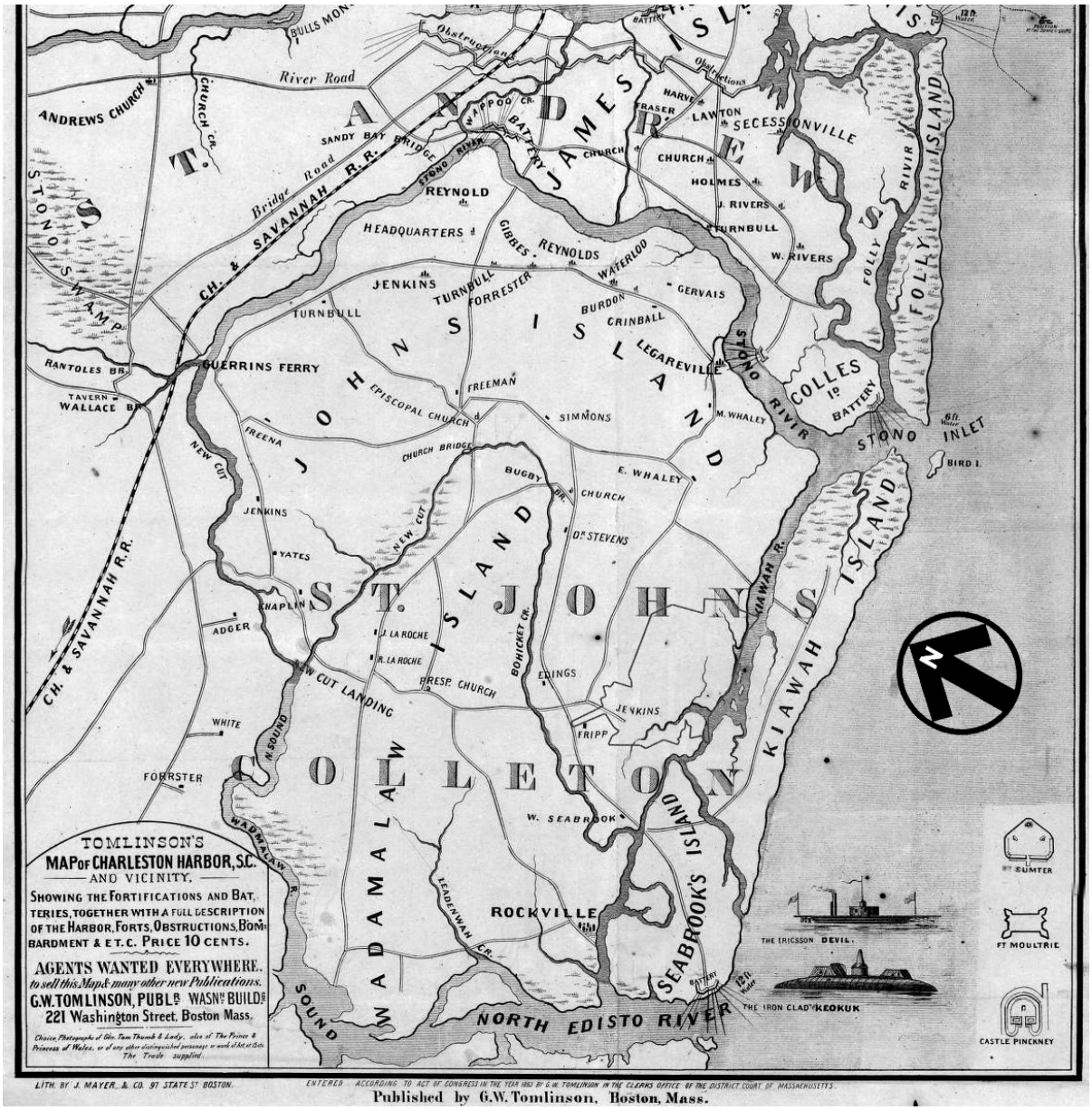


Figure 22. Johns Island in 1863 showing most of the locations referenced in the Civil War discussions (from Tomlinson's Map of Charleston Harbor, SC and Vicinity). Jenkins is misplaced and is actually west of the study area.

forces were well in control of Seabrook and were in the process of constructing an "observatory" at Clark's Bay (OR46, pg. 737-738).

This observatory was one of the signal towers being constructed from Hilton Head to Folly Island in an effort to allow uninterrupted communications along the coast. The tower was placed on the east end of Kiawah, "as so much smoke arises from the camps there and on Folly Island as to render it impossible to see a station on Folly Island from there [Botany Bay on Edisto Island]" (OR46, pg. 54).

The Legareville fortifications must have been reworked around December 1863. At that

time these emplacements held field artillery that fired on the Union gunboat *Marblehead* in the Stono River (December 25, 1863). The two upper batteries were sunken positions, while the one southern battery was a raised position. Other vessels came to the aid of the *Marblehead*, driving off the Confederate forces. The fortifications and two 8-inch siege howitzers were captured by the Union forces (OR46, pg. 752; OR111, pg. 16, 21).

It was probably these events that resulted in efforts by the Confederate forces to improve the defenses on Johns Island. Plans were developed for a "battery in embrasure for four field pieces at Ingle's old landing, opposite Thomas Becket's, on John's Island" (OR47, pg. 549). Even more elaborate works were suggested running across the island from the Stono to Bohicket Creek (OR65, pg. 527). None of this work, however, was ever conducted (OR65, pg. 528).

Always desperate for raw materials, in January 1864 Confederate General Harry A. Wise "ordered all the old iron to be picked up at and about deserted houses on John's Island and elsewhere throughout the district" (OR65, pg. 523).

Activities continued on Johns Island unabated in 1864. On February 9-11, 1864 the Union forces made a demonstration on Johns Island as a feint (OR65, pg. 31, 469, 582). The Union forces crossed over from Kiawah to Seabrook and from there crossed Haulover onto Johns Island. They traveled the Bohicket Road, meeting strong Confederate resistance at the junction of Bohicket and River roads – at what is called "the cocked hat." The Union forces retreated, leaving the Confederates again in control of Johns Island.

On June 3, 1864 Union forces conducted a reconnaissance of Johns Island as far as 3 miles west of Legareville (OR65, pg. 62). Another reconnaissance was conducted on June 19-22, 1864, this time with the battery near Legareville destroyed (OR65, pg. 13, 66).

Another major Union expedition to Johns Island resulted in a series of battles around Isaac Grimball's Waterloo Plantation on the Stono between July 2 and 10, 1864 (OR64, pg. 14-15; OR65, pg. 84-85, 266). These battles focused on the old ricefields, with the dikes serving as breastworks. The battle culminated in the July 9 action at Burden's causeway. Again Union forces retreated.

Although a small victory, the battle had no bearing on the war. Moreover, it did nothing to deter Union forces from returning to Johns Island. In mid-August the Union forces began tearing down some of the buildings at Legareville to use the lumber in their own camps. No longer able to mount any serious offensive against the incursion, the Confederate commander ordered the village burned rather than allow the Union forces to use the materials. Thus, on August 20, 1864 a Confederate raiding party under Major John Jenkins burned Legareville (OR65, pg. 268-269). It was about this time that the St. John's Parish Episcopal church, rebuilt after its loss during the Revolution, was destroyed by fire (MacCallum 1970:22).

By January 1865 the Confederate forces had again erected new batteries on Johns Island near the Stono. Although the communication does not indicate the location, it seems likely that it would have been in the same approximate location as those destroyed in June 1864 (OR99, pg. 49).

Although the Confederates held Johns Island, Charleston was a "mere desolated wreck." What remained of the Confederate forces after the fall of Atlanta and Savannah abandoned the city in February 1865. The city surrendered and, while it avoided Sherman, was nevertheless occupied by Federal troops on February 18, 1865.

The loss of the Civil War caused exceptional social and economic disruption throughout South Carolina. A labor force that

Table 6.
Losses Claimed by Johns Island Planters During the Civil War

Planter	Plantation Name	Date of Loss	Slaves #	Slaves $	House #	House $	Other Bldg. #	Other Bldg. $	Other Goods #	Other Goods $
Brown, James		May 1862	3	525.00						
Grimball, Isaac P.		May 20, 1862	79							
Townsend, Mrs. Mary S.	Head Quarters		42	37,800.00			steam engine, gins, machinery	2,000.00	utensils, carts, &c	200.00
Townsend, Mrs. Mary S.	Oakland		10	9,000.00						
Curtis, Dr. Thomas			13	11,550.00	damaged		2 corn hs, dairy, kitchen, poultry hs, cotton hs, stables, carriage hs, 8 negro houses		fencing	
Curtis, Francis S.		April 1862	4	4,000.00						
McElhenny, E.T.			7	7,000.00						
Burden, Est. Kinsey			10	8,300.00			cotton hs	500.00	sundaries, whippers, cotton frames, grain seive. Seives, foot seive, plough, hoes, corn sheller, xcut saws, whip saws, carpenter tools, anvils, fodder cutters, wheel barrows, tool chest, pick ax, grubbing hoe, weights, scale, block & tackle	1,119.00
Whaley, Edward C.		May 1862	6	5,500.00			corn hs	150.00		
Angel, Mrs. M.						4,000.00				
Angel, Dr. J.W.			6	1,800.00			machine hs	700.00		
Angel, Miss J.H.			3	1,800.00						
Pelot, Mrs. M.C.			3	3,000.00						
Totals				$90,275.00		$4,000.00		$3,350.00		$1,319.00

Planter	Household Goods #	Household Goods $	Boats #	Boats $	Carriages #	Carriages $	Cotton (bales) #	Cotton (bales) $	Corn #	Corn $	s #	s $	Pease #	Pease $	Stock #	Stock $
Brown, James			1 - 10 oar 1 - 4 oar	300.00	1 carriage	100.00	7	903.00	600 bu	750.00	4a				10 cattle	125.00
Grimball, Isaac P.	furniture	2,500.00	1 - 12 oar 1 - 6 oar 1- 4 oar 4 - flats	1,000.00											40 cattle 24 sheep 3 mules	560.00
Townsend, Mrs. Mary S.	furniture	500.00						3,000.00								
Townsend, Mrs. Mary S.	furniture	500.00						2,200.00								
Curtis, Dr. Thomas	furniture	1,349.00	1 - 8 oar	230.00					259a		6a		32a		1 horse	275.00
Curtis, Francis S.															6 sheep	
McElhenny, E.T.	furniture	200.00							110 bu	165.00					6 cattle	250.00
Burden, Est. Kinsey	negro clothing, blankets; furniture, bedding, crockery &c	700.00	2 - canoes 2 - flats	350.00	1 carriage 5 wheels	290.00									3 horses	130.00
Whaley, Edward C.	furniture	200.00	1 - boat	80.00					250 bu	375.00					18 cattle 30 sheep 2 horses	610.00
Angel, Mrs. M.		500.00														
Angel, Dr. J.W.																
Angel, Miss J.H.																
Pelot, Mrs. M.C.																
Totals		$6,449.00		$1,960.00		$390.00		$6,103.00		$1,290.00						$1,950.00

had been previously depended on to make planters wealthy was no longer available. In fact, the entire financial system had collapsed.

These losses are perhaps nowhere better documented in the "Losses Due to the Enemy" where families itemized losses in the hopes of being reimbursed by the state. These data are shown in Table 6. Although interesting, they be carefully interpreted and certainly tell us more about a few of the individual properties than either about the island or the nature of the losses. For example, we do see an interesting assortment of structures, clearly supporting the wide variety described by Porcher and Fick (2005). We see that several plantations had steam engines to power their gins; we also get an idea of the cost of utilitarian buildings, such as cotton houses and corn houses – and the data again supports the assertion by Porcher and Fick (2005:370) concerning the care taken in construction of cotton houses. The data from the Kinsey Burden plantation gives us a better understanding of the range of tools and supplies present on a cotton plantation. Included are items of critical importance, such as the scale and weights for the cotton. We also see the range of "plantation boats," obtaining a better idea of their value.

Only three of the 16 accounts list cotton. Since the losses occurred in May the current year's crop would have only recently been planted. Thus, the cotton destroyed must have been held back from the previous year, perhaps in hope of better prices. The value of .43¢ a pound used by one claimant seems reasonable. Another, however, claimed for "cotton . . . abandoned in the field," which seems optimistic – and clearly a practice not followed by most claimants.

While corn was valued by the planters, those making claims for potatoes and pease simply listed the acreage – no value was assigned. This may suggest that these crops were not as highly regarded as either cotton or corn.

Some claims also make some general reference to the occurrence of the loss – most indicate that the losses were the result of abandonment (the property fell "into the hands of the enemy" or was abandoned "to them"). Some, however indicate other causes. Grimball, for example, explains that his sheep and mules were taken by Confederate forces. Thomas Curtis "regretted" that the losses "had been done by the troops of Confederacy." Burden claimed that some of blacks escaped as a result of the "insufficient guard of the Cavalry." Several planters also reported that their cotton houses and other plantation items were destroyed upon the orders of "Brig. Gen [N.G.] Evans."

Reconstruction

As the various Civil War accounts reveal, the abandonment of the sea islands was not complete. Many African Americans remained on plantations for the entire war (Schwalm 1997:157). In June 1862 Congress adopted legislation enforcing the Direct Tax Act of 1861 in the seceded states; it provided for forfeiture to the government of land whose owners failed to pay the tax and for its subsequent lease or sale.

General Sherman's Field Order No. 15 allotted the sea islands south of Charleston to the freedmen, a move that brought confusion among whites and ultimately disappointment to the black population. President Andrew Johnson rescinded the order in February 1866, but there were many delays in the restoration process.

While Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, Robert K. Scott, sought to delay the process of restoration, General James C. Beecher, the brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe, was one of several military officers who took control of the low country out of the hands of Bureau, following military policy instead. Stationed in Summerville as a subassistant commissioner, Beecher developed his own policy of what would recognized as a

valid claim to land, intending to bring the possessory land titles of African Americans to a quick test.

To be valid, the claim had to be a written certificate, it must specify the number of acres, the plot had to have been "duly measured and staked out," and had to have been occupied by the claimant. If these tests were met, the claimant had a right to the soil only – "no land claim or warrant includes any buildings upon the ground claimed or upon the plantation, or right to occupy the same" (Saville 1996:83).

Using this approach, the more than 11,000 claims on Johns and Wadmalaw islands were reduced to a mere 11 valid certificates. By mid-February Federal troops under Beecher's command began to "clean out" settlers who refused contracts after their claims were judged invalid.

Island blacks struggled against these efforts. Schwalm explains that on Johns and Wadmalaw,

> freed people held public meetings, organized commissions, appointed delegations, and formed paramilitary guards to protest the accelerating process of restoration, and to prevent white landowners from setting foot on the islands and usurping their own claims to the land (Schwalm 1997:80).

Powell recounts an event on Johns Island when island blacks arrested a party of Northerners who landed on the island to visit land they were thinking of purchasing. The blacks marched the party to see the resident bureau chief. During the marsh the group grew to more than 150 armed and angry African Americans, threatening to kill any "cursed white man who cum on Jim or Jon for take he property" (Powell 1980:99-100).

Beecher's response was to arrest the black instigators. Elsewhere he issued orders prohibiting blacks from holding meetings. He also used the dispensing of rations as a control mechanism (Powell 1980:100).

By March 1866 the state office issued instructions on possessory titles. While more liberal, these rules allowed only about 450 certificates to be recognized on the islands (Saville 1996:84). This amounted to less than one-fifth of the African American families on Edisto, Johns, and Wadmalaw islands. By June 1866 Freedmen's Bureau inspectors found only 141 possessory titles survived to "encumber" 32 plantations – only a tenth of the 310 plantations that had originally been identified as abandoned on Edisto, Johns, Wadmalaw, and James islands in August 1865 (Saville 1996:85).

Beecher's reputation began to sour by the end of 1866 and he was not allowed to reenlist at the end of this tour. Critics accused him of doing the planters' bidding, rather than working for the best interests of the freedmen. One critic wrote, "The job of turning out of house and home the poor loyal freedmen, to make place for rebels steeped in treason, was given to Col. Beecher, because his name and his antecedents might make the inhumanity seem less inhuman" (Singleton 1999). Twenty years later, after suffering severe depression, Beecher took his own life in upstate New York (James C. Beecher's Suicide, *New York Times*, August 26, 1886, pg. 1).

Ultimately the efforts by blacks to retain their lands were unsuccessful and by the close of 1866, the planters were again in possession of almost all of the islands that had not been sold outright by the Direct Tax Commission. Former slaves had little choice but to work as wage laborers and tenant farmers (Bleser 1969:12).

In March 1869 the legislature created the Land Commission – a unique Reconstruction program intended to provide freedmen with affordable land. The commission was to

purchase land for the state, then subdivide it for sale on reasonable terms to the poor of both races. The law effectively excluded speculators; poor whites largely refused to participate. The program was adandoned in 1890 because of corruption, but not before at least 960 deeds were issued (Bleser 1969:146).

White planters in the St. Johns Colleton 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 later espoused by the Freedmen's Bureau. To support the wage system no less than seven major types of contracts were used by Southern planters (see Shlomowitz 1979).

For example, the Freedmen's Bureau "Register of land and occupants, 1865-1868" (Series M869, Reel 30) lists the population at the 670 acre Briars Plantation, east of the study tract, on January 26, 1866, when it was restored to Dr. B. D. Roper, Jr. Twenty-one people – six men, seven women, and eight children – were in residence, and Roper was required to draw up a labor contract with them (Series M869, Reel 32, pg. 586).

A number of white planters applied for government rations in February 1868. Among them was James Legare Walpole, who was,

> desirous of obtaining . . . provisions for the freedmen and women now on my plantation [Acorn Hill] on Johns Island who are in a destitute condition. I intend planting if I can procure this aid seventy acres of cotton, sixty acres of corn. I have now on my plantation eighteen men, twenty-one women, two infirm, and seventeen children. On account of the failure of crops last year the people have no means of support and I am unable to render any. My plantation is in thorough discipline and hope General that you will endeavor to aid us if it is in your power as soon as possible as we cannot commence operations until we receive aid." Approved, S. B. Thompson, Feb. 21, 1868 (Series 1910, Reel 85, pg. 227).

The St. Stephens planter Thomas L. Gourdin used a contract that agreed to share crops equally with the freedmen, except for cotton, two-third of which was retained by Gourdin. While he allowed them to remain in their houses, they must furnish all of their own food and clothing. They agreed to "submit at all times" to the Gourdin's control, "to behave in a respectfull [sic] and orderly manner" and to do a "reasonable days work," defined as 10 hours "such as formerly done on the plantation." The freedmen were prohibited from possessing firearms or liquor, entertaining company, or bringing animals onto the plantation (Theodor L. Gourdin Papers, Folder 16, South Carolina Historical Society). Such restrictive contracts were the norm and often resulted in appeals by planters to the Freedmen's Bureau to help restore order on plantations.

This system 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 1981:596).

While land and labor policies generally worked to the disadvantage of island blacks, the Freedmen's Bureau did establish schools on Johns Island. In December 1865 a school was

established at McIlhenny's Plantation, north of Legareville, on the southwest side of Plowground Road and River Road and the school at Townsend Plantation (Rushland) was opened in March 1866 (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series 803, Reel 29, pg. 35). At the end of 1866 the McIlhenny School had one African American teacher, 62 students, with an average attendance of 47. These schools expanded to five by November 1868, supported by Methodist Freedmen's Aid Association. The teachers were listed as Miss Mary L. Sharp, Israel Seabrook, Rev. W. H. Hunter, Mrs. Scudder (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series 803, Reel 29).

Jackson provides another view of Johns Island schools, noting that the May 1866 issue of the *American Freedman* reported one school on Johns Island, operated by the non-sectarian New England Freedmen's Aid Society (Jackson 1923:22). As late as 1872 the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was still teaching on Johns Island (Jackson 1923:26).

The Freedmen's Bureau also provided medical assistance to the island's blacks. While most of this work responded to immediate problems, there were also preventative health programs. On September 12, 1867, Col. M. K. Hogan, Surgeon in Chief, at Charleston wrote to J. L. Beckett, the Assistant Surgeon with the Bureau on John's Island,

> You will at once commence a thorough system of vaccination amongst the Refugees and Freed People of your sub district, and to make it as complete as possible, measurers should be taken to find out all persons who have not been vaccinated who, either through carelessness or from any other cause, fail to report themselves to you for this purpose. . . . On the reopening of schools, no person should be admitted who has not previously been vaccinated. . . . as the subject of vaccination is a very important one, you are requested to give it due encouragement amongst the people generally (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series 1910, Reel 85, pg. 197).

Post Reconstruction

Ninety 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 noticeably declined over the past five years (Anonymous 1884:47-48).

The monthly wage for farm labor was between $8 a month plus rations. Another reports that day labor, "while becoming very scarce" was paid at the rate of 50¢ a day (Anonymous 1880). "The system most in vogue is for the laborers to give two days in every week to the landowner for 8 to 10 acres of land and a house" (Anonymous 1884:48). This was the same system described by the 1880 census taker as "rent paid in labour. The Black's work 1 to 1¼ acre of Land for the Manager or owner for 5 to 8 acres for themselves." Hilgard (1884:516) reports the same system for Johns Island, "most . . . are engaged for two days' work a week by allowing them a house, fuel, and 6 or 7 acres of land free of rent." He notes, however, that the whites were already finding the system unsatisfactory. Land worked by whites was improving, while that worked by the blacks on their own account was deteriorating rapidly. He observed, "the labor is not so easily controlled as when cash wages are paid."

The comments concerning South Carolina lien law are particularly revealing:

> it demoralizes the labor, is bad for the farmers and is good for the merchants. It works injury to the white and colored farmers, as it induces idleness as

Table 7.
1870 Agricultural Census for Johns Island (NR = not reported in published compendium)

		Land Occupied or Improved						Livestock						
		Farms	Acres improved	Acres Unimproved	Value of farm	Value of implements	Wages pd./year	Horse, asses, mules	Milch cows	Working oxen	Other cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of livestock
Charleston	1870	2,494	168,393	437,739	2,984,178	124,021	226,576	2,264	2,565	353	NR	2,869	10,390	433,011
St. Johns	1870	522	31,215	21,883	154,853	55,160	78,614	431	102	16	163	250	622	120,837
Johns Island	1870	400	9,759	9,607	138,424	11,151	16,533	119	39	12	149	189	388	21,385

		Agricultural Production										
		Rye & oats, bu	Corn, bu	Irish potatoes, bu	Sweet potatoes, bu	Peas & beans, bu	Butter, lbs	Rice, lbs	Value of garden produce	Cotton, bales	Wool, lbs	Value animals slaughtered
Charleston	1870	1,915	170,087	NR	62,984	NR	NR	4,329,217	43,601	5,512	2,257	36,302
St. Johns	1870	669	24,241	358	11,693	3,584	50	1,200,000	3,980	3,584	-	40
Johns Island	1870	618	16,709	84	9,492	1,824	-	-	3,980	385	-	-

> long as their supplies last. Famers who run on liens entirely rarely if ever do more than pay out at the end of the year (Anonymous 1884:48).

South Carolina's lien law was first passed in 1866, allowing the lender the first lien on the crop when the agreement was properly registered in the county clerk's office. The concept of the lien law was simple – 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.

The Republicans dramatically altered this law in 1873, allowing the renter the first claim on any crops he produced – thereby protecting the freedman farmer. Often liens would be issued by the landowner for use of the land, the merchant who provided supplies, and the fertilizer company that sold the guano. Some planters also required a lien against not only the prospective crop, but also the debtor's personal property, such as horses, mules, and oxen (Williamson 1965:171-172).

The 1877 legislature repealed the Republican's lien law. Suddenly realizing what they had done, in 1878 during Wade Hampton's administration the legislature reenacted the lien laws before the state's agricultural system was paralyzed.

However valuable the lien system may have been, 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; Hilgard 1883:517 reports similar figures – from 20 to 100% above the market value).

In 1882 it was reported that Charleston posted 1,331 liens, totaling $180,117.20 (South Carolina Legislative Reports and Resolutions, 1882).

Postbellum Agriculture

The first agricultural census after the Civil War reveals a proliferation of farms – representing the large number of freedmen in Charleston. On Johns Island the number of farms increased from 43 prior to the Civil War, to 400 in 1870. The average number of improved acres in a holding prior to the Civil War was about 450 acres. By 1870, this had declined to

just 24 acres. The total farm value for the island declined by more than three quarters.

Milk cows declined by 96%, from 1,088 to just 39. The overall value of livestock declined by 70%. Cotton production declined by over 60%, corn by over 50%, sweet potatoes by 84%. The agricultural economy of the island was devastated.

The value of garden produce shows the least severe drop – "only" 19%, suggesting that the islanders continued to engage in early truck farming. Johns Island was also the only district in St. Johns Colleton to report garden produce, although the island contributed only 9% of the county's total.

If the census data are correct, then Johns Island's cotton production was dwarfed by that of Edisto, which in 1870 produced 1,245 bales. On Edisto it seems clear that blacks and whites alike planted little besides cotton – they produced only 2,053 bushels of corn and 1,678 bushels of sweet potatoes. Edisto also produced the only rice from St. Johns Colleton – 1,200,000 pounds, nearly 28% of that reported from Charleston District. These data leave unaddressed the issue of decision making – exactly why we see the differences between the islands.

In 1879 the *New York Times* remarked that truck farming, which sprang up "almost immediately after the close of the war" was certain to be the "solution of the low-country problem" being as profitable if not more so than cotton. The article explains how the planting of crops such as strawberries and potatoes had taken over the Neck area between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers with 1,543 acres being planted. The article notes that truck farming, even this early, was not confined to the Neck, but was to be found in Christ Church, on James Island, in St. Andrew's Parish, and on Johns, Wadmalaw, and Edisto islands (Anonymous 1879).

By 1880 the number of farms in St. Johns more than doubled, increasing from 522 in 1870 to 1,285. In addition, 10,000 acres went out of production. Cotton fell from 3,584 bales to 3,079. On the other hand, the production of corn more than doubled, from 24,241 bushels to 56,796 bushels.

On Johns Island we find 115 owners compared to the 43 antebellum owners. This indicates around 72 new property owners, many of whom were African Americans.

Some were the blacks that had purchased the Townsend property, Rushland,

Table 8.
1880 Agricultural Statistics for Charleston by Township
(adapted from Butler 1883:Table V)

Township	No. Farms	Acres Tilled	Cotton		Rice, bu.	Corn, bu.
			Acres	Bales		
Christ Church	51	24,919	627	394	860	6,700
City of Charleston	-	696	-	-	-	-
St. Andrews	408	10,476	1,498	887	2,070	11,011
St. James Goose Creek	874	23,920	5,875	2,477	45,134	102,548
St. James Santee	210	6,126	158	71	50,703	8,982
St. Johns Berkeley	938	19,720	5,649	1,890	145,414	35,434
St. Johns Colleton (% of aggregate)	1,285 (45.2%)	21,073 (18.0%)	9,826 (39.6%)	3,079 (33.7%)	34,565 (10.6%)	56,796 (23.2%)
St. Stephens	300	6,394	990	290	3,300	18,929
St. Thomas/St. Dennis	60	3,419	177	53	45,108	4,766
Totals	2,841	95,670	14,974	6,062	292,589	188,370

Table 9.
Agricultural Data for Johns Island, 1880

Operator			Improved		Unimproved				Corn		Cotton		Sweet Potatoes		
Owner	Fixed Rental	Shares	Acres Tilled	Pasture	Forest	Other	Farm Value $	Livestock Value $	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bales	Acres	Bushels	Tilled Acres With Other Crops
115	284	40	7,106	2,301	7,737	2,280	26,309,224	25,548	2,967	15,995	2,994	901	450	12,898	695

on the Stono. The property was sold by the Land Commission in small tracts and by 1872 there were 44 certificates of purchase. In 1880 there were still 29 blacks (two-thirds) in residence (Bleser 1969:162).

These owners, black or white, were in a minority – there were 324 tenants. Most of these were identified as paying a fixed rental. Forty (12%), however, were identified by the enumerator as "rent paid in labour. The Black's work 1 to 1¼ acre of Land for the Manager or owner for 5 to 8 acres for themselves." A relatively small proportion of the island's land – just over a third – was being cultivated. The remainder was in pasture (12%), woods (40%), or were old fields (12%). The quantity of old fields indicates that much of what was once cultivated had been abandoned.

The cultivated land was about evenly split between corn and cotton. The 439 farms raised 901 bales of cotton. Although this yields an average of 2 bales per farm, nearly double the production in 1870, the number is deceiving. A very large number of the small African American farmers, tilling only a few acres, reported harvesting as little as 1/8 or 1/6 bale – 50 to 70 pounds of cotton. At an 1880 market value of 31¢ a pound, they would have made only $15 to $20 gross, before any expenses were deducted. The per acre yield was also less than 1/3 bale or about 120 pounds per acre.

Corn production was roughly stable compared to a decade earlier. Sweet potato production, however, was up dramatically – from 9,492 bushels in 1870 to 12,898 bushels in 1880. It may be that the African Americans, realizing that they would be unable to feed their families on cotton and perhaps even resistant to planting the crop of slavery, sought to maximize their self reliance through corn and sweet potatoes.

An early review of the area is offered by the *News and Courier* in an 1880 article. Readers were told that the island contained around 40,000 acres (only 19,424 acres were enumerated) and that only about 17,560 acres were arable, the rest being swamp (this essentially agrees with the census data). The paper notes that, "the most fertile lands are on the outskirts running along the waters which surround it [the island], and the interior is one vast and almost impenetrable swamp." The population of the island was reported to be 5,000 Africans Americans and 200 whites, with cotton planted by only 26 of the whites, none had more than 45 acres in cotton. If correct, this indicates the difficulty of obtaining workers and the uncertainty that prevailed during this time.

Readers were told that, "the spirit of progress is not apparent among the John's Islanders as on the other islands, and they are much behind in their mode of cultivation." This complaint focused almost entirely on the failure to install "underdrainage" or tile drains to promote the drainage of fields for cotton.

The article explains that prior to the increased use of fertilizer, 100 pounds of cotton to the acre was about the best to be hoped for, with most blacks producing only 50 to 75 pounds. With fertilizer these yields doubled – the 120 pounds per acre reported by the census does seem to support this boosterism.

Postbellum Island Conditions

While the article reports that the price of land on Johns Island was about $10 an acre, Hilgard values Johns Island land from $2.50 to $20 an acre (Hilgard 1884:516). There were two white churches (the Episcopal and the Presbyterian) and 13 African American churches. There was no white school on the island, but there were 12 black schools, although "the attendance is not very regular, and the improvement in education is not so marked as on the other islands." The roads and bridges were reported to be in good condition and "well worked," although the residents were anxious to have the Bugby Bridge (connecting Wadmalw

and Johns islands), burned during the Civil War, replaced (Anonymous 1880).

It was around this time that Johns Island briefly joined Berkeley County, so the study area is included in Berkeley by the *News and Courier* in its 1880-1884 review. Unfortunately Berkeley County included over 2,000 square miles and ranged from Edisto Island at the southern tip to the Santee River in the north. Even a small portion of what is today southern Orangeburg County was included.

Nevertheless, Berkeley included 51 grist mills, 15 steam rice threshing mills, eight lumber mills, 30 turpentine stills, and three brick works (on the Wando and Cooper rivers). Given the agricultural variation, the author explained:

> Berkeley County is peculiarly an agricultural district, the products being mainly confined to sea island cotton and garden vegetables. John's Island, Wadmalaw Island and Edisto Island form the southern boundary of the county and produce the bulk of the sea island crop. Vegetable gardening is carried on most extensively in Christ Church and St. Andrew's Parishes and upon Wadmalaw Island. St. Andrew's Parish is largely devoted to phosphate mining. In the parishes of St. James Santee, Goosecreek, St. John's and St. Stephen's lie large and extensive rice lands (Anonymous 1884:47).

In spite of the size, the county could boast of only 17 sowers, 22 reapers, nine sulky plows, and 70 harrows. As an indicator of the fertilizer rage, however, there were 220 guano spreaders. The general complaint was that farm labor – meaning blacks – was less productive than last year and far less productive than five years ago. This may be seen in the increasing tendency for blacks to plant corn and sweet potatoes, rather than cotton.

There were 189 cotton gins, "mostly for long cotton." The average haul was 5 miles and the average cost of ginning was $9 a bale for long and $2 a bale for short.

The commentator summed up his observations by noting,

> It is a notorious fact that those farmers who have met with success have not made their money solely by cotton planting, but by combining with cotton planting; ginning for toll and store-keeping. The great mistake is that the farms have not been made self-supporting. Too little attention is paid to the raising of provision crops and to the raising of hogs and cattle (Anonymous 1884:48).

Butler (1883:668) fails to note any stores on Johns Island, although there were nine on Edisto Island, one in Rockville (on Wadmalaw Island), and seven in Enterprise (also on Wadmalaw Island, across the Wadmalaw River from the community of Yonges Island). This suggests that at the end of the nineteenth century Johns Island remained a very isolated, and largely self-sufficient, location.

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).

Hilgard (1884) provides an overview of cotton cultivation on the sea islands. Although two of his informants were from James Island and a third was from Edisto, the fourth was W. Edings Fripp of Johns Island.

One of the most notable features of cotton tillage were the "remarkably high beds on which cotton is planted here, being from 18 inches to 2 feet high" (Hilgard 1884:505). These, he noted, in conjunction with open drains, were in lieu of the subsurface drainage used in other locations. Tile drains are mentioned only for James Island. Plows were coming into more common use throughout the area. Cotton was planted on fields every other year, with stock turned out on the fields during the intervening years. Hilgard notes that about half of the land had passed out of cultivation since the Civil War, with the proportion about the same on Wadmalaw, but much lower on the other islands (Hilgard 1884:502).

The planting began with hoeing off the weeds ("hurricane"), cutting up the cotton stalks, and burning off the litter. In early February "two furrows of a single-horse turning-plow are run in the old alleys, making a trench 7 to 8 inches deep." A subsoil plow may be used next, based on the character of the subsoil. In the trench made by the subsoiler, or in the middle of the alley if no subsoiler was used, manure was placed. This manure was generally about 20 cart-loads of marsh mud mixed with 1,000 to 1,400 pounds of cottonseed. Commercial fertilizer is then drilled into this compost. He comments that on Johns Island the typical fertilizer was a mixture of 250 pounds of acid phosphate, 200 pounds of kainit (German potash salt), and 200 pounds of calcined marl per acre (Hilgard 1884:510).

With this done the land was ready for listing – using a hoe to place soil from the tops and sides of the old bed on the manure. Some of the more modern farmers used a turning plow to accomplish this, the advantage being that the labor of a plow cost about 17½¢ an acre, compared to 80¢ for hoeing. He points out, however, that hoeing is far more accurate in getting the soil exactly where it needs to be. Afterwards, a double roller weighing about 800 pounds was used to compact the soil.

Planting might begin anytime after March 20, although April 1 through 10 was preferred. Hilgard contends that mechanical cotton planters weren't used on the sea islands, a view endorsed by Porcher and Fick (2005:168). Instead the work was done by three hands. The one in front chopped a hole on top of the bed at intervals of 12 to 18 inches using a hoe. Another dropped eight to 10 seeds in each hole, and the third hand followed, covering the seeds. Germination occurred in about eight to 12 days and the stand was "perfected" from the second week in April to the first week in May.

Table 10.
1870 Commercial Gins on Johns Island (Industrial Schedule)

									Production		
Firm	Capital	Gin	#	Males 16+	Females 16+	Child.	Total Yearly Wages	# Months	Cotton	Seed (lbs)	Value
Beckett & Walpole	$1,000	saw	1	4	1	1	$100	2	18 bales	24,000	$7,064
Beckett & Walpole	$1,000	McCarthy	2	4	1	1	$200	3	20 bags	14,000	$1,680
W.S. Whaley	$1,350	McCarthy	3	7	8	1	$240	4	11 bags	14,000	$1,970
William Gregg	$2,000	McCarthy	3	6	12	-	$1,000	3	50 bags	60,000	$9,000

Next came cultivation – a hoeing in early May, another in late May when some of the cotton would be thinned. Then a plow was used to "break out the middles (the spaces between the new beds where the old beds stood" (Hilgard 1884:511). Hands followed the plow, using hoes to pull up the loose soil to the foot of the cotton plants – a practice called "hauling." This prevented the cotton from "flagging" or falling down from its own weight. It also reduced competition from grass. There were four hoeing and hauling by the last week in July. During each one, additional cotton

would be thinned, so that by July only one stalk per bunch was left. At this time a side sweep plow would be used to sweep between the rows in August to destroy grass.

The first blooms appeared about the middle of June, when the cotton was about 15 inches high. The bolls opened toward the end of August, when the plants were about 4 to 5 feet high.

Table 11.
Stores operated in the Johns Island area, 1889
(R.G. Dun & Co. 1889)

Store	Possible Location	Financial Strength ($)	General Credit
Johns Island			
Andell, William	Andell's Bluff	5,000-10,000	good
Bailey, Charles E.		<1,000	limited
Brown, Charles (AA)		<1,000	limited
Bryan, Edward B.	Chaplin	<1,000	limited
Ellison, J.W.		<500	
Harding, George M.			fair
Legare, F.Y.	Mullet Hall	10,000-20,000	good
Nelson, F.L. (AA)		<500	
Nelson, W.A. (AA)			
Seabrook, E.M.	Ferry Field	<500	
Seile [Seele], Charles			
Struhs, H. (grocery & liquor)			
Walpole & Co.		<1,000	fair
Whaley, C.G.	Auld Reeckie	<500	
Enterprise			
Bailey, H.J.		<500	
Jenkins, R.H.		<1,000	
Lancaster, H.C.			fair
LaRoche, J.E.		<500	
Martin's Point			
Geraty & Towles			
Wadmalaw			
Jenkins, A.H.		<500	
Schaffer, E.A.	New Cut	1,000-2,000	fair

Cotton picking began the last week in August to the second week in September. For this first picking, when the crop was "thin" planters paid pickers 1½¢ per pound of seed cotton. The price fell to 1¢ a pound for subsequent pickings until the last of November, when it rose again to 1½ to 2¢ per pound. By December 15 the entire crop had been gathered.

Fripp observed for Johns Island that no improved planting implements were necessary – "any one hand, with ordinary implements and management, can make four times as much cotton as he can gather" (Hilgard 1884:511). It was complained that the cotton picker "already pockets one-sixth of the gross value of the crop, and is a heavy burden on the producer" (Hilgard 1884:511). While not discussed by Hilgard, it is likely that this "surplus" labor contributed to the large number of African Americans who left the cotton plantations to work in the phosphate mines during certain times of the year (Trinkley et al. 2006).

Hilgard (1884:514) observes that ginning, baling, and shipping the cotton are standard activities and there is nothing unusual about the practices in the coastal region. However, there were significant differences between Sea Island cotton ginning and packing and the methods used on the mainland.

Instead of the saw gin common elsewhere, long-staple cotton planters continued to rely on roller gins. With human-powered foot gins having largely been abandoned, the McCarthy roller gin, powered by either steam or animals, was ubiquitous (Porcher and Fick 2005: 219).

Hilgard observed that the roller gin (used for long staple cotton) with steam power made 400 to 600 pounds of lint in a 10 hour day. This lint was packed in round bags 7½ feet long. Fripp explained that it was done using "a hole in the floor, hung bag, iron pestle, and a negro" (Hilgard 1884:514). Three bags can be pressed a day, with the bag weight being about 350 pounds. He notes that 1,600 pounds of seed cotton is required to yield 400 pounds of lint. These bags were also not bound with ties, as were the bales of short staple cotton.

The 1870 Industrial Schedules note a steam-powered grist mill and a steam-powered cotton gin on James Island. At Enterprise Landing on Wadmalaw Island there was a steam grist mill and a steam gin with five McCarthy gins, operating six months a year with an average of twenty-five hands. The grist mill had a much smaller force, averaging one

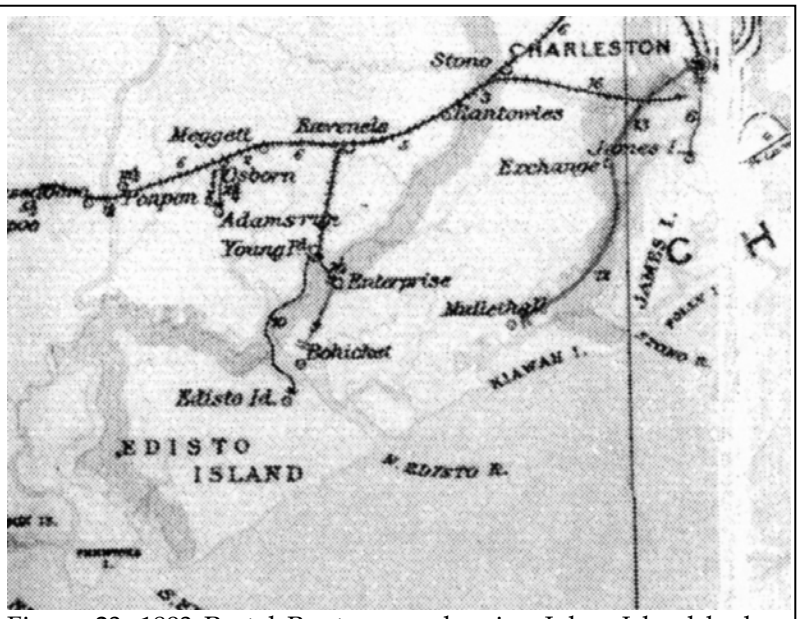


Figure 23. 1893 Postal Route map showing Johns Island had a post office at Mullet Hall by this time. Mail arrived by steamer from Charleston after a stop at the Exchange Post Office.

man and two women. There were four commercial gins on Johns Island (Table 10).

There was also a steam sawmill on Johns Island, operated by J. M. Humbert. He reported to the census that he operated for ten months of the year, averaging thirty hands (all men at least sixteen years old) and paying total wages of $8000 in 1869. He produced 1.4 million board feet of lumber, valued at $16,000.

We could not find individual industrial statistics for St. Johns, Colleton Parish in 1880. Nine commercial gin operations were enumerated on James Island.

The major threat to the crop was the cotton caterpillar (the boll weevil wouldn't arrive until 1919). The caterpillar arrived during warm, wet spells during the late summer and quickly ate the foliage. Planters, however, learned to control the pest with Paris green (copper(II)-acetoarsenite) using a mixture of 1 pound Paris green, 1 pound of rosin, and 40 pounds of flour. It was dusted over the crops by hand when the caterpillar was first seen.

The End of the Nineteenth Century

In 1889 the Johns Island area (including the Johns Island station on the mainland) boasted 12 general stores and one grocer (Table 11). Five of the general merchandise stores may be commissaries operated by planters. Three of the stores were operated by African Americans. A list from 1890-1891 includes six general merchandise stores, including Andell, Seabrook, Seel [Seele], Walpole & Co., and Whaley & Co. The only individual not on the earlier list was F.Y. Legare – who operated the Mullet Hall commissary (Anonymous 1890:268).

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 with a single-minded focus, the state's farmers planted cotton at the expense of provision crops, further compounding their problems. Add to this a series of droughts and other natural disasters, 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 helped propel Edgefield's Ben Tillman into the governor's seat in 1890.

Figure 24. Wilson's photograph after the Charleston earthquake entitled, "Track out of line." This image was taken about 3 miles west of the Rantowles Station, northwest of Johns Island and east of Ravenel.

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. Instead he promoted violence against blacks.

Natural Disasters

On August 31, 1886 at approximately 9:50 p.m. an estimated magnitude 7.3 earthquake struck the Charleston area, resulting in at least 83 deaths and extensive damage to the buildings of Charleston. Damage extended across an elliptical area measuring about 20 by 30 miles trending northeast between Charleston and Jedburg and including Summerville, centered at Middleton Place.

In Earl Sloan's detailed review of damage along the Charleston-Savannah Railroad, he noted "prostrated chimneys" and "craterlets" throughout the area, including on Wadmalaw at Enterprise, Martins Point, and in the center of the island (Peters and Herrmann 1986:61). The damage continued to Rockville and onto Seabrook Island. The rail line at the Rantowles Bridge was distorted and twisted (Peters and Herrmann 1986:63). On the north side of the Stono, Sloan observed a "large two story frame building of square plan" that was twisted, plaster walls were cracked, a partition wall was distorted, and the chimneys were damaged. On Johns Island he observed displaced stones in the Presbyterian cemetery, "craterlets . . . in great profession" interspersed with cracks. The store at Andells had goods thrown off shelves (Peters and Herrmann 1986:64). Although chimneys were damaged, it appears that the "very small frame structures" – probably tenant houses – were largely undamaged.

Jordan and Stringfellow (1998:198) report that the earthquake produced a "large pond" at Fair Oaks Plantation (situated between Legareville Road and River Road), although no pond is shown on the USGS topographic map. Côté (2006:74, 267) indicates relatively minor damage on the islands.

The South Carolina coast was hit by at least 11 hurricanes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At least six are thought to have been Category 4 or higher storms. None did more damage or caused more loss of life than the hurricane of August 1893.

The storm formed east of the Cape Verde Islands on August 15, becoming a hurricane on the 19th while crossing the Atlantic. By the evening of August 25th, the storm was a Category 3 approaching the Bahamas. During its approach it deviated arcing west-northwest, making landfall near Savannah, Georgia on August 27 as a Category 3 storm. The wind was reported to be 120 mph, the pressure is estimated to have been about 954 mbar at landfall and possibly as low as 931 mbar, and the storm surge – hitting at high tide – was 16

feet. The hurricane passed over South Carolina on August 28 and moved up the East Coast.

The destruction along the South Carolina coast was greatest in the Beaufort area, but extended along the entire coast. An estimated 1,000 to 2,000 were killed, although this figure is quite conservative. A February 1894 *Scribners Magazine* article reported the heaviest damage on those islands between Beaufort and Charleston – including Johns Island (Harris 1894). The initial report in the Charleston *News and Observer* on August 30 explained that while reports from Edisto, James, Johns, and Yonges islands were "meager," they all "describe the storm in those localities as the most terrible visitation which the inhabitants have had." Water in the Wappoo Cut was reported to have reached 18 feet, spreading "itself over the surrounding country like an endless inland lake."

An article on August 31, 1893 reported Kiawah "fearfully damaged." Dill and Ball reported, "We have heard from John's Island and the reports are that the crop has been under water and is stripped of its fruit . . . . Mr. Hofstetter, of Wadmalaw Island, reports that the cotton crop on the island is a complete loss." G.M. Pollitzer reported, "the losses on John's Island were very serious. The colored farmers felt it more especially, and I understand, lost all their cattle, crops, provisions and, in fact, are in a most destitute condition." Another reported that the Johns Island plantations along the riverfront "were under water and the cotton stalks were completely submerged" (Anonymous 1893:1).

On September 1 the news was much the same with reports of all the wharfs between Charleston and Kiawah destroyed. The steamer *St. Helena* was found stranded at the high water mark of the storm on F.Y. Legare's place (Mullet Hall), with the report that "she will have to be dredged out." Houses near Legare's were reported destroyed, as was the stock. Ravenel & Company reported that the cotton at Andell's Bluff on Johns Island was destroyed.

After four days, news describing the extent of the devastation began to reach Columbia and Governor Tillman responded by asking for donations. Local relief committees were formed and eventually very minor aid began to arrive. The governor grossly underestimated the damage and what it would take to help the area recover and it wasn't until mid-September before Tillman finally called on assistance from the American Red Cross. Clara Barton arrived on October 1.

After the Red Cross arrived, a warehouse of clothing and food was started in Beaufort. The Red Cross established rations, began organizing parties to dig over 300 miles of ditches in order to drain agricultural fields, and bought a million board feet of lumber to rebuild houses – in spite of both the South Carolina Legislature and the U.S. Congress denying appeals for assistance. The relief efforts were closed in May 1894 (Nash 2006).

The Phosphate Industry

Charleston's phosphate industry was a significant source of short-term revenue during the late nineteenth century (for a more detailed discussion see Trinkley et al. 2006). The plants involved the old elite in management and operations; the former slaves found mining an excellent supplement to farming. For a time phosphate was an economic boom for the low country. The 1892 political opposition led by Ben Tillman to state subsidies, new competition and better resources in Florida, and the 1893 hurricane all combined to seriously cripple the industry, which ceased entirely in 1911.

While Johns Island blacks worked in the nearby phosphate works on the mainland, we know of no mining on the island.

Table 12.
Stores Operated in the Johns Island Area, 1912
(R.G. Dunn & Co. 1912)

Store	Financial Strength ($)	General Credit
Johns Island		
Banov, A. (clothing, shoes)	<500	
Bolton Mines Co,	20,000-35,000	good
Bradley, P.B. & S.S.	>1,000,000	high
Ferri, E.		
Gadsden, Cyrus	<500	limited
Glover, J.E.	<500	
Harrod & Limehouse (Gin)		fair
Hart, Joseph S.	20,000-35,000	high
Limehouse, J.J.	3,000-5,000	fair
Linstedt, J.G.		
Lowrey, I.H.	<500	
Rivers, Frank W.	<500	limited
Struhs, Henry		
Enterprise		
Bailey, J.S.	<500	
Bailey & Barnwell (Gin, Cotton Buyers)	3,000-5,000	limited
Baxter, F.D.	<500	
Hart, W.R.		
Wadmalaw Mercantile Co.	3,000-5,000	fair
Wilson, W.H. (G.S. & Gin)		
Martin's Point		
Clement, R.L.	<500	
Cox, H.L.		
Towles, F.W.	20,000-35,000	high
Venning, W.C.	<500	
Whaley, H.S.	<500	
Wise & Wise	<500	
Mullet Hall		
Andell, William		
Johnson, J.J.	<500	
Muhler, H.C.	3,000-5,000	fair

The Beginning of the Twentieth Century

Mercantile interests in the Johns Island area increased from 21 in 1889 to 28 in 1912, although two of these later stores were associated with operating phosphate mines, and two others were primarily ginning establishments – thus the increase is minor. Moreover, as with the earlier listing, many of these establishments are located at the Johns Island station on the mainland, not on the island. Wadmalaw drops from the listings, being replaced by Mullet Hall. At Mullet Hall there are three listings. William Andell continued to be the owner of Andell's Bluff and this store was likely a commissary on that plantation. The H.C. Muhler listed in 1912 was the overseer on Andell's Bluff, in addition to the owner of the store on Legare's Mullet Hall (which he acquired after the 1905 death of F.Y. Legare). J.J. Johnson was the founder of the Edisto Island Industrial School for African Americans in 1897 (Tindall 1952:226). The 1900 census shows him as an African American clergyman living on Edisto. Seemingly absent is the Johns Island store of John F. Limehouse (Jordan and Stringfellow 1998:172), but this is almost certainly listed as J.J. Limehouse.

A 1905-1910 directory listed Mullet Hall, describing it as "a small town 35 miles from Charleston" and noting that the only merchant at the location was Francis Y. Legare, who operated a "general store and grist mill" (Anonymous 1905:435-436). The entry also lists 162 "farmers" for the community – the closest document we have providing a comprehensive list of both whites and blacks on the island (Table 14). Since all portions are represented, we believe this may be a listing of those using the Mullet Hall Post Office, which was, of course, the only post office on the island. Most, although not all, of these names are found in either the 1900 or 1910 census.

Although phosphates were still on the mind of low country property owners, there were only six mining companies listed by Watson in 1907 and they produced just over a $1.1 million in 1906 (Watson 1907:142). Agriculture remained the focus of South Carolina's economy with the state's 176,000 farms producing nearly $142,000,000 of products in 1909. Even the state's textile industry didn't

Table 13.
Charleston County Truck Crops in 1915 (Watson 1915:44)

Crop	Acres	Yield/acre	Total Yield	FOB Price	Total $
Irish potatoes	7,000	50 barrels	350,000	1.50 per barrel	525,000
Cabbage	5,500	180 crates	900,000	1.35 crate	1,336,500
Cucumbers	2,000	200 baskets	400,000	.50 basket	200,000
Beans	2,000	150 baskets	300,000	1.00 basket	300,000
Peas	600	100 baskets	60,000	1.25 basket	75,000
Sweet potatoes	1,000	100 sacks	100,000	1.25 sack	125,000
Cabbage plants	600	500,000	300,000,000	0.70/1000	210,000
Misc. vegetables	2,000				200,000
					$2,971,500

Table 14.
List of Farmers Using the Mullet Hall Post Office, 1905-1910

	1900 Census				1910 Census			
	White	Black	Census District	Other	White	Black	Census District	Other
Aimer, O.A.								
Andell, William	x		125		x		76	
Ball, J.A.								
Bennett, Richard		x	125			x	76	
Bennett, S.W.								
Bishop, Frank		x	124	Mathews		x	75	
Bishop, Lydia		x	124					
Bishop, Paul B.								
Blake, L.R.								
Blake, Marcus		x	123			x	74	
Blake, M.F.								
Blake, P.H.D.								
Blake, Ralph		x	123			x	74	
Boggs [Boags], Robb		x	125					
Brisbane, James						x	73	
Brisbane, Richard						x	75	
Brown, Byas [Bias]		x	123			x	73	
Brown, Clarence		x	123			x	73	
Brown, Daniel						x	73	
Brown, George P.		x	123			x	73	
Brown, Isabella		x	123					
Brown, James		x	124/125			x	74/76	
Brown, Robert		x	124					
Brown, January						x	73	
Brown, M.C.								
Brown, Robert								
Brown, Sarah		x	123			x	74/75/76	
Brown, Simon								
Brown, Thomas		x	123/125			x	73/76	
Brown, Titus		x	125					
Bryan, Ellen								
Bryan, E.B.		x	124	Chaplin	x		74	Briars Plnt.
Butler, Susan								
Bynum [Binum], George		x	125					
Campbell, Jacob						x	75	Mullet Hall Rd.
Capers, Ezekeil [Zekiel]		x	124					
Capers, G.A.								
Capers, Samuel		x	125			x	76	
Capers, W.C.								
Cash, Cyrus		x	125	Caper Plnt.		x	76	
Chisolm, Isabella		x	125			x	76	
Chisolm, J[ohn].C.		x	123			x	74	
Chisolm, Phillip								
Chisolm, Samuel								
Chisolm, Thomas								
Chisolm, Thomas								
Chisolm, William						x	75	Mullet Hall Rd.
Choice, Lewis		x	123			x	74	
Cool, Dennis						x	73	
Crawford, Abram		x	123			x	73	
Crawford, Joseph		x	123			x	73	
Crawford, Prince		x	123			x	73	
Crawford, Ransom								
Crawford, Sharper		x	123			x	73	
Cunningham, Andrew		x	123					
Dent, Hannah		x	125					
Dent, Samuel		x	123			x	73	
Eady [Eddy], Robert		x	123			x	73	
Emanuel, A.J.								
Fenn, W.H.								
Fludd, Fortune						x	75	Legareville
Fludd, Harry								
Ford, August		x	124					
Francis, Moses		x	123			x	74	
Francis, Samuel		x	123			x	74	
Fraser, Isaac		x	123			x	73	
Freeman, Cain		x	125			x	76	
Freeman, James		x	124			x	75	
Freeman, Kit		x	125			x	76	
Freeman, Richard						x	76	
Frip, A.R.						x	76	
Fripp, J.E.	x		124	Saxbie	x		75	
Fripp, W.E.	x		124	Legareville				
Frost, F.R.								
Gaillard, Charles		x	124	Rosebank				
Gaillard [Gilliard], Robert		x	124	Blacklock		x	74	
Geddes, Achy						x	74	
Geddes, Robert		x	125	Capers Plnt.				
Gibbes, Laurence [Lawrence]		x	124	Legareville		x	75	Legareville Rd.
Green, Andrew		x	125			x	76	
Green, Richard		x	123/124			x	76	
Green, Mingo								
Grimball, Eliza A.	x		123		x		73	
Hamilton, Morris						x	75	
Harrison, Joseph		x	123			x	74	
Hart, R[ichard].H.	x		123		x		73	
Heyward, M.W.								
Heyward, William		x	124	Mathews		x	75	Mullet Hall Rd.
Hollingston, Peter						x	74	
Hoyt, Emon [Enon]		x	124	Mathews				
Hunt, William		x	123					
Jenkins, A.M.								
Jenkins, C.B.								
Jenkins, M[ary].J.		x	123					
Jenkins, T.Y.								
Jenkins, William		x	123/124			x	73	
Johnson, John	x		124	Johnson's				
Johnson, Robert								
Johnson, Robin		x	124	Creek Side		x	76	
Johnson, William		x	123			x	75	Mullet Hall Rd.
Jones, Stepney						x	75	
Jones, T.S.						x	75	
Judge, Moses								
Laborde, John		x	124					
Lee, A.M.								
Legare, F.Y.	x			Mullet Hall	x			Mullet Hall
Legare, John		x	124	Miller Mill				
Legare, J.C.W.								
Legare, T.S.					x		75	
Logan, Richard						x	74	
McCoy, Jack								
McNeil, Alex								
McPherson, Benjamin						x	76	
Mack, Henry		x	123/124/125			x	75	
Mack, Richard		x	123			x	73	
Magill [McGill], Jackson						x	76	
Manigault, Frederick						x	75	
Matthews, J.E.								
Middleton, Frank, Sr.		x	125			x	76	
Middleton, Thomas		x	125					
Mickell, William, Sr.		x	124			x	75	
Mitchell, M.P.								
Morrison, London								
Murray, Tony								
Prioleau, Edward								
Reese, Joe		x	123					
Richardson, Chris								
Richardson, Richard								
Riley, M.J.						x	73	
Robinson, Roger						x	76	
Ryan, Jack								
Seabrook, A.E. [A.C.]					x		76	
Seabrook, C[lark].B.					x		74	
Seabrook, B[en].J.	x		122		x		75	Creek Side Plnt.
Seabrook, M.E.					x		76	
Saunders, Israel								
Simons, Cyrus		x	124					
Simons, Dennis		x	124					
Simons, Joe		x	124					
Simons [Simmons], Moses		x	124			x	75	Mullet Hall Rd.
Singleton, Isaac						x	75	Legareville Rd.
Small [Smalls], Sam		x	125					
Smith, David		x	124	Mathews		x	75	Mullet Hall Rd.
Stevens, A.J.								
Stevens, W[illiam].F.		x	124	Kiawah		x	74	
Taylor, Richard		x	124	Hopes		x	75	Mullet Hall Rd.
Taylor, Robert		x	125			x	76	
Waite [Wate], Jeffrey						x	73	
Waite [Wate], Joe		x	122			x	73	
Waite [Wate], John						x	73	
Waite, Paul								
Walpole, H.E.	x		124	Auld Ricke	x		75	
Washington, Caesar								
Whaley, A.K.								
Wigger, J.H.								
Williams, Adam		x	123			x	74	
Wilson, J.S.								
Wilson, M.V.								
Wine, A.W.								
Wright, Edgar								
Wright, Joseph		x	125			x	76	
Wright, Thomas		x	123/124			x	74/75	

Although using different divisions, both the 1900 and 1910 census divided Johns Island into four quadrants. Roughly, the NE quadrant was District 122 in 1900 and 74 in 1910; the NW quadrant was District 123 in 1900 and 73 in 1910; the SE quadrant was District 124 in 1900 and 75 in 1910; and the SW quadrant was District 125 in 1900 and 76 in 1910. The Mullet Hall tract was situated in District 124 in 1900 and District 75 in 1910.

Table 15
Agricultural schedule data for Charleston County, 1900-1940
(* rice, where reported in bushels, was converted to pounds as 1 bu. = 45 lbs.)

		Land Occupied or Improved					Livestock						
		Farms	Acres improved	Acres Unimproved	Value of farm	Value of implements	Horse, asses, mules	Milch cows	Working oxen	Other cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of livestock
Charleston	1900	3,801	80,323	116,481	2,790,670	143,330	3,104	2,795	NR	4,588	3,358	6,921	328,944
Charleston	1910	3,403	66,492	111,194	4,445,157	217,182	3,718	3,028	NR	4,367	1,880	8,360	679,236
Charleston	1920	3,850	85,267	127,272	9,106,354	641,536	5,306	4,890	NR	7,617	2,606	22,710	1,891,221
Charleston	1930	1,957	56,402	99,544	9,043,677	494,253	2,812	1,470	NR	3,880	1,334	8,809	525,346
Charleston	1940	2,124	59,164	107,327	5,745,815	627,227	2,089	1,767	NR	672	603	5,136	440,274

		Agricultural Products													
		Rye & oats, bu	Corn, bu	Irish potatoes, bu	Sweet potatoes, bu	Peas & beans, bu	Value misc. vegetables	Butter, lbs	Hay, tons	Rice, lbs*	Cotton, bales	Wool, lbs	Beeswax, lbs	Honey, lbs	Value animals slaughtered
Charleston	1900	5,390	178,350	225,404	203,817	18,314	328,860	75,541	376	2,034,744	5,658	10,200	260	3,970	13,479
Charleston	1910	8,956	216,647	112,301	114,632	9,720	507,248	6,507	781	289,800	10,461	NR	58	1,205	9,503
Charleston	1920	9,854	451,195	312,880	233,804	38,681	2,068,578	13,374	572	420,210	9,620	4,835	8	503	NR
Charleston	1930	240	343,201	1,303,000	129,314	19,980	913,936	13,105	374	50,580	1,506	2,473	NR	353	NR
Charleston	1940	5,805	215,818	1,047,686	59,658	10,435	661,494	4,614	527	26,730	434	1,649	NR	157	NR

compare, with production of only $49 million in 1905 (Watson 1907:432). By 1907 Watson also remarked that the "trucking branch of the industry [of agriculture] has developed with remarkable speed" (Watson 1907:236). In fact, the future was "full of promise" to those tilling the soil.

Cotton remained the king. Between 1900 and 1906 the acreage statewide devoted to cotton increased by 5.9%. The number of bales produced increased by 19%; and the value of the cotton increased by 23%. In Charleston cotton acreage did increase, although by only 3.3%. Production, however, increased by nearly 35% (between 1900 and 1906 and by nearly 85% between 1900 and 1910). Corn production in Charleston also increased – by 21.5% between 1900 and 1910.

The cause of this increased production between 1920 and 1930 is not entirely clear. The per farm spending for fertilizer did increase appreciably from $252 in 1920 to $579 in 1930. However, the proportion of farms using purchased fertilizer declined from 67% in 1920 to 51% in 1930.

In addition, the agricultural statistics must be viewed cautiously since in 1911 St. Pauls Parish was added to Charleston. Thus, the 1920 statistics are not directly comparable to those of 1910.

The increase in cotton production was accompanied by about a 10% decline in the number of farms and a 17% decline in improved acreage in Charleston County. Farm value, however, increased by 59%.

There was, however, a price to pay for the focus on cotton. Irish potato production dropped by over 50%. Sweet potato production declined by 44%. Peas and beans also dropped by nearly half. Butter production dropped by over 90%. The value of home slaughtered animals dropped by nearly 30%.

The federal census shows a 54% increase in vegetable production between 1900 and 1910, although the 1910 production was still just $507,248. Watson, however, offered different data, indicating a 1210% increase between 1900 and the 1905 figure of $2,787,000 (Watson 1907:291). Even if this were significantly overstated, there was an increasing interest in vegetable production for Eastern markets.

The development of this industry was attributed by Watson to Wadmalaw Island,

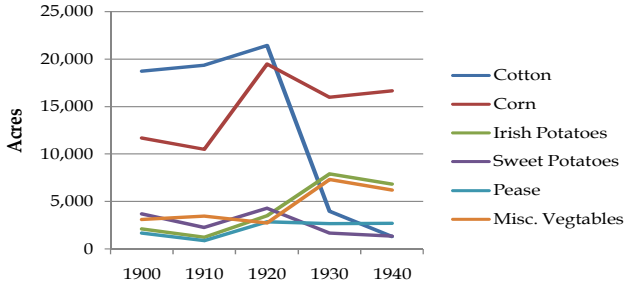


Figure 25. Acreage devoted to six major crops between 1900 and 1940.

where William C. Geraty and his partner, Frank W. Towles developed small scale operations at Martin's Point. Watson (1907:291) pointed out that Geraty was by 1907 the largest shipper of cabbage plants in the world, having shifted his operations to Yonge's Island. Other truck crops increased: asparagus, cucumbers, beets, strawberries, lettuce, beans, peas, Irish potatoes, and sweet potatoes (the last four items are enumerated separately in the federal census, perhaps explaining the differences in values). The Charleston truck crop area was described as including the,

> mainland, Yonge's Island, Mount Pleasant, McClellanville, St. Andrew's Parish, Edisto, Wadmalaw, and James Islands. Meggett's at Yonge's Island, is the center of the truck area in respect of business activity, although not the geographical center of the truck belt. About Meggett's are the largest farms and greater diversification of crops. Here are the farms of Norman H. Blitch, the "Cabbage King," so called from the fact that he raises a larger number of cabbages than any other individual planter in the world; W. C. Geraty, who makes a specialty of raising cabbage plants for replanting and cultivation in other sections, and other substantial truck raisers who have achieved reputation in the market in other respects (Watson 1907:297).

Watson did not mention Johns Island in his truck area, although his reasoning is uncertain. The Seaboard Coast Line opened a branch line across the Stono River to Johns Island in 1916. As a result, a complex of packing sheds was built at the junction of Main Road and Belvedere Road, near Chisolm Road. Where access to this rail line was difficult, such as along the Kiawah River and Abbapoola Creek, farmers used water transportation. Haynie (2007:62)

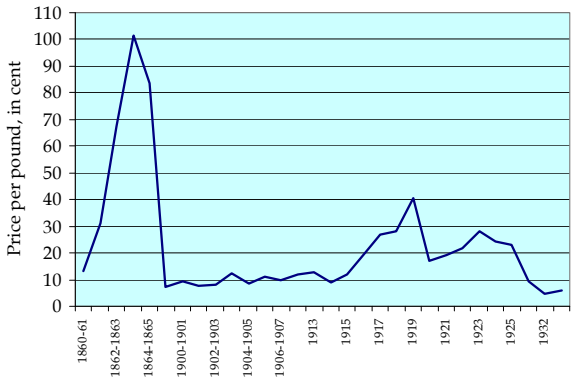


Figure 26. Cotton prices from the late antebellum through early 1930s (Anonymous 1927:132; Edgar 1998:499; Watson 1907:269).

notes that the Legare family operated a very large potato farm at Hanscome Point in the 1920s and 1930s. We also know that Reubin Bishopp operated a truck that shuttled between Charleston and the southern end of Johns Island during the late 1920s.

The huge crops of cabbage, Irish potatoes and early-spring vegetables were grown strictly for packing and shipping to northern markets. Although we have not examined island-level agricultural statistics for the twentieth century, anecdotal evidence suggests that some island farmers grew

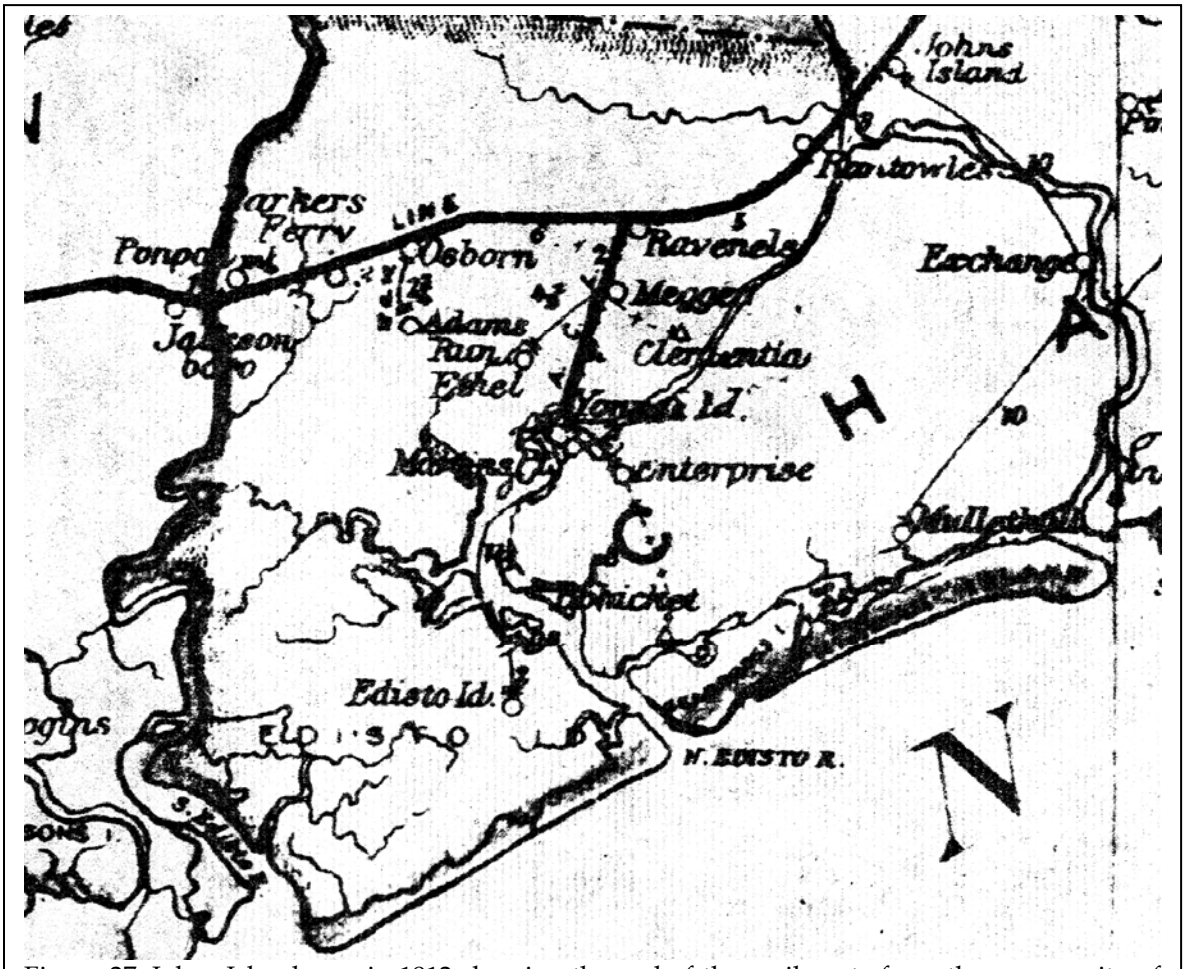


Figure 27. Johns Island area in 1912 showing the end of the mail route from the community of Johns Island on the mainland to Exchange and terminating at the Mullet Hall (shown as Mullethall) post office. Also shown is the route from Yonge's Island to Enterprise and terminating at Bohicket (Rockville).

vegetables for the Charleston market. Because of Johns Island's distance from the city, they were not as successful as the vegetable farmers on James Island.

Watson was no less enthusiastic about the vegetable industry in 1915, noting the center remained in the Charleston area (Watson 1915:43). Table 13 provides his data on Charleston truck crops, including the FOB prices.

By 1927 the truck crop industry had spread to Barnwell, Bamberg, Allendale, Edgefield, Saluda, Calhoun, Dorchester, and Hampton counties. Some crops were even grown in Sumter, Richland, and Lexington counties (Anonymous 1927:151). Charleston County, however, remained the center of the shipments, supplying 2,236 train cars or 61% of the state's total (Anonymous 1927:153). Cabbage that sold for $1.35 a crate in 1915 was selling for $2.50 a crate in 1927.

As late as 1937 Meggett continued to be known for its cabbage production, taking on the name, "Cabbage Patch." The cabbage season typically opened April 1 and closed May 10, with 11,517,000 pounds of cabbage being shipped out in Atlantic Coast Line cars

Figure 28. One of William C. Geraty's rail cars used for the shipment of cabbage plants from Meggett on Yonge's Island (adapted from Watson 1907:296).

(Anonymous 1937:8). In addition to the cabbage, the Yonge's Island area also produced Irish potatoes, broccoli, radishes, peas, beans, cucumbers, and tomatoes.

Figure 25 shows the variation in acreage, revealing that the land devoted to truck crops (as well as sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, and pease) remained relatively stable through 1920. In contrast, acreage for corn and cotton both increased.

Cotton prices, like production, fluctuated (Figure 26). In general, American agriculture prospered during World War I and cotton prices were typically higher than they had been in years – accounting for increased production. 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).

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 Charleston County) and by 1922 had covered most of North Carolina as well. Planters are said to have 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 what it had been two years earlier (Anonymous 1927:130).

Sea Island cotton, with bolls softer than upland cotton, could never be made resistant to weevils, and planters abandoned it. However, short-staple cotton could be managed, given sufficient chemicals, and Johns Island farmers continued planting with this variety. Any remaining stands of Sea Island cotton produced hybridized seed, and the pure Sea Island type was lost.

In April 1930, John Rivers of the Dill, Ball Company sent to S. M. Hasell & Co., cotton merchants in Columbia, "samples of twenty-five bales of the long-length cotton which you request. This lot of 102 bales is still on hand . . . . We cannot get the parties who own the Sea Islands to name a firm price." A year later, in May 1931, Rivers wrote to Mr. Hue Thomas in Savannah, "The only Sea Island cotton that we know of was raised at the U. S. government experiment station on Wadmalaw Island" (Dill, Ball Company papers, The Charleston Museum).

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, 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 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).

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. Charleston County, in spite of its size and population had only four incorporated cities: Charleston, Maryville, Mount Pleasant, and McClellanville. In many respects Charleston remained a very rural area. By 1915 there was only one gasoline station outside the city (Yonge's Island Oil Company on Yonge's Island). Other industries included only the Bryan Spring Carbonating Company and the Hollywood Manufacturing Company that produced boxes, both on Yonge's Island, as well as McClellanville's Bull Bay Canning Company (Watson 1915: 129, 135-136, 237).

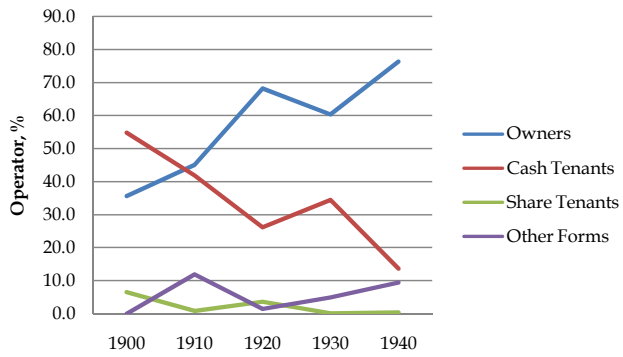


Figure 29. Farm operators in Charleston County from 1900 through 1940.

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).

Tenancy

Statewide tenancy increased every year between 1880 and 1930 – from 50.3 to 65.1%. Charleston, however, took a different path. Although there were fluctuations, the proportion of owner operated farms increased from 35.6% in 1900 (compared to the state average of 38.9%) to 76.4% in 1940 (compared to the state average of 43.9%). When South Carolina had the highest proportion of tenancy in 1930 of 65.1%, the tenancy rate in Charleston County was 39.5%.

While there were different forms of tenancy in Charleston – as revealed by Figure 29 – most tenants in the Charleston area were cash tenants, also known as cash renters. In this form of tenancy, the landlord furnished the tenant only with land, a house, and fuel at a fixed rental to be paid either in cash, which was 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 received all income after his rent was 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 the tenant could market his lint cotton wherever he chose.

Nevertheless, tenancy created a class from which escape was nearly impossible. In order to maximize profits and limit the mobility of the labor, owners of larger holdings – such as Mullet Hall – often began commissaries, limiting the options of croppers and tenants and ensuring indebtedness. Some issued their own coinage – also like Mullet Hall – that ensured ongoing debt peonage.

At the same time, planters became indebted to their own suppliers. F. Y. and Kate Legare, owners of Mullet Hall, received seed and fertilizer on credit, and they also took cash loans from Dill, Ball Company. While large farmers amassed large debts, small farmers also relied on Dill, Ball Company, their factor, to advance not only fertilizer and seed, but also cash and food rations. One small tenant on Johns Island, Caleb Chisolm wrote to Mr. Rivers, "I want you to send me three sacks of minnare [manure] and two bushels cotton seed. Please to try and send it today, I want to plant it by Thursday next week. Please sir to send the change for me, I need it very bad to get some rope for my horse. If I had a job to make anything I wouldn't worry you. PS - please to send it by Bellenger truck" (Letters 1920-1932, Dill, Ball Company Papers, The Charleston Museum).

In June 1929, Cephas Drayton wrote John Rivers from Mullet Hall, saying he needed $5 "very bad. Please send it, please sir don't disappoint me." Drayton requested $4.50 in June 1932, asking Rivers to "lend it on my wages." Cain Freeman asked Rivers to "please send me one sack corn today so I can finish plowing my cotton." In about 1930, one tenant on Johns Island sent an urgent note asking for an advance and trusting a good cotton crop,

> please let me have a little something to eat for I can go no more. The crop is fine, six acres cotton. Please sir send me, if only one bushel of rice and a bushel of grits and twenty-four pounds of flour and ten pounds of meat. And I was dependent on the potatoes and I didn't get nothing of the potatoes and now I don't got nothing to eat. Please sir send it with Joe Bishop (Dill, Ball Company Papers, Box 60, Folder 5A, The Charleston Museum).

As the economic situation became more desperate, merchants were unable to collect their debts. In the summer of 1932, W. S. Howell, proprietor of a gin and general merchandise store on Johns Island (at the corner of River Road and Edenvale), wrote to the Dill, Ball Company regarding their mutual debtors, many of whom had turned to Howell for their "seed cash." John Rivers replied that he "had no idea that you had advanced to so many of them," and agreed that they should share information. He sent a list of about 120 names (almost a third of them women) and their corresponding debts. Most were less than $25: the highest figure was $58.17, and there were credit balances as low as $3.14. He directed Howell, "if any of these send cotton to your gin, you will protect us to the amount of our account before paying them. . . . I would be glad to receive your list and to protect you against debt-dodging." In December 1932, Howell forwarded to Dill, Ball Company three bales of ginned cotton and the accounts of the growers. The cotton was remitted to Dill, Ball "all for loans" (Dill, Ball Company papers, Box 5E, The Charleston Museum).

With credit entanglements and competition among various gins and storekeepers, even African-American small producers had some flexibility in selecting their markets. In November 1929, John Rivers wrote to Christopher Freeman, "you are so slow in sending down your cotton" only one bale so far and "it is now high time that you send down the rest of it. We have understood that the gins on Johns Island are about to close down ginning, but we expect to run our gin on James Island

this coming Friday and so if you cannot get it ginned on Johns Island we can gin it out for you on Friday next." He also wrote to Harry Freeman "we have understood that you ginned a second bale of cotton . . . but have not brought it to us. Please send it as soon as possible" (Dill, Ball Company papers, The Charleston Museum).

In January 1930 John Rivers wrote to Mrs. C. R. Jones on Johns Island, "I have found out that John Fields has a bale on Johns Island, and Reubin Bishopp can haul this cotton to the gin . . . we will operate the gin . . . and can get your cotton ginned . . . Bishopp will pick it up" (Dill, Ball Company papers, The Charleston Museum).

In spite of the somewhat better conditions offered by Charleston, the county – as well as the state – saw a significant out migration. The first waves occurred in the late nineteenth century. Known as "Exodusters" after the biblical exodus from Egypt, many went west to Kansas, Oklahoma, and California. The Great Migration, however, took place between about 1916 and 1920 as blacks took advantage of a severe labor shortage during World War I. Destinations were primarily northern cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Washington, and Baltimore, although even some southern cities, such as Atlanta, gained.

This movement crippled cotton planters who relied on tenant labor to pick cotton. Resentment mounted among many who remained and,

> their protests were not always verbal. Some cotton pickers filled their sacks with green bolls or rocks before weighing (Cobb 1992:203).

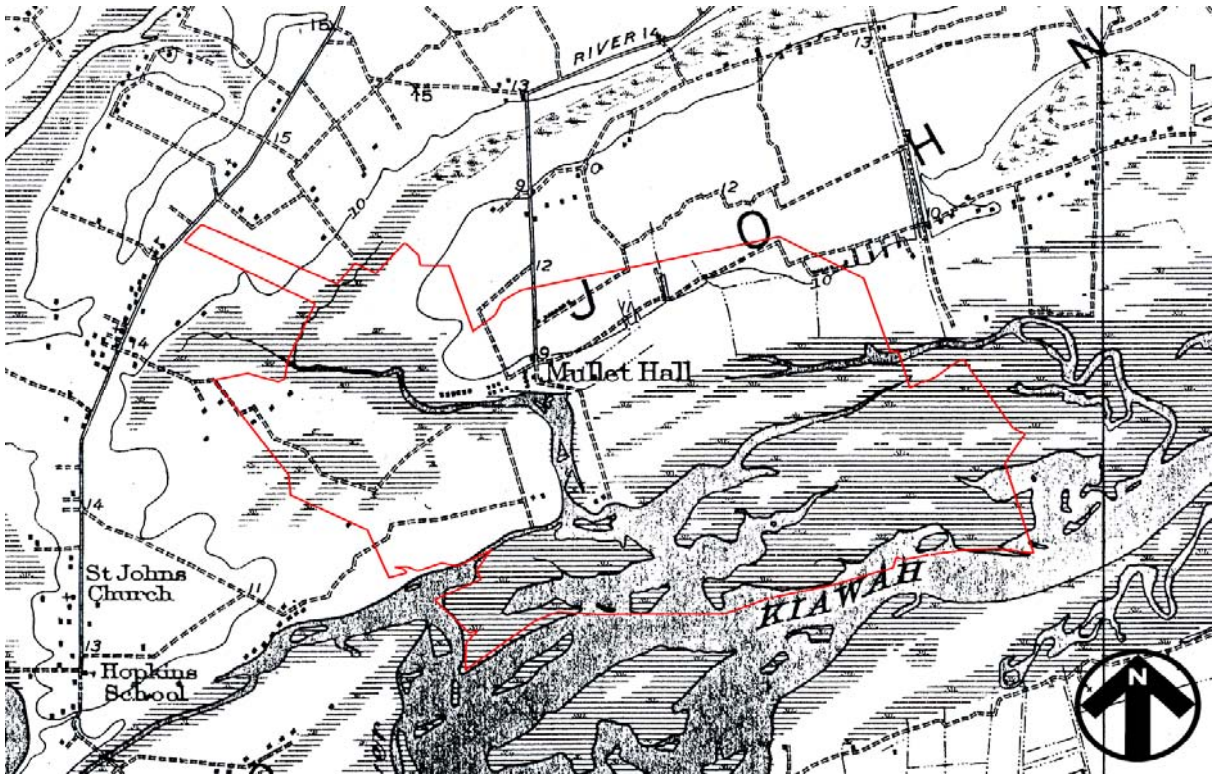


Figure 30. Mullet Hall area in 1919 (basemap is the 1919 Wadmalaw 15'). Comparison with the antebellum maps shows little change to the area over the previous 60 years.

The decline in African American population was not seen as devastating by all South Carolinians; one account said,

> This means a new freedom for South Carolina. It is the removal of a vague but always present shadow. South Carolina at last has become a white state (Anonymous 1927:22).

Although uncertain, it seems that the abundance of truck farming in Charleston County may have ameliorated the problems caused by the decline in African American labor.

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."

Statewide the average farm value dropped over 40% from $4,222 in 1920 to $2,400 in 1930. Yet in Charleston County the average farm value actually increased from an average of $2,365 in 1920 to $4,621 in 1930. A decline isn't seen until 1940, when the value sank to $2,705. In addition, while statewide a third of all farms were mortgaged, only 9.2% of Charleston farms had a mortgage on them. The debt to value ratio for Charleston farms was also slightly better (30.06) than the statewide average (40.06).

There were earlier signs of the depression in Charleston County, however; between 1920 and 1930 the value of farm implements declined by 23% and the value of livestock declined by a staggering 72%. Perhaps most ominously, the value of vegetable production fell from $2,068,578 to $913,936 – indicating that the truck farmers were being hit hard. Cotton production declined by 84%. In addition, while the rate of mortgaged farms in Charleston was low, the per farm mortgage was actually quite high. The state average was $1,747, but in Charleston the average mortgage was $4,150.

The 1930 census also gives us a view of the living conditions in Charleston County. Of the 1,957 farms, only 478 reported having automobiles and only 60 (about 3.1%) had electricity. Telephones were found in 134 farms and 127 had piped water into their houses. Over 40% of the farms were located on unimproved dirt roads; only 0.3% were adjacent to sand-clay roads. The average cash rent for farms in Charleston County was $89. In comparison, the average cash rental for Berkeley farms was $102 and $58 in Beaufort.

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). Islander G.C. Brown provided an oral history in which he remembers the numerous Johns Island houses made of logs

Table 16.
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)

with stick and mud chimneys (Carawan and Carawan 1989:10).

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 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% 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 (absent on the sea islands). 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, compared to $238 for black tenants.

Woofter (1936:Table 38) also provides information on the average tenant incomes by region in South Carolina. These are shown in Table 16 – 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 Charleston 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.

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). It is, however, uncertain if the abundance of readily available vegetable crops in the truck farming area made a difference in these dietary practices.

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.

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 bright spot in Charleston was the Navy Yard, which benefited from WPA and PWA activities, as well as the war boom (Hamer 2005). In 1937 *The News and Courtier* would brag that the WPA projects, which had employed an average of 1,200 men a year, had helped make Charleston "the Navy's youngest and fastest growing yard." By 1938 the WPA had spent $895,000 on improvements and the PWA $1,782,800. In 1939, the Navy Yard had a $3.5 million expansion and improvement program underway employing nearly 1,800 WPA and PWA workers. By the time WWII was declared, the yard had nearly 2,000 production workers compared to 241 in 1932.

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 (Charleston County's share would have been about 1,188 acres – far less than many surrounding counties). 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 Charleston County the early efforts failed to reduce tenancy – the number of tenant operated farms nearly doubled between 1930 and 1935, going from 623 to 1,227.

By 1935, however, the AAA required that cash renters (the bulk of Charleston tenants) were to receive the entire payment – parity plus rental (Hayes 2001:126). With this incentive tenancy was significantly reduced, with Charleston losing 808 tenants (the number dropping 419 in 1940). Statewide, tenancy was reduced by nearly 30,000 farmers (Cooper and Terrill 1991:648).

Island life during this time is still remembered by the island's African American residents. Nancy Butler remembers the pay on the truck farms – 10¢ per sack of potatoes (Behre 2004). Belle Green reported being paid $3 a week for harvesting cabbage and potatoes on Johns Island (Carawan and Carawan 1989:7). Many of the island's blacks continued to live off the resources of the creeks, including fish, shrimp, and oysters. Carawan and Carawan (1989:8) report oral histories speaking of a plate of shrimp for 5¢ or islanders selling a string of fish for 10¢. While the City of Charleston was the recipient of much WPA funding through the political machinery of Mayor Burnet Maybank (Fraser 1989:379-383), the only WPA project we have identified on Johns Island was the construction of a 2-story brick school for white

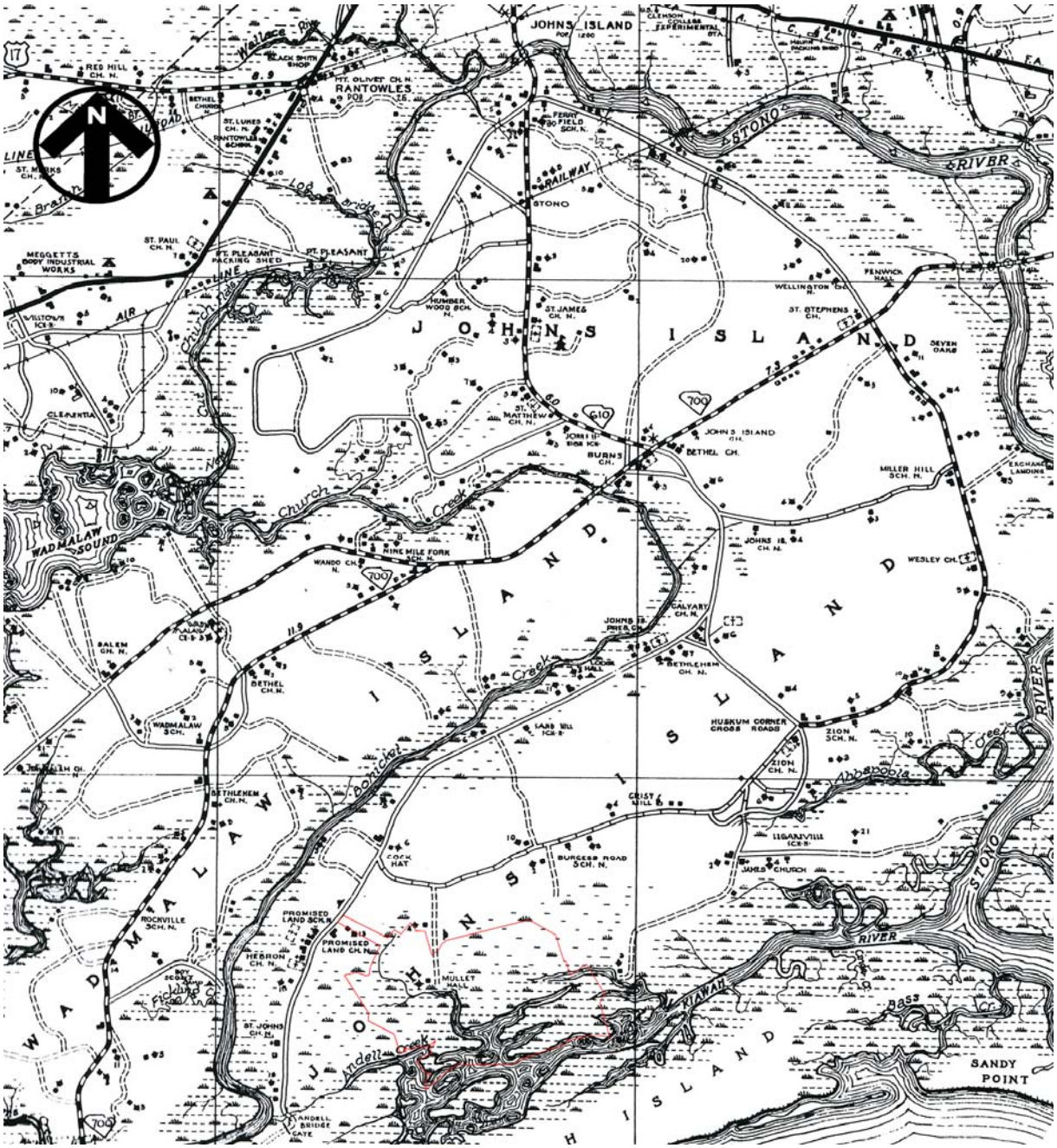


Figure 31. Johns Island in 1938 (General Highway and Transportation Map of Charleston County).

high school students (Carawan and Carawan 1989:9).

The WPA organized at least two small handwork businesses on Johns Island. The 1920 Agricultural Hall on Angel Oak Road hosted a sewing room where white women made clothes for weekly wages. On Main Road, close to John F. Limehouse's store, was a moss factory. Here African-American women collected Spanish moss, steamed and dried it, and packed it for use as mattress stuffing (Haynie 2007:70-71).

The 1938 General Transportation and Highway Map of Charleston County (Figure 31) shows the area around Mullet Hall as it was prior to World War II. There were two bituminous paved state highways on Johns Island – SC 610 or Main Road ran from the mainland community of Johns Island south through the island terminating at SC 700 or Maybank Highway. This highway had been paved only a decade earlier. Prior to that time many preferred to travel to Charleston by boat, a trip that required up to 6 hours (Vinson 2004:40).

Swing bridges had been built for both highways across the Stono in 1929 (with the Limehouse Bridge connecting the island to the mainland replacing a ca. 1917 swing bridge). SC 700 continued from James Island onto Wadmalaw. Main Road became an unimproved road that ran to Andell Bridge and a gate onto Seabrook Island. River Road, which ran from SC 700 along the edge of the Stono on the island's east side was also paved as far as Huskum [Hanscome] Corner. The continuation of River Road along the southern edge of the island was graded and drained, tying into Bohicket Road at what was by this time called "Cock Hat" (rather than "Cocked Hat").

At the terminus of Mullet Hall Road was a farm dwelling and a single tenant house. These are the only structures shown for the tract, although a second farm house and four tenant houses were found on the west side of the Mullet Hall Road, perhaps off the tract. On the east side of the road was a portable sawmill.

In close proximity to the west of Mullet Hall were three black churches: Hebron, Promised Land, and St. Johns. Both Hebron and Promised Land had graveyards. Just a few buildings to the north of the Promised Land Church was the Promised Land School (identified as for "Negroes"). Today Hebron Church is still shown on the modern USGS topographic map, although the cemetery is no longer shown. Promised Land School is shown, although both the church and the cemetery are no longer shown. St. John's Church is still shown and with it is a cemetery.

Along River Road to the east of Mullet Hall was Burgess Road School – also for the island's black community. A little further to the east was a grist mill. Neither are shown on the modern map.

Other landmarks no longer found today include Sand Hill School (N), Calvary Church (N), the cemetery for Bethlehem Church (N), Johns Island Church (N), Miller Hill School (N), Wellington Church (N), Ferry Field School (N), Humber School (N), Zion School (N), and Legareville School (N).

The 1940 census provides additional support for the idea that the depression continued to affect Charleston later than the rest of the state. While SC as a whole began to show some signs of improvement in 1940, Charleston's farms were still in trouble. The proportion mortgaged had increased from 9.2% in 1930 to 9.8% in 1940, although the amount of the average mortgage had dropped to $2,833 and the value to debt ratio had decreased slightly to stand at 28% – significantly lower than the state average of 34.9%. The average value of the Charleston farm dropped from the 1930 level of $4,621 to only $1,709 in 1940. The average farm size, however, remained relatively stable at 78.4 acres.

Rural electrification had made an impact, with 450 farms having electricity by 1940, although this still represented only 21.2% of the county's farming community. The number of automobiles rose very little – up from 478 to 544 – and the number of telephones on farms actually declined by 25%.

Truck cropping continued to decline in Charleston. In 1930 there were 1,018 farms with 7,311 acres harvesting vegetables for sale. By 1940 there were only 693 farms with 6,193 acres.

The value of the produce declined from $913,916 to $661,504 – a decline of 27.6%.

In 1940 Johns Island contained 937 dwellings, 663 or 70.7% of which were farm units. The remaining 274 were non-farm units. Of the total, 500 or 53.4% were owner occupied; the remainder were tenant housing. Nearly 74% of the houses were occupied by African Americans. Twenty-eight percent of the houses on Johns Island were classified as late as 1940 as needing major repairs and 90% lacked an indoor bath.

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

Introduction

The study tract, today owned by Kiawah River Plantation, LP, is part of a plantation that was known as Mullet Hall during the twentieth century and for much of the nineteenth century. The historic Mullet Hall Plantation was created by combining several tracts during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with additional expansion during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Members of the Legare family have been associated with Johns Island since at least the eighteenth century. The Huguenot Solomon Legare (d. 1760) was a goldsmith by profession; his son Solomon Legare Jr. (1703-1774) became a "currier" – one who prepares tanned hides for working as leather. His workyard on Tradd Street was supplied from his rural lands, first in Christ Church Parish and soon on the more convenient islands southwest of Charleston. In 1729, Solomon Legare Jr. of Charles Town paid £250 for 510 acres on Wambaw Creek (Christ Church Parish), then in 1744 he paid £2,000 for a 540-acre plantation on the Stono River on Johns Island. Although he kept a town house near the tanning business in Charleston, Solomon Legare, Jr. described himself as a planter "of St. Johns, Colleton," in 1750 when he bought another 100-acre plantation from the executors of Thomas Jinks. In 1768, Legare paid £2500 for 650 acres on Wadmalaw Island.

Solomon Legare gave some of his Johns Island land to his son Thomas Legare (1732-1801) the father of three men whose families were associated with Mullet Hall Plantation: James Legare (1762-1830), Thomas Legare (1766-1842), and Solomon Legare (1770-1799). James Legare occupied the Mullet tract and adjoining properties; Thomas Legare acquired land to the north. Solomon Legare's granddaughter married James Legare's son, and as his widow she managed Mullet Hall from 1850 to 1868.

Our study tract was historically made up of four plantations: Mullet Hall, "Home Place," Rosebank, and The Oaks. Mullet Hall and Home Place, each 600+ acres, were the halves of a larger Mullet Hall assembled by James Legare and divided between two of his children in 1830. The larger Mullet Hall was recombined from its two halves during the 1880s, with the Home Place name being lost. Rosebank (only a small part of which is part of our study tract) was a Fripp plantation added to Mullet Hall in 1855. The Oaks was a Roper plantation added to Mullet Hall in 1897.

Mullet Hall to 1830

James Legare was already a Johns Island planter in 1788 when he paid fellow-planter Peter Herne £930 current money of South Carolina for a "233-acre plantation, part of a tract formerly of Est. William Stanyarne. Butting and bounding east on part of Est. William Stanyarne, south on Charles Freer, southwest on Alexander McGillivray, northwest on Thomas Townsend" (Charleston County RMC DB D7,


Solomon Legare the Huguenot -1760
Daniel Legare
Thomas Legare
Solomon Legare the Younger
Daniel Legare the Younger
Solomon Legare, Jr. 1730-1774
Thomas Legare the Younger 1732-1801
Elizabeth Basnett 1734-1790
Thomas Legare 1766-1842
Ann Eliza Blackburn 1777-1838
Elizabeth B. Legare - ca. 1863
Rev. Elisha White 1795-1849
Ann Ashe Legare 1801-
James W. Holmes 1790-1833
James Hanscome Holmes
Martha Eliza Legare 1831-1907
Mary Wilkinson Legare 1824-1855
Maynard E. Carrere 1813-1879
Charles E. Carrere 1850-1893
Ann Eliza Legare 1832-1909
George W. Seabrook, Jr. 1834-1861
Solomon Legare, Jr. 1797-1878
Eliza S.W. Legare (1st) 1804-1847
Amelia Trescott Chapman 1817-1904 (2nd)
James Hanscome Holmes
Martha Eliza Legare 1831-1907
Julia Legare
Solomon Legare 1770-1799
Mary Swinton 1771-1843
Eliza Catherine Legare 1794-1842
John Bryan 1791-1848
Lydia Ball Bryan 1816-1868
James C.W. Legare 1806-1850
Edward Benjamin Bryan 1826-1891
Julia Grace Bryan 1821-1866
James Legare 1762-1830
Mary Wilkinson 1764-1841
James C.W. Legare 1806-1850
Lydia Ball Bryan 1816-1868
Eliza Slann Wilkinson Legare 1804-1847
Solomon Legare, Jr. 1797-1878
Martha Wilkinson Legare 1795-1856
Horace Walpole 1790-1860
James C.W. Legare 1834-1874
Lydia Bryan Legare 1837-1899
John Basnett Legare Walpole 1824-1893
Francis Yonge Legare 1850-1905
Catherine Seymour Walpole 1859-1945
Mary Wilkinson Legare 1841-1923
Thomas W. Whaley 1837-1917
Horace Edward Walpole 1827-1887
Anna Louisa Warner 1836-1905
James Legare Walpole 1812-1880
John Basnett Legare Walpole 1824-1893
Lydia Bryan Legare 1837-1899
Francis Yonge Legare 1850-1905
Catherine Seymour Walpole 1895-1945
Francis Yonge Legare 1890-1955
Mary V. Lee

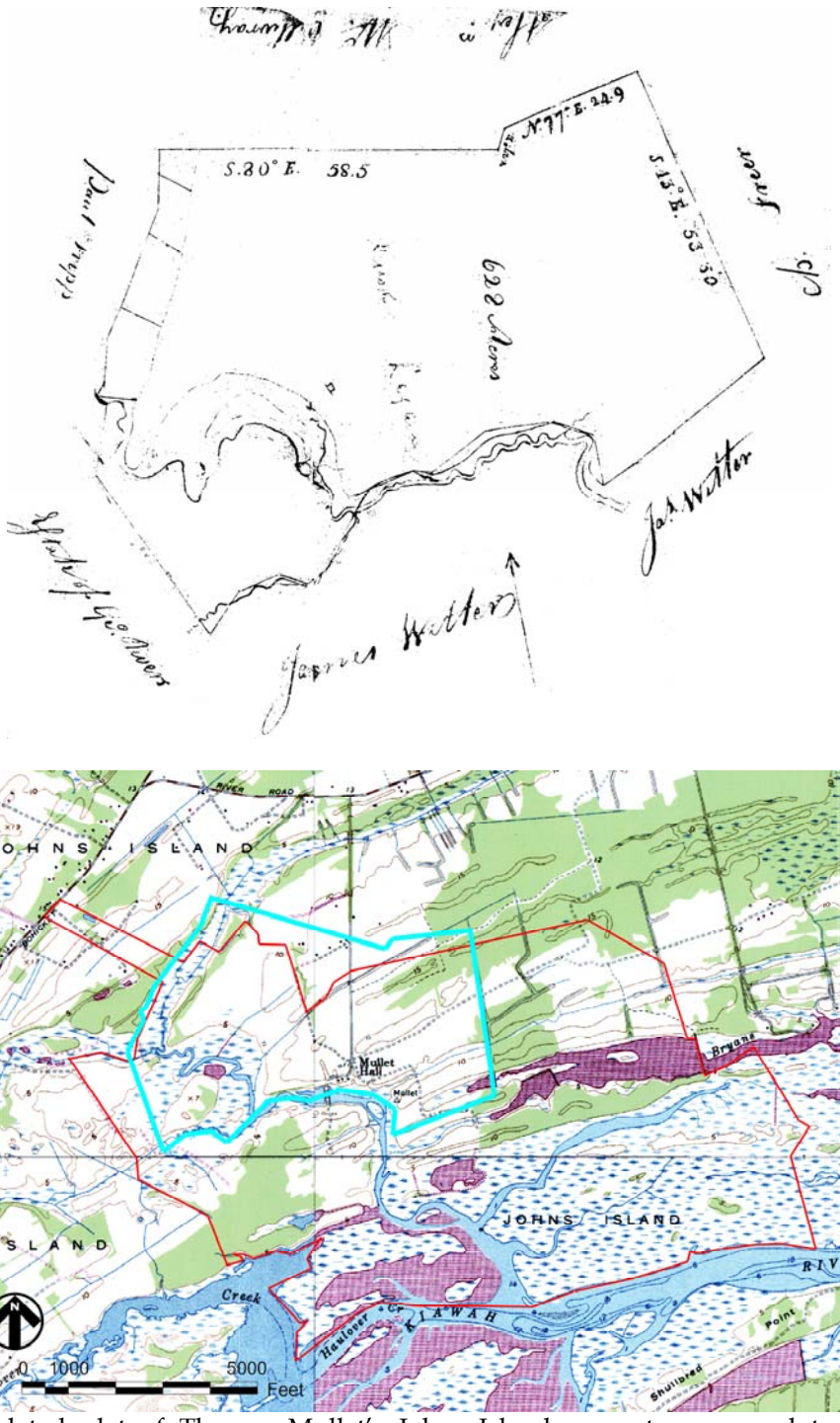


Figure 33. Undated plat of Thomas Mullet's Johns Island property conveyed to James Legare (McCrady Plat 4608) at the top; below is a modern topographic map showing the Mullet property (in blue) and the study tract (in red). Note the settlement along the creek edge and the rice fields to the west.

pg. 59; recorded December 1800). In 1792 he acquired the adjacent McGillivray tract at auction, a "very valuable plantation or tract of land, on John's Island, about 370 acres. Seized, taken in execution, and to be sold as late the property of Alexander McGillivray" (*Charleston City Gazette,* November 5, 1792). McGillivray's plantation had been seized by the sheriff to cover judgments in two suits, one of them brought by Benjamin Mathewes, a Johns Island planter who held McGillivray's mortgage (dated March 18, 1788). William Mathewes had owned a 470-acre plantation, but when James Legare paid £342.11/3 for 374.5 acres of it, Charles Freer already owned the east 95.5 acres. The portion purchased by Legare was bounded "northwest on the public road, northeast on Thomas Townsend and Peter Herne, east on Charles Freer (being the other part of the 470 acres), southwest on aforesaid Benjamin Mathewes and Paul Fripp" (Charleston County RMC DB D7, pg. 53; recorded December 1800).

We have not determined where James Legare and his wife, whom he had married in 1784, lived during this period. Although the Herne and McGillivray tracts comprised a sizable plantation, the Legare residence might have been elsewhere on Johns Island. In 1794, James Legare nearly doubled the size of his 607.5 acre plantation, paying £554 sterling money for a 597-acre plantation "bounding north on land late the property of Alexander McGillivray, deceased." This was the Mullet tract which gave the subject property its name.

In March 1793, Thomas Mullet of the City of London, merchant, had given his power of attorney to Thomas Morris, Joshua Ward and John Ward, Esquires, of Charleston, authorizing them to sell his property on Johns Island. The deed (Charleston County RMC DB D7, pg. 49; recorded December 1800) described a parcel that had been conveyed to Mullet by Benjamin Mathews and Mary his wife in 1791, and was bounded west on Paul Fripp and on George Rivers, south on James Witter, and east on Micah Jenkins. Paul Fripp's tract became Rosebank, see below; the Witter tract was later acquired by Solomon Legare as part of his "Home Place," see below; and the Micah Jenkins tract became known as The Oaks, see below.

Table 17.
Agricultural Schedules for Plantations in the Study Area*

	Slaves/Houses	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Horses	Mules	Milch Cows	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Corn, bu.	Rice, lb.	Cotton, bales	Wool, lb.	Peas, bu.	Sweet Potates, bu.	Butter, lb.
1850																	
M. Jenkins Roper (The Oaks)	78	500	500	7		40	12	28	40	20	538		20	40	30	800	
Horace Walpole (Creekside)	124	500	160	2	3	69	8	20	40		600		41		100	1,200	200
Solomon Legare (Home Place, Legareville, etc.)	248	700	908	40	10	105	20	80	70	70	3,000	15,000	172	400	200	3,000	192
Est. Elipha White (n of Home Place)	50	647	200	2	2	30	6	20	4	5	500	900	15		50	1,00	120
1860																	
Simon Legare	230/59	1,530	734	16	10	160	24	20	95	45	25,000		89	255	150	6,500	1,560
James Walpole (Acorn Hill)	26/7	600	200	3	2	20	3	20	11	24	1,000		50	60	30	2,000	250
Lydia Legare (Mullet Hall)	107/30	650	225	14	2	30	3	40	52	60	1,300		45	200	20	3,000	250
William Roper (Brick House)	80/23	600	324	5	4	40	10	40	47		1,000		50	200	130	1000	300
B.D. Roper (Briars)		500	250	4	2	20	6	30	40	50	500		20	150	50	800	100

*Owners in red represent a portion of the study tract; others are surrounding tracts. The 1850 data for Solomon Legare include a portion of the study tract, although it is combined with multiple other St. Johns Colleton tracts. Owners of the study tract in 1850/1860 not shown in this table could not be identified in the agriculture schedules.

Little is known about Thomas Mullet, other than that he was a book dealer at 11 Size Lane, Budge Row, London from at least 1783 through 1786 (Lowndes 1783, 1786). Raven (2002:302-303) notes that bills were paid to Thomas Mullet, Esq. and Thomas Mullet & Company in 1795.

Much earlier – in 1735 – the marriage of Nicholas Mullet to Mary Brown shows up in the St. Philip's Church Register (Holcomb 1995:181). Nicholas died by 1747 when Mary was married to Abel Inman. The relationship of Nicolas and

Mary Mullet, if any, to Thomas Mullet is unknown.

It is also uncertain whether Thomas Mullet ever visited Johns Island. He owned his island property from 1791 to early 1793. The only record of his activity in Charleston that we have been able to find are two court cases dating from the late 1780s resulting in unpaid loans he made (Judgment Roll, Charleston Series, 1794, item 104A; 1798, item 412A).

However, archaeological evidence is clear that from an early date, there was a house on the tract conveyed by Mullet to Legare. This house seems to have predated William Mathewes, who sold the land to Mullet, but might have been built by an earlier generation of Mathews. Regardless, its location is clear on the plat of James Legare's 622 acres (Figure 33). Legare must have named his residence plantation "Mullet Hall" after the house on a tract briefly owned by Thomas Mullet.

James Legare retained Mullet Halll, about 1100 acres between the public road and the Kiawah River, for the rest of his life. At some point, he moved his primary residence to the northwest part of his property, then in the 1820s he bought two plantations on Abbapoola Creek. Over sixty years old in 1824, he paid taxes on 1,936 acres of land and 132 slaves (SCDAH, Individual Tax Returns 1824, item 2572). At about this time, he moved his residence from Mullet Hall to his Point Plantation on Stono River. Legare bought The Point from Thomas Hanscome in 1825, paying $9,720 for the 324 acres fronting the river (Charleston County RMC DB Q9, pg. 139), where he lived at the time of his death in 1830. This tract adjoined a larger plantation (later known as Creekside, home of his daughter Martha L. Walpole) which Legare had bought from Hanscome in 1821, paying $19,000 for 650 acres at the north side of Abbapoola Creek (Charleston County RMC DB J9, pg. 98).

When James Legare wrote his will in June 1828, he bequeathed Mullet Hall to two of his children, directing that it be divided by "a line running from the creek on the south to the line of Estate Jenkins" (Charleston County Will Book 38, pg. 682). He left the west part of Mullet Hall containing "the Settlement and Mansion house I lately resided in" to his son James C. W. Legare (1806-1850). To his daughter Eliza Slann Wilkinson Legare, the wife of Solomon Legare Jr., he left the ca. 600-acre east tract "so much of the plantation whereon I lately resided, called Mullet-Hall, as will make about six hundred acres taken from the eastern side … as it has been … laid out by a line lately run from the creek on the south to the line of Estate Jenkins."

The will specified that Eliza S. W. Legare was to have undisturbed use of the canal running from the division line between the two Mullet Hall tracts down to the Creek for the purpose of draining. In addition to the plantation, Legare also left slaves to James C. W. Legare (twenty-five people in seven families) and Eliza S. W. Legare (twenty-six people in six families).

Mullet Hall (West Half) After 1830

Upon his father's death in 1830, James C. W. Legare (1806-1850) inherited the west half of Mullet Hall Plantation, just over 600 acres including his parents' "Settlement and Mansion House" (Will of James Legare, Charleston County Will Book 38, pg. 682). Whether he occupied the residence immediately is not certain, but after his 1833 marriage to his cousin Lydia Ball Bryan (1816-1868) they settled at Mullet Hall.

James C. W. Legare planted Mullet Hall until his death in late 1850. The appraisal of his personal estate made in January 1851 details a large operation: 126 slaves, twenty-two gins, five plows, eleven oxen, and two mules. There was evidently no ginned cotton on the premises, but foodstuffs and feed included fodder, peas, corn, rice, seed potatoes, and cow potatoes. The

inventory of household goods indicates a residence of four bedchambers, equipped for year-around occupancy (Charleston County Inventory Book C, pg. 105). Although we have no plats for this tract, we believe that Legare continued to occupy the Mullet settlement shown in Figure 33.

Legare also owned land in St. Pauls Parish, near Toogoodoo Creek where other members of his family planted cotton. There he held thirty-three slaves, ten oxen, one mule, a plow, and two gins (Charleston County Inventory Book C, pg. 105).

managed to get some cotton picked before the mandatory evacuation in late fall, selling seven bales in April 1862, five in December, and eight in January 1863. The cotton sold in 1863 was probably grown near Orangeburg, where the family and "negroes" had moved in June 1862. Some of the slaves might have been sent there earlier, for Legare bought 217 bushels of corn ($217) in February 1862. Other corn purchases were necessary in May 1863 ($612) and January 1864 ($600) (Charleston County, Estate Account, audited and approved December 27, 1866, Probate Case 063025).

Table 18.
1870 Agricultural Schedules for Plantations and Farms in the Study Area

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Value of Farm ($)	Value of Implements ($)	Wages Paid ($)	Horses	Mules	Oxen	Sheep	Swine	Corn (bu)	Cotton (bales)	Peas (bu)	Sweet Potatoes (bu)	Market Produce ($)
Est. J.C.W. Legare (Mullet Hall)	350	300	5,000	10	100		1				25	4	25	25	
J.C.W. Legare (Rosebank)	225	90	1,500	25	50		1				50	2	25	25	
J.B.L. Walpole (Creekside)	450	1,100	5,000	600	200	2	4	6	5	1	125	10	40	20	
J.L. Walpole (Acorn Hill)	200	400	3,000	50	50	1	1				150	3	20	10	
James Brown	10	-	60	5		1					40	1	15	10	10
James Brown	6	-	60	2							22	1	15	11	25
Kitt Bishop	18	-	?	?		1				3	70	2	10	25	70
Johns Island mean	24.39	24.01	346.06	27.87	41.33	0.30	0.10	0.03	0.47	0.97	41.77	0.96	4.56	23.73	9.95

Known to be associated with the plantation was a James Brown among the freedmen Solomon Legare contracted with in 1865. Kitt Bishop is said to have been F. Y. Legare's foreman during the early twentieth century (Jordan and Stringfellow 1998, pg. 266).

James C. W. Legare's will provided for his widow to sell his Toogoodoo Plantation at her discretion, bequeathing his house and lot at Legareville to her for life, and the "rest and residue" of his estate, including his home plantation – Mullet Hall, to his widow Lydia Ball Bryan Legare and their children (Charleston County Probate Records, Case 063025).

In 1860 Lydia B. Legare held 110 slaves on Johns Island, all of them on Mullet Hall (Davidson 1970: 219).

Legare's Estate was handled by Lydia Legare while her children were minors. She was a successful planter, and the Estate accounts give an interesting picture of the early years of the Civil War. In the first quarter of 1861, Lydia Legare paid $5.88 for five gallons of gin oil. She

In September, 1865, Reuben Tomlinson reported to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands concerning the plantations which comprise the subject property and neighboring tracts:

> These lands have never yet been reported having been but lately settled. No crops were raised on them. The aggregate number on these places are 43 men, 60 women, 98 children. . . . All are dependent on government for support (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series 1910, Reel 85).

The names of the "former owners" were given as Joseph Stephens, Sol Legare, Benjamin Roper, Jenkins Roper, A. Brown, Lydia Legare. James Legare, Widow Mathews, and William Jenkins (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series

1910, Reel 85, pg. 253). The owners of the study tract were Sol Legare (eastern half of Mullet Hall, discussed below), Lydia Legare and her son James (west side of Mullet Hall and Rosebank), and Jenkins Roper (The Oaks, discussed below).

Lydia Legare died in 1868, leaving four children, her "only estate an undivided interest in certain real property worth about $1500: a plantation and a lot at Legareville" (Charleston County Probate Court, Case 212016). Her son James C. W. Legare was planting at Rosebank, her daughters were married, and her youngest son, Francis Y. Legare (1850-1905) took over Mullet Hall, managing the plantation and his father's estate.

In June 1872 F. Y. Legare settled his father's estate, selling some of Mullet Hall to effect a partition. In February 1873, Augustine Smythe, the family's attorney, bought 387 acres (Charleston County RMC DB H16, pg. 343) and immediately resold it to F. Y. Legare for the same price, giving him clear title (Charleston County RMC DB J16, pg. 120).

Also in February 1873, 169 acres of Mullet Hall was sold to Mary Legare and her husband Thomas Whaley. Six months later, the Whaleys sold their parcel to Alexander McLoy and J. W. Rice, trading partners doing business as McLoy and Rice. McLoy & Rice sold about sixty acres to Washington Capers, Samuel Robertson, and Richard Singleton, then in May, 1876, they lost the rest of the tract to a foreclosure suit, and in December it was sold at auction, together with storehouses, gins, engines, and all other buildings (Charleston County RMC DB G16, pg. 138). F. Y. Legare paid $1878 for the land and buildings.

It appears that McLoy and Rice had invested in a commercial gin operation on Mullet Hall. At least since the 1850s, one of the partners, McLoy, had been in Charleston, where he operated a dry goods store on King Street (Charleston City Directories, 1859, 1860). Sometime after the Civil War, J. W. Rice, formerly of Erie, New York, joined him in business. Rice was a prominent businessman in New York and Macon, Georgia. The company continued in business for a number of years after the 1876 sale of their land on Johns Island. The deed for that sale is complicated, with other parties besides McLoy and Rice having been objects of the foreclosure suit, and it does not indicate whether their gin had run profitably, if at all.

Francis Legare had already established himself as a mercantile operator when he bought McLoy and Rice's gin equipment. As early as 1871, his brother, who was planting at Rosebank (see below), agreed to market his crop through F. Y. Legare. Other small farmers in the area gave him crop liens in exchange for advances of planting supplies or cash credit. For example, in April 1874, John Small and Joseph Wright (who signed his own name) were planting at Hopkinsons, north of Mullet Hall. To secure repayment of up to $105 in goods or cash to be advanced to them, they gave him a lien on the crops grown on twenty-one acres (Charleston County RMC DB R15, pg. 387). In June, they increased their credit line, giving a mortgage on four horses to Legare (Charleston County RMC DB R15, pg. 387). In January, 1875, Small and Wright each agreed to a crop lien in exchange for advances of up to $200 (Charleston County RMC DB R15, pg. 388, 400), and a few months later each sold a horse to F. Y. Legare. He paid $60 each for a two-year old bay stallion and a four-year old black stallion (Charleston County RMC DB P16, pg. 565, 617). As his brother's estate administrator in 1874-1876, Legare was ginning cotton grown at Rosebank, and probably for other farmers as well.

By 1880, F. Y. Legare owned one farm (Mullet Hall) and rented additional acreage – either on "Home Place" (the east half of the original Mullet Hall), or Rosebank. His own land, 596 acres, was worth $5,000, comprising 155 acres improved, 160 pasture, 120 woods and forest, and 161 acres of fallow or "old field" land. There were implements and equipment

worth about $1,000, and he had spent $1,300 on buildings and repairs. The land he rented was 135 acres: 35 improved, 50 woods and forest, and 50 fallow, worth altogether $1,800. Production on the two tracts was dissimilar. He had spent only $20 to fertilize the rented tract, but $200 on his own land, where he paid $195 in laborers' (all African-Americans) wages for fifty weeks. The rented land produced crops worth $700: 100 bushels of corn on 15 acres, 7 bales cotton on 15 acres, 70 bushels sweet potatoes on 10 acres. At his own Mullet Hall he made $4,500 in crops: 200 bushels corn on 30 acres, 150 bushels oats on three acres, 42 bales cotton on 64 acres, and 200 bushels sweet potatoes on 10 acres. Legare held little livestock: four horses, two mules, 18 cows, and 8 chickens.

Without inherited land or access to capital, Legare's African-American neighbors operated much different farms than he did. Discussed below are three men, Jack Ryan, Henry Wright, and Joseph Wright. There were men by these names among the fourteen freedmen who signed contracts with Solomon Legare in 1866, but it is not certain that these are the same farmers.

In 1880 Jack Ryan was 32, being born in 1848. He was married to Phyllis and had four children. Ryan rented ten acres worth $120. The previous year he had spent $25 on buildings and/or repairs. Without buying any fertilizer, he produced 30 bushels of corn on four acres, two bales of cotton on four acres, and ten bushels of sweet potatoes on a quarter-acre. He had a horse, a milking cow (whose calf he sold), three pigs and forty chickens (collecting 50 dozen eggs in 1879). Ryan did not report growing any market produce for sale. His total production for the year was worth $200.

Henry Wright was 60 years old in 1880 and lived on Johns Island with his wife, Betty, and their four children. Wright rented eleven acres worth $100 in 1880. In 1879, he had produced crops worth $60. Four acres planted in corn gave him 40 bushels, he got two bales of cotton from six acres, ten bushels of sweet potatoes on one acre, and two bushels of peas from marginal land. Wright kept fewer animals than Ryan – one pig and six chickens; a milk cow and an ox, one of which died during 1879.

Joseph Wright, born in 1847, was married to 29 year old Lydia. They lived on Johns Island with their 6 children. Joseph Wright was slightly more prosperous than the others in 1880. He owned 28 acres, 20 improved and eight in pasture, worth $120 altogether. He spent $25 on fertilizer during the previous year, producing crops worth $400: 12 bushels of corn from two acres, four bales cotton from eight acres, 40 bushels sweet potatoes from a half-acre. He also kept 20 chickens, nine swine, three cattle (one a milk cow), and a horse.

Rosebank

Rosebank Plantation was appended to the 610-acre west half of James Legare's Mullet Hall in 1855. It had earlier been owned by Paul Fripp and his son Charles E. Fripp, whose heirs sold it to Lydia B. Legare, widow of James C. W. Legare.

Rosebank's earlier history has been generally researched. In 1783 Paul Fripp (1737-1800) of St. Helena Island paid £806/18/6 sterling money of Great Britain to Benjamin Mathewes and his wife Mary for a plantation of 185.5 acres bounding southeast on said Benjamin Mathewes, northeast on William Mathews Esq., northwest on Dr. Patrick Simpson, and southwest on Mr. George Rivers (Charleston County RMC DB O9, pg. 446-447).

In 1826 Charles Edward Fripp (1785-1843), a son of Paul Fripp (Rosengarten 1987:722-723), paid $1,600 to Thomas Philson and his wife Martha M. Philson for 92.75 acres, half of a 185.5-acre plantation that Paul Fripp had bought from Benjamin Mathews. The description of the tract gave its boundaries as southeast by the other half, owned by Charles E. Fripp; northeast on James Legare, northwest on

Est. Joseph Jenkins and the high road, southwest on Est. Richard Jenkins (Charleston County RMC DB R9, pg. 102-104). We have not explored how half the tract had come into Philson's ownership.

There might have been a planter's residence at Rosebank, and at least by 1840 the Fripp family kept a house at Rockville on Wadmalaw Island. Charles Fripp's will devised to his wife Mary Minott a 594-acre rice plantation at Chehaw in St. Bartholomews Parish, slaves, and the "use and occupation of my house at Rockville," which she was free to dwell in or to rent out for income. Fripp directed that his 194.5-acre plantation be "retained under the management of my executor until my children are of age. When the youngest is 21, then my plantation to be sold with stock, cattle horses, boats, and plantation utensils" (Charleston County WPA Will Book 43, pg. 717). In 1844, Fripp's will was probated and an inventory made of his personal estate. In St. Johns Colleton Parish, the Estate held thirty-one named slaves, nine iron foot gins, a cotton whipper, picking sheets and bags, steel yards, cotton bags, a six-oared boat, fishing boat, sailboat and sails, as well as 28 head cattle, a lot of tacky horses [marsh tackys; small ponies common to the coastal marshes and often used on plantations], two carriage horses, two cart horses, and a saddle horse. Although household furniture was noted and appraised, the inventory is not specific how many residences were furnished, and as is common, no indication of the number of buildings on any of Fripp's lands (Charleston County Inventory Book A, pg. 540).

The Fripp heirs held Rosebank until 1855, when the adult children confirmed their mother's sale of the plantation to Lydia B. Legare, widow and executrix of James C. W. Legare (Charleston County RMC DB P13, pg. 308, 309). The next year, James C. W. Legare (1834-1874), son of Lydia B. Legare, gave a mortgage on the land to Mary M. Fripp, securing a debt of $9,000. The mortgage was satisfied and released, evidently without incident (Charleston County RMC DB S13, pg. 329).

On March 23, 1868, J. C. W. Legare on Johns Island applied to R. K. Scott with the Freedmen's Bureau for

> government provisions to aid me in carrying on my plantation situated on Johns Island. My plantation known as Rose Bank is well organized there are on my plantation sixteen hands or adults. I intend planting forty acres of cotton, thirty acres corn, 12 acres potatoes. I have failed to obtain assistance from other sources to carry on my planting and unless I obtain rations from the government I will be unable to carry on my planting. I will need these rations until 1st of August (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series 1910, Reel 85, pg. 241).

In March 1871, J. C. W. Legare was cultivating Rosebank, where he seems to have been living, and entered into an agreement with his brother F. Y. Legare. F. Y. Legare agreed to advance up to $100, either in supplies or hard money, in exchange for a crop lien and J. C. W. Legare's promise to sell his crop through F. Y. Legare. Further, he would send enough market crop by December to cover the total advanced (Charleston County RMC DB R15, pg. 265).

James C. W. Legare died intestate in December 1874, leaving a widow and four children. Francis Y. Legare became administrator of his brother's estate. He sold Rosebank's cotton through factors R. Roper and Son (Richard Roper and B. S. Roper), collecting $110.95 for a 317-pound bag in November 1874 (he kept $10.93 of the proceeds for the gin toll) and netting $300.05 for 776 pounds (two bags and a partial bag) in December 1875. This cotton

Figure 34. 1884 plat of Rosebank Plantation (McCrady Plat 2564) at the top; below is a modern topographic map showing the Rosebank property (in blue) and the study tract (in red). Note the two graveyards on Rosebank and the nine structures.

had all been grown during 1875, as there was none on hand when the estate inventory was taken in March (Charleston County Probate Court, Case 230013).

There is a reference to a plat (not found) made in 1880 by Simons and Huger, dividing Rosebank into 13 lots. A later plat, dated 1884, shows the plantation as 182.1 acres, divided into 7 lots for FY Legare (McCrady Plat 2564; Figure 34), and in 1886 he sold Lots 6 and 7, 40 acres together to Paul White.

Mullet Hall "Home Place"(East Half)
After 1830

When she came into ownership of the east half of Mullet Hall in 1830, Eliza S. W. Legare had been married to Solomon Legare, Jr. (1797-1878) for several years. He was her first cousin, a son of Thomas Legare of Johns Island. Thomas Legare was a landowner and planter, but we have not found any record of his having deeded property to his son Solomon, and his will of 1842 (Charleston County WPA Will Book 43, pg. 469) does not mention land previously given to any of his children (six sons and three daughters living at his death). The will directs only that his real and personal estate be sold after his death, the proceeds to be divided among the heirs. The assumption, therefore, is that Solomon Legare established his first independent planting career on his wife's Mullet Hall plantation, before her father's death.

Solomon Legare purchased other land on Johns Island. In 1831, his mother-in-law was living in Charleston, and decided to release The Point to her sons and sons-in-law. James C. W. Legare, Francis Y. Legare, Solomon Legare, and Horace Walpole agreed to pay Mary W. Legare $1,500 annually for her lifetime, in exchange for use of the 324-acre property (Charleston County RMC DB A10, pg. 435). After her death, in 1843 Legare bought the Point for $15,100 (Charleston County RMC DB I11, pg. 416).

In 1837, Solomon Legare purchased from Edward Whaley a "certain and well-known plantation," paying $23,500 for the 450 acres on the Stono River at the south side of Abbapoola Creek (Charleston County RMC DB R10, pg. 361), across from The Point plantation. Here Legare established a summer village, in 1838 selling lots to his fellow planters on condition that "if they use the public landing at the village" they would keep it in repair (Charleston County RMC DB W10, pg. 428, 430; DB O11, pg. 427 et. seq.). The village and the plantation became known as Legareville.

In 1839 Solomon Legare extended his "Home Place" to the south, acquiring most of James Witter's 238-acre tract on Kiawah River and Coles Creek. This plantation had been divided into thirds: for $4,753 Susannah Witter conveyed to Legare one-third (79.3 acres) of the land, and an undivided half-share of another third (RMC Deed Book V10, pg. 607). The remaining third, the southwest corner, was held by Mrs. Jane Holmes (the widow of John Holmes of nearby Hope Plantation, Jane was Susannah Witter's sister, and her parcel, too, eventually came into Mullet Hall). Upon Miss Witter's death, by prior agreement her executor conveyed an additional 100 acres to Solomon Legare in 1849. The boundaries were described as north partly on Solomon Legare (Home Place), partly on M. Jenkins Roper (The Oaks), east on M. J. Roper (The Oaks), west on Coles' Creek, south on marshes of Kiawah River (Charleston County RMC DB E11, p. 418).

In 1847, the year of his wife's death, Solomon Legare bought a nearby parcel from Charles Edmonston and James Louis Petigru, who had acquired a number of plantations in 1836 from the executors of merchant Adam Tunno. They sold 430.55 acres to Legare for the low price of $1,000, describing it as bounding northeast on public road and Paul Grimball Esq., south and east on Benjamin Roper Esq., and southwest on Dr. J. Stevens (Charleston County RMC DB X11, pg. 282). Tunno himself had purchased the plantation at auction in 1832

as 500 acres bounded west on the Est. William Stanyarne and Mrs. Ball, south and southwest by William Robertson deceased (Charleston County RMC DB N10, pg. 124). The boundary descriptions indicate that this parcel was separated from Mullet Hall by neighboring properties, being closer to Benjamin Roper's Rush Plantation.

James Legare had bequeathed Mullet Hall to his daughter Eliza for her life only, entailing it to her children. Her children were mostly grown when she died in 1847 and they filed for a division of her estate after their father's second marriage in 1849. The plantation was advertised for sale as,

> That valuable and well settled Plantation formerly belonging to the late James Legare Esq., containing upwards of 600 acres of Cotton and Provision Land, and some Rice Land, of which 150 or 200 acres are uncleared. It is contiguous to a bold landing on a creek which empties into Keewah or Stono; is under good banking and fencing, and was planted the past season by Mr. Solomon Legare. It contains a handsome and comfortable Dwelling House of 10 upright rooms and two garrets, Kitchen, Stable, a large Barn, Cotton and Gin House, with good negro Houses" (*Charleston Courier* 12/2/1850).

Solomon Legare paid $21,050 for the six hundred acres, keeping it in his ownership while allowing a distribution among the heirs. The January 1851 deed recites the boundaries of the plantation "known as Home Plantation" as south on Solomon Legare formerly Miss Witter, east on Dr. William J. Roper (The Oaks), west on James C. W. Legare (the western half of Mullet Hall), north on Estate Jenkins (Walnut Hill) and of John A. Fripp (Rosebank) (Charleston County RMC DB I12, pg. 139).

Solomon Legare owned his Home Plantation, the east half of Mullet Hall, together with the Witter tract, until his death in 1878. In 1857 he added to it again, purchasing about 200 acres from J. E. Mathews for $2500. The parcel was described as a "portion of the Richfield tract" south of the public road running east to west, and west of the road that ran south to the plantations of Dr. M. J. Roper (The Oaks) and B. D. Roper (Briars). Mathews also granted Legare "all the rights and privileges of digging, draining, and cleaning of all the old canals and water courses through the swamps . . . for the benefit of the 200 acres" (Charleston County RMC DB X13, pg. 135).

The 1860 census shows Solomon Legare holding 230 slaves on his Johns Island plantations, where there were 59 slave houses altogether. He organized the people by age for the census: 20 were more than 55 years old (some of them in their 80s), 30 between 40 and 55 years of age, 11 from 35 to 39, 25 between 26 and 34, 22 from 20 to 25 years old, 32 teenagers between 14 and 19, and 86 children under 14.

Solomon Legare was living in Charleston after the Civil War, and in October 1865 he applied for restoration of his residence on Greenhill Street as well as another dwelling on Tradd Street (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series M869, Reel 28). He soon petitioned the U. S. government for restoration of his plantation lands. In January 1866, his two Stono River plantations on James Island, totaling 1,400 acres, were restored to him as being unoccupied by freedmen (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series M869, Reel 32, pg. 490-494).

The freedmen living on Mullet Hall executed an agreement with Solomon Legare on March 25, 1866:

> *Article of Agreement between Solomon Legare and Freedmen and*

Women on Plantation on Johns Island known as Mullet Hall
Solomon Legare . . . agree with the Freedmen and Women, heads of families, to work my plantation on Johns Island known as Mullet Hall until the 1st of Jany. 1867, on the following terms – viz, to give them ½ of the Cotton Crop, to be divided when ginned and prepared for Market, and also ¾ of the corn raised by said Freedmen and Women, they agreeing to feed themselves, and furnish everything needed for planting and working the crop. They also agree to furnish from their own number a foreman to be selected conjointly by the employer and themselves, who shall be responsible for the order and subordination of the plantation. They agree to plant not less than 3 acres of cotton, and _ acres of provisions to each full hand (other than full hands in proportion).
Neither party shall sell or use any portion of the crop, until after the division of the same, without the consent of the other party. The crop to be worked by families, but all cotton to be placed in separate lots in one or more buildings, which shall be in charge of the foreman. It is agreed that the employees shall have the privilege of visiting the city, but in no case shall the crop be neglected by their so doing (National Archives Record Group 105, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, copy in Pivnick Papers, Avery Institute, Charleston).

The agreement was approved by Assistant Commissioner for Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands on April 14, 1866. Fourteen people signed using their marks: Primous Brown, Rector (?) Wise (?), James Henry (?), Ben Fludd, illeg, illeg, John Rivers, Jack Ryne (Ryan), July Jenkins, Henry Wright, Jery Smith, Jim Johnson, Stany (?) Wright, illeg.

Solomon Legare also put his other plantations back into production, although we have not located those contracts. However, by 1868, the lack of available food provisions on some farms created an impossible situation. In March 1868, urgent appeals were sent to the Freedmen's Bureau. Whether Mullet Hall was involved is uncertain, although documents from at least two other Legare plantations survive. In one case, the Bureau was told,

> application for government provisions to assist in planting the Hanscome Point plantation on this island, the term of our contract is to pay the owner of the plantation, Solomon Legare, one half the cotton we raise and one bushel corn to each family. The plantation is in a good state of organization, we have the necessary implements and three work animals.
> We shall require provisions for 13 adults and 8 children. We expect to plant 36 acres cotton, 51 acres corn, and three acres potatoes. We are entirely out of provisions and without this assistance from the government immediately we will be unable to plant.
> Signed [by mark] John Brown and James Brown (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series 1910, Reel 85, pg. 231).

In another case, the Bureau received a letter from John B. L. Walpole,

> soliciting assistance for the freed people on Mr. Solomon Legare's plantation known as the Legareville Place, Johns Island.
> There are on this plantation twenty-nine working hands and six old persons who are entirely destitute of provisions and cannot plant a crop unless assistance is rendered.
> The plantation is organized and the people have begun to work under such a contract as will ensure the future support of all parties, each full hand agreeing to plant two acres of cotton and three of corn (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series 1910, Reel 85, pg. 240).

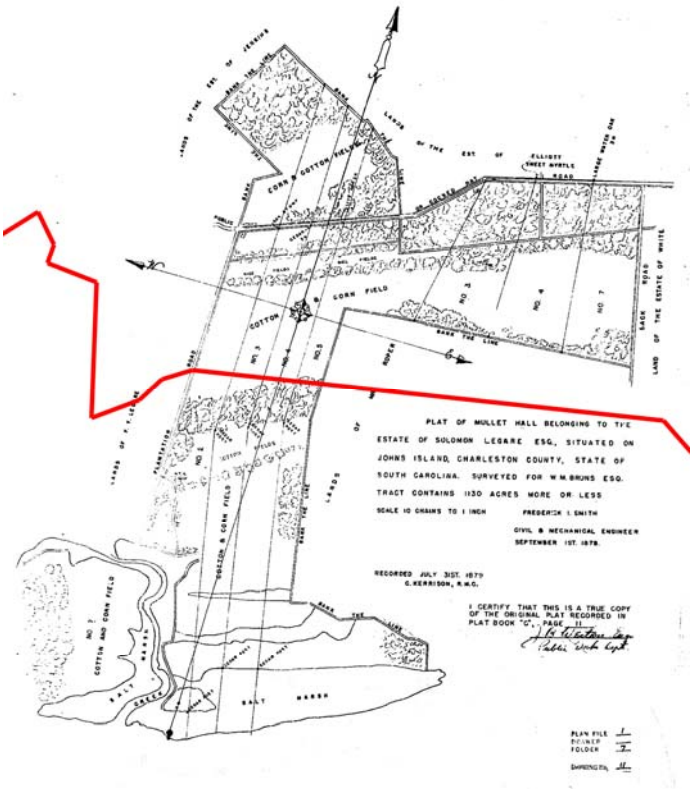
We assume these requests were approved, but we have not examined the Freedmen's Bureau records in sufficient detail to provide documentation.

Solomon Legare died at the age of seventy-five on April 30, 1878, leaving one grown son, Thomas Legare, to whom he bequeathed Edenvale Plantation and Point Place (near Hanscome Point and Legareville). His will, written on March 30, 1878 and probated on May 27, 1878, directed that his "Home Place" (the eastern half of Mullet Hall) should be sold as soon as his wife Amelia thought best, the proceeds divided among her as the widow, Legare's three daughters, and a grandson, Charles E. Carrere. The remainder of his land on Johns Island, and all his James Island property, were left to Amelia to rent or sell, dividing the proceeds among herself and the three daughters (Charleston County Estate Files 251-12).

Solomon Legare's house had been burned or otherwise demolished during the Civil War or shortly afterward. As a step in managing the Home Place, Amelia Legare had it sold at auction on August 29, 1878. The buyer, William M. Bruns of Charleston, paid only $500 for the 1,130 acres, known as Mullet Hall or the Home Place (Charleston County RMC Deed Book L17, p. 221). The low price is explained by the fact that Bruns, a lawyer practicing in Charleston, was acting as agent for the Legare family. He had a new survey drawn (Charleston County RMC PB C, pg. 11) and then conveyed parcels back to the family members beginning in September 1878. Figure 35 shows this plat, revealing that most of the Home Place soon came into the ownership of Francis Y. Legare, proprietor of James C. W. Legare's 1830 portion of Mullet Hall, but not all of it is within the study area.

Maynard E. Carrere (father of Charles Carrere) paid $200 for Tract No. 2, a long strip extending along the east side of the plantation's entry road, 207.3 acres which included Solomon Legare's Mullet Hall house (Charleston County RMC DB O17, pg. 208). Just two years later, in 1880 Charles Carrere sold this acreage to his cousin Francis Y. Legare (RMC Deed Book A16, pg. 94). Legare and his wife Kate built a new house east of the Solomon Legare house site (Limehouse, 2008).

Also in 1878, Ann Eliza Seabrook paid $150 for 140 acres known as "the island" (formerly James Witter's land, and called Summer House Island by later owners) and the 80-acre Tract No. 7 below Cocked Hat Road (Charleston County RMC DB O17, pg. 310). Martha E. Legare Holmes paid $125 for Tract 4, 227.9 acres in two portions: a strip of 143.3 acres parallel to Carrere, and 84.6 acres south of Cocked Hat Road (Charleston County RMC DB O17, pg. 311). Julia Harrison, the third Legare daughter, had inherited her portion as a trust managed by her mother. She paid Bruns $150 for Tract 3, being 228 acres in two portions: a 150.3-acre strip between Carrere and Holmes, and 77.77 acres south of Cocked Hat Road (Charleston County RMC DB O17, pg. 309). We did not find a conveyance of Tract No. 5 on the 1878 plat, but assume it was conveyed to Mrs. Amelia Legare.



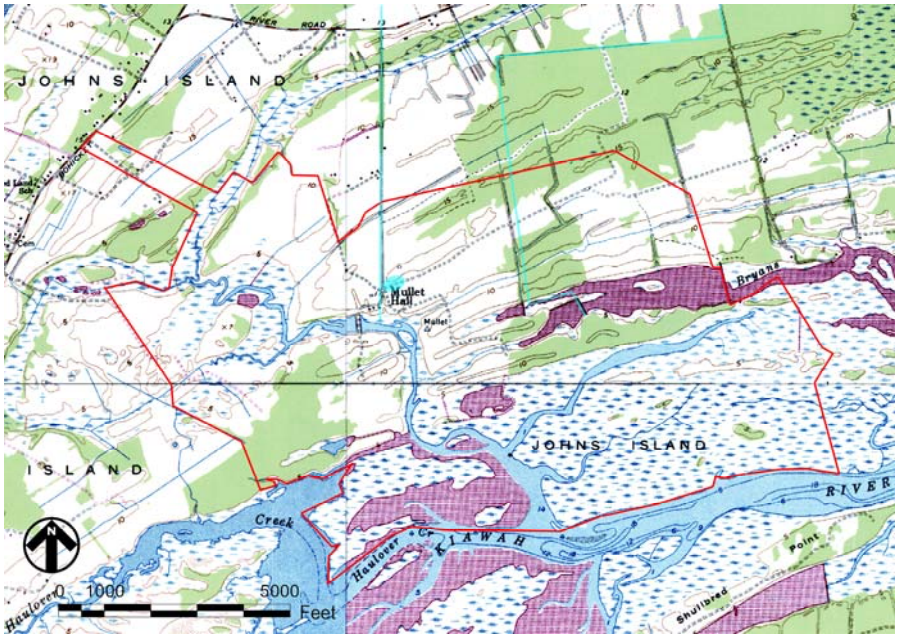


Figure 35. 1879 plat of Solomon Legare's Home Place or Mullet Hall (Charleston County RMC PB C, pg. 11) at the top; below is a modern topographic map showing the portion of the Home Place property (in blue) in the study tract (in red).

In 1879, the Solomon Legare Estate managed by his widow had twenty-three tenants paying rent at the "Village Place" near Legareville, and twelve on James Island. Some of the James Island land, as well as Legareville Plantation, were sold in that year. Other portions of these lands were held for tenant farming until 1887 (Charleston County Estate Files 251-12). With Mullet Hall divided among the heirs, the assumption is that the tracts were rented separately to one or more tenants after 1879, but we have not found records of its use. Records were filed with the Probate Court for the portion owned by Mrs. Julia Legare Harrison. Under the management of her mother, Mrs. Harrison's 228 acres of Mullet Hall was rented for $190 each year through 1887 (Charleston County Estate Files 251-12), and then sold to Francis Y. Legare in 1889 (Charleston County RMC DB A27, pg. 192).

After a decade of absentee management, the other heirs also conveyed their portions of the Mullet Hall Home Place to Francis Y. Legare. Ann Seabrook was first, in 1888 selling him the 140-acre island nearest Kiawah River for $1,000 (Charleston County RMC DB A32, pg. 201). The next year Martha Holmes sold him her 143-acre Tract 4 for $1000 (Charleston County RMC DB A32, pg. 242). We did not find the conveyance to F. Y. Legare of Tract 5, which we assume to have been held by Mrs. Amelia Legare.

Mullet Hall after the 1880s

Francis Yonge Legare (1850-1905) and his wife Catherine Walpole (Kate S. Legare, 1859-1945) operated Mullet Hall (both the western and eastern tracts, 610 acres and 1,180 acres) and Rosebank together, managing a total of almost 2,000 acres of farmland. In 1897, F. Y. Legare added the adjacent Oaks Plantation (see below). For the years between 1880 and 1920, deed indexes show dozens of conveyances of small parcels of land by the Legares to other individuals, and numerous acquisitions of land by them. Small independent farmers as well as their own tenants traded at the Mullet Hall store.

As discussed in the previous overview, in 1890 F. Y. Legare's general merchandise store had at least five competitors: the businesses of William Andell, E. M. Seabrook, Charles Seel, Walpole & Co., and C. G. Whaley. Legare had a decided advantage in the fact that Mullet Hall was a regular landing on the steamboat route connecting Exchange Landing (Wadmalaw Island) with the truck farms and cotton farms throughout southern Charleston County. Payroll for commercial farmers, including Legare's neighbor William Andell, was delivered to the Mullet Hall landing (Sidi Limehouse, personal communication 2008). The Mullet Hall Post Office, begun in 1893 with Francis Y. Legare the first postmaster, operated until 1918 when Frank Legare left Mullet Hall (http://carolana.com/SC/Towns/All_SC_POs_1783_to_1971_Sorted.htm).

The state business directory for 1905 shows Francis Y. Legare with a general store and grist mill near the Mullet Hall post office. Other farmers in the area included John Legare, J. C. W. Legare, and T. S. Legare (see previous discussion). However, Francis Y. Legare died in 1905, leaving his widow Kate and a fifteen year old son, Francis Y. (Frank) Legare. Henry Muhler, previously the farm overseer for William Andell's nearby operation, had been managing the store for Legare, and upon his death began renting the operation from Kate Legare for $120/year (Haynie 2007:36). Acting

Figure 36. Examples of the F.Y. Legare store tokens.

on the advice of her lawyers and factors, Mrs. Legare sold the stock of goods in the store to Henry Muhler for $414.84 in January 1906 (Charleston County Probate Court, Case 461029 and 461030). By 1912, R. G. Dun & Co. listed three merchants near Mullet Hall Post Office, including Muhler, with $3,000 to $5,000 capital, and fair credit worthiness (discussed in the overview). We have not learned how late the Mullet Hall store operated, or how long Muhler retained use of the commissary tokens marked "F. Y. Legare." A previous owner of the property remembers the commissary building standing at least through the early1940s (Sidi Limehouse, personal communication 2008; we were not able to identify the structure in the 1948 aerial photographs of the tract).

The Legares traditionally relied on the Charleston firm of Dill, Ball Company for credit and cash advances. As early as 1886, F. Y. Legare gave the company a mortgage on his 610-acre Mullet Hall to secure a loan (Charleston County RMC DB A31, pg. 262). After years of operating as a partnership, Dill, Ball, Company was incorporated in 1898 with officers Joseph T. Dill, J. Alwyn Ball, and John Rivers. Their charter allowed a "general factorage and commission business, advancing to planters and selling of Sea Island and upland cotton," also buying and selling Sea Island cotton bagging and twine, and selling cotton seed and "such other produce as may be consigned to it" (Charleston County RMC DB L23, pg. 37; Acts and Resolutions of 1899, pg. 263). Between 1901 and 1929, the firm also acquired a number of farms on Johns Island, evidently resulting from forced sales by indebted farmers. Most of the parcels were less than ten acres (Charleston County RMC Deed Index, 1898-1930).

Upon the death of Francis Y. Legare in New York, "where he had temporarily gone for his health for a few weeks," his widow Kate turned to the Dill, Ball Company. His death came in early October, "the midst of a business season," and they took over business management of his property – a total of 2,627 acres on Mullet Hall, Rosebank, The Oaks, and Briars.

The family's attorneys handled debts and legal affairs. On their advice, she sold the Briars Plantation, and began foreclosing on bad debts. She forced a sale of Lots 6 and 7 on Rosebank Plantation to recover a judgment against Richard Johnson, and bought the forty acres back in her own name, paying $100 (Charleston County RMC DB W23 pg. 118). Other parcels of Rosebank came back to her as well. The same day she bought in Lots 6 and 7, she paid $100 at the public auction of Lot 9, also 20 acres, which was being sold as a result of her claims against Susan Green (Charleston County RMC DB W23 pg. 119).

The lawyers arranged management of the gin, and authorized repairs to the Legares' house and other buildings. For several years, Dill, Ball Company continued to manage the farm and its tenants. In December 1908, they received $750 from E. M. Bailey, "½ rent for Mullet Hall," and in January 1909 W. B. Hills paid in $500 for an unspecified tract. The 1900 census has Hills, a white 21-year old farmer, living on Edisto Island.

Other rents were probably collected from cotton receipts: in the last six weeks of 1908, Dill, Ball credited Henry Mack, Cain Ryan, Pompey Scott, Joe LaBorde, Annie Ryan, Tom Murray, Jimmy White, Katie Capers, and July Mikell each with $25. Others paid smaller amounts - Elizabeth King, $22.50, John Ryan $5.38 – but Alfred Heyward paid $35. Only two of these names are on the 1905-1910 list for Mullet Hall (Table 14). Eight of these individuals can be identified in the 1910 census (Table 19).

Two entries on the rent rolls seem to indicate business tenants, P. S. Co, and W & R, but the amounts were small ($90 and $15) (Charleston County Probate Cases 461029 and 461030). W & R is likely Whaley and Rivers, while P.S. Co. is probably Porter-Snowden

Company. Both were cotton factors in Charleston (R.G. Dun & Co. 1907).

When Francis Yonge Legare (1890-1955) reached adulthood in 1911, the Estate of Francis Y. Legare, Sr., was closed. After graduating from The Citadel in 1912, Frank Legare (1890-1955) married Mary V. Lee and returned to Mullet Hall for a few years (Ben Legare, person communication 2008).

When the boll weevil reached the Sea Islands, the Legares and their young children left Johns Island. Kate Legare continued the agricultural operation with the help of the Dill, Ball Company. Their records between 1914 and 1918 show many small advances, either fertilizer or seed money, in the early spring each year: $35 in 1914, 1915, and 1916, increasing thereafter to $55 in 1917, $45 in 1918, and $60 in 1919 (Dill, Ball Co. Ledger Book 1909-1918, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina). In 1920 they advanced $1500 to F. Y. and Kate Legare (Dill, Ball Co. loose papers, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

Table 19.
Dill, Ball Renters at Mullet Hall in 1907
Found in the 1910 Census

Name	Age	Family
Capers, Katie	48	Widow, 1 child
LaBoord, Joe	35	Wife, 2 children
Mack, Henry	3 listed	
Mickell, July	70	Wife, 2 children
Murray, Tom	45	Wife, 4 children, 4 step children
Ryan, Cain	38	Wife, no children
Scott, Pompey	68	Wife, 2 children
Wright, Jimmy	59	Wife, 2 children

In March, 1920, Kate S. Legare repurchased Briars Plantation. E. B. Bryan, the 1906 buyer of Briars, had subdivided its 764 acres for sale in small parcels (see Charleston County RMC PB D, pg. 143). Seventeen purchasers are shown on the plat, but only the tracts conveyed to Alonzo S. Gray (30 acres) and Isaac Singleton (52.5 acres) were exempted from Briars when Bryan sold it to Ravenel & Company (J. R. P. Ravenel and John H. Roper) in 1908 (Charleston County RMC DB N25, pg. 95), or when they conveyed it to Kate Legare (Charleston County RMC DB P29, pg. 114). Although not researched, it may be that the other purchases defaulted.

Now the owner of Briars Plantation, free of the mortgages and liens that entangled Mullet Hall, Kate Legare presumably consented to a foreclosure action brought by Dill, Ball Company in 1923 against Mullet Hall. In July 1923 Mullet Hall was sold at public auction to the Dill, Ball Company for $10,000. It was described as the acreage that remained in Mullet Hall (originally 1,790 acres) after various conveyances by the Legares, together with 660 acres (The Oaks): 1675 acres in all, with an undetermined acreage of salt marsh (Charleston County RMC DB P31, pg. 572).

The Dill, Ball Company Years

The Charleston Museum's Dill, Ball Company notes include ledger and account books from several periods in the twentieth century (1914-1917; 1935-38; 1939-40). These primarily concern land on James Island – Centerville (WB Seabrook) and the Dills' Stono Plantation, and the James Island Ginning Company. There is no evidence that the firm held any large tracts besides these and Mullet Hall (Dill, Ball Company papers, Charleston Museum). They certainly forced the sales of other tracts in order to collect debts, occasionally buying the land, but there is no evidence of a systematic effort to amass large holdings.

Overtime the company grew significantly. In 1907 it was listed as having $35,000 to $50,000 in capital and good credit. By 1921 its capital had grown to $75,000 to $125,000 with high credit (R.G. Dun 1907, 1921).

We did not find records of the Dill, Ball Company for the first few years it owned Mullet Hall. Twentieth century deeds refer to a plat, "Map showing holdings of Dill-Ball Co.,

formerly of F. Y. and Kate S. Legare . . . 1685 acres surveyed December 1924 by Rene Ravenel," but this was not recorded with the deed and could not be found in the RMC plat indexes.

By 1928, the company had rented much or all of the land to Johns Island farmers. Their December 1928 lease agreement with F. L. Glover concerned a portion of the "Grave Yard Field," run from the creek opposite Glover's ownership

> on a straight line to the east of and including the grave yard and to run as far as the rod which runs east and west along a dam about 1/16 mile south of the graveyard. From this point you are to run your fence in a generally westerly direction to the creek, and to fence as much of this marsh land as the creek allows. The fence is yours and you will have the right to remove it. The rent is $30/year. Either party may terminate the lease before October 1st . . . you have the right to gather all crops remaining after the termination of the least, provided it does not extend so far into the succeeding year as to prevent the preparation of the land for crops for that year (Dill, Ball Company papers, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

The firm also undertook some improvements, the nature of which remains unclear. In an undated letter from Caleb Chisolm, John Rivers was informed that,

> I went to Mullet Hall Friday but the lumber did not come till late. I did make a little start but I did not do much. I will try to make a good stand by Monday." Chisolm followed with the report that "this window size is 2'6" X 4'6" . . . and I want you to send me one gallon of roofing cement because the cement that is in the roof will not be enough (Dill, Ball Company Letters 1920-1932, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

Mullet Hall farmers could be expected to send their cotton to Dill, Ball Company for ginning. Following established custom, each bale was tagged with its owner's name and sold when the factors deemed the best price had been obtained. The cotton seed, too, was marketed for sale, some to be pressed for oil and some for planting. In November 1928, Reubin Bishopp, whose pickup truck hauled bagged cotton and supplies for his neighbors, wrote, "Dear Mr. Rivers, this is just to remind you of the planting cotton seed I told you about some time ago. I want to get 15 bushel of the Mullet Hall seed. I will try and be down soon" (Dill, Ball Company Letters 1920-1932, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

In May 1929, John Rivers saw the possibility of selling Mullet Hall but retaining the management of it. He wrote to Cephas Drayton, one of the tenants there, "I have a party who wishes to go over Mullet Hall on horseback on Friday afternoon. Please have two horses with saddles for this gentleman and myself to ride. We also want you to go along to show us the lines, and so need three horses. We should be there 3:30 or 4 o'clock" (Dill, Ball Company Letters 1920-1932, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

This "gentleman" was a potential buyer, John Knapp Hollins. A son of Wall Street millionaire Harry B. Hollins, John K. Hollins was one of the many Long Island sportsmen who bought South Carolina plantations between 1890 and 1930. Harry B. Hollins was a founder

of the Pineland Club, member of the Okeetee Club, and late-nineteenth century owner of Good Hope Plantation in Jasper County (obituary, *New York Times* February 25, 1938). John K. Hollins, like his brothers Gerald V. Hollins (obituary, *New York Times* November 30, 1955) and H. B. Hollins, Jr., (obituary, *New York Times* December 8, 1956) grew up wintering in South Carolina, and eventually bought property in the Lowcountry.

John K. Hollins and his father were very active in real estate in Beaufort and Jasper counties, between 1898 and 1931 acquiring some fifty parcels as recorded in the Beaufort County RMC (Stephen G. Hoffius personal communication 2008). In 1906 he donated Indian artifacts to the Peabody Museum. John K. Hollins owned a share of Paul and Dalton Plantation in Colleton County (Anonymous 1931) and briefly owned Cotton Hall and Laurium, together 1,797 acres (Anonymous 1930) in Beaufort County as well as Brays Island. His brother Gerald owned Tomotley, and Harry B. Hollins, Jr., owned Cunningham's Bluff and Hall's Island, together 2000 acres, and Broadmarsh Plantation.

Although Dill, Ball Co. conveyed Mullet Hall and The Oaks to John K. Hollins in 1929, the deed was not filed with the RMC. We have not determined how long he held the property or how much he paid to Dill, Ball Company (he gave them a mortgage for the purchase price).

Hollins must have intended to resell Mullet Hall, and he began to consider ways to "improve" it. His attorney in Beaufort wrote John Rivers at Dill, Ball Company for permission to "destroy the old dilapidated buildings around the building site, and generally improve conditions around this spot, and repair and make passable the avenue . . . [we think you will agree] the buildings right around the old home site are valueless and I will be indeed fortunate if I can have them removed for the material to be salvaged" (J. Heyward Jenkins to John Rivers, October 8, 1929, Dill, Ball Company papers, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

Rivers consented immediately: "relative to pulling down the old buildings on Mullet Hall around the building site. It is perfectly agreeable to us to have you do this. I agree with you that the buildings are of not much value and you have our permission to take them down. . . . the quarters occupied by the several tenants on Mullet Hall are in quite bad repair, and we would suggest that you allow these tenants the use of this lumber in repairing their quarters if they would take it down for the material. We are glad you intend fixing up the road – in wet weather it is a great source of annoyance" (John Rivers to J. H. Jenkins, October 10, 1929, Dill, Ball Company papers, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina). Some of the work was carried out, but the correspondence is not specific about which "building site" was in discussion.

Hollins had paid for Mullet Hall with a mortgage; nevertheless, he was the owner and the rent money was due to him. However, Dill, Ball Company was his plantation manager, and retained half the rent. Rivers reported to Hollins' attorney "Enclosed is list of renters at Mullet Hall, with the amounts paid by each . . . . We have collected $190.50. Mr. Hollins' portion of this will be one-half, so we enclose our check for $95" (John Rivers to J. H. Jenkins, November 26, 1929, Dill, Ball Company papers, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina; no list of renters found in file). In 1931 there were four tenants paying rent: Joe LaBorde, Caesar Simons, Emma Jenkins, and Mary Wright (Folder 5C, Dill, Ball Company papers,Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

Only Mary Jenkins can be identified in the 1930 census as living on Johns Island. Caesar Simons may have moved to Johns Island from the Beaufort area where an individual with the same name is shown in the 1920 census.

William Seabrook of Johns Island acted as Rivers' agent in financial dealings with the Mullet Hall tenants. Their affairs were complicated – advances to the tenants of fertilizer and seed; rent payments owed to Dill, Ball; payments to tenants for cotton; ginning and hauling tolls due. When the 1930 crop was being picked, Seabrook and Rivers spelled out the arrangement. The ginning toll was taken in seed. Remaining seed was sold to a cotton oil company, or held for sale as planting seed. First out of the proceeds of each tenant's baled cotton came Dill, Ball's repayment for fertilizer advances, and then the rent was taken out. Anything left after the rent was collected went toward other advances made by Dill, Ball; anything left after that could be paid to the tenant. (William Seabrook to Dill, Ball Co., October 2; Rivers to Seabrook October 4, 1930, Dill, Ball Company papers, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

Clearly the rents at Mullet Hall could not carry Hollins' mortgage, and although there were still northerners eager to buy a southern hunting plantation, he does not seem to have tried to resell it as such. Instead, in 1931 he sent his $1,400 interest five months late, thanking John Rivers for allowing the late payment: "You may be interested to know that by so doing you are allowing me to continue the employment of three families" (J. K. Hollins to John Rivers, June 22, 1931, Dill, Ball Company papers, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

Hollins eventually lost any inclination to improve or otherwise use Mullet Hall. In December 1931, Dill, Ball Company requested an interest payment; he replied that he was "in no position to pay interest." In June, Rivers ordered a Bradstreet report on Hollins, receiving a positive reply as to his financial stability, but a year later the company said,

> we have no recent correspondence with Mr. J. K. Hollins. In January 1932 we corresponded with him at Beaufort, and June 1931 his address was Meadow Farm, East Islip, Long Island. We think a letter to him at Beaufort would be forwarded" (John Rivers to Julian Mitchell, July 13, 1933, Dill, Ball Company, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

Mullet Hall and The Oaks into Julian S. Limehouse

Six years after losing John K. Hollins as a buyer, in about 1938 the Dill, Ball Company leased or sold Mullet Hall and The Oaks to Julian S. Limehouse, Jr. (Sidi Limehouse, personal communication 2008), giving him title in June 1942. Limehouse paid $12,000 for 1,685 acres plus salt marsh with two fingers of high land, south to the Kiawah River (Charleston County RMC DB L43, pg. 197).

The residence built by Francis Y. Legare, and several tenant houses remained on Mullet Hall at the time Limehouse purchased it. His father soon built a new two-story house near the water. Although delayed by World War II-era shortages, Limehouse managed the evolution of Mullet Hall from a tenant-based cotton farm to a productive vegetable and livestock operation. Equipment sheds and trailer houses replaced tenant houses, and tractors with subsoil tillers replaced hoes and plows.

Mullet Hall in the Modern Age

In 1994, the heirs of Julian S. Limehouse, Jr., conveyed 738 acres of their Mullet Hall plantation (which included The Oaks) to Charleston County Park and Recreation Commission (Charleston County RMC DB Y243, pg. 235). The remainder of the property, about 2,207 acres, was sold to The Beach Company. Portions remained in agricultural production under the management of Rosebank Farms/ Sidi Limehouse.

Figure 37. 1816 plat of Benjamin Roper's Oaks Plantation (McCrady Plat 4577)) at the top; below is a modern topographic map showing the portion of the The Oaks (in blue) in the study tract (in red).

The Oaks – into Francis Yonge Legare 1897

In 1897 Francis Y. Legare acquired the plantation adjoining the east side of Mullet Hall, known as The Oaks. This tract, described variously as 700 acres or 660 acres, had been held by the Roper family since the nineteenth century. Figure 37 shows the tract in 1816.

In 1843, planter Benjamin Dart Roper gave The Oaks to his son, planter/physician Micah Jenkins Roper (1812-1859) (Will of Benjamin Dart Roper, Charleston WPA Will Book 46, pg. 201). With his wife Susan Elizabeth Edwards, M. Jenkins Roper settled at The Oaks, which was bounded to the east by the Briars Plantation, owned by his brother Benjamin Dart Roper, Jr., also a medical doctor.

M. J. Roper died a fairly young man, but the inventory of his personal property made in early 1860 shows him to have been a wealthy planter, with 119 slaves on Johns Island. The appraisal of household goods included the furniture and furnishings typical of a planter's residence, being notable for its inclusion of three bookcases with valuable books, and several medicine chests: one mahogany, two of leather, and two of wood. Livestock on the plantation was counted as eighteen oxen, sixty steers, twenty-nine cows, two bulls, and twenty calves and yearling. There were also eighty sheep (45 ewes, 32 lambs, 3 rams) and several horses, four ox carts, several plows, a carriage, buggy, and sulky. The appraisers included five hundred bushels of corn and a corn sheller, but did not record any gins or ginned cotton (Charleston County Inventory Book F, pg. 25).

After the Civil War, William Roper of Brick House Plantation, who was M. Jenkins Roper's brother and also a practicing physician, managed The Oaks for Susan Roper and her children. In February 1868, Dr. Roper applied to the Freedmen's Bureau for,

> aid from the government to enable me to plant my own plantation and that of the Estate of M. J. Roper [Oaks] which is under my charge . . . . I have failed to obtain aid elsewhere and unless assisted by the government will not be able to plant the plantations. I require corn and bacon for 120 adults and eight children. I shall plant 260 acres of cotton and 260 acres of corn. I shall require these provisions for five months. Approved by Special Agent S. B. Thompson (Freedmen's Bureau Records, Series 1910, Reel 85, pg. 226).

Susan E. Roper and her two children held the Oaks until 1897 when F. Y. Legare paid M. Jenkins Roper, Jr. $3,200 for the "plantation known as 'Oaks' 660 acres, bounded north and west on a plantation formerly belonging to Solomon Legare, south on Kiawah River, east by a road separating it from the plantation formerly of BD Roper [Briars]" (Charleston County RMC DB X15, 227, Q22, pg. 128).

METHODS

Introduction

The primary goals of this survey are to identify, record, and assess the significance of archaeological sites within the approximately 1,083 acre tract. No major analytical hypotheses were created prior to the field work and data analysis. This research design proposed for this study is, as discussed by Goodyear et al. (1979:2), fundamentally explorative and explicative.

In spite of this, several lines of research were used to maximize the results of the study in an effort to ensure that all significant sites were identified. One line was the use of the previous reconnaissance level archaeological study (Adams and Trinkley 1994). Twelve sites were examined during that study with seven identified as potentially eligible and worthy of both protection and additional investigation during an intensive survey stage. A second line of research was the use of oral history. Discussions with individuals who were familiar with and had farmed the property, provided information not only on site locations, but also on land use history that might affect archaeological preservation. Finally, the results of the historical research were used to identify areas of suspected settlement.

Archaeological Methods

The field techniques involved the placement of shovel tests at 100-foot intervals along transects placed at 100-foot intervals. All soil was screened through ¼-inch mesh, with each test numbered sequentially by transect. Each measured about 1 foot square and was taken to a depth of at least 1.0 foot or until subsoil was encountered. All cultural remains were collected, except for mortar and brick, which were qualitatively noted in the field and discarded. Notes were maintained for profiles at encountered sites.

At most sites additional, close interval, shovel testing was also conducted. This consisted of filling in the transect grid around the identified sites with shovel tests at 25 to 50 foot intervals. For this work the shovel tests were given grid coordinates, rather than transect and sequential shovel test numbers. We used a modified Chicago grid based on an arbitrary 0R0 point located at the southwest edge of the site. Shovel tests are identified by their coordinates relative to this datum. Thus, 100R50 is 100 feet to the north and 50 feet right (or east) of the data.

In a few instances ambiguous site results prompted additional investigation beyond shovel testing. In these cases we chose to use 3-foot test units. These units were excavated by natural soil zones – typically an Ap horizon overlying subsoil. The larger units allowed clearer profiles to be recorded and also provided larger artifact assemblages for analysis. The units, while still unlikely to produce features, do better allow evidence of deep plowing to be identified. The deep plowzone (extending up to 2.0 feet in depth) was apparent in much of the project area, so only a sample of shovel tests extended below the A horizon to test for intact remains.

The information required for completion of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology revisit site forms was collected and photographs were taken, if warranted in the opinion of the field investigators.

A total of 375 transects were set up covering the study tract (Figure 38). A total of

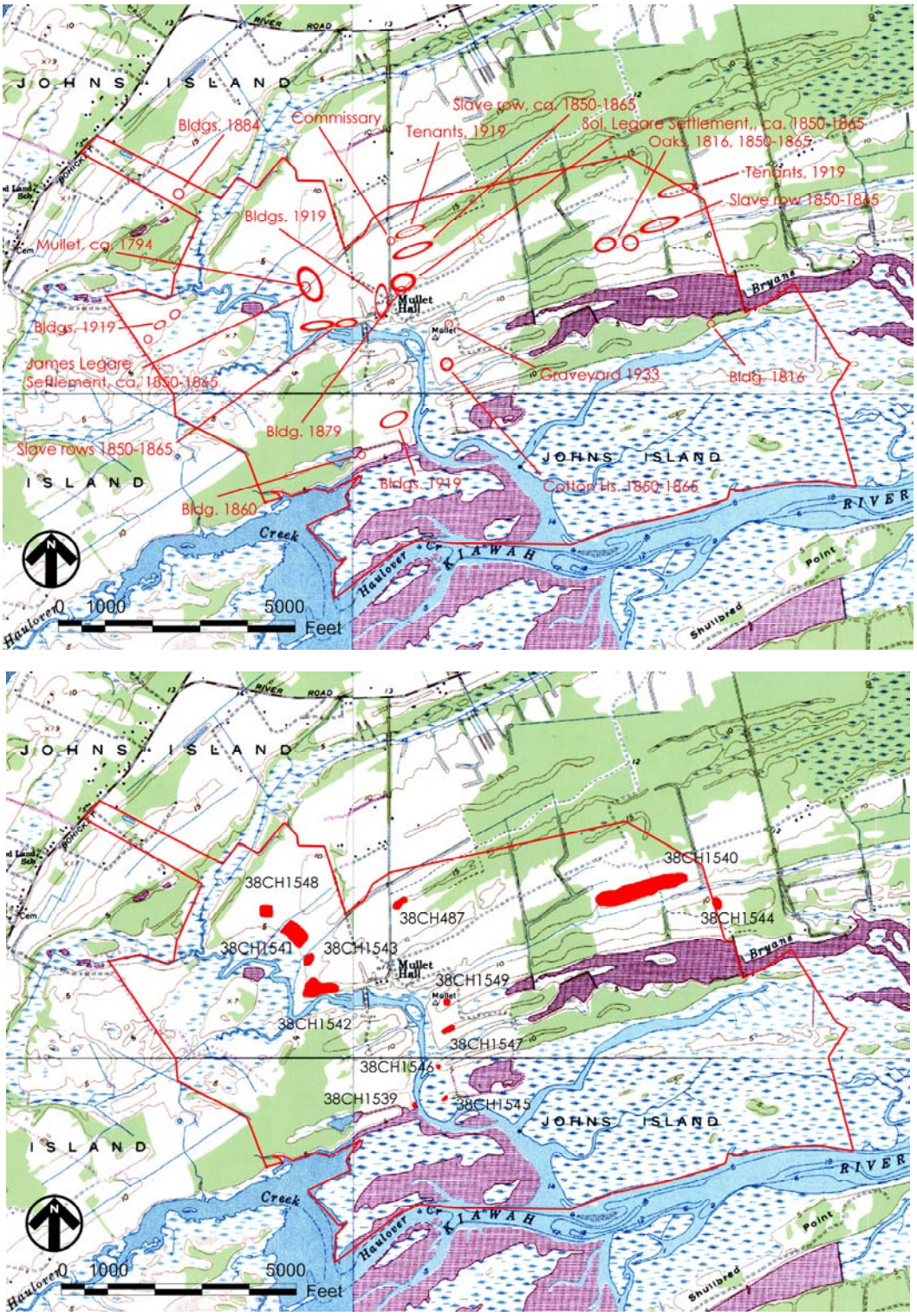


Figure 38. Data incorporated in the survey methodology. Top shows sites identified in historic documentation. Bottom shows previously identified archaeological sites.

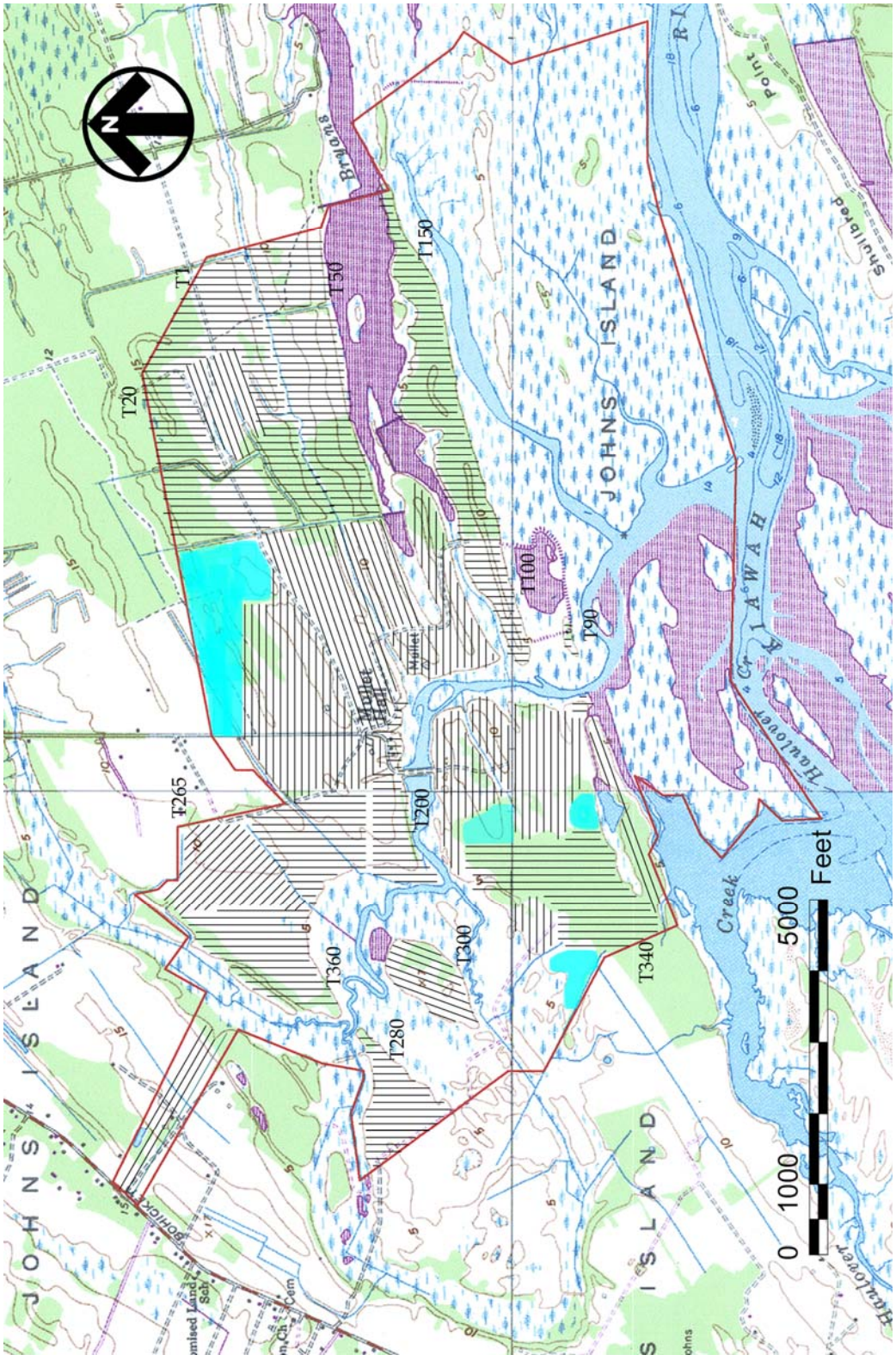


Figure 39. Topo showing tract boundaries, transects, and areas covered with pedestrian survey (blue).

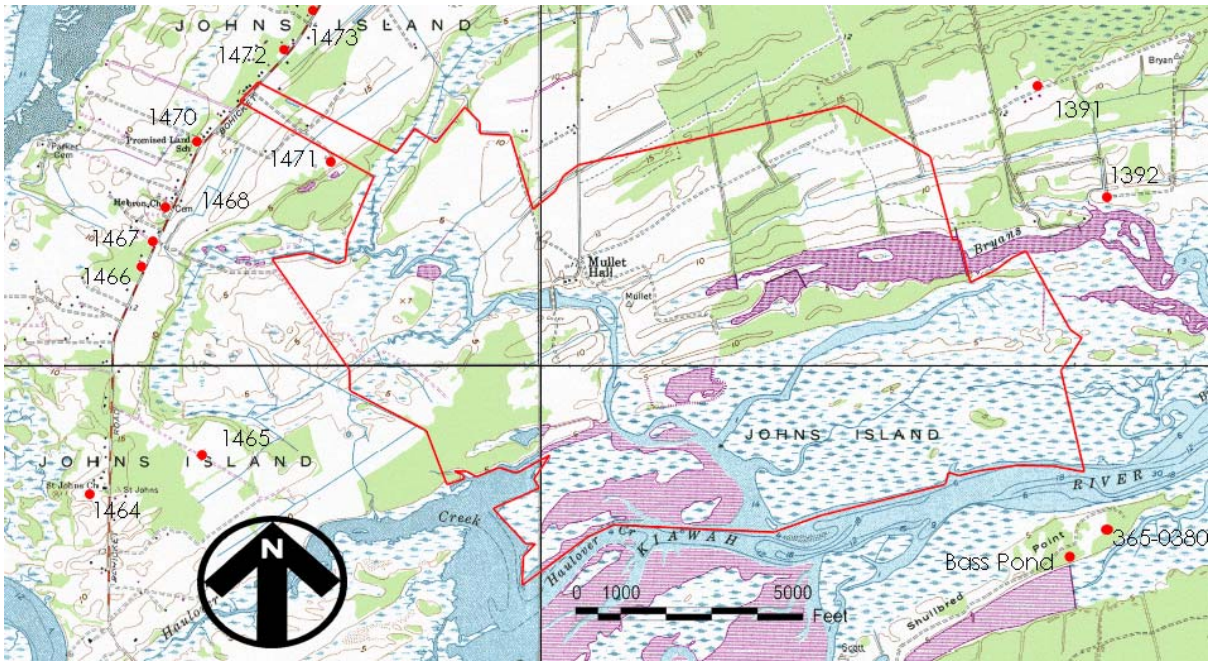


Figure 40. Previously recorded architectural sites within a 0.5 mile APE.

4,199 shovel tests were excavated. The wetland areas were subjected to a pedestrian survey. The offshore marsh islands were identified as not being proposed for development. As a result, these islands were not incorporated in this study.

The GPS positions of the sites were taken with a WAAS enabled Garmin 76 rover that tracks up to twelve satellites, each with a separate channel that is continuously being read. The benefit of parallel channel receivers is their improved sensitivity and ability to obtain and hold a satellite lock in difficult situations, such as in forests or urban environments where signal obstruction is a frequent problem. WAAS or Wide Area Augmentation System, is a system of satellites and ground stations that provide GPS signal corrections, yielding higher position accuracy – generally an accuracy of 10 feet or better 95% of the time in open areas of the study tract.

Architectural Survey

The 0.5 mile APE for the study tract identified thirteen previously identified architectural sites – seven of which are along Bohicket Road to the west, and two others are in an area already being developed to the east. These thirteen structures were identified during the very detailed, comprehensive survey of Johns Island (Fick et al. 1989). Only one of these sites, 1468, Mount Hebron Presbyterian Church, is eligible; the remaining sites have all been determined not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The NRHP, Bass Pond Site, has been subjected to data recovery and is no longer an issue.

Given the thoroughness of the 1989 study, we elected to focus on the identification of any structures on the study tract that, since not accessible by public roads, would not have been recorded by Fick and her colleagues during the 1989 work. As with other studies, in order to be recorded, buildings, sites, structures, and objects must appear to have been constructed before 1950 and must retain "some measure of . . . historic integrity" (Vivian n.d.:5)

For any such identified resource we would complete a Statewide Survey Site Form and take at least two representative photographs. Permanent control numbers would be assigned by the Survey Staff of the S.C. Department of Archives and History at the conclusion of the study. The Site Forms for the resources identified during this study would be submitted to the S.C. Department of Archives and History.

Site Evaluation

Archaeological sites will be evaluated for further work based on the eligibility criteria for the National Register of Historic Places. Chicora Foundation only provides an opinion of National Register eligibility and the final determination is made by the lead federal agency, in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

The criteria for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places is described by 36CFR60.4, which states:

> the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and
>
> a. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
>
> b. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
>
> c. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
> d. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

National Register Bulletin 36 (Townsend et al. 1993) provides an evaluative process that contains five steps for forming a clearly defined explicit rationale for either the site's eligibility or lack of eligibility. Briefly, these steps are:

- identification of the site's data sets or categories of archaeological information such as ceramics, lithics, subsistence remains, architectural remains, or sub-surface features;
- identification of the historic context applicable to the site, providing a framework for the evaluative process;
- identification of the important research questions the site might be able to address, given the data sets and the context;
- evaluation of the site's archaeological integrity to ensure that the data sets were sufficiently well preserved to address the research questions; and
- identification of important research questions among all of those which might be asked and answered at the site.

This approach, of course, has been developed for use documenting eligibility of sites being actually nominated to the National Register of Historic Places where the evaluative process must stand alone, with relatively little reference to other documentation and where

typically only one site is being considered. As a result, some aspects of the evaluative process have been summarized, but we have tried to focus on an archaeological site's ability to address significant research topics within the context of its available data sets.

For architectural sites the evaluative process would be somewhat different. Given the relatively limited architectural data available for most properties, we would focus on evaluating these sites using National Register Criterion C, looking at the site's "distinctive characteristics." Key to this concept is the issue of integrity. This means that the property needs to have retained, essentially intact, its physical identity from the historic period.

Particular attention would be given to the integrity of design, workmanship, and materials. Design includes the organization of space, proportion, scale, technology, ornamentation, and materials. As *National Register Bulletin* 36 observes, "Recognizability of a property, or the ability of a property to convey its significance, depends largely upon the degree to which the design of the property is intact" (Townsend et al. 1993:18). Workmanship is evidence of the artisan's labor and skill and can apply to either the entire property or to specific features of the property. Finally, materials – the physical items used on and in the property – are "of paramount importance under Criterion C" (Townsend et al. 1993:19). Integrity here is reflected by maintenance of the original material and avoidance of replacement materials.

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 Anthropology, the closest regional repository. The site forms for the identified archaeological sites – as well as revisit forms for those previously recorded – have been filed with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Field notes have been prepared for curation using archival standards and will be transferred to that agency 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 standard with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. In general, the temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of prehistoric materials were defined by such authors as Blanton et al. (1986), Oliver et al. (1986), and Yohe (1996). The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow such authors as Noël Hume (1978), Price (1970), and South (1977).

Mean dates rely on South's (1977) mean ceramic dating technique, using primarily the mean dates that he has developed. A very few of our colleagues occasionally use Carlson (1983) in addition to South. Carlson observes that a drawback to South's technique is that it gives the same weight to ceramics manufactured for long periods (say from 1700 to 1800, yielding a mean date of 1750) as it does to those produced for only short periods (say from 1740 to 1760, with the same mean date of 1750). While this is true – and is certainly an understandable issue – it seems that overall it results in only a few years error (especially with larger collections). Moreover, it seems that relatively few investigators have chosen to implement the changes proposed by Carlson.

Also of importance in an area such as Mullet Hall, where at least a portion of our research focuses on when different structures or site areas were used, is the occupation span reflected by the ceramics. One method used to determine the occupation span of the excavations is South's (1977) bracketing technique. This method consists of creating a time line where the manufacturing spans of the various ceramics are placed. Determining where at least half of the ceramic type bars

touch places the left bracket. The right bracket is placed the same way, however, it is placed far enough to the right to touch at least the beginning of the latest type present (South 1977:214). We have chosen to alter South's bracketing technique slightly by placing the left bar at the earliest ending date when that ending date does no overlap with the rest of the ceramic type bars.

Since South's method only uses ceramic types to determine approximate period of occupation, Salwen and Bridges (1977) argue that ceramic types that have high counts are poorly represented in the ceramic assemblage. Because of this valid complaint, a second method – a ceramic probability contribution chart – was used to determine occupation spans. Albert Bartovics (1981) advocates the calculation of probability distributions for ceramic types within an assemblage. Using this technique, an approximation of the probability of a ceramic type contribution to the site's occupation is derived. This formula is expressed:

$$Pj/yr. = \frac{fj}{F \times Dj} \quad \text{where}$$

Pj=partial probability contribution
Fj=number of sherds in type j
F=number of sherds in sample
Dj=duration in range of years.

RESULTS OF SURVEY

Introduction

As a result of this cultural resources survey, 11 of the previously identified sites (38CH487, 38CH1539-1543, and 38CH1545-1549) were revisited and evaluated and 15 additional sites (38CH2240-2254) were identified. See Table 1 for a summary of these sites. Figure 41 shows all these sites with new boundaries.

The architectural survey did not identify any structures or other resources beyond those identified by the 1992 survey of Charleston County (Fick 1992) or the 1989 survey of James and Johns islands (Fick et al. 1989). None of the eligible structures or the NRHP property can be seen from the current project area. The standing structure on the Mullet Hall property does not retain the integrity needed to warrant a National Register nomination.

Archaeological Resources

38CH487

Site 38CH487 (Figure 42) is an eighteenth to twentieth century settlement located on a ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. A GPS UTM for the site is 582389E 3610809N (NAD27 datum). The site is currently located in a fallow field.

The site was initially recorded in 1980 during a survey of seventeenth century settlement patterns (South and Hartley 1980). Although no

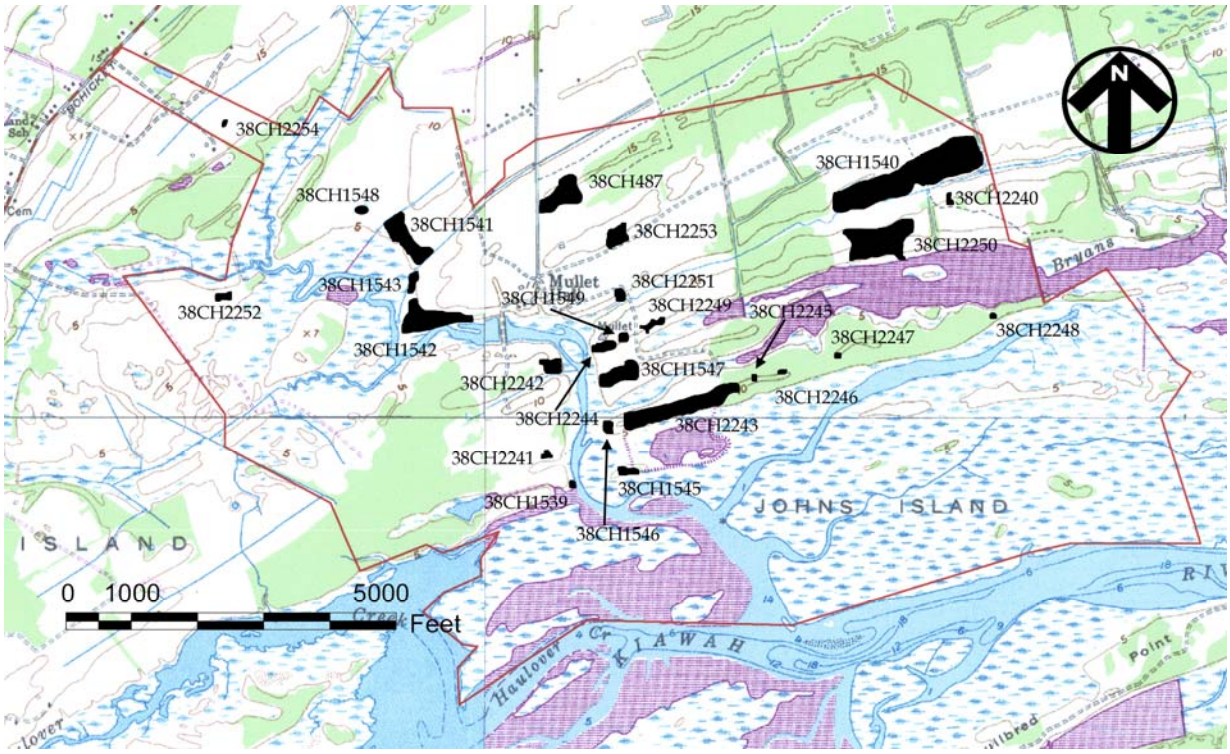


Figure 41. Sites identified during the survey.

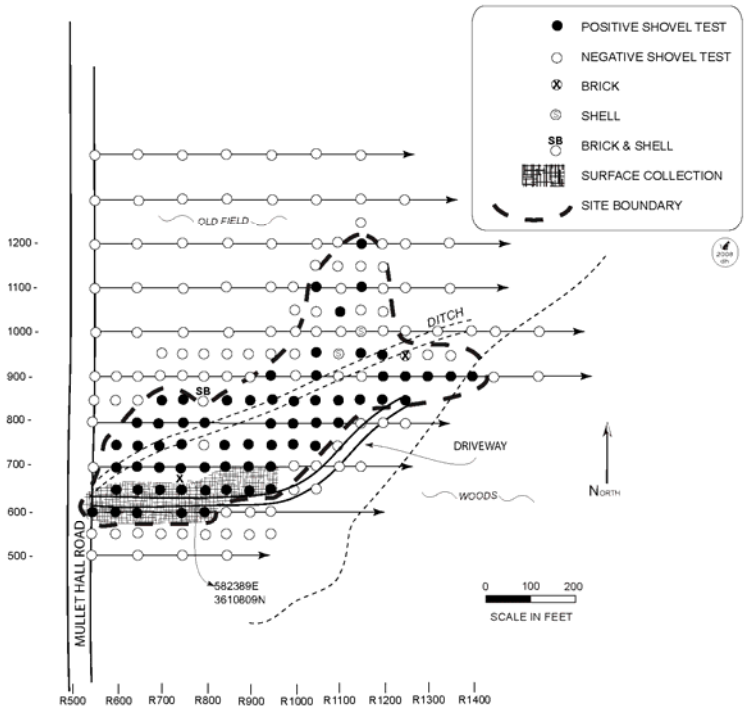


Figure 42. Sketch map of 38CH487.

seventeenth century artifacts were found at the site, it was still briefly recorded. No description of artifacts was given in the site form.

The 1994 reconnaissance revisited and examined the site area (Adams and Trinkley 1994:27). A total of 24 shovel tests were excavated with eight positive (33%). The artifact collection, found in an area about 850 feet east-west by 100 feet north-south, produced artifacts dating from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries.

Additional work was suggested, including stripping, to look for possible subsurface features. The site was recommended potentially eligible for the National Register.

The current survey excavated 100 shovel tests with 63 positive (63%) with artifacts. Shovel tests were performed at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative shovel tests were encountered along the cardinal directions. This work expanded the site dimensions to 900 by 600 feet. The soil profiles resembled Seabrook soils, which have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand. All artifacts were recovered in the plowzone or Ap horizon.

As previously mentioned, the site produced artifacts dating from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries (Table 20). Seven artifact groups are represented at this site including Kitchen (73%), Architecture (19%), Arms (0.5%), Tobacco (3%), Clothing (2%), Personal (0.2%), and Activities (2%).

This assemblage does not precisely match any of the previously proposed artifact patterns, although it certainly bears close resemblance to the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern, generally associated with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century main settlements. The pattern most commonly associated with antebellum slave settlements bears little or no resemblance to the pattern from 38CH487, nor does the pattern associated with Piedmont tenant farmers (there is no well developed coastal tenancy pattern). The overall pattern also does not compare well for the one other low country store that has been briefly examined (Table 21). The failure to achieve a clear

Table 20.
Artifacts from 38CH487

	600 R540	600 R590	650 R590	700 R590	750 R590	600 R640	650 R640	700 R640	750 R640	800 R600	650 R690	700 R690	750 R690	800 R710	850 R710	600 R740	700 R740	750 R740	600 R790	700 R790	800 R810	700 R840	750 R840	850 R860	700 R890	750 R890	850 R910	700 R940	750 R940	800 R960	850 R960
Kitchen Group																															
English Porelain, undec.		1																													
Refined earthenware, burned																															
Coarse red earthenware																															
Stoneware, Ginger Beer																															
Stoneware, Bristol																							1								
Stoneware, Albany glazed																															
Stoneware, alkaline glazed				1				1																							
Stoneware, brown SG					1																										
Stoneware, brown																				1											
Creamware, poly HP																															1
Creamware, annular, banded																															
Creamware, annular, cabeled																															
Creamware, annular																							1								
Creamware, undec.					1											1															
Pearlware, green edged																										1					
Pearlware, blue edged																						1									
Pearlware, blue HP		1																													
Pearlware, blue TP								1																						1	
Pearlware, annular, banded																															
Pearlware, annular																															
Pearlware, undec.							1											1													
Whiteware, blue edged																															
Whiteware, poly HP																1															
Whiteware, blue HP																															
Whiteware, purple TP																															
Whiteware, black TP									1																					1	
Whiteware, blue TP																														2	
Whiteware, annular, banded																															
Whiteware, annular								1											1												
Whiteware, tinted, modern																															
Whiteware, undec.		4			1		1		2		1				1				1	1		2			1	1		3	1	2	
Yellow ware, molded			1																									1			
Yellow ware, annular, banded																															
Yellow ware, undec.																															
Colonoware												1																			
Glass, melted																										1					
Glass, manganese																						5		1			1		1		1
Glass, cobalt																					1										
Glass, blue																															
Glass, aqua																														1	
Glass, green																1											1				
Glass, light green																						1			2				2		1
Glass, brown											3															2					
Glass, clear	1			2									1				1					4	1		4	3	1	2	3		
Glass, milk																															
Glass, black											1			1											1				1	1	
Architecture Group																															
Window glass					1	1						1										1			1			1			
Cut nails																															
Cut nail fragments																															
Nail, fragment									4							1					1	4			3	1	1	2	1	2	1
Tobacco Group																															
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																						2			2	1					
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																													1		
Clothing Group																															
Button, brass																															
Button, milk glass																														1	
Clothes hook																															
Eyelet, brass																														1	
Activities Group																															
Metal, UID																															
Barb wire										1																					
Slate																															
Faunal									1													1					1		3		
Personal Group																															
Jewelry setting, brass																															
Arms Group																															
Percussion cap, brass																															
Shell casing, .38 caliber																															
Prehistoric Group																															
Sherd, small																															
Subtotal	**1**	**6**	**1**	**3**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**8**	**1**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**21**	**3**	**1**	**14**	**10**	**5**	**9**	**13**	**12**	**4**
TOTAL																															

HP : Hand paint LG : Lead glaze SG : Salt glaze TP : Tranfer print undec. : undecorated

Table 20 continued.
Artifacts from 38CH487

	900 R960	750 R990	800 R1010	820 R1010	650 R1040	750 R1040	800 R1060	850 R1060	900 R1060	950 R1060	1100 R1060	650 R1090	800 R1110	850 R1110	1050 R1110	650 R1140	850 R1160	950 R1160	1100 R1160	1250 R1160	650 R1190	850 R1210	900 R1210	950 R1210	900 R1260	900 R1360	900 R1310	900 R1410	Surface Collection	**Subtotal**	**Total**
Kitchen Group																														**274**
English Porelain, undec.							1					1																1	**4**	
Refined earthenware, burned													1																**1**	
Coarse red earthenware																												1	**1**	
Stoneware, Ginger Beer							1																						**1**	
Stoneware, Bristol																											1		**2**	
Stoneware, Albany glazed							1																						**1**	
Stoneware, alkaline glazed																													**2**	
Stoneware, brown SG			1					1																				1	**4**	
Stoneware, brown																							1						**2**	
Creamware, poly HP																													**1**	
Creamware, annular, banded	1																												**1**	
Creamware, annular, cabeled																												1	**1**	
Creamware, annular																													**1**	
Creamware, undec.								1								1													**4**	
Pearlware, green edged																													**1**	
Pearlware, blue edged																													**1**	
Pearlware, blue HP																													**1**	
Pearlware, blue TP																													**2**	
Pearlware, annular, banded																												1	**1**	
Pearlware, annular							1																						**1**	
Pearlware, undec.																										1		1	**4**	
Whiteware, blue edged		1																	1										**2**	
Whiteware, poly HP												1				1	1									1			**5**	
Whiteware, blue HP		1																											**1**	
Whiteware, purple TP																										1			**1**	
Whiteware, black TP																1													**3**	
Whiteware, blue TP																												4	**6**	
Whiteware, annular, banded																										1			**1**	
Whiteware, annular						1																	1						**4**	
Whiteware, tinted, modern																	1												**1**	
Whiteware, undec.		6			1	1	3					1										1				3		7	**45**	
Yellow ware, molded																													**2**	
Yellow ware, annular, banded																												1	**1**	
Yellow ware, undec.							1	2					1			1	5												**10**	
Colonoware																													**1**	
Glass, melted																													**1**	
Glass, manganese		6				1		1					5				3									3		5	**33**	
Glass, cobalt																												2	**3**	
Glass, blue																												1	**1**	
Glass, aqua						3	2								1										1			5	**13**	
Glass, green			1										2			1	1												**7**	
Glass, light green		5	3					1	1																				**16**	
Glass, brown		3				1		1					1																**11**	
Glass, clear		5	3		2	1	5					2				1	4		1									2	**49**	
Glass, milk																												1	**1**	
Glass, black		4	1			1							1				3	1			1				1	1			**19**	
Architecture Group																														**77**
Window glass		2				1						1					1												**11**	
Cut nails		2																									1		**3**	
Cut nail fragments			2																										**2**	
Nail, fragment		4	3	1	1	7	10	5		1			3				3					1						1	**61**	
Tobacco Group																														**11**
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin		2											1			1													**9**	
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																											1		**2**	
Clothing Group																														**7**
Button, brass					2																								**2**	
Button, milk glass																1													**2**	
Clothes hook														1															**1**	
Eyelet, brass		1																											**2**	
Activities Group																														**17**
Metal, UID													1				2			2		1							**6**	
Barb wire																													**1**	
Slate																												1	**1**	
Faunal								1														1				1			**9**	
Personal Group																														**1**
Jewelry setting, brass							1																						**1**	
Arms Group																														**2**
Percussion cap, brass		1																											**1**	
Shell casing, .38 caliber						1																							**1**	
Prehistoric Group																														**2**
Sherd, small											2																		**2**	
Subtotal	**1**	**43**	**14**	**1**	**6**	**18**	**26**	**13**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**11**	**8**	**1**	**8**	**24**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**13**	**1**	**36**	**391**	
TOTAL																														**391**

HP : Hand paint LG : Lead glaze SG : Salt glaze TP : Tranfer print undec. : undecorated

match is likely the result of mixing at the site, the consequence of the long and varied occupation (slave, tenant, and commissary).

Within the Kitchen Group, glass makes up the bulk with 57% of the total group. Black glass appears to be one of the earliest dating to the seventeenth century at the earliest (Jones and Sullivan 1985:14). Manganese glass was common in the late nineteenth century.

European ceramics comprise about 42% of the Kitchen Group. The mean ceramic date (MCD) for the site is 1846.4 (Table 22). The earliest ceramic is undecorated creamware, which has a MCD of 1791. The most recent ware is a piece green tinted whiteware, which may be associated with a structure located on the site at least into the mid-twentieth century. A single piece of Colono ware, a slave-made pottery, was found.

Table 21.
Pattern analysis of 38CH487

	38CH487 Pattern	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Townhouse Pattern[2]	Dual-Function Pattern[2]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[3]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[1]	Yeoman Pattern[4]
Kitchen Group	73.0	51.8 - 65.0	58.4	63.1	20.0 - 25.8	70.9 - 84.2	40.0 - 61.2
Architectural Group	19.0	25.2 - 31.4	36.0	25.0	67.9 - 73.2	11.8 - 24.8	35.8 - 56.3
Furniture Group	-	0.2 - 0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0 - 0.1	0.1	0.4
Arms Group	0.5	0.1 - 0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0 - 0.2	0.1 - 0.3	-
Tobacco Group	3.0	1.9 - 13.9	2.8	6.0	0.3 - 9.7	2.4 - 5.4	-
Clothing Group	2.0	0.6 - 5.4	0.9	1.2	0.3 - 1.7	0.3 - 0.8	1.8
Personal Group	0.2	0.2 - 0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1 - 0.2	0.1	0.4
Activities Group	2.0	0.9 - 1.7	1.1	4.1	0.2 - 0.4	0.2 - 0.9	1.8

[1] Garrow 1982
[2] Zierden et al. 1988
[3] Singleton 1980
[4] Drucker et al. 1984

The Arms Group produced a .38 caliber shell casing and a brass percussion cap. Percussion caps were first patented in 1818, and were used through the Civil War (Peterson 1964:228-230).

The collection also produced ten pieces of faunal material, one piece of slate, and two small prehistoric sherds.

Table 22.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH487

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	2	3596
Creamware, hand painted	1790-1820	1805	1	1805
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	4	7164
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	1	1800
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	2	3636
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	2	3610
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	3	5415
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	5	9025
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	2	3706
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	7	12936
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	6	11088
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	4	7404
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	7	13062
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	46	85560
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	9	16677
Total			101	186484
Mean Ceramic Date	1846.4			

For the Architecture Group, unidentifiable nails make up 81% of the group. The identifiable machine cut nails were common by the 1820s (Howard 1989:54).

Bartovics' (1980) dating analysis shows a small occupation from around 1760 to 1810, then a distinct increase in occupation that remains steady until 1900.

Historic research also revealed at least three maps showing structures in this area. The earliest, dated 1860 (Figure 43), shows a slave row and main house (part of Solomon Legare's property). Two 1919 maps (Wadmalaw (see Figure 30) and Legareville) still show the slave rows, which had likely turned into tenant structures, accounting for some of the later wares at the site. Oral history described a trailer and modern house on the site into the twentieth century (Sidi Limehouse, personal communication 2008).

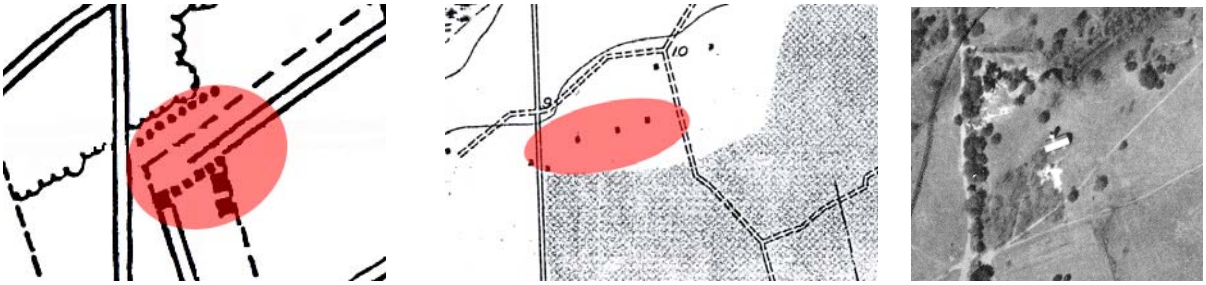


Figure 43. Historic maps and aerial showing the vicinity of 38CH487. From left to right: T-491 tracing, ca. 1863; Wadmalaw topographic map, 1919; aerial, 1949.

Mr. Limehouse (personal communication 2008) also reveals a commissary was located at the site that was said to have been standing into the 1940s. Mullet Hall tokens have been found at this site. Used in lieu of money, several of these tokens (see Figure 36) are at the Johns Island museum, Rosebank Farms.

Site 38CH487 exhibits a variety of data sets, including a large and varied assortment of artifacts. Contributing to this data set are detailed maps of the settlement. We also have both economic and oral history concerning the commissary thought to be found at this site. The shovel testing, while failing to reveal features, does indicate dense remains – a conclusion also documented by the number of artifacts found in the bisecting ditch.

This report has clearly established several contexts for investigation, including the lifeways of African American slaves on the island, as well as the transition to tenancy. At Mullet Hall these topics are of special interest since we are dealing with several contiguous plantations. A context for which there is very little data is that of plantation commissary. Although such stores are frequently mentioned by both historians and archaeologists, there has not been the opportunity to examine one in any detail. The only comparable research is the very limited testing conducted at 38CH886 (Trinkley 1987:75-80). The problem anticipated from any such investigation is the inability to clearly separate commercial from domestic refuse. This, however, is no different from the situation encountered by Martha Zierden in her urban archaeology research in downtown Charleston. In spite of the problem, she has managed to devise the dual-function pattern, reflecting street level commercial operations with overhead dwellings (Zierden et al. 1988).

Thus, 38CH487 may represent an opportunity to begin the exploration of these plantation commissaries. Even if the results are not conclusive, we believe it is an opportunity that should not be dismissed. Although we see mixing of patterns at this macroscopic level of investigation, there are viable studies suggesting that plow zone artifacts are not entirely mixed. Julia A. King, for example, clearly notes that,

> While the damage to these archaeological resources cannot be minimized, the spatial distributions of artifacts and soil chemicals remain relatively intact. Information about room and building use and yard organization and layout, for example, are easily recovered from plow-disturbed soils ("The Importance of Plow Zone Archaeology, Julia A. King, http://www.chesapeakearchaeology.org/AboutTheProject/PZArchaeology.htm, accessed July 21, 2008).

This same conclusion was reached by NPS researchers several decades earlier (Talmage and Chesler 1977). Thus, while plowing may have been extensive, this does not necessarily affect the integrity of the site. We believe that the site can

address significant research questions through a process of more intensive site sampling, followed by stripping, and careful investigation of identified structures.

Site 38CH487 is recommended eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No work should be performed in this area pending review by the State Historic Preservation Office and the development of a data recovery plan.

38CH1539

Site 38CH1539 is a dump site created with fill containing nineteenth century artifacts. It is located on a creek edge in an attempt to prevent erosion. The elevation is about 5 feet AMSL. The site's location on Jacks Island is at 582480E 3609560N (NAD27 datum).


Figure 44. View of brick remains at 38CH1539.

The site was originally recorded during a reconnaissance in 1994 and was described as "a scatter of structural debris and artifacts along the bank of Mullet Hall Creek" (Adams and Trinkley 1994:28). At that time, eight shovel tests were excavated with only one test, located near the shoreline, positive. The collection, which also consisted of surface artifacts, included pearlwares, whitewares, pipe stems, and bottle glass. A conversation at the time with Mr. W.L. Limehouse revealed that the fill was brought from Charleston, although no information concerning when this happened and from was available The site was recommended not eligible for the National Register since it was "out of context and cannot address significant questions about Charleston area lifeways" (Adams and Trinkley 1994:28).

The current investigations excavated six shovel tests at 50-foot intervals around the site area and revealed results similar to those from the 1994 reconnaissance. Only one shovel test was positive, which was located on the edge of the creek. This test produced two pieces of creamware, which, given the history of the site, were noted and discarded in the field.

Brick building remains are still located in the flood zone of the creek and look to be found exactly as they were in 1994 (Figure 44). The site encompasses an area of about 50 feet north-south by 10 feet east-west.

The current investigations pro-duced identical results as the 1994 reconnaissance. This site is unable to address significant research questions about the history at Mullet Hall.

Site 38CH1539 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH1540

Site 38CH1540 (Figure 45) is an eighteenth to twentieth century plantation complex, located on a ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. A GPS UTM, taken toward the western end of the site, is 583841E 3610905N (NAD27 datum). The site is located in areas of planted long-leaf pines, plowed fields, and dense pine and hardwood forests.

The site was originally recorded as part of the 1994 reconnaissance of the property (Adams and Trinkley 1994:28-30). Four different loci were recorded as a result of the brief study – the main house, cemetery, early slave row, and late slave row (Figure 46). Intact brick deposits were recorded in the main house area, so it was believed that the site would probably be found eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. At the time, the site dimensions were estimated to be 2,400 feet east-west by 500 feet north-south.

The current survey performed shovel testing at 50-foot intervals across the site area. A total of 540 shovel tests were excavated with 151 positive (28%) with artifacts. An additional 31 shovel tests contained only shell, 15 contained brick, and 9 contained only brick and shell.

Soils in the area generally resemble the moderately well drained Seabrook Series, which has an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet. Most of the shovel tests had an Ap horizon of at least 2.0 feet in depth, the result of subsoiling in the site area.

As with the reconnaissance, several loci were identified, however, the cemetery (Locus 2) was not found. The three loci include the western portion of the site (originally identified as Locus 3 -- an early slave row), the middle portion of the site (originally identified as Locus 1 -- the main house), and the eastern portion of the site (originally identified as Locus 4 -- a late slave row and later tenant structures). The new site dimensions are estimated to be 2400 feet east-west by 950 feet north-south.

The site is shown on a nineteenth century map as J. Roper's Oaks Plantation (Figure 47), which has the main house, a row of seven slave structures to the east, and four structures to the west. The entire site encompasses several status occupations, so the initial analysis of artifacts will cover the site as a whole.

The artifacts collected represent five different groups – Kitchen (71%), Architecture (23%), Tobacco (2%), Clothing (0.6%), and Activities (4%). The prehistoric component, which accounts for 9% of the artifact total, only produced one diagnostic artifact – a plain Deptford sherd. The remaining artifacts were small sherds (n=48) and chert fragments (n=2), which are not diagnostic and cannot address any significant research questions about prehistoric life.

The Kitchen Group produced the largest amount of artifacts for the site. Within this group, ceramics account for 47% of the collection. A MCD for the site is 1841.9. Eight pieces of Colono ware, a slave-made pottery, were also identified, which is attributed to the eighteenth century.

Bartovics (1980) dating analysis shows an increase in density from around 1760 to 1810. Around 1810, there is an increase in occupation until around 1900 when disposal ends abruptly. We do know that some tenant structures were around into the twentieth century, but those artifacts were not found in high enough quantities to register on the analysis. Salwen and Bridges' analysis shows a fairly lengthy occupation span from around 1735 to at least 1905.

The Architecture Group is dominated by nails, which account for 75% of the collection. Three types of nails are represented, hand wrought, machine cut, and wire nails. Hand wrought nails are the earliest, generally predating 1800 (Howard 1989:54). Machine cut nails were

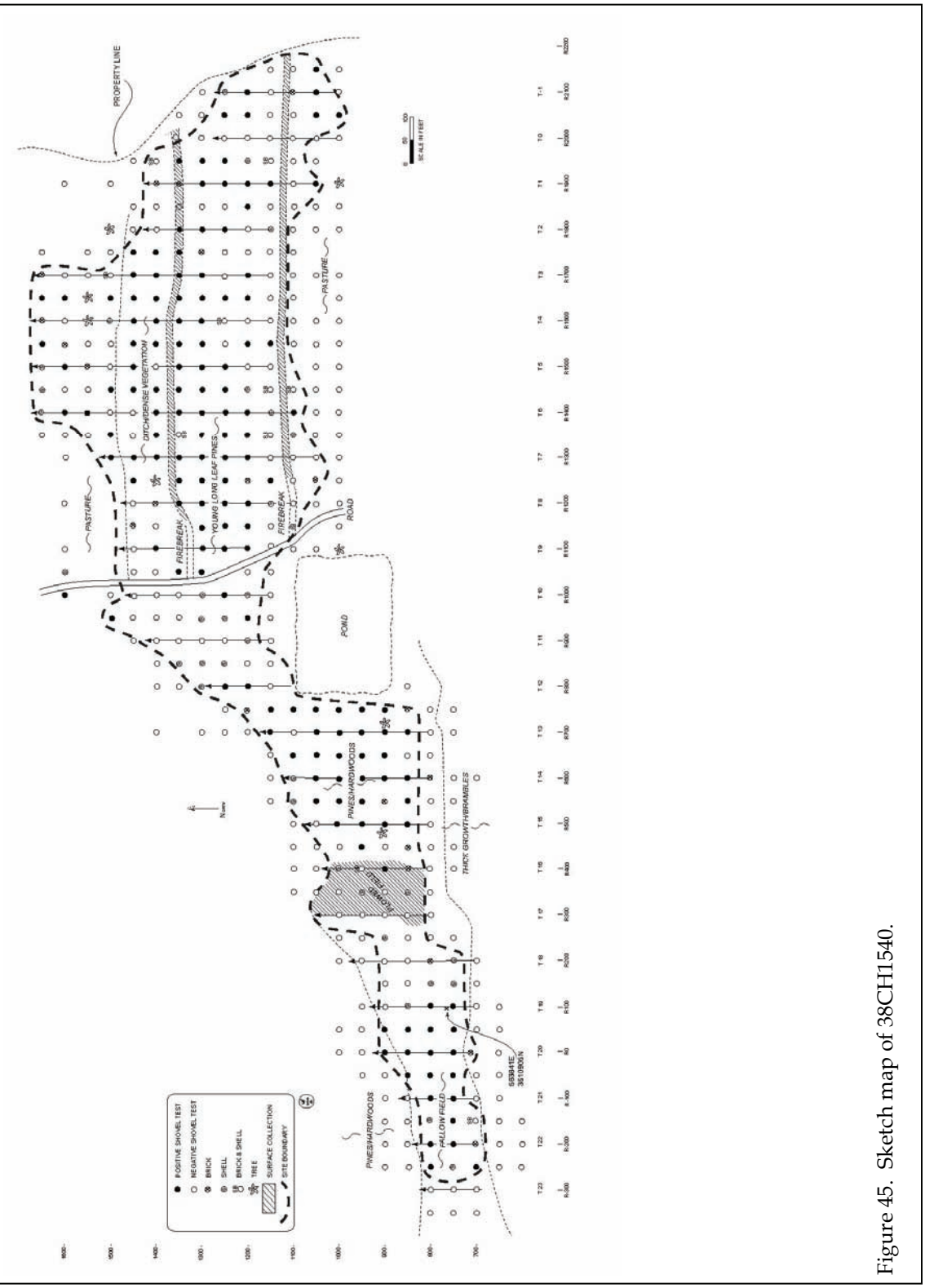


Figure 45. Sketch map of 38CH1540.

common by the 1820s and wire nails were generally used after 1880 (Howard 1989:54-55). Window glass (n=26), a strap hinge, and a roofing tack were also found at the site. In the field, a large number of shovel tests contained brick, but it was in the main house area (Locus 1) where some tests produced dense brick rubble. The 1994 reconnaissance reported rubble in the area (Adams and Trinkley 1994:28), however vegetation was extremely dense. With testing at 50-foot intervals, an area of dense brick remains could have been overlooked.

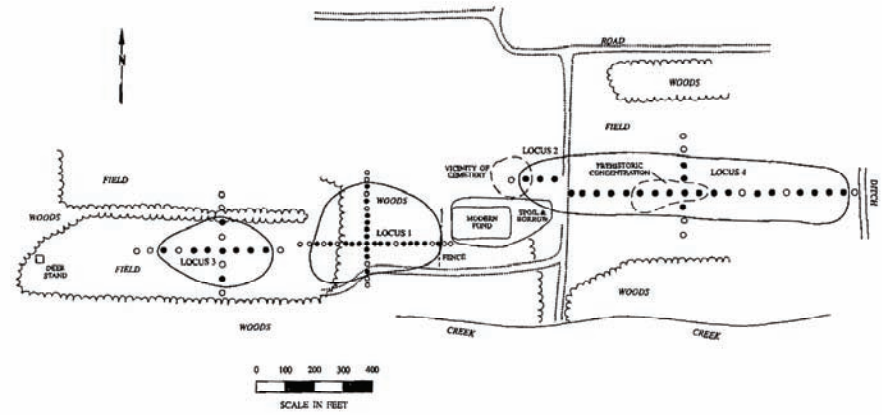


Figure 46. Sketch map from the 1994 reconnaissance showing 38CH1540.

The Tobacco Group contained mostly pipe stems, which account for 75% of the group total. Pipe bowls account for the rest of the group. All of the artifacts are made of kaolin, except two pipe stems that are made of red clay. One of the red clay pipe stems has the words "CLASC" on one side and "ELMAN" on the other side.

The Clothing Group includes two buttons and a brass eye. One button is white porcelain and the other is milk glass.

The Activities Group contains mostly unidentifiable iron. Also present is an iron staple, a nut, and part of a hoe.

A pattern analysis (Table 23) of this site shows that it very closely resembles the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, with exception of the Activities Group artifacts, which are higher at 38CH1540. We know, however, that this information is skewed since an entire plantation complex is represented by 38CH1540.

If the patterns are examined for the two largest loci – the main house area and the slave settlement – we begin to see some distinctions. For example, the main house exhibits significantly reduced kitchenware and increased architectural remains – as we expect for the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern. The one anomaly is the large proportion of activities items. Thus, Locus 1 provides a good match for the main settlement. The slave settlement area (Locus 4) exhibits a pattern not significantly different from that identified as the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern. What is unusual here is that this pattern is typically associated with eighteenth century settlements where the slave structures are of wall trench construction – affecting the low proportion of architectural remains. The reason for this anomalous pattern is uncertain.

Figure 47. Nineteenth century map showing J. Roper's Oaks Plantation.

Table 23.
Pattern Analysis for 38CH1540

	38CH1540 Combined	38CH1540 Locus 1 Main Hs.	38CH1540 Locus 4 Slave	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[2]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[1]
Kitchen Group	71.0	52.4	73.8	51.8 - 65.0	20.0 - 25.8	70.9 - 84.2
Architectural Group	23.0	36.2	20.5	25.2 - 31.4	67.9 - 73.2	11.8 - 24.8
Furniture Group	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2 - 0.6	0.0 - 0.1	0.1
Arms Group	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1 - 0.3	0.0 - 0.2	0.1 - 0.3
Tobacco Group	2.0	1.9	1.4	1.9 - 13.9	0.3 - 9.7	2.4 - 5.4
Clothing Group	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.6 - 5.4	0.3 - 1.7	0.3 - 0.8
Personal Group	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2 - 0.5	0.1 - 0.2	0.1
Activities Group	4.0	8.6	3.7	0.9 - 1.7	0.2 - 0.4	0.2 - 0.9

[1] Garrow 1982

[2] Singleton 1980

A brief look at the ceramics (Table 24) from Locus 1 (the main house area) shows a MCD of 1826.5, close to fifteen years early than the MCD for the entire site (Table 25). The Bartovics' (1980) analysis shows a pattern similar to that of the entire site – a slow increase in density until 1810, when there is a steep increase until 1900, at which point there is a seemingly sudden end to the occupation. The only difference is the beginning of the occupation, which at Locus 1 starts at around 1660 and remains stable until 1760.

Locus 3 (Table 26) (western slave settlement) provided a MCD (Table 27) of 1828.1, similar to that of the main house in Locus 1. Bartovics (1980) analysis shows a somewhat interesting graph. It shows a short occupation from 1740 to 1770, then a drop for 10 years before there is a substantial increase that remains relatively stable until 1900 when, like the main house and site as a whole, there appears to be a sudden end of the occupation. One anomaly shown on this graph is a spike that occurs from 1820 to 1830.

The MCD of Locus 4 (eastern slave settlement/tenant) is 1846.8, around 20 years later than the main house MCD (Table 28 and 29). It is this locus that seems to have made the largest imprint on the site area – the Bartovics' (1980) analysis is exactly the same as the site as a whole. South's (1977) bracketing technique shows a span from about 1795 to 1905, accounted for by the later tenancy in this area.

Table 24.
Artifacts from 38CH1540, Locus 1

	900 R500	950 R500	1000 R500	850 R550	950 R550	1000 R550	1050 R550	850 R600	900 R600	950 R600	1000 R600	1000 R600	1050 R600	900 R650	950 R650	1000 R650	1050 R650	1100 R650	850 R700	900 R700	950 R700	1000 R700	1050 R700	1150 R700	900 R750	950 R750	1000 R750	1050 R750	1100 R750	1150 R750	1200 R800	1250 R800	Surface Plowed Field	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																																		**55**
Chinese Porcelain, blue HP																			1						1								**2**	
English Porelain, undec.																1																	**1**	
Rockingham																1																	**1**	
Stoneware, grey SG																																1	**1**	
Stoneware, alkaline glazed										1																							**1**	
Creamware, undec.																		1														1	**2**	
Pearlware, green edged										1																						1	**2**	
Pearlware, undec.																								1				1					**2**	
Whiteware, blue edged																																1	**1**	
Whiteware, blue TP																																1	**1**	
Whiteware, undec.											1	1							1				1									5	**9**	
Yellow ware, annular										2																							**2**	
Glass, aqua										2																					1	1	**4**	
Glass, light green																																1	**1**	
Glass, black								1		3	1						1	1							4					1		3	**15**	
Glass, clear										8																						2	**10**	
Architecture Group																																		**38**
Window glass	1	3	1		1					5						1						1								1			**14**	
Nail										1					1																		**2**	
Nail, fragment	1	1								4	7				4		1								1	1	1		1				**22**	
Tobacco Group																																		**2**
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin		1																														1	**2**	
Clothing Group																																		**1**
Button																						1											**1**	
Activities Group																																		**21**
Iron, UID							2			4					1																1		**8**	
Iron, staple																					1												**1**	
Faunal						3							1	1			2					1					3	1					**12**	
Prehistoric Group																																		**5**
Sherd, small				2				2	1																								**5**	
Subtotal	**2**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**31**	**9**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**6**	**3**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**18**	**122**	
TOTAL																																		**122**

HP : Hand painted SG : Salt glazed TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated

The purported cemetery within the site area is an issue of concern. The 1994

Table 25.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH1540, Locus 1

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Underglazed blue porc	1660-1800	1730	2	3460
English porc	1745-1795	1770	1	1770
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	2	3582
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	2	3610
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	2	3610
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	1	1851
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	9	16740
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	2	3706
Total			22	40182
Mean Ceramic Date	1826.5			

reconnaissance (Adams and Trinkley 1994) attempted to locate the cemetery, but found no evidence of stones or depressions. The report says that Ms. Betty Stringfellow heard that the stones were removed and used as the base for a causeway (Adams and Trinkley 1994:28). The current survey again attempted to locate the cemetery, however dense vegetation prevented any possible depressions or stones from being seen. Two aerial photographs, from 1948 and 1973 (Figure 48), show plowed fields in this area with a wooded area among the fields. This wooded area seems to stay the same size in the 25 year time span and it is probable that a cemetery would be avoided by agricultural activities. Kiawah River Plantation, LP has already taken a proactive approach to the cemetery by recording it on the modern survey of the property. The cemetery, however, is likely much larger than has been recorded. If construction is to take place in this area, we would recommend an area the size of the woods from the historic aerials be greenspaced or, alternatively, stripping be conducted to accurately identify cemetery boundaries.

Apart from the cemetery, site 38CH1540 produced a large number of artifacts from many data sets. Although the site has been subjected to cultivation and logging, features, such as areas of brick rubble, still remain. Site 38CH1540 provides an excellent opportunity to study a complete eighteenth century plantation complex.

Table 26.
Artifacts from 38CH1540, Locus 3

	700 R-250	800 R-250	750 R-200	800 R-200	750 R-150	750 R-100	800 R-100	750 R-50	800 R-50	850 R-50	750 R 0	700 R 0	850 R 0	900 R 0	750 R50	800 R50	850 R50	900 R50	750 R100	**Subtotal**	**Total**
Kitchen Group																					**27**
Stoneware, white SG													1							**1**	
Stoneware, brown SG													1							**1**	
Creamware, undec.																	1			**1**	
Pearlware, blue HP									1											**1**	
Pearlware, blue TP													1							**1**	
Pearlware, undec.														1		1				**2**	
Whiteware, green edged	1																			**1**	
Whiteware, undec.			1			1	1			1			1						1	**6**	
Colonoware											1				1					**2**	
Glass, black				1	1			2				1			4			1		**10**	
Glass, clear								1												**1**	
Tobacco Group																					**1**
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin		1																		**1**	
Activities Group																					**3**
Faunal, bone								3												**3**	
Prehistoric Group																					**1**
Sherd, small						1														**1**	
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**32**	
TOTAL																					**32**

HP : Hand painted SG : Salt glazed TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated

Site 38CH1540 is recommended eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No work should be performed in this area until sufficient testing or data recovery has been implemented. This recommendation is pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

Table 27.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH1540, Locus 3

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	1	1758
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1	1791
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	1	1800
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	1	1818
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	2	3610
Whiteware, green edged	1826-1830	1828	1	1828
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	6	11160
Total			13	23765
Mean Ceramic Date	1828.1			

38CH1541

Site 38CH1541 (Figure 49) is an eighteenth to twentieth century settlement once belonging to James Legare. It is situated on the edge of a marsh at an elevation of about 5 feet AMSL. A GPS UTM taken at the western portion of the site is 581630E 3610691N (NAD27 datum).

The site was first recorded during the 1994 reconnaissance (Adams and Trinkley 1994:30). A series of 29 shovel tests were excavated at 50-foot intervals in a cruciform pattern with 14 positive (48%). Based on the shovel testing and surface scatter, the site dimensions were estimated at 300 feet east-west by 600 feet north-south.

At the time of the reconnaissance, enough specimens were recovered, dating from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, for investigators to believe that the site was likely eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

The current survey excavated approximately 225 shovel tests at 50-foot intervals within the site area. Of those, 109 shovel tests were positive (48%) – the same percentage as established by the reconnaissance. A large surface collection was also recovered.

Soils in the site area resemble the moderately well drained Seabrook Series. These have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand.

Table 28.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH1540, Locus 4

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
English porc	1745-1795	1770	2	3540
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	1	1733
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	4	7164
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	3	5400
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	1	1818
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	3	5415
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	7	12635
Whiteware, green edged	1826-1830	1828	1	1828
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	3	5544
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	6	11088
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	4	7404
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	13	24258
Whiteware, tinted glaze	1911-1970	1941	1	1941
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	53	98580
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	4	7412
Total			106	195760
Mean Ceramic Date	1846.8			

Table 29.
Artifacts from 38CH1540, Locus 4

	1200 R950	1500 R950	1250 R1000	1600 R1000	1300 R1050	1350 R1050	1200 R1100	1250 R1100	1300 R1100	1400 R1100	1220 R1150	1250 R1150	1300 R1150	1200 R1200	1250 R1200	1300 R1200	1300 R1200	1150 R1250	1250 R1250	1300 R1250	1350 R1250	1450 R1250	1200 R1300	1250 R1300	1300 R1300	1350 R1300	1400 R1300	1450 R1300	1500 R1300	1200 R1350	1250 R1350	1300 R1350	1400 R1350
Kitchen Group																																	
English Porcelain, HP overglaze																																	
English Porelain, undec.																																	
Redware, clear LG					1																												
Stoneware, alkaline glazed																																	
Stoneware, brown SG																																	
Stoneware, brown																																	
Red Coarse earthenware, clear LG																																	
Refined earthenware						1																											
Slipware, lead glazed																																	
Creamware, undec.																																	1
Pearlware, blue edged																																	
Pearlware, blue HP		1																															
Pearlware, blue TP						1																											
Pearlware, undec.																								1									
Whiteware, green edged																										1							
Whiteware, poly HP																									1								
Whiteware, black TP		1	1																														
Whiteware, green TP																																	
Whiteware, blue TP													1			1																	
Whiteware, annular					1				1						1		1				1					1							
Whiteware, tinted																																	
Whiteware, undec.	1				2		1		1											1	3					1	1		1	1			
Yellow ware, annular									2																	1							
Colonoware																																	
Glass, melted																																	
Glass, manganese					1										2	1			2														
Glass, aqua																							1										
Glass, blue																					1												
Glass, green																										1							
Glass, light green																																	
Glass, amber																																	
Glass, brown					2				2																								
Glass, black					1	1				1		1					1		3	3	2					1		1	1			1	
Glass, clear					1		1	1												3	1									1	3		
Architecture Group																																	
Window glass															1		1									1							
Nail								1																							1		
Nail, fragment			1		1				1			1			1	2		1	2		2				4	1					1	
Nut											1																						
Tobacco Group																																	
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																						1									1		
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																																	
Tobacco, pipe stem, red clay																																	
Clothing Group																																	
Button																																	
Brass eye																																	
Activities Group																																	
Iron, UID																1				1											1		
Roofing tack																																	
Strap hinge fragment																																	
Hoe fragment																																	
Faunal, bone					1										2											1							
Prehistoric Group																																	
Sherd, small			1											1				1	2	1				3				1		1	3		
Chert fragment				1																													
Subtotal	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**11**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**7**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**7**	**5**	**3**	**2**	**9**	**9**	**10**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**7**	**7**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**7**	**5**	**1**
TOTAL																																	

HP : Hand painted LG : Lead glazed SG : Salt glazed TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated

	1500 R1350	1100 R1400	1200 R1400	1250 R1400	1300 R1400	1350 R1400	1400 R1400	1550 R1400	1600 R1400	1250 R1450	1300 R1450	1350 R1450	1400 R1450	1450 R1450	1500 R1450	1250 R1500	1300 R1500	1350 R1500	1450 R1500	1600 R1500	1150 R1550	1200 R1550	1300 R1550	1350 R1550	1400 R1550	1400 R1550	1450 R1550	1650 R1550	1300 R1600	1350 R1600	1400 R1600	1450 R1600	1200 R1650	1250 R1650	1300 R1650
Kitchen Group																																			
English Porcelain, HP overglaze																																			
English Porelain, undec.																																			
Redware, clear LG																																			
Stoneware, alkaline glazed																							1												
Stoneware, brown SG																															1				
Stoneware, brown					1																				1										
Red Coarse earthenware, clear LG																														1					
Refined earthenware																																			
Slipware, lead glazed																																			
Creamware, undec.											1														1										
Pearlware, blue edged							1																												
Pearlware, blue HP				1																															
Pearlware, blue TP																																			
Pearlware, undec.						1																											1		
Whiteware, green edged																																			
Whiteware, poly HP																							1												
Whiteware, black TP																																			
Whiteware, green TP																														1					
Whiteware, blue TP																		1												1					
Whiteware, annular						1												1											1	1					
Whiteware, tinted																	1																		
Whiteware, undec.				1	3						3	1					1						2							2	2			2	1
Yellow ware, annular																	1																		
Colonoware																																			
Glass, melted																														1					
Glass, manganese					2	1	1	1			1						1	4					2		1					1	3				
Glass, aqua											1	2			1						1		1	1					1	1	2				
Glass, blue																																			
Glass, green																																			
Glass, light green							1		1							1			1											2					
Glass, amber																	2														1				
Glass, brown											1																1			1	1				
Glass, black		1										1	1			1		3	1			1	2		1	1	1			1					
Glass, clear					3	1					2							2				2	1							2			1		
Architecture Group																																			
Window glass	1																	1				1	2			1					1				
Nail																		1					1												
Nail, fragment							1				1	1					1	1				2	5	1			1		7	1					
Nut																																			
Tobacco Group																																			
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																																			
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																																			
Tobacco, pipe stem, red clay											1																								
Clothing Group																																			
Button																														1					
Brass eye																									1										
Activities Group																																			
Iron, UID					1																		1	1							1				
Roofing tack																										1									
Strap hinge fragment																																			
Hoe fragment																																			
Faunal, bone											1														2										
Prehistoric Group																																			
Sherd, small		2	3							1			3						1		1	1	2												
Chert fragment																																	1		
Subtotal	**1**	**3**	**3**	**2**	**10**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**11**	**6**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**6**	**16**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**15**	**15**	**2**	**6**	**4**	**1**	**3**	**23**	**11**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**

Table 29 continued.
Artifacts from 38CH1540, Locus 4

	1350 R1650	1400 R1650	1450 R1650	1500 R1650	1600 R1650	1650 R1650	1200 R1700	1300 R1700	1350 R1700	1400 R1700	1450 R1700	1350 R1750	1400 R1750	1450 R1750	1250 R1800	1300 R1800	1350 R1800	1200 R1850	1050 R1900	1150 R1900	1200 R1900	1250 R1900	1300 R1900	1250 R1950	1300 R1950	1350 R1950	1050 R2100	1200 R2100	1000 R2050	1200 R2050	1250 R2050	1050 R2150	Surface Firebreak #1	Surface Firebreak #2	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																																				**262**
English Porcelain, HP overglaze																																1		1	
English Porelain, undec.																																1		1	
Redware, clear LG																																		1	
Stoneware, alkaline glazed																																		1	
Stoneware, brown SG																																1		2	
Stoneware, brown																																		2	
Red Coarse earthenware, clear LG																																		1	
Refined earthenware																																		1	
Slipware, lead glazed																																1		1	
Creamware, undec.					1																													4	
Pearlware, blue edged														1																		1		3	
Pearlware, blue HP																																1		3	
Pearlware, blue TP																																		1	
Pearlware, undec.																					1				1							2		7	
Whiteware, green edged																																		1	
Whiteware, poly HP																																1		3	
Whiteware, black TP																																		2	
Whiteware, green TP																																1		2	
Whiteware, blue TP													1									1												6	
Whiteware, annular	1																		1													1		13	
Whiteware, tinted																																		1	
Whiteware, undec.	1											1						1						1				1				12	1	50	
Yellow ware, annular																																		4	
Colonoware													1														3		1			1		6	
Glass, melted																																		1	
Glass, manganese	1			1												1								1				1						29	
Glass, aqua		1														1					1									1		1	1	18	
Glass, blue																																		1	
Glass, green																				1														2	
Glass, light green																												1			1			8	
Glass, amber																																		3	
Glass, brown																1							1											10	
Glass, black			1	1					1		1						1					1						1						39	
Glass, clear		1							1									1				2		2				1				1		34	
Architecture Group																																			**73**
Window glass																								1								1		12	
Nail	1																																	5	
Nail, fragment			1					1	2	1	2	3							2									3						55	
Nut																																		1	
Tobacco Group																																			**5**
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																																		2	
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin										1																								1	
Tobacco, pipe stem, red clay																															1			2	
Clothing Group																																			**2**
Button																																		1	
Brass eye																																		1	
Activities Group																																			**23**
Iron, UID													1									2												10	
Roofing tack																																		1	
Strap hinge fragment																																1		1	
Hoe fragment																																1		1	
Faunal, bone									1		1											1												10	
Prehistoric Group																																			**41**
Sherd, small	2	1				1	1	1	1			1			1			2							1			1						39	
Chert fragment																																		2	
Subtotal	**6**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**6**	**2**	**4**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**7**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**9**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**28**	**2**	**406**	
TOTAL																																				**406**

HP : Hand painted LG : Lead glazed SG : Salt glazed TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated

Seven different artifact groups were represented in the collection (Table 30), including Kitchen (82.7%), Architecture (8.4%), Furniture (0.1%), Tobacco (5.9%), Clothing (0.3%), Personal (0.1%), and Activities (2.5%) groups.

This pattern is not dissimilar to both the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern and the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern. We suspect that at least some of the ambiguity here is the result of the shovel tests blurring several structural areas together. Reference to Figure 50 reveals that there were nine structures surrounding the main house and enclosed within the fenced yard. It seems likely that at least some of these structures may represent dwellings for those slaves serving in the owner's house. Thus, we again have a blurring of several patterns at this survey stage.

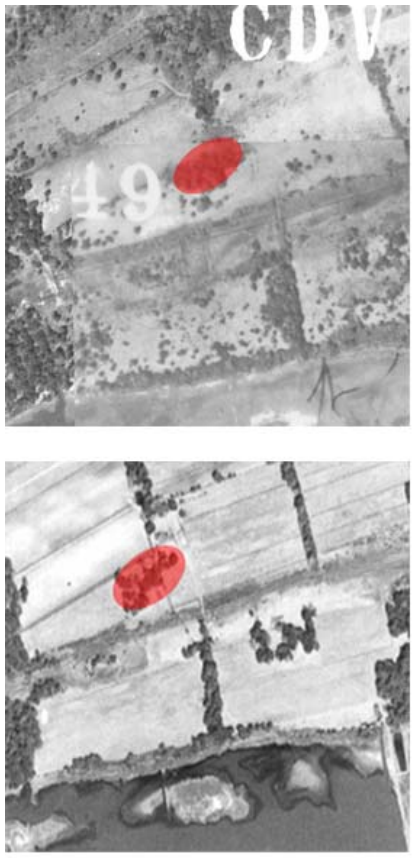


Figure 48. 1948 and 1973 aerials showing the approximate location of the cemetery at 38CH1540.

The Kitchen Group produced the highest percentage of artifacts. Ceramics (excluding Colono ware) account for 80% of the group total, while Colono ware makes up 4% of the total. The MCD for 38CH1541 is 1801 and contains a variety of ceramics (Table 31). The assemblage includes lead glazed slipware, a common eighteenth century pottery that was exported to the colonies in great numbers. As John Cushion observes, the slipware potters were "primarily concerned with producing the everyday necessities for the more humble table" (Cushion 1976:79). This common ware, however, stands in contrast to the white salt glazed stones and porcelains – both far more characteristic of a planter of higher status and both likely evidencing the British participation in the Chinese tea ritual (e.g., Hobhouse 1987:111).

The Architecture Group predominately produced window glass (60% of the group total). Unidentifiable nail fragments account for 35% of the total. Only one identifiable nail, machine cut, was identified in the collections. Machine cut nails were commonly used by the 1820s (Howard 1989:55). Four pieces of mortar were found as was brick, however, the brick was noted and discarded on site.

Tobacco Group artifacts accounted for the third highest group percentage. Both kaolin pipe stems and bowls were represented with the stems accounting for 68% of the group total.

The Clothing Group contained three buttons – one milk glass and two brass. One of the brass buttons has a design worn by the U.S. Navy. The button dates c. 1830-1849 (Luscomb 1967:11).

For the Personal Group, a wire wound black bead was found.

The Activities Group primarily produced unidentifiable iron fragments. One tool, an iron wrench fragment, was recorded.

Bartovics' (1980) dating technique shows limited occupation from about 1740 to 1760 then a steep increase that lasts until around 1820. There is a decrease in occupation until around 1830 when another steady occupation is apparent, lasting to 1900, when the settlement appears to cease. This is consistent with the historic research, suggesting site occupation prior to its late eighteenth century ownership by Mathews and Mullet, with the most intensive settlement being developed by James Legare.

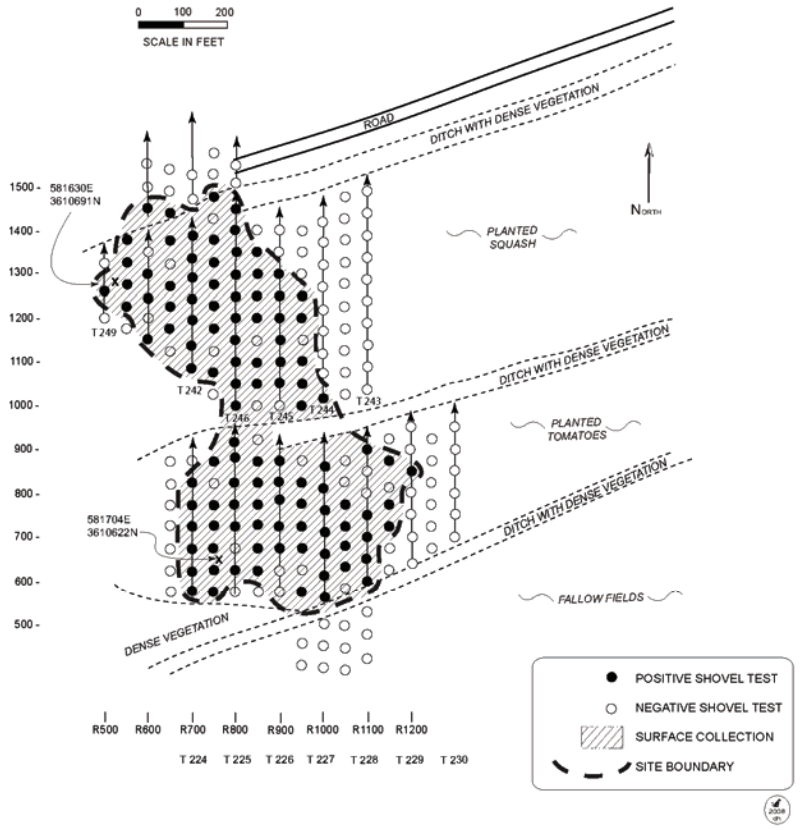


Figure 49. Sketch map of 38CH1541.

The prehistoric component accounts for only 3% of the artifact total. A total of 26 small sherds, three chert flakes, and one chert core were identified. Nothing from this assemblage is diagnostic.

The site area measures approximately 700 feet east-west by 900 feet north-south and was located in planted tomatoes, squash, and zucchini at the time of the survey.

The data sets identified from 38CH1541 consist of a broad range of eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts consistent with a plantation settlement that is documented by the historic research already conducted. Shovel testing did not reveal features, but it did allow the recovery faunal remains. This settlement is the earliest on the property, providing evidence of Johns Island planters in the early colonial period. It is likely that the settlement will yield data concerning change and continuity among the island's planters. We are particularly fortunate to have the opportunity to examine three contiguous settlements during the nineteenth century, allowing for comparisons and contrasts in settlement patterns, plantation architecture, diet and faunal exploitation, and planter lifeways. Given the artifact patterns there is also a potential for the recovery of African American dwellings at this site, further allowing comparisons and contrasts between field and house slaves, eighteenth and nineteenth century slaves on the same plantation, and of course between the three settlements known to be present.

As discussed previously, we recognize that there has been extensive plowing at Mullet Hall. Research over the past 30 years, however, has demonstrated that plowing does not preclude the ability to distinguish structures and collect the types of data necessary to address the research questions anticipated for the site. The presence of faunal remains in the shovel testing suggests that the soils offer some preservation, while the presence of brick, mortar, and shell indicate the possibility for subsurface remains.

Site 38CH1541 is recommended eligible for the National Register of Historic Places for its

Table 30.
Artifacts from 38CH1541

	1250 R500	1230 R550	1280 R550	1330 R550	1390 R550	1150 R600	1250 R600	1300 R600	1400 R600	1450 R600	1170 R650	1220 R650	1270 R650	1370 R650	1440 R650	580 R700	630 R700	680 R700	730 R700	780 R700	830 R700	1080 R700	1130 R700	1180 R700	1230 R700	1280 R700	1330 R700	1380 R700
Kitchen Group																											
Chinese Porcelain, poly HP																											
Chinese Porcelain, blue HP																											
Chinese Porcelain, undec.																											
English Porcelain, blue HP																											
English Porcelain, TP																											
English Porelain, undec.																			1	1							
Refined earthenware, burned		1																									
Elers ware																											
Rockingham									1																		
Westerwald																											
Stoneware, white SG, scratch blue																											
Stoneware, white SG, annular																											
Stoneware, white SG, slip dip																											
Stoneware, white SG																											
Stoneware, grey SG																											
Stoneware, Bristol																											
Stoneware, Ginger Beer																											
Stoneware, alkaline glazed													1														
Stoneware, brown SG																											
Stoneware, burned																											
Refined red earthenware, clear LG																											
Coarse red earthenware, black LG												1															
Coarse red earthenware, brown LG																											
Coarse red earthenware, green LG																											
Coarse red earthenware, clear LG																											
Coarse red earthenware																						1					
Spanish Olive jar																											
Tortoise shell																											
Slipware, LG												1								1			1				1
Delftware, blue HP																											
Delftware, sponge																											
Delftware, undec.																							1				
Delftware, no glaze																											
North Devon, gravel temper											1																
Creamware, green edge																		1									
Creamware, poly HP overglaze																											
Creamware, blue HP																											
Creamware, clouded																											
Creamware, annular																								1			
Creamware, undec.			1	1		1	1						1					2	2	1					1	1	1
Pearlware, green edged																											
Pearlware, blue edged																											
Pearlware, poly HP																											
Pearlware, blue HP																											
Pearlware, blue TP														1													
Pearlware, annular																	1										
Pearlware, undec.									1									2	1	1					1		
Whiteware, green edged																											
Whiteware, blue edged																											
Whiteware, poly HP																											
Whiteware, red TP																											
Whiteware, brown TP																											
Whiteware, black TP																											
Whiteware, blue TP																				1							
Whiteware, annular																											
Whiteware, sponge dec.																											
Whiteware, undec.													1					1		1							
Yellow ware, annular																											
Yellow ware, undec.								1																			
Colonoware, rim												1		1													
Colonoware							2		2	1		2	2								2	2	5	3			
Glass, melted																	1										
Glass, manganese		1																									
Glass, aqua																											
Glass, green																											
Glass, light green		1																									
Glass, clear										1				1						1	1						
Glass, black					1		1		1			1		2						2					1		1
Architecture Group																											
Window glass																	1			1			1				
Nail, fragment															1	1	1	1		1	1		1				
Mortar																											
Furniture Group																											
Furniture tack																											
Staple																											
Tobacco Group																											
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																		1						2			1
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin	1						1										1					1					1
Clothing Group																											
Button																											
Personal Group																											
Bead																											
Activities Group																											
Metal, UID									1			1												1			1
Slate																											
Faunal																1		1	2								
Tool Group																											
Iron wrench fragment													1														
Prehistoric Group																											
Sherd, small											1														2	6	
Flake, chert																							1				
UID point fragment, chert																											
Core, flint																											
Subtotal	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**6**	**2**	**2**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**5**	**9**	**6**	**11**	**4**	**4**	**10**	**4**	**3**	**5**	**7**	**6**
TOTAL																											

HP : handpaint LG : Lead glaze SG : Salt glaze TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated

Figure 30 continued.
Artifacts from 38CH1541

	580 R750	630 R750	680 R750	730 R750	780 R750	880 R750	1070 R750	1170 R750	1220 R750	1270 R750	1320 R750	1370 R750	1470 R750	630 R800	730 R800	780 R800	830 R800	880 R800	930 R800	1000 R800	1050 R800	1100 R800	1200 R800	1250 R800	1300 R800	1350 R800	1400 R800	1450 R800
Kitchen Group																												
Chinese Porcelain, poly HP																												
Chinese Porcelain, blue HP																												
Chinese Porcelain, undec.																												
English Porcelain, blue HP																												
English Porcelain, TP																												
English Porelain, undec.																												
Refined earthenware, burned																												
Elers ware																												
Rockingham																												
Westerwald																												
Stoneware, white SG, scratch blue																												
Stoneware, white SG, annular																		1										
Stoneware, white SG, slip dip																												
Stoneware, white SG																												
Stoneware, grey SG																												
Stoneware, Bristol																												
Stoneware, Ginger Beer																												
Stoneware, alkaline glazed																												
Stoneware, brown SG					1																							
Stoneware, burned																												
Refined red earthenware, clear LG																												
Coarse red earthenware, black LG																												
Coarse red earthenware, brown LG															1													
Coarse red earthenware, green LG																												
Coarse red earthenware, clear LG																												
Coarse red earthenware																												
Spanish Olive jar																												
Tortoise shell																												
Slipware, LG								2																			1	
Delftware, blue HP																		1										
Delftware, sponge																												
Delftware, undec.																												
Delftware, no glaze																							1					
North Devon, gravel temper																												
Creamware, green edge																												
Creamware, poly HP overglaze																												
Creamware, blue HP																												
Creamware, clouded																												
Creamware, annular																												
Creamware, undec.														1														
Pearlware, green edged																												
Pearlware, blue edged																												
Pearlware, poly HP																												
Pearlware, blue HP																												
Pearlware, blue TP																												
Pearlware, annular																												
Pearlware, undec.																1		1										
Whiteware, green edged																												
Whiteware, blue edged																												
Whiteware, poly HP												2																
Whiteware, red TP																												
Whiteware, brown TP																												
Whiteware, black TP																												
Whiteware, blue TP					1																							
Whiteware, annular																			1									
Whiteware, sponge dec.																												
Whiteware, undec.		1	1							1		2			1													
Yellow ware, annular																												
Yellow ware, undec.																												
Colonoware, rim																												
Colonoware																				1		1			2	2		
Glass, melted																												
Glass, manganese																												
Glass, aqua																												
Glass, green																								1				
Glass, light green																												
Glass, clear					1																							
Glass, black		1	1		1	1	1						1				1	1			1	1			1			1
Architecture Group																												
Window glass		1			2	1											1	1	2						1			
Nail, fragment	1		1	1	3	1																2						
Mortar																												
Furniture Group																												
Furniture tack																												
Staple																												
Tobacco Group																												
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin		1																										
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																												
Clothing Group																												
Button																												
Personal Group																												
Bead									1																			
Activities Group																												
Metal, UID			1														1											
Slate																												
Faunal		1													1													
Tool Group																												
Iron wrench fragment																												
Prehistoric Group																												
Sherd, small								3			3	1																
Flake, chert																												
UID point fragment, chert																												
Core, flint																												
Subtotal	**1**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**9**	**3**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**1**
TOTAL																												

Figure 30 continued.
Artifacts from 38CH1541

	630 R850	680 R850	730 R850	780 R850	830 R850	880 R850	1050 R850	1100 R850	1200 R850	1250 R850	1300 R850	1350 R850	680 R900	760 R900	780 R900	830 R900	880 R900	1050 R900	1100 R900	1150 R900	1200 R900	1250 R900	1300 R900	570 R950	670 950	720 R950	770 R950	820 R950
Kitchen Group																												
Chinese Porcelain, poly HP																												
Chinese Porcelain, blue HP																												
Chinese Porcelain, undec.																												
English Porcelain, blue HP																									1			
English Porcelain, TP																												
English Porelain, undec.				1									1															
Refined earthenware, burned																												
Elers ware																												
Rockingham																												
Westerwald				1			1																					
Stoneware, white SG, scratch blue																												
Stoneware, white SG, annular																												
Stoneware, white SG, slip dip																			1									
Stoneware, white SG																												1
Stoneware, grey SG																												
Stoneware, Bristol																												
Stoneware, Ginger Beer																												
Stoneware, alkaline glazed																												
Stoneware, brown SG												1																1
Stoneware, burned																												
Refined red earthenware, clear LG																												
Coarse red earthenware, black LG																												
Coarse red earthenware, brown LG																												
Coarse red earthenware, green LG																												
Coarse red earthenware, clear LG			2																									
Coarse red earthenware																												
Spanish Olive jar																												
Tortoise shell																												1
Slipware, LG				1													1		1									
Delftware, blue HP	1						1																					
Delftware, sponge																												
Delftware, undec.																												
Delftware, no glaze																												
North Devon, gravel temper																												
Creamware, green edge																												1
Creamware, poly HP overglaze																												
Creamware, blue HP																												
Creamware, clouded																												1
Creamware, annular																												
Creamware, undec.		1																		1	1					1		
Pearlware, green edged																												
Pearlware, blue edged																					1							
Pearlware, poly HP																												
Pearlware, blue HP																												
Pearlware, blue TP		1	1				1																					
Pearlware, annular																												
Pearlware, undec.																		1										
Whiteware, green edged																												
Whiteware, blue edged																												
Whiteware, poly HP																												
Whiteware, red TP																												
Whiteware, brown TP																												
Whiteware, black TP																												
Whiteware, blue TP																												
Whiteware, annular			1	1																	1							
Whiteware, sponge dec.																												
Whiteware, undec.		1						1					1							1								
Yellow ware, annular																												
Yellow ware, undec.																												
Colonoware, rim																												
Colonoware							2				1	1									1							
Glass, melted	1																									1		
Glass, manganese																												
Glass, aqua																												
Glass, green																												
Glass, light green				1																								
Glass, clear					2		1					1			1													
Glass, black	1		3		3							1	1				1	2					1		1	1		
Architecture Group																												
Window glass				1				1		1	1			1		1	1	1	1			2				1	1	
Nail, fragment			2	1		1															1			1		1	2	2
Mortar					2											1												
Furniture Group																												
Furniture tack																									1			
Staple																				2								
Tobacco Group																												
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin										1																		
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																		1										
Clothing Group																												
Button																												
Personal Group																												
Bead																												
Activities Group																												
Metal, UID																												
Slate																												
Faunal																	1											
Tool Group																												
Iron wrench fragment																												
Prehistoric Group																												
Sherd, small									1														1					
Flake, chert																												
UID point fragment, chert																												
Core, flint																												
Subtotal	**3**	**3**	**9**	**7**	**7**	**1**	**6**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**5**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**6**	**8**

Figure 30 continued.
Artifacts from 38CH1541

	1050 R950	1100 R950	1200 R950	1250 R950	560 R1000	610 R1000	660 R1000	710 R1000	760 R1000	810 R1000	860 R1000	1020 R1000	630 R1050	680 R1050	730 R1050	780 R1050	600 R1100	650 R1100	700 R1100	750 R1100	900 R1100	730 R1150	780 R1150	880 R1150	850 R1200	Surface T244-249	Surface	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																													**788**
Chinese Porcelain, poly HP																										1	**1**		
Chinese Porcelain, blue HP																									3	18	**21**		
Chinese Porcelain, undec.																										5	**5**		
English Porcelain, blue HP									1																	6	**8**		
English Porcelain, TP																										1	**1**		
English Porelain, undec.											1														2	11	**18**		
Refined earthenware, burned				1									1		1											8	**12**		
Elers ware																										1	**1**		
Rockingham																											**1**		
Westerwald																									1	6	**9**		
Stoneware, white SG, scratch blue																										1	**1**		
Stoneware, white SG, annular																											**1**		
Stoneware, white SG, slip dip																											**1**		
Stoneware, white SG																									1	25	**27**		
Stoneware, grey SG																			1							9	**10**		
Stoneware, Bristol																										1	**1**		
Stoneware, Ginger Beer																										2	**2**		
Stoneware, alkaline glazed																										2	**3**		
Stoneware, brown SG	1																								4	10	**18**		
Stoneware, burned																										1	**1**		
Refined red earthenware, clear LG																										1	**1**		
Coarse red earthenware, black LG																									1	5	**7**		
Coarse red earthenware, brown LG																									1	2	**4**		
Coarse red earthenware, green LG																										1	**1**		
Coarse red earthenware, clear LG																										3	**5**		
Coarse red earthenware																					1					1	**3**		
Spanish Olive jar																									2	4	**6**		
Tortoise shell															1											1	**3**		
Slipware, LG						1														2					6	9	**28**		
Delftware, blue HP																									1	5	**9**		
Delftware, sponge																										1	**1**		
Delftware, undec.																										9	**10**		
Delftware, no glaze										1																	**2**		
North Devon, gravel temper																									1	1	**3**		
Creamware, green edge																										1	**3**		
Creamware, poly HP overglaze																										5	**5**		
Creamware, blue HP																										1	**1**		
Creamware, clouded														1												2	**4**		
Creamware, annular																									2	4	**7**		
Creamware, undec.			1		1																				18	82	**120**		
Pearlware, green edged																1									3	10	**14**		
Pearlware, blue edged																									3	3	**7**		
Pearlware, poly HP																									3	2	**5**		
Pearlware, blue HP																										1	**1**		
Pearlware, blue TP																									1	10	**15**		
Pearlware, annular																										4	**5**		
Pearlware, undec.							1																	1	9	45	**65**		
Whiteware, green edged																										3	**3**		
Whiteware, blue edged																										5	**5**		
Whiteware, poly HP																									1	4	**7**		
Whiteware, red TP																										1	**1**		
Whiteware, brown TP																										1	**1**		
Whiteware, black TP																										1	**1**		
Whiteware, blue TP																									1	15	**18**		
Whiteware, annular																									1	14	**19**		
Whiteware, sponge dec.																										1	**1**		
Whiteware, undec.				1																					3	76	**93**		
Yellow ware, annular																										2	**2**		
Yellow ware, undec.																									1	5	**7**		
Colonoware, rim																											**2**		
Colonoware															1										1		**34**		
Glass, melted																										4	**8**		
Glass, manganese																											**1**		
Glass, aqua								1																			**1**		
Glass, green																									1	1	**3**		
Glass, light green																										3	**5**		
Glass, clear											1											1			1	5	**18**		
Glass, black						1	1								1				2			1	1		3	34	**81**		
Architecture Group																													**80**
Window glass	1	1				1		1				1							1	1					1	13	**47**		
Nail, fragment																										2	**29**		
Mortar																										1	**4**		
Furniture Group																													**3**
Furniture tack																											**1**		
Staple																											**2**		
Tobacco Group																													**56**
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																									2	10	**18**		
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																						1			12	19	**38**		
Clothing Group																													**3**
Button																										3	**3**		
Personal Group																													**1**
Bead																											**1**		
Activities Group																													**56**
Metal, UID																		1							3	9	**19**		
Slate																										2	**2**		
Faunal																											**7**		
Tool Group																													**1**
Iron wrench fragment																											**1**		
Prehistoric Group																													**25**
Sherd, small																	1		1							1	**21**		
Flake, chert																									1	1	**3**		
UID point fragment, chert																											**0**		
Core, flint																										1	**1**		
Subtotal	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**94**	**558**	**1013**	
TOTAL																													**1013**

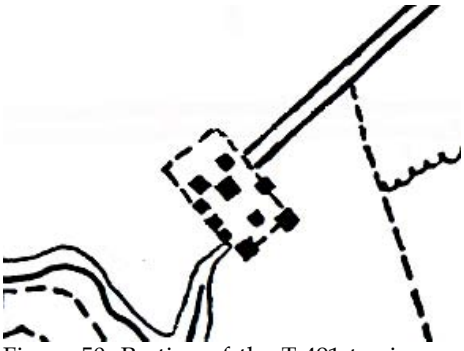


Figure 50. Portion of the T-491 tracing, ca. 1863 showing the James Legare settlement, which was earlier the location of the eighteenth century Mullet settlement.

information potential of early plantation life. No work should be performed in this site until sufficient testing and data recovery have been performed. Of course, this is pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH1542

Site 38CH1542 (Figure 51) is a prehistoric and nineteenth to twentieth century settlement located on the edge of what is referred to as Mullet Hall Creek at an elevation of about 5 feet AMSL. A GPS UTM taken at the eastern end of the site is 582043E 3610341N (NAD27 datum).

The site was originally recorded during the 1994 reconnaissance of the Mullet Hall property (Adams and Trinkley 1994:30-31). Shovel testing was performed at 50-foot intervals in a cruciform pattern on the eastern side (with 8 of 11 positive) and the western side with 12 of 18 positive). The site, which appears as two separate slave rows on an 1863 map and the 1919 topographic survey, had largely disappeared by the mid-twentieth century (Figure 52). Artifacts collected during the reconnaissance dated from the mid-nineteenth to twentieth century at the eastern portion and late eighteenth to twentieth century at the western portion (Adams and Trinkley 1994:30-31). Although testing was limited, the site was assumed to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

The current survey set up a series of transects along Mullet Hall Creek from east to west at 50-foot intervals. Shovel testing was performed at 50-foot intervals to the north until two consecutive negative tests were encountered. A total of 190 shovel tests were excavated with 78 positive (41%). An additional nine shovel tests contained only shell, two contained only brick, and six contained brick and shell.

Shovel tests produced soil profiles that closely resemble the moderately well drained Seabrook soils. This series has an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine

Table 31.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH1541

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Overglazed enamelled porc	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
Underglazed blue porc	1660-1800	1730	27	46710
English porc	1745-1795	1770	26	46020
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	9	15642
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	27	47466
White sg sw, scratch blue	1744-1775	1760	1	1760
White sg sw, slip dip	1715-1775	1745	1	1745
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	28	48524
Clouded wares	1740-1770	1755	4	7020
Decorated delft	1600-1802	1750	10	17500
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	12	20640
North Devon	1650-1775	1713	3	5139
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	7	12586
Creamware, hand painted	1790-1820	1805	6	10830
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	120	214920
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	7	12635
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	1	1800
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	15	27270
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	23	41515
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	5	9025
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	65	117325
Whiteware, green edged	1826-1830	1828	3	5484
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	5	9265
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	5	9240
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	18	33264
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	3	5553
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	19	35454
Whiteware, sponge/splatter	1836-1870	1853	1	1853
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	93	172980
Yellow ware	1826-1880	1853	9	16677
Total			554	997572
Mean Ceramic Date	1800.7			

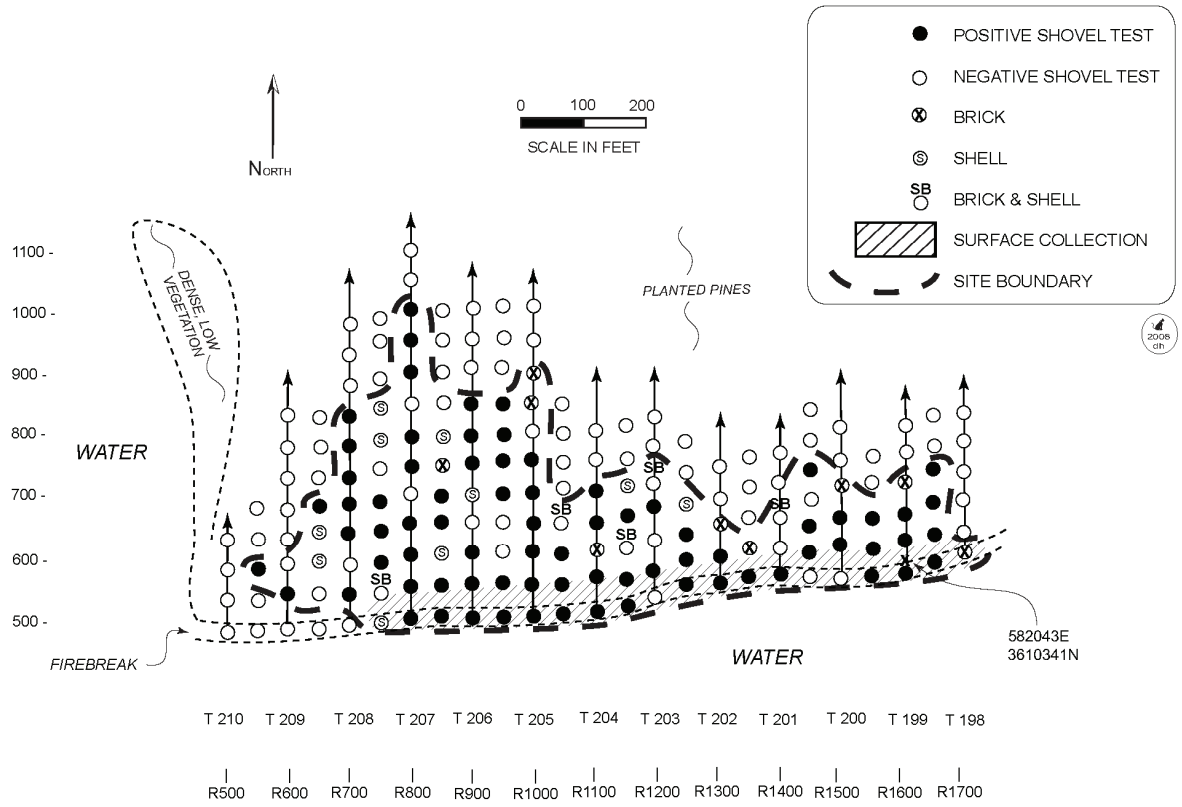


Figure 51. Sketch map of 38CH1542.

sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand. All artifacts were found in the plow zone.

The prehistoric component of the site (11% of the total artifact assemblage) consists of small sherds, a chert flake, and a chert projectile point fragment. None of the artifacts are diagnostic.

The historic assemblage contained six different data sets – Kitchen (83.7%), Architecture (10%), Furniture (0.3%), Tobacco (2.0%), Clothing (1.4%), and Activities (2.6%) groups (Table 32). This pattern closely resembled the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, typically associated with eighteenth century slave settlements where the structures are ground fast (i.e., of wall trench construction). As we have noted for several other sites, this seems unusual given the abundance of nineteenth century specimens. It is tempting to

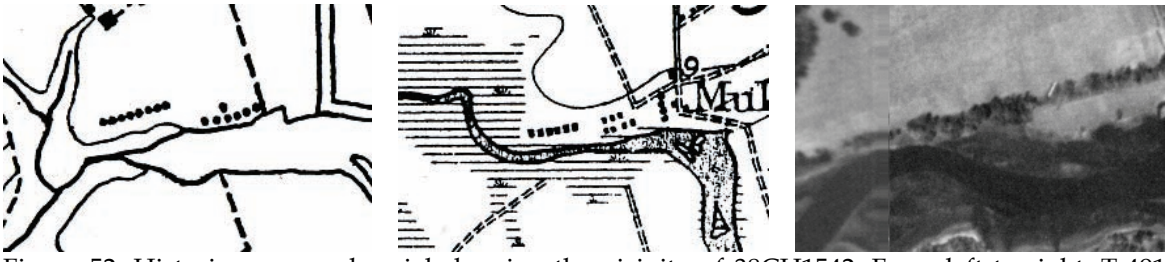


Figure 52. Historic maps and aerial showing the vicinity of 38CH1542. From left to right: T-491 tracing, ca. 1863; Wadmalaw topographic map, 1919; aerial, 1949.

Table 32.
Artifacts from 38CH1542

	580 R550	540 R600	690 R650	540 R700	640 R700	690 R700	740 R700	790 R700	840 R700	600 R750	650 R750	700 R750	510 R800	560 R800	610 R800	660 R800	760 R800	810 R800	910 R800	960 R800	1010 R800	510 R850	560 R850	660 R850	510 R900	560 R900	610 R900	760 R900	810 R900	860 R900	510 R950	560 R950	710 R950	760 R950	810 R950	860 R950	510 R1000	560 R1000	610 R1000	660 R1000
Kitchen Group																																								
English Porcelain, blue HP																																								
English Porelain, undec.																																								
Stoneware, grey SG					1																																			
Stoneware, Bristol																																								
Stoneware, Albany interior																																								
Stoneware, alkaline glazed																																								
Stoneware, brown																					1																			
Refined earthenware, burned																																								
Creamware, undec.																																								
Pearlware, green edged																																								
Pearlware, blue HP																																								
Pearlware, blue TP																																								
Pearlware, sponge dec.																																								
Pearlware, undec.										1																														
Whiteware, green edged																																								
Whiteware, blue edged																																								
Whiteware, poly HP																																								
Whiteware, decal																																								
Whiteware, red TP																																								
Whiteware, blue TP																																								
Whiteware, flow blue																																								
Whiteware, annular																						1																		1
Whiteware, sponge dec.																																								
Whiteware, tinted																																								
Whiteware, undec.	1												1		1											1	1				1					1		1		
Colonoware																																				1				
Glass, melted																																								
Glass, manganese																						1																		
Glass, milk																																								
Glass, aqua																																								
Glass, blue																																								
Glass, green																																								
Glass, light green										1																														
Glass, black			2								2				1	1				1				1												2	1			
Glass, brown														1											1															
Glass, clear															1	1				2			1	1	1						1									
Architecture Group																																								
Window glass																									1					1										
Nail, fragment				1					1		1		1	3	1							1			1	1					2					1			
Mortar																																								
Furniture Group																																								
Furniture tack																																								
Tobacco Group																																								
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																																					1			
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																																								
Clothing Group																																								
Button																																								
Activities Group																																								
Iron, UID										1																														
Faunal																									1	1											2			
Prehistoric Group																																								
Sherd, small		2	4			2	1	1				1					4	1	1					2			1	2	2	1		1	1	1	1				1
Flake, chert																		1																						
UID point fragmet, chert																																								
Subtotal	**1**	**2**	**6**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**4**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**4**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**7**	**2**	**1**	**2**
TOTAL																																								

HP : Hand painted SG : Salt glazed TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated

	710 R1000	760 R1000	510 R1050	560 R1050	610 R1050	520 R1100	570 R1100	670 R1100	720 R1100	520 R1150	570 R1150	670 R1150	590 R1200	690 R1200	540 R1250	550 R1250	600 R1250	650 R1250	560 R1300	610 R1300	570 R1350	570 R1400	610 R1450	660 R1450	760 R1450	620 R1500	670 R1500	580 R1550	630 R1550	680 R1550	580 R1600	630 R1600	680 R1600	600 R1650	650 R1650	750 R1650	Surface Collection	**Subtotal**	**Total**
Kitchen Group																																						**298**
English Porcelain, blue HP																																				2	**2**	
English Porelain, undec.															1																					11	**12**	
Stoneware, grey SG																																				2	**3**	
Stoneware, Bristol																																				2	**2**	
Stoneware, Albany interior																																				1	**1**	
Stoneware, alkaline glazed													1																							1	**2**	
Stoneware, brown																																				1	**2**	
Refined earthenware, burned																																				4	**4**	
Creamware, undec.																																				7	**7**	
Pearlware, green edged																																				4	**4**	
Pearlware, blue HP																																				1	**1**	
Pearlware, blue TP																																				4	**4**	
Pearlware, sponge dec.																																				1	**1**	
Pearlware, undec.																																				5	**6**	
Whiteware, green edged																																				1	**1**	
Whiteware, blue edged																																				1	**1**	
Whiteware, poly HP																																				3	**3**	
Whiteware, decal																																				4	**4**	
Whiteware, red TP																																				1	**1**	
Whiteware, blue TP																																				2	**2**	
Whiteware, flow blue																																				1	**1**	
Whiteware, annular															1																					11	**14**	
Whiteware, sponge dec.			1																																	2	**3**	
Whiteware, tinted																																				3	**3**	
Whiteware, undec.			1	1											1	2		1				1			1				1	1						69	**87**	
Colonoware																										1											**2**	
Glass, melted																																		1		1	**2**	
Glass, manganese							1																1						1		1					22	**27**	
Glass, milk																																				2	**2**	
Glass, aqua				1						1									1									1								10	**14**	
Glass, blue																																				4	**4**	
Glass, green																																				3	**3**	
Glass, light green																																				4	**5**	
Glass, black										1	1			2				1		2															1	16	**35**	
Glass, brown																					1															2	**4**	
Glass, clear			2		1	1	2										1										1	1				1				11	**29**	
Architecture Group																																						**35**
Window glass											1	1												1							1				1	2	**9**	
Nail, fragment				1			3			2			1		1	1								1									1				**25**	
Mortar											1																										**1**	
Furniture Group																																						**1**
Furniture tack																																				1	**1**	
Tobacco Group																																						**7**
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin															1															1						1	**4**	
Tobacco, pipe stem, Kaolin																					1															2	**3**	
Clothing Group																																						**5**
Button																																				5	**5**	
Activities Group																																						**15**
Iron, UID				1	1		2	1											1								1		1							**9**	
Faunal			1																									1								**6**	
Prehistoric Group																																						**46**
Sherd, small	1	1							1	1										4								1				4		1	4	**44**	
Flake, chert																																					**1**	
UID point fragmet, chert											1																										**1**	
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**5**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**8**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**234**	**407**	
TOTAL																																							**407**

HP : Hand painted SG : Salt glaze TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated

use the tenant occupation as an explanation, but the Yeoman pattern should slightly ameliorate the abundance of kitchen items, not further emphasize these materials at the cost of architectural remains. Since this has been seen at several sites, it may be a pattern development specific to these owners or perhaps to Johns Island – in any event, the anomaly is worthy of additional study.

Some decorative motifs tend to be more

Table 33.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH1542

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	7	12537
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	1	1800
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	4	7272
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	4	7220
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	6	10830
Whiteware, green edged	1826-1830	1828	1	1828
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	1	1853
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	3	5544
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	2	3696
Whiteware, non-blue trans printed	1826-1875	1851	1	1851
Whiteware, poly decalcomania	1901-1950	1926	4	7704
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	14	26124
Whiteware, sponge/splatter	1836-1870	1853	3	5559
Whiteware, tinted glaze	1911-1970	1941	3	5823
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	87	161820
Total			141	261461
Mean Ceramic Date	1854.3			

expensive than others and this can serve as a rough guide to the status of the site's occupants. For example, annular wares tend to be very inexpensive. Transfer prints tend to be more expensive. Plain wares are problematical since they begin their history as expensive but rather quickly become less expensive. When we examine the 38CH1542 collection we find that, excluding the plain wares, nearly two-thirds (63.3%) of the decorative motifs are those associated with inexpensive ceramics – annularwares, mocha, and edged wares. If the undecorated ceramics are added, then nearly 92% of the collection represents low status wares. This is certainly consistent with African American slavery (and tenancy).

The Kitchen Group was composed of ceramics (57% of the group) and glass (43%). The MCD of the ceramics is 1854.3 (Table 33). The assemblage contains no wares that are noticeably earlier. Even Colono ware is nearly absent from the collection, as are slipwares and delft. Evidence of tenant occupation is provided by the seven examples of decalcomania and tinted whitewares – ceramics that are characteristic of the twentieth century (and which are consistent with the 1919 topographic map showing dwellings still at this location).

The Architecture Group contained mostly unidentifiable nail fragments, which accounted for 73% of the group total. Window glass was also found.

Bartovics' (1980) dating analysis shows little occupation prior to 1810, at which time occupation increases dramatically and occupation remains steady until about 1900. We then see only a thin smear through the mid twentieth century – suggesting that the tenant dwellings may have been only in limited use.

The site area is approximately 1,200 feet east-west by 500 feet north-south. It is today located in an area of planted pines, although during the 1994 reconnaissance it was a plowed field.

The data sets identified for 38CH1542 include a variety of artifact groups expected to be associated with a slave settlement. The pattern analysis, while somewhat ambiguous supports this interpretation, as does an examination of the decorative motifs present in the assemblage. Another data set is the presence of faunal remains. We need to also add the abundant historic research as a valuable data set. For example, we know that James Legare's widow, Lydia, reported 30 slave houses on the 1860 census. The available historic plat of the property, however, reveals only 15 in these two settlements – thus we must recognize that we have a sample of perhaps only half was what was originally present.

The exploratory potential at Mullet Hall is exceptional – not only do we have three different plantations – each with its own slave settlement –

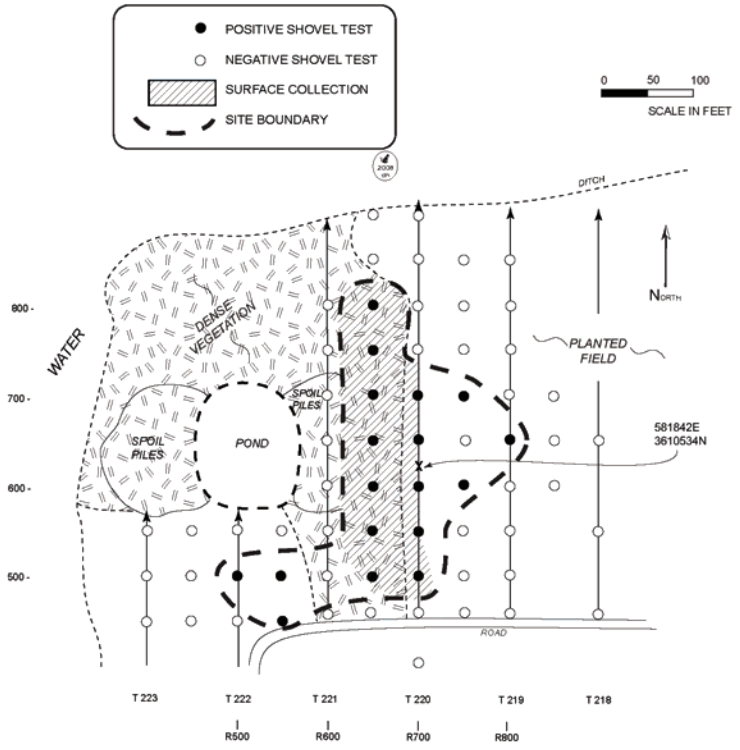


Figure 53. Sketch map of 38CH1543.

but at James Legare's settlement we have two distinct settlements. Was one settlement older than another? If so, might this difference be seen in architecture or identified in the artifact assemblages? Were the settlements representative of two different groups of slaves? This need not be as drastic as field and house slaves, but may perhaps represent groups that worked different fields. If so, will we see any artifactual or dietary differences? Certainly, we have a variety of significant research questions available for study.

Site integrity here, as at other sites, has been affected by plowing. Yet the presence of relatively large historic ceramics – as well as the recovery of faunal remains in plow zone contexts – suggests that plowing may not be as dramatic as might be presumed. We have also cited commentary by other archaeologists who have examined plow zone contexts in detail and find that they remain worthy of careful study.

Site 38CH1542 is recommended eligible for the National Register of Historic Places for its potential to address significant research questions. No work should be performed in this area until an MOA can be established and implemented. Of

Table 34.
Artifacts from 38CH1543

	500 R500	450 R550	500 R550	500 R650	550 R650	600 R650	650 R650	700 R650	750 R650	800 R650	500 R700	550 R700	600 R700	650 R700	700 R700	600 R750	700 R750	650 R800	Surface Collection	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																					**24**
Canton Porcelain, blue HP																			1	**1**	
Stoneware, grey SG																			1	**1**	
Stoneware, Ginger Beer											1									**1**	
Slipware, lead glazed																			2	**2**	
Delftware, plain														1						**1**	
Creamware, annular																			1	**1**	
Creamware, undec.																			1	**1**	
Pearlware, blue HP			1																	**1**	
Pearlware, blue TP																			1	**1**	
Whiteware, undec.															1					**1**	
Colonoware							3		1				2	1			1	2		**10**	
Glass, black	1			1										1						**3**	
Architecture Group																					**3**
Nail, fragment				1				1		1										**3**	
Tobacco Group																					**6**
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																1			1	**2**	
Tobacco, pipestem, Kaolin																			4	**4**	
Activities Group																					**8**
Metal, UID		5			1	2														**8**	
Prehistoric Group																					**5**
Sherd, small					1							2							2	**5**	
Subtotal	**1**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**14**	**46**	
TOTAL																					**46**

HP : Hand painted TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated SG : Salt glazed

course, this is pending the concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH1543

Site 38CH1543 (Figure 53) is an eighteenth to nineteenth century scatter located on a marsh edge at an elevation of about 5 feet AMSL. A central GPS UTM is 581800E 3610520N (NAD27 datum).

The site was originally recorded during the 1994 reconnaissance (Adams and Trinkley 1994:31). The site was described as "a small scatter of 18th century materials in a plowed field" (site form dated 9/12/94). An agricultural pond was north of the site and appeared to have damaged the site since artifacts were observed eroding out of the wall of the pond. The site dimensions were estimated to be 75 feet north-south by 100 feet east-west.

Table 35.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH1543

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Underglazed blue porc	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	2	3466
Plain delft	1640-1800	1720	1	1720
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	1	1798
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1	1791
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	1	1800
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	1	1818
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	1	1860
Total			9	15983
Mean Ceramic Date	1775.9			

The current survey revisited and examined 38CH1543 with 50-foot interval shovel tests. A total of 65 shovel tests were excavated in the site area with 18 positive (28%). Soils resemble the moderately well-drained Seabrook Series, which has an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine.

The site expanded to an area of about 300 feet square. A large portion of the site (to the east) is located in a cultivated field. The pond identified during the 1994 reconnaissance is still visible and while a few positive shovel tests were found south of the pond, the pond and spoil piles do appear to bisect the site. Most of the positive shovel tests found to the east of the pond.

Table 36.
Artifact Pattern Analysis for 38CH1543

	38CH1543	Revised Carolina Artifct Pattern[1]	38BK1900 Area B 18th Cen. Overseer[2]	38CH1278 18th Cen. Overseer[3]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[1]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[4]
Kitchen	58.5	51.8-65.0	65.2	78.1	70.9-84.2	20.0-25.8
Architecture	7.3	25.2-31.4	21.2	8.9	11.8-24.8	67.9-73.2
Furniture	0.0	02-0.6	0	0.1	0.1	0.0-0.1
Arms	0.0	0.1-0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1-0.3	0.0-0.2
Tobacco	14.6	1.9-13.9	10.2	11.4	2.4-5.4	0.3-9.7
Clothing	0.0	0.6-5.4	0.1	0.2	0.3-0.8	0.3-1.7
Personal	0.0	0.2-0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1-0.2
Activities	19.5	0.9-1.7	2.9	1.1	0.2-0.9	0.2-0.4

[1]Garrow 1982
[2]Trinkley et al. 2003
[3]Trinkley et al. 2005
[4]Singlton 1980

The artifacts are representative of four artifact groups including Kitchen (58.5%), Architecture (7.3%), Tobacco (14.6%), and Activities (19.5%) groups (Table 34). In the Kitchen Group, ceramics make up the bulk (88% of the group total) of the collection. Colono ware, an eighteenth century slave-made pottery, accounts for almost half of the ceramics at 38CH1542. The MCD for the site is estimated to be 1775.9 (Table 35).

The Architecture Group consists of only unidentifiable nail fragments. The Tobacco Group contained both kaolin pipe bowls and stems. The Activities Group may be somewhat skewed since

the entire collection is unidentifiable metal pieces.

The site is located in an area that was historically part of the Mullet Hall property, owned by James Legare. Around 1795 the property was purchased by Legare and he built his house, which is thought to be 38CH1541, to the north. Site 38CH1543 does not contain the density of artifacts to be considered a main plantation house, but appears to possibly represent either a summer house (James Legare's?) or overseer settlement.

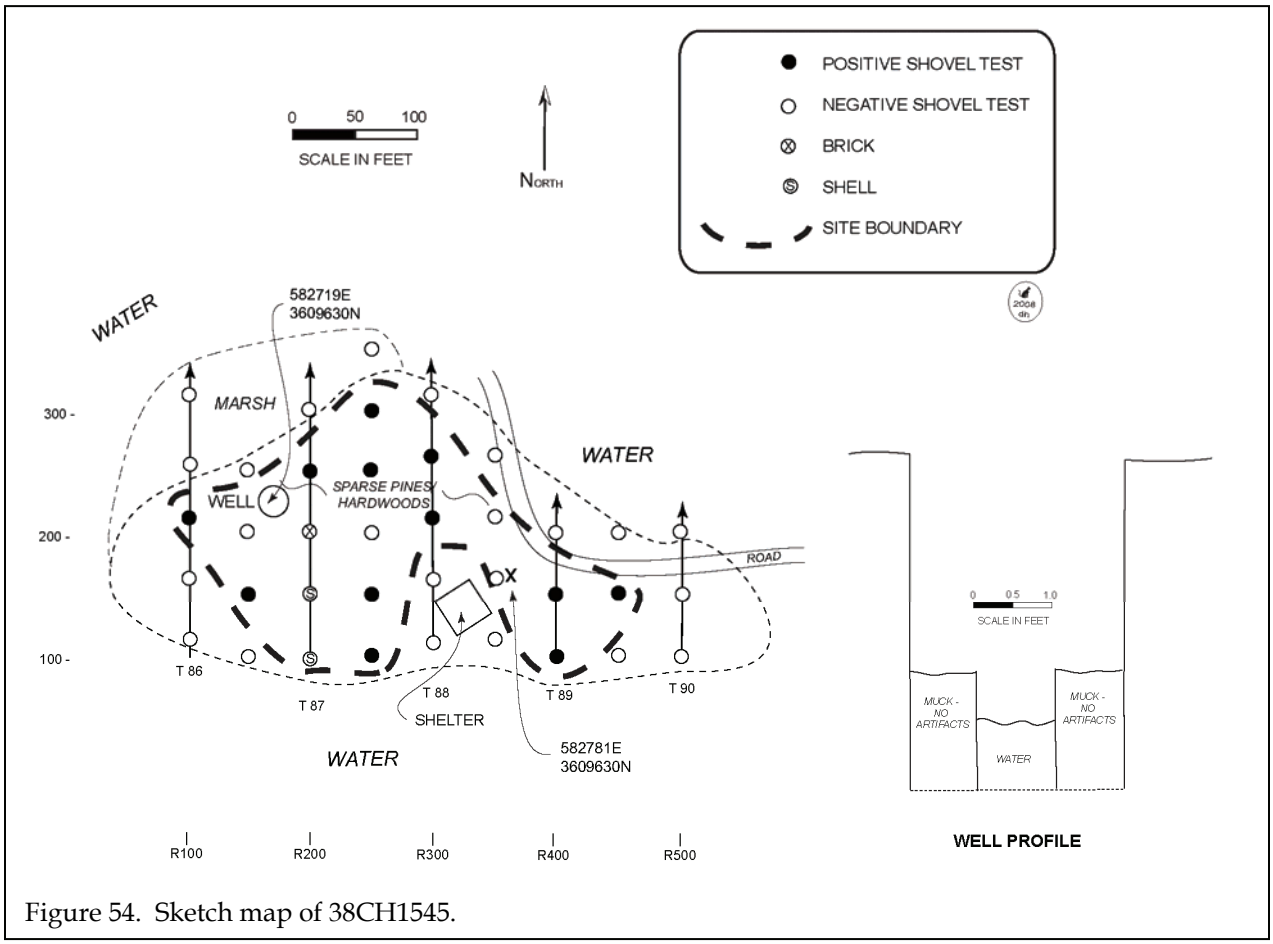


Figure 54. Sketch map of 38CH1545.

The pattern analysis of the settlement, based on a rather small collection, is ambiguous. As Table 36 suggests, the collection could represent an eighteenth century slave settlement, an eighteenth century overseer, or an eighteenth to nineteenth century main settlement (or perhaps summer home). But expensive (porcelains) and inexpensive (annular) wares are present – and even overseer and slave sites have exhibited small quantities of porcelain. Likewise, colono wares can be found at the owner's table as easily as a slave's – although the quantity in a larger assemblage will be dramatically different. Thus, at the present time, we do not have adequate data to suggest a clear site function.

38CH1543 is the earliest site identified on the property and, as such, assumes some considerable significance. Nevertheless, we cannot define appropriate research questions since the site context is not well established. As a result, we recommend the site potentially eligible; additional testing should be conducted with goals being to achieve a larger collection and better assess how much of the site remains. We recommend auger testing at 15 foot intervals. Keel (1999) recently demonstrated that structures could be defined in a

plantation context using 25 foot intervals, although he notes that a closer interval might be preferable (Keel 1999:78). We believe that a closer interval is of special importance at 38CH1543 given its circumscribed site dimensions.

This close interval testing should be followed by the excavation of two 10-foot units. This large unit provides the best opportunity to determine if features are present and will provide a good representation of the site stratigraphy. It will unambiguously demonstrate the effects of plowing and the potential for subsurface remains.

Figure 55. View of 38CH1545.

Bartovics' (1980) probability distribution shows a gradual increase in settlement from about 1640 to 1670, then a stable occupation until about 1780. The peak of occupation appears to be from 1780 to 1820, then there is a steady decline.

No work should be performed at 38CH1543 until additional testing can be performed and the integrity and function of the site is evaluated.

38CH1545

Site 38CH1545 (Figure 54) is a twentieth century and prehistoric scatter located on an

Table 37.
Artifacts from 38CH1545

	210 R100	150 R150	250 R200	100 R250	150 R250	250 R250	300 R250	210 R300	260 R300	100 R400	150 R400	150 R450	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group														**2**
Glass, clear			1										**1**	
Glass, black										1			**1**	
Architecture Group														**11**
Window glass	1	1											**2**	
Nail, fragment			9										**9**	
Activities Group														**3**
Metal, UID					3								**3**	
Prehistoric														**11**
Sherd, small				1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		**9**	
Sherd, Deptford, plain								1				1	**2**	
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**10**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**27**	
TOTAL														**27**

island off a branch of the Kiawah River referred to as Mullet Hall Creek (Figure 55). The elevation of the site is about 5 feet AMSL. A central GPS UTM is 582781E 3609630N (NAD27 datum).

The site was originally recorded during the 1994 reconnaissance of the property (Adams and Trinkley 1994:31-32). During that investigation, a total of 12 shovel tests were excavated with 7 positive (58%). The site was estimated at 175 feet east-west by 150 feet north-south. An area of dense brick rubble was noted at the site (described as structural debris) and a well was described as being present although it was not located during the reconnaissance (Adams and Trinkley 1994:32).

Figure 56. View of the well at 38CH1545.

The site form (Natalie Adams 9/14/94) listed the artifacts as prehistoric sherds, whiteware, and glass. Additional work was recommended since there was possible structural debris and a well located in the area. The site was described as a late nineteenth and early twentieth century domestic scatter.

During the current investigations of the site, a total of 38 shovel tests were excavated with 12 positive (31%). Soils resemble the somewhat poorly drained Kiawah Series. Kiawah soils have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot over a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to 1.2 feet in depth.

Of the positive shovel tests, only 5 or 42% contained historic artifacts (Table 37). The prehistoric component comprised 75% of the site (or 9 out of 12 positive shovel tests). No diagnostic historic artifacts were found during the investigation. While the prehistoric assemblage produced some large sherds (n=2 Deptford plain), all of these were found in the upper Ap horizon of soil. The size of the site, which incorporates both the historic and prehistoric components is about 350 feet east-west by 200 feet north-south.

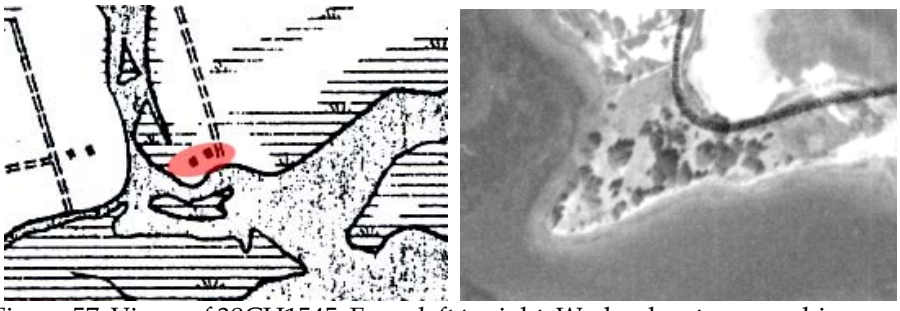


Figure 57. Views of 38CH1545. From left to right: Wadmalaw topographic map, 1919; aerial, 1949.

No evidence of the brick debris was found

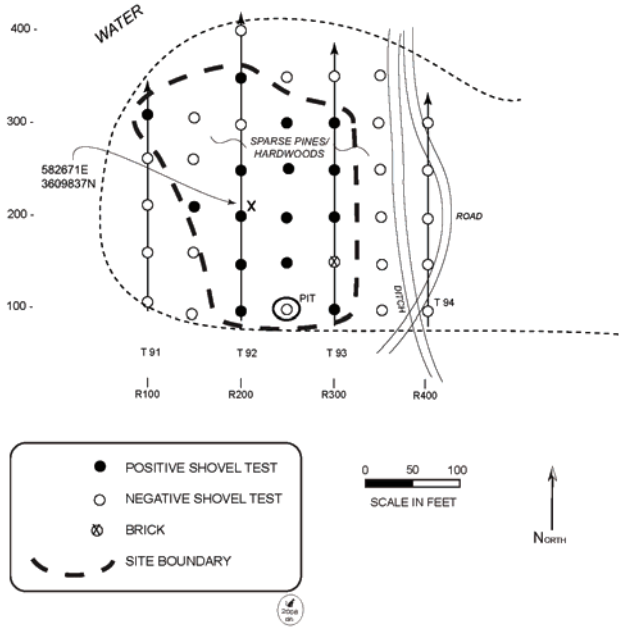


Figure 58. Sketch map of 38CH1546.

during the current survey; however, the well was identified (Figure 56). The well is brick lined with an ovular opening about 2.8 by 2.4 feet. Soil was found starting at a depth of 2.8 feet below the ground surface. Post hole diggers were used to sample the soil in an attempt to identify any artifacts that may be present. The "soil" was found to consist of humic debris and water was encountered at 0.8 feet below grade (3.6 feet below the ground surface). The water level appears to be tide dependent and we failed to find clear evidence that the well had ever been intentionally filled. The consistently damp conditions would offer exceptional preservation to organic debris that might have been lost – or discarded – in the well.

The earliest document showing any structures on this island is the 1919 topographic map (Figure 57), which reveals two buildings. The island is accessed by a road that runs along the east side of Mullet Hall Creek across a tidal flat. The structures do not appear on the 1948 aerial photograph, although the tidal flat and the access road are still clearly visible. The modern impoundment to the east had not yet been constructed. The island is relatively open, suggesting that the area had been cultivated in the past. These views suggest that the structures were present by 1919, but had been abandoned or demolished by 1949. While helping to provide a terminal date, this does not resolve the origin – or function – of the structures and well at 38CH1545 since the brickwork appears to predate the twentieth century.

Oral history identifies this site as a summer home for a previous plantation owner (Sidi Limehouse, personal communication 2008), although this seems in conflict with the historic documents and the archaeology.

Although more abundant than historic remains, the prehistoric specimens are still sparse. The data set consists entirely of pottery, most of which is under an inch in size. No lithics, faunal remains, or intact midden were encountered. All

Table 38.
Artifacts from 38CH1546

	310 R100	210 R150	100 R200	150 R200	200 R200	250 R200	350 R200	150 R250	200 R250	250 R250	300 R250	100 R300	200 R300	250 R300	300 R300	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																	**3**
Creamware, undec.							1									**1**	
Glass, manganese														1		**1**	
Glass, aqua	1															**1**	
Architecture Group																	**5**
Window glass							3								1	**4**	
Nail, fragment											1					**1**	
Activities Group																	**1**
Faunal											1					**1**	
Prehistoric Group																	**20**
Sherd, small		1	1	2	2	1		3	3	1		4	1		1	**20**	
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**4**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**29**	
TOTAL																	**29**

of the prehistoric material was found in a plow zone context (consistent with the 1949 aerial's suggestion of previous plowing). The combination of sparse remains and lack of integrity indicate that the prehistoric component cannot make a significant research contribution. This component is recommended not eligible for inclusion on the National Register.

The historic component is more difficult to assess. These data sets are also very sparse – glass and a few architectural items. The historical documents are largely silent concerning the site and the oral history is almost certainly incorrect. The most significant data set may be the well itself and it is difficult to write off this unusual feature. Preservation in place is unlikely since the feature might be considered an attractive nuisance that requires filling.

If preservation in place is not possible, then we recommend the site as potentially eligible. Testing should focus on exploration of the well as well as stripping of open areas to determine if structural remains can be identified.

38CH1546

Site 38CH1546 (Figure 58) is an eighteenth to twentieth century and prehistoric scatter. It is located at the tip of an island east of what is referred to as Mullet Hall Creek at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. A central GPS UTM is 582671E 3609837N (NAD27 datum).

The site was originally recorded during the 1994 reconnaissance when six shovel tests were excavated in the area (Adams and Trinkley 1994:32). Three of those tests were positive and a small surface scatter was collected. The remains were described as late nineteenth to early twentieth century consisting of whiteware, aqua glass, and manganese glass. The site was described as consisting "entirely of ceramics and bottle glass" (Adams and Trinkley 1994:32). The site dimensions were estimated at 100 feet north-south by 25 feet east-west.

The current survey excavated a total of 35 shovel tests with 15 positive (43%). While the reconnaissance recorded an entirely historic site, the current survey produced a 69% prehistoric assemblage. All of the prehistoric artifacts, however, were small undiagnostic sherds.

Soils in the area resemble the moderately well drained Seabrook Series. Seabrook soils have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet. All of the artifacts were found in the upper Ap horizon.

Artifact density for the historic assemblage is sparse, producing only eight artifacts (Table 38). One piece of faunal material was found, but its association is uncertain. The only diagnostic artifact is a single piece of undecorated creamware, which was manufactured from 1762 to 1820. Two pieces of glass, one manganese and one aqua, both generally date to the late nineteenth century (Jones and Sullivan 1985).

The testing during the current survey increased the site dimensions to 200 feet east-west by 250 feet north-south.

The site lacks the quantity and quality of remains necessary to address significant research questions about both prehistoric and historic sites. In addition, the site area has been cultivated and logged, which has caused damage to the site (evidenced by the prehistoric materials located within the plow zone). Site 38CH1546 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence of the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH1547

Site 38CH1547 (Figure 59) is a prehistoric and eighteenth to nineteenth century scatter situated on a ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. A central GPS UTM is 582706E 3610070N

(NAD27 datum). There is a dirt road running north-south through the site area with the vegetation to the west consisting of sparse hardwoods, while to the east are planted pines (Figure 60).

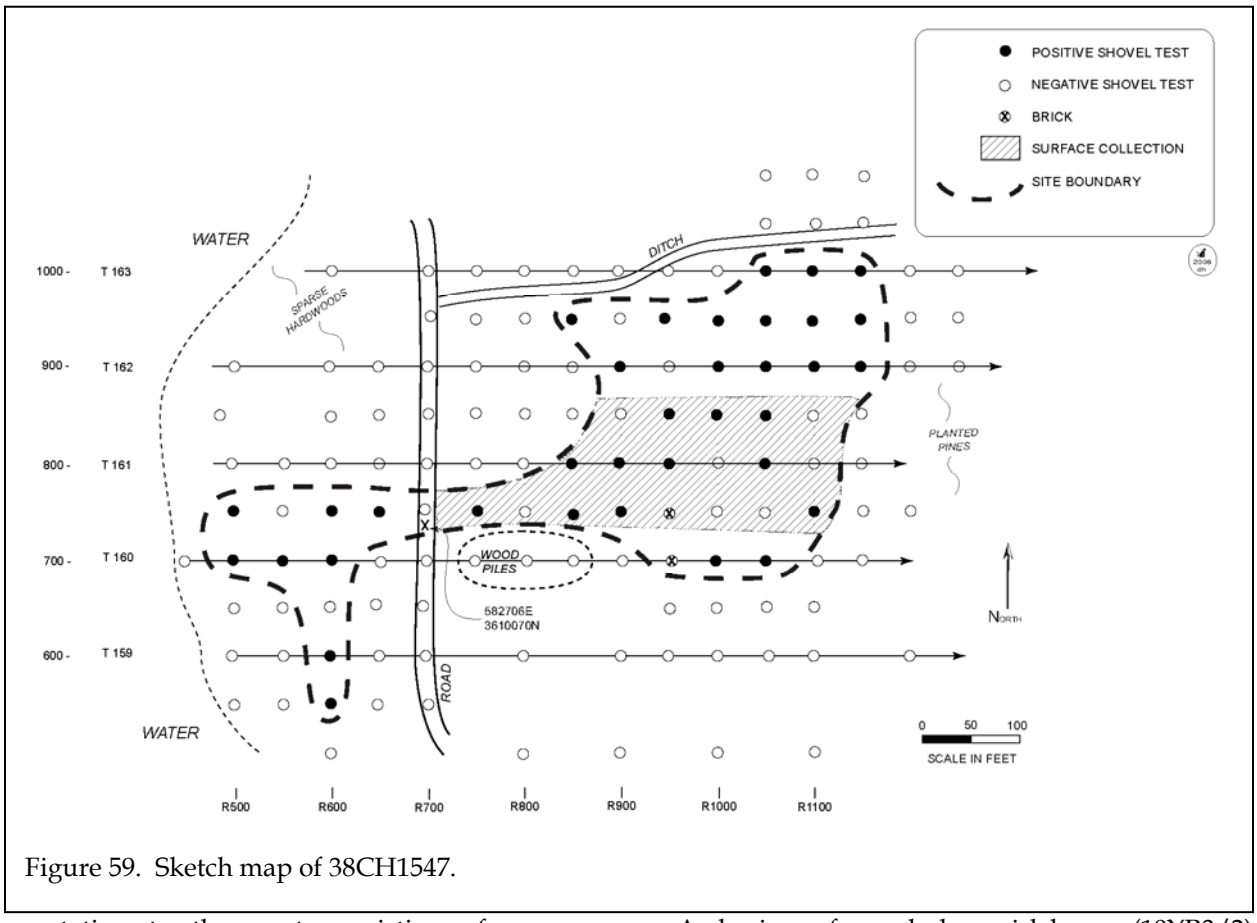


Figure 59. Sketch map of 38CH1547.

The site was originally recorded during the 1994 reconnaissance when artifacts were found in a plowed field (Adams and Trinkley 1994:32). Thirteen shovel tests were excavated at 50-foot intervals in a cruciform pattern with six positive (46%). The site dimensions were identified as 300 feet east-west by 100 feet north-south.

The current survey relocated the site, testing it at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative shovel tests were found along the cardinal directions. A total of 120 shovel tests were excavated with 35 positive (29%). A collection of surface artifacts was also made from the site.

Shovel tests resemble the somewhat poorly drained Kiawah Series. These soils have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot over a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to 1.2 feet in depth.

The prehistoric remains consist of small sherds and a chert core. This component accounts for 4% of the entire artifact assemblage.

The historic assemblage is represented by four artifact groups – Kitchen (97.5%), Architecture (0.4%), Personal (0.4%), and Activities (1.7%) (Table 39). The Kitchen Group is composed entirely of ceramics and glass. Ceramics make up 81% of this group and has a MCD of 1801.6 (Table 40). Five pieces of Colono ware, a slave-made pottery, were also found. One interesting piece of ceramic is a brown stoneware with "WEESP ANCHOR GIN" written on it.

Weesp is a town in Holland that was known for its porcelain factory and its distilling center (Forbes 1970). According to Forbes (1970:190) the "production of gin rose to fourfold in the period from 1733 to 1792" and by "the end of the eighteenth century [Holland] found the United States of America as a large consumer of Dutch gin."


Figure 60. View of 38CH1547.

Bartovics' (1980) probability distribution of ceramics shows the site starting about 1760 and ending somewhat suddenly at about 1830, although a very small occupation extends to about 1880.

The site, measuring about 650 feet east-west by 450 feet north-south, appears to be an early slave settlement, although the pattern analysis of artifacts does not closely identify with any previously recorded pattern. 38CH1547 seems closest to the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (Table 41), which has a high percentage of Kitchen Group artifacts, however the Architecture Group from 38CH1547 is very low. The low proportion of Architecture Group artifacts could be representative of wall trench construction, which would have produced few architectural remains. Also, the soils with their high acidity and salinity may be affected iron preservation.

An examination of the decorative motifs is also equivocal. Inexpensive motifs such as annular and edged account for only 43% of the assemblage, while expensive motifs such as hand painted and transfer print account for 58%. Only when the plain wares are added, does the balance shift to support a low status occupation. This does not preclude a slave settlement since many owners provided their slaves with discarded pieces from their own tables.

The lack of Furniture and Arms groups artifacts is not unusual, but the absence of Tobacco and Clothing groups, while generally quite low for slaves, creates more questions about the function of this site. Personal Group artifacts at 38CH1547, even though represented by only one specimen, gives a higher percentage than slave artifact patterns generally produce. The Activities Group percentage seems similar to patterns of slave artifacts.

The only map showing activity at this location is the antebellum Coast Survey Chart (Figure 61) where Solomon Legare's Cotton House (typically a prominent, two story structure) was used as a back sight. Cotton houses were centers of plantation activity during the harvest season and it would be reasonable to find a variety of artifacts associated with them. The one cotton house explored archaeologically was identified on nearby Kiawah Island by Chicora archaeologists in 1990-1991 (Trinkley 1993:213-216). It produced an assemblage not dissimilar from the nearby Shoolbred mansion, offering no clear indication of its function without careful excavation. What is

Table 39.
Artifacts from 38CH1547

	700 R500	750 R500	700 R550	550 R600	600 R600	700 R600	750 R600	750 R650	750 R750	750 R850	800 R850	950 R850	750 R900	800 R900	900 R900	800 R950	850 R950	950 R950	700 R1000	850 R1000	900 R1000	950 R1000	700 R1050	800 R1050	850 R1050	900 R1050	950 R1050	1000 R1050	750 R1100	900 R1100	950 R1100	1000 R1100	900 R1150	950 R1150	1000 R1150	Surface Collection	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																																					**232**
Refined earthenware, stained																														1						1	
Refined earthenware, burned																													1							1	
Elers-like ware																																			1	1	
Coarse red earthenware														1																						1	
Coarse red earthenware, clear LG																								1								1				2	
Coarse red earthenware, black LG																									1										6	7	
Agateware																																				1	
Westerwald																																			1	1	
Stoneware, white SG																																			2	2	
Stoneware, brown SG														1																					3	4	
Stoneware, brown																																				1	
Slipware, LG																																			6	6	
Creamware, annular																													1						1	2	
Creamware, undec.	2															1							1	1			1	1	3		1			1	50	62	
Pearlware, green edged																																			1	1	
Pearlware, blue edged																																			6	6	
Pearlware, poly HP											1																								6	7	
Pearlware, blue HP																																			7	7	
Pearlware, blue TP																																			9	9	
Pearlware, annular																						1				1									4	6	
Pearlware, splatter																					1															1	
Pearlware, undec.											2				2			1						1			1				1				29	37	
Whiteware, blue edged																																			5	5	
Whiteware, blue HP																																			2	2	
Whiteware, black TP																	1																			1	
Whiteware, blue TP																																			3	3	
Whiteware, annular																																			1	1	
Whiteware, undec.																				1															4	5	
Colonoware														1									1												3	5	
Glass, aqua																														1					1	2	
Glass, green																						1													1	2	
Glass, light green												1																							4	5	
Glass, clear				1																													1		6	8	
Glass, black		1	2						1					2		1								2											18	27	
Architecture Group																																					**1**
Nail, fragment									1																											1	
Activities Group																																					**4**
Iron, UID													1																				2			3	
Slate																																			1	1	
Personal Group																																					**1**
Bead																																			1	1	
Prehistoric Group																																					**9**
Sherd, small					2	3	1	1		1									1																	9	
Subtotal	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**184**	**247**	
TOTAL																																					**247**

HP : Hand painted LG : Lead glaze SG : Salt glaze TP : Transfer print undec. : undecorated

perhaps most interesting is that the distribution of plantation refuse was so homogenous across the Shoolbred landscape that no distinct cotton house pattern was discernable.

This cautions us that we must be careful in our interpretation of this site, especially when based on very limited survey data. While the collection best fits an eighteenth century slave settlement – and we know that James Legare pieced together his holdings from several earlier tracts, each of which may have had a slave settlement – additional field investigations are necessary to confirm this interpretation.

Table 40.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH1547

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	1	1738
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	2	3516
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	6	10398
Creamware, annular	1780-1815	1798	2	3596
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	62	111042
Pearlware, poly hand painted	1795-1815	1805	7	12635
Pearlware, blue hand painted	1780-1820	1800	7	12600
Pearlware, blue trans printed	1795-1840	1818	9	16362
Pearlware, edged	1780-1830	1805	7	12635
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	7	12635
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	37	66785
Whiteware, blue edged	1826-1880	1853	5	9265
Whiteware, poly hand painted	1826-1870	1848	2	3696
Whiteware, blue trans printed	1831-1865	1848	4	7392
Whiteware, annular	1831-1900	1866	1	1866
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	5	9300
Total			164	295461
Mean Ceramic Date	1801.6			

We recommend 38CH1547 potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register. If green spacing is not possible, we recommend additional testing, consisting of very close interval (15-20 feet) augering following by the excavation of 2-3 10-foot units. This strategy will provide very detailed aerial coverage, allowing identification of artifact concentrations. The use of several large test units will permit better identification of features, while at the same time assisting with the recovery of a collection better able to identify site function.

38CH1548

Site 38CH1548 is the nineteenth to twentieth century Bishop Cemetery, located on an interior plain at an elevation of about 5 feet AMSL. A UTM for the site is 581490E 3610820N (NAD27 datum). This cemetery is situated on what would have originally been the western half of Mullet Hall, initially owned by James Legare. Vegetation at the site is extremely dense with hardwoods and undergrowth (Figure 62).

Table 41.
Pattern analysis of 38CH1547

	38CH1547 Pattern	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Townhouse Pattern[2]	Dual-Function Pattern[2]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[3]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[1]	Yeoman Pattern[4]
Kitchen Group	98.0	51.8 - 65.0	58.4	63.1	20.0 - 25.8	70.9 - 84.2	40.0 - 61.2
Architectural Group	0.4	25.2 - 31.4	36.0	25.0	67.9 - 73.2	11.8 - 24.8	35.8 - 56.3
Furniture Group	-	0.2 - 0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0 - 0.1	0.1	0.4
Arms Group	-	0.1 - 0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0 - 0.2	0.1 - 0.3	-
Tobacco Group	-	1.9 - 13.9	2.8	6.0	0.3 - 9.7	2.4 - 5.4	-
Clothing Group	-	0.6 - 5.4	0.9	1.2	0.3 - 1.7	0.3 - 0.8	1.8
Personal Group	0.4	0.2 - 0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1 - 0.2	0.1	0.4
Activities Group	1.2	0.9 - 1.7	1.1	4.1	0.2 - 0.4	0.2 - 0.9	1.8

[1] Garrow 1982
[2] Zierden et al. 1988
[3] Singleton 1980
[4] Drucker et al. 1984

The 1994 reconnaissance identified five headstones, but the dense vegetation prevented accurate boundary determinations (Adams and Trinkley 1994:32-33). At that time, although the site form associated with the site (documented by Natalie Adams 1994) recommended additional work, the reconnaissance report said that the cemetery was likely eligible for the National Register (Adams and Trinkley 1994:34).

The current survey made an attempt to locate the original five headstones identified during the 1994 reconnaissance. All but one (Mary E. Bishop) were found and representative photographs were taken of their condition. In addition, six more headstones were found and recorded. Table 42 lists the stones located in the cemetery.

Only one death date was recent enough (post-1915) to find a death certificate – Pompey Scott, an African-American male who died October 12, 1915 (Figure 63). The death certificate lists his occupation as farmer who died at age 68. The cause of death is listed as "other." The headstone in the cemetery lists his age as 66 and has the words "Faithful Servant" on the marble stone. The death certificate (#21316) lists the place of burial as Johns Island and the address as Mullet Hall, so unfortunately the historic name of the cemetery is still unknown. The undertaker is listed as P.P. Deas, who was also from Mullet Hall. Deas is not listed as a South Carolina undertaker (Trinkley 2005), although he is found in the 1910 census as Paris P. Deas. His occupation was listed as farmer on his own account, although he appears to have rented his home on Mullet Road. At the time he was a 47 year old widower and her probably practiced undertaking as a part-time activity.

There were several Bishops (also spelled Bishopp) in the Mullet Hall area who are listed as farmers in the 1900 census (see Table 14). It appears that these farmers, along with many of the people buried in this cemetery,

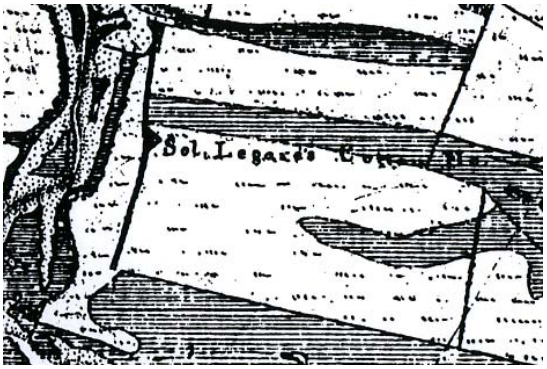


Figure 61. T-491 chart showing Sol. Legare's Cott. Hs. at 38CH1547.

are African- American. At first look, 38CH1548 does not appear to possess characteristics typical of African-American cemeteries.

For example, all of the stones in this

Figure 62. View of dense vegetation surrounding 38CH1548.

Once vegetation is removed, we may find more evidence of the burial customs (i.e. kin-based groupings), folkways, and artistic traditions. A brief penetrometer survey was attempted within the cemetery, however, the dense vegetation prevented much of the area from being examined. Figure 64 shows aerials from 1948 and 1973 of the cemetery. The penetrometer measures soil compaction in an attempt to locate unmarked graves as revealed by a lower soil compaction, generally between 75 and 150 pounds per square inch (psi). The areas of the cemetery that were subjected to the penetrometer revealed a low soil compaction, generally at about 100 psi. We also measured the area around the cemetery to see if the current delineation was correct. The soil compaction was higher, generally over 200 psi. While this higher compaction could be the result of logging in the

cemetery are marble headstones – no hand-made markers or field stones were located. In addition, we failed to identify any grave goods, such as ceramics, within the cemetery. Although some purposefully planted bulbs were noticed, no evidence of yucca, common in African-American cemeteries, was found. Several grave depressions were noticed.

Table 42.
Individuals with Stones Identified at 38CH1548

Name	Born	Died	Footstone	Notes regarding stone	Genealogical Notes
Annie S. Bishopp	July 26, 1858	November 3, 190[1]	A.S.B.	Headstone is broken into 2 pieces; wife of P.B. Bishop	Annie Bishopp in 1900 census, born 1860, wife of Paul Bishopp; mother of 7 children, 5 living, occupation listed as "Farm Laborer"
Hannah Bishopp	Febrary 15, 1868	October 20, 1908	H.B.	Headstone is broken into 3 pieces; wife of Kit Bishop	Hannah Bishop in 1900 census, born 2/1873, mother of 7 children, 4 still living, occupation listed as "Farm Laborer," married to Kit Bishop (b. 1865)
Kitt Bishopp	July 26, 1826	February 26, 1900	n/a		
Kitt Bishopp		September 1885	n/a	"Aged 95 years"	Kit Bishopp in 1880 census, occupation listed as "Laborer;" wife was Lydia Bishopp, occupation listed as "Washing"
Kitt L. Bishopp			K.L.B.	"In Memoriam"	
Lydia Bishopp		February 29, 1906	L.B.	"Aged 90 Years"	Lydia Bishop in 1900 census, born ca. 1840, occupation "Chamber Maid"
Mary E. Bishop	September 15, 1887	February 10, 1919	unknown	not identified during current survey	Mary Bishopp in 1900 census, daughter of Paul and Annie Bishop; born 9/1887; shown "At School"
Oliver C. Bishop	January 15, 1879	January 2[8], 1895	no inscription		Oliver Bishopp in 1880 census; born ca. 1878, son of Paul and Annie Bishopp
Paul B. Bishopp	June 15, 1855	June 26, 1901	n/a		Paul Bishopp in 1900 census, born 1/1855, occupation listed as "Farmer," owned farm
James Chisolm	October 27, 1882	March 26, 1904	n/a		Shown in the 1900 census as living at 14 Tradd St. in Charleston; occupation listed as "Steamboat Deckhand"
Pompey Scott		October 12, 1915	n/a	"Aged 66 Years"	Pompie Scott in the 1900 census, born 6/1847, married to Emma Scott who had 6 children; occupation listed as "Farmer," renting; SC Death Certificate 21316

vicinity, the boundary of the cemetery appears to be accurate.

Site 38CH1548 is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

Figure 63. View of the headstone of Pompey Scott at 38CH1548.

Cemeteries may generally provide good bioanthropological data about lifeways and give good insight to diet, disease, and ethnicity. A more in depth archival study of the people buried here may provide additional information concerning the relationship of those using the cemetery.

The State Historic Preservation Office has mandated a minimum 25-foot buffer around all cemeteries. We have estimated the boundary to be about 150 feet square, so with the buffer, no construction should take place within an area measuring about 200 feet by 200 feet. Care should be taken by construction crews to avoid the cemetery. Kiawah River Plantation, LP has already taken a proactive approach to the cemetery by recording it on modern survey maps of the property.

38CH1549

Site 38CH1549 is a cemetery located on an interior ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. It is situated amidst a second growth pine and hardwood forest. A GPS UTM is 582726E 3610248N (NAD27 datum). This graveyard is situated on the eastern half of Mullet Hall, on the portion owned historically by Solomon Legare.

The 1994 reconnaissance recorded this cemetery when Mr. W.L. Limehouse pointed out the area (Adams and Trinkley 1994:33). At the time, Limehouse remarked that the cemetery was damaged by hurricane Hugo in 1989 and that existing markers were knocked over (W.L. Limehouse, personal communication 1994). The report also explains that the markers may have been removed with the logging that took place during the hurricane clean-up (Adams and Trinkley 1994:33). Regardless, no stones were found during the reconnaissance.

This cemetery was clearly visible to USGS surveyor Ray L. Schoppe in 1933 when the Mullet Horizontal Control Point was laid out adjacent to a small creek running into the Kiawah River (Figure 65). It was situated on the edge of what was described at that time as an "old field" and was just north of the Mullet Reference Point 1 (U.S. Department of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National Ocean Survey, Quad 320801, Station 1138).

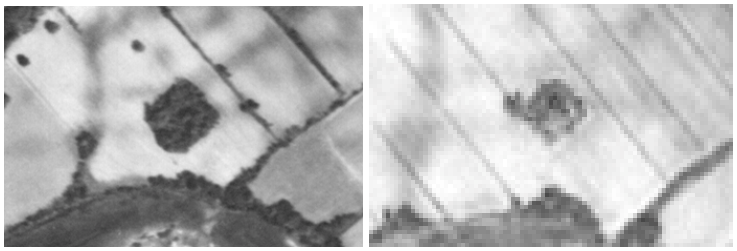


Figure 64. Aerial photos of the cemetery at 38CH1548 in 1948 (left) and 1973 (right).

The current survey attempted to define the boundaries of the cemetery by visual inspection of grave depressions and the use of a penetrometer to measure soil compaction. An attempt to locate stones was also made during the investigation.

The cemetery was relocated by the original UTM coordinates given by the 1994 site form. The area is covered in a second growth of vegetation, which was dense. While probing the ground in an attempt to locate fallen stones was unsuccessful, we did observe multiple depressions that gave the topography an undulating appearance.

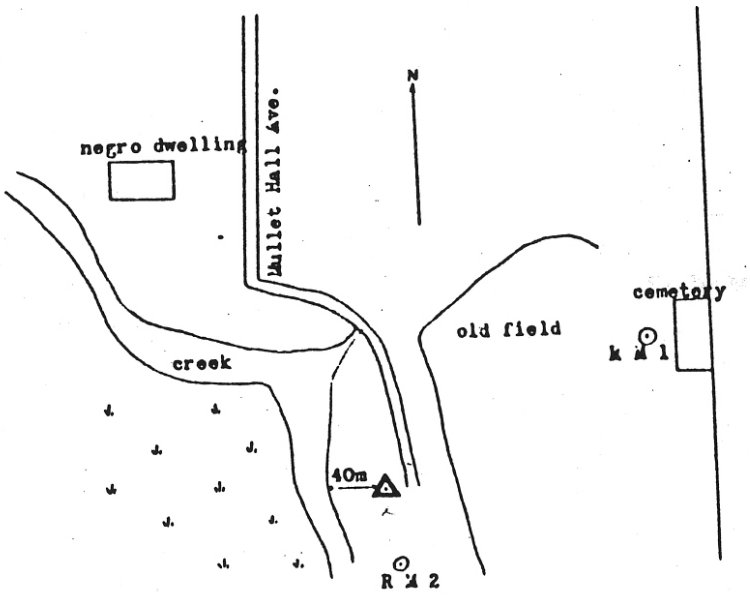


Figure 65. 1933 sketch map of Mullet Reference Point 1, showing the cemetery at 38CH1549.

We were unable to discern the boundaries through the penetrometer survey. Inside the known area of the cemetery, readings were around 100 psi. Outside the cemetery in areas known to not contain remains also gave readings similar to the cemetery. Without a more intensive effort such as GPR or stripping, the boundaries may remain imprecise.

Figure 66. View of a piece of manganese glass found at 38CH1549.

Within the cemetery, we were unable to identify any plants or "living memorials" or grave goods, possibly the result of logging activities resulting from the 1989 Hurricane Hugo clean-up. Identification was also hindered by the dense second growth vegetation. One piece of manganese glass, a handle to a cup (Figure 66), was identified, however it did not appear to be directly associated with a grave depression. A push pile of soil was also located in the cemetery, so it is uncertain the extent of damage is uncertain.

We recommend this site as potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places for its information potential. An assessment of eligibility would require careful hand cleaning of the cemetery to reduce the second growth vegetation and allow plotting of graves identified through depressions, additional penetrometer study, and possibly ground penetrating radar. With careful plotting it may be possible to distinguish grave clusters representative of kin-based burial patterns. The work may also identify stones that have fallen, providing additional information on those buried in the cemetery. The cemetery should also be examined in the fall to determine if flowering bulbs are present since these, too, may help define

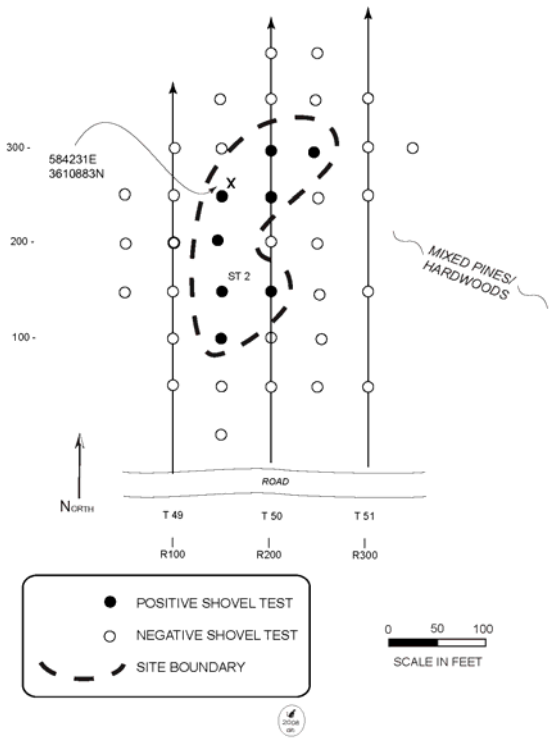


Figure 67. Sketch map of 38CH2240.

individual burials. It is possible that oral history may provide information on this cemetery; no attempt has thus far been made to inquire concerning the cemetery in the African American community on the island. Another avenue of potential research is the scanning of Charleston County death certificates for additional references to Mullet Hall; this may provide information not only on burials, but also on the original name of the cemetery.

Kiawah River Plantation LP has already taken a proactive step in protecting this cemetery by recording it on the development maps. Although the exact dimensions have not been determined, this plan shows the cemetery measuring about 150 feet square. While this may be accurate, the 0.5 acre seems somewhat small for a traditional African American burial ground. With the State Historic Preservation Office mandated minimum 25-foot buffer, the total site area would expand to about 1 acre. We recommend increasing the buffer to 50 feet – setting aside approximately 1.4 acres. This area should have a temporary construction fence erected and maintained through all construction phases for the protection of the cemetery. In addition, construction crews should be instructed to monitor for any remains that might be found outside the fenced area, immediately reporting them to Chicora. Any finds of human remains would necessitate that work in the area stop and the Charleston County Coroner be notified.

38CH2240

Site 38CH2240 (Figure 67) is a prehistoric pottery scatter located on an interior ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. A central UTM for the site is 584231E 3610883N (NAD27 datum). Mixed pines and hardwoods surround the site.

The site was identified during shovel testing when Transect 50, Shovel Test 2 was positive, producing a small sherd. Close interval shovel testing was resumed at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were encountered along the cardinal directions. A total of 40 shovel tests were excavated with 9 positive (23%). Site dimensions are 150 feet east-west by 200 feet north-south.

Soils in the site area resemble the moderately well drained Seabrook Series. Seabrook soils have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet. All of the artifacts were found in the upper Ap horizon.

All of the artifacts consist of small sherds. A total of nine sherds were found with all shovel tests containing one artifact, except Transect 49.5, Shovel Test 2, which contained two sherds. A modern topographic map, dated 1971, shows this area as being cultivated, which may explain the small size of the artifacts and sparseness of the site.

Site 38CH2240 failed to produce any diagnostic artifacts, which would be necessary to address significant research questions about prehistoric life. In addition, site integrity has been

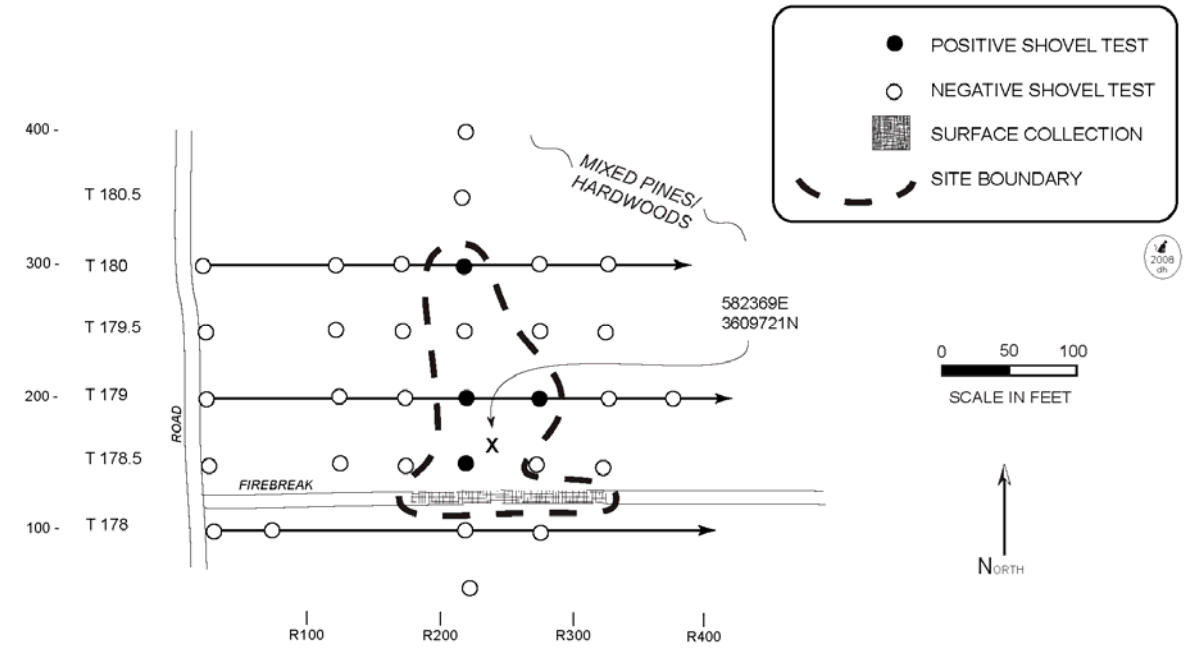


Figure 68. Sketch map of 38CH2241.

damaged by cultivation and probable logging – we were unable to identify any intact remains.

This site is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2241

Site 38CH2241 (Figure 68) is a nineteenth to twentieth century domestic site. It is situated on a branch of the Kiawah River, sometimes referred to as Mullet Hall Creek at an elevation of about 5 feet AMSL. A central UTM coordinated is 582369E 3609721N (NAD27 datum).

The site was identified during shovel testing when Transect 179, Shovel Test 3 produced a piece of manganese glass. Close interval testing continued at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were encountered in the cardinal directions. A total of 27 shovel tests were excavated with 4 positive (15%). A small surface collection was also found in a firebreak south of the tests.

Soils in the site area, which was covered in a new growth of pines and hardwoods, resemble the somewhat poorly drained Kiawah Series. Kiawah soils have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot over a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to 1.2 feet in depth.

The 1919 Wadmalaw map shows two structures in this vicinity (Figure 69). The artifacts

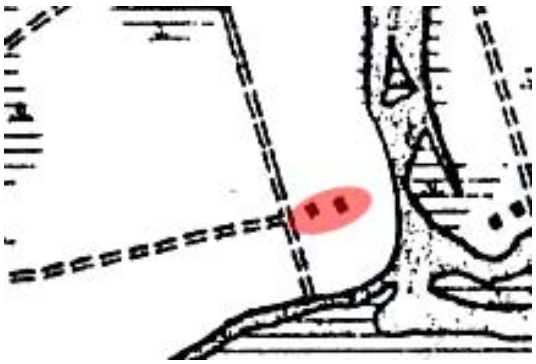


Figure 69. 1919 Wadmalaw map showing the structures at 38CH2241.

recovered confirm this date for the site, which measured about 150 feet east-west by 200 feet

Table 43.
Artifacts from 38CH2241

	300 R220	150 R230	200 R230	200 R280	Surface	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group							**14**
Whiteware, undec.				1	4	**5**	
Glass, manganese			1			**1**	
Glass, clear					5	**5**	
Glass, aqua					1	**1**	
Glass, brown				1	1	**2**	
Architecture Group							**1**
Nail, fragment	1					**1**	
Activities Group							**1**
UID iron		1				**1**	
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**11**	**16**	
TOTAL							**16**

undec. : undecorated

north-south (Table 43). For example, manganese glass was common from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century (Jones and Sullivan 1985:13). Whiteware has a broader range, generally giving a mean ceramic date (MCD) of 1860, but actually being made well into the twentieth century.

This site produced somewhat sparse remains given that two structures were once located here. The modern topographic map (dated 1971), however, shows the area as being cultivated. The firebreak to the south may have also contributed in the destruction of the site.

Although this site has been identified on a historic map, no architectural remains were found that could identify the function of the site. Only a few small pieces of brick were identified. In addition, the integrity of the site has been damaged by cultivation and a bulldozed firebreak. The artifacts in the collection are common to turn-of-the-century sites, so it is unlikely that this site will be able to address significant research questions about tenancy on the property.

Site 38CH2241 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence of the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2242

Site 38CH2242 (Figure 70) appears to be an eighteenth century slave settlement and prehistoric pottery scatter, situated on a ridge nose at an elevation ranging from 5-10 feet AMSL. A GPS UTM, taken from the southern edge of the site, is 582391E 3610077N (NAD27 datum).

The site was encountered in shovel testing when Transect 191, Shovel Test 6 (400R800) was positive, producing one colono ware and one small prehistoric sherd. Shovel testing was continued at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were encountered in the cardinal directions. A total of 65 shovel tests were excavated with 22 positive (34%). An additional two shovel tests produced only shell.

Soils in the area resemble the excessively drained Wando Series, which has an Ap horizon of dark brown (10YR4/3) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot in depth over a brown (7.5YR5/4) loamy fine sand. Most of the shovel tests in the site area, however, produced the dark brown Ap horizon to well over 1.0 foot in depth, typical of subsoiling.

A sparse pine and hardwood second growth has replaced this once cultivated field, but surface visibility is still relatively high, especially in a plowed firebreak, which borders the southern and eastern portion of the site. The site dimensions, including shovel testing and the surface collection, measure approximately 400 feet east-west by 300 feet north-south.

As previously mentioned, this site has both a prehistoric (18% of the total) and historic (82% of the total) component (Table 44). All of the prehistoric sherds are small, so they cannot be attributed to a specific time period. The historic

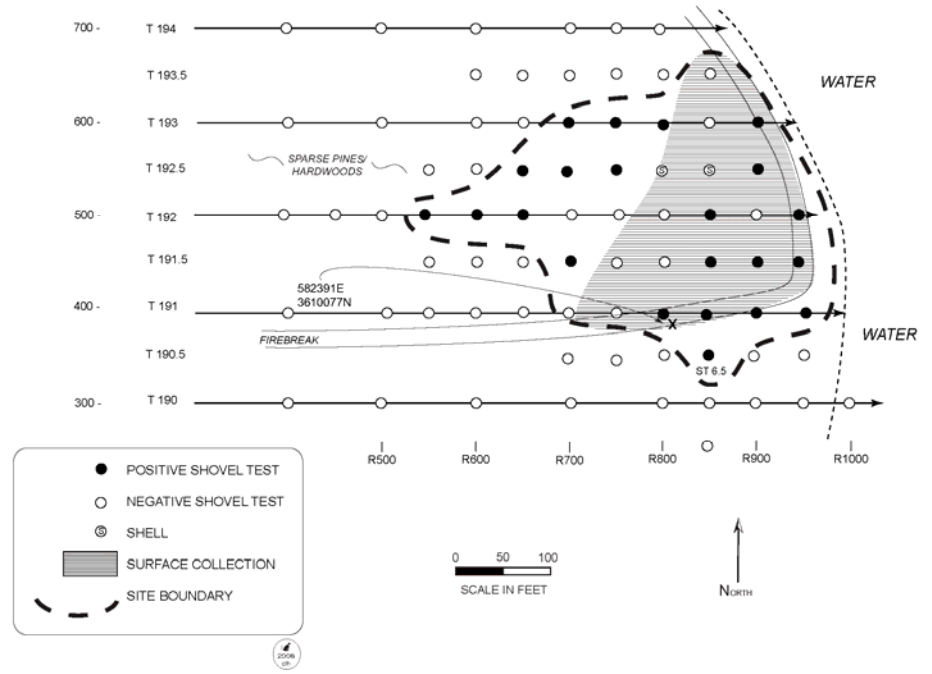


Figure 70. Sketch map of 38CH2242.

component had four pieces of ceramic that could be used for a MCD for the site – white salt-glazed stoneware (n=2) and lead glazed slipware (n=2). Using these ceramics, we get a MCD of 1745.5. While this number may not be entirely accurate given the small sample of datable ceramic, we feel that it is close. Most of the remaining artifacts appear to fit with this time period. For example, Colono ware is generally recognized as an eighteenth century slave-made pottery. In addition, black glass can be found as early as the seventeenth century (Jones and Sullivan 1985:14).

Four artifact groups make up this site, including Kitchen (87%), Tobacco (10%), Personal (2%), and Activities (1%) groups. The absence of any architectural remains, including brick, is somewhat problematic, however, a very early slave site would probably incorporated wall and trench construction. While architectural remains – such as nails – are found associated with wall trench structures (see, for example, Trinkley et al. 2003:110), they are not widely distributed across the site, even with plowing. Instead, they tend to be excellent indicators of structure locations (for example, compare the smear produced by plotting ceramics with the plot of nails using 25-foot test intervals in Keel 1999:72-74). We suspect that our 50-foot testing interval was simply unable to

Table 44.
Artifacts from 38CH2242

	500 R550	500 R600	500 R650	550 R650	450 R700	550 R700	600 R700	550 R750	600 R750	400 R800	600 R800	350 R850	400 R850	450 R850	500 R850	400 R900	450 R900	550 R900	600 R900	400 R950	450 R950	500 R950	Surface	**Subtotal**	**Total**
Kitchen Group																									**80**
Stoneware, white saltglaze																							2	**2**	
Lead glaze slipware																							2	**2**	
Tortoiseshell																							1	**1**	
Colono ware			3			2	1		2	1					2	3		2	3	2		1	47	**69**	
Glass, black																							3	**3**	
Glass, brown																							1	**1**	
Glass, manganese																							1	**1**	
Glass, green and milk																							1	**1**	
Tobacco Group																									**9**
Pipebowl, kaolin																							4	**4**	
Pipestem, kaolin																1							4	**5**	
Personal Group																									**2**
Bead																					1		1	**2**	
Activities Group																									**1**
Lead fragment																1								**1**	
Prehistoric Group																									**21**
Sherd, small	1	3		1	1		1	2		1	1	1	1	1			1						6	**21**	
Subtotal	**1**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**73**	**113**	
TOTAL																									**113**

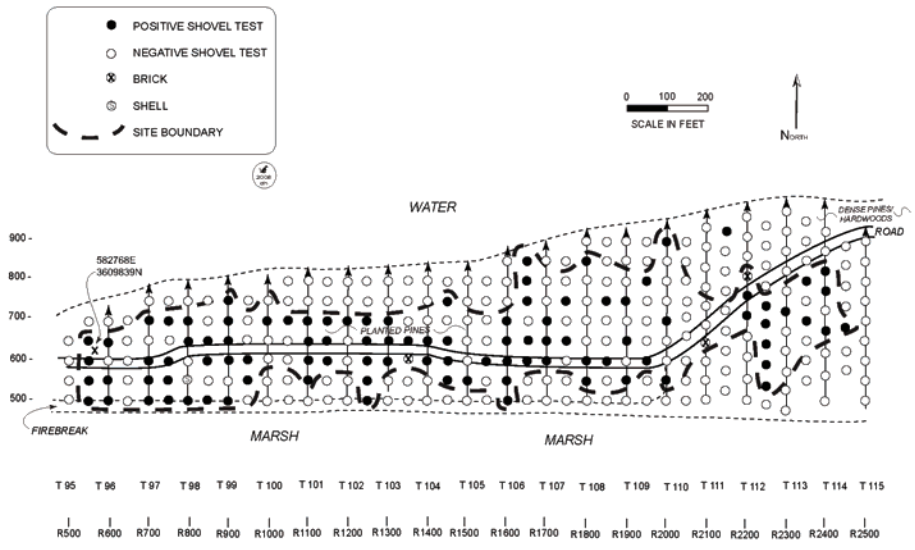


Figure 71. Sketch map of 38CH2243.

structure locations. Even with the absence of obvious architectural artifacts, the presence of other artifacts such as tobacco pipes/stems and beads lead us to believe that this site may have the potential to provide some interesting information about the lifeways of early slaves.

We recommend 38CH2242 potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register. If green spacing is not possible, we recommend additional testing, consisting of very close interval (15-20 feet) augering followed by the excavation of 2-3 10-foot units. This strategy will provide very detailed aerial coverage, allowing identification of artifact concentrations. The use of several large test units will permit better identification of features, while at the same time assisting with the recovery of a collection better able to identify site function. No work should be conducted in the site area until plans for either green spacing have been approved by the State Historic Preservation Office or additional site assessment and evaluation have been completed.

38CH2243

Site 38CH2243 (Figure 71) is a prehistoric and eighteenth to nineteenth century scatter located in an area of planted pines along a ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. A GPS UTM taken at the western end of the site is 582768E 3609839N (NAD27 datum).

The site was first encountered during shovel testing at 100-foot intervals when Transect 96, Shovel Test 0 (500R600) was positive, producing a small sherd. Transects were completed at 50-foot intervals and additional transects were added at 50-foot intervals. A total of 300 shovel tests were excavated in the site vicinity with 97 positive (32%).

Soils resemble the moderately well drained Seabrook Series. This soil has an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand. All artifacts were found in the upper Ap horizon.

The site, which covered an area of approximately 1,850 feet east-west by 400 feet north-south, was dominated by the prehistoric component, which accounted for 79% of the total artifact assemblage. A total of 98% of the prehistoric component consisted of small sherds, none of which are identifiable as to type. Two pieces of worked chert were also recovered.

The historic component, which accounted for 21% of the total artifact assemblage, produced only 35 artifacts (Table 45). The majority are representative of the Kitchen Group (63%). Ceramics dominate this group with 68% of all the ceramics consisting of Colono ware, a slave-made pottery. Only three other European ceramics were recovered, yielding a MCD of 1818.7.

The Architecture Group accounts for 34%

Table 45.
Artifacts from 38CH2243

	500 R550	550 R550	600 R550	650 R550	500 R600	550 R600	650 R600	500 R700	550 R700	600 R700	700 R700	500 R750	550 R750	600 R750	700 R750	500 R800	650 R800	700 R800	500 R850	600 R850	650 R850	500 R900	600 R900	650 R900	700 R900
Kitchen Group																									
Creamware, undec.																									
Pearlware, undec.																									
Whiteware, undec.																									
Colonoware			1			1																			
Glass, clear				1																					
Glass, black																									
Architecture Group																									
Nail, fragment																								1	
Activities Group																									
UID iron fragment														1											
Prehistoric Group																									
Sherd, small	2	8	1		1	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	2		1
Flake, chert																									
Subtotal	**2**	**8**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**

	750 R900	550 R950	600 R950	700 R1000	700 R1050	550 R1100	600 R1100	650 R1100	700 R1100	600 R1150	650 R1150	700 R1150	700 R1200	500 R1250	550 R1250	600 R1250	650 R1250	700 R1250	600 R1300	650 R1300	700 R1300	650 R1350	600 R1400	650 R1400	550 R1450
Kitchen Group																									
Creamware, undec.																					1				
Pearlware, undec.																									
Whiteware, undec.																									
Colonoware						1			1																
Glass, clear																									
Glass, black																									
Architecture Group																									
Nail, fragment										1											1				
Activities Group																									
UID iron fragment																									
Prehistoric Group																									
Sherd, small	2	3	1		1	1	2	1		1	2	3	2	1	1	4	1	1	4	1		1	1	1	
Flake, chert				1																					1
Subtotal	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**

	600 R1450	650 R1450	750 R1450	550 R1500	600 R1550	500 R1600	550 R1600	600 R1600	650 R1600	700 R1600	600 R1650	560 R1650	750 R1650	800 R1650	850 R1650	600 R1700	650 R1700	700 R1700	650 R1750	750 R1750	550 R1800	600 R1800	850 R1800	600 R1850	750 R1850
Kitchen Group																									
Creamware, undec.																									
Pearlware, undec.																									
Whiteware, undec.																									
Colonoware						1							1				3	3	3						
Glass, clear																									
Glass, black																									
Architecture Group																									
Nail, fragment														1											
Activities Group																									
UID iron fragment																									
Prehistoric Group																									
Sherd, small	1	1	1	1	1		2	1	2	2	3	1			1	1				1	3	1	1	2	1
Flake, chert																									
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**

	550 R1900	650 R1900	750 R1900	600 R1950	800 R1950	550 R2000	700 R2000	900 R2000	930 R2150	760 R2200	690 R2200	710 R2200	540 R2250	590 R2250	640 R2250	740 R2250	720 R2300	300 R2350	700 R2350	660 R2450	690 R2450	760 R2450	820 R2450	**Subtotal**	**Total**
Kitchen Group																									**22**
Creamware, undec.																								**1**	
Pearlware, undec.																1								**1**	
Whiteware, undec.																				1				**1**	
Colonoware																								**15**	
Glass, clear						1						1												**3**	
Glass, black										1														**1**	
Architecture Group																									**12**
Nail, fragment	1										1				3		2						1	**12**	
Activities Group																									**1**
UID iron fragment																								**1**	
Prehistoric Group																									**123**
Sherd, small		1	1	1	2		1	1	1	1		1	1	1			1	1	2		2	1		**121**	
Flake, chert																								**2**	
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**158**	**158**
TOTAL																									

undec : undecorated

of the historic component. Only unidentifiable nail fragments were found.

Although this site covers a very large area (approximately 17 acres), the data sets are mediocre. The prehistoric component failed to produce any diagnostic remains and the historic component did not produce the quality of remains needed to answer significant research questions about early life on the property, including the function of this site.

In addition, cultivation and logging appear to have heavily damaged the site. Artifacts are evenly dispersed with no areas of distinct clusters of artifacts. Although brick and shell were noted at the site, no concentrations were found that might be a midden or structure remains.

Site 38CH2243 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2244

Site 38CH2244 (Figure 72) is a prehistoric pottery scatter and eighteenth to twentieth century site. It is located on a ridge side slope at an elevation of 10 feet AMSL. A central UTM for the site is 582663E 3610209N (NAD27 datum).

The site was located when shovel testing produced a positive at Transect 166, Shovel Test 0 (600R750). Ten artifacts (Table 46) were found in this test including salt glazed stoneware, Colono ware, and prehistoric sherds. Testing commenced at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive shovel tests were found in each of the cardinal directions. A total of 85 shovel tests were excavated with 28

positive (33%). Two additional tests were found with only brick; one test was found with only shell; and one test was found with brick and shell. Based on this shovel testing the site measures 500 east-west feet by 250 feet north-south.

divided between early slave (eighteenth century) and the nineteenth-twentieth century artifacts. The twentieth century artifacts appear to be located at the western portion of the site, closer to the water, while the earlier eighteenth to nineteenth century artifacts are found primarily in

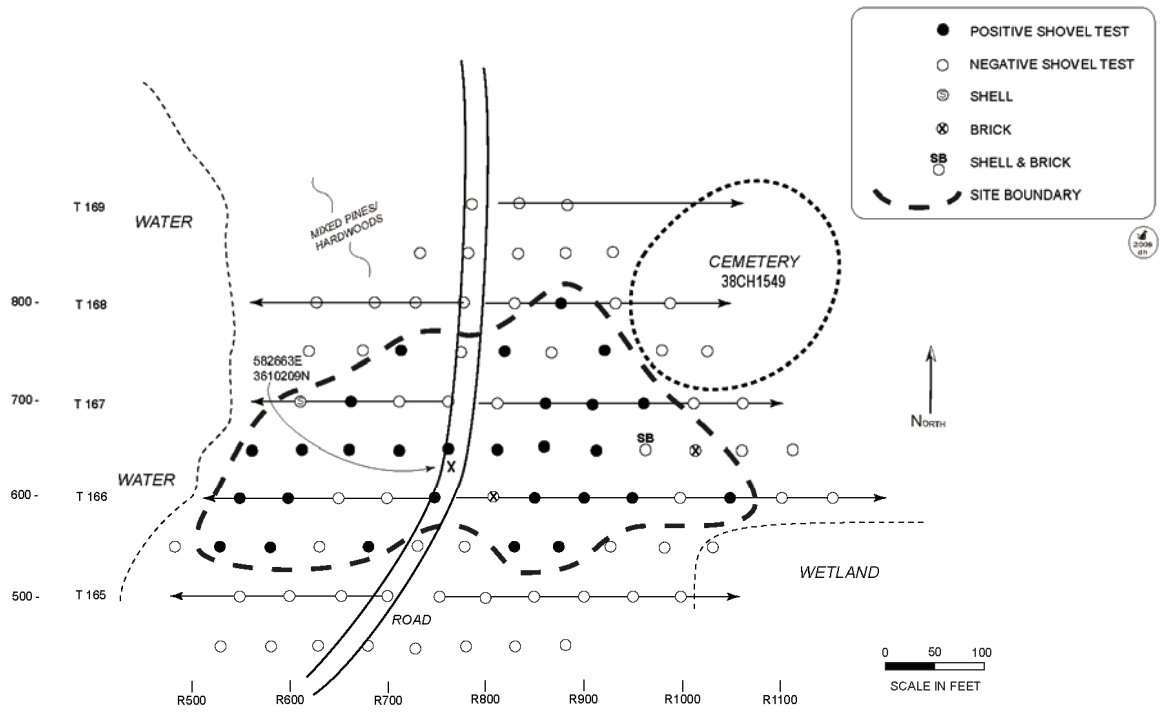


Figure 72. Sketch map of 38CH2244.

The soils in the site area resemble the excessively drained Wando Series, which has an Ap horizon of dark brown (10YR4/3) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot in depth over a brown (7.5YR5/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 2.7 feet. The prehistoric sherds from this site were all found in the upper Ap horizon.

Artifacts from the prehistoric component (consisting of 16% of the total) consisted entirely of small sherds, none of which could be attributed to a specific time period. No other prehistoric remains, such as lithics or worked tools were identified.

The historic component, while ranging over three decades in time, can still be somewhat

the eastern half of the site.

The only piece of ceramic that could be accurately dated was a single piece of lead glazed slipware, which has a MCD of 1733. The other ceramics at the site including Colono ware and stoneware can generally be attributed to the eighteenth century. The more recent artifacts consist of such items as milk glass, which became popular in the late nineteenth century (Jones and Sullivan 1985:14).

Kitchen Group artifacts dominate the collection accounting for 57% of the total with both the Architecture and Activities groups providing 2% of the total. (The remaining 39% of the total consists of the prehistoric sherds.)

Table 46.
Artifacts from 38CH2244

	550 R530	550 R580	550 R680	550 R830	550 R880	600 R550	600 R600	600 R750	600 R850	600 R900	600 R950	600 R1050	650 R560	650 R610	650 R660	650 R710	650 R760	650 R810	650 R860	650 R910	700 R660	700 R860	700 R910	700 R960	750 R720	750 R820	750 R920	800 R880	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																														**45**
Stoneware, grey SG								1																					**1**	
Earthenware																									1				**1**	
Slipware, LG										1																			**1**	
Colonoware		2		1	1			3	1	4	1	1					2		3	1		2	4	1	1				**28**	
Glass, milk													1			1													**2**	
Glass, light green															1														**1**	
Glass, clear													2	1				1		2	1								**7**	
Glass, black									2	1	1																		**4**	
Architecture Group																														**2**
Nail	1		1																										**2**	
Activities Group																														**3**
Iron, UID													1	1															**2**	
Faunal																				1									**1**	
Prehistoric Group																														**27**
Sherd, small			1			1	2	6										1	7	5	2						1	1	**27**	
Subtotal	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**10**	**3**	**6**	**2**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**10**	**9**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**77**	
TOTAL																														**77**

LG : Lead glaze SG : Salt glazed

This site is situated next to a reported slave cemetery (site 38CH1549) to the east.

We recommend the historic component at 38CH2244 potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register (the prehistoric component is a non-contributing resource). If green spacing is not possible, we recommend additional testing, consisting of very close interval (15-20 feet) augering followed by the excavation of 1-2 10-foot units. This strategy will provide very detailed aerial coverage, allowing identification of artifact concentrations. The use of several large test units will permit better identification of features, while at the same time assisting with the recovery of a collection better able to identify site function. No work should be conducted in the site area until plans for either green spacing have been approved by the State Historic Preservation Office or additional site assessment and evaluation have been completed.

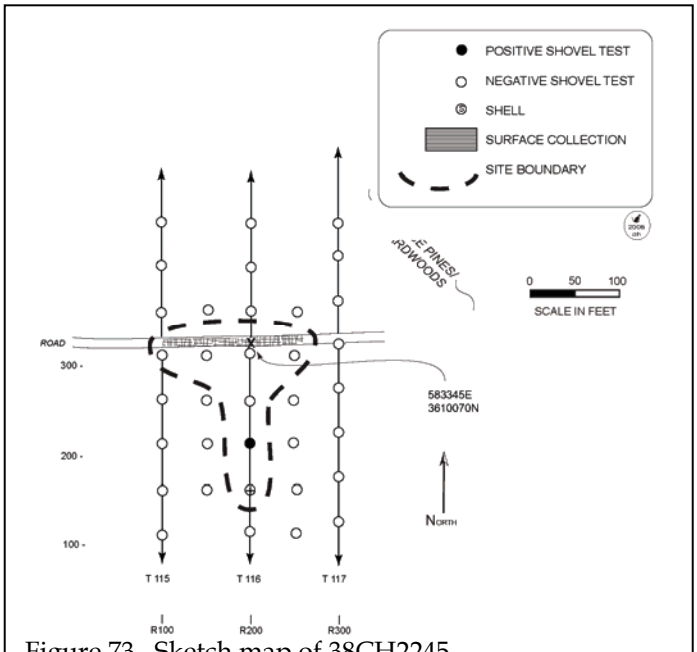


Figure 73. Sketch map of 38CH2245.

38CH2245

Site 38CH2245 (Figure 73) is a nineteenth to twentieth century scatter located on a ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. The vegetation consists of a dense pine and hardwood forest. A UTM, taken at the north edge of the site is 583345E 3610070N (NAD27 datum).

Although shovel testing was performed in this area at 100-foot intervals, the site was initially identified through the surface scatter along the road. Because of this, shovel testing was performed at 50-foot intervals, however, only one shovel test, Transect 116, Shovel Test 1 south, was positive (4% of all the tests excavated), producing a piece of whiteware and a piece of clear glass.

Soils around the site area were the well drained Seabrook Series. Seabrook soils have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet.

Table 47.
Artifacts from 38CH2245

	210 R200	Surface	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group				**12**
Whiteware, undec.	1	1	**2**	
Whiteware, annular		2	**2**	
Stoneware, alkaline glaze		1	**1**	
Glass, black		1	**1**	
Glass, manganese		1	**1**	
Glass, brown		2	**2**	
Glass, clear	1	2	**3**	
Architecture Group				**1**
Window glass		1	**1**	
Subtotal	**2**	**11**	**13**	
TOTAL				**13**

The site, which encompasses an area of about 150 feet square, produced 13 artifacts, 92% of which were Kitchen related (Table 47). The other 8% consisted of a single piece of window glass. The artifacts appear to be consistent with a small turn-of-the-century tenant site. The undecorated whiteware ranges in date from 1813 to 1900, while annular whiteware tends to be a bit later, from 1831 to 1900. Manganese glass became common at the end of the nineteenth century. A piece of clear glass that appears to have a portion of a palm frond as decoration was also recovered. This decoration appears to be part of a South Carolina dispensary bottle. The dispensary system in South Carolina lasted from 1893 to 1907 (Huggins 1971:v).

Site 38CH2245 has lost its integrity through logging and cultivation. The majority of the site was found exposed in the road. While it may be possible to find additional artifacts through closer interval shovel testing, we do not feel that the quality of the remains warrant that intensive a survey.

Site 38CH2245 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2246

Site 38CH2246 (Figure 74) is a prehistoric pottery scatter located on a ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. The site is located in a dense pine and hardwood forest. A central UTM for 38CH2246 is 583482E 3610108N (NAD27 datum).

Shovel testing was performed at the originally proposed 100-foot intervals until Transect 121, Shovel Test 1 north (450R500) was positive, producing two small sherds. Shovel testing

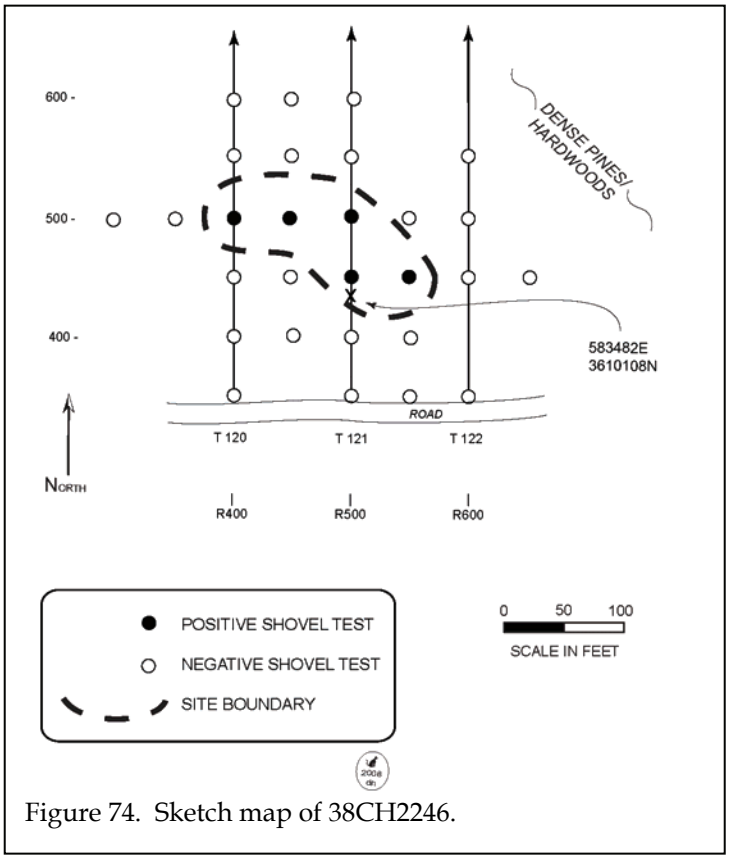


Figure 74. Sketch map of 38CH2246.

resumed at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were found in all directions. A total of 28 shovel tests were excavated with five being positive (18%).

Soils in the site area resemble the moderately well drained Seabrook Series. Seabrook soils have an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet. All of the artifacts were found in the upper Ap horizon.

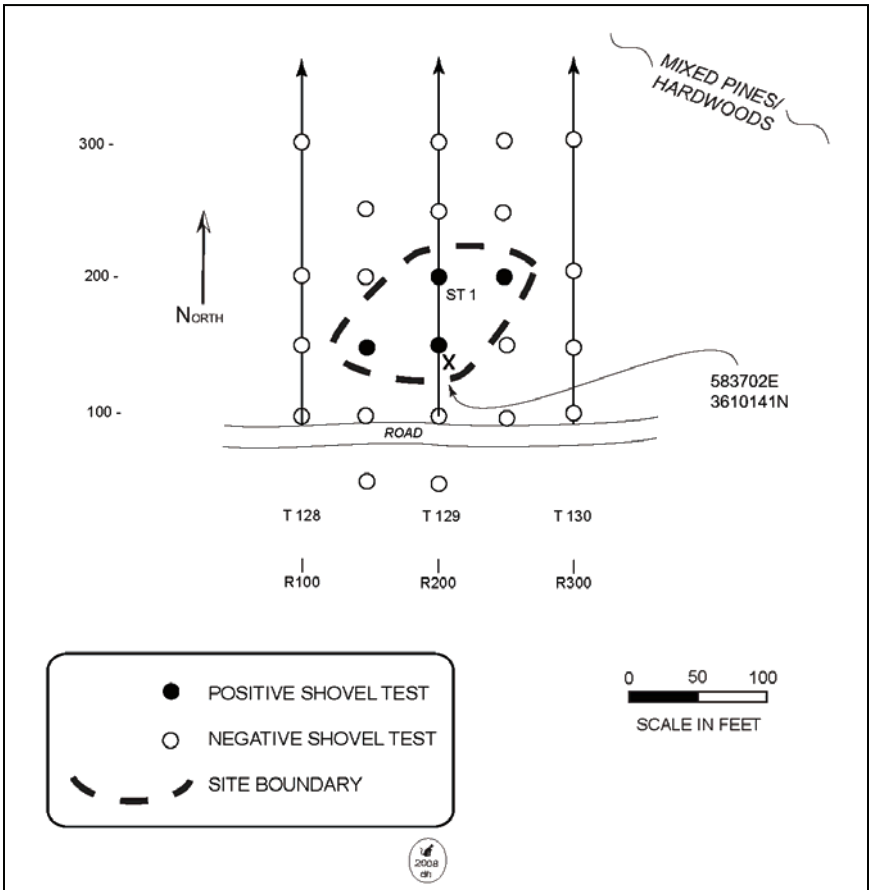


Figure 75. Sketch map of 38CH2247.

As previously mentioned, the site consisted of only prehistoric pottery. A total of eight small sherds were found, which comprise an area of approximately 150 feet east-west by 50 feet north-south. Because of their small size (under 1-inch), none of the sherds are diagnostic. This is likely the result of intensive cultivation and logging in the area. It is unlikely that this site will be able to address significant research questions about prehistoric life.

Site 38CH2246 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2247

Site 38CH2247 (Figure 75) is a small Middle Woodland pottery scatter, situated on a ridge at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. The site is in a mixed pine and hardwood forest with a UTM coordinate of 583702E 3610141N (NAD27 datum).

The site was identified through shovel testing when Transect 129, Shovel Test 1 was positive, producing a small sherd. Shovel testing resumed at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were encountered along the cardinal directions. A total of 20 shovel tests were excavated with 4 positive (20%).

Soils in the site are attributed to the Seabrook Series, which has an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet. All of the artifacts were found in the upper Ap horizon.

A total of five artifacts were found, consisting of four small sherds and one large

sherd. The large sherd was identified as Deptford cord-marked. The four positive tests make up an area about 50 feet square.

Although we can identify the time period with which the site is associated, remains are too sparse to address significant research questions about prehistoric life. In addition, no evidence of bone, shell, or ethnobotanical remains were found that might have aided in the development of significant research questions. All of the remains were encountered in the site's Ap horizon or plow zone.

Because of the lack of integrity and the inability to address significant research questions, 38CH2247 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2248

Site 38CH2248 (Figure 76) is an eighteenth to nineteenth century domestic scatter located on a peninsula at an elevation of about 5 feet AMSL. The area is currently covered in sparse pines and hardwoods. A central GPS UTM is 584432E 3610336N (NAD27 datum).

The site was originally identified through a brick scatter in the dirt road (Figure 77). Shovel testing, however, produced a positive at Transect 154, Shovel Test 0 (200R200). This test contained a whiteware ceramic, lead glaze slipware, and window glass. Close interval testing was performed at 25-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were encountered in the cardinal directions. A total of 45 shovel tests were excavated with nine positive (20%). At least eight additional shovel tests contained only brick and two shovel tests contained only shell.

Two 3-foot square units were also excavated in the site area. Test unit 1 was placed near 200R300 where the shovel test produced high numbers of nails and brick (Figure 78). Test unit 2 was placed near 175R235, where a shovel test produced a high density of brick.

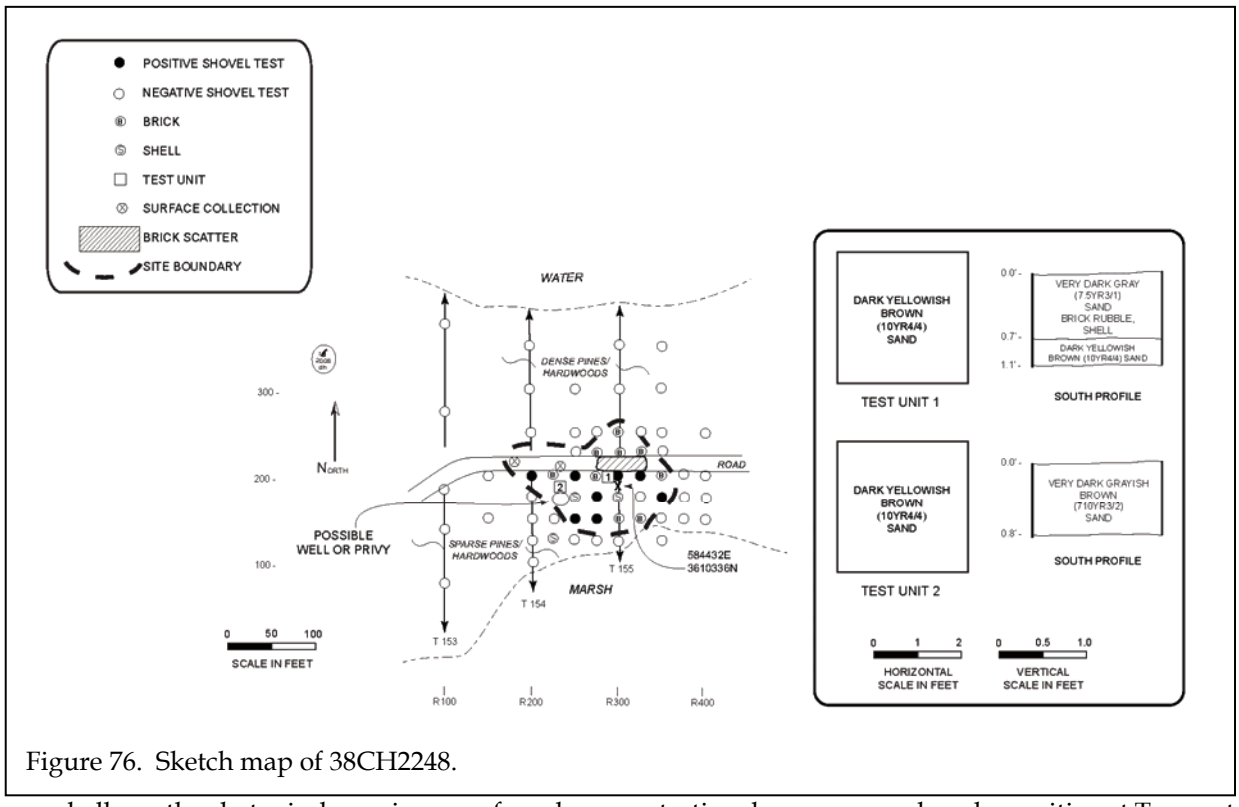


Figure 76. Sketch map of 38CH2248.

The testing yielded 617 historic artifacts (Table 48). Table 49 shows the resulting artifact pattern in comparison with several other typical patterns. The collection does not clearly match any of the previously defined patterns. When decorative motifs are examined, we find that the collection is too small to be of much assistance – while porcelains are present, so too is annular ware.


Figure 77. View of brick in the dirt road at 38CH2248.

Turning to the architectural remains, the collection is dominated by machine cut nails. These became popular in the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Howard 1989:55) and the size of nails can be used to obtain some general indication of the nature of the structure. For example, 2d to 4d nails were commonly used to fasten small timber (such as lathe) and shingles, while 6d to 8d nails were used to attach sheathing or siding. At 38CH2248, these two sizes are found in equal proportions and together account for 83% of the nails (n=136). Nails used for framing (9d to 12d) were the third most common accounting for an additional 28 specimens (17%). This suggests that we have a frame dwelling with wood shingles. Interior finish likely included plaster – verified by the recovery of plaster debris in the excavation units. Thus, while the ceramics are ambiguous, the architectural remains suggest a moderately high status dwelling – certainly not a slave dwelling.

An 1816 plat of the lands of Benjamin Roper's Oaks Plantation, shows a structure at the location of these remains (Figure 79). The proximity of the structure to salt water suggests that 38CH2248 may represent a planter's summer house, predating the formation of Legareville. As discussed earlier, we have no good archaeological data for summer house assemblages, but we anticipate that they generally reflect the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern. The results from this site may be anomalous because of the location of the two test pits and their focus on recognizable architectural remains. Excavation units in the immediate vicinity of structure walls routinely distort the prevalence of architectural materials such as nails and window glass.

One of the shovel tests was placed within a depression that may represent a well or similar feature. Excavation failed to identify the base of the feature. A unit placed outside the posited feature did not identify the edge of the feature and its function remains uncertain.


Figure 78. View of Test Unit 1 at 38CH2248.

Site 38CH2248 has produced a range of

Table 48.
Artifacts from 38CH2248

	200 R200	150 R250	200 R250	150 R275	175 R275	200 R300	200 R325	175 R350	Test Unit #1	Test Unit #2	**Subtotal**	**Total**
Kitchen Group												**264**
Canton Porcelain, blue HP									2		**2**	
English Porcelain, blue HP									1		**1**	
Rockingham										1	**1**	
Slipware, lead glazed	1										**1**	
Pearlware, undec.		1									**1**	
Whiteware, annular, mended			2							2	**4**	
Whiteware, undec.	1				1				3		**5**	
Glass, melted							1	1	246		**248**	
Glass, fulgurite									1		**1**	
Architecture Group												**358**
Window glass	1			1						2	**4**	
Cut nails						17			148		**165**	
Cut nail fragments						13			160		**173**	
Nail, fragment						8	1			1	**10**	
Plaster						3			3		**6**	
Activities Group												**1**
Metal, UID										1	**1**	
Prehistoric												**1**
Sherd, small										1	**1**	
Subtotal	**3**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**41**	**2**	**1**	**564**	**8**	**624**	
TOTAL												**624**

HP : Hand painted undec. : undecorated

data sets, including early antebellum artifacts, architectural remains indicative of a frame dwelling with plaster and glazed windows, and a possible well or other feature. Another data set includes the historic documentation, especially the 1816 plat showing a structure at this location. These data sets offer an opportunity to examine the site as a possible early antebellum summer residence, predating the organization of Legareville – and perhaps offering an opportunity to develop a context for other, similar sites. This is a topic for which there is little existing research (see, however, Brewster 1947; Helsley 2004 discusses this topic in the context of planters' migrations to the upstate of South Carolina) and we believe it represents an important topic. For example, there are anecdotal accounts of planters annually moving everything from kitchen utensils to pianos to their summer homes, suggesting that their lifeways were simply moved from one location to another. On the other hand, there is competing evidence that the summer homes were far more rustic and spartan. While one study will certainly not resolve this issue, it will begin to provide clear data to compare and contrast to the available historical accounts.

This survey suggests that 38CH2248 exhibits a high degree of integrity, with well preserved artifactual collections, including even

Table 49.
Artifact Pattern Comparison for 38CH2248

	38CH2248	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[1]	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[2]	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[1]
Kitchen Group	42.8	51.8 - 65.0	20.0 - 25.8	70.9 - 84.2
Architectural Group	57.0	25.2 - 31.4	67.9 - 73.2	11.8 - 24.8
Furniture Group	0.0	0.2 - 0.6	0.0 - 0.1	0.1
Arms Group	0.0	0.1 - 0.3	0.0 - 0.2	0.1 - 0.3
Tobacco Group	0.0	1.9 - 13.9	0.3 - 9.7	2.4 - 5.4
Clothing Group	0.0	0.6 - 5.4	0.3 - 1.7	0.3 - 0.8
Personal Group	0.0	0.2 - 0.5	0.1 - 0.2	0.1
Activities Group	0.2	0.9 - 1.7	0.2 - 0.4	0.2 - 0.9

[1] Garrow 1982
[2] Singleton 1980

fragile architectural materials such as plaster, as well as the preservation of possible features.

As a result, we recommend 38CH2248 eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. No additional activities at the site

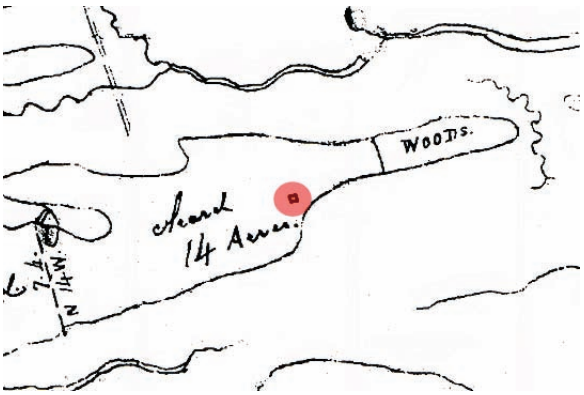


Figure 79. Portion of the 1816 Benjamin Roper plat showing the structure at 38CH2248.

are recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2249

Site 38CH2249 (Figure 80) is a prehistoric scatter of artifacts located on a ridge side slope at an elevation of about 8 feet AMSL. The site is located in an area of planted pines and has a UTM coordinate of 582899E 3610344N (NAD27 datum).

The site was identified through routine shovel testing at 100-foot intervals when Transect 270, Shovel Test 10 was positive, producing a small sherd. Additional close-interval testing was performed at 50-foot intervals along the cardinal directions until two consecutive negative tests were encountered. A total of 70 shovel tests were excavated in the site vicinity with 20 positive (29%).

Shovel testing produced soils representative of Wando loamy fine sand. This Series has an Ap horizon of dark brown (10YR4/3) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot in depth over a brown (7.5YR5/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 2.7 feet.

A total of 27 artifacts were recovered with 25 of the specimens representing small sherds. One chert flake and one unidentifiable nail fragment were also found. None of the sherds were identifiable as to type (all were under 1-inch in size) and all the artifacts were found in the upper 1.0 foot of soil – no intact subsurface remains were found.

The site, defined by the positive shovel tests, encompasses an area of about 500 feet east-west by 200 feet north-south. Site integrity has been damaged through logging and cultivation (as shown by the modern topographic map). With no bone, shell, or ethnobotanical remains, it is unlikely that this site is able to address significant research questions.

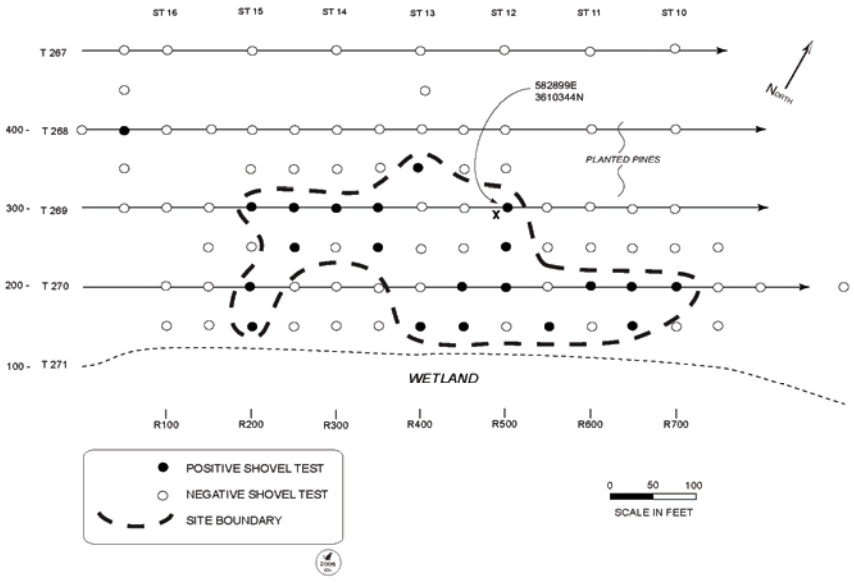


Figure 80. Sketch map of 38CH2249.

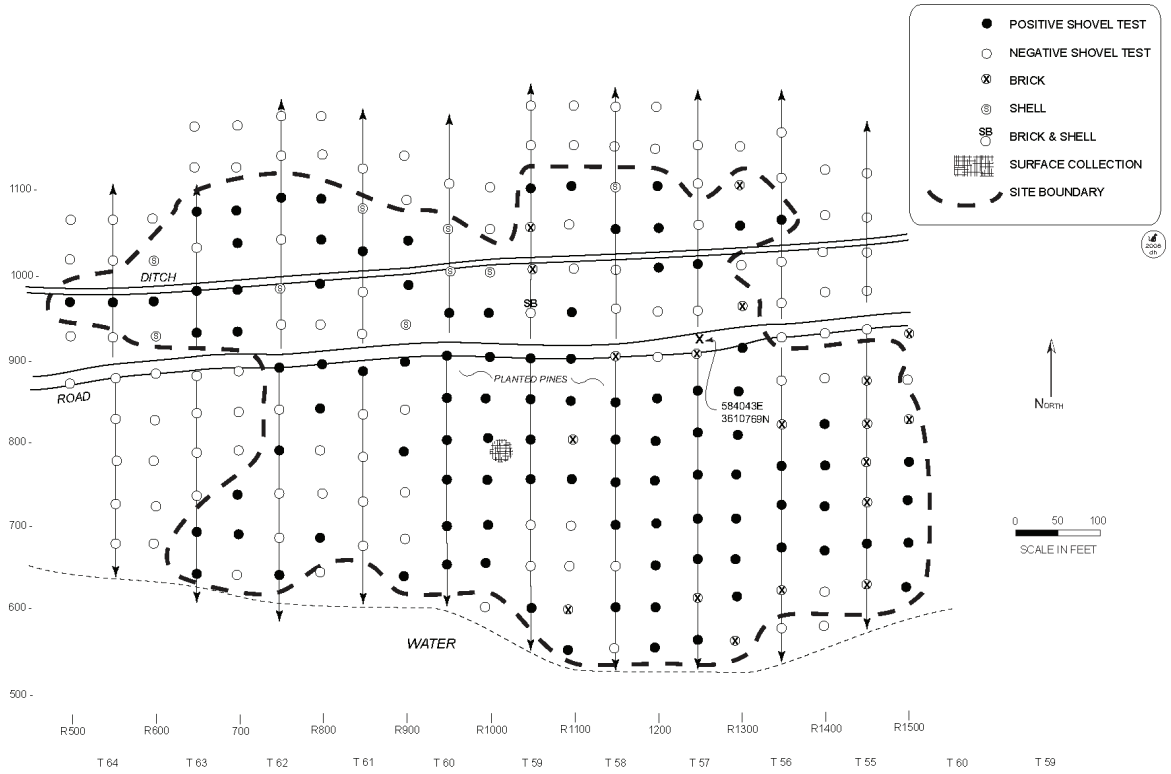


Figure 81. Sketch map of 38CH2250.

Site 38CH2249 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2250

Site 38CH2250 (Figure 81) is a prehistoric and eighteenth century scatter, which is located on a ridge and side slope at elevations ranging from 5 to 10 feet AMSL. The site is situated in an area currently in planted pines. A UTM coordinate, taken toward the eastern edge of the site is 584043E 3610769N (NAD27 datum).

The site was encountered during shovel testing at 100-foot intervals when Transect 64, Shovel Test 1 North (970R550) was positive, producing two small prehistoric sherds. Investigation was continued at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were encountered in the cardinal directions. A total of 232 shovel tests were excavated with 91 positive tests (39%).

Soils in the area resemble the Seabrook Series, which has an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet. All of the artifacts were found in the upper Ap horizon, which sometimes extended up to 1.3 feet in depth – indicative of subsoiling.

The site, which encompassed an area of about 1,000 feet east-west by 550 feet north-south, produced both prehistoric and historic artifacts (Table 50). The prehistoric component was found primarily in the western portion of the site (although it covered almost the entire site area),

Table 50.
Artifacts from 38CH2250

	970 R500	970 R550	970 R600	630 R650	680 R650	930 R650	980 R650	1080 R650	670 R700	730 R700	930 R700	980 R700	1030 R700	1080 R700	640 R750	790 R750	890 R750	1090 R750	690 R800	840 R800	890 R800	990 R800	1040 R800	1090 R800	880 R850	1030 R850	640 R900	790 R900	890 R900	990 R900	1040 R900	650 R950	700 R950	750 R950	800 R950	850 R950	900 R950	950 R950
Kitchen Group																																					
Agateware																																					
Stoneware, grey SG																																					
Earthenware																																					
Delftware, undec.																																					
Colonoware																																	1	3	2		
Glass, melted																																					
Glass, green																																					
Glass, black																																					
Architecture Group																																					
Nail, fragment																																					
Tobacco Group																																					
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																																					
Activities Group																																					
Faunal, bone																																					
Prehistoric Group																																					
Sherd, small	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	4	3	1		1		2	2
UID lithic																				1																		
Chert, fragment																																					
Subtotal	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**2**	**2**
TOTAL																																					

SG : Salt glazed

	650 R1000	700 R1000	750 R1000	800 R1000	850 R1000	900 R1000	950 R1000	600 R1050	750 R1050	800 R1050	850 R1050	900 R1050	1100 R1050	550 R1100	750 R1100	850 R1100	900 R1100	950 R1100	1100 R1100	600 R1150	700 R1150	750 R1150	800 R1150	850 R1150	1050 R1150	550 R1200	600 R1200	650 R1200	700 R1200	750 R1200	800 R1200	850 R1200	1000 R1200	1050 R1200	1100 R1200	560 R1250	660 R1250	710 R1250
Kitchen Group																																					
Agateware																																				1	
Stoneware, grey SG																																					
Earthenware																							1														
Delftware, undec.																1																					
Colonoware			1	2	1				1	1													2						1						2	1	4
Glass, melted																																					
Glass, green																																					
Glass, black																							1						1	1							
Architecture Group																																					
Nail, fragment																																					1
Tobacco Group																																					
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin																																			1		
Activities Group																																					
Faunal, bone																																	1			1	3
Prehistoric Group																																					
Sherd, small	1	1		1	1	2	1	1			1	2	2	1	1		1	2	2	2	3	1		2	1	1	1	5			1	1	1	2			2
UID lithic																																					
Chert, fragment																																					1
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**11**
TOTAL																																					

	760 R1250	810 R1250	860 R1250	1010 R1250	610 R1300	660 R1300	710 R1300	760 R1300	810 R1300	860 R1300	910 R1300	1060 R1300	670 R1350	720 R1350	770 R1350	1070 R1350	670 R1400	720 R1400	770 R1400	820 R1400	730 R1450	630 R1500	680 R1500	730 R1500	780 R1500	**Subtotal**	**Total**
Kitchen Group																											**62**
Agateware														1												**1**	
Stoneware, grey SG													1													**2**	
Earthenware	1				1				1																	**4**	
Delftware, undec.																										**1**	
Colonoware	2	5				4	9	2		2								1			1					**48**	
Glass, melted	1																									**1**	
Glass, green																			1							**1**	
Glass, black							1																			**4**	
Architecture Group																											**4**
Nail, fragment		1	1						1																	**4**	
Tobacco Group																											**3**
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin								1										1								**3**	
Activities Group																											**8**
Faunal, bone							2											1								**8**	
Prehistoric Group																											**117**
Sherd, small		1		1		1					1	1		4	1	1	1	2		1		1	1	1	1	**115**	
UID lithic																										**1**	
Chert, fragment																										**1**	
Subtotal	**4**	**7**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**12**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**194**	
TOTAL																											**194**

SG : Salt glaze

while the historic artifacts were only found in the southeastern portion of the site.

None of the 114 prehistoric sherds were identifiable by type – all were under 1-inch in size. Two lithics, both flakes, were identified that may be associated with the prehistoric assemblage.

The historic assemblage contained only one datable ceramic – a single piece of plain Delft, which has a MCD of 1720. In addition, 45 sherds of Colono ware were identified that are generally associated with eighteenth century slave sites.

Of the historic assemblage, three artifact groups are represented including Kitchen (96%), Architecture (7%), and Tobacco (4%). While only a few groups are found, the historic component is fairly well isolated in the southeastern portion of the site. Even with logging in the area, the historic portion does appear to contain an isolated locus around 710R1250-1300. Ten or more artifacts were found in two shovel tests in this area.

We recommend the historic component at 38CH2250 potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register (the prehistoric component is a non-contributing resource). If green spacing is not possible, we recommend additional testing, consisting of very close interval (15-20 feet) augering followed by the excavation of 1-2 10-foot units. This strategy will provide very detailed aerial coverage, allowing more refined identification of artifact concentrations. The use of several large test units will permit better identification of features, while at the same time assisting with the recovery of a collection better able to identify site function. No work should be conducted in the site area until plans for either green spacing have been approved by the State Historic Preservation Office or additional site assessment and evaluation have been completed.

No work should take place in the area

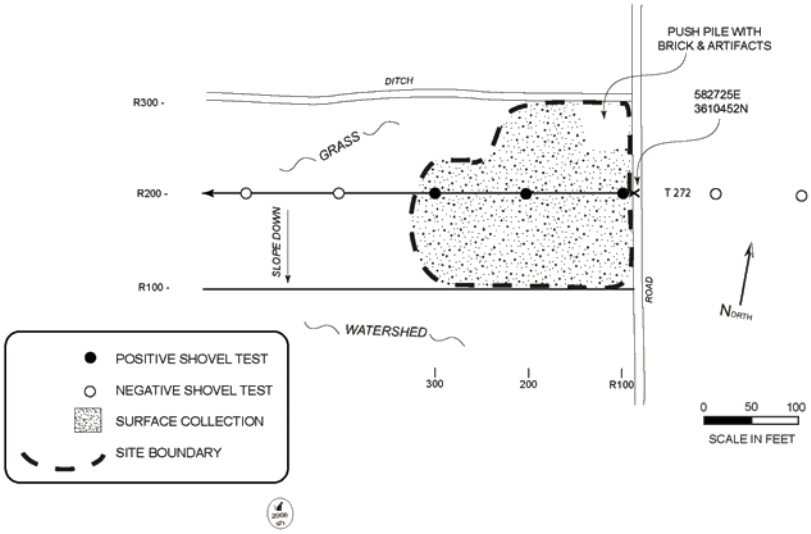


Figure 82. Sketch map of 38CH2251.

until the site has been properly studied and site function and integrity have been determined.

38CH2251

Site 38CH2251 (Figure 82) is a twentieth century trash dump that is situated on a side slope at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. It is located in an old field that is now growing up in grass. A UTM for the site, taken on the road at the southern end is 582725E 3610452N (NAD27 datum).

The site was identified through the large amounts of surface trash located in the old field, along with a push pile located at the southeast portion of the site (Figure 83). A single row of shovel tests was excavated west along the site at 100-foot intervals.

Three shovel tests were positive, producing items such as milk glass, mass produced porcelain, and a utensil handle with "U.S.N." on the handle (Table 51**)**. Although large pieces of artifacts were found on the surface, no collection was made.

The previous owner, Sidi Limehouse (personal communication 2008), said that his grandfather contracted with the Navy during World War II to get the trash from the Charleston mess hall in order to create swill for the pigs on his property. The remaining trash was dumped along the water's edge, just to the west of the site. In fact, other dump areas are said to be located in the area. The utensils and dishes are what was accidentally thrown away (or purposely thrown away if they were broken) at the mess hall.

With this information, no additional testing was performed in the area. The site is superficial, only deposited into the subsurface by cultivation, which has spread the site to an area of approximately 200 feet square.

While an interesting anecdote to the property, there is nothing else that we can learn

Figure 83. View of the push pile (at right) at 38CH2252.

from this site pertaining to Mullet Hall. Site 38CH2251 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

Table 51.
Artifacts from 38CH2251

	120 R200	220 R200	320 R200	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group					**17**
Whiteware, undec.	1			**1**	
Porcelain, stripe	2			**2**	
Glass, clear	3	1	1	**5**	
Glass, black			1	**1**	
Glass, milk	1	3	2	**6**	
Glass, aqua		1		**1**	
Utensil Handle, stainless steel	1			**1**	
Architecture Group					**1**
Nail, fragment		1		**1**	
Clothing Group					**1**
Leather	1			**1**	
Activities Group					**1**
Metal, UID			1	**1**	
Prehistoric					**1**
Sherd, small			1	**1**	
Subtotal	**9**	**6**	**6**	**21**	
TOTAL					**21**

38CH2252

Site 38CH2252 (Figure 84) is an eighteenth to twentieth century and prehistoric scatter located in the interior plain at an elevation of about 5 feet AMSL. A GPS UTM, taken toward the eastern edge, is 580916E 3610414N (NAD27 datum).

The site was first encountered when Transect 283, Shovel Test 0 (720R900) was positive, producing lead glaze slipware and an unidentifiable fragment of iron. Close interval testing was performed at 50-foot intervals in the cardinal directions until two consecutive negative tests were encountered. A total of 50 shovel tests were excavated with 29 positive (58%). The site dimensions are 450 feet east-west by 250 feet north-south.

Soils resemble the poorly drained Yonges Series, which has an Ap horizon of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy fine sand to 0.8 foot over a light brownish gray (10YR6/2) loamy fine sand to 1.2 feet in depth. The site was in an old field that has grown into pines. The artifacts were found in the Ap horizon, although this layer sometimes extended to 1.5 feet in depth.

The prehistoric component, which accounts for 19% of the total artifact assemblage, produced sherds (Table 52). Only one sherd was diagnostic – a Pee Dee complicated stamped, dating to the Mississippian.

In contrast to the prehistoric remains, the historic collection reveals considerable diversity, with a modest collection of domestic refuse identified from the site. As revealed by Table 53 the assemblage includes Kitchen Group (62%), Architecture Group (22%), Tobacco (2%), Clothing (2%), and Activities Group artifacts (13%). These remains closely resemble the eighteenth century overseer pattern identified at 38BK1900. The Activities Group is anomalous, but we suspect this is related to the small sample and abundance of unidentifiable metal fragments that are recovered in shovel testing. With a larger collection this issue would likely be resolved.

Within the Kitchen Group, ceramics and glass are represented almost equally. The ceramics, which include small quantities of a wide range of materials, produce a mean ceramic date of 1806.5 (Table 54). The glass, however, does include at least one specimen – a fragment of a South Carolina Dispensary bottle – that takes the assemblage into at least the late nineteenth century (the dispensary system operated from 1893 to 1907, see Huggins 1971:v).

Although the assemblage does contain single specimens of Chinese and English porcelain, the bulk of the collection appears far more modest, including annular and plain

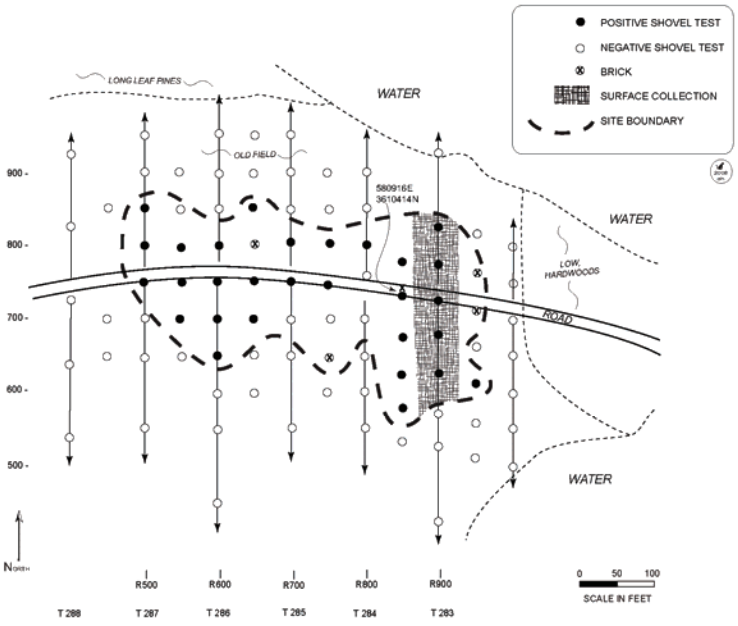


Figure 84. Sketch map of 38CH2252.

ceramics, as well as Colono and slipware. These are the ceramics we would anticipate from an overseer in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

We have some information on the late assemblage, since the site is shown as two structures on the 1919 Wadmalaw topographic map. Unfortunately, the site is situated at the far western edge of the tract, in an area where we have very little historic data. The Mullet plat does not include this area, suggesting that Legare acquired this edge through another purchase.

Assessment of this site is difficult, since it does appear sparse. However, when the density of this site is compared to other eighteenth century overseer sites identified by Chicora research (Trinkley et al. 2003, Trinkley et al. 2005), it appears easily within the anticipated range. Likewise, agricultural activities here – as elsewhere on the tract – have been intensive. Nevertheless, we do not believe the site should be dismissed without a more intensive effort to define intact deposits.

Consequently, we recommend the historic component at 38CH2252 potentially eligible for

Table 52.
Artifacts from 38CH2252

	750 R500	800 R500	850 R500	700 R550	750 R550	800 R550	650 R600	700 R600	750 R600	800 R600	700 R650	750 R650	850 R650	750 R700	800 R700	750 R750	800 R750	800 R800	580 R850	630 R850	680 R850	730 R850	780 R850	620 R900	670 R900	720 R900	770 R900	820 R900	620 R950	Surface Collection	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																																**37**
Chinese Porcelain, blue HP																														1	**1**	
English Porelain, undec.	1																														**1**	
Stoneware, brown																														1	**1**	
Stoneware, brown SG																							1								**1**	
Slipware, lead glazed																										1					**1**	
Creamware, undec.													1																	4	**5**	
Pearlware, annular																														1	**1**	
Pearlware, undec.																											1				**1**	
Whiteware, undec.			1	1				1											1									1			**5**	
Colonoware																								1							**1**	
Glass, manganese					1	1			1					1																	**4**	
Glass, green																	1														**1**	
Glass, brown											1																				**1**	
Glass, clear		1		1		1	1	1		3		1		1																	**10**	
Glass, black								1				1																		1	**3**	
Architecture Group																																**14**
Window glass															1																**1**	
Nail, fragment					1	2			1	1						2	1					1	1				1		1		**12**	
Nut				1																											**1**	
Tobacco Group																																**1**
Tobacco, pipe bowl, Kaolin											1																				**1**	
Clothing Group																																**1**
Button																				1											**1**	
Activities Group																																**10**
Iron, UID		1		1	2																		1			1					**6**	
Brass fragment					2																										**2**	
Slate				1																											**1**	
Faunal								1																							**1**	
Prehistoric Group																																**15**
Pee Dee, complicated stamp		1																													**1**	
Sherd, small		2						2				1			1	1		1		1	1		2		1		1				**14**	
Subtotal	**1**	**5**	**1**	**5**	**6**	**4**	**1**	**6**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**8**	**78**	
TOTAL																																**78**

HP : Hand painted SG : Salt glazed undec. : undecorated

inclusion on the National Register (the prehistoric component is a non-contributing resource). If green spacing is not possible, we recommend additional testing, consisting of very close interval (15-20 feet) augering followed by the excavation of 2-3 10-foot units. This strategy will provide very detailed aerial coverage, allowing identification of artifact concentrations. The use of several large test units will permit better identification of features, while at the same time assisting with the recovery of a collection better able to identify site function. No work should be conducted in the site area until plans for either green spacing have been approved by the State Historic Preservation Office or additional site assessment and evaluation have been completed.

Table 53.
Artifact Pattern Analysis for 38CH2252

	38CH2252	Revised Carolina Artifct Pattern[1]	38BK1900 Area B 18th Cen. Overseer[2]	38CH1278 18th Cen. Overseer[3]
Kitchen	62.0	51.8-65.0	65.2	78.1
Architecture	22.0	25.2-31.4	21.2	8.9
Furniture	0.0	02-0.6	0	0.1
Arms	0.0	0.1-0.3	0.3	0.2
Tobacco	2.0	1.9-13.9	10.2	11.4
Clothing	2.0	0.6-5.4	0.1	0.2
Personal	0.0	0.2-0.5	0.1	0.2
Activities	13.0	0.9-1.7	2.9	1.1

[1]Garrow 1982
[2]Trinkley et al. 2003
[3]Trinkley et al. 2005

38CH2253

Site 38CH2253 (Figure 85) is a prehistoric and nineteenth century scatter located on an interior plain at an elevation of 10 feet AMSL. A GPS UTM, taken at the southwest corner of the site, is 582646E 3610622N (NAD27 datum).

The site was identified during shovel testing when Transect 370, Shovel Test 2 (600R750) was positive, producing a piece of pearlware and three fragments of clear glass. Close interval testing was resumed at 50-foot intervals until two consecutive negative tests were encountered along the cardinal directions. A total of 95 shovel tests were excavated in the site area with 25 being positive (26%).

Soils in the area resemble the Seabrook Series, which has an Ap horizon of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand to a depth of 0.8 foot over a dark brown (10YR4/3) or dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) loamy fine sand to a depth of 1.7 feet. All of the artifacts were found in the upper Ap horizon.

The prehistoric loci, which was found predominately in the western portion of the site, consisted entirely of small sherds (n=11). None of the sherds were diagnostic. The historic loci produced a total of 42 artifacts, consisting of Kitchen (83%), Architecture (12%), and Activities (5%) groups (Table 55).

In the Kitchen Group, glass makes up 77% of the total, however, only clear and milk glass are represented. Of the ceramics, only a single piece of pearlware, which has a MCD of 1805, was diagnostic.

Table 54.
Mean ceramic date of 38CH2252

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Underglazed blue porc	1660-1800	1730	1	1730
English porc	1745-1795	1770	1	1770
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	1	1733
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	5	8955
Pearlware, annular/cable	1790-1820	1805	1	1805
Pearlware, undecorated	1780-1830	1805	1	1805
Whiteware, undecorated	1813-1900	1860	5	9300
Total			15	27098
Mean Ceramic Date	1806.5			

For the Architecture Group, only unidentifiable nail fragments were found. In the Activities Group, the only artifacts were unidentifiable iron. The site area measures approximately 550 east-west by 350 feet north-south.

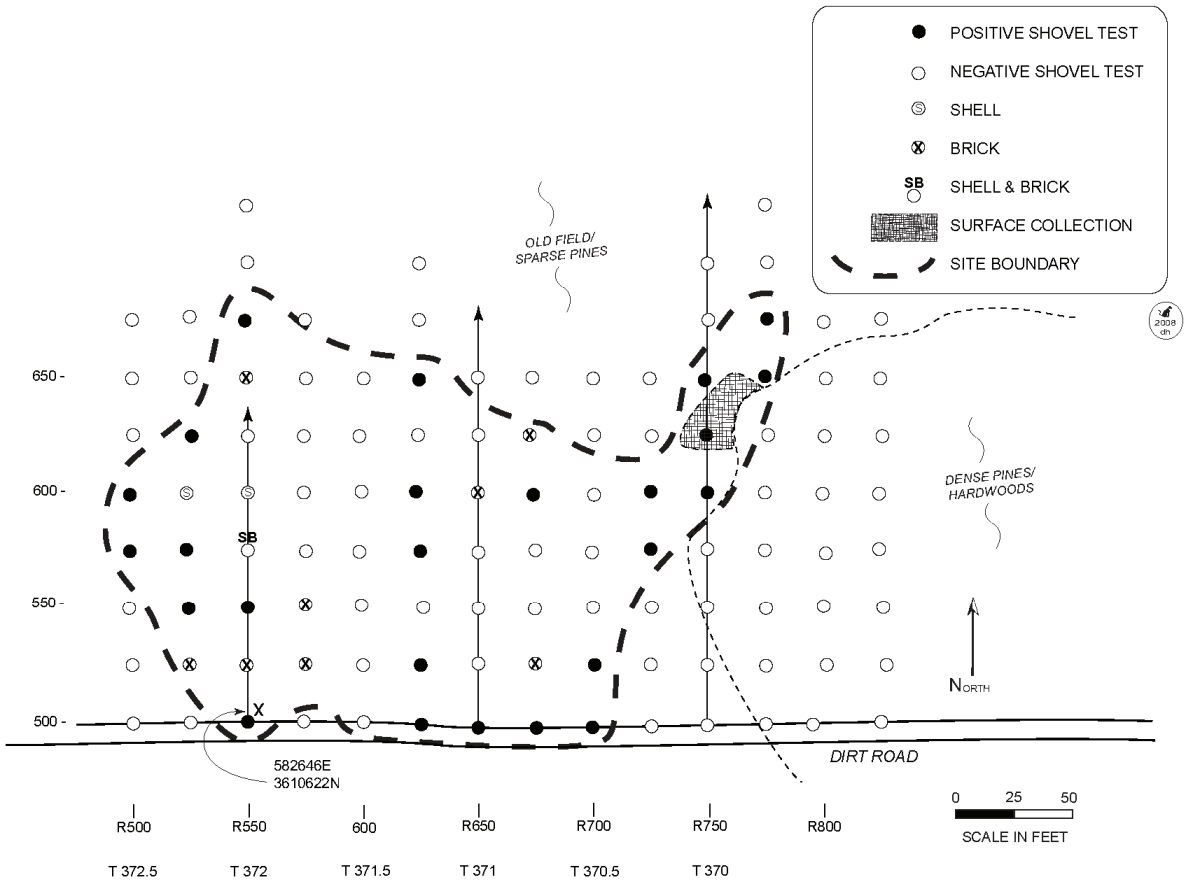


Figure 85. Sketch map of 38CH2253.

The examination of an 1879 plat for Sol. Legare shows three structures in the vicinity. While there is a record of when these structures existed, the remains do not reflect the quality needed to be able to address significant questions. The area has also been heavily cultivated, with extensive subsoiling. A second growth of pines is now covering the fallow field.

Site 38CH2253 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office.

38CH2254

Site 38CH2254 (Figure 86) is a sparse nineteenth to twentieth century scatter located on the interior plain of Johns Island at an elevation of about 10 feet AMSL. A central GPS UTM is 580916E 3611205N (NAD27 datum).

The site was found during shovel testing when Transect 369, Shovel Test 13 was positive producing a piece of clear glass and an unidentifiable nail fragment. Limited close interval testing was performed at 50-foot intervals with 20 shovel tests excavated in the site area. Of those tests, four were positive (20%).

Soils in the area resemble Wando loamy

Table 55.
Artifacts from 38CH2253

	574 R500	600 R500	500 R525	575 R525	625 R525	500 R550	550 R550	675 R550	500 R625	525 R625	575 R625	600 R625	650 R625	500 R650	500 R675	600 R675	500 R700	525 R700	575 R725	600 R725	600 R750	625 R750	650 R750	650 R775	675 R775	Surface Collection	Subtotal	Total
Kitchen Group																												**33**
White porcelain, stripe																										2	**2**	
White porelain, undec.																										5	**5**	
Pearlware, undec.																					1						**1**	
Glass, milk																						1	1			5	**7**	
Glass, clear					1					1			1	1			1	1	1	1	3			1	2	4	**18**	
Architecture Group																												**6**
Window glass																1											**1**	
Nail, fragment						1			4																		**5**	
Activities Group																												**2**
Iron, UID								1							1												**2**	
Prehistoric Group																												**11**
Sherd, small	1	1	1	4			1					1	1			1											**11**	
Subtotal	**1**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**16**	**52**	
TOTAL																												**52**

undec. : undecorated

fine sand. This Series has an Ap horizon of dark brown (10YR4/3) loamy fine sand to 0.7 foot in depth over a brown (7.5YR5/4) loamy fine sand.

The site produced a total of seven artifacts: three clear glass, one brown glass, one wire nail, one unidentifiable nail, and one piece of asbestos siding. Wire nails were common after c. 1880 (Howard 1989:55). Asbestos was first used in the late nineteenth century in houses, although it was used into the 1970s. The glass is not diagnostic. An 1884 plat shows two structures in the vicinity. The site area covers about 100 feet north-south by 200 feet east-west.

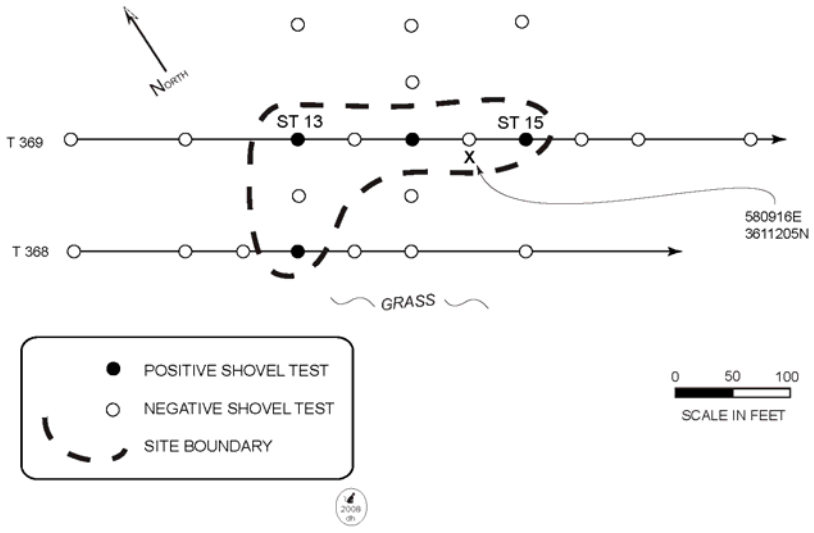


Figure 86. Sketch map of 38CH2254.

The site area, although grassed at the time of the survey, has been heavily cultivated for years. Very few remains were found and no diagnostic artifacts, such as ceramics, were recovered. It is unlikely that remains would be able to address significant research questions about turn-of-the-century tenancy in the Low Country.

Site 38CH2254 is recommended not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. No additional management activity is recommended pending the review and concurrence of the State Historic Preservation Office.

Architectural and Other Historic Resources

The previously identified historic structures were revisited and reevaluated by the current survey. The structures originally determined not eligible through by Fick and her colleagues (1989, 1992) are still thought to be not eligible. The project development tract may be visible from the Lee Glover House (1471), but this structure has been found not eligible by the State Historic Preservation Office.

The Bass Pond archaeological site on Kiawah has been subjected to data recovery and is no longer an issue of consideration. In addition, the Mullet Hall tract will have a vegetative barrier along the river, reducing or eliminating visual intrusion. The remaining eligible structure, 1468,

Mt. Hebron Presbyterian Church, is situated at such a distance that the development tract will not be visible. In addition, construction in this area of Johns Island has been ongoing since the historic surveys and there has already been a significant change in the visual integrity surrounding these structures. We do not believe that the Mullet Hall tract will have any significant affect on the property.

One structure is situated on the Mullet Hall tract (Figure 87) built by Julian S. Limehouse ca. 1940. Since that time it has been extensively mofidied (ca. 1960 and 1980). Neither the interior nor exterior retain any integrity and this structure is recommended not eligible for inclusion on the National Register.

Figure 87. View of the structure located on the Mullet Hall property.

CONCLUSIONS

Resource Management

This study involved the examination of a tract of approximately 1,427 acres on Johns Island in Charleston County to be used for single family homes. This work, conducted for Mr. Kevin O'Neill of Kiawah River Plantation, LP examined archaeological sites and cultural resources found in the proposed project area and is intended to assist the company in complying with their historic preservation responsibilities.

Table 56.
Sites Identified on the Mullet Hall Property

Site Number	Description	Size (in feet)	Central UTM[1] Easting	Central UTM[1] Northing	Soil	Eligibility
38CH487	18th-19th c. scatter	900 x 600	582408	3610894	Seabrook	E
38CH1539	19th c. scatter	50 x 10	582480	3609560	Kiawah	NE
38CH1540	18th-19th c. plantation complex	2,400 x 950	583972	3610963	Seabrook	E
38CH1541	18th-20th c. domestic	700 x 900	581720	3610682	Seabrook	E
38CH1542	19th-20th c. settlement	1,200 x 500	581841	3610310	Seabrook	E
38CH1543	18th-19th c. scatter	300 x 300	581842	3610534	Seabrook	PE
38CH1545	prehistoric/20th c. scatter	350 X 200	582743	3609623	Kiawah	PE
38CH1546	prehistoric/18th-19th c. scatter	200 x 250	582671	3609837	Seabrook	NE
38CH1547	prehistoric/18th-19th c. scatter	650 x 450	582686	3610045	Kiawah	PE
38CH1548	19th-20th c. cemetery	200 x 200[2]	581509	3610818	Kiawah	PE
38CH1549	cemetery	250 x 250[2]	582734	3610249	Wando	PE
38CH2240	prehistoric scatter	150 x 200	584231	3610883	Seabrook	NE
38CH2241	19th-20th c. scatter	150 x 200	582369	3609721	Kiawah	NE
38CH2242	prehistoric/18th c. settlement	400 x 300	582376	3610096	Wando	PE
38CH2243	prehistoric/18th-19th c. scatter	1,850 x 400	583003	3609935	Seabrook	NE
38CH2244	prehistoric/18th-20th c. scatter	500 x 250	582663	3610209	Wando	PE
38CH2245	19th-20th c. scatter	150 x 150	583345	3610070	Seabrook	NE
38CH2246	prehistoric scatter	150 x 50	583482	3610108	Seabrook	NE
38CH2247	Middle Woodland scatter	50 x 50	583702	3610141	Seabrook	NE
38CH2248	Early 19th c. scatter	150 x 100	584432	3610336	Seabrook	E
38CH2249	prehistoric scatter	500 x 200	582899	3610344	Wando	NE
38CH2250	prehistoric/18th c. scatter	1,000 x 550	583944	3610691	Seabrook	PE
38CH2251	20th c. trash dump	200 x 200	582704	3610444	Wando	NE
38CH2252	18th-20th c. possible overseer	450 x 250	580877	3610417	Yonges	PE
38CH2253	prehistoric/19th c. scatter	550 x 350	582682	3610696	Seabrook	NE
38CH2254	19th-20th c. scatter	100 x 200	580916	3611205	Wando	NE

[1] Zone 17, NAD27 datum

[2] Includes buffer as discussed

As a result of this investigation, 26 sites were assessed on the property (Table 56). A total of five sites (38CH487, 38CH1540, 38CH1541, 38CH1542, and 38CH2248) are recommended eligible for the National Register. Fourteen sites (38CH1539, 38CH1546, 38CH2240-2241, 38CH2243, 38CH2245-2247, 38CH2249, 38CH2251, 38CH2253-2254) are recommended not eligible.

Additional testing should be performed at 38CH1543, 38CH1545, 38CH1547-1549, 38CH2242, 38CH2244, 38CH2250, and 38CH2252) to determine eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. The two cemeteries, 38CH1548 and 38CH1549, will not be developed, but are nevertheless recommended potentially eligible for the National Register. For 38CH1548 we recommend the SHPO minimum buffer of 25 feet, while for the less well defined 38CH1549 we recommend expanding that buffer to 50 feet. Both sites should have construction fences erected for their protection during all phases of construction activity. The third cemetery is part of site 38CH1540, which is recommended eligible for its historic resources. The boundary for the cemetery at this site should be established based on the woods line as observed in the 1948 aerial photograph with a 50 foot buffer.

Kiawah River Plantation, LP may wish to improve the appearance of these cemeteries, helping to make them more attractive amenities. This can be accomplished *by hand removal* of all trees 5-inches and less in diameter (dbh) (we understand that Charleston County's tree ordinance identifies protected trees as 8-inches or greater dbh and grand trees as 24-inches or greater dbh except for pines). The remaining trees should be pruned for crown cleaning and overall restoration. We

recommend a tree inspection by an ISA certified arborist, who may recommend further thinning for the overall health of the cemetery tract. Brush and scrub may also be removed once evaluated for evidence of intentional plantings.

Upon review and concurrence by the State Historic Preservation Office, eligible and potentially eligible archaeological resources may be either green spaced (preserved in place) or subjected to additional investigation (data recovery in the case of eligible sites or additional testing in the case of potentially eligible sites). With additional testing the potentially eligible sites may be assessed as either eligible or not eligible. For the potentially eligible sites we have generally recommended the level of additional investigation we feel is likely to resolve the issue of site significance and integrity.

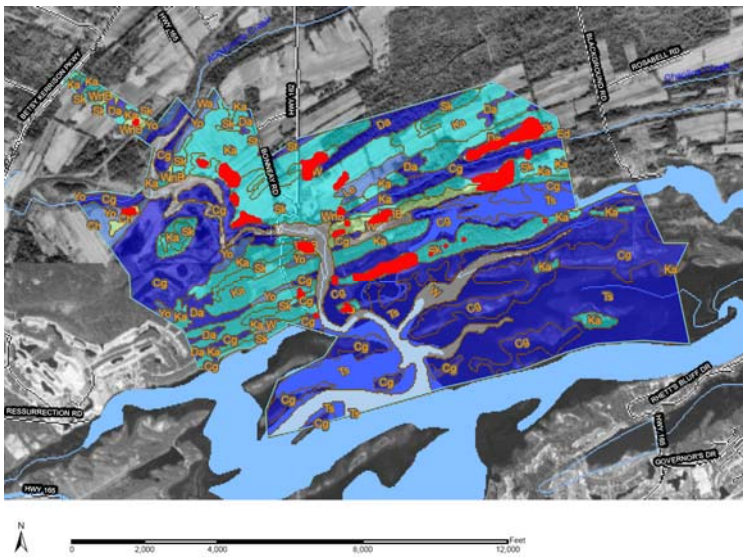


Figure 88. Identification of site locations on the Mullet Hall soil drainage map.

A survey of public roads within 0.5 mile Confirmed the findings of the 1992 county-wide survey (Fick 1992) and the 1989 James and Johns islands survey (Fick et al. 1989). No structures were found in the project area. The eligible structures and NRHP site cannot be seen from the current project area.

It is possible that archaeological remains may be encountered during construction activities. As always, contractors should be advised to report any discoveries of concentrations of artifacts (such as bottles, ceramics, or projectile points) or brick rubble to the project engineer, who should in turn report the material to the State Historic Preservation Office, or Chicora Foundation (the process of dealing with late discoveries is discussed in 36CFR800.13(b)(3)). No further land altering activities should take place in the vicinity of these discoveries until they have been examined by an archaeologist and, if necessary, have been processed according to 36CFR800.13(b)(3).

Site Locations

Table 56 provides information on the soils associated with each of the identified Mullet Hall sites. The reader may recall that the study tract consisted of 11 soil series (see Figure 6), although sites have been found in only four of these series. In fact, 14 of the 26 sites (54%) are found on Seakbrook soils. This series accounts for only 16% of the study area. An additional six sites (23%) are found on Wando soils – and this series accounts for just over 2% of the tract's soils. The Kiawah soils – which comprise 16% of the Mullet Hall soils – have five sites (19%). Thus 96% of the sites are found on 34.3% of the soils.

The Kiawah and Seabrook series – accounting for 32.1% of the soils – are both classified as somewhat poorly drained. In fact, to make them productive these soils today are typically drained. In spite of this, 19 of the sites (73%) are found on these soils.

Poorly or very poorly drained soils – such as Stono, Leon, and Dawhoo-Rutlege – did not produce sites.

These findings are not entirely startling. The most recent effort at modeling site locations

(Cable and Reed 1996) correlates site density with well-drained soils in close proximity to streams or other hydrologic features (such as interior swamps or salt marsh) or to areas of increased soil patch diversity. This is, of course, a simple refinement of the long-held understanding that sites will be found close to water sources. Unfortunately, the model provides little assistance in a setting such as Johns Island since the ridge and trough topography provides numerous areas meeting these criteria. Even a cursory examination of Figure 88 reveals that there are many more areas where sites might be found than there are actual soil locations. More significantly, the model does not actually eliminate any of the tracts nearly 1,500 acres. Thus, while the model is certainly accurate, it would provide a very large number of false positives – that is, it would predict that a number of areas have a high probability for site locations when no sites are present.

In addition, the Mullet Hall study reveals a surprising range in site density on Johns Island. This particular survey yields a density of one site every 57 acres. Three surrounding surveys yield extremely variable densities – one site every 55 acres for the Orange Hill tract, one site for every 64 acres at the Briars Creek tract, and one site every 417 acres for the Anchorage Plantation tract. Whether these data reflect actual variations in density or variations in the thoroughness or effectiveness of survey effort is not certain.

Historic Research

If site modeling is thus far not particularly useful in a setting such as Johns Island, certainly detailed historical research may be (although we acknowledge that it can only provide information on historic settlement). For Mullet Hall, detailed examination of maps and plats produced 19 separate potential site locations. Using Figure 38, each will be briefly discussed, starting in the northwest corner of the tract with "Bldgs. 1884" and moving clockwise.

Bldgs. 1884

Two structures are shown on a February 1884 plat of Rose Bank, which belonged to F.Y. Legare. These structures were identified in the field and given the site number 38CH2254.

Commissary

There were no maps identifying the commissary – its location is based on oral history. Early business directories (e.g., 1890 and 1905) list the F.Y. Legare general store on Mullet Hall. The site is found within 38CH487.

Tenants 1919

The 1919 Wadmalaw 15' topographic map shows a series of eight tenant structures along the north side of a road, running approximately northeast. This area was recorded as 38CH487, although this tenant assemblage blurs with other materials.

Slave Row ca. 1850-1865

Two maps, ca. 1850-1865, show a series of eight structures running approximately northeast from Mullet Hall Road. They have been identified as 38CH487. It seems likely that these structures survived the Civil War and continued to be used by tenants in the postbellum.

Sol. Legare Settlement ca 1850-1865

Two maps, ca. 1850-1865, show the location of Solomon Legare's antebellum settlement, situated in the vicinity of the junction of four roads in the center of the Mullet Hall property. It is our assessment that this site is slightly misplaced on the historic maps and should be further north, part of 38CH487.

Oaks 1816, 1850-1865

The Oaks main house, which belonged to Roper, is shown in the approximate location of 38CH1540.

Tenants 1919

Plotting of these five structures places them north of 38CH1540. Our survey efforts, however, suggest the tenant occupation is actually included within 38CH1540, suggesting some inaccuracy in the topographic map.

Slave Row 1850-1865

The slave row is part of the Oaks Plantation and was identified as the eastern end of 38CH1540.

Bldg. 1816

This structure is shown on an 1816 plat of Benjamin Roper's lands and was identified in this location as 38CH2248.

Graveyard 1933

A cemetery was identified by USGS surveyors placed the Mullet Hall control datum. Their location is identical to the cemetery identified as 38CH1549. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this discovery is that few archaeologists take advantage of the USGS Horizontal Control Notes, which provide excellent data dating into the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Cotton Hs. 1850-1865

Solomon Legare's cotton house was apparently used as a back sight for survey work preparing the antebellum maps. It appears to be at the site identified as 38CH1547.

Bldg. 1919

Two structures are shown on the 1919 Wadmalaw topographic map. They were identified as 38CH2241, although cultivation has blurred the remains and two distinct loci cannot be identified based on survey work.

Bldg. 1879

A series of three structures are shown on an 1879 plat of Solomon Legare's tract. We mislocated the site based on overlays, but once in the field the road network is still extant and the site was identified as 38CH2253.

Bldg. 1860

This building was one of the only structures not identified in the field. The location of the structure according to an 1860 map is on the southern portion of the property, adjacent to the marshes of Haulover Creek and Kiawah River. Shovel testing failed to produce any remains in this area. We believe the structure has been destroyed by the creation of a pond in this area.

Slave Rows 1850-1865

These structures were found and recorded as 38CH1542.

James Legare Settlement ca. 1850-1865

This settlement was found and recorded as 38CH1541, although the location appears to be slightly further north than projected.

Bldgs. 1919

The two buildings identified on the 1919 Wadmalaw topographic map were identified as 38CH2252.

Mullet ca. 1794

The 1794 Mullet plat shows a single settlement symbol at the location identified as 38CH1543.

All but one of the 18 projected historic sites were identified in the field investigations – reflecting 95% accuracy. The failure to identify the one structure is likely associated with its destruction by a modern pond. Granted, we did find inaccuracies of up to 1,000 feet – and this may

be either a map error or a failure on the part of our location efforts – although most locations were very accurate.

Thus, for the identification of historic sites, we believe the use of historic research is far more likely to yield accurate predictive modeling than anything else readily available. There is considerable value in the time and effort placed in historic research. Conversely, when little effort is expended on historic research, we believe that it becomes not only far more difficult to identify properties that should be present, but to also accurately and effectively assess their significance.

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